

**A Realist Perspective on the Regional Significance of State Failure. Case  
Study: The Democratic Republic of Congo, 1996-2006**

**By**

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**Prepared Under the Supervision of Doctor (Dr.) Alison Jones**

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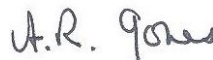
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## **Abstract**

Since the demise of the Cold War, the concept of state failure predominantly has been utilized as a corrective to prevalent approaches designed to promote global peace, development, or humanitarian assistance. These attempts were in accordance with the idealist perspective. However, the events of 11 September in the United States gave rise to the global security concerns. State failure, since then, is no longer regarded as solely located in underdevelopment discourse, but as threat to regional security, and ultimately to global security. The concept of ‘failed state’ increasingly is making an impact on security discourse.

This dissertation explores the security threats posed by failed states to regional stability viewed from a realist perspective. It elucidates the historical trajectories of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which led it to definitively become a failed state. Although the causes of the Congo’s failure, seemingly, originate from Belgian colonization and Cold War rivalries, post-independence Congolese political and military elites have maintained and increased its weakness, through secession wars, rebellions, corruption and poor governance. This dissertation contributes to the existing literature on the impact of state failure on regional security by demonstrating why and how, in addition to poor leadership, the DRC has been paralysed by continued conflicts over its natural resources fuelled by regional and global actors in collusion with domestic actors.

In particular, the case-study investigates the impact of the 1996-2006 DRC civil wars on the Great Lakes Region. The research demonstrates the extent to which the DRC has been weakened by a combination of the following problematics: past security conditions; absence of sufficient military capability to defend its borders; and inadequate provision of law and order within its territory. In consequence, Congo has become a vortex of regional rivalry and contention.

## Declaration

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Social Science in International Relations, to the College of Humanities, School of Social Sciences, Cluster of International and Public Affairs, at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, Republic of South Africa.

I, Fabrice Nshimirimana, declare that:

1. The research reported in this dissertation, except where otherwise indicated, is my original work.
2. This dissertation has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
3. This dissertation does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
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Date: 31 July 2014

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## **Dedication**

To my beloved sons Divin R. and Fabrice Junior R.

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## Abbreviations

- ADF: Allied Democratic Forces. A multiethnic Ugandan guerrilla group created in 1996 in Zaire by fusing elements of the ADM, NALU, and UMLA to fight against the Museveni's regime. Led by Jamil Makulu, the ADF is mostly made of Idi Amin's former soldiers, Ugandan army deserters and the remnants of the National Army of Liberation of Uganda (NALU).
- ADM: Allied Democratic Movement. Anti-Museveni guerrilla movement created by monarchist Baganda in 1995 in London. *See ADF*
- AFDL: Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo-Zaire / Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of the Congo-Zaire. The main rebel group created in October 1996 in Eastern Zaire during the First Congo war against Mobutu's regime.
- ANC: Armée Nationale Congolaise / Congolese National Army. (1) Name of the Congolese Armed Forces after independence before the country changed its name to Zaire, whereby ANC was renamed FAZ. (2) Under the same appellation, name given by the RCD (Goma faction) to its armed forces in 1998.
- APL: Armée Populaire de Libération / People's Liberation Army
- BALUBAKAT: Association of Luba People of Katanga
- BSAC: British South Africa Company
- CFS: Congo Free State.
- CIA: Central Intelligence Agency. One of the principal intelligence gathering agencies of the United States Federal government. Among its principal activities, the CIA provides national security intelligence assessment to senior US policymakers and carries out, or oversees covert activities and some tactical operations exercised by its own employees, or members of the US military forces.
- CLF: Congolese Liberation Forces
- CNDD: Conseil National de Défense de la Démocratie / National Council for the Defense of Democracy. The mostly Hutu organization created in exile in Zaire by former Burundi interior minister Léonard Nyangoma in February 1994 as a result of the failed putsch of October 1993 in Burundi. *See FDD*.

- CNL: Conseil National de Libération / National Liberation Council. The ephemeral left-wing Congolese “government” of 1963-1965.
- CONAKAT: Confédération des Associations Tribales du Katanga / Confederation of Katanga Tribal Associations. Created in November 1958, it was at first the political expression of Katangese regionalism. It developed later into an instrument of the “genuine Katangese,” against the Baluba immigrants from Kasai, also leading the secession against Leopoldville government.
- DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo. Former Zaire, renamed DRC on 17 May 1997 after the Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo-Zaire/ Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of the Congo-Zaire (AFDL) led by Laurent-Désiré Kabila took control of the state during the First Congo war, which started in 1996 and ended in 1997.
- FAR: Forces Armées Rwandaises / Rwandan Armed Forces. The army of the former Rwandese regime overthrown in July 1994 by the RPF. It reorganized in Zaire and kept fighting, at first independently and then either as part of the Congolese alliance in the Second Congo War.
- FARDC: Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo / Democratic Republic of Congo Armed Forces.
- FAZ: Forces Armées Zaïroises / Zaïrian Armed Forces. The National army of Zaire, which collapsed under the impact of the 1996 rebellion against Mobutu and invasion of the AFDL coalition.
- FDD: Forces de Défense de la Démocratie. At first the military arm of the Burundian CNDD, which later split from its mother organization under the leadership of Jean-Bosco Ndayikengurukiye.
- FDLR: Forces Démocratique de Libération du Rwanda/ Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda. Anti-RPF Hutu guerrilla based in the Eastern DRC.
- FLN: Front de Libération Nationale. Guerrilla group created by Joseph Karumba in the southern region of Burundi.
- FLNC: Front de Libération National du Congo / Congo National Liberation Front. Rebel group created by the former Katangese Gendarmes from their exile in Angola after the collapse of Tshombe’s regime. It unsuccessfully attempted two Shaba invasions in 1977 and 1978 and later joined the victorious AFDL in 1997.

- FNL: Forces Nationales de Libération / National Forces of Liberation. Military wing of the old PALIPEHUTU Burundi opposition group, which split in 1993 under the leadership of Kabura Kossan.
- FNLA: Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola / National Liberation Front of Angola. First Angolan anti-Portuguese rebel movement, created in 1961 by Holden Roberto.
- FRODEBU: Front pour la Démocratie au Burundi / Front for Democracy in Burundi. Hutu opposition party created in exile by Melchior Ndadaye in 1986 and legalized in May 1990.
- LRA: Lord's Resistance Army. Millenarian guerrilla movement led by Joseph Kony, active in Northern Uganda since 1987. In 1994, it became powerful after benefiting military aid from the Sudanese government.
- MLC: Movement de Libération du Congo / Congo Liberation Movement. Congolese rebel group created in 1998 by Jean-Pierre Bemba to fight the regime of Laurent-Désiré Kabila during the Second Congo War.
- MNC: Movement National Congolais / Congolese National Movement. Created in October 1958 by Patrice Emery Lumumba, it was the main nationalist party at the time of independence.
- MPLA: Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola/ People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola. The ruling party in Angola since independence in 1975.
- NALU: National Army for the Liberation of Uganda. A Bakonjo tribe's guerrilla movement formed in 1988 and sponsored by Iran and Sudan to fight Museveni's regime. After being defeated by Ugandan national army, many of its fighters joined the ADF.
- NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation.
- NRM: National resistance Movement. Guerrilla movement organized and led by Yoweri Museveni. The NRM with its military wing the National Resistance Army (NRA) took control of Uganda since January 1986.
- OECD: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development.
- ONUC: Operation des Nations Unies au Congo / United Nations Operations in the Congo. Deployed in Congo from 1960 to 1964.

- PALIPEHUTU:** Parti pour la Libération du Peuple Hutu / Party for the Liberation of Hutu People. Clandestine Burundi Hutu opposition party created in exile by Remy Gahutu in 1980.
- PARENA:** Parti du Renouveau National / Party for National Recovery. Burundi Tutsi opposition party created in August 1994 by former president Jean-Baptiste Bagaza.
- PSA:** Parti Solidaire Africain / African Solidarity Party. A left-wing nationalist party created in the Belgian Congo at the time of independence. It was led by Antoine Gizenga and Pierre Mulele during the struggle for independence. It became the nucleus of the radical Kwilu rebellion, along which Mulele launched the first revolutionary resistance in post-colonial Africa between 1963 and 1968.
- RCD:** Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie / Congolese Rally for Democracy. The main Congolese rebel group created during the 1998 war against Kabila's regime. It later split into several factions.
- RCD-G:** Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie/ Congolese Rally for Democracy-Goma. Congolese rebel group created during the 1998 war against Laurent-Désiré Kabila's regime. It allied mainly with Rwanda and controlled most of Eastern Congo.
- RPF:** Rwandan Patriotic Front. A political movement created in 1987 by Rwandese exiles living in Uganda. From October 1990 on it carried out a guerrilla insurgency against the Habyarimana dictatorship. It finally won the war and took the state's power in the wake of the genocide in July 1994.
- SPLA:** Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army.
- UMHK:** Union Minière du Haut Katanga / Upper Katanga Mining Union.
- UMLA:** Ugandan Muslim Liberation Army. A Muslim guerrilla group created in 1996 to fight against Museveni and his regime whom it accused of having killed Muslims in 1979 and 1983. (See ADF.)
- UN:** United Nations
- UNHCR:** United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Among the various specialized UN agencies, it was the most important player in the African Great Lakes crisis.
- UNITA:** União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola / National Union for the Total Independence of Angola. Anti-Portuguese rebel movement

created in 1966 by Jonas Savimbi. It fought the MPLA until Savimbi's death in 2002.

UNRF: Uganda National Rescue Front. Initially was created by former Idi Amin minister Moses Ali as a West Nile-based guerrilla organization to fight the second Obote regime (1980-1985). However, when Ali became minister in Museveni's government, disaffected Aringa tribesmen launched UNRF II benefiting support from Khartoum.

UPDF: Uganda People's Defence Force. The name taken by the Ugandan NRA when it became the regular Ugandan army. (*See NRM*).

U.S: United States.

WNBF: West Nile Bank Liberation Front. An anti-Museveni guerrilla group created in Zaire by former Idi Amin commander Juma Oris in 1994.

## Glossary of Names and Ethnic Terms

Throughout the research, “the Congo” is utilised to refer to the research’s case study, the Congo Free State, Zaire and mainly the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the current state’s name. It should not be confused with the neighbouring Republic of Congo.

“Regional” in this research refers to the African Great Lakes region: Burundi, the DRC, Rwanda, and Uganda; Angola is also included due to the impact of the Great Lakes regional conflicts inflicted upon it.

The language from which the terms take roots is marked as follow: Con. for Congolese; Fr. for French; Kin. for Kinyarwanda; Kir. for Kirundi; and Sw. for Swahili.

The names and expressions indicated below are utilised and thus translated in accordance with Anglophone academic literatures. Some of the terms are specifically applied for the context associated to each of the African Great Lakes regional states identified above.

Autochtones (Fr.):	Literally means “indigenous”. The term is applied by ethnic groups in the two Kivu provinces to designate non-Kinyarwanda speakers (native to the Eastern Congo) to differentiate themselves from Banyamulenge and Banyarwanda, implicitly assigned as “foreign” or “immigrant” ethnic groups.
Banyamulenge (Kin.):	Congolese with Rwandan ancestry living in South Kivu (literally “people from Mulenge”).
Banyarwanda (Kin.):	Congolese with Rwandan ancestry living in North Kivu (literally “people from Rwanda”).
Coltan (Fr.):	Informally named from the combination of columbite-tantalite minerals.
Comptoirs (Fr.):	Trading posts
Effort de guerre (Fr.):	War effort.
Force Publique (Fr.):	Literally, “the Public Force” was the colonial army in the Congo Free State from 1885 to 1960.
Genocidaires (Fr.):	Literally meaning “those who commit genocide.” The term became popular in academy after the 1994 Rwandan genocide to refer to those found guilty of killing nearly 1,000,000 people mostly Tutsis and some moderate Hutus.



Genocidaire government (Fr.):	Literally means “government that commits genocide.”
Imbogoraburundi (Kir.):	Literally means “those who will bring back Burundi.” Tutsi militias sponsored by PARENA, a political party led by former Burundian president Jean Baptiste Bagaza.
Intagoheka (Kir.):	Literally means “those who never sleep.” Hutu militias and infiltrated militants of Hutu rebel group, FDD.
Interahamwe (Kin.):	Literally means “those who work together.” Extremist Hutu militias, which perpetuated the killings of about one million people during the Rwandan genocide in 1994 after three months with the blessings of the then Rwandese national army, the Forces Armées Rwandaises (FAR).
Inziraguhemuka (Kir.):	Literally means “those who never betray.” Hutu militias sponsored by FRODEBU.
Katanga gendarmes (Fr.):	Katangan Gendarmes
Kinyarwanda (Kin.):	Language spoken in Rwanda and in certain areas of the Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo.
Mai Mai (Con.):	Local Congolese militias created on ethnic bases throughout the Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo.
Opération Dragon Rouge (Fr.):	Operation Red Dragon
Opération Turquoise (Fr.):	French-led military operation conducted during the dawn of the Rwandan civil war in 1994 under the mandate of the United Nations.
Sans Capote (Fr.):	Literally means “those who never wear condoms.” Tutsi militias hired by small Tutsi extremist parties from which they received guns, demonstrated or killed for them.
Sans Defaite (Fr.):	Literally means “the undefeated.” Tutsi militias hired by small Tutsi political parties from which they received guns, demonstrated or killed for them.
Sans Echec (Fr.):	Literally means “those who never fail.” Tutsi militias sponsored by the Partie pour la Reconciliation du Peuple (PRP) of Mathias Hitimana.
Sans Pitié (Fr.):	Literally means “the pitiless ones.” Tutsi militias hired by small Tutsi political parties from which they received guns, demonstrated or killed for them.

Simbas (Sw.):

Direct translation means “Lions.” The rebel forces of the Armée Populaire de Libération/ the Popular Liberation Army (APL)

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION TO THE DISSERTATION

*State failure threatens global stability because national governments have become the primary building blocks of order. International security relies on states to protect against chaos at home and limit the cancerous spread of anarchy beyond their borders and throughout the world.*

-Robert, I. Rotberg, *Failed States in a World of Terror*. 2002a, p. 130

### 1.1. Background and Outline of Research Problem

The genesis of armed conflicts in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) has numerous, long and complex causes (Kjeksrud and Ravndal, 2011: 5). Since the eruption of the war in the DRC in the dawn of the 1990s, statistics estimate around five million deaths and almost two million internally displaced people<sup>1</sup> (De Luca et al. 2012: 4). Both Lemarchand (2009: 5) and Global Witness (2009: 59) agree that some Western and Eastern states have directly or indirectly been involved in the DRC conflicts for economic interests through their participation in the illicit trade in arms and mineral resources. For Global Witness (2009: 59), some European and Asian companies for years have been buying minerals from mining sectors which are under the control of armed groups. As Lemarchand (2009: 5) indicates, some of these companies, for instance, the American corporation Trinitech and the Dutch Chemie Pharmacie benefited from direct support of the United States embassy located in Kigali as their trade facilitator. The economic interests of some Western and Asian corporations in supporting a war economy have been among the factors, which have perpetuated the violence in the DRC and have led to the deaths of millions<sup>2</sup> (Lemarchand, 2009: 5).

Prunier (2009: 74) avers that the Zairian<sup>3</sup> state's direct or indirect supports of "interlopers" throughout the 1980s and the dawn of the 1990s substantially contributed to the major trigger factors of the first regional inter-state war in 1996 and what came to be known as "Africa's World War". As Naidoo (2003: 4) clarifies, the Mobutu regime's support of opponents of Zaïre's neighbouring states was negatively perceived from a regional perspective. For

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<sup>1</sup>See also Krasner (2004: 85)

<sup>2</sup>See also Patey (2007: 997); and Global Witness (2009: 59)

<sup>3</sup>The Congo, as known during and after the colonisation, was renamed Zaïre in 1971 by Mobutu Sese Seko. In May 1997, Zaïre was renamed the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), after the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of the Congo-Zaïre (*Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo-Zaïre/ AFDL*) led by Laurent-Désiré Kabila took control of the state during the First Congo war against Mobutu's regime, which started in 1996 and ended in 1997.

example, issues related to border security concerns, the search for survival, and attempts to amass more power and resources to maintain their security<sup>4</sup> (Weinstein, 2000: 13) as well as securing Western governments' mineral interests and their mining companies were perceived by some of DRC's neighbouring states, such as Angola, Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda as opportunities to interfere in Congolese affairs (Naidoo, 2003: 4).

However, Williams (2013: 81) maintains that armed conflicts in the DRC since the early 1990s have been instigated by many other factors<sup>5</sup>. Issues related to local disputes over land and resources, the acquisitive objectives of rebel groups, the long-standing ethnic and political grievances, and greed and the desire to control the DRC's rich mineral deposits<sup>6</sup> (Vogel, 2012: 17-18) by rebel groups and military factions have all been influential factors of the outbreak and continuation of war in the DRC. Nevertheless, Naidoo (2003: 4) and Koko (2011: 31) observe that the overthrow of Mobutu in the early military operation of the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of the Congo-Zaire (AFDL) rebellion seemingly was conducted for domestic and regional interests.

### ***Outline of the Research Problem***

As De Luca et al. (2012: 4) observe, "the causes of the Congo wars are multiple, complex and intermingled." In the light of the multifaceted causes of the DRC wars, the observation by De Luca et al. indeed is apt. For this reason, this study attempts to address previous studies' gaps by questioning and investigating, among other causes, the regional security threats posed by the DRC's problematic capability to maintain public order, institutions or authority within its territory as well as its capacity to secure its borders from external forces. The realist theory of international relations is thus used as a theoretical and analytical framework.

### **1.2. Preliminary Literature Study and Reasons for Choosing Topic**

The Democratic Republic of the Congo's (DRC) current armed conflict is related to its history (CAFCO, 2010: 70). However, the enormous costs of the DRC civil wars, which erupted in the mid-1990s and are on-going, have raised a lot of concerns among scholars and policy-makers. While some studies have been conducted to investigate the causal factors of the DRC war, others have been concerned with examining its actual and potential consequences. For instance, Ndikumana and Emizet (2003: 1) investigate the origins of civil

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<sup>4</sup>See also Nzongola-Ntalaja (1999: 73)

<sup>5</sup>See also Autesserre (2009: 56), Global Witness (2009: 15); and Lemarchand (2009: 25)

<sup>6</sup> See also Nest, Grignon and Kisangani (2006: 12); and Autesserre (2010: 62)

wars in the Congo since independence by examining how the Congo case fitted the civil war model proposed by Collier and Hoeffler. Among the findings of their case-study analysis, they argue that ethnic antagonism, natural resource dependence, discriminatory national laws and disruptions in the ethnic balance have played substantial roles in the outbreak of the Congo's civil wars, especially since the 1990s (*Ibid*: 1). This view is shared by Beswick (2009: 336) and Prunier (2009: 53) who maintain that Mobutu's manipulation of ethnicity for his authoritarian rule and his government's failure to resolve the rising tensions over citizenship and access to land have comprised (among others) trigger factors of the historical armed conflicts in the DRC.

Additionally, Kabemba's (2011: 5) case-study analysis of the causes of state failure and exploration of the conditions to statehood in the DRC makes a valuable contribution to the current research. He argues that democracy, stability and sustainable development continue to be impeded in the DRC due to its status as a failed state (*Ibid*: 15). Among some major questions included in his study, he attempts to investigate the impact of democracy on a dysfunctional state, defined by attributes, such as the lack of capacity to protect and provide welfare to citizens, social corrosion and weak political direction (*Ibid*: 16). Hence, drawn from first-hand interviews conducted in the DRC and abroad, and a series of secondary qualitative data, he found that the DRC's problem of state failure derives primarily from bad governance, poor leadership and corruption, which permit external forces to interfere in its political and economic agenda (Kabemba, 2011: 239).

Mullins and Rothe (2008: 81) argue that external forces' ambitions and interests to control the DRC's mineral wealth are to blame for the troubles that the DRC and its people experience. To support their argument, they use a case-study analysis on the Ituri region situated in the northeast of the DRC. They apply criminological theory to investigate the causal factors and motivation of the conflict in that region. For them, there is no doubt that, since 1996, conflicts in the DRC have continued to escalate into uncontrolled genocidal warfare largely due to external involvement of its neighbouring states (for instance, Rwanda and Uganda), transnational corporations (such as AngloGold Ashanti), and other Western corporations, such as Metalor Technologies in its domestic affairs. They maintain that these states and transnational corporations have largely made use of the DRC's political and military chaos to expropriate its valuable natural resources for European markets (Mullins and Rothe, 2008: 81). However, Maeresera (2012: 109) stresses that the continued armed

conflicts in the Congo are the historical products of colonial ambitions and global power's interests in the Congo's economic potential and geographical position<sup>7</sup>.

### ***Reasons for Choosing the Topic***

States are negatively affected as a result of the considerable costs inflicted by civil wars (De Luca et al., 2012: 4). War and armed conflicts bring insecurity and cause huge negative impact, not only at the domestic level, but also at the regional and continental levels<sup>8</sup> (Simbi, 2012: 8). War destroys lives, goods, regional infrastructure, markets and thus impedes political, social and economic progress (Collier and Hoeffler, 2000: 1) not only of the state and the specific region, in which it is located, but of the continent as well (Simbi, 2012: 8). Based on the contemporary global reality of "the post-Westphalian world" (Newman, 2009: 422), this study argues that failed states<sup>9</sup> (see Appendix B) in general and the DRC in particular have negative security impact, not only on their population, or those in the region, but globally. In simple terms, failed states constitute serious threats to the current global system (Iqbal and Starr, 2007: 3). Hence, this research aims to investigate and elucidate the security challenges attendant on state failure to regions with particular reference to the DRC.

## **1.3. Research Problems and Objectives: Key Questions**

### ***1.3.1. Central Research Problem***

The central problem addressed by this study is the extent to which the DRC's incapacity to secure and control its population, institutions and borders constitute a threat to regional security.

### ***1.3.2. Research Questions***

As an attempt to investigate, utilizing a realist theoretical perspective, the impact of state failure at the regional level, the following questions constitute the core of this study's investigation:

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<sup>7</sup>See also Nzungola-Ntalaja (2002: 16-18); and CAFCO (2010: 70)

<sup>8</sup> See also Lambach (2006: 408)

<sup>9</sup> In the Failed States Index 2013, the Fund for Peace (FFP) ranks the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) second after Somalia (highest score of 113,9) with the score of 111,9. Compared to Finland (lowest score of 18,0), the DRC has 10,0 score as opposed to 1,9 (Finland score) on Demographic Pressures; 10,0 versus 1,6 on Refugees and IDPs; 9,4 versus 1,4 on Group Grievance; 7,1 versus 2,3 on Human Flight; 8,8 versus 1,0 on Uneven Development; 8,5 versus 3,2 on Poverty and Economic Decline; 9,6 versus 1,0 on Legitimacy of the State; 9,5 versus 1,5 on Public Services; 9,8 versus 1,1 on Human Rights; 10,0 versus 1,0 on Security Apparatus; 9,5 versus 1,1 on Factional Elites; and 9,7 versus 1,0 on External Intervention. The DRC falls in the indicators of risk (Alert) as opposed to Finland indicator (Sustainable). Data retrieved from: <http://ffp.statesindex.org/rankings-2013-sortable>.

1. In the period 1996-2006, what factors contributed to the DRC's status as a failed state?
2. To what extent have other states and non-state actors contributed to the DRC's state failure?
3. To what extent does the realist theory of international relations explicate and clarify the DRC's chronic conditions of state incapacity and regional impact?

### **1.3.3. Research Objectives**

This study's objectives are defined as follow:

1. To establish the contributing factors to the DRC's status as a failed state;
2. To determine the role of state and non-state actors in state failure and;
3. To demonstrate the utility of realist theory in explaining state incapacity's challenges to regional stability.

### **1.4. Principal Theories upon which the Research Project is Constructed**

Theories are at the heart of all knowledge<sup>10</sup> (Nau, 2012: 12). As Mansbach and Taylor (2012: 3) note, theorizing enables theorists to generalise global political issues by identifying how individual events and cases fit into larger patterns. For them, "Theory simplifies the messy complexity of reality by pointing only to those factors theorists believe are important" (*Ibid*).

This study focuses on the realist perspective in an attempt to elaborate the implications of state failure on regional stability. Idealists, also called utopians have traditionally argued for a world of peace without war (Richmond, 2008: 22). As the realist perspective shows, the "new world" envisaged by idealists is unrealistic in light of the security threats posed by failed states. Contrary to the idealist advocacies, the following sections highlight some of the key concepts of realism utilized as the core theoretical framework of the case-study under investigation.

#### ***Defining 'Anarchy' in Realist Discourse***

The realist perspective regards war as a result of anarchy<sup>11</sup>. However, as Ray and Kaarbo (2005: 5) urge, anarchy should not be understood as chaos or confusion<sup>12</sup>. Anarchy means

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<sup>10</sup>See also Sjoen (2012: 36)

<sup>11</sup> Available at: <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/pol116/realism.htm>; see also Brooks (1997: 447); Donnelly (2000: 11); and Nau (2012: 29)

<sup>12</sup>See also Vinci (2008: 295)

“the decentralised distribution of power in the international system; no leader or centre to monopolise power” (Nau, 2012: 30). In other words, anarchy stands for the lack of a leader or central authority in global politics able to monopolise coercive power and which possesses the legitimacy to exercise it<sup>13</sup> (Likoti, 2006: 86-87).

For realist theory, anarchy implies that there is no global government, which exercises authority equivalent to that of national governments<sup>14</sup> (Measheimer, 2009: 25). Anarchy also implies that there is no global police force, which possesses legitimate power over national police forces or military forces, and therefore, that there is no global force capable of regulating interactions between states. Consequently, states must arrive at relations with other states on their own, rather than being directed by some higher controlling entity<sup>15</sup> (Vinci, 2008: 295). In short, in regard to anarchy, realists argue that there is no existence of a truly authoritative world government. If a state comes under attack, it has to rely on its own defence or call on its allies<sup>16</sup> (Nau, 2012: 2-30).

Therefore, Nau (2012: 2) maintains that anarchy, as realism specifies, leads states to a self-help situation. He defines self-help as “the principle of self-defence under anarchy in which states have no one else to rely on to defend their security except themselves.” In simple terms, realists adduce that, due to the absence of a sovereign global government authority, states must look out for their own interests by securing and maintaining their power<sup>17</sup>. As a rational response to the anarchic global system, states must maintain their power<sup>18</sup> (Nau, 2012: 2). As Brooks (1997: 446) avers, unless there is recognition by all the peoples of the world of a unified world under a single government as the sole legitimate centre of military power, all decentralised actors have to take responsibility of their own security<sup>19</sup>. Hence, realists adopt unilateralism, also called mini-lateralism, for the state’s survival; this stands for actions carried out by one or several states as opposed to all states in the sense of multilateralism (Nau, 2012: 30).

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<sup>13</sup> Available at: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/realism-intl-relations/>; see also Orwa (1985: 2); Donnelly (2000: 10); Krasner(2001: 229); Milliken and Krause (2002: 753); Holsti (2004: 54); Ghosh (2009: 24); and Amstutz (2013: 1)

<sup>14</sup>See also Krasner (2001a: 18); and Cone (2007: 21)

<sup>15</sup>See also Krasner (2001: 21)

<sup>16</sup> Available at: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/realism-intl-relations/> see also Likoti (2006: 87); and Cone (2007: 19)

<sup>17</sup> Available at: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/realism-intl-relations/>

<sup>18</sup>*Loc. Cit.*, Likoti

<sup>19</sup>See also Nau (2012: 30)



## *State and Sovereignty*

Since wars and conflicts are the core of the realist perspective, realist scholars focus on states as the principal actors in the international system instead of non-state actors<sup>20</sup> (Nau, 2012: 30). For realists, states are the most important units of analysis in the study of global politics<sup>21</sup> (Milliken and Krause, 2002: 753), whether a scholar is dealing with ancient Greek city-states or modern states (Viotti and Kauppi, 2012: 39). As Nau (2012: 30) notes, the greatest capabilities of commanding the military and police forces to go to war belong to states<sup>22</sup>. Non-state actors, such as corporations, labour unions, human rights groups, and even private security forces, which defend corporate properties abroad, are not acknowledged by domestic authorities, or international institutions to possess the legitimacy to exercise such force. States must be understood, as “the actors in the contemporary international system that have the largest capabilities and right to use military force” (Nau, 2012: 30). In short, the right to use military strength belongs to states, because of their possession of sovereignty<sup>23</sup> (Axtmann, 2004: 262).

As Ray and Kaarbo (2010: 5) elucidate, “States are governments that exercise supreme or sovereign authority over a defined territory.” Sovereignty implies that only states possess the legal and ultimate authority over their territory<sup>24</sup> (Ray and Kaarbo, 2005: 5). In other words, may it be at home or abroad, there is no other authority above states, and no other actor in the international system is endowed with the legal right to get involved in their domestic affairs<sup>25</sup> (Nau, 2012: 31). In simple terms, states have the domestic rights to self-determination and to practice non-intervention abroad, and are bounded with agreements for not interfering in the internal affairs or jurisdiction of other states<sup>26</sup> (Potter, 2004: 2). Realism is, therefore, a state-centric approach due to its emphasis on the centrality and predominant role played by states<sup>27</sup> (Ray and Kaarbo, 2005: 4).

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<sup>20</sup>See also Orwa (1985: 7); Ghosh (2009: 24); and Measheimer (2009: 25)

<sup>21</sup>See also Holsti (2004: 54)

<sup>22</sup>See also Axtmann (2004: 261)

<sup>23</sup>See also Nau (2012: 30-31)

<sup>24</sup>See also Krasner (2001a: 17); and Amstutz (2013: 30)

<sup>25</sup>See also Orwa (1985: 2); Gros (1996: 456); Brown (1997: 67-68); Axtmann (2004: 260-262); Potter (2004: 8-9); Lambach (2007: 33); High Commissioner on National Minorities (2008: 9); and Ray and Kaarbo (2010: 4-5)

<sup>26</sup>See also Axtmann (2004: 260); and Nau (2012: 31)

<sup>27</sup>See also Brown (1997: 67)

### ***Power, National Interest and Survival***

The overriding interest of each state is its national interest and survival<sup>28</sup> (Ray and Kaarbo). For realists, the pursuit of each state's interest is defined in terms of power (Krasner, 2001a: 23). That is, each state's actions are determined by its interests instead of its values or ideological preferences<sup>29</sup> (Amstutz, 2013: 1). States, thus, strive to amass resources to maximise their power, which, in return, guarantee their domestic interests (Ray and Kaarbo, 2010: 5). As Nau (2012: 31) clarifies, power, from the realist perspective, is concerned with "material capabilities of each country such as the size of population and territory, resource endowment, economic capability and military strength." Every state's action, hence, can be seen as an attempt to maintain, safeguard, or accrue its power in relation to other states<sup>30</sup> (Ray and Kaarbo, 2010: 5).

Consequently, states use power to attain their objectives, goals or purposes defined in terms of security<sup>31</sup> (Viotti and Kauppi, 2012: 40). As Nau (2012: 33) observes, states are willing to form alliances with other states to challenge the power of the powerful state. A powerful state is the state, which has the capability to threaten the survival of others<sup>32</sup> (Orwa, 1985: 8). As realists note, states with equal power capabilities do not threaten each other, because the balance of power prescribes equilibrium, or a situation of power balancing (Nau, 2012: 33). Therefore, states use their power to protect their interests or attain their goals by all means<sup>33</sup> (Likoti, 2006: 88).

However, Ray and Kaarbo (2010: 7) warn that the realist perspective separates the pursuit of power and political interests from economic and moral realms, or any other part of human activity. That is, according to realists, power consideration dominates all<sup>34</sup> (Donnelly, 2000: 10). Whatever action states adopt must be evaluated in terms of its contribution to, or threat to domestic interest<sup>35</sup> (Ray and Kaarbo, 2005: 5). As such, each state ranks national and international securities as the priorities of its agenda (Viotti and Kauppi, 2012: 40). Realists regard high politics, which are matters concerning military security, or strategic issues as crucial as opposed to economic and social matters also referred to as low politics. Therefore,

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<sup>28</sup> Also available at: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/realism-intl-relations/>; see also Holsti (2004: 54); and Ghosh (2009: 24)

<sup>29</sup> See also Orwa (1985: 8)

<sup>30</sup> See also Likoti (2006: 87-88)

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 88

<sup>32</sup> Available at: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/realism-intl-relations/>

<sup>33</sup> See also Viotti and Kauppi (2012:41)

<sup>34</sup> Also available at: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/realism-intl-relations/>; see also Orwa (1985: 8)

<sup>35</sup> See also Axtmann (2006: 261)

realists warn against applying moral principles to the actions of states; they are anxious about human rights policies, which might block, or even threaten the state's power<sup>36</sup> (Ray and Kaarbo, 2010: 7).

Based on the massive loss of human lives and goods that the DRC war has caused since its eruption in 1996, this study relies on the realist paradigm as an attempt to explicate the dynamics of failed state on domestic and regional stability. As Mearsheimer (cited in Viotti and Kauppi, 2012: 64) puts it, "the best way for a state to survive in anarchy is to take advantage of other states and gain power at their expense." This study maintains that the DRC's lack of sufficient power as a state has left it vulnerable vis-à-vis domestic and foreign forces to perpetuate armed conflicts within its territorial borders. The realist perspective is, for this reason, a suitable framework to enunciate the power and security dimensions, which have characterised the DRC war from 1996 to 2006.

### **1.5. Research Methodology and Methods**

The study's methodology and methods have been drawn from desktop research. Desktop research is premised on "seeking facts, general information on a topic, historical background, study results and so on, that have been published or exist in public order<sup>37</sup>". For this reason, data, which informs this research, has been collected from books, government and Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) reports, journal articles, theses and dissertations and so forth. The combination of these sources has been used to address this study's central problem.

Qualitative research techniques have been used to explicate, based on realist theory, the impact of state failure at the regional level. Thus, this research draws on the characteristics of 'basic research' in the social sciences. As Neuman (2011: 26) notes, basic research is "a research designed to advance fundamental knowledge about how the world works and build/test theoretical explanations by focusing on why question<sup>38</sup>." That is, researchers apply basic research to substantiate or refute theoretical ideas as an attempt to explicate questions like how, what and why the social world or social events are the way they are<sup>39</sup> (Durrheim, 2009: 45).

Consequently, the explanatory research's purposes in social science are at the heart of this research. As Neuman (2011: 40) puts it, explanatory research is "a research whose primary

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<sup>36</sup>See also Donnelly (2000: 11)

<sup>37</sup> Available at: <http://www.etu.org.za/toolbox/docs/development/research.html>

<sup>38</sup>See also Durrheim (2009: 45)

<sup>39</sup>See also Neuman (2011: 26)

purpose is to explain why events occur and to build, elaborate, extend, or test theory.” Explanatory research aims, as is the case for this study, to elucidate the causes and specify the reason why things happen<sup>40</sup> (Durrheim, 2009: 44).

