

**THE BURDEN OF THE FUTURE:  
AN EXPLORATION OF THE AFTERMATH OF VIOLENT CONFLICT  
IN THE EASTERN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO  
(1996-2007)**

**BY  
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2019

## **DECLARATION**

I, Heri Mugisha Dunia, declare that:

- a) This is my original work, except where otherwise indicated.
- b) This thesis has not been submitted for examination at any given university.
- c) This thesis does not contain any other person's data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons and referenced.
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## DEDICATION

To the Almighty God, for His indescribable mercy and patience in my regards;

To all the victims of violence in the Democratic republic of Congo and else in the world;

And

To all of those who love peace.

Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God (Matthew 5: 9).

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

It would be a crime to pass unnoticed those who helped me to achieve this work.

I am gratefully grateful to Jesus-Christ of Nazareth who saved my soul from the coming destruction and who has been carrying me and holding my hand in a manner that is invisible to naked eyes.

Humanly speaking, my deep heart felt appreciation and gratitude are conveyed to my Supervisors, Professor Suzanne and Doctor Michael Francis for their valuable and considerable contribution in my academic life; first of from prior to and all along the writing up of this thesis. From the early days of the beginning of my Masters dissertation, Dr. Michael Francis and Professor Suzanne Francis have been living pillars of support in my academic trajectory.

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## ***ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS***

ABAKO: Alliance des Bakongo (Bakongo Alliance).

AFDL: Alliance des forces démocratiques pour la libération du Congo (Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo).

ANC: Armée Nationale Congolaise (Congolese National Armed Forces).

CRIAC: Centre de Recherche Industrielle en Afrique Centrale (Centre for Industrial Research in Central Africa).

CRSN: Centre de Recherche en Sciences Naturelles (Natural Science Research Centre).

CFS: Congo Free State (Etat Indépendant du Congo).

CIA: Central Intelligence Agency.

CNDP: Congrès national pour la défense du peuple (The National Congress for the Defence of the People).

CNS: Conférence nationale souveraine (National Sovereign Conference).

CIAT: Comité International d'Accompagnement à la Transition (International Committee for Assistance during Transition).

DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo.

EU: European Union.

FAR: Forces Armées Rwandaises (Rwandese Armed Forces).

FARD C: Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo (Democratic Republic of Congo Armed Forces).

FAR: Forces Armees Rwandaises (Rwandese Armed Forces).

FDLR: Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda (Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda).

GDP: Gross Domestic Product.

IDPs: internally displaced persons.

IMF: International Monetary Fund (Fond Monétaire International).

INGOs: International non-governmental Organisations.

INS: Institut National de Statistique (National Institute for Statistics).

INRA: Institut national de la recherche agronomique (International Institute for Agronomic Research).

IRSAC: Institut de Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale (Institute for Scientific Research in Central Africa).

MLC Mouvement de Libération du Congo (Movement for the Liberation of the Congo).

MNC: Mouvement National Congolais (Congolese National Movement).

MNC(s): Multinational corporation(s).

MONUC: Mission de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en République Démocratique du Congo (United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo).

MONUSCO: Mission de l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour la stabilisation en République démocratique du Congo (United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo).

NGOs: Non-governmental organisations.

NORD: National Office of Research and Development.

ONUC: Organisation des Nations Unies au Congo (United Nations Organisation in te Congo).

PPRD: Parti Pour La Reconstruction et le Développement (People's Party for Reconstruction and Development).

RCD: Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie (Congolese Rally for Democracy).

RPA: Rwandese Patriotic Army (Armée Patriotique Rwandaise).

RPF: Rwandese Patriotic Front (Front Patriotique Rwandaise).

UDPS: Union pour la Démocratie et le Progrès Social (Union for Democracy and Social Progress).

UK: United Kingdom.

UN: United Nations.

UNAMIR: United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (Mission des Nations Unies pour l'Assistance au Rwanda).

USA : United States of America



## **ABSTRACT**

This study explores the aftermath of protracted social conflict in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) through a historical lense in the Kabare district, precisely in Mulungu, Lwiro and Katana where research centres are located. A qualitative research paradigm was used to determine the nature and extent of protracted violence on the economy and the society. The sampling area involved the three research centres along with their direct vicinities. One hundred in-depth interviews with three focus groups followed by participant observation were used in this study in order to generate rich data. Purposive sampling technique was used to identify relevant respondents to which a snowball sampling method was added to help reach more interviewees. The findings of this study reveal that the numerous crisis that the country has gone through from the Leopoldian era right to the present are explained by the pursuit of the 1885 Berlin Protocol. Here international powers agreed on using the Congo as a carrefour for international commerce to enlarge their markets as well as to advance their commercial agenda while simultaneously using it as a digging ground of raw material required to boost industries in the West at the cost of the blood, sweat and misery of the Congolese people. The state failures from the Congo Free State to the Democratic Republic of Congo, coupled with the protracted social conflict that seats the culture of violence within the structures, institutions as well as the Congolese social fabric; are the result of the application of the 1885 Berlin Protocol that set the Congo to be an ever-open market for world leaders rather than a modern nation-state. The study concludes in demonstrating that unless the 1885 Berlin Protocol is reviewed and changed completely to allow the Congo to organize itself as a modern nation-state that will deal at equal terms of trade with Western countries, peace will remain illusory in the DRC and the innocent Congolese will continue to die in the process.

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## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

This chapter presents the current study in a general manner. It provides the background to the study, the research hypothesis and the reason for choosing the topic. Following from that the chapter also outlines the significance of the study, the research questions and the research objectives. Within this structure, the theoretical framework and methodological considerations are added and the chapter ends with the outline of chapters that constitute the study.

### ***Background to the study***

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is currently experiencing mass violence and conditions of war. This is not new to the region and the people here having experienced the worst type of depredations since colonial times. This thesis charts this by retracing the history of the DRC and draws a connection from the past violence regimes through to the future.

The Democratic Republic of Congo is a vast track of land of 2 345 000 square kilometres located in the very heart of the African continent. It shares its borders with nine other countries; among them South Sudan and the Central African Republic to the North; in the East it borders with Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda and Tanzania and it is has the Republic of Zambia and Angola along its southern border with the Popular Republic of Congo along the western border. The DRC is a tropical country with two seasons; the one known as the ‘rainy season’ that stretches from September to April during which there are heavy rains and the ‘dry season’ that runs from May to July when it is hot. The entirety of the Congo is drained by the Congo river from the Province of Shaba up to the Atlantic Ocean where the Congo River ends its course with tributaries from each side which allows it to keep a regular flow of 40 000 cubic metre per second. The rainfall amount ranges from 1,500 to 2,000 millimetres (60 to 79 inches) per year in the north, while in the south it decreases towards the coast, where it descends to 1,200 mm (47 in)<sup>1</sup>. Prior to the scramble of Africa in 1885, the country was made up of several independent kingdoms such as the notorious Kingdom of Congo; the Kuba kingdom, the Luba and Lunda empires, among others and the

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.climatestotravel.com/climate/congo>



broad region was referred to as the Basin of the Congo River<sup>2</sup>. In 1885, the international powers that were gathered in Berlin Conference partitioned the continent of Africa among themselves and the Congo Basin River was given to King Leopold II for espoused humanitarian purpose, but in reality the Belgium King was dying to secure a colony overseas and this was materialized on the African Continent<sup>3</sup>. The terms and conditions agreed upon with other powers included among others the opening of a free trade zones to be enjoyed by Western signatory powers of the Berlin Conference. Once in charge of the Congo, King Leopold II who never set his feet in the Congo, named it the Congo Free State (CFS). He led this huge country from his headquarters in Brussels with an iron fist. He gave instructions that were implemented by his bureaucrats and workers abroad. He initiated the construction of the railway from the Congo River Falls on the Atlantic shore to Stanley Pool that came later to be known as Leopoldville, known today as Kinshasa. His aim was to convey the raw material from the interior to the international market in the West by means of shipping. Rubber and ivory came to be the prime preoccupation of his economic activities. This was explained by the role that rubber played in the fabrication of the tires in the motor industry prior to the discovery of synthetic rubber; and the demand of ivory in several industries from the jewelry to the artistic world.

Because Leopold II hijacked the CFS and made it a personal fief, he laid the foundations of a violent empire that has continued to date. To seat his violent rule over the CFS, Leopold II put in place an army of mercenaries from around the world that had a mission of coercing local populations to collect rubber and supply to the chief of stations who were in charge of his administration. The *Force Publique*, such as it was called, was a mixture of ruthless men who had no true military sense of duty. They were summoned to shoot, kill, cut off the hands of those who were not supplying rubber according to the daily quota. In addition to this violence they raped innocent women, burnt entire villages and exiled thousands of men, women and children outside their native lands. The death toll is estimated to be over ten million Congolese dying of

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<sup>2</sup> Probably named after the Congo River

<sup>3</sup> King Leopold II did everything he could in trying to secure a colony for his country, Belgium. He initiated a conference of Geographers in Belgium prior to 1885 and made a meticulous inquiry about the Congo from explorers who toured the continent such as Livingstone and Morton Stanley whom he later employed as personal explorer in the Congo (Gann and Duignan, 1979; Van Reybrouck, 2014).

hunger, murder and thirst, all made worse by the harshness of a wild environment where they were seeking refuge.

Overall, the CFF administration has also engaged in the selling of Africans to the international market as slaves. These were captured by the men at the service of the Belgian monarch, enchained and shipped overseas. Africans started to be seen as sub-humans or inferior beings from the CFS and were treated as such<sup>4</sup>. The Leopoldian system plundered the Congolese riches and used the Congolese people to extract them for the benefit of the Belgian monarch. The Monarch grew richer at the expense of the Congolese population. Leopold II grew his bloody business in loading ships with weapons and ammunitions that he shipped to the Congo in exchange of ivory, rubber and tropical agricultural products. The militarization and the use of coercive force were initiated by Leopold II and were continued in an overt manner all along his administration. Governance in the Congo came to be defined as the accumulation of coercive means to extract wealth and riches while the Congolese were thrust in an acute immiseration and alienation; depression and schizophrenia on the side of the Congolese. The cutting off of hands, the rape of women and the suffering of Congolese people in general was used as a means of instilling fear in their minds in order to control them for economic purposes and export financial capital to Brussels where they were accumulated and used for megalomaniac projects of Leopold II in building, travelling and leisure. When these devilish practices were denounced by international philanthropies, Leopold II was questioned by the Belgian parliament and refused to give any account of his activities in the CFS. He was finally forced to relinquish the colony to his country, the Kingdom of Belgium, without any accountability for activities and violence perpetrated during his rule.

Leopold II had instituted a rule of terror and tyranny characterized by a complete absence of human rights, vast amounts of corruption, violence and nepotism. He never set foot in the CFS but ruled the Congo by means of politico-economic remote control from Belgium, using a system of networks of Chief of Stations and *Kapitas* to which he assured the functioning with an

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<sup>4</sup>This was a historical anomaly as the other European powers had outlawed slavery decades prior to this period.

army of mercenaries recruited internationally. His rule sealed the sufferings of a people that he did not consider human and began the trajectory of underdevelopment and poverty seen to this day.

When Belgium legally took over the Congo as a colony in 1908, the germs of violence were proliferated in all the spheres of life practices and permeated deep down the foundations of the institutions and structures that were laid by the colonial state<sup>5</sup>. Though there was a degree of development that was introduced by the colonists in the medical and educational fields, urbanization and agriculture, research, etc. plunder and pillage of the resources continued and violence was continued in the daily life with a very high degree of segregation, racism and injustices<sup>6</sup>. The Congolese society that was invaded by colonists was divided racially and economically with the Europeans having better rights and the Congolese relegated to the zone of simple servants. Furthermore, Belgium was not prepared to emancipate the Congolese to bring them to the position of leadership and responsibility as it extracted and accumulated the riches which were used for her own economic development. The Congolese nationalism that took momentum in the late 1950s was spearheaded by the Congolese charismatic leader, Patrice Lumumba. The horrors of Belgium colonialism were presented to the Accra Pan-African Conference. The desire of the Congolese to be freed from the yoke of colonialism was also seen in protests that erupted in Kinshasa during this period. Following the pressure exercised by the Congolese over the Belgian colonists, a Round Table was organized in Brussels between the Belgian government and Congolese representatives where a date was set for independence<sup>7</sup>. However, the Congolese political class was not mature enough to take manage such a monumental task owing to lack of capacity and continued foreign interference from the West. Patrice Lumumba the officially elected Prime Minister was assassinated in the name of the Cold War<sup>8</sup>. What was going to happen to the Congolese people did not matter as long as the colonial powers were getting what they wanted. Thus, the mutinies, rebellions, wars, pillages and

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<sup>5</sup> Hochschild, 1999

<sup>6</sup> Cfr Lumumba's speech (Meredith, 2011; Kanza, 1972).

<sup>7</sup> 30 June 1960.

<sup>8</sup> Kettle, 2000

plunders of the Congo were and continued to be haunted by the Protocols of Berlin. The politico-economic events happening in the Congo ever since are but the rationale of the Berlin Protocol over the Congo, kept in motion by the logic of globalization. The Congo has been turned into a theatre of exploitation and extraction of raw material by the world powers. Essentially a colonial logic still pervades, and this has seen regional wars and rebellions, as well as all the horrors that accompany them reveals the reasons why the Congo continue to suffer all kind of troubles.

From the Leopoldian system to the present day, leaders in the Congo have been accumulators of wealth at the expense of the population. From Mobutu's rule to the present day, the policies and programmes designed in the West have been all tailored to follow the logic of the Berlin protocol over the Congo. The Berlin protocol in its application in the Congo has turned leaders into predators of national wealth and various resources instead of being managers of the public affairs on behalf of citizens. Their predation has been the primary cause of the failure and the decay of the state as they were unable to administer properly the state and deliver goods and services to the citizens. Their greed as produced grievances that have been the cause of mutinies, rebellions and the formation of militias in the optic of accessing wealth that the state could not secure for the people. In more recent times the trend continued with new waves of violence and exploitation. From 1996, war has left the country crippled in political, economic and social domains. The violence has swept the entire country and has been most devastating in the eastern DRC.

In order to understand the problems faced today by the Congo, this study explores the legacy of violence in the Kabare District where three key research centres located in Lwiro, Mulungu and Katana. These are medical, agricultural and scientific research centres which played very important role in the livelihoods of the people living in their vicinity and further afield. During the protracted social conflict in the area, the respective research institutes have been destroyed and the communities around them, and in the Kabare District in general, have been pronged by the various socio-politico-economic consequences of past decades of violence. This current research is envisioning the reconstruction of the eastern Congo within the Conflict Resolution and Peace Studies discipline. It is within these perimeters of the legacies of protracted social conflict that this research has been undertaken using a holistic approach coupled with

multidisciplinary lenses in order to bring a contribution to the theories of conflict and the discipline of Peace Studies.

### ***The difficulty of a Research hypothesis***

A hypothesis is ‘a suggested answer to a problem’ that needs to be empirically tested before it can be accepted to be finally integrated in a theory<sup>9</sup>. Thus, the role of a hypothesis is not only proposing explanations relating to certain facts or problems, but also to guide the investigation. The history of violence in the Congo makes it difficult to offer a clear hypothesis. Here, I see that a substantial change in government could offer a change in the socio-political fabric of the Congo. However, this remains elusive as subsequent governments replicate the violence of previous eras. The rupture from the past that is needed to bring about such a change requires a change in the culture of violence that has arisen with each new state formation. Herein lies the difficulty and the key, a strong government is needed to bring about that change, but historically they have been the driver of the violence and thus an impediment. The root causes of the Congolese conflicts are located in the violent structures laid during Leopold’s era and which have infiltrated the Congolese socio-politico-economic institutions and structures thereafter. Conflict resolution, rebuilding and reconciliation are possible once history could be revisited and remade by citizens and government alike to address the underlying causes of conflict that continue to erupt into violent confrontation from generation to generation.

### ***Reason for choosing the topic***

While the country under Mobutu was busy going down, the eastern Congo and particularly the Kabare District, the town of Bukavu, were still experiencing the benefit of the Research Institutes located in the Kabare area. There was plenty of food supplied to the city of Bukavu resulting directly from the scientific agricultural knowledge in Mulungu, a strong health system within the installations of Fomulac<sup>10</sup>, in Katana and excellent facilities for scientific research in

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<sup>9</sup> (Bless *et al.*, 2006:38).

<sup>10</sup> Medical formation of nurses and doctors with the cooperation of medical institution from the Universite Libre de Belique.

Lwiro; the MM1<sup>11</sup> is a typical scientific project of magnitude that took place in the Lwiro Scientific Research Centre brought together physicians and professors from Egypt and Zaire working in the quest to discover the cure to HIV/AIDS. All the benefits and sustainable livelihood enjoyed by the population in the area together with the research institute facilities have been ravaged owing to protracted violence in the area. An aspect of the study explores the legacy of violence on those research centre and communities in the surrounding areas.

### **Significance of the study**

Meanwhile there have been innumerable studies on conflict and violence that have linked the causes to effects in the past; the current study continues this and seeks to understand the conceptual causes of conflict that lead to violence and perpetrates the cycle of violence in the DRC. The study builds on the field of Peace Studies and I extend ideas from structural and cultural violence to show how such forms of violence are birthed in initial acts of violence and then perpetuated through time. It demonstrates that the violent state of affairs in the Congo for over the century is dictated by the violence that was borne, nurtured, developed and released from the mind of a single individual, the Belgium King, Leopold II. This is not to give too much causal agency to one man, but to use his period of rule as a marker or rupture in the history of the Congo. The Leopoldian era was marked by exceptional violence that has influenced the course of history from his own little country, the Kingdom of Belgium, to global actors to finally land in the Congo (then known as the Basin of the Congo River) and begin an era of ruthless violence that permeated all the spheres of the daily life of the Congolese state and people to settle in a culture of violence and perpetrate it by means of tools of international caliber. This study updates research on the DRC using empirical fieldwork. The violence has restricted research just as it destroyed the research centres discussed in the thesis. The study generates new knowledge in the area of Peace Studies as it engages with local structures, organisations and the lives of ordinary peoples in the DRC. Here it contributes possible solutions and charts a way forward towards

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<sup>11</sup> MM1 is the combined scientific effort led by the late President Mobutu and former Egypt President Hosni Mubarak in the 1980s, supposedly to mean the first success of their partnership. It involved the like of the late Dr. Lurhuma working simultaneously between Belgium and Zaire between the University of Luvin in Belgium and the Research centre in Lwiro, South-Kivu in order to develop a cure of HIV/AIDS.

peace. The thesis also contributes to bodies of theory about cultural and structural violence by charting the way history feeds into these forms of persistent violence and social problems. This persistent violence that becomes ingrained in society during times of state failure perpetuate protracted social conflict.

### **Research questions**

Specifically the study will answer the following questions;

1. What is the nature and extent of the conflict that took place in the region?
2. What are the long term affects of the conflict on individuals and institutions?
3. How did the local population survive during the conflict and how have they responded to post-conflict changes and challenges?
4. How have issues of survival fed into the war, and how do they continue to shape reconstruction?
5. What have been the major barriers and impediments to post-conflict reconstruction and post conflict reconcilliation?
6. In what ways can society be transformed in the post-conflict period through the creation of new mechanisms and ways to deal with the effects of war?
7. How does this contextually and empirically rich case study of the DRC contribute to the development of failed state theory, protracted conflict theory and theories of culture of violence?

Besides the questions, the present study proposes to achieve some objectives linked to peace building and conflict transformation. .

### **Research objectives**

From the background provided above, the objectives of the study are

- To examine the full affects of the protracted conflict in the region including affects on individuals, economies and institutions.

- To understand the ‘anatomy’ of the conflict with its linkages and ties to larger regional issues.
- To understand how people survived during the conflict and how they currently survive in the aftermath.
- Linked to the above, to demonstrate how issues of survival fed into the war and continue to shape or halt reconstruction.
- To understand how society can be transformed in the post-conflict period through the creation of new mechanisms and ways to deal with the effects of war.
- To contribute through this case study to the theoretical literature (on crisis states, protracted conflict theory and culture of violence theory) by providing a contextually rich, theoretically informed study.

### ***Theoretical framework***

The present study proposes three theories, among the plethora of existing theories that are relevant to the analysis and the making sense of the violence that evolves in the Congo to present day. These are: the state failure theory, the protracted social conflict or intractable social conflict as well as the culture of violence. The three theories are intimately linked and integrated in the explanation of the violent state of affairs in the Congo.

The state failure theory<sup>12</sup> is explained by the incapacity of the state to supply goods and services to the citizenry. The study posits that the origins of state failure are located in violent structures laid down from the days of the Congo Free State by the Belgium King and which were perpetrated by the colonial state to finally be embraced by the subsequent governments that took place in the country. It is not like the leaders in the Congo have been unable to govern the country but they use a model of governance designed by the ruthless King Leopold II and that has been adopted as a model of governance. The notion of the ‘politics of the belly’ that is central in explaining the failure of many states in Africa and the world is a typical Leopoldian

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<sup>12</sup> Robert, R. (2003).



edifice that has survived all the attempts of change, sustained by the world system that is inherently violent just like the model legated to the Congo by Leopold II.

The above model of governance inherited from the ante-colonial and the colonial period is in itself a meeting place of conflict in the sense that it is not people-centreed by it is self-centreed whether it used by a single individual or it is used by a country or at global level as it is today used in the world system. It generates conflict between the ruling classes and the ruled and the later can only express their grievance in various ways by joining acts of violence to coerce the government to do something for them. This is what explains the mutinies, rebellions and the existence of irregular or dysfunctional armed movements led by warlords. It creates tensions that cause communities, tribes and ethnic groups to embark on the use of arms and grave acts of violence. It explains the continued violence that has ravaged the DRC for past two decades.

Once violence starts, it becomes difficult to stop it. This is made worse as the violence involves external actors who may be solely in search of profit through the war economy. This also brings about a culture of violence as it becomes ‘normalised’ and pervasive throughout society.

### ***Methodological Considerations***

A meta-theoretical approach was adopted in this study<sup>13</sup>. It consists of addressing issues like the nature and structure of scientific theory, the meaning of truth, explanation and objectivity. Furthermore, the study uses interpretivism<sup>14</sup> to make sense, interpret and give meaning, define, justify and rationalize human actions to which historical consideration were added. A qualitative research paradigm was used as for the overall methodology and techniques of collecting data to help bring in the understanding of the collateral damage brought about by protracted violence. The study will thus use documents, focus groups as well as interviews. 100 in-depth interviews were collected which were followed up by three focus groups. These were led by the researcher

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<sup>13</sup> (Barbie & Mouton, 2010: 49).

<sup>14</sup> (Blanche et al. 2008: 274).

and seconded by a local research assistant in order to generate more data. Participants were purposefully chosen, based on their length of stay, knowledge and experience of violence of the past two decades in the area<sup>15</sup>. Each interview lasted between 45 minutes to an hour. The study also used the technique of snowball sampling<sup>16</sup>, where each interviewee led to a new interviewee in order to gather more data to which the method of participant observation was added to allow a profound collection of data<sup>17</sup>. The generated data was analysed using the psychological method of ‘thematic analysis’ that consists of grouping and categorizing data then isolate themes for the analysis purpose<sup>18</sup>. The study used the fresh data collected during fieldwork as primary source of information whereas books, magazine, newspapers, published and unpublished material was used as secondary source of data.

## ***Research Methodology and the Study Design***

### ***Introduction***

A qualitative research paradigm<sup>19</sup> was used as methodology to guide the techniques of data collecting as the research was aiming at exploring the experiences of the inhabitants of the Bugorhe areas that is comprised of Lwiro, Mulungu and Katana, to help bring in the understanding anatomy of violence in the region as well as the damage brought about by protracted violence. Study design

This study is empirical and as such it was interested in finding out more about the “how”, the “why” and the “what” of the history of violence that protracted with severely undesirable consequences in the Bugorhe area. The present study provides insight into causes, effects and consequences of the protracted conflicts in the area. Suitable to the study is the notion of

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<sup>15</sup> ([Blanche et al., 2008: 139](#); Sarantakos, 1993: 164).

<sup>16</sup> (Sarantakos, 1993: 164).

<sup>17</sup> (Bless *et al.* 2006:115).

<sup>18</sup> (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 79).

<sup>19</sup> One of the usefulness of Qualitative Research is that the inquiry is done by the researcher who goes to interact with a community where he get to experience what he is researching on in a manner or the other in order to report in a manner that reliable and valid. (Barbie and Mouton, 2010: 53; Mouton, 2001; Bless, C., *et al.* 2006; Sarantakos, 1993; Blanche, et al., 2006).

*interpretivism*<sup>20</sup> and particularly *descriptive interpretivism* given that the understanding of violent events that ravaged the DRC are not isolated in history but were constructed by human actors through their behavior, emotions, and reactions as they give meaning to their actions encapsulated in societal and cultural perimeters. A *meta-theoretical* approach was adopted in this study<sup>21</sup>. The study will also draw on the *historical approach* in explaining social phenomena by relating them to past events where causes to effects of past happenings are taken into account in order to explain present trends and the implications for the future<sup>22</sup>. The DRC has travelled through a dark tunnel of violence. This violent historical trajectory can be understood in linking historical events to the present through a descriptive interpretivism, as the past impacts tremendously on the present situation.

### ***Data collection techniques***

The study used primary and secondary sources. Data from primary source were generated through focus group discussion and in-depth interviews. Secondary data for the present study consisted of journal articles, magazines, newspapers, United Nations Reports and the Internet.

### ***Focus group discussions***

Focus group discussion are useful in generating data as they allow individuals to speak more freely among themselves and yield information that participants may not be free to give during personal interviews or mailed questionnaire<sup>23</sup>. Three focus group discussions were held in the Bogorhe area, one in Lwiro, another one in Katana and the last one in Mulungu. Each focus

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<sup>20</sup> Interpretivism is used to make sense, interpret and give meaning, define, justify and rationalize human actions (, Chowdhury, 2014: 433; Blanche et al., 2006: 274; Rossman and Rallis, 2003: 69-70).

<sup>21</sup> This approach consists of addressing issues like the nature and structure of scientific theory, the meaning of truth, explanation and objectivity. Qualitative research paradigm refers to “that generic research approach in social science that focuses on the insider perspective on social action. (Babbie & Mouton, 2010: 49; Terreblanche and Durrheim, 1999; Rossman and Rallis, 2003).

<sup>22</sup> Historical approach parts from the acknowledgement of event with historical knowledge, to gathering information and establishing a relationship between variables to form hypothesis as a way to show evidence of events and finally establish a conclusion (Busha and Harter, 1980).

<sup>23</sup> The advantage of a focus group is that it allows participants to be able to discuss issues among themselves thus giving them an opportunity to learn from one another while expressing themselves in a way to yield information that was not obtainable using the interview technique (Bless *et al.*, 2006; Sarantakos, 2012).

group was made up of 8 members representing various segment of the population in the area. Researchers, students, teachers, merchants, farmers, house wives, technicians, motorbike riders involved in the transportation of people and NGO workers<sup>24</sup> took part in the process of data collection. One research assistant was employed to help trace key participants and helped in the discussion while collecting data. Discussions were not tape-recorded but a list of themes from which the questionnaire was used and information was written down as the discussion progressed. The use of tape recorder was set aside as a climate of suspicion is still heavily reigning in the area<sup>25</sup> following the protracted violence, the involvement of Rwandese in the atrocious violence and armed robbery that was commissioned by some member of the community at the service of the Rwandese militias by means of unknown informants.

### ***Interviews***

The researcher conducted 100 in-depth interviews across the region that followed from the series of focus groups. Participants were purposefully selected, i.e. those who have been living in the Bugorhe area both before and after the violence plus those who have been working in the research centres both before and after the protracted armed violence that shook the country.

Interviews last from an hour onward. Parting from the pre-violence period, individuals were free to express themselves vis-à-vis the issues surrounding violence and its legacy. A consent form was used for interviewees with the object of the study explained and a choice to not answer any question one did not wish to, or else drop the interview in the middle if one desired so. Thus

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<sup>24</sup> A good sample is to be a real representation of the population being studied. In gathering individuals from all walk of life in Bugorhe gives reliability to this study in terms of the authenticity of the sample (Blanche, M. T., *et al.*, 2006; Sarantakos, 1993; MacDougall and Fudge, 2001).

<sup>25</sup> The stretched conflict that involved a broad section of actors has created a climate of mistrust in the Bugorhe area. People just do not trust one another easily. Furthermore, there are informants who worked underground in the community in sourcing information about people and the general socio-politico-economic state of community that led to many house breaking, armed robbery, rape, burglary from the Rwandese who terrorized the area and the use of a tape recorder was openly a violation of their right to privacy (Emizet, 1997; Kaldor, 2013; Onana, 2009).

there was no push to answer any unwanted question and interviewees were offered anonymity at point of interview to ensure their privacy and confidentiality<sup>26</sup>. Sampling method

Local people estimate the population to be nearly 1000 people, the sample will correspond to a minimum of 100 drawn from the variety of people within the community living in the Bugorhe area. The Scientific Research Centre in Lwiro, the Agricultural Research Centre in Mulugu as well as the complex of the FOMULAC reference hospital in Katana.

***Purposive Sampling*** was used during this study. Individuals who were interviewed were Congolese citizens who live in the Bugorhe area (Kavumo-Katana-Mulungu), and who have worked in the research centres, the hospital workers, merchants and business oriented people who know their environment and have been negatively affected by the pas series of violence that was changing colours, shape and patterns for a decade. I capitalized on the efficiency of snowball sampling in drawing on networks of people already interviewed to find further interviewees<sup>27</sup>. Convenience sampling allows the research to select elements of a sample in a convenient and deliberately in accord with the qualities of the informant. This study used *Judgmental or Purposive sampling*<sup>28</sup>. Snowball technique helped as an identified respondent led to another respondent; the later led to a new one by referral and the wheel continued turning thus leading to other respondents. Snowball technique presents to the researcher the advantage of accessing vulnerable and other closed social groups<sup>29</sup>. The efficacy of snowball sampling is in reaching out networks with few respondents in number or in the event where a certain degree of

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<sup>26</sup> The ethical conduct observed during data collection followed strict procedure from the first to the last interview (Campbell, 2010; Blanche et al. 2006; Mouton, 2001).

<sup>27</sup> In this sampling technique the researchers purposely choose subjects who, in their opinion, are thought to be relevant to the research topic. The process of sampling in this case will involve identification of the informants, and arranging times for meeting them. This method of sampling is also useful as it outlines social and economic networks already in operation, thus enabling me to test the theories chosen. (Blanche et al. 2006: 139, Sarantakos, 1993: 164; Bless et al. 2006).

<sup>28</sup> The advantage of this method is that researcher sets the parameters of what needs to be known and undertake to find people that are willing to provide information on the basis of knowledge and experience (Bless et al. 2006; Sarantakos, 1993, Sarantakos, 2012; Mouton, 2001).

<sup>29</sup> The techniques is used to select groups from a wider population (Jupp, 2006).

trust is needed to initiate contact<sup>30</sup>. In this study, this method of sampling is also useful as it outlines social and economic networks already in operation, thus enabling to test the theories chosen. The snowball sampling technique in social sciences allows the researcher to gain access to a chain of respondent once a respondent is interviewed, he gives the name of another subject, who will also give the name of the following subject and the move continues<sup>31</sup>. The technique of snowball sampling helped to gather more data to which the method of participant observation was added to allow a profound collection of information required for this study<sup>32</sup>.

### **Sampling area**

These areas have been targeted places within the Bugorhe area. In first place was the Centre de Recherche en Sciences (CRSN)<sup>33</sup> in Lwiro, the second one was the area encompassing the Hospital of FOMULAC<sup>34</sup> in Katana, and lastly the Institut National pour la Recherche Agricole (INERA)<sup>35</sup>. Field Work

The fieldwork took place between the months of June to the second half of July 2016, going almost to the end of the month of July. First of all, I descended on the field in the Bugorhe area alone after travelling over a thousand miles from Durban. Once in the area within less than 24 hours I began doing field work, intermittently between interviews, followed with focus groups, one per area (first with Lwiro, then Katana and finally Mulungu) to which I added a very

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<sup>30</sup> Snowball acts as a technique of ‘chain referral’ in allowing the researcher to uncover the characteristics of the inside member of the circle and helps to access settings that conventional approach has failed to break through (Atkinson and Flint, 2001; Sarantakos, 1993).

<sup>31</sup> Using snowball sampling technique, I was able to interview individuals who were considered as a snapshot of the representation of all walks of life living community in the Bugorhe area. A housewife would direct me to a nurse and the later will lead me to a researcher who will orient me to a student and the later to his friend to reach other member of the university community, etc. (Sarantakos, 1993).

<sup>32</sup> After conducting interviews and focus group in the Bugorhe area, I was keen on observing the society in its daily trends to supplement data that I could have not been able to gather while using the above referred to techniques (Bless *et al.*, 2006:115).

<sup>33</sup> Centre for Research in Natural Science (CRNC).

<sup>34</sup> FOMULAC is a health centre complex that encompasses the Reference Hospital of Katana, a Nursing Training College, schools and other several socio-economic projects, all managed by Catholic Priests in Katana. The FOMULAC centre has been involved in many health related project for the benefit of the population in the region (Kajivunira, Bugoma *et al.*, 2015; Delacollette, Van der Stuyft *et al.*, 1996).

<sup>35</sup> National Institute for Agricultural and agronomic Research Centre.

interesting participant observation in order to collect solid and meaningful data. Originally from the DRC I spoke the local languages and performed all fieldwork in the local vernacular.

The majority of respondent were found on site working, others running their own small businesses within the area and others in their homes or on campus<sup>36</sup>. Among them were students, barbers, researchers, merchants, farmers working in their fields, street vendors, motor cycle operating within the transport industry, teachers, nurses, NGO workers, etc<sup>37</sup>. Respondent refused categorically to be recorded or photographed during the interviews fearing to be exposed to the cameras and there were therefore no image or voice recording during the interviews. To them, carrying a camera was seen as a potential threat to their security and privacy. Others were afraid that they would be exposed to the media. I guaranteed them that interviews were not going to be revealed. Interviews were done one by one and took place at work or business place, otherwise in spots that suited the participants the most, from where respondent answered questions. Each interview lasted for plus minus one hour. After the interview, participant observation took place and allowed me to discover other psycho-socio-economic realities that pose a challenge to the quotidian life of the Bugorhe population and I was able to gather part of the information that respondents left out during the one on one interviews.

### ***Participant Observation***

The data collection was followed by a period of participant observation<sup>38</sup> to determine the damaging effects of violence in the circle Lwiro-Katana-Mulungu. The first thing that was observed by the researcher is that life in these areas as lived by people was not a fruit of their imagination, neither were they dreaming but was a reality forced on them as a consequence of protracted violence. The fabric of the Congolese society in this particular area has been seriously murdered and still haunted by the imprint of armed violence of past decades. There was a mass

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<sup>36</sup> The Cinquantenaire University is a newly inaugurated learning institution located in Lwiro and it was very convenient to move around the university campus interviewing students (Field Notes).

<sup>37</sup> The data collected in the Bugorhe areas is solid, rich and reliable, coming from first hand source made up of individuals who experienced the horrors that prevailed in the areas during the times of intensified violence ([Blanche et al. 2006: 139](#), Sarantakos, 1993: 164; Bless et al. 2006).

<sup>38</sup> This is a research activity consisting on the part of the researcher in participating in a group in a covert manner in order to study that group (Jupp, 2006).

movement of people from the villages surrounding Lwiro, Kavumo, Katana and Mulungu. Unable to protect themselves from the onslaughts of the mercenaries from outside, the FDLR and other militias<sup>39</sup>. Congolese civilians were forced to move to places that were less violent and where there was a notable presence of security forces. These people hoped that the security forces were capable of intervening in times of raids, even though in most of the cases the security forces were unable to effectively oppose the looters and criminals<sup>40</sup>. As a result, the commercial centres in Katana, Kavumo etc. became overpopulated by the absorption and insertion of all the villagers who fled the increasing insecurity around them in their villages. The problem of renting has been an issue to those who lost their farms and livelihoods in villages and locations close to the Kahuzi-Biega National Park and original inhabitant of the centres: the cost of renting has gone higher and higher. I was told that young girls are forced to enter marriage at a very tender age given the situation that compels them to quest for security. Orphans are swarming the place, particularly the young ones who have lost all the family members and have thus turned into street children, a phenomenon that is post 1996 to the DRC.

There is a persistent food insecurity problem reported to me in the areas under study. The farms and fields that once produced food to feed the population in the area and further afield have been abandoned owing to fear of being attacked or even raped in the field while attending to farm work. Other girls do not hesitate to turn to selling their bodies through prostitution. This is seen in commercial centres in urban areas. There is also a serious problem of growing illiteracy as many children are out of school. Their parents are unable to pay school fees in a place where salaries are never enough to cover the family expenses amid scorching unemployment. Most of the people are involved in petty commerce. People report that they try to sell anything and everything, especially with the influx of cheap Chinese commodities in the DRC, from batteries

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<sup>39</sup> The unfolding of events in the South-Kivu in general and particularly in the Bugorhe areas is following the patterns terrorizing and instilling fear to civilians in order to cause them fleeing their original and natal area and leave it to those who are commanding armed forces who will thus be free to exploit natural resources (Carr and Laymen, 1958, Montague, 2002; Le Billon, 2001).

<sup>40</sup> This follows the logic of New Wars (Kaldor, 1999, Kaldor, 2013; Umutesi, 2004; Reyntjens, 1996; Reyntjens, 2009).



to torches and plastic items. All generations without exception are trapped in the informal economy in search of a way out of poverty and unemployment.

People reported to me that they have been disheartened by the government in place to the point of organizing their self-help strategies to survive, pronged by a burden of taxes imposed on them by the provincial government. As a means of transport, motorbikes have surpassed motorcars in numbers and they help the local population in terms of transport. There is a considerable segment of the population, particularly women and girls, which is struggling to regain its original human dignity owing to rape during the past violence and many of them who ended up with unwanted babies. A heap of stress and depression rest upon their shoulders. Some have been receiving help in terms of counseling but it is not good enough to make them forget and turn a new leaf. There is more to counseling if these are to be set free from the pangs of depression, stress and trauma in general.

When I visited the markets, I found that the local market has been deserted by both sellers and buyers for lack of supply of commodities. Interviewees tell me that domestic animals and poultry have been taken by force to feed the combatants who lived in the National Park. Other people are homeless as their homes were destroyed by combatants. The community is largely shut out of the cash economy and also struggles to perform agriculture. The absence of jobs locally has made the problems worse and the idea of rebuilding is remote.

This type of observation called on the researcher to become a participant in the activities by means of observation. I became a presence in the community that I joined to investigate, yet acting as one of the members in sharing activities thus gaining a profound understanding of what is being researched<sup>41</sup>. As a Congolese and a member of the community being studied, I observed closely the movement of people as they move up and down, in and out in their daily activities. By visiting some on the site where they were working, I could notice the types of activities they were involved in, plus surrounding activities following directly from their main occupations on the daily basis. The direct observation of the occupation of the population being studied at their

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<sup>41</sup> (Bless, *et al*, 2006).

work place, in their additional activities<sup>42</sup>, the entire process allowed me to correlate literature and claims while I analyse data from interviews and observations. Participant observation enabled me to bridge the gap between what was said in the interviews and what was I noticed during observation. I have visited researchers on site in Mulungu, Katana and Lwiro; farmers while cultivating fields; technicians in the workshop, merchant in the marketplace and watched them playing cards in their quiet time; students and teachers were observed in their schools and on campus. I also visited a variety of NGO workers while they were working in their offices.

### **Data analysis**

The appropriate method of analyzing data for this study was *thematic analysis*. In a sound manner, this method produces an elaborated analysis from a couple of themes to quite number of themes without duplicating themes that are being analysed<sup>43</sup>. The generated data was analysed using the method of thematic analysis which consists of grouping and categorizing data then isolate themes for analysis<sup>44</sup>. ‘Thematic Analysis’ is a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns, themes, within data. It minimally organizes and describes the data set in rich detail. After collection, qualitative data analysis was carried out, by categorizing them into themes, then summarized. The relevant themes were isolated and grouped, then analysed. This methods of analysis is time consuming but effective in the analysis of data. Thematic analysis is flexible and a useful tool in any discipline in social sciences<sup>45</sup>. Data analysis took place a month subsequently after the data collection. The thematic analysis process consisted in reading the data several times to get familiar with the entire text. The following stage was to code sentences,

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<sup>42</sup> For example, direct participant observation allowed the researcher, in this case, to notice that the salaries they earned from governmental departments in research were so mean that they can hardly cover their weekly expenses and are forced to indulge in supplementary activities such as farming on small plots, cultivating fish in the ponds they hire from the research institute or selling items of first necessity such as food, soap, clothing, etc. which they sell mostly on credit and await the pay day to pay and thus managing to join both month ends with such a hassle (Field notes).

<sup>43</sup> According to the Sage Dictionary of Social Research Methods, the thematic approach is useful for theorizing across a number of cases finding common thematic elements across research participants and the events they report (Jupp, 2006).

<sup>44</sup> (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 79; Smith, 1992).

<sup>45</sup> Thematic analysis is a method for recognizing and organizing patterns in content and meaning in qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Bless, C. *et al.*, 2006Willig, 2013).

phrases, paragraphs or lines. Then memo writing followed and codes were compared across data as a whole to identify variations, similarities, patterns as well as relationships; then this continues by writing reflections and ideas pertaining to the data and went deeper in analyzing data. Codes are set into groups in a way to make themes and a relationship is established to create a thematic map from where themes are grouped and then analysed.

### ***The structure of the study***

This study is organised around eight chapters. The first chapter is the general introduction to the study. It provides the background to the study, the research hypothesis and the reason for choosing the topic, the significance of the study, the research questions and the research objective. The chapter ends with theoretical framework and methodological considerations.

Chapter Two presents the conceptual framework. The theoretical framework is laid using relevant theories that explain adequately the state of things in the Congo from the CFS down to the current government. Here three theories; the state failure theory, the protracted social conflict theory as well as the culture of violence theory have been used to explain the anatomy of violence throughout the history of the country.

The third chapter presents the review of the scholarly literature, and integrates policies, processes, and historical events from the time prior to the institution of the CFS to 2013 in meticulously compiling series of socio-politico-economic events that have evolved right through the history of the country. It also builds on the theoretical framework by linking it with the history of the country as shaped by violence from the Leopold era to the Kabila's one. The empire of violence in the Congo right through its history is a result of the basis of the Leopoldian ideologies, beliefs and practices that have evolved over time and through various governments to date. They have been adopted by the colonial state and continued by governments after. In other words, this chapter posits that all the germs of violence have been sown by the Belgian King and have infiltrated all the spheres of life in the Congo as well as the cultures and practices in the country.

Chapter four starts with the presentation of data in proposing a sound location and functioning of the research centre, their educational, social and scientific importance in the lives of ordinary

people and their place in on the scientific and educational map of the country. It continues with the first part of analysis of the data in presenting the socio-politico-economic problems of the Kabare District where the scientific and agricultural research centres as well as the medical reference hospital with the training of nurses and doctors are located. The socio-economic affects of the wars on the research centres and the population surrounding are delineated in this chapter. The militarization of the Congo in general, and that of the eastern Congo in particular has contributed much to the proliferation of small arms that were very instrumental in fueling violence in the area.

Chapter five draws the contours of the destruction of the local peasant economy. It links the failure of the peasant economy to the endemic violent system initiated by Leopold that ravaged the villages as well as the individuals during the CFS. It links the failures to the subsequent governments, particularly the Second Republic where the countryside was neglected in favour of the urban area. To that issue, the dual economy in the Congolese society has been very detrimental to the development of peasant economy. The past decades of protracted violence has destroyed the means of livelihoods that held together the fabric of peasant economy in the kabare District. The decimation of capital by violence has dealt the last straw to the dying peasant economy in the Kabare District, particularly with the proliferation of light weapons.

Chapter six deals with the presence of the United Nations (UN) and points at the destructive role that the UN has been playing in the Congolese conflicts, first from 10960 to 1964 and then from 1999 to date. This chapter demonstrated that the UN missions in the Congo from ONUC to MONUC and MONUSCO have been heavily loaded with military and logistic means but have been playing the cards of international powers in securing the continuation of the 1885 Berlin Protocol on the Congo. This protocol has been very detrimental to the Congolese politics, economy and society as a hole. The UN missions appear to be rather a tool used by the West to continue the liberal and neo-liberal agenda in the Congo with a more business aspect sided with the humanitarian one.

Chapter seven presents the reconstruction plan of the Kabare District. This chapter proposes the necessary conditions required for the reconstruction or the rebuilding of the Kabare District as an

area that has been ruined by the prolonged armed violence. It presents a three phases of reconstruction of the Congo; starting with the revision of the 1885 Berlin Protocol by its signatories, the inventory of the legacy of violence in the country and finally the restoration of livelihoods destroyed during the protracted social conflict from 1996 to 1913.

Chapter 8 presents the summary of the study with a sound conclusion emanating from the research findings. It also presents strong recommendations following a critical analysis of violence that severed in the Congo in general and particularly the eastern Congo.

## **CHAPTER TWO - CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### ***Introduction***

This chapter is comprised of two major sections. It presents the framework that informs the study in elaborating on selected relevant theories, notably the state failure, the protracted conflict theory (protracted violence) as well as the culture of violence inherent in the DRC. The explanation of the persistence of violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo is mirrored by the failure of the state to deliver political goods to its citizens owing to violence in the political structures that also permeated the society, triggered conflict at several levels and the later escalated to violence that stretched over a very long time and was waved into violent elements of the Congolese culture, impacting the daily lives of the people at grassroots level with unbearable and deadly consequence on their future and of that of the Congo as a whole.

The second part introduces the methodological approach of the study in presenting the paradigm opted for and it's rational to suit this study. I also discuss here the techniques utilized to gather and analyse the data. The understanding of the anatomy of violence in the DRC would be impossible without adding the element of historical approach in the methodology that in turn completes the meta-theoretical approach that is sustained by *descriptive interpretivism* to allow a critical historical analysis and authentication of events in order to provide a clear understanding of the anatomy of violence in the DRC. Here only directly relevant historical events and periods are discussed as the third chapter that follows has a more elaborate historical account. This chapter ends with a concluding summary.

### ***State Failure or Failed State***

A failed state can be understood in the incapacity or inability of a nation-state to supply basic necessities or basic needs to its citizens<sup>46</sup>. It is the incapacity of a state to supply political goods

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<sup>46</sup> The state's prime function is to provide that political good of security—to prevent cross-border invasions and infiltrations, and any loss of territory; to eliminate domestic threats to or attacks upon the national order and social structure; to prevent crime and any related dangers to domestic human security; and to enable citizens to resolve

to the citizenry. Goods such as security, an adequate education and functional health system, a sound control of the territory and borders are all basic building blocks for the construction of any sound society, particularly a nation-state. They are valorized by the presence of meaningful infrastructures. The failure of the state to satisfy the very basic needs is, in most of the cases, due to number of factors such as corruption, an ill-management of the institutions, notorious insecurity<sup>47</sup> and criminal threat that are stronger than what a given government can manage. An outside aggression or destabilization can be considered. The endogenous plus the exogenous causes of state failure produce effects such as political processes become endangered by reduced participation in civic and in the public affairs on the side of the citizens and the government end up losing legitimacy and trust in the eyes of its citizens. Though one could see the endogenous and exogenous causes, which produce effects that deepen the weakness of the state, but the common denominator between the both causes is violence<sup>48</sup>. State failure is caused by violence and it produces violence and engenders violence so much so the violence becomes the central issues whether it is seen as a cause of an effect, or otherwise a consequence even though suffice is to add that nations-states around the world fail in a way or another as states are run by humans and the later are not weakness free. Failed state ends up being breweries of terrorism, violence, and illicit traffic of various natures and with the escalation of violence and war ensues. Mass movement of population fearing for their safety and lives abandon their original space of habitation and take the road to other spaces within the country whereas others will take the road of exile in the quest for security and peace. Failed states present thus the highest number of Internally Displaced People (IDP) and refugees in the neighboring countries and even internationally. The risk of spillover of the conflict from the failed state to other countries in the

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their disputes with the state and with their fellow inhabitants without recourse to arms or other forms of physical coercion (Rotberg, 2003; Trefon 2004 & 2011; Ottaway, 2006).

<sup>47</sup> The wars that succeeded one after the other in the DRC, left a tangible insecurity among the population, particularly in the Eastern corridor where rebellion from Rwandese soldiers came to monopolise insecurity that contributed to the failures of the state (Lemarchand, 2001: 67; Lemarchand, 2012: 228-229; Bayart, 2009).

<sup>48</sup> New wars are a cause of insecurity in many failed states as violence is directed towards the civilians; unlike in the old wars where normal norms of warfare posited that civilians were not considered as warring parties (Young, 2002: 23; Kaldor, 1999: 96; Kaldor, 2013: 3).

region is always high<sup>49</sup>. Violence being the catalyst of state failure in the Great Lakes Region, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) presents an archetypal model of state failure all along its history that began with the occupation of the Basin of the Congo River by the Belgian King<sup>50</sup>.

### ***State failure in the Congo Free State (CFS)***

From the very first year when the country was ever referred to as a state, with the claiming naming and occupation by King Leopold II during the Scramble for Africa at Berlin Conference in 1885. The governing mode initiated by the Belgium King, Leopold II, from the official recognition of the Congo Free State (CFS) during the Berlin conference, denotes violence endemic in the army, the administration, the concessionary companies, etc. Violence crept in and infiltrated all the structures and institution of the CFS to the point where in its various types, numerous sizes and shapes, violence was normalized within the Leopoldian era, from 1885-1908. This mixture of colonial exploitation and ensuing political ruptures ensured that the CFS could be described as a typical failed state<sup>51</sup>. As a state, the CFS was well known to be oppressive and repressive, it has never provided security to the people who inhabited the Basin of the Congo River. It developed violence in the quest of making money for Leopold II. The various government and economic institutions created an environment of blatant insecurity characterized by rape, slavery, exploitation, forced labour and the plunder of natural resources<sup>52</sup>. The CFS of Leopold II had never built a school for the indigenous people of the Congo yet the wealth

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<sup>49</sup> The war that broke in Rwanda in 1994 put millions of people on the road to exile and these came to seek refuge in (former Zaire) the Congo. The conflict between the Hutu and the Tutsi was continued on the Congolese soil where the victors of the 1994 war in Rwanda came to pursue a real human hunt that also led to destructive consequences to the Rwandese refugees and the Congolese population. Violence ever since took a continuous trajectory in Congo (Umutesi, 2004; Emizet, 1997, Zongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Turner, 2007)

<sup>50</sup> The Violence of the Congo Free State (CFS) in its full wingspan is dizzying and sickening in its application on the innocent Congolese in the Basin of the Congo River (Hochschild, 1999; Gann and Duignan, 1979, Conrad, 1902; Money, 1985).

<sup>51</sup> The wild and atrocious rule of King Leopold II in the Congo is vividly depicted by a seaman cruising the Congo River during the days of the CFS (Conrad, 1902; Taussig, 1984).

<sup>52</sup> The alibi of civilising people of the Basin of the Congo River was a true window view of the opposite of what was presented to the nations gathered at the Berlin Conference; instead, he took possession of the Congo for personal enrichment in a context of total and extreme violent state crimes (Ward 2005: 434-435; Conrad, 1902; Taussig, 1984).



generated in the Congo was used for the building of social infrastructure in Belgium<sup>53</sup>. From all the moneys that was made in the CFS, no clinic, no hospital, no school, no road and no university. What infrastructure was built was for the simple purpose of evacuating the raw material and promoting settlers' private affairs. The provision of basic services to Congolese did not exist in the colony of Leopold II and his agents, yet the Congo was claimed to be a free state. It was a systematic plunder, pillage and looting of rubber and ivory, the confiscation of peasants' lands and their turning into private domains of the King who then leased them to concessional companies. The Congolese people were victimized and crushed in the process of setting in place an economy of violence. Violence was done to the indigenous peoples who were considered to be tools in the economics of profit making. Many people were forced to run from their villages and communities to exile themselves in the forests where starvation, diseases and sicknesses, hostile and inhuman environment in the tropical forest came to constitute the last straw<sup>54</sup>. <sup>55</sup>Its inherent violent nature that victimized individuals, manufactured atrocities and crime against humans in the CFS, vandalism against nature, promoted looting and killing of animals such as elephants and hippos for personal enrichment of the Belgian king released a bitter signal of distress to the whole world and the Belgian Parliament began demanding accounts from Leopold II. The king was incapable of furnishing a sound justification or reasonable answer for crimes of extreme magnitude he and his agents had orchestrated in the Congo<sup>56</sup> was forced to abandon what he held as a personal fiefdom to his country. Belgium thus took the CFS and named it the Belgian Congo.

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<sup>53</sup> There was never a service in the CFS a state organized by Leopold II. To the Belgian king, suffice was to build station and a railway to evacuate his spoils home (Green and Ward 2004, 2; Van Reybrouck, 2014, Conrad, 1902; Doyle, 1910; Hawkins, 1981).

<sup>54</sup> The CFS has suffered atrocious crimes from Leopold II that amount to crime against humanity and genocide in the modern state paradigm (Hochschild, 1999; Green and Ward 2004, 166; Ward, 2005).

<sup>56</sup> Reports of inhumanity, socio-economic cannibalism and full blown violence against all in all at Leopold II orders were reported by philanthropies. The Belgian parliament was forced to ask for account to their King (Gann and Duignan, 1979; Morel, 1902; Louis, 1964).

## ***The state failures of the Belgian Congo***

Upon taking up the private property from their King in 1909, Belgium officially turned it into a colony and continued with the enterprise built by its king. Atrocities were reduced, particularly the practice of chopping off hands of individuals. The level of violence was reduced but Belgium continued in the thinking line of the Leopoldian era. It's centred its colonial empire on three main pivots, the colonial companies represented by businessmen, the catholic missions and the colonial state in the management of the public affairs. Exploitation, violence, discrimination and racism were at the centre of the daily life<sup>57</sup>. Even though the Belgian Congo can be seen as less violent and better off compared to the CFS, the invention of the synthetic rubber saved the lives of poor Congolese. Concessionary companies perpetrated the exploitation of indigenous peoples and used them to fill the labour gaps that the European settler would not fit. During colonial period, the best jobs were reserved to settlers and their direct descendants with no prospect of training the local for occupying the top jobs. The dangerous, dirty and difficult jobs were the domain of the natives in the colony thus fragmenting the labour market with racist injustices just like in the global arenas; migrants are most likely to perform such jobs<sup>58</sup>. <sup>59</sup>Development was initiated by the colonial state with the construction of schools, hospital and clinics, roads and the continuation of the bloody railway built from the sea to Stanley Pool by Stanley. The mining provided jobs and indentured labourers from neighbouring countries such as Rwanda and Burundi, but segregation remained rough in the Belgian Congo<sup>60</sup>. Education became inaccessible just like health care to the inhabitants of the Congo. However, it remained a disarticulated development that was designed and engineered for the colonial state interest in the first place<sup>61</sup>. Roads, railways, waterways and airways were all integrated to suit the extraction of resources to the metropole, Belgium. The artifacts of the

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<sup>57</sup> The lack of protection of citizens by a central authority, be it partial or total, signals state failure. With Belgium taking over and ruling the Congo, patterns of overt violence were generally eliminated but structures still perpetrate patterns of violence inside the state (Portes and Walton 2013: 4; Kanza, 1972).

<sup>58</sup> Stalker, 2000; Ellerman, 2005, 627; Portes, 2000; Portes and Walton, 1981.

<sup>60</sup> Congolese citizens have been segregated by the colonisers both in the colony as well as in the metropole, with a rather autocratic mode of governance that lacked pluralism. The decision to indenture workers from Rwanda and Burundi was taken without any consultation of the Congolese people. (Demart, 2013:4; Lyons, 1994).

<sup>61</sup> Joseph Ki-Zerbo, a late prominent historian from Burkinafaso, pointed at the lack of education or education in half measure as 'a cyst and a soul eater' (Ki-Zerbo *et al.*, 1997).

Congo was pillaged by the Belgians and taken to Belgium. The limited education available to the Congolese ensured Congolese roles were menial and skills development largely lacking. Up to 1950, education was limited to primary school level for the Congolese and it remained of very low quality regulated to never match the colonizer's one<sup>62</sup>. Thus, the colonial state was to stay and indigenous people were to service them in all the areas and the metropole colonial economy to service the metropole one. Citizens in the colonial state were denied the right to vote<sup>63</sup>. Africans were not allowed to form political parties and take part in public debate<sup>64</sup>. The absence of participation in the colonial state signals one of the major characteristics of a failed state but particularly the oppressive and violent character of the Belgian colonial state that continued, in a way, the Leopoldian system of governance. The failure of the colonial state presents many features that in the eyes of the analysis of the modern nation-state could be characterized as a failed state to a certain degree. Belgians authorities were never willing to emancipate the colony from the grip of colonialism; this is explained by the lack of preparation of future leaders in all required areas of training and equipment, denoting a salient structural violence<sup>65</sup>. The prevalence of the European culture over the African one signifies that cultural violence was embedded in the colonial governance<sup>66</sup>. These issues were never addressed in a classical manner but by storms of violent nationalism in the contemporary history of Africa. In the process, violence became very present in the reclaiming of independence from the colonisers<sup>67</sup>. It led to a disastrous

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<sup>62</sup> By the time the Congo gained its independence, the country's numbers of intellectuals capable of managing adequately the state affairs were few in number (Kanza, 1972; Gann and Duignan, 1979).

<sup>63</sup> Politics of exclusion and rights denial is a very ancient one in the Congo; from the Leopoldian era it was continued by the colonizer and relayed to modern Zaire and Congo in many aspects (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2007: 69; Young, 2007; Meredith, 2011).

<sup>64</sup> Political participation was an inexistent thing for Congolese up to the 1950 (Kanza, 1972)

<sup>65</sup> Galtung defines structural violence as the hurts directed towards people, which embedded in structures. Here, people suffer owing to lack of satisfaction of fundamental needs in life. In many instances, policies cause suffering without initially intending to do so, etc. (Galtung, 1969; Galtung 1990).

<sup>66</sup> Cultural violence refers to those elements of the culture that produce violence based on the difference vis-à-vis other groups within the society. As such, they lay foundation for justifications of culture based violence inflicted on fellow humans. In Kinshasa, during colonial times, Westerns could not cohabit with Africans (DeBoeck *et al.*, 2004:31).

<sup>67</sup> The unwillingness of the Belgians to willingly prepare the Congo for independence was answered by the nationalistic movements that swept the majority of countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. In the Congo the return of

independence and post-independence in the Congo following Congolese nationalism that turned violent and Belgians were forced to surrender the colony unwillingly, thus granting a very bitter beginning for the baby independent state<sup>68</sup>.

### ***The 1<sup>st</sup> Republic: an engineered State failure***

The proxy wars fought on African soil between the Russians and the Americans, an ideological fight that aimed at seating either capitalism or communism in the countries of the Third World, did not spare the Congo<sup>69</sup>. That vein of idea was used by the Belgian to fail all the efforts of sound governance in the Congo. The popular and democratically voted Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba, was accused of being of communist tendencies. Belgium thus found an alibi to destabilize and destroy the Congo that Belgians were never willing to relinquish from their debasing colonialism<sup>70</sup>. Belgium having ruled over Congo for over 80 years knew it more the new elite of Congolese politicians. They Belgians knew which bolt to break and which nut to unscrew to cause the engine of the Congolese newly independent state to come to a halt. In that prism of thinking, the army was the priority. Creating a mutiny was going to help the country sink into further chaos<sup>71</sup>. Thus events that would lead to the mutiny were put into the political scene. From Leopoldville, the mutiny reached a full-blown proportion nationwide. In all six

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Lumumba from the Accra Conference in 1958 fueled the desire for independence in awakening the Congolese nationalism (Kanza, 1972; Vanthemsche, 2012; Nkrumah *et al.*, 1963).

<sup>68</sup> The unwillingness of Belgium to completely let the Congolese chose their own destiny was signal by their willingness to tear the Congo immediately after independence (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2001; Kanza, 1972; Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>69</sup> The history of Belgian involvement in the troubles of the Congo from the pre-independence period continued after independence and left a highly epitomised system of top-down leadership and governance that continues to crash the Congolese citizens (Hoskyns, 1965; Autesserre, 2010).

<sup>70</sup> History has recorded that Colonel Jansens who was the commander of the Force Publique took a piece of chalk and wrote on a black board “Before Independence equal after independence”, a statement the unveils the destructive plans that Belgium and its allies were preparing for the Congo. What will unfold will be just the development of the Machiavellian plan set in motion by Belgium and the US aiming at killing Lumumba who was an obstacle to the international powers which sought to have a hand over the Congolese riches (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Portes, 2000; Montague, 2002).

<sup>71</sup> There were 24000 soldiers in the Force Publique of which 1000 were officers of white skins and no Congolese officer existed. Belgians wanting to keep the status quo in the post-colonial period foresaw the dissatisfaction and grief from the Congolese soldiers. They planned an implosion of the Force Publique that culminated to the mutiny of the degraded Congolese soldiers (Hesselbein, 2007; Clarke 1968: 17; Kanza, 1972; Hoskyns, 1965; Vanthemsche, 2012).

provinces, soldiers mutinied as they were kept in horrible conditions of work exported from the colonial era where white army officers were on top in commandment and Congolese remained at the lower echelon of the hierarchical ladder with menial pay and horrible conditions of work<sup>72</sup>. To speed the failure of the Lumumba's government, secessions of the Katanga and the one of the Kasai were mounted up by the Belgo-American alliance with all their capitalist allies. Before Lumumba could apply the plan he had in mind to better the lives of his fellow Congolese citizens, the international conspirators had already shackled the system of governance he proposed to apply over the Congo. The injustices, the atrocities, the violence, the suffering of the Congolese people for over seven decades of occupation and colonialism did not matter<sup>73</sup> to the capitalist cartel that operated then behind the scenes. Lumumba who was concerned with the safety and wellbeing of the entire country as a true nationalist sought help from the United Nations (UN) to sort the rebellion in fueled by the Belgians in Katanga. The presence of the UN contingent in Congo did not solve the problem of the Congo that had its origin in the Belgian presence during the Leopoldian as well as the Belgian-Congo period, which had such dramatic legacy. UN operations in the Congo proved to be inefficient and there seemed to be particular direction that things were planned to take in the Congo<sup>74</sup>. The failure of the Lumumba's government was accentuated. To make the matter worse, a political imbroglio<sup>75</sup> was entered into with the President Joseph Kasavubu who suspended the prime minister and the latter suspended the former. Profiting from the political misunderstanding Lumumba, who was set to be removed

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<sup>72</sup> Projected grievances were expected to produce violence that was going to disrupt public order, sabotage governance and set the country in a chaotic state. Colonel Jansens detonated the bomb through his after independence speech and the mutiny that started in Leopoldville reached the entire country, paving the way to the Katanga secession (Hesselbein, 2007; Clarke 1968: 20, Hoskyins, 1965).

<sup>73</sup> The quest for raw material, particularly for minerals of which the Congo is rich has led to the misery of the Congolese people at the advantage of the capitalists (Carr and Laymen, 1958; Kanza, 1968: 56; Weissman, 2014).

<sup>74</sup> By not clearly defining the UN intervention in the Congo, the mandate to intervene to stop foreign interference on paper was to be followed by concrete action on the ground to compel aggressors to leave autonomous Congolese soil under the UN watchful and the supervision of the UN forces. The absence of the later always present UN intervention as a passive one and it allowed the cartel of Belgian businessmen in connection with the racist Anglo-Saxons to fuel chaos relating to the secession of Katanga coupled by the Belgian aggression (Hoffmann, 1962, 333; Hesselbein, 2007).

<sup>75</sup> President Kasavubu sacked Prime Minister Lumumba from his job for having called for help from the Russians without his consent. Lumumba in turn revoked him also and the situation created a monumental political scandal, which opened a door to the 'prime minister's detractors (Kanza, 1972; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Weissman, 2014).

from the post of Prime Minister, was arrested and put in house detention. The other Ministers of his government went to Kisangani where Lumumba was popular and continued to function as a legitimate government, which tempted Lumumba to join the group of other ministers in the Oriental Province<sup>76</sup>. Upon his escape, the Belgian intelligence that was working at making sure he is out of the political scene with the liberal Congolese managed to capture him and legally arrest and torture him and then transfer him to the Bas-Congo military base from where he was flown to the Katanga where he was murdered<sup>77</sup>. There was no sound provision of service as the Lumumba's government lacked stability, not that he was rejected by his fellow Congolese but outside forces from the capitalist leaders of the world who imposed a failure in the governance and thus rendering the provision of basic services, particularly political goods impossible. The failure of the Leopoldian era continued by the Belgian-Congo period were transmitted in a forceful manner to the Congo during Lumumba's tenure as Prime Minister. After Lumumba, series of government ensued but none was capable of standing as a genuine one. The Congo went from failure to failure until when Mobutu took power in November 1965.

### ***State Failure during the Second Republic***

By the time Mobutu seized power, the country has not had a model of governance that could be identified as a sound one. There was no road map to take the people out of the past experienced chaos by foreign interference and the unwillingness of the Belgians to see the Congo reaching its stability. Leaving the country in the hands of the military will lead to a militaristic rule. This means dictatorship, corruption, nepotism, patrimonialism and wealth accumulation on the side of

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<sup>76</sup> Lumumba was forced to join the other ministers who moved to Kisangani. He succeeded to escape from the house arrest but was caught by the combine belgo-congolese vigilance beefed up by the Belgian intelligence personnel and logistic (Weissman, 2014: 15; Kanza, 1972).

