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SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

RELIGION, CONFLICT, AND PEACEBUILDING IN AFRICA

The Role of the Church in the Peacebuilding process in the Democratic Republic of Congo from2001 to 2016

By

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***Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of*Master of Social Sciences**

In

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the roles of the Church and its models of peace effort in the DRC from 2001 to 2016. The main objective is to identify and analyze the impact of the role of the church on the conflict; to evaluate the success of the Church in Peacebuilding from 2001-2016; to examine the key challenges and opportunities facing the Churches in its intervention, and; to identify how the church could maximize its peacebuilding potential in the DRC. Thus, the following questions were set forth to guide the research: 1) what role has the church played in DRC conflict from 2001 to 2016? 2) What successes has the church achieved? 3) What obstacles has the Church faced in its peace efforts? 4) How can the church deal with these obstacles to maximize its potential of achieving a sustainable peace in the DRC?

Therefore, the qualitative approach is found appropriate for these research questions, because it grants valuable understanding of the issues through a careful examination of historical data. So, the non-empirical study makes use of secondary sources of data collection.Also, John Paul Lederach's "peacebuilding pyramid" is opted for as the conceptual framework. The framework focus on reconciliation and on reconstruction of broken down relationships: a process that recognizes that conflicts are essentially types of relationships and prioritizes on addressing its psychological components. Therefore, it was used to address such questions as, should peace be built from the top down, or from the bottom up? What parts should the various actors play? Are there spaces for the church at all the three levels?

However, the key study finding was that the Church in the DRC is large, strong, and significant. With these, and its predictable solidarity with the grassroots populace, have the capacity to transform conflict situation in the DRC. The study also reveals that the church in the DRC are engaged in a kind of reactive approach to peace work which focuses on the immediate conflict, with no long-term peace process to address the root cause, and to deal with those policies and structures that sustains conflicts. The researcher thus maintains that the Church in the DRC needs a review of their models of engagement in conflict transformation and peacebuilding.

***Key Terms*: Peace, Conflict Transformation; Peacebuilding; Church; Intervention; Pyramid Model.**

DECLARATION

Student number: 208517195

I, Steve Tai Oladosu, hereby declare that this dissertation captioned, "RELIGION, CONFLICT AND PEACEBUILDING IN AFRICA: The Role of the Church in the Peacebuilding Process in the Democratic Republic of Congo from 2001 to 2016" is my own work. The work is originally mine and has not been used for any purpose anywhere. I also hereby state that all the sources that I have used directly or indirectly have been indicated and acknowledged according to the ethical requirements.

_____ _____

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Ms Sbusisiwe Philile Gwala Date

Co-Supervisor

DEDICATION

To My Wife, Omolola Oladosu and My Mother, Leah Olorunyemi.

[The Two Great Women in My Life]

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

All glory and thanks to God for His generous grace towards me: I take not for granted the surpassing love and divine manifestation of the Lord in my life. I am so grateful for His unstinting attention, inspiration, and dexterity, without which this project would not have been possible, no word seems to be suitable enough to express my gratitude.

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ACRONYMS

AACC	All Africa Conference of Churches
ABAKO	Alliance of Bakongo
ADF	Allied Democratic Forces
AFDL	Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AIMM	Africa Inter-Mennonite Mission
AMFI	American Mineral Fields Incorporation
BGC	Barrick Gold Corporation
BOMAS	Mennonite Brethren Board of Missions and Services
CAFOD	Catholic Agency for Overseas Development
CCIA	Commission of the Churches on International Affairs
CEJP	*Commission Épiscopale Justice et Paix*
CENCO	Catholic Episcopal Conference of the Congo
CIA	Central Intelligent Agency
CIM	Congo Inland Mission
CIME	Commission for Integrity and Electoral Mediation
CNDP	National Congress for the Defense of the People
CNM	Congolese National Movement
CONAKAT	*Confédération Des Associations Tribales Du Katanga*

CPRC	Council for Peace and Reconciliation in the Congo
CPT	Christian Peacemaker Teams
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EACTI	East Africa Counter-Terrorism Initiative
ECC	Church of Christ in Congo *(Église du Christ au Congo)*
ESFGA	Children Released from Armed Forces and groups
FAR	Rwandan Armed Forces
FAZ	Zairian Armed Forces
FAZ	Forces Armées Zaïroises (Armed Forces of Zaire)
FBO	Faith-Based Organisation
FDLR	Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda
FP	Public Force
GO	Governmental Organisation
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICD	Inter-Congolese Dialogue
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICS	International Conciliation Services
IMF	International Monetary Fund

INAC	African Institute of Conciliation
ISTK	Theological Institute of Kinshasa
JMPR	Youth of the Popular Movement of the Revolution
JPC	Justice and Peace Commission
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MCC	Mennonite Church Council
MLC	Movement for the Liberation of Congo
MLC	Movement for the Liberation of the Congo
MPLA	Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
MWC	Mennonite World Conference
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
RCC	Roman Catholic Church
RCD	Congolese Democratic Rally
RCD	Congolese Rally for Democracy
RDF	Rwandan Defence Forces
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SACC	South African Council of Churches
SADC	Southern African Development Community

SAHO	South African History Online
SGIR	Standing Group on International Relations
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
US	United States
WCC	World Council of Churches

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CHAPTER ONE

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN THE PEACEBUILDING PROCESS IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO FROM 2001 TO 2016

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has been through series of recurrent and intractable violent conflicts since its inception. Throughout these conflicts, the Congolese Church has never relented in their efforts to see the end of atrocious rage in the country, yet no peace. This study investigates the role of the church in the peacebuilding process in the DRC from 2001 to 2016. This introductory chapter presents the background and the research problem. It outlines the research objectives, the key questions and explains the conceptual model adopted for the study. The chapter also provides an overview of the research design and methods applied in carrying out the study. It further explains the rationale for the research and its limitations, finally it briefly provides the structure of the dissertation.

1.2 STUDY BACKGROUND

The background to the study provides the foundation for the entire study. The background is a very brief discussion on the nexus between religion, conflict and peacebuilding, and more precisely, the conflict situation in the DRC and the role of the church in the DRC peace process. Ever since the 9/11 incidence in the United States (US), and the resultant "war on terror" that followed, religion has been depicted as a source of violence, primarily in the form of political Islam and religious extremist. However, the growing academic debates on the theme seems to have overlooked the fact that religion could also be a source of "peace not war" (Smock, 2006; Weingardt, 2007). Therefore, religious values regarding peace and its peacebuilding initiatives would be a pragmatic focus of academic discussion. In spite of this prevalent scholarly notion of the "ambivalence of the sacred" (Appleby, 2000; Philpott, 2007), it suffice to investigate the particular characteristics of religion that influence and contribute to peace. Moreover, in view of the extensive emphasis on socioeconomic issues, it is not a news that religion is disregarded in most academic explanations of African civil conflicts. While scholarly attention intensifies the civil wars in Africa, such as in Sudan, Nigeria, and the Great Lake region, no systematic empirical analysis has been undertaken to analyse the peacebuilding role of religion.

The ethno-political and geo-strategic battles have not been isolated from the past six decades of the DRC's independence. Historically, the country has been caught between expansionist invasion, critical border security problems, Cold War Superpowers dynamics, Multinational Corporation aggressive predation and political skirmishes. The heavy and expensive intervention of international peacekeeping efforts fails to attain a sustainable peace in the DRC. In the same vein, the salient peace efforts of the church to address and manage the situation domestically has proved abortive. Hence, sustainable peace, stability, and security of lives and properties remained a mirage to the Congolese people till today. The current political turmoil in the DRC has brought a devastating trepidation over the people that the ongoing political violence could escalate to another civil war in the DRC. Would history be allowed repeat itself?

However, the uniqueness of the Catholic's responses and the approaches of other faith-based interventions to peacebuilding in the DRC is the quest of this study. The researcher contend that, rather than treating the Church's approaches to peacebuilding as a duplicated development with nothing substantial to contribute, it is imperative to identified not only their uniqueness, but also their substance and impact in the peace processes. The research also argues that, rather than depicting peacebuilding as a bundle of institutionalized concepts and strategies ascribed to the secular sphere only, it is of great necessity to examine the peacebuilding power of faith and the dynamics of introspective methodologies in relation to the contemporary conflict transformation and peace building, especially in Africa.

The DRC's first civil war of 1996 was kindled by a spillover of the Rwandan genocide. The Rwandan government was backed by the Ugandan government to rummage for the remnants of Hutu *génocidaire* who escaped to DRC in fear of retribution; the casualties of this conflict were in hundreds of thousands (Lemarchand, 2012:32; Reyntjens, 2009: 45; Gribbin, 2005: 143; Prunier, 2001). The second civil war began from 1998 to 2013, with nine countries and about twenty armed groups fighting within the DRC's border (Vlassenroot and Raeymaekers, 2008). About four million people died, and millions of people were displaced, many sought refuges in neighbouring countries (Jackson, 2006: 97; Coghlan, et al., 2006; McCullum, 2006: 23; Global Security, 2007; IRC, 2007; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2006). In 2001 President Laurent Kabila was assassinated and he was succeeded by his son Joseph Kabila. In 2003, Kabila officially halted the civil war by a number of peace accords facilitated by the churches (McCullum, 2006; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2006). Yet, extreme violent conflict persists unabated

in the eastern part of the DRC due to some ethno-political complications, illicit mining activities and unwarranted multiple insurgent operations. However, the on-going political turmoil in the DRC has brought new trepidations of another civil war in the DRC where millions of people have died since 1996 (Kristof, 2010, Sidikou, 2016).[1]

The ethno-political and geo-strategic battles have not been isolated from the past six decades of the DRC's independence. Historically, the country has been caught between expansionist invasion, critical border security problems, Cold War Superpowers dynamics, Multinational Corporation aggressive predation and political skirmishes. The heavy and expensive intervention of international peacekeeping efforts fails to attain a sustainable peace in the DRC. In the same vein, the salient peace efforts of the church to address and manage the situation domestically has proved abortive. Hence, sustainable peace, stability, and security of lives and properties remained a mirage to the Congolese people till today. The current political turmoil in the DRC has brought a devastating trepidation over the people that the ongoing political violence could escalate to another civil war in the DRC. Would history be allowed repeat itself?

1.2.1 The United Nations Peacekeeping Operations in the DRC

Therefore, the DRC has been the focus of some of the world's most prolonged peacekeeping operation in history (Chinyanganya, 2006:102; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002:76-78). According to the UN Security Council (2016), the UN annual budget is over $1.2 billion on the DRC. Recently, in fear of likely eruptions of violence during the forthcoming election in the DRC, the Security Council of the United Nations was instructed on Friday March 11, 2017 to deploy an additional 320 UN police to Lubumbashi and to Kananga in the DRC, areas "which are likely to be electoral hotspots" (Guterres, 2017), therefore the UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres (2017)

> Such rapid intervention capabilities in these key urban areas would enhance the mission's capacity to protect civilians, as well as United Nations

[1]Maman Sambo Sidikou is the Secretary-General's Special Representative for DRC and head of MONUSCO

personnel and premises, in the case of an outbreak of election-related violence.

As of 31 January 2017, United Nations has 22,500 personnel on the DRC soil, they are known as MONUSCO and the composition was as follows: 16,885 troops deployed in the DRC, 475 military observers, 1,332 UN police, 816 UN's international civilian personnel, 2,654 local civilian staff and 338 UN volunteers, it is the largest and costliest peacekeeping mission with an approved budget $1.23 billion (running from 1 July 2016 to 30 June 2017), and has operated for almost seven years - since July 2010 to present (SCR., 2017). Nevertheless, in spite of the dominant presence of the United Nations (UN) peace-keeping force, and the intervention of international communities in the DRC, the strife continues to this day (Global Security, 2007; McCullum, 2006). Yet the expensive intervention of the external peacekeeping gladiators did not discontinue.

1.2.2 The Intervention of the Church in the DRC

Simultaneously along with other conventional peacemaking efforts are the home-grown peacebuilding machinery of the civil society actors found tackling the DRC's conflict. Given the position of the Church in DRC, the most fascinating among these engagements is the pragmatic response of the Church to the crisis in the DRC. The valuable role of the church during and after the peace accords that ushered in the transitional government of Joseph Kabila in 2003 can never be over emphasized (Goldstone, 2001:95). Also, the success of both 2006 and 2011 elections is largely attributable to the role of the church in the peace process (Whetho and Uzodike, 2009). Efforts of the church to address and manage the post-conflict peacebuilding in the DRC range from mediation to humanitarian assistance, rehabilitation and reconstruction, economic stabilisation, human rights monitoring and advocacy, and empowerment for political participation, yet peace and security remain a mirage to the Congolese people.

However, the uniqueness of the Catholic's responses and the approaches of other faith-based interventions to peacebuilding in the DRC is the quest of this study. The researcher contend that, rather than treating the Church's approaches to peacebuilding as a duplicated development with nothing substantial to contribute, it is imperative to identified not only their uniqueness, but also their substance and impact in the peace processes. The research also argues that, rather than depicting peacebuilding as a bundle of institutionalized concepts and strategies ascribed to the secular sphere only, it is of great necessity to examine the

peacebuilding power of faith and the dynamics of introspective methodologies in relation to the contemporary conflict transformation and peace building, especially in Africa.

Also, the church has been very active in the recent political crisis in the DRC, regarding the extensive public violence, because of Kabila's unyieldingness to the constitutional provision for new democratic transition. The Conference of Catholic Bishops (CENCO) in the DRC brokered an agreement between the government and the oppositions in December 2016 to institute a transitional government. Agreement was signed at the mediation stating that Kabila will not pursue a third term in office, and that there will be no referendum nor changes to the constitution. However, the sincere efforts of the Church too have failed to proffer a lasting solution to the conflicts in the DRC, yet the Church intervention is also ceaseless. What are the forces sustaining both the conflicts and the intervention? And what role is the church playing both to deal with the forces and to end the conflicts? What are the challenges facing the church in its efforts and its potential for peacebuilding? These are the core issues the study is set to explore.

1.3 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

Therefore, fascinated by the striking role and influence of the Church in peace processes in the ongoing political crisis in the DRC, and motivated by the great potential of the Church to instigate a sustainable peace in the country has provided the impetus for this study. However, it is important to note that the intractability of the DRC conflict is an indication that the peace initiatives of the past decades are rather inconsistent with existential reality. Hence, this study evaluates the roles of the Church and its models of peacebuilding in the DRC from 2001 to 2016. The research also examines the impact of the Church on the conflicts and investigates the challenges and opportunities facing it. These aims are pursued with a view to generating scholarly debate that would inspire further research into the dynamics of the participation of religion in conflicts and peacebuilding processes in Africa. The focus of the research is converged on the response of the Church to the challenges of conflict in the DRC for these two reasons: Firstly, 80% of the Congolese population are Christians. Secondly, the theory that propels the peacebuilding intervention of the Church in DRC is of great interest to the researcher. Going by the reasons stated above, the study is, therefore, significant because it brings the importance of the theoretical perspective to church peacebuilding efforts. The literature on the Church on the DRC conflicts has shown that there has been less focus on its peacebuilding framework. For this reason, the outcome of this study could add to the existing

knowledge base and further generate concern for further research. It could also inspire the Church for a more constructive intervention in the DRC conflict.

1.4 RESEARCH PROBLEM:

There are serious concerns about the outcome of the previous intervention of the Church in the DRC since its independence in 1960. Therefore, this research poses a key question as to what are the roles, the challenges and the potentials of the Church in facilitating peace in the DRC from 2001-2016? The examination is with a view to provoking the Church to begin to think differently, and perhaps to review its models of peacebuilding in the DRC.

1.5 RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS:

The research hypothesis is that the ultimate solution to the DRC's predicament is not going to come from outside of the DRC, rather from the Congolese people themselves, with the church leaders taking a foremost starring role in the peacebuilding and nation-building processes.

The role of the church in peacebuilding in the DRC is paramount to the anticipated sustainable peace in the country, considering how external intervention has failed. The church in the DRC is quite significant, and seeing how the Congolese have developed confidence more in religious leaders than the political leader. Therefore, the hypothesis, is constructed on the view that the peacebuilding capacity of the church should be regularly reviewed and reappraised for effectiveness.

1.6 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES:

The objectives of this research are as follows:

2. To identify and analyze the impact of the role of the church on the conflict in the DRC.

3. To evaluate the success of the Church in Peacebuilding in the DRC from 2001-2016.

4. To examine the key challenges and opportunities facing the Churches in its intervention in the DRC.

5. To identify how the church could maximize its peacebuilding potential in the DRC

1.7 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Therefore, as a sequel to these research objectives, the following questions are proposed:

1. What role has the church played in DRC conflict from 2001 to 2016?
2. What successes has the church achieved?
3. What obstacles has the Church faced in its peace efforts in the DRC?
4. How can the church deal with these obstacles in order to maximize its potential of achieving a sustainable peace?

1.8 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Having done a preliminary review of literature related to the topic, and the concepts are mapped out, the conceptual model adopted as appropriate for this study is the John Paul Lederach's **"peacebuilding pyramid"** model. The model is derived from the theoretical framework of conflict transformation. It is chosen to respond to the research question enumerated above because of its holistic approach to conflict resolution (Ramsbotham *et al*., 2009; Väyrynen, 1991; Väyrynen, 2001), and emphasis on the importance of peacebuilding to constructive development. Therefore, the Chapter three of this dissertation is dedicated to the analysis of this model.

1.9 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

The research questions in this study are found to be effectively addressed by the qualitative approach. It grants valuable understanding of issues through a careful assessment of historical data collected on the DRC conflicts and peace processes. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2003), "qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter; it attempts to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them". Therefore, qualitative research is designed to help researchers understand people objectively within their social and cultural contexts (Myers, 2009).

1.9.1 Research Paradigm

Interpretivist viewpoints originated from the theoretical tradition that reality is socially constructed and fluid. Therefore, what is known is debatable within a cultural and social

milieu and interaction with other groups or society. Hence, truth or cogency cannot be established by an objective reality. In other words, what is accepted as valid can be negotiated thereby to produce manifold, true, and valid assertions to knowledge. Therefore, the interpretivism' scholars appreciate "the subjective world of human experience" (Cohen & Manion, 2013: 17). Creswell (2014) and Yanow & Schwartz-Shea (2013) buttress that interpretivist researchers examine reality through people's views in relation to their contextual experiences.

1.9.2 Research Design

Research design is a detailed outline of how an investigation will take place, which typically include how data is to be collected, what instruments will be employed, how the instruments will be used and the intended means of analyzing the data collected. This study is designed as a summative evaluation research to examine the roles of the Church in peace processes in the DRC, and the impacts of these roles. This qualitative research examines, understands and describes the church in the DRC in the context of conflict and peacebuilding. Qualitative method is preferred because it is appropriate to solve the research problems. Also, because it helps to the study to understand concepts, beliefs, human behaviors and related issues that do not comprise of examining relationship between variables.

1.9.3 Data Collection

This is a non-empirical study that makes use of secondary sources of information. It examines the role of the church in the DRC between 2001 and 2016. Therefore, the source of its data collection is from a variety of material within a specified period. The non-empirical method also helps to collect historical data as engendered in the course of the study. The main resources of secondary data are written materials collected from the works of different scholars on different issues concerning conflicts and peacebuilding, and the role of religion in them. This entailed going through books, academic journals, conference papers, internet articles, and other relevant published and unpublished dissertations, newspapers, magazines, internet, and relevant academic literature sourced from church documents, and current issues relating to conflict and peacebuilding.

1.9.4 Data Analysis

In order to carry out the data analysis, the following three steps were taken:

1. Reading through and defining the understanding of conflict on the international scene and in the DRC with a view to reflect on how the Church respond to it;

2. Reading and defining the history and the characterization of conflict in the DRC in order to analyse the typical features of its conflict.

3. Reading and defining a proper theoretical framework to address the situation of conflict in the DRC.

4. Reading and unpacking the role of the church in peacebuilding in the DRC in the context of Lederach's theory of peacebuilding

However, in order to validate the data, the study applies the following Scott's (1990: 6) yardsticks for measuring the authenticity of the data sources:

1. Authenticity: The genuineness and originality of data are established before using them, this is done by locating the author within the scholarly discourse;

2. Credibility: Documents are subject to credibility test to ascertain how convincing or believable they are and to know whether the evidence obtained is typical of its kind or not. This is carried out by following the thread of argument to substantiate them;

3. Representativeness: Documents are subject to error test to know the extent to which they are free from distortion, and to be sure they agree with the totality of other relevant documents. This is done by simply comparing of views on particular issue; and

4. Meaning: To establish the clarity of data collected and how coherent they are. This is done through meticulous reading and reasoning. And sometimes though consultation with the supervisor and other experts.

1.9.5 Mode of Analysis

The mode of analysis adopted by the study is the content analysis approach. According to Powers & Knapp (2010), it is a common terminology for many diverse approaches used to analyses the text in particular. It is a logical coding and categorizing strategies used to examine large amounts of textual data discreetly with a view to determining the trends and patterns of words therein, the frequency of those words, how they relate, and their

arrangements and expatiation of information (Pope et al., 2000; Gbrich, 2012). It helps in this study to describe the features of each document's content in other to be able to investigative who says what, to whom, in what context and with what effect (Bloor & Wood, 2006).

Since this study bases its data collection purely on secondary sources, the use of content analysis is justifiable. This is because content analysis enables the researcher to meaningfully recreate the result of existing study or information and to make valid interpretations of texts in the contexts of their usage. Therefore, in this study, content analysis was done by thorough reading of the transcript, highlighting and making notes when relevant information is found. The notes were collected and reviewed in order to identify and differentiate the information extracted in accordance to their genre. Categorisation of this extracted information was then done to provide a description of what it is all about. The collected data was categorised into major and minor themes. Thus, data analysis followed Bengtsson's (2016:11) four stages of analysis, namely: the de-contextualisation, the re-contextualisation, the categorisation, and the compilation. Bengtsson recommends that each stage must be done several times to maintain the quality and trustworthiness of the analysis (Bengtsson 2016).

1.9.6 Ethical Considerations

As a statutory prerequisite for a study of this sort, ethical clearance was duly obtained from the Ethics Committee of the University of KwaZulu-Natal prior to the commencement of the research. The clearance was sought through a procedural application and presentation of the proposal which was prepared in accordance with stipulated conditions. Furthermore, in conformation with the ethical requirements of the University for confidentiality and for protection of the University's intellectual property rights, a great deal of caution is given to proper referencing and other rules that bother on the due respect for another people's piracy.

1.10 STUDY LIMITATION

Unquestionably, violent conflicts in the DRC is a global issue, however, this study attempt to study a segment of its peace processes as it relates to the church. So, the study limits itself to the role of the church in DRC peace processes. Therefore, continental or global analysis of issues is not the focus of this study. Since there are many Christian denominations in DRC, the study limits its analysis to the Roman Catholic Church (RCC) and the Mennonites Church to represents the Protestant Churches under the Church of Christ in the Congo (ECC) constellation. Also, the Peace and reconciliation program of the ECC was examined with a

view to understand how the ECC runs its projects. It is important to also indicate that, although the study explored some historical context for understanding, the period under study is from 2001 to 2016.

Conducting an empirical study could have brought some great effects to this academic work, but such a method was not possible due to time limitation, the distance of the research site and financial constraints. Nonetheless, the study sourced information from the existing secondary data documented in journals and books and scholarly articles.

1.11 STRUCTURE OF DISSERTATION:

This research is structured as follows:

Chapter One: Presented the introduction, background, research questions, research objectives, research methodology and the structure of the dissertation.

Chapter Two: undertook a review of existing literature on the nexus between religion, conflict, and peacebuilding, through an interrogation of the role of the church in conflict transformation.

Chapter Three: Discussed the conceptual and theoretical framework and analyzed its perspectives on the church and its peacebuilding efforts in the DRC

Chapter Four: Reflected on the historical background of the DRC with a view to identifying the causes and the nature of its conflicts.

Chapter Five: In order to understand the challenges and opportunities facing the Church in its peace effort in the DRC, this chapter first examined the roles and the approaches of the Church to peacebuilding through the lens of the Lederach's Pyramid Model: it attempts to apply the John Paul Lederach's Peacebuilding Pyramid Model to analyse the church approach to conflicts and peacebuilding in the DRC.

Chapter Six: Rendered the conclusions of the dissertation. It summarises the key research findings in the preceding chapters and provides a general conclusion and recommendation of the research.

1.12 CONCLUSION

In summary, this preliminary chapter explicated the contextual motivations for the study. It gave an overview of research methodology and its conceptual model; it contains the outlined of the research problem; the research objectives; the research questions and the structure of the research. Therefore, Chapter Two focusses on the review of the literature on the role of religion both in fomenting conflict and in facilitating peace processes in the world, in Africa and in the DRC.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter one of this study introduced the specific direction and the quintessence of the study by demonstrating the background and general overview of the research design. Chapter two provides the review of some existing literature on the nexus between religion, conflict, and peacebuilding. Literature review is necessary but it is much more than mere itemising of earlier academic works (Paltridge & Starfield 2007). For Somekh and Lewin (2011: 17) the essence of a literature review is to set a "research project into the context by showing how it fits into a particular field", for justifying the relevance and the significance of the study to the current debates on the subject. Therefore, literature review helps to structure the rudimentary substance upon which the whole study is engaged (Bowers and Stevens, 2010: 94). It also helps to articulate the theoretical backgrounds for the research; to facilitate the process of comprehending the key concepts, and to predicate the development of the research methodology (Kumar, 2011: 31). Finally, literature review should help to ascertain the research gaps and the place that the projected study will fill (Kumar 2011: 31-32; Punch 2000: 44-45; Vithal and Jansen 2004: 14).

Therefore, this chapter is warily constructed to position the research within the prevailing pool of studies of the related theme (Boote and Beile 2005: 3). The chapter inquisitively seeks to review related literature on the role of religion both in fomenting conflict and peace processes in the world, in Africa and, particularly in the DRC.

2.2 RELIGION AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The pre-modern society did acknowledge religious concepts as the dominant paradigm for their socio-political development (Whetho, & Uzodike, 2008). Thus, long before the age of Enlightenment and its philosophy, religion was an integral part of the civil society (Johnston, 1996; Whetho, & Uzodike, 2008). Thomas (2003) explicates that in Europe, during the Middle Ages, religion was aligned with the social and the moral orders as a unifying source of community sustenance - religion was an inseparable element of social, political, economic, and moral dimensions. Likewise, in both intra-national and international conflicts, religion has an impact on the causes, dynamic, escalation and de-escalation of conflicts (Thomas,

2007). However, the powerful sway of "Modernisation Theory", as a prevailing framework of international development discourse, conflict resolution and international relations, has greatly undermined the relevance of religion in the public space (Fox, 2004, Deneulin & Rakodi, 2011: 46; Johnston, & Sampson, 1995; Clarke & Jennings 2008). In his book, "the Global Resurgence of Religion and the Transformation of International Relations," for instance, Scott M. Thomas considers the Iranian Revolution of 1979 and observes that:

> The Islamic Revolution is one of the most vivid examples of how the impact of culture and religion was ignored or marginalised in the study of international relations. According to modernisation theory - the dominant framework for understanding the politics of developing countries - secularisation was considered to be an inevitable part of modernisation. The saliency of religion in social and political life was supposed to decline with economic progress and modernisation (Thomas, 2005: 2).

Cox (1965) and Wallace (1966) had envisaged that religion would give way for modernity, and would ultimately be retained only as the residual sediment of human history. Thus, Cox (1965) and Wallace (1966) corroborate the popular notion that advancement in modernity goes together with a decline in the relevance of religion in public and international issues (Lubbe, 2002). Therefore, Realist and Liberalist, as the two major Positivist paradigms in international relations, have no place for religion in their frameworks. They both consider religion as irrelevant to how international issues should be constructed and interpreted (Hurd, 2009). However, Constructivist, as a post-positivist philosophy, made provision for religion in the deconstruction of international affairs by underscoring common ideas, culture, identity, and norms. But, the protagonist of the Constructivism theory did not provide enough operational guidance for how religion should be integrated into the framework of their theory (Fox, 2006; Hurd, 2009).

So, modernity conceptualises the "invention of religion" as "a set of privately held doctrines or beliefs" – that is, a three centuries steady process that was preceded by a recognition of certain spirituality within community's beliefs and practices, which metamorphosed privatized spirituality detached from the community system that originates it (Thomas, 2003). Hence, religion was reduced to a mere "irrational and pre-modern" ideology (Weigel, 1991; Reychler, 1997). Stark and Finke (2000) contend with this notion by objecting that religion was never out of public space. While Crawford (2002) simply declares that religion has a manner of reviving itself. In any case, the theory of modernization and its associated theories of liberalism are being fortified by the advent of some formidable Western ideologies such as

neo-capitalism and neo-imperialism (Fox, 2004). By application, the Soviet led communist bloc had officially curbed religion and rendered it mute. While the Western nations, on the other side, simply privatized it by considering religion as an enduring presence of human tradition. Haynes (1993:6) terms it "epiphenomena," a frivolous phenomenon that developed alongside a more serious and important issue. The academic, the media, the corporate world and of course the public purview helped to undermine religion by preferential attitude to the new order, so the world intensified strategic campaign for secularization via the critical and controversial handling of religion.

Therefore, modern concepts such as science, technology, secularism, and humanism took a sway over the landscape of the corporate and public spheres. In no time, they began to outstrip religious concepts which used to be one of the most powerful ideals in the pre-modern world (Rubin, 1994). Haynes (1993) correctly observes that

> The analysis of political behavior for the greatest part of the twentieth century was dominated by the modernization and political development paradigm, dependency/underdevelopment, neo-Marxist and other radical perspectives.

Correspondingly, for a long time, most conventional academic works on conflict and peace, international relations, and development studies also tended to downplay the place of religion in the public domains.

2.3 RESURGENCE OF RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SPACE

From the late twentieth Century, religion began to regain its significance in the course of history. According to Hurd (2009:3,134) "religion is not on its way back into international relations but, it never really departed…It is the real world events that have forced religion back into the consciousness of international relations theorists, [making it] …impossible to maintain that religion is irrelevant to international outcomes." So, Haynes (2006:539) refers to religion as "a stubbornly persistent" actor. Three major factors could be said to be responsible for the renaissance of religion in the analysis of social, economic, and political phenomena:

Firstly, the failure of modernity and secularism to provide substantial clarifications on the subject of the origin and destiny of human life, which Lubbe (2001:240) refers to as "the crisis of modernity". To this view, Juergensmeyer (2008) agrees that the "worldwide secular

nationalism is defective". Thomas (2005:11) opines that the global resurgence of religion in the developed world is part of a larger crisis of modernity in the West. Hence, the Western models of nationhood, with regards to national identity, independence and sovereignty, have failed society in the global south (Juergensmeyer, 2008), most especially in Africa. Of course, the notion of nationalism has a lot to do with the origin and destiny of human life. The racial classification and the oppressive mentality of superiority of the global north to the south is a direct function of their interpretation of life and humanity, their origin and destiny. The interpretation that engendered a devastating ambiguity in most developing nations, in their quest for quintessence control over their own lives and experiences which have been devalued by their encounter with the civilizing projects of colonialism, a token of western modernity.

Secondly, the renaissance of religion in the public affairs could be associated with the inability of modernization to effectively dismiss the position of religion in human society. In fact, the more the pressure of modernisation and secularisation on humanity, the bigger the vacuum that would not be filled by anything else but religion, values, norms, and traditions. So, Rubin (1994:23) discloses that the secret of the influence of religion in contemporary politics is that the modernization process which was supposed to weaken religion and cause it to wane, has often made its public role even stronger. Therefore, it could be argued that the resurgence of religion in the public sphere reflects a grave disappointment with a "modernity that confines the world to what can be perceived and controlled through reason, science, and technology while leaving out the sacred, religion, and spirituality" (Thomas, 2005:11). This is not to discount the modernisation theory, as it were, rather incite thoughts that brood on a more holistic theory that can engage the modernisation concepts without disregarding people's culture and religion.

Thirdly, the positive impact of modernisation on religion is a factor to its invigoration. Kornblum (2012) argues that the key origin of social change in the world today is the set of drifts that are conjointly called modernization. Modernization is generating very radical shifts, both negative and positive ones, in every facet of human life, including religious circle. For instance, the ambiguities of globalization occasion the dwindling of personal, social and national identity of numerous people as they emigrates due to the fluidity of state boundaries it creates on the global scene. Thus, the challenge of seeking new identity in the elusive transnational space, whether personal or corporate, political, economic, spiritual or cultural,

has placed religion in the forefront of relevancy. Religion appears to be the most easily available haven for the migrants because of its transnational locus and its proximity to the disadvantaged. The significance of religion for this kind of global challenge is also because of its promise to "provides humanity with a sense of direction, stability, and dignity" (Lubbe 2002:240), and perhaps new identity.

In this way, religion is offered as the "hopeful alternative", to the challenges of globalisation. The experience of mounting desolation and adverse situation in human communities as a result of globalisation (modernity) have set in motion a strong desire to re-establish "new political and moral orders through religion" (Juergensmeyer, 2008). Thomas (2005) buttresses that the resurgence of religion is an "authentic alternative to development," whereby, people seek to fashion and gain meaningful control of their political, economic and social lives in a way that is consistent with their moral base, cultural heritage, and religious tradition. Interestingly too, in a positive manner, modernization facilitates the process of religious globalization. It causes stronger transnational religious networks capable of instigating more powerful synergy to emerge on a global platform. The easy cross-borders administration of the religious organization and their missionary activities across the globe is not only made possible but it also easy and quick.

2.4 RELIGION AND CONFLICT IN THE WORLD

During the 1990s, prolific academic publications that deals with the relationship between religion, conflict, peace, and diplomacy began to emerge again. Some social scientists and theologians hold that religion has no role to play in the socio-political transformation of communities (Aboum, 1996:99). Yet, considerable evidence has shown that throughout history religion has played a dynamic role in socio-political issues, and has been historically linked with times of political crisis. Wilson (1982) observes that

> Religion often serves to legitimise the purposes and procedures of society; sustain men in their struggle; justify wars; provide explanations for misfortunes; function as a platform for dispute resolution; and prescribe techniques with which people could undertake daily tasks or once-in-a-lifetime enterprises.

However, according to Abu-Nimer (2001), religious beliefs and rituals carry an inherent capacity to motivate people to fight or to reunite, and these can be powerful tools in conflict transformation. Religious input in addressing international conflict is quite essential because

every religion has its own peaceful potential which can be tapped to contribute to diplomacy and democracy.Said and Funk(2002: 37-38) posit that:

> Religion is a perennial and perhaps inevitable factor in both conflict and conflict resolution. Religion, after all, is a powerful constituent of cultural norms and values, and because it addresses the most profound existential issues of human life (e.g., freedom and inevitability, fear and faith, security and insecurity, right and wrong, sacred and profane), religion is deeply implicated in individual and social conceptions of peace

There is abundant evidence that the church constitutes a significant force in bringing about a profound socio-political change (Sakala, 1996:117-129; Rakotonirainy, 1996:153-178). Examples include the "nonviolent transitions from authoritarianism to democracy that took place in East Germany, Poland, and the Philippines" (Little, 2006). Another good example was the monumental UN Summit of World Religious Leaders of December 2000, which "heralded the world community's unprecedented recognition of religious peacebuilding" (Little and Appleby, 2004). At the United Nations in the New York, about two thousand distinguished religious leaders, assembled for a Millennium World Peace Summit.

2.4.1 Forces of Religious Ideologies

Since the end of the Cold War, most conflicts have been driven by communal differences, racial polarization, ethnicity and cultural identity, or religious affiliation. Many protagonists have contended that religion is a fundamental source of conflict, both within individual, communities and on the international platform. One of the most spectacular advocates of this viewpoint was Huntington (1993; 2007). He argues that the nation-state might retain their dominance roles in the international conflicts, the "clash of civilizations," emanating from the religions that formed these nations, would become the new force sustaining conflict (Huntington, 2007). By this view, religion becomes a propeller of conflict (Juergensmeyer, 2017). Noticeable examples include Al-Qaeda, the Pakistan Awami Tehreek, the Hindutva movement in India, the Evangelical Christian Movement in the United States, and the Turkish Justice and Development Party(Commission of Churches on International Affairs-CCIA, 2014).

Many scholars have established the fact that religious conflicts are more complex than any other types of conflict (Broadhead et al., 2006; Reychler, 1997). Perhaps because the belief system of a people is inseparable from their lifestyle and existence.Johnston (1991) opines that the fact that religion is at the heart of most contemporary conflicts makes it imperative to

use religious tools in the management of it. It has also been argued that under the right circumstances religious or spiritual factors can effectively contribute to the prevention, amelioration, or resolution of conflict.

2.4.2 Religious Identity Clashes

Apart from the ideological conflict, another way religion could be a source of conflict is through its intrinsic classification between its factions. This factor may not have anything to do with religious ideologies, rather it takes the form of disagreement on intercultural grounds. This can even happen within the same religion as one group sees themselves as more authentic than the other. The mentality of "those that are not with us is against us" which has dynamic propensities to engender structural violence and even direct violence sometimes. David (2007:26) argues that religion is a powerful and ambivalent cultural force that can shape the human imagination and reproduce itself in the modern social system. According to Galtung (1969), religion often causes "cultural violence" - a type of violence often used as an excuse for other types of violence. Gradually, religious fundamentalism and religious difference are becoming critical characteristics of international conflict, national security, and foreign policy (Hurd, 2009).Conflict managers need to put into consideration that religion influences the cultural behaviours and perceptions of individuals and groups, and helps to construct both the individual's and the group's value system and worldview (Abu-Nimer, 2001)

2.4.3 Religious Inertness

The political inertness of religion, religious leaders, and religious organizations is also an indirect way conflict could be fomented. Positive and proactive religious intervention could curb an outbreak of violence. The potential of religion to curtail violent conflict is embedded in its predictable leadership and its proximity to the people, especially the masses. According to Boulding (1986), the fact that religions have not been able to fully utilize their potentials enough for peacebuilding could render accidental support to conflict situation in most cases. Even when religion has not triggered a conflict, its failure to proactively address it could validate the conflict options or hinder a peace process.

2.4.4 Misinterpretation of Religious Scripts for justification of Conflict

In a more serious case, religion has been used by parties in conflict to advance their political agenda and to emphasize on "war-justifying" portions of sacred texts rather than peaceful teachings (Abu-Nime, 2001). According to Appleby (1999), the ambivalence of religion is a direct product of the interpretation of the sacred, in defective human discernment. Globally, religious fanatics are progressively taking advantage of their religion to rationalize and perpetuate violent conflict. According to Gopin and Appleby (2001), "the fact is that while I agree that there are great untapped resources for peace-making and conflict resolution in the world's religions, there is also a vast reservoir of texts and traditions ready and waiting to be used to justify the most barbaric acts by modern standards of human rights."

Appleby notes, "Religious leaders and their followers make choices as to the meaning of the sacred and the content of their faith. These choices, in turn, determine their attitudes toward conflict and violence" (Appleby, 1999). Many bloody conflicts have been engaged in the name of religion in several places, such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Nigeria, and the Central Africa Republic. Falola (2001) observes that

> "[…] recent scholarship has shown that struggles for political power in Africa have, in fact, entailed the manipulation of religious symbols and beliefs of both Islam and Christianity. Actors seeking political influence have used religion to gain legitimacy."