Additionally, since this research is based on theoretical explanations of political events, it is informed by a deductive orientation. Neuman (2011: 69) argues that in studies informed by deductive methods, researchers first begin with abstract concepts, or theoretical propositions, which specify the logical connection among concepts. In the next step, they attempt to confirm, or refute a theory by drawing the relationships between the theoretical concepts and propositions, and working towards more concrete empirical evidence (*Ibid*). Thus, the study draws from realist precepts in order to address the research question. The intention is to align qualitative data to the concepts of the realist perspective.

Finally, case-study analysis is utilised for analytical purposes. As Neuman (2011: 42) stipulates, a case-study research is “an in-depth examination of an extensive amount of information about very few units or cases for one period or across multiple periods of time.” For him, case-studies not only clarify individuals’ thoughts and enable them to combine both abstract ideas with specific cases under investigation, they also provide them with bigger picture of how to adjust the measures of abstract concepts to real lived experiences (*Ibid*). When case-studies involve theories, they can facilitate social science researchers to create or build new theories as well as to challenge existing theories<sup>41</sup> (Neuman, 2011: 42).

## **1.6. Overview of the Research**

This dissertation comprises five interlinked chapters. Chapter one is the introduction to the study. It presents a general background of the research to be studied, the research problem, preliminary literature review and the research problems and objectives. This chapter also highlights the central research problem, key questions and objectives of the study, the major theories upon which this research is formulated as well as the research methodology and methods.

Chapter two presents the theoretical framework and concepts of the study. The various concepts elaborated in the second chapter are utilized to unpack the origins and significance of state failure on regional security to be discussed later. Also, the idealist perspective is concisely elaborated to permit a comparative approach for and against the realist theory in the

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<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, 40

<sup>41</sup>See also Lindegger (2009: 461)

analyses of the genesis of the DRC civil wars, the plurality of different actors in the conflicts, to elucidate why the DRC has become a failed state, and its implications in the region.

Chapter three combines an historical background with a literature review of the civil wars in the DRC. This chapter permits the reader to appreciate the origins and continuation of civil wars in the DRC and how different actors, such as the Belgian colonial and other global powers, foreign Multinational Corporations, domestic political leaders and rebel groups have played considerable roles in shaping the DRC's current status of a failed state. An idealist-versus-realist worldview is utilized in the chapter to examine idealists' advocacies of peace against realist perceptions of power and national interests with specific focus on the pre and post-independent Congo before the demise of the Cold War.

Chapter four investigates the causes of the DRC's status of failed state after the Cold War between 1996 and 2006. This chapter provides an understanding of why and how the mixture of the past global influences, regional socio-political and military conflicts combined with domestic differences driven by both internal and external state and non-state actors have made significant impact on the DRC's stability, thus, fuelling its insecurity.

Chapter five discusses the findings and conclusions of the study. It examines the consequences of the DRC, as a "failed state," of its incapacity to ensure internal and border security. This chapter also underlines the utility of the realist perspective, as opposed to the expectations of the idealist theory in the explanations of state failure at regional level in contemporary global politics. The realist theory is applied to explicate possible reasons associated with the DRC as a "failed state" and the occurrence of the civil wars of the DRC in the context of the African great Lakes region. Finally, the chapter sums up the study with a brief analysis of the causes and effects of state failure on regional security.

## CHAPTER TWO

### CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

*Nation-states fail when they are consumed by internal violence and cease delivering positive political goods to their inhabitants. Their governments lose credibility, and the continuing nature of the particular nation-state itself becomes questionable and illegitimate in the hearts and minds of its citizens.*

Robert I. Rotberg, *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*. 2004, p. 1.

#### 2.1. Introduction

The previous chapter has highlighted the scope of this research. This part of the dissertation aims to provide an in-depth analysis of the major themes to be utilised in this study. Since this study is informed by the realist theory of international relations, the regional implications of the impact of state failure (in this case the Democratic Republic of the Congo) on its neighbouring states in the Great Lakes Region of Africa, will be investigated predominantly in terms of civil war, and state's duties and responsibility for domestic security.

For concise descriptive and explanatory analyses of the major themes of this study, the sections of this chapter are divided as follow. The first section sheds lights on the concept of civil war. The second section offers crucial definitions and characteristics of the state associated with this study. The third section examines different scholarly and policy debates of the definitions and causes of state failure viewed in terms of security and war. The fourth and last sections provide a close examination of the idealist-versus-realist perspective to explicate the dual complexities of peace and war in the interaction between states in the contemporary international affairs. The elaborated themes, from which this research is built will be utilised interchangeably to answer its key questions and attain its objectives.

#### 2.2. Conceptualising Civil War

Since 1945, civil wars around the world have cost nearly 20 million human lives and displaced more than 60 million (Collier and Sambanis, 2005: xiii). In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as in other African states, the changing nature of warfare dates back to the 1960s and the late 1970s when 'civil wars' were primarily anti-colonial struggles, or conflicts against white minority-ruled states (Williams, 2013: 85). This chapter does not

concern itself with anti-colonial wars *per se*. Its main concern is intra-state wars, which occurred after ‘flag independence’<sup>42</sup> from the colonial power/s.

The concept of war, or civil war in the remaining chapters of this study will be understood in the terms indicated below. That is, civil war is defined as an armed conflict that: (a) results in more than one thousand deaths; (b) challenges the sovereignty of an internationally recognised state; (c) happens within the boundaries of a geographically recognised state; (d) involves the state and rebels, as the principal combatants, who have the ability to mount an organised opposition; and (f) involves parties concerned with prospect of living together in the same political entity after the end of the war<sup>43</sup> (Elbadawi and Sambanis, 2000: 5).

Civil wars, seen in the abovementioned terms, are (by nature) different from inter-state wars (DeRouen and Sobek, 2004: 303). In other words, the implications of these two forms of wars are different. As Sambanis (2004: 816) elucidates, the main distinction between civil wars, or intrastate wars and other forms of wars, such as interstate and extra-state (colonial and imperial) wars lies in the internal scope of the war within a recognised territory of a sovereign state and an active participation of the government as a combatant. Furthermore, both government forces and identified rebel groups in fights must suffer about 5 % of the fatalities to differentiate civil wars from other massacres<sup>44</sup> (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004: 565). Since civil wars occur in defined states, the next section now provides the meanings of the state seen in the context of war.

### **2.3. The State**

There is no single definition of state *per se* (Solomon and Cone, 2004: 52). Simply put, the definitions of the state are multiple and depend mostly on each scholar’s perspective and context associated with each. For instance, Northledge (as cited in Solomon and Cone, 2004: 52) emphasises the juridical requirements of statehood and maintains that a state should be understood as “a territorial association of people recognised for purposes of law and diplomacy as a legally equal member of the system of states. It is in reality a means of organising people for the purpose of their participation in the international system.” The definition of the state given above emphasises the concept of a ‘demarcated territory’ and ‘permanent population’ as the most important characteristics of the state (Solomon and Cone,

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<sup>42</sup>“Flag independence” can be understood, in simple word, as meaningless independence. The author of this research acknowledges the supervisor’s comment on the concept.

<sup>43</sup>See also Collier and Hoeffler (2004:565); and Sambanis (2004: 816)

<sup>44</sup>See also Collier (2000: 841)

2004: 52). These descriptive criteria of the state, however, differ from those suggested by Danziger (as cited in Solomon and Cone, 2004: 52), who stresses “a territorial bound sovereign entity.” Bull (as cited in Solomon and Cone, 2004: 52) regards state as a ‘political community’, while Waltz (as cited in Solomon and Cone, 2004: 52) refers to it as a ‘nation-state’. Equally, Ojo and Ranney’s (as cited in Solomon and Cone, 2004: 52) salient aspects of statehood respectively encompass the existence of a political culture and a shared sense of national identity within a specific state. The meanings of state are thus multifaceted and depend on appropriate contexts.

In the context of the DRC, this study focuses on security dimensions of the state. For this reason, it relies on two major definitions proposed by Kabemba (2011: 23): the empirical, which underlines the internal environment of the state and the juridical, which emphasises the external environment of the state. That is, the juridical definition of the state is mostly associated with the legal and international perspectives of the state and focuses on the state’s position in the international system. The implication is that each state possesses a sole jurisdiction over its own internal affairs and should not be impinged upon by external actors<sup>45</sup> (Cone, 2007: 32). By contrast, the empirical characteristics of the state underscore the domestic dimensions of the state and stress state-society relations, such as the government monopoly to use force, the presence of a defined population, territory and boundaries<sup>46</sup> (Lambach, 2007: 33). The security conditions of the DRC as a “failed state” will, hence, be examined in both the juridical and empirical senses.

### *Empirical Definition of the State*

The empirical definition of the state is mostly influenced by Max Weber<sup>47</sup> (Wolf, 2011: 960). Ultimately, the sociological understanding of the modern state, as suggested by Max Weber, is applied in a sense that states are the only actors in the international system entitled to the legitimate use of physical force<sup>48</sup> (Jeng, 2012: 2). This view differs from understanding the state as, “a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory<sup>49</sup>” (Wesley, 2008: 377). This definition of the state is in fact too broad and complex as it does not clearly identify different structures of the

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<sup>45</sup>See also Brown (1997: 73); Solomon and Cone (2004: 52); Kawabata (2006: 17); and Lambach (2007: 17)

<sup>46</sup>See also Solomon and Cone (2004: 52); and Kabemba (2011: 33)

<sup>47</sup>See also Jackson and Rosberg (1982: 2); and Kabemba (2011: 23)

<sup>48</sup>See also Widner (1995: 144); Gros (1996: 456); Brown (1997: 70); and Lambach (2007: 33)

<sup>49</sup>See also Nguyen (2005:3); Cone (2007: 32); Vinci (2008: 298); Wolf (2011: 960); Van Den Bosch (2013: 9)



society, for instance, the decision-making within the community. As Charles Tilly (cited in Kabemba, 2011: 23) avers<sup>50</sup>,

An organisation which controls the population occupying a defined territory is a state in so far as (1) it is differentiated from other organisations operating in the same territory; (2) it is autonomous; (3) it is centralised; (4) its divisions are formally coordinated with one another.

There is a close association between these attributes of the state and those proposed by Max Weber, who considers the state as, “a corporate group that has compulsory jurisdiction, exercises continuous organisation and claims a monopoly of force over a territory and its population, including all actions taking place in the area of its jurisdiction<sup>51</sup>” (Bybee, 2011: 65-66).

The definition of the state proposed by Max Weber, to some extent, derives from Niccolò Machiavelli, who emphasised the use of force, and force alone as the fundamental elements of the state<sup>52</sup> (Nguyen, 2005: 3). “This state-centric understanding of security comes from the realist school for which security is subsumed under the rubric of power and state” (Quoted in Kabemba, 2011: 23). As Tickner (cited in Kabemba, 2011: 23) avers, “It was synonymous with the security of the state against external dangers, which was to be achieved by increasing the state’s military capabilities.”<sup>53</sup> According to Wolf (2011: 960), Max Weber’s sociological definition of statehood basically stresses “means” to apply force rather than “ends,” the empirical rather than the juridical, and the *de facto* instead of *de jure* statehood’s attributes<sup>54</sup>. However, this does not imply that Weber overlooks the juridical aspects of statehood, which are valued by many international law scholars (Jackson and Rosberg, 1982: 2).

In both Weberian and Machiavellian definitions, the state’s existence is basically tested when its national government cannot claim the monopoly of force in the territory under its jurisdiction<sup>55</sup> (Kabemba, 2011: 23). As Fritz and Menocal (2007: 11) elucidate, the citizens must obey the state’s laws to enable its legitimacy<sup>56</sup>. The power of the state has, in fact, to do with the recognition and acceptance of its authority independent of repression to enforce the relationship between the state and society<sup>57</sup> (Van Hoyweghen and Smis, 2002: 575). If at

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<sup>50</sup>See also Poggi (1990: 19-21) and Fritz and Menocal (2007: 11)

<sup>51</sup>See also Jackson and Rosberg (1982: 2); Lambach (2007: 11); and Kabemba (2011: 23)

<sup>52</sup>See also Kabemba (2011: 23)

<sup>53</sup>See also Brown (1997: 70); and Axtmann (2004: 260-262)

<sup>54</sup>See also Jackson and Rosberg (1982: 2)

<sup>55</sup>*Idem*

<sup>56</sup>See also Lambach (2007: 33)

<sup>57</sup>See also Milliken and Krause (2002: 758)

some stage, some external or internal organisations, such as rebel, secessionist or irredentist movements (Kabemba, 2011: 23-24) effectively manage to challenge a national government and take control of its territory and population for itself, the rebellion, or secession thereby can acquire the essential criteria of statehood (Jackson and Rosberg, 1982: 2). Max Weber's *de facto* concept of statehood stresses that it is impossible for two concurrent monopolies of force to exist over one territory and population (Jackson and Rosberg, 1982: 2). Simply put, "In situation where one of several rival groups- that is, claimant states- is unable to establish permanent control over a contested territory, Weber would maintain that it is more appropriate to speak of statelessness<sup>58</sup>" (Kabemba, 2011: 24).

### *Juridical Definition of the State*

As mentioned above, the juridical definition of the state is associated with the state being recognised as a legal institution under international law (Kabemba, 2011: 24). Such definition, which provides priority to the juridical rather than the empirical attributes of statehood, is mostly applied by international legal scholars and institutionally oriented international theorists (Jackson and Rosberg, 1982: 3). Following the Montevideo Convention on Rights of States, Ian Brownlie, a British legal scholar described the state as "a legal person, recognised by international law bounded with the characteristics such as: a defined territory; a permanent population; an effective government; and independence, or the right to enter into relations with other states<sup>59</sup>" (Kabemba, 2011: 24). It is thus crucial to appreciate that the juridical attributes of the state also encompass external dimensions rather than internal aspects alone<sup>60</sup> (Lambach, 2007: 33).

The role of the state was made more prominent by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, since which time the state has become the central organisational structure in international relations<sup>61</sup> (Kabemba, 2011: 24). Amongst other concerns, the Treaty emphasised "sovereignty," the principles of sovereignty, legal equality and non-intervention in interstate relations<sup>62</sup> (Potter, 2004: 2). These factors, which govern states' interactions, were further enshrined after the Second World War with the emergence of the United Nations (UN). A state is, therefore, considered sovereign and autonomous at the international level once the

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<sup>58</sup>See also Jackson and Rosberg (1982: 2)

<sup>59</sup>See also Jackson and Rosberg (1982: 3); Orwa (1985: 2); and Nguyen (2005: 3)

<sup>60</sup>See also Fritz and Menocal (2007: 12)

<sup>61</sup>See also Brown (1997: 68); Krasner (2001a: 17); Milliken and Krause (2002: 755); Holsti (2004: 54); Brooks (2005: 1169); Fritz and Menocal (2007: 12); and Shimko (2012: 6)

<sup>62</sup>See also, Krasner (2001: 232); Axtmann (2004: 260); High Commissioner on National Minorities (2008: 5)

United Nations (UN) recognizes it as such, regardless of whether or not it meets any characteristic laid out by Max Weber, or other scholars<sup>63</sup> (Kabemba, 2011: 24).

Hussein Solomon and Cornelia Cone propose that the empirical and juridical features of the state are both crucial for analysis and descriptions of the state (See Table 2.1). That is, the state in the present case-study is analysed as a geographically bounded, specified and sovereign territory occupied by a permanent population associated with some forms of socio-political cohesion and governed by a legitimate authority sanctioned by the population of the state. The state is also regarded as a recognised, legally equal and independent member of the international community of states<sup>64</sup> (Solomon and Cone, 2004: 53). All the identified characteristics are closely linked with definitions given above.

**Table 2. 1:** Juridical and Empirical Requirements of Statehood

Juridical Features	Empirical Features
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Recognition as a legally equal member of the international community of states</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Monopoly of force within state borders<sup>65</sup></li> <li>▪ Designated territory</li> <li>▪ A permanent population</li> <li>▪ A recognisable government</li> <li>▪ Some form of socio-political cohesion</li> <li>▪ Legitimate authority sanctioned by the population of the state</li> <li>▪ Formal independence or sovereignty</li> </ul>

**Source:** Solomon and Cone (2004: 53)

Broadly speaking, states are assumed to provide public goods to persons living within designated borders (Kostovicova and Bojicic-Dzelilovic, 2009: 7), to address the interests of its citizens<sup>66</sup> (Sen, 2008: 2), protect their borders from external threats and mediate between the constraints of the international arena and their own economic, political and social concerns<sup>67</sup> (Howard, 2010: 1). The next section examines the effects, which occur when states fail to meet the above requirements of statehood.

<sup>63</sup> See also Axtmann (2004: 262); and Fritz and Menocal (2007: 12)

<sup>64</sup> See also Krasner (2001: 2333); and Axtmann (2004: 260)

<sup>65</sup> The author of this study acknowledges the supervisor’s comment on the abovementioned empirical feature of the state, which is not highlighted in the table taken from the original source.

<sup>66</sup> Also available at: <http://www.globalpolicy.org/nations-a-states/failed-states.html>

<sup>67</sup> See also Clapham (1998: 156); Milliken and Krause (2002: 755); Francois and Sud (2006: 142); Lambach (2007: 33); Huria (2008: 1-2); and Wesley (2008: 377)

## 2.4. The Failed State

### *The Concept's Rise to Predominance*

The concept of state failure has become prominent in regional and global security discourse since the end of the Cold War (Huria, 2008: 1). Initially, the concept was utilised as a corrective to prevalent approaches designed to promote peace, development or humanitarian assistance (Call, 2008: 1494); however, the concept was adopted and developed to fit security concerns after the events of 11 September 2001 in the United States (Huria, 2008: 1). In the context of world affairs, '9/11' was the first time the US had come under direct attack since Pearl Harbour in 1941<sup>68</sup>. Prior to 1941, the only attack on US history was the 1812 war with the British (Chomsky, 2002: 11).

On September 11, 2001, the world stood transfixed with graphic videos and television images of the explosion of the World Trade Center (WTC) towers, the largest buildings in New York. Moreover, the mighty behemoth of American military power, the Pentagon, was penetrated and set on fire<sup>69</sup> (Bodden, 2008: 5). Some weeks later, as a response to the attacks, the United States President George W. Bush announced, on 7 October, 2001 the beginning of a military campaign in Afghanistan designed with a clear objective in mind: to destroy the Al Qaeda networks and the Taliban regime that was hosting them (Douglas, 2003: 2).

The events of 2001 generated a large amount of literature on security issues. Indeed, Bilgrin and Morton (2007: 12) maintain that the concept of state failure is now the dominant topic in academic and policy agendas<sup>70</sup>. It is noteworthy that the two countries invaded and occupied by the US (and its allies), namely Afghanistan and Libya, not only harboured leaders of Al Qaeda, but also are defined as failed states (See Appendix B: Failed State Index). The same applies to Pakistan where Osama Bin Laden was captured and killed by American Special Forces in 2011 (See Footnote 68). Arguably, there is a clear connection between state failure, on the one hand, and regional-global security issues on the other.

As data released in the 'Failed State Index 2013' (by the United States Think Tank Fund for Peace) shows, the majority of failed states are found in Africa. The Fund for Peace identifies

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<sup>68</sup>The author of this study acknowledges the supervisor's comments on the 1941 attack at Pearl Harbour by Japanese Navy against the United States; and the invasion and occupation by the United States of Afghanistan and Libya, and assassination of Osama Bin Laden by US Special Forces in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. For an analysis of the unexpected Japanese military strike against US Naval base at Pearl Harbour (Hawaii) on the morning of 7 December 1941, which led the United States to enter into the Second World War, see John Toland, *Infamy: Pearl Harbor and Its Aftermath* (London: Methuen London Ltd, 1982), p. 11-18.

<sup>69</sup>See also Douglas, 2003: 1)

<sup>70</sup>See also Raeymaekers (2005: 2)

178 states ranked in terms of the most to the least vulnerable (See Appendix B). Thirty five states, largely found in Sub-Saharan Africa, Central Asia and Latin America, are severely unstable. Twenty four out of thirty five states are in Sub-Saharan Africa, among which Somalia ranks first, the Democratic Republic of the Congo second, Sudan third and South Sudan fourth. Three out of these four states are situated in the Great Lakes Region of Africa, except Somalia, which is found in the Horn of the continent. As the 9/11 events have revealed, state failure<sup>71</sup>, which was once associated with a problem of underdevelopment, is today regarded as a serious security threat, which necessitates urgent policy responses (Lambach, 2007: 407). The security threat is perceived in terms of issues such as military power, and the right to invade a failed state. These issues threaten the security and interests of regional and global powers, and thus the concept ‘failed state’ is more commonly associated with realist theory than with idealist theory.

### *Definitions and Debates*

Definitions of and debates about the concept of a failed state have raised considerable empirical, analytical, normative and practical challenges among scholars and policymakers<sup>72</sup> (Vogel, 2012: 1). Newman (2009: 421) identifies three major areas of debate<sup>73</sup>. Firstly, some scholars accept the concept as a paradigm shift in international politics with fundamental implications for how issues of insecurity should be thought about and addressed; from this perspective, “weak and failing states have arguably become the single most important problem for international order”; the second argument is sceptical of the concept’s analytical value and epistemological grounds; the concern is that, it is not easy to objectively define, identify and analyse failed state with methodological rigour; the third and last scholarly debate rejects the concept and labels it politicised, ethnocentric, hegemonic with international connotations<sup>74</sup>.

As Halilovic et al. (2012: 17) maintain, “Failed states are tense, deeply conflicted, dangerous, and bitterly contested by warring factions and in most of which government troops battle armed revolts led by one or more rivals whose roots lie in ethnic, religious,

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<sup>72</sup>See also Hagmann and Hoehne (2007: 21); and Patrick (2007: 647)

<sup>73</sup> Also available at : <http://cepeoffice.com/2012/05/22/failed-states-security-threats-for-the-international-community-or-victims-of-great-powers-interests/>; see also Morton (2005: 371); and Jones (2008: 182-184)

<sup>74</sup> For the third and last debate of failed state, see also Boas and Jennings (2005: 387-388)

linguistic, or other inter-communal enmity.”<sup>75</sup> Wolf (2011: 960) stipulates that states fail, in most cases, when they lose the central features of statehood as described by Max Weber such as “a monopoly on the legitimate use of force within the territory formally under their control.”<sup>76</sup> Piazza (2008: 470) argues that failed states are mostly identified by their incapacity to provide security to their citizens and protect their territorial areas from internal and external threats<sup>77</sup>. The security implications of failed states highlighted above lead to questions about why states fail.

### *Causal Factors of State Failure*

In the above perspectives on state failure, it is noteworthy that the power of the state to ensure and protect domestic security and stability is regarded as critical (See Table 2.2 below). As several scholars and policymakers observe, unlike strong states, which are able to protect their borders, provide domestic security and ensure political goods, *inter alia*, security, health and education, economic opportunity, good governance, law and order and essential infrastructures, such as transport and communications, to their citizens and the prevalence of the rule of law within their territory, failed states are generally characterised by the inability to control their borders, and their failure to fully exercise their authority over the entire territory except in the capital city and some specific ethnic zones<sup>78</sup> (The Stanley Foundation, 2009: 41). Boege et al. (2009: 15) aver that, “Failed states are usually defined as those that are unable to effectively control their territory and comply with their international obligations. As such, they often pose a threat to their own population and to international security<sup>79</sup>.”

As Solomon and Cone (2004: 59) argue, the characteristics attributed to state failure (See Box 2.1) are intertwined<sup>80</sup>. That is, the more state leaders work exclusively for their own benefit, the more the power of the state gradually weakens. The more people feel increasingly

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<sup>75</sup> Available at: <http://cepeoffice.com/2012/05/22/failed-states-security-threats-for-the-international-community-or-victims-of-great-powers-interests>; see also Potter (2004: 3); Rotberg (2004: 4); Wolf (2005: 4); Francois and Sud (2006: 143); and Kraxberger (2007: 1057)

<sup>76</sup> See also Gros (1996: 456); Nguyen (2005: 4); Schneckener (2006: 31); Cojanu and Popescu (2007: 115); Lambach (2007: 33); Sen (2008: 2); Thurer (2008: 43); and Vinci (2008: 298)

<sup>77</sup> Available at: <https://www.fas.org/irp/threat/pub45270chap4.html#2>; see also Rotberg (2002b: 87); Carment (2003: 409); Center for Global Development (2004: 2); Brinkerhoff (2005: 4); Eizenstat, Porter and Weintein (2005: 136); Schneckener (2006: 32); and Cojanu and Popescu (2007: 115)

<sup>78</sup> Available at: <http://www.institut-numerique.org/jii-define-state-failure-500d4006ed160>; see also Rotberg (2002b: 86); Potter (2004: 2-3); Brooks (2005: 1160); Hill (2005: 145-146); Schneckener (2006: 31-32); Boas and Jennings (2007: 477); Lambach (2007: 36); and Patrick (2007: 649)

<sup>79</sup> See also Francois and Sud (2006: 144); Schneckener (2006: 23); and Fraser (2008: 8)

<sup>80</sup> See also Rotberg (2002a: 132); and Carment (2003: 414-416)

disconsolate, disenfranchised and marginalised, the more the loyalty of key interest groups to the state attenuates<sup>81</sup> (Halilovic et al. 2012: 6). According to Carment (2003: 414), the relationship between the state and its people basically deteriorates when, “the social contract that binds citizens and central structures is forfeit. Citizens therefore seek alternative forms of identity and transfer their allegiances to communal warlords, ethnic leaders etc., which fuels domestic anarchy.”<sup>82</sup> Domestic anarchy is in most cases completed when the state loses its authority at the expense of multiple non-state armed groups within a defined territory, who take control of the highest authority over their internal and external relations<sup>83</sup> (Vinci, 2008: 296).

**Box 2. 1: Characteristics of Failed States**

- Rise of criminal and political violence
- A loss of control over borders
- Rising ethnic, religious, linguistic, and cultural hostilities
- Civil war
- The use of terror against own citizens
- Weak institutions
- A deteriorated or insufficient infrastructure
- An inability to collect taxes without undue coercion
- A collapsed health system
- Rising levels of infant mortality and declining life expectancy
- The end of regular schooling opportunities
- Declining levels of GDP per capita (especially inflation)
- A widespread preference for non-national currencies
- Basic food shortages-leading to starvation
- Leaders who destroy the economic and political fabric of the country
- Questionable legitimacy

**Source:** Rotberg (as cited in Solomon and Cone, 2004: 58)

The factors identified in Box 2.1 are among the principal indicators of state failure. On several occasions, failed states are also indicated by civil wars between government forces and insurgent groups<sup>84</sup> (Jones, 2008: 180-181). Examples are Afghanistan, Angola, Burundi, Colombia, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Sudan, where rebel forces’ violence was directed against their respective governments demanding shared power, or autonomy to justify their insurgent actions<sup>85</sup>. Failed states are also shaped by higher levels of corruption, violence,

<sup>81</sup>See also Mazrui (1995: 29); Rotberg (2002a: 132); Carment (2003: 414-416); Solomon and Cone (2004: 59); Lambach (2006: 409); and Patrick (2006: 36)

<sup>82</sup>See also Rotberg (2002a: 132); Solomon and Cone (2004: 59); and Cone (2007: 37)

<sup>83</sup>See also Carment (2003: 414-416); Raeymaekers (2005: 3); and Lambach (2007: 39)

<sup>84</sup>See also Rotberg (2002a: 128-130); Carment (2003: 414-416); Cojanu and Popescu (2007: 117); and Lambach (2007: 36)

<sup>85</sup> Available at: <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/failed-states-collapsed-states-and-weak-states-causes-and-indicators>

regular armed conflicts and lack of border control<sup>86</sup> (Halilovic et al. 2012: 4). Governments in failed states, such as Afghanistan and Somalia (also Sierra Leone in the early 1990s till 2002) struggle to project power and assert authority within their own borders, leaving their territories ungoverned (Rotberg, 2002a: 128).

**Table 2. 2:** Characteristics of Strong and Failed States: Comparison

Characteristics	Strong State	Failed State
State monopoly of use of force	Exists	More or less absent
Sovereignty of state	High	Low
Security	High	Low
State control of territory	Exists	More or less absent
Effectiveness of institutions, infrastructure and bureaucracy	High	Low
Disposition of means of physical violence	Concentrated in the hand of the state and of persons authorized by it	Illegally also in the hand of non-state players
Corruption and crime	Low	High or out of control
Legal order	Reliable	Unreliable and ineffective
Economy	Functioning	In more or less deep crisis
Demographic changes	Slight and under control	Considerable and out of control, enormous streams of refugees, mass emigration

**Source:** Malek (as cited in Cojanu and Popescu, 2007: 118-119)

Most civil wars in failed states, as Rotberg (2002b: 86) notes, usually take root in ethnic, religious, linguistic, or other inter-communal enmities. For instance, the aggressive ethnic, religious, and linguistic differences in the failed Sudanese state between the Northern Muslim Arabs and the Southern black Africans reflected the social divisions commonly found in many other failed states. The Sudanese war, since its eruption, has caused over 2 million civilian casualties, and about 4 million internally displaced people and refugees<sup>87</sup> (International Crisis Group, 2002: 3). The North Arab Sudanese government hardly provided

<sup>86</sup> Available at: <http://www.institut-numerique.org/iii-define-state-failure-500d4006ed160>; see also Eizenstat, Potter and Weinstein (2005: 136); and Thurer (2008: 43)

<sup>87</sup>See also Patey (2007: 1000)



political goods to its black Southern citizens; instead, it regarded them as enemies of the state, terrorised them (Patey, 2007: 1001), bombed them, and regularly raided them<sup>88</sup>. Rotberg (2002b: 86) argues that the reasons often attributed to ethnic conflicts in most failed states are due to “the driving fear of ‘the other’, which often stimulates and fuels hostilities between ruling entities and subordinate and marginalised groups.” Burundi’s civil war between the Hutu majority and Tutsi minority since the early 1990s, and civil wars in Bosnia, Haiti and Rwanda mirrored the same features of state failure<sup>89</sup> (Stohl and Stohl, 2001: 3). Also, greed to accumulate natural resources, as the Angolan, Liberian, Sierra Leonean, and Zairian civil wars have demonstrated, can play a substantial role in fuelling antagonisms leading states to crumble<sup>90</sup> (Crocker, 2003: 38-39). The capability of the state to handle social cleavages remains critical and determines the extent to which insurgent groups benefit from resource extradition (DeRouen and Sobek, 2004: 304).

However, when ethnic or other inter-communal hostilities and regime instability become uncontrolled, failed states often react with violence against their respective people. Jones (2008: 181) argues that, faced with those dilemmas, failed states usually do not hesitate to oppress, extort and harass their ordinary citizens<sup>91</sup>. Such situations open opportunities to state elites to utilise patronage as the driving mechanism of the state (in favour of specific ethnic group, clan, class, or kin) (Rotberg, 2002a: 129). Rotberg (2002b: 86-87) remarks that,

As in Mobutu Sese Seko’s Zaire or the Taliban’s Afghanistan, ruling cadres increasingly oppress, extort, and harass the majority of their own compatriots while favouring a narrowly based elite. As in Zaire, Angola, Siaka Stevens’s Sierra Leone, or Hassan al-Turabi’s pre-2001 Sudan, patrimonial rule depends on a patronage-based system of extraction from ordinary citizens.

It is noteworthy that ordinary citizens’ reactions vis-à-vis their respective states can lead to state failure. That is, states are more likely to fail, in many instances, when there is emergence of reactionary forces among resentful groups, which produce rebellions<sup>92</sup> (Halilovic et al. 2012: 9). As Collier and Sambanis (2002: 4) emphasise, the structures of some societies are more likely to deliberately expose some of their group members to

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<sup>88</sup> Available at: <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/failed-states-collapsed-states-and-weak-states-causes-and-indicators>

<sup>89</sup> *Idem*

<sup>90</sup> See also Cone (2007: 2)

<sup>91</sup> See also Rotberg (2002b: 86); Carment (2003: 414-416); Schneckener (2006: 34); and Cojanu and Popescu (2007: 117)

<sup>92</sup> See also Rotberg (2002a: 128-130)

exceptional exploitation, which results in rebellions<sup>93</sup>. Somalia and Sierra Leone in the 1970s and 1980s are simple examples of this case (Rotberg, 2002a: 129). The decline of the state's legitimacy mostly occur when there is an increase of criminal violence within a state, which in turn influences the prevalence of lawlessness<sup>94</sup> (Jones, 2008: 181) as gangs and criminal syndicates take over the control of the streets of cities<sup>95</sup> (Schneckener, 2006: 34). Also, the proliferation of arms and drug trafficking resulting from low payment of civil servants, police officers and soldiers severely weaken the police force and other security mechanisms of the state and lead the state to failure<sup>96</sup> (Congressional Research Service, 2008: 4). Such conditions lead the state to anarchy, which becomes the social norm, as citizens start relying on warlords and other ethnic or clan forces for protection, thus producing a failed state<sup>97</sup> (Piazza, 2008: 470). Failed states, such as Afghanistan, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Sudan exhibited almost all the characteristics cited above (Rotberg, 2002a: 132).

In light of the causes of state failure and impact of wars (discussed above), the next section discusses the idealist-versus-realist debate in order to clarify issues of peace and security in contemporary global politics.

## **2.5. The Idealist Approach to International Relations**

In the early 1900s and 1930s, the idealist approach (also called liberal internationalist or utopian) was motivated by the desire to build peace in order to prevent the recurrence of war<sup>98</sup>. As such, idealist theorists sought ways to create a better understanding of international affairs, which in turn would promote the cause of peace. For idealists, war was the result of the failure or breakdown of rational communication between states in the global community capable of ensuring universal harmonious principles in the interest of all (Guzzini, 1998: 17). World leaders believed that the creation of an international framework, which advocated ideals, *inter alia* the spread of democracy, national self-determination, anti-colonialism, collective security, international law, internationalisation of education, the expansion of international organisations, the establishment of permanent judicial organs for the settlement

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<sup>93</sup>See also Ballantine and Nitzschke (2005: 5)

<sup>94</sup>See also Crocker (2003: 36)

<sup>95</sup>See also Rotberg (2002b: 86); and Carment (2003: 414-416)

<sup>96</sup> Available at: <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/failed-states-collapsed-states-and-weak-states-causes-and-indicators>; see also Rotberg (2002a: 123); and Carment (2003: 409)

<sup>97</sup>See also Rotberg (2002b: 86); Carment (2003: 414-416) and Crocker (2003: 36)

<sup>98</sup> Available at: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/realism-intl-relations>; see also Carr (1956: 8); Wilson (2003: 12); Likoti (2006: 84); and Burkman (2008: 9)

of disputes, the establishment of formal procedures for mediation and arbitration, the creation of an international police, disarmament, open diplomacy, peaceful change, the increase of social, technical and economic cooperation, freedom of the seas, the legal prohibition of war, and the abolition of alliances would relieve humanity of threats of war by creating a new world order of peace and justice<sup>99</sup> (Burkman, 2008: 1-2).