<sup>77</sup> The death of Lumumba was planned by the Belgo-American alliance within the optic of fighting communism. It was orchestrated by Congolese liberal leader at the service of the West. The UN having not been able to put an immediate stop to the issues of Belgium aggressing an independent country and fuelling secession of the Katanga. Lumumba having turned to the Russians for help was labelled as communist and therefore was not a suitable candidate to lead the Congo that capitalist vultures coveted with extreme fever. His death ensued (Sternat, 1978: 198; Kanza, 1972, Vanthemsche, 2012).

the ruler<sup>78</sup>. A typical mode of operation during Mobutu's era. Having renamed the country Zaire, Mobutu developed a system of dictatorship unique in its kind. Zaire became a country where the system of Patron-client took precedence over logic and merit, personifying Africa's patrimonialism<sup>79</sup>. Provision of services became limited to the ones within the Mobutu's circle. Tribalism that has already characterized the Congo was revived and revamped under Mobutu's reign. With that being set on top of his political agenda, all policies that would follow were thus tinted with tribal and ethnic connotation. When the Bakajika law was promulgated, those who benefitted were his cronies<sup>80</sup>. The Bakajika Law was followed by the policy of Zaireanisation where foreign assets were seized from their rightful owners and given to Mobutu clients<sup>81</sup>.

Individuals who had a fat cut of the companies and concessions that were nationalized were still people mostly from Mobutu's province in Equateur and those who were in his direct surrounding serving under the Mobutism ideology<sup>82</sup>. The clientelism and favoritism that characterized his government made it in such a way that his direct connections perpetrated the patron-client system from the national level down to the provincial level and stretched to the district and communal ones<sup>83</sup>. Political goods that are normally the right of all citizens were localized and parochialised by the network system controlled by a chain of command from the President himself. Those outside the network were severely affected and this emphasized corruption in the

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<sup>78</sup> Characteristic of Mobutu rule was utter corruption encapsulated in the neo-patrimonial rule with all types of crimes (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2003: 4; Young and Turner, 1985; Bayart, 2009).

<sup>79</sup> Patrimonialism in Zaire went hand in hand with patronage and corruption enhanced by policies that gave an upper hand to the ruling class (Emizet, 1997; Bayart, 2009; Pongo, 1999).

<sup>80</sup> The quest for domination of the elite class by the President coupled with the creation of clients within the elites to control them by means of favours and political position characterized the reign of Mobutu in Zaire (Médard, 2014: 78, Bayart, 2009, Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>81</sup> Those who inherited foreign assets in the name of Africanisation were called 'Acquereurs'. Mobutu used the Zaireanisation policy to strengthen his patrimonial rule, couple with corruption and deviation of public funds (Emizet, 1997, Young and Turner, 2013; Hesselbein, 2007).

<sup>82</sup> Mobutism was the ideology created by former President Mobutu. It entailed total respect, allegiance, and loyalty to a unique leader and it upheld the recourse to ancestral values. Actually an arena reserved for personal rule (Hesselbein, 2007; Young and Turner, 2013; Bayart, 2009).

<sup>83</sup> In all types of transaction, crime or deviation, misappropriation, etc. the head of the Zairean state was said to be behind so much that he concentrated power in the presidency (Wrong, 2014: 24; Kreijen, 2004).

Mobutu's government<sup>84</sup>. Leaders embarked on the journey of self-appropriation of the national wealth. Very soon, there was no money to pay civil servants and state workers in general. The Zaireanisation policy led to an economic catastrophe in the country<sup>85</sup>. Mobutu came up with the 'Make a plan' famous slogan that allowed soldiers to take the law in their own hands using their guns. Citizens turned to alternate ways of making a living and corruption was one that was embraced. To soldiers Provision of services became based on the possession of a firearm and civilians were victimized and brutalised. A notorious insecurity took place owing to the possession of guns by the military. Armed robbery, extortion of personal goods facilitated by the possession of gun became the norm<sup>86</sup>.

The infrastructure left by the colonial period started to decay bit by bit owing to lack of regular maintenance by the government. Hospitals started to feel the pressure of having patients but no medication to treat them. Education and the agricultural sectors were not exempted from the political economy of pillage that enriched the President in first position<sup>87</sup>. Any opposition equated with sequestration, torture and disappearing. Death squads were organized to track and kill those who opposed the leader. Insecurity settled in with several rebellions that were repelled with the calling on of a foreign army. Mobutu's rule became a flagrant show of his personality, a cult of self-elevation tinted with megalomania<sup>88</sup>. Meanwhile, the country lacked resources to filter the access through and out of its nine borders. Economic crisis deepened between the 1970s

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<sup>84</sup> Mobutu rule was highly self-elevating and imposing by means of popular deception and the creation of satellite of clients who surrounded him from whom he exerted allegiance and had access to resources and wealth of the country which, in most of the cases profited him in first place and he could distribute some to his cronies, the Bisengimana case applied among many (Young and Turner, 2013; Pongo, 1999).

<sup>85</sup> One of the most dramatic policies introduced by Mobutu was the Africanisation of foreign assets, which he termed as Zaireanisation. It led to disastrous consequence given the lack of adequate managers to continue the industries entrusted them (Emizet, 1997, Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>86</sup> The flooding of the Zairean soil with small arms and ammunitions by the Rwandese refugees led to the deterioration of the security system as guns were easily collectable and as they fell in the hands of criminal the population in the cities and countryside paid the price of the failure of the Zairean government (Emizet, 1997; Pongo, 1999; Young and Turner, 2013; Umutesi, 2004).

<sup>87</sup> Drawing on Leopold II example of predatory rule, plus the Belgian Congo epoch of pillage and having been drawn in the circle of world elites, Mobutu became a man chasing after own enrichment to the expense of the masses of Congolese citizens (Trefon, 2004; Pongo, 1999; Wrong, 2014; Young and Turner, 2013).

<sup>88</sup> Everything became centred on the President Mobutu who then became the emblematic figure of unity, pacification of the country and guarantor of its prosperity (Hesselbein, 2007; Young and Turner, Bayart).



and 1980s with the collapse of the copper price and the unwillingness from the Zairean government to cooperate with the World Bank, which imposed programmes of structural adjustments on the Zairean government. The Zairean currency took a free fall of devaluation and inflation settled in. It became excluded from the International Monetary Fund, and the printing of own currency did not solve the problem but exacerbated the inflation to unimaginable heights. Salaries were delayed for months and even years, particularly in government departments<sup>89</sup>. The Zairean population lost trust in the leader who grew richer and richer to the expense of the masses of the poor. Mobutu distanced himself from the electorate and started living in his native fief in Gbadolite, in Equateur province or on his famous MS Kamanyola<sup>90</sup>. Disappointed, people also distanced themselves from the entire Mobutu's governmental machine. History repeating itself in the Congo came to the point of departure; the dictatorship that was sustained by Belgium, France and the USA<sup>91</sup> became obsolete. Democracy became the word of the day. Forced to open up to multiparty, Mobutu open the political platform to rival political parties that he ended up buying to serve his folly de grandeur<sup>92</sup>. Mobutu downplayed socio-politico-economic events to remain in power and perpetrated a personal rule. Grievances grew from the population and were expressed in protests, looting and stay away movements or Operation Dead City from the civil society; to which Mobutu applied the retaliation game of torture, kidnapping, assassination perpetrated by his personal bandits inside and outside the army, phenomenon that

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<sup>89</sup> The Zairean dictatorship was engineered and sustained by Western powers with Belgium, France and the United States which maintain Mobutu on power by supporting in many regards (Jeffries, 1993; Emizet, 1997, Young and Turner, 2013, Oury, 2008).

<sup>90</sup> As a leader, Mobutu's detachment from the rest of the population to seclude himself on the presidential ship or deep in his native province in Gbadolite was a proof of irresponsibility towards the electorate and a clear demonstration of state dysfunctionality (Evans, 1989; Ottaway, 2006; Ottaway and Mair, 2004).

<sup>91</sup> The priority interference of these countries in the internal matters of the politico-economic matters of the Congo, from the early days of independence, has helped to foster the failure of the state from a regime to another. The Congo throughout its history has been used by great international power as a periphery where they source the raw material they require for their own development, creating thus a condition of 'The development of the underdevelopment' in the process of exploitation (Falola and Achberger, 2013: 19; Rodney, 1972; Ross, 2006; Frank, 1971).

<sup>92</sup> The long state failure of the Second Republic caused the West to change the political card. For example, the European community launched the idea of democratization as the condition of accessing foreign aid during the Baule Conference where former French President, Francois Mitterand, declared that aid to development towards Third World countries was conditioned by democracy (Fomunyoh, 2001; Young, 1997: 69; Emizet, 1997).

accentuated internal insecurity<sup>93</sup>. The country was invaded by a coalition of foreign armies that ousted him from the leadership of the country with Kabila coming to power.

### ***The failed state in the Democratic Republic of Congo***

The failure of the state in the Congo reaches its paroxysm from the time when Laurent D. Kabila became President. It is a moment where the DRC can be seen as a pot where all the ingredients of past failures are meeting and mixing<sup>94</sup>. Each government from Leopold to Kabila through Kasavubu and Mobutu and stretching to Joseph Kabila, failures are stocked and piled up with historical forces expressed in dictatorship, violence, mutinies, wars, external aggressions, external interferences, looting of resources, pillages and an imposed suffering on the civilians from the leaders, both locally and internationally. The state becomes an incubator of mineral extraction and a theatre of self-enrichment from global powers to national and local ones in the maintenance of a 'Patron-Client' network at the expense of the citizens<sup>95</sup>.

In the Democratic Republic of Congo, a failed state led to structural violence expressed in the dysfunction of the state machine where the education system, the medical system, the judiciary, the economic sector were crippled to the extent where law and order became difficult to achieve as an end<sup>96</sup>. The pursuit of self-interest and self-satisfaction by the elite to the expense of the masses at grassroots normalised state failure and caused deep grievances<sup>97</sup> that led to the

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<sup>93</sup> The state lost its reason of being in the face of the citizens and both parties engaged in actions to counteract each other's behavior (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2004; Pongo, 1999; Young and Turner; 1985).

<sup>94</sup> The DRC came to inherit the construction of all the historical failures from Leopold II to Kabila. It was explained by both endogenous and exogenous agents. The services were quasi-inexistent and the war that brought former President Kabila to power exacerbated the lack of services in the wake of the Third Republic (Dagne, 2011; Trefon, 2004; Pongo, 1999; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Hochschild, 1999; Gann and Duignan, 1979).

<sup>95</sup> Patrimonialism in Zaire took a new meaning with the patron-client system. For citizens to survive and have access to normal services and privileges, one has to be in the very circle. A state of things that caused poverty and misery in urban areas (Bayart, 2009; Hesselbein, 2007; Kivilu, 1999: 448, Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2003).

<sup>96</sup> By the time Kabila Desire took power with the coalition of foreign armies, service delivery is almost an inexistent word in the Congolese vocabulary (Persyn and Ladrière 2004; Munikengi and Sangol 2004).

<sup>97</sup> The suffering of people that was perceived as a fabrication of local and national authorities caused grievances of several natures that were expressed through marching in the streets of Kinshasa and other cities in the country (Pongo, 1999; De Villers and Omasombo 2004).

outbreak of violence, rebellions and chaos leading to the collapse of the state<sup>98</sup>. Security has not been given prime space among the priorities pursued by several successive governments in the Congo. Physical security became a remote thing, soldiers and gunmen dictated the law in general<sup>99</sup>. Food security has been fought like pestilence but with no success. Human security particularly with access to survival building blocks such as education, health, access to employment have been a mirage since public hospitals have been in a state of desolation and dilapidation and parents have been forced to pay use fees at all education level. Unemployment is and remains a goliath that has defeated the country<sup>100</sup>. There has been a clear social divide in Congo that explains the poverty of the majority of the citizenry versus a handful of people, government officials and who have access to the wealth of the Congo. Roads are in a very lamentable state, especially in the countryside, and service delivery is a thing of the past in general. Though revenue from the mineral exploitation and taxes that are levied from the national government to the provincial one, conditions of life are not improved, instead they worsened day by day. Misery and sufferance are very present in the daily lives of the Congolese in general<sup>101</sup>. The water and electricity supply right through the country is characterized by continual load shedding affect productivity and competitively<sup>102</sup>. A handful of people are in the mainstream economy whereas the majority of the people are all forgotten in the informal economy with informal activities to survive for lack of adequate service delivery<sup>103</sup>. The advent

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<sup>98</sup> The violence that took place for decades in several forms has weighed heavily on the failures of the state to respond to socio-politico-economic needs of normal citizens in the DRC (Peter, 2011: 156; Kraxberger, 2007: 1055; Autesserre, 2008).

<sup>99</sup> Physical violence was used by the military to access services they needed from the civilians (Verweijen, 2013; Reyntjens 2009: 108; Kennes, 1997; Musambachime, 1990).

<sup>100</sup> The country is in a mess with the wars and the existence of several militias, particularly in the east (Ottaway and Mair, 2004; Van Reybrouck, 2014; Autesserre, 2008).

<sup>101</sup> The DRC is struggling with the realities of state failure that persist in most parts of the country and particularly in the Eastern corridor where insecurity has topple the plight of ordinary citizen up aside a heap of socio-economic misery as seen in the states of roads, hospitals and the management of the public affairs (Trefon, 2011; Ottaway, 2006; Trefon, 2004; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2003).

<sup>102</sup> In the eastern DRC, it is not a surprise to see days gone by without light or water supply from the states. The country runs on a permanent load shedding system. (Mwacan & Trefon, 2004; Field notes; 2016).

<sup>103</sup> The marginalisation of the masses and their isolation from partaking economic activities in the main economic section has left no other choice to the people at grassroots than to indulge in the informal economy. In the eastern

of the mobile telephone generation has helped to improve communication in the country as the land line is essentially nonexistent. Despite some gains, the lack of full coverage and costs means that some Congolese people carry more than one telephone to try and avoid tariffs<sup>104</sup>. The role and function of the state are compounded by the DRC sharing its borders with nine other countries. This has made it very difficult to control all the frontiers of the countries with the lack of equipment and manpower. There are some functioning border posts where sound control is exercised, but there is still a lot of places where people just walk to and fro crossing the DRC from their neighboring countries<sup>105</sup>. From the classic notion of the state as viewed by Western lenses of political analysis, the DRC is a mess. There have been a few inspiring leaders that may have been able to make the right political and economic directions. However, the turbulent history and the opening up of the economy to global forces have hijacked the political economy for the benefit of large companies and not the state and its people<sup>106</sup>. The soft and masked imposition of violence is the root cause of state failure in the RDC. By sponsoring violence, international businessmen are profiteering and have not been able to come to a point where they could agree on letting the Congo freely take the lead of its own affairs. Here, I do not suggest that businesses are directly sponsoring armed violence, but are part of the structural conditions of violence that deny people basic rights, protections and benefits from the state and its resources. The quest for looting natural resources and extracting mineral deposits in the Congo is at the

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Congo, the lion's share of economic trickles is pocketed by the multinationals and the armed men who have settled in an economy of violence (Devey, Skinner *et al.*, 2006; Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003; Reyntjens, 2009).

<sup>104</sup> The cost of telecommunication remains very high in the DRC irrespective of telephonic operators such as Vodacom, Celtel, Orange, etc. to have a bit of a relief, Congolese are forced to carry more than one mobile phone in the attempt to try to lower the telephony cost (Chitamu, *et al.*, 2003).

<sup>105</sup> The DRC has been negatively affected by the IMF and the World Bank policies of Structural Adjustments that proved to be counterproductive and the neoliberal stance taken by the very financial institutions continue to cripple lives of people at grassroots level (Emizet, 1997; Jeffries, 1993; Young and Turner, 1985).

<sup>106</sup> The liberalization of the economy with macroeconomic approaches advocated by the World Bank has been detrimental in the construction of the economic fabric of the RDC that in turn influences the politics of the country. The World Bank and IMF policies are encouraging Third World countries burden of debts, which are difficult to bear (Millet, 2005; Jeffries, 1993; Young and Turner, 1985; Reyntjens, 2009).

centre of state failure that plunge the country in a chaotic lengthy conflict that turned to violence<sup>107</sup>.

### ***Protracted Social Conflict / violence***

Conflict is the incompatibility of ideas and views between two or more parties<sup>108</sup>. Protracted social conflict<sup>109</sup> denotes struggles over values, rights, claims, resources or positions of hegemony where opposing parties are aiming each at eliminating one another in the race for capturing the stake of the matter. When not resolved the right way, it can escalate and engender violence, which is the case with the DRC where the greed from the leaders has produced grievances that have never found proper channels of management owing to failures of consecutive governments in the country<sup>110</sup>. The unattended citizens and neglected soldiers turned to own way of expressing their unhappiness and unpleasantness by stretching the conflict arena and by means of violence throughout the various governments in the country.

Violence can be defined as hurting the other party for own interest, own advantage<sup>111</sup>. When violence takes place and settles over a very long period it is then referred to as protracted violence. Protracted social conflicts are also referred to as intractable conflicts<sup>112</sup>; they are born over incompatibility of interest stemming from needs<sup>113</sup> Azar enumerates needs such as recognition and acceptance, economic participation and access to political institutions as being

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<sup>107</sup> The global age is characterized by the penetration of multinationals in the Third World countries by force or by means of treaty. As global political forces dictate the global economic agenda, global violence also is organized and transnational corporations are entering regions of the world for profit making at the expense of the very countries (Montague, 2002; Le Billon, 2001; Kaldor, 1999; Kaldor, 2013; Kanza, 1968).

<sup>108</sup> A conflict is a clash between antithetical ideas or interests – within a person or involving two or more persons, groups or states pursuing mutually incompatible goals (Berghof Glossary on Conflict Transformation, 2012: 7; Le Billon, 2001).

<sup>109</sup> Ramsbotham, O. (2005).

<sup>110</sup> Greed from both national and international leaders and businessmen has been at the centre of the Congolese trouble (Olsson and Fors, 2004; Turner, 2007, Young and Turner, 2013; Montague, 2002; Le Billon, 2001; Kaldor, 1999)

<sup>111</sup> Conflict became endemic in the Zairean society and kept on stretching owing to lack of proper mechanism of resolution, thus conflict protracted (Coser, 1956: 46; Tadjoeeddin and Murshed, 2007; Kriesberg, 1973).

<sup>112</sup> These are conflicts of intense and long affects (Burton, 1990; Staub and Bar-Tal, 2006: 715)

<sup>113</sup> (Ramsbotham *et al.*, 2011: 101)

among the causes<sup>114</sup>. They involve intense animosity, acute violence of long period as they exhaust all energies and resources of opposing factions thus running in circles<sup>115</sup>. The rationale of protracted violence is that conflict escalates into violent as people have been frustrated from seeing their needs not been fulfilled and thus recourse to violent means to channel their grievances<sup>116</sup>. Confrontations ensue and may involve armed conflicts that protract and civilians are victimized, hurt and wounded in military involvement<sup>117</sup>. Intractable conflicts give the impression of being insolvable, as individuals involved seem to forget about the feasibility of a peaceful solution<sup>118</sup>. Intense investment is involved in the process, economically, military, technologically, etc. This state of things fans and perpetuates a culture of violence among individuals and groups of people<sup>119</sup>. Violence in the Congo became a multifaceted reality.

### ***Structural violence in the Congo***

This can be defined as the violence that is embedded in the structures of society including social, political and economic. This was coined by Johan Galtung while performing fieldwork in Rhodesia. Galtung made it clear that structural violence is embedded in the socio-political structure whereby without intending to cause suffering to individuals, trends are such as misery and suffering creep in the masses, erodes cause damages of various forms<sup>120</sup> such as noted by

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<sup>114</sup> (Fiol *et al.*, 2009: 33-34; Ramsbotham, 2005: 115)

<sup>115</sup> (Bar-Tal, 2007: 711)

<sup>116</sup> (Staub, 2003: 3)

<sup>117</sup> In the global era, violence is an organized thing with a specific goal targeted towards civilians who may be standing on the trajectory of the stakeholders' projected politico-economic realization. Civilians are used even as shield in the process (Kaldor, 1999; Kaldor 2013; Vlassenroot, 2012: 43).

<sup>118</sup> In general, in the context of elastic conflicts, individuals in search of means and ways to rid their rivals in the process of conflict become desperate and recourse to any mean that may help them achieve the end desired (Bar-Tal, 2007: 1433).

<sup>119</sup> As cultural elements such as exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, science, etc. are added as ingredients that can be used to justify or legitimize violence, cultural violence gets entangled with the silent violence residing in the structures to protract violence (Galtung, 1990: 293, Brauer and Dunne, 2010).

<sup>120</sup> One of the classical examples of the ravages of structural violence is the case of Brazil in the late sixties when a junta took power and focused on military security to the expense of other sectors. Misery, hunger, poverty and several other calamities befell the Brazilian society to the point where infant mortality rose and became a normal phenomenon. (Sharper Scheper-Hughes, 2004, Farmer, 2004, Farmer, 2005).

Galtung<sup>121</sup>: In a certain sense, there was harmony, cooperation, integration. But was this peace? With the blatant exploitation, with blacks being denied most opportunities for development given to whites, with flagrant inequality whereby whites were making about twenty times as much for exactly the same job as blacks? Not to mention the basic fact that this was still a white colony.

In the DRC, a proper understanding of violence has to be holistic. Violence in the Congo has not happened in an isolated or sporadic manner but has been a long chain that can be delineated right through the history of the country. The foundations of the political structures that control the economy as well other structures were laid by the Belgian King, Leopold II. He organized the administration and the army from his Brussels' quarters with the intention of making profit by means of extracting any type of resource available in the Congo Free State (CFS)<sup>122</sup>. The structures he put in place perpetrated a circle of violence for profit's sake. All they cared for were the access to rubber and ivory with no concern of educating or providing shelter or medical care to Congolese that he pretended to protect and civilize<sup>123</sup>.

### ***Physical violence in the CFS***

The mode of operation was physical violence exercised over the inhabitants of the CFS who were hunt like games in the optic of collecting rubber, ivory and supplying local food to the soldiers of the *Force Publique*<sup>124</sup>. When one of these where not supplied on time, women and

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<sup>121</sup> While performing fieldwork in Rhodesia, Galtung noticed the hurts of the structures on the population (Lemarchand, 2001; Lemarchand, 2012; Van Reybrouck, 2014; Harris and Lewis, 1999).

<sup>122</sup> The DRC poses as the cumulative sum of all violence which roots stem from the CFS to reach it apex in the Kabilas' governments. It is a classic case of underground suffering imposed by the rulers (Montague, 2002; Bayart, 1999; Trefon, 2004 & 2011).

<sup>123</sup> Driven by arch ego-maniac fever of a true capitalist and blood sucker, Leopold II bled the Congolese state together with the Congolese people in the superexploitation of resources, the coercion of free and force labour, human merchandising and human genocide, even though the world has never acknowledged it to be so to date. His art od butchering both living and dead, exiling many in the equatorial forest and expropriating villagers of their lands and other crimes he committed, set the foundation of violence ravages the Congo to date (Doyle, 1910; Hochschild, 1999, Gann and Duignan, 1979; Morel, 1905; è Nziem, 1998).

<sup>124</sup> The Force Publique, an army of mercenaries put together by at the initiative of Leopld II was an army of marauders, looters and wild soldiers. At the service of the Belgian King rather than performing the duties of national

kids were taken hostages until the daily required quota of rubber was supplied. Individuals were flogged by the soldiers using a horrible whip cut from the skin of the hippopotamus. People bled internally and externally and in other cases they bled to death. Their hands were cut off for failure to supply whatever was required them to supply<sup>125</sup>.

### ***Psychological violence in the CFS.***

Rape by both soldiers and Belgian officials became the norm<sup>126</sup>. Acute suffering and misery settled in and people were forced to flee from their villages and their lands were turned into royal properties and others leased to foreign companies who sought to make fortune through concessionary exploitation. Villages were raided and people were taken as war hostages and turned into slaves. Many sought refuge deep in the bushes and died over sicknesses, starvation and from an inhuman environment. The population was ravaged and decimated<sup>127</sup>.

### ***Gratuitous violence in the CFS***

So much so that violence became the norm of the day, individuals in the CFS became like a bunch of patients sitting on benches waiting for the cure of violence from rulers and soldiers<sup>128</sup>. The simple act of greeting was accompanied by either verbal or physical violence from the

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security, it specialised in inflicting physical pain to the Congolese in order to coerce them doing the bid of their master (Doyle, 1910; Hoskyns, 1965; Pongo, 1999).

<sup>125</sup> Leopold II. The use of the chicotte and other inhuman means of torturing the Congolese people who were forced into an economy of coercion remain the task executed by the soldiers of the Belgian King (Van Reybrouck, 2014; Scheper-Hughes 1993; 2004; Farmer, 2004)

<sup>126</sup> Rape that has been used as a war weapon in the DRC has been instrumentalised by the Force Publique and passed on by the security force that operated in the Belgian-Congo and epitomised by the Rwandese and Ugandan soldiers in the Congo to date (Turner, 2007; Kaldor, 1999 & 2013; Van Reybrouck, 2014)

<sup>127</sup> The art of taking hostages for a ransom was used by the Force Publique during the CFS. Families were kept as hostages, particularly women and kids. In the awaiting time when their husbands were to bring in the required quota of rubber to free their loved ones, soldiers and Belgian official raped them repeatedly. This trend continued during the colonial period even though it did not entail taking hostages and today the DRC is paying dearly for the seeds of barbarism sown by King Leopold II. Never a people has been humiliated such as Congolese women, from babies to great-grand mothers, by the used of rape (Doyle, 1909; Dummett, 2004; Oury, 2008; Brantlinger, 1985).

<sup>128</sup> Gratuitous violence is very similar to acquaintance violence where someone just used violence simply because he is used to and is ignorant of the existence of another way of dealing with issues. The Leopoldian era has been the banner of violence. Everything and about everything was moved and dictated by violence. The culture of violence that has taken place today in the Congo, and particularly in the Great Lakes Region of Africa is the making of Leopold II (Hochschild, 1999; Conrad, 1902).



settlers and their army of mercenaries who came to the CFS to make money rather than to work for the people. The soldiers and the officials, just like the Belgium King, were all violent and commanded violence to achieve their ends. The economy, the society, the policies just like nature that surrounded everything was all majestically crafted by the artisan of violence in the CFS, Leopold II<sup>129</sup>. From 1885 to 1908. The conflict and violence moved in time and space to an intolerable level until the world was alerted to the living hell the Congolese people were drowning under the governance of the Belgian King. Violence in the Belgian Congo

The CFS was believed to be a spectacular edifice of human emancipation by the Belgians themselves<sup>130</sup>, initiated by Leopold II. So they continued the project started by their king. During the CFS, humans were treated like little vermin. With Belgium taking up the colony, they were upgraded to the standard of sub-humans in the sense that the cutting of hands may have disappeared<sup>131</sup>, but corporal punishment continued to be the method of disciplining referred to by the Belgian administration. Though a degree of development started to take place, African people are still referred to as ‘Singes’ (monkeys) and their wellbeing is limited at supplying labour to the Europeans settlers, and in most of the cases, menial labour. The Belgian Congo lacked equality and justice<sup>132</sup>. The labour market remained fragmented<sup>133</sup> with Belgians occupying high and very lucrative posts in all possible spheres of life and government and the Africans remained a reservoir of supplying labour to advance European projects. Structural

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<sup>129</sup> (Conrad, 1902).

<sup>130</sup> Bedouin’s speech on Independence Day praises the works of his grand-father Leopold II as a genius. Leopold II was indeed a genius in a very negative way considering the horrors of his tenure in the Congo. The best way of describing the Leopoldian edifice is to refer to the work of William Carr, Pawns in the game since the CFS is the reflection of a people that has been sacrificed for the purpose of yielding natural resources to enrich a single man. It is a classic example of the rebirth of the violence of the time of Noah (Carr and Laymen, 1958).

<sup>131</sup> Colonialism was a system of terrible and acute dehumanisation. It entailed all manner of evil pinned on the colonised on top of the demonisation from the colonist with a systematic plunder of riches commanded by violence (Rodney, 1972; Nkrumah *et al.* 1963; Hochschild, 1999).

<sup>132</sup> Lumumba’s speech on Independence Day was not a patronising one. It denounced the evil of colonialism with its devilish implications in the Congo. A slap in the face of the coloniser who used the dynamics of the underplays of the Cold War to cause chaos in the Congo led by Lumumba (Kanza, 1972; Van Reybrouck, 2014, Hoskyns, 1965).

<sup>133</sup> Labour market was Fragmented with on one side a class of colonists who earned as much as, at least, ten times compared to the negro and who lived in European like areas and the Blackman was relegated to the reservoir of labourers in the shantytowns far from the urban areas. He could venture to go there only if working; else he is suspicious of stealing and robbing people in the area (King, 1999; Feinstein, 2005, Portes and Walton, 1981).

violence continued in another measure as the African was never made to occupy positions of leadership. The concession and concessionary companies were still run by the Belgians and the Europeans and Africans lived separately. Segregation was the norm, racism and racial exclusion and still exists. Africans were exploited and in the process were paid an insignificant wage and the surplus flown to Belgium by the colonial institutions persisted. There were schools reserved to Europeans and others were for Africans<sup>134</sup>.

### ***Violence in the First republic***

The Lumumba's government signals the beginning of the First Republic with Joseph Kasavubu as President of the newly independent Congo. At this stage, the conflict took an altogether different outlook, moving from national to international levels with the involvement of foreign powers in the Congolese crisis<sup>135</sup>. Injustice in the workplace with the promotion of the European to the expense of the Africans led to quite unsatisfactory state of things in the Congolese National Army. A mutiny broke from Leopoldville and stretched to the rest of the country. To the mutiny, the Katanga province auto-proclaimed its sovereignty with the complicity of the businessmen involved in the mining with the complicity of capitalists outside the Congo to add fuel onto the fire that was eating up the Lumumba's government. From there the Kasai MNC leader, Albert Kalonji, broke away from the MNC mainstream to found his own MNC-Kalonji and proclaimed the secession of the South Kasai. Violent tribal clashes between the Lunda and the Lulua claimed hundreds of lives, fueled by the coloniser's legacy of divide to rule<sup>136</sup>. Lumumba, unfavoured by the capitalists, labeled as a man of communist tendency, got entangled

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<sup>134</sup> The Belgian-Congo, just like any colony in the world, was characterised by acute segregation, exploitation, racism, dehumanisation and belittling on the colonised party (Feinstein, 1985; è Nziem, 1998).

<sup>135</sup> By the time Lumumba was elected as Prime Minister, the Belgians unwilling to let the Congo go underplayed politico-economic events in the Congo using the Cold War as an alibi to undermine the leadership of Lumumba. As a true nationalist who envisioned a united, free and prosperous Congo, the interests of the businessmen and the political elite from Belgium were threatened, thus together with the foreign powers which agreed to use the Congo as a trading zone, launched the mutiny, rebellion, pillage and chaotic machine that led to the death of Lumumba (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Oury, 2008; Kanza, 1979; Hoskyns, 1965).

<sup>136</sup> Violence that was ignited from the CFS and continued during the colonial period in changing color and presentation was not a thing to hide given the stakes of resources to win in the Congo. The best easy and cheap way of reaching that end was to divide people and mount them one against the other in a violent like manner (Pongo, 1999; Le billion, 2001; Bruijn and Van Dijk, 2005).

in a political misunderstanding with the President who suspended him. Having refused the suspension he also suspended the President<sup>137</sup>. The army stepped in and took power. Lumumba was thus arrested and put in a residence and was put under surveillance and monitored by the army<sup>138</sup>. Upon his attempt to escape to join the other Ministers of his government in Stanleyville, he was apprehended by the army with the complicity of Belgians intelligence and was flown to the Kitona military base in Bas-Kongo from where he was flown to Katanga to be executed with two other ministers of his government. They were buried and their bodies were unearthened to be dissolved in chemicals to erase any trace of their corpses<sup>139</sup>.

A United Nations mission was called in to help resolve the crisis<sup>140</sup> but did little about it. Conflict continued to ravage the Congo with unstable governments succeeding one after the other. The situation was changed when Joseph Mobutu took power in a state coup in November 1965 when he proclaimed himself president and renamed the country Zaire<sup>141</sup>.

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<sup>137</sup> The trouble with the post-independent Congo was to get rid of Lumumba. The machine set in motion involved the launching of political confusion in the Congo, the Katanga secession and the mutiny of the Force Publique to discredit the Prime Minister and get rid of him, having been seen as an obstacle to the advancement of the capitalist agenda in the Congo (Weissman, 2014; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Kanza, 1972; Meredith, 2011).

<sup>138</sup> The beginning of destructive foreign involvement in the Congo and the decimation of any prospect of genuine autonomy began with Lumumba's house arrest and his subsequent murder to replace him with an elite that was being prepared to work for the neoliberal agenda that contended the Congo with the communist during the Cold War (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Kanza, 1972).

<sup>139</sup> The discourses of democracy and pluralism are jeopardized when a popular elected leader is killed by security forces simply because he does not seem to be compatible with an ethnic or tribal or internal business' interest. The case of Patrice Lumumba, Melchior Ndadaye, Juvenal Habyarimana, etc. (Reyntjens, 1996; Zeilig, 2008; Vanthemsche, 2012; Umutesi, 2004).

<sup>140</sup> The first UN mission, ONUC, was unable to sort the political situation particularly with matter pertaining to Lumumba's discarding from political scene whereas he was unanimously elected by the Congolese people and the Katanga secession. The biggest contingents, which were also to play a decisive political role in the next few weeks, were those of Morocco (2465 men), Ghana (2412) and Tunisia (2151). But the presence of the U N troops solved neither of the problems which in the eyes of the Congolese government justified their presence and deployment in the country's territory: the secession of Katanga was being consolidated, and the Belgian troops were still there. (Hoskyns, 1965; Kanza, 1972, Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Mokhtar, 1990).

<sup>141</sup> After taking power through a soft coup, Mobutu renamed the country Zaire and introduced a propaganda of demagoguery to blind the Congolese people and settle an autocratic rule right through his tenure as President (Dunn, 2001; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Wrong, 2014; Young and Turner, 1985).

## ***Violence in Zaire***

Mobutu ruled the country with an iron hand of terror, intimidation and autocracy. He monopolized the executive, judiciary and the legislative in his pockets. The country continued to experience rebellions where he took a narrow escape and tribal clashes that he crushed with the army<sup>142</sup>. For thirty-two years, Mobutu silenced any attempt of opposition using torture, death squads and public hanging of suspected opponents that he labeled as plotter and agents of public order subversion in country<sup>143</sup>. His rule prepared a long-range tribal conflict as he brought the Rwandese refugees closer in his cabinet and shielded them for his entire rule, granting them Zairean citizenship<sup>144</sup>. He disagreed with all foreign policies from the West and proclaimed himself as non-aligned with both communist and capitalism. Though the country experienced a relative peace, the structures were very violent and there was no freedom of expression or press on top of gross violations of human rights. Protests were met by killings from his army and politics turned into a game that he manipulated to his satisfaction. The transition was violent with convulsion expressed by looting of stores, hospitals, offices, etc. which crippled the dying economy. The citizens tired of Mobutu governance, remained silent until the arrival of a coalition of foreign armies that swept the country from the east to the west in just seven months. His rule came to an end and he was forced to exile himself in Morocco from where he died of prostate cancer that gripped him from the last decade of his life.

## ***Protracted conflict and violence in the DRC***

Up to the moment Kabila took power with the help of his allies from Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi, other aspect of violence from the Leopoldian era were still dormant. Former President Laurent Desire Kabila named the country to be the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The chicotte of the Leopoldian era was revived by mercenaries from Rwanda who had the leverage in

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<sup>142</sup> Zaire was a continuation of the Leopoldian ideology of one man rule that was perpetrated by a one country rule during the Belgian-Congo. Mobutu was groomed and moulded by the history of the country through its past leaders and continued the very trends (Bayart, 2009; Trefon, 2004 & 2011; Pongo, 1999; Young and Turner, 1985).

<sup>143</sup> Any opposition was met by a serious repression and possibly a death squad, reminiscent to the pre-Museveni situation in Uganda (Rupesinghe, Rupesinghe *et al.*, 1994; Khiddu-Makubuya, 1994).

<sup>144</sup> Mobutu chose Bisengimana, a Rwandese refugee, to be his cabinet director and strengthened the politics of tribalism and ethnisim in allocating lion's shares to the people of his native province in governmental and business spheres (Young and Turner, 1985; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Bayart, 2009).

the mainstream of the governmental affairs<sup>145</sup>. Here, when I discuss the ‘chicotte’ in contemporary times, I mean it literally at times as forced labour is occurring with the whip used as a punishment. I do also mean figuratively as they continue the ideological culture of violence where the locals are mistreated and abused with a normalized violence. The dictatorship, the patrimonial and personal rule from Leopold II were revived. The executive, the judiciary and the legislative were all left to his political party, the AFDL. His former allies from Rwanda and Uganda turned against him and engaged in the plan to seize power from Laurent Kabila. He then turned to other African countries for help and Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia, Chad and Libya came to his rescue to help him chase the Rwandese and Ugandans who came against him. Rebellions broke with several armed movements in the country. In 2001, Laurent Kabila assassinated and Joseph Kabila, his son, took power. From then, rebellions factions, armed movement and abundance of militia mushroomed in the country and violence that protracted and persisted was turned into a lifestyle and the DRC was swallowed into a culture of violence.

### ***The Culture of Violence***

A culture of violence is a way of life built around the cultural values and norms that house violence and justifies it by promoting those elements of the culture that can be used to rationalise or legitimise direct or structural violence on a given segment of the population<sup>146</sup>. According to Staub<sup>147</sup>, difficult life conditions emanating from various economic, political and social hardships brings about changes in the day to day life as individuals become unable to meet the basic needs<sup>148</sup>. This leads to violence being perpetrated at interpersonal level or by a dominating group of people on the other group considered to be the cause of suffering and marginalization of the other group or self-elevated group of people who believe that violently knocking out the undesired party will lead to self-satisfaction. Consequently, violence creeps in and becomes the norm of daily life<sup>149</sup>. Its psychological effect is such as individuals feel diminished, worthless

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<sup>145</sup> Rwandese expatriate occupied key positions in the country (Emizet, 1997; Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>146</sup> (Galtung, 1969; Reimann, 2004: 19).

<sup>147</sup> (Staub, 1999, 2003: 6).

<sup>148</sup> (Burton, 1990; Staub, 1999).

<sup>149</sup> The 2008 xenophobia explosion on foreign nationals typifies a culture of violence within the South African Society (Amisi, Bond *et al.* 2011: 12; Scheper-Huges, 1993: 268-273).

and insecure<sup>150</sup>. A culture of violence can only be overcome once individuals have their perceptions, attitudes and values changed to accept, tolerate and accommodate those with a different identity; only when violence is removed from the community, can human rights and democratic values be embraced properly<sup>151</sup> The CFS and the culture of violence

The DRC epitomized the culture of violence. From the CFS of Leopold II, germs of violence were sown by the deadly CFS machine set in motion by the Belgian king. The state machine with its brutal administration, its horrible Force Publique was the maker, the giver and the major exporter of violence<sup>152</sup>. It instrumentalised violence to extract profit, glory, prestige and hegemony over the population in the Basin of the Congo River. Villagers in the first place and then all inhabitants of the Congo Basin River were receivers and consumers of the imposed state violence. The violence was mostly economic orientated but with a range of debasing activities such as rape, sequestration, land grabbing, burning of entire villages, cutting of hands of people that was intended to extract further profits. This led to the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people fleeing the violence and also then in search of secure means of livelihoods and survival. Hundreds of thousands of people were exiled in the equatorial forests and others in neighbouring countries, but others were simply murdered by the regime in place. The death toll in the CFS was around ten million people. Kingdoms and kings who dared resist the Leopoldian death machine succumbed to the brutality of the organized systemic violence of the Belgian King with an ever long chain of command at his service from his Belgian headquarters down to the CFS. Structures, institutions and the system in place in the CFS breathed violence, governed and embodied violence that was diversified in magnitude and intensity from the days of the explorations of the CFS by Henry Morton Stanley, to right through the existence of the CFS.

The syncretic-global violence in the CFS such as portrayed by Joseph Conrad<sup>153</sup> also echoes the deadly work of the Junta in Brazil in the 1980s described in the work of Nancy Scheper-

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<sup>150</sup> (Bar-Tal, 2009: 230).

<sup>151</sup> The settling in of a culture of violence from the early days of the Congo Free State and its perpetration hence, has decimated chances of having a peaceful society in the DRC today (Staub, 2003: 3; Unesco, 1999; Melko, 1993). Feinstein, 2005; Hochschild, 1999; Money, 1985, è Nziem, 1988, Farmer, 2004.

<sup>153</sup> Conrad, 1902.

Hughes<sup>154</sup>. The Leopoldian security force was a powerhouse of violence where all types of violence found its expression. It was not different from any brutal colonial system or apartheid system. The Dutch who colonized Belgium and from whom Leopold in his early childhood or youth or perhaps his parents, have learnt the rudiments of violence. If it was not himself learning straight from the Dutch school of violence during their Belgian occupation, then he could have inherited the ingredient of violence that he exported to the CFS and that later on in the history of colonization they exported to South Africa and horrified a peaceful societies in dispossessing and imposing on Africans a system of apartheid by means of firearms. The situation also espouses the classic structural violence of Paul Farmer<sup>155</sup>, when he describes the Russian prisoners or the pogroms and anti-Semitism of the Nazi regime. These remain blatant cases of brutalization, victimization and debasement of systems and ideologies that could not go unnoticed and were exposed to the world by concerned genuine philanthropist such as Morel and Roger Caseman<sup>156</sup>. An elite of rulers and businessmen sacrificed the lives of millions of innocent human beings for the acquisition of power, prestige, wealth on top of the extraction and control of natural resources of the very people they trample with the private reward of sending the expropriated surplus from workers as well as the profit made to Europe for the benefit of Leopold II and his Kingdom<sup>157</sup>.

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<sup>154</sup> Scheper-Hughes, N. (1993). See also Scheper-Hughes, N., & Bourgois, P. I. (2004).

<sup>155</sup> Farmer, P. (2004; 2005).

<sup>156</sup> The Leopoldian ego-maniac quest for profit expressed in the amputation of hands of Congolese of all ages, rape, pillage, slavery, autocracy, killings and spoliation permitted by the use of the Force Publique sent a signal of distress to the world. Morel noted how a ships loaded with modern weapons and ammunition from Belgium against the ships loaded with all kinds of riches of the Congo in exchange resulted in the establishment of a human butchery in the CFS and left unforgettable memories of wormwood taste to following generations of Congolese that are still vivid to date (Morel, 1905; Hochschild, 1999; Scheper-Hughes, N., & Bourgois, P. I., 2004; Carr and Laymen, 1958; Vromen, 2008; Young and Turner, 1985; Hoskyns, 1965).

<sup>157</sup> The system used by Leopold II laid the foundation to following crimes that rulers after him referred to in their mode of governance. If today we are living an age of multinationals penetrating and imposing themselves in the Third World countries and hijack government, in the Congo, it all sprang from the memories of the Belgium King. His techniques of accumulation were espoused by his fellow nationals and continued by their multinationals behind scenes. According to this system, it does not matter whether human beings die or infrastructures are destroyed or misery and suffering cloud a certain country as a result of wars that are engineered in the headquarter countries of their multinationals. What matters is that resources that will be turned into money to further enrich them are found and exported in the West (Le Pape, 2000; Des Forges, Watch *et al.* 1999; Money, 1985; Kaldor, 1999 & 2013; Van Reybrouck, 2014; Renner 2002; Mailey, 2015; Montague, 2002; Emizet, 1997).

## ***Belgian Congo culture of violence***

The Leopoldian pyramid of violence will be continued by the colonial Belgian empire from 1909 to 1960 during the epoch of the official colonization of the Congo. The colonial state all around the world was a brutal, exploitative, coercive, inhuman and lethal. In the Belgian Congo, the tripartite system made of the colonial state, the Catholic Church and capital owners<sup>158</sup> continued the violence inherited from the Leopoldian Congo Free state deadly machine. Tyranny, racism, exploitation and pillaging of natural resources even the Congolese artifact was settled in the Belgian Congo. The instrumentalisation of violence that was endemic in the Leopoldian structures will be continued in the Belgian Congo<sup>159</sup> and continued during the first ever democratically elected government of the country Culture of violence in the Newly Independent Congo

Patrice Lumumba who was unanimously elected to be the first Prime Minister of the independent Congo saw the revival of the inherited culture of violence with the contribution of foreign countries and foreign ideologies that never allowed him to redress what he perceived as the violence from the CFS and the Belgian Congo<sup>160</sup>. His government was caught up in a bloody cold war proxy in the Katanga and an ethnic war in the Kasai which culminated to the secession of Katanga and the South Kasai and which claimed thousands of lives. The ideological battle between the communists and the capitalists in the Congo was the central reason that led to the demise of Lumumba, his house arrest and his assassination orchestrated by the Belgian-American alliance that remains very active and very influential in the autonomous affairs of the Congo to date. Following the killing of Patrice Lumumba and the demise of Joseph Kasavubu who was relegated to his native village, a power vacuum was hanging over the leadership of the

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<sup>158</sup> In general, in Africa, the colonial system was based on the direct rule, the indirect rule or the chartered companies for their administration. The concessionary companies operating within the mining industry, the capitalist agro-plantations with focus on cash crops production together were dictating terms and conditions in the socio-politico-economic life in the Belgian-Congo. On top of that, a horrible system of violence crowned their mode of operation (Hoskyns, 1965; Kanza, 1972; Vanthemsche, 2012; Money, 1985; Conrad, 1902).

<sup>159</sup> Belgian colonist looted everything they could put their hand on. Artefacts, natural resources, etc (Hesselbein, 2007; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2006; Diamitani, 2007).

<sup>160</sup> In his speech on the Independence Day, Patrice Lumumba denounced a foreign rule of 80 years of ruthless violence and discrimination, undressing the enterprise of the pre-colonial period that impacted the colonial one until June, 30<sup>th</sup> 1960 (Montague, 2002; Kanza, 1972, Meredith, 2011; Birmingham and Martin, 1983).



country from 1961 to 1965 with succession of governments. Violence and chaos were thus settled in institutions and the structures of the Congolese government. The United Nations mission that was assisting the country to sort its political troubles <sup>161</sup>was not effective<sup>162</sup>. But once the moment was ripe for a long range idealized government that would serve the interests of the international businessmen within the capitalist international system, the UN mission was called to an end and its departure left open the door to a complete new governance; the Mobutu one.

### ***Culture of violence in Zaire***

24 November 1965, by means of a state coup, Mobutu seized power within the pretext of restoring order with the promise of giving it back to the civilians<sup>163</sup>. Freshly coming from a poor career of journalism to the army, Mobutu became President of the second republic. Not having the know how in the leadership and the international world system, the past leadership of Leopold II and the one from the colonialists will serve the basis of his governance<sup>164</sup>. To the horrors of the past, a dictatorial government will tightly grip the country with terror, corruption, looting and stealing of public funds, corruption, patrimonialism and a folly de grandeur that was cemented by the means of violence<sup>165</sup>. Structural violence with endemic corruption and erosion of civil rights coupled with military coercion and death squads commanded by the head of the

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<sup>162</sup> ONUC was the United Nations mission assigned to the Congo (Hoskyns, 1965; Kanza, 1972).

<sup>163</sup> New political systems in Africa are always against previous ones. The newly independent countries were keen on getting rid of colonial systems and He renamed the country Zaire (Young and Turner, 1985; Meredith, 2011; Van Reybrouck, 2014, Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>164</sup> The problem with the leadership in post-independent Africa was the ignorance of the political game. The underplays in the relations between the North and the South, the notion of the core and periphery, metropole and satellite that determines the content of bilateral and multilateral treaties and accords. President Mobutu was not an exception and was trapped in the game of international powers that dictate the status quo in many African countries. Mobutu's reign ended up being the climax of an evil empire (Carr and Laymen, 1958; Amin, 1972; Amin, 1974; Lemarchand, 2012; Emizet, 1997; Olsson and Fors, 2004; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Stearns, 2012 ).

<sup>165</sup> The Mobutu tenure came to be a classic case of mismanagement with many socio-politico-economic flaws (è Nziem, 1998b; Pongo, 1999; Bayart, 2009; Emizet 1997; Hesselbein, 2007; Dunn, 2003; Reyntjens, 2009).

state implemented by secret police and the military on top of public hanging of opponents came to be the tenets of his governance<sup>166</sup>.

Corruption that consisted of emptying the state coffers into the leader's pockets and personal appropriation of foreign aid characterized the Mobutu administration. Clientelism, nepotism and tribalism flourished all along his government that stretched over three decades<sup>167</sup>. Squashed in an unbelievable authoritarianism and pressed by gradual insecurity in all the domains of life, the Congolese people suffered all kinds of plagues at the hand of the Mobutu government. Fear of being kidnapped, tortured and killed gripped the entire population<sup>168</sup>. Survival came to be equal to the user fee in the health, the educational and other sectors. The revenue from the mining, the taxes levied on foreign multinationals and on local businessmen disappeared and no one was accountable as a chain of corrupted men and women erased the traces. France, Belgium and the United States supported the Mobutu regime even when they professed to be democratic countries they entertained dictatorships, particularly in Africa, they continue to maintain a heavy autocracy that violated and crushed human and individual rights to unimaginable heights<sup>169</sup>. Towards his last decade, insecurity reached its pinnacle and the people were lost in an ever ending struggle to survive in a context of severe culture of violence. Ethnic violence between the former refugees from Rwanda and Zairean citizens were revived and reinforced by popular grievances against

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<sup>166</sup> Those who oppose the regime were killed either underground or charged for treason or for threat for national security. Even though there is not greater treason or attempt to national security that is greater than borrowing money in the name of a people who will hardly profit of it in the name of development (Trefon, 2001; Young and Turner, 1985; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Kanza, 1972; Rupesinghe and Rubio, 1994).

<sup>167</sup> The state in Zaire can be best described as the application of the politics of the bally at best (Bayart, 2009; Trefon, 2004; Trefon, 2011; Evans, 1989).

<sup>168</sup> The country was ruled by a hand of iron, it had a sole leader who ruled in an unchallenged, unshared and undisputed manner. Thus the definition of ideologies of returning to the ancestral values at the expense of the modern ones. That implies the dressing code and the naming of individuals that had to shift from Western naming to African naming. Under that period of staunch dictatorship, the population was controlled by fear, especially those who dared to pursue a political career. (Deneault, Abadie *et al.* 2008; White, 2006; Ekanga Botombele, 1975; Stearns, 2012; Lemarchand, 2012).

<sup>169</sup> The apex of corruption from the Leopoldian era through the Belgian-Congo one will be proliferated during the Mobutu regime with the help of Western powers in the name of buffering communism in the region (Montague, 2002; Young and Turner, 1985; Bayart, 2009; Pongo, 1999).

Mobutu<sup>170</sup>. It is in that context that an old opponent of the Mobutu regime who had failed in several attempt to bring down the dictatorship of Mobutu, Laurent Desire Kabila, will become one of the founder of the movement that will violently bring down the dictatorship of Mobutu in connivance with Rwandese and Ugandan leaders. A cocktail of violence swept Zaire departing from Rwanda with the blessing of the soldiers and mercenaries from Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda and other parts of the world. Mobutu rule of violence came to a sudden end in 1997 by a mixture of civil war and violence used by the armies that accompanied Laurent Kabila<sup>171</sup>.

### ***Culture of violence in the third Republic***

Laurent Desire Kabila who was one of the leaders of the Alliance of Democratic Forces for Liberation (ADFL). He became the third President of the country that he renamed the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Violence that had settled during Mobutu's era was sensibly eradicated by the Kabila's government. He was able to do this with the support of the Rwandese military that was part and parcel of his army<sup>172</sup>. Even though Laurent Kabila may have been labeled by his detractors as an autocrat and a buffoon, his efforts to eradicate violence was considerable and his commitment to development was noticeable with the revamping of the institutions and structures that went on to tackle the legacy of over three decades of underdevelopment and arrested government. Laurent Desire Kabila, just like Patrice Lumumba, was assassinated<sup>173</sup> in circumstances that remain unclear in January 2001 and his son, Joseph

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<sup>170</sup> The state failure in Zaire brought about a general insecurity that culminated with the influx of Rwandese refugees in the country with their arms and ammunitions that the Zairean government was unable to control and manage adequately. It exacerbated human insecurity in the Eastern part of the country, adding to series of pillages of the 1991 and 1993 (Stearns, 2012; Reyntjens, 2009; 2012; Pongo, 1999; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Young and Turner, 1985, Emizet, 1997; è Nziem, 1998b).

<sup>171</sup> The weakened state sustained a deadly blow with the entrance of rebels backed by Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda and other African countries in the quest to dethrone Mobutu (Olsson and Fors 2004; Van Reybrouck, 2014; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Stearns, 2012; Reyntjens, 2009).

<sup>172</sup> The invasion of the country by rather foreign armies lead by late President Laurent Desire Kabila brought a change in the country that was well appreciated by the citizens for just a few years before it turned to be a rather sour story of series of changing faces of armed violence (Emizet, 1997; Stearns, 2012; Reyntjens, 2009; Turner, 2001; Olsson and Fors 2004, Van Reybrouck, 2014; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Montague, 2002).

<sup>173</sup> Treaties were at the heart of murder of Mzee Laurent Desire Kabila. The syndicate of international businessmen that are behind new wars and the pushing of multinationals into the Third World countries are said to be operating behind the scenes to push the self-interests through market imperialism under globalisation where revolutions,

Kabila, became the fourth President of the country. The DRC stands as a classic case of violence. Ethnic violence, cultural violence, structural violence, gratuitous violence, physical violence, within an exacerbated context of insecurity, particularly in the countryside, characterized the country's history. Internally displaced person within the country and refugees outside the country has been the result of violence that is intimately linked to the international quest for resources<sup>174</sup>. At the crossroad of violence that was passed from an epoch to another, from a government to another, roots of violence in the Congo are ideological and then expressed and perpetuated through economic means. Violence in the Congo with is rooted in the quest for extraction of raw material, the exploitation of mineral deposits by international syndicate who excerpt profit over controls of resources for which they value minerals rather than human lives. Turner captures the exact snapshot of the processes from Leopold to the Kabila<sup>175</sup>: ... aircraft began flying to Congo from the military airports at Entebbe (Uganda) and Kigali (Rwanda), transporting arms, military equipment, soldiers and merchandise, according to the panel. On the return trip they carried coffee, gold, diamond traders and business representatives, and occasionally soldiers. Between September 1998 and August 1999 (still according to the UN panel) occupied zones of DRC were drained of minerals, agricultural and forest products, livestock and cash. Regardless of the looter, the pattern was the same: Burundian, Rwandan, Ugandan and/or RCD soldiers, commanded by an officer, visited farms, storage facilities, factories and banks, and demanded that the managers open the coffers or doors. Soldiers then removed the relevant wealth and loaded it into vehicles.

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assassinations, sabotage and setting of scores are not excluded when it comes to those who oppose their agenda. Many leaders in Africa have fallen owing to proposing solutions or pursuing agenda that are contrary to the interest of the one of the international businessmen (Hochschild, 1999; Carr and Laymen, 1958; Turner, 2007; Montague, 2002; Kaldor, 1999; Kaldor, 2013; Lemarchand, 2012; Rupesinghe, and Rubio (1994).

<sup>174</sup> The underground, the conglomerate syndicate of businessmen are at the centre of the Congolese tragedy with neighboring armies such as the Rwandese and the Ugandan ones which serve them as police in terrorizing and terrifying the Congolese civilians who are defenseless with the optic of supplying raw minerals to the world market (Dagne, 2012; Montague, 2002; Turner, 2007; Van Reybrouck, 2014; Rupesinghe, and Rubio, 1994).

<sup>175</sup> This is how it has been working from Leopold II and it continues working till the Kabila's tenure. The same mode of operation persist enriching the conspirators and the tyrants with their middlemen in Rwanda and Uganda in the first plan and pauperizing the Congolese people and killing millions of them without any concern on the side of the international community (Montague, 2002; Kaldor, 2013; Dagne, 2011; Van Reybrouck, 2014; Turner, 2007; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Kaldor, 1999).

The violence from the CFS right through to the Joseph Kabila's era is explained by need of raw material, particularly in this age of technology where the Congo on its own houses the most raw material required in the making of hi-tech equipment and the technology in general. The natural resources of the Congo have been the root causes of violence from the Congo Free State to the Kabila government<sup>176</sup>. The age of multinational corporations that has stretched to the deepest of the traditional societies in the peripheral countries of the world by means of warfare conquest in search of raw material. The Congo has not been spared but fell under the very logic of the capitalist world today just like the past century where small industrials, merchants and peasants, artisans and renters all fell into the proletarianisation of the capitalism paradigm as feudalism was making a transition to capitalism in the quest for profit<sup>177</sup>.

### ***Concluding Summary***

The troubles of the Congolese state today are not an isolated case but an integrated historical process of failures that are rooted in the Leopoldian era that had nothing of a state, though the country carried the name of "Congo Free State. Failures of governance of the Congo Free State were continued with a relative attenuation during the Belgian Congo and were accentuated by foreign actors, particularly the US and Belgium. The Lumumba's government was sabotaged with zest in the name of capitalism triumphalism within the alibi of communism infiltration. The following governments having copied from the previous ones and not having a human socio-political model and being a puppet heading a state at the service of capitalist. Failure begot failure with the subsequent governments with the change of outlook as actors and vectors of the accentuation of the failure is settled by African and foreign actors.

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<sup>176</sup> The quest for input material is at the heart of many African conflicts. From the Angolan conflict to the Congolese one through the Liberian, the one in Sierra Leone, the Central African Republic and even the elastic violence of the apartheid era were all dictated by the thirst and hunger of raw material in the West, the DRC being a classic example where neighbouring countries are used for the very purpose (Hochschild, 1999; Umutesi, 2004; Onana, 2009; Montague, 2002, Van Reyrouck, 2014; Fainstein, 2005).

<sup>177</sup> The global age is characterised by the penetration of transnational corporations that have succeeded in penetrating the peripheries of the developed countries with the pretence of creating wealth by means of war and terror (Kaldor, 1999; Kaldor, 2013; Montague, 2002; Le Billon, 2001; Onana, 2009).

The failures that are rooted in the Leopoldian era are rationalized by the use of violence and the absence of the most ridiculous blueprint of a road map or government plan in matters of governance. It left a legacy of violence that colours several governments that followed the CFS, the Belgian King having instilled in the Basin of the Congo River a governance of violence and terror to extract wealth out of the labour of innocent people. This model was followed first by Belgians who took over the country and made it a Belgian colony continued. From Leopold II, violence took roots in the social structures and institution and will be continued during the Belgian Congo. Confirmed by foreign actors in the first ever democratically elected government of the country, the violent mode of operation was adopted by the Mobutu era and continued to the Kabila ones. Violence that was settled protracted changing patterns and shape and size in the construction of the daily reality of the Congolese people.

The protracted violence ushered in a culture of violence in the sense that everything and about everything in the Congo, from the CFS to the RDC is tinted with violence. Violence is a cultural ingredient that is present in the social, political, economic daily routine and violence dictates the terms. To tame an entire nation, recourse to arms is made in order to allow the looting of natural resources by foreign actors in complicity with national and local authorities. This is in line with the logic of the new wars and its rationale as well as its designs. Civilians are victimized and top structures seem absent in the face of the atrocities that accentuate the failures of the state permit a settling of a cultural violence.

The study used a qualitative paradigm given its usefulness in explaining the social phenomena. As individuals interact, they tend to make sense of their actions in a social order that is recipient of their actions inside their social and cultural context. Thus focus groups discussion, in-depth interviews and participant observation were used in the primary collection of data, whereas books, journal articles, magazines, the internet, etc. were used to gather meaningful data that enrich the presentation, analysis and the findings in the upcoming chapters with a sound contribution to the theory and debate within the field of Conflict Transformation and Peace Studies. The following chapter turns to the broader picture of the Congo starting from the remote past through colonialism, the struggles that then follow to the present day.

## CHAPTER THREE: HISTORY OF VIOLENCE IN THE CONGO

This chapter presents violence in the Congo in five different epochs but is subdivided into seven sections:

1. Introduction
2. The origin of the occupation of the Congo
3. The Congo Free State
4. The Colonial period
5. The First Republic
6. The second Republic, and
7. The Third Republic.

It ends with a concluding summary.

### ***The Origin of the occupation of The Congo***

The root causes of the Congolese troubles underpinned by violence of various natures can be located in the mind of a single individual, the Belgium King. Leopold II cherished from time immemorial the thought of having a colony overseas. This view is contrary to the approach taken by diverse scholars who researched violence and those still researching violence to date<sup>178</sup> who viewed the genesis and linear progression of violence in other very constructive angles. Here it is argued that the violent troubles of the Congo found their genesis and were deeply rooted in the thoughts, ideas and fantasies of a King who lived to entertain a dream that will cost an entire nation over a century of misery, poverty, mediocrity and vulnerability<sup>179</sup>. His proposition of establishing a colony in the Basin of the Congo River, that was to be turned into his personal

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<sup>178</sup> Johan Galtung, John Buton, Elise Bulding, and others (Ramsbotham *et al*, 2011).

<sup>179</sup> (Bergh *et al*, 1999).

enterprise<sup>180</sup>, was backed by Western deciders in Berlin<sup>181</sup> during the ‘Scramble for Africa. Leopold’s ideas and visions can be summarised as cultural and structural violence. Here I refer to the cruel logic behind the violence used in the Congo to extract resources. Rather than claiming to build a state or colony that may exhibit ideals and ideas beyond simply resource extraction the idea was to rip resources from the land with force as required. The Congo faced a brutalisation like no other colony had before. Initially those ideas that sought overseas territories may have even been noble ones however paternalistic, but once put in motion in the Congo, they turn to be a catastrophe in a short course of time. Just like structural violence<sup>182</sup> is not directly aimed at causing misery and suffering but it turns to be a killer in itself like a slow poison<sup>183,184</sup>. The initial brutality in the Congo nonetheless lead to the personification of violence with its ramification in much diversified ways inside the society. The ideas and desires conceived by the Belgian King to secure a colony overseas for his Kingdom constituted the root causes of violence in the Congo. Knowing very well as colonising a territory entails brewing troubles, revolts, armed confrontations, violent repressions, destruction, death, etc, persisting in the same way of thinking was nurturing even the realities referred above. King Leopold II was eager to have a colony and therefore to exploit it to exert profit that was to be used for Belgian development projects of colossal size. And all this done at the expense of the colonies. While Leopold II never visited the Congo we was well aware of what he set in motion when he sent Stanley into the region<sup>185</sup>. Conceiving in his mind such a violent intention led to using violent means that achieved violent ends that stemmed from violent projections from the human mind contrary to the notion of *ahimsa*<sup>186</sup>. The Congo was long ago torn and turned into pieces in the mind of King Leopold II, its natural and artistic richness pillaged; its daughters raped and mutilated, its sons

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<sup>180</sup> (Meredith, 2011).

<sup>181</sup> (Freund, 1984: 119; Oliver and Atmore, 2005: 96).

<sup>182</sup> If structural violence is the result of violence embedded in structures, cultural violence is generated in human minds from where its seeds birth several others types of violence (see Galtung, 1969: 174).

<sup>183</sup> (Galtung, 1985).

<sup>184</sup> For an elaborated discussion of types of violence prevailing in violent societies, see the concept paper for the justice, crime prevention and the security cluster, “The violent nature of crime in South Africa” (Gilbert, 1996; [Goldblatt and Meintjes, 1998](#)).

<sup>185</sup> (Hoschild, 1999: 72).

<sup>186</sup> The concept of “*Ahimsa*” means no harm by thoughts, words or action (Miller and King, 2005: 13).



sold as slaves to traders and others exploited in portage in the collection of rubber and others used in the killings elephants for ivory; its capital flying to Europeans big cities and markets; its land seized from innocent and defenseless women whose husbands have been forced to work for King Leopold II with the chicotte on top; its villages burnt to ashes, its land divided and given to foreign traders and concessional domain made for the Belgian King without any permission from its rightful owners<sup>187</sup>, the Congolese people. <sup>188</sup>Violence in the Basin of the Congo River in different epoch of history can find the rationale in the violent project of occupation, exploitation and subjugation of both the people as well as the land in the mind of Leopold II from the moment he conceived to establish a colony overseas to the very minute he was awarded the so called right to open the Basin of the Congo River to routes of business where nations of the West were to find a vital space to interact and do business<sup>189</sup>. Thus in the case of the Congo, violence born in the mind of King Leopold II is at the origin of all the suffering of the people who originally lived in the Basin of the Congo River before and after the scramble of the African continent. All the sufferings, the vile nature of violence in its diverse form is located in the mind of a single man who used all that he could, among other means, personal research, contacts with explorers, diplomacy and conniving ways to secure a colony in heart of the African continent. Once he was given a go ahead by the Berlin conference, the fate of an innocent people was sold to violence and thus violence has continued to ravage people, structures, communities, culture, beliefs, nature in its fauna and flora. The violent nature of Leopold II spared nothing and those who followed after his enterprises continued in the same way. The scramble of Africa

The scramble of Africa<sup>190</sup> can be traced way long before the Western powers came to violently and brutally oppress the tropical regions of the world t and using all kind of atrocities against

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<sup>187</sup> No Congolese has ever been asked about the system of government they wished to have (Meredith, 2011: 97).