Therefore, Catherwood (2008) maintains that religious conflicts are eminent and potent today as ever. Appleby (1999) argues that "At any given moment any two religious actors, each possessed of unimpeachable devotion and integrity, might reach diametrically opposed conclusions about the will of God and the path to follow." Therefore, at this point, it is the dominant variable that sometimes escalates or de-escalates conflict behaviour (Hasenclever and Rittberger, 2000: 649).

But in Africa, even religious conflict often carries with it political undertones and vice versa. This is so because, in Africa, whenever the "elites believe that their positions are threatened they fall back on the religious element, emphasizing religious differences in an attempt to draw sympathy from those of their original faith." (Nzeh, 2002).An equivocal role of religion in public sphere was most amplified during the Apartheid South Africa when the Church in South Africa simultaneously reinforced and combatted the same political system. For example, there was a sharp discrepancy between the Afrikaans speaking churches that supported the apartheid policies of government and the rest of the churches that vehemently opposed the policies (Hastings 1991:168)

2.4.5 Negative Influence of the Church in Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding

Best (2001:63) maintains that "religion is becoming a divisive issue, and constitutes a growing flashpoint". Küng (2005:254) argues that monotheistic religions like Christianity, Judaism, and Islam has the propensity for forceful proselytization than its non-theist and polytheist counterpart religions. This forceful tendency plays a key role in marinating violent conflict. According to Küng (2005:253-4), forceful proselytization of religion when it goes along with ethnic dynamics could result in the prevalence of violence as seen in the world today. According to Best (2001:65), forceful proselytization could "be and often is a source of conflict in terms of identities, religious issues, and the various roles it plays in conflict." For example, such conflicts as that of "Northern Ireland, the Balkans, Sri Lanka, India, and Nigeria" (Küng, 2005:253). Forceful proselytization could breed "fundamentalism, intolerance, and lack of mutual respect, threats and threat perceptions, the emergence of a conflict issue, the lack of enforcement of law and order" (Best, 2001:65).

2.5 RELIGION AND PEACE IN THE WORLD

Discrimination and violence in the name of religion, along with some of the worst injustices has, in fact, been going on throughout the centuries. For instance, in the Southern Philippines, Southern Thailand, the Balkans, Sudan, East Timor, and Sri Lanka (Rasul, 2009), religion has been a key element underpinning conflict outbreaks. Nevertheless, religion has also offered surprising pathways for peace-making which could not be disregarded. According to Haynes, (2009:72):

> Available evidence indicates, that the norms, values, and teachings of various religious faiths e.g. Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism could obviously inspire and encourage devotees to work towards resolving conflicts and develop peace via utilization of explicitly religious tenets.

The comprehensive role of religious actor in peace processes like those in Sudan and Nigeria have been largely powerful in augmenting the conventional peace diplomacy (Bernard, 2013). Appleby (1996) insists that "religion is a source not only of intolerance, human rights violations, and extremist violence, but also of non-violent conflict transformation, the defense of human rights, integrity in government, and reconciliation and stability in divided societies". Smock (2006:2) identifies some peace promoting and reconciliation characteristics of religious leaders and institutions as:

> [C]redibility as a trusted institution; a respected set of values; moral warrants for opposing injustice on the part of governments; unique leverage for promoting reconciliation among conflicting parties, including an ability to re-humanize situations that have become dehumanized over the course of protracted conflict; a capability to mobilize community, nation, and international support for a peace process; an ability to follow through locally in the wake of a political settlement; and a sense of calling that often inspires perseverance in the face of major, otherwise, debilitating obstacles.

A good historical example was the voice of the American bishops in the nuclear debate in the eighties and the role of churches in the democratic emancipation of Central and Eastern Europe (Reychler, 1997). Also, Christian leaders like Pope John Paul II, for instance, has been a spectacular promoter of peace and justice in many countries such as Poland, Haiti and Lebanon. Bishop Samuel Ruiz in Mexico, Bishop Belo in East Timor, Patriarch Michel Sabbah in Jerusalem and Archbishop Monswengo in the DRC, have also played substantial roles in the promotion peace with justice in their respective countries (Smock, 2001). Also, American Mennonites brokered a peace agreement between the Nicaragua government and a rebel group in the 1980s.

Another striking example was the Iraq War of 2003. Though the war of aggression was waged with its strings of catastrophic repercussions, yet, never before in history has there been such a massive influence of religious mobilization in favour of peace and respect for human rights. Even in the United States (US), the United Kingdom (UK), and Spain, whose governments were typically known as pro-invasion, the reaction of the churches was very significant, most especially by the Catholic Church in the person of Pope John Paul II, who did everything possible to avert the conflict. Vatican City (2003) echoes that the Top Vatican Officials led by Pope John Paul II "unleashed a barrage of condemnations of a possible U.S. military attacks on Iraq, calling it immoral, risky and a crime against peace." The Pope cries out that people should never resign themselves, almost as if war is inevitable, and submits that violence and arms "can never resolve the problems of man *(sic)*."

U.S. civil rights leader Rev Jesse Jackson protests that "It is not too late to stop this war in Iraq and calls for "a march until there is a declaration of peace and reconciliation" (Jackson, 2003)**.** Also, a German pastor and activist Friedrich Schorlemmer echoes that the Germans have a duty to do everything to ensure that war, above all a war of aggression, never again becomes a legitimate means of policy" (Jackson, 2003). The World Council of Churches "strongly deplores the fact that the most powerful nations of this world again regard war as an

acceptable instrument of foreign policy" (WCC, 2003). Similarly, during the war in Lebanon in 2006, Pope Benedict XVI condemned the conflict, saying there could be no justification for the terrorist acts nor the reprisals, particularly when there are tragic consequences for civilians (Zwick & Swick, 2006).

Also noteworthy is "the role of the church in empowering people in the Third World with the Liberation theology and many recent efforts to provide peace services in conflicts areas, including field-diplomacy" (Reychler, 1997). Beyond all these high-profile mediation efforts, there are a multitude of activities promoting post-conflict reconciliation and interfaith dialogue, particularly in zones of religious conflict. For instance, the World Conference on Religion and Peace, aided by the U.S. Institute of Peace and the U.S. ambassador to Austria at the time, Swanee Hunt, helped form the important Inter-Religious Council of Bosnia at the end of the war in Bosnia in 1997 (Smock, 2001). Kronish (2008:225) affirms that the constructive sides of religion as understood in the peace efforts by the key religions in the Middle East to work towards peace through interreligious dialogues and encounters demonstrates the positive element in religion. This asserts the impacts of religions in peacebuilding in the case of the Jewish and Muslim relations in Israel.

In short, Curaming (2012) posit that "peace is a spiritual concept; peace seen as a secular construct has had a poor record of accomplishment" (2012:35). This affirmation emphasizes the significance of religion in the quest for sustainable peace. Bouta, Kadayifci-Orellana, and Abu-Nimer (2005: ix) buttress that "faith-based actors to different degrees, with varying levels of success and in various ways - have contributed positively to peace-building" (2005: ix). Viewing peacebuilding within the transnational space in the context of a globalized "mobile world", Halafoff (2006:1) suggest a multi-faith approach as the world is confronted with the challenge of emergent religiosity and intensification in religious multiplicity.

2.6 RELIGION AND CONFLICTS IN AFRICA

According to Basedau and De Juan (2008: 17), the religious ambivalence of conflicts in Africa is an under-research incidence. Nonetheless, they argue that "in the majority of conflicts, religion seems indeed, to have both an escalating and a de-escalating influence". Looking at the escalating impact of religion in this segment, religious conflicts could be said to be a fault line wars. According to Huntington (1996:267), fault line wars are basically "communal conflicts between states or groups from different civilizations". During such

conflicts, "multiple identities fade and the identity most meaningful in relation to the conflict comes to dominate. That identity is almost always defined by religion" (Huntington, 1996:252).

For the last 60 years, over 20 African countries have witnessed at least one or two civil war encounters, especially in the sub-Saharan Africa (Elbadawi and Sambanis, 2000). Now, about 20 percent of the population in this region of Africa lives in countries with the terrible history of war and violent conflict (Elbadawi and Sambanis, 2000). Therefore, being the most conflict-ridden region, the sub-Saharan Africa offers a better basis for evaluating the contradictory role of religion in fomenting conflict in Africa.

A religious conflict is said to be existent when the parties disunite based on their religious beliefs or/and identities (Svensson 2007). Unlike the Sierra Leone and Somalia cases, where conflict parties are not considerably divided along their religious identity lines, most West African countries are religiously polarized. For example, in Côte d'Ivoire and Nigeria, violent conflict is rampant between Muslim and Christian. According to the empirical study of Matthias Basedau & Johannes Vüllers in which sub-Saharan Africa was put on the spot of assessment, a constellation of seventeen conflict situations was considered. Basedau, and De Juan (2010:10) observe that:

> [C]onflict and religious boundaries do partially run parallel. In ten cases civil war occurred. In four cases, Congo (Republic of), Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria and Sudan …boundaries between conflict parties are widely parallel. All four countries are civil-war cases and it comes as little surprise that Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria, and Sudan are notorious examples of such identity conflicts.

According to Ellis and Ter Haar (2007) the defining identity that outlives the multiplicities of other identities in relation to the conflict in the sub-Saharan Africa could be categorized into three principal religious taxonomies, namely: Traditional Religion, Christianity, and Islam.However, this segment of the dissertation is not intended to give a detailed account of how religion has been used to stroke the fire of violence in Africa, rather it attempts to underscores that the three religious constellations have had a substantial impact on African people, albeit in various dimensions and degrees. At one time or the other and in different regions of Africa, the three have all been engaged as both instruments of emancipation and oppression. They have all contributed to peace and have been co-conspirators to armed conflicts and public violence.

2.6.1 Pre-colonial African Tradition Religion in Conflict

Though with many unrecorded cases, and very few isolated spatter of successes, there was armed resistance from the traditional sovereigns against the European "scramble for Africa" (Vandervort, 1998; Sanderson, 1985; Lonsdale, 1985; Pakenham, 2015). African traditional royalties are deeply founded on strong conviction of traditional religion. Therefore, because of the close tie between the colonialist and the Christian religion, their stand against the whites' intrusion is not only on territorial claims but also a fight against religious supremacy. This has resulted in many violent conflicts and civil wars in pre-colonial Africa era.

A good example of this is the Ashanti Wars of 1873-84 and the revolution in 1900 when the traditional authority in Ghana began to claim divine mandate of its territorial sovereignty, which culminates to the "Golden Stool", an emblematic traditional African civil war in the ancient times (Edgerton, 2010; see also, Crowder, 1971; Fynn, 1971; and Lloyd, 1964). The Anglo-Zulu War in 1879 is another good example of war waged under a traditional religious conviction. King Cetschwayo of Zulu land defeated the British forces at Isandlwana, but they later surrendered to stronger and more ruthless British attack (Dodds, 2000; Welsh, 2000; Vandervort, 1998; Laband, 1995; Edgerton; 1989; Maylam, 1986. Clarke, 1984; see also The Washing of the Spears, Morris, 1965).The Matabele War of 1893 was fought by the Ndebele people of the country today called Zimbabwe, under King Lobengula. The war was partly against the British settlers and partly against the neighbouring Mashona people (Dodds, 2000; see also, Glass, 1968; Omer-Cooper, 1976; Beach, 1979) and partly a resistance against the Christian Religion (Zvobgo, 1976).

African traditional beliefs are dogged in ancestral worship, they view the land as belonging to the spirits of the departed parents. The practice of most traditional religion in Africa is in sorcery, witchcraft, spirit possession, magic, etc. which have been considerably engaged during most of their struggles. Transkei revolt in 1880 against the colonial authority is one good example of this claim (Redding, 1996A; Redding, 1996 B). The Chimurengain the present Zimbabwe is another example. Their guerrilla wars, both against the British impositions in the 1890s and against the white minorities' administration in 1970, was branded by the use of spirit mediums and some mystical objects of traditional religion (Alexander, et al., 2000; Tungamirai, 1995; Ranger, 1982; Lan, 1987).

Also, the rebellion of present-day Sierra Leone against British rule in 1898 over the imposition of a “hut tax”, under the leadership of Chief Bai Bureh whose military strategies were reported to have been animated by magical powers and by traditional occultism (Kaifala, 2017; see also Abraham, 1972; Denzer, and Crowder, 1970). Even in recent times, the *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (MPLA) struggle against Portuguese imperialist in the 1960 and 1980 was not without an accusation of witchcraft related to traditional religion (Brinkman, 2003). Traditional religions also played vital roles in the Maji-Maji rebellion against the German colonialists in the present Tanzania, and in the Mau-Mau rebellion against the British in Kenya.

2.6.2 Post-colonial African Tradition Religion in Conflict

But, far beyond the colonial era, the traditional religion in Africa was also found playing aggressive roles in the conduct of some post-colonial civil wars and other freedom struggles in Africa. A clear example of such epic role was discovered during the Liberian civil war that began in 1989. According to Ellis (2006), rituals practices of some indigenous religion (such as Poro, Sande, and Leopard secret societies see Bledsoe, 1984; Wallis, 1905; Little, 1965; Little, 1966 for more) were engaged in the struggles by some of the opposition groups. Similarly, in the 1990s, during the extremely gruesome civil war in Sierra Leone, when the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) (Abdullah, 1998:45-76) wielded terror on the civilians, the government was said to have engaged the *Kamajores* (traditional hunters’ groups) as supplementary to the national force (Gberie, 2005). From traditional hunters and community vigilante group, the *Kamajores* were later restructured, trained as a militia and incorporated into the National Military.

Also in the DRC, one of the major armed groups called Mai-Mai Militias are said to have been influenced by totemic beliefs (Wild, 1998). According to Josef Haekel, a Professor of Ethnology and the Director of the Institute of Ethnology, University of Vienna, “Totemism, a system of belief in which humans are said to have kinship or a mystical relationship with a spirit-being, such as an animal or plant." Mai-Mai rebels, often use magical powers to "protect themselves from bullets" (Buchanan, 2017). In Africa therefore, traditional religion and beliefs are serious factors to be considered in the context of conflict and peace. This is not isolated to underdeveloped regions of Africa only, but also in advanced African countries like South Africa (Crais, 2002). Traditional religion and culture are part and parcel of Africans essence. A logical justification of the impact of traditional religion on

peacebuilding, like other religions, is that of its great influence on the lives of the people in times of confusion. At least, it gives them clarity of purpose, direction and reliable platform to address problems. The tangible power relations among the African people could be said to have been demonstrated in terms of their beliefs in the transcendent, divination, magic, sorcery and spirit possession (Maynard, 2001).

2.6.3 Islamic Religion and Conflict in Africa

According to Hanson (1995), Islam as a foreign religion in Africa came through four different ways: it came through conquest and expansion, international trade, import of labour and through proselytization (Moller, 2006). Islamic religion played a vital role in the anti-colonial struggle, not only in ideological antagonism to the European hegemony but also in armed struggle (Young, 1994). The *jihad* war proclaimed by the Sokoto Caliphate of Nigeria is an example of politico-military exploit of Islam, both against the European agenda in Africa and generally against apostates (Lovejoy and Hogendorn, 1990). The Mahdist insurrection in Sudan, the revolt in the British Somalia in 1895, and the upsurge of many rebel groups in the East Africa in the Twentieth Century are examples of Islamic resistance to colonial schemes in Africa (Umar, 2002; Martin, 1969; Willis, 1967).

In West Africa, Islam, Christianity, and Traditional religion thrive simultaneously, however, Islam is apparently a concern in armed conflicts. The manifestation armed conflict, is sometimes an expression of political dissatisfaction, reacting to religious or ethnoreligious issues. This phenomenon is also rampant in the East Africa (Moller, 2006:23). This Islamic factor is noticeable in the Sierra Leone civil wars and that of the Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire. In these three countries, the armed conflict component of the Muslims was not unconnected with ethnicity and geographical fault-lines (International Crisis Group, 2003A; 2003B; 2004; 2005; Richards, et al., 2005). With the exception of Nigeria, no other countries "has the conflict been primarily religious, and certainly not one that could be characterized as Islamic" (Moller, 2006:24). The tension between Muslim and Christian has been from the inception of both religions. This kind of tension has severally reared violent conflicts among the two religions.

The presage of the religious transnational network of conflict dimensions needs a critical review as Africa globalizes. This phenomenon is one of the heraldic potentials of religion that should be exposed to comprehensive transformation for peacebuilding purposes. Conversely,

though, the typical strength and growth of Islam in the contemporary Africa could be directly or indirectly linked with its magnanimity towards the continent's most crucial problems, poverty. Islamic network, if given a non-violent outlook could, in turn, become a transforming agent of the structural causes of conflict in Africa, called poverty. Islam assures both elites and the general of some political and economic optimism. And unlike Christianity, the cultural flexibility of Islam which allows for a reasonable degree of syncretism makes it is proliferation more rapid and attractive to the African people.

2.6.4 Christian Religion and Conflict in Africa

However, in spite of the rapid propagation of Islam in Africa, Christianity has remained the largest religion constellation on the continent, most especially in sub-Saharan Africa. And this religion is taken more seriously in Africa than any other part of the world. Contrary to the Islamic religion, its palace diplomacy, close association with the imperialist exploitation and earlier slave trade have a detrimental impact on the image and stance of the religion. However, it is noteworthy that long before colonial incursion, Christianity was already in Ethiopia and a larger part of Sudan (in current geography). Unequivocally though, the advent of Christianity into the rest of Africa was not unconnected with the Portuguese Catholic seamen armed with the conviction of the doctrine of "apostolic succession" (New World Encyclopedia, 2008).

In 1493, the Portuguese explorers claimed the divine approval of Pope Alexander VI on the right to the Orient, eastern part of the world, by Tordesillas agreement signed in 1494 (Knight, 2012A). At that time, the Silk Route via the Central Asia to the Far East was under the control of Ottoman Empire (Gills and Frank, 1990). However, in a quest for alternative navigation, the Portuguese seamen opted for the African coast. They eventually settled and commence their activities in Africa, though their original intention was a stopover to source for some essentials for their journey to the Orient. However, a labour market for slave workers ensued in the South and Central America to furnish the European exploitation there. So, the sojourning Portuguese took advantage of that to commence what was later known as the "triangular trade" of African slaves (Klein, 1972; Viotti da Costa, E., 1985; Vogt, J.L., 1973). Since then European colonies have always viewed Africa as an economic object with a wealth of resources waiting to be extracted and exploited through colonization or by whatever means necessary.

So, slave traders and Christian missionaries came along, but trading activities overshadowed the missionary undertakings, due to lack of colonial interest in Africa at that time (Isichei, 1995). However, the major missionary success of Christianity in Africa began when the European Colonies commenced the establishment of their territories on the continent (Förster, et al., 1988; Korman, 1996). Christian missionary organisations offered remarkable supplementary efforts to the colonization process by using their religion to temper the heart of the African people for easier colonial exploit (Isichei, 1995:94). These missionary activities include aggressive proselytization, evangelization and tangible provision of services (such as schools, hospitals, save water) to the targeted communities (Abernethy, 2000; Stanley, 1983; Mackenzie, 1993; Madeira, 2005; Comaroff, and Comaroff, 1986; Ekechi, 1971).

This singular act of the church created a structural violence of oppression in Africa. It could be recounted, therefore, that that the advent of Christianity in Africa came with some form of violence both within the church and in the community. Knight, (2012B) observes that the churches and their missions were paternalistically administered with only white males in leadership, and occasionally with utter racism. Interestingly, the most callous violence of all colonial projects in Africa was committed in the Congo Free State, known as the DRC now. However, as inhumane as it was, it was carried out by what was understood to be propagation of the gospel, rather in Leopold's words "piercing the darkness which hangs over entire people" (Twain, 2005:11). The Belgian King, Leopold II, in his quest for wealth from rubber produce, perpetrated what was described as "Congo Horror" (Doyle, 1910). According to Twain (2005:9-10), Congolese were ruthlessly dehumanized by their taskmasters: they were tortured, raped, amputated and killed. It was the worst kind of slavery in history, a crime against humanity of a genocidal proportion, and the church is implicated in it (Viaene, 2008) Anstey, 1971).

2.6.5 Church in Contemporary Conflicts in Africa

Surprisingly, the church cannot be exculpated from most of the conflicts in Africa, including those of the post-colonial times. Christianity has been implicated in many public violent outbreaks even in armed conflicts and civil war, either directly or indirectly. In Uganda, for example, one of the armed rebel group known as the Lord's Resistance Army was originally set out as the Holy Spirit Movement. This Christian militia has been operating not only in Uganda but also in the DRC and other great lake sub-regions. At the onset of the Rwanda

genocide in 1994, the "Hamitic myth" was offensively utilized by the Hutu radicals to depict the Tutsi as foreign conquerors from Ethiopia. Therefore, the Hutus agitate that they should leave Rwanda for good. This was proclaimed by Léon Mugesere in a speech in 1992 when he categorically mentioned the carcasses of the "Hamites" be discarded into the River Nyabarongo to carry them to Ethiopia (Fletcher, 2014).

This "Hamitic myth" was taken from the Old Testament's book of Genesis chapter 9 verses 21-7. It is being interpreted to signify a notion that a specific category of people is superior to the other within a given ethnic, race or nation by claiming a descent from the Israelites. The Catholic Church was indicted to have contributed to this ethnic antipathy in Rwanda by providing justification for such racist manifestation (Prunier, 1999; Sundkler and Steed, 2000). According to Kakwenzire, and Kamukama, (1999), even some of the church leaders were said to have taken active part in the perpetration of the genocide that eventually followed. Surprisingly too, some of an appalling violence in Rwanda took place in the churches (Longman, 2005; Kakwenzire, and Kamukama, 1999; Newbury and Newbury, 1999; Des Forges, 1999). The myth has also been conjured to validate violence in other places, like the case of the anti-Semitism in Germany, slaves in America and the anti-Semitic and white supremacy in the United States (Quted in Eltringham, 2004:16; Gatwa, 2000; Bjørnlund, 2004; Rittner, et al., 2004; Twagilimana, A., 2003).

Nigeria, with an estimated population of 180 million people unevenly distributed between Muslims and Christians (Ploch, 2013), has experienced an alarming degree of recurrent ethnoreligious conflicts: a fatal combat branded with grave dissension and retribution rooted in mutual prejudices between the two religions. This age-long rivalry between the two major religions has greatly impacted on the political, economic, ethnic, and cultural dynamics of Nigeria. An example of such impact is the emergence of *Boko Haram* (which means "Western education is sin") in the North of Nigeria (Salawu 2010; Muhammad, 2008). According to Maiangwa and Uzodike, (2012), and Mustapha, (2012), the *Boko Haram*'s confusion in mission and identity is an example of utilizing religion to perpetrate religious conflicts in Nigeria. This politicization of religion in Nigeria is an age long problem which Kukah, (1993); Enwerem, (1995); and Muhammad, (2008) point its origin to pre-independence politicians like Sir Ahmadu Bello.

2.6.6 Fundamentalism, Sectarian Terrorism in Africa

Religious jingoism is on the rise in Africa as in other parts of the world. The global rise in religious revolution since the end of the Cold War is basically not unconnected with the "post-colonial collapse of confidence in Western models of nationalism and the rise of globalization" Juergensmeyer, et al., (2013; Juergensmeyer, M., 1993). Hence, religious activism began to produce and reproduce all manners of terrorist groups with passionate detestation for secular governments and their ideologies. The ideological commitment of this groups essentially is to a vision of revolutionary change that can restore "godly social order" against the milieu of the desolation of egalitarianism (Juergensmeyer, 1998).

Religious fundamentalism and its odd ideological revolution called terrorism is not associated with Islamic religion only. According to Rapoport (2002), Christians and other religious groups are equally involved in terrorism. In fact, Moller (2000) avers that "twenty times as many people have thus perished in terrorist attacks perpetrated by "Christians" than in ones launched by the dreaded Islamist terrorists of the *al-Qaeda* type." This reality may not be easily noticed or acknowledged because, unlike the Islamic religion, the ideological locus of Christianity on socio-political issues is fluid. Christianity is at war with the same structure it seems it validate.

Although, it is important to clarify that globalized terrorism may not have been the actual challenge in Africa, yet, armed conflict is really an overwhelming concern in many African nations. However, to some extent, in African, when an armed group evolved from religious beliefs or ideologies, they are categorized as religious terrorists. While those that emerged from political backgrounds are mostly known as rebel groups. Most "religious terrorist groups" in Africa often manifest as rebel groups to such degree that it becomes difficult to ascertain their mission and identity. Their target is also difficult to identify because they kill people of their own religion too.

Moreover, it is important to note that it is not all religious conflict that occurs between two opposing religion. Basedau and Vüllersto (2010: 12-3) identify four fundamental nuance that undergird religious conflicts as: "identity", "ideology", "organization" and "behaviour". Therefore, a case of religious conflict could manifest one of this variables at a time, or even a combination of two, three or four of them. So, the undercurrent determines the target of the conflict: it could be the attack on religious targets such as priests, cleric or worship places or other sacred items; attacks by religious actors against secular targets considered offensive to a religion; clashes between religious groups and government forces; or conflicts between

different religious communities. Chad, Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Sudan, and Uganda are examples of the countries that manifest a combination of the four dimensions, while DRC, Eritrea, and Somalia show three; Kenya, Liberia, Niger, and Tanzania show two dimensions; and other 11 countries in the sub-Saharan Africa show just one dimension each.

It is interesting to note how easy it is for religious conflict to spread across the borderlines to operate in countries other than where it originated from. For example, according to Basedau and Vüllersto September 2010 paper prepared for presentation at the Standing Group on International Relations (SGIR) 7th Pan-European Conference, at Stockholm:

> In Tanzania and Kenya, Al-Qaida activities were mostly confined to the attacks on US embassies in 1998. In the Sahel from Mauritania to Chad, the Al-Qaïda au Maghreb Islamique, the North African affiliate of Al-Qaida (the former GSPC), has been active and clashed with security forces in Mauritania, Niger, Mali, and Chad. Its origin is Algeria. The Ethiopian Al-Ittihad uses neighbouring Somalia as a base for military operations. The Eritrean Islamic Jihad Movement operates from safe haven Sudan. Islamic armed groups with a (more) pronounced national basis are found in Chad, Nigeria, Somalia, and Sudan. In particular, the Somali Al-Shabaab has engaged in fierce battles with African Union peacekeepers and government militias. In 2010, Al-Shabaab declared its affiliation to Al-Qaida. Armed groups are not an Islamic monopoly. Besides the Christian Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in Uganda, we can identify in the Republic of Congo the Mouvement Nsilulu, which was led by Pasteur Ntoumi and which fought against the Regime of President Denis Sassou- Nguesso from 1998 until a peace accord was reached in 2003 (2010: 12-3).

The East Africa region is considered as a potential "hotspot" of Islamic terrorism (Rotberg, 2005; Haynes, 2005; Morrison, 2002; Glickman, 2003). According to Wycoff (2004), the special East Africa Counter-Terrorism Initiative (EACTI) launched by the United States in 2003 was a tactical support to the region against the threat in that region of Africa.

2.6.7 Church's Roles in Stoking the Fire of Conflict in the DRC

During the thirty-two year of Mobutu regime in the DRC, the Roman Catholic Church was said to have failed in its role as a prophetic voice against his maladministration. According to Patrick Boyle, a professor at Loyola University Chicago, "the ethnic, personal and ecclesiastical divisions among the bishops diminished the church's capacity to take a prophetic stance and played into the hands of the regime. For most of the 1970's and 1980's, the bishops were too divided to serve as a unified voice of opposition" (Longman, 2001). This fact is manifested in the way the Catholic Church in Goma under the leadership of

Ngabu, looked away when the Rwandan Patriotic Front attacked civilian Hutu refugees. This could be explained by the fact that majority of the leadership of Goma Dioceses in the Eastern DRC are Congolese Tutsi. So, the belief that the church in Goma was in support the RPF and RCD invasion was out of ethnic loyalty is justifiable. Furthermore, Longman (2001) indicates that the Goma Catholic Church's failure to condemn the RPF and RCD bellicose on non-combatants residents, but criticized other militia groups atrocities was a pro-Tutsi predisposition. While, on the other hand, the Tutsi in Bukavu claim that the church's pro-Hutus disposition of the church in Bukavu was a function of its animosity for Tutsi, for the Church in Bukavu was similarly accused of silence over the human rights abuses against Tutsi. The act capable of escalating violence, especially when people have seen that the church is taking side on ethnic ground.

In the 1980s, in an attempt by Mobutu to gain the support of the church leaders, he used his typical way of disbursing attractive some of money as bribes, and some leaders accepted. These leaders who accepted the bribe were well well-known to the public. And when their dishonesty rapidly became a serious "public debate and criticism", resulting in an unpleasant division among the people (Prunier, 2001). Prunier (2001) further recounts that when the Cardinal-Primate of Zaire, Mgr. Joseph Albert Malula, who was a powerful anti-dictatorship, died in June 1989, and was replaced by Mgr. Frederic Etsou, Archbishop of Mbandaka, a Mobutu stalwart, the situation of the country degenerated. So, by early 1990, the Catholic Church in DRC was completely inverted. The Church was changed from its extolled position of a principal advocate of an established order to a key force flagging it. Meanwhile, before he got the church on his side, Mobutu had earlier accused the church of such conspiracy, prissily in these words:

> Before independence, there were three forms of power in this country: the colonial administration, the big companies, and the Church. The first two relinquished power after independence and there is no reason for the Church not to follow their example…I have never had any problems with the Protestants or the Kimbanguists6 because they do not obey orders from abroad. But the Zairian bishops do receive orders from abroad. They are agents in the service of a foreign power (Kabongo-Mbaya, 1992).

2.7 RELIGION AND PEACE IN AFRICA

Today, the proliferation of religion has attained its practical expression in the public space in many global south societies (Moghadam, 2003), particularly in Africa where many "politicians and state structures have lost almost all credibility or legitimacy" (Bunting,

2005). In Africa, religion has re-emerged as a robust socio-political machinery in spurring people and systems (Laguda, 2013:27; Adesina, 2013:36, 37). According to Rubin (1994), "The political importance of religion reverberates with special strength in these societies". Therefore, in Africa, the socio-political challenges have brought religion to significance as a major role player in our aspiration for a better life and peaceful coexistence. This is basically because the beliefs, values and moral system of any given individual or community reside in the realms of their culture and religion (Peel, 1968:36).

Said and Funk (2002) submit that:

> [R]eligion, after all, is a powerful constituent of cultural norms and values, and because it addresses the most profound existential issues of human life (e.g., freedom and inevitability, fear and faith, security and insecurity, right and wrong, sacred and profane), religion is deeply implicated in individual and social conceptions of peace.

Thomas (2000) argues that, undeniably, religion is attaining greater significance in many nations now regardless of their situation of economic development. The high social relevance of religion in Africa, and it obvious proliferation in recent years (Pew 2010; Ellis/Ter Haar 2007; McCauley/Gyimah-Boadi 2009) has made it necessary to include both religious and secular actors in peace efforts in other to bring about collective understanding of conflict transformation and peacebuilding.

Examples of Church's role in peace efforts in Africa are: The mediation of the World Council of Churches (WCC) and the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) in the Addis Ababa Peace Agreement that ended the first civil war in Sudan (Baas, 2012; Assefa, 1990; Badal, 1990); The spiral involvement of the churches and church leaders like Tutu or Allan Boesak (Reychler, 1997) in South Africa during the repressive apartheid regime in 1980s (Tutu, 2012). The South African Council of Churches (SACC), through a series of progressive overt actions, came to the full confrontation with the state. Hudson-Allison (2000) argues that "the church transited away from dominant theological tradition of acquiescence and towards the adoption of alternative theological debates - a theology of resistant" a tradition he calls the *prophetic voice* - which placed the organisation at the forefront of fight against the apartheid state.

In Cameroon churches often assume critical political functions especially when other civil society organizations that would normally perform such functions have been actively

repressed by the powers that be (Brayart, 1993:155; Phiri, 1996: 24; Zunes, 1999:158). Another obvious effort is the successful mediation of the Rome-based Community of San t'Egidio that consummated in the termination of the 1992 civil war in Mozambique (Basedau and Vüllers; Bartoli 1999; Reychler, 1997; Giro, 1998; Conteh, 2011; Hume, 1994; Thomas 2005; Little 2007; Smock 2002; Lederach 1996, 1997). In the case of Burundi, Catholic bishops' contribution to the development of a more collective government in Burundi is an example of the church's role in peace process in Africa (Reychler, 1997).

All these and many more of such are good examples of the church tackling conflicts in Africa. Basedau and De Juan (2008), opine that "if religious identities cut across other identities, particularly if a common religious identity unifies an otherwise divided society, religious identity may work as a pro-peace factor. In this respect, religious identity may contribute to peace." So, Gopin (2001) opines that religion and religious values need to be amalgamated into the traditional Western conflict resolution policies and practices. Besides, religious values, such as empathy, nonviolence, and sanctity of human life, should be used to frame the language of conflict resolution (Gopin, 2001). Even when conflicts do not have a religious element, still religious leaders could still play a beneficial role in the promotion of peace (Aroua, 2010).

Nhat Hanh (1987), Curle (1990), and Assefa (1993) are the main protagonists of the positive role of spirituality in conflict transformation. According to Abu-Nimer (2001: 686), religion can bring social, moral, and spiritual resources to the peacebuilding process, hence creating a sense of responsibility and obligation both to peacebuilding. Some religious rites and principles possess capacity to promote restoration, healing and gradual recovery from traumatic condition (Nolte-Schamm, 2006; Green and Honwana, 1999). In like manner, precepts on peace-making, forgiveness, and compassion could be assessed in religious writings and scriptural narrative capable of engendering genuine transformation (Kadayifci-Orellana, 2013).

2.8 THE CHURCH IMPACT ON CONFLICT AND PEACEBUILDING IN THE DRC

The DRC population comprises of about eighty percent Christian population (Adogla, 2010; Le Roux 2014; Whetho & Uzodike 2008). The Catholic Church is the largest church in the DRC, while the Protestant and Pentecostals are organized into one constellation known as the ECC, except for Kimbanguist, an African Instituted Churches founded in the DRC (WCC,

2015a). Religion and religious leaders have been important in the DRC politics and conflicts management. The Church has been very active in social services delivery, development processes, and peacebuilding (Whetho and Uzodike, 2009; Vlassenroot and Raeymaekers, 2008).

International FBOs such as CRS, CAFOD, TROCAIRE, MISEREOR, etc. have been crucial in addressing not only emergencies but also to the root causes of the conflicts in the region (Katunga, 2013). During crisis periods, the Church premises and amenities have served as places for immediate safety and emergency relief (Katunga, 2013). Bodewes (2010) reckons that religious civil society has remained an under-researched field in peace and democracy research. Yet, the Church has been instrumental in peace-making and peacebuilding in the DRC through the promotion of constructive peace dialogues, at all levels (Katunga, 2013). The Catholic Church in the DRC has also expedited the peace processes that engendered the official end of conflicts when the Church united with other civil society actors to provoke support for the April 2003 Sun City Inter-Congolese Dialogue (ICD) in South Africa.The valuable role of the church during and after the peace accords that ushered in the transitional government of Joseph Kabila in 2003 can never be overemphasized (Goldstone, 2001:95).

Also, the success of both 2006 and 2011 elections is largely attributable to the role of the church in the peace process (Whetho and Uzodike, 2009). Sequel to the powerful influence of the Church in the peace initiative, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) (*Commission Électorale Indépendante, CEI*) had to partner with the Faith-Based Organizations (FBOs) alongside other non-religious civil society actors to execute the preliminaries of electoral process and its implementation (Wisniewska/MONUC, 2006).

However, Peter Prove, the director of the WCC's Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, opines that "the 2011 post-electoral troubles have been a destabilizing factor for DRC, as well as the wider region,"(World Council of Churches, 2014). And according to the International Peace Institute (2011), "countries with a history of electoral violence often experience a recurrence of such violence, as has been witnessed in Kenya, Nigeria, and Zimbabwe". Micheline Kamba, a WCC Executive and Central Committee member submits that a "peaceful and legitimate electoral process is a prerequisite for ensuring political stability and human rights in the country,"

Historically, the Church is a major social and political forces in the DRC (Katunga, 2013). In many African countries, bishops and other high ecclesiastical dignitaries have played various direct and indirect political role in the state affairs (Allen Jr., 2017). The Church has been able to serve the nation as the strategic incubator of democratization, institutional-building and popular participation, through its enormous outreach capacity in the DRC (Tenai, 2017). The Church in the DRC engaged in the promotion of respect for human rights, the rule of law and promotion of democratic principles and values through civic education programs (Whetho, and Uzodike, 2009; Katunga, 2013). Therefore, the role of the church in the post-conflict epoch had been the nurturing of a democratic environment within which a successful transition could be implemented (Whetho, and Uzodike, 2009).

2.9 STUDY GAP

The literature review identifies and explores the role of religion both in the escalation and de-escalation of conflicts, and attempts to explicate the contribution that religion can make to peace-making (Smock, 2006). While this view is profoundly regarded under this review, there were some literature gaps which includes inadequate qualitative study centring on the role of the Church in peacebuilding process in the DRC. It is quite unequivocal that the Church has been very central in influencing policies and peace-making activities about its involvement in the management of conflicts in Africa. Yet, very little academic literature exists on the role of the church in relation to its framework in the DRC's peacebuilding process. Power (2010) earlier notices that "the peacebuilding work of the Catholic Church and other religious actors in the Great Lakes region is mostly a well-kept secret". This study seeks to bridge the gap by examining the role of the church and its models of peacebuilding in the DRC through the lens of the Lederach's Pyramid Model of peacebuilding. This is done with a view to generating academic discussion capable of instigating further research into the dynamics of religious participation in conflict transformation and peacebuilding in African.

2.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the literature review of the study, which was systematically arranged based on the research objectives (section 1.7) and key research questions underpinning this study (section 1.8). This chapter has particularly reviewed the studies available on the role of the Church in both conflict and peacebuilding in the world, in Africa and in the DRC. To be able to achieve this within the space available in this study, religions were categorized into

three constellations namely: Islam, Christianity, and African Traditional Religion. The review of the literature shows that the Christian community in the DRC is very large and that the church is active in social services delivery, development processes, conflict resolution, and peacebuilding. It also demonstrates that effective conflict management effort in the globalized world should never be void of religious participation. According to Lynch, (2003), "there are existing and developing spiritual practices and theological and ethical resources for some hermeneutics of peace". Just as religion could be a dynamic in brewing conflict, the spiritual dimension could be a good prerequisite to breaking the cycle of retribution usually associated with contemporary conflicts. Therefore, Johnston (1992:60) encapsulates that, without some element of forgiveness and reconciliation, the detrimental pattern of reaction of a conflict situation may linger unabated. Therefore, the importance of the literature review to this study can never be overemphasized, because it is able to provide an in-depth understanding of the research theme and reveals the study gap. However, the following chapter discusses the Lederach's Peacebuilding Pyramid as a conceptual model adopted for the study.

CHAPTER THREE

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the preceding chapter, a review of the literature on the interconnectivity between religion, conflict, and peacebuilding was discussed. This was done through an examination of the role of the church in the peace process in the world, in Africa and in the DRC - the importance of religious influence on conflict and how religion influences conflict management. Similarly, the literature on the presence, the roles, and the impact of the Church on the conflict and peacebuilding in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) was specifically examined.