Idealists believed that human beings are pacifist, reasonable, and cooperative, and therefore that war derived from imperfect political institutions and practices, *inter alia*, non-democratic and illegitimate governments, which disrupt harmony between human beings and a more peaceful world<sup>100</sup> (Likoti, 2006: 83-84). As such, idealists stood against traditional diplomacy, which was accused of addressing security related to war in military terms (Guzzini, 1998: 17). As they maintained, “the system that gave rise to the First World War was capable of being transformed into a fundamentally more peaceful and just world order” (Wilson, 2003: 12). For them, peace can be attained through multilateralism rather than unilateralism<sup>101</sup> (Likoti, 2006: 69). Hence, idealists argued that the establishment of institutions, procedures and practices build upon the harmony of interests of all could eradicate or at the very least control war.

United States President Woodrow Wilson introduced the fundamental bedrock of idealism to reform the international agenda through new democratised diplomacy and policy to challenge the traditional primacy of foreign policy<sup>102</sup> with the aim to ameliorate intra and inter-state conflicts (Likoti, 2006: 84). Among President Wilson’s Fourteen Points, the new peace, inspired by an idealist ambition of territorial self-determination, was believed to be organised and enforced by a community of states (Richmond, 2008: 33). For Wilson, the establishment of an international body, such as the League of Nations, would secure peace and regulate international anarchy<sup>103</sup> (Likoti, 2006: 84). The League of Nations established in

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<sup>99</sup>See also Wilson (2003: 14)

<sup>100</sup> See also Orwa (1985: 4); Wilson (1998: 9); and Ghosh (2009: 20-21)

<sup>101</sup>See also Whittaker (1995: 4)

<sup>102</sup>Stefano Guzzini’s publication, *Realism and International Relations and International Political Economy: The Continuing Story of a Death Foretold* (London: Routledge, 1998) describes traditional diplomacy like those secret decisions often adopted by diplomats without the will of sovereign people. The foreign policy’s primacy, which was accused to have triggered the outbreak of the First World War, insisted the secrecy (secret diplomacy) from both the domestic sphere and from other diplomats. P. 17. See also Thomas W. Burkman, *Japan and the League of Nations: Empire and World Order, 1914-1938*, (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 2008) p. 9-10; and Edward Hallett Carr, *the Twenty Years’ Crisis, 1919-1939*, (London: MacMillan, 1956), p. 2, for similar argument.

<sup>103</sup> See also Orwa (1985: 4); Whittaker (1995: 3); and Shimko (2012: 19)

1919 was due to uphold the new international diplomacy to manage international disputes and to protect states from external aggression (Guzzini, 1998: 18).

The idealist perspectives and worldviews did not, however, reflect the realities of the inter-war period of that time in international relations (Guzzini, 1998: 18). The 1930s became a turbulent decade, shaped by events, *inter alia*, the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931; the Italian invasion of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in 1935 (Goodrich, 1947: 10). The remilitarisation of the Rhineland and war in Europe in the form of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 were not deterred by the League of Nations. Nazi Germany's use of military pressure to take control of Czechoslovakia, a sovereign state (Guzzini, 1998: 18), showed that the utopian orthodoxy was ineffective in the face of 1930s' realities. With the fall of the League of Nations, the duties to uphold the principle of territorial integrity of states to prevent the rampant use of force within the international system to secure the peaceful world was dedicated to the United Nations after the Second World War<sup>104</sup> in the 1940s (Likoti, 2006: 84).

## **2.6. The Rise of the Realist Approach**

The outbreak of the Second World War signalled the end of idealism/utopianism and left it bereft of credibility. The time had come for a more pragmatic approach to international affairs (Ghosh, 2009: 24). The proponents of idealism/utopianism were painted as naïve pacifists and legalists, who were blind to the realities of politics among states. The failure of idealism/utopianism to deal with the foremost crises of the 1930s and the outbreak of another world war led many to look for a more realistic approach to explicate international affairs. Many scholars found after the Second World War that the realist perspective was far superior to idealism in its ability to explain the reality of struggles for power among states. Whereas realists see peace as achievable through the use of power and not by unrealistic hopes and expectations, idealists regard peace as attainable by collective security (Likoti, 2006: 67-69).

In the light of the analysis above, it can be seen that both idealists and realists offer crucial explanations of global political affairs, but from different, even opposite worldviews, aspirations and directions. Idealists opt for a multilateralist approach to resolve issues of peace and war, while realists are strictly unilateralists. As the next chapters of this study reveal, although idealist theory provides substantial explanations in interstate interactions, realist advocacies of national interests and security, in practical terms, dominate each state's

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<sup>104</sup> See also Orwa (1985: 4); and Ghosh (2009: 22)

agendas. The involvements of multiple actors (pluralism) in world politics associated with the principle of self-determination (mostly individuals<sup>105</sup> rather than states), and increased security threats emanating from failed states in the twenty-first century have mixed idealist and realist worldviews to explain issues in international affairs. The remaining chapters show that in the Congo, as in many post-colonial multi-ethnic developing states, idealist principles have failed to produce peaceful and strong states. On the contrary, many of these states have continued to fail. Therefore, this chapter argues that the realist paradigm provides a more useful and credible theoretical approach to the concept of a failed (in this case, DRC) than the idealist approach.

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<sup>105</sup>The notion of individual self-determination is defined in chapter four (see page 58, footnote 225)

## CHAPTER THREE

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

*The beauty of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, named after the old kingdom of Kongo, has been marred by bloody armed struggles and plagued with rebellion and unrest.*

-Jay Heale and Jui Lin Yong, *Cultures of the World: The Democratic Republic of the Congo*. 2010 p.5

#### 3.1. Introduction

Conflict in the Congo is notable for its longevity. A number of scholars have addressed a variety of aspects of the conflicts in various historical eras. Hence, this chapter serves two functions: it is both a historical background and a literature review.

#### 3.2. The Geopolitical and Economic Importance of the Democratic Republic of Congo

As is the case in most armed conflicts in Africa, the colonial legacy plays a substantial role in the current turmoil in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)<sup>106</sup>. However, this view is too narrow to clearly enunciate the genesis of armed conflicts in the DRC. The crisis in the DRC has many layers. The state's vast natural resources have historically attracted violent intervention from abroad and stoked internal conflicts since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>107</sup>. The Congolese government's lack of an effective representation and protection of its people have not spared the state and its people from troubles. The Congo, which historically has been characterised by predation and corruption, continues to this day to struggle with an explosive combination of conflicts at the local, regional and national levels<sup>108</sup>.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo's (DRC) strategic importance is determined by many factors ranging from its size, geographical economy and location in Africa (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 1999: 62-64) and around the world. It is a landlocked state, except for a coastline of about 40 kilometers comprising the mouth and lower reaches of the Congo River, which links the state to the Atlantic Ocean<sup>109</sup> (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 27). It is very large in size and is

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<sup>106</sup> Available at: <http://www.globalissues.org/article/87/the-democratic-republic-of-congo#globalissues-org>

<sup>107</sup> Available at: <http://www.healafrika.org/learn/history-of-the-congo/>

<sup>108</sup> Available at: [http://www.enoughproject.org/files/pdf/crisis\\_roots\\_congo.pdf](http://www.enoughproject.org/files/pdf/crisis_roots_congo.pdf); see also Trautman (2013: 29)

<sup>109</sup> See also Gourou (2002: 245)

ranked the 12<sup>th</sup> largest state in the world in terms of area<sup>110</sup>. It shares borders with nine African states<sup>111</sup>: Angola in the south, Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda in the east, the Central African Republic in the north-west, Congo-Brazzaville in the west, South-Sudan in the north and Zambia in the south-east<sup>112</sup> (Ettang, 2011: 183) [See Appendix A (ii): Map of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and its Neighbouring States]. It is one of the giant states in Africa with about 2,345,406 square kilometers (905,562 square miles)<sup>113</sup> of territory (Maeresera, 2012: 104). The DRC is as large as Western Europe, or the United States east of the Mississippi (Turner, 2007: 24). It is almost twice the size of the Republic of South Africa, three times the size of Nigeria, five times of France and over eighty times the size of Belgium, its former colonial power<sup>114</sup> (Maeresera, 2012: 104). It is, therefore, ranked as the third largest state of the continent after Algeria and Sudan<sup>115</sup> (Turner, 2007: 24). However, the DRC can actually be classified as the second largest state in Africa after the independence of South Sudan (Maeresera, 2012: 104) on 9 July 2011<sup>116</sup>.

The DRC is economically rich in natural resources<sup>117</sup> (Clement, 2004: 7). It is the most resource rich state in the world<sup>118</sup>. In addition to recent discoveries of coltan and petroleum, the state has come to be known as a “veritable geological scandal”<sup>119</sup> (Lemarchand, 2009: ix) largely because of its abundant minerals ranging from silver, cadmium, zinc, nickel, niobium or (columbite), beryl, cassiterite, wolfram (Autesserre, 2010: 62), copper, cobalt, tin, uranium, manganese, gold and diamond<sup>120</sup> (Ettang, 2011: 184). As Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 28) observes, some of these minerals, for instance, uranium, are of strategic value. Whereas uranium<sup>121</sup> is needed to manufacture nuclear weapons, other rare metals such as niobium and

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<sup>110</sup> Available at: <http://www.worldvision.org/content.nsf/6d1210430917461d8825735a007e2f2b/world-vision-democratic-republic-of-congo>

<sup>111</sup> Available at: <http://www.state.gov/outofdate/bgn/congokinshasa/200313.htm>; see also Oppong and Woodruff (2007: 11)

<sup>112</sup> See also Gourou (2002: 245); Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 27); Cone (2007: 68); and Maeresera (2012: 104)

<sup>113</sup> See also Abdulai (1995: 3); Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 27); Clement (2004: 7); Daley (2007: 10); Oppong and Woodruff (2007: 11); Turner (2007: 24)

<sup>114</sup> See also Slade (1961: 2); Gann and Duignan (1979: 41); Nzongola-Ntalaja (1999: 63)

<sup>115</sup> See also Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 27); Clement (2004: 1); Oppong and Woodruff (2007: 11); and Maeresera (2012: 104)

<sup>116</sup> Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/od.html>

<sup>117</sup> See also Nzongola-Ntalaja (1999: 63); Daley (2007: 10); and Maeresera (2012: 105)

<sup>118</sup> Available at: <http://www.healafrika.org/learn/history-of-the-congo/>

<sup>119</sup> See also Naidoo (2003: 5); and Nzongola-Ntalaja (2004: 4)

<sup>120</sup> See also Clement (2004: 7); Cone (2007: 68); Oppong and Woodruff (2007: 13); and Turner (2007: 6)

<sup>121</sup> The world’s first atomic bombs, the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs, had been manufactured by the United States from the Congo’s uranium during the Second World War in 1945. See Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, *The Crisis in the Great Lakes Region*. In: M.W. Makgoba, ed. *African Renaissance: The New Struggle* (Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers, 1999) p. 65; Madeleine G. Kalb, *The Congo Cables: The Cold War in Africa-From Eisenhower to Kennedy* (New York: MacMillan Publishing, 1982), p. xxii.

tantalum are highly recommended for space aeronautics in the twenty-first century<sup>122</sup>. Studies indicate that 15% of the world's reserves of niobium and 80% of tantalum deposits are found in Africa, and the DRC alone has 60% of niobium and contains 80% of tantalum of its reserves<sup>123</sup> (Maeresera, 2012: 105). It is also crucial to note that coltan<sup>124</sup> from the DRC, largely utilised as a source of tantalum, is mostly needed for the manufacture of mobile cellular phones, lap top computers, airbag protection systems, PlayStations, video-cameras and digital cameras<sup>125</sup> (Global Witness, 2009: 20).

The DRC is also rich in ecological diversity and possesses abundant non-mineral goods, including forest and water resources (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 27). More than 75% of the state's total area comprises forests and woodlands, including the tropical rainforest in the equatorial zone<sup>126</sup> (Clement, 2004: 7). The Mayombe Forest near the west coast is a crucial source of marketable timber and the productive woodlands and grasslands of the savannah zones north and south of the equator. The natural vegetation encompasses many valuable tropical trees, namely ebony and mahogany, which are indigenous in the Congo, as are wild rubber trees, palm trees, grape-vines, and plantain and banana trees. Coffee, tea and cotton plants are also the substantial agricultural products in the Congo (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 27). Studies show that less than 3% of the Congo's arable land is under cultivation (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 1999: 64).

The DRC's animal life is abundant as well as its vegetation (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 27). The DRC contains large and small mammals, birds and reptiles; the rivers and lakes are filled with many sorts of fish<sup>127</sup> (Clement, 2004: 7). The state has seven great lakes, four of which are located along the eastern border in the Great Lakes region, and hundreds of rivers and

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<sup>122</sup>Experts suggest that the most strategic materials required for the twenty-first century are only available in China, Russia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), more specifically in the two Kivus in the Great Lakes regions, where currently lie significant armed conflicts. See Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, *The Crisis in the Great Lakes Region*. In: M.W. Makgoba, ed. *African Renaissance: The New Struggle* (Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers, 1999) p. 63

<sup>123</sup>See also Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 28)

<sup>124</sup> Other states such as Australia, Canada, and Brazil possess coltan's reserves; however, studies suggest that coltan's reserves found in the identified states are not easily accessed compared to those of the DRC. See International Peace Information Service, *Supporting the War Economy in the DRC: European Companies and the Coltan Trade*, 2002. Available online at: [http://www.ipisresearch.be/publications\\_detail.php?id=197&lang=en](http://www.ipisresearch.be/publications_detail.php?id=197&lang=en) [Accessed: 10 February 2014]; Joshua Kors, *The Blood Mineral*. *Current Science*, Vol. 9, No.95 (2010), 10-12; Louisa Carpenter, *Conflict Minerals in the DRC: Blood Minerals and Africa's Under-Reported First World War*, (2012), Working Paper. Suffolk University. Available at: <http://web.mit.edu/mission/www/m2016/pdf/Congo.pdf> [Accessed: 08 February 2014] p. 6.

<sup>125</sup>See also Cone (2007: 70); and Maeresera (2012: 105)

<sup>126</sup> See also Oppong and Woodruff (2007: 13)

<sup>127</sup>*Loc. Cit.* Nzongola-Ntalaja



small lakes (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 27)). Lake Tanganyika, which the Congo shares with Burundi, Tanzania and Zambia, is the fifth largest lake in the world. The Congo River and its many tributaries, from which the DRC got its name is the second longest river in Africa and fifth longest globally (Gourou, 2002: 245). The Congo River is the second in the world after the Amazon in terms of hydroelectric potential, harnessed through the Inga Dam and provides electricity to the Congo and some of its neighbouring states, in addition to Zambia and Zimbabwe in the southern region. This hydroelectricity “has the capacity to light up the entire African continent from Cairo to Cape Town” (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 1999: 63).

Furthermore, the DRC’s population size is amongst the largest in Africa (Turner, 2007: 24). Statistics estimate it to be amongst the largest population with the total of 62,660,550 people<sup>128</sup> after Nigeria, Egypt and Ethiopia<sup>129</sup> (Clement, 2004: 7). The Congo was originally inhabited by a pygmoid people found today in small number in a few remote forest areas of the state before the arrival of the current majority Bantu-speaking, who entered the area many centuries ago in a series of migrations (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 14). In the present day, the DRC is made up of about 250 ethnic groups, the largest of which are the Mongo, Luba, Kongo and Mangbetu-Azande, who constitute nearly 45% of the entire population. In addition, around 700 local dialects are spoken throughout the DRC, but French is the official language as well as other lingua-franca languages utilised as ethnically neutral among different tribes such as Lingala, Kingwana, Kikongo, Tshiluba<sup>130</sup> and Swahili (Oppong and Woodruff, 2007: 13). Most of these diverse groups share many cultural traits. In addition to the linguistic unity binding the majority of the Central African peoples, the Congo’s ties to its immediate neighbours are strengthened in the sense that many of its ethnic groups straddle national borders. For instance, members of the Kongo ethnic group are found in both Angola and Congo-Brazzaville; the Ngbandi, in Central African Republic; the Zande, in Sudan; the Alur, in Sudan and Uganda; the Hutu, Tutsi and Twa, in Rwanda and Burundi; the Bemba, in Zambia; and the Lunda, in Zambia and Angola (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 14).

### **3.3. The Congo’s Foreign Policy, before and after Independence**

The Democratic Republic of the Congo’s (DRC) current armed conflict is related to its history (CAFCO, 2010: 70). Both Nzongola-Ntalaja (1999: 63) and Maeresera (2012: 106)

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<sup>128</sup> The Central Intelligence Agency’s estimation of the DRC’s population in July 2013 is of 75,507,308 people. Data retrieved from: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cg.html>

<sup>129</sup> See also Turner (2007: 24)

<sup>130</sup> Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cg.html>; <http://www.worldvision.org/content.nsf/6d1210430917461d8825735a007e2f2b/world-vision-democratic-republic-of-congo>; see also World Bank (2005: 5)

maintain that its historical subjugation to external interests and meddling is mainly consistent with its geo-strategic economic significance. That is, the Congo's economy, political and social traditions as well as its people's lives worsened during the Leopoldian era's subjugation and gross exploitation by the king's civil servants of the Independent State of Congo, which existed from 1885 to 1908 as a private property of Leopold II<sup>131</sup>, the king of the Belgians<sup>132</sup>. However, this statement is slightly modified by Boya (2010: 35) who maintains that even during and before the medieval era, conflicts in the Congo were evidenced by intertribal warfare.

### **3.3.1. Conflicts of Self-Interest and Conquest in Pre-Colonial Congo**

The Congo's crises and miseries, as in many other African states can be traced to the 15<sup>th</sup> century's culmination of the establishment of trade relations between the African continent and Europe (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 14). As Nelson (1994: 42) observes, the vast part of the equatorial forest region of Zaire (as Mobutu Sese Seko renamed the country) was for centuries free of any external influences and events. Kabemba (2011: 55-57) contends that before the Berlin Conference of 15 November 1884<sup>133</sup> until 26 February 1885, the area, which is currently referred to as the DRC was inhabited by people whose organisations were structured in chieftaincies, kingdoms or empires, and each people were politically and socially organised according to their beliefs and customs. However, local chiefs' focus on self-interest (as evidenced in their active involvement and participation in illegal and shameful trade<sup>134</sup>, such as slavery and corruption, as accomplices of the Portuguese and Spanish in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries) caused tensions, wars and deleterious impacts on the Congolese people, the economy, and political formation of the kingdoms.

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<sup>131</sup> Available at: <http://www.heal africa.org/learn/history-of-the-congo/>; see also Askin and Collins (1993: 73)

<sup>132</sup> Available at: [http://www.enoughproject.org/files/pdf/crisis\\_roots\\_congo.pdf](http://www.enoughproject.org/files/pdf/crisis_roots_congo.pdf); see also Mthembu-Salter (2002: 246); Nzongola-Ntalaja (2004: 7); Cone (2007: 71); Turner (2007: 26-27); Gegout (2009: 232); CAFCO (2010: 70); Free the Slaves (2011: 4); Kabemba (2011: 58-61); Congressional Research Service (2014: 4)

<sup>133</sup> The Berlin Conference was held between 15 November 1884 and 26 February 1885. The Conference was attended by delegates from 14 different states, namely Austria-Hungary, Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Turkey and the United States. Its main objective was to resolve war tensions between imperial powers caused by heated colonial competition in the African continent and to determine the trade rules. See Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, *The Congo from Leopold to Kabila: A people's History* (New York: Zed Books Ltd, 2002) p. 17; Claude Kambuya Kabemba, *Democratisation and the Political Economy of a Dysfunctional State: The Case of the Democratic Republic of Congo*, (PhD Thesis: University of Witwatersrand, 2011) p. 57-58. Available at: <http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10539/10462/Kabemba'sThesis.Democratization%20and%20Political%20Economy%20of%20Dysfunctional%20State.The%20case%20of%20the%20DRC.pdf?sequence=2>

[Accessed: 29 May 2013]. .

<sup>134</sup> Available at: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/belgium-annexes-congo-free-state>

As Boya (2010: 38-39) elucidates, external forces started being implicated in Congolese affairs due to international wars, which generated insecurity in the Congo as early as 16<sup>th</sup> century. As an attempt to strengthen their own defences against potential domestic and external enemies, the Congolese kings had to seek alliances with the Kings of Portugal, Holland, Spain and France to obtain muskets and gunpowder from Europe<sup>135</sup> (Hochschild, 1999: 12). Albeit being recognised as a legitimate state with diplomatic ties with some European powers and the Vatican, the kingdom continued to be the scene of open rebellions and revolts, plots, betrayals and palace coups, as well as numerous attempts to assassinate the kings through poisons or other methods. Alliances with Portugal and other European forces later translated into establishing trading posts along the coastal areas of the Congo. In 1665, established trading posts permitted the kings of Portugal to impose their will on the Congolese and to conquer their territory; they even applied force when needed (Boya, 2010: 38-39).

The Kongo Kingdom made the first contacts with the Swahili-Arabs of Zanzibar and Nyamwezi traders (from the region now known as the United Republic of Tanzania) in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, with whom they traded and raided for slaves and ivory (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 14-15). The Swahili-Arab traders introduced Islam and Kiswahili to the Congo and sold thousands of Congo people into slavery in the Indian Ocean region, the Arab world and the Orient. The slave trade in the Congo in the 1830s affected approximately 13 million and 250 thousand Congolese; overall, every year, almost 50 000 men, women, and children were taken from the Congo to the New World<sup>136</sup> (Kabemba, 2011: 57).

### ***3.3.2. The Congo's Foreign Policy before Independence***

The destiny of the Congo's foreign policy seems to have mostly been shaped by external forces. Beginning in the late 1870s, the Congo Kingdom was renamed Congo Free State (CFS) after being colonised by Leopold II, King of the Belgians (Maeresera, 2012: 109). Leopold was certain that Belgium needed colonies to ensure its prosperity<sup>137</sup> (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 15-16). He was intrigued by the findings of Henry Morton Stanley, the British-born American journalist, who travelled across the African continent from Zanzibar to the mouth of the Congo River between 1874 and 1877. Leopold started his African venture in

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<sup>135</sup>See also Boya (2010: 38-39)

<sup>136</sup>For more details about the Congo's contact with the external world, see the Library of Congress, *A Country Study: Zaire (Former)* (Washington D.C: The Library of Congress, 2010) Chap 1. Available at: <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/zrtoc.html#zr0019> [Accessed: 22 May 2014]

<sup>137</sup>Also available at: <http://www.religioustolerance.org/genocong.htm>; see also Ascherson (1999: 136)

September 1878 with Stanley by his side to create the king's authority in the Congo basin. Stanley returned to Central Africa in 1879, where he created a number of stations along the middle Congo River and signed treaties with several African leaders, thus providing the king with sovereignty in the areas justifying his claims to the Congo basin's territories and resources in the Central Africa<sup>138</sup> (Carpenter, 2012: 3).

Before the Berlin Conference of 1885, the Congo Basin, due to its potential natural resources, such as ivory, copper and rubber, was the centre of major disputes and contentions between major powers<sup>139</sup> (Kabemba, 2011: 57-58). Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 15) avers that it was the Congo's immensely rich potential, which after Stanley's journey came to the attention of King Leopold II of Belgium. Since he was aware of the existing tension between the great powers and Belgium's limited power compared to the other European powers (such as Great Britain, Germany and France), he utilised his diplomatic skills to disguise his colonial agenda as a humanitarian enterprise for scientific research and development in Central Africa<sup>140</sup> (Kabemba, 2011: 58). Suffice to say that Leopold succeeded in outmaneuvering his rivals. Given that external interests in the Congo's rich natural resources have fuelled conflicts since 1884, it is scarcely surprising that the Congo question is frequently on the international political agenda (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 20).

As mentioned above, Leopold convincingly presented himself as a humanist in order to outmaneuver other European powers. As he maintained,

The slave trade, which still exists over a large part of the African continent, is a plague spot that every friend of civilisation would desire to see disappear. The horror of traffic, the thousands of victims massacred each year... the still greater number of perfectly innocent beings who, brutally reduced to captivity, are condemned en masse to forced labour... makes our epoch blush (quoted in Kabemba, 2011: 57-58).

Indeed, Leopold promised Congress participants that he would act as the guardian of Western interests in the Congo<sup>141</sup> (*Ibid*, 59).

However, after the Berlin Conference, once king Leopold II perceived himself as being in full control of the Congo in 1888, he changed his strategic plan (Kabemba, 2011: 59). Carpenter (2012: 3) shows that, in order to safeguard his personal interests, Leopold hired an

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<sup>138</sup>See also Ascherson (1999: 103-104); Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 15-16); and Trautman (2013: 30)

<sup>139</sup> Available at: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/belgium-annexes-congo-free-state>; See also Ascherson (1999: 134)

<sup>140</sup>See also Gann and Duignan (1979: 35); Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 15)

<sup>141</sup>See also Gann and Guignan (1979: 35)

international cast of adventures and mercenaries, led by Henry Morton Stanley, to plunder the country's resources<sup>142</sup>. The high cost of expeditions, encompassing steamboats, armaments, expenses for lobbying and public relations, meant a huge financial investment in his project; the king was thus in need of money to repay loans and to invest in the economic development of Belgium (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 20).

King Leopold first introduced the CFS administration as a strategic way to attain his international agenda (Carpenter, 2012: 3). Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 21) avers that Leopold's strategy was enabled by Stanley and other CFS agents who collaborated with the Swahili-Arabs by providing them with freed slaves as labourers and soldiers in exchange for money. However, competition over the control of ivory led Leopold to alter his Arab policy from collaboration to confrontation. As a result, between 1892 and 1894, Leopold authorised a war against Swahili-Arabs for economic and political power, which he disguised as a Christian anti-slavery crusade<sup>143</sup>.

Seen from a realist perspective, the anti-slavery conferences funded by the king were strategically aimed to mislead other imperial powers about his true intentions in Central Africa (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 20-21). As Carpenter (2012: 3) corroborates, CFS agents applied much terror and violence to extract wealth through quasi-slave labour<sup>144</sup>. In other words, they committed crimes against humanity. Kabemba (2011: 59) argues that the orders to use forced labour, death or extended punishment derived directly from the King. As he reiterated: "death or extended punishment [should] be considered when they misbehaved and became rebellious, because they mainly understood force or violence best... they were not like us, and for that reason deserved to be ruled" (quoted in Kabemba, 2011: 59-60).

The pillage of Congolese natural resources was exercised through forced labour, especially in the rubber plantations, and millions of Congolese perished (Kabemba, 2011: 60). The invention of the pneumatic or inflatable rubber tyre in 1887-88 resulted in a high demand for rubber on the world market (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 21-22). As such, the king utilised his powers of eminent domain to appropriate lands, and in the beginning of 1891, a law, which required the Congolese to supply labour, rubber and ivory to Leopold's agents was

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<sup>142</sup> See also Nzongola-Ntalaja (1999: 66); Jensen (2012: 32)

<sup>143</sup> Also available at: <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/zrtoc.html#zr0019>

<sup>144</sup> Available at: <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/belgium-annexes-congo-free-state>; see also Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 20-21)

established in the Congo<sup>145</sup> (Jensen, 2012: 33). Elephants were killed in large numbers due to their ivory, which was greatly in demand abroad for piano keys and other goods. Consequently, villages, which were unwilling or unable to meet the assigned daily quotas of production, were exposed to rape, arson, bodily mutilation and murder<sup>146</sup> (Carpenter, 2012:3).

As opposed to the free trade provisions of the Berlin Act, Leopold proceeded to implement an economic system governed by the royal family and a few powerful trusts<sup>147</sup> (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 21). During his rule of the CFS, the state's mineral wealth was exploited for the benefit of the Belgians rather than Congolese (Maeresera, 2012: 107). Nearly 10 million Congolese people lost their lives<sup>148</sup> due to repression, diseases, starvation, exhaustion and exposure<sup>149</sup> (Carpenter, 2012: 4).

### ***3.3.3. The Congo's Foreign Policy During the Colonial and Cold-War Periods***

In 1908, the Congo was transformed from Leopold's personal fiefdom to a Belgian colony administered by the Belgian government<sup>150</sup> (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 26). Such a transfer of power from the Belgian monarch to the Belgian government did not, however, markedly alter the Leopoldian legacy of economic exploitation, political repression and cultural oppression<sup>151</sup> (Cone, 2007: 71).

After the Belgian government took control from Leopold II, the Congo was forgotten by other major powers until the Second World War, when it played a crucial role with its copper, diamonds, rubber, cotton, and its uranium, which were of great strategic value to the allies (Kabemba, 2011: 62). As the Belgian colonial minister in 1945-46 put it:

During the war, the Congo was able to finance all the expenditures of the Belgian government in London, including diplomatic service as well as the cost of our armed forces in Europe and Africa, a total of some 40 million pounds. In fact, thanks to the resources of the Congo, the Belgium government in London had not to borrow a shilling or a dollar, and the Belgian gold reserve could be left intact (quoted in Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 29).

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<sup>145</sup> Available at: [http://www.yale.edu/gsp/colonial/belgian\\_congo/](http://www.yale.edu/gsp/colonial/belgian_congo/); see also Gann and Duignan (1979: 117-121)

<sup>146</sup> Available at: <http://www.religioustolerance.org/genocong.htm>; see also Twain (1963: 48-49); Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 20-21)

<sup>147</sup> See also Askin and Collins (1993: 73)

<sup>148</sup> Available at: <http://www.healafrika.org/learn/history-of-the-congo/>

<sup>149</sup> Available at: [http://www.yale.edu/gsp/colonial/belgian\\_congo/](http://www.yale.edu/gsp/colonial/belgian_congo/); see also Askin and Collins (1993: 73); Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 22); Daley (2007: 13)

<sup>150</sup> See also Slade (1961: 2); Heym (1963: 22-23); Gann and Duignan (1979: 158); Dembour (2000: 17)

<sup>151</sup> See also Heym (1963: 23); Askin and Collins (1993: 74); Nzongola-Ntalaja (2004a: 7); Daley (2007: 13); and Jensen (2012: 34)

The Belgian government, therefore, delegated exploitation of Congolese resources to its civil service especially the foreign affairs and defence ministries (Maeresera, 2012: 107). As Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 29) enunciates, the colony was required to serve the war effort (*l'effort de guerre*), which, once again, resulted in deleterious economic and social impact on the Congolese people. Hunger, starvation and death decimated families, as the people were constantly harassed by the security forces. Similar to the Congolese leadership under Leopold II, the Belgium colonial power was by and large a profitable venture, driven by its financial interests especially after the discovery of mineral deposits in Katanga (Schwartzberg as cited in Kabemba, 2011: 63).

### *The Cold-War Era*

Despite the departure of the Belgians from the Congo, (which was granted independence from Belgium in 1960) the state's strategic mineral resources, especially its large uranium deposits continued to attract Western nations and to be exploited by Mobutu and his close cronies who worked with them<sup>152</sup> (Maeresera, 2012: 107). According to Nzongola-Ntalaja (1999:65), "The long-standing interest of major Western countries in the Congo thus relates primarily to the strategic importance of the country geographically and economically." The United States and its allies adopted strategies to work very closely with Mobutu (Maeresera, 2012: 108). These strategies aimed at preventing Congo, led by Lumumba, from joining forces with the Soviet Union and its Eastern bloc allies. Patrice Lumumba was assassinated because the Washington regime was dedicated to preventing him from giving the Soviet Union access to Congolese uranium<sup>153</sup> (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 95).

As Maeresera (2012: 108) avers, the United States government and other western states' aims to prevent the Soviet Union and other communists from having close amity with any of the Congolese post-independent political leaders during the Cold-War were even manifested on the Congolese soil. The American government's plans of thwarting the Soviet Union influence in the Congo had been reinforced by the US construction of the Kamina Air Force

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<sup>152</sup>See also Daley (2007: 144)

<sup>153</sup>For all the details concerning the United States' plots to assassinate Lumumba due to his pro-communist agenda, see the United States Senate Report, entitled '*Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders: An Interim Report of the Select Committee to Study Government Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities*', (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1975) available at: [https://archive.org/stream/allegedassassina00unit/allegedassassina00unit\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/allegedassassina00unit/allegedassassina00unit_djvu.txt) [Accessed: 22 May 2014]; see also, Document 8 published by the United States Department of State, '*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964-1968, Volume xxiii, Congo, 1960-1968.*'(Washington D.C: United State Department of State, 2013) available at: <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v23/d8> [Accessed: 22 May 2014]

Base in the Eastern Congo. This Air Force Base was one of the most strategic military airbases in Sub-Saharan Africa due to its capacity to accommodate US military aircrafts, for instance, the B52 Bombers. The United States, hence, established this base during the Cold War as a pre-emptive policy against the Soviet Union and its allies; the base was commanded and serviced by US military service personnel (Chinyanganya as cited in Maeresera, 2012: 108).

### *The Congo and Multinational Corporations*

Imperial rivalries between Belgium and Great Britain in the Congo, especially over the Katanga region and its economy, played a substantial role in shaping its history (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 30). As Williams (2011: 32) notes, the Belgium Multinational Corporations operating in Katanga, for instance, the *Union Minière du Haut Katanga*, had for years extracted diamonds, copper and uranium to the tune of “staggering wealth”. However, the British South Africa Company (BSAC) established in 1899 posed a threat to Leopold’s Congo venture as it had a royal charter to govern and exploit regions north of the Cape and the Transvaal and to extend all the way to Katanga (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 30). To avoid competition and confrontation, the *Union Minière du Haut Katanga* resolutely worked closely with Tanganyika Concessions (Tanks), a British Company, which was also connected with Anglo-American, the Rhodesian Selection Trust, and the British South African Company. There were allegations that these corporations might have actively planned and financially supported the Katanga secession before the Congo gained its independence<sup>154</sup> (Williams, 2011: 32-35). Thus, as this section of the chapter has amply demonstrated, a combination of Western governments and Multinational Corporations<sup>155</sup> retained their interest and interference in the post-independence Congo.

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<sup>154</sup>See also House (1978: 127-128); Kalb (1982: xxii); Ross (2005: 9); Daley (2007: 144)

<sup>155</sup> A number of studies demonstrate the role played by Multinational Corporations in fuelling civil wars whether by dealing with rebel forces, or states implicated in the conflicts in developing states. For instance, Luke Anthony Patey, “State Rules: Oil Companies and Armed Conflict in Sudan,” *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No.5 (2007): pp.997-1016 offers a remarkable analysis of such behaviour during the Sudanese civil wars. Dena Montague, “*Stolen Goods: Coltan and Conflict in the Democratic of Congo*,” Global Witness, “*Faced with a Gun What Can You Do?: War and the Militarisation of Mining in Eastern Congo*,” and Global Witness, “*The Hill Belongs to Them: The Need for International Action on Congo’s Conflict Minerals in Trade*” bring the discussion to the DRC. Chapter four of this research shows how illegal cooperation between MNCs and rebel groups, or other belligerents involved in the First and Second DRC civil wars worsened the conditions of the state, which was already a failed state.