<sup>188</sup> Leopold's II work in the Congo started way before the conference of Brussels and the Berlin's one (Ewans, 2002). King Leopold II spent tons omanyf hours of his life searching and researching for opportunities to materialise his dreadful dream. He travelled, hired explorers and mobilised funds to guarantee the continuation of the monster he set in motion in the Congo with the help of other nation united around the table in Berlin in 1885 (Hochschild, 1999).

<sup>189</sup> The idea of granting the right to the Belgian King to mount his monstrous enterprise was supported by the view such as he was to let other power venture for business in the region. In the long run, the Belgian king turned all in the Basin of the Congo River to his own and selfish satisfaction (Gann and Duignan, 1979).

<sup>190</sup> (Amin, 1972).

innocent people on the African continent. Their aim was discovering new sources of resources and opening markets in overseas territories, which led to to forcefully domineering and colonising overseas societies with the aim of sourcing raw material. A strange way of reaching proposed ends by using inappropriate means<sup>191</sup>, a crude evidence of a culture of violence that normalizes extreme brutality. Thus, the troubles of the Congo (and those of other colonies) finds their roots in the ideas conceived miles away and exported to the continent of the so called uncivilised world, to the jungles of Africa. I<sup>192</sup><sup>193</sup>

### ***The configuration of Belgium***

Belgium was colonised by several countries in Europe in the likes of Spain, Austria, France and finally Holland. As a country that was just coming from tough foreign domination, the amalgam of nations within it required a multicultural sovereign to satisfy its conflictual cultural diversity<sup>194</sup>. Leopold I, a mixture of German and English blood became its monarch for that purpose. His son, Leopold II, became the monarch who will ravage the Congo later in an unmatched way in the entire history of colonialism, predation and violence. In Belgium, the languages spoken were diverse and polarised; it thus divided and delineated class and region<sup>195</sup>. In the North, well to do people spoke French and were not interested in learning Flemish that was spoken by lower classes and poor men whom they down looked and despised. Leopold was brought up in the royal court where he spoke French and later on learned to speak English. Antagonistically, Belgium was thus divided into kinds of hidden casts where opposing members spoke opposing languages and kept distance from one another; each one drowned in his own centre of interests.

After liberation from foreign oppression, the psychological state of the colonised ones is such as the abuses and oppression from the coloniser leave a rather negative imprint on the mind of the

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<sup>191</sup> Allusion to an American missionary who questioned the mean signing of a treaty that equated seizing lands and subjugating entire communities (Hoschild, 1999).

<sup>192</sup> (Picard, 2006: 7).

<sup>193</sup> The ravaging enterprise of Leopold II is snapped by an Englishman who worked for one of the companies stationed in Atwerp where he could check the cargaison that came from the Congo Free State and the one going there (Conrad, 1903).

<sup>194</sup> (Hochschild,1999).

<sup>195</sup> (Gann and Duignan, 1979).

oppressed ones and these in turn tend to impose on new innocent people whom may share same vital space or the other side of the coin would be to go to search for other people of less resistance to their ideologies and cause them to bear the same yoke they have just been forced to carry<sup>196</sup>. That is how the Congo ended up consuming the exported abuses of the past suffered by their colonisers. This state of things is worsened in capitalist perspective that put self-interest first and where means will completely be dissociated from ends. So long as the ends are achieved, capitalist minds do not care about individuals whom they use as pawns, and that is the essence of every coloniser's mind. King Leopold II was pushing his reasoning in the same logic as he required a territory to colonise. Belgium underwent harsh treatment and oppression at the hands of several foreign European rulers<sup>197</sup>. This state of things would be applied in the new territory he secured as a colony in the Basin of the Congo River in Africa, the Congo Free State (CFS)<sup>198</sup>. King Leopold II and the quest for an overseas colony

The coming into being of the Congo Free State was a sole initiative and enterprise of the Belgium King, Léopold II. A man of commercial and business mind, Leopold II was well connected to the stock market and creditors in Europe, Paris, Vienna and Berlin. For the sake of profit making the internal Belgian capital markets was never enough for his projects<sup>199</sup>. As a megalomaniac, King Leopold II dreamt of mega market and mega space for trade and business. His megalomania was always expressed in a rather momentum of frustration whenever he thought of his people and his country how small they both were he could not help but let his mouth escape words of complaints of dissatisfaction, insufficiency and pettishness: « La Belgique, petit pays, petit peuple! »<sup>200</sup> Willing to indulge in risky maneuvers, Leopold II was skilled financial manipulator, unscrupulous in his dealings with fellow Belgians and had no

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<sup>196</sup> Explorers, particularly, H. Morton Stanley was an abusive, exploitative and violent explorer (Van Reybrouck, 2014). The same pattern is noted in African countries where after independence, the new leaders played more or less the role of monarch who treated their own people as subjects and means of propelling them to the accumulation of wealth (Freund, 1984; Feinstein, 2005; Meredith, 2011; Amin, 1972).

<sup>197</sup> Rwanda is an example where oppression of the past has got strong powers to turn newly freed people into oppressors, evidencing the justice of the victor from the days of the Hutu revolution in 1959 (Peskin, 2008; Umutesi, 2004).

<sup>198</sup> Congo Free State

<sup>199</sup> (Gann and Duignan, 1979: 26-27).

<sup>200</sup> Belgium, small country, small people (Gann and Duignan, 1979).

gratitude to his subordinate; he had displayed great ability in enlarging his own estates. Having invested colossal sums in the Suez Canal and similar ventures, his vision was to lift Belgium high on the international scene which he proposed to achieve by developing Belgian ports, stretching the railway, improving the Belgian cities and extending Belgian trade<sup>201</sup>. After looking for prospects in Far East Asia where he could not secure a colony, he turned his attention to Africa. With his mercantile mind, Léopold II was convinced that backward countries could be developed only by means of large-scale foreign investments<sup>202</sup> and this led him to embark on the adventure in quest of a colony for the Kingdom of Belgium. First of all it was his father, Leopold the first to dream of having a colony but it has never materialised. After number of attempts to establish a colony in countries such as Fiji, the Philippines etc. King Leopold II, a cunning monarch who mastered the art of deceiving first by disguising his surrounding chose another technique. He tried to purchase lakes in the Nile delta area envisioning drying them and turning the land thereafter into a colony; he ventured to buy a piece of land in Abyssinia but all these attempts never materialised. But the King would not throw in his towel. Just like other big countries in Europe who had colonies, King Leopold II continued believing and trying to make his dream come true. For this dream, he sacrificed his own marital life so much obsessed he was enfeverished of acquiring a colony anywhere that even his own marital life was a failure<sup>203</sup>. Leopold II went to Seville, in Spain, where all the decrees, maps, government records, drawings and related materials to do with the Spanish colonial conquest in the Americas<sup>204</sup> were kept and spent an entire month searching for clues on the achievements of the Spanish colonies overseas, especially how much profit they made. He proceeded in visiting Ceylon<sup>205</sup>, the East Indies where the Dutch colonies were located and realised that the development of the Netherland was partly owing to the colonies and realised there was also a concessionary domain belonging to the Dutch King. Individuals there were used in forced labour and were treated poorly by the Dutch

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<sup>201</sup> (Ewans, 2002).

<sup>202</sup> (Piccard, 2006).

<sup>203</sup> (Gann and Duignan, 1979).

<sup>204</sup> (Hochschild, 1999).

<sup>205</sup> Now Sri Lanka. Leopold II tried few dozens of other places around the world (Ewans, 2002, Vanthemshe, 2012).

colonialist in java for the Dutch colony to generate revenues for the metropole<sup>206</sup>. The discovery of the truths about moneymaking from colonies following the example of his neighbouring Holland convinced him to set off the project long time harboured within his heart that ended by having the best of himself. It led to the creation the Congo Free State for his personal interest.

### ***The King Leopold II's fever***

Leopold II had developed an endemic and hypertrophied urge for an overseas colony for Belgium<sup>207</sup> and he was wrapped up in pressing desires for trade matters for profit's sake that will justify the concessions<sup>208</sup> in the future colony. All the above will turn into a pandemic that will sweep away the freedom and dignity of masses of innocent Africans right through the Basin of the Congo River<sup>209</sup>. The Belgian King did his research on the Spanish and Dutch colonies and calculated the system, methods and practices employed by the later to make profits that were injected in the economic development of the very countries<sup>210</sup>. He then realised that the discoveries of overseas lands were, in most of cases, underpinned by strenuous work of explorers, which gradually led to the establishment of colonies. Spain, Holland, France, England, German, have all secured colonies overseas. To him, Belgium had to secure hers<sup>211</sup>. To his calculations, the Southern Africa was already under British and Boer's rule<sup>212</sup>, Portugal had secured colonies on the left and right flanks of the subcontinent area with Angola and

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<sup>206</sup> The Belgian king was following the example of their neighbour, Holland, that happened to be their coloniser as well. He looked at the profit made by Holland from the Overseas colonies and thought the same for Belgium. Thus, he tried to secure a colony for Belgium in over a dozen a countries but to no avail (Vanthemshe, 2012; Money, 1985).

<sup>207</sup> Words of the Belgian King: '*Il faut à la Belgique une colonie*' (Belgium must have a colony) (Turner, 2007: 26)

<sup>208</sup> Concession were huge portions of land that Leopold II rent to other foreign investor where he was a major shareholder, with 80%, characterised by profit making based on forced labour, a system of taking native people hostage until a certain quota of rubber was supplied with all kind of violence and abuse. Rape, sequestration, spoliation and hunt of man were among the norms of the concessionary societies that French colonies ended up adopting as well in West Africa. (Vangroenweghe, 2006: 1; Hoskyns, 1965).

<sup>209</sup> Leopold II who was charged for crime against humanity for his monstrous atrocities in the Congo Free State was forced to relinquish what he held as a private garden to his fellows Belgians (Johnson, 2014: 58, Gann and Duignan, 1979).

<sup>210</sup> Leopold II just like his Belgians counterpart were first and foremost interested in making profit in the Congo at the sweat, blood and misery of the Congolese indigenous people (Ward, 2005: 434)

<sup>211</sup> (Vanthemshe, 2012).

<sup>212</sup> (Feinstein, 2005).

Mozambique. Thus, a very vast portion of land was still under the rule of African indigenous, chiefs and monarchs and that is where he was going to find his piece of land; after all he had failed many attempts to secure a colony in other parts of the world. Not interested taking into consideration factors such as human cost of running a colony or the devastation and ravages that are ever present in the process of subjugating indigenous Africans under the Western yoke<sup>213</sup>. What mattered was to acquire a colony at all costs for the satisfaction of his obsession that grew to ego-megalomaniac exponents. Were there were killings involved in the process, brutality or dehumanisation did not matter to his eyes. The indigenous were not worthy of ruling themselves, all of a sudden, while from immemorial times, they have been managing their own affairs pretty well<sup>214</sup>. Denying legitimate rulers the right of governing themselves on basis of a consensus is violence per se and it all starts in the minds of some rulers surrounded by power and influence at a conceptual level<sup>215</sup>.

### ***The King Leopold II Making Contacts***

The Belgium King needed thus to put his deadly machinations in motion. After making a check on the contemporary explorers in vogue those days, his finger fell on a Scottish explorer, *Henry Lovett Cameron*, the first Westerner to have been credited for crossing the African continent from East to West in 1875 but who was running out of money. The Belgium King offered to contribute a huge sum of money to help the explorer<sup>216</sup>. He did not do this for free but as a man interested in making profit out of every single tiniest instance, he hoped to get information on the continent, particularly the uncolonised areas that were still governed by African authorities. Besides, the King had his eyes opened on the other explorer's expedition of the African continent from the East coast to the interior that prospected to be huge in space and unclaimed by foreign powers. At the same time, *Henry Morton Stanley* was marching from the Tanganyika<sup>217</sup> coast towards the interior in quest of the source of the Congo River in the very heart of the Equatorial forest accompanied by a caravan of porters and guards. The regions was said to be endowed with

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<sup>213</sup> Dangers or troubles to run a colony (Money, 1985).

<sup>214</sup> As pointed out by the example of Kongo or Kuba Kingdoms in the central African area (Mwema, 2011: 67-68).

<sup>215</sup> Hitler's invasion of Poland (Rossino, 2003: 406).

<sup>216</sup> 100 000 Belgian Francs (Gann and Duignan, 1979).

<sup>217</sup> Now the United Republic of Tanzania.

a presence of Great Lakes that Stanley was to sketch on a map to prove his mastery as an explorer. Keeping his eyes on the explorers i.e. Livingstone, Staley, Cameron and others by the means of the Daily Telegraph, the King of Belgian found a cause to offset his malignant and dreadful scheme on the African people. One thing that transpired was that the local slavery initiated and entertained by the Arab slave traders who used cruel means in capturing and chaining African slaves and leading them in a procession to be sold<sup>218</sup>. To mend his way to the hearts of Europeans, the Belgian King presented himself as a philanthropist concerned about the wellbeing of Africans who were sold as slaves by Arabs and taken overseas to be resold and be used and abused following men's biddings. He started with organising a conference of geographers to prove his point.

### ***The Geographers Conference***

The point of departure to substantiate his ideas came to be the Geographers' Conference organised by the Belgians' king. He had to hide the 'profit making thoughts' about which the whole idea for which a convened a conference of Geographers and Explorers in 1876 revealed his opening speech:

To open to civilization the only part of our globe which it has not yet penetrated, to pierce the darkness which hangs over entire peoples, is, I dare say, a crusade worthy of this century of progress. ... It seemed to me that Belgium, a centrally located and neutral country, would be a suitable place for such a meeting need I say that in bringing you to Brussels I was guided by no egotism? No, gentlemen, Belgium may be a small country, but she is happy and satisfied with her fate; I have no other ambition than to serve her well<sup>219</sup>.

During the conference, the Belgium King proposed, among others, the tracing of routes leading to the interior; the building of facilities such as hospitals and the setting up of scientific research centres and establish a sustainable peace as means of ending the slave trade; the dispatch of

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<sup>218</sup> The slave market of Nyangwe near the Tanganika Lake (Omasombo, 2014).

<sup>219</sup> The king of Belgian was speaking in a figurative manner that his listeners could not grasp. The well he referred to was not the one in the literal sense of the word but the dry well of is selfish egomaniac thirst and hunger of extracting resources that would change the socio-economic fabric of his kingdom, well that was materially dried and was in quest for raw material that only a colony was able to supply, that is the well he was in reality serving from his mind first (Hoshschild, 1998; Gann and Duignan, 1979).

unarmed individuals in the likes of scientists, logisticians, and artisans who could impart practical skills to the locals<sup>220</sup>. A well planned humanitarian industry to help the natives in the Basin of the Congo River that displayed the crude idea reflecting a true humanitarian enterprise indeed. However, elements of surprise<sup>221</sup> were present in the plans proposed to achieve the liberation from Arab slave trade that preyed upon the local populations; equipped every post with geological, geographical and mineral laboratories aiming at conduct scientific studies of the Basin of the Congo River, and particularly to make prospections in various scientific fields was no humanitarian endeavour but a pure capitalistic enterprise. To this, it was added a pool of explorers, cartographers, trading goods, tools for repairing the scientific machines, clothing, and health posts endowed with the latest medicines. In essence, the mission was already stretched beyond the humanitarian one to involve an undefined kind of exploitation, Stanley having been at service of the Belgian King prior to the Berlin Conference<sup>222</sup>. Another agenda was hidden under the pretenses of liberating the natives from slave trade. Because it was violent in nature, the King purposefully omitted its existence. He needed an alibi to begin and carry on his destructive plan of colonisation of the Congo, a deadly fever he had developed over more than a decade and that needed a cure available in the very heart of the unclaimed equatorial forest, a colony for Belgium<sup>223</sup>. To reach that end, he needed to use the devious side of his personality. That meant to double cross the proceedings of the international conference he had just hosted and take a route of his own. The Belgian king thus entered in contact with Stanley who was among the top explorers of the day. Stanley had just come from a recent exploration from Africa, precisely from the Congo where he has followed the course of the Congo River but not in its

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<sup>220</sup> It all sounded philanthropic. Léopold paved his hellish disguised enterprise with very noble intentions (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>221</sup> To stop the slave trade did not require any of the above equipment and materials as well the personnel. It neither required scientists to conduct mineral prospection and other technical experiments (Gann and Duignan, 1979).

<sup>222</sup> Leopold II's activities in the Congo dated prior to the Berlin Conference with the commission of Stanley to build stations and roads and the railway from Matadi to Stanley Pool that also was done at the cost of forced labour, coercion and blood shedding. ([Ward 2005](#): 435).

<sup>223</sup> Capitalist do not donate money or time where there are no potential interests. One of the cardinal points of capitalism being the maximisation of profit governed the whole motive behind the construction of railway and roads as well stations at the initiative of the Belgian king (Ayimpam, 2006).



entirety. After reading carefully Stanley's article on the Congo<sup>224</sup>, the Belgium King was excited to find out that no part of that land with enormous potentials was yet claimed. There was more reason as to why the Congo was coveted and wanted very imminently by the Belgian king. The potentials of the CFS

From the reports obtained from various sources, the Congo's natural disposition and conditions that caught the imagination of the Belgium King are explained:

The Congo River drains more than 1.3 million square miles, an area larger than India. It has an estimated one sixth of the world's hydroelectric potential. Most important of all, for a nineteenth-century empire-builder, the river and its fan-shaped web of tributaries constitute more than seven thousand miles of interconnecting waterways<sup>225</sup>...Another scholar notes the peculiar characteristic of the Congo:

The area that is now the Democratic Republic of Congo spans 1.5 million square miles, about the size of the United States east of the Mississippi River. It is the third largest country in Africa. The region in which it is located, Central Africa, is the home of most of Africa's rainforest. The Congo River, nearly 3,000 miles long (the Mississippi is 2,300 miles long), cuts through Central Africa and drains into the Atlantic Ocean. A number of smaller rivers feed into the Congo, forming the huge Congo Basin, home to numerous species of plants and animals. Mountains as high as 17,000 feet and Lake Tanganyika border the region to the east, and in the south, there are great stretches of grasslands and hardwood forests. The country also has deposits of gold, diamonds, copper, and manganese. All of these factors combine to make Congo one of the most geographically diverse and mineral-rich countries in the world<sup>226</sup>. The area explored by Stanley was a paradise. It may have experience conflicts<sup>227</sup> of its own nature but the people were unarmed, and were not a threat in a military sense. The weapons in possession of the natives were too backward compared to the advanced ones in possession of Western explorers and settlers<sup>228</sup>. The other point is the slave trade conducted by Arab slave traders on both coast of the continent in the Basin of the Congo River area has depopulated the Congolese Kingdoms and chieftaincies and weakened

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<sup>224</sup> (Piccard, 2006: 8).

<sup>225</sup> (Hochschild, 1988: 62).

<sup>226</sup> The presence of natural deposits of several types of minerals, a hydro-electrical immense potentiality drove the Belgian king crazy and sick about putting his hands on the vast unclaimed area that was full of mineral deposits (Van Reybrouck, 2014: Program, *et al.* (2007).

<sup>227</sup> Conflict is unavoidable in any given society ([Gebrewold-Tochalo 2009](#): 89).

<sup>228</sup> Stanley who left Zanzibar for the interior of the continent westward had porters, canoes and firearms that surpassed in power the local weaponry (Van Reybrouck, 2014: 32; Hochschild, 1999: 97).

them very strongly. No resistance was to be expected in case of violent subjugation. Besides, the land explored by Stanley was blessed with the existence of massive arable land<sup>229</sup> plus an immense forest endowed with the raw material needed by the Western world and market then; an extraordinary biodiversity, one of its unique kinds in the entire world<sup>230</sup>. These discoveries made the heart of the Belgian King race in his chest to finally arrange a meeting where he hired the explorer and put him on his payroll with a five years contract spiced with a fat salary<sup>231</sup>. The aim was to use him to get hold of the rich and unclaimed Congo. For that very purpose he hired Stanley, the explorer Stanley at the service of the Belgium King

As soon as Stanley set his foot on the Congolese soil, he embarked on a crusade in courting chiefs to sign treaties putting them under the authority of the Belgium King<sup>232</sup>. As stipulated in the conference, the idea was to free the inhabitants of the Congo River Basin from slavery<sup>233</sup>. The other intention was to put in place a mechanism to resolve violent conflict and equip the natives with skills in a purely humanitarian manner. The logic behind the signing treaty was justified in order to get in contact with the local chiefs and other traditional authorities. But the motive behind was not openly explained to the traditional authorities as well as to the concerned people. If there was any kind of a meaningful development that was going to take place, it was to happen with the acquiescence of the very people. The Belgian king used what he knew the best, deceit, lies and violence to secure a colony in the heart of the African continent<sup>234</sup>. Once Stanley set the Belgian's King's machine in motion, wherever he passed by on the Congolese soil, he collected signatures of chiefs, kings and other local authorities. The content of the very treaties were not explained to the concerned, it turned to be a total surrender to the King of Belgians'

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<sup>229</sup> Later used for cash crop collection such as rubber, which allowed the concessionary companies to have useful space for business (Hoskyns, 1965).

<sup>230</sup> Elephants would supply ivory to the world market and that was profit sought by the Belgian king (Gann and Duignan, 1979: 117).

<sup>231</sup> (Hoschild, 1999).

<sup>232</sup> All over Africa, the coloniser used similar means to seize the land and enslave people (Freund, 1984; Illife, 1995; Hocschild, 1999).

<sup>233</sup> The Arabs were ravaging the Congolese population in complicity with the traditional authorities in place who gave them a way to capture the strong individuals among the population in exchange of petty goods. In reality, given the ambitions pursued by Leopold II, Arabs involved in slave trade were an obstacle to the achievement of his dream. So getting rid of them was going to work, or using them as an alibi to have his hands on the Congolese riches was an imperative to the success of his plan (Hocschild, 1999; morel, 1903).

<sup>234</sup> Leopold II used one of the strongest weapons he had at his disposal: Deceit (Piccard, 2006; Hocschild, 1999).

authority and suzerainty<sup>235</sup>; he could do as he please now with the signatures he got by treacherous means as noticed by an American who understood the terms of the game played by Stanley for the man he represented and worked for in the CFS<sup>236</sup>. King Leopold II will use a rather skilful but conniving way in the signing of the treaties to have his hand on the Congo plus its diversified riches that he ended up acquiring the CFS at a vegetable garden price<sup>237</sup>. It first made the Congo to be a colony that was different in its kind in the sense that around the world, a colony was a country's or government's responsibility. The Congo came to be a private property of the Belgium King<sup>238</sup>.

### ***Stanley and the signing of treaties on behalf of Leopold II***

The different communities that Stanley found in the Congo were structured in their own traditional way and their sophisticated manner; well integrated and organised. They had a court made of elders who were appointed to rule and judge over social issues known as the jurisprudence<sup>239</sup>. These were in charge of resolving conflicts in their respective communities and settle disputes relating to various cases and irregularities, misconduct or other social matters. These communities met by the American explorer on behalf of the Belgium King were peaceful societies<sup>240</sup>. They lived in community with shared resources such as a common land, common water space, etc. they were societies with a history and communities organised in their own rights<sup>241</sup>. The signing of the treaties by Chiefs and kings for so called protection from the Belgian crown was the beginning of tragedies that befell the former kingdoms and chieftaincies then and which stretched generations down the line in the history of the Congo. Conceived violence from

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<sup>235</sup> The local people met by Stanley in the Congo did not need any protection from an external kingdom. Chieftaincies were organised in such a way that there were men of war ready to defend their communities from an outside invasion. The level of conflict was very low in intensity considering in a less populated world then. People were few in number and living in abundant resources with mechanisms of self-sufficiency in place which contributed to keeping the level of conflicts in insignificant proportion (Mwema, 2011; Melko, 1983).

<sup>236</sup> (Gann and Duignan, 1979).

<sup>237</sup> (Meredith, 2011).

<sup>238</sup> (Piccard, 2006; Hochschild, 1999).

<sup>239</sup> (Mwema, 2011).

<sup>240</sup> (Melko, 1983).

<sup>241</sup> (Crowe, 1969:1110).

the Belgium King birthed violence and begot violence<sup>242</sup>, perpetrated and instrumentalised violence from then up to the contemporary Congo. The logic of signing treaty was clearly linked to the quest for raw material and their supply to Europe. For treaties were signed under the false pretenses of protecting the African people and their territories from alien aggression by the Belgium King and this was to secure all the benefits of what really true protection underpinned. Peace was to be first and foremost established in the areas under the king's protectorate; development was to follow and cooperation in its full senses to take place. Surprisingly, treaties were just means of achieving plans that were seated behind the Belgium King's mind and realise his dream. Treatises, instead of bringing about protection, treaties were turned into vital information that the coloniser would use to conquer a world of ill-defended and poorly equipped African individuals with no modern weapon in the face of the canons and other advanced weaponry used by Europeans in the quest of capturing African land and resources<sup>243</sup>. With the organising of the Geographers conference and Stanley at his service in the Congo, the Belgians' king had enough evidences to present to the Berlin Conference in claiming the Basin of the Congo River to the colonial powers united in Germany.

### ***The Berlin Conference and the institutionalisation of the Congo Free State (CFS)***

The quest for a colony was in King Leopold's II mind as he perceived that development for a western country was linked to possessing a land in overseas territories. Just like the neighbouring Netherlands the former colonising power of Belgium, Germany, France, England, Spain and Portugal. The Belgium King convinced the world, during his time, of bringing civilisation to the African continent that was presented to the civilised Westerners as a land of wild and uncivilised people<sup>244</sup>. Occupation of the Congo was presented to the world as a philanthropic project he intended to venture in the Central African area, particularly the basin of the Congo River. Congo Free State, a private property of the King Leopold II, with the blessing of countries Having

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<sup>242</sup> (Jayaraman, 1987).

<sup>243</sup> The Portuguese explorers who came first to Congo and who brought Christianity to the Kingdom of Kongo and introduced it to the King Afonso the first in the 1880s were true humanitarians. They have never tried to colonise the Congo and when Portuguese slave traders started to get involved in the slave trade, they were reported to the crown in Portugal that entertained a relation of mutual friendship with the King Mani Kongo (Hochschild, 1999).

<sup>244</sup> (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

ascended to the throne of Kingdom of Belgium in 1865<sup>245</sup>, King Leopold II thus organised in 1876 a geographical conference in Brussels where he share the idea of establishing a nucleus of international benevolent group of individuals in order to bring civilisation amidst the people of Central Africa. This was to encompass people from various nations with different experience and knowledge where scientific and humanitarian ideals were at the feature; the African international Association (IAA)<sup>246</sup> later only became a development company under the control of the Belgian King. He also created other various associations<sup>247</sup> relating to his plans in the Congo, which he later used to control the Congo. From 1878, Leopold II used systematically these associations to establish his sovereignty and influence on the Congo Free State. From then, his primary objective shifted from its original purpose of civilising the basin of the Congo to that of a continuous exploitation and systematic pillage of the ivory and natural resources of the Congo to which he joined the exploitation of rubber for export<sup>248</sup>. Leopold II efforts and passion for the Congo would culminate in the creation of the Congo Free State (CFS) approved by the participants to the Berlin Conference in 1885. The CFS was recognised officially as his own territory based on emancipatory and developmental works he proposed to put in place in the Congo during the Geographical Conference held in Belgium under his auspices few years earlier in 1876 in Brussels. These plans were later approved at the Berlin Conference<sup>249</sup>. However, the Belgian King had a change of heart to suit the object of his dream. Contrary to the terms of the Berlin Conference where Leopold II pledged to eradicate the slave trade and, promote humanitarian policies, free trade and scientific research, Léopold II decreed laws giving him sole ownership of all the vacant lands right through the Congo<sup>250</sup>. Moved and controlled by the logic of profit making, the King of Belgians utilised and instrumentalised the very same evil he vowed to combat in the Congo. Without wasting any time, he turned the colony into a profit making

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<sup>245</sup> (Gann and Duignan, 1979: 3).

<sup>246</sup> Association Internationale Africaine (Hochschild, 1999).

<sup>247</sup> Among other Associations, The King of the Belgians initiated ‘The Study Committee of the Upper Congo (CEHC) or Comite d’etudes du Haut-Congo, an international commercial, scientific and humanitarian organ; and between 1879 and 1882 he created the “International Congo Society” (ICS) or Association internationale du Congo, between 1879 and 1884 (Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>248</sup> The 250kms railway Matadi-Kinshasa was built by only African free labourers organised for the very purpose by the CFS administration (Gann and Duignan, 1979: 70).

<sup>249</sup> (Amin, 1972).

<sup>250</sup> (Oliver and Atmore, 2005: 119; Freund, 1984).

empire by use of force and coercion that came to epitomise violence expressed in exploitation of the local people and local resources<sup>251</sup>, slavery, forced labour, plus other various forms of violence became normalised by his rule over the entire Congo, right through the existence of the CFS.

### ***Normalising violence in the CFS: “La Corvée et la Chicotte”***

The base of the Belgian King’s violent campaign was the coercion and exploitation of the natives in the Congo. In his conception, Congolese natives were not more than mere tools he intended to use in achieving his goals<sup>252</sup>. They were denied the right to citizenship in their own land; they were denied the property right and were reduced to a class of vassals who had no value whatsoever but could be used as pawns<sup>253</sup>. The King of Belgium, driven by the making of profits, turned the Congo into a reservoir of labourers and the Congolese people into a unit of forced workers, automates that were to serve his interests. Morel captures the appropriate meaning of exploitation<sup>254</sup>: ‘...The soldiers of “Bula Matadi ” have come and gone, and all is over: a short, fierce resistance, a crackling fusillade, cries of agony, and a dull glare lighting up the somber recesses of the forest. The sun sets on blackened ruins, smoldering ashes, and ruined crops; while here and there outstretched figures lie prone. The survivors men, women, and children are crouching, bereft of shelter, in the forest.’”

This state of things came to mean the total subjugation and surrender to the stronger and well-armed party, the victor oppressing and coercing the vanquished in imposing forced labour. Plots of lands, farms, agricultural produces and every other commodity of value became a private property of the Belgian King based on compulsion and segregation. To the forced labour was

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<sup>251</sup> The system under Leopold II was endemically violent, killing up to 80% of the population in the CFS (Vantahemche, 2012: 23).

<sup>252</sup> (Hochschild, 1999).

<sup>253</sup> The alienation constructed by the CFS was similar with the one constructed by the apartheid government in South Africa during the time of the Union. A state of things that Sol Plaatjie referred to as Africans becoming “Pariah” in their own natal land (Feinstein, 2005).

<sup>254</sup> (Morel, 1905: 38).

added the *chicotte*<sup>255</sup> where indigenous people were flogged in a manner to forced them carry the orders and instructions from the Belgian commanders. La corvee together with la chicotte were instrumentalised by the Belgian King to push Congolese indigenous in the acquisition of commodities by means of forced portorage, the collection of rubber, the cultivation of plantations for the production of cash crops<sup>256</sup> and any other thing the state thought of doing. The CFS was so violent that there is not a single mean they proposed to recourse to except violence. They Congo Free State normalised violence. Every order or policy was accompanied by violence from the CFS officials. They used gratuitous violence<sup>257</sup> and violence became embedded even in the structures<sup>258</sup>. CFS officials breathed by violence, ate, worked, rest, slept and awoke in violence and it carried on year in year out, then decade in, decade out. The violence preconceived in the Belgian King's mind was extended to his chiefs of stations, down to his Force Publique and was stretched to the very bottom level in the hierarchy of his power structures in the CFS imbued with barbarianism, contrary to the French Guinea<sup>259</sup>. After getting slaves at the hands of tribe's herdsmen and chiefs by means of barter, CFS agents used force and violence in capturing young and vigorous men and women and led them to be shipped for overseas markets. Thus, they

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<sup>255</sup> A whip cut from the hippo's skin that was used on indigenous people in the Congo that cut deep into the skin and leave horrible scars on human body (Gann and Duignan, 1979).

<sup>256</sup> (Vanthemsche, 2012: 23).

<sup>257</sup> This is a type of violence that is used just for the sake of using violence. The very monsters referred to by David Ike who were used to see blood, who hunted and kill animals just to see the blood being shed, who practiced blood sport in the antique world were so bloodthirsty that once there was no animal to hunt and shed the blood, turned to one another and tore each other to see blood shedding. These wild beasts were unleashed in the CFS by the rotten policies voted by Leopold II. They were the incarnation of violence in the CFS. Congolese people became the game they hunted, mixing the shedding of blood to the coercion of producing goods and services in the making of free labourers, slaves, robber and collectors (Ike, 2014).

<sup>258</sup> Structural violence – a concept coined by Galtung while performing fieldwork in South Rhodesia where he noted misery, suffering and pain caused the colonial authorities in South Rhodesia. The same patterns of abused was performed by the CFS structures and it contributed much to the decimation of the population (Vanthemsche, 2012: 24).

<sup>259</sup> In Guinea (French Guinea), indigenous were free to cultivate rubber that they supplied to the world market without any coercion from the colonisers ([Osborn, 2004](#): 445).

became champion in the human being commerce using violence, a crime that humanity witnessed for decades in the Basin of the Congo without any word said against such practice<sup>260</sup>.

### ***Seating violence in the CFS: The slave trade in the Congo Kingdom***

Centuries before the advent of the Congo Free State (CFS), there existed kingdoms in the Basin of the Congo. One of them was the Kingdom of Kongo. Well organised and sophisticated kingdoms existed before the arrival of Portuguese explorers that can be asserted as the first contact between the West and the Congo. These first explorers saluted the organisational work of the King of the Kongos, ManiKongo who was unanimously chosen by the assembly of the various clan representative leaders of Congo Kingdom. Of approximately three hundred miles square, this Kingdom was already established centuries before the arrival of European explorers and the ManiKongo has been introduced to Christianity and literacy by the Portuguese explorers; and he entertained a good relationship with the royal crown in Portugal<sup>261</sup>. During this period the Manikongo had complained to the Portuguese Crown about the slave traders/raiders operating in the region. The Kongo Kingdom had its capital in the town of Mbaza Kongo. The jurisprudence conducted its affairs in the capital. The King was in charge of appointing the provincial commissioners in each province under him. Other areas of state organisation were well taken care of within the Kingdom. In the perception of the people, they bore no good to the land as well as its inhabitants<sup>262</sup>:

Our fathers were living comfortably. . . Suddenly they saw a big boat rising out of the great ocean. This boat had wings all of white, sparkling like knives. White men came out of the water and spoke words which no one understood. Our ancestors took fright; they

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<sup>260</sup> Methods of amalgamated violence used in the Congo, following orders from Leopold II, encompassed rape, killing, taking hostages, burning of houses and entire villages, what can be taxed in contemporary world as crime against humanity (Slye, 1998: 273; Diggs, 2012; 111; Zawati, 2007).

<sup>261</sup> (Hochschild, 1999; Gann and Duignan, 1979).

<sup>262</sup> King Leopold II is the mastermind of all sorts of violence in the Congo in the sense that he initiated the model that all the leaders after him copied in a manner or another. Up to 2010, all governments, rebel groups, soldiers, etc have been using one model of atrocity or the other cut in the the leopoldian governing grment dating from the epoch of the CFS. The evil and misery brought about by the leoppoldian ways of doing things in the Basin of the Congo River from the CFS days have been continued right through, changing patterns, application and experience that continue to hurt the Congolese people (Hochschild, 1988; Youg and Turner, 2013; Lemarchand, 2012).



said that these were vumbi, spirits returned from the dead. They pushed them back into the ocean with volleys of arrows. But the vumbi spat fire with a noise of thunder. Many men were killed. Our ancestors fled. . . . From that time to our days now, the whites have brought us nothing but wars and miseries.

It should be noted that slavery had existed in the Congo Basin prior to the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. Slaves were often war prisoners or criminal individuals who owed things to their creditors and could be given away to slavery for a failure to make payments. Others were a product of raids by a stronger tribe perpetrated upon the weaker tribes<sup>263</sup>. Once caught, slaves were gathered in a place under a kind of shade to be sold. The treatment of slaves was one of the most horrible one can imagine. Slaves were undernourished, exposed to the mercy of natural events such as rain or hot weather and debasing methods were used on them to keep them within the range of observation and control by their proprietors<sup>264</sup>. Their masters could sell them to be used in sacrificial ceremonies when a king or other important traditional authority passed on. In other parts of the continent, it has been reported that some tribes performed cannibalism<sup>265</sup> and slaves were required for that purpose. But when Europeans traders came to the basin of the Congo River, they further the scope of the slave trade. This local slave trade was extended and built upon to serve local labour needs and foreign slave markets. Ivory was most used to acquire slaves but they could also be bought by a mere exchange of ordinary meaningless items such as mirrors, matches, needles, a piece of cloth, etc. so traders would then buy slaves from chiefs and force them to march to the coast where they were shipped and taken to overseas markets. As soon as Stanley came back to the Basin of the Congo River on the account of the Belgium King, he indulged in the slave trade. He used Congolese slaves as porters, and sold them to his fellow

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<sup>263</sup> Zongola-Ntalaja, gives the example of the Chokwe people in the Luba Empire. A phenomenon that explained the migration of Lunda people from the Kasai to settle in the Katanga were they were used initially as menial labour force and by the missionaries as they permeated softly the Luba society to become main administrators, businessmen and religious men (Zongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>264</sup> (Mwema, 2011: 15; Meredith, 2011).

<sup>265</sup> Slavery existed in the Congo prior to the arrival of the coloniser. However, the Portuguese introduce the Trans-Atlantic slave trade in the Congo from the time of King Afonso I which was also practiced by Stanley, the explorer at the service of Leopold II (Hochschild, 1999).

Europeans to be exported overseas<sup>266</sup>. In the Kongo Kingdom, slaves were organised by local authority and the Portuguese did not have to travel further inland. Once delivered to traders, slaves were taken to the new world. The travelling conditions to overseas markets were atrocious. Chained heavily in a way such as the falling of one called upon the entire procession to fall or at least be impacted in a horrible manner by the fallen one. Water, food and space between two individuals were never enough. When the ship encountered bad climatic condition and the boat was tossed up and down, slaves will be thrown alive to the sea to lighten the ship. Many died as a result of hunger and dehydration and those who survived were sold on the market overseas to be once again put in conditions of confinement, thus the criminality of the CFS<sup>267</sup>. In the basin of the Congo River, it remains very strange that Western slave traders were never a threat neither a taboo to the Congolese communities. The Arab traders were viewed as a threat that the Belgium King wanted to get rid of. It underpins a clear and deliberate racism in the Western conception of slave trade that condoned the traffic for the Westerners and condemned the very same traffic for the Arabs<sup>268</sup>. Stanley who was at the service of the Belgium King became one of the great organisers in the slave trade in the Congo. Leopold II, who has never set his foot in the Congo, directed the affairs in the Congo from Belgium through a very long chain of command sustained by rewards per performance<sup>269</sup>. In order to exert maximum profit, use of inhuman means was allowed. Things such as slavery, forced labour, exploitation and physical violence that reached exponential height where not spared to the local population in the Congo. For instance, the construction of railway between the mouth of the Congo River and Stanley Pool to the interior was made possible by forced labour<sup>270</sup> just like the collection of rubber in the tropical Congolese jungle.

### ***Turning violence into an economic catalyst: The Bloody Rubber***

The industrial revolution experienced by western countries sprang the technological development of several industries. The motor industry presented the need for tyres and these

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<sup>266</sup> (Omasombo, 2014: 28).

<sup>267</sup> (Ward, 2005: 435).

<sup>268</sup> (Hochschild, 1999).

<sup>269</sup> (Gann and Duignan, 1979).

<sup>270</sup> (Van Reybrouck, 2014: 102).

could then be manufactured by rubber<sup>271</sup>. The existence of a vast forest with trees that could yield the rubber once an incision was made in them or by the cutting of a vine that stemmed from a rubber tree. The pressing need of rubber caused Leopold II to use debasing techniques and extreme violence on the local population of the CFS. Inspired by the terror of the Dutch people in their colonies, and probably remembering in his youth how Belgium was handled by their Dutch colonisers, the Belgium King embarked on vast campaign of rubber collection using the very Dutch methods<sup>272</sup>. In Dutch colonies, indigenous were forced to produce cash crops for the metropolis; transfer the surplus into the colonial treasury, exploit the colonies by the operation of the market economy where the state was somewhat forced to intervene in a compulsory manner in the cultivation of cash crops while denying better education to natives<sup>273</sup>. Drawing on his old masters' ways of doing things, the Belgium King used the Congolese as mere pawns in the game of economic production under the imperative demand from the market to supply rubber in order to manufacture tyres<sup>274</sup>. Moved by the above motives, Leopold II turned the villagers into units of labourers or human machines forced to yield a quota of rubber that was increasing day by day following the demands of the rubber on the global market<sup>275</sup>. From the stations commander, Kapitas<sup>276</sup> were put into places to monitor and control the production of rubber. Much coercion was used on individuals for the sake of producing more rubber. Among the methods used, there was the separation of women and children from the men, their fathers. The chief of station would request the Kapitas to keep the women and children prisoners in order to force the men to bring more rubber that the chief of station was to collect from the Kapitas and weight them to determine whether the daily measure was reached<sup>277</sup>. The collection of rubber

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<sup>271</sup> ([Loves and Montero 2016](#): 2).

<sup>272</sup> Leopold II who have been searching for a colony using all means, research among others, and found out in the literature on managing a colony how Dutch people, his former colonisers, made money in the Indies. Not having other avenue to explore, he imported Dutch atrocities as means used in swelling metropole revenues into the CFS (Money, 1985: 45).

<sup>273</sup> (Amin, 1972).

<sup>274</sup> (Hochschild, 1999).

<sup>275</sup> ([Taussig, 1984](#): 471).

<sup>276</sup> Capitas were Congolese task masters trained by the CFS system to oversee the collection of rubber and control the production by all means. They were armed with rifles in order to inspire fear and terror to those villagers who will try to resist or revolt against the evil coercive system of rubber collection.

<sup>277</sup> (Hoschild, 1999).

mattered so much to the extent where the CFS organised an army of mercenaries at the service of the state to punish those who were unfortunate enough to not be able to reach the daily measure of rubber demanded by the system. Rifles were given to the mercenaries with cartridges that were meticulously counted in a manner and they were ordered to shoot and kill any person who was unable to achieve the minimum required amount of rubber. Among other methods, soldiers had to cut off the hand of the individual killed thus by the gun and bring it to the station commander in order to show that the cartridge was not wasted but used on a human being who was unable to supply the amount of rubber demanded by the task masters on the account of the station commander who was commissioned to carry directly orders from his king, Leopold II whose army decimated the villagers.<sup>278</sup> From improvised beginnings, a system developed consisting of rubber collecting posts backed up by a highly mobile military and served by a network of armed African auxiliaries (called sentinelles, gardes forestières or capitaos) stationed in the villages upon which regular rubber quotas were imposed. Violence and terror tactics were used as a deterrent and as means of enforcement and repression<sup>30</sup>. Rape, torture, mutilation, cannibalism, surprise raids and summary executions were part of a repertoire of terror and psychological warfare.

The mercenaries would raid villages in search of workers to go collect rubber by force and in most of the cases the workers were not compensated for the risk of losing their own lives in the jungle. Any resistance was equally met by extreme violence expressed by shooting, hanging to death or poking several parts of the body or else mutilating and leaving the person bleed to death. Women were cut their breasts and left to succumb to death by means of haemorrhage and men could have their genitals cut and left to die a slow and painful death for failure to collect rubber or bring in ivory. Women were raped in series as the mercenaries invaded villages and took for themselves those whom they judged good looking and pleasing to their eyes. These were sequestered and used to any end. Death did not mean anything for the CFS authorities to whom life of a Congolese did not mean anything but a dusty structure moving thing that could vanish by any mean. Thus, the death toll amounts to millions of Congolese people under the CFS

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<sup>278</sup> (Roes, 2010: 7).

administration<sup>279</sup>. The Congolese had no right to live but were used as human machines for an economic production denoted by forced and free labour to suit the requirements of economic performance and capital increment on the account of the Belgium King. What mattered was that there be rubber collectors and they had to make sure there was enough collected or their lives were to be asked for. People were tortured without distinction of age, gender or social rank. The social order within the Congolese society was completely decimated as it was perceived from the point of view of the Belgians that a dismantling of the communal and social organisation were much needed for the existence of their dirty so called mission of civilising and the survival of the blood rubber business<sup>280</sup>. Men would thus labour like automates and spends days in the forest in search of rubber to ransom their loved ones. Women were forced to spend extra time in the field farming for the simple reason that the commanders of the CFS army, the Force Publique, were demanding supplies for their sustenance<sup>281</sup>. This put a severe strain on the family and the villagers in general for Station Commanders would inflict a severe punishment to the villagers once the Shikwangu<sup>282</sup> and fish and other local staples were not furnished on time to their posts. The punishment consisted in killing those whom the Kapitans will bring from the raids imposed on the village for failure to supply food to the Stations for the Commanders. Others were amputated their hands or feet and other were caught in the net and taken to the river and then thrown and left to drown or be eaten by marine predators such as the crocodile<sup>283</sup>. The villagers overburdened by the ever increasing demand of manpower, food supply, laden by forced labour and tracked by the members of the Force Publique could not hold on for longer but were exiled to the heart of the forest and other simply fled as further afield as they could<sup>284</sup>. Once they left

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<sup>279</sup> (Zeilig, 2008: 10).

<sup>280</sup> (Roes, 2010).

<sup>281</sup> (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>282</sup> Local staple made of cassava that is dipped in plain water and left in water for few days to soften then removed from the water to be pounded and wrapped in the banana leaves and then cooked on the fire. It is used in place of cassava bread or rice and is eaten with curry, fish or meat.

<sup>283</sup> (Gann and Duignan, 19979).

<sup>284</sup> Death by starvation, diseases and inhuman conditions villagers were forced to undergo in trying to hide from the Leopoldian hell of the CFS exacerbate the risk of death. Those who dared oppose the rule of terror, like the King Msiri in the Katanga, were shot by the Belgians' king agents. The Leopoldian rule in the Congo exceeded the atrocities and abominations of the Nazi leader Adolph Hitler in Germany during the Second World War. It will be

behind their lands, the CFS administration will seize it and use it on the account of the Belgian King. The strategy used by the CFS administration can be simplified in chasing the villagers, burning their huts and finally occupying their lands and turning the best lands into private royal properties<sup>285</sup>. Those who escaped the rifle of the soldiers and who were forced to seek refuge in the very heart of the thick tropical forest did not make it in most of the cases given the harsh environment and the abundance of predators such as the big cats and poisonous animals in the likes of venomous snakes and spiders etc. Millions of Congolese lost their lives in the race for rubber at the hand of the CFS administrators, both station commanders and Kapitans<sup>286</sup>. The economy of violence infiltrated the roots of the Congolese family entangled and suffocated its fabric to heights of destruction. It attacked its branches and destroyed its fruits by the strain it put on men exiled in the bush and forest in quest of red rubber in order to meet up with the demand of the various chiefs of stations who were commissioned by the Belgium King. It equally forced women in the fields to plant cash crops for export and plant crops for local consumption that was equally in demand by the gluttonous Belgians managing station and also commanders of the Force Publique<sup>287</sup>. When women were not held hostages at the hands of the Kapitans and commanders of the Force Publique to be sexually exploited and raped repeatedly by both European and Africans at the service of the King Leopold II, they were forced to work long hours to put food on the table of the authorities of the CFS. When the Congolese villagers were not vacating at collecting rubber, they had to keep themselves busy with the ivory business in the bush.

### ***Enforcing the violent economy: The ivory***

Besides being in demand, ivory became a more trafficable commodity owing to its particularity of being compact, negligible quantity carried big time value. Before the red rubber that cost so

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appropriate to term it as crime against humanity and genocide (Hochschild, 1999; Gann and Duignan, 1997; Roes, 2010, Mwema, 2011).

<sup>285</sup> The Leopoldian exile and forced migration of people in the CFS led to desertion of arable lands and communal lands among which the Belgian king seized and established personal domain or leased to concessionary companies. This explains how the Lever Brothers who were denied lands in Nigeria came to find plentiful of arable lands in the CFS (Amin, 1972).

<sup>286</sup> Death by a wild beast was preferable to the treatment of the men at the service of Leopold II (Roes, 2010).

<sup>287</sup> (Van Reybrouck, 2014).

much heartache and suffering to the population of the Congo during the CFS, ivory was the primary commodity that exacerbated the plight of the poor African in the Congo. Ivory was in demand for several reasons<sup>288</sup>:Ivory, a product of high value and low bulk, was one of Africa's major exports; by 1870 the continent was supplying about 85 percent of the world's total ivory requirements. Elephant tusks were used to make knife handles, billiards balls, piano keys and a host other pleasurable items required by the bourgeoisie then. Elephant teeth were imported by India to be fashioned into women's bangles and other ornaments.

So, the CFS agents were new in the game of acquiring ivory and had to cooperate with the Congolese hunters for them to get cheap ivory. Whenever they bought it, it was next to nothing and did not cost more than the exchange of valueless commodities from Europe. Once the ivory was collected by the Belgian King's auxiliaries in the Congo, it was shipped for overseas. The cargo had its final destination in Belgium in the Port of Antwerp<sup>289</sup>. Sold on the world market, the revenues went straight to the accounts of the Belgian king. Ships that were taking ivory to Belgium were making their way to the CFS loaded with weapons and ammunitions that were used to oppress the Congolese and force them to work for free and under terrible conditions. At gun point if one was lucky, but mostly at the price of a human life per bullet, Congolese people were coerced to yield ivory, rubber and produce cash crops and harvest products to feed the Kapitans and the station commander, all done at zero cent cost<sup>290</sup>. The reverse trips from Belgium to the CFS brought a novelty to the Congo; light weapons proliferated by the Belgian King normalised violence and exacerbated the practice of rape, forced labour, child labour and the decimation of the population of elephants. Several types of violence were reinforced by the CFS and the Congolese people were victimised in many regards with the banalisation of small arms<sup>291</sup>. Given the high level of economic stakes in the CFS, Leopold created an army to control and enforce the various types of his violent economic activities, the Force Publique.

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<sup>288</sup> (Gann and Duignan, 19979).

<sup>289</sup> (Morel, 1905).

<sup>290</sup> (Hochschild, 1999).

<sup>291</sup> (Morel, 1905).

### ***Adding on an instrument of oppression: The Force Publique***

The existence of pockets of opposition to the Belgian King, the hostility to the colonisation and the stubbornness to yield politely to the demands of the Western occupant called upon the creation of force that will be used as an instrument of suppression and repression of all possible resistance or opposition to the Leopoldian enterprise in the CFS<sup>292</sup>. The creation of this military organ was more than imperative if the CFS was to settle and accumulate wealth for King Leopold II the CFS. Thus the king of Belgian created the '*Force Publique*'; an army made of volunteers in majority with no other thoughts in mind but to better their lives in Africa by means of looting, extortion and spoliation of the African people whom they thought of as subhuman and whom they perceived were unable to resist their conquest<sup>293</sup>. This unit embodied violence in its crudest sense in the CFS and left a terrible legacy of violence and brutality to the armies that will follow from the Leopoldian era using horrible ways of torturing and debasing civilians, their styles of handling issues were passed down to the colonial Force Publique. By the demise of colonisation, its brutal and inhuman side will influence on the following army movements to reach its apex in the 1997<sup>294</sup> and the post 1997 wars in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

### ***Duties of the Force Publique***

The Force Publique, as was referred to the army of the CFS, was put into place in 1886. It was made of Belgians regular soldiers and volunteers and adventurers from other foreign countries. The Scandinavian countries furnished an important contingent to this international bunch of risk takers patched together to become a regular army of the Leopoldian era; others were recruited from countries such as France, Italy, Switzerland, etc. apart from the European soldiers, some of the mercenaries were recruited from the West Coast of Africa, others from Zanzibar, Somalia,

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<sup>292</sup> (Roes, 2010).

<sup>293</sup> The Seeds of violence in its most monstrous and outrageous form that grew through various historical periods from the Congo Free State to the Democratic Republic of Congo today have been sown by the Belgian king, Leopold I (Martens, 2016: 7; Roes, 2010; Kanza, 1972).

<sup>294</sup> The techniques of conquest and land occupation used by the Leopoldian era has been modernised by contemporary fighter using modern technology and which consist of targeting the civilian population during the war by means of rape, killing, looting, burning, exiling, etc (Kaldor, 2013; Olson and Fors, 2004).



Gold Coast<sup>295</sup>, Dahomey<sup>296</sup> and Sierra Leone. The recruitment of mercenaries was underpinned by the fact that the military involvement was a secure source of long lasting wage labour<sup>297</sup>. Chiefs were forced to supply people who were to serve in the army for free just like those who were not enrolled in the army were forced to work for free under abusive and exploitative hands of King Leopold II agents in the collection of rubber and ivory. Initially the army served different purposes. Soldiers were asked to perform several tasks on top of their military duties. They were involved in the construction of roads and government station in various places and carry the duties of engineers, architects, hydrographers, cartographers; they were in charge of rubber collection, census officers, store supervisors, officials in civilian administration etc<sup>298</sup>. As soldiers moved from territory to territory, they terrorised the villagers and loot anything they desired. Leopold II thus drew on the abundance of migrants to put in place an army that was intended to help achieve the mission of civilising the Africans in the CFS. As military migrant labourers or rather mercenaries, these individuals were expected to be enrolled in the army for a fixed period of time, may be couple of years and work until the their contracts come to termination<sup>299</sup>.

The mercenaries had nothing to lose once in the Congo where it is reported that they indulge into criminal activities on top of the terror that they inflicted on the local population in the process of conquering the Congo<sup>300</sup>: The soldiers had come . . . by land through the forest. They were led by an officer whose name was given as U. V. His father and mother were killed beside him. He saw them killed, and a bullet hit him and he fell. He then showed me a deep cicatrized scar at the back of the head, just at the nape of the neck, and said it was there the bullet had struck him. He

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<sup>295</sup> Now the Republic of Ghana.

<sup>296</sup> Now the Republic of Benin.

<sup>297</sup> (Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>298</sup> (Gann and Duignan, 1979; Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>299</sup> Freebooters, marauders and a cocktail of violent individuals with diverse background, creed and personalities but bound in one ideal, violence, the Force Publique kept its inherent violent nature all along the history of the Congo. From Leopold to Kabila, soldiers have been exercising the law using their weapons thus terrorising the civilians (Hochschild, 1999; Gann and Duignan, 1979; Van Reybrouck, 2014, Kanza 1972).

<sup>300</sup> The Force Publique was employed to help the Belgian King achieve his economic goals by means of capital accumulation using terror and violence as means of extracting free forced labour. Physical violence, gratuitous violence denoted the endemic hellish nature of his rule in the CFS (Fish and Fish, 2001: 95, Hochschild, 1999).

fell down, presumably insensible, but came to his senses while his hand was being hacked off at the wrist. I asked him how it was he could possibly lie silent and give no sign. He answered that he felt the cutting, but was afraid to move, knowing that he would be killed, if he showed any sign of life.

Numbered initially at eighteen thousand men, it was one of the largest forces considering other colonial powers; it presented a lot of flaws from soldiers going from indiscipline and misconduct among soldiers plus several instances of extremism in the performance of the daily military routine. Some officers were naughty and inconsiderate teaching their inferior to despise civilian authorities and orders. Soldiers were involved in exactions such as looting, killing, rape and setting houses on fire<sup>301</sup>. Conditions in the Force Publique were very distant from being pleasing; this state of things were conducive to extreme violence in handling local people. Not surprising therefore that soldiers were involved in cutting limbs of African villagers who failed to collect the required amount of rubber and take them to their superior as proof of a good utilisation of cartridges entrusted them. Soldiers participated in the kidnapping, sequestration and abuse of women and kids, the supervision and enforcement of coercive labour in the construction of the railway, from Matadi to Leopoldville, and the collection of rubber and ivory among Congolese villagers<sup>302</sup>. Villagers were killed and villages were completely set on fire to give place to the occupation by the CFS. The *domaine privé* and other concessional companies<sup>303</sup> were locally instituted by force from the Force Publique which played an instrumental role in the oppression and suppression of villagers. Members of the Force Publique were known for the culture of administering the '*chicotte*'<sup>304</sup>; they were also enforcing the safeguarding of the royal interests. Their ruthlessness coupled with their mercilessness in the history of the CFS denoted the diverse

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<sup>301</sup> Given that they were migrants, those who fell in the category of contract workers were supposed to go back to their country of origin at the end of their contacts (Wihitman, 2000; Stalker, 2001).

<sup>302</sup> (Zeilig, 2008).

<sup>303</sup> (Hoskins, 1965).

<sup>304</sup> A whip cut from the dry skin of the hippopotamus used to flog indigenous people in the execution of the *corvée* during the CFS. The practice of the '*chicotte*' initiated by Leopold II, was continued by Belgian colonial administration. During Mobutu's era it was continued by what was called '*Mattraque*' and in Laurent Kabila's era it was exacerbated by the foreign soldiers who whipped civilians on the stomach. In any case, the whipping ended up with severe damage on the psycho-somatic functioning of the beaten ones (Hochschild, 1999, Gann and Duignan, 1979; Van Reybrouck, 2014).

types of violence they inflicted to the indigenous people on the villagers and riverine dwellers. The Force Publique was also enforcing the '*corvee*'<sup>305</sup> in the collection of rubber, ivory and during the construction of the railway from Matadi to Leopoldville. During this period of time internally displaced people were counted in millions as suffering was exacerbated by the use of guns on villagers<sup>306</sup>. Looking into the initial motive of King Leopold to civilise the Basin of the Congo, an army of mercenaries was not the first thing to bear in mind. Works of putting in place infrastructures, religious missions and schools was to precede the putting in place of an army. The very thought of organising an army underpins an existence of an organised state for the sake of human security and order; business and regional as well as international representation. A reality that contravenes with the end proposed first by King Leopold II and presented to the international community then. Thus, the abuses, violence, exploitation and dehumanisation experienced by the Congolese people under the CFS can be the living proof that the initial idea might have been noble but the means used are in utter contradiction and bear no relations<sup>307</sup>. The use of the Force Publique also helped to put in place a security climate that was conducive to capital accumulated by Leopold II to be taken overseas.

### ***Capital flight in the CFS***

The revenue for the cash crop would not even be enjoyed by the farmers; crops were sold to the Leopoldian agents at a very insignificant price. Peasants had to pay tax from the very money received from the harvest sales as demanded by the administrators of the Congo Free State on behalf of king Leopold II. All moneys collected from the ivory and rubber from free and forced labour were taken to the metropole in Belgium to be injected in the personal economic development of the Belgian King or else were put in the various financial schemes that ranged from personal leisure, building and renovation projects or stored for personal enrichment of the

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<sup>305</sup> Translated from French, this word means a hard forced or imposed labour (forced labour). It is the type of which individuals were forced to work for free and under a rigorous and coercive manner from the Leopoldian system, accompanied with the *chicotte* (Gann and Duignan, 1979; Van Reybrouck, 2014, Kanza, 1972, Mwema, 2011).

<sup>306</sup> forest with all the unpleasant environment, the abundance of predators and venomous animals became a place of refuge for the villagers who were terrorised by the CFS' Force Publique (Hochschild, 1999).

<sup>307</sup> The way ends are achieved in a given game or situation, are to be proportionated with the means employed therefore. Leopold II ends were all contradictory to the means he used in the light of the initial idea that appeared philanthropic but which turned to be monstrous and inhuman (King, 2002; Ike, 2004; Jayaraman; 1987).

King of Belgium<sup>308</sup>. “Nothing was going in to pay for what was coming out.” The Congo Free State was maintaining a small army and using slave labor to cut costs. He wrote: “Forced labour of a terrible and continuous kind could alone explain such unheard-of profits . . . forced labour in which the Congo Government was the immediate beneficiary; forced labour directed by the closest associates of the King himself. . . . It must be bad enough to stumble upon a murder. I had stumbled upon a secret society of murderers with a King for a croniman.”

Other moneys from the Congo were used to Belgium economic development in the creation of Museums and the building or extension of some cities in Belgium. The Belgium King was notoriously known for throwing parties to his fellow Belgians and also buying properties in France for his mistresses. Though being a King, Leopold did not have a fortune that allowed him to live a life of arch-extravagance. This he did with the wealth of the Congo, the blood and sweat of innocent people whom he tortured and mutilated in search of raw material that he sold on the world market for personal enrichment. Thus, Leopold II ran the Congo like his own vegetable garden keeping it to himself and accumulating wealth at the cost of the sweat and blood of the Congolese people right through the CFS.

On orders from the Belgium King, entire villages were levelled, and entire kingdoms were violently brutalised, vandalised and victimised at the hands of Leopoldian agents. Women were continuously raped and the Congolese cultural heritage pillaged<sup>309</sup> and used in expositions for accumulation’s sake on account of the Belgian king. Thousands and thousands of innocent people were killed and other exiled in forests where they could not survive owing to lack of product of first necessity<sup>310</sup>. Firearms’ Cartridges became of more worth than Congolese human beings. Congolese rubber, ivory, cash crops and artefacts took precedence over human lives in

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<sup>308</sup> (Fish and Fish, 2001: 91; Gann and Duignan, 1979; Hochschild, 1999).

<sup>309</sup> Luba and Kuba Masks plus other artefacts were taken by force or at gun point by the Leopoldian agents and shipped to Belgium and to this point of time, never returned to the Congo (Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>310</sup> What Leopold II did in the Congo during the times of the Congo Free State is worse compared to what the white government did to the Africans in South Africa from the time the Dutch Company set a refreshing station in Cape Town to the ratification of apartheid as a law (Feinstein, 2005).

the Basin of the Congo River<sup>311</sup>. All this did not matter, provided that the Congo was generating wealth for the devilish king<sup>312</sup>. The salient feature of capital flight in the CFFS was marked by massive profits taken abroad by the concessional companies<sup>313</sup>. The Mining Union of the Upper Katanga (MUUK) known as Union Minière du Haut-Katanga (UMHK) controlled the major mining sector in the country just like the Compagnie de Katanga (CK) or the Katanga Company. Leopold made the Comité Spécial du Katanga (CSK) or the Special committee of Katanga which had the right to grant concessions to foreign companies where himself owned a two third of all the concession in the name of the CFS. Other companies such as the Tanganyika Concession, Lever Brothers and other came to populate the list. All the annual profits made by foreign concessional companies were flown back to their respective countries, leaving the Congolese people in acute underdevelopment<sup>314</sup>. Thus, every year saw millions and millions of dollar leaving the country for overseas. The bleeding continuation and the blowing of the whistle.

Monies made in the Congo by both Leopold II and the concessional companies were made at the expense of the Congolese people. They were brutalised, humiliated and robbed of their dignity in order to make money for the concessions own by European bosses who controlled the economy that served as private property of Leopold II<sup>315</sup>. The abuses and debasement imposed on the Congolese people could not remain unnoticed by philanthropic observers such as workers and missionaries who lived in and outside the Congo<sup>316</sup>. News of horrible reports from the CFS began to circulate in the words and individuals who were touched by the suffering of the poor

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<sup>311</sup> The small arms proliferated by the Leopoldian machine in the CFS were very instrumental in the abuses, the abominations and atrocities that were used on the Congolese people (Morel, 1903; Gann and Duignan, 1979; Mwema, 2011; Zeilig, 2008).

<sup>312</sup> Atrocities of exponent magnitudes were committed by the King Leopold II on the Congolese population. The demonic punishment that is has been committed by rebels during this modern time in several countries known as '*Vest*' or the cutting off of the entire arm or '*Short Sleeves*' or the Cutting off of half the arm or else the '*Long Sleeves*' or the cutting off of the hand(s) has been copied on the Leopoldian style in the Congo Free State (Hochschild, 1999).

<sup>313</sup> Concessions granted to individuals by Leopold II were revolving around the entire economic sector with companies involved in mining and agricultural exploitation. They enjoyed free and next to free labour of Congolese people who were forced to produce rubber and other commodities ( Hoskyns, 1965: 16-17; Kanza, 1972).

<sup>314</sup> (Rodney, 1972; Zeilig, 2008).

<sup>315</sup> (Gann and Duignan,1979).

<sup>316</sup> E.D. Morel and other American missionaries were pioneers of the movement through which Leopold II was exposed (Morel, 1903, Conrad, 1903).

Africans in the Congo River Basin got involved in a campaign to denounce the leopoldian nightmare over the CFS people<sup>317</sup>. Leopold II was confronted by Belgian authorities to disclose his activities in the CFS. Instead, he chose to destroy files relating to his activities and ceded the private property to the kingdom of Belgium as a colony in 1908. He would have plundered, used, abused, raped women, mutilate human bodies, burn villages, killed elephants and rhinos, loot the Congolese heritage and fly all the financial benefits home in Belgium for over two decades without any remorse on his conscience. In any case, the magnitude of crimes that amount to a genocide, inspired the Hochschild to locate Leopold II in the torments of hell where he is yelling day and night as part of payment of crimes he orchestrated in the CFS<sup>318</sup>. The truth of the matter such as pursued by the Belgian king was to have a colony just as explained earlier on in order to exploit and loot the resources. The CFS having been the first legal entity to organise a kind of a state, has therefore been the one that set the tone for governance. The mode of operation, the power relations, the structures as well as the savoir faire that was to follow remained and will remain accountable to the management of things in the CFS. Whether the institutions that followed perpetrated the culture of violence can only logical be pinned on the CFS, thus on King Leopold II commanded things from his quarters in Belgium.