However, this chapter focuses on the conceptual and theoretical framework adopted for this research. Therefore, it presents conflict transformation theory which, because of its close relation to this study, is considered suitable for this research. Furthermore, it discusses four separate conceptual models developed under conflict transformation framework, showing their strengths and weaknesses. These models are Zartman's Ripeness Model; Positive Peace and Negative Peace Model; Rupisinghe's Model of Conflict Transformation and; Lederach's Peacebuilding Pyramid Model. However, the Lederach's pyramid model was adopted for this research, and the impetus for this choice is justified in relative terms. However, in view of showing the coherence of the attributes and variables of the models, the research objectives and the research questions are constantly reconsidered so as to analyze its viewpoints on the role of the church in peacebuilding in the DRC.

The essence of a theoretical or conceptual framework for this kind of study is that it heightens interest in the examination of the peacebuilding efforts in the DRC. For issues related to the DRC conflict could be uninteresting except it is contained by a broader theoretical/conceptual framework. Interestingly, therefore, locating this study within a theoretical framework through a conceptual model has gone a long way to facilitate the research in ascertaining the roles, the successes, challenges and the potential of the Church's peacebuilding effort in the DRC from 2001 to 2016.

This chapter is divided into the following subsections:

- Defining theoretical framework and conceptual framework (model);

- Conflict Transformation Theory
- Conceptual Models of Peacebuilding:
    - ❖ Zartman's Ripeness Model:
    - ❖ Positive Peace and Negative Peace Model:
    - ❖ Rupesinghe's Model of Conflict Transformation:
    - ❖ Lederach's Peacebuilding Pyramid Model:
- Literature on Lederach's Pyramid Model;
- Lederach's Pyramid Model on church and peacebuilding in the DRC
- Justification of John Paul Lederach's Pyramid Model for this study; and
- Applicability of John Paul Lederach's Pyramid Model to the present study.

3.2 EXPLAINING THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND CONCEPTUAL MODEL

A **theory** is a crucial instrument for meaningful academic work which helps the researcher to identify and interpret facts (Gibson, 1986). A theoretical framework impacts directly on how a research is structured and influences the way data are collected and analysed (Bertram 2004). According to Bless and Higson-Smith (1995: 23), "theory serves as an orientation for gathering facts since it specifies the types of facts to be systematically observed." Babbie (2011: 33) opines that "theories make sense of observed patterns in ways that can suggest other possibilities." Therefore, the indispensable notion of theory in research is to offer clarification to the study in more abstract terms than the terms used to describe it (Punch, 2005). This requires effort to correctly comprehend the theory and to align it with the research method (Anfara & Mertz, 2006: xiv).

In addition to the above definitions of theory, it is expedient that Welman, Kruger and Mitchell's, definition be highlighted in this segment for the sake of argument. This is necessitated by the fact that the Lederach Peacebuilding Pyramid framework adopted for this study is more of a conceptual than a theoretical. Indeed, in their effort to clarify the understanding of theory and concept or model, Welman, Kruger, and Mitchell (2005:22)

delineates theory as "a set of interrelated concepts, definitions, and propositions that present a systematic view of specifying relations among variables with the purpose of explaining and predicting phenomena." Also, Liehr and Smith (1999: 8) buttress that "a theory is a set of interrelated concepts, capable of structuring a systematic view of phenomena for explaining or predicting."

Liehr and Smith (1999: 2) then submit that while a theory is necessary to guide practice, the **practice** also "enables testing of theory and generates questions for research; research contributes to theory-building and selecting practice guidelines." In view of this fact, a prudent application of theory and research strengthens its overall outcome by means of practice, capable of generating the structure of knowledge for any given discipline. Chinn and Kramer (1999: 258) buttress this view by defining a theory as an "expression of knowledge...a creative and rigorous structuring of ideas that project a tentative, purposeful, and systematic view of phenomena." It is an art of conceptualising issues before they are logically analysed. In a more conventional definition, a theory is "a systematic abstraction of reality that serves some purpose…A creative and rigorous structuring of ideas that project a tentative, purposeful, and systematic view of a phenomenon" (Chinn and Kramer 1995: 72). Therefore, theory and research when properly engaged strengthen knowledge, because theory expresses a tentative view of an abstract knowledge based on a class of observations and attempt to project it as a prediction for research purposes. Hawking and Jackson (2008:8-9) summarize that a theory is a good theory if it satisfies two requirements:

> It must accurately describe a large class of observations on the basis of a model which contains only a few arbitrary elements, and it must make definite predictions about the results of future observations. Any physical theory is always provisional, in the sense that it is only a hypothesis; you can never prove it. No matter how many times the results of experiments agree with some theory, you can never be sure that the next time the result will not contradict the theory. On the other hand, you can disprove a theory by finding even a single observation which disagrees with the predictions of the theory.

Concerning concept, Liehr and Smith (1999: 7) define a **concept** as "an image or symbolic representation of an abstract idea." While Chinn and Kramer (1999: 252) agree that concepts are elements of theory which "convey the abstract ideas within a theory;" furthermore, they identify a concept as a "complex mental formulation of experience." According to Liehr and Smith (1999: 13), a **framework** for academic work is a structure which affords "guidance for the researcher as study questions are fine-tuned, methods for measuring variables are selected

and analyses are planned." It is also used to checkmate the consistency of the study findings with the theory. After the collection and analysis of data, the framework is utilized as lenses to scan for the consistency of the analysed data with the theory. If inconstancies are present, the framework is utilised to query whether it could explain them.

A **theoretical framework**, therefore, is the structural background or operational blueprint that a researcher adopts as a guide for her/his research. It is a combination of concepts derived from a theory, to analyse an event, a phenomenon or a research problem. However, when a research problem cannot be well explored using one theory, or concepts resident within a theory, due to any logical reason the researcher may have to "synthesize" the existing views in the literature concerning a given situation. Liehr and Smith (1999) call this synthesis "a model or conceptual framework, which essentially represents an "integrated" way of looking at the problem." In their opinion, it is a fundamental demonstration of a cohesive approach to construing a research problem. Therefore, a conceptual framework could be said to be a product of the combination of related concepts which could be used instead of a theoretical framework. Thus, a conceptual framework is "an end result of bringing together a number of related concepts to explain or predict a given event, or give a broader understanding of the phenomenon of interest – or simply, of a research problem." Therefore, while a theoretical framework is designed based on a theory, in like manner a conceptual framework is a product of many concepts.

3.3 CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION THEORY

The academic study of peace and conflict commenced after 1945. This is largely traceable to the threat of the impending nuclear weapon of the time. However, the structure of this new discipline "have been considered and reflected upon within and outside the academia by philosophers, religions and religious leaders, royalties, policy makers, etc." (Akinyoade, 2012:7-8). Quite a significant number of theories, concepts, and their frameworks have been developed as academic instruments of interpretation and engagement of phenomena therein. Some of these include Social learning theory; Deterrence Theory; Decision-Making Theory; Ethnic Conflict Theory; Social Conflict Theory; Peace Education Theory; Conflict Resolution Theory, etc. (Akinyoade, 2012:7).

The theories in the field of Peace and Conflict Research could be classified into four different categories by using the central subjects of peace and conflict studies. Akinyoade (2013:8),

identified those distinct subjects as: "defining peace; nature, causes, onset and dynamics of conflict; conflict resolution; and building sustainable peace." The first category of theories emphasizes on defining peace, they seek to provide diverse understandings of the concept of peace and the required conditions peace. However, this set of theories are not developed to address how peace could be realized. The second category focuses on conflict, they attempt to understand what conflict is and its causes, nature, and dynamics (Wallensteen, 2002:13). However, this set of theories is not particularly designed to provide tools to resolve the conflicts, rather, to help understand the various dimension of conflict.

The third category centres on how conflicts can be rationalized with a view to addressing them. These theories are deliberately developed to interpret conflict as a phenomenon and to offer conflict resolution instruments such as mediation, arbitration, negotiations, etc. (Cohen, Davis & Aboelata, 1998:6). However, these conflict resolution tools are inclined to focus more on short-term quick-fix solutions to conflicts and mostly fail in providing a lasting peace. This is not isolated from the trending transformation of conflict in the global scene, which has necessitated a change in the approach of how it is being addressed. Most conflicts today are intra-state, a polarized shift from the traditional inter-state conflict. The features of this new conflict appear in a complexity of intractability and fatality. They are typically comprised of guerrilla fighters, rebel troops, and terrorist groups. The height of human rights violation in contemporary conflicts is objectionable, particularly in the global south, and especially in Africa. In response to these new waves of a global phenomenon of conflict, building sustainable peace requires new theories that offer a realistic transformational approach which could help to establish a long-term solution to conflicts rather than conflict resolution approach that provides for a short-term solution to conflicts (Rupesinghe, 1995; Lederach & Maiese, 2009). This is the basis of the Conflict Transformation Theory

Conflict Transformation Theory represents the fourth constellation of theories in peace and conflict studies. According to Reychler and Langer (2006:67), sustainable peace is

> […] characterized by the absence of physical violence; elimination of unacceptable forms of political, economic and cultural discrimination; Self-sustainability; High level of internal and external legitimacy or approval, and; Propensity to enhance constructive management and transformation of conflicts.

The theory assumes that conflict is a result of serious problems of injustice and inequality expressed by the competing social, cultural and economic structures. Therefore, Conflict

transformation theory according to the United States Institute of Peace (201115:16), resolutely emphasizes the positive implication of

> […] addressing the structural roots of conflict by changing existing patterns of behaviour and creating a culture of nonviolent approaches that proposes an integrated approach to peacebuilding aimed at bringing about long-term changes in personal, relational, structural, and cultural dimensions.

The protagonists of this theory contend that contemporary conflicts entail much more than mediation, negotiation, and resolution. They posit that the very configuration of the conflicting parties and their interactions may be entrenched in the sequence of conflicts way beyond the specific conflict environment. Hence, conflict transformation practice engages with and seeks to transform the relationships, interests, dialogues and, every statute that has the capacity to sustain any form of conflict. The theory highlights peace as the upshot of justice - it advocates for justice founded on right relationships and social structures through a fundamental respect for human rights, and non-violence as a way of life (Lederach, 2003). So, Lederach (2015:14) defines the framework thus:

> Conflict transformation is to envision and respond to the ebb and flow of social conflict as life-giving opportunities for creating constructive change processes that reduce violence, increase justice in direct interaction and social structures, and respond to the real-life problem in human relationships.

Elaborating on his definition of Conflict Transformation, Lederach analyses its meaning and implication in four segments *viz*: head, heart, hands, and legs. He likens the head to how conflict is viewed and understood and connects it with the verbs "envision and respond" in his definition. He argued that perception, orientations, and attitudes reside in the head to bring about deliberate and purposeful creativity to conflict transformation. Therefore, his transformational viewpoint is wrought the crucible headwork, i.e. vision, willingness, and response: the capacity for positive envisioning of conflict as a potential component for growth and a willingness to maximise the potential, by proactively engaging the prospects therein. A transformational approach seeks to understand the particular episode of conflict not in isolation, but in its "ebb and flow" that is entrenched in the broader sequences.

The heart as the centre of emotion, intuition and spiritual life represents the core of human body which generates the pulse for its sustenance. Lederach emphasizes the centrality of relationship in conflict transformation and that conflicts in relationships at all levels are the way life helps us to stop, assess, and take notice. So, like the heart, conflict is to be

recognized as a gift from life and it gives life to our existence too. It provides opportunities to grow and to increase understanding of ourselves, of others, and of our social systems. It is the motor of change, which keeps relationships and social structures honest, alive, and dynamically responsive to human needs.

The third component in this regard is the hand, the part of the body that can touch feel and work things. Conflict transformation could be a constructive tool (hand), a positive force that seeks to develop change processes with explicit emphasis on generating innovative platforms for positive outcomes from the negative conflict situation. So, it inspires a better understanding of fundamental social and structural patterns to build innovative responses that improve them.

Lastly is its component of leg and feet, which stands for the take-off point. The place where all the all the components are translated into action. Conflict transformation, as a dynamic "process-structure", is meant to respond to existential realities and challenges of conflict. It seeks to do so with a view to reducing violence and increase justice. Hence, it focuses on the transformation of relationships, both interpersonal, intergroup, and social structures from the household level to complex bureaucratic level, and from the local to the global. "Dialogue is needed to provide access to, a voice in, and constructive interaction with, the ways we formalize our relationships and in the ways our organizations and structures are built, respond, and behave."

So, according to Lederach (2010:23) and Appleby conflict transformation approach should be a concurrent combination of:

> […] violence prevention and early warning, conflict management, mediation and resolution, social reconstruction and healing in the aftermath of armed conflict, and the long, complex work of reconciliation throughout the process.

Transformational approach views social conflict as a product of personal, relational, structural and cultural dimension of human life. However, this social conflict, in turn, becomes a source of changes in dimension of human experiences. Therefore, Conflict transformation framework addresses conflict from those experiences by promoting constructive processes within each of these dimensions.

- Personal: Minimize destructive effects of social conflict and maximize the potential for personal growth at physical, emotional and spiritual levels.

- Relational: Minimize poorly functioning communication and maximize understanding.
- Structural: Understand and address root causes of violent conflict; promote nonviolent mechanisms; minimize violence; foster structures that meet basic human needs and maximize public participation.
- Cultural: Identify and understand the cultural patterns that contribute to the rise of violent expressions of conflict; identify cultural resources for constructively handling conflict.

Though Conflict Transformation Theory was primarily conceptualized and proposed by Galtung (1996:70-126), Non-violence theorists like Sharp (1973); Wehr, Burgess & Burgess (1994); and Clark, (2000) were primary contributors to the development of this theory. Protracted Social theorist like Azar (1990) also made an important influence on the theory by explaining the protracted quality of contemporary conflict. However, John Paul Lederach builds on Curle's (1971) idea which was generated from Galtung approach and submits thus:

> Conflict transformation must actively envision, include, respect and promote the human and cultural resources from within a given setting. This involves a new set of lenses through which we do not primarily, see the setting and the people in it as the problem and the outsider as the, answer. Rather we understand the long-term goal of transformation as validating the building on the people as resources within the setting (Lederach, 1995).

Therefore, from the aforementioned, it is quite clear that framework of conflict transformation theory serves as the substratum for the Lederach's peacebuilding model adopted by this research.

3.3.1Justification for Conflict Transformation Theory

The earnest quest for theoretical and strategic innovation to respond to the changing nature of international conflicts (Francis, 2002) has engendered the conflict transformation theory in the 1990s. Unlike the conventional wars which are political and economic in nature, new wars are motivated more by beliefs and convictions which are cantered on ideology, values, and identity. Therefore, the pragmatist's approach of using force as a means to peace is gradually becoming less effectual thus unpopular. In addition, historical experience has provided us with more instances than needed that conflicts are seldom resolved because they keep recurring repeatedly over time. Hence, dealing with contemporary armed conflict requires new approaches more profound and comprehensive than the conflict resolution

framework. A sustainable solution to conflicts would hardly come from mere compromises and adjustments. Lederach (1997: xvi) maintains that "building peace in today's conflicts calls for a long-term commitment to establishing an infrastructure across the levels of a society, an infrastructure that empowers the resources for reconciliation from within the society and maximizes the contribution from outside,"

Conflict transformation framework seems a lot suitable because of its holistic approach to conflict resolution (Ramsbotham et al., 2009; Väyrynen, 1991; Väyrynen, 2001). It emphasizes the significance of peacebuilding and the overall goal of constructive development. The theory "envision and respond to the ebb and flow of social conflict as life-giving opportunities for creating constructive change processes that reduce violence, increase justice in direct interaction and social structures, and respond to real-life problems in human relationships" (Lederach, 2003: 14).

3.4 CONCEPTUAL MODELS UNDER CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION THEORY

Peacebuilding is a concept that responses to conflict transformation framework. This is because theory of conflict transformation postulates that the roots of conflict is embedded in structures, hence, proposes a change of behaviour and building a culture of nonviolent as its solution. Pugh (1995) dates peacebuilding practices back to the Cold War as the confidence building efforts of reconciling people across boundaries such as nationality, ethnicity, or religion. To Galtung, 1975 as cited in Ramsbotham, et al. (2011) peacebuilding is "the practical implementation of peaceful social change through socio-economic reconstruction and development." He also holds the view that peacebuilding entails radical transformation to overcome contradictions that lie at the root of conflict (Galtung, 1996). Although most debates on peacebuilding have been inundated with the importance of the root causes and structural transformation, Ryan (1990) critiques Galtung's definition of peacebuilding as void of a relational component. Therefore, his emphasis is on the need to transform negative attitudes within a conflict society from the grassroots level (Ryan, 1990 as cited in Ramsbotham, et al. 2011).

Lederach (1997), drawing on Galtung and Ryan concepts, delineates peacebuilding as "a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates, and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships." However, in summary, the concept of peacebuilding seeks to develop a

blueprint on how to approach conflict within the tenets of conflict transformation theory as seen from the ongoing discussions. Also, according to the former UN Secretary-General, Boutros-Ghali (1992) who views peacebuilding as a post-war reconstruction concept of practice, defines it an "action to identify and support structures which tend to strengthen and solidify peace to avoid a relapse into conflict." According to Ramsbotham et al (2011), the objectives in Boutros-Ghali definition aptly aligned with the fundamental components of the UN's peacebuilding i.e. military demobilization and political transition to participatory electoral democracy. Much later, however, Boutros-Ghali further reviewed his model of peacebuilding by adding a development dimension, of which Pugh (1995) quotes thus:

> In the context of UN-authorized peace support measures, peacebuilding can be defined as a policy of external international help for developing countries designed to support indigenous social, cultural and economic development and self-reliance, by aiding recovery from war and reducing or eliminating resort to future violence.

Going by this concept, Boutros-Ghali's thought is in harmony with Lederach's (2005) affirmation that peacebuilding is a response to conflicts which is capable of conflict resolution and its recurrence tendency in society. According to Keating, and Knight (2004), most conflict and peace scholars and policy-makers concurred that effective peacebuilding approach should be a concurrent multidimensional engagement of many sectors which should incorporate local, national, regional, and international actors, civil society, NGOs, governments, ad hoc criminal tribunals, and truth and reconciliation commissions.

Conflict transformation theory has been reconceptualised into models of practice by various conflict theorists such as William Zartman; Johan Galtung; Kumar Rupesinghe and John Paul Lederach's. These four models are briefly discussed below, however, Lederach's peacebuilding pyramid model is adopted for this study, and both the justification for the choice and the reasons for not choosing the others are given respectively.

3.4.1 Zartman's Ripeness Model:

Zartman (1995) presents the concept of ripeness to specify when conflicts are most likely to be negotiated by third-party intervention. He noted that parties in civil war begin negotiations to resolve their conflicts when alternative solutions have been tried but failed, and when the parties find themselves in an uncomfortable and costly predicament. According to Zartman (1995:18), a ripe moment could be marked by:

> […]an inconclusive victory, an inconclusive defeat, a bloody standoff that suddenly brings costs home, a loss of foreign support or an increase in foreign pressure, a shift of fortunes that weakens the stronger side or strengthen the weaker, all accompanied by a new perception of the possibility of a negotiated solution.

The theory is intended to explain when conflict parties are more likely, on their own efforts to de-escalate and attempt to seek a negotiated solution. According to Zartman (1989:217; 2000: 225-50), it is not a spontaneous process but has to be strategically fostered by the following elements:

- Both parties must come to the realization that they have more to gain and less to lose in a peace agreement than by continuing the war.
- Both parties must have reached economy, military and moral and "capability exhaustion"
- When there is a change in leadership, political system and ideological shift in regional or international orientation or alignment.
- When one side loses crucial foreign military support or realizes that it is on the verge of being left out in the cold by its supports.
- When weaker party is actively supported by a powerful state that pushes for a political settlement

This peacebuilding model assumes that there is a specific time called the "ripe moment" when the conflicting parties would reach a "mutually hurting stalemate", and therefore be willing and ready for reconciliation to put an end to their conflict (see; Logan & Croft, 2004; Zartman & Berman, l982: 66, 78; Zartman, l983; Touval & Zartman, l985: 11, 258, 60; Zartman l985; Zartman, l989). According to Amer (2007), this peacebuilding model has been effectively utilised in the handling of Cambodia and Northern Ireland conflict (Zartman, 2000), and also in "the Sinai (1974), Southwest Africa (1988), El Salvador (1988), Mozambique (1992), and many others" (Zartman, 2008). However, "The lack of ripeness led to the failure of attempts to open negotiations between Eritrea and Ethiopia in the late 1980s, within Sudan for decades, and elsewhere" (Zartman, 2008).

However, the complexity of the conflict and the enormous peace-making challenges confronting the DRC could render this model inapplicable. This is because the conflict in the DRC has lingered for too long and it is a multifaceted sort. The conflicting parties are as numerous as their interests, having huge external cohorts which benefit heavily from the

conflict situation. Besides, the current political upheaval and the high intensity of energies in the DRC requires a more comprehensive and decisive approach. The theory does not predict whether an agreement will be reached, nor the type, or possible stability of the eventual agreement. Rather, it identifies the element associated with its occurrence. It does predict when the decision to negotiate will most likely be taken. Zartman points out that ripeness is only a condition: it is not automatic, it is an opportunity that should be grabbed either by the warring parties or, if not, by the persuasion by a third party.

Negotiation is the main focus of this model, though very vital and fundamental part of conflict transformation process, the DRC requires much more than that at this stage. Waiting or lobbying for the conflict parties in the DRC to reach a stalemate could be a timeless and frustrating effort. Therefore, for the DRC, such approach could not be suitable, especially with the current situation whereby both the state and the external interventionists have won nothing from the Congolese people but legacy of questionable and clandestine intentions.

3.4.2Galtung's Positive Peace and Negative Peace Model:

Johan Galtung (1969) first categorizes violence into three forms, namely: direct, structural and cultural: **Direct** violence refers to physical attacks like arm conflicts, destruction of properties and any form of assaults. **Structural** violence involves that violence which is entrenched in political economic and social structure at any level. While **cultural** violence includes those hostility embedded in the customs, values, beliefs, and norms, this kind of violence often serve as a source of the other two categories of violence. Racial, gender, ethnic or religious discriminatory propensities and prejudices of all kind are good example for cultural violence. From his perception of violence as briefly explicated above, Galtung identified two theories of peace as negative peace and positive peace. Negative peace, he claims is the absence of direct violence, while positive peace is the absence of structural violence (Gatung, 1969). The implication of this notion is that addressing only direct violence in our peace efforts is not enough, structural violence could be as detrimental as direct violence (Galtung, 1969: 185). In fact, Prontzos (2004: 300), refers to structural violence as "collateral damage" and described it as "an unintentional side-effect of specific policies" a chronic condition that originates "from economic and political structures of power, created and maintained by human actions and institutions."

Therefore, positive peace could be said to be instrumental in the nurturing of the needed environments for the negative peace. Hence the link between positive and negative peace, since "war, armed conflict, and political violence result from the absence of positive peace" (Atack, 2009). According to Harris (2004:12), "*Positive* peace is a condition where non-violence, ecological sustainability, and social justice remove the causes of violence." Categorically, this model suggests that in order to deal with direct violence, the structure should be made to represent a system of "justice, equality, human rights and wellbeing" (Atack, 2009). As Martin Luther King Jr. affirms that, "true peace is not merely the absence of some negative force--tension, confusion or war; it is the presence of some positive force--justice, goodwill and brotherhood" (King, 1957).

Therefore, Galtung proposes that positive peace is superior to negative peace. This could be true if direct violence could be controlled structurally. However, Boulding in Atack (2009: 41) protests that the theory of negative peace is complex because peace does not simply infer the absence of violence. Atack (2009) affirms that the manifestation of positive peace does not guarantee the elimination of the roots of the conflict. Furley and May (2006) posit that negative peace is unrealistic in Africa because the absence of physical violence does not halt a reversion of war in many African states. Boulding (1977:84) also protests that the model is rather too general to be logically practicable, he explains that the representation of pivoting the source of direct violence on the structural violence was too unrefined. So, according to Boulding (1977:83), "structural violence" is a misleading metaphor, because the "processes which create and sustain poverty are not at all like the processes which create and sustain violence." Boulding also criticises the concept of "negative peace" as misleading claiming that peace is not simply the absence of violence. Rather, peace and violence are intricate segments of a continuing and dynamic system of warring groups and each with its own distinctive features (1977: 78).

Therefore, Furley and May (2006) submit that positive peace approach should launch deeper than addressing only structural dimensions of conflict, and focus more on addressing the complexity of goals and uncertainties of the conflicting parties. Positive peace emphasises key components of peacebuilding such as reconstruction, rehabilitation, and reconciliation, which Galtung (1998) identifies as imperative for sustainable peace process (Jeong, 2005: 1). According to Paffenholz, Abu-Nimer, and McCandles (2005), positive peace approach corresponds with the theory of conflict transformation. This is due to its focus and impact on

the social and structural dynamics of post-conflict society, and its recognition of the significance of various actors at different levels of the peace process.

However, the practicability of this model is not systematically developed. Perhaps because the theoretical and conceptual apparatus in the field of peace studies was yet unfledged as a distinctive discipline of academia and formal education at the time of developing the model. However, noteworthy is the fact that Galtung model has tremendously set a pace for the posterity of which the contemporary theorist do thrive, and perhaps the generation to come. But for this particular research, the model of negative and positive peace is rather unrealistic.

3.4.3 Rupesinghe's Model of Conflict Transformation:

This model is by Kumar Rupesinghe, it offers a holistic approach to conflict transformation. He developed his model based on the historical reality that conflicts are rarely resolved. So, deviating from the conventional conflict resolution approach, Rupesinghe (1995:1) opines that:

> Given the complexities and the durability of current violent conflicts, the notion of being able to resolve them once and for all has been superseded by an understanding that such dynamic and rooted processes call for dynamic and sustainable responses. Conflict transformation, I believe, must be a flexible, yet comprehensive process, by which ultimately a culture of negotiation and accommodation displaces a culture of violence and provides ordinary people with the means to prevent any return to barbarity.

Therefore, he developed a multidimensional model that emphasizes the need for a non-linear peacebuilding approaches. He also argued that due to "the complexity of many existing and emerging conflicts, a multi-sectoral approach to conflict transformation is needed" (Rupesinghe, 1995:65). The model focuses on internal conflicts and consists of eleven distinct stages of peace process, namely:

> […] pre-negotiation stage; understanding root causes; ownership of the peace process; identifying all the actors; identifying facilitators; setting a realistic timetable; sustaining the effort; evaluating success and failure; strategic constituencies; the role of outside peacemakers; and the role of local peacemakers (Rupesinghe, 1995).

Rupesinghe argues that resolving an intra-state conflict could be a challenging task, therefore he proposes a comprehensive, heterogeneous approach to conflict transformation that allows for multi-track interventions. He advocates peacebuilding from the grassroots level and

across the broader scope of the civil society, in partnership with any internal or external bodies capable of catalysing a change. According to Miall (2004:5), Rupesinghe views conflict transformation as an all-encompassing approach integrating conflict resolution training and Track I interventions, diplomatic interventions and peacekeeping.

According to Gounden and Solomon (1999), it is multi-sectoral and it promotes a culture of peace from grassroots to the national level. It emphasises the representation of peace actors from all the constituencies in the conflict society. It puts the people at the centre stage of their own transformation. In fact, it makes them the owners of their own peace process, with a powerful vision of building a viable, peaceful and secure society (Gounden & Solomon, 1999). Therefore, the main objective of this model is the empowerment of local communities. Warfield & Jennings (2012) argues that peace-building from below has the potential to strengthen local communities' resources that ameliorate constructive and positive outcomes of peace initiatives.

Rupesinghe's model has been expedient in both South Africa and Mozambique. Also, it was used by Solomon and Mngqbise in their comparative examination of conflict transformation and resolution in the DRC. They submit that unlike the conflict resolution models, which cannot escape the label "Made in the West" and the product of the Cold War's emphasis on interstate rivalry; Rupesinghe's model lays its stress on internal conflicts and, as such, is more user friendly in a post-Cold War Third-world environment, where such intrastate conflicts are the norm (Solomon and Mngqbise, 2004:211).

Notwithstanding, this approach is limited by its lack of focus on relational dimension and role of culture and religion in relationships. These need to be taken into consideration during the peace process. Rupesinghe's model should be explicit on the aspect of culture and religion to be relevant in Africa. Another weakness of Rupesinghe's model is the similarity between two of its components: "identifying all the actors" and "strategic constituencies" are quite analogous and are difficult to distinguish. It claims that "identifying all the actors" involves elites, leaders, opinion-shapers and non-violent actors, which seems exactly the same as the "strategic constituencies" component which involves the media (opinion-shapers), government officials (elites or leaders) and the churches and NGOs (non-violent actors).

Therefore, it is not considered as suitable for this research. The DRC is a heterogeneous country and her conflict is complex and retractable. Her conflicts are rooted in the breakdown

of relationships and the likelihood of transforming such conflicts lies in identification and reconciliation of those relationships. The country needs a model that includes reconstruction of broken-down relationships through transformation. Therefore, a framework that addresses socio-political, economic without undermining the significance of psychosocial and cultural revitalization of the people, especially the grassroots people is required.

3.4.3.1 Rupesinghe's Multi-Track Diplomacy Concept

However, in the context of preventive diplomacy framework, the work of Rupesinghe's (1997) multi-track diplomacy concept, becomes commendable. In this framework, Rupesinghe emphasizes the efforts of a various peace actors at diverse points of a conflict systematically working in an effective collaboration to realize peace. He identifies six of such actors as: Governmental Diplomacy (headed by high power national government delegates); Inter-Governmental Diplomacy (organizations such as the UN, EU or AU); Second Track Diplomacy (unofficial or semi-official diplomacy, such that comprises of individuals or small interested groups mediators); Ecumenical Diplomacy (run by religious organisations); Citizen Diplomacy (involves grassroots people from different parts of society); and Economic Diplomacy (driven by multinational corporations at a global, regional or national level such as the World Bank or International Monetary Fund)

3.4.3.2 Ecumenical Diplomacy

However, Rupesinghe recognizes Ecumenical Diplomacy as one of these vital components of his six multi-track diplomacy concept. He views religious groups and leaders as a moral compass of the society, such that won the trust of the masses. He posits that religious organizations are an integral part of peacebuilding processes and are capable of instigating meaningful dialogue in conflict society (Rupesinghe 1997: 17). Therefore, he highlights the significance of the international network the church pocesses, and opines that, "the existence of a global network and a hierarchical structure which reaches all levels of society, enables the work of local church and religious leaders to complement the peace process not only at grassroots level, but also on a national and international scale" (Rupesinghe, 1997: 17). Though, Ecumenical Diplomacy emphasizes the importance of religion in peacebuilding process, it is not suitable for the analysis of this study. This is because the notion is one element of a larger framework (multi-track diplomacy concept). Nevertheless, it could be a very good framework to analyse a study that focuses on the interaction of religion with other

non-religious stakeholders within a synergistic peacebuilding structure. The church in the DRC could learn a lot from this framework on how to network and collaborate with other national and international actors in a holistic peacebuilding effort.

3.4.4 Lederach's Peacebuilding Pyramid Model:

Lederach developed a conceptual framework for peacebuilding which focuses on reconciliation and on the reconstruction of broken down relationships: a process that recognizes that conflicts are essential types of relationships, therefore, prioritizes on addressing its psychological components Lederach (2001:845-6) provides a practical and logical framework and introduces it thus:

> I have suggested that a critical shift in our thinking, one that is readily apparent in peace processes that have sustained themselves over time, is the capacity to develop a strategic framework. Such a framework provides a space for envisioning a desired future and pushes us to reflect critically on the nature of change processes required to move from immediate crisis to longer-term hope. It is only within a framework that thinks ahead that we are able to shift from being crisis driven to being crisis responsive. Crisis responsive means that we are able to recognize within any given opportunity for maximising our potential that both respond to the immediate need and at the same time increases the overall movement toward the desired change.

The pyramid model, as postulated by John Paul Lederach unequivocally stresses the need to incorporate short-term approaches of peace-keeping measure, negotiations and external interventions, with long-term structural and attitudinal changes. The framework promotes the integration of social development, economic empowerment, and fair representational practices. It highlights the significance of quality leadership in peacebuilding measures without compromising the importance of the valuable roles of the civil society down to the very grassroots. Therefore, development of a civic culture based on tolerance, coexistence, and collaboration is at the core of its tenets.

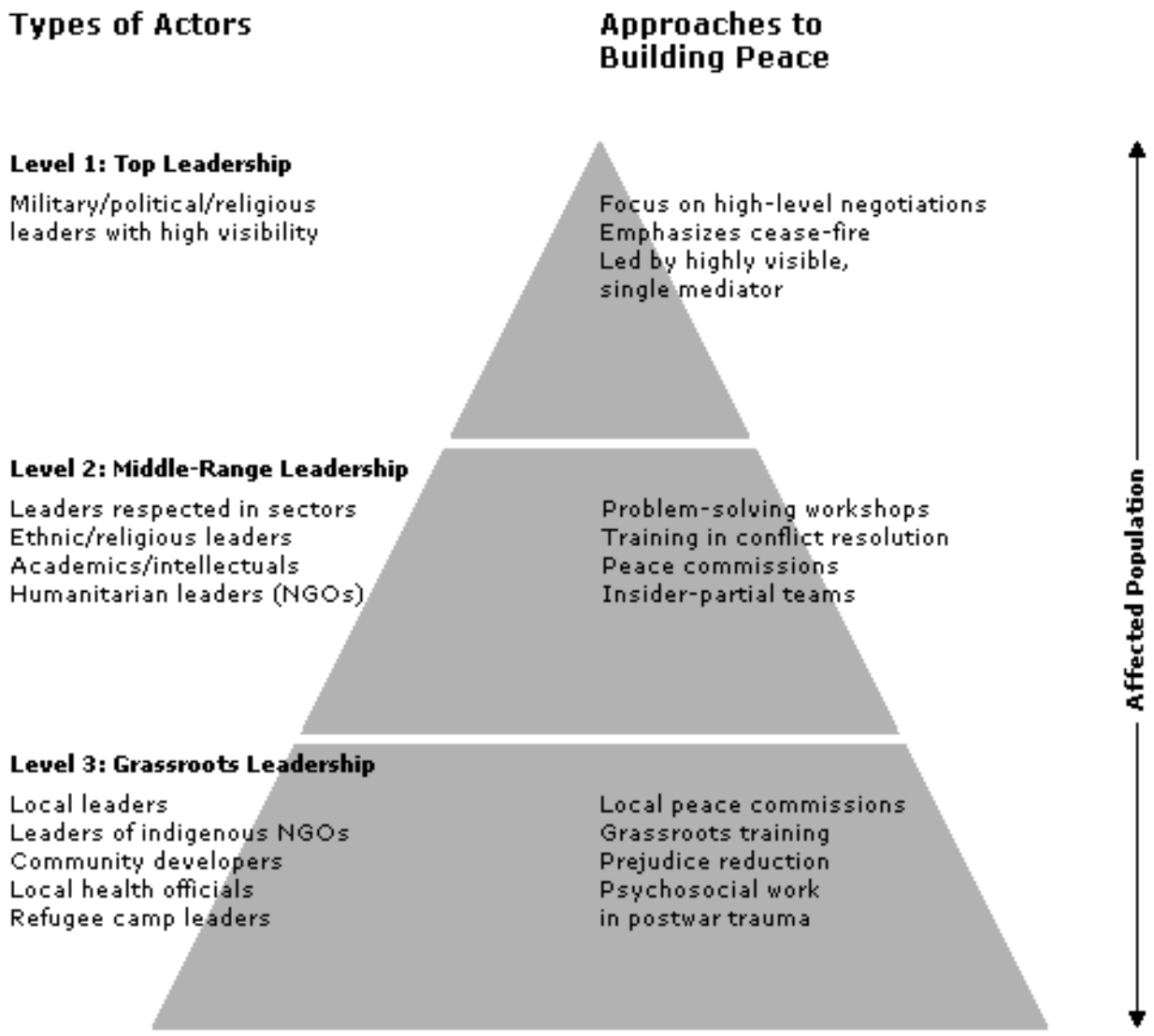
Paffenholz & Spurk (2006) opines that the pyramid model framework seeks to rebuild broken-down relationships while focusing on reconciliation and the strengthening of a society's peacebuilding capacity. Isike and Okeke-Uzodike (2010) observe that conflicts are rooted in the breakdown of relationships and the possibility of transforming conflicts lies in reconciling these relationships. Lederach conceptualises peacebuilding as the long-term transformation of a war system into a peace system. This requires constructive changes in the

personal, structural, relational and cultural aspects of conflict over the short, medium and long terms (Miall, 2004: 6). According to Keating and Knight (2004: xxxiii), peacebuilding is a holistic approach that can include:

> disarming warring parties, decommissioning and destroying weapons, de-mining, repatriating refugees, restoring law and order, creating or rebuilding justice systems, training police forces and customs agents, providing technical assistance, advancing efforts to protect human rights, strengthening civil society institutions, and reforming and strengthening institutions of governance, including assistance in monitoring and supervising electoral processes and promoting formal and informal participation in the political process .

Therefore, Pillay (2006) buttresses that Lederach envisions peacebuilding as an operational process which could generate a transformation of conflict at three strategic stages of leadership. The model describes "how the house of peace should be built" in war-torn societies (Lederach, 1997: 37). The Diagram below demonstrates the model:

Figure 3. 2 Lederach's Peacebuilding Pyramid



Derived from John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997), 39.

In reference to his pyramidal representation, Lederach (2001:843) affirms that:

> If we are to move beyond settlement and toward reconciliation or toward what I refer to as sustainable peace processes, we must not limit our lenses to only the highest level of political actors and the peace negotiations they forge. I have graphically depicted this as a pyramid that describes three related but different processes. The first process is a top-down negotiation conducted by a few representative and usually highly visible leaders. The second is bottom-up approaches that involve the forcing of understanding and peace at local levels according to the unique characteristics of those local settings. The third is middle-out approaches that can support both of the other two in unique ways and that often provide linkages vertically in the society and horizontally across the lines of conflict.

In the pyramid of peacebuilding, according to Lederach (1997), the actors comprise of three levels - top, middle-level and grassroots leaders, but it emphasizes "middle-out" and "bottom-up" approaches. The uppermost of the pyramid are the top elite leaders: a selection of important political, military, traditional (in the case of Africa) and religious dignitaries, who primarily represent their respective constituencies and are therefore very conspicuous. At the middle-range of the pyramid is the second category of opinion leaders in sectors - such as education, business, agriculture, and health, ethnic, religious leaders, academic/intellectual, humanitarian and Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) leaders. And at the bottom of the pyramid are the third category of the grassroots leadership which comprises of those involved in local communities' responsibilities: such as the indigenous NGOs' workers involved with relief projects, local health officials, and refugee camp, local cooperative leaders. The common people are often represented by these grassroots leaders who are familiar with their afflictions even as they struggle to fend for themselves searching for food, shelter, and safety amidst violence (Mischnick, 2007; Paffenholz & Spurk, 2006, and World Bank, 2006). In short, Miall (2004: 6) affirms that:

> Lederach contributes the idea of the pyramid with elite leaders and decision-makers at the top, leaders of social organisations, churches, top journalists in the mid-level and grassroots community leaders at the base. A comprehensive peace process should address complementary changes at all these levels

The top-level elite actors are mostly fewest in number, while the grassroots level comprises of the general public. The model necessitates leaders who comprehend the nature of the conflict; have hindsight, insightful and foresight of systems and policies; have been empowered for social struggles at the local level; and are willing to lead strategies of collaboration rather than building their power base on an escalation of the conflict. According to Miall (2004: 6), "one strength of this model is that it widens its view from the conflict and the conflict parties and indicates the scope for drawing peacebuilding resources from the wider society." It predicates on the point that building mutual relationships is fundamental to peacebuilding process. It recognises and empowers the local actors and supports their efforts by engaging groups in various peacebuilding projects. Therefore, Lederach (2001: 846-7) advocates that:

> Reconciliation and the strengthening of civil society must think beyond this more limited metaphor. I believe that reconciliation requires us to think about how to end things not desired, how to find creative solutions to

> specific problems, and how to use both to build something desired. This broader thinking I would refer to as peacebuilding and conflict transformation. Peacebuilding suggests forging structures and processes that redefine violent relationships into constructive and cooperative patterns. Conflict transformation suggests that such redefinition will require change processes at multiple levels.