### 3.4. The First Post-Independence Congo Wars

The deployment of the *Opération des Nations Unies au Congo* (ONUC) from 1960 to 1964 was a function of the fragile political revolution of the Congo (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 94) after its independence from Belgium on 30 June 1960<sup>156</sup> (Reno, 2006: 43). As explained above, the victory of Patrice Lumumba, who combined a militantly nationalist leadership with a strong national constituency, was regarded as a serious impediment to the Belgian strategic interests and a threat to the Western alliance's global interests. Two weeks after independence had been proclaimed, Prime Minister Lumumba was challenged by a nationwide mutiny by the army and a secessionist movement in the Katanga province supported by Western mining interests<sup>157</sup> (Newbury, 2012: 133).

#### *The Katanga Secession War, 11 July 1960-14 January 1963*

The Katanga secessionist movement dates back from the colonial period under the Congo Free State (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 2). Weiss (2000: 22) maintains that in the 1960s, ethnicity played a substantial role in influencing the character of the political parties developed in the period leading to independence, which caused the Katanga secession<sup>158</sup>. Unlike Lumumba's Congolese National Movement (*Mouvement National Congolais*, MNC), which advocated national unity and transcended ethnic affiliation<sup>159</sup>, the other major party, the *Confédération des Associations Tribales du Katanga* (CONAKAT), created on 4 October 1958, aimed to defend the interests of the "authentic Katangans" against the threats of "strangers" (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 3). Hence, while Lumumba had support from the North Katangan Luba, Moïse Tshombe, who organised the Katangan secession with much help from Western right wing circles, was supported by the South Katangan Lunda<sup>160</sup> (Weiss, 2000: 22).

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<sup>156</sup> Available at: [https://archive.org/stream/allegedassassina00unit/allegedassassina00unit\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/allegedassassina00unit/allegedassassina00unit_djvu.txt); <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1961-1968/congo-decolonization>; see also Clarke (1968: 21-23); House (1978: 60-71); Scarnecchia (2011: 64); Trautman (2013: 31); and Congressional Research Service (2014: 4-5)

<sup>157</sup> See also Kalb (1982: 4-7); Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 94); and Scarnecchia (2011: 64)

<sup>158</sup> Available at: <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1961-1968/congo-decolonization>; see also Ndikumana and Emizet (2003: 3-5); and Jensen (2012: 36)

<sup>159</sup> Available at: <http://www.congoforum.be/en/congodetail.asp?subitem=21&id=147996&Congofiche=selected>; see also Slade (1961: 67)

<sup>160</sup> Leonce Ndikumana and Kisangani Emizet in *The Economics of Civil War: The Case of the Democratic Republic of Congo*, (2003 Working Paper Series 65), show that whereas initially Lumumba opted for the cooperation of the independent Congo with its former colonizers and other Western states for the sake of preserving national sovereignty, Tshombe was used by Belgium to advance its interests, p5. Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, in *The Congo from Leopold to Kabila: A People's History* (New York Zed Books, 2002) in accordance with Ndikumana and Emizet argue that Lumumba's nationalist views and socialist leanings led to animosities from the Belgium government as well as from the United States and even the United Nations, 94-95. Nzongola-

According to Ndikumana and Emizet (2003: 5-6), Congolese soldiers' expectation to replace Belgians in leadership positions in the army was a major trigger factor of the secessionist war<sup>161</sup>. This idea was strongly rejected by Belgian officers; as Gérard Jansens, commander-in-chief of the Congolese army, announced on 5 July 1960: "Before independence = after independence."<sup>162</sup> However, following the revolt of some Congolese elements of the army against their Belgian officers, Prime Minister Lumumba resolved to take steps to Africanise the officer corps by naming Kasaiian Victor Lundula<sup>163</sup> as commander-in-chief of the army, renamed *Armée Nationale Congolaise* (ANC), Colonel Joseph Désiré Mobutu<sup>164</sup> as chief of staff, and the Belgian Colonel Henniquian as chief adviser of the ANC. Despite these changes, the ANC mutiny continued to spread all over the state<sup>165</sup> (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 98).

On 8 July 1960, Congolese forces within the ANC in Kongolo started to revolt against their Belgian officers (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 6). A day after, Congolese civilians in Kabolo attempted to prevent the departure of a train evacuating Belgians. Having lost control of the situation in the Congo, as panic started to rise among Europeans, Belgium decided on 10 July to intervene militarily by employing forces to preserve European lives and properties<sup>166</sup> (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 99). Tshombe took that same moment to proclaim the autonomy of Katanga from the Congo<sup>167</sup> (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 6). He argued for the need to restore order and to prevent political anarchy in the central government from affecting the economic and administrative system of Katanga. On 11 July 1960, Tshombe

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Ntalaja stresses that Lumumba's nationalism cost him life since he represented an obstacle to Belgium interests and a threat to the Western agenda in Congo, *Ibid.* As Ndikumana and Emizet put it, Tshombe, however, was believed to be the best protector of Belgium interests in Congo, *loc. cit.* Nzongola-Ntalaja emphasizes that Belgium and its allies encouraged Tshombe to declare Katanga's independence from Congo, 99. The outcome was a secessionist war as discussed along this chapter.

<sup>161</sup> Available at: <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1961-1968/congo-decolonization>; see also Clarke (1968: 18-19); House (1978: 50); Kalb (1982: 4); Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 98)

<sup>162</sup> Available at: <http://www.congoforum.be/en/congodetail.asp?subitem=21&id=147996&Congofiche=selected>; see also Dayal (1976: 5)

<sup>163</sup> Victor Lundula was by qualification a medical practitioner, who had served in the *Force Publique*, the colonial army, and as a burgomaster. See Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, *The Congo from Leopold to Kabila: a people's History* (New York: Zed Books Ltd, 2002) p. 98.

<sup>164</sup> *Idem.* Mobutu occupied a ministerial position in the prime minister's office before being appointed as colonel and chief of staff of the *Armée Nationale Congolaise* (ANC).

<sup>165</sup> Available at: <http://www.congoforum.be/en/congodetail.asp?subitem=21&id=147996&Congofiche=selected>; see also House (1978: 50-52)

<sup>166</sup> Available at: <http://www.congoforum.be/en/congodetail.asp?subitem=21&id=147996&Congofiche=selected>; see also Dayal (1976: 6); Clarke (1968: 20); Ndikumana and Emizet (2003: 6); and Jensen (2012: 37)

<sup>167</sup> See also Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 99)

declared the total independence of Katanga<sup>168</sup> (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 6) [See Appendix A (iii)].

Despite failing to officially recognise the Katangan secession, Belgium strongly supported Tshombe's government militarily, financially and diplomatically<sup>169</sup> (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 6). As Williams (2011: 34) elucidates, Belgium's assistance to Katanga subsumed all sorts of military and other assistance, which encompassed "advisers" and a 7,000-man Belgian army, supplemented by mercenaries from Rhodesia, South Africa and Britain. The Belgian forces on the following day of 11 July disarmed all non-Katanga soldiers and expelled them from the province, while retaining only the natives to the province for service in the Katanga Gendarmerie (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 99). Belgian troops also impeded attacks by the ANC against Katanga, and the Belgium state established consular amity with Tshombe's regime<sup>170</sup> (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 6).

After Lumumba was assassinated, Belgium's support for the Katangan secession was withdrawn as the security conditions became complex at all levels (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 7). Belgian officials now argued that Congolese territorial integrity should be preserved in a federal system. However, Tshombe refused to join in Ileo's post-Lumumba government, and insisted on separation, which led to diplomatic isolation of his Katangan government. In addition, the Katangan secession faced antagonism between self-declared "authentic Katangese" and other ethnic groups, which led to the declaration of the secession of Northern Katanga by the Association of the Luba People of Katanga (BALUBAKAT) in January

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<sup>168</sup> Also available at: <http://www.congoforum.be/en/congodetail.asp?subitem=21&id=147996&Congofiche=selected>; see also Abi-Saab (1978: 8)

<sup>169</sup> See also Abi-Saab (1978: 24-25); Jensen (2012: 37)

<sup>170</sup> Various scholars allege that the United Nations also appeared to have been involved in the complicity of the Katangan secession. Although Lumumba and Kasa-Vubu appealed to the United Nations on 12 July for the dispatch of UN troops to protect the Congo from external aggression and to restore its territorial integrity, their request was ignored. In contrast, Britain, France and South Africa, Belgium, the United States and the United Nations took the Katangan secession as an opportunity to undermine Lumumba's power, whose regime and ties with the states of the Socialist bloc threatened their interests in the Congo. Western powers and their allies viewed that no pro-Western government could come to power in the Congo with Lumumba in the office. Lumumba, thus, was assassinated on 17 January 1961 in a plot orchestrated by Belgium. For a concise discussion, see Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, *The Congo from Leopold to Kabila: A People's History* (New York: Zed Books Ltd, 2002), p. 109-112; Leonce Ndikumana and Kisangani Emizet, *The Economics of Civil War: The Case of the Democratic Republic of Congo* (2003, Working Paper Series 63), available at: <http://scholarworks.umass.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?art> [Accessed: 23 August 2013], p. 7; Louisa Carpenter, *Conflict Minerals in the Congo: Blood Minerals and Africa's Under Reported First World War* (2012, Working Paper), available at: <http://web.mit.edu/mission/www/m2016/pdf/Congo.pdf> [Accessed: 8 February 2014], p 4; also visit <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1961-1968/congo-decolonization> [Accessed: 28 May 2014]

1961<sup>171</sup> [See Appendix A (iii): Map of Territorial Control in Congo (1960-61)]. Following the Katangan turmoil, the United Nations passed a resolution in February calling for initiatives to stop the war in the Congo by authorising the use of force when required<sup>172</sup> (Scarnecchia, 2011: 64-65). The United Nations forces defeated Tshombe's rebels in January 1963<sup>173</sup> (Castellino, 2011: 123).

*The Kasai Secession War, 8 August 1960-2 February 1962*

According to Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 101), although many secession initiatives in post-independence Africa had to do with inter-ethnic differences, the history of the South Kasai, which took place in August 1960 and its major political impact on the state, is not very well known. Nevertheless, Ndikumana and Emizet (2003: 7) maintain that the Kasai secessionist movement's motivation shared some similarities with that of Katanga because of their focus on ethnicity, political orientation and the struggle for the control of mineral resources<sup>174</sup>.

The overall origins of the secession of South Kasai started with the political exploitation of inter-ethnic rivalries<sup>175</sup> in the Kasai province by the leaders of the two wings of the *Mouvement National Congolais* (MNC), Patrice Lumumba of the MNC-L and Albert Kalonji and Joseph Ngalula of the MNC-K<sup>176</sup> (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 8-10). The split in the MNC occurred in July 1959, and the conflict involved two of the three subgroups of the Luba-Kasai, known as Lulua and Luba. Southern Kasai, known as "the diamond state", was the single largest producer of industrial diamonds, averaging about one-third of world total output. As opposed to the Katangan secession, the Kasai region had no Belgian settlers, and thus did not receive any support from the West (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 8).

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<sup>171</sup> Available at: <http://www.congoforum.be/en/congodetail.asp?subitem=21&id=147996&Congofiche=selected>

<sup>172</sup> *Idem*; see also Dayal (1976: 17); House (1978: 130-133)

<sup>173</sup> For more details of different operations launched by UN forces, visit <http://www.congoforum.be/en/congodetail.asp?subitem=21&id=147996&Congofiche=selected>; and Georges Abi-Saab, *The United Nations Operation in the Congo 1960-1964* (London: Oxford University Press, 1978); see also Clarke (1968: 36-37); House (1978: 134); Mazrui (1995: 29); Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 101-116); and Ndikumana and Emizet (2003: 7) for similar analyses.

<sup>174</sup> Available at: <http://www.congoforum.be/en/congodetail.asp?subitem=21&id=147996&Congofiche=selected>; see also Slade (1961: 63-64)

<sup>175</sup> Belgian authorities and the Catholic Church's ethnic polarisation from 1925, 1930 and 1952 respectively served as the brain trust for Lulua political activities, and provided overall direction for ethnic cleansing against the Luba in 1959-60. In order to justify the divide-and-rule policy, the colonialists invented stereotypes between Luba and Lulua and in 1958 the advent of political parties and electoral politics helped to enforce the antagonisms between two groups, whose political affiliations were divided along ethnic lines. See Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, *The Congo from Leopold to Kabila: A People's History* (New York: Zed Books Ltd, 2002), p. 103-104.

<sup>176</sup> See also Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 102-105)

The Lulua-Baluba war erupted after months of heightened ethnic tensions on 11 October 1959<sup>177</sup> (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 104). Once defeated in the Kasai province and his failure to win an influential position in the national government, Kalonji proclaimed the secession of South Kasai on 8 August 1960 from Lubumbashi, where he benefited from encouragement and support from Tshombe and the Belgians. Kalonji had made use of the central government's chaos and the interethnic conflicts between the local to declare the secession of Southern Kasai (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 10). The idea had been to establish the Autonomous State of South Kasai [See Appendix A (iii)], as a sovereign entity, with Kalonji as president and Ngalula as Prime Minister<sup>178</sup> (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 105).

As Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 106) contends, with the fall of Lumumba, the moderate leaders in Kinshasa had not rushed to take action against Kalonji's rebellion. The South Kasai rebellion, in the context of an increasingly militaristic regime, waged war against all peripheral groups that were unwilling to accept Luba leadership, especially the Kanyok. However, the secession was terminated in September 1962 by a military revolt conducted by the chief of staff of Kalonji's own army, with the support of central government in Kinshasa. The Congolese Army's (ANC) move into the Katanga province was intended to crush the secession<sup>179</sup> (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 106). The secessionist war, eventually put down by government forces, led to the death of between 3,000 and 7,000 thousand people; the given statistics encompassed combat deaths and ethnic massacres (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 10). The UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold characterised the massacres committed by the Congolese national army against unarmed Luba-Kasai in and around the city of Mbuji-Mayi as an act of genocide<sup>180</sup>. South Kasai, therefore, became in 1962, one of the 21 provinces of the Congo established by law; in 1966, it survived President Mobutu's reduction of provinces to 8 and was enlarged to encompass the rest of Kabinda district and the entire Sankuru district and was renamed Eastern Kasai (Nzongola-Ntalaja.2002: 102-106).

### **3.5. The Second Post-Independence Congo Wars**

According to Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 121), as in many states in Africa, the first major armed struggles against the postcolonial leaderships took place between 1963 and 1968 in the Congo. After Patrice Lumumba's assassination, the Congo experienced another rise of radical

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<sup>177</sup>See also Ndikumana and Emizet (2003: 9)

<sup>178</sup>Available at: <http://www.congoforum.be/en/congodetail.asp?subitem=21&id=147996&Congofiche=selected>

<sup>179</sup>Available at: <http://www.congoforum.be/en/congodetail.asp?subitem=21&id=147996&Congofiche=selected>

<sup>180</sup>President Kasa-Vubu used the same allegations as reasons to dismiss Prime Minister Lumumba from his position, be placed under house arrest and assassinated a few months later. See Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, *The Congo from Leopold to Kabila: A People's History* (New York: Zed Books Ltd, 2002), p. 102.

opposition to a Western-oriented, moderate regime. Before Lumumba's assassination, his followers had established a government in Kisangani and its control and authority started accruing in the Eastern part of the state with remarkable military victories in Kasai and Northern Katanga [See Appendix A (iii)]. Despite Lumumba's death, his followers continued to push the central government in Kinshasa to conclude military alliance with the secessionist forces. On 27 February 1961, the interim Prime Minister Joseph Ileo signed military accord with Tshombe and Kalonji in Kisangani. It was followed by another military agreement ratified in July 1961 after regular meetings between Mobutu and representatives of the two secessionist governments in Brazzaville and Lubumbashi (*Ibid*: 122).

The threat of a Lumumbist victory was successfully averted by the US-UN Congo mission strategy, which arranged the formation of a government of national unity in August 1961 under Adoula<sup>181</sup> (Bechtolsheimer, 2012: 27). Although Gizenga, Christophe Gbenye and others entered the Adoula government<sup>182</sup>, there were still challenges to a lasting reconciliation because of the manipulation and pressures of General Mobutu, who had become a veritable kingmaker due to his external ties, and to taking his directives from the United States' Embassy in Kinshasa. The American government, not only supported Adoula, it was in many ways part of his government. Adoula's tutors and advisers, therefore, sought to find ways to diminish the Lumumbists' influence in the new government before dismissing them<sup>183</sup> (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 10).

It was in October 1963 that the decision to eliminate most prominent Lumumbists from the political scene took place (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 122-125). In accordance with American desires, the Binza Group<sup>184</sup> started using pressure on Kassa-Vubu and Adoula to attain their set objectives. In January 1962, the deputy prime minister was sent to the Island prison of Bula-Bemba; on 29 September 1963, the president dismissed the legislature for the second

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<sup>181</sup>See also House (1978: 127); Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 122); and Ndikumana and Emizet (2003: 10)

<sup>182</sup>Available at: <http://www.congoforum.be/en/congodetail.asp?subitem=21&id=147996&Congofiche=selected>

<sup>183</sup>See also Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 122-125)

<sup>184</sup>The Binza Group was a group made of five men: Mobutu, Nendaka, Bomboko, Albert Ndele and Damien Kandolo. They had no solid political base, but later on joined only secondary positions in their respective parties. They were members of the unilateralists in the moderate camp and controlled most of the central state machinery, especially its key organs, which had close link with the external sources of assistance and pressure, such as the military, the security police, the foreign ministry, the central bank and the internal affairs apparatus. They had been called the Binza Group due to their regular meeting in the Kinshasa suburb of Binza, where they owed private residences. This group was politically powerful due to its close collaboration with the American, Belgian and UN officials, and imposed its will on President Kasa-Vubu and Prime Minister Adoula. See Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, *The Congo from Leopold to Kabila: A People's History* (New York: Zed Books Ltd, 2002), p. 125; Gotz Bechtolsheimer, *Breakfast with Mobutu: Congo, the United States, and the Cold War, 1964-1981* (London: The London School of Economics and Political Science, 2012), available at: <http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/403/>[Accessed: 18 May 2014], p. 27.

time. Four days later, the Lumumbists created an umbrella organisation planned to coordinate their struggle to regain state power, the CNL<sup>185</sup> (Stearns, Verweijen and Baaz, 2013: 16-17).

### *The Kwilu Rebellion under Pierre Mulele*

Pierre Mulele was the leading figure in the Kwilu rebellion while the National Liberation Council (*Conseil National de Libération*, CNL) planned for the Eastern rebellion (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 10). Mulele<sup>186</sup> was the first prominent Lumumbist to return to Congo in 1963, and the first to engage in a revolutionary struggle against a neo-colonial state in Africa. He spent almost 15 months in Cairo as the external representative of the Gizenga government, and about 15 months in the People's Republic of China, where he received training in revolutionary guerrilla warfare between April 1962 and July 1963. Returning to Kwilu through Kinshasa, Mulele spent almost six months doing the groundwork for a revolutionary struggle and training the first group of partisans<sup>187</sup> (Bechtolsheimer, 2012: 27).

The support for the Kwilu rebellion, as opposed to the Katangan and Kasai rebellions, was more motivated by militant ethnicity than by control of provincial mineral resources<sup>188</sup> (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 11). Since Mulele was from the Mbunda ethnic group and Gizenga was an ethnic Mpende, both groups found in the Kwilu province claimed to be marginalised by the central government. The Mulelist rebellion's ethnic orientation thus facilitated recruitment of combatants, but also hampered the rebellion from gaining ground beyond the Mbunda-Mpende territory<sup>189</sup> (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 129).

As Ndikumana and Emizet (2003: 11) argue, since the rebellion could not count on external economic interests for support, it relied entirely on the local population for the war effort. After his return from exile in July 1963, Mulele mobilised and trained his combatants, who were bound to a rigid code of discipline (*Ibid*). The ranks of disciplined cadres, which he

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<sup>185</sup>See also Nzopngola-Ntalaja (2002: 125-125)

<sup>186</sup>Pierre Mulele was one of the dedicated Lumumba supporters. He served as Secretary General of the Gizenga's radical wing of the *Parti Solidaire Africain* (PSA) in 1959-1960, as Minister of Education in Lumumba's government, and as representative of the Gizenga's Stanleyville provincial government in Egypt and in socialist states. Mulele was, during his life in Peking, influenced by Maoist ideology. When the Stanleyville government ended in August 1961, Mulele refused national reconciliation and opted for exile, during which he perfected his revolutionary ideology and thought for his strategic plans of a peasant guerrilla force. For him, the central government had sold out to the West's interests, thus he advocated a second "liberating independence", an idea which received massive support from rural people. See Léonce Ndikumana and Kisangani Emizet, *The Economics of Civil War: The Case of the Democratic Republic of Congo* (2003, Working Paper Series 63), available at: <http://scholarworks.umass.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?art> [Accessed: 23 August 2013], p. 11.

<sup>187</sup>See also Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 128)

<sup>188</sup>See also Pottier (2002: 17)

<sup>189</sup>See also Fox, de Craemer and Ribeaucourt (1965: 94); Ndikumana and Emizet (2003: 11)

trained for the struggle, were formed by school teachers, nurses, state and company clerks and secondary school students. They were later joined by unemployed urban youths and peasants to form a profoundly popular and rural insurrection. His systematic strategy was informed by a Marxist-Leninist framework of class analysis together with a Maoist tactic of political education and guerrilla warfare. The major task of the Mulelist rebellion was, therefore, grounded on the radical transformation of society from bottom up, on the basis of well-tested values of solidarity in village life<sup>190</sup> (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 128-129).

The Mulelist rebels demonstrated remarkable resistance to government forces despite the rudimentary nature of their military equipment<sup>191</sup> (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 12). As Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 129) shows, the Mulelist forces, after their full-fledged guerrilla war was launched in January 1964, succeeded in controlling a major portion of Kwilu. Their earlier spectacular successes, which made Mulele a living legend all over the Congo, encompassed the killing of an army colonel and commander of the expeditionary force. The Mulelist fighters' military equipment, however, depended largely on hunting rifles and other traditional weapons as well as a small quantity of modern arms and ammunition, which they captured from the enemy during the battle. They never managed to occupy other urban centres around their operational zone, or to expand their units beyond the areas inhabited by the two ethnic groups, which constituted the initial base of the insurrection (*Ibid*). The rebellion was defeated in December 1965, leaving only a few isolated patches of resistance in the rural area (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 12).

#### *The CNL in the Eastern Front*

The CNL was divided by ideological differences and personality conflicts from the start (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 12-13). The PSA led by Gizenga was a group of revolutionary intellectuals, who had been trained in China and shared the same plans as Mulele, who had already started organising his armed struggle when the CNL was launched. However, the MNC-Lumumba led by Christophe Gbenye, tarnished its radical credentials due to Gbenye's warrant to arrest Gizenga in January 1962 in his capacity as interior minister in the Adoula government and his desire for a government of national unity<sup>192</sup>. These differences over strategy between the adoption for armed struggle and the pursuit for parliamentary politics fuelled a number of personality conflicts among the MNC-L leaders.

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<sup>190</sup> See also Fox, de Craemer and Ribeaucourt (1965: 101)

<sup>191</sup> See also Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 129)

<sup>192</sup> Available at: <http://www.congoforum.be/en/congodetail.asp?subitem=21&id=147996&Congofiche=selected>



Hence, two separate groups, CNL/Bocheley and CNL/Gbenye were created. The CNL/Bocheley, whose plans for guerrilla struggle were linked with the Mulele revolutionary fronts of the East and elsewhere in the West, ended in failure<sup>193</sup> (Bechtolsheimer, 2012: 27-28).

In contrast, the CNL/Gbenye, after opting for armed struggle in 1964, went on to become the largest and most successful military front (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 131). Ndikumana and Emizet (2003: 13) observe that the CNL sent both Gaston Soumialot and Laurent Kabila to Burundi with the objective of preparing the rebellion in the East in January 1964<sup>194</sup>. Kabila conducted military operations in North Katanga and Soumialot in Kivu. When the rebellion was launched in the Ruzizi plain South of Bukavu on 15 April 1964, the *Simba* (Lions in Kiswahili), the rebel forces of the Popular Liberation Army (*Armée Populaire de Libération*, APL) took control of Uvira a month later (*Ibid*). In addition, the rebellion spectacularly recaptured state power in a vast area of the state formerly under control of Lumumbists and covered more than the entire half of the Congo minus South Kasai and the Southern portion of Katanga (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 131).

The make-up of the rebellion's forces was constituted by the large number of young people, mostly uneducated and unemployed Congolese (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 13). As Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 133-134) specifies, due to the lack of sufficient political preparation, the spontaneous mobilisation of partisans, and the rapid turn of events, the CNL leaders recruited from among clerks, primary schoolteachers, ex-soldiers, ex-policemen and leaders of the youth party wings. Thus, they encountered difficulties in controlling their middle cadres effectively, since for most of these partisans, the struggle (the second independence) meant enjoying the fruits of independence formerly monopolised by the Kinshasa regime. With their undisciplined hordes of *Simba*, on the other hand, the youths indulged in excessive brutality and savagery in their conquered territory and killed professionals and medium-to high-level civil servants due to their intellectual capacity, thus, presumed reactionary tendencies<sup>195</sup> (*Ibid*).

The APL forces, however, advanced quickly and faced little resistance from government troops (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 13). According to Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 132), CNL

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<sup>193</sup> See also *loc. cit.* Nzongola-Ntalaja

<sup>194</sup> See also Clarke (1968: 83); Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 132); Pottier (2002: 18)

<sup>195</sup> Also available at: <http://www.congoforum.be/en/congodetail.asp?subitem=21&id=147996&Congofiche=selected>

commanders relied primarily on the youth umbrella of the MLC-L and allied parties, and tactically surprised the state army and police forces by attacking with lightly armed gangs of youths prone to substance abuse to overpower them and to take control of urban and industrial centers in rapid succession. Unlike the Mulelist guerrilla strategy of training cadres for a protracted war, the CNL launched quick and large-scale military operations for the cities and towns' control, as well as provincial capitals and major commercial centres (Bechtolsheimer, 2012: 28).

Despite their remarkable success on the ground, the *Simba* weaponry was very limited (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 132). Apart from some modern weapons captured or picked up from the defeated or fleeing enemy, they had virtually no modern weapons. Their basic arsenal was made of traditional weapons and magico-religious resources assumed to make them invincible. There were beliefs that the *Simba* possessed magical powers fabricated from a traditional potion, which was purported to transform enemy bullets into water<sup>196</sup> (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 13). Regardless of the high casualties among the rebels, their tactics intimidated some poorly motivated and frightened government troops, who ended up by believing in the invulnerability of the *Simba* to their bullets. After a couple of major victories, all CNL commanders simply sent a telegraph to announce their next invasion, and the state security forces would abandon all the garrisons leaving their arms behind to be picked up by the *Simba*<sup>197</sup> (Bechtolsheimer, 2012: 29).

The state authority's rapid breakdown throughout the entire region created an administrative and military anarchy that the CNL had to control with its liberation army, the APL (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 132-133). Within a two months and half period, the APL occupied the areas of North Katanga, Maniema, Sankuru, the entire Eastern province and some parts of the Equateur province<sup>198</sup> (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 13). By November 1964, more than half of the national territory was under the CNL's control. The fall of Kisangani to the APL on 4 August 1964 marked the biggest victory of the campaign. On 5 September 1964, a "People's Republic" was established headed by Gbenye as President, Soumialot as Minister of Defence, Olenga as armed forces commander, and Thomas Kanza as foreign minister (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 132). By the end of September, the APL had

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<sup>196</sup> See also Lemarchand and Martin (1974: 15); Mamdani (2001: 257); Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 132)

<sup>197</sup> See also Nzongola-Ntalaja (2003: 132)

<sup>198</sup> *Idem*

conquered nearly half of the Congo's territorial area<sup>199</sup> (Bechtolsheimer, 2012: 28) [See Appendix A (ii)].

The major motivation and source of financing for the rebellion derived mainly from the endowment of the rich Eastern provinces' mineral resources. In this sense, the Eastern rebellion shared numerous characteristics with the Katanga and South Kasai secessionist wars. Furthermore, the Eastern rebellion's support was (like the Katangan, Southern Kasai, and Kwilu rebellions) defined in ethnic terms, mostly dominated by the Bakusu and Batetela (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 13-14).

### *External Intervention and the Defeat of the Rebellion*

The Adoula government continued to experience instability and its army was unable to control the rebellion<sup>200</sup> (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 14). In consequence, the United States (U.S.) and Belgium suggested the replacement of Adoula by Tshombe in July 1964. As Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 135) clarifies, U.S. and Belgian policies changed due to regular defeat of the state army by the *Simba*, the impending UN troops' departure by 30 June 1964, as well as the continued threat of invasion from Angola by the Katanga gendarmes of Tshombe. Tshombe was thus believed to be the only person who could attain national reconciliation and control the rebellion<sup>201</sup> (Bechtolsheimer, 2012: 35).

Tshombe and his mercenary army, the former Katangan gendarmes, relied on the assistance of Belgian mercenaries and advisers and with backing from the United States and Belgium<sup>202</sup> (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 14). However, long before Tshombe and his troops started their intervention at the national level, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had already begun (in 1964) to engage in paramilitary campaign against the Kwilu and Eastern insurrections (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 136). Since the CNL support derived from Nasser's Egypt and the Eastern bloc states, the counterinsurgency was organised by the United States, and encompassed Belgium military experts and other mercenaries, who operated together with some elite government units, namely the Katanga gendarmes recalled by Tshombe from their exile in Angola (Turner, 2013: 69). As Kisangani was the nerve centre and symbol of the revolutionary movement's success, the counterrevolutionary forces attacked it with the

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<sup>199</sup> See also Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 132-133); and Ndikumana and Emizet (2003: 12-13)

<sup>200</sup> See also Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 135)

<sup>201</sup> Available at: <http://www.congoforum.be/en/congodetail.asp?subitem=21&id=147996&Congofiche=selected>; see also Clarke (1968: 41); Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 136); and Ndikumana and Emizet (2003:14).

<sup>202</sup> Available at: <http://www.congoforum.be/en/congodetail.asp?subitem=21&id=147996&Congofiche=selected>; see also Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 136-138); and Bectolsheimer (2012: 35)

combination of land and air offensive in the “*Opération Dragon Rouge*”, which culminated in the US-Belgian paratroops’ drop on 24 November 1964 (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 136).

‘Operation Red Dragon’ basically was conducted when the *Simba* unsuccessfully attempted to use some 70 white hostages to stop the advance of Tshombe’s forces<sup>203</sup> (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 14). Tshombe’s forces, which defeated the CNL regime, benefited from external support comprising military and financial assistance mainly from the United States, Belgium, and Israel (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 138). ‘Operation Red Dragon’ succeeded in ending Gbenye’s “People’s Republic” on 24 November 1964 when Kisangani was conquered, but with a death toll of about 200 Europeans and some 46,000 Congolese (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 14).

The CNL leaders retreated from the provincial capitals but continued their fights in rural areas (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 14). As Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 138) underlines, the CNL’s magico-religious arsenal, which was successfully used to defeat Mobutu’s forces, proved ineffective against the more disciplined Katanga gendarmes, and against foreign mercenaries whose worldviews differed from theirs. Equally, the military strategy of frontal attacks by thousands of CNL untrained and poorly equipped rebels was futile against a well-armed enemy (*Ibid*). The government forces, therefore, fully controlled the provinces of Orientale and Maniema in 1967. The APL retained limited occupation of some rural areas in Southern Kivu, such as Fizi and Baraka, under Kabila’s command. The *Simba* were completely defeated by 1968 (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 14).

### **3.6. The Mobutu Regime**

The Shaba wars were the first major obstacles to Mobutu’s leadership (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 15). Joseph Mobutu was the President of Congo from 24 November 1965 until 17 May 1997<sup>204</sup> (Trautman, 2013: 8). Between 1965 and 1997, he was “the big man”, the undisputable master of the state, a new king of the Congo, and the true successor to King Leopold as the state’s owner and its resources. He renamed himself Mobutu Sese Seko in 1971 and changed the state’s name to ‘Zaire’, renamed Katanga ‘Shaba’, and Africanised the names of major cities (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 15). He also comprehensively privatized the state in a way which secured its assets for himself, relatives, cronies and clients

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<sup>203</sup> Available at: <http://www.congoforum.be/en/congodetail.asp?subitem=21&id=147996&Congofiche=selected>; see also Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 138)

<sup>204</sup> Available at: <http://www.congoforum.be/en/congodetail.asp?subitem=21&id=147996&Congofiche=selected>; see also Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 141); Oppong and Woodruff (2007: 14)

(Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 141). In general, the overall strategy adopted by Mobutu after he seized power in 1965 was to stabilize the state for two main reasons: consolidating his power as sole ruler and to engage in an extreme form of cronyism and patronage for the benefit of a miniscule elite<sup>205</sup> (Carpenter, 2013: 3-4).

The Mobutu regime started as a military dictatorship with the entire military high command constituted by the junta (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 141). Mobutu's power was, as found elsewhere in post-independence Africa, absolutely governed by a one party dictatorship under the authoritarian control of a single individual<sup>206</sup> (Jensen, 2012: 38). In an attempt to consolidate his power, Mobutu fused and monopolised party and state institutions and placed his ethnic group in key governmental positions, while alienating other political elites; this resulted in interregional and interethnic antagonisms (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 15). In addition, from 1974, Mobutu adopted strict initiatives to eliminate the political influence of the security forces (land forces, air force, coast guard, and the gendarmerie), and ensured that the national army (*Forces Armées Zairoise*, FAZ) were underpaid, irregularly paid, and under equipped. The most important or élite units, however, were placed under the personal command of his loyal and reliable collaborators, who were mostly from his own Ngbandi ethnic group. At the same time, the Mobutu regime used corruption (Vinck et al., 2008: 10) and excessive force with ferocity and regularity, gross human rights abuses, including assassinations, extrajudicial executions, massacres of unarmed civilians, and banishment to remote penal colonies to attain its objectives<sup>207</sup> (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 141-143).

However, for the most part, Mobutu owed his rise to power and his regime's astonishing longevity to the external sponsorship and backing by the United States and its Western allies<sup>208</sup> (Congressional Research Service, 2014: 5). Mobutu's regime originated in and was sustained by the strategic calculations of Western powers (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 142). Thus, the longevity of Mobutu's pernicious regime is attributable to *realpolitik*, which was a singular feature of the Cold War era. Mobutu's coup of 24 November 1965 was engineered by external forces determined to promote Western interests in the Cold War, and to fight

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<sup>205</sup> See also Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 141); Ulloa, Katz and Kekeh (2009: 10); and Kabemba (2011: 12)

<sup>206</sup> Available at: <http://www.congoforum.be/en/congodetail.asp?subitem=21&id=147996&Congofiche=selected>; see also Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 141).