It shed the light on the governance of terror, underpinned by rape, sequestration, spoliation, slavery, racism, free forced labour, corruption and the use of corporal punishment as an instrument design to create fear and push people to work forcefully and painfully under the control of armed men who amputated innocent villagers for rubber and ivory collection, killed innocent Africans for simply failing to furnish food such as the chikwangue, fish and other local staples; a regime that destroyed the rubber vines and killed elephants for ivory; flew the capital to Belgium through Antwerp and Anvers is a typical Leopoldian edifice erected from the very moment the Belgian King was given a go ahead to embark on the so called civilising mission of the Basin of the Congo River.

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<sup>317</sup> (Morel, 1903).

<sup>318</sup> Listen to the cries of Leopold II, yelling in hell (Hochschild, 1999).

The states of things caused the true philanthropies around the world to blow the whistle and question the Leopoldian enterprise in the Congo. Leopold's structures raised concern in the Belgian parliament where liberals and socialist alike came to be of one thought regarding the concerns raised by missionaries in the CFS<sup>319</sup>, officials and third parties such as Caseman and missionaries were deeply concerned to disclose the true nature of the Leopoldian enterprise in the Congo<sup>320</sup>. The slave mode base of production as perpetrated by the Belgian King, implemented by his agents, starting with Stanley the explorer; forced labour embedded within free services such as portage, rubber and ivory collection, the impositions of taxes in various forms, sustained by the Force Publique were but the putting into pace of an economy of coercion that had a devastating effect on the general citizenry and particularly the peasantries in the Basin of the Congo River. It resulted in active locals fleeing their daily farming jobs, the decimation of existing networks of trade and disruption of livelihoods as petty peasant producers and artisans losing foot in the daily struggle for economic production<sup>321</sup>. The abusive economic activities of Leopold II did not go unnoticed. The king was called to give an account by his people in Belgium. Handing over the CFS to Belgium

By the time he relinquished the colony to the Belgian state, Leopold II has committed atrocities of sky rocketing magnitudes. After being confronted by the Belgian parliament, Leopold II refused to give any account of his activities and wealth emanating from his exploitation of the Congo. He thus without any transition left the Congo to be run by Belgium as a colony.

## ***Colonialism in the Congo***

### ***Characteristics of the Belgian colonialism in the Congo***

After the monstrous exploitative reign of Leopold II during the Congo Free State, Belgium took over the Congo and continued the work initiated and maintained by her King. Patterns of colonialism in Africa are intricate but very similar in the manner they unfolded<sup>322</sup>. The coloniser was not there to develop the colony in the first place but to plunder and take away profit home.

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<sup>319</sup> (Kanza, 1972; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>320</sup> Gann and Duigan, Morel, 1903).

<sup>321</sup> (Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>322</sup> (Amin, 1972; Freund, 1984; Illife, 1995; Feinstein, 2005).

In the Congo, prior to the colonisation epoch, Leopold II took entire sub-region for himself, exploited it for money making sake, sustained inhuman practices such as slavery, forced and free labour, killing elephants and rhinos for their tasks, exploiting the natural and mineral resources for himself at the expense of the masses of Congolese people<sup>323</sup>. and when he could not manage on his own, he courted foreign investors and made concessions with them for exploitation of minerals and agricultural products and he left his associate in charge of the Congolese economy for his own interest until he relinquished it to his country, Belgium<sup>324</sup>. Upon taking up the vast land, Belgian turned it into a colony and continued the exploitation of people, resources, and natural geological potentialities of the country<sup>325</sup>. The Belgians got more involved in the Congo which they named 'Belgian Congo'. The administration was organised with ministers in Belgium and others dispatched in the colony to oversee politico-socio-economic activities on behalf of the Kingdom of Belgium. Several ministers were allocated different tasks but in general, the Congolese were very much less involved in the administration. Settlers came and continue coming to the Congo that was an escape for growing unemployment in Belgium to work in the colony for a fat salary<sup>326</sup>. Under Belgium colonialism, economic development was key concern and the Congo experienced considerable advances in various areas. The triumvirate that was operating from the times of Leopold II continued showing its presence in the daily lives of ordinary citizens. The Missionaries had the task of educating the Congolese people the businessmen were in charge of the colonial economy and the state was in charge of the administration, providing law and order to ordinary citizens<sup>327</sup>.

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<sup>323</sup> (Meredith, 2011).

<sup>324</sup> (Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>325</sup> (Zeilig, 2008; Turner, 2013; ).

<sup>326</sup> The best jobs were reserved to the belgian settlers and their direct discendents. Congolese people came in very low position as belgium did not intend to civilise the Congolese in order to prepare them to take up responsibilities of their own country. Labour reservoirs were created and maintained in order to avail cheap and docile labour. Segregation, discrimination, spoliation on top of the chicotte were the norm of the day (Kanza, 1972; Hoskyns, 1965).

<sup>327</sup> By the time Belgium took over the Congo from Leopold II, the concessionary companies did not dissappear; instead were continued during the time of Mobutu. A clear divide has been made between the settlers and the African communities who then existed only to supply labour at very cheap cost, but mostly for free. In the Belgian Congo, there existed a tripartite that worked in close collaboration during the colonial epoch. The colonial state, the



### ***Racism, exploitation and injustices in the Belgian Congo***

The colonial economic development was designed to provide managerial jobs and positions of power and influence to the settlers who lived in town and relocated the rest of the African communities to neglected countryside and township that they used as labourers reserves. Though a considerable degree of housing, healthcare facilities and a limited level of education to Africans were provided in the Congo<sup>328</sup>, Belgians adopted the direct rule and paternalism approach in administrating the Congolese territory<sup>329</sup>. The Congo was a land of making business and advancing the Europeans in all regards whereas the Africans were just pawns in the European money making games. The colour bar was strengthened in the society and irrespective of the degree of development during the colonial period; Africans were treated like children in the eyes of the coloniser. They were not permitted to be educated beyond the secondary school level and the positions that were entrusted Congolese in the daily affairs of the colony were the lowest and menial. There was no plan to emancipate the Congolese and grant him complete independence. When thinking of independence, it was projected to happen in the 1980s<sup>330</sup>. Colonial development in the Belgian Congo

Belgian colonisation denoted the beginning of a process of economic development with the construction of roads, hospitals, schools, clinics and the construction of the railway, but the violent nature of the leopoldian era was continued. Forced labour, the use of the chicotte to coerce natives to work for next to nothing continued in the Belgian Congo. Profit making remained the norm as Congo turns to be a classic case under Belgium dominion<sup>331</sup> with a metropole whereas during the CFS it was managed like a private property belonging to a single individual. The patterns of metropole and satellite, core and periphery were the norms in the

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catholic missionaries and the businessmen. The aggregate facts will be the ingredients in Lumumba's speech on the independence day (Kanza, 1972; Zeilig, 2008; Mwema, 2011, Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>328</sup> Congolese who were enrolled in education could not progress beyond a given standard. For example, their education allowed them only to do menial jobs or to second their European counterparts in not efficient way (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002) .

<sup>329</sup> the administration policy adopted by Belgium was the direct rule where the settlers worked for the crown in the first place and only seconded by local people when a need that could not be attended to by a white person (Mamndani, 1996).

<sup>330</sup> Plan Bilsen (Kanza,1972, Vanthemshe, 2012).

<sup>331</sup> (Zeilig, 2008; Hoskyns, 1965;).

relation between the Congo and Belgium<sup>332</sup>. The economy of coercion initiated by the Belgian king from the days of Stanley the explorer right through the questioning of atrocities brought to light by philanthropy such as Edmond Morel and his associates who braved a king and kingdoms in exposing the villain nature of the leopoldian era. The stance taken by Belgium did differ from the one of King Leopold in many regards<sup>333</sup>.

### ***Medical progress in the Belgian Congo***

Belgium colonisation is marked by the continuation of the Leopoldian edifice in many areas, particularly in the medical domain<sup>334</sup>. Belgian colonisation is denoted by the emphasis on medical research that saw the dispatching of large number of scientific men, especially in the medical domain. The discovery of the cure of diseases such as malaria, sleeping sickness and others was a milestone explained by the presence of doctors and researchers working with Congolese nurses. Tough clinics and dispensaries mushroomed almost everywhere in the Congo; violence was present in the medical practice. Congolese were used as guinea pigs in the quest for a new cure for a given disease. They were quarantined and isolated unnecessarily and the medical check came to be embedded in the territories administered by traditional authorities. Congolese were required to carry passes that explained their health status when going from a territory to another and the quarantine measure adopted by Belgium came to be a heartbreak, especially to those who were violently separated from their loved ones, frustration grew to reach levels of revolt against the colonial policies that teared apart the fabric of the Congolese community. As the instrument of averting and suppressing all revolutionary manoeuvres, the Force Publique was called in to further suppress violently the innocent people who sought to express their grievances in the face of corrosive policies fabricated in the metropole and exported to the colony in the Congo. Congo remained a supplier of raw material to Belgium. The abuses

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<sup>332</sup> (Amin, 1972; Vanthemshe, 2012).

<sup>333</sup> (Morel, 1903; Gann, and Duignan,1979).

<sup>334</sup> Congo in the 1960s was among the tropical most advanced countries in the medical domain with abundance of medical practitioners, medical schools as well as hospitals and clinics across the country. The medical progress of the 1950s-1960s has been lost owing to lack of adequate management (Trefon, 2004).

and injustices of the Belgian Congo, just like elsewhere in Africa, led to the awakening of Congolese national consciousness in the 1950s<sup>335</sup>. Nationalism and the walk towards independence

The situation turned to be gradually unbearable especially late 1950s. Congolese started to ask for posts of responsibility in the administration but the Belgians were not prepared to grant them<sup>336</sup>. Among the incentives of the Congolese political awakening was the attending of the Brussels World Fair, a global show case organised by the Kingdom of Belgium between April and October 1958. There Congolese *evolués*<sup>337</sup> who participated in the Fair caught an eye opener in seeing that during that event people interacted on an equal foot; Americans, Russians, eastern Europeans, African and Asians were living and rubbing shoulders one next to the other<sup>338</sup>. It came clear to their minds that independence from Belgium was possible back home.

### ***The spark of Congolese nationalism***

The other crucial element of the Congolese nationalism was the attending of the Pan African Conference in Accra organised by Kwame Nkrumah. Lumumba and his two colleagues took part in 1958 in the conference that promote the idea of a united Africa that needed to free itself from the clutches of colonialism<sup>339</sup>. The return of the Congolese delegates to those conferences brought a spark of the political Congolese consciousness as Lumumba imported the concept of Panafricanism ideologies that entailed political, socio-economic emancipation and development and unity of Africans countries that could be achieved through the independence. The following statement of Lumumba denotes the political awakening in the Congo upon his return from

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<sup>335</sup> Most of the approaches taken by the coloniser, even though they could be helpful to the Congolese people, were implemented with a degree of violence denoted by coercion on the colonised (Nzongola, 2002, Hochschild, 1999).

<sup>336</sup> Patterns of exclusion, segregation and racism were embedded in the colonial institutions and they sought the wellbeing of a minority of European settlers at the expense of the majority of the Africans right through the continent (Finstain, 2005; Morel, 1903; Gann, and Duignan, 1979).

<sup>337</sup> *Evolués* were citizens who espoused the western way of life, thinking and so on, who could see things in a civilised way. These were Congolese who have achieved a level of literacy and who demonstrated other signs of modernism; as such they are the ones who started to claim independence in the 1950s (Hoffmann, 2016:2; Young and Turner, 2013: 113-114; Kanza, 1972; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>338</sup> The Congolese intellectuals were given an opportunity to take part in an event in Brussels where individuals from all the worlds horizons were gathered in Brussels, an opportunity to rub shoulders with fellow human being of different colour, a thing that was not usual the Congo (Kanza, 1972).

<sup>339</sup> The inhuman practices of colonialism and the socio-economic thereby were all detrimental to the development of the African people all around the continent (Nkrumah *et al*, 1063: 37; Galtung 1967: 30).

Accra<sup>340</sup>:The Congolese people are aware of the winds of freedom blowing over the African continent. Their long-dormant political consciousness is beginning to assert itself and will do so even more in the next few months. The people are solidly behind us in our struggles.

For up to 1958, the formation of political parties was illegal in the Congo. By the end of 1958, legislation was passed by colonial authorities allowing the organisation of political parties, an exercise that will be daunting given the tribally fractured character of the Congolese political fabric that lacked national consciousness on top of communication problems among themselves<sup>341</sup>. The colonial grip on individuals' freedom in various domains of life and the denial to take up positions of responsibilities in the administration was building up grievances that were going to explode and to have disturbing consequences to the colonial state<sup>342</sup>.

### ***Congolese Political parties***

Four major political parties will emerge in the Colonial Congo. The Alliance des Ba-Kongo (ABAKO)<sup>343</sup>, a socio-cultural organisation that was created in 1950 to safeguard the cultural values and interest of the Bakongo people became officially a political party. The Rassemblement Katangais (CONAKAT)<sup>344</sup>; the Mouvement National Congolais (MNC)<sup>345</sup> and finally the Parti National du Progress (PNP)<sup>346</sup>. The four political formations will dominate the national political affairs of the Congo. Most of them were of tribalist and ethnist tendencies except the MNC that had really nationalistic character in the sense that it advocated a national consciousness that would rise above tribal or regional interests with the aim of achieving independence using nonviolent means, promote education and the training of elites. MNC was against regionalism and separatism, a non-tribal political party. Conversely, ABAKO was the opposite of the MNC and put pressure on the colonialist to grant immediate independence by all

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<sup>340</sup> (Kanza, 1972: 50).

<sup>341</sup> (Hoskins, 1965: 22).

<sup>342</sup> An amalgam of conflict expressed through various spheres of life and built up grievances on the side of the colonized people owing to the debasement and underdevelopment used by the colonisers against native African people (Nkrumah et al, 1963).

<sup>343</sup> Ba-Kongo Alliance.

<sup>344</sup> Katangan Gathering .

<sup>345</sup> The National Congolese Movement that was led by Patrice Lumumba.

<sup>346</sup> National Party of Progress, financed by the Colonial settlers who own businesses in the Congo.

means. The quest for colonial freedom will culminate to riots in Kinshasa early on January 04, 1959.

ABAKO was the first party to claim independence but with the idea of rebuilding the former Kongo empire that comprised part of Congo Brazza, part of Angola and the Congo. As such, ABAKO had a very strong support base in Kinshasa and in the entire Lower Congo province<sup>347</sup>. Joseph Kasavubu was the president of the party from 1954, a man with uncompromised mind with eccentric position in his demands even though he could be right in his assertions<sup>348</sup>: Democracy is not in place as long as people, in order to contain democracy, still appoint official rather than elected representatives of the people. Democracy is not in place when the police include no Congolese constables. The same goes for the army: we have neither Congolese officer nor Congolese supervisors in the medical service. And what then of top levels in education and the inspectorate? There is no democracy as long as suffrage is not universal. The first step, in other words, has not yet been taken. We call for general elections and internal autonomy.

The party that regrouped the Bakongo people was very rigid and ideologically stiffen by the support base they enjoyed from their tribesmen. The ABAKO demanded immediate independence plus the departure of all Belgians from the Congolese soil. The over demanding stance of the Bakongo political party turned to be a nuisance on the Belgians colonial authorities who banned the party and rusticate their leaders and arrested the top leaders. The mounting frustration among supporters led to the riots on 04 January 1959<sup>349</sup> where many Congolese lost their lives and others were injured. The ABAKO was banned by colonial authorities. Following the violence in January 1959. In their grievances the Bakongo party wrote to the colonial authorities asking for the self-governance of the Bakongo province<sup>350</sup> or their independence. ABAKO went further in the quest for freedom to court other political parties. They made a cartel and increase their presence in the political space. Thus, a huge area inland and around the mouth

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<sup>347</sup> Today Bas-Congo

<sup>348</sup> (Van reybroeck, 2014: 238)

<sup>349</sup> To date, the 04 of January has been kept as the day of independence martyrs in the history of the Congo, it is a public holiday (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Hoskyns, 1965).

<sup>350</sup> (Kanza, 1972).

of the Congo River fell under the cartel's influence<sup>351</sup>. This gave them a weight and the colonial had to accept negotiating with the representatives of different political formations. Pressure mounted as other political parties joined forces in pressing for freedom. The uprisings of 4 January 1959 disillusioned the Belgian colonial thinking. Colonial authorities in Brussels started to think otherwise with possibilities of releasing the Congo from their grip. Thus the speech of King Baudouin following the violence that led to death of hundreds of Congolese in voicing their desire for freedom:

‘We are resolved to lead the Congolese people, without fatal delay but also without precipitate haste, to independence in prosperity and peace<sup>352</sup>.’

This state of things called on a conference where delegates from both the coloniser's side and the colonised one were to meet around a table to hold talks that will define the way forward. Belgians were realising the urgency of granting independence to the Congo. This event came to be known as The Round Table.

### ***The Round Table***

Cornered and pressured by unprecedented circumstances, the response of the colonial authorities was to organise a Round Table in Belgium where representatives of several political parties were to meet and discuss with the Belgians issues of independence. Thanks to the members of the cartel who avoided the ideologies of separation and adopted the one in favour of a federal constitution of the Congo<sup>353</sup>. A Round Table was scheduled in January 1960. Up to the time of the projection of the Round Table, the attitude of Belgium was typical the ‘no care’ for Congolese people's emancipation demonstrated by the lack of consultation with the Congolese

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<sup>351</sup> The region around the Congo River mouth was of tremendous importance for the exit of mineral and other commodities for export to the metropole. With the nationalistic and ethnic character of the ABAKO plus other political parties joined in a Cartel, the worst was to be dreaded (Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>352</sup> (Hoskyns, 1965).

<sup>353</sup> The other trouble for the Congo was that it has been colonised by a Western country that was politically enclaved and coming from a bitter experience of being a colony of another Western country, The Netherlands. The oppression suffered at Dutch people hands were also exported in their tropical colony; plus the presence of abundance of a variety of resources exacerbated the degree of pressure, violence, victimisation and debasement of the Congolese people (Gann and Duignan, 1979).

people, the enforcement of the colour bar<sup>354</sup>. The feeling of being segregated and ill-treated by the coloniser reinforced the Congolese unity in preparation to the Round Table. At the Round table, representatives of the main political tendencies in Belgium<sup>355</sup> defined by accentuated views and convictions on religion, policy and linguistic connotations between Flemish and French speaking that entailed a clear divide in their representativity. Belgian representativeness was to face a Congolese side that was united for the cause of independence with all walks of life virtually represented to the Round Table; this gave an advantage to the Congolese negotiators<sup>356</sup>. The four main Congolese political formations imposed that any decision made during the Round Table was to bind the Belgian government and in second position, the Congo was to be independent thereafter. Congolese delegates requested independence on 1<sup>st</sup> of June, 1960. Propositions put forwards by the Belgian delegation were rejected by the Congolese delegation<sup>357</sup>. Patrice Lumumba, the MNC leader was arrested during the Round Table negotiations; the solidarity that animated the Congolese during the conference requested the presence of Lumumba who was released and was flown to participate to the negotiations. Upon his arrival, he addressed the delegates of both sides and supported the idea of the Congolese independence. Finally the independence date was set to 30 June 1960. Decision that brought relief to both Congolese and Belgians.

### ***The Independence Day***

Ceremonies for the proclamation of the independence of the Congo were attended by dignitaries from Belgium, King Baudouin included. Kasavubu, the 1<sup>st</sup> President of Congo and other politicians were presents. The atmosphere was quiet and King Baudouin delivered a speech that praised the genius of his dead uncle Leopold II that was continued by the Belgians in the Congo. He urged people of the Congo to continue looking after all the benefits of his Kingdom in the colony touching achievements in areas such as education, transport, health and modernity in

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<sup>354</sup> All over Africa, once the colonisers made his roots solid in Africans' lands, they then they introduced and reinforced the colour bar which denoted blatant segregation of African in various manner (Fenstein, 2005).

<sup>355</sup> Belgium had then three main political parties: the Christian social patty or *Parti Social Chretien* (PSC), the *Parti Socialiste Belge* (PSB) or the Belgian Socialist Party and the *Parti Liberal* or liberal party (Gann and Duignan, 1979).

<sup>356</sup> (Kanza, 1972)

<sup>357</sup> Belgians attempted to schedule independence by the end of 1960 (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

particular in the Congo, he conferred to the hard work of Belgium. He encouraged the Congolese people to maintain and continue the good work in putting into place adequate structures in his paternalistic speech<sup>358</sup>. President Kasavubu took up the stage and also pronounced a moderate speech where he patronised the Belgian colonisation, as a moderate nationalist. His speech had a tone of thanking Belgium for her work and was projecting thus a future collaboration between the two countries, though he never read the last paragraph of his speech. After him, the stage was left for the Prime Minister.

Patrice Lumumba came to pronounce a muscled speech denouncing the evils of colonialism and its discomfort. He named and shamed the brutal treatment of the African people by the coloniser, the despoliation, segregation, the beating and humiliation of the Congolese people. The debasement and dehumanising nature of the colonial empire from the Congo Free State to the very day of independence. He mentioned among other bitter realities such as the forced labour, insignificant wages to Africans, the inequalities and racial injustices even in front of the law, etc<sup>359</sup>. Lumumba who knew already that the Belgians were up to sabotage his government that was officially elected by the people must have felt to have nothing to lose in exposing the evil facets of colonialism. He added that the independence of the Congo was not a gift from Belgium but a right to the Congolese people. By the end of the speech of the Prime Minister, the Belgian delegation felt insulted and their members started to leave on the spot. The speech held by Lumumba became a subject of consternation on the Western side. The hasty decision to grant the Congo independence turned to be regretted on the side of Belgians. The Bilsen Plan was seen as desirable to what has just transpired on the independence day<sup>360</sup>. A long range plot of destabilising Lumumba's government conceived by Brussels and Washington in collaboration

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<sup>358</sup> The 1950s-1960s denote the modern progress in the Congo brought about by Belgian administration in several domains of life such as medical, educational, transport as well as an overall development marked by a better level of life compared with other countries from the African continent, even though patterns of segregation were still noticeable in the colony (Kanza, 1967: 155-157).

<sup>359</sup> (Meredith, 2011).

<sup>360</sup> Van Bilsen was a Belgian professor who projected the independence of the Congo three decades from the 1950s (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).



with other powers was immediately revived and the machine of sabotaging Lumumba's people's government was set in motion<sup>361</sup>.

### ***The First Republic: Tension on the horizon***

The first republic was demarcated by a rather bitter relationship between the coloniser, Belgium and its colony, the Congo. Spirits were hot and Belgium made a farce on 30 June 1960, she never wanted to let go her colony that represented everything to her just like her dead king, Leopold II, did not want to relinquish the Congo Free State. Thus, many scholars saw the independence that Belgium granted to the Congo as a poisoned gift<sup>362</sup>. The violence that will unfold thereafter and all the socio-politico-economic intrigues that the newly independent Congo suffered was the result of the grudges held by Belgium against the Congo, particularly against Patrice Lumumba for his radical views of an independent Congo that would remain united and independent totally and prosperous. As soon as he started to work as democratically elected Prime Minister, the death machine conjunctively set in motion by European and American leaders was long time at work<sup>363</sup>. His short rule came to be a theatre of disruptive events where foreign invasion, mutiny, political organised disorder from his Western detractor as well as secession came to be used as front of the proxy capitalist versus communist power struggle for the possession of the Congo<sup>364</sup>.

### ***Lumumba must die***

The interests of the business men in the Congo were threatened by the presence of a Prime minister who appeared to be an extremist in the eyes of capitalists who had established businesses and investments in the Congo, particularly in the mining sector. To achieve their goal, Patrice Lumumba had to be gotten rid of. The existence of an ideological shift among the

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<sup>361</sup> Lumumba was voted by majority of representatives in the chamber of deputies and thus formed the government that led the 1<sup>st</sup> Republic with Joseph Kasavubu as first President of the independent Congo. Not being the Belgio-Americans favourite man, he was later assassinated (Gerard and Kulick, 2015: 5).

<sup>362</sup> (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Kanza, 1972).

<sup>363</sup> The cold War was at the heart of the death of Patrice Lumumba per se. He was blocking the way and threatened the survival of capitalism. In asking for a helping hand to the Russians, capitalist interests were severely threatened. The presence of moderate leaders in the political landscape of the Congo in the likes of Moise Tscombe, Victor Nendaka, Joseph Mobutu, etc. was a the hope of the capitalist to recapture the Congo and put it under their control (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>364</sup> (Van Reybrouck, 2014).

Congolese elites that opposed radicals national versus moderate nationalists provided a sure way out of the impasse created by an undesired prime Minister as explained by Nzongola-Ntalaja<sup>365</sup>: Radicals were progressive nationalists who sought to create nationally oriented and mass-based political parties, and saw independence as an opportunity for some changes likely to benefit ordinary people economically and socially. Radicals espoused pan-Africanism committed to obtaining a genuine independence economically and politically... moderate were conservative in their approach and ready to accept Western Tutelage, thus they enjoyed a high level of support from the Belgians and other Western government.

The presence of moderate nationalists on the political scene was a tool that the businessmen were going to use. Lumumba's government was put through a test of fire from Brussels in connection with Washington and the United Nations aiming at eliminating physically Lumumba. First his government was sabotaged by Western powers through an organised destabilisation of his government using undergrounds techniques. This involved triggering a revolt in the Force Publique, cooking and maintaining secession in Katanga, South Kasai and the use of the results of the Force Publique actions to disenfranchise Lumumba and his colleagues<sup>366</sup>.

### ***The mutiny of the Force Publique***

Just five days after his government was in existence, a mutiny of the Force Publique was set in motion. The Belgian officer<sup>367</sup> in charge of the force publique made a pretty explosive statement and promised to promote African officers after training only when reporting to Lumumba. Faced with this live daring, uniformed men in the army saw the loss of benefit from the struggle for independence. They went on the rampage and mutinied for military promotion and salary increases plus the dismissal of all Belgians officers. Meanwhile, the mutiny, like a shockwave, spread all over the Congo. Panic settled in; the Europeans who feared for their lives and all the

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<sup>365</sup> Radicals nationalist were Patrice Lumumba, Antoine Gizenga, Anicet Kashamura... who advocated unitarism, Pan-Africanism and non-alignment. Moderate nationalists were the likes of Joseph Kasavubu, Cleopas Kamitatu, Victor Nendaka, Justin Bomboko and Joseph Mobutu. These were conservatives in their outlook, whether unitarists or federalists (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>366</sup> (Hoskyns, 1965)

<sup>367</sup> On the evening of July 4 1960, General Emile Janssens, commander of the colonial troops gathered the soldiers in the evening and wrote on the black board "*before Independence = after independence*" (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

civil servants, technicians and other professionals fled the country and left the economy wanting of skilled workers. To calm the situation, Lumumba appointed Victor Lundula as head of the Force Publique that he renamed Armee Nationale Congolaise (ANC)<sup>368</sup> and Mobutu was appointed as colonel. In that atmosphere, Belgium sent battalions of soldiers under the pretence of protecting Europeans expatriates and their properties but in reality they were dispatched to fuel the Katanga secession.

### ***The Katanga secession***

Ten days later Belgians paratroops intervened and on July 11, 1960 Moise Tshombe proclaimed the secession of Katanga. The following day, President Kasavubu and the Prime Minister were compelled to call on the United Nations intervention to remedy to the situation that was worsening in order to protect the Congolese territory from external aggression and to restore law and order<sup>369</sup>. Without Lumumba knowing, the deputy Prime Minister, Antoine Gizenga, called for the US military assistance. In the making of the secession, Belgians tried to portray it as a purely Congolese affair<sup>370</sup> as they disarmed the non-Katangese soldiers and expelled them out of Katanga while maintaining the Katangese soldiers as police<sup>371</sup> within the self-proclaimed state. The province of Katanga was, just as it still is today, very important in the make-up of the economy. It was then integrated in the Southern African economy by the British from the Southern Africa region who came with ideological value system that enforced the racial division in the daily routine between the Belgians and the Africans in Katanga<sup>372</sup>. Skilled labour was mainly white and Africans were used as cheap labour, some indentured from the Rwanda-Urundi to work on the mines in Katanga<sup>373</sup>. The Southern African settlers' communities were planning to continue the segregation system they instilled in South Africa, the two Rhodesia in the Congo but the bourgeois Belgians colonial community did not allow them to do so. With the one

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<sup>368</sup> Congolese National Army.

<sup>369</sup> Turner, 2007).

<sup>370</sup> (Nkanza, 1972).

<sup>371</sup> The divide to rule policy was clearly displayed to the Congolese and the world by the way Belgian authorities downplayed the course of events in the Katanga (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>372</sup> Colonialism practices as well as its legacies remain a monument of depression to the people who were forced submit to foreign power unwillingly or by the noise of the firearm (Finstein, 2005; Nkrumah *et al*, 1963).

<sup>373</sup> (Van Reybrouck, 2014).

secession set in motion, another moderate nationalist<sup>374</sup> proclaimed the second secession, this time in the South Kasai.

### ***The Secession of South Kasai***

In August 1960, the secession of Kasai was proclaimed, worsening the plight of the Lumumba administration. Between 1880-1890, the population of the South Kasai was preyed by slave trade at the hands of the Chokwe and Songye<sup>375</sup> who supplied slaves to the Arabs who raided the eastern part of Africa in search of individuals whom they sold in the slave market of Nyangwe. For their safety, the Luba of Kasai fled to Katanga where they were welcome and settled. They adapted easily in those communities by selling their labour and in getting involved in the missionaries' churches and activities. The coloniser developed the ideologies of divide to rule in accommodating the Luba from Kasai and presenting them as hardworking compared to the Luba from Katanga who are known as Lulua. Identities were formed in the political economy where these two ethnies came to be in competition<sup>376</sup>. Later in the course of time, Belgians colonisers planned to resettle the Luba back to the Kasai with ideas of having a Katanga that would be totally Lulua. The conspiracy having been discovered by one of the Luba clerks in 1959 who leaked the information led to a revolt of the Luba in Katanga who put on a stout demonstration and violence broke as a result of the refusal of the proposed plan. In that state of things, the Luba leader Albert Kalonji was banned and relegated to the rural areas in Kasai, in the Sankuru<sup>377</sup>. Following his failure to secure enough votes to be put as uncontested Luba leader, Kalonji was encouraged by his counterpart in the Katanga secession, Moise Tshombe, and the Belgians to launch the secession of the South Kasai in August 1960. Lumumba's government sought to end the secession as the United Nations Mission in Congo<sup>378</sup> was unable to use force to end secession, contrary to the mandate that was given to them but that was not exercised during

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<sup>374</sup> Alber Kalonji who split from the MNC, created the MNC-K and proclaimed the secession of the South Kasai where he united traditional leaders and convinced them to be under his leadership (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>375</sup> These are ethnies within the Luba of Katanga.

<sup>376</sup> (Kanza, 1972; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>377</sup> (Kanza, 1972; Nzongola Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>378</sup> ONUCO was the United Nations mission in charge of fixing the troubles during Lumumba's officetenure.

Lumumba's office<sup>379</sup>. The national Congolese Army (ANC)<sup>380</sup> used violence, brutality and repression in trying to solve the problems and as they went down to Kasai, hundreds of civilians were murdered. The detractors of Prime Minister Lumumba were now able to cause a constitutional crisis that will lead to Lumumba's arrest and house detention. The General Secretary of the UN, in his report on the violence committed on the civilians in the Kasai, accused the ANC of genocide and the blame was put on Lumumba's head.

### ***The Constitutional Crisis***

Following the accusation of Lumumba as the authority who ordered the ANC to use reprisal on the civilians, President Kasavubu dismissed Prime Minister Lumumba and the later dismissed the President. A constitutional crisis was thus generated in order to get rid of Lumumba. Meanwhile Mobutu who was the commander of the ANC troops was not at all blamed for the atrocities of the troops under his command. As a moderate nationalist, Mobutu was being prepared together with other moderate leaders to succeed Lumumba and stay in for overseeing the interests of the Westerners in the vast Congo. The parliament having rejected the President's revocation of Lumumba allowed him to continue working as head of government<sup>381</sup>. However, Mobutu stepped in, ordered by Lumumba's detractors, and took a bold step in a military coup that he justified as a solution to the constitutional crisis. A typical strategy of thrusting Lumumba in the silent darkness to finally order his killing; Lumumba was thus put under house arrest and Colonel Mobutu chose a college of commissioners, a group of students, to whom he handed the leadership of the country temporarily<sup>382</sup>.

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<sup>379</sup> (Hoskyns, 1965)

<sup>380</sup> Armee Nationale Congolaise

<sup>381</sup> (Kanza, 1972).

<sup>382</sup> The plot against Lumumba is clearly emerging as Kasavubu was not blamed for being the number one agent of creating a crisis, being a moderate leader. Instead, Lumumba who was not wanted at all on the Congolese political scene was directly victimised following a plot in Brussels, Washington and Kinshasa where moderate nationalists executed the plan. Moïse Tshombe and Albert Kalonji were not blamed for the secession they implemented as moderate leaders; they enjoyed the protection of Washington and Brussels (Kanza, 1972; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Zeilig, 2008).

## ***The Death of Lumumba***

While in house detention, Lumumba sought to re-join his stronghold in Kisangani where he had strong popularity and support and where all the Lumumbists continued to work as a legally voted government by the people; but on the side of his detractors, his assassination was underwritten. On 27 November 1960, Lumumba left Kinshasa in an attempt to reach Kisangani. Immediately, the American and Belgian intelligence were put at disposal of Mobutu to track him. To this initiative, the police security chief, Victor Nendaka, joined forces and the search for his whereabouts was launched, supported by Belgium which supplied a helicopter from the Belgian airway.

Lumumba was hunted like a serial killer and a maniac murderer by his detractors from the West helped by the ones on locally based in the Congo, the moderate leaders. On December 1, 1960 Lumumba was captured by the Sankuru River, denied any protection or legal defence. He was flown to Kinshasa together with his two colleagues, Mr. Mpolo and Mr. Okito, were beaten badly and seriously wounded before landing in Kinshasa where they were handed over to the military camp and beaten again in the presence of Mobutu to finally spend a hellish night in Mr. Nendaka's garage in the cold. They were transferred to another military camp in the lower Congo in Mbanza-Ngungu<sup>383</sup>. On January 17, 1960 Lumumba and his two colleagues were transferred to Lubumbashi to be finished off. Patrice Lumumba, officially elected Prime Minister, Maurice Mpolo who was Minister of Sports and Joseph Okito, the Senate Vice-President were furthermore tortured in the Brouwez villa by the security forces, assaulted by Munongo and other Katanga leaders and Belgians officers to finally be executed by an execution squad. Their bodies were removed from the burial site by the following day to be dissolved in acid<sup>384</sup>. The wheels of violence in the Congo were turning in the brutal manner of conducting things similarly to the Leopoldian era; thses pattern of intensified and diversified violence was

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<sup>383</sup> Before his assassination, Lumumba was taken from point to point in hiding places that only the government and its accomplices knew of before he was boarded on a plane to Katanga where he was finally killed with his fellow politicians, Mpolo and Okito, member of his government. His assassination triggered protest around the world among Africans plus severe criticism among other African leader (Scarnecchia, 2011: 72).

<sup>384</sup> Brutal ways of conducting socio-politico-economic affairs from the Leopoldian era were continued by the Belgian Administration (Kanza, 1972; Nkrumah *et al*, 1963).

carried over by the Belgian colonial era and perpetrated during Lumumba's tenure as Prime Minister by Belgium in conjunction with the US. It will be continued by the following governments, particularly the Mobutu one. There was nothing that was not tinted with violence from the structures of society to the exploitation of resources topped by the one of the imperialistic agents over the Congolese people at grassroots level<sup>385</sup>. Violence started from the head and like a very well integrated nervous system, it went down to the toes. It spared no one, it locked Africans in ghettos of poverty and underdevelopment, and it tossed them like trash, used and abuse them like true pawns<sup>386</sup>.

### ***After Lumumba***

All was organised in such way that political intrigues denoted by violence, destabilisation through internal conflicts and separatist armed movements experienced by the Lumumba period<sup>387</sup>. After the death of Lumumba<sup>388</sup>, the country was successively run by the moderate nationalists who served the interest of the West, putting Congo in a system of utter dependency and economic subservience from their Western masters<sup>389</sup>. The UN<sup>390</sup> mandate ended in 1964. The departure of the UN mission paved the way for the second republic

### ***The Second Republic***

#### ***Mobutu President of the Congo: Shifting policies***

November 24, 1965 Mobutu, then colonel in the Force Publique profited from the political misunderstanding<sup>391</sup> declared a state of emergency. From his word, the high military

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<sup>385</sup> (Conrad, 1903).

<sup>386</sup> (Zeilig, 2008).

<sup>387</sup> (Kaldor, 2013).

<sup>388</sup> Patrice Lumumba was assassinated on 17 January, 1961 (Kanza, 1972, Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>389</sup> Patrice Lumumba put out of the political scene, there was no more obstacle left behind that could prevent Western countries that so desired to pillage the Congo, like Leopold II did, doing so given the abundance of natural resources (Olson and Fors, 2004).

<sup>390</sup> This particular mission had the mandate to intervene in the Congo with armed response in the quest to help the Congolese restore order and security but never did so. Instead, it played cards that advanced the imperialistic agenda having been unable to intervene strongly in restoring law, order and security during the days where Patrice Lumumba was working as a legally fully elected Prime Minister of the Congo (kanza, 1972).

<sup>391</sup> Mobutu seized power in a state coup in 1965 (Turner, 2007: 33).

commandment took power in order to stabilise the country until issues were sorted among politicians. However, Mobutu did not give back the presidency this time like previously in 1961. He hung onto power softly and slowly. Soon after he took power, Mobutu embarked on series of policies that were not appropriated with regard to economic growth. Leaning on the economic development initiated by the colonial government, Mobutu slowly introduced laws that turned to be counterproductive both for the Zairean people and the Zairean government. In 1966 he promulgated *the Bakajika Law*<sup>392</sup>. He then moved on to nationalise the Union Miniere du Haut Katanga<sup>393</sup> that will change to GECAMINES where he created more unnecessary posts which put strains on the economy. This resulted into sharp increase in taxation of expatriate traders. To him, it was an opportunity to get a well organised network of constituencies that he controlled by means of clientelism and nepotism<sup>394</sup>.

### ***The economic decline***

From 1972, the Congolese economy started to decline following the lack of a sound economic policy. The following year (1973), Mobutu embarked on a policy of large scale Zairianisation<sup>395</sup> which consisted in nationalising small and medium foreign businesses. A policy that had ripple effect on the Zairian economy just like it turned to be disastrous in several other countries where it was applied<sup>396</sup>. Zairianisation was a unique phenomenon in the entire sub-Saharan region owing to its cruel characteristics. Plantations, business, small and medium enterprises, even concessional domain, there were no major assets belonging to foreign national that remained untouched by the Zairianisation policy. Mobutu thus insulated a regime of patrimonialism<sup>397</sup>. The elites were becoming new owner of capitalistic businesses for which they had no managerial skills.

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<sup>392</sup> This law stipulated that all public lands became the Zairian state property, including former concessional domains built up during the Congo Free State right through the Belgian Congo (Kanza, 1972).

<sup>393</sup> Like many African leaders, Mobutu used the nationalisation or Africanisation of the economy. Nationalisation consisted of putting all economic assets inherited from the colonisers into the hands of African managers. A policy that was catastrophic all over the continent owing to the lack of capacity from those who acquired enterprises from the colonisers (Decker, 2010, Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>394</sup> Mobutu founded his rule on favouritism, clientelism, and patronage (Emizet, 1997; Turner, 2007).

<sup>395</sup> Nationalisation policy adopted by former President Mobutu in the 1970s after he came to power.

<sup>396</sup> Both Nigeria and Ghana used the policy of Africanisation but in general the result was disastrous (Decker, 2010).

<sup>397</sup> (Bayart, 2009).



### ***Zaireanisation / Africanisation***

Plantations and other means of productions such as petroleum companies, mines, hotels, textile plants, breweries, and even foreign banks were confiscated. But soon, those businesses began to go bankrupt due to lack of expertise from the acquirers<sup>398</sup>. The decline in tenure of those enterprises contributed to the decline of the economy, on top the acquirers was former president Mobutu. This policy occasioned the decline in agricultural industry and the decline in tax revenue on trade. The old employees were not kept by new owners and lost completely their jobs as means of survival and were thus forced to be absorbed into the informal economy<sup>399</sup>. New owners ushered in their friends and relatives, which put a strain again on the real wage of employees and exacerbated the number of unemployed people. New owners who failed to maintain their new businesses indulged in the importation of luxurious goods to the expense of most of the business that became real ruins in most of the cases<sup>400</sup>. The country also experienced several demonetizations where people at grassroots were never able to recover from the loss registered from changing from old notes to new ones. These trends will continue up to the 1990s following inflation and the disagreement with the IMF policies. The balance of trade took a linear downward curve with deficit of millions of American dollar<sup>401</sup>.

### ***Foreign Debts***

From 1974 the country experienced another crisis with the increasing size of the public sector against a feeble growth in GDP per capita that was not able to absorb government expenditures. The politico-economic landscape demonstrated a total absence of a clear economic policy from the Zairean government. During the very same decade, foreign debt increased from USD 4 billion to USD 9 billion as the crisis deepened in general<sup>402</sup>. Signs that the government continued to borrow money from international moneylenders for the people whom hardly could see the

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<sup>398</sup> Now owners from the Zairean elite class (Emizet, 1997).

<sup>399</sup> (Emizet, 1997).

<sup>400</sup> (Decker, 2010).

<sup>401</sup> Former President Mobutu initiated his own money printing company that was referred to as '*Hotel de monnaie Zaire*' following his disagreement with the IMF. A state of things that exacerbated the inflation in the country (Emizet, 1997).

<sup>402</sup> The regime championed corruption, dictatorship, criminalisation..., which eroded further the politico-economic fabric of the country (Trefon, 2002:483).

benefit resulting from the borrowing nor experiencing a sound development. Mobutu initiated the construction of Inga-Shaba project that cost USD 1.5 billion<sup>403</sup>. A titanic project of such type denotes a complete lack of economic management. Eventually the West agreed with such types of project for the benefit of using their experts though it can be seen that it was an unwise idea altogether. The economy continued to deteriorate.

### ***Remedying the economy: The Structural Adjustment Programmes***

Zaire was then put under Structural Adjustments Programmes (SAPs) that turned to be disastrous. The Zairean government having agreed with the IMF<sup>404</sup> on implementing number of stabilisation programmes from 1976 to 1991 that aimed at stabilising the economy by creating favourable market conditions for economic growth and stability. However, market liberalisation, monetary policies, financial reforms, fiscal policies, exchange rate adjustments and other International Monetary Fund (IMF) programmes were hindered by the Zairean government owing to lack of political stability and the avoiding of a third party in the internal politico-economic affairs. IMF and World Bank reforms only were applied in less than half measure<sup>405</sup>. Mobutu, unable to open up completely to the international system rejected the reforms proposed by the IMF. The result was disastrous. Subsidies were cut in several areas of concern such as education, agriculture, health<sup>406</sup>, etc. for the IMF imposed that the gains from exports be used to repay the loans. The rolling back of the state was a serious threat to Mobutu who had monopolised the politico-economic space in centralising power and in appointing members of his political party to oversee economic affairs<sup>407</sup>. The patrimonial system<sup>408</sup> that was established way back by Mobutu, killed the structures that existed before the adjustment programmes could be implemented. The network he put in place and for which he became the ‘big man’ could not stand any outside input, particularly the one from International institutions. Finally Mobutu got

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<sup>403</sup> The project intended to take electricity to the mining industry in the Katanga from the very extreme West. A project that could have cost less if a dam was built closer to the mining zone in Katanga on one of the tributaries of the Congo River (Emizet, 1997).

<sup>404</sup> International Monetary Fund.

<sup>405</sup> (Emizet, 1997).

<sup>406</sup> (Jeffries, 1993: 5).

<sup>407</sup> (Olson and Fors, 2004)

<sup>408</sup> (Bayart, 2009).

into serious misunderstanding with the IMF team and put his foot down in saying that the IMF was not going to dictate his law to him and his government. The crisis deepened and the country continued its slow but sure walk down the spiral of state failure. Mobutu sanctioned by the IMF, began printing and managing currency<sup>409</sup>.

### ***State decay and state failure***

By that moment, the state started to also show signs of failure and disintegration in many regards. The infrastructures inherited from the colonial era were completely decimated owing to a lack of maintenance, plus the state was unable to build new ones<sup>410</sup>. Just like in the culture of leisure from King Leopold II of building monuments, buying houses and lodging into banks money obtained from sweat and blood of Congolese people on the basis of injustice, oppression, violence and utter dictatorship during the Congo Free State, so was the practice maintained by the Mobutu regime<sup>411</sup>. The foreign aid was diverted from the coffers of the state straight into personal banking accounts of the Mobutu's circle into several countries of Europe. They bought luxurious and extravagant palaces in extremely rich residential areas in France, England, United States, and other countries<sup>412</sup>. Public hospitals were in such a state that there was no medicine to treat the public. Equipment became inadequate and doctors and nurses started to exit the country<sup>413</sup>. A mushrooming of informal dispensaries, clinics and chemists apparently uncensored shot in several places<sup>414</sup>. Women started to sell medical products in the market place from India,

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<sup>409</sup> Mobutu having contravened the International Monetary Fund's (IMF) laws in many regards by refusing to follow policies imposed by the IMF turned to own money printing enterprise that he left to the Hotel de Monnaie Zaire for the printing his moneys in Zaire from the 1980s (Blanc, 2006: 10).

<sup>410</sup> State failure in Zaire was expressed in the incapacity from authorities to maintain infrastructures owing to endemic corruption (Ballart, 2009; Trefon, 2002; Trefon, 2004).

<sup>411</sup> From 1965 when he seized power in a state coup, Mobutu embarked on a strong dictatorship whereby he changed the constitution that governed the country from independence in introducing a new one in 1967 to suit his hunger for power and leadership (Young and Turner, 2013: 55, Hoffmann, 2016)

<sup>412</sup> Just like Leopold II did, Mobutu also who appropriated national funds used them in buying properties in arch rich aristocratic areas in Europe (Hochschild, 1999, Young and Turner, 2013: 64).

<sup>413</sup> The country experienced the most lamentable brain drain of its history (Trefon, 2004).

<sup>414</sup> The decimation of the health system during Mobutu's era as a result of state failure in Zaire was explained by the total absence of medication in public hospitals which had a terrible effect on the medical personnel among which the majority fled the terrible system in search of greener pastures in other parts of Africa and the world. Patients had to

China and elsewhere with no knowledge of the medical product in the first place for the majority of them. The number of informal private facilities to treat sick people exploded as the state was unable to attend to this particular need. In education, schooling became a problem of parents as the state could not pay the salaries of the education personnel. In the midst of the crisis, parents had to struggle and hassle in whichever way to come up with 5 dollars a month to send a child to school<sup>415</sup>. It complicated the situation as eating became a serious problem amid a bustling economic crisis exacerbated by the failure of the adjustment programmes in the 1980s<sup>416</sup>. The decimated and unmaintained road system was in such a disintegrating state that the harvest of former years was used as fuel owing to lack of means of transporting crops to the market from the countryside to the cities as a result of neglect of the countryside and isolation of peasant from the market economy<sup>417</sup>. As a result, cities suffered hunger and insufficiency of food. In some families, particularly in Kinshasa, families made turns to eat. Parents would go hungry and kids would eat once a day, supplementing their diet with sweet water<sup>418</sup>. The telephone system inherited from the colonial period were corroded and rusted that they became dysfunctional and dead in the long run, the devices used and abused in various way. The policy of Africanisation known as ‘Zaireanisation’ adopted by the Zairean government was behind the state failure. Owner who were stripped of their small and medium enterprises were discouraged to reinvest in the country to avoid risking their financial capital in Zaire. Until the rise of the mobile telephone networks reached Zaire, the communication system was completely decimated<sup>419</sup>. What was left was the importation of expensive systems of communication that only elites could afford<sup>420</sup>. The banking system was on its knees. With Mobutu printing the Zairean currency and injecting it into the black market to be exchanged against the US dollar remained a phenomenon that profited

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provide for their own medication to be treated in the absence of state intervention in the health sector (Persyn and Ladriere, 2004).

<sup>415</sup> (Trefon, 2004).

<sup>416</sup> The removal of subsidies in agriculture and education emanating from the Structural Adjustment Programmes deepened the existing economic crisis and cause food insecurity meanwhile crippling the educational system. At that time, Zaire was unable to pay pension to senior citizens and salaries to workers (Young and Turner, 2013).

<sup>417</sup> (Emizet, 1997).

<sup>418</sup> (Trefon, 2002).

<sup>419</sup> (Young and Turner, 2013).

<sup>420</sup> (Meredith, 2011: 547).

only the ruling elites<sup>421</sup>. The printed currency was thus channelled to the people at grassroots by a well-chosen selection procedure of loyalty to the party and the system. Money changers were all over the public and the market places changing currency instead of the banking system take care of the currency matters. There were no salaries paid to civil servants, no pension paid to elderly citizens who contributed during their youth while the country was under sound and healthy structures. State failure stands in stark paradox with the natural riches that the Congo houses. It is however the explanation of a reign of patrimonialism, terror, predation, selfishness and a reverberation of the Heart of Darkness<sup>422</sup>. The continuation of the politics of personalism, clientelism and favouritism entertained by president Mobutu and his surrounding mirrors the causes of the state failure and the exacerbation of the suffering of the Congolese people<sup>423</sup>. Pressured by the very Western powers<sup>424</sup> that sustained him on power for over thirty years Mobutu was forced to accept multipartism and democracy in Zaire<sup>425</sup>. This signalled the democratic transition in Zaire.

### ***The Transition Period***

In 1990, the democratic changes promised by President Mobutu remained a farce rather than a reality. The multipartism that resulted from his speech in April of the very same year led to the formation of many political parties among which many were his own satellites<sup>426</sup>. He used the wealth he accumulated during his reign, backed by countries with power and influence on the world political scene such as the United States, France, Belgium, etc. to buy off individuals who

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<sup>421</sup> (Young and Turner, 2013).

<sup>422</sup> (Joseph Conrad, 1902).

<sup>423</sup> (Young and Turner, 1985, Emizet, 1997; Trefon, 2002)

<sup>424</sup> Allusion to the speech made by the late French President, Francois Mitterand, during the conference of Baule in Russia where stated clearly that any African government that will fail to democratise will not receive foreign aid from European powers. France together with Belgium and the United States have been among countries that sustained former President Mobutu in turning a blind eye on the sufferings of millions of Congolese citizens (Berramdane, 1999).

<sup>425</sup> The announcement by former French President Francois Mitterand during the Conference of Baule denouncing the suspension of foreign aid to autocratic African regime was the element of coercion that led former President Mobutu to announce the democratization process in Zaire in 1990 (Bayalama, 1991: 66; Emizet, 1997: 44).

<sup>426</sup> (Van Reybrouck, 2014).

claimed to be leaders of the opposing political parties, even though the early 1990s remain laden with the dominance of the Movement Populaire de la Revolution (MPR)<sup>427</sup>.

### ***Continued dictatorship***

Other political parties were experiencing hard time in terms of freely accessing the political space for campaigning. The Division Speciale Sresidentielle (DSP)<sup>428</sup> and other special militias were used to crush the opposition in most of the cases. Public meetings of other political parties were disturbed and in other cases ended by violence where the opposition members were injured<sup>429</sup>. The Union pour la democracie et le progres social (UDPS)<sup>430</sup> of Etienne Tshisekedi experienced a lot of violent attacks and criticism from the MPR and its allies. Democratic politics in Zaire then came to be polarised with on one side the Union screee de l'opposition<sup>431</sup> and the mouvance presidentielle. A clear demarcation that explain the socio political manoeuvres downplay by the power in place. Having accumulated money and support from the outside powers, Mobutu capitalised on violence within the state. The Press followed suite. Presses with presidential blessing such as *Elima* or *Salongo*<sup>432</sup> were tolerated by the regime whereas press with opposition tendencies that came to existence in the like of *Le Potentiel* or others such as '*L'Opinion*' just like '*Le Phare*' were harassed and vandalised by the elements of the presidential special guard unit or militias. Breaking down and damaging other people's property was the norm as long as it was the opposition side's that was involved.

### ***The Conference Nationale Souveraine***

Even when the opposition succeeded in obtaining the tenure of the Conference Nationale Souveraine (CNS)<sup>433</sup>, Mobutu still interfered and manipulated the course of events from his remote location. He succeeded to interrupt the course of the CNS and suspend all plenaries.

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<sup>427</sup> Revolution popular movement, the political party founded in 1967 by Mobutu (Young and Turner, 2013).

<sup>428</sup> Special presidential division or the Zairean republican guards.

<sup>429</sup> A clear indication of a pseudo-democracy (Emizet, 2002).

<sup>430</sup> Union for democracy and social progress.

<sup>431</sup> Holly alliance of opposition.

<sup>432</sup> Press with presidential polarity. The other were liberal and thus taxed to be favourable to the opposition, hence harassment from the power in place (Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>433</sup> National Sovereign Conference.

Opposition, civil society with the organisation of churches, with mostly influential catholic bishops, organised a peaceful march that ended in bloodshed<sup>434</sup>. The army at the president's service and command splashed the demonstrators with hot water, shot other and arrested a huge number. Following severe pressure and the CNS will resume its works but not as plenary sessions. At the end, some of the commissions never got a chance to publish the conclusion of their sessional works. In occurrence the commission of illegal or *unlawful procured goods* and that of the *political killings*, considered to be malicious to the partisans protégés of the regime then, never got published<sup>435</sup>.

Corruption was tangible as president Mobutu put several micro political parties on his payroll and offered other third party individual material gifts and prospect for a better future in exchange for support and loyalty to his MPR<sup>436</sup>. The socio-economic fabric of the country became more and more cleaved with a handful of individuals having access to funds, privileges and favours from the regime. It exacerbated the socio economic crisis. The CNS being the way for a better Zaire as hoped by the entire population given the paradisiac plan it scheduled for the country was jammed by Mobutu<sup>437</sup>. Money became difficult to find as civil servants, doctors, teachers as well as pensioners registered arrears of unpaid salaries.

### ***State decline***

In most of the provinces, schools were closed as a result of lack of payment of salaries and the year was declared white in number of provinces as far as national education was concerned<sup>438</sup>.

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<sup>434</sup> (Emizet, 1997)

<sup>435</sup> The lack of freedom of the press remained a notorious thing all along the Zairian Republic (Van Reybrouck, 2014; Trefon, 2002; Toung and Turner, 2013).

<sup>436</sup> The Mobutu regime crippled the economic viability and turned Zairean people in a class of poor people driven by empty word of corrupted discourses that was impossible to classify whether economic, classic or liberal. The impoverishment of Zairians from a relatively stable society to the one of hungry and destitute was the making of the Mobutu's regime just like the pauperisation of the masses of farm workers by the agriculturalist white owners in South Africa in the Cape province, in occurrence in the Ceres Valley who laboured in horrible conditions in return for a pay that was limited in nature with a more that insignificant wage which locked the farm workers into ghettos of acute poverty that stretched down generation in time and space (Dutoit, 2004: 995, Amin, 1972).

<sup>437</sup> The merit of former President Mobutu in the electoral process could be questioned given his ever-interfering involvement in political affairs that turned to be counterproductive (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>438</sup> (Trefon, 2004).

Hospitals became wanting for pharmaceutical supplies and their functioning worsened as patients were required to buy their own medicine to treat their diseases<sup>439</sup>. It seemed as if a halt was put on the entire nation and the onus to return to normality was heavily laid on the CNS. The frustration of the later, caused by Mobutu, triggered the anger of military unit stationed at Ndjili<sup>440</sup> and a mutiny ensued. It ended up with a series of breaking of shops and pillaging of goods in Kinshasa in September 1991<sup>441</sup>. A range of products, goods, appliances and machinery was sacked. The population joined in and exteriorised its deep seated feeling of doing like their leaders. The pillage initiated by the Belgium King, continued by Belgians during the entire colonial period has been relayed to Mobutu and from him the population decided to join the devolish party in looting companies, shops, markets and whatever presented itself on their way. The pillage having started in Kinshasa stretched to the entire country from province to province as a shockwave. Hospitals were not spared; incubators and other medical equipment were sacked by the mob<sup>442</sup>. It did not matter whether the spoils were not going to be useful at all, later they were going to figure what to do with them. After downplaying the course of the CNS, Mobutu finally decided to close it down in 1992. Protests organised by the Catholic church and the civil society to denounce the undemocratic practices of the Mobutu regime were crushed just like students were massacred in Lubumbashi for denouncing the abuses of the second republic<sup>443</sup>. Though the masses marched nonviolently, the security forces responded harshly in firing live bullets on the protesters. The result was casualties and immediate death in numbers among the protesters<sup>444</sup>. People were beaten up, tanks of hot water was used to disperse protesters. The government went as far as to use highly toxic chemicals<sup>445</sup>. The people's power was once again instrumental in causing the president to change his mind and reopen the CNS. The human rights

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<sup>439</sup> (Persyn and Ladriere, 2004).

<sup>440</sup> Njili is one of the 24 districts that make the capital Kinshasa (Van Reybrouck, 2014, Trefon, 2004).

<sup>441</sup> (Emizet, 1997).

<sup>442</sup> The violence birthed by Leopold II was growing and was leading to new ones right through the history of the country (Jarayaman, 1987).

<sup>443</sup> (Emizet, 1997).

<sup>444</sup> From the days of Laopold II to the Zairean state, the security force has been an instrument of repression and oppression where the military took advantage of holding guns to dictate their terms to the civilian thus victimising and terrorising them (Young and Turner, 2013).

<sup>445</sup> Nepalm: a highly flammable toxin used during the protest in Kinshasa (Van Reybrouck, 2014).



violations that dawned from Leopold II, continued by the Belgian colonial period was epitomised during Mobutu's era and will continue to haunt the country even after the 2<sup>nd</sup> Republic. The CNS achieved very little as it was not really sovereign. Though it brought to power a prime minister of its choice, Mr. Etienne Tschisekedi, who reigned for only a few weeks with not enough chances to change things for the better as the entire country hoped it. The blockade came quickly from the head of the state who appointed another prime minister after all and regained the socio-political-economic leverage of the country. Mobutu regained control of the transition he was supposed to leave to the conclusion of the CNS. The country was plunged in more crisis as the investors who hoped for the return of the rule of law and order saw their hope dashed by the same man who was kept in power with the help from their specific countries.

Mobutu retreated on his natal province of Equator in Gbadolite leaving a prime minister of his choice to form a government that he remote controlled from the deepest of the forest in Equator where he had his residence. Corruption became the norm and people were left to the 'La debrouille'<sup>446</sup>. This state of things came to epitomise his dictatorship, his politics of clientelism, tribalism, nepotism, favouritism, etc, a neopatrimonial reign that will sweep the vast country at the very heart of Africa. The country became known for tribalism as tribes from Equator came to domineer the public space as well as the government spheres<sup>447</sup>. Any member of a given tribe who happen to hold a public post would also called upon his tribe members and constituencies. Job connections came to mean who you know instead of how qualified and fit for the post you are. Greed

Leaders became greedy to the point where the state became like a social enterprise where cronies act like shareholders<sup>448</sup>. The public revenues were divided between the state and those who occupied posts of influence. Officials who controlled the inflow of the cash could chose to deposit any amount in the state coffer and withhold a lion's share that he will divide with

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<sup>446</sup> La debrouille means make a plan, do something in order to survive (Trefon, 2004).

<sup>447</sup> The accumulation of wealth became the driving force that moved the leaders who focused on self-enrichment to the expense of the population. Ethnism came to play a very key role within the tribalism that was settled by prominent leaders in Zaire (Hoffermann, 2016: 3; Bayart, 199, Emizet, 1997).

<sup>448</sup> Corruption, nepotism, clientelism became cornerstones of the Zairean regime (Young and Turner, 2013).

constituencies<sup>449</sup>. Foreign aid became very inefficient under this type of work environment. An insignificant portion was only used in state projects but the fat share drowned into individual pockets. The country became more and more indebted from the international money lenders, the international financial institutions<sup>450</sup>. The gap between the extremely rich and poor widened and the population paid the fall as sufferance was becoming a daily routine.

### ***Decimation of service delivery***

The distribution of water became problematic just like that of the electricity in a country that is naturally endowed with hydro-electrical potentialities of the firsts in the world. Load shedding of water and light became the norm. Ordinary families could spend days without having electricity and when it is distributed, it is insufficient to allow the appliances in the house to function properly owing to the weakness in electric voltage<sup>451</sup>. For few hours, if lucky, these families will light their houses with electricity. As a substitute, candles, paraffin lamps, torches and rechargeable lamps supplied by china became the escape from the incapacity of the state to supply electricity<sup>452</sup>. Maintenance of water infrastructures became a problem. Unclean water flowed from the pipes that supplied water to citizens. The sewerage system blocked by the absence of maintenance exacerbated the plight of citizens. After all, the government having missed in its fiscal policy, the taxation of ordinary people could not be questioned, neither could they be held responsible for their sufferings<sup>453</sup>. Borders became porous, just like the service delivery that was quasi inexistent. Soldiers who could go through months without receiving their pay did not bother anymore to patrol the borderline of nine countries<sup>454</sup>. It seemed as if the

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<sup>449</sup> (Bayart, 1999; Olson and Fors, 2004).

<sup>450</sup> IMF, World Bank, etc. (Emizat, 1997).

<sup>451</sup> An entire family may receive below 220v and that for few hours before getting another chance after a week or a dozen of days (Trefon, 2002, Trefon, 2004).

<sup>452</sup> The failure of the state in availing goods of first necessity to the citizenry, most of goods available on the Congolese market are imported from China, Congolese people involved in business making regular journeys to China to supply the market with commodities from the needle to the bicycle and beyond. On the other hand, Chinese business people flying to the Congo to sell their commodities in a land where the manufacturing has been buried for decades (Naidu and Davies, 2006: 71, Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>453</sup> Many types of taxes paid by ordinary citizens in the developed world do not exist in the Congo (Field notes).

<sup>454</sup> The ill payment of the security forces during Mobutu's era coupled with delays of payments weakened the moral of the soldiers who turned to use the nose of their guns to secure services and goods from the civilians and this made

government officials were focusing on their private business activities in Kinshasa and the provinces were thrust in the pit of forgetfulness<sup>455</sup>. This state of things plunged the country in a socio-politico-economic slumber characterised by the pressing need to get rich from the central government officials as the head of the state's fortune was totaled to billions of American dollars<sup>456</sup>. It seemed as if everyone who was appointed to serve in the government joined the race to get rich and live an extravagant life at the expense of the people at grassroots level. The relationship between the leaders and the citizens became tensed to be translated in terms of greed versus grievance<sup>457</sup>. The citizens lived in the wish that government could change by any mean. Ordinary citizens lived in desperation and depression in the sight of a government whose official primary aim became to be the quest for personal accumulation. Parents continued to pay school teachers on a monthly basis for schools to be functional on the national territory of Zaire. Soldiers became freebooters<sup>458</sup> in markets and shops and other public places. The gun became the mean of getting food by extorting vendors on the market stall and stopping pedestrians on the road in order to search them for money<sup>459</sup>. Soldiers could get anything they wished in presenting themselves to vulnerable men and women selling commodities by telling them to give *'Na esprit ya bien'*<sup>460</sup>. This went on for the major part of the 1990s. The military, by the upper hand following from the abuse of firearms have been vanguards in two major operations of freebooting that nearly swept the entire country. They have mutinied and led acts of banditry,

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an open gap in the filtering of the border access. It made it easy and very convenient from troops that came with former President Laurent Kabila to just run over the security forces of Zaire. In less than a year, the country of the size of a half continent fell under the coalition of forces led by Laurent Desire Kabila (Olson and Fors, 2004; Lemarchand, 1997; Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>455</sup> (Trefon, 2004).

<sup>456</sup> Leaders in Zaire, borrowed money from the financial institutions in the name of the Congolese people but the vast share of it ended up in their pockets, starting from the head of the state. Trends that can be observed from the early post-independence period (Rice, 2005: 3; Trefon, 2011).

<sup>457</sup> During the epoch of Mobutu, particularly towards the last decade of his rule, soldiers abused the Zairean population using their guns. The very guns were used during the pillages of stores and companies in 1991 (Van Reybrouck, 2014; Young and Turner, 2013).

<sup>458</sup> Personal observation in 1995 in Bukavu DRC, Major Vangu place.

<sup>459</sup> The military in Zaire incarnated the big man as they terrorised and spoliated the civilians, the Leopoldian seeds of brutal extortion used by the Force Publique was resurrected during by the very army during the Belgian Congo to stretch its malpractices right through the history of the Congo to date (Rice, 2005: 4; De Koning, 2010: 224).