Since from the 1970s, Lederach concept of peacebuilding has grown out of mere conflict resolution to include "alternative dispute resolution, mediation, conciliation, violence prevention, early warning systems, community reconciliation, nonviolent peacekeeping, trauma healing, second-track diplomacy, [and] problem-solving workshops" (Lederach, and Jenner, 2002). Just to mention a few of the many areas of today's range of peacebuilding activities, however, it is quite clear that his focus is principally on community-oriented processes (Lederach, and Jenner, 2002).Thus, Lederach's peacebuilding model seeks to harmonize the public via the building of confidence that motivates participatory engagements. It facilitates good communication and collaboration.

To copiously understand conflicts, Lederach relates the immediate issues within a conflict to the larger structure. He describes the progress of conflicts in terms of the balance of power between parties, and the degree to which the parties are aware of their conflicting needs and interests. By integrating his model of conflict into an infrastructure, Lederach (1997) opines that the goal of peacebuilding is not merely to get rid of an undesirable situation. Rather generate "continuous, dynamic, self-regenerating processes that maintain form over time and are able to adapt to environmental changes." Such process-structure could rebuild and sustain relationships. Noteworthy is the fact that resources for peacebuilding in this regard include not only financial and material support but more of socio-cultural resources. It views people, in their existential realities, as resources rather than recipients. Lederach (1997) argues that the systems which assign responsibility and accountability for financial and material support are as important as the material support itself, which is capable of pro-actively contributing to the peace process.

3.5 LITERATURE ON LEDERACH'S PYRAMID MODEL

In a multicultural and multi-ethnic society like the DRC, approaches to peacebuilding which arrogates power to the state and political leaders can be a serious impediment to the peace process. However, pyramid peacebuilding is an unconventional approach founded on the principle that building a sustainable peace requires far more than élite agreements. In a

critique of the of mediation approach to peacebuilding, Bush and Folger (1994) assert that transformative conflict resolution approach is much more than problem-solving and signed agreements, rather it is about empowerment and recognition. As an alternative framework, therefore, the peacebuilding pyramid model underscores the necessity to transform relationships among the individuals in a conflict society.Whereby, people could transform their relationship to allow for moral growth "by helping they wrestle with difficult circumstances and bridge human differences, in the very midst of conflict" (Bush & Folger, 1994). The process, which is carried out via participatory engagement and reconciliation of middle-range leaders, grassroots leaders and other groups of citizens (Lederach, 1997). Granting that Bush and Folger's assertion was issued as a response to mediation approach, it remains relevant for any intergroup conflicts because of their emphasis on the transformation of individuals. Yet, they did not disconnect their analysis from those of the proponents of the transformation of social institutions (Bush & Folger, 1994).

According to Lederach (1997), conflicts are best approached through the cultural and social structures of the disputants. To Lederach, conflicts are understood as social and cultural constructions which implications can be transformed as people change their knowledge and views of what is at stake. This cultural and social dimension of conflicts afford some good prospects for its constructive transformational capabilities to restructure perceptions and relationships that could lead to peace (Lederach, 1995). Emphasis on developing "secure and self-reliant beings willing to be concerned with and responsive to others" (Bush and Folger 1994, p. 29) is precisely the kind of intergroup empathy that many see as necessary to settling bitter national and ethnic conflicts (White, 1984).

Lederach (1995) argues that conflict transformation makes possible the development of new images which include justice, forgiveness, and reconciliation. Central to transformation is not just empowerment, but also "seeking resource and root in the cultural context itself" (Lederach, 1995). To do this, particularly in cross-cultural settings, Lederach articulates an inspiring approach in which "the participants and their knowledge are seen as the primary resource for the training" (Lederach, 1995). Whereas, he says a prescriptive approach is driven by the intervener's understanding of the conflict, eliciting training has participants developing their own understanding of the conflict.

This approach seeks to have participants evaluate the conflict in terms of local practices rather than view them in terms of external standards. Therefore, Cousens and Kumar

advocate that "International peace builders should not focus primarily on prescribing or operating specific political structures but on facilitating or enforcing the conditions that constitute an appropriate context for these structures to emerge" (Cousens, et al, 2001). Participants are then encouraged to develop local approaches to their problems (Lederach, 1995). The ultimate goal of such training is empowerment and "the development of appropriate models of conflict resolution in other cultural contexts" (Lederach, 1995).

Culture is at the core of eliciting practice because culture is treated as a critical resource, not as a barrier, to conflict transformation. Lederach views all cultures as containing much creative, but sometimes latent, understanding of conflict and how to handle it. Consequently, effective training must work to build on this local knowledge to develop creativity and empowerment. Doing this requires particular attention to language and metaphors which reveal both how conflicts are understood and possibilities for their transformation (Lederach, 1995). Having participants recounting proverbs and engaging in storytelling helps them to understand how a conflict is framed and to identify possibilities for its resolution. These procedures "create a holistic approach to thinking and understanding in which people are invited to mingle with the characters as a device of interaction with their own realities" (Lederach, 1995: 82).

3.5.1 Justifying the Lederach's Pyramid Model for This Study

Galtung (1976: 103) describes Peacekeeping as a "dissociative approach" whereby conflict parties are separated from fighting. Boutros-Ghandi (1992: 11), the sixth Secretary-General of the UN, reiterates this view with regards to the UN peacekeeping approach as:

> The deployment of a UN presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned, normally involving United Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well. Peacekeeping is a technique that expands the possibilities for both the prevention and the making of peace.

In this view, therefore, Boutros-Ghandi agrees with Galtung that peacekeeping is not peace-making. For in Galtung's (1976: 109) view, peace-making is a form of "conflict resolution", which Boutros-Ghandi (1992: 11) updates as "[a]ction to bring, hostile parties to agreement, essentially through peaceful means as those fore-seen in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations." However, both peacekeeping and peace-making according to Galtung and Boutros-Ghali seems to ignore the aspect of conflict prevention. Therefore, marshalling the

third approach called peacebuilding which Galtung (1976:110) labels an "associative approach". According to Boutros-Ghandi (1992: 11), peacebuilding is an "[a]ction to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict. While peacekeeping and peace-making remain a crucial prerequisite for peacebuilding, it is imperative for peace practitioners and researchers to channel more attention and resources on building solid preventive peace infrastructure capable of minimizing chances of conflict reverts and intractability.

Therefore, the Lederach's peacebuilding pyramid model was adopted for this research because it demonstrates a clear understanding of the conflict transformation theory and its concepts. The conceptual model also supports the theory of conflict transformation chosen for this research study. It is used to introduce and describe conflict transformation theory that reveals why the research problem under study ensues. Therefore, it is relevant to the topic of this dissertation and correlates with the broader areas of knowledge being deliberated.

It is a tripartite movement of people who have been empowered for peace struggles at all level. It emphasizes participatory democracy and a value politics that manifests itself in the practices of contemporary grassroots people. It capitalizes on social energy rather than money; hence its operation is a catalytic instead of an operational service provider. It operates by well spelled out principles, and a clear vision for a better society; vision capable of mobilizing autonomous action by numerous individuals and organizations within and across national boundaries, all participants of a common good course. It is a value-oriented strategy that includes the principles of justice, sustainability, and inclusiveness. It helps us to see that there is more to peacebuilding than establishing ourselves in framed ideas capable of complicating the problems we are aiming at solving. It helps to see conflict as part of life and it is necessary for human growth defined in terms of greater realization of human potentials.

3.6 PYRAMID MODEL ON CHURCH AND PEACEBUILDING IN THE DRC

The emphasis of the Literacy's Pyramid model on personal, relational, structural, and cultural dimensions of conflict made it appropriate for this study. The researcher envisions its close interplay with the introspective methodologies of the church. Peacebuilding, the introspective approach, is not a quick fix strategy, rather a long-term measure. It seeks to address human relationships at a deeper level vis-à-vis their spiritual, psychological, mental, cultural and

social environment. (Svensson, 2013) opines that armed conflict is a complex and multidimensional - political, economic, military, and religious disputes in nature.

Though, it could be impossible to consider an entirely customized framework for resolving the DRC's problems, the support of the international community is crucial to the victory of the internal peacebuilding machinery, this fact necessitates a holistic approach to peacebuilding. However, in deep-rooted intractable conflicts like that of the DRC, it is important to re-examine the key elements of the crisis, conflict resolution theories, and the inability of the tools of peace initiatives to impact the attitude and the inner motivation of the people rather than focussing on merely changing their situation. By so doing, the notion of a cross-disciplinary synergy becomes laudable by considering contributions from non-social science context: for example, the depth psychology[2] could offer more profound understanding into conflict behaviours such as deep animosity, sexual violence, genocidal cruelty and chronic obduracy much more than rational social science explanations would do.

Just as sound theology and spirituality would grant better grips on introspective methodologies such as confession, repentance, seeking and giving forgiveness, atonement, compassion, love, and mercy so much more than political science, sociology, economics, anthropology or law could do (Johnston, 1992:60). According to Carter, and Smith (2004), religious efforts in peacebuilding involves:

emphasis on religious traditions' values of tolerance and nonviolence; responding to aggression and violence of co-religionists; guarding against co-option of religion by political entrepreneurs; respecting religious freedom; supporting interfaith initiatives; searching for early warning signs; exemplifying tolerance and inclusivity; and providing spiritual resources and hope.

Human life is too complex to be captured just by social science theories and methodologies alone. Although in social sciences we do not have the concepts of introspective methodologies, we have the technicality for operationalizing ideas and making them useful to

[2]Analytical psychology (sometimes analytic psychology), also called Jungian psychology and psychoanalytical theories, is a school of psychotherapy which originated in the ideas of Carl Jung, a Swiss psychiatrist. It emphasizes the importance of the individual psyche and the personal quest for wholeness.

solve human problems. This social sciences theories and methodologies can be complemented by open accommodation of concepts from the relevant non-social science disciplines, as a "cooperation between various actors, official and unofficial, religious and secular" (Lewer, 1999). However, it is obvious that the social scientists are in need of better tools for holistically engaging religion and its effects (Harper and Clancy, 1999). Yet, on the other hand, the concept and ideas of the non-social disciplines remain in the realm of philosophy and abstract knowledge for the lack of rigorous approach that could translate them into helpful processes to address social issues. So, likewise, non-social sciences concepts could be tremendously enriched by learning methodologies from the social sciences.

Religion is the overarching dimension encompassing all existence, therefore the concept of culture and religion has become indivisible in an African context. Religion is inseparable from the everyday life of the African people. In fact, Africans have no clear precincts between their existential reality and their cultural/religious expressions (Beyers, 2015). This fact is climaxed in the way Africans seek peace through and with the transcendent.So, such framework which promotes the establishment of systems, structures, empowerment, justice, and peace without neglecting prayer, forgiveness, recognition, and reconciliation could be more meaningful to Africans.

Many academic and policy-oriented literature on religion and international affairs have contended that religion is an essential machinery for accomplishing peace. More specifically, religious beliefs and values, religious leaders and FBOs are thought to be endowed with enormous potential for promotion of peace in any society (Johnston and Sampson, 1994; Johnston 2003; Appleby, 2001; Gopin, 2000; Smock 2002; Shah et al. 2012; Coward and Smith 2004; Little, 2007). Even when conflict is not religious in nature like that of the DRC under investigation. The US Institute of Peace has developed substantial resources for interfaith projects and publications, and the US government recently created an office for religious engagement in the State Department (Johnston and Cox, 2003; Mandaville and Silvestri, 2015). However, some important works in this vein are emerging in Europe too (Thomas, 2005; Galtung and MacQueen, 2008). In addition to the academic literature, numerous faith groups and NGOs are also mobilizing and producing policy reports to promote and enhance the contribution of religious actors to development and reconciliation.

3.7 APPLICABILITY OF LEDERACH'S PYRAMID MODEL TO THIS STUDY

The prior discussion on the Conflict Transformation Theory has greatly contributed to a better understanding of the applicability of Lederach's (1997) pyramid model for the purpose of this study. Kumar (2011) opines that the core variables acquired from a theoretical framework establish the solid basis for research inquiry. Therefore, the pyramid model is suitably adopted and applied for the purpose of previous related studies which then engenders the positive expectation of relevant findings of this study. The table below helps to present the general picture that reflects the research correlation or relationship between the theoretical framework of the study, three major objectives and five research questions underpinning the study.

TABLE 3. 2 Applicability of Conceptual Model to the Research Objectives, Questions, and the Data Source

Attributes of Pyramid Model (Lederach, 1997)	**Research Objectives**	**Research Questions**	**Data Sources**
Role of the Church in Peacebuilding at the Top Level	To analyze the impact of the church on the conflict in the DRC.	Q1. What role has the church played in DRC conflict from 2001 to 2016?	Literature
Role of the Church in Peacebuilding at the Middle Level	To evaluate the success of the Church in Peacebuilding in the DRC To examine the key challenges and opportunities facing the Churches in its intervention in the DRC	Q2. What successes has the church achieved? Q3. What obstacles has the Church faced?	Literature
Role of the Church in Peacebuilding at the Bottom Level	To identify how the church could maximize its peacebuilding potential	Q4. How can the church deal with these obstacles in order to maximize its potential of achieving a sustainable peace?	Literature

Table 3.1 above illustrates how the attributes of the conceptual framework, the research objectives, the research questions and the data source of this research interrelate. It was required to analytically evaluate the data collection needed to attempt to answer the four

research questions underpinning this study (Birmingham, 2000:26) together with attributes of the theoretical framework, as they were outlined in Chapter One (section 1.8). The principal research question was segmented into four sub-questions.

The first research question refers to the role of the church in the DRC conflict and peacebuilding, 'role' is one of the core variables of Lederach's (1997) pyramid model. The focus of the study is to analyse the role of the church in the conflict and peacebuilding effort in the DRC within a specified timeframe. This central variable of the Lederach's (1997) pyramid model of peacebuilding revealed the components related to Church's Role in Peacebuilding as presented in the above diagram (Table 3.1). And then connected to the other three sub-questions. The third objective of the study, that is to examine the key challenges and opportunities facing the Churches in its intervention (role) in the DRC, helped to obtain meaningful findings from the study. The fourth objective was based on identifying how the church could maximize its peacebuilding potential (role).

3.8 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

This chapter discussed the theoretical framework utilised for study. It provides the relevant peacebuilding models considered so impactful to a better appreciation of the preferred theoretical framework. Lederach's (1997) peacebuilding pyramid model was particularly adopted as the theoretical framework for the current study which was initially presented in the introductory chapter (section 1.9). The Lederach's (1997) pyramid model was presented in a diagram showing the three levels of peacebuilding intervention, the actor in each level and their respective roles, and specifically, reveals the place of the religious leaders (section 3.1).

Also in this chapter, existing literature on John Paul Lederach's Pyramid Model was brought under review so as to garner some ideas on what other scholars say about his assumptions pertaining to the framework. This has enabled the researcher to present his Justification for choosing Lederach's Pyramid Model for this study, and to analyze its perspectives on the church and its peacebuilding efforts in the DRC. Finally, with a tabular presentation, the applicability of John Paul Lederach's Pyramid Model to the study was analytically done so as to reflect the attribute of the framework, the variables and how they impact on the research objectives and methodology. The next chapter reflects on the historical background of the

DRC with a view to identifying the causes and the nature of its conflicts. This will help to evaluate the peacemaking theories and strategies of the Church in the DRC

CHAPTER FOUR

REFLECTION ON THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF CONFLICTS IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter discussed the theoretical frameworks adopted by the study and how it applies to the research. The Lederach's peacebuilding pyramid as a model of conflict transformation is utilized to evaluate the role of the church in peacebuilding processes in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) with a view to determining the effectiveness thereof. However, this chapter reflects on the history of the DRC conflicts with a view to identifying its causes and its nature. It considers the fundamentals of the DRC crisis and offers a brief description of its intractability. The reflection on the historical background of the DRC in this chapter is important because it provides a perspective of the causes and the nature of its conflicts. It also helps to analyze the roles and the impact of the church both in the conflict and in the peace processes. But, it is necessary for a research of this nature to give a brief synopsis of the setting within which the study is carried out. Therefore, the Democratic Republic of Congo is presented in an overview.

4.2 AN OVERVIEW OF THE DRC PROFILE

The DRC is situated in the Central Africa region, northeast of Angola. The country is positioned on an area of 2,344,858 square kilometers, with land covering 2,267,048 square kilometers and water 77,810 square kilometers. It the eleventh largest country in the world, slightly less than one-fourth the size of the United States of America (Central Intelligent Agency (CIA), 2017). According to Usanov et al (2013:29), the DRC is as vast in territory as the five largest member states of the European Union put together (namely: France, Spain, Sweden, Germany, and Finland). It is the second largest country in Africa (after Algeria) and largest country in Sub-Sahara Africa (Usanov et al., 2013:29).

The DRC bestrides the equator and possesses a narrow strip of land that controls the lower Congo River which only outlets to the South Atlantic Ocean. From its central river basin to the eastern highlands is the second largest tropical rainforest in the world (Pérez, M.R., et al., 2005; Debroux, L., et al., 2007): second to the Amazon basin of the South America

(Whittaker et al., 2016), but the largest forest in Africa. According to Moyroud and Katunga, (2002:168).

> […] the DRC has three distinct land areas: the tropical rainforests, located in the central and northern parts of the country; the savannahs, located in the northern and southern parts of the country and the highlands, which consist of the plateau, Rolling Meadows, and mountains found along the country's eastern border, all along the Great Rift Valley

Also, the tropical climate makes it suitable for superb agricultural purposes. It is hot and humid in equatorial river basin, cooler and drier in southern highlands, cooler and wetter in eastern highlands. In the north of Equator, the wet season is from April to October, while the dry season is from December to February; but in the south of Equator, the wet season runs from November to March, while the dry season is from April to October. This unique multi-climatic condition offers a great opportunity for amazing differs agricultural activities and nature reserves. However, the topography is vast, central basin is a low-lying plateau with mountains in east, the 11.4% agricultural land of the DRC is utilized as follows: arable land 3.1%; permanent crops 0.3%; permanent pasture 8% forest 67.9%; and other 20.7% **(2011 est.)**. It also has massive hydroelectric prospect, the DRC has a "potentially vital source for development progress well beyond its own borders" (Gambino, 2008).

The DRC's system of government is a semi-presidential republic with its capital in Kinshasa, and its administrative division of 26 provinces namely: Bas-Uele, Equateur, Haut-Katanga, Haut-Lomami, Haut-Uele, Ituri, Kasai, Kasai-Central, Kasai-Oriental (East Kasai), Kinshasa, Kongo Central, Kwango, Kwilu, Lomami, Lualaba, Mai-Ndombe, Maniema, Mongala, Nord-Kivu (North Kivu), Nord-Ubangi (North Ubangi), Sankuru, Sud-Kivu (South Kivu), Sud-Ubangi (South Ubangi), Tanganyika, Tshopo, Tshuapa. The Country got her independence from Belgium on the 30th day of June 1960. The newest constitution of the DRC was adopted on the 13th day of May 2005. It was approved by referendum on the 18th and 19th days of December 2005 and promulgated on the 18th day of February 2006; amended 2011.

The DRC is bordered by nine African countries**,** which include: Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, South Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, and

Zambia (CIA, 2016; Ime, 2013). As at 2016, the population of DRC stands at 81,331,050[3], fourth most populous country in Africa after Nigeria, Ethiopia, and Egypt successively, and eighteenth most populated in the world (CIA, 2016). The country has over 200 African ethnic groups of which the majority are Bantu: the four largest tribes includes *Mongo, Luba, Kongo* (all *Bantu*), and the *Mangbetu-Azande* (Hamitic) make up about 45% of the population (Global Edge, 2017). Though French is the official language of the Congolese people, *Lingala* is retained as the lingua franca. Other languages include *Kingwana* (a dialect of Kiswahili or Swahili), *Kikongo* and *Tshiluba*. According to Simons and Charles (eds.) (2017), the number of individual languages listed for DRC is two-hundred and eleven, of which two-hundred and ten still exist and one is extinct, and of the two-hundred and ten existing languages, two-hundred and five are indigenous and five are non-indigenous. However, only nine are official, thirty-one are developing, one hundred and fifty-five are strong, eight are struggling, and seven are fading out.

The U.S. Geological Survey, Minerals Yearbook (2000) also reveals that the DRC is a rich country due to its natural endowment of numerous minerals (Coakley, 2000). The DRC is particularly rich in natural resources, such as: cobalt, copper, niobium, tantalum, petroleum, industrial and gem diamonds, gold, silver, zinc, manganese, tin, uranium, coal, hydropower, timber (Custers, R. & Matthysen, K., 2009; Taka, M., 2011; Coakley, 2000). Also, according to (Coakley, 2000), Congolese economy is primarily based on mining sector, since the colonial times. Historically, the DRC was reckoned as the foremost global source of cobalt and one of the leading producers of industrial diamonds and copper in the international market.

4.2.1 The awful Paradox of a Democratic Nation

Poignantly, despite all these natural resource, affluence of global dimension, the good climatic conditions and fertile soil for agricultural purposes, and energy prospects, the DRC

[3]The DRC's Age Structure: as at 2016, 42.2% of the DRC population is below the age of fifteen years (male 17,300,707/female 17,024,082); while age 15-24 years is 21.44% of the total population (male 8,747,038/female 8,694,000); Age 25-54 years is estimated at 30.13% of the population (male 12,227,971/ female 12,273,304);Age 55-64 years: 3.58% (male 1,374,050/female 1,535,973); and age 65 years and over is only 2.65% of the county's population (male 910,456/female 1,243,469) (CIA, 2016)

still struggles with many political and socioeconomic problems. Challenges which range from poverty to high infant and maternal mortality rates, malnutrition and poor vaccination coverage, and lack of access to improved water sources and sanitation. In short, the DRC is among the poorest countries in the world and was ranked 176 out of 187 countries on the latest United Nations Human Development Index (2015). Many factors could be responsible for this, among which are poor governance, economic maladministration, institutional failure, and protracted wars and violent conflicts. Dixon (2009) demonstrates in his article captioned *"What Causes Civil Wars?"* that vast territory, large population, ethnic diversity and deteriorating standards of living increases the risk of civil war or violent conflicts. Unfortunately, taking credence from the overview profiled above, all the Dixon's conflict risk factors are prevalent in the DRC. Furthermore, the vulnerability of the DRC state to wars and violent conflict cannot be isolated from its mineral wealth. According to the World Development Report of 2011, "point-source" natural resources, such as solid minerals, oil, and gas, increases the conflict tendencies of a country (World Bank, 2011:74).

Another important highlight from the DRC profile is the regional geostrategic position of the country. The geographical location of the DRC in the midst of nine other smaller countries has subjected the country to a very precarious situation of cross-border spill-over of war and violent conflict. The powerful international dimension to most of the conflicts in the DRC could offer credibility to the assertion. Although the strategic geographical position of the country could have been a great advantage for the DRC, if the region had been a thriving one. But the reverse is the case, because "the countries of Central Africa have been engaged for decades in a variety of conflicts that often spill across borders" (World Bank, 2011:77). According to Usanov et al., (2013:33), "the civil war and genocide in Rwanda, the Lord's Resistance Army rebellion in Uganda, the long-lasting civil war in Angola between MPLA and UNITA" are recent example of transnational conflict spill-over that have contributed to the crisis in the DRC.

The poor governance, economic maladministration, institutional failure as factors responsible for underdevelopment in the DRC are all intersected. However, the foundation is from the weak democratic structure. According to the 2006 report of the International Crisis Group (ICG) on Security Sector Reform in the Congo:

> Government structures remain weak and largely ineffective, in some regions almost non-existent. The Congo still hosts a confusing array of militia forces

> often backed by outside powers and interests, and its mineral wealth and weak border controls have allowed many of these to become in effect self-sustaining. The economy is in tatters, and ethnic and regional fault lines are both many and deep. (ICG, 2006:1)

Hentz (2014) attributes these to a product of their colonial experience, the impact of the Cold War, the mineral riches, and the excessive personalized rules. The level of impunity among the ruling class is appalling, and all attempt to restructure the nation has always been resisted by the elites' private political and economic interest (Boshoff, 2008).

4.3 CONFLICT HISTORY IN THE DRC

The history of violent conflicts in the DRC is as old as the country itself. This study delves into the historical background of the DRC since inception, and categorises the violent eras into seven, namely: Pre-colonial era; colonial era by King Leopold II; colonial era by the Belgian State; Mobutu's dictatorship-era; the first Congo war; the second Congo war; the intractable conflict in the eastern Congo; and the ongoing political crisis.

4.3.1 Precolonial slavery and Violence the *Kongo* (DRC)

It is not unfamiliar to say that the European do regard Africa as an economic object with vast resources ready to be obtained. Adam Hochschild, in his book "*King Leopold's Ghost,"* has dated violence in the Congo to as far back as 1482 when it was first "discovered" by the Portuguese navigator, Diego Cão. He argues that the violent practices of exploitation of Congo's natural and human resources have always been accompanied by mass torture, rape, and killing with impunity (Hochschild, 1999). Thornton and Mosterman (2010) also recount violent hostility of wars and terrors of those days. The Kingdom of *Kongo* then was a hub for the Atlantic slave trade by British, Dutch, Portuguese, and French merchants (Oliver and Atmore, 2001). And any slave that resist order is brutally persecuted.

According to Thornton and Mosterman (2010), the Jesuits missionaries of those days had reported that a Portuguese-led army had invaded *Kongo*, captured Christians and enslaved them, and allowed *Imbangala* cannibals to eat their captives.Therefore, the history of the DRC has been contoured with violent conflict since the medieval era. The *Kongo* (DRC) had been a victim of, invasions, cruel destruction and displacement of rural communities, slaving wars, slave raids, frontier wars, forced labour, predatory economic activities such as smuggling, and royal monopoly of resources (Oliver and Atmore, 2001). This mostly goes

with outlandish human right violation with impunity. Rape, mutilation, and ransacking of civilians which Dummett (2004) calls a "legalized robbery enforced by violence" is a keynote in the history of conflict in the medieval DRC.

4.3.2 Colonial Era by King Leopold II (1885 - 1908)

During the 1885 Berlin Conference where Africa was fragmented for colonial purposes, King Leopold II of Belgium succeeded in obtaining the rights to own Congo from Britain, Germany, France, Portugal, and Italy (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002:14). Consequently, Leopold claimed the *Kongo* and renamed it as "Congo Free State," his own personal property. Leopold transformed the country into a massive labour camp and amassed a huge personal fortune principally from ivory and subsequently from the global rubber boom in the early1890. However, it is important to note that this feat was carried out through violent personal rule and enslavement of the Congolese for twenty-three years (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002:14; Hochschild, 1998:298).

Leopold implemented a system of rubber quotas, taxation, and forced labour brutally enforced by his army, the *Force Publique* (FP). They amputated the limbs of anyone who failed to comply or tried to resist. Hostage for ransom was a violent tactic for forced labour, whereby, soldiers would arrive in a village, attack the villagers, and capture the women until the chief produces the required quotas of rubber(Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002:14; see also Chinyanganya, 2006; 102). In this process, the women were repeatedly raped until the rubber produce was collected in exchange for their women. The mutilated hands of villagers became a means of exchange and progress report among the FP soldiers, and even sometimes, they could wipe out an entire village (Gondola, 2002: Warren, 2011).

Leopold's exploits in the *Kongo* wasted up to ten million lives (Dummett, 2004), the atrocities which his European contemporaries referred to as the "Congo Horrors" in those days. According to South African History Online (SAHO) (2011), it "was on a scale unprecedented in Africa". The bloodshed led to international outcry provoked by the reports of the British and Swedish missionaries based in the Congo. The campaign eventually compelled Leopold to renounce his ownership of the Congo, and transfer the administration to the Belgian state in 1908. However, the former BBC correspondent in Kinshasa, Dummett (2004) posits that "Leopold's reign as described at the time remains, more or less, the

template by which Congo's rulers of today govern till now." The role of the Christian Missionaries in this context was noted as advocacy for justice human rights and dignity.

4.3.3 Colonial Era by the Belgian state (1908 - 1960)

The Belgian state annexed the Congo from Leopold in 1908 and renamed it "Belgian Congo" while the territory remained yet a colony. Therefore, for another fifty-two years (1908-1960) the Congolese people were under another pang of colonial rules that was branded with racial discrimination, oppression, and all kinds of abuses of human rights. The end of Leopold rule did not ameliorate the economic exploitation, political repression, and violence in the Congo. (Hochschild, 1998:298). In fact, the Belgian administration in the Congo was designed to favour the Europeans at the expense of the Congolese. The higher cadre of the workforce was filled with the whites while the blacks were confined to subordinate and menial jobs in all sectors of the government (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002:6). It was a structural violence which led to other forms of violence. According to Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002:95), this deliberate exclusion of the Congolese from political, military, and civil administration played a major role in the failure of the first republic.

4.3.4 Post-Independence Era: Congo Crisis 1960 - 1965

Demand for self-rule became a laudable trend in Africa in the 1950s. Many Africans whose worldview had been altered through education, information and travel returned to their home countries with determination to oppose European rule and human right abuse in their respective countries. They were mostly inspired by the Atlantic Charter[4] (Roskin, 1999), and Kwame Nkrumah's All African People's Conference[5] in Accra in December 1958 to demand their political rights (SAHO) (2011). As a result of this, in 1959, a nationalist radicalism

[4]The Atlantic Charter was a joint declaration by U.S. President, Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill on August 14, 1941, at Newfoundland. The Charter included eight "common principles": the United States and Great Britain would be committed to supporting in the post-war world; both countries agreed not to seek territorial expansion; to seek the liberalization of international trade; to establish freedom of the seas, and international labour, economic, and welfare standards; and most importantly to support the restoration of self-government for all countries that had been occupied during the war and allowing all peoples to choose their own form of government (Roskin, 1999).

[5]Lumumba attended Nkrumah's All African Peoples' Conference in Accra in December 1958, which encouraged his becoming radical. Nkrumah assured Lumumba that he had the support of the rest of Africa in his fight for independence, and Lumumba returned to the Congo with confidence and new methods (bit vague) learned from Nkrumah (SAHO, 2011).

emerged in the Belgian Congo which led to mass demonstrations and later escalated into nation-wide violence protest in Leopoldville (now known as Kinshasa), the capital city. The Belgian *Force Publique (FP)* struggled to suppress the conflict, often very violently. In May 1960, the first democratic parliamentary elections were held and independence of the Belgian Congo was declared on June 30, 1960. Patrice Lumumba emerged as the first democratically elected prime minister under the Congolese National Movement (CNM) (Prados, 2006; Kinzer, 2013; De Witte & Wright, 2002; Hollington, 2007), while Joseph Kasavubu, of the *Alliance des Bakongo* (ABAKO) party, as president (Warren, 2011).

Unfortunately, quite a number of disrupting incidences had provoked serious violence at that very prime time of the Congo independence. First, the radical reaction of Lumumba to the public speech of the Belgian King during the independent celebration regarding the bond between Belgium and the Congo (Pfefferle, 2013). The political speech that implied partial surrender and the scheme to cause a collision of past and present potentates. However, with noble intent to reposition the postcolonial agenda for the Congo and for Africa at large, Lumumba did not hesitate to interject the ceremonial proceeding with his spontaneous speech. He condemned colonial supremacy of Belgium that is stepping aside yet apparently guaranteed of continuing by other means. Secondly, Lumumba's fascinating message of economic freedom from Belgian, British and American corporations, advocated a left-wing political ideology that supports land reform and social equality. And thirdly, Lumumba inclination to solicit for the support of the Soviet Union. His speech instantly began to generate heated debate in the Congo. "The Congo crisis is due to just one man, Patrice Lumumba" (Hochschild, 1999:49)

These ambitious radical moves that sparked the diplomatic concerns alarmed the western nations (Warren, 2011). Conflict broke out a few days later when the Congolese Army began to attack the Belgian. The Belgian force attempted to defend Belgian citizens in the Congo, and things went out of control when the violence metastasized among the Congolese tribes. Many Europeans living in the Congo fled the country. The chief of staff Joseph Désiré Mobutu took advantage of the chaos and headed a troop of Congolese army to mutiny.

Eventually, on the 11th day of July 1960, Katanga Province and South Kasai province seceded under the leadership of Moise Tshombe of the *Confederation des Associations Tribales du Katanga* (CONAKAT) (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Warren, 2011; SAHO, 2011). Warren (2011) claims that the Belgium deployed more troops to safeguard its nationals and

its mining activities in the area. The UN intervened, in response to the beckoning of Lumumba, to assist in restoring orders, but to no avail.

In September 1960, President Kasavubu sponsored a military coup that excommunicated Lumumba, a situation that stimulated a precarious constitutional crisis between the two leaders (SAHO, 2011).Lumumba was later assassinated in 1961 with reported involvement of Belgium and CIA[6] (Gibbs, 1991; Kanza, 1972; French, 2004). According to Human Right Watch (2009), "Lumumba body was secretly buried, but later dug up, cut up with hacksaw and dissolved in acid in an attempt to cover up the crime." The zealous leader of the Congo was caught in between the world's power blocs. In a different perspective, Slattery (2001) recounts that the first republic in the Congo was "an unstable coalition of regional interests, and collapsed within a week." It was a proportional blend of Cold Warbelligerence, an uneven political alliance, geopolitical and geostrategic contentions and internal struggles among various political (pro-nationalist and neo-imperialist) groups (Chinyanganya, 2006:102; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002:76-78). And also, the ghoulish foreign intervention, especially the deployment of soldiers in support of Moise Thsombe's idea to secede the mineral-rich Katanga province from the rest of Congo (Warren, 2011; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002). In short, the post-independent Congo crisis was a complex one.

Since then till now, the DRC has been the focus of some of the world's most prolonged and costly peacekeeping operation in history. According to the UN Security Council (2016), the UN annual budget is over $1.2 billion in DRC alone. However, what renders this kind of humanitarian intervention unjustifiable as a countermeasure of intervention is that it is still a use of violence which is prohibited by the UN Charter (Kratochvil, 2006). Therefore, Gondola (2002) protest that the episodes of violent conflicts that proceeded the Congo's independence are a glaring example of the nature of the Western intervention and how it is responsible for Congo's unrest and its troubled governance.

4.3.5 Violence during Dictatorship Era 1965 - 1997

[6]It is now known that the American government helped undermined, and possibly assassinated, the Congo's first prime minister during 1960-61. The US strongly supported a UN's military mission which ended the secession of Katanga province in 1963. The United States aided a Belgian inversion in 1964. General Joseph-Desire Mobutu, came to power in 1965 with the support of America (Gibbs, 1991)

Post independent turmoil continued in the Belgian Congo for the next five years.Eventually, in November 1965, Joseph Désiré Mobutu, a lieutenant general and commander-in-chief of the national army then, toppled the government of Kasavubu in a Belgium and US (CIA) sponsored *coup d'état,* and seized the Congo for thirty-two years of chronic dictatorship (Kanza, 1972; Usanov et al., 2013; Warren, 2011; Gondola, 2002).His regime was characterized by outrageous embezzlement and the overt evisceration of Congolese institutions.

Nevertheless, Mobutu enjoyed a lot of uncluttered international support of the US, France and Belgium (Zeilig & Dwyer, 2012; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2006; Baregu, 2006; French, 2004; Ewans, 2002; Nzongola- Ntalaja, 2002: 142-152). Mobutu received quite a great deal of support for *realpolitik* from western governments who are motivated by their ulterior interests in the country's natural resources (Ewans, 2002:244; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2006: 132-3; French, 2004). According to (Warren 2011), Mobutu was given over a billion dollars by the United States for military and civilian aid alone throughout his regime. This was because he was a staunch opponent of communism.

According to Gondola (2002), Mobutu instituted a centralized one-party political structure that bred a detrimental culture of extreme corruption with impunity in the DRC. He formed a stringent centralized system of government resonant of the colonial rule. He ruled by decree, his power was absolute, he was the head of the executive, legislative, and judiciary (Kaplan, 1979).In 1971, Mobutu systematized a national program of African cultural consciousness in which citizens were required to adopt African names. Therefore, he personally renamed the country *Zaire* and changed his own name to Mobutu Sese Seko (Warren, 2011).

Though, during his rule the violent conflict assuaged, albeit not without his despotic dispositions, so, the country remained unstable. Gondola (2002) notes that Mobutu sustained himself in power by curbing internal resistance through military force that categorically contravened several human rights regulations. However, Usanov et al (2013) recount that many rebellions aimed at ousting the dictator from power emerged toward the end of the 1970s, for example, the emergence of "*Shaba*[7] rebellions" in 1977-1978. But, because

[7]Shaba rebels emerged from the secessionist struggle in Katanga, it originated from Angola and Zambia.

enough supports were not mobilized, it was ultimately defeated by the national army (the *Forces Armées Zaïroises*-FAZ), backed by the Western allies.

However, in the course of time, the support for Mobutu began to diminish (Clarke, 2002) due to his excessive violation of human rights provisions. His government became so corrupt and oppressive that it lost effectiveness, and it became unpopular (Gondola, 2002). It was so bad that between 1991 and 1993, the country ran out of money to pay the army and civil workers, and Mobutu resorted to printing new kind of currency which was never accepted by the people. Consequently, the unpaid soldiers stormed Kinshasa and plundered the capital city of the Congo (Stearns, 2012; Havermans, 1999:12). According to Stearns (2012), this violent reaction escalated into another violence crisis that left hundreds of people dead. The situation in Zaire worsened, and both internal and external opponents began to demand a restructuring, and Mobutu was forced to declare an end of one-party system of government, an outcome of the April 1990 *Conférence Nationale Souveraine* (CNS) which underpins the transition to a multiparty democracy and his eventual demise (Gebrewold, 2016:99).

The collapse of communism and the disintegration of the Soviet Union depreciated Mobutu's value to Western powers such as the United States. The same power that sponsored and sustained Mobutu's autocracy in the Congo lost interest in him and aimed for a replacement. Four proxy neighbouring countries were engaged by the US and her western allies to depose Mobutu and to instate Laurent Kabila. The strategy adopted was organising armed rebellion, mostly regional troops led by Kabila (a Congolese), to give it a nationalistic outlook. However, it was noted that the objective of this operation and the strategy option was primarily to safeguard not only the claimed interests of the western countries but also that of the four regional countries involved.