<sup>207</sup> See also Ndikumana and Emizet (2003: 15-16); and Trautman (2013: 33)

<sup>208</sup> Available at: <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1961-1968/congo-decolonization>; see also Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 141-142); Ndikumana and Emizet (2003: 15); Reno (2006: 50); and Trautman (2013: 35)

against the spread of communism in Africa<sup>209</sup> (Trautman, 2013: 11). This strategic role earned him not only economic assistance, but also a licence to engage in repression and human rights violations (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 15). Moreover, it was due to the help of the US-Belgian intervention of 24 November 1964 that the CNL regime and forces had been eliminated at Kisangani. In several areas of the state, however, the Mulele and Kabila rebellions in Kwilu and South Kivu were still threatening the national army, which, incapable of effectively executing its counterinsurgency, relied heavily on external supports, whose presence in the Congo revealed the regime's weakness and inability to stand on its own (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 146). Indeed, the internal weakness of the regime is indicated by two Shaba wars in succession.

#### *The First Shaba War (8 March 1977-8May 1977)*

The FLNC was the second and most important of the two exile groups, which threatened the Mobutu regime with the two Shaba wars of 1977 and 1978<sup>210</sup> (Turner, 2013: 70). The FLNC fighters, who were usually identified as "Katanga gendarmes", were made of the elements who fought the Katanga secession in 1963 in the Eastern rebellion who fled to Angola where they worked for the Portuguese in the fight against liberation movements<sup>211</sup> (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 19). The Katangese preferred the MPLA to UNITA and FNLA because the latter groups were backed by Mobutu, their enemy (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 183). The Katangan gendarmes, once unemployed after the MPLA's victory in Angola, sought to return to Congo and reclaim their region (already renamed Shaba) under the banner of the Front for the National Liberation of Congo (*Front pour la Libération Nationale Congolais*, FLNC)<sup>212</sup> (Turner, 2013: 69).

The FLNC forces encountered little resistance from the disorganised, under-equipped and demoralised government troops<sup>213</sup> (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 19). As Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 183) elucidates, on all occasions, Mobutu's army was decisively routed. The FLNC's objective was to seize control of the strategic mining centre of Kolwezi, expand their control to the entire mineral-rich province of Katanga, and finally to strangle Kinshasa economically. However, FLNC leaders, like the CNL in the 1960s, did not effectively organise their

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<sup>209</sup> Available at: <http://www.congoforum.be/en/congodetail.asp?subitem=21&id=147996&Congofiche=selected;> see also Askin and Collins (1993: 74); Prunier (2009a: 77); and Ulloa, Katz and Kekeh (2009: 16)

<sup>210</sup> See also Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 182-184)

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid*, 183

<sup>212</sup> See also Ndikumana and Emizet (2003:19)

<sup>213</sup> See Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 183-184)

strategic offensive, not least because they failed to take into account the strength of the external forces protecting Mobutu and his regime (*Ibid*). Before the FLNC rebels took entire control of the mining town of Kolwezi, Mobutu's regime was rescued by Morocco in 1977, and France (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 19) and Belgium in 1978 supported by the United States (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 184).

#### *The Second Shaba War (3 May-13 June 1978)*

An outcome of the first Shaba war was to demonstrate the Mobutu regime's weakness and its inability to maintain itself in the face of armed opposition without foreign military backing (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 184). As a response to his army's failure to handle the FLNC, Mobutu took brutal action against army officers, dozens of whom were brutally tried and handed various sentences ranging from several years in prison to execution. Encouraged by Mobutu's failures, the declared intention of the second Shaba invasion, launched on 3 May 1978 by former Katangan gendarmes<sup>214</sup>, was to occupy Shaba province. The FLNC forces took control of the mining town of Kolwezi on 13 May 1978 (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 19).

The United States accused the Soviet Union and Cuba of sponsoring to the FLNC rebellion although there was no evidence to corroborate those allegations (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 20). The rest of the Congo, during the second Shaba war, however, remained relatively calm. Mobutu and his regime were once again rescued by 700 troops of a French contingent and about 1,700 Belgian military forces with logistic support from the American Air Force<sup>215</sup> (Stearns, Verweijen and Baaz, 2013: 18). Due to the East and West Cold-War strategic interests in Zaire, Mobutu's regime remained stable for a while. However, Zaire, as many other states around the world, was preparing to face a new era in the security area brought with the demise of the Cold War.

### **3.7. The Post Cold-War Era: From Mobutu's Zaire to Kabila's DRC**

The end of the Cold-War era had a significant impact on regime security in Zaire, as was the case elsewhere in Africa in the early 1990s<sup>216</sup>. After Mobutu became president in 1965, Zaire was utilised by the United States and its allies as a battlefield of the East-West Cold-War. Backed by the West, Mobutu played a strategic role in the Cold War game against the Soviet

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<sup>214</sup> Available at: <http://www.congoforum.be/en/congodetail.asp?subitem=21&id=147996&Congofiche=selected>

<sup>215</sup> See also Ndikumana and Emizet (2003:20)

<sup>216</sup> Available at: <http://www.cps.org.za/drc.htm>

Union and its allies (Kabemba, 2011: 85). His regime was politically and militarily protected by his domestic cronies and retainers, as well as by benefiting from external support from the United States, France and Belgium. Whenever Mobutu's regime faced any threats from armed insurgents, the United States, France and Belgium intervened militarily to save it from falling (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2004a: 8). However, now that the Cold-War was over, Mobutu was expected by Western powers to preserve regime security in the absence of Western assistance (Kabemba, 2011: 102).

Prior to the demise of the Cold-War, Mobutu had introduced patronage, and had institutionalised corruption, brutality and exploitative practices in Zaire. In order to safeguard his predatory regime, Mobutu relied on ethnic divisions to manipulate Zairian people, mostly by alienating other ethnic groups in favour of his Ngbandi ethnic group. He used the same divisive tactics to consolidate his power by excluding non-Ngbandi from positions of command. An adverse effect of his policy was that it threatened the state's security by exposing it to interregional and interethnic rivalries. Instead of building a strong military that would defend Zairian borders, Mobutu deliberately weakened the Zairian Army to minimise its threat to his regime (Atzili, 2006: 169-171). Also, during the Mobutu regime, human rights abuses and corruption were pervasive and the state, on several occasions, did not hesitate to use excessive force by assassinating even massacring unarmed civilians. As Emizet (2000a:269) concisely corroborates,

The massacre of innocent civilians, extrajudicial killings and disappearances were common in Congo under Mobutu's rule. Several thousands of people were killed for their faith, tribal origin, political conviction, or because Mobutu could not co-opt them into his political regime. On the average, hundreds of political prisoners were killed every year by Mobutu's soldiers in several secret prisons throughout the country.

On most occasions, those mistreatment and exploitation were, often, orchestrated by the officers and soldiers of the national army (Fritzen, 2007: 1). Simply put, throughout the Cold-War era, Mobutu paved the way to a culture of impunity in Zaire<sup>217</sup> in order to secure his power (Trautman, 2013: 9-10), and his interests at all costs. As Herman J. Cohen, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa clearly observes,

To say that Zaire has a government today would be a gross exaggeration. A small group of military and civilian associates of President Mobutu, all from the same ethnic group, control the city of Kinshasa by virtue of the loyalty of the 5,000-man

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<sup>217</sup> Available at: <http://www.cps.org.za/drc.htm>; see also Askin and Collins (1993: 74); and Congressional Research Service (2014: 5)



Presidential Guard known as the DSP. This same group also controls the Central Bank which provides both the foreign and local currency needed to keep the DSP loyal. While the ruling group has intelligence information about what is going on in the rest of Zaire, there is no real government authority outside the capital city (Quoted in Ross, 2005: 20-21).

The dawn of the 1990s became a nightmare to Mobutu's regime, which had to face both internal and external threats and pressures. Zairian people rose against his regime in 1992 mostly because of his bad leadership. They manifested their anger through massive riots and pillages<sup>218</sup> (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 20). Nevertheless, as Mobutu's regime was intolerant of any political reforms in Zaire, its reaction was intransigent and violent to the extent that almost 300 Zairians were killed by Mobutu's death squads, the Israeli-trained Special Presidential Division (*Division Spéciale Présidentielle*, DSP) and the German-and Egyptian-trained *Garde Civile* in Kinshasa (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2004a: 9). In the meantime, most African states, especially those in the Great Lakes region of Africa, held grievances against Mobutu due to his sympathy and support for their respective rebel groups (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2004a: 13). Western powers, especially the United States and France, were now concerned with human rights violations by Mobutu's regime. Thus, in the post-Cold War era, Mobutu's support from the super powers depended on conditions, such as progress towards democratisation in Zaire (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 21). As a result, Mobutu's failure to cooperate with Western powers led to the withdrawal of their support. This change in Western foreign policy<sup>219</sup> (Askin and Collins, 1993: 80) gave opportunities to his internal and external enemies to get rid of his dictatorship, that Zairian people and most African leaders had come to despise (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2004a: 13). Zaire was openly a failed state.

### **3.7.1. The Rise and Fall of Kabila's Regime**

The rise of Laurent-Desire Kabila, as the president of Zaire, renamed the Democratic Republic of the Congo after the 1996-97 First Congo War, was hoped by local and international actors, especially neighbouring states, to be a new era for the DRC and regional security. Kabila, a revolutionary leader in the Congo's guerrillas between 1960 and 1985, was chosen as the leader of *the Alliance des Forces Democratique pour la Liberation du Congo* (AFDL) by local and regional leaders in the propaganda war utilised to liberate the Congo from Mobutu. However, as in his BALUBAKAT resistance against Moise Tshombe in the 1960-63 Katanga secession, in the 1964-66 eastern Congo insurrections, and in the 1967-85

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<sup>218</sup>See also Vogel (2012: 11)

<sup>219</sup>See also Ndikumana and Emizet (2003: 20)

guerrilla army, the new leader of the Congo proved ineffective, as confirmed by the Argentine-born Cuban revolutionary Ernesto Che Guevara<sup>220</sup> (Nzonola-Ntalaja, 2004a: 13) and unable to take responsibility for the security of the Congo. Laurent-Désiré Kabila's short period in power had not achieved local and regional hopes for a promising, strong and stable DRC capable of protecting its borders, providing domestic security, and ensuring political goods to the Congolese people.

The DRC, under Kabila leadership, continued, instead, to exhibit many characteristics similar to Mobutu's failed state. Like Mobutu, he reinforced ethnic divisions through the dominance of members of his native province of Katanga and Congolese of Rwandan ancestry, thus creating resentment among other Congolese people (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 23). Kabila's regime relied on Rwandan forces, which were in command of the Congo national army, to secure his power (Kalonda-Kanyama, 2010: 4). Consequently, the visibility of Banyamulenge in key state positions combined with the large number of foreign soldiers in the DRC led Congolese people to view Kabila's regime as an instrument of Rwanda and Uganda (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 23). Consequently, in late July 1998, Kabila took a decision to dismiss his Rwandan chief of army, to end military cooperation with Rwanda and Uganda, and to expel all foreign forces from the DRC<sup>221</sup> (Turner, 2013: 54).

However, the decision taken by Kabila was not welcomed by his previous allies, who resolved to confront his weak regime with war described as the biggest African war of modern times. Laurent-Desiré Kabila was assassinated in January 16, 2001 and was replaced by his son Joseph Kabila, who took control of a failed state, which was partly controlled by rebel forces and foreign troops since the eruption of the on-going 1998 Congo War.

### **3.8. Preliminary Conclusion**

As demonstrated by the literature, the nature and genesis of armed conflict in the DRC comprises a complex mixture of social, economic and geopolitical factors. Since colonial times and continuing into the post-independence and Cold War eras, different actors with different strategic interests and goals have played key roles in perpetuating violence, oppression and exploitation in the DRC. A realist analysis, which focuses on state capacity to

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<sup>220</sup> Ernesto Che Guevara, during his guerrilla camp in 1965, had received only one visit made by Laurent-Desire Kabila after he had spent seven months in the Congo bush. It is argued that Kabila had traditionally, even during his days of guerrilla, preferred comfortable life by opting for pleasures of city lights as oppose to the rigor and tough life of the bush. See Nzongola-Ntalaja, *From Zaire to the Democratic Republic of the Congo* (Uppsala: Nordic African Institute, 2004a), p. 13.

<sup>221</sup>See also Olsson and Fors (2004: 325); Likoti (2006: 135); Kalonda-Kanyama(2010: 4); and Congressional Research Service (2014: 5)

defend its territorial integrity clearly shows that the DRC's lack of capacity to maintain order and security within its own borders, combined with its immense wealth of resources has made it a target of international fortune hunters and brokers. Morgenthau (as cited in Beckman, 1994: 17) insists that:

International politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power. Whatever the ultimate aims of international politics, power is always the immediate aim. Statesmen and peoples may ultimately seek freedom, security, prosperity, or power itself. They may define their goals in terms of religious, philosophic, economic, or crucial ideal... But whenever they strive to realise their goal by means of international politics, they do so by striving for power.

The next chapter investigates key factors behind the DRC's failure to exercise its power as a sovereign state in relation to other states and non-state actors with specific reference to a post-Cold War armed conflict from 1996 to 2006.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### A FAILED STATE ANALYSIS: THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, 1996-2006

*The Rwandese genocide and its consequences did not “cause” the implosion of the Congo basin and its periphery. It acted as a “catalyst,” precipitating a crisis that had been latent for a good many years and that later reached far beyond its original Great Lakes locus. This is why the situation became so serious. The Rwandese genocide has been both a product and a further cause of an enormous African crisis: its very occurrence was a symptom, its non-treatment spread disease.*

-G rard Prunier, *Africa’s World War: Congo, the Rwandan Genocide, and the Making of a Continental Catastrophe*. 2009 p. xxxi

#### 4.1. Introduction

The 21<sup>st</sup> century has marked a shift to a post-Westphalian world (Newman, 2009: 422), during which security challenges are more likely to result from failing or weak states, or even non-state actors<sup>222</sup> (Kostovicova and Dzelilovic (2009: 1). The early 1990s’ academic and policy debates on state failure (Francois and Sud, 2006: 142) have overlooked state failure as a regional phenomenon, which occurs in clusters of geographically contiguous states (Wolf, 2011: 951).

As a response to high costs of human lives and goods, and insecurity resulting from state failure, this chapter examines why the DRC has crumbled during those past years of civil wars<sup>223</sup> (See Appendix D: Origins of Conflicts) and unrests. With the demise of the Cold War, many states have failed due to the lack of the support they benefited from the super-powers as proxy allies<sup>224</sup> (Fund for peace, 2013: 9). Also, people around the world’s awareness of their rights of self-determination<sup>225</sup> have made significant impact on states

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<sup>222</sup> See also Carment (2003: 408); Adamson (2005: 32-36); Brooks (2005: 1165-1168); Eizenstat, Potter and Weinstein (2005: 134); and Cojanu and Popescu (2007: 113)

<sup>223</sup> Appendix C offers the perspectives of ordinary Congolese residents of the Eastern provinces in North and South Kivus and the Iturbi district in the Oriental Province on the causes of the conflicts in the DRC during a cross-sectional survey conducted in those regions.

<sup>224</sup> See also Carment (2003: 407); Adamson (2005: 36); Cojanu and Popescu (2007: 115); Cone (2007: 31); and Iqbal and Starr (2007: 14).

<sup>225</sup> The dual notion of self-determination derives from the “liberal” concept of “popular sovereignty” premised on the idea that individual citizens have the capacity to govern themselves as a political community and exercise self-rule in their capacity as citizens of the state. For discussion, see Roland Axtmann, 2004. *The State of the State: The Model of the Modern State and its Contemporary Transformation*. *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 25, No. 3, pp. 259-279, available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1601667> [Accessed: 22 May 2013], p. 262; see also Ndey Haddy Jeng, 2012. *Why Has the Westphalia State Failed to Function Effectively in Africa?* (Berlin: Institute for Cultural Diplomacy), available at: <http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/academy/content/pdf/participant-papers/2012-07-iscda/Why-Has-the-Westphalia-State-Failed-to-Function-Effectively-in-Africa--Ndey-Haddy-Jeng.pdf> [Accessed: 3 April 2014], p. 6.

(Carment, 2003: 407). These are some of the debated factors, which explicate why many states have failed around the world. As the next chapter shows, failed states' impact on regional security can be deleterious<sup>226</sup> (Center for Global development, 2004: 1). Simply put, failed states can instigate environments, in which the accretion of regional conflicts and pernicious costs on neighbouring states' economy and security cannot be prevented<sup>227</sup> (The Stanley Foundation, 2009: 45). The next sections, hence, highlight some key factors, which have prompted the DRC to state failure between 1996 and 2006.

#### **4.2. The Regional Factors in the DRC's State Failure**

Political and social events in the African Great Lakes region had significant effects on the DRC's social and political stability. This is, especially, true of the roles played by some of these states in the eruption of consecutive civil wars (1996 and 1998). According to Weiss (2000: 2), the genocide of Tutsi in Rwanda and its immediate effects, followed by domestic and foreign motives and actions against Mobutu's regime, combined with the style of Kabila's leadership were among the contributing factors to the current turmoil. In contrast, Lemarchand (2009: 146) stresses the politico-ethnic conflicts in Burundi, which began after President Melchior Ndadaye's assassination, as the major stimulus of both the Rwandan genocide, and the outbreak of the Congo's second civil war in August 1998. There is disagreement between these two perspectives about which event caused the other to occur; however, as Simbi (2012: 41) demonstrates, historically, both Burundi and Rwanda's social, political, and security aspects have simultaneously affected each other since before these states gained independence in 1962<sup>228</sup>.

Both Rwanda and Burundi are geographically situated in the African Great Lakes Regions<sup>229</sup>. These two states, as well as the DRC, were governed by Belgium as a single

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<sup>226</sup> See also Hamre and Sullivan (2002: 85); and Crocker (2003: 35)

<sup>227</sup> Available at: <https://www.fas.org/irp/threat/pub45270chap4.html#2>; see also Rwantabagu (2001: 43); Rice (2003: 1); Potter (2004: 14); Francois and Sud (2006: 141); Patrick (2006: 44); Cojanu and Popescu (2007: 114); Flynn (2007: 6); and Congressional Research Service (2008: 8)

<sup>228</sup> See Lars Huening, Explaining the Congo Crisis, *African Historical Review*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (2009), p. 142-143, in which he provides a brief analysis of the reciprocal effects of one state upon the other between post-colonial Rwanda and Burundi. Faith R. Simbi, *Genocide, Citizenship and Political Identity Crisis in Postcolonial Africa: Rwanda as Case Study* (M.A Dissertation, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2012) goes on into detailing accounts of the effects of the Rwanda inter-ethnic conflicts of the late 1950s on Burundi and those of the early 1970s and 1990s predominantly of Burundi on Rwanda leading to genocidal actions in both states, p. 37-47. See also Patricia Daley, Ethnicity and Political violence in Africa: The Challenge to the Burundi State. *Political Geography*, Vol. 25, No. 6 (2006), p. 667 for similar argument.

<sup>229</sup> The International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) identifies twelve states namely Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, Republic of Congo, the DRC, Kenya, Rwanda, Sudan, Republic of South Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia as its member states. Available at: <http://www.norad.no/en/tools-and-publications/publications/publication?key=131851>

colonial entity known as *Le Congo Belge et le Ruanda-Urundi*. The Congo, Rwanda and Burundi were administered by a single governor-general, whose office was located in Kinshasa, and protected by a single army, the *Force Publique*. Rwanda and Burundi, as was the Congo, were governed by the Belgium colonial strategy to divide and rule. Consequently, the colonial ideology of racism introduced in both Rwanda and Burundi resulted in the enforcement and legitimisation of existing pre-colonial ethnic conflicts between Hutu and Tutsi<sup>230</sup> (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 217). After independence, Rwanda and Burundi were ruled by mono-ethnic single party governments supported by national armies. These regimes increasingly used genocidal ideologies (mostly based on ethnicity) to retain and enhance their power, specifically in the interests of Hutus in Rwanda and Tutsis in Burundi (Simbi, 2012: 37-39).

#### ***4.2.1. The Burundi Pandemic: Effects on the DRC***

The crises in Burundi were among the causes of armed conflict in the DRC (Prunier, 2009: 58). These causal events began after the failed putsch and murder of Burundian President Melchior Ndadaye on 21 October 1993<sup>231</sup> (Turner, 2013: 66), an event which triggered on-going conflict in Burundi<sup>232</sup> (Nyinawumuntu, 2009: 22). The net result was a general crisis of all the state's institutions as the army accused many civil servants appointed by the *Front pour la Démocratie au Burundi* (FRODEBU) of having organised the massacres of Tutsi that followed the assassination (Southall, 2005: 110). The failed coup actually led the entire state into a triple political struggle for months, enabling the Tutsi-dominated army to undermine the FRODEBU leadership; consecutive strikes and demonstrations organised by Tutsi civil society extremists against their assumed “*génocidaire government*”; and Hutu extremists who decided to take arms against Hutu moderates in the government, who, in their eyes were considered as “stooges”<sup>233</sup> (Reyntjens, 2009: 36).

Due to the political and social turmoil in Burundi, four different Hutu guerrilla groups emerged, all aiming to overthrow the formerly Tutsi-dominated Burundi government<sup>234</sup> (Prunier, 2009: 59). Among the oldest groups was the *Parti pour la Libération du Peuple*

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<sup>230</sup> Available at: <http://www.beyondintractability.org/casestudy/bekken-rwandas-hidden-divisions>; see also Rwantabagu (2001: 50); Nsabimana (2005: 5); Daley (2006: 670)

<sup>231</sup> Available at: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/burundi.htm>; See also Mthembu-Salter (2002: 125); Magnerella (2005: 814); Nsabimana (2005: 6); Southall (2005: 105-106); Daley (2006: 658); Lemarchand (2006: 7); Likoti (2006: 143); and Simbi (2012: 45)

<sup>232</sup> See also Rwantabagu (2001: 48); Prunier (2009: 58)

<sup>233</sup> See Mthembu-Salter (2002: 125); Orogun (2002: 34); and Prunier (2009: 59)

<sup>234</sup> See also International Crisis Group (2000: 18-19); and Mthembu-Salter (2002: 126)

*Hutu* (PALIPEHUTU), created in 1980, but split in 1993 due to its members conflicting ethno-racial agendas<sup>235</sup>. The PALIPEHUTU's split gave birth to the *Forces Nationales de Libération* (FNL). There was also the *Front de Libération Nationale*, a guerrilla group based in Nyanza-Lac in the Southern region of Burundi. Finally, the *Conseil National de Defense de la Democratie* (CNDD) had a military wing, the *Forces de Défense de la Démocratie* (FDD) (Southall, 2005: 110). These groups, however, diverged considerably on several points, including the principle of negotiation, and ethnic tolerance<sup>236</sup> (Prunier, 2009: 59).

As an attempt to avoid the Rwandese experience of genocide against the Tutsi people, Burundi became the home of several armed groups, which increased, as time went on, their guerrilla actions, including in the capital city of Burundi, Bujumbura (Prunier, 2009: 60). On the one hand, there were armed groups made of Tutsi militias, *inter alia* the *Imbogoraburundi* ("those who will bring Burundi back"), who were politically linked to the *Parti du Renouveau National* (PARENA) created by the former Burundian President Jean-Baptiste Bagaza; the *Sans Echec* ("those who never fail"); the *Sans Defaite* ("the undefeated"); the *Sans Pitié* ("the pitiless ones"); and the *Sans Capote* ("those who never wear condoms"). On the other hand, there were Hutu militias, namely *Inziraguhemuka* ("those who did not betray") of the FRODEBU; and the *Intagoheka* ("those who never sleep") militants infiltrated by the FDD. Numerous massacres were carried out by both Hutu and Tutsi militias, which ambushed delivery trucks, shot peasants on their way to the market, and tossed grenades into places of worship, in bus parks or in bars<sup>237</sup> (Reyntjens, 2009: 36). Sometimes, the Burundian army killed Internally Displaced People (IDPs) and peasants accused of helping Hutu guerrilla forces. Before ethnic violence began in Burundi, many of youth gangs were bi-ethnic, but split after October 1993 into political parties divided on ethnic lines (Prunier, 2009: 60).

Ethnic conflicts accentuated in Burundi after the violent death of President Cyprien Ntaryamira on 6 April 1994 and crossed the borders to neighbouring Rwanda and Congo<sup>238</sup> (Magnerella, 2005: 815). As the Burundian army attempted to control the situation, both Hutu guerrillas and Tutsi militias raided and counter-raided and in most cases the civilian people suffered a lot more than the combatants<sup>239</sup> (Prunier, 2009: 60). Burundian refugees residing in

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<sup>235</sup> Available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6ad4c74.html>

<sup>236</sup> See also Daley (2006: 671)

<sup>237</sup> See also Daley (2006: 669); and Prunier (2009: 60)

<sup>238</sup> See also Southall (2005: 110); and Prunier (2009: 60)

<sup>239</sup> See also Mthembu-Salter (2002: 127)

Rwanda, recruited and trained by the *Interahamwe*, earned reputations for their extreme brutality during the killings of Tutsi in the 1994 Rwandan genocide<sup>240</sup> (Nyinawumuntu, 2009: 22). However, after the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) took control of Rwanda in July 1994, some two million Hutu refugees fled Rwanda to the Congo, Tanzania, and Burundi, where they injected new tensions between Hutu and Tutsi, while simultaneously posing major security threats to the newly established Tutsi regime in Kigali and the Burundian state. By 1995, cross-national alliance materialized between CNDD-FDD forces and groups made of *Interahamwe* and ex-FAR in eastern Congo<sup>241</sup> (Turner, 2013: 67). Both Burundi and Rwanda, thus, found the military organisation of the Hutu forces in Zaire threatening and intolerable<sup>242</sup> (Nyinawumuntu, 2009: 21) (See Appendix A (iv): Map of Foreign Forces in the DRC).

It is worth noting that armed conflicts in Burundi were and are responsible for numerous costs on human lives. It is estimated that about 350,000 persons lost their lives during the Burundian ethnic conflicts since October 1993<sup>243</sup> (Turner, 2013: 67). Every single month, almost 900 individuals were killed during the first nine months of 1998. An estimated 600,000 Burundians, that is, around 9 per cent of the entire population, had been displaced (Mthembu-Salter, 2005: 131). Hundreds of thousands of Burundians crossed into neighbouring states, such as Rwanda, Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) as refugees. Burundian rebel groups' use of the DRC and Tanzania for insurgent activities, hence, affected Burundi's relations with its neighbours, for security reasons<sup>244</sup>.

#### ***4.2.2. The 1994 Rwandan Genocide: Cause and Continuity in the DRC's State Failure***

The genocide in Rwanda broke out on April 6<sup>th</sup> 1994 after the presidential plane was shot down and killed the then Rwandan President Juvénal Habyarimana and his Burundian counterpart Cyprien Ntaryamira<sup>245</sup> (Reyntjens, 2009: 36). The effect of the shooting down of Habyarimana's plane was to create an out-of-control political situation in Rwanda, after several years of civil war between the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) and the Hutu-dominated *Forces Armées Rwandaises* (FAR) (Vogel, 2012: 11). Although a peace

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<sup>240</sup> Available at: [http://www.beyondintractability.org/casestudy/bekken-rwandas-hidden-divisions#\\_ednref6](http://www.beyondintractability.org/casestudy/bekken-rwandas-hidden-divisions#_ednref6); see also Magnerella (2005: 815); and Lemarchand (2009: 146-147)

<sup>241</sup> See also Lemarchand (2009: 146-147)

<sup>242</sup> See also Schatzberg (1997: 76)

<sup>243</sup> See also Orogun (2002: 34); Kalere (2005: 466); Southall (2005: 106); and Daley (2006: 658)

<sup>244</sup> Available at: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/burundi.htm>

<sup>245</sup> Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/rwanda/education/rwandagenocide.shtml>; see also Human Rights Watch (1996: 13); Emizet (2000b: 165); Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 222); Olson and Fors (2004: 324); Verwimp and Van Vagel (2005: 276); Lemarchand (2009: 116); Vogel (2012: 11); and Niwenshuti (2013: 7)



agreement towards reconciliation between Hutu government and Tutsi opposition had been attained in 1993, it was, however, rejected and prevented by some radical forces within the Rwandese army and the *Interahamwe* militias<sup>246</sup> (Nsabimana, 2005: 6).

The shooting down of the presidential plane and the president's death led the Rwandan army (FAR) and the *Interahamwe* to create countrywide roadblocks, and to kill almost one million Tutsis and moderate Hutus over a three months period<sup>247</sup> (Nyinawumuntu, 2009: 21). Among the victims were the Rwandese Prime Minister Agathe Uwingiliyimana, as well as ten Belgian peacekeepers assigned to protect her and many other moderate Hutu leaders<sup>248</sup>. Statistics estimate that after the shooting down of Habyarimana's plane, which marked the beginning of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, over 10% of the entire Rwandan population and about 75% of the Tutsi minority people perished within one hundred days<sup>249</sup> (Simbi, 2012: 8).

The RPF under Pasteur Bizimungu and Paul Kagame ended the genocide after its military victory and seizure of power in Kigali in July 1994<sup>250</sup> (Vogel, 2012: 12). With the help of France (in a presumed humanitarian intervention "*Opération Turquoise*" from June to August 1994) the Hutu genocide machine made of the defeated Rwandan Armed Forces (FAR) and the *Interahamwe* militia fled to Zaire with all their weapons into the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) camps<sup>251</sup> (Turner, 2013: 54). More than million, or about three quarters of Hutu refugees, among whom were officials from the Hutu Power organisation, who planned the genocide, as well as some Hutu frightened civilians

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<sup>246</sup>Christoph Vogel's publication, *Causes of the Congolese Civil Wars and their Implications for Humanitarian Assistance* (University of Cologne, 2012) draws similar remarks on the conflict effect of the Arusha peace agreement between Hutu government and the Tutsi opposition in 1993, p. 11. Rene Lemarchand, *Consociationalism and Power Sharing in Africa: Rwanda, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, African Affairs*, Vol. 106, No. 422 (2006) clearly demonstrates the causes of the failure of the negotiation process and the breakdown of the Arusha peace agreement in 1993 between both sides of the belligerents in the Rwandan civil war, p. 4-7. See also Human Rights Watch, *Shattered Lives: Sexual Violence during the Rwandan Genocide and its Aftermath* (New York: HRW, 1996), p. 13.

<sup>247</sup> Available at: [http://www.beyondintractability.org/casestudy/bekken-rwandas-hidden-divisions#\\_ednref6](http://www.beyondintractability.org/casestudy/bekken-rwandas-hidden-divisions#_ednref6); see also Human Rights Watch (1997: 9); Nzongola-Ntalaja (1999: 72); Shearer (1999: 99); Emizet (2000b: 165); Melvern (2000: 4); Orogun (2002: 28); Olson and Fors (2004: 324); Nsabimana (2005: 6); Southall (2005: 106); Nest (2006: 20); and Vogel (2012: 11)

<sup>248</sup> Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/rwanda/education/rwandagenocide.shtml>; see also [Human Rights Watch \(1996: 13\)](http://www.beyondintractability.org/casestudy/bekken-rwandas-hidden-divisions#_ednref6)

<sup>249</sup>See also Kuperman (2003: 1); and Niwenshuti (2013: 7)

<sup>250</sup>See also Human Rights Watch (1997: 9); Emizet (2000b: 165); and Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 224).

<sup>251</sup> Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/rwanda/education/rwandagenocide.shtml>; [http://www.beyondintractability.org/casestudy/bekken-rwandas-hidden-divisions#\\_ednref6](http://www.beyondintractability.org/casestudy/bekken-rwandas-hidden-divisions#_ednref6); see also Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 224); Reyntjens (2009: 18); and Stearns, Verweijen and Baaz (2013: 20)

sought shelter in Goma and Bukavu, two Zairian frontier cities with Rwanda<sup>252</sup> (Carpenter, 2012: 7).

### *The Congo Contaminated*

Although the UNHCR and other international donor organisations nourished the refugees, none exercised authority in those camps situated in the Kivu provinces, including the Mobutu regime, the *Forces Armées Zairoise* (FAZ), or the humanitarian organisations<sup>253</sup> (Nest, 2006: 20). High ranking Hutu government officials were given key administrative positions in the camps, which they abused by perpetuating their war strategies (Vogel, 2012: 12). As Nest (2006: 25) argues, “...they controlled the camps”. The so-called “control” was granted to the Hutu government officials by Mobutu since he personally ensured their freedom of movement due to his shared sympathy with their fallen regime<sup>254</sup> (Prunier, 2009: 25).

Under such conditions, ex-Hutu government officials and about 80,000 troops, nearly 6% of the Hutu refugees (Emizet, 2000b: 165), made of the ex-FAR and *Interahamwe*, started to reorganise, train new recruits and buy arms from abroad<sup>255</sup> (Reyntjens, 2009: 18). The *génocidaires* got weapons from their former suppliers, *inter alia*, South Africa, China, former Soviet bloc states and sometimes with assistance from President Mobutu<sup>256</sup> (Prunier, 2009: 27). They, thus, staged repeated attacks across the border into Rwanda against the RPF regime<sup>257</sup> (Turner, 2013: 54), its offices and public institutions, *inter alia* prisons, clinics and schools, increased friction between the security forces and the Hutu population, and created insecurity on the roads<sup>258</sup> (Likoti, 2006: 128). In the first armed infiltration from Zaire into Rwanda (launched on 31 October 1994) the ex-FAR and *Interahamwe* killed more than thirty people in Rwanda, mostly Tutsi and some selected Hutu civilians (Prunier, 2009: 24).