<sup>460</sup> with a good spirit (Reyntjens, 1999).

particularly in the 1990s before the advent of the rebellion that swept the country in less than a year. The IMF having excluded Mobutu from its membership, after the failure of the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programmes of the 1980s, saw the advent of the Hotel de Monnaie Zaire<sup>461</sup> where Mobutu took charge to print his own currency. This did not solve the crisis the country experienced already. The situation went from worse to worst, the country became dollarised given the inflation of the Zairean currency, even the New Zairean currency was not able to remedy the monetary crisis. The economic crisis deepened and impacted on the leadership crisis. At this point, the intelligence, the army as well as the entire state machine were ripe for a new government to take over. But this will not take place until the war that culminated in genocide in Rwanda took place<sup>462</sup>. So far Mobutu was entertaining good relations with the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi within the Communauté Economique des pays des Grands lacs (CEPGL)<sup>463</sup>. This is contributing to the security of the Eastern borders.

### ***The Rwandese conflict***

1994 became the fatal year that signaled the downfall of a personal dark and painful empire that lasted for over three decades of lifespan. Befriending neighbours<sup>464</sup> saved Mobutu from falling for a long time. The only safe gateway to reach Kinshasa with slow progress has been Kivu. But so far it could not be possible as Mobutu was playing the role of a big man to Rwanda and Burundi. He has kept President Juvenal Habyarimana to power by repelling a number of attacks from the Armée Patriotique Rwandaise (APR)<sup>465</sup> launched from Uganda and he has been instrumental in changing presidents in Burundi as the American policeman and the strongman in

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<sup>461</sup> A clear indication of monetary policy failure is the exclusion of a given country from the IMF zone by the world leaders that result into the leader of the excluded country embarking on a self-printing of the local currency, like Mobutu did and so as it happened in Zimbabwe. This state of things leads to a hyperinflation and the immiseration of the population at grassroots level (Guest, 2005: 37; Emizet, 1997).

<sup>462</sup> (Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>463</sup> Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries of Africa.

<sup>464</sup> Entertaining good relations with neighbouring Rwanda before 1994 has helped Mobutu remain in power and avoid unnecessary rebellions in the eastern Zaire. Only when President Habyarimana of Rwanda was assassinated in April 1994, could the vultures that were looking for having a hand on the Congolese natural resources succeed to invade Zaire (Spence, 2004; Lemarchand, 1997).

<sup>465</sup> Rwandese Patriotic Army.

the region<sup>466</sup>. Zaire having been overripe with a precarious security even though the regimes in Rwanda and Burundi were still playing a role of protective shield to Mobutu's regime.

### ***The influx of Rwandese refugees into Zaire***

The war that took place in Rwanda between the Hutus in power versus the Tutsi who were exiles in foreign country after the shooting the private jet of former President Habyarimana unleashed a war<sup>467</sup>. The military advance of the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) that was then based in Uganda chased the elements of the Forces Armées Rwandaise (FAR)<sup>468</sup> resulting into the exile of almost an entire country the entry of millions of Rwandese refugees on the Congolese soil was the beginning of the downfall of the Mobutu regime. An under-equipped, malnourished and ill paid army functioning within the boundaries of a corrupted regime amidst a hungry population succumbed to the influx of refugees in both the North and South Kivu provinces. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Red Cross came to the rescue of the thousands of destitute refugees who were exposed owing to the lack of sanitation. Toilets were dug with many difficulties in the volcanic roc in the North-Kivu and that factor contributed to sanitation problems around the refugees. Still conditions continued to be precarious with the infestation of mosquitoes and flies in the camps. The slow pace that defined the services in the refugee camps in the Kivu's provinces led to the outbreak of cholera<sup>469</sup> that alone in Goma took at least 40,000 lives in a speed combination of dehydration and diarrhea before mobile hospitals and adequate treatment could take place. In Goma, the interaction between the locals with the refugees inside the camps, as they became a centre of sourcing cheap commodities, led to the expansion of the epidemic in many families. Hospitals and clinics were overwhelmed in Goma.

### ***The deepening insecurity***

To the health plague, the fragile security came to add its toll to the province of North-Kivu and the region. The entry into Congo of an entire government with an army and goods, its large part of the population and its institutions deeply exacerbated insecurity of the east of Zaire just like it

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<sup>466</sup> (Dobbins, 2003)

<sup>467</sup> (Lemarchand, 2012, 86).

<sup>468</sup> Rwandese Armed Forces.

<sup>469</sup> (Van Reybrouck, 2014).

did in the Niger Delta in Nigeria<sup>470</sup>. There was a massive entry of uncontrolled small arms of which proliferation contribute too much to the suffering of the people. Both refugees and the local populations became victims of armed robberies<sup>471</sup>. The insecurity became notorious for region as reports of organised soldiers of the former Rwandese army crossed the porous borders of Zaire and raided Rwanda. The message sent across was that the refugee camps were becoming foyers hiding and organisation of soldiers from the defeated army together with the Interahamwe militia who aimed at reconquering their lost country.

In Kigali, the dismantling of refugee camps in the east of Zaire was planned following from the mere fact that refugees camps were not protected by any visible security force and the United Nations (UN) was undecided in putting in place a security force to secure the refugees in the East of Zaire; a situation long fought by Kigali considering camps of refugees to be a safe haven protecting former genociders<sup>472</sup>. To disguise the act of aggression against a sovereign country, Kigali found its way in convincing four personalities<sup>473</sup> to form the Alliance de Forces Democratiques pour la Liberation (AFDL)<sup>474</sup> in 1996.

### ***The Imported violence: The Liberation War***

The armed branch of the AFDL was made of kids soldiers, some kidnapped in schools and locations by underground organisations and others who joined the movement sent by parents came to be known as *Kadogos*<sup>475</sup>. They are the ones who were used together with mercenaries

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<sup>470</sup> The entrance of the hundreds of thousands of refugees in the Eastern Congo, among them former soldiers and militiamen led to the infiltration of light weapons in the Congolese society which exacerbated insecurity in the country just like in the Delta region of the Niger. As they circulated, great damage resulted thereof (Duquet, 2011: 138-139).

<sup>471</sup> in all the eastern provinces of the DRC where illicit small arms were smuggled, it has been a predicament to local population that is exposed to regular visitation by unidentified armed men in their homes in all the eastern cities in the country (Muggah, 2004: 25).

<sup>472</sup> In the perception of the media that labelled all Hutus as genociders, the general perception was that the overwhelming majority of refugees from Rwanda who lived in camps in eastern Zaire have all participated in the slaughter of Tutsi and moderate Hutus during the genocide in 1994 (Umutesi, 2004, xi).

<sup>473</sup> Deogracias Bugera, Andre Kiasu Ngandu, Masasu Nindaga and Laurent Desire Kabila (Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>474</sup> Translated as Alliance of Democratic Forces for Liberation.

<sup>475</sup> Child soldiers were used in all the armies that were involved in rebellious activities against governments that were known to be legitimate, until proven otherwise (Wessells, 2005: 13; Van Reybrouck, 2014)

from Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, Eritrea and other countries in the invasion of Zaire<sup>476</sup>. The deadly machine was set in motion from what seemed to be like an insurgency of the Banyamulenge who reacted to political propaganda that envisioned their extinction turned to be a rebellion that captured the three towns<sup>477</sup> in the Eastern Zaire in less than a week. The disguised face of the Rwandese Patriotic Army (PRA) was uncovered as Rwandese soldiers dismantled the refugee camps in both Kivu provinces, killed Hutus refugees in thousands and forced other to return to Rwanda<sup>478</sup>. The Rwandese soldiers in front line facing defenceless Hutu population of refugees made of women and children committed gross violation of human rights in killing refugees and burning their tents<sup>479</sup>. At that moment, the Zairean soldiers took leave and left the terrain to a terrorising mob of vindictive soldiers from Rwanda and elsewhere. Refugees were followed in villages and were massacred in place. Those who fled northward towards Kisangani were followed by the Rwandese army under the banner of the AFDL. Up in the Oriental province, Rwandese refugees were chased up by the RPA under the camouflage of the AFDL and were there again massacred. The Rwandese soldiers mounted a trap where they organised quick point of assembly of refugees who came from the forest; they set up camps and managed to regroup them. After barring entry to the press and other plausible foreign observers, the camps were surrounded by the military and once again refugees were butchered, this time not with the guns but with machettes and hammers and the Tingi-Tingi massacre was thus committed<sup>480</sup>.

### ***The Defeat of Mobutu***

The AFDL continued its progression to the rest of the country sweeping town after town. As they neared Kinshasa, Mobutu fled to his residence in Gbadolite in May 1997 from where he fled to Morocco where he died. In many towns, the Kadogos did not have to put on a serious fight except to walk in. people tired of Mobutu made it easy and this led them to claim victory over a

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<sup>476</sup> (Olson and Fors, 2004, Lemarchand, 1997, Lemarchand, 2012).

<sup>477</sup> Bukavu, Uvira and Goma.

<sup>478</sup> The refugee camps in eastern Zaire having been pointed at to be a hot spot of the Interahamwe militias and harbouring former security forces of Rwanda were the prime board targets of the AFDL behind which Rwanda was hiding its bloody enterprise (Jacobson, 1999:3; Emizet, 2000: 164; Umutesi, 2004).

<sup>479</sup> (Jacobson, 1999).

<sup>480</sup> (Van Reybrouk, 2014, Umutesi, 2004).

large territory, thus within seven to eight months the entire country fell in the mercenaries hands. With the fall of Kinshasa, Laurent Desire Kabila, a spokesman of the AFDL, held a press conference and proclaimed himself head of the new state that he renamed the country “The Democratic Republic of Congo” and was sworn in on May 29, 1997. That was the beginning of another republic in the history of the Congo.

### ***The Third Republic: the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).***

#### ***Laurent Desire Kabila President***

As soon as President Kabila was sworn, swiftly a terrific change was launched in almost all the areas of life. Policemen, teachers, civil servants, soldiers, etc started to receive their pay again and inflation carried over from Mobutu’s era was brought down<sup>481</sup>. The revenue found the way to the National Bank instead of getting into some individual pockets. Rigorous discipline was enforced in people’s mores and the Kadogos applied the whip<sup>482</sup> to those who broke the law. Within a year a new currency saw the day; the Franc Congolais replaced the Nouveau Zaire and was unanimously accepted in the country; a new constitution was drafted. However, the power remained concentrated in the hands of the army<sup>483</sup>. Difficult for people to swallow the fact that the liberators were a coalition of mercenaries who now become legitimate rulers within the AFDL. Rwanda still have an upper hand on the internal affairs by means of leaders of the alliance<sup>484</sup>.

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<sup>481</sup> (Emizet, 1997).

<sup>482</sup> The chicotte system of the leopoldian era that was continued by the mattraque during the Mobutu era was revived again by the Kadogos of the AFDL (Deak, 2013:2).

<sup>483</sup> Congo was continuing the Khakistocracy that Mobutu embodied from CFS Force Publique. Though Leopold II was ruling the CFS from Belgium, what applied his dictates was the guns in possession of the Force Publique. The colonial period also used the very unit and successive government to date are all heavily militarised. This is explained by a culture of terror that has reigned over the country typified by disappearances (Trefon, 2011:112).

<sup>484</sup> (Olson and Fors, 2004).



### ***Continued Dictatorship***

The government in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Republic became more authoritarian than even during the time of Mobutu. The ‘chicotte’ was continued by the new rulers. The democracy pronounced by the CNS and its resolutions became obsolete<sup>485</sup> as Kabila captured the legislative, the executive, the judiciary as well as the administration and held the powers in his hands inside AFDL<sup>486</sup>. The country was not far from a one state party by the outlook of things. The AFDL acquired whatever it needed under the pretense of the war effort. It was not impossible to find signs such as “Occupied-AFDL” on buildings wherever possible. Government cabinets were polarised with Katangais<sup>487</sup> and political exiles. The tribalism, clientelism and favouritism of the former republic were thus revived by the AFDL<sup>488</sup>.

### ***The lack of a sound policy***

The new government seemed to be lacking policy in many regards as diplomatic ties with number of countries were severed; Kiswahili and Kinyarwanda became the official language for the officers and soldiers in the army<sup>489</sup>. The new militaries revived the justice of the victor<sup>490</sup> as seen in Rwanda and during the massacre of refugees in Tingi-Tingi. The new structures were not different from the Mobutu’s era and violence was present on the daily basis. Physical violence by means of lashes inflicted on offenders of the law on their stomach with no remorse as to whether they will not suffer in internal bleeding after all<sup>491</sup>. The population became very annoyed by the treatment received at the hands of the Rwandese soldiers. Soon Kabila announced the departure

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<sup>485</sup> The CNS was voted as a supreme organ of the nation. It had powers to appoint ministers and other officials. This is how Etienne Tschisekedi came to be a prime minister before he was sacked by Mobutu (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>486</sup> Centralisation of power leads to dictatorship and a system of clientelism and patrimonialism (Bayart, 1999)

<sup>487</sup> Congolese from the Katanga Province. Congo bore similarities with the rule of former President Juvenal Habyarimana whose surrounding and clients were said to be of Hutu Northern provinces of Rwanda and from Gisenyi, epitomised by the term ‘Akazu’ or the little house (Reyntjens, 1996; Reyntjens, 2009).

<sup>488</sup> (Bayart, 1999; Yong and Turner, 2013).

<sup>489</sup> Congolese always refer to that army as the one of Rwandophones (people speaking Kinyarwanda) (Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>490</sup> (Reyntjens, 2009).

<sup>491</sup> Human right abuses were normalised by what the soldiers called ‘giving the morale’ to the Congolese who were perceived to be stubborn and stupid. To the military, the only way of changing their mentality was through flogging their stomachs (Reyntjens, 1999: 245, Emizet, 2000).

of the Rwandese who came in as a support to the efforts of the liberation war. The Congo was too good, too nice and too profitable for Rwanda and Uganda who were the only countries with troops present in the DRC to leave it just like that. A land that has been owned by a remote and absentee King directing affairs of the country from his Brussel headquarters where rusted decisions and policies, out of context, were applied on guinea pigs or a people that was pawned in 'the imperialist game of monopoly'. They have never been enough human being to be left alone to oversee their own destiny. Drawing from the puzzles of Congolese history, President Kagame of Rwanda and President Museveni of Uganda planned and re-launched in conjunction the second war in August 1998<sup>492</sup>.

### ***The Second War: The African war***

Once troops of both countries reach their respective home countries, they turned back and went on the quest to oust President Kabila. James Kabarebe<sup>493</sup> was once again in the driving seat just like during the first war. He unde-estimated the cost of this second war having allusion to the first war. He managed to hijack a plane in Goma and forced the pilot to fly towards the far West where he landed in Kitona. Calculus show that it was easy to put in place and move a huge army with little logistic. All they needed was the moral promise of a better tomorrow once the objective is achieved. All they ate was corn and sugar beans, dressed in gum boots like farmers plus a Kalashnikov<sup>494</sup> with ammunition. However this time, it was a miscalculation as no one predicted what was soon to follow. The war was to take a continental implication. Kabarebe succeed in seizing and controlling the towns of Kitona, Boma and Matadi in no time having been the chief of staff of the AFDL he understood the strength and weaknesses thereof. He moved more inside towards Kinshasa when Kabila cried to his allies from Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia who came to his rescue. In few days the allies recaptured the lost cities and neutralised the army led by Kabarebe. Chad added on the support, Libya and Sudan also came in to help

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<sup>492</sup> (Clark, 2000: 146).

<sup>493</sup> (Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>494</sup> AK 47.

Kabila<sup>495</sup>. This second war came to be known as the Great African War<sup>496</sup> should the stakes not remain purely economic, it was about to produce a continental catastrophe. Having achieved the object of their quest, the forces and powers behind the scenes made it such as it was not in the media<sup>497</sup>, unlike the first one. Greed and grievances were common denominator unlike the first war that can be justified by grievance on the insurgents' sides and greed from Mobutu's sides. The Second war stood as a landmark in the history of the woes of the Congo as it presented to aggressors the opportunities to do what they are known to be best at: looting of public revenues; rape of kids, women and grand-mothers; pillage of resources by neighbouring Rwanda and Uganda who did not hide anymore their deadly greedy motives<sup>498</sup>.

### ***Failure of the Second War***

With Kabarebe failing to capture the West, in the Eastern side, the occupation of the Congo was masqueraded this time by the bogus facade of a Congolese rebel movement known as the Rassemblement Congolais pour la Democracy (RCD)<sup>499</sup> with Professor Wamba dia Wamba as head of the movement. RCD was another farce just like it has been with the AFDL. A Congolese skin inside Rwandese, Ugandan and Burundian moving soldiers and officials<sup>500</sup>. Their soldiers wore Rwandese army uniform and boots animated with the primary concern of pillaging the Congolese resources such as timber, gold, coltan, tin plus other minerals available in the Eastern Congo<sup>501</sup>. Fiscal revenues were taken to Rwanda with Rwandese tanks stationed in the Congo and Rwandese army patrolling to suppress any attempt of insurgency and keep the locals under

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<sup>495</sup> Coalitions of African armies came to rescue President Kabila and the war took a continental outlook involving on one hand countries which supported the Kabila's government on one hand (Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia, Chad, Libya, and countries behind the rebellion on the other (Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda) (Prunier, 2004; Reyntjens, 1999).

<sup>496</sup> (Prunier, 2008).

<sup>497</sup> (Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>498</sup> (Emizet, 2000, Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Olson and Fors, 2004).

<sup>499</sup> Congolese Rally for Democracy.

<sup>500</sup> (Reyntjens, 1999).

<sup>501</sup> The mining sector having been officially left to the hands of foreign exploiters in Katanga, the only place on the eastern line remained the North and South-Kivu where the international businessmen under the banner of multinational Corporations are in serious quest of coltan which is the primary mineral in need for the making of electronic devices and machines in use in the modern world (Van Reybrouck, 2014; Reyntjens, 1999).

control<sup>502</sup>. Profiting from the failure of the state from Mobutu's era, the porous nature of the borders with Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi, the second war found it rationale in the abundance of raw material in demand on the world market, the availability of small arms, the growth of ethnic tensions and the militarisation of the economy by the easy access to small arms. Congo was then mapped in three major zones. The West was under Kabila's control and comprised the province of Bandundu, Bas –Congo, Western Kasai and part of Katanga whereas the Oriental Province, North-Kivu, South-Kivu and Maniema fell under the control of Rwanda and Uganda. Later with the departure of Chad, the Movement pour la Liberation du Congo (MNC)<sup>503</sup> of Jean-Pierre Bemba took over the province of equator.

### ***The reinforcement of a culture of violence***

The tenets of the new occupants were kidnapping, setting of scores, disappearances and a notorious lawlessness as Rwanda took over all the services such as intelligence, customs, the revenue office, etc. people died in thousands again by starvation, malnutrition, malaria and other diseases<sup>504</sup>. A reign of terror took place in order to control the plunder of resources as government troops were absent totally from the east except at some point in the countryside where the Mai-Mai<sup>505</sup> stood in place for the government troops unofficially. The so called war and the war in general in the Congo became a matter of looting, profiteering and amassing easily collected wealth by foreign armies<sup>506</sup>. The balkanisation of the Congolese maps caused the great power to force the actors in the second war to seek a peaceful resolution of their crisis<sup>507</sup>. This led to the negotiation in Zambia and the signing of the Lusaka peace accord in 1999<sup>508</sup>. It

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<sup>502</sup> (Van Reybrouk, 2014).

<sup>503</sup> Movement for liberation of the Congo.

<sup>504</sup> The warfare techniques the Rwandese patriotic Army used in the guerilla warfare in the northern provinces of Rwanda, notably Byumba and Ruhengeri, as they were pushing to topple the government in Kigali in the early 1990s, the means of terrorising and taming those who fell under their control were the same used in the DRC (Umutesi, 2004; Emizet, 2000).

<sup>505</sup> One of the oldest and notorious militia in the Eastern Congo.

<sup>506</sup> The second War in the Congo during President Laurent D. Kabila was not a matter of greed or grievance but a quest for making money, looting resources of the Congo that gave birth to lucrative war (Reyntjens, F. (2001; Van Reybrouk, 2014).

<sup>507</sup> US, France, Great Britain, etc. (Emizet, 1997).

<sup>508</sup> (Reyntjens, 2001).

stipulated that foreign troops were to leave the Congo as the UN was to send in Blue Helmet troops for peace keeping and the preparation of a transition<sup>509</sup>.

### ***The changing of the face of The Second War***

The war entered into another phase, a second phase. Motives for warfare changed with the signing of the Lusaka protocol. The Rwandese and the Ugandan armies stopped their quest to dethrone President Kabila. They capitalised on plundering the Congolese raw materials resources giving to the war an economic facet owing to their possession of seemingly superior military equipment. The Rwandese and Ugandan troops fought to seize Kisangani that had turned to be a centre for trading diamonds. For several occasions, guns battle ensued as both intruders fought to take leadership and control of the capital of the Oriental Province. Violent armed conflicts tore the beautiful city built on both banks of the Congo river<sup>510</sup>. The foreign armies fighting on the Congolese soil created a crisis as they destroyed buildings, killed hundreds of people and injured others. In all the wars that took place on the Congolese soil, particularly from 1997, gross violation of human rights, rape as a weapon of war, pillaging, kidnapping, burning of houses and even villages came to be major characteristics and clothed the second war with its true suit of an African proxy war.

### ***The deadly affects of the war: King Leopold's ghost revived in the DRC***

<sup>511</sup>. The legacy of the second war espoused the ones from previous violence from the CFS to the Kabilas' regime wars through the colonial and Mobutu's rule of centralised dictatorship. The population suffered acute depression that swept the entire population in the Eastern Congo, like a shock wave, causing persisting trauma from rape and sexual mutilation exercised on any moving

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<sup>509</sup> This was the second mission of the United Nations in the Congo after the 1961-1965 that came on demand of the Lumumba's government in the quest of helping restore order and stability in the early 1960s (Hoskyns, 1965; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>510</sup> The one-day war (August, 1999); the three-day war (May, 2000) and the six-day war (June, 2000). Following the disagreement between Rwanda and Uganda, the RCD also was divided into two factions, one pro Rwanda with the RCD-Goma under Emile Ilunga who ceded place to Azarias Ruberwa and the RCD-Kisangani under Wamba dia Wamba and later Mbusa Nyamwisi known also as RCD –ML for movement de liberation. Later Bemba MLC joined forces with RCD-Kisangani (Van Reybrouck, 2014, Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>511</sup> (Reyntjens, 1999).

female in the sight of the Rwandese soldiers. Women were forced to bear children from rape at gunpoint by foreign soldiers. This state of things exacerbated pain and suffering among the Congolese women in the Eastern DRC<sup>512</sup>. Post-traumatic stress became a daily reality among women in general who committed suicide in the face of a situation that remained stronger than they could bear and for which they had no way out. The justice of the victor gave rise to oppression on a daily basis in the women's survival as the Rwandese and Ugandan soldier would raid villages and rural communities to re-rape their victims<sup>513</sup>. Hellish guns, hellish soldiers dressed in stinking gum boots and wearing deadly and bloody camouflage uniform. What Leopold II did to the Congolese, foreign troops from Rwanda and Uganda have repeatedly done too. <sup>514</sup>Rwandese and Ugandan troops oscillated between pillaging and raping and killing innocent civilians as per the new wars rationale<sup>515</sup>. They brutally cleared forests and send to their respective homes timber; they employed themselves in killing elephants and rhinos for their tasks, they looted and seized all types of minerals from poor artisanal miners, particularly in the villages and forest of the Oriental province, they used men and women as porters and when they needed no more their services, they would turn and rape them. Those who survived were either sexually mutilated or simply murdered.

### ***The bitter fruits of state failure***

The syndrome of state weakness, state dysfunctionality and state failure<sup>516</sup> brought more calamities to the population, particularly with foreign demons from neighbouring Rwanda and Uganda who developed an economy of pillaging, rent seeking and forced labour<sup>517</sup>. They established an informal chain of production and supply to the Lebanese who had established selling post to collect minerals. The soldiers could directly send parcels to their superior army

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<sup>512</sup> (Conrad, 1903).

<sup>513</sup> (Umutesi, 2004).

<sup>514</sup> (Hoschild, 1999).

<sup>515</sup> (Hoffman, 2007: 17; Kaldor, 2013).

<sup>516</sup> (Ottaway, 2006).

<sup>517</sup> (Hoschild, 1999).

officials who passed on the other side of the border to Kigali and Kampala<sup>518</sup>. Tea, coffee, tropical hardwood and even the fiscal revenue took the road to Rwanda and were incorporated in the wheels of the Rwandese economy. But of most importance was the forceful exploitation and pillage of coltan<sup>519</sup> by Rwanda in the provinces of Kivu. Coltan is commonly used in mobile phones and computers. The global economy also played a part in the eastern Congo pillage of raw material. For one to sell globally, a chain of intermediaries is required to be organised. This includes governments and multinational companies<sup>520</sup>. Tragically, stolen natural goods from the Congo such as gold, diamond, timber or solid tropical wood, coltan, coffee, tea, fruits and other natural resources or otherwise elephant and rhino tusks that were looted and taken to the world market following jungle ways and jungle landing grounds for little porter are tinted and will remain so with blood, sweat, and even cries and tears of women, ashes of Congolese village burnt houses etc. the violence could stretch and protract for the involvement of many actors. Military officials, businessmen both local and international, small scale industrialists, merchants, renters, diggers alike transporters, became all involved in the violent economic daily routine. Congo was turned into a boiling pot where blood, sweat, rape, money, guns and gum boots contributed to the exacerbation of the civilians suffering<sup>521</sup>. The Congo wars were designed and set in motion in the West for politico-economic reasons. They use violence and terror as means to achieve economic goals. They are fought by foreign armies and mercenaries on Congolese in this global age. The militarised criminal economy that took place in Congo became a violent relay race where passes went from the unclean to the dirty hands of violent terrorists such Bosco Ntaganda, Laurent Nkunda, Masasu Nindaga and others whose troops terrorised, raped and tortured innocent civilians for pleasure and money making. They used child soldiers taking advantage of their malleability and ignorance of true meaning of life. This state of things carried

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<sup>518</sup> In 1999, the exports in gold in Uganda amounted to USD 90 to 95 million and to 29 million in Rwanda knowing well that there are not really deposits of such mineral in both countries (Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>519</sup> Coltan also known as Colombo-tantalite was in demand in the early 2000 given its derivative value in niobium for the production of stainless steel and the tantalum for its faculty of high melting point used in the manufacturing of cellular phones, computers, electronic equipment and also used in the aerospace industry except from Australia, the remaining world reserves are in the DRC (Hayes and Burger, 2003: 26).

<sup>520</sup> (Ottaway, 2006).

<sup>521</sup> (Emizet, 2000, 186; Young and Turner, 2013).

on for over a decade where the population was pawned in the violent war economy that settled in the Eastern Congo.

The turning point came with the assassination of President Laurent Desire Kabila. Even though his assassination can be justified by several political reasons, the South-East bilateral and multilateral cooperation suits the conspiracy theory. Kabila having entered a deal with China for mineral exploitation in exchange of development in various domains in the the Congo<sup>522</sup>. Granting China such contract entailed the monopoly over all the raw material that are used in the conception and manufacturing of modern technology. Just like Belgium had an upper hand to exploit and take home the minerals of Congo during the colonial era which led him to selling uranium to the USA and the fabrication of atomic bomb that was dropped on the towns of Hiroshima and Nagasaki during the second World War<sup>523</sup>, China was going to exert more benefit that would lead to topple the United States in the domination of the world.

### ***The death of Laurent D. Kabila and the political troubles of the DRC***

This is a plausible reason why Kabila presented a danger to the West hegemony on the world scene. The Assassination of Kabila and the quick calling in for his son to take over the presidency in the Congo called for a relative peace for the young leader to be able to find balance in a troubled country. The West initiated peace talks that led to the 1+4<sup>524</sup> formula born out of the negotiations between warring factions in the DRC in the quest of a peaceful transition. Rwanda and Uganda were to withdraw their troops as well as their militias from the Congo and a huge contingent of Blue Helmets was to be deployed in the Congo. The United Nations Mission for the Congo was to be the largest ever existing Peace Keeping force but also the most

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<sup>522</sup> With China having hand on uranium mines, an imminent danger in the race to the world military supremacy was signalled and that was unacceptable. The fear a the only power that challenges the US in this global age appeared to be a threat in retrospect of the events of the past during World War II were uranium purchased from the Congo led to the Japanese catastrophe (Poolos, 2008: 99).

<sup>523</sup> The bomb dropped on the town of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was made from uranium mined in the Congo (Fleckner, and Avery 2011).

<sup>524</sup> Peace talks were held in Gaborone (August 2001), Sun City (April 2002), Pretoria (July 2002), Luanda (September 2002), Gbadolite (December 2002) to finally return to Pretoria (December 2002); Joseph Kabila was to be heading the country, seconded by four Vice-Presidents who were Jean-Pierre Bemba, Azarias Ruberwa, Abdoulaye Yerodia Ndombasi and Arthur Z'Ahidi Ngoma (Van Reybrouck, 2014).



expensive. This military force was to help in the operation of demobilising and disarming the ex-combatants<sup>525</sup>. On policy side, the transitional government was to be assisted by the Comité International d'Accompagnement à la Transition (CIAT)<sup>526</sup>. It is surprising that the 1+4 formula was quickly applied in the DRC to mean that there was no provision made by the Congolese Constitution in the event of the deceased of the Head of State. The transition did not fare well as the leaders had no clear policy to prepare the coming republic and were soon found to be involved in corruption just like during the time of Mobutu. They lacked good governance and were kept there symbolically. The transitional government failed to conduct a sound DDR as many militias were never identified and others were neglected and the warlord were promoted to upper position. Phenomenon which left issues hanging and which were to serve as triggers of more violence. The massive presence of Blue Helmets and their elephantine budget did not either help to curb violence on the Congolese soil, rather the country entered in to phase three of the war.

### ***The Third War***

The Easter Congo remained embroiled in more trouble and violence irrespective of the UN presence. This time it took a tribal connotation. Hema and Lendu in Ituri, Hutu and Tutsi in both Kivu. Once again Rwanda and Uganda did not leave totally the country but changed their political cards<sup>527</sup>. They used the tribal differences to fuel the violence in giving birth to young militias and training and supplying weapons in the Ituri. Bunia and other places succumbed to ethnic violence. Crime was revived by the presence of child soldiers with abundance of small arms smuggled across from Uganda and Rwanda<sup>528</sup>. In the Kivus, armed men of Rwandese

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<sup>525</sup> Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration (DDR) (Muggah, 2004; Kingma, Boshoff, 2007)

<sup>526</sup> International Committee for Transition Assistance (Ahamed, 2005).

<sup>527</sup> The war profit made by countries that aggressed the Congo and given the stakes of the Second War that took an intercontinental dimension, the African protagonists and foreign profiteers in the wars could not leave such a bloody lucrative enterprise. They capitalised on tribal-ethnic dormant conflicts that existed in the Congo and revived them to find a way to continue staying in the Congo while fuelling ethnic conflicts (Umutesi, 2004, Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002, Young and Turner, 2013, Reyntjens, 1999).

<sup>528</sup> The Congo conflict remains fuelled equally with the abundance of light weapons or small arms, from the 1994 massive influx of refugees in Zaire to the series of wars from Kabila to Kabila, encouraged by manufacturers,

warlords such as Laurent Nkunda, Mutebetsi terrorised the streets of Bukavu and the peri-urban areas in killing, looting and raping from babies to grand-mothers all ages confounded. In the countryside, no one was spared, as male and female were all raped without distinction. There was no difference between a new born or baby, a young girl or young boy, a grown up or elderly person. They were all raped, repeatedly and gang raped by the hordes of foreign demons incarnated in the troops from Rwanda under Mutebetsi and Nkunda's men. Rwanda still continued to send troops in the Kivus and tanks under the pretext of eradicating the Ex-FAR and Interahamwe militias. Rwanda remains a small country with a high density population. It could not be able to accommodate Tutsis who settled in the Congo long ago and resettle thousands of Hutus who have found refuge in the Congo. This situation existed before 1994 where the government in place was unable to welcome the refugees from Uganda and elsewhere<sup>529</sup>. The same sleeping monster woke up and shattered the county. It is not impossible that it will rise again and turn the country upside down as history may repeat itself. A relative calm returned to the eastern Congo with Nkunda's Congres National pour la Defense du Peuple (CNDP)<sup>530</sup> accepting his troops to be absorbed in the national army. The rebellion in the east has brought terrible sufferings to the population. Rape, extortion, murder, pillaging, gang rape, burning of houses and sweeping of villages by fire and other atrocities were norms during the armed conflicts that took place in that part of the country. It has been argued that from the days of the Force Publique during the Congo Free State, the country has never been able to put in place a strong security force that may resist foreign invasion.<sup>531</sup> Villages in general have been deserted due to insecurity, exacerbating the rural exodus. The Hutu refugees in the eastern Congo organised themselves into the Force Democratiques de Liberation du Rwanda (FDLR)<sup>532</sup>. Towns

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vendors and users, proliferated by the aggression of the Congo by Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda which remain gateways of small arms that terrorise the Congolese population (Muchai, 2002).

<sup>529</sup> The proof can be seen through history where all foreign invasions of the Congo have been resolved by a UN force and the MONUSCO being a clear example, a second UN mission from ONUC. The largest UN contingent has been unable to stop rebellions and militias that mushroom every day in the Congo (Hoskyns, 1965, Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>530</sup> National Congress for People's Defense.

<sup>531</sup> From the days of the First Republic, all rebellions movements have been finished by an outside intervention, for example the Katanga Secession, the Rwandese invasion of 2008, etc. (Hochschils, 1999).

<sup>532</sup> Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda a force made up of former militaries of the Ex-President Juvenal Habyarimana and the Interahamwe militia plus voluntary recruits aiming at reconquering Rwanda. Their

are overpopulated against the lack of extensive agriculture culminating to lack of food. Transport and health problems are still pronging the east, irrespective of all governmental efforts.

### ***The 1+4 Formula***

After the 1+4 formula ended in a long transition, the people of the Congo once again dreamt of a return to normality. The election brought again President Joseph Kabila to power. There was a hope for consolidated peace and security and a return to proper education in the country. Perhaps the five building sites<sup>533</sup> were going to revive the development and bring prosperity to all Congolese. But surprisingly, the elections results announced allocated 45% to Joseph Kabila's PPRD<sup>534</sup> and 20% to Jean-Pierre Bemba's MLC<sup>535</sup>. Protests from Bemba's side led to an armed showdown between both camps which will resulted into the arrest of Bemba and his transfer to The Hague to face criminal charges during the post-election violence that claimed human lives and destroyed infrastructure on top of interrupting and defeating public order in the country. Joseph Kabila was sworn as the newly democratic elected president of Republic in December 2006.

### ***Joseph Kabila officially elected president of the DRC***

With Joseph Kabila on power, the trends remained visible and understandable; though the worldly powers talk of good governance today underpinned by a sound democracy and pluralism there are still Khakistocracies that are supported by the West in the Great Lakes region of Africa and all the efforts shown to the world to help Congo coming out of its various crises have left more damage than repair<sup>536</sup>. Congo remains a country that is weak, fragile and very dysfunctional. During the contemporary age, Congo has stepped back to square one from the days of the Berlin Conference and the ones of the Congo Free State of Leopold II. It remains a theatre of international businessmen, a market opened to the world leaders for business purpose

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combatants terrorized the Congolese population in the provinces of North and South-Kivu where they live in forests and from where they made raids in villages and looted and raped both male and female and burnt houses (Rafti and Anterpen, 2006).

<sup>533</sup> (Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>534</sup> People's Party for Reconstruction and Development.

<sup>535</sup> Congolese Liberation Movement.

<sup>536</sup> (Ottaway, 2006; Wallace *et al*, 2013).

at the expense of its population where human beings have been unclothed of any meaning of humanity.

### ***The configuration of the Congo during the Joseph Kabila's era***

The country continues to rely on foreign aid for development, there is no clear policy. Education, unemployment, health care are crippled. There are serious problems with water and electricity distribution<sup>537</sup>. The eastern part is still experiencing serious problem of notorious insecurity exacerbated by an ever increasing number of groups of armed militias. The borders are still porous. The country is dysfunctional; the state is continuing to show signs of failure. Fiscal revenue disappear into individuals pockets. Only the elite have access to finances and luxurious lifestyle riding exorbitant cars and living in mansions, etc. parliamentarians and cabinet ministers are paid exorbitant salaries but the people at grassroots are not seeing any change. There has been no developmental plan to rescue the populations, particularly those in the rural areas. Corruption, nepotism, clientelism and favouritism of the Mobutu era remain blatant<sup>538</sup>. From Prime Minister to Prime Minister, very much was the same. The revenue from mineral companies have not been able to change the lives of millions unlike in Botswana<sup>539</sup>. The justice system remained biased and blurred as to the duty that courts of laws were to perform; this explains a total absence of political accountability and political impunity. The development designed for the Congo by the international financial institutions has been unsuitable for the Congolese citizens being out of context and evolves within the cardinal points of market fundamentalism<sup>540</sup>. The open armed conflict seemed to be resolved with the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> war in the east but the change hoped for by the populations has not materialised; rather notorious insecurity in the provinces bordering Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi persist<sup>541</sup>.#

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<sup>537</sup> There is a permanent load shedding in the DRC especially for electricity. In some place that word does not exist and in some cities people are cut off electricity supply for days. Once the supply is restored, it does not last for more than 24 hours or the voltage is very low to see to the needs of the household (Trefon, 2004, Trefon, 2011).

<sup>538</sup> (Bayart, 2009; Young and Turner, 2013).

<sup>539</sup> (Taylor, 2005: 45).

<sup>540</sup> (Jeffries, 1993).

<sup>541</sup> (Zeilig, 2008).

## ***Concluding Summary***

The protracted armed conflict has claimed over 10 million of loss in human lives, a complete dismantling of the dying infrastructures and a serious decimation of human capital together with social capital<sup>542</sup>. Economies were militarised and entertained by wars. Congo remains a vestige of raped people in the eastern cities and countryside; land ruled by the nose of the firearm and the sound of heavy artillery<sup>543</sup> from foreign armies. Successive governments have not been able to eradicate this status quo owing to foreign interference<sup>544</sup>. The population remains poor and destitute as successive regimes enjoy wealth emanating from corruption, nepotism and patrimonialism. International aid had done very little as structures remain unchanged and the mentality of rulers unreformed<sup>545</sup>. At the end, Multinational Corporation with purely capitalistic ethic that took precedence over governance and policy as the country remained torn by a cocktail of violence. The current state of things and troubles of the Congo can be located in the violence ignited by King Léopold II in his feverish quest of securing a colony at all costs. The following chapter turns to the present and discusses the findings from the fieldwork

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<sup>542</sup> Murder of high profiles individuals in all the sphere of the Congolese society; priests, businessmen, local authorities, influential politicians and human right activists, teachers, professors, governors, students, etc. (Rafti, 2006).

<sup>543</sup> The millions of small arms brought in Congo by the massive flux of Rwandese refugees were not all surrendered to the local authorities owing to a proper mechanism of control (Muchai, 2002).

<sup>544</sup> The Cold War with the disturbance of the Lumuba's government, then the interference by France, Belgium and the US, then Rwanda, Uganda, etc. (Hochschild, 1999; Young and Turner, 2013; Emizet, 2000; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>545</sup> (Trefon, 2011).

## CHAPTER FOUR - DATA PRESENTATION

### Introduction

During fieldwork in the Democratic Republic of Congo, data was collected in three main areas where research centres are located as well as their immediate surroundings. The concerned research institutions are the Centre for Research in Natural Sciences (CRNS) in Lwiro, the National Institute for Agronomic Research (NIAR) in Mulungu as well as the Fomulac medical centre in Katana (FOMULAC-KATANA).

### *Centre for Research in Natural Sciences<sup>546</sup> (CRNS)/Lwiro*

#### *Presentation and Location of the research Centre*

Lwiro is located in the Democratic Republic of Congo in the South-Kivu Province in the territory (District) of Kabare, location of Bughore in the locality of Malanga. It is surrounded by several localities such as Cegera, Maziba, Buloli, and Kahungu. It is located 7 kms from Lake Kivu and is 45-50 kms from the town of Bukavu on the national road Bukavu-Goma. The centre stretches over a very vast area where it has facilities such as laboratories, offices, houses of researchers and workers as well as its other several agents, a maternity hospital, a pediatric centre, fields used in the cultivation for subsistence farming and commercial farming, as well as fish ponds for breeding and production of fish.

Geographically speaking, the CRNS is situated at an altitude of 1500m, 22°55' East longitude and 20°15' Latitude South. The region is essentially of savanna, covered with trees in certain places where also fruit trees are planted. The climate is humid owing to the high altitude with an average of 20°C and more than 1600mm of rain that stretches from September to May which constitutes the rainy season up aside the dry season that spans from June to August. However, owing to climate change<sup>547</sup>, a phenomenon that is known today globally, Lwiro has been experiencing climate and seasonal perturbations that researchers are busy studying the causes

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<sup>546</sup> Centre de Recherche en Sciences Naturelles (CRSN) is the current name under which the centre operates.

<sup>547</sup> The rise in temperature globally owing to manmade works that result in greenhouse gas, carbon emission, etc. (Paterson, 1996; Giddens, 2009; Vitousek, 1994).

and that is also disturbing the cultivation of certain crops in the area. The Bughore region where Lwiro is drained by important waterways that end their course in Kivu Lake. It is bordered in the north by the Kabindi River, the south by the Lwiro River. Its eastern side is limited by a vast wetland covered by sugar cane, a little bit further from Lake Kivu. The west side of Lwiro is the national Park of Kahuzi-Biega (NPKB)<sup>548</sup>. Its natural situation, geography and climate make Lwiro to be one of the beautiful places in the Eastern DRC.

### ***History of the research centre***

The CRNS Lwiro is an offshoot of The Institute for Scientific Research in Central Africa<sup>549</sup> (ISRCA). It was created by Belgian ministerial law on July, the 1<sup>st</sup>, 1947. Currently Centre for Research in Natural Sciences (CRNS) was founded in 1947 by Prince Charles of Belgium. From its creation, the centre had the objective to initiate, promote, realize and coordinate particularly in the Belgian Congo and Rwanda-Urundi the studies in human and natural sciences in order to achieve its social objective. The ISRCA benefited from subsidies from the Belgian government of 200 million Belgian Francs such as recorded in the great book of the public debt at a rate of 4% from a Belgian bank will was bringing in an annually revenue of 8 million of Belgian Francs to the very bank. It had its headquarters in Brussels and the core domain of research was botanic, physical and human. Research was conducted in five centres: Elisabethville<sup>550</sup>, Uvira and Lwiro in the South-Kivu province<sup>551</sup>, Mobali in Equator province, and Astrid<sup>552</sup> in Rwanda, to which could be associated many stations disseminated in Congo and Rwanda-Urundi. In 1951, the centre of Lwiro was created and in 1954 the one in Mobali in the province of Equator was created and the one in Elisabethville. When the Congo was granted independence from Belgium, the ISRCA became by default a Congolese institution and lost subsidies from the Belgian

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<sup>548</sup> Park Nationalde Kahuzi-Biega is one among the major national parks in the Congo where the mountain gorilla has its habitat.

<sup>549</sup> Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale (IRSAC) is the old name of the centre. In the Central Africa region it played a very important role from the colonial and post-colonial period until the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in research matters.

<sup>550</sup> Current city of Lubumbashi.

<sup>551</sup> Before the balkanisation of the Kivu province into three provinces namely South-Kivu, North-Kivu and Maniema, the province was known as Kivu.

<sup>552</sup> Current city of Butare.

government as well as all its assets in Brussels. The centre in Astrid<sup>553</sup> was attached to the University of Rwanda just like the one in Elisabethville fell prey to the secession of Katanga became integrated as part of the University of Congo in 1966. In 1975, this research institution was renamed Lwiro Centre within the Institute for Scientific Research (ISR) in October 1975 and undertook activities that were formerly undertaken by four of the organizations<sup>554</sup>. Seeing that the National Institute for Research in Lwiro was geographically limited to the areas such as Lwiro, Uvira and Mabali in the areas like natural research in sciences, geophysics, biology, national heritage as well as the archives relating to the very disciplines, the researches in human sciences were transferred in Kinshasa, the capital city, within the bigger Human Sciences Research Centre (HSRC). The Institute for Scientific Research thus had the objective of performing, promoting and coordinating research in the fields such as technical and industrial sciences on the entire republic.

In 1982, the centre of Lwiro changed the name and became the Centre for Research in Natural Sciences (CRNS) to become again autonomous. It took back the centres of Uvira and Mobali as its satellite centres in 1991. In 1993, the CRNS lost the both Uvira and Mabali that became autonomous centres.

The mission of the centre<sup>555</sup>The mission of the CRNS is to conduct fundamental and applied research on animals, plants, soil and water on the entire Democratic Republic of Congo in such a way to promote, achieve and coordinate studies in the fields of human and natural sciences.

### ***Organization of the centre***

The CRNS is managed by a Management Committee made of a Director General, a Scientific Director as well as an Administrator of Finances. It uses 813 active agents among which 102 researchers. The centre organizes its activities around five Departments:

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<sup>553</sup> The City of Butare in Rwanda.

<sup>554</sup> National Office of Research and Development (NORD); the Institute for Scientific Research in Central Africa (ISRCA); the Centre for Industrial Research in Central Africa (CIRCA) and the National Institute for Statistics (NIS).

<sup>555</sup> Lwiro, Information generale (Lwiro general information).



1. Department of Biology
2. Department of Geography
3. Department of Documentation or Archives department
4. Department of nutrition
5. Department of environment

Within the five departments, there are many research projects that involve researcher as well as technicians.

### ***The Department of Biology***

The Biology Department performs researches on animal, plants as well as the water. It houses many laboratories such as mammalogy, ornithology, parasitology, herpetology, malacology, limnology, etc. Besides the different branches within the department of Biology, this department has also a research extension in Irangi, some 110 kms west of Bukavu along the national road towards Kisangani. The Irangi extension receives researchers who are conducting field work in ecology. However it is in a very much dilapidated state, having been looted during the past wars, and it has been partly vandalized by the local population.

The CRNS in conjunction with the Congolese Institute for Nature Conservation (CINC) work together in the rehabilitation of primates in Lwiro where primates that were collected by the population during the armed violence are taken and rehabilitated by the CINC. This department also manages the inventory of animal and vegetal biodiversity for a sustainable conservation.

### ***The Department of Geophysics***

The Geophysics department is dealing with the study of geophysical phenomena of East-African Graben, particularly the volcanology in the region of the Virunga, the earthquake, the sliding of the ground on the entire area of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). It is subdivided into five sections: seismology, electro-technique, geodesy, climatology as well as the volcanology. In

the framework of seismologic surveillance, the department of Geophysics houses seismological research stations in Lwiro and Uvira.

### ***The Department of Archives of Documentation***

This department manages the archives of the CRNS. It comprises of three branches: the archives, the Museum as well as the Information. It disposes of a central library irrespective of the lack of user members or subscribers, which remains one of the biggest and richest in central Africa, even though it is confronted to issues of lack of purchase of books that are recently released as well as the absence of upgrading in the sense of modernity. This department disposes of facilities such as stores to keep the archives, a reading room with books; articles of periodic and scientific reviewed papers; 1451 various maps, various types of films, archives, artifacts, particularly antic artifacts; ethnographic films, etc.

### ***The Department of Nutrition***

It has the objective to study the issues of protein-energetic malnutrition of the child and the mother as well as the diseases connected to such issues such diarrhea, malaria, pulmonary infections (pneumopathy), HIV/AIDS, etc. Facilities such as the a laboratory for medical analysis; a pediatric hospital with 100 beds; nutritional centres dealing with the follow up of kids at home; a production food unit that is legally recognized in collaboration with local population in the view of fighting against malnutrition; a maternity plus a health centre legally recognized in collaboration with the local population as well as the reference hospital in the region in Miti and Murhesa.

All the activities are regrouped around four major sections namely:

1. Clinical Research
2. Primary healthcare and infantile maternity
3. The food security and development
4. Laboratory section.

The above sections under the Department of Nutrition, particularly the laboratory, have been home to the researches undertaken by the late Dr. Lurhuma who was working with Egyptian research in the quest for the discovery of the vaccine for HIV/AIDS in the 1980s<sup>556</sup>. The

Department of the Environment

The objectives of this Department is to understand the value of the degrading Congolese environment, i.e. forests, soils and water; preserve and protect the Congolese environment through training or information sessions; to conduct research in the environmental domain and thus share the findings with the society in the perspective of rational utilization as well as the promotion of the effort of local, regional and international utilization of the environment through a sustainable partnership.

This department is subdivided into three branches or section:

1. The special and terrestrial ecosystems
2. Aqua ecosystems
3. Socio-economic systems that deals with the relations between human activities and the environment.

### ***The importance of the centre***

The CRNS of Lwiro is a state institution that that employs over 800 people of diverse tribal and ethnic origins in Congo. Thus its personnel are made up of researchers, technicians and administrators, etc. who live in houses that belong to the centre with their families. The centre manages and intervenes in projects of agri-food production in accord with the population in its vicinity in the perspective of fighting against malnutrition. It also put at the disposal of the population reliable information to agricultural matter relating to seasonal periods of cultivation of various crops to avoid catastrophic results in yields.

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<sup>556</sup> The late Dr. Lurhuma was using Lwiro's facilities in the 1980s in the quest to find a cure for HIV/AIDS.

The importance of this centre is seen in its intervention in the healthcare of the population surrounding in the sense that it conducts studies relating to certain diseases that are decimating the population such as malaria, diarrhea, etc. It has a pediatric centre for the benefit of the population and conducts studies on antidotes (anti-venomous). The CRNS is the heart of the people's livelihood; it presents to inhabitants of Lwiro and those coming from further afield opportunities for jobs and building capacity among rural and peri-urban citizens. The medical and the scientific research centre raised awareness about HIV/AIDS. The fishponds in the area are another useful mean of helping workers who are underpaid in allowing them to earn petty cash in the production of fish through fish culture. Besides the research centre, Lwiro is a touristic attraction with its ecosystem with natural hot water, the primates zoo, and the Kahuzi-Biega National Park just nearby. When security is adequate, tourists as well as researchers spend quality time in the area.

On the other hand, the Centre for Integration and Education of Lwiro<sup>557</sup> (CIEL) that belongs to the CRNS is involved in training in Information Technology (IT), technicians and tour guides as well as the organization of trainings for the benefit of the surrounding population to raise awareness in various issues. The CRNS possess facilities for accommodation of visitors from all over the universe who are coming to conduct experimental researches in various domains. A Guest House is put at the disposition of visitors with modern conditions of lodging. The centre receives tourists who come to visit its important sites such the zoological and botanic garden, the library and the biodiversity hall, the National Park of Kahuzi-Biega (NPKB) in TShibati, the thermal waters, etc. The research centre in Lwiro was pillaged number of times and the extension in Tshibati was systematically looted consecutively by the combatants during the liberation war (first war) the second and the third war of occupation. It was vandalized and dilapidated in the sense that furniture was used as firewood, office equipment pillaged and animals and material for farming was taken. In between, the FDLR combatants made several raids and took for themselves animals, cheese and everything they could find around, included papers that they took to their headquarters in the interior of the Kahuzi-Biega National Park as they raided the

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<sup>557</sup> Le Centre d'Integration et d'Education de Lwiro (CIEL).

areas nearby the park. A minor resistance was set up against them at Lwiro research Centre but the presence of highly trained former militaries of the Rwandese Armed Forces (RAF)<sup>558</sup> gave no chance to amateur security force that was commissioned to protect the centre. Very quick the amateur forces of the Lwiro research centre was disarmed and dispersed during an attack but the coalition of the able bodied young people with the security prevented an accentuated vandalism. Mulungu is the next research centre where the researcher-collected data. It is an agricultural research centre that is of primary importance in the areas of agricultural and agronomic research, the production of seeds and foods that contributes very much to food security in the Kabare District<sup>559</sup>.

### ***The National Institute for Agronomic Research of Mulungu<sup>560</sup>***

The National Institute for Agronomic Research<sup>561</sup> (NIAR) was created in 1946 immediately after the Second World War. It is a vast domain that comprises among others, administrative buildings, workers' houses, green houses, laboratories, a big factory, and warehouses, for the management as well as lands that are used during field trials for experimental cultures. The centre is functioning under the Congolese ministry of Scientific research and it employs more than thirty researchers, who conduct research on maize, soya beans, banana, potatoes, sugar beans as well as on cassava.

### ***Mission of the agricultural research centre***

The main mission of NIAR is to promote agricultural scientific development in the DRC. As such, NIAR is in charge of the following:

1. The programmation, coordination as well as the follow up of agronomic research in the DRC, plus the evaluation of research outcome;
2. The conduct of all the studies, researches and applied agricultural experiments;

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<sup>558</sup> Forces Armees Rwandaises.

<sup>559</sup> Both the Bugore and Mulungu just like the Fomulac Katana are located in the district of kabare.

<sup>560</sup> This research Centre bears the name of the area where it is located.

<sup>561</sup> Institut national de la recherche agronomique (INRA).

3. Putting into place and availing means that assure a proper training of qualified researchers;
4. To inform the various interested actors such as the government, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), public organisations and other interested individuals in agriculture on the impact of the agricultural production;
5. To elaborate and put to work the various agreements entered into with the national and international agronomic research organisations.

### ***Objectives of the agricultural research centre***

The agricultural centre in Mulungu has the following objectives:

1. To manage, develop, adapt and then put at the disposal of agriculturalists improved genetic material that are highly performing and resistant to common diseases and parasites;
2. To put at the disposal of agriculturalists, training and technical information on the methods of production that are economically and environmentally viable;
3. Assure the supply of basic seeds and farming equipment for plantation and production that are adapted to several conditions of the area;
4. Reinforce by means of developmental research, the capacity to transfer and disseminate outcomes to the agricultural producers and breeders.

### ***Importance of the agricultural research centre***

The agricultural research centre of Mulungu is a very useful in the daily lives of the people who live in its direct vicinity, the ones in remote places, particularly those living in Bukavu and its suburbs. Its importance is justified by the enormous amount of research that it conducts in order to come up with seeds that are used by local, national and international actors who are involved in agriculture and breeding of animals.

From its own massive lands, the agricultural research centre runs projects of food production that are very key in addressing issues of food security in the district of Kabare, plus the villages surrounding. Foods produced in Mulungu are sold locally at very low prices and seeds produced

are bought by NGOs which redistribute them to peasants to help them produce for both subsistence and market consumption. Before the advent of wars and particularly in the early eighties, staples such as maize was cooked using industrial techniques in the factories belonging to the centre and was supplied to the cities and neighbouring markets where people did not need to cook anymore but could eat straight away. Cooked maize from NIAR was so popular that there were days of the week where the entire city expected mealies cooked from the agricultural centre. Students, workers as well as bystanders in the cities could eat and get back to their businesses with energy to continue with the daily business.

The centre employs research and administrative as well as technical personnel who in turn have thousands of people who profit from the support of the centre. Its projects in breeding help in supplying meat and milk seasonally. Just like the CRNS, it has built quarters for its workers and possesses lands that workers can further utilize in order to make extra cash that can supplement the meager salary they currently receiving from the government.

During the decade of bloody violence, the research centre in Mulungu has been systematically looted, pillaged, vandalized and crippled by armies that came from the AFDL coalition, particularly the Rwandese army, then the Interahamwe militias. Seeds, laboratories, cars and tractors have been taken by the combatants from Rwanda and even the harvest was reaped by very same troops from the 1996 War. The unfortunate fate suffered by the centre has contributed to its impoverishment and psychological alienation of those who depended directly from the business and activities of the centre<sup>562</sup>. Unlike the agricultural Research Centre, the medical centre in Katana was not pillaged and vandalized like other centre owing to its management by the Catholic Church, which is an organ following directly from the Vatican, so a powerful institution.

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<sup>562</sup> The mind of plundering has been a typical characteristics of Rwandese troops on the Congolese soil (Turner, 2007).

### ***The FOMULAC – KATANA Medical Centre***

The Fomulac Katana Hospital<sup>563</sup> is located some 55 kms from the city of Bukavu. It is a reference hospital in Katana that caters for the population within the area and surrounding, an estimated population of over 300 000 people. Currently, it has the capacity of 464 beds and the population that benefit from its services is essentially rural but there are patients that are coming from further afield, like from the city of Bukavu and surrounding, to seek medical attention<sup>564</sup>.

### ***Brief history of the centre***

The Fomulac hospital was created in 1928 by FOMULAC<sup>565</sup>, the hospital employs 143 people among whom 4 doctors, 60 nurses, 8 administrative agents as well as 70 people who are service providers in various areas. This hospital has laid foreground structure that played a vital role in the development of integrated primary healthcare as a reference hospital and has thus served as a model in the entire Central Africa region in the past. It has gone through over 80 years of a tough history over which other projects of vital importance to the population have been born and annexed to the hospital, these are integrated development activities in areas such as rural hydraulic, habitat, agricultural services as well as providing education to the rural population since 1975. Thus an Institute of Medical Techniques (IMT) that has been promoted to the Institute of Medical Teaching (IMT) plus a factory of manufacturing soap of renown quality have been annexed to the Hospital service provision. For over a decade, FOMULAC Belgium as well as the Belgian NGO<sup>566</sup> have been working in an autonomous manner to sustainably maintain the institution. In 2004 FOMMULAC Belgium ceded the institution to the Archidiocese de Bukavu<sup>567</sup> and ever since, the Catholic Church through the Archidiocese has been managing the entire site as its new owner.

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<sup>563</sup> 80 and du FOMULAC KATANA

<sup>564</sup> Some of the key roles played by the Fomulac hospital are pointed out by (Hendrix and Wery, 1990).

<sup>565</sup> Louvain's Medical Foundation in Central Africa has been a long term partner of the Fomulac medical centre.

<sup>566</sup> Louvain Cooperation au Developpement (Louvain Cooperation for Development).

<sup>567</sup> The higher Catholic Institution in Bukavu.



### ***Objectives and mission pursued by the centre***

The objective pursued by this institution is to cover the entire population in the Katana area by providing preventive and curative medical care within the national programme of primary healthcare, to fight endemic and epidemic diseases using structures of primary healthcare, the formation of medical and paramedic personnel; the epidemiological research on tropical medical issues as well as on the public healthcare methods.

To achieve its objectives, the centre relied on the partners such as Louvain cooperation au développement which is a Belgian NGO attached to the Louvain Catholic University (LCU) in Belgium created in 1981 under the name of ADRAI that became integrated part of the structures of the LCU, CEMUBAC, SIDI, the European Union, etc.

The mission of the Louvain cooperation au développement consisted of bettering in a sustainable manner the life and health of the poor, the excluded and the marginalized population but also to sustain initiatives for development of the economic and social management of the population of the South-Kivu by means of mobilization actions of the developed North.

### ***Areas are of focus and strategic programmes***

Health (physical and mental), accessibility to health, food and economic security by using strategic interventions whereby long term development, even in zones of crisis; sustained partnership with local organizations; the financial support accompanied with technical and methodological support and follow up.

### ***Health Programmes***

The centre focuses its activities on the five health districts namely Kadutu, Katana, Miti-Murhesa, Nyantende, Walungu in providing the following services:

- Support to primary health in a developmental dimension by establishing hospitals and sanitary deployment in accord with national health policies;
- The construction and rehabilitation of health infrastructures;
- Social activities such as the construction of the manufacturing of soaps within the social development framework;

- The additional three pilots programmes i.e. mental health, continued formation of doctors, support to stabilization of health personnel.
- Food and economic security programme Centreed in the territory of Kabare and Kalehe.
- The support to local dynamics in terms of follow up to local committees of development, mutual association of solidarity;
- Supports towards economic and communal development activities by mean of local funds to development;
- Local economic information (setting of internet/website);
- Support to rural entrepreneurship in providing micro-finances to the rural population with an advantage of support in counseling on management.

Both research centres in Lwiro and Mulungu were attacked, looted systematically and vandalized almost to the full extent. Luckily, the hospital of FOMULAC Katana that also a medical research centre did not experience the same fate. There were only isolated incidents such as armed robbery where men in military uniforms came in a given night and forced their way into the centre and at gun point took a sum of 1 million Congolese Francs, which then was an equivalent of slightly over 1000 USD. Other incidents included the Rwandese military bringing in their soldiers for treatment despite being an invading army. These incidents involved threats of violence against staff. A notorious incident was when a Rwandan officer named Mutebuse<sup>568</sup> was brought in. The incident commanded so much terror that the watchman and other members of the personnel on night duty were forced to run for their safety. Some went to hide in the ceiling and dwelt there until the squad left the place hours later after compelling nurses they found in the wards to save the lives of their combatants. Partly, the absence of the raids could be attributed to two phenomena, the first one being the management of the hospital by the Catholic Church from 2004, which presupposed a well-organized and secured institution but the most plausible hypothesis is the absence of lootable commodities<sup>569</sup>, that could have been of help to the Rwandese rebels, were not kept within the hospital. There was a very scant chance of finding

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<sup>568</sup> Field notes.

<sup>569</sup> Medicine and all medical equipment are kept outside the hospital. The pharmacy does not have a considerable stock that looters from Rwanda could target.

a consistent stock of medicines in a hospital that was near catholic convent and combatants from Rwanda would not take a chance of raiding a dwelling place of Catholic nuns for fear of being exposed by the Catholic state and its presence and influence worldwide<sup>570</sup>. Thus they brought their wounded soldiers to be directly treated on the spot. Another reason that explain the lack of raids on the FOMULAC KATANA centre was reported by , a hospital guard who was on duty performing night shift duty. He recalled the incident:

On a given night, the Rwandese rebels came to the hospital at night with a truck full of several poultry and livestock diverse animal looted from the villagers among them goats, cows, chickens, pigs and ships. It is not as if the combatants were hungry but there was a clear deliberate willingness of causing acute suffering to the Congolese population by the Rwandese fighters who used rape and sexual mutilation while looting and who ended up destroying crops and taking with them all the domestic animals found during their raids.

Looting, pillage and forced portorage came to be used in the Congolese wars and rebellions as a technique of triggering mass movements of population away from certain zones surrounding sites of mineral production or even better to allow rebels to occupy the land<sup>571</sup>. What discouraged people from bowing to the techniques utilized by soldiers from Rwanda, Uganda and other countries was the clear fact that they were not going to get arable lands wherever they would be forced to go. So better remain in place and resist by several possible means of escape. The more they were attacked with such deadly weapon, the more they developed survival techniques of not moving far away from their lands<sup>572</sup>. Thus the commercial centres of Katana, Mudaka, Kavumo,

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<sup>570</sup> The Vatican is a country with embassies in the world and it stretches across cities and villages in the RDC (Walsh, 1983).

<sup>571</sup> It can be said that the populations of the South Kivu was doomed to be internally displaced or exiled in neighboring countries or far countries in accord with the logic of new wars and in accordance with the quest for minerals, particularly coltan (Van Reybrouck, 2014, Turner, 2007; Montague, 2002; Le Billion, 2001)

<sup>572</sup> To cause a mass movement of people in the South-Kivu, all manners of evil were used on the populations, particularly in the rural areas that have been identified with potentialities of mineral resources mostly or key point for transit to Rwanda without much risk of exposure. Thus rape, mass rape, genital mutilation, dismemberment of human bodies, forced Rwanda in the quest for chasing people from their original locations. The Leopoldian techniques were revisited by the Rwandese troops and combatants in the province of South-Kivu. The kamanaga event could be identified with the very hypothesis (Hochschild, 1999; Emizet, 1997; Turner 2007)

Miti as well as the city of Bukavu came to be congested with internally displaced people (IDPs) who preferred to be close to their lands rather than being far away in foreign countries as true farmers will always strive and present a resiliency regarding the abandonment of their lands<sup>573</sup>. Thus, the data collected in the centres and communities in their vicinity presented above is first hand source of information, worth of validity in the various disciplines within the social sciences. The data was analysed after series of interviews and focus groups using ‘thematic analysis. Patterns analysed have yielded four major themes; (1) insecurity and instability, (2) peasant economy, (3) the role of the state and (4) the role of MONUSCO. The first central theme will be discussed immediately after data presentation in this chapter, whereas the other three central themes will be discussed separately each from the other in the following chapters.

### ***Background to the problems of insecurity and instability in the eastern Congo***

The reigning insecurity in present Congo is a fruit of processes where intricate socio-politico-economic events integrated to produce the state of things in the eastern of the DRC where innocent civilians came to be victimised. Without exaggerating, it can be said that the horrors experienced by the eastern RDC is the direct outcome of the 1994 spillover of the Rwandese genocide<sup>574</sup>.

From immemorial times, history has recorded the existence of three ethnic groups which lived in Rwanda; the Hutu of Bantu descent, the Tutsi of Niltotic descent as well as the Batwa or pygmies, considered to be the first nation in that country, having been living there before the migration that brought both Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda<sup>575</sup>. The colonizer manipulated, one after

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<sup>573</sup> The resilience of the people in the South-Kivu and probably in all the provinces of the DRC where Rwandese and Ugandan troops plus their militias have done atrocious acts of killing and dehumanizing have learnt from the lesson of the Rwandese genocide where people who fled their original villages and lost their livelihoods were confronted to pain, suffering and humiliation. To them it was better to endure it at home that to be eternal wanderers. The very idea helped resist in front of the most dreadful wild monster they ever faced as he embodied death without any bargain (Skjelsbæk, 2011; Pratt *et al.* 2004, Monaghan, 2013) .