4.3.6 The First Congo War (1996-1997)

In 1996, at the tail end of Mobutu's regime, a ruthless conflict ensued in the Congo, which led to the overthrow of Mobutu (Warren 2011). Barely two years after the Rwandan genocide in which millions of people were killed and new Tutsi government was established in Rwanda, over two million Hutus civilians fled Rwanda into *Zaire* (DRC) as refugees. In the midst of these civilian refugees were hundreds of Hutu militants who crossed over with them in fear of retribution from the new Rwandan government (Breytenbach, 1999:3). According to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, an estimated seven percent of these refugees

were perpetrators of the genocide in Rwanda, they were often referred to as Interhamwe or the Federation for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR).

As the members of FAR and Interahamwe had used these refugee camps to launch cross-border attacks on Rwanda, these camps were militarized (Adelman, H., 2003; Amnesty International 2006). According to the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) (2010), the Congolese Tutsi group in the Congo known as the Banyamulenge increasingly became a target of this FDLR attacks resulting in internal crisis (Havermans, 1998). In addition, the Rwandan president, Paul Kagame, saw these militants as a threat to Rwanda national security. He thus called the attention of the international communities to disarm the armed groups all over the refugee camps, but nothing was done about it. In the absence of any action, Kagame took things into his own hands, an alarming series of reprisal was ignited in the DRC.

The Rwandan armies (Rwandan Patriotic Front, RPF) supported by Uganda, Angola and Burundi, invaded the eastern DRC in an effort to root out the FDLR (French, 2009, Warren, 2011). Other African countries, like Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Ethiopia also supported the incursion with minimal military and monetary assistance (Warren, 2011). This spill-over of the Rwanda genocide triggered a major catastrophe in the DRC in particular and the entire great lakes region in general. Hundreds of thousands of civilian refugees perished in squalid conditions (Lemarchand, 2012:32; Reyntjens, 2009: 45: Gribbin, 2005: 143). The situation was further aggravated when some Kivu politicians portend to expel the Congolese Tutsi from Congo (Warren, 2011).

However, in 1997, the conflict was soon hijacked and politicized by the international community as the tussle between Hutu and Tutsi in the Congo intensified. It was later integrated with the ambition of the coalition of African states to depose MobutuSese Seko and replace him with Laurent Désiré Kabila. The Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of the Congo (ADFL)[8] was organised in Kigali, Rwanda in October 1996. Commanded by a Congolese rebel leader, Laurent Kabila, this was a group of Congolese

[8]A coalition of Rwandan, Ugandan, Burundian and some selected Congolese dissidents, disgruntled minority groups and nations that toppled President Mobutu Sese Seko and brought Laurent Kabila to power in the First Congo War (1996-1997).

Tutsis, and Rwanda, Uganda, and Burundi troops, with Tanzania providing technical support (Campbell, 1997).

Also, some multinational corporations such as American Mineral Fields Incorporation (AMFI) and Barrick Gold Corporation (BGC) were financially and logistically involved (Naidoo, 2003; Nabudere, 2003; Bosongo, 1998). Laurent Kabila mounted an aggressive military campaign and overthrew Mobutu in a fierce rebellion (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2006; Kennes, 2005; Afoaku, 2002; Reed, 1998; Pomfret, 1997). He renamed the country, "the Democratic Republic of the Congo" (DRC). Gondola (2002) observed that beyond fighting the Hutu militia, there is an ulterior economic motive of Paul Kagame of Rwanda and Yoweri Museveni of Uganda. This was manifested in the promise of access to the mineral resources by Kabila during the formation of their coalition. Therefore, a network of multinational corporations, organizational captains, haulages, logistic and airline companies, and banks situated in Kigali, Kampala, and New York began to plunder Congo's resources during and after the war.

However, in the eastern Congo, being the most violent zone and the mining zone, the Interahamwe militia became violently antagonistic to the great lake regional armies who are now in the DRC. This military group created an inimical relational and border security issues between the DRC and her neighbouring countries. Kabila's backers viewed this as undesirable development and as a breach of bilateral security measures agreed upon. Thus, Kabila's government was caught in a serious diplomatic complication. Due to exploitative aggression of his allies, poor democratic governance, media persecution, human rights violation, opposition to participatory politic, and poor service delivery, Kabila's government was also branded with violent conflict and displacement of civilians (Havermans, 1999:238).

Ultimately, therefore, the general acceptance and sustenance of the ADFL gradually decline as those troops were being considered as an illegal force in the DRC. So, in July 1998, Kabila commanded Rwandan army to withdraw from the DRC borders. This is the radical change that soiled the bilateral relations between the two countries. Some Congolese Tutsi soldiers mutinied in remonstration as a result, and there was inimical division within the DRC army. This goaded another fresh incursion of the Rwandan military units into the DRC in support of the rebellion, on August 2, 1998.This escalated into a more extreme violent war in the DRC, called the "the second Congo War."

4.3.7 The Second DRC War 1998-2003

The Second Congo War, which has often been referred to as Africa's World War, was one of the most violent wars in African history. Nine countries engaged in a deadly combat within the Congolese borders, and no less than twenty armed groups played a role in the conflict that adversely affected the lives of approximate of 50 million Congolese. About four million people died as a result of violence, starvation, and disease, and millions of people were displaced, many became refugees in neighbouring countries (Global Security, 2007; IRC, 2007; Coghlan, et al., 2006; Jackson, 2006; McCullum, 2006).

The conflict was instigated on August 2, 1998, when Kabila, fearing annexation of the mineral-rich territory by the two regional powers, ordered Rwandan and Ugandan forces to leave the DRC (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2006). So, Kabila defaulted and was levelled with allegations of failing to respond to the wish or command of the powers that installed him, particularly those of the great lake regional countries. However, the need to replace Kabila at once prompted a new strategy of intervention. This time, it was direct incursions by the organized armies of Rwanda, Uganda, and Burundi which attacked Congolese military sites and seized strategic metropolis and installations.

At the request of Kabila, other countries in the SADC region formed a coalition and mounted a military intervention against the Congo invasion.Congolese rebel forces were fortified by Rwandan and Ugandan armies to launch a new Tutsi-led rebel movement called the *Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie* (RCD) – [Congolese Democratic Rally (CDR)] to advance against Kabila in Kinshasa (Tyagi, 2016:284). But Angola, Chad, Sudan, Zimbabwe and Namibia armies effectively intervened on behalf of Kabila and forced the RCD to withdraw from Kinshasa to the eastern Congo where the rebels relentlessly battled the Congolese army (Wiafe-Amoako, 2016: 181).

However, in February 1999, Uganda, backed by ex-Mobutuists and ex-Zairian soldiers from Equateur province, launched another rebel group named the *Mouvement pour la Libération du Congo* (MLC) (Mueckenhem, 2007: 426). The Ugandan backed MLC seized the northern DRC thereby dividing the DRC into three *de facto* segments controlled by Laurent Désire Kabila, the Rwandan RCD, and the Ugandan MLC (International Business Publications, 2013:19). So, the Kabila government only controlled about one-third of the country while the rest of the country was under the control of foreign countries (Global Security, 2007).

Kabila incorporated Interahamwe/ex-FAR Rwandan forces into his army and forged an alliance with Congolese guerrillas, the Mai- Mai (Weiss, & Carayannis, 2004). Dr. Emeric Rogier, a Research Fellow at the Netherlands Institute of International Relations, Conflict Research Unit,comments that the August 1999 Lusaka Accord has failed to deliver a ceasefire, or attained the withdrawal of foreign armies, or resulted to the launching of an inter-Congolese dialogue as anticipated (Rogier, 2004). This is because the parties violated the terms of the Accord (Ahere, 2012). Besides that, Kabila also hindered the full deployment of the UN troops (International Business Publications, 2013:19). Therefore, eventually, on January 16, 2001, Laurent Désire Kabila was assassinated by one of his bodyguards. SAHO, 2001 puts it more succinctly that,

> On 16 January 2001, Laurent Kabila President of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) was shot dead. According to reports Kabila was shot by one of his bodyguards in front of army generals, following a dispute in which he had sacked them. It was later confirmed that the incident was not a coup attempt, but an argument that got out of hand.

His son, Joseph Kabila, succeeded him as the head of state at the age of twenty-nine years old.

4.3.8 Conflict in the Eastern Congo (2004-present)

Joseph Kabila rerouted drastically from his father's violent progression to administer an option of exploit that eventually orchestrated the removal of all external armies. He instituted a transition government, stimulated economic growth, and systematized the successful national elections of 2006 (Gambino, 2008). According to the U.S. Department of State (2010), Kabila was able to make headway in the efforts to liberalize the domestic politics and cooperate with the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) for national economic reforms in the DRC. Joseph Kabila has been able to put an end to the war in DRC, yet there is no peace. The battles in the eastern DRC proved cumbersome for his government, as the proxy forces are being mobilized from outside the country to continue in the exploitation of the eastern Congo. Therefore, violent conflict continued to wreak havoc on the DRC society, with its consequential humanitarian catastrophes. Up till today, instability permeates the entire society of the DRC.

According to Usanov (2013), most of these challenges found their roots in the battles of North Kivu, South Kivu, and Ituri. Congolese rebels, foreign militias, and the Congolese army have continued to operate with impunity in eastern DRC. The public nuances of this

region have been particularly wrought by the intractable violence. An estimated three million more people have died in the DRC since 2001 (Gambino, 2008). According to the UN undersecretary-general for humanitarian affairs and emergency relief coordinator John Holmes, “the sexual violence in Congo is the worst in the world. The sheer numbers, the wholesale brutality, the culture of impunity - it’s appalling” (Gettleman, 2007). The conflict still continues today and the end of violence in the DRC is not in sight, with militias and soldiers being regularly involved in massive human rights abuses against civilians, including sexual violence.

4.3.9 The Current Political Crisis (2016-present)

Joseph Kabila has been head of state for 15-years now. He assumed office as a military head of state in 2001, he was later elected, democratically, as president in 2006, and re-elected again in 2011. Irrefutably, he has served his two terms in office as president between 2006 and 2016 in accordance with the constitution of his country. The national elections scheduled for November 27, 2016, to replace him after 15 years in office have been deferred owing to an outmoded electoral register. The opposition parties have viewed this as tactics to stay longer in power and reacted in violent demonstrations. The country has since then been in the paroxysm of a political crisis. Constitutionally, Kabila's term expired on 20 December 2016. So election was proposed for November 2016. However, on the 29 of September 2016, the electoral authority announced that the election would not hold until early 2018. It has been the bone of contention since the announcement.

Many peace efforts are being made by the African Union facilitator, Edem Kodjo, and the Congolese episcopate, acting as mediators in discussions between the Government and these opposition parties. A new peace arrangement that was consummated on December 31, 2016, which provides for an interim period during which power will be conjointly shared between Joseph Kabila and the opposition until a democratically elected successor emerges in late 2017. The agreement plainly specifies that Joseph Kabila will not seek a third term and that no revision of the Constitution will be attempted within this period. However, while the agreement had yet to be enforced, the President designated a new Prime Minister on April 7, 2017, contravening the December 31 agreement. In protest to this, the church leaders, who were spearheading the mediation talks withdrew, “noting the failure of that agreement” (The World Bank, 2017).

4.4 CAUSES OF CONFLICTS IN THE DRC

Generally, conflict is a unique human experience that is defined by distinct characteristics. Understanding of the roots, nature, and effect of conflicts is central to their resolution (Debiel and (Klein, 2002, Michailof, Kostner, and Devictor, 2002). From the historical perspective as demonstrated in this chapter, the causes of the DRC conflicts, have been an aggregate of several underlying forces. These dynamics do not exclude the battle for political power, internal and external contention over the natural resources of the nation, and struggles for cultural and social relevance. According to Bujra (2002) and Stewart (2011), intractable conflicts are typically attributable to a number of complex factors such as economic, social, political, and cultural injustices. Conflicts characterized by ideological, political, resources and ethnic identity issues have a greater propensity to be protracted and last for many decades (Azar, 1990; Nilsson & Kreutz, 2010; Dudouet, 2006).

Therefore, according to Young and Turner (1985) and Leslie (1993), conflicts in the DRC has been misunderstood to be ethnic crisis engendered by mismanagement and corruption and the unpreparedness and incompetence for self-rule due to the initial lack of university-educated cadre among the Congolese people at the time of independence. Yet, causes of conflicts in the DRC cannot be detached from what Young, Turner, and Leslie called a misrepresentation. The situation in the DRC is too complex and dynamic to be homogenized with a single string of causative factor. It could be inferred, however, that the Congo Crisis of the first and second regime has so much to do with ethnic disagreement, mismanagement, corruption, and unpreparedness for independence. Although the expansionist must have used this to their economic advantage, thereby, provoking other factors responsible of sustenance of the conflict. Below are some of these contemporary challenges:

4.4.1 Historical Causes of Conflict

Historically, violent conflicts have been part of everyday life of the Congolese people. The effort to put an end to it has always lead to more conflicts. Histories of rape, community displacement, and political conflict reiterate themselves in the DRC. However, it is important to note that this legacy of violence was handed down by brutal Colonial rules. Like most colonized African countries, the DRC's post-independence conflicts are direct results of their colonial encounter. For instance, the trauma of Leopold was met by the ordeal of Belgian administration and climaxed to several successive postcolonial commotions. Furthermore, the

haphazard fusion of different ethnic groups to become one entity, and at the same time treated them as separate entities is one of the roots of Conflict in Africa (Young, 1998; Dare, 1986; Nnoli, 1979). According to Collier (2000), "history matters because if a country has recently had a civil war its risk of further war is much higher. Immediately after the end of hostilities there is a 40% chance of further conflict".

4.4.2 Socioeconomic causes of conflict in the DRC

Contrary to general notion that attributes the prevalent situation of violent conflicts in Africa to its multi-ethnicity, multi-cultural and religious miscellany, the comparatively higher frequency of conflicts in Africa is due to high "levels of poverty," overdependence on natural resources and "failed political institutions." Poverty is the underpinning source of conflicts in Africa. It is a structural violence that kick-start tensions at the individual level, at the family level, community level and could escalate to direct violence at the state level. "Poverty could cause conflict and conflict in reverse could then produce more poverty" (Collier, 2000)**.** In order to properly grasp this socioeconomic dimension of conflict, the UN Statement of June 1998, which was signed by the heads of all UN agencies, is considered appropriate, as alluded by David Gordon a Professor of Social Justice School for Policy Studies, University of Bristol during the Experts Group Meeting on Youth Development Indicators at the United Nations Headquarters in New York:

> Poverty is fundamentally a denial of choices and opportunities, and a violation of human dignity. It means lack of basic capacity to participate effectively in society. It means not having enough to feed and clothe a family, not having a school or clinic to go to, not having the land on which to grow one's food or a job to earn one's living, not having access to credit. It means insecurity, powerlessness, and exclusion of individuals, households, and communities. It means susceptibility to violence, and it often implies living in marginal or fragile environments, without access to clean water or sanitation (Gordon, 2005).

As people, increasingly, are aware of their fundamental human right to lead a better life and perceive how much they have been deprived of the same via structural violence of poverty, conflict is being brewed.Structural violence is both physical and psychological violence against humanity which emanates from oppressive and unjust economic, political and social structures. This is one main root of conflicts in the DRC where unequal distribution of wealth among the people had generated so much discontent and violent reactions.

Paul Collier's research at World Bank on the economic causes of civil war submits that Primary commodity exports increase the risk of conflict by four routes: financing rebels, worsening corruption, increasing the incentive for secession, and increasing exposure to vulnerability shocks (Collier, 2000).The DRC is trapped in a complex violent conflicts situation, a palpable manifestation of a typical war, where violence has become systemic and usual, apparently, without any form of comprehensible national struggle. The complexity that trapped the DRC in this predicament is not just a conflict of ideas about the destiny of the country or the Cold War saga based on any philosophical, religious, or national interest. Rather, it could be said to be the expression of a subterranean of social, economic, political and historical resentments, ethnic divisions. Paul Collier, Director, Development Research Group World Bank informs that:

> Conflict is concentrated in countries with little education. The average country in our sample had only 45% of its young males in secondary education. A country which has ten percentage points more of its youths in schools- say 55% instead of 45% - cut its risk of conflict from 14% to around 10%. Conflict is more likely in countries with fast population growth: each percentage point on the rate of population growth raises the risk of conflict by around 2.5 percentage points. Conflict is also more likely in countries in economic decline. Each percentage point off the growth rate of per capita income raises the risk of conflict by around one percentage point (Collier, 2000).

Autesserre (2010) observes that in most cases, economic pressures propel political violence and vice versa. Access to natural resources empowers to acquire arms and pay militias, thereby empowered to secure political power which grants access to land and resources. However, it is important to note that the source of chronic condition of poverty in Africa is not limited to problematic national social system only, but also at the international level. The pressure of globalization and unfavourable northern policies, for instance, are a vital part of the causes of socioeconomic inequalities in Africa. Therefore, any peace initiative, in Africa or for Africa, which does not subscribe to this reality but focuses only on the technicality of violent conflict is not sustainable (McCandless and Karbo, 2011). Elbadawi and Sambanis (2000) argue that "the best and fastest strategy to reduce the prevalence of civil war in Africa and prevent future civil wars is to institute democratic reforms that effectively manage the challenges facing Africa's diverse societies".

4.4.3 Migration and Geostrategic Crisis

Oyeniyi (2012: 3-4) posits that conflicts in Africa are instigated by past colonial legacies of poor boundaries and the multi-ethnicity of most African states. Especially now that frontiers of African countries are vaguer than they were before independence due to mammoth transnational movement of economic and political refugees within the continent. In the case of the DRC, for instance, Belgian colonial administrators had resettled over 85,000 people, both Hutu and Tutsi, from overpopulated Rwanda to the sparse Kivu provinces in Congo. Also, several masses of Tutsis have escaped Rwandan ethnic cleansing in the 1960s and 1970s into the same region. Today, Congolese of Rwandan origin, especially the Tutsi tribe, possess most of the land. However, the original Hundes and the Nyangas tribes of the Congo claim that the lands are theirs on the simple basis that it was never legally given out.

These conflicting prerogatives have escalated in its complexity from the 1990s. For instance, the 1994 genocide in Rwanda and several wars and invasions in the DRC, and refugee migrations has triggered intricate transferences of land ownership or control in the Kivus. For a long period, these indigenous conflict dynamics have impelled wider continuum of regional and national struggles. And sometimes it is the struggle at the national and regional level that provoke ethnic violence. These happen mostly when Congolese Hutus of Rwandan decent formed coalitions with Rwandan Hutu militias and, in response, the Rwandan government would support Congolese Tutsis of Rwandan ancestry and intervene in the name of national security.

These conflicts are not unconnected with those over geostrategic territories which are sustained as an upshot of the unwillingness of conflict parties to withdraw (Nilsson & Kreutz, 2010). According to Géraldine Mattioli of Human Rights Watch, “It is our belief that Rwanda and Uganda started wars in Congo because they were interested in chaos in the country in order to exploit the wealth” (Glassborow, 2007). In fact, post inversion analysis reveals that the main goal of the international intervention at this point was not to combat the armed groups (stop the war), rather it was a strategy for a change of regime in the DRC, for the Rwanda to legitimize a territorial expansion and to pillage DR Congo's resources by the client states, Rwanda, Uganda and their Western-allied (Madsen, 1999; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Ngbanda, 2004).

4.4.4 Problematic National Defence and Control

The geographical condition of the DRC constitutes an outlandish trouble for the government militaries to control. This is primarily because the population only occupies the peripheries of its vast expanse coupled with the massive rainforest located within her borders. The three main cities in the DRC are positioned way far apart, one in the extreme west, and another in the extreme south-east and another in the extreme north. The thick forest makes it easy for rebellious activities due to availability of hideouts, for the government forces cannot be everywhere in the country to monitor them. Therefore Collier (2000) postulates that "with Congo-like geographic dispersion our otherwise ordinary country has a risk of conflict of around 50% whereas with Singapore-like concentration its risk falls to around 3%." The presence of armed groups in parts of Congo is a major source of instability. Some of the main rebel groups active in DRC include: The Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), the National Congress for the Defense of the People (CNDP), the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), the *Mai Mai* militia, and the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF).

4.4.5 Resource Curse Syndrome

Bannon and Collier (2003: 7) posit that states with natural and economic resources have the propensity to resort to conflict and contestation over such resources. He also affirms that resources engender and sustain conflicts and have potential to disrupt good governance. Several notable researchers like Auty (1993) and Sachs and Warner (2001) have shown this paradoxical connection between natural resource abundance and poor economy. The term, "Resource Curse" has been adopted to describe how countries endowed with so much human and natural resources find it so difficult to utilize their potential for improvement of their economies and to also explain how such countries had poorer economic development than countries that do not have the privilege of natural resources. Definitely, the DRC is a typical example of the notion that natural resources might be more of a curse than a blessing. Interestingly, 80 percent of the world's coltan is said to be found in the DRC, but unfortunately, illegal mining and sales of this vital mineral are funding the persistent conflict in the country.

4.4.6 Political-Economic Pressure

Conflict in Africa is also a function of uneven production and distribution of wealth and the competition it engenders. This developed when the fragile economic independence of African states are being critically challenged by the international coercion to enter into the various

trading blocs for the development of regional and global trading systems. As the end of cold war marked the end of the Soviet Union, so it also signified the end of alternative model of international economy. According to MacGinty and Williams (2016), the world deviated from the nationalization of industries, restrictions on foreign capital, land reforms and the enhanced role of the state in directing economic exchange and initiatives to embrace Neo-Liberalism.

Neo-liberal capitalism advocates free market deregulation as the only solution to development problems. It is an aggressive economic reform intervention that created an economic climate of shocks, unstable commodity prices, international capital flight, and increasingly powerful and mobile Multinational Corporation that have become so significant "political interlocutors between metropolitan and borderland states" (Duffield, 2000). It renders the traditional response of state-directed development policy ineffective, with no alternative. In the case of the DRC however, the state incompetence and corruption further aggravate its negative impact.

Dorn (1998) asserts that "the real plight of underdeveloped countries is not market failure but state failure - that is the failure of government to protect property rights, enforce contracts and leave the market alone." The emergence of the capitalist markets in the DRC, despite the raging wars, affirms the notion that wars are necessary to create capitalist markets. Moore (2003) protests that "states" and "markets" and "war" are an interwoven of politics and economics that cannot be easily separated. He argued that they all have something to do with the conflict over the accumulation of wealth and "capital". In this scenario, the weak Congo economy becomes vulnerable: the neo-liberalism drastically impinged on the relationships between Congolese and the government, the state, and the market, and the state and other states.

Collier (2000) protests that marginalized countries, which are economically stagnant and not benefiting from the trend of global economic development, demonstrate a greater incidence of conflict and a greater tendency to lapse back into conflict even after a peace agreement. The strongest criticism of Neo-liberalism is its inability to ameliorate poverty and social exclusion in its various ramifications. Harvey (2005) considers the ideology as "justification and legitimation of capitalist social order," an undo of social cohesion that curtails aggressive capital accumulation. It capable of making the market-driven programming in development

and peacebuilding pernicious (Chua, 2004). In fact, it represents a "predatory disaster capitalism" that benefits from the plight of others (Klein, 2007).

4.4.7 Predatory Interest and Destructive Intervention

Historically, the DRC has been caught between expansionist invasion, serious border security complications, Cold War Superpowers dynamics and Multinational Corporation aggressive operations (Bosongo, 1998:13; Naidoo, 2003:5 and Nabudere, 2003: 45). External factors have been important in the DRC's conflicts. Lately the failure of the DRC state is being attributed to the interference of the Western states in the internal affairs of the DRC, the aggressive predatory economic interest of some foreign nations and their multinational corporations, and the deliberate undermining of the DRC's democratic efforts (Kankwenda, 2005; Ngbanda, 2004; French, 2004; Nzongola 2002; Braeckman, 2002; Madsen, 1999; Pongo, 1999; Duffield, 2000; Nzongola- Ntalaja, 1999:22).

Carlson (2006) protests that "the greatest motive for violence is not the thirst for political power so much as the thirst for the immense potential profit from the DRC's ample mineral wealth." But Collier (2000:4) explains "war cannot be fought just on hopes or hatreds. Predatory behaviour during the conflict may not be the objective of the rebel organization, but it is its means of financing the conflict." The gross failure of all efforts to engage the rebel groups through the political process is largely traceable to the unwillingness to let go of their continuous illegal profit from mineral smuggling. According to Collier (2000), what makes predatory rebellions profitable is empirically connected with three economic conditions: dependence on primary commodity exports, the low average income of the country, and slow growth.

Proxy forces are often used to invade and displaced communities so as to plunder. For instance, "the United Nations estimates that before 2002, rebels and the armies of Rwanda and Uganda occupying the eastern DRC were making over US$150 million per year from coltan sales" (Carlson, 2006). This is a situation where diamonds, for instance, are being used as a "legal tender" in exchange for weapons. A portrayal of an utter failure of the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme that was intended to keep "conflict" diamonds off the international market (Carlson, 2006).The lack of firm government authority in the mining sector has given rise to anarchical environment in the mining region of the DRC. Mines are dominated by illegal miners and warlords who are dedicated to the service of some external

predatory entities (Rosen, 2013). The complexity of its causation is that the weakness of government authority in the sector because of the ceaseless conflicts in the region and, at the same time, this chaotic situation in the mining regions and sector is a result of the lack of vital governmental policy. Peacekeeping prescription is therefore issued within the parameters of maintaining the current orders.

4.4.8 Ethnic Dimension of the DRC Conflict

Throughout eastern DRC especially, ethnic disputes exist between and within many factions from different tribes, families and even districts. This has been a serious source of violence and instability in DRC. Most of these conflicts occur because the community is densely militarised as the effort of state dictatorships to instigate ethnic autocracies are constantly under attack by increasingly militant opposition groups encouraged by both external and internal pro-democracy and human rights organisations. The abundance of weaponry, trained soldiers, and untrained volunteers are available to any eventual warlord with resources and willpower.

So, such conflicts are caused not by the pursuit of national interest, but indigenous independence motivated by socioeconomic and political interest, mainly as a result of domination of state institutions by a certain ethnic or regional community or group to the exclusion of the others (Clover, 2004: 7-8; Nilsson & Kreutz, 2010: 3). But Collier (2000) argues that conflict is not caused by divisions, rather it actively needs to create them. He explained that:

> […] where rebellions happen to be financially viable, wars will occur. As part of the process of war, the rebel organization must generate group grievance for military effectiveness. The generation of group grievance politicizes the war. Thus, the war produces the intense political conflict, not the intense political conflict the war" (Collier, 2000).

4.4.9 Expansionist Reinforcement of Conflict in the DRC

It has been widely postulated that many policymakers felt guilty that they had not done enough to stop the Rwanda genocide. So, the guilt allows them to cover up the Rwandan atrocities in the DRC. The guilt that manifested during Bill Clinton era in the United States of America ((USA), in his extremely pro-Rwandan policy which essentially allowed the new government in Rwanda to do whatever they wanted both within and outside their country with a sense of impunity. Therefore, with the leaders of the US and the UN looking the other

way, the Rwandan president, Paul Kagame proceeded with full-scale invasion of the DRC along with his Ugandan ally Yoweri Museveni. While the US played strategic direct supporting roles like major shipment of weapons and military training. In this case, the Rwandan and Ugandan armies invaded their neighbour, plundering it of its natural resources and suffering no sanctions (United Nations Security Council, 2007).

Nevertheless, there was a law in the USA that says that the secretary of state has the power to withhold aid from nation deem to be destabilizing the DRC if she has sufficient evidence that the country is doing so.

The Secretary of State is authorized to withhold assistance made available under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2151 et seq.), other than humanitarian, peacekeeping, and counterterrorism assistance, for a foreign country if the Secretary determines that the government of the foreign country is taking actions to destabilize the Democratic Republic of the Congo (US Government, 2006). Yet, UN Mapping Report that was leaked in August 2010, and was officially released in October 2010 revealed shocking evidence that the Rwandan had committed the crime against humanity, the crime of genocide, acts of violence against women and children, and sexual violence. Yet, Rwandan government, that was called a genocidal government by the UN Mapping report, have received one billion US dollars from the US government since 2000. The unanswered question remains, why the US government would be in support of a genocidal government? However, Africa Faith and Justice Network (2012) affirms that:

> Historically, economic sanctions have proven effective in curtailing Rwandan aggressions across the border. In late 2008, Sweden and the Netherlands suspended aid to Rwanda after evidence surfaced showing Rwanda's support of the CNDP rebel group.

Although, the reason the US supported Rwanda and the Uganda in their invasion of the DRC cannot simply be attributed to genocide guilt alone. Hence another notion was that the US government had ulterior economic and political motives as well. This reason for the US involvement extended back to her support of Mobutu, an obstinate dictator the US helped installed in the DRC and supported for thirty-two years of outright despotism and embezzlement. But after the Cold War ended, specifically in 1989-90, many of Mobutu's supporters, including the US government and the French government, essentially abandoned him having become a liability and an embarrassment to them due to his bad human rights

record. Therefore, the US help Rwanda and Uganda overthrow him and installed another dictator, Laurent Kabila, and another Joseph Kabila.

The involvement of western nations in the DRC's conflicts was mostly to support strong and malleable leaders that would safeguard their own economic interests[9], rather than supporting the people (Hochschild, 1998:78; Baregu, 2006:60; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002:145). The foreign policy of the US and the Great Britain promote tyranny and dependency in the developing world. They used dictator to manage their interest in most cases: Pinochet in Chile for instance; Suharto in Indonesia; Mubarak in Egypt; Museveni in Uganda; and Kagame in Rwanda, just to mention a few. Therefore, the situation in the DRC is not just a Congolese issue or an African issue, rather it is a global issue, and require global attention.

4.5 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

In summary, therefore, the history of the DRC has been branded by repeated outbreaks of violent conflict and lingering wars. However, it was observed that the causes of conflict in the DRC were never unconnected with some foreign economic interests in her mineral resources. Even when the conflicts appear to take some political forms, the economic interest is often entrenched in it. This is mostly demonstrated when the prevailing influence over a particular government was seen as a free access to its resources (Baregu, 2006:60). Therefore, most external intervention and the strategies of international intervention in the DRC'S conflicts were overshadowed by the various actors' commitment to safeguarding their ulterior economic interests.

During the Congo crisis of the early 1960s, it was observed that the intervention strategies adopted by the western countries were defined by the Cold War milieu, which portrayed the operation as safeguard private interests rather than national interest. The capitalist agenda to exterminate the Soviet's communism took precedence over the primary peace agenda in the Congo, probably because of the economic interests at stake. However, when Mobutu took over from power 1965, his thirty-two years revealed the covert scheme of the western

[9]This practice of external forces supporting the strong individual in the DRC has been in practice since medieval Africa times (Oliver and Atmore, 2001).

countries to engage and sustain a compliant government in the Congo. This was actualized through economic, political and military strategies systematized by the US. It was noted that the strategies of intervention during Laurent Kabila regime changed drastically and radically from those adopted during Mobutu regime.

The goal of this chapter to critically examine the history of the DRC's conflicts, with a view to ascertaining some of its causes and perhaps its peculiar characteristics, was carefully done through chronological exploration of the country's conflict history under various regimes from precolonial Congo to the current political crisis in the DRC. However, the first segment of the chapter offered the profile of the DRC's geostrategic importance. The segment was set as a context for the subsequent segments of this study because it displayed the DRC's unique endowment of strategic natural resources. This has helped to comprehend how this national blessing has occasioned the external manipulations that cause desolation (Nzongola- Ntalaja, 1999:22). Therefore, the next chapter examines the role of the church and its models of peacebuilding in the DRC through the lens of the Lederach's Pyramid Model of peacebuilding: it analyse the church's approach to conflicts transformation and peacebuilding in the DRC using the John Paul Lederach's Peacebuilding Pyramid Model.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN PEACEBUILDING IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO 2001-2016

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In chapter four, critical reflection on the history of the conflict in the DRC was engaged with a view to identifying their causes and characteristics. The chapter profiles the DRC in order to discuss her geostrategic, political and economic significance to east African region, to Africa and to the world at large. The rudiments of the DRC crisis and its intractability were considered, then, a perspective of the causes and the nature of its conflicts were highlighted and discussed. Therefore, this chapter examines the role of the church and its models of peacebuilding in the DRC through the lens of the Lederach's Pyramid Model of peacebuilding: it attempts to apply the John Paul Lederach's Peacebuilding Pyramid Model to analyse the church efforts and approach to conflicts transformation in the DRC. Thereafter, the challenges and opportunities facing the Church in its peace efforts were discussed.

5.2 THE PRESENCE OF THE CHURCH IN THE DRC

In Africa, Christianity is the largest religion on the continent, especially as far as sub-Saharan Africa is concerned. Not only does every fifth of the world's Christians live in Africa, but African Christians also tend to take their religion more seriously than at least their European religious counterpart (Møller, 2006:25). To a large extent, therefore, Christianity is the most predominant religion in the DRC today, albeit, in its diverse forms. Relatively, the Christian religion has been in the country for a long time, dating back to1493, when the Portuguese explorers first docked at the coast of Congo (Knight, 2012A). Their missionary activities began with some high-profile palace conversions of kings as well as their subjects (Ross, 2013). One of their major breakthroughs was in 1506 when King Alfonso I of Congo was christened and was made to establish a relationship with the Vatican. However, the more proliferation of Christian religion occurred during the Belgian colonial era.

Today, the DRC has over 80% Christian population. The Roman Catholic Church have about half of the entire population of the country with 50%, the Protestant denominations - under the umbrella name, Church of Christ in the Congo (ECC) have 20%, while Kimbanguists - an

indigenous church represent 9%. (Adogla 2010:17; Le Roux 2014:101-2; Whetho & Uzodike 2008:73).

5.2.1 Roman Catholic Christianity in the DRC

Roman Catholic Church (RCC) is the largest Christian constellation in the DRC. This is not isolated from its close connection with the Belgian Colonial agenda. According to the Titre (2010:43),

> [T]he Catholic Church is by far the most important religious organization in the Congo…certainly the state's premier ideological apparatus that helped to ensure the long-term efficacy of the entire colonial system.

Today, the Church is the most influential and well-organised part of civil society in the DRC, and they are dominated by Catholics and Protestants (Jordhus-Lier and Braathen, 2013:115). The organizational and utilitarian aptitude of the Roman Catholic Church (RCC) makes it essentially strong. Churches and missionary organizations have been very relevant since the times of the colonial rules, as the DRC government has always left the provision of basic education and health care largely to church-related organizations (Bratton, 1988:569-87). Also, the Commission for Africa observes in particular that the "Catholic Church is the only reasonable coherent organization in the country and functions as a post office in the absence of a national postal service" (Franks, 2005).

Though not without some objections here and there, the Catholic Church could be said to have a reputation for remarkable peace-making initiatives and engagements worldwide (Smock, 2001). The Catholic envisions peace in the context of "promotion and defence of human rights, collaboration in authentic development, building bonds of solidarity among people, and constructing the institutions of world peace" (Smock, 2001:4). To the Roman Catholic Church, the idea of authentic development consists of the right of all people to the means for their full development as human beings, far beyond economic progress. In addition to that, the affluent nations of the world have an obligation to share the benefits of development with the poor, not just through aid, but also through structural economic changes such as equity in trade reform.

5.2.2 Protestant Christianity

Protestant Christianity are branches of Christian religion that originate from the Reformation that took place in the early 16th century when some Western Christian Churches separated from the Roman Catholic Church in accordance with the principles[10] of the Reformation (Barber, 2008). In the DRC, there are about 62 Protestant denominations which are federated into one constellation called The Church of Christ in the Congo (ECC). According to Gourdet & Shebeck (2008):

> Church of Christ in Congo (ECC): is the ecumenical Christian organization that brings under one umbrella more than sixty Congolese Protestant denominations…. Core values of the ECC are reconciliation, justice, peace, struggle against corruption and respect for human life. It also encourages the mentality of power as a service to others and not a privilege reserved for self-interest. The Women's Department recognizes that women are that part of the population who are the most affected by the war. They are also the ones most easily manipulated by politicians and predators. Therefore, the Women's Department is determined to be engaged in the reconstruction of the country on principles based on love and forgiveness, respect for human lives and values as well as good governance.

The first Protestant mission was established in the DRC in 1878. Protestantism is a category of missionary churches that emanated from the West and those independent Pentecostal Churches founded in the country. In the DRC however, both the Protestants and the Pentecostals have been constellated into one denomination known as the "Church of Christ in the Congo" or *Église du Christ au Congo* (ECC) in French. Such churches include Methodist, Baptist, Anglican, Presbyterian, and Anabaptist etc. Therefore, altogether a combination of 62 different denominations makes up the second category of churches in the DRC. Though not as popular and subsidized as the Catholic Church, the ECC is esteemed by the Congolese for its exceptional stance of integrity against the prevailing vices in the country. Furthermore, like the Catholic Church, Protestantism is also appreciated for its provision of social amenities, medical and educational services in the DRC. However, since the DRC's

[10]The principles of the Reformation refer to the initial set of Biblical principles held by the protagonists to be key to the doctrine of salvation popularly known as the five *solae: i.e. Sola Scriptura* (Scripture alone), *Solus Christus* (Christ alone), *Sola Fide* (faith alone), *Sola Gratia* (by grace alone) and *Soli Deo Gloria* (glory to God alone).

independence, the churches within this constellation are headed by Congolese Prelates, and their foreign missionaries work under the ECC authority.

The ECC, under which all Protestants churches operate as one body, has been very proactive on peacebuilding process and women's rights and democracy in the DRC. But, unlike the RCC, the Protestant churches in the DRC lack a strong institutional structure. Some observers have claimed that "it was, in fact, the Mobutu state" (Jordhus-Lier and Braathen, 2013:115). However, the leadership of the ECC network in the DRC has been peace and democracy advocate. Yet, the Protestant churches have not always been able to steer clear of ethnic tensions. In contrast to the well-established RCC in the country, the Protestant churches in the DRC have emerged from a lopsided mission scattered all over different ethnic communities. Consequently, it degenerated to unhealthy competition to create a territorial division of influence which, over time, have caused some of the churches to take sides with particular ethnic groups and marginalized the others (Rukundwa, 2006).

5.2.3 The Kimbanguists Christianity

The third category of Churches in the DRC is the Kimbanguists Church. This is an independent African instituted church founded in the DRC by Simon Kimbangu in 1921. It is known by the name 'the Church of Jesus Christ on Earth by His special envoy Simon Kimbangu' or in French, *Église de Jésus Christ sur la Terre par son envoyé spécial Simon Kimbangu*. It is a large independent church which controls about 9% of the DRC's Christian population. Mariage (2013:76) argues that because it is a Congolese Church, it "does not have comparative international contacts but mobilizes at a national level to provide social services in the absence of state infrastructure."

The separatism of Kimbanguist church from political matters was made clear long before the independence of Congo by the leader, Joseph Diangenda, who, though, permits its members to join politics yet at their individual volition (Martin 1976:124). However, postcolonial history had it that the Kimbanguist Church, although, "technically apolitical, has fervently supported the Mobutist state and actively uses its religious authority to diffuse the regime's ideological watchwords" (Schatzberg, 1991:124). The church was rewarded by being recognized as an authentic Congolese Church, and was not categorized with the ECC constellation, rather given a separate recognition as the third church category among the

official national institution (Titre, 2010:56). Therefore, since 1971 till now, there are three major Christian constellations in the DRC: Catholic, Protestant (ECC) and Kimbanguist.