The massive presence of Hutu refugees combined with armed ex-FAR and Hutu militia in refugee camps resulted in negative political and security impact in the then Zaire in two

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<sup>252</sup>See also Emizet (2000b: 165); Draulans and Van Krunkelsven (2002: 37); Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 224); Orogun (2002: 28); Ndikumana and Emizet (2003: 21); Olson and Fors (2004: 324; Nest (2006: 20); Vogel (2006: 20); Cone (2007: 73); and Trautman (2013: 12)

<sup>253</sup> See also Human Rights Watch (1997: 9)

<sup>254</sup>See also Atzili (2006: 188)

<sup>255</sup>See also Human Rights Watch (1997: 10); and Atzili (2006: 186-187)

<sup>256</sup> Available at: [http://www.beyondintractability.org/casestudy/bekken-rwandas-hidden-divisions#\\_ednref6](http://www.beyondintractability.org/casestudy/bekken-rwandas-hidden-divisions#_ednref6); see also Lemarchand (2001: 94); and Atzili (2006: 188)

<sup>257</sup>See also Nzongola-Ntalaja (1999: 72); Orogun (2002: 29); Likoti (2006: 143); Nest (2006: 20); Vogel (2012: 12-13); Stearns, Verweijen and Baaz (2013: 20); and Congressional Research Service (2014:5)

<sup>258</sup> Also available at: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/rwanda.htm>

ways<sup>259</sup> (Beswick, 2009: 336). The first challenge was the presence of the ex-FAR and Hutu militias, who posed a security threat to the new Rwandese government in Kigali as they regularly raided in Rwanda, organised the slaughter of the Tutsi citizens and residents of the Congo<sup>260</sup> (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 224), and continued attempts to make Rwanda ungovernable<sup>261</sup> (Nyinawumuntu, 2009: 23) [See Appendix A (iv)]. These attacks against Rwanda, their continued operations in the DRC alongside with other Congolese militia and armed groups became one of the major causal factors of the eruption of the war between Rwanda and the DRC in 1996<sup>262</sup> (Nyinawumuntu, 2009: 23). Secondly, the massive influx of refugees in North and South Kivu provinces of Congo affected the ethnic balance in the Kivu region in favour of Congolese of Rwandan ancestry, who migrated to Congo in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and 1960s respectively<sup>263</sup> (Nest, 2006: 21). The impact of the Rwandan genocide and its aftermath on the DRC, therefore, raised long-standing ethnic tensions in the provinces of North and South Kivu provinces over land, regional political dominance, and access to state-distributed resources as well as citizenship<sup>264</sup> (Stearns, Verweijen and Baaz, 2013: 20). These social, political, and security effects on the DRC's stability, worsened by the civil wars in Burundi and the Rwandan genocide, are discussed below.

### **4.3. The Impact of Domestic Factors on the DRC's Stability**

The influence of events in neighbouring Rwanda and Burundi considerably affected social and political cleavages and tensions in the Kivus where DRC officials lost control of the region, which became “notoriously difficult to govern” (Nest, 2006: 21). The existing tensions between the *autochtones* (“indigenous” Congolese) and Kinyarwanda speakers over land, citizenship and ethnicity in the North and South Kivu provinces of the DRC were aggravated by the Rwandan genocide and the military victory of the RPF over Hutu power and its militias<sup>265</sup> (Stearns, Verweijen and Baaz, 2013: 20).

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<sup>259</sup> See also Emizet (2000b: 165); Jensen (2012: 40-41)

<sup>260</sup> See also Lemarchand (2001: 94)

<sup>261</sup> Also available at: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/congo-1.htm>

<sup>262</sup> Available at: <http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/rwanda/education/rwandagenocide.shtml>; see also Likoti (2006: 128)

<sup>263</sup> See also Emizet (2000b: 165)

<sup>264</sup> See also Lemarchand (2001: 94); Nest (2006: 20); and Reyntjens (2009: 18)

<sup>265</sup> See also International Crisis Group (2000: 25); Nest (2006: 22); Lemarchand (2009: 7); Carpenter (2012: 6-7); and Congressional Research Service (2014: 8)

### ***4.3.1. The Case of Banyarwanda and Banyamulenge in the Eastern Congo: From Failed Social Contract to State Failure***

Before the arrival of large number of Rwandan Hutu refugees in 1994, the overall North Kivu population encompassed some 3 million Kinyarwanda speakers<sup>266</sup> (Nest, 2003: 20). Some of the Banyarwanda came to the Congo before the drawing of the colonial boundaries in the 19<sup>th</sup> century; others migrated from Rwanda for economic reasons, or as political refugees in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Emizet, 2000b: 165), or had officially been encouraged by the Belgian authorities to join the Congo in the 1930s<sup>267</sup> (Turner, 2013: 52). The Banyarwanda communities are made of Hutu and Tutsi<sup>268</sup> (Prunier, 2009: 48). Their increase in number, which later comprised nearly 40 per cent of the entire population in the Kivu (in certain areas such as Masisi they numbered about 70 per cent), threatened small ethnic groups, *inter alia* Bahunde and Banyanga, who experienced marginalisation from other majority groups such as Banande<sup>269</sup> (Reyntjens, 2009: 16). This led to interethnic conflict and discrimination in the Eastern Congolese provinces of Kivus.

#### *'Otherness,' Citizenship Issues and Inter-ethnic Rivalries*

The phenomenon of “otherness” in the DRC, especially in the Kivu provinces, was intimately related to changes in the national and regional political environments (Lemarchand, 2009: 11). The idea of “otherness” was first used by the Furiru during the period of decolonisation to expel the Banyamulenge and Rundi of the Ruzizi valley from the Congo as they did to Europeans (Turner, 2007: 85). Similar tactics were later adopted by the Lulua and Lunda against Luba-Kasai<sup>270</sup> (Emizet, 2000a: 274). Ethnic clashes between Luba and Lunda displaced about 500,000 people in 1992, due to the long historical resentments dating back to the colonial period (*Ibid*). In the Kivu provinces, however, resentments between the Bembe and other ethnic groups against the Banyamulenge started in the 1964 revolt when some Banyamulenge joined the rebellion to protect their families. Other ethnic groups in the region viewed the Banyamulenge as traitors for having helped Kinshasa<sup>271</sup> (Stearns, Veweijen and Baaz, 2013: 16).

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<sup>266</sup>See also Human Rights Watch (1997: 10)

<sup>267</sup>See also Human Rights Watch (1997: 10); Nest (2006: 20); and Prunier (2009: 48)

<sup>268</sup>See also Human Rights Watch (1997: 10); Nest (2006: 21)

<sup>269</sup>See also Prunier (2009: 48-49)

<sup>270</sup>See also Turner, 2007: 85)

<sup>271</sup> Many Banyamulenge joined the Congolese Army, or simply turned against the rebellion, because the Fuliru, Bembe and Vira rebels, after their defeat in the 1966 Congo civil war, started imposing taxes on Banyamulenge

The “otherness” phenomenon was later exhibited in the interaction between the state and the Banyamulenge and other Rwandophones. Despite the fact that the 1972 state law<sup>272</sup> granted Zairian citizenship to Kinyarwanda-speakers, many Rwandophones were excluded (Likoti, 2006: 136) especially by the restrictive law of June 1981<sup>273</sup> (Simbi, 2013:73). In South and North Kivu, the Banyamulenge and other Kinyarwanda-speakers’ rights to Zairian citizenship were totally excluded in 1991 at the time of the National Conference (Lemarchand, 2001: 94). Due to extreme frustrations, the Banyamulenge enrolled in the RPF’s ranks during its invasion of Rwanda from Uganda in 1990<sup>274</sup> (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 225).

The exclusory principle of “otherness” continued to crystallise group identities in the Congo due to other events in neighbouring states. Although the situation in South Kivu was calm in the early 1990s, tensions rose dramatically in 1993 after the assassination of President Ndadaye of Burundi and the Rwandan genocide in 1994, especially in North Kivu, which was already in a condition of civil war between ethnically defined armed groups<sup>275</sup> (Stearns, Verweijen and Baaz, 2013: 20). Ethnic murders mounted also in South Kivu as many Burundian refugees arrived in the region where several Banyamulenge were stoned in the streets of Uvira. This violence, mainly conducted by Burundian Hutus, was later joined by Zairian-Kirundi-speakers from the plain of the Ruzizi, Fururu and Bembe (Turner, 2007: 88). Similarly, civilian militias from Hunde, Nande, and Nyanga ethnic groups known as Mai-Mai and Bangilima, benefited support and encouragement from government officials and (sometimes) the Zairian army, which started in 1993 to attack Hutu and Tutsi communities in North-Kivu, killed thousands and displaced between 100,000 and 500,000<sup>276</sup> (Reyntjens, 2009: 17-18).

The influx of Hutu Rwandan refugees in 1994 in Eastern Zaire exacerbated ethnic tensions between previously resident Kinyarwanda-speakers and other Congolese ethnic

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community members and raiding their cattle. See Thomas Turner, *The Congo Wars: Conflict, Myth and Reality* (New York: Zed Books, 2007), p. 86.

<sup>272</sup> The law of 5 January 1972 granted the Zairian citizenship to “all persons of whom one of the descendants is or was a member of one of the tribes established on the territory of the Republic of Zaire in its limits of 15 November 1908.” The same law provided Zairian nationality by 30 June 1960 to all people from Rwanda-Urundi, who had lived in the province of Kivu before 1 January 1960 and had prolonged their residence in Zaire. However, by 1981, the 1972 law had been changed and replaced by a more restrictive law of 29 June 1981, which withdrew Congolese citizenship from many thousands of Rwandophones, *Ibid.* 87.

<sup>273</sup> See also Huening (2009: 143); and Nyinawumuntu(2009: 20)

<sup>274</sup> See also Lemarchand (2001: 94); and Huening (2009: 145)

<sup>275</sup> See also Turner (2007: 88); Lemarchand (2009: 11)

<sup>276</sup> See also Human Rights Watch (1997: 11)

groups<sup>277</sup> (Lemarchand, 2001: 94). The *Interahamwe* militias, many of the ex-FAR and Rwandese civilian authorities encouraged hatred against Tutsi among adjacent populations. According to Human Rights Watch (1997: 11), “Local ethnic groups, which had once viewed Hutu and Tutsi as common enemy, sided increasingly with Hutu, both refugees and local residents, in attacking Tutsi, who were sometimes branded as loyal to the new government of Rwanda.” In South-Kivu, regional politicians increased their efforts to discriminate against Tutsi, and encouraged Bembe and Rega ethnic groups to organise militia, similar to the *Interahamwe* of Rwanda and the Mai-Mai and Bangilima of North-Kivu<sup>278</sup> (Reyntjens, 2009: 18). As a result, many young Banyamulenge decided to go to Rwanda to join and be trained by the Rwanda Patriotic Army (RPA), which provided them with weapons as they felt increasingly threatened by harassment and arrests and talk of expulsion. Other Banyamulenge created their own militia; they even bought guns in 1995 from the Hutu *Interahamwe* militia in the refugee camps<sup>279</sup> (Turner, 2007: 89).

### *The Criminalisation of the State*

In August 1996, Zairian authorities decided to ban MILIMA, a development and human rights Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO), which worked among the Banyamulenge, and arrested several prominent Banyamulenge<sup>280</sup> (Reyntjens, 2009:23). This event was followed by a demonstration by local people of Uvira against Banyamulenge, calling them “foreigners”, asking them to leave Zaire, and attacking their properties. The Zairian armed forces, a week later, sought out Banyamulenge, arrested men while freeing women and children under the instruction of the zone commission, who encouraged the takeover of Tutsi properties and called for the Congolese youths to join the army to fight the ‘Tutsi armed group.’ In addition to five Banyamulenge killed by the Zairian armed forces, the Zairian authorities subjected more than thirty-five Banyamulenge to extrajudicial execution and more than fifty others to ‘disappearance’ (Turner, 2007: 89-90).

Following the fighting between Banyamulenge militiamen and the Zairian armed forces (Turner, 2007: 90) in early September 1996, Zairian authorities announced that all the Banyamulenge had to leave the Congo<sup>281</sup> (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 22). The drastic measures against the Banyamulenge, mainly Congolese of Tutsi origin, and all other

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<sup>277</sup>See also Reyntjens (2009: 18)

<sup>278</sup>See also Human Rights Watch (1997: 11)

<sup>279</sup>*Ibid.*, 11-12

<sup>280</sup>*Ibid.*, 11

<sup>281</sup>*Ibid.*, 12

Kinyarwanda-speaking ethnic groups, made of both Hutu and Tutsi, were used by Mobutu as a strategy to gather support from “native” Congolese<sup>282</sup> (Stearns, Verweijen and Baaz, 2013: 18). As a result, the Zairian transitional parliament adopted on April 1995 a resolution that removed from all the Banyarwanda and Banyamulenge their Congolese citizenship<sup>283</sup> (Likoti, 2006: 129). According to De Luca et al. (2012: 3),

In the fall of 1996, the Congolese president, Mobutu Sese Seko, gave orders for various government-sponsored groups to stigmatize and perpetrate violent acts against the Banyamulenge minority, a primarily Tutsi-Rwandan-origin population that had migrated to eastern Congo.

The order was formalised by the deputy governor of South-Kivu province, on October, 7, 1996, who recommended all Banyamulenge, less than 38,500 to leave the Zairian territory within a week, or “be treated as rebels”<sup>284</sup> (Prunier, 2009: 71). The Congolese army helped by the Hutu confronted the Banyamulenge (Emizet, 2000a: 274).

However, the Banyamulenge and other Kinyarwanda-speaking ethnic groups refused to leave the Congo and turned to Rwanda for help<sup>285</sup> (Olsson and Fors, 2004: 324). Some of the Banyamulenge held in detention had been expelled, or forced to leave Zaire for neighbouring Burundi and Rwanda. By the end of September 1996, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimated more than 500 Banyamulenge refugees in Rwanda and about 400 in Burundi, among which more than 530 of them had been expelled by Zairian authorities (Turner, 2007: 90). Nearly 10,000 people had already been killed and more than 250,000 internally displaced from March to August 1993 as a result of ethnic clashes orchestrated against the Banyarwanda settlers on issues of nationality and rights (Emizet, 2000a: 274). The Rwandan leadership, already concerned with the security issue over its borders with Zaire, therefore, took advantage of the call for help from the Banyamulenge and other Kinyarwanda-speaking ethnic groups to intervene (Olsson and Fors, 2004: 324) by demolishing the refugee camps, which led to the massacres of some 7,000 to 8,000 Hutu refugees<sup>286</sup> (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 22). Rwanda’s intervention in Zaire in 1996, thus, marked the beginning of a long journey of civil wars in the African Great Lakes region’s history, to be discussed in the next sections.

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<sup>282</sup>See also Ndikumana and Emizet (2003: 21); and Carpenter (2012: 7)

<sup>283</sup>See also Emizet (2000a: 274); Ndikumana and Emizet (2003: 21); and Olson and Fors (2004: 324)

<sup>284</sup>See also Abdulai (1997: 19); Human Rights Watch (1997: 12); Emizet (2000a: 274); and Likoti (2006: 130)

<sup>285</sup>See also Emizet (2000b: 168); and Ndikumana and Emizet (2003: 22)

<sup>286</sup>See also Emizet (2000b: 174)

#### 4.4. A State of Anarchy: The Congo Civil Wars

Early Bembe militias, supported by FAZ soldiers, launched several attacks against the Banyamulenge, during which they killed and raped, and forced survivors to flee in the dawn of September 1996 (Human Rights Watch, 1997: 11). The Banyamulenge in coalition with other groups resolved to revolt against the Zairian government and formed the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (*Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération*, AFDL) led by Laurent-Desiré Kabila, who was chosen as spokesman, a post he later transformed into the presidency of the movement<sup>287</sup> (Olsson and Fors, 2004: 324). The AFDL military formation was made of Banyamulenge and other ethnic groups, but for different motivations: the Banyamulenge was motivated by defending their right to citizenship and for local “native Congolese,” the rebellion meant to overthrow the Mobutu regime due to their long endured marginalisation and repression<sup>288</sup> (Vinck et al., 2008: 10).

Other African states interfered in the Congolese civil wars in support of the AFDL and its combatants against the Mobutu regime. Troops from Rwanda, Uganda<sup>289</sup> (De Luca et al. 2012: 3), and Burundi<sup>290</sup> (Turner, 2013: 54), later were joined by Angolan (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 22), Eritrean, Tanzanian and Zimbabwean (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2004: 2) troops, who provided military support to the AFDL and quickly overran the demoralised and poorly disciplined Zairian Armed Forces (FAZ)<sup>291</sup> (Olsson and Fors, 2004: 325). After a rapid advance from East to West, during which he was hailed as a liberator, Kabila proclaimed himself head of the newly declared Democratic Republic of Congo, replacing President Mobutu<sup>292</sup> (Kalonda-Kanyama, 2010: 4); the Congo became under full control of the AFDL forces on 17 May 1997.

However, in August 1998, Kabila’s regime was challenged by a new war referred to as a “correction war” (CAFCO, 2010: 71), “the Continental War” (Prunier, 2009: 181), “Africa’s World War”<sup>293</sup> (Mobekk, 2009: 273), “Africa’s first World War”<sup>294</sup> (Ross, 2005: 19), or else

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<sup>287</sup>See also Human Rights Watch (1997: 11); Schatzberg (1997: 80); Montague (2002: 106); and Ulloa, Katz and Kekeh (2009: 16)

<sup>288</sup>See also Ndikumana and Emizet (2003: 22); Jensen (2012: 41)

<sup>289</sup> Available at: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/congo-1.htm>; see also Montague (2002: 106); Ross (2005: 21); and Congressional Research Service (2011: 2)

<sup>290</sup>See also Schatzberg (1997: 81); Kalere (2005: 466); Global Witness (2009: 15); Huening (2009: 130); Prunier (2009: 58); CAFCO (2010: 70); Kalonda-Kanyama (2010: 3); Carpenter (2012: 7)

<sup>291</sup>See also Nzongola-Ntalaja (2004: 2)

<sup>292</sup>See also Olsson and Fors (2004: 325); Kalere (2005: 466); Likoti (2006: 130); Beswick (2009: 335); and Trautman (2013: 40)

<sup>293</sup>See also Kalere (2005: 466); Kalonda-Kanyama (2010: 4); and Congressional Research Service (2014: 5)

<sup>294</sup>See also Shearer (1999: 89); Kabemba (2001: 2); and Huening (2009: 130)



“the Third World War”<sup>295</sup> (Kalere, 2005: 466). The 1998 Congo civil war involved, either militarily, diplomatically or both, numerous African states from every corner of the continent in interlocking alliances seemingly motivated by one principle: “the enemy of my enemy is my friend”<sup>296</sup> (Williams, 2013: 82). Among these states were South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe in the South; Libya, Chad, Central African Republic and Sudan in the North; Eritrea, Ethiopia, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania in the East; and Congo (Brazzaville) and Angola in the West (Weiss, 2000: 67). Around ten African national armies, unprecedented in regional scope, were present on Congolese territory, in addition to about twelve irregular armies, including rebel groups and militias<sup>297</sup> (Kalonda-Kanyama, 2010: 4).

The second Congo civil war became the biggest African war of modern times (Shearer, 1999: 89). During this war, the DRC was divided into four administrative zones with each dependent on foreign backers for survival (Vinck et al., 2008: 11). On the one hand, two major rebel movements, the Rally for the Congolese Democracy (*Rassemblement Congolais des Démocrates*, RCD), which operated in the Eastern provinces of South and North Kivus and the Northeastern Orientale province were under the support of the Rwandan, Burundian and Ugandan national armies<sup>298</sup> (De Luca et al., 2012: 6). The RCD-Goma, thus controlled the provinces of North and South Kivus and parts of Katanga, Maniema, and eastern Kasai. The other RCD-Kisangani born after the breakaway of Uganda from its allies, occupied parts of North Kivu and Oriental provinces, in addition to the Ituri district (Vinck et al., 2008: 11). The Movement for the Congolese Liberation (*Mouvement de Libération du Congo*, MLC), which was exclusively backed by Uganda was in the Equateur province<sup>299</sup> (Likoti, 2006: 139). On the other hand, Kabila’s regime was allied with Angola, Namibia, China, North Korea (Ross, 2005: 22), Zimbabwe<sup>300</sup> (De Luca et al., 2012: 6), Chad, Libya, and Sudan to secure its positions and stop the rebel forces’ advancement to invade the capital city, Kinshasa<sup>301</sup> (Kalonda-Kanyama, 2010: 4). The Congolese government, therefore, managed to keep control of the Western half of the state with the support of its allies (Vinck et al., 2008: 11). The Congo’s claim to territorial sovereignty and monopoly of use of force *per se*

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<sup>295</sup>See also Clement (2004: 1)

<sup>296</sup>See also Weiss (2000: 67)

<sup>297</sup>See also Shearer (1999: 89); Kabemba (2001: 2); and Ross (2005: 19)

<sup>298</sup>See also Ross (2005: 22); Cone (2007: 81); CAFCO (2010: 71); and Kalonda-Kanyama (2010: 4)

<sup>299</sup>See also Kalere (2005: 466)

<sup>300</sup> Available at: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/congo-1.htm>; see also Cone (2007: 82); Carpenter (2012: 7)

<sup>301</sup>See also Kabemba (2001: 2); Olsson and Fors (2004: 325); Kalere (2005: 466); and Congressional Research Service (2014: 5)

remained almost non-existent in certain regions of the state especially in the Second Congo War (See Appendix E: Military Situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo War).

From 1996 to 1997, and 1998 to 2003, the Congolese civil wars involved about nine states and more than 40 rebel groups<sup>302</sup>. There are, however, controversies amongst scholars about the exact figures of national armies and rebel forces that were present during the 1998 Congo civil war. The second rebellion, which began on 2 August 1998, involved not only the abovementioned national armies, but also around 12 irregular armed groups in addition to rebel groups and militias (Kabemba, 2001: 2). Some active rebel groups were the West Nile Bank Front, Uganda National Rescue Front II, the former Ugandan National Army, the Burundian Defence Forces for Democracy, the former Rwandan Army (Ex-FAR) and *Interahamwe* militia, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the Allied Democratic Front (ADF) as well as the Angolan rebel movement UNITA<sup>303</sup> (Congressional Research Service, 2009: 3). The Mai-Mai militia group also reappeared around the same period (CAFECO, 2010: 1).

The Congolese army, at the height of the crisis, proved ineffective to contain rebel forces' advances or ensure safety and security of Congolese people. Instead, it simply retreated and engaged in looting and attacking civilians, thus abandoning the central government in Kinshasa, which failed to provide it with necessary support or salary especially in Eastern Congo (Congressional Research Service, 2009: 3). The Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo (*Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo, FARDC*) were often accused of collaboration with the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (*Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda, FDLR*), supposedly battlefield enemies, of carving up territory and mining areas through mutual agreements and sometimes sharing the spoils (Global Witness, 2009: 6). The reasons attributed to such failure, as many observers argue, were associated with the weakness of the military leadership in the Congolese army (Congressional Research Service, 2009: 3), as well as widespread corruption and systems of patronage found throughout the DRC, which affected government agencies and the security forces at all levels (Global Witness, 2009: 25). The section below examines other factors linked to the DRC's rich natural resources.

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<sup>302</sup> Available at: [http://www.enoughproject.org/conflicts/eastern\\_congo/armed-groups](http://www.enoughproject.org/conflicts/eastern_congo/armed-groups)

<sup>303</sup> See also Kabemba (2001: 2)

#### 4.5. Greed: The Driving Mechanism of the DRC's State Failure

The two wars that have plagued the DRC since the mid-1990s, especially the anti-Kabila rebellion, have clearly demonstrated the relationships between conflict and mineral resources, and the convergence of domestic and international financial interests in perpetuating conflict (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 24). As opposed to the Cold War-era's strategic wars, which were defined by alliances formed along ideological lines, the post-Cold War's conflicts in the contemporary international politics are largely driven by economic competition and access to vital economic assets<sup>304</sup> (Naidoo, 2003: 2). The Rwandan President Paul Kagame described the civil wars in the DRC as "self-financing" wars (Motague, 2002: 112). Such phenomenon are common in most intractable African conflicts in the 1990s and 2000s, especially in Angola, Liberia, Sierra Leone<sup>305</sup> (Weinstein, 2000: 17) and Sudan (Samset, 2002: 112). In the DRC, as in other African states, civil wars' motivations to capture natural resources have, and still do, provide incentives to fight and sustain the continuation of conflicts. In other words, belligerents have no interest in ending war (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 24).

The DRC, which supposedly possesses every natural mineral in the periodic table of elements, contains around 24 trillion US dollar worth of valuable minerals, such as coltan, gold, diamonds, tin, uranium and so forth, equal the combined GDP of Europe and the United States (Carpenter, 2012: 5). As a result, "war economies" driven by the desire to exploit the DRC's mineral resources have blurred the distinctions between economic and politico-military interests (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 3). Paul Collier argues that "*greed* has become the dominant cause of modern civil wars as warring factions are chiefly motivated by economic interests in both initiating and sustaining wars" (cited in Naidoo, 2003: 3). It is estimated that about \$6 million in resources leaves the Congo daily (Carpenter, 2012: 5).

##### *The Self-Financing Wars*

The 1996 Congolese war, also referred to as "war of liberation", marked a new wave of illegal exploitation of the Congo's resources by foreigners assisted by Congolese people (Turner, 2007: 40). Although the Zairian constitution stated that the soil and subsoil belonged to the state and stressed the requirement of permits from the Ministry of Mines and Energy for prospect, exploration and exploitation, international investors crowned Laurent Desire Kabila as *de facto* leader of then Zaire while he was a rebel leader of a small portion of the

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<sup>304</sup> See also Cone (2007: 24)

<sup>305</sup> See also Nest, Grignon and Kisangani (2006: 11); and Cone (2007: 26)

state (Montague, 2002: 106). Dubbed “the Second Scramble for Africa” (Nest, 2006: 31), international companies rushed to secure deals with the AFDL as a lucrative business opportunity and a chance to reshuffle long-standing corporate assets once secured under Mobutu<sup>306</sup> (Shearer, 2000: 97).

Such trade in Congolese resources in rebel-held territories by illegitimate groups was illegal as it undermined the power of the Congolese central government (Montague, 2002: 107) and violated the sovereignty of the DRC<sup>307</sup>. The UN Resolution of 1803, which stands against the violation of the right of nations to permanent sovereignty and their capacity to implement economic development to benefit their citizens, maintains that:

The right of people and nations to permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources must be exercised in the interest of their national development and of the well-being of the people of the state concerned. International cooperation for the economic development of developing countries, whether in the form of public or private capital investments... shall be based upon respect for their sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources (Quoted in Montague, 2002: 107).

The international trade of natural resources has raised considerable concerns with regards to what constitutes responsibility, legitimacy and sovereignty in the DRC (Montague, 2002:107). As noted above, Kabila negotiated with several companies during the AFDL’s invasion of the DRC for funding its military operations in exchange for lucrative contacts, especially in the East of Congo. The report of the UN panel of experts on illegal exploitation of Congolese resources identifies more than 80 business enterprises, among which 21 are Belgian, 12 South African, 10 British, 8 American, 5 Canadian and 4 are German and Zimbabwean. These enterprises violated OECD guidelines for Multinational Corporations (Halilovic et al., 2012: 20) (See Appendix C: Sample of Companies Importing Minerals from the Democratic Republic of the Congo via Rwanda). As Nzongola-Ntalaja (2004: 5) and Patrick (2006: 38-39) aver, when a state fails to implement and enforce law and order, civil war gives ample opportunity to mining corporations to violate its sovereignty by engaging in illegitimate business. This observation was, or still, real in the DRC indeed.

Foreign states implicated in the DRC civil wars were not left behind in the plunder of the Congolese rich resources. According to Samset (2002: 463), the motivation and feasibility of resource exploitation among power-hungry elites of Rwanda, Uganda and Zimbabwe, largely explained why military contingents continued to be active in the DRC since August 1998. It

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<sup>306</sup>See also Montague (2002: 107)

<sup>307</sup> Available at: <http://www.un.org/News/dh/latest/drcongo.htm>

is estimated that every month between the end of 1999 and 2000, the Rwandan army reaped almost US\$20 million (Montague, 2002: 112). Uganda's gold export, which totaled US\$23 million out of 3.09 tons in 1995, increased at 11.45 tons valued at US\$ 60 million in 1996, and up to US\$105 million in 1997 (Mullins and Rothe, 2008: 91). Given the administration and military chaos in the DRC, Rwanda and Uganda were later joined by Burundi to plunder its natural resources (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002: 227). Burundi started since 1998 to export diamonds, coinciding with the occupation of the eastern DRC by Burundian armed forces and their allies<sup>308</sup>.

Equally, states that intervened on behalf of the Kabila regime had not hidden their appetite for Congolese natural resources in exchange for presumed security. For President Mugabe, his ministers, generals and close associates, the involvement in the DRC civil wars, for instance, was simply seen as an opportunity to negotiate potential lucrative contracts with the DRC; in the second Congo war, they hoped to keep Kabila in power to cash in on the opportunities (Weinstein, 2000: 17). Zimbabwe also used the same opportunities during the Congo war to accrue its electric power imports from the DRC generated at the Inga dam (Nabudere, 2003: 57). Seen in this context, Zimbabwe was mostly motivated to enter the Congolese wars for economic interests. As Orogun (2002: 37) notes,

Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe is reported to have sights set on Mbuji-Mayi's diamond wealth. In addition, Congo's Kabila owes \$40 to \$200 million for military support. Zimbabwe would not trust neither Rwanda nor Uganda, if they come to power, to repay the debt Congo owes to Zimbabwe... "Without Mbuji Mayi, [Zimbabwe's President] Mugabe has no reason to keep fighting," says a Western diplomat. "His army didn't have a reason to start with, so they'll be really glad to get out.

Similarly to Zimbabwe, Namibia expressed an interest in the DRC's minerals especially in mining and selling gold and diamonds from the Congo (*Ibid*: 59).

Considering those conditions, both foreign national armies and renegade rebel forces operating in the DRC's territory looted, expropriated and confiscated mineral resources and other forms of wealth<sup>309</sup> (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 38). The RCD-Goma, for instance, financed its war strategies through direct taxation estimated at 8% of the total minerals exported by *comptoirs* in its occupied territory including a payment of 15,000 US dollar as

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<sup>308</sup> Available at: <http://www.un.org/News/dh/latest/drcongo.htm>

<sup>309</sup> See also Orogun (2002: 38)

annual license fee per *compoir*<sup>310</sup> (International Peace Information Service, 2002: 10). As table 4.1 below indicates, the RCD-Goma collected almost 7 million US dollar between January and October 2000 of coltan exports through *comptoirs* under its control<sup>311</sup> (Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003: 24).

**Table 4. 1:** RCD-Goma Coltan Export Statistics between January-October 2000

Comptoir	Amount in Kilograms	Estimated Value in US Dollar
Ntale	26.100	391.500
Mbanzabugabo	14.000	210.000
Socomi	165.000	2.475.000
Singwa-Mwanza-Shemined	49.000	735.000
MDM	41.147	617.205
Muyeye	120.176	1.802.640
Sogemi-Congo	12.968	194.520
Vanga-Entreprise	1.000	15.000
Hitimana	5.364	80.460
EFP/Business	1.500	22.500
Kaferege (Rwanda Metals)	9.000	135.000
Total	445.225	6.660.825

**Source:** Official Statistics RCD Ministry of Mines and Energy, October 2001 (as cited in Information Peace Information Service, (IPIS) 2002: 11).

Both regular and irregular forces caused the devastation of the Congolese of resources accompanied by systematic recruitment and the use of child soldiers together with widespread sexual violence<sup>312</sup> (Ettang, 2011: 184). Among these forces encompassed Kabila's Congolese Armed Forces, Zimbabwe's national Army, Namibia's Armed Forces, Angolan Armed Forces, Burundian Armed Forces, Rwandan Defence Forces, Congolese Rally for Democracy-Goma-based rebels, Congolese Rally for Democracy-Kisangani-based rebels, Movement for the Liberation of Congo rebels, Mai-Mai, former Zairean Armed Forces, former Rwandan Armed Forces, *Interahamwe* rebels, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola rebels, Cabinda Enclave Liberation Front, Congo-Brazzaville

<sup>310</sup>See also Ndikumana and Emizet (2003: 24)

<sup>311</sup>See also International Peace Information Service (2002: 11)

<sup>312</sup>See also Sutherland (2011: 6)

Rebels, the Sudan People's Liberation Army, Uganda's Allied Democratic Forces, Uganda's Lord's Resistance Army, Uganda's West Nile Bank Front, Burundi's Forces for the Defense of Democracy and the *Simba*<sup>313</sup> (Sutherland, 2011: 6). These military groups, both invading armies and rebel forces notably proved active in illegal trade in diamonds, timber, copper, gold and cobalt and more particularly coltan, the most lucrative of mineral resources cited above<sup>314</sup> (Stearns, Verweijen and Baaz, 2013: 21). According to Dearth,

A state is said to have 'failed' if it does not fulfil the most obligations of statehood. The leadership does not have the means and credibility to compel internal order or deter external aggression. In addition, the leadership does not, or cannot, provide sufficiently for the people to attract minimal sufficient domestic support (Quoted in Carment, 2003: 414).

#### 4.6. Preliminary Conclusion

Civil wars in the DRC, which are on-going, have caused millions of death and destruction of goods and property. As highlighted above, the causes of the Congolese civil wars leading to its failure are numerous and complex. The exact figures of human lives lost during these conflicts remains unknown. Statistics estimate nearly 4 million people killed<sup>315</sup> (Batware, 2011: 3) and many more to be displaced from their homes between 1996 and 2005 during the Congolese conflicts. Other studies estimate more than 5 million Congolese dead, amongst whom 40% were women and children<sup>316</sup> (CAFCO, 2010: 71), massive displacements of the population and about 2.5 million internally displaced persons and refugees<sup>317</sup> (Mobekk, 2009: 273). The humanitarian context of the Second Congo War since its eruption is mostly estimated between 3 million and 5 million people killed, and nearly 45,000 women and girls raped or become victims of sexual violence and sexual slavery. Also, almost 100 medical centers or hospitals have been reported destroyed or looted; more than 5,000 villages burned or demolished; as well as the destruction of economic infrastructures, social or religious and educational institutions<sup>318</sup> (Kalere, 2005: 467). The net result of the DRC civil wars, which were defined by summary executions, widespread abuse, rape, torture and forced displacement, accounted for at least more than 40,000 people killed every month from disease, hunger and violence (Mobekk, 2009: 273).

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<sup>313</sup>See also Montague (2002: 104); Orogun (2002: 38); Nyinawumuntu (2009: 26); and Marks (2011: 2)

<sup>314</sup>See also Montague (2002: 104); and Halilovic et al.(2012: 19)

<sup>315</sup> Available at: <http://www.hrw.org/news/2006/02/19/dr-congo-end-illegal-exploitation-natural-resources>; see also Draulans and Van Krunkelsven (2002: 35); International Rescue Committee (2006: 1); Cone (2007: 2); and Mobekk (2009: 273)

<sup>316</sup>See also Olsson and Fors (2004: 321);Huening (2009: 130); and Sutherland (2011: 5)

<sup>317</sup>See also Clement (2004: 8)

<sup>318</sup>*Idem*

As detailed in preceding sections, the overall contributing factors to the DRC's failure in the period between 1996 and 2006 derived from several domestic and external forces. The colonial legacy of divide and rule left the Congo with long-standing political and social grievances, which impacted severely on state stability. The past colonial, which was followed by post-colonial civil wars, continues to this day to create rifts between the Congolese administration from its people through poor leadership, corruption, inter-ethnic rivalries, disputes over land as well as greed and desire to control the state's rich natural deposits. Above all, the weakness and vulnerability of the Congolese leadership and the state's security mechanisms allowed regional factors to worsen the social and political instability of the DRC.

The lack of positive political goods (security, health and education, economic opportunity, good governance, law and order, and essential infrastructures, *inter alia*, transport and communications) for citizens of the state is one of the major causes of state failure as this can lead government to lose its legitimacy and trust in the eyes and heart of its people (Rotberg, 2010: 1). As the British Secretary of State for International Development, Hilary Benn has highlighted, "Effective government is important not just to the citizens of a country, but also to its neighbours. No country can isolate itself any more from what happens elsewhere. Instability in one country can spill over to the region..." (Department for International Development, 2005: 3).



## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

*The inability of many states to police themselves effectively or to work with their neighbours to ensure regional security represents a challenge to the international system. Armed sub-national groups, including but not limited to those inspired by violent extremism, threaten the stability and legitimacy of key states. If left unchecked, such instability can spread and threaten regions.... Insurgent groups and other non-state actors frequently exploit local geographical, political, or social conditions to establish safe havens from which they can operate with impunity. Ungoverned, under-governed, misgoverned, and contested areas offer fertile ground for such groups to exploit the gaps in governance capacity of local regimes to undermine local stability and regional security.*

Edward Newman, *Failed States and International Order: Constructing a Post-Westphalian World*. 2009, p. 434-435

#### 5.1. Introduction

The African Great Lakes Region has over a period of two-decades accommodated some of Africa's most intractable and turbulent conflicts<sup>319</sup>. This region, commonly referred to as the Central Africa's Great Rift Valley, has vast and expansive territory and shares borders with numerous states (Lemarchand, 2009: ix) [See Appendix A (i): Map of the African Great Lakes Region]. Since the early 1990s, the Great Lakes Region of Africa's experience of events, such as genocide in Rwanda, civil war in Burundi, and cross-border conflicts in the DRC<sup>320</sup>, have exacerbated the problem of illegal armed groups fighting proxy wars across borders from within and outside the region<sup>321</sup>. The First Congo war, which aimed to overthrow the 32-year dictatorship of President Mobutu Sese Seko, involved more than ten neighbouring states. The Second Congo civil war, arguably the continuation of the first, was complex and involved nearly ten African national armies (unprecedented in regional scope), irregular armies, rebel groups and militias on the Congolese territory<sup>322</sup>.

The African Great Region has historically been shaped by states' interference in the domestic affairs of their neighbours (Ettang, 2011: 184). In view of the DRC's geopolitical, socio-political and economic strategies<sup>323</sup> and its failed state status<sup>324</sup> the parties had different motivations in their involvement in Congo civil wars. As Orogun (2002: 27) observes, "The porousness and permeability of the DRC's vast territorial borders has blurred the analytical distinctions between internal domestic affairs, and inter-regional, or cross-border security concerns." This factor alone made the conflicts in the Great Lakes Region complex and

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<sup>319</sup> Available at: <http://www.issafrica.org/uploads/RegDimConGreatLakes.pdf>; see also Huening (2009: 130).

<sup>320</sup> See Chapter Four

<sup>321</sup> Available at: <http://www.issafrica.org/uploads/RegDimConGreatLakes.pdf>; see also Huening (2009: 131)

<sup>322</sup> See Chapter Four

<sup>323</sup> See Chapter Three

<sup>324</sup> See Chapter Four

difficult to resolve since multiple actors involved in the DRC civil wars were motivated by different interests<sup>325</sup>. Moreover, due to the close proximity in borders, civil wars fought in one state of the region were more likely to spread into the neighbouring states<sup>326</sup> (Cone, 2007:90). In order to investigate the utility of realist theory in understanding the regional dimensions of the Congolese civil wars, the next sections survey each state protagonist of the African Great Lakes region between 1996 and 2006.

## 5.2. Rwanda's Motivation for War in the DRC

Rwanda's motivation for supporting the 1996 Congolese rebellion, which ousted the dictator Mobutu from power in May 1997 was to safeguard its territorial integrity, political sovereignty as an independent nation-state, and eliminate the bases of the *Interahamwe* and ex-FAR situated just over the Rwandan border in Eastern Congo<sup>327</sup> (Williams, 2013: 90) [See Appendix A (v): Map of Armed Groups in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo]. Following Rwanda's invasion by the RPF in 1994, up to 1.5 million Hutu refugees crossed the border to Zaire including ex-Hutu government officials, ex-FAR and *Interahamwe* militias<sup>328</sup>. The former Rwandan armed forces (ex-FAR) and the *Interahamwe* militias in refugee camps started to reorganise, train recruits, buy arms and stage repeated attacks across the border into Rwanda<sup>329</sup> (Vogel, 2012: 12-13) with the aim of returning to power (Shearer, 1999: 92). The new Rwandan government was destabilised by the cross-border incursions launched by the ex-FAR and members of the militant Hutu paramilitary (Atzili, 2006: 187). As General Kagame announced during a trip to Washington, DC: "I delivered a veiled warnings: the failure of the international community to take action would mean Rwanda would take action..."<sup>330</sup> (Prunier, 2009: 68).

As a result, when the Rwandese army received orders from General Paul Kagame to cross the Zairian border in September 1996 and install Kabila in 1997, it was mainly sent to counter the military threats posed to the RPF regime by the remnants of the former regime<sup>331</sup> (Williams, 2013: 90). However, Rwanda's attempt to end cross-border Hutu raids by removing Mobutu and installing Kabila in 1997 failed, since by early 1998, the

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<sup>325</sup> Available at: <http://www.norad.no/en/tools-and-publications/publications/publication?key=131851>

<sup>326</sup> See also Flynn (2007: 6); and Ettang (2011: 185)

<sup>327</sup> See also Orogun (2002: 29); and Congressional Research Service (2014: 10)

<sup>328</sup> See Chapter Four for a short descriptive analysis of the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide in 1994. See also Human Rights Watch (1997: 10); Emizet (2000b: 165); and Williams (2013: 86-87) for the same argument.

<sup>329</sup> See also Human Rights Watch (1996: 14); Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002: 224); Nest (2006: 20); and Williams (2013: 87)

<sup>330</sup> See also Nabudere (2003: 51)

<sup>331</sup> See also Clark (2001: 267); Nzongola-Ntalaja (2004: 225); Eriksen (2006: 1100); and Prunier (2009: 73)

*Interahamwe* and ex-FAR attacks accrued more often than before Kigali invaded the DRC in 1996<sup>332</sup> (Williams, 2013: 90). These attacks on Rwandan soil reinforced the deep insecurities of the state and its government in Kigali<sup>333</sup> (Eriksen, 2006: 1100).

It is worth noting that Rwanda's geographic size contributed to the factors, which led Kigali regime to feel insecure (Williams, 2013: 91). Rwanda has about 26,338 square kilometres<sup>334</sup> (slightly smaller than the state of Maryland). Such small size exposes Rwanda to vulnerability with limited strategic capacity to absorb insurgent attacks. As such, attacks on Rwandan borders are more likely to threaten the core of the state (Williams, 2013: 91). Hence, Rwanda defended its border and national security by invading the DRC in August 1998.

Rwanda, after its effort to support Kabila against Mobutu, expected him to ensure its security concerns over its borders<sup>335</sup> (Cone, 2007: 77). Kabila's failure to restrain Hutu rebels' attacks in Rwanda was seen by Kigali as a serious threat to Rwanda's national security and interests. However, after the Rwandan military intelligence service reported to Kigali officials that Kabila was also training and arming the *Interahamwe* and ex-FAR, Rwanda found that intolerable<sup>336</sup> (Likoti, 2006: 142). Kabila's refusal to disband, disarm, and expel the extremist Hutu *Interahamwe*, ex-FAR, and other rebel groups caused dismay among the regional governments, including Rwanda<sup>337</sup> (Stearns, Verweijen and Baaz, 2013: 21) [See Appendix A (iv): Map of Foreign Forces in the Democratic Republic of the Congo]. Kigali decided to mount another invasion of the Congo to eliminate this threat (Williams, 2013: 21). The current Rwandan President Paul Kagame, when he was still the state's Vice President and Minister of Defence, reiterated,

We do not care who is president in Congo. Kabila has assembled genocidal forces and says he will bring war to Rwanda. We are clear that Kabila is genocidaire and we want him to fall. Our forces are in Congo to ensure Rwandan security, and with Kabila our security is not assured (quoted in Orogun, 2002: 30).

According to Rwanda's rational calculations, a change in political leadership in the DRC would create a friendly regime in Kinshasa that would be capable of addressing its security concerns especially in the volatile Eastern Congo region (Orogun, 2002: 29). Rwandan

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<sup>332</sup>See also International Crisis Group (2000: 12-13); and Prunier (2009: 193)

<sup>333</sup>See also Williams (2013: 90)

<sup>334</sup> Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rw.html>

<sup>335</sup>See also Shearer (1999: 94)

<sup>336</sup>See also International Crisis Group (2000: 3)

<sup>337</sup>See also Orogun (2002: 30)

officials' main concern was, if not still, the large numbers of the *Interahamwe* and ex-FAR in the DRC, seen as the most contentious and yet most compelling threat to Rwanda's national survival and sovereignty<sup>338</sup> (Likoti, 2006: 131).

As realists would argue, Rwanda would not have intervened and invaded the DRC in the absence of the security threats that the *Interahamwe* and ex-FAR insurgents posed to its national interests and survival. Kigali government was concerned with the security of Rwanda and feared that continued Hutu attacks, especially with Kabila's support would destabilise the state and its regime (Likoti, 2006: 143). Plagued by insecurity over its borders, and worried by increased Hutu insurgent attacks on its territorial sovereignty, Rwanda resolved to go to war in the DRC<sup>339</sup> (Williams, 2013: 91). Both the first and second Rwandan invasions of the DRC echo the realist model with its postulate of power, rational pursuit of national interest, security and survival.

### **5.3. Burundi's Motives for Engaging in the DRC Civil Wars**

Burundi had the same motivations as Rwanda for intervening in the Congo civil wars (Williams, 2013: 93). Both states share the same ethnic divisions and regular conflicts between Hutu and Tutsi people<sup>340</sup> (Orogun, 2002: 34). Burundi's geographic size of about 27,830 square kilometres<sup>341</sup> is also small leading it to have the same security concerns as Rwanda.

Burundi government forces had been fighting the Burundian Hutu rebel groups, FDD and FNL, which used the DRC as a sanctuary throughout the 1990s<sup>342</sup> (Atzili, 2006: 189) [See Appendix A (iv)]. When Pierre Buyoya led a military coup on 26 July 1996, the Forces for Defence of Democracy (*Forces pour la Défense de la Démocratie*, FDD) and the Forces for National Liberation (*Forces Nationales de Libération*, FNL) intensified their raids inside Burundi and sometimes came very close to the capital, Bujumbura, where most state officials resided<sup>343</sup> (Nabudere, 2003: 52). Burundian President Pierre Buyoya decided to provide his support to the 1996-97 anti-Mobutu rebellion because the FDD and FNL conducted their

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<sup>338</sup> See also Orogun (2002: 29)

<sup>339</sup> See also Likoti (2006: 142)

<sup>340</sup> See Mazrui (1995: 31); and Williams (2013: 93)

<sup>341</sup> Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/by.html>; see also Mthembu-Salter (2002: 123)

<sup>342</sup> See also Mthembu-Salter (2002: 127); Orogun (2002: 34); and Williams (2013: 93)

<sup>343</sup> See also Mthembu-Salter (2002: 127); Daley (2006: 671); Lemarchand (2006: 9)

operations from Eastern Zaire<sup>344</sup> (Orogun, 2002: 34). Burundi's civil war, which exploded in 1993, led to Hutu-Tutsi ethnic schisms followed by hostile and brutal clashes between the military regime and opposition Hutu extremist rebels<sup>345</sup> (Turner, 2013: 67).

Burundi at first denied its own involvement in the Zairian civil wars. However, as the war continued, its interference was clearly evident during the anti-Kabila rebellion in August 1998<sup>346</sup> (Prunier, 2009: 198). Burundi soldiers repeatedly crossed into the Congolese territory to engage in military reprisals against the FDD and FNL Hutu rebel guerrillas, which continued to destabilise the Tutsi-minority military regime in Bujumbura<sup>347</sup> (Likoti, 2006: 145). Although the Burundi government denied interfering in the DRC conflict (Likoti, 2006: 144), it admitted in May 1999 taking "legitimate measures" to protect its borders from renegade Hutu rebels, who received weapons and military protection from Kabila regime<sup>348</sup> (Stearns, Verweijen and Baaz, 2013: 21).

When Rwandan and Ugandan forces intensified their attacks against the Kinshasa regime, Kabila retaliated by arming Hutu rebel groups throughout the Eastern Congo as well as the FDD (Williams, 2013: 93). As the FDD and FNL enjoyed the backing of Kabila and fought side by side with the *Interahamwe* and the ex-FAR of Rwanda<sup>349</sup> (Nabudere, 2003: 52), Burundi became openly implicated in the DRC civil war by aligning with RCD combatants, Rwanda and Uganda to fight against Burundian rebel groups as well as other pro-Kabila forces<sup>350</sup> (Williams, 2013: 93). Although the Burundian government denied having territorial claims in the DRC, it stressed its concerns about terrorist groups, which infiltrated Burundi and spread insecurity about its shared border with the DRC<sup>351</sup> (Likoti, 2006: 145).

As had been the case in Rwanda's intervention in the DRC civil wars, Burundi was realistically concerned with the security of its border and internal stability. The Burundian government thus deemed its survival and the stability of the state by finding ways to eliminate the Hutu insurgents, which enjoyed the safe haven granted by Mobutu in 1996 and later by Kabila. Realist scholars accurately anticipated Burundi's behaviour. Bujumbura

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<sup>344</sup>See also Nabudere (2003: 52)

<sup>345</sup>See also Orogun (2002: 34)

<sup>346</sup>See also Mthembu-Salter (2002: 129); and Nabudere (2003: 52)

<sup>347</sup>*Loc. cit.* Orogun

<sup>348</sup>See also Mthembu-Salter (2002: 34); and Nabudere (2003: 52)

<sup>349</sup>See also Stearns, Verweijen and Baaz (2013: 21)

<sup>350</sup>See also International Crisis Group (2000: 20); Orogun (2002: 34); and Nabudere (2003: 52)

<sup>351</sup>See Nabudere (2003: 52); and Likoti (2006: 145)

entered the Congolese wars to eliminate threats posed by Hutu rebels to its power, national security and survival.

#### 5.4. Uganda's Intervention in the DRC Civil Wars

Much like Rwanda and Burundi, Uganda is situated on the axis that runs the length of DRC's Eastern border, where lies a line of political instability in Central Africa (Shearer, 1999: 95) [See Appendix A (v)]. Similar to Rwanda and Burundi, Uganda justified its involvement in the DRC civil wars with a security rationale<sup>352</sup> (Williams, 2013: 92). That is, President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni's reason for sending troops into the Northern part of East DRC had, like Rwanda and Burundi, primarily aimed to control insurgents who destabilised Uganda (Shearer, 1999: 95). As he argued to the Ugandan Parliament, "the threats to Uganda's security emanating from the DRC in form of bandit groups make Uganda's involvement inevitable... The security problems of neighbours must be handled correctly and durably otherwise they invite intervention into internal affairs" (International Crisis Group, 1999: 6).

Threats to Uganda's security emanating from regional borders were the main motivation for its intervention in DRC (Turner, 2013: 60). The Ugandan national army, known as the Ugandan Peoples Defence Force (UPDF) had fought regular battles with the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF), a rebel group entrenched in the rugged 'Mountains of the Moon' on the border between Uganda and DRC<sup>353</sup> (Clark, 2001: 265). The ADF, as other official interlopers<sup>354</sup> in Zairian affairs, *inter alia*, the National Army for Liberation of Uganda (NALU) and the West Nile Bank Liberation Front (WNBLF), were dedicated to fighting Yoweri Museveni's regime installed in Kampala since January 1986 by benefiting from Mobutu's policy (adopted throughout the 1980s and early 1990s) to support opponents of his neighbouring governments<sup>355</sup> (Prunier, 2009: 74). In the meantime, Uganda was also involved in the Western part of the DRC fighting against the Lord's Resistance Army

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<sup>352</sup>See also International Crisis Group (2000: 30)

<sup>353</sup>See also Shearer (1999: 95)

<sup>354</sup> In his 2009 publication *Africa's World War: Congo, the Rwandan Genocide, and the Making of a Continental Catastrophe*, Gérard Prunier identifies two categories of pro-actors in the Congolese wars, which he names "interlopers" and "onlookers". The first represented those element forces, which stepped in the domestic affairs of Zaire with objectives to act, and the last stood outside looking in, trifling with the margins, permanently on the verge of getting involved. The official interlopers were those forces invited by President Mobutu, and the "unofficial" ones were those Mobutu disliked but about whom he could do almost nothing given the limited power of the Zairian military forces (FAZ), p. 74.

<sup>355</sup>See also Atzili (2006:180)

(LRA)<sup>356</sup> (Clark, 2001: 265). Although these rebel forces, including the ADF, were created before Kabila took power in the DRC, Kampala regularly accused Kinshasa of giving them support, since they continuously carried out cross-border raids into Uganda from Congolese territory (International Crisis Group, 1999: 25). Uganda showed an interest in intervening in the former Zaire with the aim to dislodge the ADF mostly used by Mobutu to destabilise Ugandan Western regions<sup>357</sup> (Nabudere, 2003: 49).

Furthermore, Uganda intervened in Congo's civil war because of its involvement in the Sudanese civil war between the Khartoum regime and the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) (International Crisis Group, 1999: 25). Kampala argued that the ADF received Sudanese government's support, and retaliated by sponsoring the SPLA, a rebel group in the South of Sudan, which fought against the Islamic regime in Khartoum (Likoti, 2006: 139). As a result, the political instability in Zaire gave the Sudanese government a further opportunity to hit back by destabilising the Western border of Uganda (Shearer, 1999: 95). Uganda accused Zaire of permitting the creation of the current ADF on its soil, born as a result of the Khartoum-sponsored fusion between Allied Democratic Movement (ADM) and the Ugandan Muslim Liberation Army (UMLA) (Prunier, 2009: 87). In the mid-1990s, since Mobutu was too weak to provide anything except the physical ground from which to operate, the Sudanese Army Security Services regularly used the Bunia airfield in Zaire to bring supplies to the Rwandese *Interahamwe* and to the WBNLF, both groups hostile to the National Resistance Movement (NRM) regime in Kampala (Prunier, 2009:86).

For the same reasons, in 1998, Uganda decided to abandon the Kabila regime, which it had previously backed during the AFDL rebellion against Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire for regional security concerns<sup>358</sup> (Atzili, 2006: 189). Kampala resolved to intervene in the Second Congo War because the Kabila regime proved incapable of maintaining effective security along their shared borders<sup>359</sup> (Orogun, 2002: 31). Additionally, Kampala government's intervention in the DRC war was mostly influenced by Kabila's support of Ugandan rebel insurgents and his role in providing political protection to militias in the Congolese territory<sup>360</sup> (Likoti, 2006: 138). Uganda's presence in Congo can, hence, be explained by its intolerance of Kabila's

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<sup>356</sup>See also International Crisis Group (1999: 25)

<sup>357</sup>See also Orogun (2002: 31)

<sup>358</sup>See also Atzili (2006: 189)

<sup>359</sup>See also Williams (2013: 92)

<sup>360</sup>*Loc. cit.* Orogun

close relationship with Khartoum and his inability to prevent its opponents from conducting attacks in Uganda from the DRC (Williams, 2013: 92).

As discussed above, Uganda had for years fought several Ugandan rebel groups, including the ADF, WNBF and LRA, which benefited from Sudan's support<sup>361</sup> (International Crisis Group, 1999: 25). Since the Sudanese government backed the ADF, the WNBF and the LRA, Kabila's government granted them free operation in the DRC without hindrance (Orogun, 2002: 31), a move, which irritated Kampala regime. As Museveni announced in 1997, "We have run out of Solutions with Sudan. We are now seeking a solution on the battlefield"<sup>362</sup> (Williams, 2013: 92). This battlefield was none other than the DRC, where Ugandan army acting on Museveni's orders were required to fight as far as Kisangani, thousands of kilometres from the border and take control of key airports to prevent the Sudanese government from using them against Kampala regime<sup>363</sup> (Likoti, 2006: 141).

Because of security threats posed by the ADF, the WNBF and the LRA movements, Uganda viewed both Sudan and Congo regimes as the most significant foreign threats to its national interests and security. For Uganda regime, these domestic and foreign opponents threatened its survival and that of the state. Realists predicted Uganda's rational calculations to enter the DRC to confront the security threats posed by an array of insurgent groups supported by Sudanese and Congolese regimes to ensure the regime and state's survivability, national security and stability.

### **5.5. Angola's Contribution to the Congo Civil Wars**

Angola, more than any of other regional states implicated in the conflict, was very concerned about threats that the DRC civil wars posed to its security and national interest. As the Angolan Ambassador to the US announced to the House International Relations Subcommittee of the US House of Representative on 17 September 1998, "the conflict in the DRC represented a direct threat to Angola's strategic national interest" (Nabudere, 2003: 57). Although Angola is a very large state (1,246,000 square kilometres), the fighting in Angola was more likely to spread out over its territory beyond small areas where it shares border with Zaire (Prunier, 2009: 88). Angola worried about its extensive border security challenges with

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<sup>361</sup>See also Orogun (2002: 31);Huening (2009: 137); and Williams (2013: 92)

<sup>362</sup>See also Prunier (2009: 132)

<sup>363</sup>See also International Crisis Group (1999: 25); and Orogun (2002: 31-32)



the DRC and its relations with many of its neighbours, which were at stake (Nabudere, 2003: 57).

Since the 1950s, Angola was a key theatre of Cold-War struggles and continued after independence in 1975 to be the scene of fighting between the *Movimento Popular para a Libertação de Angola* (MPLA) government and the rebels of the *Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola* (FNLA) and the *União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola*(UNITA)<sup>364</sup> (Turner, 2013: 70). Throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, Mobutu supported the FNLA in the Angolan civil wars, and to a greater extent, UNITA, which was allowed to freely use Zaire as a rear base in its conflict against the MPLA regime<sup>365</sup> (Prunier, 2009: 74), where it was supplied with weapons, courtesy of the CIA, from the Kamina base in Katanga<sup>366</sup> (Nabudere, 2003: 58). From 1994, Mobutu's Zaire continued to facilitate UNITA supplies of weapons from Eastern Europe, especially from Bulgaria; this ceased in 1997 when the situation in Zaire looked precarious with the advancing of Ugandan and Rwandan troops alongside Kabila's AFDL. The Angolan security agenda was thus threatened as UNITA leader, Jonas Savimbi looked for Mobutu's Zaire support to restore his fortune and weaponry and continue his military campaign against Luanda<sup>367</sup> (Atzili, 2006: 189). This is the reason why in 1996, Angola backed Rwanda and Uganda to overthrow ex-dictator Mobutu Sese Seko, who provided a sanctuary for UNITA<sup>368</sup> (Williams, 2013: 94).

Similarly, Angola entered the second DRC civil war on 23 August 1998 and risked alienating the Rwandan-backed alliance alongside Kabila regime for its national strategic interest and security (Shearer, 1999: 96). The Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos found it necessary to intervene on the side of Kabila to save his regime, to defeat UNITA, which used the instability in the DRC to impede the Angolan peace process, and to eradicate threats to Angola's petroleum assets posed by the rebels operating on the DRC soil<sup>369</sup> (Williams, 2013: 94). Despite Angola's distinct advantage of armour and air power, and its vast troops comprising 80,000 soldiers compared to that of UNITA, which was estimated at 30,000 forces armed with modern weaponry, neither Angolan military nor UNITA was capable of inflicting total defeat on the other (Shearer, 1999: 97). However, when Angola

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<sup>364</sup>See also International Crisis Group (2000: 55); Orogun (2002: 34); Ross (2005: 16); and Prunier (2009: 90-91)

<sup>365</sup>See also Likoti (2006: 147)

<sup>366</sup>See also Prunier (2009: 74)

<sup>367</sup>See also Shearer (1999: 96); and Nabudere (2003: 58)

<sup>368</sup>See also Orogun (2002: 35); Turner (2013: 68)

<sup>369</sup>See also Nabudere (2003: 57); and Likoti (2006: 148)

received reports that Rwandan and Ugandan forces allied with UNITA rebel group started their military campaign against Kabila on Angola's doorstep after the Kitona airlift, this increased its insecurity. Luanda government, hence, decided to intervene in the DRC civil war in August 1998 with two main goals, "to preserve the security of its territory, particularly in oil-rich territory, and to beat back an increasingly powerful UNITA" (Williams, 2013: 94).

Angola's behaviour also conformed to the norms of realist theory. During the First as in the Second Congo civil wars, Angola entered the conflicts to preserve the security of its territory against UNITA and other Angolan insurgent rebels and protect its national interests, especially its oil-rich territory. Additionally, the Luanda regime fought for its survivability, and to preserve the MPLA's power and that of the state from falling into the hands of UNITA and other opposition forces.

## **5.6. Conclusion**

By exploring the motivations of the key states in the DRC civil wars, realist theory helps to explain why the African Great Lakes Region was engulfed in conflict between 1996 and 2006. Throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, the region was exposed to widespread insecurity due to Mobutu's strategy of using rebel groups as proxies to destabilise competing states. The Kabila regime applied the same strategies during its domestic and foreign policy to counter-attack the invasion of its enemy neighbouring states and backed rebel forces. As a result, the exportation of internal rebellions and insurgencies across national borders in the Great Lakes region led to the most vexing and provocative security dilemmas, which had negative effects on the conventional notions of state's territorial sovereignty and non-interference.

Idealist norms of a world of peace, justice and security for all, as the case study indicates, have continued to fail in many post-colonial multi-ethnic developing states. Although the causes of the Congo's failure, seemingly, originate, first in Belgian colonization, and second, in Cold War rivalries, the post-Cold War era has continued Congo's descent into a failed state. This is highlighted by post-Cold War Congo's experiences of consecutive civil wars, rebellions, corruption, poor governance, and conflicts over its natural resources fuelled by regional and global actors in collusion with domestic actors. Indeed, ever since the Congo gained independence, its condition was resembled the Hobbesian notion of a 'war of all against all'.

The eruption of civil wars in the DRC from 1996 until the Congo became a democratic state in 2006, derived from poor leadership in both the military and civilian administration. Congolese military and civilian leaderships' failure to ensure the protection and control of its territory from internal and external threats, to provide domestic security for its citizens, and to implement law and order within its territory have resulted in regional or cross-border invasions of Congolese territory. The interventions of other governments were justified in as much as the Congo's weakness was a regional security concern.

On the basis of the case-study, this dissertation concludes that the realist perspective correctly anticipates states' behaviour when confronted by the threats posed by failed states. The security concerns and survivability of the regimes of the DRC's neighbouring states in the African Great Lakes region, such as Angola, Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda depended on their self-help actions. These motives, as realist theory argues, were behind Angola, Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda's decisions to opt for military resolutions devised to eliminate the members of renegade militias, which relied on the DRC as a safe haven for their military incursions against them. The DRC's security threats deriving from its state failure status permits realist theory, as opposed to idealist theory, to explicate and clarify the reasons for Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and Angola to enter the DRC civil wars between 1996 and 2006.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix A: Maps

#### *A (i) Map of the African Great Lakes Region*



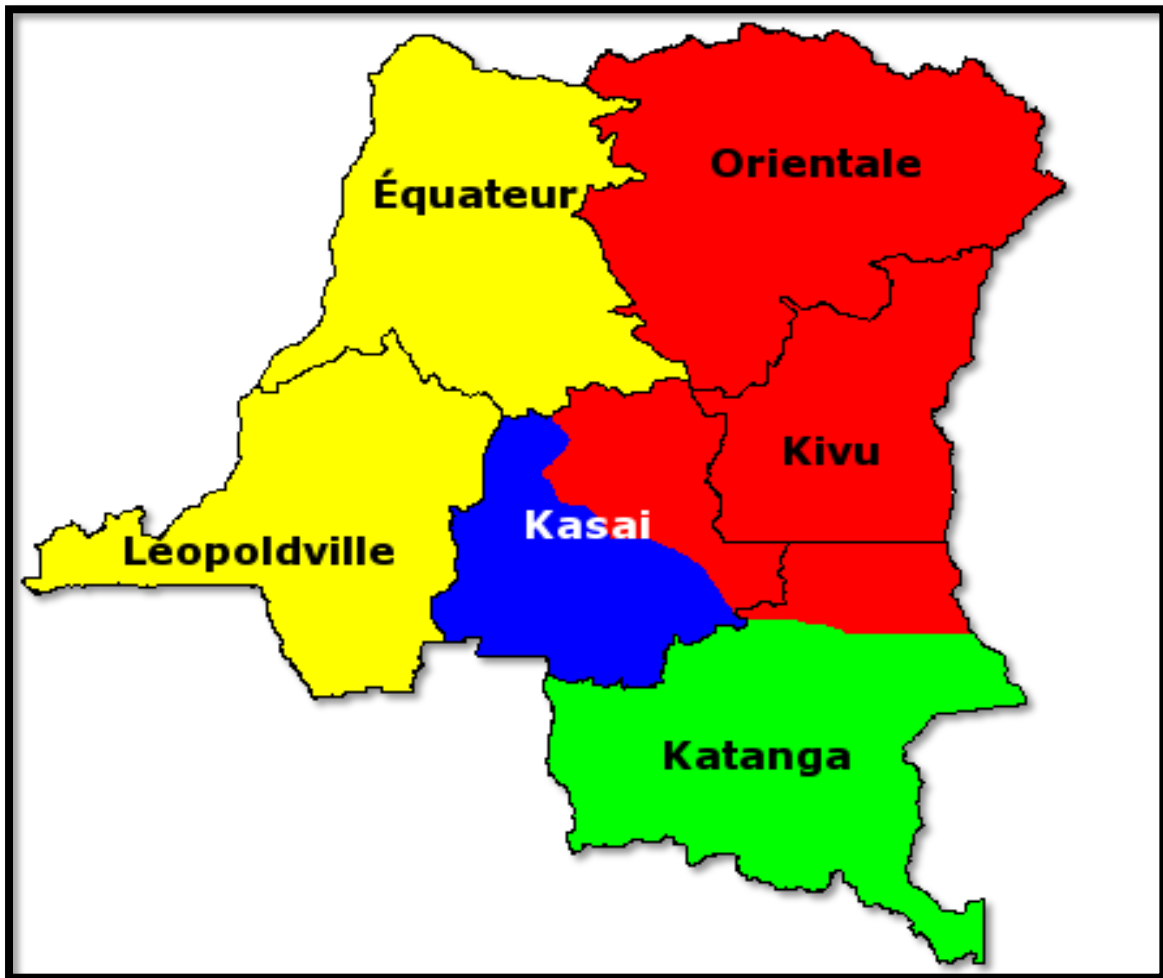
Source: <http://www.forcedmigration.org/research-resources/regions/great-lakes-region>

A (ii) Map of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and its Neighbouring States



Source: <http://www.state.gov/p/af/ci/cg/>

*A (iii) Map of Territorial Control in Congo (1960-61)*



Yellow: National Government based in Leopoldville

Red: Rival National Government based in Stanleyville

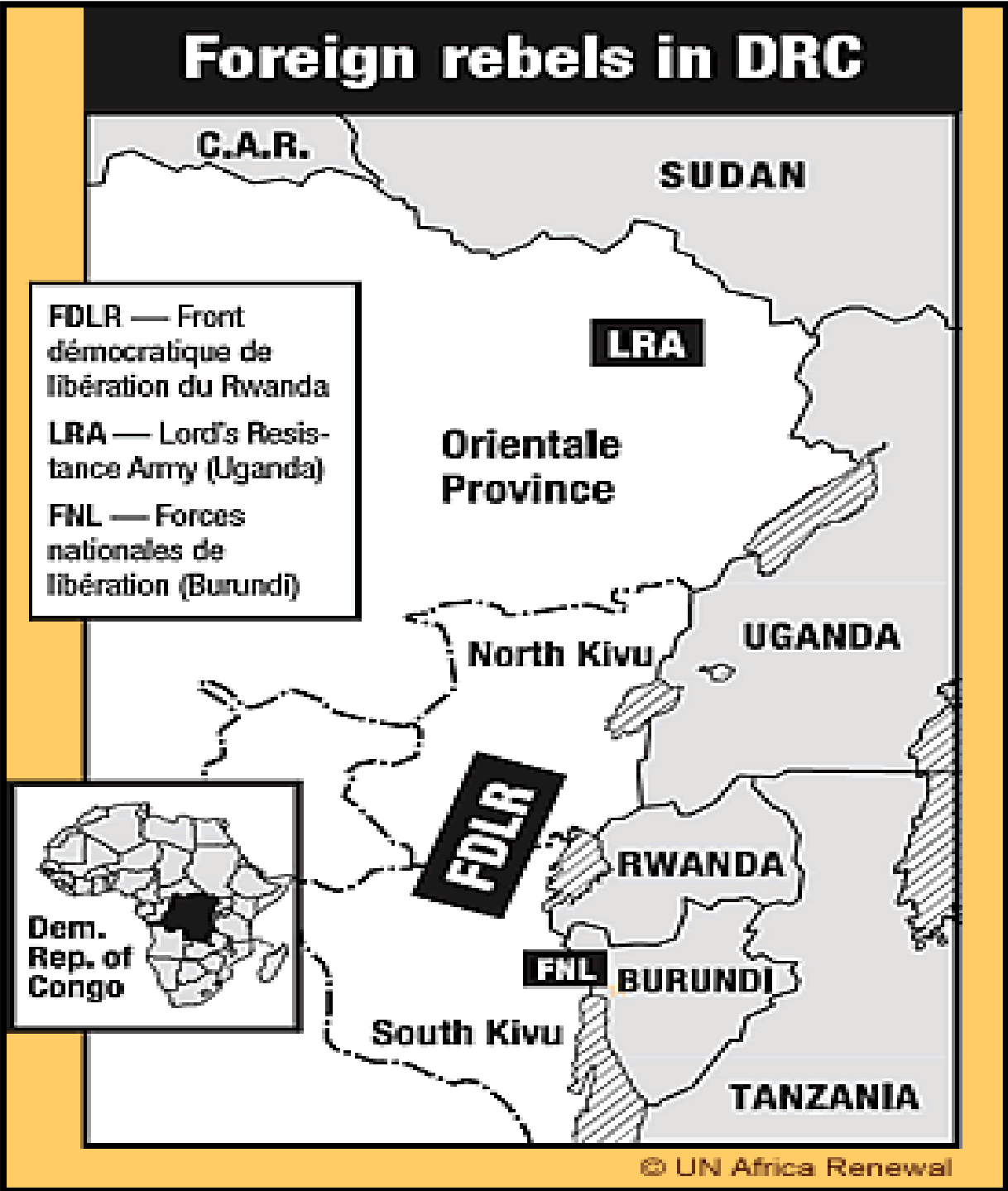
Green: Katanga (Independent)

Blue: Mining State of South Kasai (Autonomous)