<sup>574</sup> Prior to 1994, the DRC was a heaven of peace. The beginning of the armed conflict in Rwanda from 1990 has been the trigger of troubles in the Great lakes region of Africa with the culmination of the killing of thousands of people in Rwanda as the war reached it apex in 1994 (Reitjens, 1994; Umutesi, 2004; Reuveny, 2007; Le Pape, 2000).

<sup>575</sup> For an elaborated discussion on the birth of the kingdoms in Rwanda, see J. Vansina (2005).

the other, the Hutus and Tutsi in presenting Tutsis as an elite that was intelligent and therefore leaders of other groups and presented Hutus as faithful servants of Tutsis, ignoring completely the existence of the Batwa. The Tutsi elite thus ruled the country through a monarchy. Things changed just before the turn of the 1960s that saw the independence of majorities of countries in Africa. The major event was the war in Rwanda that started in 1990. What was seen as a forced return of Tutsi exiles of the 1959 Hutu Revolution in Rwanda took momentum year after year with a series of violent and horrible events in the Northern Rwanda by the military wing of the RPF<sup>576</sup>, the RPA<sup>577</sup> backed by Uganda. Series of killings of diverse forms going from rape, amputation of limbs that caused hemorrhage from which many people died on top of terror caused on the populations in Byumba and Ruhengeri to flee their homes so that rebels could occupy them. Peasants and city dwellers left behind their farms and livelihoods to seek refuge in other parts of the country. They were referred to as ‘Mpunzi’<sup>578</sup> and were destitute, vulnerable and exposed. Rwanda is a small country that survives on foreign aid. The only blessing that it can be said to possess is its location in the eastern border of the DRC where it shares part of the Kivu Lake and the Ruzizi River; the volcanic area near the Virunga National park. The advantage drawn from sharing the border with the Congo is the access to fishing and the exploitation of gas from the side of the Lake Kivu shared with the DRC. Besides these natural blessings, subsistence agriculture and commercial exchanges with other neighbouring countries such as Burundi, Tanzania and Uganda, Rwanda has got no other type of resource that can be used in the make-up of a strong economy and particularly to impose a strong presence on the world market.

Apart from the fact that the country is small, its demography is among the highest on the African continent. The above combined factors came to be a serious stumbling block to the peaceful return of exiles of the 1959 revolution. The shortage of a living space and poverty of the country,

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<sup>576</sup> Rwandese Patriotic Front is the political party of ex-refugees of Tutsi descent who were exiled in Uganda following the Hutu insurgency of 1959 ([Ruzibiza and Vidal, 2005](#)).

<sup>577</sup> Rwandese Patriotic Army is the armed wing of the Rwandese Patriotic Front that launched the first attack on Rwanda in 1990 in the attempt to topple the government of Habyarimana (Umutesi, 2004).

<sup>578</sup> ‘Mpunzi’ meaning a person who was forced to run away from death in the Rwandese language (Kinyarwanda). In modern English it could mean refugee or internally displaced person ([Ruzibiza and Vidal, 2005](#); Umutesi, 2004).

seemingly, would not be conducive to the return of millions of Tutsis exiled in several countries, Uganda having the majority of them in the region and where it became easy to form a politico-military opposition movement that was going to press on the late President Habyarimana's regime. Several fight ensued in the Ruhengeri and Byumba provinces where the RPA fought and was repelled by the legal army then, the Rwandese Armed Forces<sup>579</sup>. The violence and atrocities suffered by the civilians in both northern provinces of Rwanda, called for the intervention of the donors to force a negotiation between the two rival parties. Several talks were held in Arusha, Tanzania, where the international community sought a negotiation solution to the problem of the Rwandese crisis. After years of confrontation on the ground and negotiations on the table, a deal was struck in Arusha n 1993 with a roadmap that stipulated the sharing of power by the accommodation of the RPF politicians as well as the RPA in a government of transition that was set to follow the signature of peace agreement between the RPF and the Habyarimana's government<sup>580</sup>. While the country was in the process of putting into place structures to allow the transition, on the evening on April 6, 1994, the Presidential jet was shot with a rocket launched near his residence, in a vicinity of the airport. Two heads of states and the crew as well as other passengers died on the spot. The event triggered the civil war that ended up taking a million lives in about a hundred days. The advancement of the RPF backed by Uganda and the international powers that were seeking the Congo underground, gave victory to the RPA that succeeded in taking up Kigali and continued to push the government then out of the country<sup>581</sup>.

### ***Millions of refugees enter Zaire from Rwanda***

Operation Turquoise led by France helped to create a humanitarian corridor that led to a pouring of millions of refugees onto the Zairian territory from July 1994. That period signals the hiking of insecurity in Zaire that took an upward curve and continued hiking with the coming of the AFDL and the horrors that followed with several others different politico-military movements

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<sup>579</sup> Translated from French as Forces Armees Rwandaises (FAR), this army succeeded in repelling the attacks of the RPF with the help of bilateral military cooperation with France (Onana, 2014).

<sup>580</sup> The Arusha Peace Accords were to serve as security premises for the transition and post-transition period in Rwanda.

<sup>581</sup> The Falcon 50 (Onana, 2014).

that settled in the east of the DRC<sup>582</sup>. The entrance of an entire government system into Zaire was too much for a country sitting on the trestles of failure with an army that was ill-equipped, a corrupted bureaucracy encapsulated in a predatory system with millions of unemployed and civil servants with decades of unpaid salaries<sup>583</sup>. There was no strong mechanism of monitoring over a million people on several points of entry on the eastern line of the Zairian border:

The tragic death in 1994 of both Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi can be considered as the trigger of our troubles. Turquoise operation and massive refugee movements from Rwanda into Zaire. The AFDL liberation war and change of government with the DRC. Death of Desire Kabila by a sub-movement of the AFDL known as RCD led into a free fall into politico-administrative and military crisis that saw the proliferation of rebellious movements and there was a multiplication of militias up to today<sup>584</sup>. Citizens were subjected to a life of terror by the military that was not paid a living salary:

All started during the last years of President Mobutu when soldiers were using their guns to claim a salary from the civilians. They entered markets, public places where people were exchanging any forms of commodity against money a claim a share. Wherever they saw money, they claimed a share using their guns.

With the outpouring of millions of refugee from Rwanda came the proliferation of small arms in the country. A phenomenon that was so far not experienced by the regions, which triggered the worsening of the Congolese tragedy.

### ***The illicit arms and the proliferation of small arms***

The flooding of small arms onto Zairian soil was the beginning of the exacerbation of insecurity in the country<sup>585</sup>, and particularly in the eastern Congo: The Rwandese militias that entered the

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<sup>582</sup> A coalition of armies which aimed at ousting President Mobutu opened Zaire to a cocktail tragedy that has ravaged the country up to the present in the east ([Olsson and Fors 2004](#); Onana, 2009).

<sup>583</sup> (Emizet, 1997; Pongo, 1999).

<sup>584</sup> What started as a liberation war, ended up being a series of insurrection that turned into rebellions with atrocities of unimaginable magnitudes manipulated by a foreign hand in the DRC ([Olsson and Fors 2004](#); Onana, 2009; Turner, 2007; Nzongola-Mtalaja, 2002).

<sup>585</sup> Yes, there was insecurity in Zaire. But the citizens were still coping, as it was just a military related way of life in the economic crisis. The military would not point a gun or shoot someone but just by carrying a weapon, it sent a

eastern borders of Zaire were very lightly disarmed. There were points of confiscation of weapons but at times, particularly with the Operation Turquoise, it became difficult to disarm all those who entered Zaire. Thousands of small weapons and ammunition entered the country.

Congolese citizens interviewed revealed that the pick of the insecurity in the country is explained by the entry of illicit small arms that came to add on the ones used by the men in uniform:

Things started to change with the wars. The first war has opened a gate to numerous armed movements. It is from there that we started to see armed groups in our area who started to hurt people in various ways. Most of the violence we know today date from 1997 and is was gun related. The AFDL came from several neighbouring countries (Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi...) to Zaire with the liberation war where The AFDL dismantled the refugee camps and the combatants went into the forest from where they launched attacks on the local population. The AFDL & FDLR destroyed and burnt schools, hospitals and clinics. They used office furniture as firewood. They looted equipment, resources and all that had value in their eyes. They destroyed libraries and whatever fell on their hands. From 1998 to 2004 the AFDL, RCD, CNDP, FDLR led wars towards the civilians and militias such as MaiMai, Raia Mutomboki and other armed groups have seriously destabilized the Congolese population in the eastern DRC.

Many of them fell in the hands of criminals and the refugees also who smuggled their weapons also used them as a mean of livelihood<sup>586</sup>. Many Congolese point at the mass exodus of refugees from Rwanda in their country in 1994 as a catalyst to the problems of small arms proliferation in the country that caused a lot of suffering to the civilians. A teacher explains: To me it is from the war in Rwanda in 1994. Refugees came from Rwanda and then everything started to fall apart. When they were dispersed by the liberation war, instead of returning to their country, they went to stay in the Kahizi-Biega National Park from where they used illicit weapon to attack the masses. Life started to deteriorate; the Interahamwe started to enter this area. Life changed dramatically in a rather negative way.

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message to those they faced in the daily exercise of making a living. They used the term '*Pesa na esprit ya bien*' which is a lingala phrase meaning give with a good spirit.

<sup>586</sup> People continued to suffer as a result of small armed proliferated by the entry of over a million refugees in the country, among them men trained to use the gun professionally ([Renton, Seddon et al. 2007](#)).



If weapons were supplied by Leopold II in the CFS by means of offloading the Congolese riches collected by means of bleeding the Congolese citizens; in the DRC suppliers of weapons and ammunition are enormous given the age of multinationals just like the manufacturers abound.

The proliferation of illicit small<sup>587</sup> arms created many other security related calamities in the communities that can be seen as catalyst of human insecurity. Child soldiers<sup>588</sup> that were used in the Liberation War and the following rebellions have been demobilized but some of them are said to have kept their weapons that they can use in their post army service to make a living in the absence of a proper process of social reintegration.

### ***Rape, Gang Rape and sexual mutilation and dismemberment***

The first dreadful consequence brought about by the overabundance of light weapons or small arms was the accentuation of sexual predation, rape and sexual mutilation in the area. With a firearm it was much easier to rape a woman. The culture of rape and mass rape in particular was seen as a foreign invention in the DRC by those interviewed. They claimed that it was introduced by Rwandese troops, Rwandese militias as well as Ugandan troops<sup>589</sup> depending on the location where these soldiers were deployed. Locals reported that demobilized soldiers from the Ugandan army were used in the war in the DRC where they have deliberately committed ravages of demonic magnitude. They are said to have raped babies, young girls, mothers and grandmothers at gunpoint; they used gang rape and sexual dismemberment all around the Congo and

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<sup>587</sup> The trouble with the Congo from 1994 is located in the overabundance of light weapons from Rwanda, prior and post 1994 (Parker, 2011).

<sup>588</sup> The child soldier is a phenomenon that most of African countries at war have experienced. They are easily lied to and manipulated and can be kept in slavery by their masters by means of drugs and alcohol (Rosen, 2005; Farmer, 2004; Farmer, 2005).

<sup>589</sup> Rape, sexual predation and gang rape are logic of war. Unfortunately for the DRC, the businessmen globally and countries in the central Africa region, particularly Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi were prepared to devastate the population of the DRC through wars. All was planned behind curtain by money donors and Rwanda and Uganda were to execute. Rwanda, a poor country surviving by means of aid, could have never be able to raise billions of dollars to spend on the war against DRC, even Uganda. Demobilised HIV positive soldiers from the Ugandan army were used as combatants in the Congo to perform acts of rape and defilement on Congolese women. Troops from the three countries raped all; men, women, babies and grand-mothers right through from 1996 till the last so called rebellion (Reitjens, 2009; Turner, 2007; Jamin, 2009; Renton, 2007; [Jamin and Jacquemain, 2008](#); Skjelsbæk, I. (2011).

particularly in the eastern DRC. The soldiers from Rwanda and Uganda were said to have raped anything that was female:

These people were real monsters. They forced themselves in houses and using their guns, they raped everyone in the house even children were victim of sexual violence. Sexual predation became a widespread phenomenon in this area. Girls and women were kidnapped.

The citizens in the Bugorhe area noticed a pattern of criminal activities that condoned rape:

Arbitrary arrests, Tortures, Inhuman treatments and led sexual violence, sexual harassment, sexual predation, rapes and mass rapes followed by cutting of genital organs & removal of uterus ...

When these sexual predators<sup>590</sup> and soldiers could not find women, they turned to men like them, young boys or fathers and with the power conferred to them by their guns, they raped men by sodomising them. An elder in the community explained: When the soldiers came to sack our homes, the moment they could not find women in the house, they ordered men to remove their clothes and sodomised them by force.

It seemed as if the very monsters that perpetrated crimes of unimaginable magnitude and committed sin of utter animality during the Noahic era; which were revived in the Congo Free State under Leopold II revisited revisited the eastern of the Congo by the Rwandese and Ugandan soldiers as well as their militias where they committed the very same abominations against defenseless girls, women and grand-mothers<sup>591</sup>. A resident expressed the reality exported from Rwanda and Uganda:

Mothers were raped in front of the eyes of their husbands and men in uniform at gunpoint raped children and young girls in the eyes of their parents and siblings. And this did not just happen once, it could happen as often as they could find you in the house at night.

Rape became like background paint in the landscape of this area:

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<sup>590</sup> Women became a real game that men in uniform and men with guns were hunting in the Kabare District (Pratt *et al.* 2004).

<sup>591</sup> What the countries that invaded the DRC have done together with international businessmen who supported their actions is a clear replica of past barbarism of the perverted generations from the times of Noah to Hitler's pogroms and holocaust (Carr and Leyman, 1958; Onana, 2009; Onana, 2014).

There was a time when once they found a woman or women working in the fields or going to fetch water by the communal tape or even alone on their way, they all jumped on her and raped her in numbers. After that, they could dismember the person and continue their way. Thus many women were found dead, sexually mutilated and then dismembered.

Rape created such a crisis and insecurity:

Children were told not to go to school and women started to abstain from going to the fields for fear of being raped or gang raped.

Rape became a tool of taming and taming the inhabitants of the Bugorhe area and beyond in the South and North-Kivu<sup>592</sup>:Soldiers and militias from Rwanda would force a parent to sleep with the daughter and if he refused, they would rape the girls in the sight of their parents and finally shoot the father who refuses to commit that abominable act. They could also ask a brother to sleep with the sister and vice-versa. All this they did at gunpoint. They raped and caused people to be raped, both male and female were raped and ordered to be raped.

Life went on under these horrible events led by the Rwandese soldiers and the elements of the FDLR. They went on ravaging village after village, looting and killing. They kidnapped people and used them as porters. For years, people in rural areas were severely raided and no one was able to stop the mighty FDLR, not even the Rwandese government that also did used rape and killings as well as things that were outrageous in the name of national security were able to stop the FDLR madness.

There have been serious human rights violations<sup>593</sup> in the DRC in general and the eastern part of the country in particular. Lives that was lost since the liberation war and the subsequent so called

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<sup>592</sup> The Leopoldian machine that ravaged the Congo Free State was revived by troops from rwandabehind several mobements such as the AFDL, RCD, M23, etc (Hochschild, 1999; Van Reybrouck, 2014; Reijtens, 2009; Renton, 2007; Pratt *et al.* 2007; Ndikumana and Emizet, 2003).

<sup>593</sup> The massacres, the killings as well as rape have not been given any meaningful substance and legal follow up. A real culture of impunity has been demonstrated in the absence of account on the side of foreign armies and militias who committed atrocities on civilians in the Congo. Instead, where people died in roughly 100 days in Rwanda, the matter has been seriously taken to the International Criminal Court in (ICC) The Hague plus local courts in Rwanda referred to as *Gacaca* to trial the perpetrators (Umutesi, 2004; Behuria, 2015; Emizet, 1997; Reyntjens, 1996; Reyntjens, 1999, Reyntjens, 2001, Reyntjens, 2009, [N'Gbanda and Onana, 2004](#); Onana, 2009; Onana, 2014; Carr and Laymen, 1958).

rebellion have not been given any meaning, let alone any memory. In the eastern DRC, citizens continue to die day after day in mysterious events but there seems to be no accountability<sup>594</sup>. Women have been raped, gang raped and then sexually mutilated or damaged in a way that modern surgery has not been able to repair their original genital texture<sup>595</sup>. Foreign armies and militias from Rwanda and Uganda have perpetrated a silent genocide has taken place in the DRC and continue to ravage the eastern part of the country<sup>596</sup>. A situation that has worsened from the one that prevailed in the Congo Free State in terms of suffering, looting and pillage and plunder of the Congolese natural resources in all their abundance and diversity by international businessmen who also own transnational corporations in the South<sup>597</sup>. Minerals such as diamond, gold, cobalt, uranium, coltan, etc. have been at the heart of the Congolese politico-economic downplays of global actors that have resulted into protracted armed violence where civilians have been presented as pawns. It can be said that the 1994 war in Rwanda where close to a million people lost their lives and that ended being labeled as a genocide was only a sacrifice of lives that were to be ransomed by the massacre of Hutu refugees on the integral Congolese territory in the liberation war of 1996 and the post 1996 being a period of reaping a return on investment on the millions of American dollars or Euros that were spent in the Congolese wars by powerful nations that are involved in the Congo crisis<sup>598</sup>. These trends have left the country floating in a tangible insecurity in the eastern part.

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<sup>594</sup> Perpetrators of rape and mass rape have not been brought to account for their acts (Oury, 2008).

<sup>595</sup> Women who had the fortune to reach the Hospital of Panzi, outside the town of Bukavu were treated from sexual hurts and mutilations by the team led by DR. Mukwege (Mukwege and Nangini, 2009; [\(Bartels, Scott et al. 2011\)](#); [Mukwege, Mohamed-Ahmed et al. 2010](#)).

<sup>596</sup> Suffice is to observe a sacrifice of millions of people in the DRC in favour of the penetration of multinationals and foreign businesses that are trading on the blood of Congolese people (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Reyntjens, 1996; Reyntjens, 1999, Reyntjens, 2001, Reyntjens, 2009, [N'Gbanda and Onana, 2004](#); Onana, 2009; Onana, 2014; Carr and Laymen, 1958).

<sup>597</sup> These seems to be a deliberate silence on the suffering, killings, Rape and tons of human rights violation that culminate the culture of impunity just like it happened during the CFS, the Belgian Congo, in Zaire and right through the Kabilas' dynasties (Hochschild, 1999; Van reybrouck, 2014; Emizet, 1997; Pongo, 1999; Collier, 2007).

<sup>598</sup> The manner in which both civilians have been subject to a man hunt in the refugee camps in the eastern Congo without the international community daring even to condemn those acts and the ravages on the Congolese population by premediated armies from Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda is a blatant demonstration of injustice, inequality and racism within the internal power spheres and consequently how political powers are unequally

## ***Human insecurity***

The Congolese people became victim of arms that were easily collectible or easily purchased on the black market or could be supplied by former soldiers or exchanged against something of value in the eyes of those who owned them. A series of rapes, house breaking, looting, killings, etc. followed from the abundance of the small arms.

Citizens point at the existing of arms, particularly illegal weapons, as the root of their insecurity<sup>599</sup> and suffering. Whosoever owns a gun used it to achieve very terrible ends in the community or the Congolese society in general. In the DRC, the general feeling of the citizens is that guns are the external agent and catalyzer of their misery:

We underwent Pillage, house demolition by unidentified gunmen who could go up to killing if they find nothing in the house. They raped and looted all the valuables in the house using their guns. They dictated terms to people in their daily activities posing as great warlords.

Beside the experience of the ravages of the Rwandese soldiers behind the AFDL on the civilians, the most horrible insecurity came to be the raids by the militia of the Habyarimana's regime known as the Interhamwe who became known as the FDLR; they raided houses and perpetrated all sorts of abominable violence among the population in the Bugorhe area, Lwiro and Mulungu. Violence was encouraged by the presence of illicit small arms that victimized the population:

Physical violence: Arbitrary arrests, Tortures, Inhuman treatments topped by sexual violence expressed in sexual predation, rapes, cutting of genital organs & removal of uteruses to women and girls of tender age...Pillage and extortions of goods that were taken to the forest by the militias from Rwanda, Kidnapping of people and their use as porters after looting their houses or farms. Hanging of people (kagozi or kabanga)<sup>600</sup> and the like came to be the atmosphere of

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distributed between the North and the South ([N'Gbanda and Onana, 2004](#); Onana, 2009; Onana, 2014; Carr and Laymen, 1958, Clark, 2002).

<sup>599</sup> From the times the CFS to the DRC, insecurity has been underpinned by the existence of firearms in the hands of the military, the militias and the bandits. They have been at the heart of the concept of insecurity and whatever revolves around (Dagne, 2011; Hochschild, 1999; Van Reybrouck, 2014; Reijtens, 2009; Renton, 2007; Pratt *et al.* 2007).

<sup>600</sup> *kagozi* or *Kabanga* are words that mean the very same thing: a cord, literally a small cord that criminal use to hang people with. It is drawn from the 'Mashi' dialect that is used by many villagers in the Bugorhe area. It came to be a replica of death without weeping ([Scheper-Hughes 1993](#)).

insecurity under which we lived for almost a decade. All this because of the abundance of light weapons and small arms in the eastern DRC<sup>601</sup>. Anything could happen to one any time:

There came a time when people lived in hiding because life lost all value and meaning by the aggressors from Uganda and Rwanda. They could shoot you just by looking at you for no reason. People lived in fear and uncertainty of tomorrow; fear for lack of safety filled the atmosphere in this area.

During that decade of bloody violence, civilians in the entire province South-Kivu and in the Kabare District were tracked down like games in a reserve by men in uniform with weapons<sup>602</sup>.

### ***Destruction of means of livelihoods by the Rwandese rebels and militias***

In the Kabare district, armed violence has destroyed most of the means of livelihoods<sup>603</sup>. If the research centres had not received help from government, even in drops count, there could have been a disaster in the area. From public to private properties, nothing has been spared by violent event of past decades. A worker at the Research Centre in Lwiro told about how it all started:

In 2002 in Lwiro we had for the first time the Interahamwe invading the area. It was for the first time in my life to hear such a noise of gunfire, it was at midnight. The AFDLR started to loot homes. We heard men talking in Rwandese language all over the location. They would come more than 200 people with weapons, their wives and children who were working as porters. An FDLR women heavily armed came to my house. I was keeping cattle. They took my pigs and my neighbor's goats. That woman strangled the chickens and tightened them with a rope one after the other and wore them around her neck like a golden chain. They took everything from my house, except the table and returned to the bush where they were living. The same nights, over 10 household were reported to have

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<sup>601</sup> A unwillingness from the capitalistic world powers to help the bottom billion in the South to solve their differences that originate and are entertained by the North so that the circle of dependency can be perpetrated as the North is the one that excerpt profit from the misery of the South (Collier, 2007; Stearns *et al.*, 2-13).

<sup>602</sup> Violence in the eastern DRC has taken a zero sum outlook day by day with civilians taking all the fall as millions have been sacrificed on the altar of economic achievement by means of market platforms ([Rupesinghe and Rubio, 1994](#); Ross, 2006; Stearns *et al.*, 2013).

<sup>603</sup> The eastern DRC presents a similar case to that of Bosnia and Herzegovina with as unfortunate fate as no powers are willing to help the citizens to come out of ghettos of destructions. Solutions proposed by Western powers remain the same from the days of Mobutu. People are forced to take a top-bottom approach with solutions that are tailored in the West to be applied to people who are living a life that is the exact opposite of what their plans propose to solve (Hasic, 2004; Autesserre, [2006](#); [Autesserre 2008](#); [Autesserre, 2010](#)).

experienced rape, vandalism and they were looted beyond explanation, we experienced killings also same night. The elements of the FDLR would come in the evening and spread over the location and surrounding villages. At a given time, they would give a signal to one another with a Motorola, meaning they were in place and then started their deadly work. As soon as they were done, they would whistle again in the middle of the night to signal the moment to depart back to their National Park. Then they would take people hostage and use them as porters.

The Rwandese gunmen left nothing behind:

During those looting moments, the militias would collect everything in the houses that they were raiding, even a mop was taken. Papers or old magazines were also taken by them. Once they reach their destination, then they would start checking thing by thing to find out if there was no money hidden in the things taken that could possibly escape their vigilance. They made sure they turned everything upside down in search of possible hidden money.

A nurse in the health centre recalled:

The militias invaded this health centre, it was at night. All the people on duty were terrorized and beaten seriously. They took all the meagre stock of medicine that was available. They even removed drips from the patients. After they finished taking whatever they could, they left the centre naked, exposed and useless in a sense. The health centre closed for at least two weeks owing to increasing insecurity.

A market vendor recalled:

There is widespread poverty coupled with notorious insecurity. A tonic concentration of the population in the centres such as Kavomu, Katana, Mudaka, etc. The raids from the FDLR militia's attacks chased those who were staying on the hillsides and surrounding village near the outskirts of the Kahuzi-Biega Park to leave their homes and seek refuge in the centres nearby. There was a market right here that was thriving and prosperous where farmers from the hillsides and villages near the research CRNS and its surrounding supplied agricultural products. People came from all around the area. Insecurity that prevailed for many years chased them. Today the market is kind of dead.

In Mulungu, a worker at the research centre told about the ravage that took place:

Things deteriorated with the liberation war that brought President Kabila Desire to power. We have suffered all types of violence here, I mean, the centre. The FDLR came over and invested the research centre. It was time almost close to the

harvest. They scooped all the crops and even the seeds. The laboratory, the offices as well as the green houses were looted and then vandalized.

The DRC that is known to be amongst the most impoverished countries on the planet. It saw the accentuation of poverty owing to the dirty war exported from Rwanda and Uganda in particular<sup>604</sup>.

### ***Acute Poverty***

Having had their livelihoods destroyed and looted by the men in uniform and gumboots with AK47s and other types of deadly machines and instruments from Rwanda as well as their militias, an acute poverty<sup>605</sup> settled among the population in the Kabare District. Animals for farming have been plundered by soldier owing to their craving for meat. Residents in Katana recalled the events:

Rwandese rebels came with a truck where they loaded all the domestic animals they took at gunpoint from the people. At the end of the operation, they would leave with trucks full of several poultry, livestock and diverse animal looted from the villagers such as goats, pigs and sheeps.

Both soldiers and militias were waiting for the time of harvest to ambush the produce of the farm and left the inhabitants hungry and vulnerable. A worker in Lwiro shared this horrible experience:

Soldiers heavily armed came to my house. I was keeping cattle. They took my pigs and my neighbor's goats. An armed woman strangled the chickens and tightened them with a rope one after the other and wore them around her neck like a chain. They knew when was the time of harvest and then took crops that were ready to be harvested.

The looting nature of the aggressors in the Congo contributed also to the immiseration of the Congolese people in general and the countryside dwellers in particularly.

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<sup>604</sup> The interplay between factors and effects in the DRC series of war are explained and are understandable ([Collier and Hoeffler 2004](#); Ross, 2006; South ([N'Gbanda and Onana, 2004](#); Onana, 2009; Onana, 2014; Carr and Laymen, 1958, Clark, 2002).

<sup>605</sup> The bottom billion thesis is not a farce; it is a reality that unfortunately is well understood by the West. However, since the Global South has been portrayed by moneylenders as masses of human cattle, their poverty, vulnerability and exposure to deadly shocks on the daily life does not matter (Collier, 2007; Carr and laymen, 1958).



During those looting moments, the militias would collect everything in the houses that they were raiding, even a mop was taken. Papers or old magazines were also taken by them. Once they reach their destination, then they would start checking thing by thing to find out if there was no money hidden in the things taken that could possibly escape their vigilance. They made sure they turned everything upside down in search of possible hidden money.

This state of things has been captured by Young<sup>606</sup>: Heavily armed soldiers from Rwanda with machine guns and tanks stormed the revenue offices in the DRC and forced Congolese officials to open safes and all possible places where they kept the cash. They took all and disappeared.

Poverty has been severing in the Kabare District. It got stuck on the minds and speech of Congolese like rash whenever they remember what the Rwandese people did to them. A teacher put it clear:

The situation in our communities is of rampant poverty. Today people live with informal petty commerce. The majority are selling sweet, biscuit and little things that can hardly bring home 1 dollar per day.

The inhabitants of those parts of the country who have been experiencing the plunder of their livelihoods have been plunged into poverty by the foreign armies that invaded the DRC<sup>607</sup>. Their poverty linked to unemployment and kept them in a state of economic disability.

### ***Unemployment***

The problem of lack of work has been a global one. Even though it is unequally distributed, it is a plague in the Global South. In the DRC, the politics of *Zaireanisation*<sup>608</sup> has led to the exit of the investors and ever since unemployment has never stopped to increase. People survived by means of keeping busy in the informal economy. Wars imposed by global forces using Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi have led to the exacerbation of unemployment. A vendor paints of picture of what life is in general after the ruins following from protracted armed violence:

All our livelihoods means (agriculture, breeding of animals, petty commerce, etc.) were crippled. Our fields have been occupied by alien elements up to now and the government does not want to do anything to help us regain our sources of

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<sup>606</sup> (Young, 2007).

<sup>607</sup> ([Beneduce, Jourdan et al. 2006](#)).

<sup>608</sup> (Emizet, 1997 ; Kanza, 1972 ; Kivilu, 1999 ; Young, 2007).

livelihoods, particularly the arable lands. Look, even now, people spend time playing cards or draft in the yard owing to lack of lucrative occupation.

A student in the nearest university analysed the situation:

From the time of Mobutu, the country was experiencing a rising unemployment. It led to a continued exodus of graduates to other countries in the region. There has not been any meaningful project of job creation in the area. Graduates cannot find jobs; there are hundreds and hundreds of them sitting home. To that, the demobilized combatants are stretching the list of the unemployed. We have people of different educational background and expertise who have no job. The community is full of job seekers and jobless people.

The three locations where data was collected are truly a pool of workers. Observation after the collection of data has revealed that an overwhelming majority is not working. They spend time talking, playing cards and others drinking alcohol. Women are the ones who try to engage in petty commerce and other types of activities that can generate revenue to support the family.

A housewife revealed:

My husband has been without work for many years. He tries by all means to find a job but in vain. If anything falls on his hands to do in order to get money he does. Men cultivate fields and do other types of informal jobs. There is no choice in trying to get work.

The unemployment has been severing owing to the destruction of means of livelihoods as well as the destruction of public and private institutions that were employing people before the beginning of protracted violence.

### ***Destruction of public and private institutions***

From the 1996 Liberation War to the last rebellion in the eastern DRC, hospitals, clinics, public institutions as well as private ones have been looted, vandalized, destroyed and other set alight by the men in AK47s<sup>609</sup>. The residents in the Kabare District noted:

We've been pushed out of the cash economy for a long time. It has been coupled with the Destruction of livelihoods. Our houses have been destroyed,

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<sup>609</sup> The new wars bring in patters of hardship and suffering on civilians that are commanded by foreign troops who work as mercenaries (Dzinesa, 2008; Kaldor, 1999; Kaldor, 2013; è Nziem, 1998b).

infrastructures demolished, institutions dilapidated; crime and unemployment are on the rise. All this is the result of passed violence.

A mother lament the condition of destruction inherited from a decade of bloody armed violence:

During the violence, many houses were broken and others were set alight out of spite from the Rwandese soldiers who were led by a spirit of destruction. We have no one to rebuild us other ones. We have been left homeless.

A worker at the Research centre in Lwiro pointed at the experience of violence in the centre:

During the attacks and raids of the Rwandese soldiers and militias, we discovered at the end the destruction of valuable goods, the dilapidation of roads. Looting of many vital companies. There was also the destruction of hospitals, health centres, roads, schools as well as bridges. Office equipment and old documentation that they could not take with them, they destroyed.

A health worker from the Lwiro Pediatric Hospital recalled the experience:

Interahamwe FDLR came in the centre at night and locked the personnel in one place and looted all the medicine we had, they pillaged the pharmacy. Everything was taken by the Interahamwe. From then the hospital look like a vestige of what it used to be.

From the very beginning, violence was accompanied by looting, destruction and vandalism. A state worker recalled:

The AFDL dispersed the refugee camps and the combatants went into the forest from where they launched attacks on the local population. The AFDL & FDLR destroyed and burnt schools, hospitals. They used office furniture as firewood. They looted equipment, resources and all livelihoods of the populations in the area. They destroyed libraries and whatever fell on their hands. The farm in Tshibati was also looted systematically.

On top of the calamities that befell on several communities, strange and inhuman situations started to be notices in the communities as a supplement to the imported culture of violence. People even reported during this research that Satanism was revived by unknown actors in the communities in the Kabare area.

During the violent decade, violence was even seen as a manifestation of Satanism came to the fore. People shared stories of combatants eating human flesh, children of between three to five

years kidnapped and have their uteruses removed. Other people, kids and grown up, were hung in the violence.

Residents deplored very bitterly the manifestation of what they called ‘Satanism in the District. Mothers denounced the dirty practices:

In areas visited by the FDLR, men were accompanying women to the farms. At night they would flee to the fields to sleep there to avoid being hanged by kagozi<sup>610</sup>. The violence did not only limit itself to the Kagozi or Kabanga and people heard stories such as:

Little girls of age ranging between three and five to six years were kidnapped by unknown elements and they disappeared from the community to reappear. During their absence, they would have their wombs removed. Once they reappeared, they had no more wombs.

To the above acts of occultism, cannibalism was noticed:

People used techniques of cannibalism among the combatants. Human hearts were taken out of people in a certain area in the bush by the high officials of the FDLR to be used for food. Human parts were prepared like normal food and eaten just like you can eat a piece of chicken.

Armed violence has caused more that suffering to the Congolese people. The heartache they went through is of unimaginable description. The woes and horrors of the Leopoldian era have revisited the DRC with similar effects it had on the Congo Free State. Whether or not the more shocking claims are true or not, these fears were widespread among respondents echoing the monstrous events of the Leopoldian era. People lived in great fear of the seemingly random violence of which they could not escape from or avoid.

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<sup>610</sup> The Kabanga or Kagozi consisted of kidnapping a child, preferably, and hanging him/her with a rope. Then the rope was taken to special people who bought it for thousands of dollars. Respondents even claimed that those criminal operations were commanded by the UN officials working in the eastern part of DRC, who had elements within their ranks who were suspected to be buyers of the ‘Hanging Rope’ (field notes). This goes to show the level of fear that was so widespread that nobody in uniform was trusted.

### ***The exacerbation of misery and suffering***

With the availability of light weapons in the eastern Congo, the suffering of the population and their misery were taken to exponential levels. Making a living, eating, working, selling, sleeping, walking free at night... basically life became a nightmare in the Kabare District. Citizens pointed at a horrible living for almost a decade as a result of the overabundance of small weapons:

It was very difficult to survive given that the activities for survival were not taking place normally. At 3pm every one was forced to go back home. People thus prepared themselves to go sleep in cassava or sorghum fields owing to the raids of Interahamwe. Life was tough. Every evening people would go to sleep in the bushes to hide from them. All economic activities were paralysed. Wherever one went e.g. to sell or to farm one was not free due to the elements of the FDLR.

Physical hurt took the real King Leopold II's ghost from the Congo Free State that revisited the Democratic Republic of Congo in the eastern part and particularly the Bugorhe area:

There was a notorious mass rape<sup>611</sup>. People had their heads chopped off; others had their hands cut off. Destruction of houses and the product of the farm, particularly the crops. Armed robbery, kidnapping, disappearing of young children of between 3 and 5 years whose uterus were removed and after days of kidnapping, they reappeared disabled in a sense. There was free and forced labour, vandalism and dehumanization. Those militias came and looted our homes, then kidnapped people and used them as porters to carry the stolen things from our communities in the forests of the Kahuzi-biega Park. They raped and sexually mutilated women. Some women's limbs were found on the way that was taken by the militias from Rwanda a day or two after the area was raided. Gunmen from Rwanda perpetrated horrible scenes of utter animality:

The people who raided the houses caused children to sleep with their mothers and fathers to sleep with their daughters at gunpoint. If you refuse, they kill you. After looting houses, they took the very people they looted and raped hostage and used them as porters to carry for them the very things they extort them and push them to walk to the Kahuzi-Biega National Park where they had their headquarter. Some came back, some not. During the day people would hustle to find a mean to survive and leave their houses to go sleep in the fields since the raiders were only coming during the night.

People lost the normal sense of living and sleeping in their homes:

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<sup>611</sup> The very same techniques used by Leopold II agents were used by the foreign soldiers who fought alongside Kabila and beyond (Hochschild, 1999; vanReybrouck, 2014; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

People started to live half in bushes, half in homes. Interahamwe raided places/institutions and particularly clinics, hospital, health centres and pillaged everything then destroyed the things they could not take with them, plus all the communication system. Every evening people would go to sleep in bushes and return to the village during the day to just see if they could prepare some food and depart the evening again to avoid the raids of the Hutus and other Rwandese soldiers. We used to sleep in fields of cassava and sorghum or had to find a place where to hide for the night, and that is the entire household.

Congolese in the Bugorhe area lived in tents or informal shelters owing to the terror inflicted by foreign troops and militias, mostly from Rwanda:

The condition of living turned to be very difficult in the area. Parents and children were sleeping in same little tent or small hut sporadically built in the farms or plantations, as there was tangible insecurity at night. In other instances, they had just their blanket and cloth and slept uncovered in the open air in the cassava fields. Later during the day, parents would go to look for something to cook and later in the evening they would go back to their place of hiding or move to a new location in other villages.

The accentuation of acute difficult conditions of life, like a snowball called on another suffering among the population as they moved from their original locations to the commercial centres, particularly those who lived in villages near the Kahuzi-Biega National Park.

### ***Mass movements of population from the farms to the commercial centres***

The violence initiated and sustained by small arms coupled with the raids of the ex-combatants from Rwanda who became the FDLR was at the heart of people moving from their homes to anywhere they could find a secure dwelling. Those who lived on the flanks of the National Park and other areas nearby and all the villagers who were involved in agricultural farming left their homes owing to insecurity.

A villager tells the story of their plight:

That violence has caused a population movement. People left the hillsides where they lived and relocated by force in cities and other provinces. They left their fields unattended due to ever increasing insecurity. There has been a terrible congestion in the centres such as Katana, Kavumo and even in the cities like Bukavu and its surroundings or Goma, etc. The market was completely handicapped as traders ran away as well and the farmers could not produce any more like before.

Vendors also relate to the very same thing:

There was a massive movement of population from the rural areas to the urban centres as a result of the atrocities from Rwandese troops. There was overpopulation in those centres; it caused a serious overcrowding, as people were concentrated on the same site, as you can still notice even now.

People continued to flee in search of safety:

The raids from the Rwandese militia's attacks chased those who were staying on the hillsides and surrounding village near the outskirts of the Kahuzi-Biega Park to leave their homes and seek refuge in the centres nearby. There was a market nearby here that was thriving and prosperous where farmers from the hillsides and villages near the research CRNS and its surrounding.

A serious depopulation took place in the areas targeted by the attackers:

Soon, the villages and the hillsides of the National park were deserted. All the people went to places such as Katana, Kavumo and other major commercial centres. Many others went to settle in other provinces and others went in exile in neighbouring countries. A massive number of people were internally scattered as a result of violence they suffered.

Villagers were attacked just like market vendors:

That violence has caused a population movement. People left the hillsides where they lived and relocated by force in cities and other provinces. They left their fields unattended due to ever increasing insecurity. There has been a terrible congestion in the centres such as Katana and even in the cities like Bukavu or Goma, etc. The market was completely handicapped as traders ran away as well and the farmers could not produce any more like before.

Thousands of people were brutally uprooted<sup>612</sup> from their original locations, livelihoods and were forced to take the road of displacement, not knowing where they were. As a result, many were not courageous enough to cross border and ended up in other provinces of the DRC, while others were content to limit their journey to commercial centres such as Kavumo, Katana, Mudaka, etc. the other group was pushed beyond the DRC borders in the Great Lakes Region and beyond, in Africa and perhaps the world.

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<sup>612</sup> The rationale of the war is that it creates crisis by means of violence on civilians who end up leaving everything in search of safety wherever applicable (Emizet, 1997; Feinstein, 2005; Diggs, 2012; Kaldor, 1999; Kaldor, 2013).

### ***The rise of illiteracy and the failure of education***

It has been a serious issue to take a child to school from 1990. The Mobutu administration has been unable to pay salaries to public institution<sup>613</sup>. This is how the doctors, teachers and other professionals went out of the country in the quest of earning a return to their educational investments in taping into better working conditions and salaries abroad. A parent in the community presented the situation:

At home, parents were compelled to pay a user fee to schools from primary to tertiary level. Every parent has to produce at least 2 dollars at primary school level and the fees rise as the level goes higher. In the context of quasi-complete unemployment, most of parents are unable to send kids to school. Most of kids in the area are not educated owing to lack of means of payment. As a result the level of illiterate kids from 1990 has risen higher.

Another parent added:

We are suffering too much. Our kids cannot go to school by lack of money to pay the teachers. The war has taken all we had left to us. The Rwandese troops and militias have looted our domestic animals and we do not currently have any mean of livelihood. So our kids cannot go to school. Most of them will remain deprived of the best thing they could be given, education.

If parents were never willing to send their kids to school, there was going to be very little that the government in Congo could achieve<sup>614</sup>. So in the DRC, parents work with government hand in hand to try to make the country produce graduates and scholars. To illiteracy, new social chaos was added by the repetitive series of armed violence.

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<sup>613</sup> Doctors, teachers just like civil servants were not paid adequately in Zaire from the 1980s and that had a strain on the entire country. Another notorious phenomenon was the brain drain where Zairean graduates went to work in countries in the region and further afield (Emizet, 1997; Young and Turner, 3013; [Massey et al. 1993](#)).

<sup>614</sup> The boom of education during the Belgian Congo era has been slowly decimated by the foreign intervention and maladministration of the Mobutu regime (Gann and Duignan, 1079; Kanza 1972; Young and Turner, 2013; Trefon, 2004).



### ***New social phenomena: street kids, prostitution and juvenile delinquency***

In commercial centres within the Bugorhe area, the displacement of people brought new social phenomena that never were known in the area such as street kids, child labour, high rate of prostitution, exacerbation of crime, etc.

An elder in the community explained:

The violence that severed in the area brought woes on our society. We have a new thing that neither our fathers, nor us have experienced before. This is the abundance of kids in our streets. Many of them lost parents in the protracted violence and have got no one to look after. Others got simply no place of stay as the war imported from Rwanda has destroyed their homes and scattered their relatives who could have taken care of the majority of these kids.

The general view of the community portrayed the street kids as an absolutely new phenomenon:

From the times of our forefathers, there was no one living in the street. Not in towns, not in villages. But today, they abound our streets, they are in the commercial centres, the market area and in towns. It is a completely new thing and this is the war social invention. No one lived in the streets before in this area. Today the streets are full of orphans. They are just wandering around, no plan for school or putting them in a rehabilitation centres where they can be taught a certain type of skills, they could be also reinserted in school and study like any other kid. They are out of school today because parents passed on during the war. We never knew the phenomenon of street kids until the war was imported to us.

The analysis of a more experienced father in the community to add:

First time I saw a kid living in the street without any care of an adult and completely on his or her own was the first time I visited the city of Kigali, in Rwanda before 1994. They were called Maibobo<sup>615</sup>. They were sniffing stuffs and were dirty and very bizarre. I was told that they lived in the street and had no home. Even during the rule of President Mobutu, I recall, there was never such a thing in our province. During the participant observation, there were street kids that I saw in the Bugorhe area, particularly in the commercial centres and in the market areas<sup>616</sup>. The violence that severed in the area is the cause of the street kids phenomenon. It is normally a thing of big towns. It is shocking to see how

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<sup>615</sup> *Maibobo* is a term used in Kigali to designate street kids. Globalization is counterproductive when it is a product of global violence and organized syndicate of criminals (Portes and Waltons, 1981)

<sup>616</sup> Field notes.

violence can transform the society very negatively; in this case, how a rural area can bear characteristics of big towns of the world<sup>617</sup>. A worker in Mulungu to add:

Today we experience a systematic armed robbery towards the agents of the centre. The centre was plunged in a widespread immiseration and remained scarred by vandalism and looting. Very important equipment such as tractors and vehicles were looted just like the animals. The centre was also involved in breeding of animals such as cows, goats, etc. but all was looted.

To the street kids phenomenon is associate the issues of juvenile delinquency. It is explained by the fact that the majority of the kids and the youths in the area who lived through the roughest period of the decade of extreme violence have been negatively impacted by over a decade of violent scenes, events and accounts that came to shape their present behaviour.

The youth has copied the combatant style of forcing women to sleep with them. A young man tells about the changed behaviour of the loose youth:

What is sad about the youth in their behaviour that have been copied from the ones of the criminal in the past. Many youngsters have adopted the lifestyle of raping. They have been also raping girls. Just like the Rwandese soldiers have been doing, immediately after the end of the horrible violence, the young people including the street kids have been also raping girls in the area. They would not do it in raiding homes but in isolated circumstances. Rape became a usual thing between a girl and her boyfriend. But those trends have been vigourously discouraged by the society.

An imitation of criminal behaviour:

After the Rwandese troops have been dislodged from what they used as their based in Kahuzi-Biega Park, the young unemployed people have been attacking some homes with guns. Armed robbery has become a serious issue in the area. It has not been committed by Rwandese anymore but by the young Congolese who happen to put their hands on a firearm. There are armed robberies all around here and the police always come late. It happens in Kavumo, in Katana and it can still happen in any other place depending on who and what they target.

For women, among the population that was forced to leave their farms and whose means of livelihoods have been destroyed, the only way of surviving is the selling of what they have of

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<sup>617</sup> This is the making of a forced globalization as seen in the ways traditional societies as well as their modes of production have been violently disrupted by global forces ([Massey, Arango et al. 1993](#); [Brainard and Chollet 2007](#); [Portes and Walton, 1981](#); [Portes et al. 2013](#)).

extremely high value, their bodies. There has been an increase in rates of prostitution in the commercial centres<sup>618</sup>. An elderly person gave a global view of what prostitution has become:

The girls are roaming the place today. All of those who have been chased on the flanks of the mountains before the National Park areas have been finding it difficult to survive and have turned to prostitution. Those who lost parents also have been embracing anything to survive in this tough time we are living.

Not only girls are doing an undercover prostitution but they can be found in the street around the commercial centres, added another elder:

Before there was no prostitutes in the area. Cities have been the place where all the girls and women who wanted to live an irresponsible life flocked to. It was a shameful thing to be found in a bar or in the street doing nothing. Today because of what the past violence has engendered, girls and women can be easily gotten in the streets of the commercial centres.

The inequalities that are ravaging the social order during this global age have strongly contributed to the phenomenon of prostitution. Those who work for international NGOs, MONUSCO and other UN agencies have been earning a lot of money and can easily buy girls who are destitute, helpless, hopeless and therefore desperate for a means for survival.

A student noticed:

Prostitution has been exacerbated by the people working for the UN earning big. Girls roam around the UN quarters because they know that they can find clients with money.

Over the ages and around the world, prostitution has been referred to as the oldest trade of the world. Women in many instances have recourse to use it as a tool for their survival in tough times. In the eastern DRC, this phenomenon has been mostly the result of failures of the state

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<sup>618</sup> It can be argued that the violence experienced by the Congolese in the Kabare area at the hands of Rwandese soldiers and militias was deliberate. A series of acts of dehumanization that aimed at hurting physically and psychologically in a way to control entire socio-political and economic daily affairs and cripple the hope of an entire society. The more were assaulted, tortured, raped, sexually mutilated and bodily dismembered was to brain wash entire population to control, steal, loot and plunder its natural resources. This technique is a well-known to have been used by Leopold II, the Belgian Colonist and continued by the Rwandese in the DRC (Conrad, 1092; Morel, 1903; Morel, 1905; Hochschild, 1999; Gann and Duignan, 1979; Ross, 2004; Ross, 2006; Le billion, 2001; Dagne, 2011; Ward, 2005; Montague, 2002).

coupled with the invasion of the countries by armies from Rwanda and Uganda in particular, supported by Western governments of specific countries such as the US, the UK, Belgium, France, etc<sup>619</sup>.

### ***Food insecurity***

The continued raids on the institutions and particularly on the peasants and the agricultural research centre have brought a serious shortage of food<sup>620</sup> to the inhabitants of the Kabare District where all the three centres are located. In Mulungu, the research centre was systematically and repeatedly pillaged by both the soldiers from Rwanda and the militias from Rwanda<sup>621</sup>. Seeds, crops as well as green houses were pillaged and vandalized by security forces from Rwanda. A resident recalled how life became very tough:

We lived in fear. People who were cultivating farms lived the villages and came to the commercial centres. We lived in a state of desolation. We could no longer farm or sell. On top of that all we had like farm animals were taken by gunmen from Rwanda... We had an incident where commander MUTEBUSE came with a truck full of goats and chickens. At 11pm villages were raided, cattle taken, houses searched to find possible food, valuable things.

Food insecurity in the district follows directly from human insecurity that displaced farmers and food producers from their farms:

Population ran from their original locations in village owing to insecurity. Acute food insecurity; they abandoned farms and agricultural activities to save their lives owing to increasing insecurity.

A peasant explained:

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<sup>619</sup> The pain and suffering in the Congo has been a result of Western government support to head of states for their own interests. From Mobutu to Kabila, the trouble of the Congolese people is a result of support of the Western leaders to the Congolese presidents and other African President in order to secure Congolese wealth in their network and finally their hands (Weissman, 2014; Emizet, 1997; Young and Turner, 20113; Turner, 2007; Trefon, 2011; Reyntjens, 1999; Reyntjens, 2001; Reyntjens, 2009; Clark, Prunier, 2004; Prunier, 2008; Lemarchand, 2012).

<sup>620</sup> Food insecurity is first and foremost a problem of climate change in the Global South and the Congo has not done much exception in this matter. Pattern of drought and crop failure have been some of the causes of food shortage in the DRC (Paterson, 1996; Tollens, 2005).

<sup>621</sup> Repeated looting, pillage and vandalism have exacerbated food shortage in the Kabare District. It became impossible to cultivate crops owing to Rwandese raids on farms workers and rape of women who were found in the field coupled with the ravages of small arms (Young, 2007; Emizet, 1997; Emizet, 2000; Muggah, 2006).

The foreign armies and foreign militias settled in the plantations and no one could cultivate them again. They terrorized innocent civilian population from the plantations. For example in the plantation of BISHIBIRU.

To the problems of insecurity can be associated the burden of unemployment. It is hard to purchase food when one does not have revenue, when one is unemployed.

An unemployed young man explained:

There has been a tremendous change in all the areas of life. People do not eat anymore the way they used to. A very high level of unemployment, abandoned institution and the running away of quality brain (brain drain). People who had knowledge left the country and our institutions have been suffering from lack of development.

The problem of food security is explained by the abandonment of farms and fields where villagers were working to produce food that was consumed locally and taken to the cities such as Bukavu and beyond. Gunmen who were unable to farm occupied vast agricultural plantations. These terrorized the population in the surroundings. Their pressure on the peasants<sup>622</sup> led to a mass exodus of peasants who were forced to save their lives. Thus, the scarcity of food in the area that was occasioned by the force dictated by firearms in the hands dressed in gumboots and military uniform exacerbated the insecurity in the area.

### ***Orphans, widows and trauma***

The killings that persisted by the foreign troops and militias have left an unquantifiable number of orphans in the area. A woman to notice the severity of the issue:

Besides rampant poverty, unemployment rose and the livelihoods of the rural population were completely decimated. Our communities were fractured with the severity and brutality of rapes and killings. Orphans are counted in thousands and widows are plenty with no support whatsoever from the authorities.

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<sup>622</sup> Contrary to peasants in Asia who remained resilient to market forces and all forms of depeasantisation, in the DRC, it was impossible, particularly in the eastern part and in occurrence in the Kabare District to farm because of lack of security and the proliferation of small arms coupled with the premeditated criminal behavior of the foreign armies that swarmed the area (Craft, 1999; Stringer, 2016).

The observation of a government official was important in linking the orphans to the notorious problem of street kids:

The vast majority of the children that are living in our streets today are the ones who have lost their parents during the war or during the violent events of the past. Not having any more parents, they were left to their own fate and thus their presence in the street. They face alone the fight against hunger and poverty.

Some have been recuperated by their family as a large unit while others have been without help and have turned to be street children. Similarly, women have lost their husbands during the bloody decade of violence.

The scenes of violent brutal executions or rape and gang rape (referred above) or in other instances orchestrated force sexual intercourse between mothers and their male children or fathers and their female children by Rwandese soldiers and Rwandese militias who killed parents in the sight of their children and raped girls then shot them in front of their parents have left many people traumatised<sup>623</sup> in the Kabare District and need serious attention. An elderly father noticed: While looting, they would force a parent to sleep with the daughter and if he refuses, they would rape the girls in the sight of their parents and finally shoot the father who refuses to commit that abominable act. They could also ask a brother to sleep with the sister and vice-versa. All this they did at gunpoint. They raped and caused people to be raped, both male and female were raped and ordered to be raped. The experiences of such scenes have left mental problems in our communities. There are a lot of people who live with mental illness today.

To this rejection of women and girls who have been raped or gang raped during the escalations of violence swells the number of women who were seen as alien by their own family members.

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<sup>623</sup> The effects of trauma on the population during and after the war have always born similar patterns around the world. Atrocities committed during the war that aimed at terrorizing, brainwashing and controlling civilians leave enormous psychological breakdown among the population, both among the civilians and the military ([Staub, 2006](#); [Staub and Bar-Tal, 2003](#); Staub, 1999).

The African culture still finds it difficult to stand memories of rape<sup>624</sup> and these affect victims of rape very bitterly: Women who have been raped by gunmen have been isolated by members of the family owing to the cliché of a raped woman. The raped women were repudiated by their husbands or loved ones. They ended up developing mental problems a hence they live with the a mental illness. Raped and sexually mutilated women were left with serious psychological chocks that are still haunting our communities... Pandemic such as HIV/AIDS from rape by infected soldiers from has strongly contributed to the level of trauma and madness in this post-violence period.

A researcher in Lwiro pointed at the problem of trauma in the community:

There are some NGOs that are working with traumatised people. They have established listening houses in few locations, particularly in Miti where rapes of unimaginable description were perpetrated by the security forces from Rwanda. Those listening houses are open to all who suffer from trauma emanating from rape or other conditions experienced during past violence.

In general, the past events that stretched over a decade of armed violence have left behind a society that is frustrated and prone to stress<sup>625</sup>. Unemployment, hunger, sicknesses, insecurity, social injustices, unpaid wages, etc. given the extremely negative changes introduced in the society by acts of violence.

### ***Concluding summary***

The research centres and their direct vicinity where data has been collected are all located in the District of Kabare, in the Province of South-Kivu, in the DRC. There are located at a distance of

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<sup>624</sup> The mind control exercised on the millions of innocent civilians by mean of rape, defilement, genital mutilation, etc. has left behind a pool of traumatized people ranging from kids to senior citizens. The social fabric of the Congolese society in the Bugorhe area, in Mulungu and Katana has been severely damaged by a decade of bloody violence. A double holocaust has been denied to the Congolese nation. The first one consist of a death toll of over 10 million and the other one is a living inheritance of fragmented and shredded lives that nobody bothers to see to ([Glaeser and Glendon, 1998](#); [Edkins 2003](#); [Leese 1870](#); [Bianchi 1870](#); [Leatherman, 2011](#); [Cox 1930](#)).

<sup>625</sup> The cost of past violence in the Congo are enormous. They overshadow all the walks and spheres of life (Trefon, 2001; [Megan, Karin et al. 2007](#)).

plus minus seven kilometres apart. Lwiro harbours a well-known<sup>626</sup> scientific research centre, located in the Bugorhe area. Mulungu houses the main agricultural and agronomic research centre that plays a key role in the area of food production for local and provincial to international consumption; it is located in the Mulungu area. Fomulac in the Katana area, known as Fumulac-Katana is a medical health centre with the District Reference Hospital that strive to provide medical care to people in the area and those from further afield. It is managed by the Catholic Priests. The analysis of collected data was done using thematic analysis, expanded on in previous chapter. Four central themes came to be excerpted from the pool of data. The first on being the insecurity and instability brought about by protracted violence was discussed in the current chapter. The basis of insecurity and instability that connected to other calamities experienced by the people in the Kabare area, and particularly in Katana, Lwiro and Mulungu was the abundance and the easy access to small arms or light weapons.

Any individual who owned a gun whether legally or illegally commanded violence. From the soldiers from Rwanda to their militias and the ones from the DRC. Whatever criminal act of barbarianism and brutality that were extreme, the use of firearms is mentioned. From rape, gang rape, armed robbery, portorage, pillage, killing or setting score, etc. All has been orchestrated by the possession of a weapon flooded from overseas countries to Rwanda. Firearm caused tangible insecurity and drove food producers outside their farms to new places where they were unable to farm. This had a very disastrous consequence in terms of food security as peasant farming and peasant economy was crippled.

The ownership of guns has been at the heart of the Congolese people suffering from the times of the Congo Free State with Leopold II. Guns were used to terrorise a defenseless population of civilians. The use and abuse of small weapons has had a catastrophic consequence on the society in the sense that by taking away human lives, orphans, widows, widowers remained deprived of their loved ones. Scenes of violence of magnitude have left strong psychological problems on members of the population that was forced to watch horrible scenes and others were trapped in

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<sup>626</sup> The Scientific Research Centre in Lwiro has once been a spotlight of world events where the late medical Doctor, Dr. Lurhuma was conducting a research in the quest of finding a vaccine against HIV/AIDS in the 1980s flying between the Congo and Belgium.



situations that left on them dreadful psychological sickness. Many are still traumatised from past events and others suffer to date from post-traumatic stress disorder.

The next chapter will discuss the decimation of peasant economy and how it can possibly be addressed.

## CHAPTER FIVE – THE DESTRUCTION OF THE PEASANT ECONOMY IN THE KABARE DISTRICT

### *Introduction*

This chapter discusses the destruction of peasant economy in the Kabare District. It posits that there existed a peasant economy that was based rather on the moral economy prior to the arrival of the Europeans in the region that was regulated naturally by barter system among people<sup>627</sup>. The moral economy<sup>628</sup> that existed among communities was disrupted by the sudden entry of aliens who imposed a capitalistic pattern of existence to communities that were far from embracing the harsh capitalistic system. Thus, the pre-colonial era has laid a foundation to the destruction of peasant economies that existed in the Basin of the Congo River by the horrors of the Leopoldian system<sup>629</sup> that feverishly rest on coercion and violence in the collection of rubber, ivory and artefacts in the Congo Free State<sup>630</sup>. During the colonial era, peasant economy was revived in the sense that peasants were encouraged to produce cash crops needed by the colonist to supply the nutritional and commercial needs of the Western countries. The peasant economy was revisited and reoriented towards the market. The colonists rearranged the texture of rural economies based on a global model elaborated by the Russian scholars<sup>631</sup>. At the departure of the Belgians, practically after independence till the late 1970s, the downturn of the Zairean economy caused by mismanagement of the Mobutu regime coupled with the World Bank Adjustment Programmes has decimated the peasant economy owing to the cuts in subsidies and the crippling of the peasants' markets. Though peasants will continue to produce in a poor manner for subsistence consumption.

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<sup>627</sup> (Illife, 1995).

<sup>628</sup> Moral economy underpins the values within the peasant societies that were opposed to dehumanizing acts such as economic exploitation and injustices but upheld and encouraged tolerance and equality among fellow human beings (Scott, 1977).

<sup>629</sup> (Hochschild, 1999; Gann and Duignan, 1979; Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>630</sup> (Stanley, 1885).

<sup>631</sup> Peasant economy was organized around the family plot from which it developed ([Chayanov, Chayanov et al. 1986](#)).

From the 1980s, peasants in the Kabare District could hardly produce for the international market, apart from supplying the Rwandese market through canoes and small boats that crossed the Kivu Lake; commercial operations that the government then considered illegal for protectionist reasons and the quest for the security of the market<sup>632</sup>. The economic crisis made it so hard to continue the production of other cash crops in the eastern province of Kivu and led to the local market failure. Thus the peasant economy relapsed in the moral economy of the pre-Leopoldian era owing to lack of an incentives and agencies<sup>633</sup>. It became more of the subsistence one except for those who had pre-established farms of coffee and tea; and in other cases the medicinal plants used in the manufacturing of the malaria tablets (Quinine) in Bukavu<sup>634</sup>. Peasant economy made its resilience from supplying in drops foods to the local cities such as Kasava, sugar beans, poultry, meat, mealies, etc. in rather a modest quantity<sup>635</sup>. The destruction of the peasant economy is explained by the advent of the Liberation War of 1996 that opened gates of hell to the peasants who were thrust into a dark hole by the imposition of destructive psychosomatic torture such as rape, mass rape, extortion, spoliation, armed robbery, looting and pillage commanded by the possession of firearms<sup>636</sup>. Farmers were forced to leave their lands and villages to run away from the debasement and ravages exported from Rwanda and the hunt that was used against mankind in the Kabare area for over a decade<sup>637</sup>. This status quo finally buried what was a remnant of peasant economy that went from losing its capitalistic nature to relapse into moral economy to vanish completely.

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<sup>632</sup> The only cash crops that showed resilience was coffee and tea that farmer were taking to the shores of the Lake Kivu to sell to the Rwandese traders (Field Notes).

<sup>633</sup> Commercial farm produce could lack consumers who were diminished by the outrageous loss of their power of purchase. The production of cash crops took a sharp declining curve to almost relapse in the barter system, thanks to local people who supported peasant by buying in drops on what was then supplied to the market (Scott, 1977).

<sup>634</sup> *Pharmakina* is a German company that is owns the factory where the medicinal pant called '*Quinquina*' is treated to make pills that help in the treatment of malaria.

<sup>635</sup> Field notes and researcher personal observation.

<sup>636</sup> Even though soldiers harassed peasants who were involved in the so called illegal selling of coffee, tea and other produce from peasants' farms, the trade continued until around mid-1990s; prior to the severing economic crisis of the 1980s. The illegal flooding of firearms from 1994 in the eastern Congo has been at the heart of the decimation of peasant economies (Monaghan, 2013; Glaeser and Glendon, 1998; Young and turner, 1985; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Emizet, 1997, Emizet, 2000).

<sup>637</sup> (Van Reybrouck, 2014).

### ***Evolution of peasantry in the Kabare District.***

From immemorial times, Congolese, like other people on the earth, have been very much dependent on land for numerous reasons. Land supplied their basic needs just like it provided for labour and thus a fundamental source of livelihood<sup>638</sup>. As societies evolved and nations were formed, men became attached to land. From being a hunter a gatherer under a nomadic lifestyle, men discovered the use of metal to till the land and hunt animals as he adopted a more sedentary mode of life in community<sup>639</sup>. Agriculture remained a more dependable source of livelihood based on family units<sup>640</sup>. Life in the countryside articulated around the family and farm that produced for subsistence consumption and also for the market. Families thus had to organize their economies around the land (farm) where labour was drawn from in order to generate capital that may be able to bring about development thus the notion of peasantry<sup>641</sup>. It is based on those natural settings that the theory of peasant economy came to evolve.

### ***The theory of a peasant economy***

A peasant is:

An individual who lives in the countryside and whose work is centred on farming activities using family labour. He uses rudimentary instruments to produce both for subsistence and market consumption. This puts him directly under the subjugation of local authority and the international norms of the market to extract a surplus from his labour, stratifies him in terms of class within the community where he lives with other fellow human beings<sup>642</sup>. The manner in which goods and services were produced, exchanged and consumed in the traditional communities came to be termed as peasant economy. Studies were undertaken worldwide to elaborate the notion of peasant economy. Alexander Chayanov (1888-1939), the Russian scholar came to be the leading authority on the economy of agriculture, where he synthesized the theoretical ideas of his

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<sup>638</sup> (Freund, 1986; Oliver and Atmore, 2005).

<sup>639</sup> Changes in the fabric of the rural communities were influenced by outsiders in terms of conquest, treaties, etc. (Oliver and Atmore, 2005; Illife, 1995).

<sup>640</sup> (Friedmann, 1980).

<sup>641</sup> (Bryceson, 2000; Chayanov *et al.* 1986).

<sup>642</sup> The definition of the term peasant as presented by Bryceson (1999) calls on outside entities that influence the existence even of peasants in this global age (Friedmann, 1980, Bernstein, 2003).

predecessors and contemporaries, and developed them along original lines<sup>643</sup>. Peasant economy viewed in a traditional way is articulated around four cardinal points that are intimately linked in the processes. There is the 'Labour' that allow those who are jobless to access work on the farm. Then it has to produce some interest, which is 'the capital', and provide 'rent' from the land in order to make 'profit'<sup>644</sup>. According to Chayanov<sup>645</sup>: Peasant family proceeds by subjective evaluation based on the long experience in agriculture of the living generation and its predecessors. Most peasants' families are in a position to work for a number of hours or work more intensely and even both. The extent to which the members of the family normally work under given conditions, Chayanov called the degree of self-exploitation of family labour. The peasants would yield an increase in output, which could be devoted to greater family consumption, to enlarge investment or it could be used in both ways.