5.3 THE CHURCH IN THE CONTEXT OF WAR IN THE DRC

Undesirably, the manifold of episodes that bring about history in Africa is, in various ramifications, very violent in attributes. To a very considerable extent, conflicts and life in Africa are unfathomably fused, a notion that is implicitly entrenched in many religions and even in the milieu of Christian tenet. War has been a part of African history, thus, a principal component of its 'civilisation'. The western civilisation that befell Africa in the form of colonisation was not devoid of violence and abuse of human rights. A severe assault on human dignity machinated by what Prozesky (1990:30-2) calls "the three Cs - Christianity, Commerce and Civilization." Hence, the legacy of the dangerous trio is experienced in our religious, economic, and political system today. It could be rational to say that the involvement of the Church in this kind of alliance is one of the origins of the Augustinian 'Just War Theory'. From the Christian perspective, Saint Augustine of Hippo posits that:

> the commandment forbidding killing was not broken by those who have waged wars on the authority of God or those who have imposed the death-penalty on criminals when representing the authority of the state, the justest and most reasonable source of power (Augustine, 1958:56).

This theory, though theologically rooted, has shaped both political and judicial reflections on international politics and continues to guide the West and the church till today. According to Gutman, Rieff, and Dworkin (2007:35), as far as the theory is concerned, a war is justifiable and permissive if it meets the following conditions:

> First, war must occur for a good and just purpose rather than for self-gain (for example, "in the nation's interest" is not just) or as an exercise of power. Second, just war must be waged by a properly instituted authority such as the state. Third, peace must be a central motive even in the midst of violence.

The theory simply bestowed the rights of war to instituted authority and rendered religion a vital part of such authority. Consequently, therefore, the responsibility for peace is equally reserved for the authority. In the context of the DRC, these ambivalent roles of the state and the church have been a complex one, since both are said to be 'ordained of God'. However, the Church has been found to have contributed to peace in the DRC when its leaders have played active nonpartisan roles and have also promoted violence when allied with corrupt

authority. Therefore, in the quest for a sustainable peace in the DRC, it is highly necessary that the reflection and the public practice of the church in conflict and peace be such that it is non-violent and constructive.

5.4 THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN PEACE PROCESSES IN THE DRC

In the DRC, the Church has played a central role throughout its history and its roles are not unconnected with times of political crisis (Goldstone, 2001:95). But, Nzongola-Ntalaja, (2004) protests that religion has been active in DRC before the onset of war. However, the densities of violent conflicts in the DRC, and the failure of the state to curb it has necessitated the critical exploit of religious organisations. Surprisingly, the relationship between the church and the state in the DRC has varied from time to time and from one regime to another. During the colonial era, the public role of the church was viewed in the form of its alignment with the colonial agenda. The Catholic, for instance, were found on the side of the government while the Protestant churches maintained a critical distance. Amazingly, these dissimilar roles later took a complete radical shift in post-colonial Congo when the Protestant churches were restructured into a singular body called The Church of Christ in the Congo (ECC) under Mobutu administration. The analysis of these roles is discussed below.

5.4.1 The Roles of the Church in Peace Processes in the Pre-Colonial DRC

During the imperial regime of the King Leopold II and that of the Belgian Congo, Christian missionaries were part of the 'civilising mission' of the colonizers. The colonial alliance made the Catholic Church responsible for the provision of schools and medical services throughout the country as part of their missionary activities (Boyle, 1995: 453). The expectations of the colonial administration were that the Church would help produce a more orderly, vigorous and docile society. But, the conjugation of the two powers was so compliantly intertwined enough to generate terrible suspicion among the people. Cardinal Joseph Malula revealed this misgiving in a public speech that:

> …at the beginning of the evangelisation, church, and state walked together. From their collaboration came this abundant harvest…There also resulted from it a disastrous confusion between the two powers. For our people, the church was the state, and the state was the church (Schatzberg, 1991:117).

It was difficult for the Congolese people to exonerate the church from the affliction of colonial operations, especially the Catholic Church which benefited immensely from its

accumulated plunders. But, the Protestant missionaries were often on the opposing side of the colonial schemes. For instance, the mobilisation of the international community against the inhumane rule of Leopold during the 'Red Rubber Regime'[11] was a result of the public advocacy of the Protestant Churches against violence and oppression in the Congo. Also, during the Belgian administration, the Protestant missionaries' rapport with the colonial administration was rough due to downright distrust between the Belgian official and Protestant missionaries. The Protestant missionaries were principally United Kingdom (UK) or the United States (US) citizens, while most of the Belgian in the Congo were Catholics (Markowitz, 1970:234-6). Besides, the Protestant missionary was excluded from the benefit of subsidy for their projects, and they remained a major critic of the administration.

5.4.2 The Roles of the Church in Peace Processes in the post-Colonial DRC

Even after independence, the Catholic Church sought to continue in the political meddling in the DRC. These attempts could be an evident move of the church to protect its interest in national concessions, subsidies and other palatial benefits enjoyed under the colonial administration. Although, it was obvious that the church did not support the first republic under Patrice Lumumba, owing to the apparent trepidation of 'Lumumba's tyranny' and menace of international communism (Titre, 2010). Nevertheless, the Catholic support for the second republic reverberated in the speech of the Catholic's Cardinal Malula referring to Mobutu thus:

> Mr. President, the church recognizes your authority, for authority comes from God. We will loyally apply the laws that you establish. You can count on us in your work of restoring the peace toward which all so ardently aspire (Schatzberg, 1991:115).

Once again, the Church was found engrossed in the nationalist agenda, in the same manner, it was in the colonial arrangement, but this time, not for too long. In the 1970's, sequel to the Mobutu's dictatorial rule, the Catholic Church in the DRC became the robust institutional criticizer of his authoritarianism. Therefore, the relationship between the Catholic Church and the state was soiled, while, both the ECC and the Kimbanguists remained closely allied with

[11]According to Lowes and Montero (2016:16), [t]he brutality of the rubber collection tactics resulted in the deaths of an estimated 10 million people and earned the policies the nickname 'Red Rubber.'

Mobutu's government. Mobutu was able to divide the church the more by this, making it possible for him to perpetrate administrative misconduct with impunity. According to the Africa Center for Strategic Studies (2016):

> Mobutu brought competing for power centers under tight control, banned political parties and civic movements, created his own civil society associations, co-opted citizens into his Mouvement Populaire de la révolution, and replaced parliament with a central committee.

However, the manifestation of this problem was first noticed in 1971, when Mobutu, as a way of consolidating and strengthening his authority, decided to nationalize the three universities, including Lovanium University founded by the Catholic Church. He also attempted to introduce the *Jeunesse du Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution* (JMPR) into the Catholic seminaries. JMPR is the official youth movement of his party, known as the Youth of the Popular Revolutionary Movement in English. However, the conflict escalated further in 1972 when all Congolese were compelled to change their Christian or foreign names to African ones, as part of his authenticity campaign.

The Catholic authority objected to these drastic changes and instructed its bishops to disregard the orders. This instigated a more hostile reaction of Mobutu who drove the Catholic Cardinal Malula into exile for three months, and confiscate his house and converted it to JMPR head office. Furthermore, the government prohibited all religious publications and youth organisations, and many other proscriptions on religious activities. Both the ECC (which includes all mainline Protestant groups) and the Kimbanguists were closely allied with the government, while the Catholics remained at odds with the regime. Nevertheless, toward the tail end of Mobutu's exit, the Catholic Church provided essential support to the pro-democracy movement in the 1990s, with one of its bishop serving as president of the Transitional National Conference. Both Catholic and Protestant leaders had played several important roles in promoting peace during DRC's various armed conflicts that attended this period (Global Security, 2017).

Nevertheless, some observers contend that the church was doing a better job at managing state functions, such as healthcare and education than the government has historically done. For instance, Prunier (2001) argued that while the RCC, which had enjoyed a close relationship with colonial authorities, was marginalised during the Mobutu era, its position was revitalised through its active involvement in the opposition. According to the Africa Center for Strategic Studies (2016):

> Although this repressive climate drove many civil society movements underground, they continued to hone their political and organizational skills. Along with the Catholic Church, they provided a range of social services to citizens, including health, sanitation, and neighbourhood security. These functions helped reinforce community resilience and self-reliance in the face of an authoritarian government that marginalized much of its population

Titre (2010:43) affirms that the RCC has educated approximately 60% of primary school students as well as 40% of high school/secondary students in the DRC. In fact, the RCC owns hospitals, schools and even farms and sales stores in the country. Moreover, Katunga (2013) supports the claim that the Church has been directly and indirectly contributory to peace efforts in the DRC via its advocacy for constructive peace negotiations, at all levels.Sadiki Koko in his appraisal captioned, *'The Role of Civil Society in Conflict Resolution in the Democratic Republic of The Congo-2006'*, submits that:

> As the second Congo war erupted in August 1998, the vibrant Congolese civil society movement refused to regard itself as a neutral peacemaker waiting to step between the national government and rebel groups fighting for the control of state power in the country. Instead, cognizant of the complexity that surrounded the war, civil society organisations presented themselves as important national stakeholders expected to play a meaningful role in the quest for peace alongside national government, rebel groups, and political parties. In this regard, it ought to be acknowledged that the direct involvement of civil society organisations in the peace/political negotiation and the management of the transition was ground-breaking (Koko: 2016)

Reychler (1997) also remarks that the constructive impact of religious leaders like Monseigneur Laurent Monsengwo of Kisangani, who, as chairman of the 'High Council of the Republic', engaged in the difficult negotiations between President Mobutu and his opponents. When the administration of defunct Zaire began to collapse under Mobutu in the 1990s, the powerful advocacy of Monsengwo for democracy and civil society in the DRC began to gain global recognition which afforded him the indisputable credence to lead a transition to the new regime (Allen Jr., 2017).

Most Recently, in his capacity as the Archbishop of Kinshasa, Laurent Monsengwo and the other Congolese bishops organized talks between the country's major political parties, with an aim of keeping the peace heading into elections that was originally scheduled for last November, which have now been delayed until 2018 (Allen Jr., 2017). Although the situation remains fragile, pretty much everyone believes it's better than it would have been without the

bishops' intervention (Allen Jr., 2017). Conferences on peace and security in the DRC have been held in various instances, calling on the churches and partners to establish "a suitable structure or process for the purpose of sharing and consolidation of existing initiatives by the churches and related organizations or networks, and in order to consider new ecumenical initiatives" in the DRC (World Council of Churches, 2015b). This call is an acknowledgment of the need for ecumenical significant in the preparation for and monitoring of forthcoming local and regional elections as well as the impending presidential election (World Council of Churches, 2015b).

5.4.3 The Roles of the Church in Peacebuilding in the DRC from 2001-2016

From 2001 till 2016, when this research was conducted, the DRC has been under the administration of Joseph Kabila. However, in divergence from his father who was hesitant to negotiate directly with the rebels, Joseph Kabila removed all hindrance to collective dialogue capable of ending the war. Then the civil society was recognized and brought on board by all stakeholders as a critical contributor to the peace process. In this instance, the efforts of the church to address and manage the post-conflict peacebuilding in the DRC under Kabila from 2001-2016 became so glaring, and that is the focus of this study. The church as a vital part of the civil society has been particularly very dynamic during this period. Its activities comprise of mediation, humanitarian assistance, rehabilitation and reconstruction, economic stabilisation, human rights monitoring and advocacy, and empowerment for political participation. What is important to this study is not just what the church has been doing in the DRC, but also how the church was doing it. Thus, the church's roles are identified and critically examined through the lens of the Lederach's peacebuilding pyramid model.

5.5 CHURCH'S APPROACH TO PEACEBUILDING IN THE DRC

Of course, for any group to engage in peacebuilding without a feasible model or framework is to reduce its intervention to a mere charity measure. The importance of conceptual model or framework in peace efforts cannot be overemphasized. The peace actor that operates without an identifiable framework could accidentally worsen the conflict situation she/he is trying to resolve. This is usually because the fundamental assumption that informs the peace-builders' choices are not made clear enough to be verified against the existential realities and the expected outcome of engagements. Therefore, in the analysis of the Church approach to

peacebuilding in this section, the Lederach's Peacebuilding Pyramid Model is utilised. The diagram below guides the analysis.

Quite understandably, the quest for more holistic, prolific and constructive approach to peacebuilding has generated hot debates in the field of peace and conflict resolution. Should peace be built from the top to the bottom, or from the bottom to the top? Who should be the actors or role players? What should be the task of each peacebuilding actor? John Paul Lederach attempt to respond to this question with the above diagram he named the "peacebuilding pyramid", which was discussed in the third chapter of this dissertation. This model of intervention is a laudable development of Lederach's personal experiences as a peace-builder in many countries such as "Nicaragua, Somalia, Cambodia, Northern Ireland, the Philippines, and the Basque country" and his resourceful presentations on the theme of "peacebuilding in over thirty countries" of the world (Woodward, 1999:547).

Therefore, this segment applies the model to the theology of peace among the churches in the DRC, with a view to analyzing its roles, the challenges and the opportunities facing the Church in its peacebuilding effort. Such inter-disciplinary exploration is possible because of the multidimensional structure of the model. With the prolific engagement of "second-order language" Lederach nexuses the hermeneutical divisions between religious and secular. Although Lederach is outstanding among conventional peacebuilding practitioners, his work has been intimately connected to religion from the beginning, as he has drawn resources from his Mennonite tradition. Lederach (2001:843) presented the Pyramid thus:

> I have graphically depicted this as a pyramid that describes three related but different processes. The first process is a top-down negotiation conducted by a few representative and usually highly visible leaders. The second is bottom-up approaches that involve the forcing of understanding and peace at local levels according to the unique characteristics of those local settings. The third is middle-out approaches that can support both of the other two in unique ways and that often provide linkages vertically in the society and horizontally across the lines of conflict.

Lederach explains his model in the context of a specific form of conflicts which are regarded as the main type prevailing in present days: long lasting (protracted), deeply rooted ethno-political conflicts inside nation-states, which are based on issues of identity (tribe, community, religion or nation). This description made it perfectly suitable for the analysis of the DRC situation. The three levels are the top level; the middle-range level, and; the grassroots level (Lederach, 1997:38).

5.5.1 The Role of the Church in the Pyramid Model

Since each of the three levels plays a unique role in peacebuilding, different conflict-handling processes must be adopted at each level of the hierarchy, and are integrated into a comprehensive peacebuilding framework. However, this study assesses the Church roles separately under the three levels in order to ascertain the strength and weakness of the Church under the various levels. Viewing the peacebuilding roles of the church in the DRC from the standpoint of the pyramid model offers an appropriate way to analyse its role at each level. The three levels can be categorized in terms of their respective unique features as discussed below.

5.5.2 Role of the Church in Peacebuilding at the Top Level

The top-level elite peace actors consist of prominent political, military heads, religious leaders and elite leaders of various parties to a conflict. They are the primary representatives of their constituencies and are therefore highly visible, as seen in the above diagram 5.1. The actors on this level possess considerable policymaking ability. So, their peacebuilding actions are targeted on conflict resolution, which activities include peace mediation, negotiations, high profile dialogues and other diplomatic actions. Although the overemphasis on this kind of statist dimension at the top level of the pyramid is very crucial to conflict resolution, "it is not in itself a sufficient arena for sustainable peacebuilding" (Woodward 1999:547). The three levels are mutually required for maintenance of peace.

5.5.2.1 High Profile Mediation of the Church

Top-level approaches to peacebuilding aim to achieve a negotiated settlement between the principal high-level leaders of the parties who are involved in the conflict. In these high-level negotiations, elite leaders are brought to a bargaining table and attempt to work toward new solutions. The first goal of these negotiations is typically a cease-fire or cessation of hostilities (Lederach, 1997:44). The church in the DRC is considered competent in this regard, especially the Catholic Bishops who have been very proactive and effective in engaging difficult negotiations between various belligerents.Therefore, the Roman Catholic Church (RCC) as a major role player in the peace process in the DRC was examined in this study.

In recent years, conflict transformation has begun to gain the tremendous attention of the Catholic peace efforts as the Vatican declarations has been stressing the importance of non-violence peace process over just-war analysis. According to Lederach (2010), the Catholic Church's "ubiquitous presence" is a sociological phenomenon, but one that arises from a particular ecclesiology, which gives it a "unique if not unprecedented presence in the landscape" of particular conflicts. He notes that in majority-Catholic countries like Colombia and the DRC, the Church's depth and breadth of engagement in areas of conflict aligns with the multilevel and multifaceted demands of peacebuilding in ways rare among religious and secular actors (Lederach, 2010:50-1; Seiple et al., 2013:35).

Nevertheless, Bodewes (2010) reckons that religious civil society has remained an under-researched field of peace and democracy research. Yet, the Church has been directly and indirectly instrumental in peace-making and peacebuilding in the DRC through the promotion of constructive peace dialogues, at all levels, among parties involved in violent conflicts in the region (Katunga, 2013). For example, the positive influence of religious leaders such as Monseigneur Laurent Monsengwo on the conflict dynamics in the DRC. Monsengwo, when he was elected as chairman of the "High Council of the Republic", played a significant role in the difficult negotiations between President Mobutu and his opponents (Reychler, 1997). When the regime of Mobutu Sese Seko was collapsing in the 1990s, Laurent Monsengwo of Kisangani, as an advocate of democracy and civil society, became an icon of universal trust to broker a transition into a new dispensation. So, when a transitional "high council" was formed to rule until elections could be held, Monsengwo was named its president (Allen Jr., 2017).

5.5.2.2 The Church and Democracy

In many African countries, bishops and other high ecclesiastical dignitaries have played various direct and indirect political role in the state affairs (Allen Jr., 2017). Cardinal Anthony Okogie of Nigeria who audaciously stood up against the military rule of his days; Cardinal Christian Tumi of Cameroon who was a vehement resistant to the dictatorship of President Paul Biya in his country; Archbishop Peter Sarpong of Ghana who has been a strong opposition to government profligate and corruption; and Cardinal John Onaiyekan of Nigeria who solely protested against the amended the constitution by the president seeking a third term in power (Allen Jr., 2017). In the case of the DRC, Cardinal Laurent Monsengwo

has played the most outstanding role as the only African Catholic prelate ever to serve as his country's *de facto* head of state (Katunga, 2013).

The Archbishop Monsengwo's remarkable leadership lends credence to the capacity of DRC's religious organizations, as well as other civil society groups, to embrace a culture of peace and to mobilize citizens towards massive participation in constructive national processes. Monsengwo has been able to project a bigger role for religious organizations in stirring sustainable peace and facilitating inclusive approach for tackling political disagreements. For example, under his leadership, the Roman Catholic Church, in synergy with other FBOs and civil society actors, reinforced the consultative forums for the resolution of political disagreements and for peace accord building (Tenai, 2017). Whereby, the Church has been able to serve the nation as the strategic incubator of democratization, institutional-building and popular participation, through its enormous outreach capacity in the DRC (Tenai, 2017). Most Recently, in his capacity as the Archbishop of Kinshasa, Laurent Monsengwo and the other Congolese bishops organized talks between the country's major political parties, with an aim of keeping the peace heading into elections that was originally scheduled for last November 2016, which have now been delayed until 2018 (Allen Jr., 2017). Although the situation remains fragile, pretty much everyone believes it's better than it would have been without the bishops' intervention (Allen Jr., 2017).

5.5.2.3 The Role of the Church in Democratic Transition at the top level in the DRC

When Joseph Kabila took over from his late father in 2001, his regime officially halted the civil war by a number of peace accords facilitated by the churches (McCullum, 2006; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2006). However, this was followed by efforts to constitute a national transition, which involved the establishment of an interim government to carry out the planning and execution of the agenda that can allow for democratic elections. Peacebuilding at this level often involves a step-by-step, issue-oriented, and short-term achievement process (Lederach, 1997:45). The Church was understood to have played diverse starring roles in ensuring peaceful change during and after the peace accords which eventually culminated in the transitional government of Joseph Kabila in 2003 (Goldstone, 2001:95).

Interestingly, some of the most powerful voices in calling for peace and reconciliation in DRC have come from the churches. Africa Center for Strategic Studies (2016) argues that

> [t]he experiences of democratic transitions elsewhere has shown that when state institutions are compromised, reform must come from outside the state. An organized and resilient civil society is one such actor vital to the process of creating genuine democratic change and averting violence.

In the DRC, several regional summits between religious and political leaders have been held over the last decades (Van Leeuwen, 2008). Many key roles were played by the Roman Catholic Church (RCC) and the Church of Christ in the Congo (ECC) in conjunction with other stakeholders during the Sun City Inter-Congolese Dialogue (ICD) held in South Africa in April 2003 (WCC, 2015). The ICD that brought together the various actors in the conflict to chart a way forward for the DRC. It was long and multidimensional processes which officially ended the second war and consummated the agreement that engendered the formation of a transitional government which later produced the constitutional democratic government in the DRC. The Catholic Church, and the Mennonite Central Committee, for instance, sponsored many delegates to the ICD, which according to the Mennonite Central Committee (2002) are:

> [m]ade up of Mennonite, Quaker and Catholic Church members, the MCC-funded team has been called on by delegates to contribute to the work of the negotiations' official peace and reconciliation commission. Team members are also helping write a Pact for National Peace and Reconciliation. Their goal was for all warring factions to sign this document pledging not to take up arms again even if the dialogues fail.

This act highlights the crucial role of the Church in the peace efforts in the DRC, and they denote some of the examples of processes designated to the top-level actors.So, the focus was on official diplomacy, negotiations, engaging the high-level leaders for political and structural changes. This dealing with wider political and practical issues of such was made possible by the success of the peace agreement that resulted in a cease-fire.

Similarly, the role of the church in the co-option of a transitional government which later produced the constitutional democratic government is of great significance to the peace process in the DRC. This is because the role of the Church leaders at this time led to the first democratic election in the DRC since independent. The successes of both 2006 and subsequent 2011 elections are largely attributable to the constructive role of the church in the peace process (Whetho and Uzodike, 2009; Goldstone, 2001:95). The significant contributions of the Church leaders to the electoral process are a major factor in the success of the DRC's general elections. Many prominent clergies directly participated in the interim coalition government that was co-opted to administer the transition program (WCC, 2015).

And as a result, for the first time after the independent, the DRC has a democratic government.

RCC bishops meet through annual Episcopal Conferences where they discuss social issues. They have published declarations condemning corruption, impunity, and illegal mineral extraction. Notable Catholic leaders have taken up positions in the national political system, such as chairing the independent electoral commission. Archbishop Monsengwo, for instance, was appointed the president of National Sovereign Conference in DRC in the 1990s and a priest headed the National Electoral Commission in 2005 elections (Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Mhlanga, 2013:254). While church leaders in principle are not supposed to get involved in party politics, several Protestant and other religious leaders have become senators or involved themselves in political activities in recent years. For example, the former Presiding Bishop of ECC, Pierre Marini Bodho, was the Senate president in the Congolese parliament from 2003 -2007 (Haskin, 2005:161). Therefore, it is widely conceived that in order to seek spaces of engagement in national politics, church leaders in South Kivu engage actively in civil society at the provincial level. Nevertheless, as far as the Congolese people are concerned, seeing the Church leaders in political position gives more credibility to the Congolese governance.

5.5.2.4 Church's Emphasis on Reconciliation

Lederach advocates deliberate emphasis on reconciliation as the ultimate of the larger processes of transformation much more than the technical aspect of transition. In other words, the element of reconciliation should pervade the entire process of peacebuilding. Therefore, the model positions, according to Paffenholz (2014:5),

> […] reconciliation at the heart of developing long-term infrastructures for peacebuilding within societies. For Lederach, reconciliation comes from truth, justice, mercy, and peace. Consequently, he stresses the need to rebuild destroyed relationships, focusing on reconciliation within society and strengthening its peacebuilding potential.

In the DRC, after the post-conflict democratic elections were over, the church and other civil society organisations began to serve as catalysts of national reconciliation by redirecting their peacebuilding efforts to medium- and long-term initiatives, such that focus on reconciliation, national unity and the resuscitating of state institutions and infrastructure (Whetho and Uzodike 2008). Therefore, the effort of the church in the after the post-conflict elections was

to nurture reconciliation between aggrieved politicians and among the Congolese in general. Hence, the religious groups in the DRC did not mistake this task but took up the challenge of nurturing reconciliation among ex-fighters and angry politicians and among the discontented. The Church also intensified peace advocacy in communities prone to post-election violence (Whetho and Uzodike 2008). For instance, the RCC networked with FBOs and other civil society organisations to sponsor the convocation of consultative forums for the reconciliation of political disagreements capable of engendering consensus building, social cohesion, and sustainable peace and stability in the DRC (Posner, 2004).

Furthermore, the churches and FBOs partnered with both local and international organisations to reintegrate former combatants having disarmed and demobilised them, back to the society, with a view to preventing revert violence. A very good example of such initiative is the Peace and Reconciliation Program (PPR) of the ECC in the South Kivu. Though this program is undertaken at the grassroots level, there is an aspect of it that are particularly high-profile processes. Such aspects include the dealing with the UN and other national and international megastructures in the repatriation procedure (see section 5.5.4.4 for more discussions on this).

Also, the execution of high profile non-partisan reconciliation initiatives by the church in the ongoing political turbulence in the DRC has contributed to the minimizing chances of chaos and violence. CENCO for instance has been spearheading the process of reconciliation by mediating the political negotiations between the "Kabila's ruling alliance, the presidential majority, and the Rassemblement, the largest opposition coalition (Clowes, 2016)."

Therefore, four interrelated scopes are portrayed, which according to Lederach, must be effectively addressed, and they are: the socioeconomic (financial aid, vocational training) and socio-political (disarmament, integration of soldiers) to the socio-psychological (dealing with identity, trauma, grief, and emotions) and spiritual (healing, acknowledgement, and forgiveness). All these must be engrained in the processes of peacebuilding at all levels to meeting the more profound needs of transforming the individuals, their social networks, and the spiritual dimension within the conflicts parameter. This is exactly the strategic point where the church becomes super-relevant, since, to Lederach (1998:224), "spiritual…signifies moving beyond the issues and toward an encounter…a journey toward an encounter with self and the other. The purpose of the reconciliation journey is 'healing' persons and relationships."

5.5.2.5 The Role of the Church in the on-going Political Conflict in the DRC

The public protest of 2015, was a reaction to the proposed changes to electoral law, and the general insinuation that President Joseph Kabila wanted to stay in power longer than his constitutional provision. The opposition had claimed that such proposal is designed to allow President Kabila to remain in power till 2018 in violation of the constitution. Therefore, the protest could be said to have been carried out in fair demand for a change after fifteen years of Kabila in power. Unfortunately, the mass demonstration ended up in violence when the national force responded with aggressive repression, and many lives were lost, casualties were many and sundry unlawful imprisonments. Since then, attacks, arrests and all manners of repressions did not cease across the country. According to the International Crisis Group (ICG):

> The political standstill has been feeding into already growing unrest throughout the country. Tensions have increased in cities like Kinshasa, Lubumbashi, and Goma, and a stay-away protest (a campaign known as villes mortes, or 'dead cities') was widely observed on 3 April. Violent conflict at the provincial level has intensified. In addition to the ongoing conflicts in the eastern provinces (Ituri, North and South Kivu) new clashes have been reported in Tanganyika, at the border with South-Sudan and in Kongo-Central province (International Crisis Group, 2017).

The Catholic Church through its National Episcopal Conference of the Congo (CENCO), which includes all the country's Catholic Bishops, have consistently supported the constitution's presidential term limit and electoral timetable. Before 2016, the Church in the DRC has been employing its rights and distinctive networks to advocate for constitutional authority, reproving the Kabila's ideas to continue as president. However, in 2016 the church leaders relented in this advocacy and opted for a high-profile mediating role particularly when the AU's treaty of October 2016 failed. The CENCO agreement was a great achievement that brought a glim of hope. According to Africa Centre for Strategic Studies (2017).

> In the face of concerns about wider violence and instability as a result of Kabila's refusal to leave office, the DRC Conference of Catholic Bishops brokered an agreement on New Year's Eve to establish a transitional government headed by a prime minister to be appointed by the opposition.

It is quite obvious now that the insinuation is factual when contrasted with the reality that the election could not hold in 2016 and even 2017.According to Ida Sawyer (2017), the Director of Human Rights Commission in Central Africa,

> [P]articipants at talks mediated by the Catholic Church signed an agreement on New Year's Eve 2016. The agreement includes a clear commitment that presidential elections will be held before the end of 2017, that President Joseph Kabila will not seek a third term, and that there will be no referendum nor changes to the constitution.

This was signed after the African Union 2016 peace agreement failed. Now failure to comply with terms of these agreements coupled with the death of a leading opposition leader, Etienne Tshisekedi whowas to be the chair of the agreement's follow-up mechanism, has worsened the political situation and the prevalent trepidation. However, looking and calculating from 2015 till 2017 when the research was conducted, the effort of the church in this regard seems yet unproductive. According to the International Crisis Group (2017),

> [E]vents since have shown that the Church's very strength - its capillary-like network of local representation - has become its weakness, both because it is hard to negotiate consensus across the whole national church, and because its very presence has recently exposed it to pressure and even violence from the population.

Therefore, the Church was enfeebled and later pull out of its mediation role, when it sensed the unwillingness to comply with the agreement and slackness to appoint the prime minister. CENCO president condemned the majority and opposition group equally for failing to reach consensus on the way forward. However, eventually, the Church leaders met with President Kabila and handed over responsibility to him. It is obvious that the church lacks a distinctive approach to this issue as it has oscillated from advocacy to mediation and negotiation with little or no result. At this point, the church needs to harness its strength to focus on powerful advocacy, discreet diplomacy and a more active engagement with grassroots people, civil society organisations, opposition leaders and the international community to traverse for an unstoppable progress capable of rendering elections inevitable in the DRC.

However, the historical and the political development in the DRC has clearly shown that the existence of the state is a function of the people's resilience and their strong sense of unity and nationalism (Bokamba, 2008), rather than its leadership. It is now obvious that more than ever, there is a genuine desire for democracy in the DRC, and the readiness of the Congolese people to start fixing their country, considering the active role of the civil society in the

mediation from 2015 till now, most especially the Church. More so the civil society should be empowered for more active and strategic role.

5.5.2.6 Engaging the Peacebuilding Power of Faith in the DRC

In his inquiry into the experiences of Catholic leadership engagement with armed groups and actors, Lederach echoes his inability to "find any systematic literature on the specific topic of Catholic theology of peacebuilding for engagement of armed actors" (Lederach, 2010: 25). However, from the above analysis of the Catholic approach to peacebuilding, it is obvious that the Catholic vision of peace is largely a positive one. It focuses on the promotion and defense of human rights, collaboration in authentic development, building bonds of solidarity among people, and constructing the institutions of world peace. Its approach to conflict is to foster non-violent practices that engage the grassroots people without taken for granted the roles of the elites in peacebuilding and to permit the use of arms in the humanitarian intervention of protecting the populace (Smock, 2001; Seiple, Hoover, and Otis, 2013). It views peace as an indispensable fundamental for meaningful development.

Worthy of note, however, is the uncommon approach of the church in these interventions, which are mostly inconsistent with the conventional methods, especially in dealing with warlords. Lederach argues that "secular notions of mediation, negotiation, and conflict resolution do not adequately account for the Church's formal and informal engagement with armed actors." In fact, the church often uses pastoral dialogue or accompaniment as an alternative to these secular terms. For instance, a pastor in the 'no-go' areas could reach out to a paramilitary lynchpin, not as a negotiator, but as a pastor, who accompanies to both the victims and culprits, and as a prophet, who reprimand violence and human rights abuses and calls for culpability.

However, in reference to the Catholic approaches to peacebuilding, Gerard Powers, the director of Catholic Peacebuilding Studies at Notre Dame's Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies and the coordinator of the Catholic Peacebuilding Network notes and have this to say:

> The peacebuilding work of the Catholic Church and other religious actors in the Great Lakes region is mostly a well-kept secret. Those from outside who are aware of it tend to evaluate it using standard social science metrics applied to political actors, NGOs, or social movements. To some extent that is valid, for peacebuilding by the Catholic Church shares many of the

> motivations, practices, and concerns that shape the peacebuilding of other faith groups and a host of secular NGOs - and even some governments. But there is more to it than that (Powers, 2010:1).

Religious organizations have contributed significantly to the peace process in the DRC. However, the approach of each denomination involved differs in accordance with their respective theology and tradition. But Smock (2001) observes that "despite this diversity of styles, the emphasis of Catholic peace-making is more likely to be on high-level mediation." So, Gerard Powers buttresses this with an example that:

> Archbishop John Baptist Odama, president of the Ugandan Episcopal Conference, has gone into the bush four times to try to persuade Joseph Kony, the brutal LRA leader, to stop the violence and sue for peace. When Kony's LRA did finally enter formal peace negotiations, Archbishop Odama and his Anglican, Muslim and Orthodox counterparts in the Acholi Religious Leaders' Peace Initiative were given a seat at the table (Powers, 2010:1).

This is a very unusual approach to peace negotiation that opted for a non-violent, one-on-one target on lynchpin rebel leaders. It would take the courageous and relentless efforts of the religious leaders to engage in such persistent audacious mission. This Catholic practice is rooted in the theology of seeking the lost sheep at all costs. It was derived in the biblical text of a shepherded who must leave his ninety-nine sheep behind to seek for the one that is gone astray. According to the Vatican correspondent of the National Catholic Reporters, Joshua J. McElwee,

> Pope Francis reiterated…that the Catholic Church can never consider someone irrevocably separated from its global community, saying that Jesus does not consider anyone 'definitively lost' but instead seeks them out to welcome them anew (McElwee, 2016).

This global community perspective of Catholic to reconciliation is unique and noteworthy to us in Africa. Such assertion in peacebuilding is more rewarding, much more than the critical and violent approaches. It is a peace-making approach that is forerun by unconditional love and forgiveness, and it envisions an authentic restoration of relationships. "This is also true even of Sant'Egidio, which emphasizes modest, person-to-person aid to the poor but focuses its peace-making on high-level official peace agreements" (Smock, 2001:11). "The perspective therefore is...dynamic, open, stimulating, and creative," said Francis. "It pushes us to go out in search of undertaking a way of the fraternity." (McElwee, 2016).

Also in an introspective approach to seeking peace, a pastor could offer to listen to the confession of a notorious warmonger or invite Catholics from all sides of the conflict to see in the Eucharist a call and grace to reconcile. The sacraments, especially the Eucharist, Lederach (2010:50) explains that it stands "as an important, perhaps unique, contribution of the Catholic tradition" insofar as "the sacramental act, symbolic and real, connects, heals, and challenges people affected by, and who can affect, the wider conflict." Therefore, in some ways, the church relies on strategies and the tactics that are common to all peacebuilders. But in a variant tradition, there is something distinctively 'Catholic' in its approach to peacebuilding. It is the peacebuilding power of faith; not faith in general, but a particular kind of faith, a 'Catholic faith'. As Lederach argues, in predominantly Catholic countries like Colombia and the DRC, the Church depth and breadth of engagement align with the multilevel and multifaceted demand of peacebuilding in a way rear among religious and secular actors.

5.5.3 Role of the Church in Peacebuilding at the Middle-Range Level

As indispensable as peace negotiation and agreement could be to a peace process, reaching an accord is hardly sufficient to build peace. Any meaningful peace process will have to move beyond top-level negotiations and involve a much more comprehensive framework (Lederach, 1997:46). It will have to rely on multiple tiers of leadership and participation within the affected population. In other words, peace-building efforts among the elite must be accompanied by efforts of mid-level and grassroots leaders. However, the middle-Range level peace actors are mostly leaders from diverse sectors of the society like: religious, intellectual, leaders from Government Organizations (GOs) who are not necessarily political actors, and humanitarian leaders of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) who are respected in society but not in a position to exert direct power (Lederach, 1997: 41). For instance, leaders in sectors such as education, business, agriculture, and health which are likely to know and be known by top-level leadership, and yet have significant connections to the constituencies that the top leaders claim to represent.

The leaders on this level are far more in number than the top-level actors, and their status and impact is derived from their relationships with the other levels. So, they serve as an important connection between the top and grassroots levels. Furthermore, for the reason that the leaders in this category have lesser publicity, they are likely to have greater opportunity to operate freely than the top-level leaders. This level represents a crucial location in the pyramid of

peacebuilding because of its interconnectivity roles between the high-profile undertakings at the top and the relentless activities at the grassroots level. Indeed, many believe that middle-range leaders are the key to creating an infrastructure for achieving and sustaining peace (Lederach, 1997:46). Because these leaders are often in the background and are connected to extensive networks that cut across the lines of conflict. So, they play a crucial role in establishing productive relationships and working through conflict. Three important mid-level approaches to building peace are problem-solving workshops, skill development in conflict-resolution, and the development of peace commissions.

- A problem-solving workshop is an approach to peacebuilding which features informal meetings designed to increase participation and enhance parties' understanding of their mutual problems. They also offer forums for effective interaction as well as a politically safe space to vent and test new ideas (Lederach, 1997: 47)

- The conflict-resolution training aims to raise parties' awareness about how conflict operates, and to impart skills for dealing with conflict. Middle-range leaders are often brought together in training sessions to share their perceptions of the conflict, analyze their own roles in it, and develop approaches that will promote reconciliation (Lederach, 1997:49).

- These leaders often participate in peace commissions that allow for increased communication at the national, regional, and local levels. These commissions bring together prominent individuals from each side of the conflict and work towards reconciliation.

5.5.3.1 The Church roles in Social Justice and Advocacy

The Catholic peace-related activities at the middle level of the model are coordinated by the Justice & Peace Commission (*Commission épiscopale Justice et Paix (CEJP)* in French).The Justice and Peace Commission is an offshoot of the Second Vatican Council which anticipated "the creation of an organism of the universal Church, charged with inciting the Catholic community to promote the development of the poor regions and the social justice between the nations" (*Gaudium et Spes 90* in Alternative International). Therefore, this arm of the Catholic Church engages instudies, research, training, and actions for social justice, peace, respect for human rights, democracy, good governance, in the light of the social doctrine of the Catholic Church. So, its programmes, among other things, focus on

Participatory Governance, Women's Literacy, Community Reconciliation and Reconstruction, Peacebuilding Training, Training on Social Teaching of the Church Studies, Peace Research (*Pax Christi* International).

The capacity of the Catholic Church to promote conflict resolution and transformation has been enriched by the establishment of bishops' conferences and Justice and Peace Commissions worldwide Prunier (2001). The presence of the CEJP stretches from local parishes to the Vatican. According to Alternative International, a Quebec-based international solidarity organization, the mission of the CEJP is "to create a body of the universal Church, entrusted with engaging the Catholic community to promote progress in needy regions and social justice among nations" and its distinctive mandate to the DRC states that

> In the Democratic Republic of Congo, CEJP aims the study and deepening, in the doctrinal, pastoral and apostolic problems related to justice and peace in Congolese society and within the local church, to awaken the people of God and pastors to recognize their role and responsibilities in the areas of justice, peace and human rights, in reference to Christian doctrine to the transformation of mental structures, socio-political and economic oppression (Alternative International).