**Source:**

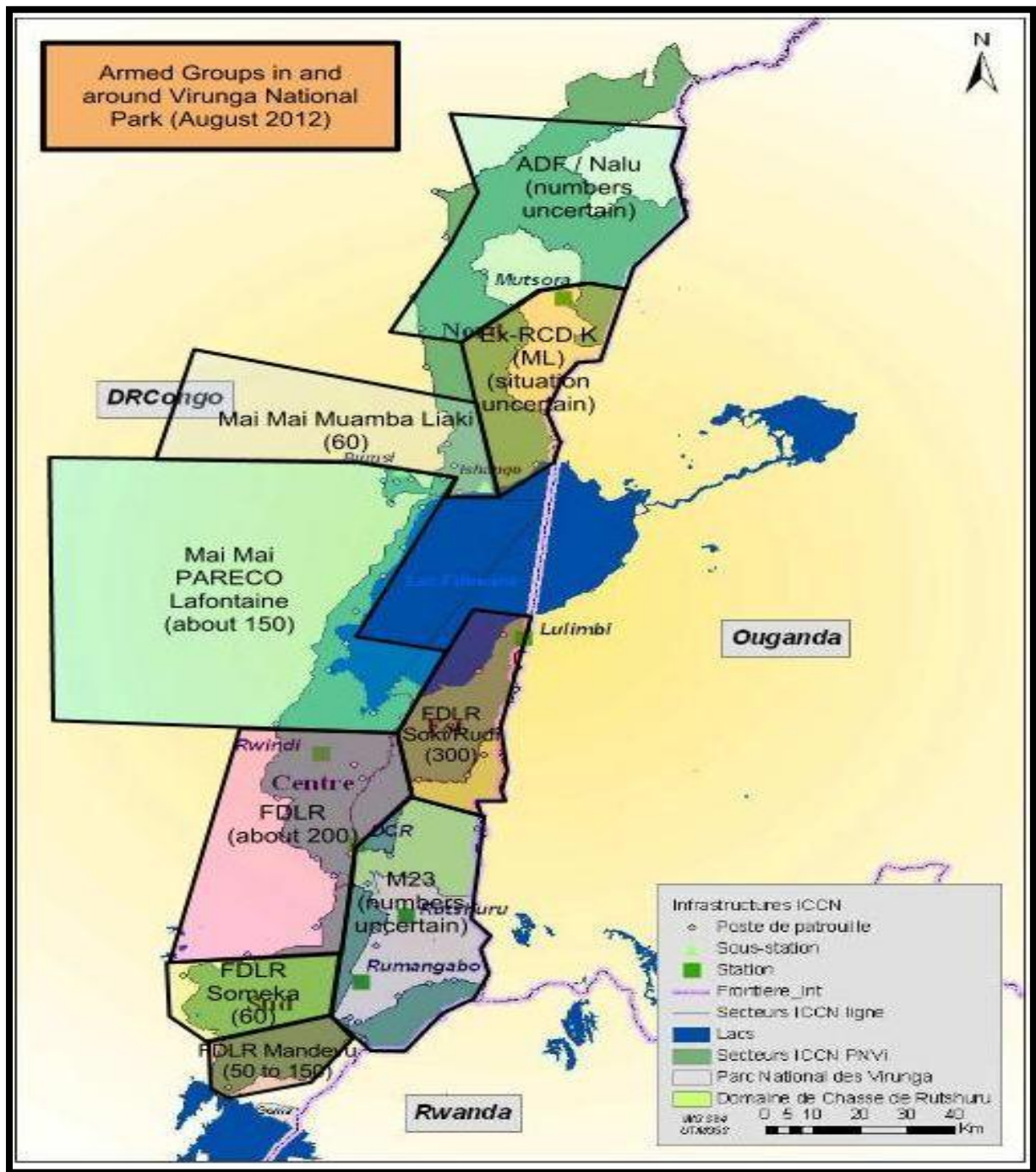
<http://www.congoforum.be/en/congodetail.asp?subitem=21&id=147996&Congofiche=selected>

A (iv) Map of Foreign Forces in the Democratic Republic of the Congo



Source: <http://www.un.org/en/africarenewal/vol23no2/232-foreign-fighters.html>

A (v) Map of Armed Groups in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo



Source: <http://gorillacd.org/2012/08/18/militia-group>



## Appendix B: Failed States Index 2013

Failed States Index 2013		Total	Demographic Pressures	Refugees and IDPs	Group Grievance	Human Flight	Uneven Development and Economic Decline	Poverty and Economic Decline	Legitimacy of the State	Public Services	Human Rights	Security Apparatus	Factionalized Elites	External Intervention
1	Somalia	113,9	9,5	10,0	9,3	8,9	8,4	9,4	9,5	9,8	10,0	9,7	10,0	9,4
2	Congo (D. R.)	111,9	10,0	10,0	9,4	7,1	8,8	8,5	9,6	9,5	9,8	10,0	9,5	9,7
3	Sudan	111,0	8,8	10,0	10,0	8,4	8,5	7,8	9,6	8,8	9,3	9,8	10,0	10,0
4	South Sudan	110,6	8,9	10,0	10,0	6,5	8,9	8,6	9,1	9,8	9,3	9,6	9,8	10,0
5	Chad	109,0	9,5	9,7	8,8	8,0	8,9	8,0	9,7	9,9	9,8	9,4	9,5	7,9
6	Yemen	107,0	9,3	9,2	9,0	7,4	8,1	9,2	9,3	8,7	8,7	9,8	9,5	8,7
7	Afghanistan	106,7	9,3	9,2	9,2	7,2	7,8	8,2	9,4	8,8	8,4	9,9	9,4	10,0
8	Haiti	105,8	9,6	8,6	7,0	9,1	9,1	9,7	8,8	9,6	7,6	7,9	9,0	9,9
9	Central African Republic	105,3	8,6	9,8	8,5	6,1	9,2	7,7	9,0	9,5	8,6	9,7	9,1	9,4
10	Zimbabwe	105,2	9,2	8,7	8,4	8,6	8,6	8,6	9,2	9,1	8,9	8,4	9,7	7,8
11	Iraq	103,9	8,3	8,8	10,0	8,3	8,4	7,3	8,6	7,6	8,6	10,0	9,6	8,5
12	Cote d'Ivoire	103,5	7,8	9,3	9,0	7,3	7,8	7,7	9,3	8,5	8,6	9,1	9,4	9,7
13	Pakistan	102,9	8,9	9,1	9,7	6,9	7,9	7,5	8,4	7,3	8,7	9,8	9,2	9,6
14	Guinea	101,3	8,4	8,2	7,6	7,7	8,2	9,2	9,8	8,9	8,4	9,1	8,9	7,0
15	Guinea Bissau	101,1	8,4	7,8	5,7	8,0	8,1	8,7	9,7	8,8	7,6	9,5	9,7	9,0
16	Nigeria	100,7	8,5	6,6	9,8	7,3	9,2	7,5	8,8	9,3	8,6	9,5	9,4	6,3
17	Kenya	99,6	9,1	8,7	9,0	7,8	8,3	7,6	8,3	8,1	7,1	8,1	9,0	8,5
18	Niger	99,0	9,8	7,9	7,8	6,3	7,9	8,4	8,1	9,5	7,6	8,3	8,9	8,5
19	Ethiopia	98,9	9,7	8,7	8,6	6,7	7,6	7,7	7,3	8,7	8,7	8,4	8,7	8,1
20	Burundi	97,6	8,9	8,8	8,1	6,2	7,6	9,1	8,4	8,3	7,9	7,7	7,9	8,7
21	Syria	97,4	5,6	9,5	9,3	6,2	7,2	6,4	9,6	7,0	9,5	9,8	9,2	8,1
22	Uganda	96,6	9,1	8,4	8,0	6,7	7,8	7,4	8,1	8,3	7,9	8,2	8,6	8,2
= 23	North Korea	95,1	8,0	5,0	6,6	4,4	8,3	9,3	9,8	9,5	9,7	8,4	7,7	8,4
= 23	Liberia	95,1	8,8	9,2	6,5	7,0	8,0	8,3	6,6	9,1	6,4	7,1	8,3	9,8
25	Eritrea	95,0	8,7	7,4	6,1	7,3	6,9	8,3	8,7	8,4	9,1	7,5	8,1	8,6
26	Myanmar	94,6	7,6	8,5	9,0	5,4	8,4	7,3	9,0	8,1	8,3	7,8	8,6	6,6
27	Cameroon	93,5	8,3	7,3	7,8	7,2	7,8	6,1	8,5	8,4	8,1	8,0	9,2	6,8
28	Sri Lanka	92,9	6,8	8,4	9,5	7,3	7,8	5,9	8,2	5,5	9,0	8,5	9,3	6,8
29	Bangladesh	92,5	8,1	7,3	8,6	7,5	7,8	7,3	8,3	8,0	7,3	7,7	8,9	5,8
30	Nepal	91,8	7,6	7,7	9,0	5,9	8,1	7,3	8,1	7,3	7,9	7,6	8,2	7,1
31	Mauritania	91,7	8,5	8,3	7,2	5,7	6,5	8,0	7,7	8,4	7,4	7,8	8,2	7,9
32	Timor-Leste	91,5	8,7	7,4	6,8	6,4	6,7	7,9	8,0	8,5	6,0	8,3	8,3	8,5
33	Sierra Leone	91,2	9,0	8,1	5,9	8,0	8,5	8,6	7,3	9,0	6,1	5,4	7,9	7,4
34	Egypt	90,6	7,2	6,5	8,5	5,4	7,1	8,2	8,9	5,6	9,6	7,3	8,7	7,7
35	Burkina Faso	90,2	9,4	7,4	5,3	6,3	8,4	7,7	7,7	8,7	6,8	7,2	7,3	8,0
36	Congo (Republic)	90,0	8,2	8,0	6,0	6,2	8,2	7,0	8,7	8,7	7,5	6,7	6,7	8,2
37	Iran	89,7	5,5	7,3	8,8	6,1	6,7	6,5	8,9	5,0	9,4	8,6	9,4	7,5
= 38	Mali	89,3	9,3	7,6	7,6	7,8	6,8	8,1	6,0	8,5	6,5	8,1	5,0	8,0
= 38	Rwanda	89,3	8,4	7,9	8,2	6,9	7,7	6,7	6,5	7,6	7,7	5,5	8,2	8,0
40	Malawi	89,2	8,9	6,5	5,7	8,1	8,0	8,4	7,5	8,2	6,8	5,0	7,6	8,4
41	Cambodia	88,0	7,2	6,2	7,0	7,4	7,3	6,4	8,3	8,1	7,8	6,2	8,0	8,0
42	Togo	87,8	8,2	7,1	4,8	6,8	7,6	7,4	8,3	8,3	7,8	7,4	7,5	6,5

43	Angola	87,1	8,9	7,2	6,8	5,9	9,4	5,1	8,6	8,4	7,3	6,1	7,3	6,1
44	Uzbekistan	86,9	6,7	6,0	7,5	6,3	7,6	7,2	9,0	5,4	9,2	7,9	8,7	5,4
45	Zambia	86,6	9,3	7,4	6,0	7,4	8,0	8,3	8,0	7,6	6,7	5,0	5,7	7,2
46	Lebanon	86,3	6,3	8,5	8,5	6,0	6,2	5,3	7,2	5,6	6,8	8,5	9,2	8,2
47	Equatorial Guinea	86,1	8,3	3,3	6,6	6,6	9,1	4,5	9,6	7,6	9,4	7,5	8,2	5,5
48	Kyrgyzstan	85,7	6,2	5,6	8,4	6,4	7,0	7,6	8,4	5,9	7,6	7,4	8,0	7,3
49	Swaziland	85,6	9,0	4,9	3,6	6,3	7,5	8,9	8,7	7,8	8,3	6,0	7,0	7,5
50	Djibouti	85,5	8,3	7,2	6,2	5,2	7,3	6,9	7,8	7,4	7,0	6,6	7,5	8,1
= 51	Tajikistan	85,2	7,4	5,3	6,7	5,9	6,2	8,0	9,1	6,3	8,2	7,4	8,3	6,4
= 51	Solomon Islands	85,2	7,7	4,9	6,8	5,7	8,3	7,8	7,3	8,0	5,9	6,7	8,0	8,2
53	Papua New Guinea	84,9	7,6	5,0	6,6	7,5	9,1	6,9	7,1	8,9	6,2	6,6	7,1	6,3
54	Libya	84,5	5,5	5,4	7,4	4,2	6,7	5,0	8,4	7,3	9,0	8,9	8,0	8,8
55	Georgia	84,2	5,2	7,5	8,0	5,2	6,3	6,4	8,6	5,4	6,4	7,9	9,4	7,9
56	Comoros	84,0	7,4	4,5	5,3	7,2	6,4	8,2	7,4	7,9	6,6	7,5	7,5	8,1
57	Colombia	83,8	6,5	8,3	7,5	7,3	8,1	3,8	7,3	6,1	7,3	6,8	7,7	7,1
58	Laos	83,7	7,5	5,8	6,1	6,8	6,1	5,7	8,6	7,3	8,3	6,6	8,3	6,6
= 59	Mozambique	82,8	9,2	4,6	4,9	7,2	8,0	8,0	7,0	8,5	6,4	6,5	5,6	6,8
= 59	Philippines	82,8	7,1	6,5	7,9	6,2	6,5	5,6	7,6	6,4	6,7	8,7	8,0	5,5
61	Madagascar	82,7	8,1	4,3	4,9	5,5	7,9	8,2	7,2	8,6	5,9	7,0	7,5	7,7
= 62	Gambia	81,8	7,7	6,4	3,7	7,1	6,8	7,8	7,6	7,5	8,0	5,5	6,8	6,9
= 62	Bhutan	81,8	6,4	6,9	7,3	6,8	7,5	6,3	6,0	6,9	7,3	5,6	7,5	7,3
64	Senegal	81,4	8,3	7,0	6,3	6,8	6,8	7,2	5,9	7,8	6,2	6,2	6,6	6,3
65	Tanzania	81,1	8,6	6,8	6,0	6,4	6,4	6,8	6,2	8,8	6,2	5,5	5,7	7,7
66	China	80,9	8,1	6,1	8,3	5,0	8,0	3,6	8,1	6,8	9,4	6,5	7,2	3,8
= 67	Israel/West Bank	80,8	6,2	7,4	9,8	3,2	7,5	3,7	6,7	5,9	7,6	7,1	8,1	7,7
= 67	Fiji	80,8	5,2	3,8	7,3	7,0	7,4	7,3	8,8	4,9	7,3	7,0	7,9	6,9
= 67	Bolivia	80,8	6,9	4,0	7,1	6,4	8,9	6,2	7,2	6,8	6,3	6,7	8,0	6,3
70	Guatemala	80,7	7,3	6,0	7,3	7,1	8,1	6,1	6,9	6,9	6,6	7,0	6,0	5,4
71	Lesotho	79,4	8,8	4,9	4,7	6,8	6,7	8,5	6,0	8,2	5,4	5,2	7,0	7,2
72	Nicaragua	79,2	6,6	4,8	5,9	7,8	7,9	6,8	7,5	6,8	5,4	5,6	6,8	7,3
73	Algeria	78,7	5,8	7,0	7,8	5,1	6,2	5,8	7,4	5,9	7,7	7,4	7,3	5,2
74	Ecuador	78,6	5,8	5,7	7,2	6,8	7,4	5,6	7,2	6,9	4,9	6,7	8,2	6,2
75	Honduras	78,3	7,0	3,9	5,8	6,6	8,1	6,9	6,9	6,8	6,3	6,8	6,3	6,9
= 76	Azerbaijan	78,2	5,3	7,9	6,9	4,7	6,1	4,7	8,2	5,1	7,6	6,9	7,8	6,9
= 76	Indonesia	78,2	7,5	6,0	7,3	6,3	6,9	5,5	6,4	6,1	6,5	6,8	7,0	5,9
78	Benin	77,9	8,3	6,5	3,6	6,2	7,2	7,1	6,0	8,6	5,1	5,8	6,1	7,3
79	India	77,5	7,5	5,2	8,2	5,4	8,1	5,4	5,2	6,7	5,9	7,8	6,8	5,2
80	Russia	77,1	5,7	5,3	8,2	5,1	7,0	3,5	8,1	5,1	8,6	8,5	8,0	4,0
= 81	Turkmenistan	76,7	5,9	3,9	6,7	4,9	6,5	5,4	9,3	6,1	8,7	7,1	7,7	4,6
= 81	Belarus	76,7	5,7	3,6	6,8	3,9	5,7	6,2	9,0	5,2	8,3	6,3	8,3	7,6
= 83	Bosnia	76,5	4,4	6,8	7,7	5,6	6,2	5,2	6,7	4,4	6,4	6,4	8,7	8,0
= 83	Moldova	76,5	5,9	5,0	6,0	6,9	5,9	6,4	6,9	5,7	6,0	7,2	7,7	6,9
= 83	Tunisia	76,5	4,9	4,2	7,8	5,0	6,0	6,0	7,9	5,0	8,4	7,2	7,8	6,3
86	Turkey	75,9	5,7	7,4	9,0	3,9	6,8	5,3	5,9	5,5	5,5	7,9	7,3	5,6
87	Jordan	75,7	6,7	7,8	7,1	4,2	6,5	6,5	6,5	4,3	7,4	5,8	6,8	6,2
88	Maldives	75,4	5,4	5,3	4,9	6,2	4,4	6,5	8,3	6,7	7,6	5,8	8,0	6,4
89	Venezuela	75,3	5,4	4,8	6,4	5,8	6,9	5,4	7,6	6,5	7,7	6,5	7,3	4,9
90	Thailand	75,1	7,9	6,4	8,1	3,5	6,4	3,5	6,2	4,6	7,3	7,8	8,8	4,6
91	Sao Tome	74,6	6,6	4,3	4,8	7,9	6,3	7,9	6,6	6,4	4,3	5,8	6,3	7,3
92	Serbia	74,4	4,7	6,6	8,0	4,7	5,9	6,5	6,3	4,7	5,5	6,5	8,0	7,0
93	Morocco	74,3	5,8	5,9	6,5	7,0	6,9	5,3	6,7	5,9	6,6	6,3	6,6	4,9
94	Cape Verde	73,7	6,7	4,1	4,2	8,3	6,9	6,1	6,3	6,5	5,1	5,7	5,5	8,2

= 95	Dominican Republic	73,2	6,4	5,5	6,1	7,9	6,9	5,5	5,4	6,2	5,7	5,2	6,5	5,9
= 95	El Salvador	73,2	7,4	5,5	5,7	6,9	7,0	6,5	5,9	6,5	6,1	6,4	4,3	5,1
= 97	Mexico	73,1	6,5	4,0	6,1	5,9	7,2	5,2	6,1	6,6	6,3	7,9	5,2	6,1
= 97	Vietnam	73,1	5,9	4,7	5,7	5,7	5,8	6,2	7,8	5,8	7,5	5,4	6,9	5,6
= 99	Micronesia	72,9	7,1	3,1	4,2	8,4	8,0	7,5	6,3	6,3	3,1	5,4	5,6	7,9
= 99	Gabon	72,9	6,8	5,6	3,3	5,5	7,3	5,2	7,6	7,0	6,8	5,4	7,1	5,4
101	Cuba	72,8	6,6	5,3	4,8	6,3	5,9	5,2	6,5	4,7	7,5	6,3	6,9	6,7
102	Saudi Arabia	72,7	5,5	5,2	7,4	3,1	6,4	3,6	7,8	4,0	8,9	7,2	8,0	5,6
103	Peru	72,3	5,9	4,7	7,0	6,1	7,8	4,1	7,1	6,4	5,0	7,0	6,7	4,5
104	Paraguay	71,8	6,1	2,4	6,5	4,9	8,6	5,1	7,9	6,1	6,1	6,1	7,9	4,2
105	Armenia	71,3	4,9	7,0	5,7	6,0	5,6	5,9	6,6	4,4	6,8	5,3	7,0	6,2
106	Suriname	71,2	5,7	3,0	6,1	7,6	7,0	7,1	6,1	5,3	5,4	5,8	5,8	6,3
107	Guyana	70,8	5,8	3,8	5,9	8,5	6,8	6,6	6,2	6,0	4,4	5,8	5,1	5,9
108	Namibia	70,4	6,9	5,6	5,3	6,5	8,7	6,7	4,1	6,7	4,9	4,9	3,5	6,5
109	Kazakhstan	69,8	5,3	3,8	6,2	3,6	5,3	6,2	7,8	5,1	7,1	6,4	7,7	5,3
110	Ghana	69,1	6,7	5,5	4,9	7,3	6,5	6,1	5,1	7,6	4,7	3,8	5,0	6,0
111	Samoa	68,7	6,8	2,5	4,8	8,8	6,0	5,9	6,0	4,8	4,5	5,5	5,1	8,0
112	Macedonia	68,0	3,9	5,2	7,8	6,1	6,2	5,9	6,1	3,9	4,3	6,0	7,0	5,6
113	South Africa	67,6	7,8	6,5	5,7	4,3	8,0	5,9	5,3	6,3	4,2	5,1	5,6	2,9
114	Belize	67,2	6,5	4,9	4,4	7,1	6,6	5,5	6,0	6,0	4,1	5,5	4,3	6,3
115	Cyprus	67,0	4,0	4,4	7,3	4,8	7,0	5,8	5,5	3,0	3,3	5,0	7,9	9,0
116	Malaysia	66,1	5,6	4,6	6,1	4,8	5,9	4,1	6,2	4,5	7,1	6,0	6,8	4,4
117	Ukraine	65,9	4,7	3,2	5,9	5,7	5,3	5,4	7,8	3,6	5,7	4,4	8,0	6,2
118	Jamaica	65,6	5,6	3,4	4,0	7,2	5,9	6,6	6,1	5,7	5,0	6,3	3,7	6,3
119	Albania	65,2	4,7	3,1	4,8	6,6	4,8	5,3	7,0	4,8	6,0	5,5	6,3	6,3
120	Grenada	64,6	5,2	3,2	3,9	8,5	5,9	5,8	6,2	3,6	3,7	5,3	5,6	7,7
= 121	Seychelles	64,0	5,2	3,3	4,8	4,9	6,6	5,2	6,3	3,5	5,2	6,4	5,7	6,9
= 121	Botswana	64,0	8,3	5,8	4,8	5,0	7,5	6,1	4,4	6,0	4,4	3,5	3,3	4,8
123	Brunei	63,2	4,5	3,3	6,2	4,6	7,8	2,8	7,4	2,6	6,9	5,6	7,4	4,1
124	Bahrain	62,9	4,6	2,5	7,3	3,3	5,7	3,2	7,6	2,4	7,5	6,1	7,1	5,6
125	Trinidad	62,6	5,3	3,0	4,4	7,8	6,1	4,6	5,6	5,2	5,2	5,7	5,6	4,2
126	Brazil	62,1	7,0	3,6	5,9	3,9	8,3	3,3	5,3	5,4	5,3	5,9	4,9	3,3
127	Kuwait	59,6	5,1	3,8	4,6	3,7	5,3	3,4	7,6	2,6	6,8	4,4	7,9	4,4
128	Antigua & Barbuda	58,0	4,6	3,0	4,1	7,6	5,6	4,5	5,8	4,0	4,4	4,9	3,7	5,8
129	Mongolia	57,8	5,5	2,2	3,7	2,5	6,3	4,7	5,3	5,7	5,4	4,4	5,5	6,5
130	Romania	57,4	4,3	2,7	6,3	4,7	5,3	5,7	6,4	4,3	3,9	4,1	5,2	4,6
131	Panama	55,8	5,9	3,7	5,0	4,5	7,9	3,8	4,7	5,0	4,4	5,1	2,5	3,3
132	Bulgaria	55,0	4,4	3,1	4,6	4,9	5,1	5,0	4,8	4,4	3,7	4,7	5,3	5,0
133	Bahamas	54,7	6,6	2,8	4,4	5,6	5,6	4,5	4,9	4,4	2,8	4,3	4,5	4,3
134	Montenegro	54,4	3,9	4,5	6,5	3,0	3,5	4,6	4,2	3,6	4,4	4,6	6,2	5,3
135	Croatia	54,1	3,7	5,5	5,3	4,4	4,4	5,1	3,9	2,9	4,7	4,8	4,4	5,0
136	Oman	52,0	5,0	2,0	2,7	1,8	3,6	4,5	6,1	4,4	7,5	5,3	6,6	2,4
137	Barbados	50,8	3,8	2,7	4,4	6,2	5,7	5,8	3,6	2,7	2,5	4,2	4,2	5,0
138	Greece	50,6	4,3	2,0	4,8	4,4	4,3	6,4	5,4	3,9	3,0	3,9	3,0	5,1
139	Costa Rica	48,7	4,9	4,1	4,1	3,5	6,1	4,3	3,5	4,6	2,4	2,5	3,8	4,9
140	Latvia	47,9	3,6	3,3	5,4	4,2	4,9	4,0	4,5	3,4	3,2	3,3	4,3	3,8
141	Hungary	47,6	2,5	2,9	4,1	3,9	4,9	6,0	5,9	3,1	3,4	2,3	4,8	3,8
142	United Arab Emirates	47,3	3,9	2,5	4,3	2,4	4,8	3,5	6,5	2,9	6,4	2,9	3,6	3,5
143	Qatar	47,1	4,3	2,1	4,9	3,1	4,8	2,9	5,9	2,0	5,6	2,5	5,0	4,0
144	Argentina	46,1	4,1	2,0	5,0	3,0	6,0	4,0	4,4	3,9	4,1	3,0	2,7	3,8
= 145	Estonia	45,3	3,5	3,3	5,9	3,9	4,3	3,5	3,8	3,0	2,4	2,9	5,5	3,3
= 145	Slovakia	45,3	3,2	2,0	5,0	4,5	4,6	5,2	4,3	3,5	3,0	2,3	3,7	3,9

147	Italy	44,6	3,8	3,3	4,7	2,6	3,6	4,8	4,7	2,4	2,9	5,0	4,8	2,0
148	Mauritius	44,5	3,8	2,2	3,5	3,6	4,8	4,1	4,1	3,8	3,5	3,3	3,2	4,6
149	Spain	44,4	2,8	2,3	5,8	3,0	4,1	5,5	3,3	3,3	2,2	4,1	6,0	2,0
150	Lithuania	43,0	3,8	2,9	3,7	4,1	5,2	4,5	3,8	3,4	2,9	2,5	3,0	3,2
151	Malta	42,4	2,8	5,2	4,0	4,1	3,5	3,6	4,1	2,3	3,3	3,7	2,0	3,8
152	Chile	42,3	4,9	2,4	3,5	2,8	5,5	4,1	3,8	4,3	3,5	2,9	1,4	3,2
153	Poland	40,9	3,5	2,8	3,8	5,0	3,9	3,5	3,4	2,8	2,9	2,5	3,6	3,3
154	Czech Republic	39,9	2,5	2,2	3,8	3,4	3,8	4,5	4,1	3,7	2,4	2,1	4,2	3,2
155	Uruguay	38,4	3,8	1,9	2,8	4,7	4,4	3,6	1,7	3,4	2,3	3,7	2,7	3,5
156	Japan	36,1	5,4	3,7	3,8	2,0	1,8	3,7	2,2	2,5	3,0	1,7	2,6	3,7
157	South Korea	35,4	3,0	2,0	3,1	3,9	2,9	2,0	2,9	1,9	2,6	2,1	3,6	5,4
158	Singapore	34,0	2,5	1,1	2,7	3,3	3,7	3,0	3,2	1,9	4,9	1,5	4,0	2,2
159	United States	33,5	3,0	2,3	4,2	1,0	4,8	3,2	2,3	2,4	3,2	2,2	3,9	1,0
160	United Kingdom	33,2	2,5	2,7	5,0	2,1	3,6	4,1	1,6	2,3	1,8	2,7	3,5	1,3
= 161	France	32,6	2,7	2,2	5,9	1,9	4,3	4,0	2,2	1,5	2,4	2,3	1,9	1,4
= 161	Portugal	32,6	2,8	1,6	2,3	2,6	3,4	5,4	2,1	3,5	2,7	1,6	1,3	3,3
163	Slovenia	32,3	2,5	1,4	3,3	3,2	4,5	3,6	2,8	2,1	2,5	2,5	1,6	2,3
164	Belgium	30,9	2,5	1,6	4,1	1,8	3,8	3,5	2,1	2,2	1,5	2,0	3,9	2,0
165	Germany	29,7	2,4	3,6	4,3	2,2	3,9	2,6	1,4	1,8	1,9	2,2	2,0	1,4
= 166	Austria	26,9	2,3	2,4	4,3	1,6	4,0	1,9	1,5	1,5	2,0	1,1	2,7	1,6
= 166	Netherlands	26,9	3,0	2,4	4,1	2,2	2,3	3,5	1,0	1,5	1,0	1,8	2,6	1,5
168	Canada	26,0	2,6	2,1	3,1	2,1	3,5	1,8	1,5	2,0	2,0	1,8	2,5	1,0
169	Australia	25,4	3,3	2,7	3,6	1,1	3,3	2,1	1,0	1,8	2,2	1,7	1,6	1,0
170	Ireland	24,8	2,2	1,4	1,6	2,8	2,5	3,9	1,9	1,9	1,3	1,8	1,3	2,2
171	Iceland	24,7	1,6	1,6	1,0	2,8	1,7	3,7	1,4	1,6	1,3	1,0	1,8	5,2
172	Luxembourg	23,3	1,7	1,8	2,8	2,1	1,5	1,5	1,9	1,3	1,0	2,3	3,4	2,0
173	New Zealand	22,7	2,1	1,1	3,5	2,4	3,4	3,6	0,5	1,8	1,2	1,1	1,1	1,0
174	Denmark	21,9	2,5	1,6	3,4	1,9	1,6	1,9	1,0	1,4	1,7	1,5	1,4	2,0
= 175	Switzerland	21,5	2,1	1,5	3,5	2,1	2,3	2,3	0,8	1,4	1,7	1,4	1,0	1,4
= 175	Norway	21,5	2,0	1,9	3,6	1,6	1,5	1,9	0,5	1,4	1,9	2,7	1,1	1,3
177	Sweden	19,7	2,5	2,4	1,0	1,7	1,7	1,7	0,5	1,9	1,3	2,2	1,8	1,0
178	Finland	18,0	1,9	1,6	1,4	2,3	1,0	3,2	1,0	1,5	1,1	1,0	1,1	1,0

Source: <http://ffp.statesindex.org/rankings-2013-sortable>

**Appendix C: Sample of Companies Importing Minerals from the Democratic Republic  
of the Congo via Rwanda**

<i>Company</i>	<i>Country of destination</i>	<i>Merchandise</i>
Cogem	Belgium	Cassiterites
Muka-Enterprise	Belgium	Cassiterites
Issa	Germany	Cassiterites
Chpistopa Floss	Germany	Cassiterites
Redemi	Rwanda	Cassiterites
Banro-Resources Corp.	Malaysia	cassiterites, coltan
	Canada	Cassiterites
Bharat	United Republic of Tanzania	Cassiterites
Extano-Office	Rwanda	Coltan
Coopimar	Rwanda	Coltan
Geologistics Hannover	Germany	Coltan
Rwasibo-Butera	Switzerland	Coltan
Eagleswings	Netherlands	Coltan
Veen	Netherlands	Coltan
Soger	Belgium	Coltan
Patel Warehouse	Netherlands	Coltan
Afrimex	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Coltan
	Netherlands	Cassiterites
Chimie Pharmacie	Netherlands	Coltan
	Belgium	Coltan
Sogem	Belgium	coltan, cassiterites, tin
Cogecom	Belgium	coltan, cassiterites
Cogea	Belgium	Coltan
Panalpina	Kenya	Coltan
Tradement	Belgium	coltan, cassiterites
Ventro Star	United Kingdom of Great Britain and	Coltan

	Northern Ireland	
Raremet	India	Coltan
Finconord	Pakistan	Coltan
Finiming Ltd.	Belgium	Coltan
Finconcorde	Russian Federation	cassiterites, coltan
Patel	India	Cassiterites
Cicle International	Belgium	Coltan
Masingiro	Germany	Coltan
Union-Transport	Germany	Coltan
Specialty Metal	Belgium	Coltan
MDW	Belgium	cassiterites, coltan
Transintra	Belgium	Cassiterites

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**Source:** <http://www.un.org/news/dh/latest/drcongo.htm>

## Appendix D: Origins of Conflicts

In your opinion, what are the origins of the conflicts in eastern Congo?	North Kivu	South Kivu	Ituri	Total
Conflicts over power (%)	48.9	50.2	39.8	46.8
Exploitation of natural resources (%)	39.0	42.2	26.7	36.6
Conflicts over land / access to land (%)	24.8	24.5	60.1	34.5
Ethnic divisions (%)	25.6	23.7	39.8	28.9
Ignorance of people (%)	13.0	12.5	11.9	12.5
Rwanda (%)	4.7	7.1	3.0	5.0
International community (%)	1.0	0.7	1.4	1.0
Problems with nationality (%)	13.5	15.6	14.6	14.5
Poverty (%)	10.7	13.1	12.2	11.9
Other (%)	7.9	8.1	6.1	7.4
Don't know (%)	2.9	3.1	1.7	2.6

**Source:** Vinck, Pham, Baldo, and Shigekane (2008: 28)

**Appendix E: The Military Situation in the Second Democratic Republic of the Congo War**

	Estimated size of Forces deployed to the DRC	What they bring to war effort
ALIR (Interahamwe and EX-FAR)	30,000-40,000	Seen as determined fighters. They are divided between the conventional frontline and the Eastern Kivu region.
Angola	2,000-2,500	The Army is poorly disciplined, but heavily equipped. Troops in the DRC are 'second echelon' quality. Nevertheless, their air power is a decisive advantage despite poor equipment maintenance.
Burundi	2,000	Thought to be adequate tactically at the small unit level. But at present, they are distracted by heavy fighting in Burundi.
Democratic Republic of Congo-FAC	45,000-55,000	Even the 'elite' troops have proved to be unreliable in battle. The number includes Interahamwe and FDD forces present in the FAC.
Force de la Défense de la Démocratie (FDD)	16,000	Burundian rebels who have come to fight in the service of Kabila. Their forces are split between the Congo and the Tanzanian refugee camps.
Movement for the Liberation of Congo (MLC)	6,500-9,000	Troops of various quality and origin. They enjoy the advantage of Bemba's complete control over the movement.
Namibia	1,600-2,000	Infantry, some artillery. Generally of little importance to the overall conflict.
RCD-Goma	17,000-20,000	Unreliable in battle. Many deserted from the FAC when the rebellion broke out, and have little loyalty to the rebel cause.
RCD-ML	2,500	Divided by internal feuds, and little able to assist Uganda with war effort against Kabila.
Rwanda	17,000-25,000	Troops are respected for their determination. The force however has little firepower, and remains something of a guerrilla army.
Uganda	10,000	Greater firepower than the RPA, but troops are less reliable.
Zimbabwe	11,000	Viewed as a well-equipped and professional military. However, their performance in combat to date has been poor.

**Source:** International Crisis Group (ICG) (2000: 4).



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