The organization of the peasant economy could be better explained in comparing it to a four legs table that could be crippled when one is broken and cannot stand properly in the absence of one of them. Those four legs are the '*salary*' that implies the provision of labour; '*the profit*' which rings the bell of an enterprise; '*the rent*' which can be viewed as a secondary source of revenue within the main source (land) and lastly 'the price'<sup>646</sup> since all the means and relations of production require a certain cost in estimation (price).

### ***Organization of the peasant economy in the Katana-Mulungu-Lwiro (Kabare)***

Peasant economy in the Kabare District follows the very logic of the model of Russian, and so the global one. The DRC has experienced land dispossession in the past from the times of the Belgian colonialism<sup>647</sup>. There were, however, tracks of lands that were allocated to concessionary companies and to individuals during the colonial period<sup>648</sup>. In the 1970s as former President Mobutu implemented the Africanisation policy known as 'Zaireanisation', the majority

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<sup>643</sup> To understand the peasant economy farm, Chayanov held, was to view it as an enterprise or a business to which he attributed the core characteristics as operating in a capitalistic fashion where workers are hired for the sake of making a profit on the investment (Chayanov *et al.* 1986).

<sup>644</sup> Initially, the peasant economy remained very narrow in scope compared to the neoclassical orthodoxy (Chayanov *et al.* 1986; Scotte, 1977; Bryceson, 1999).

<sup>645</sup> (Chayanov, Chayanov *et al.* 1986).

<sup>646</sup> (Chayanov and Berelowitch, 1990).

<sup>647</sup> The eastern part of the DRC, particularly the ex-Kivu, which is what is known today as North-Kivu, South-Kivu and Maniema. The DRC fell under the zone of the concession companies (Young and Turner, 1985; Amin, 1972).

<sup>648</sup> (Gann and Duignan, 1879; Hochschild, 1999).

of lands were given to particular individuals known as ‘*Acqueureurs*’<sup>649</sup>. Those plantations were still being exploited under normal tenure, until the advent of wars to which a bloody decade of armed violence ensued where insecurity paralysed the agricultural activities<sup>650</sup>. What evolved in the eastern Congo, and particularly in the Kabare District, was a system of semi-feudal type. Under this system, the tenure relations are determined by the national law of the 1970s that put all lands in the country under state ownership<sup>651</sup>. This applies provincially and locally where in the rural areas, the chiefs are main custodians of the land. They allocate lands to those who are in need and provide a proof of a title deed. It can be said therefore that even though there has been a disruption of traditional relations, tenure, and means of production revolving around the land, the outlook remains very much similar to the ones described under the notions of the ‘Moral Economy’<sup>652</sup>. It is important to remind that in the circle Mulungu-Katana-Lwiro, peasant economy is based on daily activities such as farming, domesticating of farm animals, tilling the land, selling on the local market, fish farming... around which the transport industry comes to supplement the efforts of agriculturalists and vendors with motorbikes and cars on the road<sup>653</sup>. Of course, all the three research centres stand as pillars of strength in the make up the rural economy to which they bring a stone of weight in the daily economic activities by means of employment and by allocating agricultural space and farm fishing facilities, etc. However, not a single element that contributes to the makeup of the peasant economy in the area was spared by past armed violence. The only thing they never touched was the fishponds. The reason being, to harvest fish in the ponds is a very long process that goes from clearing the water, using appropriate instruments to scoop fish, to preserve it for consumption<sup>654</sup>. The lack of security is at

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<sup>649</sup> (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>650</sup> Lemarchand, 2012).

<sup>651</sup> This was known as the ‘Bakajika Law’ (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>652</sup> The sluggish economy in Zaire from the 1980s upwards that is explained by a plurality of factors has also affected the peasant economy that lost all the agricultural support from the state owing to the adjustments and has thus relapsed into the traditional outlook of the pre-colonial years (Pongo, 1999, Emizet, 1997, Young and Turner, 1885, Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>653</sup> These activities that are happening outside the state regulatory framework (Sassen, 1994; Collier, 2007; [Zlolski, 1994](#); [Devey, Skinner et al. 2006](#)).

<sup>654</sup> (Montague, 2002; Dagne, 2011).

the heart of the destruction of the peasant economic fabric. It is obvious that no community can function naturally amidst tangible insecurity<sup>655</sup>.

Here the tragedy lies in the destruction of this peasant economy alongside state failure. State failure theory<sup>656</sup> is important here as the state cannot supply goods to the people, and with the violence in the area the peasant economy that predates the state cannot function. Whereas, the absence of the state is not necessarily a problem in a peasant economy, and in fact could be a beneficial absence when the state itself is a source of violence. The culture of violence that now exists further exacerbates the problems here making the state even less able to assist and its responses to troubles is to respond with further violence.

### ***Security as an incentive to peasant economy in the past***

Though the Zairean creeping economy of the 1980s did affect farmers in the Kabare District, they continued to produce in drops owing to lack of support from third parties<sup>657</sup>. Security that existed then served as an incentive to farmers; business minded people and petty producers in the District and beyond continued producing for local market. They survived on the very poor local production and a local consumption to adapt to changes as a mechanism of resilience within the Lwiro-Katana-Mulungu area. The fact that one could move his cattle without any hassle from village to village and from city to city was an element that allowed the survival of farmers, encouraged their exchange on the market place and strengthened the relations among people: Security is the most missing links to be restored the lost livelihoods and peasant economies that once were based on farming, breeding cattle and selling on the local market. Peasants produced dairy and fresh farm products helped people in the daily survival. Butchers and cow sellers could move from Masisi to Walungu with their cows without any fear plus with money in their pocket any time.

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<sup>655</sup> Uganda only managed to get back to peace once the violence that gripped the country came to an end in the 1980s ([Khiddu-Makubuya, 1994](#); [Wolpin, 1994](#)).

<sup>656</sup> Robert, R. (2003).

<sup>657</sup> The government and private sector.

The lack of security has occasioned the crippling of the local market where important transactions took place between people with diverse activities did business. Security allowed the existence of a local market and encouraged exchange among villagers and city dwellers prior to 1996:

There was a market nearby here that was thriving and prosperous. Farmers from the hillsides and villages near the research centres and its surrounding, particularly on the flanks of the hills close to the National Park of Kahuzi-Biega, supplied fresh farm produce such as meat, eggs, milk plus the product of their harvest in the past. This marketplace you see today was always full and people came from very remote places to buy staffs here. Today it is completely dead.

Peasant economy was strengthened by agricultural businesses that gathered city dwellers and villagers and buyers in the pre-violence time:

Prior to the invasion of the country by foreign troops, there used to be a market here on Wednesdays and Saturdays where farmers and villagers near the research centres and its surrounding and even people from the city came to do business. It vanished like candlelight in the wind because of the lack of adequate security.

The people who were living on hillsides near the Kahuzi-Biega National Park and the surrounding villages experienced forced mass movement; they ran in search of a place of safety for their lives abandoning their economic activities which constituted their primary livelihood owing to the raids of foreign troops and militias on their locations. The local market that played the role of a kind of glue of economic activities was crippled:

The raids from the FDLR militia chased those who were staying on the hillsides and surrounding villages near the outskirts of the Kahuzi-Biega National Park. They left their homes and sought refuge in the centres nearby. These are the people who supplied the market with foods in the past. Since they were forcefully compelled to flee, the market suffered owing to lack of supplies and became deserted, it died slowly.

Insecurity is the primary cause of the disappearance of the market. It started with the liberation war and was continued by the occupation of the territories in the eastern part of the DRC<sup>658</sup>. The lack of security suffocated slowly the peasant economic activities and eroded the local market

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<sup>658</sup> (Umutesi, 2004; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Van Reybrouck, 2014).



where economic actors met to engage in agri-commercial activities that contributed very much in the economy of the peasants in the area. Peasant economy in the area degenerated:

We went so low to the point of using the barter system to survive. The peasant economy was completely decimated. When one was sick and once he was to be transferred to a hospital, we used armchairs and stretchers to take the sick to the hospital 7 kms away, even more, owing to lack of a means of transportation.

What contributed very instrumentally to decimate the peasant economy in the area was the use of firearms by soldiers and militias from Rwanda against the civilians.

### ***Small weapons issues***

The proliferation of small arms contributed in the destruction of the peasant economy through phenomena such as rape, armed robbery, pillage and vandalism in the district which were commanded by the possession of firearms<sup>659</sup>. Soldiers that were believed to be from Rwanda raided the villages and took all the farm animals:

Troops of soldiers came by night fully armed and going from plot to plot, they took all the animals that they loaded in a big truck. When there was no more space in the truck they would leave the area and disappear in the night.

Another incident was witnessed in Katana with similar effect as testified by an eyewitness who watched from his hiding place:

On a given night, commander MUTEBUSE came with a truck full of goats and chickens. They entered the hospital with such a terror and violence. We were forced to run away and hid in the village. As guards, we had no weapons to protect ourselves against heavily armed soldiers. They forced nurse on duty to treat their wounded soldiers and after these were given first aid in the hospital, they vanish before dawn carrying their wounded soldiers and stolen farm animals in the back of the truck.

On top the looting of commodities, rape was used to subjugate the population in the area<sup>660</sup>: Those militias came and pillaged our homes, then kidnapped people and used them as

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<sup>659</sup> (Onana, 2009; Olson and Fors, 2004; Nzungola-Ntalaja, 2002; Van Reybrouck, 2014)

<sup>660</sup> New wars are characterized by atrocities directed towards the civilians with killings, torture, rape, etc. with the aim of exercising a tight control on the population by means of terror. (Kaldor, 1999; Kaldor, 2013; Leatherman, 2011)

porters to carry the stolen things from our communities in the forests of the Kahuzi-Biega Park. While some were collecting our things in our homes, others were busy raping both men and women while others watched around heavily armed.

All the animal animals that were involved in the economic reproduction were looted and others taken by the power of the gun from the villagers. In the long run, the armed men dispossessed almost all the villagers of their farm animals. It crippled the animal side of the peasant economy where meat and milk could not be available on the local market anymore. Discouraged by those acts of criminality and barbarism, many farmers sought to abandon farming works and eventually forsook farming, tired of seeing men with guns taking all the fruit of their labour.

### ***The abandoning of farming activities***

Beside the pillage of farm animals, farmers were exposed to acts of rape and torture. It turned to be a danger for women to go to attend to farming works. Soldiers and militias speaking Kinyarwanda<sup>661</sup> were capturing women they found cultivating in the fields and systematically raped them. Others were dismembered thereafter and killed. An elder denounced strongly these acts of dehumanization and of utter lack of humanity:

We could not farm. If they find a woman or a girl or even both, babies included, they threw themselves on them. Because they used to move in groups with their weapons, they would rape them repeatedly. If they were ten or more, all of them will have turns to sexually force the woman.

To those monsters, any person of female gender was a prey for rape. Those who were raped were also sexually mutilated:

From rape, sexual mutilations followed to those who were found in farms attending to their fields. Sexually mutilated women were left with serious psychological shocks that are still haunting our communities to date. Many of those who were sexually mutilated died by lack of treatment, other never properly recovered.

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<sup>661</sup> The Rwandese vernacular.

Farming ceased to be a desired economic activity.

### ***The discouraging of Farming***

The primary reason for farming discouragement was that the soldiers and militias from Rwanda who came in the right time of harvest and took all the produce of the farm:

The FDLR came over and over when it was time for harvest and invested the villagers' field. They took all the crops that were matured for harvest and left. People got heartbroken and could not continue to farm. They were unable to keep the seeds for the next planting season.

The psychological torture imposed on the farmers accentuated the disinterest in their traditional work. An elder in the community explained:

Forsaking of farms and houses in rural areas was due to the looting or pillaging of harvest products. All over this district, villagers were subjected to the same fate. Once they plant crops, militias will harvest. Life became unbearable.

A worker in Mulungu to add:

The FDLR came over and invested the research centre. It was time very close to the harvest. They scooped all the crops and even the seeds. The laboratory was looted together with the offices and the green houses were also looted and then vandalized. They also looted the vehicles and tractors that were used in the agricultural projects. All around, they got into people farms and helped themselves with the crops that villagers were to harvest. I remember in 1998, the Rwandese militias harvested all the potatoes.

Fear and terror were psychologically pinned on agricultural activities. For fear of being raped, fear of being sexually mutilated and even being dismembered, most of the villagers lost appetite to farming and discouraged, they ended up throwing in the towel and quit farming. The act of their will, understandably informed by the experienced dehumanization, led to the forsaking of farming activities which in turn led to scarcity or unavailability of food on the market. It was very hard to plant and to do all the farming follow up for someone else to harvest in one's place. Foreign combatants and soldiers ruined them with no help from the government to resume their activities.

### ***The lack of help from the government***

During the decade of violence, the government was unable to help the citizens against the terrible ordeals they experienced during these violent times. The majority of participants in this study all contend that the government did absolutely nothing to soothe their plight. From students to state employees, all saw that the state provided very little if anything of assistance from violence let alone normal state functions. The state failure theory<sup>662</sup> shows that the state is incapable of supplying goods and services to the citizenry. So here, people may lament the lack of a response, the state as a failed state cannot contribute to the needs of the people.

A resident briefly commented on how the government had failed the population:

“So far the government has not been concerned with nothing about our situation”.

The residents of the area did not have great expectations from the state but some lamented:

We expected the government to intervene to stop the wars. Build infrastructure in such a way to join villages and cities in order to allow the farmers to sell their agricultural products beyond the local point.

Another resident added:

We hoped the government was going to provide security of people, goods and institutions by deploying soldiers on the sites that were preyed by the FDLR so that it could chase them.

A man with anger pointed at the inability of the government:

It is a corrupted government that lacks leadership, absent as to the needs of the nation. In other words it is an irresponsible government... People expected the government would secure their goods and families.

The government is blamed for being inactive in crucial matters:

Our fields have been occupied by alien elements up to now and the government does not want to do anything to help us regain our sources of livelihoods,

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<sup>662</sup> Robert, R. (2003).

particularly the arable lands. It is a deliberate willingness of the government, we understand.

The international interference is pointed at as the primary weakness of the government:

The Congolese state is not independent, though it pretends to be one. Government is under severe pressure from the West. We all know very well that the hand that gives is always above the one that receives.

The lack of protection of farmers as well as their farming activities and produce by the local and national authorities has finally left no choice to peasants except to run for their safety. The responses as shown above echoed sentiments of state ineffectiveness, corruption as well as the role of foreign powers and forces in local problems. The absence of the state in providing basic security was keenly felt and the inability to play a developmental role in terms of infrastructure and facilitating trade. Few expected most basic services showing the long history of neglect and problems experienced here. The state is most prominent in its absence.

### ***Forced migration of peasants in the Kabare District***

The lack of government roles and services had increased pressures on people to migrate. Migration was also seen as a way to flee depredations from rebels and foreign soldiers. The mass movement of villagers from the rural areas to the urban and peri-urban centres was seen as a making of the Rwandese soldiers<sup>663</sup> and their militias. There was seen to be no meaningful action against which no meaningful action was taken to mitigate their devastation on the rural taken to stem violent militias in the Lwiro-Katana-Mulungu circle within the district of Kabare. Their forced migration led to the abandoning of farming activities which constituted a basis for the peasant economy in the area. A severe blow was dealt to the rural economy owing to the failure of the state. An elder in the community noted:

That violence has caused a population movement. People left the hillsides where they lived and relocated by force in cities and other provinces. They left their fields unattended due to ever increasing insecurity. There has been a terrible congestion in the centres such as Katana and even in the cities like Bukavu or Goma, etc. The market was completely handicapped as traders ran away as well. Farmers could not produce any more like before.

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<sup>663</sup> (N'Gbanda and Onana, 2004).

Many of the respondents assumed that the militias were foreign. They discussed the uniforms as being Rwandan and contributing to further instability. Other respondents made mention of Congolese militias that have contributed to the migration out of the area to urban centres. A resident noted:

Those contributing were the Nkudabatware<sup>664</sup> armed movement; the M23, Raia Mutomboki and other militias; all these armed movements have contributed to violence in our country and that is what forced people to abandon farming in the area. A student explained the role of militias in straining resources in urban locations:

There was a massive movement of population from the rural areas to the urban centres as a result of the FDLR atrocities. It led to overpopulation in centres such as Katana, Kavumo and even in towns like in Bukavu or Goma. All around the ex-Kivu province, the interior has suffered terrible violence and acts of animalism of all sorts by foreign men in uniform in gumboots with AK47 as well as the militias.

Those that stayed in rural places were subject to all kinds of violence. Stories abounded of people who were found on farms cultivating were kidnapped and taken to unknown places where they suffered horrors beyond description. This contributed to perceptions of violence and of evil acts being committed. Here, the ideas that lie behind the culture of violence that has been created from the violence past are echoed again in brutal acts of violence discussed below. Here, the truth claims of people and their explanations around gross violations of human rights may sound exaggerated. However, the extreme violence that has been perpetuated against people is very real. One such act is where people are hung (Kagozi-Kabanga) and this is then imbued with supernatural overtones.

### ***The Kagozi-Kabanga<sup>665</sup> experience***

To the atrocious acts already discussed such as rape and looting came to be added the Kabanga-Kagozi (hanging) phenomena as noted by villagers:

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<sup>664</sup> Nkudabatware, known commonly as Nkunda, was the leader of the CNDP movement who also was involved in a rebellion in the eastern Congo (Onana, 2009).

<sup>665</sup> Is the Killing by hanging or strangling people and then the cord used is sold to individuals who are involved in occultism, they are suspected to be devil worshippers.

People's mass movement away from their villages to the commercial centres was motivated by the fear of being killed by hanging, among other means. At night they would flee to the fields to sleep there to avoid being hanged (Kabanga – kagozi). Sexual mutilation of young girls and women and the removal of the uterus from them also were taken into account.

People reported that the cords or ropes used to hang people were being sold nearby. The ropes used for hanging are said to have powers and are used in rituals. How common, or even if the rituals occur is uncertain. This is then coupled to mistrust of foreign interference even of the UN missions. This fear of a foreign influence led to a mistrust of UN forces and personal with claims that they were being sold by the UN personal as explained by some members of the community:

MONUSCO<sup>666</sup> is pointed out by the local population as being accomplice in homicides by hanging (kabanga)...We have young girls kidnapped and taken to unknown places where they the uterus removed then sent back to their families just like that. People are hanged with special cords that are sold for money.

Women and particularly young girls were said to be the victim of the Kabanga phenomenon, noted a retired teacher:

Those who were caught during farming time were victimized by those who worked for Satanism; girls and women were kidnapped to be removed the uterus and the proliferation of the 'kagozi' phenomenon became very common in the area.

The population was beset with fears of acts of evil by those who were supposed to protect them. They saw state and UN officials with great mistrust and even fear. The long history of violence contributed to these fears and perceptions and real violence occurred daily. The fleeing of peasants to commercial centres and towns and their peripheries created a new ordeal in their new residing areas, caught in the webs of the Congolese dual economies.

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<sup>666</sup> United Nations mission in the DRC.

### ***The death of the dual economy***

The peasant economy in Kabare and its near collapse is a prism reflecting the decades of bloody violence. The worsening poverty that came with the decline of the peasant economy from the violence and the migration exacerbated problems nearby. There has long been a dual economy in the DRC with a mix of a local peasant economy and a larger formal economy that were intimately integrated. The violence that decimated the informal economy in the Kabare area among others then impacted the formal economy. Jobs are scarce and the decline of peasant production meant food shortages are common and the formal economy is not robust enough to support the local population. The other aspect of the formal economy is a global one involved in resource extraction. This economy still functions due to a predatory state that supports large scale resource extraction to the benefit of state officials and foreign firms. The predatory characteristics of the state through several governments in the country combined with the kleptocratic state figures<sup>667</sup> in whose hands on power was passed; from the CFS to the DRC explain the happenings in the circle Lworo-Mulungu-Katana. The presence of leaders who focused on their own well-being rather than of the citizens<sup>668</sup>; the lack of a clear political roadmap has fissured the economic activities thus creating two economies<sup>669</sup>. On one hand, the global parts of the economy that is conceived, tailored and shaped by neo-liberal ideologies and policies that promote an elitist economic island amidst a sea of poor and excluded masses at grassroots<sup>670</sup>. The dual-economy is a global phenomenon within the international political economy that stems from core nations to the peripheries with horrible effects on the masses at grassroots levels<sup>671</sup>. In the DRC, the dual-economy shows clearly the splits in society. One hand, the global economy with people living in a world that is copied on a Western lifestyle and business environment encompassing political leaders, managers of multinationals, researchers, technicians, experts and engineers and prominent businessmen all connect to the neo-patrimonial

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<sup>667</sup> (Hesselbein, 2007).

<sup>668</sup> (Young and Turner, 1985).

<sup>669</sup> (Hesselbein, 2007).

<sup>670</sup> The dual economy is a global phenomenon. It can be also well understood using the South African case or in the understanding of the 'Bottom Billion' Thesis (Cousins, 2007, Collier, 2007; Du Toit, 2004).

<sup>671</sup> The penetration of patterns of capitalist system disrupted and eroded traditional modes of production in non-capitalist societies, creating a fragmentation of labour and social classes ([Portes, Walton et al. 1981](#)).



hub that revolves around the leader and his direct clients<sup>672</sup>. These are in control of contracts that are signed and all the companies that are legally and illegally operating in the country. They live in extremely extravagant houses and drive extravagant cars in areas that are reserved to the high earning class, thus erecting socio-economic barriers between them and the majority; it isolates and excludes the masses<sup>673</sup>. It is a clear demonstration of the cleavage between the rich and the poor, the local and the international, as a lack of a clear policy of redistribution of resources, wealth and services. This sector has not supported the traditional one being, in practical sense of real life, dependent on it. On the other hand, the second economy houses a pool of all those that are excluded from the mainstream or first economy. These are the jobless and the jobseekers whose number is swelling at every secondary or tertiary graduation ceremony<sup>674</sup>. It harbours those who are implicitly excluded and marginalized by the first economy and who eke a living in any type of informal economic activities<sup>675</sup> that can be imagined. They street vendors or hawkers, sellers on the marketplace, individuals who survive by cultivating other people's fields, those who have retired by lack of strength to carry on working<sup>676</sup>. Their number is swollen by the victims of the decade of violence; people who have been severely traumatized, stressed, distressed and depressed by the impact of the magnitude of violence that was inflicted by the unfortunate events of protracted armed conflict they survive. Trapped in the second informal economy, the peasants are facing a very tough battle to survive amid phenomena such as unemployment, illiteracy, poverty inherited from the monumental mismanagement of past decades of bogus political leader, HIV/AIDS and other socio-economic issues that are borne from the death of peasant activities in the area<sup>677</sup>. This echoes with the longer history of the DRC where the state has long been predatory and the ravages from the past had never been dealt with.

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<sup>672</sup> The political culture is determined by relations of clientelism in the DRC. It is also a legacy from King Leopold era that has haunted and hunted very single government in the country (Trefon, 2011, Bayart, 2009, Hochschild, 1999).

<sup>673</sup> (Carr and Laymen, 1958).

<sup>674</sup> (Field notes).

<sup>675</sup> (Sassen, 1995).

<sup>676</sup> Package for those who retires from public service is quasi inexistent in the DRC (Field notes). So one works until he can't no more, they end up joining the informal sector of the economy where jobs lack security with very low revenues and the absence of benefits (Bacchetta, Ernst et al. 2009; Walther, 2013).

<sup>677</sup> Sub-Saharan Africa faces developmental problems under globalization that impact almost all the socio-politico-economic sectors (Pilon, 2006).

The governments that followed from the troubles 1960-1965 half-decade were engineered by neo-patrimonialism, depredation, kleptocracy, corruption, and false promises. It was in a sense responsible for crippling the economy in adopting adjustments programmes from the Brettonwood institutions that followed the failure of the policy of Zairianization<sup>678</sup>.

The drop of copper price on the world market dealt a last straw to the Zairean economy. The first economy became dormant and impacted the second economy that was kept afloat by the money from pensions and petty commerce. The crisis that followed suit from the early 1980s exacerbated problems of survival and difficulties of the second economy to which peasant activities were so dependent on. With the asphyxiation of the second economy, peasants' activities were also subject to the same fate. The decade from 1996 with the aggression of armies from neighbouring countries, local militias and fears that these were sustained by foreign powers and international businessmen who all aimed at plundering the mineral deposits in the eastern Congo with unimaginable violence<sup>679</sup>. All these processes and events further asphyxiated the peasant economy in the Kabare District. From a mixed economic production of the early years of the young Congolese state, the dual production both for subsistence and commercial nature sustained the peasant economy. Instead of an informal economy that supports and articulates with the formal economy, local production all but stopped, and without a functioning state to intervene the problems and poverty worsened. The removal of subsidies in key products such as pesticides, fertilizer, seeds and training assistance has decimated the commercial aspect of peasant production and led to the classic destruction of the market. The remaining subsistence production sector showed resilience from shocks and trends caused by global forces with no help from either the government or private sector. It was finally destroyed by the invasion of foreign armies from neighboring countries in the region, unable to resist the violent nature of the daily life that both security forces and militias imposed on simple peasants by atrocities of all evils<sup>680</sup>.

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<sup>678</sup> (Emizez, 1997; Young and Turner, 1985 & 2013).

<sup>679</sup> (Umutesi, 2004; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Van Reybrouck, 2014; N'Gbanda and Onana, 2004; Onana, 2009; Emizet, 2000; Le Billon, 2001; Montague, 2002; Hochschild, 1999).

<sup>680</sup> (Reyntjens, 1999; Reyntjens, 2001; Reyntjens, 2009).

Again, the cycle of history remains unbroken between eras, from colonial to postcolonial, to Zariification, to neo-liberal, to the current state of violence, poverty<sup>681682</sup> and Joblessness

The DRC has been experiencing acute unemployment from the 1970s. The adjustments programmes for the World Bank have been one of the causes of unemployment in the country<sup>683</sup>. Besides the neoliberal policies embraced by the country then, the elites have uses a kleptocratic approach in governance<sup>684</sup>. That led to an exacerbation of poverty of which unemployment is the main derivative<sup>685</sup>. The entire country is having the overwhelming majority of its people unemployed. Training and education are not guarantee of work as graduates too cannot find work. In this case, the migration of graduates has been a form of an economy<sup>686</sup> nationwide but the peasants who are, in most of cases, uneducated are limited in the mobility for the quest of employment. The Kabare District has not escaped to this national logic and their plight in that regard has been exacerbated by the years of bloody violence imposed on them<sup>687</sup>. As it killed their livelihoods and displaced them, it left a heavy burden to carry after the bloody decade of violence. By destroying means of livelihoods to the peasants, the deadly violence subtracted meanings to life without work for those who still of working age. A graduate depicted the type of society in which they lived after the violence:

Our society was changed in a negative manner. Besides rampant poverty, unemployment is rife and the livelihoods of the rural population were completely destroyed. It makes life become truly unbearable for these communities and in times, meaningless to us.

People who are of working age and strong enough spend the day seated in the yard and whenever they can, they play cards or draughts, or else they find some other activity to kill time.

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<sup>681</sup> (Emizet, 1997; Jeffries, 1993).

<sup>682</sup> (Reyntjens, 1999; Reyntjens, 2001; Reyntjens, 2009).

<sup>683</sup> Aid from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund has been attached with compliances and conditionality that end up being counterproductive to many African countries (Dreher, 2006).

<sup>684</sup> (Bayart, 2009, Trefon, 2011; Hesselbein, 2007).

<sup>685</sup> Aid is not working and it hurts many African countries (Moyo, 2009).

<sup>686</sup> Amin such an unemployment crisis, graduates are on the move in search of jobs and a better pay ([Ramamurthy, 2003](#); Stalker, 2001).

<sup>687</sup> (Galtung, 1965).

A teacher pointed at the acute unemployment:

There are no jobs here and government has been not capable of creating any around us. Look at those in the deserted market place, they are just playing games and this is how time goes by.

The observation of a housewife describes what professional life looks like in the area:

In this area, beside those who are working for the research centres, people have to strive to cultivate their farms. Those who can afford the fish ponds, they also work in that regards or else they have to find something else to do. They may engage in selling sweets or biscuit or anything to keep busy and try to survive daily. It all walks of life in the same pot, graduates, teachers, technicians, etc.

The rural areas used to be places where life was possible with rural activities bustling on given days of the week. In aggregate, to the disinvestment experienced by the country with the departure of the investors under the *Zaireanisation* policy, the economic crisis ensued to which protracted violence of over a decade sealed the crippling of all economic avenues that could have created jobs among peasants. Nonetheless, prior to the events under Mobutu's tenure, from the Congo Free State to the Belgian-Congo, the country has never been prepared to run on its own and that is the crux of all the troubles that followed to explain the chain of plagues imposed on the Congolese people<sup>688</sup>. There was no transition from the colonial period to the independent Congo. Foreign interference that followed from the West and the lack of leaders who did not understand<sup>689</sup> the politico-economic games from the global to the local levels has impacted very negatively on the population in the rural areas. The absence of viable industries in the countryside has left no choice to the rural population in the tense violent environment, but to swell the ranks of those selling petty commodities in order to survive<sup>690</sup>.

### ***Eking a living by selling multivariate articles***

The migration from farming activities to urban and peri-urban activities has contributed much to the decimation of peasant economy. In the context of acute unemployment amid poverty in their new living space, peasant who are now a new category of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in

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<sup>688</sup> (Kanza, 1972; Gann and Duignana, 1979, Hochschild, 1999; Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>689</sup> Nkrumah *et al.* 1963).

<sup>690</sup> (Ellis, 2000, Khan, 2000).

the country turn to petty commerce in order to survive<sup>691</sup>. They sell anything within their daily possibilities in the quest of survival. Their situation is similar to the experience of those who fled to big cities outside of the country in search of peace of mind and security. They face a tough competition in a world that is further divided in social casts within walls of inequality. An elder in the community put the finger on the plight of the IDPs:

The situation is of a rampant poverty. Today people live with informal petty commerce. The majority are selling sweet, biscuit and little things that can hardly bring home one dollar per day. They were forced to leave their original livelihoods and now they must find something to survive.

For young and strong men, the orientation may vary:

All the young people who did not join the rebellion movements, they took to road to the places where they are involved in artisanal mining. Those who cannot sell or go to the mines to dig some gems, they are just hanging around until they decide to do something meaningful in their eyes.

The non-intervention of the state in the daily affairs of peasants who were trapped in a vicious circle of violence has discouraged most of them from eking a living based on farming activities. Peasants abandoned rural activities that constituted the fabric of their economy owing to insecurity. They ran to urban and peri-urban centres in search of a secured living space and job opportunities. However, the war has also left a legacy of a devilish pandemic to peasants; and the disease has also contributed to the killing of their economy.

### ***Sexual Violence in the District***

The rape, mass rape and sexual mutilations orchestrated by soldiers in the eastern Congo and particularly the Kabare district<sup>692</sup> were not a fruit of a sudden happening as posited by the logic of new wars<sup>693</sup>. It was along range plan of countries that were involved in the invasion of the Congo under the pretense of chasing the undesired dictator<sup>694</sup>. Wars are enterprises that are put in a place by the injection of tons and tons of money. Uganda trained Jean-Pierre Bemba and

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<sup>691</sup> (Landeau, 2005: 15; Turton, 2003: 12).

<sup>692</sup> Participant to this study confirmed that the executors of all atrocities were speaking Kinyarwanda.

<sup>693</sup> (Kaldor, 1999; Kaldor, 2013).

<sup>694</sup> (Olsson and Fors, 2004).

provided technical and logistic support in order to invade the Congo<sup>695</sup>. Rwanda used the sons of the 1959 refugees who were born in exile in Congo who were involved in the kidnapping of school children who were seduced by politicians who made bogus promises. Rwanda also invested money and logistic in training soldiers who were to fight alongside the AFDL<sup>696</sup>. The Rwandese Patriotic army that fought in the 1996 war was made of combatants who also fought in the Ugandan wars alongside President Museveni. They fought for Museveni to chase President Obote from power in Uganda in a context of extreme prevalence of HIV/AIDS. The end of the civil war brought President Museveni to power; combatants from the rebel side were demobilized from the army. These were used in the conquest of the Congo as mercenaries on the side of the aggressors and they have raped women, girls and little girls<sup>697</sup>. From Miti, they continued their dehumanizing work in the Kavumu-Katana-Lwiro circle which and they stretched their operations beyond the Kabare District to rich the Kalehe District as well as the entire province. Wherever they passed, they exercised a systematic rape on the local population. By the end of the violent decade, the rural areas were full with violated and traumatised women who once used to be active in the production of food and busy in the makeup of the peasant economy. Women in the entire provinces of the eastern DRC<sup>698</sup>, particularly in the Kabare District, were unable to attend to farm work. Their plight was made worse by diseases such as HIV/AIDS, g The gendered violence of the conflict targeted a segment of the population that had played a central role in the economy. Their lack of strength to carry on has crippled the peasant economy in the District. A worker at the research centre explained:

Unimaginable harm was done to the population as well as the institutions. Pandemic such as HIV/AIDS from rape by infected soldiers from outside and then by the FDLR. We have lost human lives. We have abundant orphans, widows, widowers and Street kids as a result. It is a considerable segment of the population that is traumatized.

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<sup>695</sup> (Bemba, 2002).

<sup>696</sup> (Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>697</sup> There has been a terrible ravage in Miti where almost every house was victim of rape. The rest of communities in other locations in the Kabare District were not spared. An intended genocide that the world has denied to the Congolese (Pratt, Werchick *et al.* 2004; Zawati, 2007; Oury, 2008; Mukwege and Nangini, 2009, Mukwege, Mohamed-Ahmed *et al.* 2010; Skjelsbæk, 2011).

<sup>698</sup> Scheper-Hughes, N., & Bourgois, P. I. (2004).

The disease contributed much to the vulnerability of the rural population<sup>699</sup>: Raped women were left with incurable diseases such as HIV/AIDS contaminated by soldiers. Women who were attending the most to the works of farming became prey to men in uniform and armed men from the invading troops. Food has been then very difficult to find with the disruption of the peasant economy and they have to import most of things to eat from Rwanda.

The gendered violence spread all over the countryside in the eastern Congo<sup>700</sup>. Here, locals blame the foreign soldiers in particular and see HIV/AIDS as a major factor that came along with this gendered violence:

We did not know the word rape before. But from 1998, the Rwandese soldiers and militias orchestrated rape in all the villages surrounding. They raped women in all the rural areas, mostly, in the South-Kivu Province. Women who produced food were infected. Because of lack of treatment and the culture of secrecy to avoid shame, they were overcome by the virus and lost strength to attend to farming works, which demand a lot of physical strength.

The HIV virus decimated a generation of farmers who were custodians of the knowledge of farming<sup>701</sup>. Not only this had a deadly impact on the peasant economy but it signaled the beginning of food scarcity in the area and opened the door to worsening poverty among families which relied on agriculture for their subsistence<sup>702</sup>.

### ***Chronic Poverty***

From the cutting of subsidies dictated by the structural adjustments policies, farmers could still continue to survive amid a violent economic crisis. All the activities people may engage in are

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<sup>699</sup> (Swift, 1993).

<sup>700</sup> (Pratt, Werchick *et al.* 2004; Zawati, 2007; Oury, 2008; Mukwege and Nangini, 2009, Mukwege, Mohamed-Ahmed *et al.* 2010; Skjelsbæk, 2011; Scheper-Hughes, N., & Bourgois, P. I. (2004).).

<sup>701</sup> Just like in South Africa 'The Land Act' of 1913 and the 'Native trust Land' of 1936 decimated the years of accumulated farming knowledge in South Africa owing to capitalistic thrusts, infected HIV/AIDS combatants spread the disease that finished a generation of farmers who abandoned farming works owing to lack of strength and this led to the decimation of peasant economy. It will take another decade before a new generation of farmers can emerge. Chances are that they may not have the knowledge help by the previous decimated generation (Letsoalo, 1987; Plaatje and Plaatje 1916).

<sup>702</sup> (Chaianov, Chayanov *et al.* 1986; Tchayanov and Berelowitch, 1990).

not able to generate revenue of a single dollar a day. The absence of social grants and pensions to the senior citizens has deepened the rift of poverty among rural dwellers. It becomes very difficult to find means to relaunch peasant economic activities. Their conditions is that of a marginalised category of citizens<sup>703</sup>A situation that rural people understand very well in the Kabare District:

Society was changed in a negative manner. Besides rampant poverty, unemployment rose and the livelihoods of the rural population were completely decimated. Our communities were fractured with the severity and brutality of rapes and killings.

The situation persists owing to lack of capable actors who may rescue them:

Poverty is rampant. Today people live with informal petty commerce. The majority are selling sweet, biscuit and little things that can hardly bring home 1dollar per day... So far the government has not been concerned with nothing concerning our situation.

For people, the plight of rural people is extreme seen in the side of the state which is the main employer:

Poverty and misery on top of a sick state that pays a person with a Honours degree a salary of 70 dollar a month with no other advantage.

Given all the atrocities carried against farmers and the land in the eastern DRC during the decade of violence, the last meagre resources they relied upon were taken by the looters from Rwanda as well as their militias<sup>704</sup>. To that came the infection by HIV/AIDS of women and this killed all peasant economic activities. The disastrous consequence is a very severe poverty and food shortages.

### ***Concluding summary***

Peasant economy in the Kabare District has hit the rock bottom by forces that had reason over people's willingness. The historical happening demonstrate that from the time when the Congo

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<sup>703</sup> (Du Toit, 2004).

<sup>704</sup> (N'Gbanda and Onana, 2004; Onana, 2009; Dagne, 2011; Le Billon, 2001; Montague, 2002; Ross, 2006; Collier, 2007; [Collier and Hoeffler, 2004](#)).



was turned into a private property of Leopold II, peasants were doing well in an economy that was governed by the codes of morality among the people. Under the Belgian King's tenure, peasants who organized their daily activities with the principles of the 'moral economy' saw the imposition of a pure capitalist system that was ill-elaborated and brutal in nature, violent in application against them<sup>705</sup>. Under this state of things, they were forced to collect rubber in the forest plus kill elephants to supply the very product to the world market at their own expense for the enrichment of a brutal king.

From 1908, the Belgian monarch relinquished his private property to his country. Belgium turned the country into a colony and continued from where Leopold II left off<sup>706</sup>. The culture of Cash crops was imposed on peasants who focused on the cultivation of tea, coffee and bananas in the Kabare District in order to supply the nutritional needs of the colonizer and the colony. Incentives in the supply of pesticides, fertilizers, seeds and technical assistance were slowly brought to the fore to increase production and peasants could sell to the colonizer and organize their economies thus around agriculture centred on family farming plots. It supplied labour and gave way to growth through the selling of farm produce and the buying of new equipment for improvement<sup>707</sup>. All along the colonial era, two economies came to the fore. The classic one that is referred above as the first economy and the second one referred to as the informal economy where peasant economy featured. At independence, the second economy was very scant in scope given its dependence on the formal economy. The trouble years of the Congo from 1960 to 1965 did not influence peasant economy. However, with Mobutu coming to power, the drop in price of copper and the espousing of the adjustments policies brought about a severe economic crisis<sup>708</sup> from the 1970s that affected very much the peasant economy in a rather negative way. Subsidies having been removed, the policy of Zaireanization that saw the exit of Belgians and other expatriates who commanded the economic activities led to the slow death of the peasant economy in the Kabare District. Programmes to redress the situation were unsuccessful owing to

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<sup>705</sup> (Hochschild, 1999; Gann and Duignan, 1972; Van Reybrouck, 2014)

<sup>706</sup> (Meredith, 2011).

<sup>707</sup> ([Chayanov, Chayanov et al. 1986](#); [Tchayanov and Berelowitch, 1990](#)).

<sup>708</sup> (Emizet, 1997).

the violent economic crisis of the Mobutu era. Peasant continued to show resilience in producing for the local market with very meagre means<sup>709</sup>. As shown by protracted social conflict theory, the wars from 1996 and rebellions unleashed a tsunami of violence coupled with pillage and extortion where peasants saw their last means of survival swept by foreign men in uniform and gum boots<sup>710</sup>. Rape and mass rape, looting of farm animal and the Kagozi phenomena on top of insecurity are some of the realities that finally decimated the peasant economy in the Kavume-Katana-Mulungu circle in the District of Kabare. Herein lies the problem with finding a solution to the chaos of the area. The culture of violence that permeates the area coupled with the failed state means that foreign powers have tried to intervene. The following chapter turns to the UN mission and how it tried to work in the area And the difficulty of the UN being a solution either.

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<sup>709</sup> (Monaghan, 2013).

<sup>710</sup> (Turner, 2007).

## CHAPTER SIX - FROM ONUC TO MONUSCO OR THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS (UN) IN THE CONGOLESE CRISIS

### *Introduction: Setting the ground for UN intervention in the Congo*

The crisis of governance that tore the Congo sooner after independence was understood as a power struggle for world dominion between the communist block with Russia and its satellites against the United States of America on the other hand with countries that aligned themselves with capitalism<sup>711</sup>. This chapter argues that the Congolese tragedy that began prior to the formation of the Congo Free State (CFS) was an interplay of international powers that agreed to use the Congo as a common space for business among representatives of countries present at the Berlin Conference in Germany in 1885<sup>712</sup>. The Congo was deliberately chosen to be a terrain where western power planned to share the dividend from business transaction among them. This is the reason why Leopold II, the Belgian king, was given the green light to launch the exploration of the Basin of the Congo River<sup>713</sup>. The argument put forth by Western powers under the so called ‘mission to civilized the Congo’ and to ‘free the natives from the Arab slave trade’ was in reality driven by the profit making logic from commercial exchanges to benefit the imperialistic and colonial powers of the day. The Congo was thus projected to be a field set up for western business following the logic of colonization that underpinned the discovery of new spaces, the opening of new markets, the civilizing of the African people to whom a cliché of wild and savage people was pinned, but above all, the quest for raw materials to supply and sustain

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<sup>711</sup> The cold war was only an out front presented to the world by the media in the purpose of presenting to the public opinion the idea according to which the Soviet Union was the main enemy to eradicate from the Congo. The truth is that the other great powers that did not yet received a share of the spoil from the mineral African Eldorado were to find a way to reach the Congo (Hochschild, 1999; Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>712</sup> Signed at Berlin, February 26, 1885. In the name of Almighty God: The President of the United States of America, His Majesty the Emperor of Germany King of Prussia, His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Bohemia etc. and Apostolic King of Hungary, His Majesty the King of the Belgians, His Majesty the King of Denmark, His Majesty the King of Spain, the President of the French Republic,

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of the Indies, His Majesty the King of Italy, His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxembourg, His Majesty the King of Portugal and of the Algarves, etc. His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway etc. and His Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans (Förster, *et al.* 1988; Gann and Duignan, 1979).

<sup>713</sup> (Gann and Duignan, 1979; Hochschild, 1999).

industries in the West<sup>714</sup>. Leopold II having changed the cards by turning the Basin of the Congo River to be his own property, sidelined the terms agreed upon<sup>715</sup> by the imperial powers and colonial empires which sought to a piece of a precious cake that was and which the Congo remains to date given the abundance of mineral deposits<sup>716</sup>. Leopold II shut the door for business to other Western nations all along the days of the CFS and to their great bewilderment, he relinquished what was his private property to Belgium which turned into a colony and continued to exploit it in all regards, taking it from where their suzerain left off<sup>717</sup>. The terms of use of the Congo as a space for business such as prescribed by the Berlin Conference, that entailed the digging and harvesting of raw material, revived the desire from the countries delegated to the Berlin Conference to find a way to enter the African Eldorado and take their share of the spoil<sup>718</sup>. Following the explorations done under Leopold II in the country, Congo turned to be a real '*Congolese Eldorado*'<sup>719</sup> that Belgium never intended to share with other countries. As such

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<sup>714</sup> The Belgo-American alliance with the Americans in the driving seat was more worried about tapping into the mineral riches of the Congo than the threat of communism in the continent facilitated by the central position of the Congo (Hintjens and Cruz, 2014; Gann and Duignan, 1979; Hochschild, 1999).

<sup>715</sup> ARTICLE 1 of the matter related to the Congo reads: "The commerce of all nations shall enjoy complete liberty: 1st. In all the territories constituting the basin of the Congo and its affluents. This basin is defined by the crests of the contiguous basins, to wit: notably the basins of the Niari, of the Ogove, of the Schari and of the Nile, on the North; by the line of Eastern water shed of the affluents of lake Tanganyka on the East; by the crests of the basins of the Zambeze and of the Loge, on the South. It embraces consequently, all the territories drained by the Congo and its affluents, including the lake Tanganyka and its Eastern tributaries."

ARTICLE 3

Merchandise of every origin imported into these territories, under whatever flag it may be, by route of sea or river or land, shall have to discharge no other taxes than those which may be collected as an equitable compensation for expenses useful to commerce and which, under this head, must be equally borne by the allegiants and by strangers of every nationality. All differential treatment is prohibited in respect to ships as well as merchandise ([Förster, Mommsen et al. 1988](#); [Keltie 2014](#); [Keith 1919](#)).

<sup>716</sup> Geologic scandal is the reference to the overabundance of mineral resources of the Congo. The country harbours enormous reserves of coveted minerals in the global age (Turner, 2013; Turner, 2007; Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>717</sup> (Meredith, 2011).

<sup>718</sup> Violence in the Congo remained among the parties that agreed upon the mission of the civilization of the Basin of the Congo River. Each nation remained in the waiting position for getting a turn to enter into the Congo in order to scoop his share of the spoil, the Congo never been designed to function as a normal state but a field for collection of required material for the industries in the West (Gann and Duignan, 1959).

<sup>719</sup> The discovery of minerals in the Congo was a works of Leopold II who brought scientists in the CFS. The later did prospection after which the Congo was found to be a land full of several types of minerals on demand globally (Van Reybrouck, 2014, Gann and Duignan, 1979).

rulers of the Congo embarked on a true journey of self-enrichment where even the Congolese were not to be elevated to a status of leaders lest they enjoy their own wealth and turn against their colonists. While excluding the rightful owners, Congolese were kept in a state of violent subjugation<sup>720</sup> and there was never a policy to emancipate them and prepare them to govern their own country and fully take their destiny in their own hands. The politics of segregating both natives and foreign economic actors under self-appropriation was preserved and entertained by Belgians<sup>721</sup>. Delegate nations to the Berlin Conference remained in shadows waiting for a favourable moment to get their hands on Africa as agreed upon in Berlin. However, whenever others countries desired to trade in the Congo, they had to do it through Belgium<sup>722</sup>. But the agreement among foreign powers present to the Berlin Conference remained untapped in so long as other countries were not present in the Congo to get a share of the cake. The lurking in rampage by the powers that were barred the way to access the Congo, in a way or another, meant a colossal disaster was awaiting the country sooner or later. That meant crisis in the political Western breweries, which is synonymous of violence<sup>723</sup>. Whatever type of leadership or governance that ever took place in the Congo from Leopold II to the liberation and post-liberation in the DRC have been biased, leaning on the foundations laid by the powers present in Berlin. What has always mattered in the Congo is not the welfare of people as Congolese but what prominent businessmen and world leaders plan to achieve in the Congo, as evidenced by historical documentations<sup>724</sup>. The independence of the country in 1960 was but the continuation

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<sup>720</sup> *Le Plan Bilsen* proposed an emancipatory plan of the Congolese that projected the independence of the Congo to around 1985. Van Bilsen was a Belgian professor. The indigenous continued to be harshly treated in the Congo where no adequate future plans were made to free the people from the brutality of colonialism and imperialism (Hesselbein, 2007; Hochschild, 1999; Fanon, 2002).

<sup>721</sup> The heart of darkness of the Leopoldian CFS was continued by the Belgians (Conrad, 1902).

<sup>722</sup> Leopold II instilled a system of concession that obliged those desiring to trade in the Congo to make concession with him to be allocated shares or tracks of lands to do business, the moment he relinquished what was his private property to his Country, the system of concessions was continued. Concessions were granted to the Lever Brothers who were denied land to develop agricultural plantations in Nigeria (Hoskyns, 1965; Amin, 1972).

<sup>723</sup> (Fanon, 2002; Conrad, 1902).

<sup>724</sup> First the Congo Free State that denied the implementation of the visions of the Berlin Conference, Leopold II having started an enterprise in the Basin of the Congo River and the approbation of his enterprise being conditioned by the sharing of the Congolese spoils by all powers gathered in Berlin in 1885. This explains the brutal character of his rule as a sole monarch over a territory of the size of a continent. From the CFS to the Belgian-Congo, people

of the Congolese tragedy. The three-legged wheeled machine through which the Congo was governed was adamant to remain in contention for the leadership of the country. The missionaries who were in charge of the education and the spread of Christianity; the colonial administration that exercised a top-bottom style of governance that excluded both Congolese and foreign entrant who did not seek their blessing; and finally the mining conglomerates of Belgian majority that exerted huge profit from the mineral industry in the Congo refused to lift their grip over a newly independent country. The mining conglomerates orchestrated a rebellion in the mineral rich province of Katanga with the complicity of the Belgian government<sup>725</sup>. This political culture of selfishness and carelessness of the Belgians towards the Congo had to change its hypocritical face in involving the Americans in the Congolese troubles that they had offset by unleashing implicitly the mutiny immediately after independence and by encouraging their troops to hold a military grip on the Katanga province where they chased non Katangese soldiers and act as mentors to the Katangese soldiers in the optic of seceding the rich mineral province from the rest of the Congo<sup>726</sup>. The delay registered by the United Nations in adopting a resolution to end the Congolese crisis and the plea of former Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba that fell on death ears forced Lumumba to seek a quick help from Russia. This was interpreted as an alibi to label him as a communist and gave the Belgian-American alliance the springboard from where to launch a hunt of Patrice Lumumba<sup>727</sup>. The argument of the Cold War was thus brought to the fore. In reality, it was an opportunity for the nations that were sidelined from accessing the Congolese resources to find a way of entering the 'Congolese Eldorado' and claim their share by forcing the multinationals to mushroom in the country. To attend to the crisis, imposed on the Congo by foreign powers, the hated Patrice Lumumba, took advantage of the

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lived from crisis to another changing faces in the course of history (Montague, 2002; [Hayes and Burge 2003](#); Dagne, 2011; Hesselbein, 2007; Hochschild, 1999; Fanon, 2002).

<sup>725</sup> The aim was to sabotage the Lumumba's government and open the Congo to great troubles. It was a deliberate maneuver to destroy the Congo than let it be free or seeing it falling in the hands of any other power or foreign dominion, especially the communist block (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Vanthemshe, 2012).

<sup>726</sup> (Kanza, 1972).

<sup>727</sup> The only Congolese nationalist who had the vision of uniting all the Congolese people and aimed at building a Congo for all its sons and daughters was Patrice Lumumba. In this way, he was standing against the projections of world powers over the Congo by means of the Berlin Act with regard to the Congo. Lumumba was to be killed in order for the Berlin agenda to continue be applicable in the Congolese Eldorado (Gerard and Kuklick, 2015).

situation to fuel the political crisis they brewed in the country. It is in this context that the UN came to be involved in the Congolese political affairs.

### ***The UN missions in the Congo***

As convened in the Berlin Conference, the Congo was destined to serve as a market and a reservoir of raw material in the conception of powers represented to the Conference and which approved the idea by opposing their signatures<sup>728</sup>. By agreeing on those terms that had nothing of human in essence but rather inclined towards business and profit above human dignity and values, the idea of building a modern nation-state in the Congo was banished before it could see the day. Even if it was to be materialized, it was not going to be an ideal one given the provisions and prescriptions of the Berlin Conference. This explains why the Congo Democratic remains a case of hyper crisis. The extreme character that took the conflict in the Congo compelled the Prime Minister to send a delegation to the UN to negotiate for a assistance.

The first UN mission in the Congo was referred to as the *Operation des Nations Unies au Congo* (ONUC). It was the largest contingent the UN had used so far drawn from 28 countries with 20 000 troops, being the largest peacekeeping mission prior to the end of the Cold War. The Congolese crisis was unique in its kind and required peculiar attention outside the provisions of the UN charter being an international crisis created by outsiders within the boundaries of the newly independent country<sup>729</sup>. ONUC's mandate consisted of, inter alia, the role of UN traditional peacekeeping i.e. interposing between belligerents, performing patrols, observing a neutral zone, disarmament and providing security to important personnel and for sites such as airports and mines<sup>730</sup>. Under ONUC, the Prime Minister was arrested having not committed a criminal offense and torture to be finally killed in horrible manner. The UN that had the mission

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<sup>728</sup> (Meredith, 2011).

<sup>729</sup> In the words of the general Secretary, Dough Hammarskjold, the Congo case was complex compared to the ones the UN faced up to the 1950s (Abi-Saab, 1978; Dorn and Bell, 1995; MacQueen, 2014).

<sup>730</sup> Security around the mines as part of a peacekeeping mission sounded rather strange, mines were not hotspots of conflicts and did not require security from the UN. The national security force was operational and capable of performing that job. In New York, it was even proposed the disarmament of the national security forces amid a national crisis. *The Armée Natinoale Congolese* (ANC) needed to be supported and given advices relating to their performance of security and not to be disarmed (Dorn and Bell, 1995; Spooner, 2010).

of influencing on the political crisis did not raise a finger in trying to even request justice to be done for a legally and unanimously elected Prime Minister plus two of his colleagues brutally and coldly murdered in Katanga by the conspiracy of the Belgo-American alliance<sup>731</sup>. The UN that recruits the best of technicians, intellectuals, politicians, advisers, etc. knew better than the way it performed its duties in the first crisis of the Congo. It remained in the Congo for a stabilizing mission that curiously ended in 1964 when behind the curtain, a liberal candidate in whom the vision that foreign powers had over the Congo from the Berlin Conference was going to be taking place without any interference from within or from outside Congo was found. In Mobutu, a leader who was to secure the Berlin agenda was found and once that was obvious, the ONUC could leave the Congo and the following year in a state coup, Mobutu seized power and was at the service of the Western powers until the 1996 liberation war that left the terrain for the second crisis that justifies the second UN mission presence in the Congo to date<sup>732</sup>. The second crisis, the one that happened to be elastic fueled by external actors, both at regional and global levels, is known to have started with the liberation war of 1996 by troops from countries neighboring the Congo supported by funds from the West. Uganda and Rwanda, in the front with the justification of the threat to their national security by the presence of former soldiers and militias from the Habyarimana regime for Rwanda and the presence of the Lords Resistance Army (LRA) plus other guerrilla militant factions ranged against Uganda was the argument advanced by Uganda<sup>733</sup>. It brought the late President Laurent Desire Kabila to power. It took seven months for the coalition troops to sweep the gigantic Congo with Rwanda leading the operations. Upon

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<sup>731</sup> The truth is that Lumumba was standing on the way of the accomplishment of the agenda of Western powers to use the Congo as a gorge of raw material and a turning plate for profit-making business and imperialism in Africa given its position. The ANC could not kill Lumumba and a third party needed to come into play to pass organize the killing in a manner that was going to appear normal to the Congolese people and ONUC was then the only entity capable of making the forfeit happen. A prominent Prime Minister was thus killed like a mouse, without no regard to human dignity, no trial and no defense (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Kanza 1972; Hoskyns, 1965; Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>732</sup> MONUC as the second UN mission in the Congo came to existence owing to the crisis brought about by foreign powers from the African continent supported by the Western powers. Another Congolese nationalist who also happened to stay on the way of world leaders over the Congo was assassinated again, same date as Patrice Lumumba, which was President Laurent Desire Kabila. Both were assassinated on January 17. The former in 1961, the later in 2001 (Turner, 1985; Turner, 2013; Van Rey Brouck, 2014; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>733</sup> (Turner, 2007; [Reyntjens 2009](#)).



disagreement with neighboring Rwanda, the Rwandese who infiltrate all the spheres of life in the DRC based on the alliance they formed in the past created a rebellion in 2008 when they were told to go back home once the war was over. They plunged the Congo in a serious turmoil in restarting another war to oust late President Desire Kabila. The country was taken in a whirlwind of unprecedented crisis with horrible atrocities. The plea of the Congo to the UN led to the voting of the resolution that saw the deployment of a contingent to with the aim of building peace in the country that was torn by proxy wars fought by Rwandese and Ugandan troops financed by Western powers to mount a war on Congolese soil<sup>734</sup>. The second UN mission, MONUC<sup>735</sup>, in the Congo has been characterized by a large presence of security forces drawn from several countries with a wing of politicians and technicians. They have been however in most of the cases made with soldiers who cannot speak French in a country where French is used in the administration and the education, and so an important language in the Congo<sup>736</sup>. And this has been counterproductive as there are no interpreters, especially among the militaries. Crimes of extreme magnitude have been committed against the Congolese civilians nearby the UN headquarters or UN positions and in the area patrolled by the UN forces without people in the targeted community getting help from the UN troops owing to problems of language barrier.

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<sup>734</sup> (Onana, 2009; N'Gbanda and Onana, 2004)

<sup>735</sup> - Mission de l'organisation des Nations Unies au Congo - The security council of the UN stepped in to help resolve the crisis. A cease-fire was signed between the government and rebel movements in Lusaka in July 1999 involving the countries that were present in the Congo (Rwanda, Uganda, Namibia, Angola and Zimbabwe). Following the signing of the Lusaka Peace Accord, a UN resolution - Resolution 1279 - of 30 November 1999, initially to plan for the observation of the ceasefire and disengagement of forces and maintain liaison with all parties to the Ceasefire Agreement. Later in a series of resolutions, the Council expanded the mandate of MONUC to the supervision of the implementation of the Ceasefire Agreement and assigned multiple related additional tasks. Resolution 1925 of July 01, 2010 extended the mandate of the UN team in the Congo. The first mission team, MONUC was thus renamed MONUSCO - United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo -. The Council decided that MONUSCO would comprise, in addition to the appropriate civilian, judiciary and correction components, a maximum of 19,815 military personnel, 760 military observers, 391 police personnel and 1,050 members of formed police units. Future reconfigurations of MONUSCO would be determined as the situation evolved on the ground, including: the completion of ongoing military operations in North and South Kivu as well as the Orientale provinces; improved government capacity to protect the population effectively; and the consolidation of state authority throughout the territory ([Reynaert, 2011](#); [Cilliers and Malan 2001](#)).

<sup>736</sup> The cooperation between Blue Helmets of MONUSCO and the civilians in the Kabare area is a kind of a very poor owing to language barriers ([Kjeksrud and Ravndal, 2010](#)).

Under the second UN mission, President Kabila was assassinated, just like under the first UN mission where Patrice Lumumba was assassinated<sup>737</sup>. Under MONUSCO, women who have been raped, gang raped and sexually mutilated in many instances were victims of the militias who operated very near the MONUSCO positions. The UN has not intervened in trying to chase perpetrators from afar. It is astonishing to realize that experts in socio-political matters failed to notice the violations of human rights that took place in the Congo and limited in publishing reports once the truth has been exposed by victims speaking to foreign radio and television agencies<sup>738</sup>. Both missions have been given the mandate to respond with force in defending the civilians, which demonstrates clearly that the UN were not just observers; they are soldiers mandated to fight for the lives of civilians that were on the line. This mission was different than the UN mission to Rwanda where the peace-keepers were not authorized to use force<sup>739</sup>. In Rwanda, this resulted in the loss of ten Belgian soldiers and the loss of two heads of state in the plane crash<sup>740</sup>. Despite the troops of the MONUSCO having a mandate to intervene using live-fire that has not deterred the militarization of the eastern provinces.

### ***Perceptions of Congolese on the current UN mission in eastern Congo***

With globalization, the face and substance of nations have dramatically changed and Congo did not remain isolated from global happenings. With the advent of the Internet and later an advanced platform of social media, individuals can now learn thoroughly about their past and get a better understanding of their present<sup>741</sup>. The analysis of the role played by the UN mission in the 1960s inside the political events that led to the death of Lumumba and the disappearing of the General Secretary Dough Hammarskjöld were not isolated events but a result of the very intention of using the Congo as a no man's land but a converging space where international powers will find a terrain to extract raw materials and do business: This echoed the Leopoldian era with 'free trade' to be established in the basin and mouths of the Congo; there was to be free

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<sup>737</sup> Both Patrice Lumumba and Laurent Desire Kabila were of same vision concerning the Congo, they were both nationalist leaders compared to the likes of Mobutu, Nendaka, etc. who were liberal leaders (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Kanza, 1968; Kanza, 1979).

<sup>738</sup> In other instances in the eastern Congo, the UN troops have been accused of sexual violence against women.

<sup>739</sup> United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) (Onana, 2014; Reintjens, 1996).

<sup>740</sup> See UN Resolution 1925 of July 01, 2010.

<sup>741</sup> ([McCombs, 2002](#)).

navigation of the Congo and the Niger River. In reality, then as now, highly monopolistic systems of trade were set up in both those regions. The Centre of Africa was to be internationalised<sup>742</sup>.

The UN mission in the Congo, particularly in the eastern Congo is seen with a very skeptical eye. MONUSCO is the largest contingent that the UN ever used on the African continent. Their mandated include inter alia, the protection of civilians, the disarmament of rebel warring parties and the use of force when the situation demands for the maintaining of peace<sup>743</sup>. However, according to the observations of the Congolese who suffered the worst atrocities in the DRC all along the years of bloody violent decade, the UN troops have not been living up to their mandate. Locals mistrust them and believe that they have been involved in many lucrative business transactions and have left aside their real mission. They exist as a force apart from the people and the region, and locals are skeptical that they are here to protect them.

### ***Partial work in the quest to achieve its mission***

Negative views persist but according to one of the teachers in Lwiro:

MONUSCO is doing a good job in protecting of civil society and state institutions.

But positive opinions are overshadowed by others and mistrust in their role persists. Only a few participants to this study gave credit to the UN troops and operations in general in their area:

They protect Congolese people sometimes in cases of armed attack but they are busy with mineral business in the country. They also help to transport government authorities in some areas.

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<sup>742</sup> The only organ that had power to influence things in the right way in the Congo then was the MONUC. But it did not sort things in the interest of the people of the Congo. It appeared that the UN mission was there to pursue another agenda besides the one the government called them for. The only agenda that stands for the Congo from the time prior to the CFS and which was made public in 1885 during the Berlin Conference was the agreement on using the Congo as a no man's land in favour of the West (Craven, 2015; [Förster, Mommsen et al. 1988](#); [Keltie 2014](#); [Keith 1919](#); Fanon, 2002).

<sup>743</sup> Though there are rules of engagement to which UN classic peacekeeping mission subscribe to, the true agenda is determined by the motives and goals pursued by the UN itself ([Snow, 1993](#); [Britt, Adler et al. 2001](#)).

A researcher gave another view of the UN presence in the eastern DRC:

They support the efforts of the Congolese government. The role of the MONUSCO seemed to be clear when it defending the minorities. They guarantee the security of officials only. Honestly, we do not want MONUSCO in the DRC.

Here the mistrust of the state due to its own past and current practices see UN support for state functions as problematic. When people do not trust the state, they mistrust those that would support it. This is also because the operations of the UN have been seen to be ambivalent. They are even accused by the local population of being there to protect the mines and mineral extraction rather than those suffering the worst of the violence.

### ***Perceptions of MONUSCO's double agenda in the DRC***

People here have a great mistrust of armed forces. They have suffered a long history of violence at the hands of various militias, rebel groups and even the Congolese armed forces. The UN gets seen in the same light with the same mistrust. This means that people perceive the UN's role as predatory rather than emancipatory. Young intellectuals from the University in the area even claimed:

MONUSCO is just an organization that is plotting with the government to perpetrate the status quo that is too detrimental to the Congolese population. Behind curtains MONUSCO is entertaining political conflict in the DRC so that it can continue being in the country to loot resources of the Congo. The presence of MONUSCO equals the continuation of war in the DRC... They are here for their personal interests. When in 2012 they said the war was over so they had to go, all of a sudden troubles rose in areas close to their positions. They perpetrate the pillage of resources, they are involved in buying and selling minerals in the province of South-Kivu, they encourage and patronize armed groups they sustain some of those violent movements in the country by supplying weapons for the extension of their stay.

This shows the level of fears and mistrust. The UN's role, or at least perceived role as supporting the Congolese state makes people doubt the mission and presence in the Congo. The Congolese state is so mistrusted so any support for it feeds into doubts. The UN mandate has involved direct peace keeping activities involving military action. Local observers of the MONUSCO activities revealed their shock as per what they found out:

MONUSCO does not fulfill its mission. Instead, we have noticed that it is at the services of our aggressors. For example, peaceful citizens have been killed by MONUSCO during the attacks of Nkudabatware. During the same period, the bulletproof cars of MONUSCO was carrying Nkunda's soldiers to help them escape from the regular army's patrols and tracking... they are doing so little and thus they accentuates the war and killings here in the Congo.

The presence of UN troops mostly in zones where minerals are exploited has linked them to very dangerous activities that link them to militias. Here generalised mistrust of the state and the anger at the inequality and lack of access to the benefit of the mineral wealth feeds into the perceptions of the UN as being a foreign invader rather than a peace keeper.

### ***MONUSCO's supports to militias to create trouble in order to do business***

During one of the session of focus groups, UN troops and their role were seriously put in the spotlight. The peace keeping mission has involved dialogue with the various rebels and militias in the area. This coupled to the lack of trust highlighted above means that the mission is cast in even worse light for the locals: :

MONUSCO has caused serious troubles in openly supporting militias that terrorizing the Congolese people with weapons that have been used in acts of rape, killing, looting and the enslavement of the population... They only work for their daily bread and encourage disorder here and there to continue staying in the country.