Therefore, the preoccupation of the CEJP is mainly advocacy, training, and mobilisation, which suitably represents a middle-level approach to peacebuilding according to the Lederach's Model (See Figure 5.1). Father Alfred Buju is Director of the Justice and Peace Commission in Bunia (CEJP Bunia), a diocese in the north-east of DRC. According to the Catholic Agency for Overseas Development (CAFOD, 2017), through his leadership, CEJP has been defending the rights of local communities against the excesses of the mining companies. Decades of unstructured mining activities in the DRC has trapped the country in a cycle of violence and poverty. CEJP has an excellent reputation for its audaciousness approach to addressing community problems. In Bunia, CEJP educates people about their rights and work with local authorities to demand better public services, such as hospitals and schools. Community radio and workshops are used to support communities to develop plans for action. At the national level, the CEJP monitors the parliamentarian processes as well as government contracts with multinational companies.

Other protestant constellations within the ECC also focus on addressing the root causes of the violence through a variety of new organizations. Congolese Mennonites, for example, have been contributing positively to the course of conflict transformation, especially in peace education (see 5.5.4.4.5 for more analysis). An organisation like the African Institute of

Conciliation (*Institut Africain de Conciliation* - INAC) and the Council for Peace and Reconciliation in the Congo (CPRC) have been actively engaging in peace education and conflict resolution without violence since civil war broke out in 1996 (Capp, 2006).

5.5.3.2 The Church Roles as Capacity Builder and Institutional Moralizer

The Church in the DRC has also been able to play the role of a capacity builder and institutional moralizer through the use of her extensive education institutions. This is possible through the use of the 60% of the DRC schools owned by the church, and other training centres (Katunga, 2013). The initiative engaged in the promotion of respect for human rights, the rule of law and promotion of democratic principles and values through civic education programs (Whetho, and Uzodike, 2009; Katunga, 2013). The Church has also been able to document human rights violations in the DRC and has courageously denounced violence against women, advocates for victims of rapes provides protection for orphans and vulnerable children (Katunga, 2013). McNicoll (2005) argues that the Church in the DRC is better equipped to consolidate the current peace gains through a reconciliation process. Feasibly because the Church is capable of analysing and understanding the fundamental roots and dynamics of conflict in the DRC, and is able to devise strategic responses to them (Alwira, W.E./MONUC; 2006; Posner, 2004; Katunga, 2007; Longman, 2001).

Also, Conferences on peace and security in the DRC have been held in various instances, calling on the churches and partners to establish "a suitable structure or process for the purpose of sharing and consolidation of existing initiatives by the churches and related organizations or networks, and in order to consider new ecumenical initiatives" in the DRC (World Council of Churches, 2015b). This call is an acknowledgment of the need for ecumenical significant in the preparation for and monitoring of forthcoming local and regional elections as well as the impending presidential election (World Council of Churches, 2015b). Generally, DRC's religious groups in the post-conflict period have focused on supporting the democratic transition through civic education and advocating responsibility by the political class. In addition, the Church in the DRC reinforces the judicial system, therefore making it possible for the most vulnerable to access justice and fairness. The justice and peace commission of the Catholic has trained hundreds of paralegal officials to assist the poor and vulnerable members of the society (Katunga, 2013).

The impact of the Church in the post-conflict epoch had been the nurturing of a democratic environment within which a successful transition could be implemented (Whetho, and Uzodike, 2009).The church supported the state administration under the interim arrangement until the first election was conducted in 2006. Motivated by the realisation that the future of the DRC would be shaped by the peaceful conduct and outcome of the 2006 general elections, the church in the DRC concentrated more on strengthening peace education and electoral awareness campaigns. Therefore, the participation of the population at the grassroots level is dependent on the success of middle-level leaders. And this was observed in the effective participation of the public in the transitional agenda whereby, in 2006 and 2011, the Congolese did not only respond in their mass to the national election process but also ensures the peaceful conduct of the elections. So, to a large extent, the church could be said to be effective in the Lederach's 'elicitive' approach to peacebuilding. As it has been demonstrated in this study, the role of the church in the DRC at this level could be categorized as reconciliation, institutional moralisation, economic stabilisation, human rights monitoring and advocacy, and empowerment for social and political participation.

5.5.4 Role of the Church in Peacebuilding at the Grassroots Level

As important as the top level and middle level leaderships are in peace process, the peacebuilding pyramid model views the grassroots level as the sustenance of the entire peace infrastructure. Thomas (2007:68) rightly suggests that:

> Peacekeeping forces, new constitutions, and development assistance are important in the short-term, long-term peacebuilding efforts should include an on-going dialogue between communities, and a dialogue within their cultural and religious traditions on what are the core values and goals of these traditions in a global era. It is here, in the area of cultural or public diplomacy, a foreign policy that engages in multi-track diplomacy (not only with states but also NGOs and other non-state actors) and takes seriously the fruitfulness and integrity of people's religious convictions and traditions.

Lederach stresses the importance of such organic method rather than a hierarchical (top-down) approach to peacebuilding and the formation of 'peace constituencies' across the vertical and horizontal lines of conflict in a society. Therefore, it is imperative to note that the middle-range efforts are all the more effective in the light of peacebuilding efforts undertaken at the grassroots level. Grassroots leaders engage in local peace consultations, conferences,

symposiums, seminars, workshops, and training mostly aimed at prejudice reduction and enhancement of community integration and decision-making (Lederach, 1997:54).

The grassroots leaders might also form part of the broader community in public humanitarian services, public-health programs and psycho-social work, dealing with post-war trauma. Typically, the grassroots actors are powerful among the masses, but not necessarily influential in the larger politics. Therefore, they are involved in local community's programs or projects: members of indigenous NGOs carrying out relief projects, health officials, refugee camp leaders, social workers (Lederach, 1997:42). Even local religious leaders could feature at this level. They are right in the basis of a conflict precinct dealing with the people in their communities who are faced with the daily reality of rigorous struggles to fend for themselves amidst fear, lack, and uncertainties. In a severe violent situation, when local communities are fragmented into hostile groups, the grassroots leaders are always in attendance to witness the manifestation of those immediate deep-rooted animosity and hostility related to the conflict.

5.5.4.1 The Role of the Church in Development at the Grassroots Level

The Church has been very active in social services delivery, development processes, and peacebuilding (Whetho and Uzodike, 2009; Vlassenroot and Raeymaekers, 2008). Its social services delivery roles include education, healthcare and medical support, provision of trauma counseling services, and relief supplies to victims of the conflict, postal services, and social support system for victims of sexual violence through the provision of material, financial (Whetho and Uzodike, 2009). The Church also organizes skill-based empowerment as a long-term support, consolation, solidarity and training of personnel in counseling and psycho-social support of traumatic persons (Gilbert, 2015; Global Ministries, 2014; Nzwili, 2009). The Church also organizes skill-based empowerment as a long-term support, consolation, solidarity, and training of personnel in counseling and psycho-social support of traumatic persons (Gilbert, 2015; Global Ministries, 2014; Nzwili, 2009).

5.5.4.2 Church in Relief, Welfare and Humanitarian Services at the Grassroots

International Faith Based Organisations such as CRS, CAFOD, TROCAIRE, MISEREOR, etc. have been crucial in assisting local churches to get fully involved in addressing not only emergencies but also to the root causes of the conflicts in the region (Katunga, 2013). Relief and welfare approach to conflict situation is more of a humanitarian assistance than

resolution. It is a kind of charitable interventions. So, the Church in the DRC addresses direct delivery of goods and services to people in emergency needs as a theological response to love for one's *neighbor* in need; it evolved out of a long history of international voluntary action designed to support the victims of adverse circumstances such as wars and natural disasters and providing welfare services to the poor. Religious organizations usually have been the pioneer of this approach, especially in Africa. For example, during crisis periods in the DRC and the Great Lake region in general, the Church premises and amenities have served as places for immediate safety and emergency relief for victims of atrocities (Katunga, 2013).

5.5.4.2.1 The RCC's Caritas and Catholic Relief Services in the DRC

Grassroots-level programs are crucial in helping people deal with the direct and indirect impact of the violence associated with war and repairing damaged relationships. The Catholic peace-related activities at this level are coordinated by Caritas, with the Catholic Relief Services being active on the implementation side. This has been a major catalytic synergy that reinforces the Church's peacebuilding capacity. In terms of organisation, Caritas Congo includes a national coordinating body called the Executive Secretariat, 47 Diocesan Offices, 1,500 Parish Offices and more than 10,000 volunteers (Caritas-DRC). Through these, it engages in emergencies, healthcare, sustainable development, and capacity building, while Catholic Relief Services continues to address humanitarian issues in collaboration with church partners, government agencies and other humanitarian actors (Caritas-DRC; CRS-DRC). For instance, according to Peterman et al., (2011):

> Reports from the DRC indicate that sexual violence is widespread and includes gang rape, abduction for purposes of sexual slavery, forced participation of family members in rape, and mutilation of women's genitalia with knives and guns, among other atrocities.

The press, peer-reviewed publications, and multinational and NGOs have described the number of rape victims in the DRC as "tens of thousands" in a country with an estimated population approaching 80 million (HR Watch, 2015; US Department of State, 2017). According to the DRC Minister for Gender, Family, and Children, "more than 1 million of the country's women and girls are victims of sexual violence" (Watch, 2015). Similarly, Peterman et al., (2011) inform that an estimate of "48 women and girls are raped in the DRC every hour". North Kivu alone recorded 700 sexual violence related cases within the first six months of 2013 (Lejeune-Kaba, 2013).Peterman et al., (2011) decry that, in the DRC, a lot of women are left seriously devastated by the ferocity of conflicts with no means of livelihoods

and access to justice. They are also faced with discrimination, displacement, neglect and vulnerability to some major health problems like HIV. Therefore, Caritas works among these women and girls to support them with the provision of quality services, such as, health, psychosocial, legal and material donations. According to the Caritas Australia team in the providing medical and social support for victims of sexual violence in the DRC:

> In our four medical institutions across the country, we provide immediate medical care and HIV testing for rape survivors. Special care is given to women who become pregnant as a result of rape. The program also provides longer-term support. Health and counselling services continue long after immediate medical care and testing is delivered. Training in income-generating activities promotes independence and builds the confidence of survivors. Special focus is placed on reconciling survivors with their families, as they are often stigmatised and rejected by their family and community. The program also provides legal support for women and girls and works with local authorities to end the culture of impunity for the perpetrators of rape (Caritas Australia, undated).

Caritas operates within an international network, and each is called in connection to the country or region they are located. For instance, Caritas Germany's special diplomat visited Caritas Goma on the Friday 01th of December 2017 in a region called Minova, about 55kilometers away from Goma metropolis, in eastern DRC. There, the team visited 15 "Children Released from Armed Forces and Groups" (*Enfants Sortis des Forces et Groupes Armés* - ESFGA). The Operation that was supervised by the Caritas Goma during the process of its Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) program (Kone, 2017). After which they were taken to the Transit and Orientation Centers (CTO) where they learn a trade for three months and waiting for their family reunification some were transferred to the psychosocial support centre of Caritas for mental health and rehabilitation purposes. However, this approach proffers little more than a momentary easing of the immediate basic necessities of the victims of circumstances and should not be mistaken for peace action.

5.5.4.2.2 The ECC's Humanitarian Services in the DRC

The Protestant Churches under the ECC also assists victims of internal displacement and promotes human rights through dialogue and advocacy. They also engage in rural organizations which assist grassroots organizations that promote peace, development, and social justice. Various Mennonite churches and the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) support and fund some of these programs. FBOs are also influential through their close ties with Protestant and Catholic and their affiliations with human rights organisations and several

other NGOs that constitute civil component in the DRC. More details and examples of the Protestant peace effort are discussed below in section 5.5.4.4 and its subsections.

5.5.4.3 Church's participation for Pre- and Post-Transitional Peacebuilding

The ICD which was aimed at achieving ceasefire of the second Congo war was equally designed to dialogue on the post-conflict democratic transition. Therefore, the grassroots dimension of the ICD initiative was as vital as the high-level aspect. As a matter of principle, through the initiative of grassroots participation in the ICD, the church intended the peace process to be owned by the people so as to guarantee its authenticity and popular acceptance. Hence "the inclusion of civil society and political parties in the ICD process is consistent with the necessity to legitimise the process as a crucial component to sustainable peace and stability" (Jarstad and Sisk 2008:11). Therefore, since it is practically impossible for the entire population to participate in the peace negotiations at the top level, civil society clusters become the indispensable representatives of the people, and such representation heightens the legitimacy and the prospect of public ownership of the peace process and its result (Zanker, 2013:3). Although this is just one of the several peacebuilding initiatives undertaken by the Church in the DRC in the period that preceded the official declaration of the end of civil war, yet it was the acme of them all (Jordhus-Lier and Braathen, 2013; Van Leeuwen, 2008).

However, foreign engagement in the DRC's affairs reached its climax during the 2006 multi-party democratic elections - the first democratic election since independence. South Africa steered a strong African effort to create a conducive electoral climate. The Southern African, African Union (AU), European Union (EU), Development Community (SADC) and United Nations (UN) worked in a coordinated fashion to support the process. The first post-war election in the DRC was highly driven by the international community providing financial, technical, and logistical support (Dizolele & Kambale, 2012). But in contrast with the 2006 election, the 2011 elections were largely controlled by the government of Joseph Kabila (Larmer et al., 2013). It is important to note that the significant contribution of the Catholic Church leaders in the electoral process both of the 2006 and 2011 was a major factor in the success of the DRC's general elections.

In 2006, the nationwide mass mobilization intended to prepare voters for the elections was amplified by the church.The church in collaboration with other civil society groups directly mobilized and motivated the citizens to register, "fostering democratic attitudes" (Paffenholz

and Spurk, 2006). Many churches assumed responsibility to prepare their members and the public by training and educating them for the task of election process. Due to the great influence of the RCC in the peace efforts, the Independent Electoral Commission (*Commission Électorale Indépendante, CEI*) had to partner with the Faith-Based Organizations (FBOs) alongside other non-religious civil society actors to execute the preliminaries of electoral process and its implementation (Wisniewska/MONUC, 2006). Also, during the launching of its voters' education campaign, the IEC disseminated awareness materials and presented its working proposal to the civil society actors, essentially the Church. The proposal emphasized the participatory effort of multiple actors in the campaign, which including the media, non-state actors, civil society organizations, such as churches, syndicates and other traditional leaders (Wisniewska/MONUC 2006).

Against any likelihood of pre-election and post-election crisis in the DRC, therefore, the church through the Commission for Integrity and Electoral Mediation (*Commission d'Intégrité et de Médiation Electorale*, (CIME) embarked proactively on an intensive peace education and advocacy both in the churches and in the communities alongside the awareness program. So to the religious leaders in the DRC, the future of the country is directly tied to the success of their elections and the general acceptance of the outcomes of the elections (Whetho, and Uzodike, 2009). However, the relative success of the 2006 elections prompted the churches and Faith-Based Organisations to consider changing approaches from short-term interventions to medium-term to long-term peacebuilding strategies (Whetho & Uzodike, 2009).

For this reason, the effort of the church has been on identifying problems and recommending solutions in the categories of sexual and gender-based violence and responses to human immunodeficiency virus infection and acquired immune deficiency syndrome (HIV/AIDS), natural resources and their exploitation, and human rights and humanitarian concerns, with special attention to the electoral process as a means of securing committed political leadership for the DRC (World Council of Churches, 2015b). Noteworthy, moreover, is the peace initiative of the church to engage communities in prejudices reduction dialogues and to engender collaboration among the Congolese (Katunga, 2008).

5.5.4.4 The Protestantism and Grassroots Peacebuilding in the DRC

The disunity among the Protestant Churches has greatly impacted on their role in politics and their relationship with each other and with the state. This divergence could also be associated with their theological and ideological differences, donor variances, and their administrative dissimilarities. As a result, the Protestant churches in the DRC operate most of their programmes independently, while they remain as one ECC body still. This, with the exception of few programs run in partnership with some foreign missions. Example of such partnerships exist between ECC and the Global Ministries International (GMI). The GMI was one of the founding members of the ECC through one of its subsidiary ministries known as the Disciples of Christ (Gourdet and Shebeck 2008). Another example is the ECC partnership with the Pentecostal Foreign Mission of Norway (*De norske pinsemenigheters ytremisjon*, PYM), a Non-Profit Organization that functions as a coordinator for mission work on behalf of the Pentecostal churches in Norway (PYM in Ueland, 2015).

However, while the researcher acknowledges the input of the entire 62 churches under the ECC authority and these particular partnerships, it is difficult to examine all their activities within the space and time limit of this dissertation. Therefore, for the sake of this study, a brief examination of the roles of the Pentecostal Foreign Mission of Norway in peacebuilding process in the DRC is considered to illustrate the approach of the RCC. Similarly, the study briefly explores the engagement of the Anabaptist (Mennonite) in peacebuilding in the DRC, to represent the isolated efforts of the churches under ECC.

5.5.4.4.1 The Pentecostal Foreign Mission of Norway (PYM)

PYM has been in the DRC for a very long time, its first missionaries were sent out by PYM in 1922, and missionaries have been present since then. The choice of PYM for this study was based on its enduring presence as peace partner with the ECC in the DRC. PYM is the Norwegian partner of the Peace and Reconciliation Program and has been involved since the commencement of the program. The Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (NMFA) has tremendously contributed to the program through the Pentecostal Foreign Mission of Norway (PYM, 2012a: 20). Also, the PYM through its missionary arm has established the church, named the community of Free Pentecostal Churches in Africa (*La Communauté des Église Libres de Pentecôte en Afrique* - CELPA). One of the strongest Pentecostal Church in the DRC, with branches all over the country. Consequently, the PYM through the CELPA local parishes, have been able to provide facilities and resources at the grassroots level for the implementation of the Peace and Reconciliation program (*Programme Paix et Réconciliation*,

PPR) (PYM, 2012b). According to Aembe and Jordhus-Lier (2017:161), sometimes, "Church buildings and premises of both Protestant and Catholic local churches have been used for various repatriation activities, sometimes also as accommodation for refugees."

5.5.4.4.2 ECC/PYM's Peace and Reconciliation Program (PPR)

Peace and Reconciliation Program was an initiative of the local church under ECC in South Kivu. The program was launched in November 2006 under the leadership of Rev. Josué Bulambo Lebelembe, the Vice-President of the ECC in South Kivu (Boëthius and Ånderå 2011:10-11). The program is a response to an outcry amplified by Lebelembe thus:

> The Church cannot accept that our women are raped and that the people lives in insecurity. If the FDLR is demobilized, there will be no reason to keep other military groups in the field in the region, and so peace and security can be restored (Boëthius and Ånderå 2011:10).

Therefore, the charge of the programme concentrated more on rebels and refugees demobilisation and resettlements, and provision of social amenities to the local communities. The target group of the project are the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), an armed group that since 1996 has destabilized Eastern Congo, and the large civilian group of Rwandan refugees in Eastern Congo that the FDLR claims to protect.

This was clearly stated in the ECC thus:

> The objective pursued by the church is development and application by the churches, of a realistic strategy for the return of Rwandan refugees and combatants, of foreign-armed groups located in the DRC, in their respective countries. It is also to contribute to the fight against violence, exactions and human right violations decried, and allows the restoration of normal economic and social life expected in the areas where the groups are (ECC Undated in Ueland, 2015)[12]

This perfectly coincide with the PYM's vision to assist individuals and community to develop themselves and their environments. The PYM vision is evident in the approaches of

[12]During a research fieldwork, Gunhild Ueland (2015) had a privileged information from an ECC circular given to him by the organisation. Hereferred to this document as ECC undated, in his work.

its engagements with the local partners as it works among the poor and marginalized (PYM in Ueland, 2015)[13].

Peace and Reconciliation Program also has a number of other church partners in Europe and North America, one of which is the Mennonite Church Council (MCC) (ECC cited in Ueland, 2015). Since 2012, MCC have supplied financial support for food-provision to the refugees, which are given out during workshops where ECC come in contact with the refugees. The National Councils of the Protestant Churches of Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda and other ecclesiastical organizations in the continent were also involved at a stage, however, close contacts were maintained with local, national and international organizations within and outside the church in order to sustain the program (ECC in Ueland, 2015)

Four activities, of the Peace and Reconciliation Program, could be highlighted. Firstly, the program investigates and identifies the armed groups, the number of their troops, the refugees and their respective locations (ECC in Ueland, 2015). According to Boëthius and Ånderå (2011), refugees in the DRC are under abnormal circumstances whereby they do not reside within refugee camps. Rather, they are mostly found living among the locals in villages and hamlets. Sometimes they are being kept as hostages of FDLR, or hiding in small clusters in the jungles. Therefore, locating and relocating them became very imperative, and according to the ECC estimates, over 60 000 people has been repatriated since 2006 (Boëthius and Ånderå 2011:19-22). According to Aembe and Jordhus-Lier (2017:161) "Churches have facilitated repatriation efforts in several locations across South Kivu, in particular in Kalehe, Mwenga, and Fizi districts where the presence of the Hutu-based rebel group Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) has caused widespread insecurity."

Secondly, the program engages in the sensitization efforts, creating awareness among the people, the refugees, the rebels, the church leaders and the political and international leaders, with a view to help stabilize the region. According to Aembe and Jordhus-Lier (2017:161), in "[s]ecuring the active cooperation of local church communities, community-based

[13]Undated PYM document cited by Gunhild Ueland in his Masters' Thesis titled - We Have to Look for Peace in Our Country: An empirical study of the Peace and Reconciliation program run by the Protestant Church Network in the Democratic Republic of Congo

organizations and traditional leaders, the project appointed an officer in charge of liaison with civil society." These activities are carried out through seminars and workshops in local communities whereby traditional leaders and religious leaders are invited to attend along with their teams. In this specialized seminars and workshops, people are educated on how to identify a refugee in their communities, how to approach them with the good news of repatriation and the improved situation in their home countries. They are also trained to inform them of the assistance available for them through the church if they are willing to go back home, and what is obtainable when they return home (Boëthius and Ånderå 2011:23-24). Sometimes, media channels (print and audio) were equally utilised to get the message across, to get the people to hear the true stories of those who have already returned home and to empower people with relevant information regarding repatriation (Boëthius and Ånderå 2011:25).

Thirdly, the PPR practically engaged in the processes of disarmament, demobilizing and resettlement of refugees and the rebels back to their home countries (ECC in Ueland, 2015). The sensitisation efforts motivate the people to voluntarily submit themselves for the repatriation. Therefore, the people are mobilised to go to the assembly points where they could be assessed easily and safely, and consequently linked with their home churches (Boëthius and Ånderå 2011:24). According to Boëthius and Ånderå (2011:23), this is implemented by the use of *animators* who functions as a process facilitator. For instance, if a refugee is willing and ready to be repatriated, the animator is contacted immediately, who takes the responsibility for getting the refugees to an assembly point where the UN and other national bodies take over the process. Fourthly, the PPR lobbies and advocates at a political level (ECC in Ueland, 2015). However, it is quite sensitive and difficult to evaluate the efforts of PPR in terms of what it has achieved and to determine what influences its roles of lobbying and advocacy.

As at January 2014, at the end of the sixth phase of the program, the numbers of repatriated civilians and rebel soldiers were estimated at 23,000 people (Scanteam, 2014). The report of the seventh phase of the program was not found during the study. However, Aembe and Jordhus-Lier (2017:161) argues that "[t]he ability to coordinate this sensitive process in collaboration with local communities testifies to the peacebuilding capacity of religious civil society in South Kivu." Also, the effectiveness of the PPR project in facilitating repatriation

could be credited to the efficacy of religious cross-border networks of the Protestant Churches in the Great Lakes region (Jordhus-Lier & Braathen, 2013; van Leeuwen, 2008).

Also as part of their reconciliation efforts, Laurent Monsengwo, on behalf of the DRC's religious groups, presented an appeal to the UN to institute an International Criminal Court (ICC) for the DRC, for the prosecution of war crimes offenders. According to the religious anthropological view of Wallace (1966), it is not purposely for retributive justice, but it was necessary to ensure that compensation is disbursed to the war victims, "individual families and the Catholic archdiocese alike" (Allafrica, 2006). The entreaty was made in March 2006 when the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan's held talks with a number of stakeholders in the DRC's peace and transition processes.

5.5.4.4.3 The Anabaptist/Mennonite

The choice of Mennonites here is not unconnected to its acknowledged outright theology of non-violent, and its deliberate focus on the grassroots. Ted Grimsrud (2007: 47) explains the pacific stance of the Mennonite thus:

> From its beginning in the sixteenth century, the Anabaptist movement has as a rule affirmed pacifism as the will of God. However, this affirmation has not generally stemmed from sustained theological reflection so much as from a more existential belief that Jesus' commands to love enemies apply in all circumstances. What has sustained this belief has generally been the on-going existence of pacifist communities that have claimed a loyalty from its members higher than the loyalty from its members higher than the loyalty given to nation-states that might ask involvement in warfare of its citizens.

The centrality of Anabaptist convictions is pacifism, they strongly believe that there is no justification for war and violence whatsoever, and that peaceful resolution is the only answer to all conflicts. Therefore, they neither concerned themselves with the debates whether non-violence is humanly possible or not, nor cumbered themselves with the theological coherence or global feasibility their pacifism. Some critics of this view have argued that non-violence is not necessary peace-making. So, in the 1980s, the Mennonite NGO known as the International Conciliation Services (ICS), and its Christian Peacemaker Teams (CPTs) have altered the progression of Anabaptist denomination from "quietism" to "active peace-making" (Freston, 2016: 28; Driedger and Kraybill, 1994). The factors that contribute to such a dramatic shift among North American Mennonites, according to Grimsrud (2007: 49) includes:

> (1) general acculturation that has pushed Anabaptist Christians to think more broadly, to identify more thoroughly with their wider culture and seek to apply their pacifist convictions as widely as possible; (2) increasing participation in social movements inspired by the transformative nonviolence of Mohandas Gandhi, with their optimism about the wide applicability of pacifism; and (3) growing engagement with philosophical and theological currents that may provide deeper intellectual grounding for a more positive view of human possibilities in the world (for example, Process thought, the I-Thou philosophy of Martin Buber, and liberation theology)

As the world globalizes and the international debates on conflict and peace increases, it became obvious that engagement without a rational framework is counterproductive. Therefore, a more relevant and contemporary, though highly contested, theology to sustain the centrality of pacifism among the Anabaptists was developed.

5.5.4.4.4 The Mennonites Missionary Services

The DRC has been an important target of Mennonite missionary attention since the 20th century. The Africa Inter-Mennonite Mission (AIMM) formally known as the Congo Inland Mission (CIM) has been in the DRC since 1912 followed by Mennonite Brethren Board of Missions and Services (BOMAS) in 1913. The two Christian missionary organizations eventually established three separate Mennonite churches. The three are now members of the ECC, and they are *Communauté Mennonite au Congo; Communauté Evangélique Mennonite* and *Communauté des Églises de Frères Mennonites au Congo.*

5.5.4.4.5 The Mennonites Peace Initiative in the DRC

However, The Mennonite is at variance with the Catholic and other religious groups in that they emphasize on peacebuilding at lower and middle levels, and they prefer to take a background role in mediation after empowering local peacebuilders (Lapp, 2006). According to Fidele Ayu Lumeya, the peacebuilding framework of the Congolese Mennonite Church is based on peace, justice and development (Lumeya, 2015: 381). The Mennonite asserts that there could not be peace without development and no development without peace and justice. Therefore, the Mennonite's participation in the 2003 inter-Congolese National Debate intensified this as it engages in peace agreement, which it views as a spring board for political and economic development. Through the instrumentality of the Mennonite World Conference (MWC), the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) and its networks engaged in democratization training, civil society capacity-building, policy formation etc. necessary for

peacebuilding project. These projects were not restricted to their members only but includes the participation of the entire ECC members.

Mennonites have been involved in international peacebuilding since the 1960s and 1970s when Anabaptist peace theology shifted from traditional non-resistance to social engagement (Driedger & Kraybill, 1994; Miller, 2000). This positive progression has given rise to the rediscovery of an Anabaptist identity as peacebuilder in the DRC, and the world at large.

The literature on Mennonite peacebuilding indicates that short-term projects are not usually effective in achieving long-term peace. This accentuates the Lederach (1997: 74) critique that, indeed, international and citizen-based diplomacy projects have always been looking for quick solutions to conflicts while neglecting to develop systems that will bring sustainable peace. Therefore, Mennonites are dedicated to establishing long-term peace from the grassroots. This can be seen in the importance they place on learning the language, understanding culture, and their conflict transformation approach. Even more crucial is their emphasis on building relationships through reconciliation. Mennonite adopts a spiritual approach to peacebuilding, as brazenly stated in the Mennonite Conciliation Service (Schrock-Shenk, 2000) that spirituality leads to internal conflict transformation, which must be intertwined with external work. Also, spirituality facilitates and transcends problem solving by connecting spirits and by healing relationships. This is not a replacement for peacebuilding tools, rather, spirituality is the *fertile soil* out of which peace grows (MCS, 2000: 28).

Therefore, unlike secular organizations, Mennonites view relationship building "not only as an instrument that produces an outcome," but as intrinsically valuable (Gopin, 2000: 154). Hertog (2010:91) affirms that "Mennonites understand their peace work as a testimony to God, which diminishes their need for immediate outcomes or their sense of final responsibility in terms of results". Secular projects have a propensity to be result-oriented, which could lead to pressure due to anxiety and an "ends justify the means" mentality; by contrast, Mennonites and other religious groups are often more focused on the means and character of the work than the overall outcome (Gopin, 2000:157). They believe in being responsible to God by obeying His commandments to be of service to others, and that God is ultimately responsible for the outcome of their work (Driver, 1989: 109). Though this belief is common among religious actors, this is a great challenge to the overall effectiveness of faith-based peacebuilding, given that traditional development tends to emphasize short-term

projects and tangible results (ter Haar, 2011). Scholars have noted that Mennonites refrain from taking charge in high profile mediation and leave control in the hands of those involved in conflict, in order to empower local leaders through grassroots peacebuilding process (Merry, 2000; Kraybill, 2000; Chupp, 2000).

Apart from establishing churches in the DRC, Bertsche, and Thiessen, 2011 explain that the union between CIM and MB missionaries have also produced several projects over the years, such as the:

> […] teacher training school at Nyanga in the early 1950s; a missionary children's school at Kajiji, 1954-60; and a pastoral training school, also at Kajiji, 1963-68. Both Mennonite missions were founding partners of the Theological Institute of Kinshasa (Institut Supérieur Théologique de Kinshasa; ISTK), a venture in which 10 other mission groups originally shared. Both CIM and BOMAS provided teaching staff for this school after it opened. All three Mennonite churches sent pastoral candidates there for training.

Therefore, in the analysis of the Church approach to peacebuilding in this section, the Lederach's Peacebuilding Pyramid Model would reflect the analysis thus.

FIGURE 5. 1 Lederach's Peacebuilding Pyramid Model as Applied to the Church in the DRC.

5.6 INTERCONNECTIVITY OF THE THREE LEVELS OF THE PYRAMID

Considering the three levels of the peacebuilding pyramid as discussed above, it is quite clear that the Church has a place within all the levels. This is due to the fact that church organisations are structured to transact at all levels of the society. Many church denominations have proliferated considerably in the DRC as a result of both their pragmatic preaching of the 'gospel of hope' to the downtrodden and their social standing in the society. They percolate the country to reach their wider audience through church-planting,

proselytization and media outreaches, therefore have become the most spectacular manifestation of religion constellation in the DRC. This impact of the Christian Church in the DRC cut across political groups, military, royalties, ethnic affiliations, and even other religion, that is what faith does.

Lederach (1997:43) argues that "many of the conditions that generate conflict, such as social and economic insecurity, political discrimination, and human rights violations are experienced primarily at the grassroots level." Therefore, the lines of group-identity conflict are more often drawn vertically rather than horizontally. Group divisions in this model are usually cut down through the pyramid rather than pitting one level against another. This is because contemporary conflicts typically arise around issues of ethnicity, religion, and regional geography, rather than class. As a result, leaders at each level usually have connections to their 'own people', and may also have connections with people at their own level 'on the other side,' unless relations have been severed completely.

It is also important to note the non-complementary interactions that may occur in the network within the three levels of the pyramid. Whereas a higher position in the pyramid implies greater access to information and more decision-making privileges, it also means that the individual is less affected by the day-to-day consequences of those decisions and policies (Lederach, 1997:43). Conversely, a lower position in the pyramid signifies individuals who directly experience the consequences of policies and decision made at the top level, yet have limited participation in decision-making and policy formulation process. These inverted relationships pose difficulties for the design and implementation of peace processes.

Nevertheless, the approaches at all three levels serve an important function: Advancing political negotiations among elites, and implementing accords, no doubt plays an integral role in the transition to peace. Likewise, the problem-solving workshops and peace commissions formed by mid-level leaders play a central role in establishing a relationship - and skill-based infrastructure necessary to sustain the peacebuilding process (Lederach, 1997:51). Finally, grassroots approaches bring together former enemies at the village level and are a crucial part of moving toward reconciliation. Together, the three levels and their respective approaches form a comprehensive framework for building peace.

5.7 CHALLENGES FACED BY THE CHURCH AT VARIOUS LEVELS

Despite their relatively high moral standing within the Congolese society and their roles in national political processes as discussed above, church leaders have had limited success in peacebuilding. Below are some of the challenges that could be responsible for the ineffectiveness of its effort:

5.7.1 Weakness on Relationship in the Church's Mediation Efforts.

The emphasis of the church during this process seems to be more of simple resolution consummated in the signing of peace truces. It could be observed that relationship, as the actual fundamental operational hypothesis of "Lederach's conflict transformation for long-term resolution" (Lederach, 1997: 26), was downplayed in the Church approaches to peacebuilding. This is one of the weaknesses of the Church approach at the all levels. However, it is important to note that intrastate conflicts in Africa are typically stuck in a complex web of adverse interpersonal and intergroup relationships, even the relationship between the government and the people. In the DRC, for instance, the relationship between the government and the governed has been badly damaged over the years of wars and violent conflicts. The Congolese people have always view the leaders in government as their enemies, perhaps at best, as conspirators of their enemies due to the element of cloudy interventions of the regional and international powers. An example of such views is echoed by Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, a professor of African and Afro-American studies at the University of North Carolina, that:

> [T]he root cause of the unending crisis in Congo is the absence of a legitimate government and a viable state. A weak and extremely unpopular leader, Kabila is a usurper who has no legitimacy and is incapable of discharging the duties of chief executive in a strategically important country such as the DRC (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2012)

Since the independence of the Congo, the crisis of leadership has burdened the Congolese people, for they lost confidence in their government. Therefore, a complex and innovative approach capable of probing into such web is invariably necessary to realistically transform such conflict, achieve sincere reconciliation, and develop a new range of cordially symbiotic relationship. Lederach (1997: 26) indicates that when a conflict involves parties within the same geographical area, reconciliation "is not pursued by seeking innovative ways to disengage or minimize the conflicting groups' affiliations, but instead is built on mechanisms that engage the sides of a conflict with each other as humans-in-relationship." Therefore, the church should emphasize on the significance of relationships in peacebuilding, and seek to

build it into its approach. This is what Lederach, (2005: 75-8) terms an "invisible web of social relationships", in his trailblazing work, *"Moral Imagination"*. According to Lederach (2005:35):

> If there is no capacity to imagine the canvas of mutual relationships and situate oneself as part of that historic and ever-evolving web, peacebuilding collapses. The centrality of relationship provides the context and potential for breaking violence, for it brings people into the pregnant moments of the moral imagination: the space of recognition that ultimately the quality of our life is dependent on the quality of life of others. It recognizes that the well-being of our grandchildren is directly tied to the well-being of our enemy's grandchildren.

This moral imagination must begin from amongst the top level elite leaders: African women and men who dare to distinguish themselves for resilient commitment to relational cognizance and praxis in spite of the odd realities.

Contrary to the Western culture of individualism, relationships are pivotal to all African societies. For us in Africa, to live is to be united with others in a social context; either by family connections, group, community, village etc. Africans mode of life is conditioned to operate in loyal affiliation to multiple relationships concomitantly. Therefore, in dealing with conflicts in Africa, addressing the dynamics of these relationships through constructive social change should dominate all approaches. This serious ethical issue is the domain of religion and religious leaders in conflict transformation and peacebuilding. Lederach's (2005:42) describes constructive social transformation as

> [T]he pursuit of moving relationships from those defined by fear, mutual recrimination, and violence toward those characterized by love, mutual respect, and proactive engagement. Constructive social change seeks to change the flow of human interaction in social conflict from cycles of destructive relational violence toward cycles of relational dignity and respectful engagement

Without dismissing the "paradoxical legacy" of the ambivalence of religion and its menace in Africa, it suffices to assert that Africans are religious people: religion is a key rudiment of the identity of an African. Religion in itself is not the threat, rather the "ambivalent character of human responses to it" (Appleby 2000: 19) which is also rooted in relationship. However, a genuine religious faith and practice remain a prolific avenue to peace. As such, the church is required to assist the people to gain the ethical perspective necessary for them to radically evaluate their current relationships with a view to transforming them. Introducing religious

concepts such as truth, justice, mercy, peace, and hope into peacebuilding as the fundamental concerns for sustainable peace, (Lederach, 1999:59, 94-6) affirms that, this is a realistic basis for hope in any peace process today.

The views that Africans are "incurably religious" has been introduced into the scholarly debate as far back as the era of decolonisation of Africa in the late 1950s. However, as from 1969, Professor John S. Mbitia Kenyan Christian religious philosopher, writer and an ordained Anglican priest, began to promote the notion in his writing that Africans are "notoriously religious", According to Mbiti (1990):

> For Africans, [religion] is an ontological phenomenon; it pertains to the question of existence or being. […] Within traditional life, the individual is immersed in a religious participation, which starts before birth and continues after death. For him, therefore, and for the larger community of which he is part, to live is to be caught up in a religious drama. This is fundamental, for it means that man lives in a religious universe. Both that world and practically all his activities in it, are seen and experienced through a religious understanding and meaning. […] The point here is that for Africans, the whole of existence is a religious phenomenon; man is a deeply religious being living in a religious universe. […] Africans have their own ontology, but it is religious ontology.

In his book *"African Religions and Philosopphy"*, Mbiti asserts Africans have "a religious ontology", which implies that the invisible realms, acclaimed by religions, do actually exist. This ontological position has always impacted directly on the empirical world of Africans, and therefore, Africans have always responded religiously to them.

However, like many other popular postulations, Mbiti's claim is not without contestation. Therefore, the first African scholar to critics this position was Okot p'Bitek, a renowned Ugandan poet, a politician and an anthropologist. p'Bitek (1971) opposed the assertion that "Africa is incurably religious" in two ways, Firstly, his analysis of religious indifference and irreligion in Luo traditional society; and secondly, by considering his personal intellectual development as an example of the influence of secularisation that Western formal education was going to have on African religious allegiances. Until recently, when Kudadjie (1973),

Metogo (1997) and Shorter & Onyanchaa (1997) aired their critiques[14] against Mbiti's view. However, this study agrees with Mbiti's standpoint considering the reality in Africa and in the DRC. Religion is vital in the modern African societies as seen in its roles and impacts in the DRC. Far beyond participatory religiosity, when viewed in term of their sentiment for the unseen spiritual realms, and how much they look for solution to their problems from such realm, African could be said to be really "notoriously religious".

5.7.1 Lack of Identifiable Framework/Model

The limited success in the church intervention is largely traceable to the church's overemphasis on the top-to-bottom approach. It is obvious from this study that there is more to peacebuilding in the DRC than resolution at the top leadership level. Here the church is confronted with a serious challenge of appropriate model capable of addressing the root cause of violent conflicts in the DRC. The lack of strategic framework or model in peacebuilding is a direct function of the absence of a well thought out logic underpinning the method of appropriation of its energy and resources. This could render the central assumption that informs the church's choices unidentifiable enough to be substantiated with the reality.As Powers (2010:1) correctly says that "The peacebuilding work of the Catholic Church and other religious actors in the Great Lakes region is mostly a well-kept secret"

5.7.2 Ambiguity of Critical Distance

Due to the open nature of the negotiation process at this level, and the power and fame it bestows on the actors, church leaders are mostly confronted with the tough challenge of maintaining a critical distance from party politics. So due to the virtue of high profile national recognition, they are sometimes enticed into positions. So, rather than keeping a critical distance from the politics, some church leaders have taken advantage of their moral authority

[14]Metogo (1997) argues on the bases of religious indifference among African believers and Africans attitudes towards, and participation in, religions. Shorter & Onyanchaa (1997) based their argument on Church attendance. While Kudadjie (1973) was considered for the philosophical refutation of Mbiti's position 'invalid', 'unacceptable', 'erroneous', based on 'unsound logic and uncritical and partial examination of facts', and a 'theological misappropriation'.

to seek for political office, which in turn, has a detrimental effect on the loyalty of their various constituencies. Peacebuilders are expected to steer clear of active party politics, it helps to minimize sentiment and reduce the tendency for biases. The capacity of the church for political engagement and popular support to mobilize the warring parties for negotiation is rooted the confidence it is able to generate from the public.

5.7.3 Ecumenical and Inter-Faith Divergence

The impact of church networks on peace-building is complicated and dependent on a number of aspects, including their internal consolidation (i.e. ecumenical and inter-faith platforms), the conflict context, their ability to engage with multi-level conflict dynamics in the areas in which they operate, and their relationship to the state and civil society.The ecumenical and inter-faith disunity between Catholic and the rest of the churches in the DRC has a serious negative impact on the possibility of collective efforts, so cross-border peace dialogues are rather conducted separately. The gaps are further widened by the fact that their international donors differ. However, in a complex conflict landscape such as the DRC, a worthwhile peacebuilding effort requires the ability of the peace actors to mobilize across faith, community and state borders. Peace projects are many in the DRC, and when they are viewed in the light of the peacebuilding Pyramid, it could be observed that the three level of the model is duly represented. However, it is quite obvious that the levels are not being interdependently synchronized in a way to generate the required impact. The unity between the ECC and the RCC is paramount to sustainable peacebuilding in the DRC. Not just unity for its sake but for a unity of purpose, to harness the collective potential of the Church in both local and diplomatic peace process.

5.7.4 Challenge of Ethno-Political Dynamics

Stewart (2008) argues that violent conflict in multicultural societies occurs in the presence of major horizontal inequalities among culturally defined groups. This develops over time when ethnic or cultural variances overlap with political and economic differences. This can cause deep resentment that may, in turn, lead to violent agitations. Laitin (1996) adds that multicultural societies do not generate conflict just because they are multicultural, it is rather the combination of multiple factors that ignite conflicts. So, Wolff (2006) calls this factors an “underlying” cause of conflict and the role of leaders and their strategic choices in the conflict he calls it “proximate” causes. He further argues that the underlying causes are

"necessary, but not sufficient conditions for the outbreak of inter-ethnic violence" (Wolff, 2006, 68). The "proximate" causes, on the other hand, enable or accelerate conflicts in situations "in which all or some of the underlying "ingredients" are present" (Wolff, 2006: 70-1). Therefore, Fox (2004b) submits that religion causes violence only when it is combined with these other factors. On the premise of this argument, it could be reiterated that the challenge of ethnicity is one of the major roots of conflict in the DRC. However, the church has not been able to be ethnically neutral enough to handle this challenge. In fact, it is a challenge to the church and its mediation in the DRC. According to Longman (2001)

> A comparison of two dioceses, Goma and Bukavu, both located in the Kivu region on the border with Rwanda, can demonstrate the divisions plaguing the Catholic Church on a national level…As these two cases demonstrate, ethnic bias creates major problems for Congo's Catholic Church. Congo has over 200 ethnic groups, and bishops have traditionally played an important role in seeing to it that their own ethnic communities get their fair share of national resources from both the church and the state.

Jordhus-Lier and Braathen (2012:116) also argue that churches in the DRC "have not always been able to steer clear of ethnic tensions." Therefore, apart from the RCC and ECC operational divergence, the local and the regional churches should look beyond their theological and ethnic differences to harmonize for a common goal; of peace. Especially in the eastern DRC, where there is high number of militant groups their transnational dimension, peacebuilding requires a corresponding cross-border peace action for which the church in the eastern DRC are too fragmented and weak to handle. The fragmentation of the church could be attributed to the complexity of its relationship with the localized conflict dynamics such as the local ethnics and land claims.

5.8 THE POTENTIAL OF THE CHURCH IN PEACEBUILDING IN THE DRC

Many scholarly and policy-focused writings on religion and international affairs have argued that religion is an essential machinery for accomplishing peace. More specifically, religious beliefs and values, religious leaders and FBOs are thought to be endowed with enormous potential for promotion of peace in any society. (Johnston and Sampson 1994; Johnston 2003; Appleby 2001; Gopin 2000; Smock 2002; Shah et al. 2012; Coward and Smith 2004; Little 2007). The US Institute of Peace has developed substantial resources for interfaith projects and publications, and the US government recently created an office for "religious engagement" in the State Department (Johnston and Cox, 2003; Mandaville and Silvestri, 2015). Similarly, some important works in this vein are evident in Europe too (Hayward,

2012). In addition to the academic literature, numerous faith groups and NGOs are also mobilizing and producing policy reports to promote and enhance the contribution of religious actors to development and reconciliation. In the DRC, Church represents both barriers and opportunities to the various peace actions. However, religion has been unconstructive in conflict resolution or peacebuilding when detached from social issues and when politically conspired or manipulated. Nevertheless, the church has contributed to peacebuilding when its leaders have played active nonpartisan roles in teaching, conflict resolution, and advocacy for public ethics and nonviolence intervention at grassroots and national levels.

5.8.1 Moral Validation of Religion in Peace Building Intervention

According to Johnston (2003), in promoting peace and reconciliation, religious leaders and organizations offer credibility as trusted institutions; a respected set of values; moral warrants to oppose injustice; unique leverage for promoting reconciliation among conflicting parties; capability to mobilize community, nation, and international support for a peace process; and a sense of calling that often inspires perseverance in the face of major and otherwise debilitating obstacles. Invariably, however, conflict resolution and peacebuilding are commonplace for religious peacemakers; the processes associated with reconciliation such as confession, repentance, forgiveness, mercy, compassion, and conversion based on self-reflection and acceptance of personal responsibility, have emerged from religions, not secular context. Many religiously motivated peacemakers have a natural predisposition to working on reconciliation (the restoration of relationships) as well as personal and social transformation. Moreover, it is easier for religious leaders to talk about repentance and forgiveness because they are more likely to be regarded as the legitimate actors to do so than many scholar leaders, for whom such talk does not come naturally or whose motives might be questioned (Johnston, 2003; Assefa, 2004; 1999; 1994; 1993a; 1993b; Gopin, 2001; Hart, 2000; Appleby, 2000; Lederach, 1997; Henderson, 1999; 1996; Hamlin, 1991; Sampson, 1987; Nhat Nanh, 1987).

5.8.2 An Ethics and Ethos of Love

In Biblical morality, and especially in New Testament morality, love is the principal theme. All of the religious and moral demands of Jesus are synthesized in the basic precept of love of God and love of neighbour. Christianity requires a level of personal commitment to love one another, and can only be communicated at the level of concrete human groups (like a

church) and through personal contact on the daily level. Unlike human rights edict, the ethos of love cannot be imposed nor set as an obligation, because the moment that it was done, it would turn into an ideology and take on the alienating role of a social opiate which would be rejected by society or loses its potency. Love is always tied up with a free choice that is why it is a basic attitude for a Christian ethos, for the behaviour and the values of the Christian person who wants to follow the Lord. That has been the greatest Christian conviction down through the ages.

From the starting point of this Christian conviction, the church is required to mobilize the conscience and the forces of humanity that are in its midst to turn course our life around. Although the church believes that the social contract is based on the order established by God, which renders Human Rights a common denominator that must be defended by the church. Yet, Human Rights constitute only a minimum ethics, the greatest ethic to the church is the ethics of love which holds a tremendous potential for a right to peace. It is a fundamental theology and spirituality give a better impetus to the introspective methodologies such as confession, repentance, seeking and giving forgiveness, atonement, compassion, mercy.

5.8.3 Legitimacy and Proximity

Congolese church networks are involved in national political processes, legitimised as an attempt to put pressure on diplomatic processes and peace talks. The churches themselves argue that they possess “comparative advantages”, and that these exist in both ends of their hierarchies. Two sets of logic are often used to justify the role of churches in peace-building: firstly, the legitimacy and assumed political neutrality of high-ranking clergy suggest that they can facilitate national reconciliation and engage in diplomacy and secondly, churches are perceived to have great potential at the local level to raise awareness and change attitudes. This direct proximity of the church to the grassroots people is an asset to peacebuilding. It enables the church to address some secondary community issues that have a direct impact on the conflict dynamics.

The Church could sometimes further extend its peacebuilding agendas to include such roles as consolidating ethnic networks, promoting personal careers and mobilising for women’s representation. The church is often in very strategic positions regarding property ownership and economic activities. Also, international networks allow flows of money to enter local

churches which could be used to channel aid and implement social development projects that could empower the grassroots people. In the DRC, from local pastors to archbishops, church leaders have demonstrated a capacity for social mobilisation (Braathen and Ojera, 2008; Prunier, 2001). According to a Congolese human rights lawyer Pascal Kambale, the origin of the church's prominent role in the country could be dated back to when the Congo was the property of the Belgian King Leopold II. The king could not rely on the Belgian administration to run the country. So, he outsourced the day-to-day administration to different Catholic congregations." This gave the church a "political clout that it doesn't have in many other countries" (Krippahl, 2017).

5.9 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the presence of the church in the DRC was explored, and it was discovered that there are three main constellations of churches in the DRC: TheRoman Catholic Church, the Church of Christ in the Congo (under which all Protestant Churches are clustered), and the Kimbanguists Church (an independent Congolese instituted church). The chapter examines the church in the context of the wars in the DRC with a view to ascertain its roles in peace processes both in the Pre-Colonial DRC and post-Colonial DRC. It gave a setting for the main objective of the chapter which is to examine the role of the church and its models of peacebuilding in the DRC through the lens of the Lederach's Pyramid Model of peacebuildingfrom 2001-2016. And also, to utilize the Model in analysing the church efforts and approach to peacebuilding in the DRC.

So, the chapter examined thechurch's approaches to peacebuilding in the DRC in the light of the Lederach's Model of Peacebuilding. Firstly, it scrutinises the approaches of theRoman Catholic and secondly, the ECC approaches. However, due to the numerous denominations under the ECC constellation, it was practically impossible to consider the 62 denominations within the scope and time of this study. Therefore, the Peace and Reconciliation Program of the ECC and the Mennonites Church's approach was chosen for the study. The ECC program was chosen to represent the collective peace effort of the Protestants churches, while the Mennonite was selected to represent the common practice of divisible efforts of the churches under ECC Constellation. However, Mennonite was chosen because of its emphasis on non-violent peace work. So, the chapter looked at the Mennonites Missionary Services prior to the period under which the study is conducted, and further explored the Mennonites Peace Initiative under the lens of the pyramid model from 2001-2016. Thence, both the challenges

and potentials of the Church in its peace efforts in the DRC were discussed. Therefore, the next Chapter presents the conclusion of this study. First, discusses how the church could maximize this potential toward achieving a sustainable peace and development in the DRC. It summarises the entire dissertation, renders the key research findings and provides the policy recommendation of the research.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter explored the presence the roles of the church in the DRC. It examined the engagements of the church in the context of war and its roles in peace processes both in the Pre-Colonial DRC and post-Colonial DRC as a background for the main objective of the chapter. So, therole of the church and its models of peacebuilding in the DRC were examined from 2001-2016 in the light of the Pyramid Model of peacebuilding. In addition, the Model was used to analyse the church approach to peacebuilding in the DRC. Firstly, in this chapter the study examines the approaches of theRoman Catholic and secondly the ECC approaches. The study uses the Peace and Reconciliation Program to represents many projects run by ECC and adopted Mennonites approach as a representation for the projects run by autonomous protestant denomination. Therefore, this Chapter presents the conclusion of this study by discussing both the challenges and potentials of the Church in peacebuilding. It summarizes the entire dissertation, renders the key research findings and provides the recommendation for the research.

6.2 RESEARCH FINDINGS.

It is conspicuous in the course of this research that there are several challenges flagging the efficacy of most peace efforts in the DRC in addressing the issues, most of which have been examined and explained in various contexts by different studies as contributions to scholarly collections. However, the study probed the church's intervention and approaches to peacebuilding, analyzed the impact of the church on the conflict, and assessed the success of the Church in peacebuilding in the DRC. This study also examined the key challenges and opportunities facing the Churches in its intervention in the DRC and identified how its peacebuilding potential could be maximized. Below are the study findings:

6.2.1 The Dynamic of the DRC Conflicts

The study finds that the DRC conflicts are triggered by a multitude of factors that have deep political, economic, social and ethnic implications. The pursuit of national and indigenous self-rule, ethnic tensions and civil unrests which are driven by socio-economic and political grievances, poverty, poor governance, and social development are all associated with the DRC's violent conflicts. Also, the historical legacies of inter-state frontiers created by colonialism on the one hand, and the multi-ethnic oddity of most African states on the other, are roots of conflicts in the DRC. This complication has generated a lot of debate as to whether the DRC conflict is intra-state or inter-state.

Well, the finding of this research established the fact that it is not an inter-state conflict because, the wars were not outright nation against nation fight, rather, it was every nations involved fight for their interest, and some defending the interest of others. Such interests however, range from economic to political and to retributive military operation, though not against the DRC directly, but against refugee in the DRC. Also, it could be said to be inter-state, when the DRC forces fought to kick the foreign army out of their territory. The violation of territorial integrity of the DRC, and the humanitarian chaos it creates are all factors to be consider. Moreover, right in the midst of all these is the contest for the country's natural and economic resources. The illicit proceeds from these resources have been the sustaining strength of wars in the DRC (United Nations, 2003). Also, these resources have been the propeller of destabilization in governance that leads to poverty and institutional failure.

6.2.2 The Impact of the Church in Peace processes in the DRC

In the DRC, religious groups, the faith-based organization, and religious leaders are significantly dynamic as benefactors of public services in a society that has been ravaged by many decades of intractable conflict, maladministration, and deteriorating state institutions. However, the densities of violent conflicts in the DRC, and the failure of the state to curb it has necessitated the critical action of religious organisations – which include social services delivery, development processes, and peacebuilding. The Church's social and humanitarian roles include education, healthcare, and postal services, and support system for victims of sexual violence through the provision of material, financial, medical support. The Church also organizes skill-based empowerment as a long-term support, consolation, solidarity, and training of personnel in counseling and psycho-social support of traumatic persons.

The Church has been directly and indirectly instrumental in peace-making and peacebuilding in the DRC through the promotion of constructive peace dialogues across all spheres of the society. The intervention of the Roman Catholic Church (RCC) was a significant contribution to the electoral process and the ultimate success of the DRC's general elections of 2006 and 2011. The Church has served successfully as the strategic incubator and motivator of democratization, institutional-building, and popular participation, through its enormous outreach capacity in the DRC. It has also played the role of a capacity-builder and institutional-moralizer through the use of its extensive education institutions and training facilities.

Church leaders have been credited with negotiation and reconciliation competencies. For instance, they were very instrumental in the reconciliation of Kabila and Jean-Pierre Bemba after the latter rejected the election results. Indeed, Catholic bishops mounted pressure on both leaders urging them to strive for a peaceful resolution of the electoral crisis by accepting the electoral result and by supporting the mediation process led by the UN. These efforts and many others could be commended for the success of the elections and the relative, though, fragile peace that followed. Also in their role of advocacy, the church in the DRC, has been accentuating the need for the politicians to be responsible leaders, and to put the country first, rather than allowing personal interests that could jeopardize the fragile peace in the country. Generally, DRC's religious groups in the post-conflict period have focused on supporting the democratic transition through civic education and advocating responsibility by the political class. The impacts of their role in the post-conflict epoch had been the nurturing of an environment within which peace could thrive.

6.2.3 De-politicization of Peace Processes

In divergent from general view, this research submits that the DRC's civil wars and recurrent violent conflicts are not due to its ethnic differences alone. The study has demonstrated that the complex incidences of war in the DRC are not just because of its multi-ethnicity and cultural diversities. Rather, a major breakdown of the relationships between the government and the governed, which systematically impacted on other relationships within the society. However, the Church in the DRC has not been directly addressing this challenge. Therefore, it was observed that, one major factor emasculating the efficacy of most peace processes in the DRC, including those of the churches, is founded in the hypothetical resolution "that intra-state violence is an irrational phenomenon". So, most peace actors view conflicts as contingencies of institutional and structural failure. Hence, the immediate tendency of most interventions is what Westendorf (2015) called, "technocratic peace processes," which emphasises institutional and infrastructural reconstruction as a solution to conflict, with special focus on security, "governance, and transitional justice."

This "technocratic peace processes" approach to peacebuilding could renders peace processes disconnected from the political and social frameworks that shapes how peoples and their communities respond to peace processes that seek their well-being. In fact, it capable of rendering the whole process depoliticized: the relationship between the society and the state is disregarded, thus, isolating peace processes from the politics of conflict and peace at the grassroots level. One of the key study finding was that there has been over-reliance on this "technocratic peace process" which relies on top-bottom and external intervention for peace processes the DRC. However, the most effective way to instigate genuine conflict transformation and peacebuilding in the DRC is to institute some democratic reforms. The kind of reform that would respect Congolese people and their social capital, and such that could effectively address the challenges confronting various societies and groups within their existential realities.

6.2.4 Customized Model for Peacebuilding

Another finding is about the way in which power and authority are structured and disputed in the DRC. This requires a thorough scrutiny with a view to transforming how the multiple conflicting interests overlap with peacebuilding or impact on the conflicts within a democratic milieu. The church in the DRC has not been able to lead a process that is capable

of transforming power structure in the country. So, peace processes fail when they do not respond to political processes, but it works when internal domestic responses and reactions to political process are promoted with a view to addressing them, regardless of the prevailing technocratic, diplomatic and global peacebuilding measures. Therefore, peacebuilding processes should be customized to suit the context in which they are engaged, and also to respond to the aspirations of the populace, most especially the people at the grassroots. For it is at the grassroots that the dynamics of the situations, consequences, and challenges are evaluated for appropriate action and modification.

6.2.5 Prioritizing on Social Reconstruction

Based on the findings of this study, the Church in the DRC has enormous potential to instigate a process of transformation in the DRC. The Church is huge, strong, and well-structured, it has a powerful local, regional, and global network, it is proximate to the grassroots people, it possesses unparalleled moral and spiritual authority and its impact on social and humanitarian services are monumental and unprecedented. Therefore, in its frameworks of peacebuilding, the church should use its influence and affluence to engage the local political, social, and economic dynamics (that defines people's relationships) with its peace process. Social reconstruction should take precedence over infrastructural and establishments when engaging peace processes. It is imperative to note that conflict is an outcome of a breakdown of relationships, not a function of institutional collapse. In conflict situation, people and their societies are found in the midst of intricate processes of social manoeuvring and political negotiation that further affects these relationships. Therefore, failed governmental institutions, high level of poverty, economic dependence on natural resources, and ethnic discords in the DRC are not the primary causes of conflict but offshoots of it. The primary cause is the breakdown of relationship, and, therefore, should also be the primary focus of an authentic peacebuilding.

6.2.6 The Church and the Pyramid

Another crucial finding of this study is that the church is unwittingly operating within the contexts of the Peacebuilding Pyramid model - the framework adopted for this study. Both the Catholic and the Protestants churches have been active at the three levels of the pyramid, though the activities of the Catholic are more pronounced at the top level, while the Protestants are more at the lower levels. However, their engagements are technically lopsided

and perhaps obsolete, because they seem to be adopting new approaches without changing their general outlooks. The pyramid model of Peacebuilding is an all-inclusive approach to peacebuilding, where the three levels are invariably and inevitably interdependent. It cannot be privatized or enigmatized, rather, it should be a public infrastructure, validated and own by the people, and not just by the church, while the church plays its catalytic role of mediation. It should be introduced and inducted into the whole fabrics of the society, from the households to the institutions, through public awareness, education, and training. From the methodological perspective, the results show that the Pyramid model of Peacebuilding is thought-provoking and feasible. It can be used as a way to build peace in the DRC.

Finally, it is interesting to note that the church has been engaged in a kind of sporadic reaction to conflicts, rather than a long-term peace process that deeply addresses its root cause, and the inimical policies and hegemonic structures that sustain it. Therefore, the researcher thus upholds that there is a need to establish an efficient peacebuilding infrastructure within an integrated framework of conflict transformation: A mechanism of non-violent, long-term, participatory and comprehensive approach which esteems the inputs of the grassroots people without disregarding the elite's role.

6.2.7 Regional Dialogue on Land and Ethnic Conflict

The study finds that the Eastern part of the DRC yet faces continuous violent conflict and insecurity due to the incidence of various militia groups and the persistent illegal mining and transaction of mineral resources in the region. The Church in the DRC has not been able to handle the resolution of the multitude of local land conflicts and ethnic-based conflicts in this region. A situation which has been complicated by the presence of multiple militias and the corresponding humanitarian catastrophes it generates. Peace is only possible if a dialogue is established across the national borders, among Rwandese, Congolese, Burundian and Ugandan state and civil society leaders. However, neither Catholic nor Protestant churches in the in the DRC have succeeded to utilize their potential over local civil society to build a strong advocacy and mediation platform on which to initiate such a dialogue. This is largely due to the fact that the international opus of the Church in the DRC has not been developed enough to decisively deal with the external or regional dimension of the conflict in the eastern part of the DRC.

6.2.8 Lack of Collective Peace Efforts

The study also finds that there is a strong partition among various church denomination in the DRC which prevent operational collaboration in peace processes. The disunity between the Catholic and Protestant churches has negatively impacted on their peacebuilding efforts and their outcomes. The fragmented landscape of the Protestant Churches, in terms of initiatives and authorities, has prevented them from concerted efforts as well, which is further worsened by their reliance on different external donors. This is a major impediment to the potential of the church to engage in local conflict resolution, as the churches are often linked with local land conflicts in the DRC. Also, it was found that most cross-border church dialogues have been conducted autonomously by both the Catholic and Protestant churches, undoubtedly this is a limiting factor to their potential for collective engagements. If the Church is going to succeed in its role to achieve peace and to rebuild DRC, it must struggle to overcome its own ethnic, denominational and regional cleavages.

6.3 SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

The first chapter of this dissertation introduces the specific direction and the quintessence of the study by demonstrating the background and general overview of the research design. It gave a brief overview of research design; outlines of the research problem; the research objectives; the research questions; the structure of the research; and the methodology. The second chapter focuses on literature Review, which showed that the Christian community in the DRC is very large and that the church is active in social services delivery, development processes, conflict resolution, and peacebuilding. The review of literature revealed the dearth of studies on the roles and the approach of the Church in peacebuilding process in the DRC. This is what gave impetus to this study to examine the roles, the challenges and the potential of the Church in peacebuilding process in the DRC. This is done with a view to generating academic discussion capable of instigating further research to investigate the dynamics of religious participation in conflicts and in peacebuilding processes in the DRC and in African at large.The third chapter discussed Lederach's (1997) peacebuilding pyramid model adopted as the theoretical framework for the study. The existing literature on John Paul Lederach's Pyramid Model was brought under review so as to garner some ideas on what other scholars say about the assumptions of his framework. This has enabled the researcher to present his Justification for choosing John Paul Lederach's Pyramid Model for this study and to analyze its perspectives on the church and its peacebuilding efforts in the DRC.

The fourth chapter critically examined the history of the DRC's conflicts and some of it causes and perhaps its peculiar characteristics were ascertained. This was carefully done through chronological exploration of the country's conflict history under various regimes from medieval Congo to the current political crisis in the DRC.Historically, since independence, the DRC has been caught between expansionist invasions, critical border security issues, aggressive economic predation, and recurrent ethnic and political skirmishes. As discussed in this chapter, the Church played an important role in the area of conflict resolution in the DRC. It was emphasized that the role of the church in the conflict can be investigated through the understanding of the characteristics of the conflict in which it was involved.

The analysis showed that the church engaged more in intrastate conflict, which was often explained in terms of aggressive predatory or greed and grievance. However, the study reveals more primary causes of conflict in the DRC. Interestingly, the greed and grievances notion was noted as the sustaining factors of the conflict. The key actors in both types of conflicts were the governments, internal rebel groups, proxy militias, foreign governments, and multinationals. One of the most glaring attribute, of the conflicts, is the geostrategic nature of the wars, the ambiguous role of the external interventionists, the trans-regional dimension, the ethnic tension and the impact of natural resources on the conflict.

In the fifth chapter, the presence of the church in the DRC was explored, and it was discovered that there are three main constellations of churches in the DRC: TheRoman Catholic Church, THE Church of Christ in the Congo (under which all Protestant Churches are clustered), and the Kimbanguists Church (a Congolese independent church). The chapter examines the church in the context of the war in the DRC with a view to ascertain its roles in peace processes both in the Pre-Colonial DRC and post-Colonial DRC. It gave a setting for the main objective of the study which was to examine the role of the church and its models of peacebuilding in the DRC through the lens of the Lederach's Pyramid Model of peacebuildingfrom 2001-2016. Therefore, the study utilizes the Model to analyse the church efforts and approach to peacebuilding in the DRC. Firstly, the chapter examines the approaches of the Roman Catholic and secondly, the ECC approaches. However, due to the numerous denominations under the ECC constellation, it was practically impossible to examine the 62 denominations within the scope of this study. Therefore, the Mennonites Church's approach was chosen for the study, because of its emphasis on non-violent peace

work. However, the Peace and Reconciliation Program of the ECC was also examined alongside.

In this sixth Chapter, the challenges the successes and potentials of the church approach to peacebuilding were discussed. Several strategies have been used by the church to deal with the conflict in the DRC such as mediation, reconciliation, dialogue and the use of advocacy to create a conducive environment for a diplomatic initiative. However, the study reveals that the outcome of peace negotiations has always been the conclusion, ratifications, and executions of ceasefire/peace agreements. Limited attention has been given to eventualities of the failure of those agreements. Therefore, the Church role in peacebuilding in the DRC was found to be averagely successful and a genuine contribution to peace. However, the study raises some crucial suggestion for the church, the civil society, and the policymakers, as a way forward towards peace in the DRC.

6.4 RECOMMENDATION

Having discussed the general perspective on the role of the church and how it could build sustainable peace in the DRC, this section focuses on the recommendation concerning critical socioeconomic, security and political problems in relation to the church.

6.4.1 The Need for a Pragmatic Peacebuilding Infrastructure

There is a need to establish a powerful peacebuilding infrastructure in an integrated framework of conflict transformation mechanisms. A non-violent, community based, long term participatory and inclusive approaches that focuses on the grassroots people without neglecting the elites is imperative at this point. And the people should be supported to own and take responsibility for their own peace process and development. Therefore, the study recommends that the church in the DRC develop a strong political will and a proper homegrown peacebuilding theory and practice as an outcome of their age long participation in national and international peace processes (for theory and practice should go hand in hand to ensure consistency and possibility of evaluation). Therefore, the Congolese people need to be supported to own and take responsibility for their own peace and development. They should be catalyzed and encouraged to view conflicts beyond the immediate and offer dynamic appreciation of the situation and to be able to motivate and mobilize themselves against the hegemonic structures that condemn then to misery. The peacebuilding structure should address democratic legitimacy of the DRC, and advocate for women empowerment

and for the Congolese women to be given central role to play in peacebuilding, as they (and their children) are more vulnerable in conflict situation.

6.4.2 The Need for a New Political Landscape in the DRC

The approach that would guarantee a sustainable peace and development in the DRC must prioritize on national unity by creating the political environment that accommodates equal representation of all including opposition and ethnic groups. The DRC political landscape had terribly disintegration: the general election has been delayed, till the time of this study (December 2017), leading to public tension and protests. The president has remained in office till December) while his official mandate ended in December 2016. The ruling majority and the minority opposition groups are intensely at odds, with the gap between them progressively generating devastating uncertainties in the country. Many prominent personalities and parties have disengaged from the ruling coalition. Presently, there are numerous alliances and factions that constitute the unpredictable and complex political structure in the DRC. The political and constitutional crisis has necessitated several efforts of negotiation between the ruling majority and opposition on the way forward, but instead, the efforts have engendered new divisions.

6.4.3 Investing in the Human and Social Capital of the Congolese

The implementation of authentic peacebuilding framework in the DRC should pay great attention to an all-inclusive and interactive problem-solving process capable of activating the process of empowerment and social networking. This is necessary if the DRC is to realise its vision of a peaceful society. Therefore, peacebuilding activities at the various levels should embark on serious economic development programmes, which emphasized the social and economic importance of human and social capital of the Congolese people. To develop human capital is to deliberately invest in education, skill development, and entrepreneurship, which optimises responses which necessitate a reallocation of resources to regain equilibrium in the society. In like manner, social capital as a vital constituent of development is capable of contributing abundantly to nation-building. It creates a conducive environment for participation in the management economy, social policies development and in the areas of peacebuilding and democracy.

Civil society should be re-organized within a coordinated structure with a view to confederating the various networks. Deliberate attention and action should be focused on

women and youth in this regard, in order to deal with the apparent imbalance caused by prolonged marginalisation. The most valuable of all capitals is the investment in human beings, which activates the potential enterprise culture within a system, and in the long run impacts on the formal economy. It is important to note that economic motivations for violence and criminality are never unrelated with the high proportion of unemployed youth, especially the young male population.

6.4.4 Ecumenical Consolidation

There is strength in numbers, fragmented peace efforts among the Christian denominations in the DRC might never be powerful enough to confront the magnitude of the country's challenges. The Church has a foremost responsibility in the peacebuilding processes in the DRC, especially in addressing the very fundamental of relationship-building among individuals and social, ethnic and political groups. However, the success of such endeavours is a direct function of the relationship between the Catholic and the Protestant churches, and between the various Protestant churches under the Church of Christ in the Congo (CCC). By this, the Church as a unified body would maximize its potential as a spiritual and moral entity, toward the transformational goal.

Therefore, the church in the DRC should consolidate to develop a unified strategic approach to peacebuilding that transcends all ambiguities and denominational variances. The diverse, numerous and powerful resources of peacebuilding which are reserved within and among its various Christian constellations should be harnessed towards this amalgamated peacebuilding initiative. Similarly, other religious bodies, civil society groups, local and traditional authorities, government and non-government organisations should be included and should be tailored to sufficiently accommodate equal representation of all ethnic groups in order to be effective. This will epitomize leadership by example in the DRC.

6.4.5 The Need for Interdisciplinary Synergy

Therefore, as the world globalizes and religious networks wax stronger transnationally, the need to introduce some religious concept into the frameworks of international relations theories is imperative. This will go a long way to advance our ability to properly understand and interpret many complex geopolitical dynamics. It would also help to appreciate the role that religion plays in various countries, and how it impacts, internally and externally, on their politics. Therefore, the most practical way to augment for the deficits of the secular approach

to peacebuilding in relation to the contemporary conflicts would be to pursue a strong interdisciplinary approach. This is done by using a real synthesis of approaches to integrate knowledge and methods from different disciplines - both from social science and non-social science milieu. For instance, the depth psychology[15] could offer more insightful understanding into conflict behaviours such as deep animosity, sexual violence, genocidal cruelty and chronic obduracy much more than the rational explanations would do. Just as the sound theology and spirituality would grant better grips on introspective methodologies such as confession, repentance, seeking and giving forgiveness, atonement, compassion, love, and mercy so much more than political science, sociology, economics, anthropology or law could do.

However, such collaboration must defy the notion that the only way to understand reality is through "rationalism" and "secular scientism" which has tended to denigrate other forms of understanding reality. For instance, social scientists dismissed introspective methodologies as non-rational claiming that the concepts belong in places of worship and religious circles. Needless to say, this kind of social scientists would have to come to accept that phenomena cannot be dismissed as non-existent or unimportant just because their theoretical framework or tools fail to understand them. Human life is too complex to be captured just by social science theories, frameworks and methodologies alone.

Although social sciences may not have understood the concepts of introspective methodologies, for example, yet they have the technical know-how for operationalizing theories and concept to make them beneficial and suitable to solve human problems. So social science scholars could enrich their theories by borrowing concepts from the non-social science disciplines. In like manner, non-social science disciplines may have good theories concepts and frameworks, but those ideas remain at the realm of philosophy and abstract knowledge without a rigorous technicality that could translate them into helpful processes to address serious social issues. So, the non-social science protagonist could also enrich themselves tremendously by learning such methodologies from the social sciences. It is high

[15] Analytical psychology (sometimes analytic psychology), also called Jungian psychology and psychoanalytical theories, is a school of psychotherapy which originated in the ideas of Carl Jung, a Swiss psychiatrist. It emphasizes the importance of the individual psyche and the personal quest for wholeness.

time to begin to take religious peacebuilding seriously, and the only way to do that is to take Catholic and Presbyterian, Anglican, Mennonite, Orthodox, Jewish, Sunni, Shi'ite, Hindu, Buddhist peacebuilding seriously.

6.4.6 Peacebuilding, Biodiversity, and Climate

In the tropical forest region like the DRC, the biodiversity is a great contributor to the global environmental and climate appreciation. However, in the effect of war, a large population of displaced and deprived people and the guerrilla groups are subject to desperate search for food and firewood. McNeely (2001) argues that extreme conflict compels people to mount severe ecological pressures on the forest products. This practice seriously impacted the conservation institutions and wildlife reserves. For instance, the movement of millions of refugees in the eastern DRC, the presence of the armed groups and the illegal mining activities have also created a situation of survival mechanism that is dependent on both the plants and wildlife. Deforestation, for instance, jeopardizes the climate in two ways: it permits dangerous greenhouse gases to emit into the air and also destroys the earth's natural systems for absorbing those harmful gases from the atmosphere (Rainforest Foundation US, 2011). This suggests that if the world cares about the climate change, the conflict situation and the humanitarian catastrophes in the DRC, and the region should be a global concern. Precaution is pertinent regarding the region of rainforests such as Amazon and the DRC (McNeely, 2001; Hart and Hart, 1997).

Now with the world shrinking due to globalization, the impact of one's actions is not only on oneself but on everybody else as well. There is a great need for leadership to save humanity from itself. Religious leaders and institutions have a unique opportunity to become the conscience of humanity and help re-establish sanity and healing in this broken world by giving us insight into how to deal with the more deep-rooted sources of human conflict than our politicians, soldiers or merchants can do. I believe that religious organizations and leaders can play a very important role in the contemporary world by becoming moral beacons to humanity which is fast losing its sense of direction.

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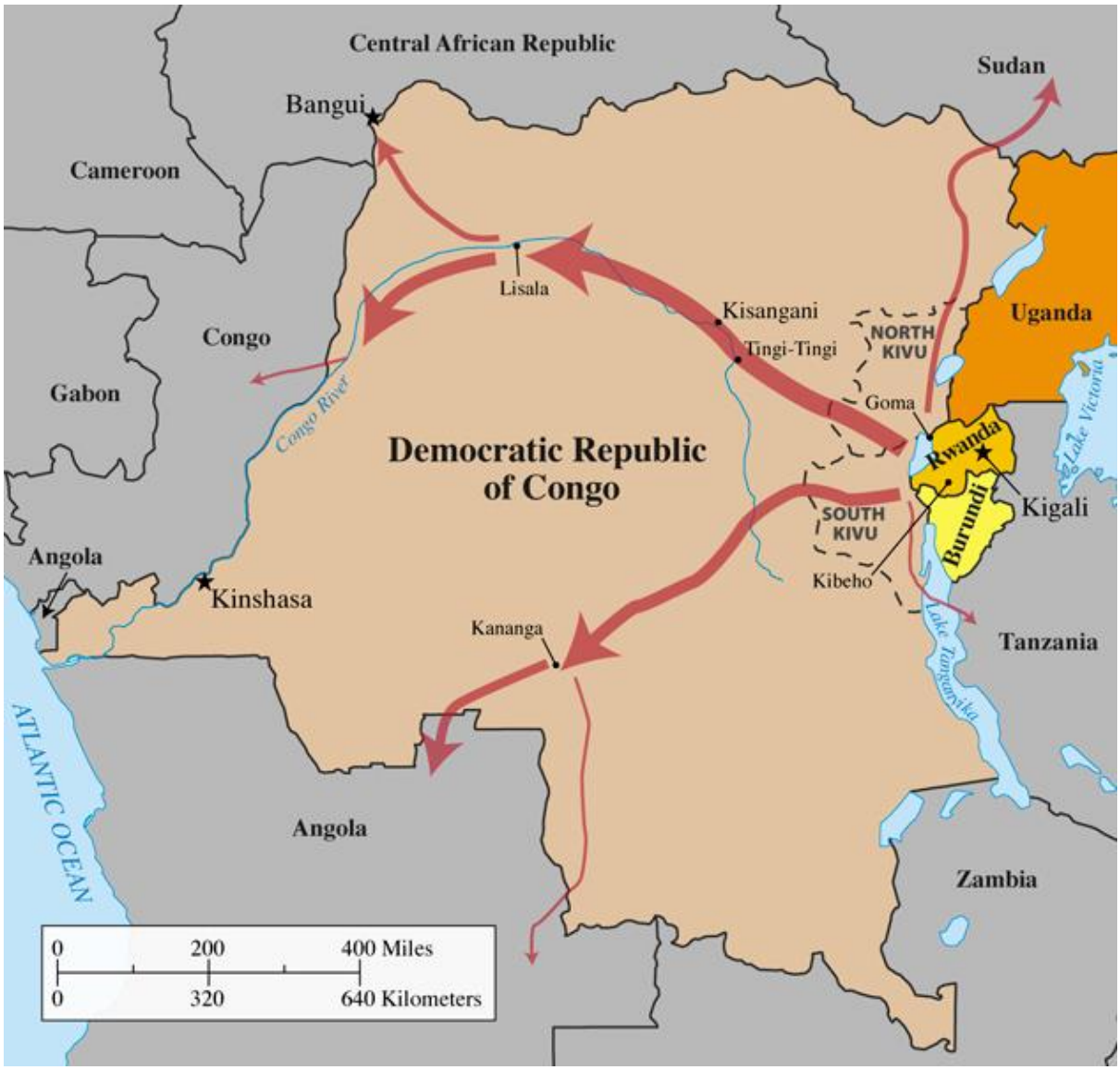
Appendix 1: The Great Lakes Region[16]

[16] ***http://www.un.org/depts/Cartographic/map/profile/glr.pdf***

Appendix 2: The Democratic Republic of Congo[17]

[17] ***http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/drcongo.pdf***

Appendix 3: TheTrajectory of the DRC's War[18]



[18] ***http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2009/09/24/kagames-hidden-war-in-the-congo/***