The local people perceive the UN presence as being there to protect the mining industries rather than the local population from violence. Statements even make claims that they are involved in selling minerals and weapons:

MONUSCO is here to continue reinforcing insecurity in the eastern Congo. It is using armed groups and militias. They are here to make business of precious stones and other natural resources and sell weapons undercover. This mission has been more playing the role of accentuating problems and financing the creation of problems here in the province.

The negative perceptions are fed into by peace keeping missions that are seen to arrive too late after violence has occurred rather than during attacks. While this may simply be about the UN forces capabilities in the Congo, the generalised mistrust makes any peace-keeping failures all

the more damaging to the already strained relationship. Those who were victim of raid of militias give their side of observation:

The UN is not up to the task. Their soldiers always come late after damage has been done, people have been killed and goods have been taken. They support some of the militias with weapons and that contribute to fuel the conflict that was supposed to be resolved.

The UN mission in the DRC is seen as an entity that is working in its own rights outside the mandate that defines its duties while at work in the Kabare District. MONUSCO is blamed for all the troubles the DRC is undergoing ever since they were allowed to enter the country<sup>744</sup>.

A general feeling of indignation has got hold of Congolese in the eastern Congo for the incapability of tackling the attack of the militias from Rwanda on the local population. There was a massacre reported to me in the village of Kamananga<sup>745</sup>. An eyewitness told me about the massacre and how locals feel that the UN mission contributed to it by disarming locals and promising them protection that never came. The bitterness of this resonated with the locals and fed into the perceptions that the UN is there for the minerals and does not care about the locals safety and security.

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<sup>744</sup> On top of not having a proactive attitude, Blue Helmets in the Eastern Congo are accused of sexual scandal against the local population (Le Courtois, 2009; Studies and De La Defense; 2010).

<sup>745</sup> From Bukavu to Kavumo, when reaches Miti, the road takes a turn to the right and goes to Chiranga from where one journeys plus minus 50 kms to a village called Kamananga near Bunyakiri. It has been observed that MONUC is notorious in camping around areas that is rich in minerals and endowed with fertile soil for agricultural activities in the Congo (Hintjens and Cruz, 2014).

## **CHAPTER SEVEN – REBUILDING THE KABARE DISTRICT, EASTERN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO**

### ***Introduction***

The present chapter discusses the reconstruction of the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo in presenting a three phase rebuilding paradigm that is not only applicable to the Kabare District. This district harbours the three Research Centres discussed earlier and to which entire communities rely on in terms of livelihoods and the role they play in training and spreading knowledge. The work they do is applicable to the entire eastern Congo as they present similar characteristics. Given the history of the country that is homogeneous from the days of the CFS, the three levels of reconstruction are (1) the revisiting and revision of the 1885 Berlin Protocol relating to the Congo<sup>746</sup>; (2) the inventory of the legacy of the violence that overshadowed the eastern Congo from 1996 and the fixing or the rebuilding of the socio-politico-economic fabric of the eastern Congo<sup>747</sup>, and (3) the rehabilitation of society<sup>748</sup>. The integration of the three phases of reconstruction in their application within the process of rebuilding the eastern Congo will hopefully lead to the establishment of a peaceful society for each community in the DRC. The DRC presents a very complex case of protracted social conflict which roots are located in the 1885 Berlin Conference protocol. Violence was laid down as the foundation of the existence of the Congo, following the Protocol of Berlin and violence haunted and hunted the Congo. Structures, institutions, the army, the police, the law and policies designed were embroiled in violence and perpetrated it. These trends have been observed in the Congo from government to government.

From the beginning of overt violence in 1996 and going on from almost two decades, the eastern Congo stands in socio-politico-economic ruins by the culmination of years of violence and exploitation for Congolese resources<sup>749</sup>. The people themselves, stand apart from the destruction

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<sup>746</sup> (Förster, *et al.* 1988; Gann and Duignan, 1979; Meredith, 2011).

<sup>747</sup> (Goldblatt and Meintjes, 1998; Bauer and Dunne, 2010).

<sup>748</sup> (Godwin, 2003).

<sup>749</sup> The violence that ever taken place in the Congo from Leopold II to Kabila has been a fabrication of the West with agencies of implementation in the country. Formerly, the Western countries were fighting among themselves

as still holding a sense of community and they are what will drive the rebuilding of society. Following the violent destruction, the reconstruction of the eastern Congo I posit three volleys. The first one will consist of fixing the problems that cloud the Congo in general and the eastern Congo in particular, to reach up to the District of Kabare where research centres are located, these are intimately connected to structural issues. The structural conditions that inhibit development in the Congo have a long genesis with their roots constructed by King Leopold II. They were violent, devious, shifting, corrupt and inhumane. At the passing of hands of power between the personal fief of King Leopold and the Belgian government, the structures remained unchanged and from the Independence Day, there were no structural reform that were undertaken. Horrors of the Leopoldian era were perpetrated by the Belgian colonists with another version of exploitation, segregation and isolation of African people from governmental affairs<sup>750</sup>.

From 1960, the structures inherited from the colonial period were again left untouched and continued to run the country. Concretely, the analysis of Bayart concerning the Africa state with the politics of the belly<sup>751</sup> can suitably and relevantly be applicable to the pre-colonial, the colonial and post-colonial administration follows from the Leopoldian making of the Congo Free State and its structures, institutions; its policies and practices. The common denominator of the three periods of governance, i.e. the pre-colonial, the colonial and post-colonial administration has been the endemic realities of violence, war, rebellion, mutiny, exploitation, inequalities, etc. the leadership of President Kabila has not been different from its predecessors since they have been built upon foundations of the Leopoldian edifice. For from the CFS, the forms of states

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over the sharing of the wealth of the Congo. From 1996, the West has changed its approach in using neighbouring countries in the region such as Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, etc. to have access to the wealth of the Congo using violence in its extreme form and calling it civil war or rebellion (Turner, 2007; Reyntjens, 1996, Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Kaldor, 1999; Kaldor, 2013; Mpongo, 1999; Emizet, 1997; Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>750</sup> The African populations were a sub-class in the society and were not permitted to enter public sphere to hold key posts of responsibility (Mamndani, 1996, Nkrumah, 1963).

<sup>751</sup> The politics of the belly in the Congolese case is fabrication of the Leopoldian administration that was adopted by the Belgian Colonists. Their leadership style was passed on to Congolese elites who had no other pre-requisites in terms of leadership but were forced to follow a model of governance that was already corrupt. The politics of the belly is not an African invention but a European one that was forced on Africans by means of paternalism, direct and indirect rule. Unfortunately, it has been the basis of governance in Africa and Africans have to bear the name, the blame and the shame (Bayart, 2009; Zongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Vanthemshe, 2012; Gann and Duignan, 1979; Kanza, 1972).



were failed because they were built upon violent structures and evolved amid debasing policies<sup>752</sup>. The success of reconstruction of the Congo will consist of three volleys. The first one consists of digging through the past and changing the structures put in place from Leopold II and particularly reviewing the processes set in motion from the Berlin Protocol of 1885. The second volley, will consist of trading the roadmap of a classic reconstruction blueprint that entails making an inventory of the damages of the past decades of protracted armed violence in the country in general and the eastern Congo. In last position, reconstruction will consist of restoring the livelihoods destroyed during protracted social conflict with a particular accent on rebuilding capacity in order to revive the decimated peasant economy and launching the basis upon which the socio-politico-economic fabric of the eastern Congo can be fixed. A bottom-up approach capped by popular consultations will cement the whole process with government leading the process together with its partners in conjunction with the local population that has been the main recipient of violence in the eastern Congo.

### ***The stakeholders of reconstruction in the eastern Congo and problems they face***

The legacy of protracted armed violence presents reconstruction problems that require a panoply of actors. These vary from the state, the civil society, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) or International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) as well as bilateral or multilateral partners to come together in joining hands in the process of reconstruction, in order to rebuild what has been destroyed during the wars. This coming together will be difficult to do due to the levels of mistrust between different actors from local to international.

In the case of the eastern Congo, the protracted violence and war that ensued have destroyed the capitals required in the exercise of reconstruction<sup>753</sup>. The war left a pool of ex-combatants who came to swell the ranks of jobless people, in need of being reintegrated back in the society. The rape and mass rape in the region, and particularly in the Kabare District, has left hanging in suspension another pool of rejected citizens made of orphans and widows. The problem of internally displaced people and refugees is also to be considered as living block of

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<sup>752</sup> (Conrad, 1972).

<sup>753</sup> Social capital, the physical capital, the financial capital, the human capital, and natural capital (Godwin, 2003).

reconstruction. From the liberation war of 1996 to the dismantling of the movement of the 23<sup>rd</sup> March known as M23, the country's structures and institutions left by late President Mobutu have been very shaky and were weakened by structural and overt violence from the 1970s onwards<sup>754</sup>. That state of things was followed by past couple of decades of protracted armed conflicts stirred by neighboring countries<sup>755</sup> such as Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, etc. have created the need to be revamped and changed in substance to allow a transition from corroded institutions and structures they were from the Leopoldian era to strong and dynamic ones of the present that will allow the return to sustainable peace and the avoiding of a relapse into violence in the future. That is among conditions that can guarantee a genuine reconstruction. The Congolese government is to play the role of prime agency in the reconstruction of the country. This is difficult as the state has also played the role of aggressor and oppressor.

### ***Hindrances and the Sine qua non condition of a sound reconstruction of the DRC***

Reconstruction in the Congo is a monumental task that need to be undertaken. However, the 1885 Berlin Protocol will always undermine mechanisms of reconstruction. If a pragmatic review of the referred to protocol is not undertaken, a successful reconstruction in the Congo will remain a mirage. As long as the Congo is still conceived as a digging ground and a prime source of raw material such as demanded by the West and a black market where an organized socio-politico-economic disorder is maintained by Super powers of the world using multinationals, medias and military means of conquering and terrorizing civilians<sup>756</sup> in order to pursue the 1885 Berlin logic adopted over the Congo, no proper reconstruction can take place in the DRC<sup>757</sup>. These are global structures of inequality that need to be challenged and overturned to break from

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<sup>754</sup> (Van Reybrouck, 2014; Turner, 1985).

<sup>755</sup> (Turner, 2013; Young and Turner, 2013).

<sup>756</sup> (Rodney, 1972; Kaldor, 1999; Kaldor, 2013; Karl, *et al.* 2007).

<sup>757</sup> Peacebuilding consist of activities undertaken in order to prevent the reoccurrence of violence. It aims at locating, analyzing, understanding and then addressing the root causes of violence in order to deal with them. It also consists of changing structures and restoring several capitals for a sound reconstruction. As long as the Congolese history is not revisited at international level flowing from the Berlin Protocols, the DRC will remain a classic example of failure and efforts that will be directed towards reconstruction will not succeed since it is a proxy cure of violence exported from the Western countries to the South in order to perpetrate patterns of neocolialism and maintain the dependency system (Santos, 1970; Wallenstein, 1979).

the past of resource extraction to the benefit of the global markets rather than the local population. There are always interventions needed to put an end to a catastrophic epoch of a nation, a community, a group of people, a nation, etc. For instance, the slave trade was ended when philanthropic world leaders acknowledged that it was a travesty for a human being to be sold by another human being<sup>758</sup>. Just like the American-Japanese conflict resulting from the bombing of towns of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was resolved by the simple fact that Americans acknowledged their historic error of using atomic bomb over the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; the German-Jewish antagonism has been resolved by Germans admitting their deadly role played in the holocaust of the Jewish people<sup>759</sup>. The DRC will need powers that have conspired against the Congolese nation to tyrannize and plunder its resources for over a century to acknowledge, apologise and repair the damage they have made in order to change the protocols and treaties that have turned the country and its people into a living hell from the Leopoldian era, thus enslaving the nation and its people. If the powers that were involved in the Berlin Conference where they agreed to divide the Congo could revisit their inhuman policies made over the Congo and make reparation to the Congolese state and the Congolese people. The processes and resources required for development require a redress from the exploitation, past and present. If the Congo is to become a modern state that is independent in all senses of the word, the violence of the past will need to be addressed as it is what structures the present. <sup>t</sup><sup>760</sup>. This is difficult as it requires a rethink of the way trade is conducted with the DRC and the dominant powers of the world. Until then what the world leaders will do or say that does not revisit the past in the above prescribed way will be but a farce and a clear continuation of the imperialistic agenda<sup>761</sup>. International powers that have been entertaining pain and suffering over the Congo for more than a century have to acknowledge the hell they have exported to the Congo

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<sup>758</sup> (Oliver and Atmore, 2005).

<sup>759</sup> (Poolos, 2008).

<sup>760</sup> Until this happens, we can consider the thesis advanced by several scholars as pre-meditated acts to cripple Africa, and the DRC in particular, by violence and war to create the need for reconstruction that always profit Western governments and multinationals in the Congo. A phenomenon that exacerbates the destitution and pauperization of Africans in general and Congolese in particular (Carr and Laymen, 1958; Collier, 2007; Kaldor, 1999).

<sup>761</sup> On top of under developing the Congo with the application of the 1885 Berlin Protocol over the entire territory, leaders of the West have continued to hold the Congo in a state of imprisonment by means of granting foreign aid to developing Global South (Moyo, 2009).

and apologise for their past mistakes that plunged the Congo into continuous chaos. The second thing will be agreeing to free the Congo from the grip of neo-imperialism in order to settle a durable peace in the country as well as the entire region where reconstruction will come to be a desirable thing that will separate the Congolese people from a painful past<sup>762</sup>. It will call on world leaders to adopt a true change of heart, mind and attitudes towards the millions of Congolese plus those of other counties in the global South that amount to billions of individuals<sup>763</sup>. Not only will it relieve the world politically but also economically, to reflect on the thesis of Collier, 'the bottom billion'<sup>764</sup> can breathe again and can enjoy the natural resources they have been endowed by their creator. If that appears to be a goal of remote millennia, then the classic road map of countries coming out of war in general will apply over the Congo with its specific needs that are informed by the legacy of decades of protracted armed violence; however, it will not change meaningfully the present condition of the millions of Congolese with the government as the spearhead of the rebuilding process.

### ***The role of the government***

It has been argued that there has never existed a government in the Congo<sup>765</sup>, or at least only on paper. A crude assertion in the sense that authority for governance has been established in the Congo from days of the Congo Free State to date and it has been organized irrespective of outside interference from the West. However, the manipulation of outside forces has not allowed Congolese to take a proper leadership of their country and people; this explains the failure of several regimes that have been in place ever since<sup>766</sup>. The root causes of failures and ill-governance resides in the power struggle at global and regional levels and are reflected in the way things are happening locally in the Congo. For any given government to be credible and effective in the Congo, the protocol of the Berlin Conference of 1885 that birthed the partition of

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<sup>762</sup> The DRC has lost over ten millions of its citizens, almost the entire population of Rwanda today ([Gerard and Kuklick, 2015](#)).

<sup>763</sup> If world leaders who claim to work for peace, development and emancipation of the world fail to work to put in place peaceful societies, then one can establish the thesis of the civilians pawned in the imperialistic game is genuine (Carr and Laymen, 1958; Ike, 1999; Ike, 2004).

<sup>764</sup> (Collier, 2007).

<sup>765</sup> (Hasselbein, 2007).

<sup>766</sup> (Mpongo, 1997).

Africa in general and set the Congo in particular as a terrain of exploitation and digging of raw material<sup>767</sup> should be reviewed and changed in the way to let the Congo organize itself and develop. The structural economic conditions that have been historically passed on to the Congo perpetuate the political conditions on inequality and poor governance. The government of Congo is doomed to fail in the top-bottom approaches that are taken by world leaders as well as policies and development programmes that are designed overseas and implemented over the Congo. It is very difficult for a government to deliver services to its people, develop sound infrastructures, put in place a sound central bank with a currency that will allow providing and speeding a rational and sound security on the entire territory. The borders will always be a problem in term of control, not because the Congo is a large country but because external actors are entertaining the state of lawlessness and dysfunctionality in the country in the quest of sourcing raw materials in the Congo<sup>768</sup>. The prime role that government has to play is to sit around the table with world leader and revisit the Berlin Protocol concerning the Congo from the days of Leopold II. Once that is reached and the terms agreed upon by the signatories of the Berlin Conference to undo the very terms and repair the damage done to the country over a century, then we can expect that what will be rebuilt will not crumble after a couple of decades. The job of reconstruction in the Congo is always an exercise impeded by foreign third parties that are busy turning the country upside down in search of raw materials, in the meantime making business to maximizing profit at the expense of the innocent citizens. There is a clear friction, a collision at the crossroad of the building activities of the government and the lethal activities of international actors in the hunt of raw material and the pursuit of making money in the Congo. In this atmosphere, the government has got a very slim chance of making it happen. That was the fate of the first government from independence and all those that follow.

Another argument is that the series of policies adopted by world leaders within the globalized economy are detrimental to the performance of the duties of any government in developing

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<sup>767</sup> The scramble of Africa (Meredith, 2011).

<sup>768</sup> The quest for raw material in the Congo by foreign companies has led to an outside interference of foreign governments and companies to entertain disorder in the Congo and fuel armed conflict by supporting irregular armed movements and militias in the Congo (Ottaway, 2006).

country. For example, the structural adjustments policies and programmes that were attached to them have been detrimental to the government in the Congo with measures of austerity imposed on the entire governance machine. Policies designed in the West have been counterproductive to the Congo; they have never taken into consideration the needs of the people in the first place. They have the tendency of being a business venture between the elites in the government and the moneylenders represented by the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in the fore<sup>769</sup>.

### ***Tackling Corruption in the Congo***

Corruption in the Congo is but an extension of a vein of the Leopoldian horrible governance has set an example that was followed by the colonists from 1909 up to 1960. For over half a century, the country has been sown with deadly seeds of corruption that grew in a vast land that was used as a private property of the Belgian monarch and was fertilized by the colonisers to produce corrupt leaders. It demonstrated clearly that the types of leaders who came out of the academy of the Leopoldian Empire combined with the colonial one, could only be corrupt leaders having learnt from the best corrupt masters. Thus, dictatorship, authoritarianism, autocracy that constitutes the pinnacle of a typical prototype of socio-politico-economic cannibalism initiated by Belgians cannot be remedied today by oratory doses of good governance but a radical change in the roots of structures erected by Leopold II. It was and still a top-down pyramid where citizens are simple recipient or end-users or consumers of manufactures goods of the pre-colonial as well as the colonial systems<sup>770</sup>. Under these trends, the government remains an incubator of failures. Corruption as the old chorus in the Congo is well known, it is a gangrene that has eroded the fabric of the Congolese society in general. It has infiltrated the sphere and structure of the government and is reflected into citizen's burdens such as the exploitation of workers at national scale<sup>771</sup> with excessive taxes to pay, arbitrary fines... that go to the pocket of officials.

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<sup>769</sup> (Jeffries, 1993).

<sup>770</sup> The people in the Kabare District and elsewhere in the DRC are lamenting the lack of the popular involvement in the management of the public thing where citizens are given the space to contribute to programmes and policies that are made to govern them (Field notes).

<sup>771</sup> There are individuals who have not received the salary from the government for many years. Failures passed on from the Mobutu era have not been fixed up to present time. Suffice is to say that the CFS has been but a failure and

It has turned into a culture of corruption. Officials using the money that was supposed to be used in the public interest for their own benefit. The leaders in the country from the Mobutu era have been keen on asking for a loan from the international financial institutions in the name of the Congolese population and the later will hardly profit from, as foreign aid seems to add on the failures of government.<sup>772</sup> It is well known that from 1965 there was an endemic corruption with Mobutu that grew up deepening until he was ousted by the Rwando-Ougando-Burundo-Congolaise coalition. It has not yet been addressed properly. With the RCD, CNDP and M23 coming into play, things worsened and need to be addressed. There is a need to change structures in place to help address the issue of corruption. To put in place a solid independent judiciary system and the reinforcement of the rule of laws to allow the establishment of a state of right<sup>773</sup>.

### ***The Burden of the Future or what is to be reconstructed in the Eastern Congo***

The second scenario relating to the reconstruction of the Congo sees the rebuilding of the Eastern Congo as following from a meticulous inquiry of the legacy of the past violence and war. As an enterprise, the war involves many actors with various motives and interests. The actors are numerous, contrary to what the media and the political discourses tend to feed the public with, i.e. the picture they want to convey to the general public. Among stakeholders one can name: the arms manufacturers, arms dealers, arms buyers, arms sellers, arms users, politicians who fight over ideologies and beliefs. There are also multinationals that are seeking market space to sell their products in order to make profit in various fields<sup>774</sup>. Arms were also used to loot and

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colonialism has not been any different and so is it is a utopia to think that a sound state was going to be constructed on the basis of past horrors and terrors of the CFS that were completed by the Belgian colonists. Failure has begotten failure from the world system to the satellites at local level in the Congo (Turner, 1985 & 2013; Amin, 1972).

<sup>772</sup> Almost everything you need from government is calling on a motivation on the sides of the ones who are to provide those services. You have to always give extra fees, little or huge, be it, to some of the officials. There are instances where the budget allocated to help in the functioning of the research centres is returned to the capital city on demand of some of the authorities in charge is a very clear evidence of corruption endemic in the governmental corridors (Field note).

<sup>773</sup> (Fomunyoh, 2001; Young, 2007).

<sup>774</sup> Multinationals have been unscrupulously contributing to the instability, plunder and gradual rise of poverty and misery (Collier, 2007).

impose an atmosphere of fear and terror<sup>775</sup> that fueled the war and fed the economy of the war by perpetrating conditions of insecurity and rampant misery.

Thus, the effects of war and protracted violence over the people and the land, determine the extent to which the damage sustained by human beings, the environment, the infrastructures, the institutions and the structures in the Kabare area are evaluated. In the case of the eastern Congo, and particularly the Kabare District, nothing has been spared by the past decades of protracted armed violence. The region has been left with a heavy burden to carry and which defines what is in needs of reconstruction. Though it is not vastly different from the generic issues that are taken in account to rebuild a country freshly coming from the war, the eastern Congo, presents similarities and singularities when it comes to what and how to engage into the labyrinth of reconstruction.

### ***The burden of the Kabare area***

The war has left a generalised atmosphere of insecurity and a reality of trauma characterized by psychological sicknesses and post-traumatic stress disorder<sup>776</sup>; poverty, the trauma caused by rape and gang rape; orphans and widows all left to nobody's care. Schools, hospitals, and other important buildings were destroyed and street kids came to swell the ranks of those who cannot go to school owing to lack of means and resources. The peasant economy was decimated and thus the pillar on which agriculture and the local market that constructed the rural economy were lining on to continue the production and supplies of foods was capsized. Child soldier and demobilized combatants were not fully integrated and panoply of militias continues to severe in the area. The rise of unemployment that contributes to the instability of the area. The displaced population is still locked outside its original locations and has packed the commercial centres and towns in the province. Many Congolese have been forced to exile in front of such a climate and are living in neighboring countries and abroad in quest of security and tranquility. These are

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<sup>775</sup> (Kaldor, 1999; Kaldor, 2013).

<sup>776</sup> Trauma resulting from various incidents such as kidnapping, killing, torturing, rape, burning of houses and destruction of property, looting of crops, etc. (Carll, 2007; Martz, 2010; [Skjelsbæk, 2011](#)).



among the problems that the post-conflict period is facing and that is a burden the Congolese people are forced to tackle in the process of reconstruction.

### ***Addressing insecurity in the area***

At the end of overt armed confrontations, the Congo continues to experience problems of insecurity the presence of a pool of demobilized ex-combatants, the disarmament and the reintegration of former combatants just like that of dismantling the militias having not been complete in the Kabare area. The reintegration of ex-combatants into the socio-economic activities. Demobilization, disarmament and integration (DDR) of ex-combatants have been a continuous issue in the Congo. As soon as a DDR is taking place and former militias have integrated into the regular army, their overwhelming majority is left out; supposedly that the country does not have enough means to absorb the totality of all combatants in the regular army for logistic reasons<sup>777</sup>. Until an all-inclusive DDR is taking place in the entire province of South-Kivu, peace will remain a thing of another planet unreachable by Congolese people. The government together with other actors will have to come together and work diligently to achieve a proper DDR that can put integrally to an end the insecurity in the South-Kivu in general and in the Kabare District in particular; and thus address the issue of destroying the many militias as well as an end to the works of big men<sup>778</sup> in the province in general and the Kabare District in particular.

### ***Demilitarising of the eastern Congo and the region***

Following the DDR, the government is to organize a systematic operation of light weapons recovery and destruction in the eastern corridor of the Congo and the Kabare District, in particular. What has caused more havoc, more traumas, more drama, more suffering and more shame in the Kabare District is the “proliferation of small arms”. All types of crimes that severed in the area, going from rape to forced migration are having their rationale in the over-abundance

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<sup>777</sup> Thus, Those that are left with no other knowledge than the manipulation of weapons and who are not given alternate tools to integrate the society return to the their old job in going back to the bush to integrate a group of irregular troops.

<sup>778</sup> (Utas, 2012).

of light weapons. Some of the weapons came from the Mobutu government, to which the 1994 civil war in Rwanda has added to the volume of the ones that existed then. To that arsenal, the 1996 Liberation War also came with another lot of weapons; without forgetting the rebellion movements backed up by Rwanda and Uganda<sup>779</sup>; it has also contributed enormously to the militarization of the eastern Congo. Weapons are easily accessible from the black market and underground organizations<sup>780</sup>. To put an end to the insecurity that has reigned in the eastern Congo, the government will have to organize a weapon clean-up operation in the area and seize all weapons that are in use in the Kabare District and the entire province in particular. It will also have to filter the movement of people and goods to keep the ins and outs of the country under control. The eastern Congo and the Great Lakes Region of Africa has been heavily militarized with the dumping of weapons and ammunitions in the region and this has been the cornerstone of violence that has caused great psychological troubles to the innocent civilians. Weapons that have been dumped in the region from decades need to be cleared and the region needs to be demilitarized if peace is to be a dividend accessible to all the inhabitants of the region and the ones in the Kabare District in particular. All the damages to repair, the legacy of violence to deal with in the aftermath of the conflict is a result of the militarization of the region. The weapons have caused trauma, injuries, hurts and has dictated pillage, rape, destruction and is at the centre of ruins that have directly resulted from the use and abuse of the weapons in the region.

### ***Initiating strong Counselling and De-traumatisation Centres***

The weapons that have fallen into the hands of militias from Rwanda, Uganda and other countries that invaded the Congo, plus the ones that fell in the hands of the FDLR, added to the ones in possession of the various Congolese militias have brought about calamities in the eastern Congo. In the Kabare District, women just like men have been raped and kids have been sexually molested at gunpoint. Just like those who have been psychologically abused and hurt during the protracted violence call for need for medico-psychological attention. Many of the victims have

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<sup>779</sup> RCD, M23, CNDP, etc.

<sup>780</sup> Weapons are made in the West and are sold both legally and illegally. They are exported to the Global South where they are used in civil wars, rebellions and insurrections. They are used to fuel armed conflict and terrorise harmless civilians and they help sustain dictatorships in the Third World Country (Kaldor, 1999; Kaldor, 2013).

been living a life of hopelessness and helplessness. There are few institutions that are busy providing counseling to victims of past sexual violence<sup>781</sup>. To this is attached another group of people who have been traumatised as result of going through a personal experience of shame, demoralization and humiliation; however, the number remains very insignificant. Government needs to intervene in setting medico-psychological institutions to help manage cases of rape and psychological trauma which can help mitigate the level of medico-psychological suffering among the rural population in the Kabare District. A team of highly trained, efficient and diligent psycho-medical counselors is to be put in place in the Kabare to see to the needs of the population. Besides trauma, HIV/AIDS infection is of very high rate among the inhabitants of the Kabare area. Living with past traumatic memories can bring depression, stress and cause trauma following destructive and inhuman events. Many individuals in the Kabare District are suffering from the Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD); a very deadly condition of hopelessness, helplessness, leading to suicide. This is very important, in the sense that PTSD can lead to conditions of hallucination, confusion and madness that in turn can bring about death. In the ranks of mercenaries from Uganda and Rwanda who were active in the violence in the DRC from 1996, an overwhelming majority were demobilized soldiers who were HIV positive and they used the virus they carried in their bodies to decimate the Congolese population countrywide<sup>782</sup>. Genocide took place in the Congo by the killing of unarmed Congolese civilians with fire arms and infecting others with HIV/AIDS, both man who were sodomised and women who were raped, all at gun point as a latent decimation of millions of innocent Congolese by Rwanda and Uganda. This issue calls on specialized facilities with special medico-psychological personnel, to help treat medically and psychologically the problems of the people. The government will have to step in and supply anti-retroviral drugs to the victims of the past violence<sup>783</sup>.

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<sup>781</sup> NGOs are very active in the psychological reconstruction of minds of people who have been hurt during the protracted violence in the Kabare area (Field notes).

<sup>782</sup> (Lemarchan dand Niwese 2007; Lemarchand, 2012).

<sup>783</sup> The DRC has lost over a tenth of its population, more than 10 million of Congolese people died in the battles, with the majority being civilians. Another unknown but huge number of them is awaiting death by HIV/AIDS infected by Rwandese and Ugandan combatants. It is a genocide that for more than a decade has been taking place in

### ***Tackling the generational conflict***

Generational conflict refers to state of things has left a retarded or timing bomb which is the generational conflict. Congolese the present generation that has experienced the humiliation and debasement of the Rwandese army and Rwandese officials in the Congo, though unable to address it presently because of powerlessness in front of the canon and the ballonet will pass it onto the coming generation that will keep the very things should history change one day, people will find a way to revenge the humiliation, the pain and suffering, the agony and poisonous ecstasy of decades of violence, pillage and immiseration of the Congolese at the hands of foreign countries. The dying HIV infected men and women will tell the story of their infection and the present and future generation will run with unless there is a genuine reconciliation that takes place at both national and regional level. Present leaders ought to know what they are doing today, in order to avoid a repeat of the history in the future when they are no longer there.

This has been observed in the history of both Rwanda and Burundi from immemorial time in the history of the country. One ethnic group in leadership has been misread and misinterpreted by the other one following their behavior and actions. When the other comes to power, it suffers the same fate and it normally ends by violent confrontations. These trends have been going on for generations in both countries. Their invasion of the Congo has ignited the same pattern of things in the DRC. Future generations will have trouble to contain waves of bitter feelings of a generation that has been oppressed by a bitter past experience inflicted by foreign countries.

### ***The reconciliation among groups and communities***

Following the DDR with the end of the overt confrontation, demobilized soldiers are sent back to their original communities. There, they face the ones they have victimized in the past with the use of weapons; child soldiers have been involved in crimes of horrible magnitude in the communities<sup>784</sup>. They are war criminals whom victims of rape, theft, extortion, abuse and hurt of various manner are forced to see their bullies and oppressors on a daily basis and this require a

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the DRC to which those in position of decision and influence have denied the reality (Mukwege, et al. 2010; Mukwege and Nangini, 2009).

<sup>784</sup> ([DEÁK, 2013](#); Rosen, 2005; Wessells, 2005).

serious reconciliation, the one with the hardened heart and others with a guilty conscience. both parties have to come together, helped by the members of their respective community, and mutually forgive one another for the painful past happenings<sup>785</sup>. To the reconciliation of both parties, a ceremony of cleansing may be required for the ex-combatants who have used and abuse drugs in the process. A detox of former combatants to help them get rid of all the substances absorbed during the time of violent confrontations; whereas victims of violence may need medical assistance in putting at their disposal medical facilities.

### ***Building the Kabare area using a “Bottom-Up” approach***

The fate of Lwiro, Katana, and Mulungu where the research centres are located in the District of Kabare, in the South-Kivu province, is not isolated from the rest of eastern Congo provinces. The eastern corridor, just like the entire country, has been a theatre of destructive war and a stage of devastating violence. It has left the District with enormous issues linked to the reconstruction with an imported blue print of reconstruction<sup>786</sup>. The solutions proposed by the World Bank are, in the majority of cases, not contextualized to the needs of the people. That means there are no popular consultations with the locals; just like there is no historical background taken into consideration in the elaboration of reconstructive therapy for the citizens in the Kabare District. For the eastern flank of the Congo, the plan for reconstruction is uniform apart from the province of Katanga<sup>787</sup>, both the North and South-Kivu, Maniema and the Province Orientale have been all affected by violence in similar manner. A successful reconstruction posits the involvement of people who are concerned by the legacy of violence, the people who have been affected by violence to have their views, ideas, hopes, fears and expectations to be thoroughly

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<sup>785</sup> The process may involve perpetrators asking for forgiveness to the victims and the later accepting the offer of forgiveness in order to heal their souls and be able to live like peaceful neighbour in the village having put their past behind to move forward (Smedes, 1986).

<sup>786</sup> (Autesserre, 2008).

<sup>787</sup> The Katanga Province has not been vandalized or devastated by foreign troops the way the ex-Kivu was, i.e. North-Kivu, South-Kivu and Maniema. The troops from Rwanda have looted and taken to Rwanda all the factories that were still running in the eastern provinces of the DRC. For example, the Sugar mill in Kiliba was dismantled and parts were taken to Rwanda. Sominki in Kamituga has completely been vandalized, looted and electrical transformers were taken to Rwanda and innumerable valuable things unknown to the public were taken to Rwanda. Revenues offices were stormed at gun point and Rwandese soldiers emptied all the coffers. Tons of Congolese monies were taken to Rwanda (Turner, 2007).

considered in the elaboration of the solution to help them cope with the legacy of past violence. A consultation of the three levels of leadership<sup>788</sup> is required with the priority given to the bottom range with people at grassroots level to be given pre-eminence in the consultations that are set to lead to the design of solutions to the crisis. That can help restore easily the livelihoods destroyed during the past violent confrontations. The third level of reconstruction will consist of restoring the means of livelihoods that were destroyed during the stretched socio-physico-psychological violence from 1996.

### ***Rehabilitation of livelihoods in the Kabare area***

The notion of livelihood originated in a literature on food security and famines<sup>789</sup> from where it draws particular strengths for understanding vulnerability as the concept sets out to be people-centred and holistic, and to provide an integrated view of how people make a living within evolving social, institutional, political, economic and environmental contexts. Therefore, the term livelihoods encompass not only what people do with regard to making a living, but also the resources that are put at their disposal, the capabilities of making a satisfactory living, the risk factors taken into account while managing the resources together with factors that work as a stumbling block in the process of pursuing a meaningful livelihood. The protracted violence in the Kabare area has destroyed all the means of making a living and left the inhabitants vulnerable. The different capitals that are required for a community, a group of people to make a meaningful living have been completely decimated. The government together with several partners are to work towards the restoration of livelihoods in the Kabare District if people have to get back to the normality of life. Livelihood is defined as<sup>790</sup> A product of the interaction of capabilities, asset and activities required for a mean of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks meanwhile maintaining or enhancing its capabilities and assets and provide sustainable livelihoods opportunities for the next generation,

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<sup>788</sup> Lederach speaks of three levels of leadership or three ranges of leadership. The top range with politicians, the middle economic actors, the civil society and NGOs or INGOs and the bottom range with people at grassroots level; all to be involved in the building process with the consultation starting at the bottom level (Lederach, 2007).

<sup>789</sup> (Elis, 2003: 4).

<sup>790</sup> (Krantz, 2001: 6).

contribute net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels in the short and long term. Once livelihoods are restored, they are to be made sustainable for a successful rehabilitation of the peasant economy in the Kabare District.

### ***Sustainable livelihoods***

Premised on three basic pillars; those are environment, society and economy. A “sustainable livelihood is a livelihood that “meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.” A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks; maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource for future generations<sup>791</sup>. It is difficult to keep up with the principles of sustainable livelihoods or sustainable development in the Third World dominated by capitalistic intense exploitation; where multinational are extracting resources in developing countries without any care of tomorrow<sup>792</sup> or where owners of means of productions in industries such as such as the aeronautic, the shipping, construction, etc. work round the clock to maximize profits without thinking of what will happen to the environment and the society. The mining industry also contravene with the principles of sustainable development, just like any modern industry.

The primacy of the economy on the society and the environment is disastrous to the sustainability of planet earth and developed countries in the North seem to give no value to the environmental issues. Instead the blame is pinned on the poor in the Global South<sup>793</sup> who are trapped in the clutches of Western dependency owing to lack a proper means of exit from the extraversion of the clutches of neo-liberal policies. Sustainability of livelihood is to be connected to the assets required to resuscitate the socio-economic life in the eastern Congo and repair the eroded socio-economic fabric of the Kabare District. Until the capitalistic mode of production learns to stick to principles of sustainable development, the Kabare District cannot expect sustained livelihoods that are key to cementing the restored tissue of the peasant economy.

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<sup>791</sup> (Scoones, 1998; Rogers *et al.*, 2008).

<sup>792</sup> ([Portes, Walton \*et al.\*, 1981](#)).

<sup>793</sup> (Amin, 1072).

### ***Restoring Capitals (Livelihoods) in the Kabare area***

In the livelihood approach, resources are referred to as assets or capital. Five types of assets have been destroyed in the Kabare District where the three research centres are located. These different types of capitals required to be restored for the return of normality in the Kabare area. The different types of capital constitute the survival building blocks for the restoration of the rural economy<sup>794</sup>, which can contribute to the rehabilitate the functioning of the research centres, and the peasant economy that once in the past combined; they contributed to the wellbeing of the people in the area. Capitals are a pre-requisite if the population around the research centres is to be endowed with capacity in order to make a living and reconstruct their communities. Given that livelihoods determine the types of work people engage in, and ways and means they use to sustain themselves; Congolese population in the Kabare District can be able to reconstruct the socio-economic fabric lost during the protracted armed violence and develop the peasant economy adequately if they are imparted with enough capitals in order to enhance their livelihoods. Restoration of livelihoods is required before they can be sustainable.

### ***Restoring the financial capital***

Money is considered as capital given that it can be invested in some productive business activity for the one in its possession. Financial capital facilitates economic production, though it is not itself productive. It refers rather to a system of ownership or control of physical capital. Financial capital involves units like money, savings and access to loans. For residents of the Kabare District to mend their ways in times of tough economic crisis, financial capital is one of the surviving blocks that may enable them to engage into small business and gradually grow into a real entrepreneurship<sup>795</sup>. Access to credit is fundamentally regarded as the sole means of helping peasants to grow economically and self-emancipate and possibly contribute to the make up the rural economy. The lack of financial capital<sup>796</sup> can lead to a life of idleness that may end up leading the Kabare inhabitants into unlawful activities and even crime as they struggle to meet

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<sup>794</sup> These are are: “financial capital”, “natural capital”, “produced capital”, “human capital” and “social capital (Krantz, 2001; Godwin, 2003)”.

<sup>795</sup> (Hulme and Arun, 2009; [Armendáriz and Morduch, 2010](#)).

<sup>796</sup> (Harrison, 1967).



basic needs. In the Kabare District, the population has been plundered from the 1996 Liberation War to the last rebellion of the M23<sup>797</sup>. On top of that situation, they have been preyed by the several militias that have been roaming the countryside, particularly the Rwandese militias<sup>798</sup>. They have been extorted and robbed, to the last penny they accumulated in peaceful time prior to the outbreak of the wars. When their robbers came, they took everything included the rubbish bean and dirty papers to go check whether there was any money that was hidden therein<sup>799</sup>. Banks have not been operational owing to the climate of violence and no credit cooperative was operational either. It means that the cash economy was decimated simultaneously with the peasant economy<sup>800</sup>. To come out of the financial shortage, government is to come up with a system of lending money to peasants for them to start the cycle of economic revival. Philanthropic institutions and some NGOs can come up with a system of micro-loans to put at the disposal of peasant in order help them overcome cash shortage. Micro-loans have been very effective in helping societies that came from the devastations of armed violence (war) in several parts of the world. The government will encourage the implantation of financial cooperation or credit bank for the rural populations and allow a national bank to be operational in the Kabare District<sup>801</sup>.

### ***Restoring Natural Capital***

Natural capital is made up of the resources of the natural world such soil, land, water, air, forest, fisheries and the ecosystem as a whole. Thus, the environments as well as services pertaining to it constitute resources from which useful livelihoods derive<sup>802</sup>. The natural capital is of key value in livelihoods restoration, as it constitutes the base from which other capitals are made and people can tap in as they vary their respective livelihoods. During the decades that experienced

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<sup>797</sup> (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Turner, 2007; Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>798</sup> FDLR

<sup>799</sup> (Field notes).

<sup>800</sup> (Turner, 2007).

<sup>801</sup> There is no bank in the Kabare District; no popular bank or cooperative of credit whatsoever. Citizens living in the district and workers in the research centre included have to travel to Bukavu, travel on plus minus 50 kilometres for them to have access to banking facilities and credit facilities, which is time consuming, costly and a tiresome process and a very long exercise to perform (Field notes).

<sup>802</sup> (Krantz, 2001).

armed violence in the Congo, the natural capital has been severely assassinated by the men in uniform. Farms have been hijacked and were not maintained by the men in uniform and gumboots to produce for the benefit of the population; they have instead been used for personal entertainment of combatants as spoils of war. The national park of Kahuzi-Biega has been vandalized and many gorillas have been exiled out of the park and were wandering in the villages around. The fishponds have been severely abused and the green houses in Mulungu were vandalized as well as looted by Rwandese armed men<sup>803</sup>. The ecosystem suffered a great deal by the shooting and bombing in the area. Soldiers who were in search of firewood cut trees disorderly and killed wild animals for meat in the National Park<sup>804</sup>. The government is expected to intervene in the district and launch a campaign of restoration as well as the rehabilitation of the ecosystem in the District of Kabare. One of the good things that have been done in the conservation of nature was to establish a centre of rehabilitation of primates in Lwiro. It has been and still is involved in the recuperation of chimpanzees and mountain gorillas that were scattered during the violence in the area. Such initiatives can help restore spots of parks that were vandalized by the FDLR where bushes have been cleared and animals scattered in the process<sup>805</sup>.

### ***Restoring Produced or physical capital***

Consists of physical assets emanating from human productive activities capable of providing a flow of goods or services. These are things made by men and like roads, power lines, railways, buildings...it is the result of the action of man applied on natural resources<sup>806</sup>. The availability of physical capital is the key to market access and establishment of communication between human and it can enhance the both economic development and growth. Ellis<sup>807</sup> refers to produced capital as infrastructures; he argues that elaborated infrastructures facilitate exchanges among individuals and groups and promote growth and development.

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<sup>803</sup> (Field notes).

<sup>804</sup> (Field notes).

<sup>805</sup> (Field notes).

<sup>806</sup> (Godwin, 2003: 4).

<sup>807</sup> (Ellis, 1998).

The bombardment of plants, buildings, houses and other physical infrastructures in the District of kabare has left vestiges and ruins in the circle Katana-Lawiro-Mulungu. Roads are in terrible state, hospitals and schools have been destroyed, markets facilities, etc. In Mulungu, the green houses have been vandalized and looted during the violent confrontations; laboratories, museums, libraries and several other departments in the research centres in Mulungu and Lwiro have been damaged<sup>808</sup>. Some electrical materials have been looted and taken to Rwanda. Private houses of Congolese citizens have been destroyed and in the Kabare district, the populations are deploring the lack of assistance to rebuild their houses<sup>809</sup>.

Part of reconstruction will consist of helping the local population rebuild their houses. The government with its partners in development matters will have to work tirelessly in restoring the physical capital damaged during the violent confrontation. Of importance will be the rehabilitation of the road network to allow the supply of markets and the junction of points of production to the point of consumption in various places. It is required also in order to restore a healthy climate of business. Next to the restoration of roads is the one of the power plants. The Kabare District has been severely affected by the lack of electrical supply. They hardly see electricity owing to a serious problem of lack of transformers. The remedy to that issue is in the hands of the government from which the inhabitants are expecting a hand. The more the power plants are delaying in being put in place, the more the local population will continue to cut trees in order to use them as coal and use the firewood for cooking and building their houses. The restoration of physical capital in the district will allow a rapid flow of goods and a speeding of services in the area, which can bring in a positive change in the quotidian life of the population in the Kabare District.

### ***Restoring Human capital***

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<sup>808</sup> In Tshibati, an agricultural farm belonging to the Research Centre in Lwiro, soldiers from Rwanda have destroyed all the office equipment; they have used the furniture as firewood and have looted all that appeared as valuable to their eyes. In Mulungu, the tractors have been looted together with the vehicles and the seeds (Field notes).

<sup>809</sup> (Field notes + personal observation).

Refers to the stock of capabilities such as skills, education and health which once combined allow a person to engage in the quest for multiple livelihoods. Human capital is therefore the aggregate of knowledge and training that allow individuals to engage in professional and manual work as they expect a return on their investment<sup>810</sup>. Human capital is very useful as individuals engage in making adequate livelihood. Livelihood by circulating knowledge, skills, labour and experience where human capital is a key factor in helping people acquires natural and produced capital.

From 1996, the DRC has lost over a tenth of its population among whom one can enumerate brilliant researchers, physicians, engineers, accountants, teachers and professors, economists but also important officers of the army and police as well as prominent administrators. People with experience in various fields have been killed during the violence that severed in the Kabare District. Important Bishops and catholic priest have been killed<sup>811</sup>. In the South-Kivu, the city of Bukavu has been deprived of more than two times very important Bishops who were trying to plead the cause of the general population of Bukavu. Other important religious leaders have been assassinated by men in uniform and gum boots in the Kabare District.

The DRC has been a garner of professionals and has supplied labour in the region and beyond owing to the quality education the country enjoyed from the fervent work of the education, of among others, the Catholic priest, from the late decade of colonialism. The health system from the 1950s<sup>812</sup> allowed Congolese to live a healthier life and be productive as well as competitive in the workplace. The war imported from Rwanda, entertained by Uganda has destroyed the Congolese human capital in the country and the Kabare District in particular. In the African value system, the old people are seen as a treasure of importance in the education and instruction of the young ones in the society. The war has swept the old generation and killed senior citizen like a mighty storm. Those who did not fall by the use of weapons from the mercenaries have

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<sup>810</sup> (Elis, 2003).

<sup>811</sup> Bishop Muzihirwa, Bishop Katalikwa and other priests in the Catholic Church have been killed by unknown men in uniform and gumboots (Field notes).

<sup>812</sup> (Gann and Duignan, 1979).

succumbed when faced by hardship, hunger, thirst and a harsh environment where they were forced to seek refuge from<sup>813</sup>.

It is very hard to reconstruct human capital in the sense that it takes decades to produce a true professional such as a teacher, a doctor, a professor, an engineer or a spiritual leader overnight. The loss of human capital in the country has been contributing to the economic and social decline of the country. The current socio-economic condition of the Kabare District is such as parents are unemployed, pensioners are unpaid, the market as well as the peasant economy so far has been destroyed and parents are compelled to pay the educators in the incapability of the government, serious issues of reconstructing human capital are coming to the fore. Under these conditions it is going to be very difficult, if not impossible to rebuild the pool of professionals killed during the bloody decades from 1996; where schools, libraries, museums, clinics, hospitals and research centres have been vandalized together with the roads and power plants, etc<sup>814</sup>.

The government with its several partners will have to engage in the process of rebuilding Human capital in rebuilding destroyed infrastructures among them schools, clinics, hospitals, roads, etc. it will have to intervene in paying adequately the educators to help parents rest from the heavy burden of paying school fees from the first year in primary school to the last year in a tertiary institution. There is a need to restore laboratories, museums, libraries and revolutionise the educational system to be up to date as the educational system in the Congo. A reform of the educational system is required in a way to produce competitive and qualified professionals who will be able to bring a living stone in the process of rebuilding the Kabare District as well as the entire eastern province. The provision of clean water and permanent electricity supply to communities will help resolve most of the issues faced by the rural populations.

Restoring human capital means also fixing the problem of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs). Among those who fled the country is a considerable number of intellectuals and

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<sup>813</sup> (Umutesi, 2004; Reyntjens, 1996; 1999 and 2001).

<sup>814</sup> (Hisic, 2004).

professionals whom for fear of being killed have chosen the road to exile. Among those who were forced to leave their native areas is also a huge number of qualified professionals. If the government can restore safety and security in the Kabare area and the eastern Congo in particular, such as demonstrated in the beginning of this chapter, a considerable human capital can return to their homes in the country and help spearhead the process of reconstruction. Another problem is the regulation of the salaries of the workers. If the Congolese government can increase the salary of the professionals who are living abroad, the restoration of human capital can be quick and effective; so can be the economic recovery of the area.

### ***Emphasizing on peace education in building human capital***

Peace education aims at training, equipping and instilling values, cultures, traditions and ways of life that reject violence and uphold non-violence in the society<sup>815</sup>. It is the central plank that sustains any human society. The Congolese government will be required to inject funds in the educational sector to build a non-violent nation by means of peace education. Peace education helps also in instilling a culture of peace by erasing a culture of violence on people's minds. If children at a very tender age are introduced to the knowledge of the notions of conflict, peace, violence, etc. as they grow up and add up on their intellectual luggage, they will build a society where violence is understood for what it is, what it represents and can be shamed as a destroyer and a sworn enemy of human progress and development and thus a monster to be avoided and to be ridden of in any society. Peace education will help in uprooting the roots of generational conflict that always lead to future violence and will build responsible citizens who are moved by peaceful values. Peaceful citizens build peaceful societies and these are built by peace education<sup>816</sup>.

### ***Working together in building capacity in building human capital***

Manufactured solution packages from the World Bank, IMF and other western institutions will not help in any case to rebuild capacities in the Kabare District. Several actors in the process of

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<sup>815</sup> ([Reardon, 1988](#)).

<sup>816</sup> (Melko, 1993).

reconstruction will have to work together at a stage or another. Those implicated in the work of rebuilding will have to go to the communities and make consultations and concertation with the citizens. They will seat together and identify issues, enumerate problems. Once this stage is attained, the government with its partners will proceed by employing individuals, commencing with the ones in the community in order to execute a joint implementation between government and the people. In this schedule, academic people will work with universities and colleges in the areas or the eastern corridor; managers of projects will see to the evolution of the whole rebuilding enterprise with a strong sense of accountability where people who mess up with the project can be brought to the book. At the end of the project cycle, a record of all the transactions and the evolution of the project will be documented in order to disseminate knowledge to the future generation.

Capacity building will require an availability of specific skills to coordinate processes and activities in order to put people at the centre of their specializations in order to enhance capitals. Human skills, networking skills, communication skills and a body to liaise with the communities and a centre that will serve as a hub of all the activities of rebuilding in the Kabare District will be playing pivotal role in the reconstruction. A scenario that can apply to any area that has been destroyed during the past violent decades from 1996. In building capacities in an inclusive manner, the government will also focus on designing, implementing, monitoring and evaluating programmes the will help citizens with skills in order to impart knowledge, and create awareness in various areas of life. A focus on training in various fields of trade can also help put at the disposal of citizens knowledge and aptitudes to help them becoming useful to the society and the economy as well<sup>817</sup>. It calls on building a broad base of social capital.

### ***Restoring Social capital***

Social capital is all about the accumulation of trust, shared values and experiences, and a mutually shared knowledge. A mutual engagement created by, means of participation in voluntary mutual association<sup>818</sup>. Social capital thus is made up with a stock of trust, mutual

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<sup>817</sup> (Monaghan, 2013).

<sup>818</sup> (Fukuyama, 1995; Helliwell and Putnam 1995)

understanding, shared values and socially held knowledge; it refers to networks and associations. Peasants relied in the past on the social capital for access to vital things required to their daily survival through network to access market, find seeds for their farms or come together in a given type of mutuality or else to identify an institution where they may have access to credit, etc. Social capital was the platform where commodities, services, and shared knowledge and resources converged in the Kabare District prior to the outbreak of violence in 1996. The rebuilding of social capital is seen as the pinnacle of all the capital since it can be effectively operational only when other capitals have been rebuilt. It requires the restoration of security, the reconstruction of destroyed physical capital, the reestablishment of human capital as well as financial capital for the social capital to be effective. In the final analysis, the five types of capitals are endangered by factors that stand as obstacle in the pursuit of livelihood in the Kabare area. The population is still exposed and vulnerable so long as the assets are not restored and, in a context, where there do still exist impediments to livelihoods.

### ***Impediment to livelihoods***

Vulnerability is the incapacity to face stress and unexpected circumstances to which people are exposed<sup>819</sup>. Its visible side is expressed in terms of risks, shocks and stress to which individuals are subjected. In the Kabare area, vulnerability is internally expressed in terms of defenselessness or the absence of means to cope with those damaging losses; this reality will also expose individuals to feeling of hopelessness and helplessness<sup>820</sup>. Thus, vulnerability is intimately linked to the lack of assets and ownership that are key factors in providing resistance that individual, household and communities can put together in order to manage hardship and contingencies. Thus, the bigger the assets the better the coping mechanism when facing insecurity<sup>821</sup>. There are also shocks, trends and seasonality that can accentuate vulnerability. Start and Johnson link vulnerability to factors such as shocks, trends and cycles<sup>822</sup>.

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<sup>819</sup> (Swift, 1989).

<sup>820</sup> ([Lysaker, Clements et al. 2001](#)).

<sup>821</sup> (Moser, 1998; Ottaway, 2006).

<sup>822</sup> A shock is a relatively short acting stress, such as drought, epidemic, or fall in output prices. However, the effects may be long-lived, ... If shocks are more gradual, then they become a trend, such as urbanisation, structural



### ***Managing Shocks, Trends and seasonality***

Devereux <sup>823</sup> attributes vulnerability to factors such as unemployment and the rising price of food that can be seen as a sensible reduction in the power of purchase. In many countries in the Third World countries, particularly in Africa, macro-economic measures adopted by many states known as “Structural Adjustment Programmes” (SAPs) had rather devastating effects on town and has affected rural dwellers in a very strong manner. The imposition of “Trade liberalization” with the lifting or removal of most barriers and tariffs; the “currency devaluation”, the “imposition of austerity measures”, “privatization” with the notorious slogan of “The rolling back of the state” have administered a severe blow to urban residents with the loss of jobs, the closing of businesses and the hike in price of commodities such as water, electricity together with other services. The same also applies on rural areas that are intimately dependent of the cities in many regards. This has resulted in an exacerbation of violence among urban dwellers just like the ones in the Kabare District<sup>824</sup>. On top of the trends, shocks and seasonality, policies that have affected urban people have also exacerbated the vulnerability of the peasants in the Kabare District, sparking violence in many instances<sup>825</sup>.

### ***Preventing Violence***

Violence is defined as doing harm or hurting the next party for self-interest<sup>826</sup>. In all its diverse form, i.e. physical or direct violence where individual hurt one another, for instance in the case of domestic violence or war; whether social groups are marginalized and deprived from economic opportunities or forgotten in underdevelopment; whether on basis of cultural beliefs people become excluded and segregated, their livelihood is seriously jeopardized and they are

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transformation, population growth, resource degradation, the distribution of new technologies or the development of new markets and demand. Trends may be less devastating in the short-term as they provide livelihood systems with time to assess, prepare and adapt, but the impacts are likely to be just as permanent. Cycles, particularly those associated with seasonality, are more predictable, and though they are often modulated by trends and shocks particularly, e.g. bad or good rains (Start, 2004:28).

<sup>823</sup> (Devereux, 1999).

<sup>824</sup> (Plaza & Stromquist, 2006:96; Reed & Sheng, 1998: 13-14; Logan and Mengisteab, 1993: 5-6; Jeffries, 1993: 24).

<sup>825</sup> For example, there has been violent protest acts following the injustices committed on some individuals in 2016. Residents in Kavumo went as far as setting on fire the courts and jails in the area (Field Notes).

<sup>826</sup> (Kent, 1993).

thus exposed to shocks and trends and then become vulnerable<sup>827</sup>. Under these conditions, it is very difficult to make a living. The result is the incapacity to engage in meaningful production and reproduction, thus the destruction of chances to access market and credit, which may lead to starvation, illiteracy, banditry and other vices. In the aftermath of the protracted violence, pockets of insecurity and violence are still hovering over majority of areas in Kabare. It exacerbates the plight of the inhabitants in both the urban, peri-urban and rural areas. On top of restoring assets to the Kabare inhabitants, the government will need to prioritise the building of capacity in the Kabare area, with an eye set on tackling spots of violence in the area.

### ***Conclusion***

The structural foundations put in place by Leopold II explain the devastation brought about by the decades of protracted armed violence in the Kabare District and have been continued from government to government, changing the form but keeping the content. It posits three crucial stages of in the rebuilding process if peace is to be a dividend accessible and comestible by all the Congolese people and the inhabitants of the region in general. The first one has to do with the review of the Berlin Protocol, the second dealing with the inventory of the legacy of the social conflict that has protracted over decades and has degenerated of bloody violence. The third level will consist of the restoration of destructed livelihoods that are a sine qua non condition to the reconstruction of the socio-politico-economic fabric of the Kabare District in particular and the whole eastern province in general.

Parting from the realization that every single tragedy the Congo has gone through is located in the violence of the Leopoldian structures, dictated by the Berlin Protocol. In this order of idea, the reconstruction is conditioned in first place by changing the structures in revisiting the Berlin Protocol that has dictated the socio-politico-economic happenings in the Congo to date. There is a need of changing its content and logic in involving the signatory powers of the very protocol. Here, Western powers will acknowledge their past mistakes that have caused pain, misery, suffering, trauma and depression to the entire nation of Congo for over a century.

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<sup>827</sup> (Glatung, 1969).

The Western Powers are to present their apologies and make reparations and finally help in the reconstruction of a country they have destroyed using proxy wars, armed violence and entertaining dictatorships in order to keep up with the logics of the Berlin Conference of 1885. A true reconciliation is to take place at the international level, the regional level and the national as well as the local one. Perpetrators or offenders are to meet around a table and talk. Victimisers of the Congolese are to present apologies to the victims or recipients of their violence. Failure of this will entertain a covert conflict of generations and will nurse a further culture of violence in the hearts of the victims. This state of things can perpetrate the cycle of violence, which can be costly in the future<sup>828</sup>. The second level of rebuilding consists of a meticulous inventory of the damages resulting from the legacy of violence the country has undergone from the Leopoldian era during the days of the CFS. These will be fixed with government in the forefront of the process of rebuilding working in conjunction with its several partners and agencies such as international and local NGOs, the civil society in consultation with the local populations in the communities. This will help change the of operation that has been in use in the Congo which has isolated, segregated and marginalize the local communities in decision making and depriving them from participating in the building of the nation<sup>829</sup>. The successful reconstruction of the eastern Congo posits a “Bottom-Up approach” which intends to involve every single individual at communal, provincial and national level by means of people’s popular consultation and representation in the developmental machine. The third level will consist of restoring the livelihoods in the Kabare District to allow its inhabitants gaining access to means of production such as to equip them with the necessary survival building blocks to help restore the peasant economy that has been ravaged by imported wars, unfit policies, state failure and lack of capacity in the Kabare area. From the days of the Zairian republic, the countryside was neglected and was left to its own fate. In restoring the several capitals, particularly the human one; intellectuals in concert with the political and academic community will incorporate the countryside in the socio-politico-economic debate in designing policies that are all inclusive and which are need specific to the rural areas.

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<sup>828</sup> (Jayaraman, 1987).

<sup>829</sup> Congolese people in the Kabare District have been deploring the lack of participation into the public affairs that turn around their lives (Field notes).

To cap the building process, the government with its partners will engage in the race to build capacity among the communities in raising awareness about violence and putting an emphasis on “Peace Education”.

Since a major problem in the rural areas is of lack of capacity, the government with its partners may also launch series of training and workshops designed in such a way to equip rural people with skills and putting at their disposal the necessary means of accessing credit in order to sustain the livelihoods in the use and practice and knowledge impartation in people’s daily life.

## CHAPTER EIGHT - GENERAL RESEARCH CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### *Introduction*

This chapter presents the general conclusion of the research. It is made of two major sections. The first one deals with the summary of the research in encapsulating the failures of the Congolese state within the 1885 Berlin Protocols, first carried on by Leopold II as a solo monarch, then by subsequent governments in the Congo. The second section presents the recommendations of the study emanating directly from the research findings. Suggestions made in this study are the result of a careful analysis of the Congolese past troubles meanwhile designing means of exiting from the current crisis and embarking on a sound reconstruction for a sustainable peace in the country. The chapter ends with a conclusion.

The violent nature of the Congolese governance draws its origin in the Leopoldian school of thought and governance such as observed during the Congo Free State. It clearly demonstrates that the seeds of the Congolese troubles articulated by means of violent events all along the history of the existence of the country, i.e. rebellions, wars, mutinies, plunder, foreign occupation, exploitation, forced labour, mutilations and amputation of limbs, corruption, theft, the politics of the belly expressed by the economy of affection,... are all but the origin of the Congolese tragedies of which seeds were sown by the Belgian king. In his attempt to escape the application of the Berlin Protocol over the Congo, Leopold II has barred the access to other signatories of the 1885 Berlin Accords or the Berlin Protocol<sup>830</sup> over the Congo. From that point of departure, the mode of governance initiated by Leopold II has been kept by all the subsequent governments having a consequence of foreign interference in the local and interior affairs of the Congo as Western countries that signed the Berlin Protocol vowed to keep the Congo as a Western commercial focal point and joint market and a domain of sourcing of raw material.

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<sup>830</sup> According to this famous 1885 Berlin Protocol concerning the Congo that birthed the scramble of Africa, the Congo was set to be a reservoir of raw material that Western nations were to extract any time and it was set to be a zone of commercial convergence of the Western nations where their economic-commercial were to take place for the benefit of countries that ratified the very Protocol and then other emerging power ([Förster, Mommsen et al. 1988](#); [Craven 2015](#); Scott, Keltie, 2014).

These trends have been kept by the international powers that are in diligent quest of raw material that are available in the Congo and which are in demand on the World market.

It brought in a power struggle between the Western powers represented by money lenders and Western governments that are moved in the Congo using the influence of the press, the multinationals, the mercenaries in order to force the Congolese governments to follow their path of development that are inclined to Western interests to the expense of the Congolese people, such as to keep up with spirit of the Berlin Protocol. The result is that the blood and sweat of the Congolese people<sup>831</sup> have been the source of Western enrichment and development as Congolese people creep in acute poverty and misery. This thesis explains the failures of the efforts of Congolese leaders who have adopted the Leopoldian mode of governance in a modern manner. However, the classic scenario that explains the failure of the Congolese state, as argued by many scholars, is explained by the incapacity of the authorities for not being able to manage adequately the public affairs of the country; coupled by the incapacity to generate enough revenue to allow a sound functioning of the state administrative machine and to provide adequate services and supply goods to the citizenry, to control borders and maintain law and order. On the other hand, Bayart attributes the failure of the state in Africa to the politics of the belly<sup>832</sup>. The World Bank with its neoliberal rhetoric speaks of the lack of good governance<sup>833</sup>, etc. to only name a few instances of analysis of the violence that has prevailed over the Congo. Suffice is to mention that violence in the Congo is not a thing of this century but a reality that amounts from immemorial night of times and precisely, from around the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, its rooted in the Berlin Conference of 1885. However, the failure of the state in the DRC and the troubles that are embroiled in them is understood, the best, the unfortunate past history of the country. The troubles of the Congo are individual, then regional and then global. They stem from the minds of an individual where they were conceived before they were exposed to other individuals and then discussed in the Berlin Conference. Unlike the way the violence in the Democratic Republic of

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<sup>831</sup> The wealth of many nations in the 20<sup>th</sup> and still in the 21<sup>st</sup> Centuries is made from the use of violence and the law of the strongest used by Western powers in the Congo (Hochschild, 1999; Meredith, 2011).

<sup>832</sup> Ottaway, M. (2006); Ottaway, M and S. Mir (2004).

<sup>833</sup> The inadequacy of the World Bank's good governance credo has proved to be devastating in their application (Geffries, 1983).

Congo is analysed by many specialists where it is attributed to leadership failure; the violence that has ravaged the Congo from over a century is a product of a culture of violence in application<sup>834</sup>.

The origins of the Congolese troubles are located in the ideas of the Belgian King, Leopold II. In his mental fever to secure a colony that was very well calculated and copied on the model of the Dutch colonies in the Indies. He realized tons of money the colonizing countries were drawing from their colonies, much to the blood and sweat of the colonized<sup>835</sup>. The search of colonies entailed the exploitation, plunder, ill treatment and debasement of the individuals under colonization. The colonised rights are taken away in all the senses with gross violations and in most of the cases, colonized people were seen as sub-human and even merchandises, provided that they produce profit to the colonists<sup>836</sup>.

Leopold II knew very well these things but he was still intending to have a colony at any cost to give to his country. He went up to make research on the profit that the Netherland was making and that nourished his thirst for a colony<sup>837</sup>. When his search led him to read the news of explorers overseas, he snatched an opportunity to act once he realized that any individual or entity did not claim the Basin of the Congo River yet. From there he launched the hunt to the Congo by employing the one who happen to have explored Africa from the West to East coast. Henry Morton Stanley was selected and paid by the Belgian king. That is where the putting into practice of the deadly ideas of Leopold II was starting to take roots into a diversification of violent actions.

By the signing of treaties of surrender to the Belgian King between the local authorities and Stanley, Africans were skillfully robbed of their lands. Firearms that were superior to the spears and pointed pieces of sticks invaded those who resisted; they were then captured and sold as

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<sup>834</sup> All the agonies of hand amputations, rape, plunder, chicotte, corvée, looting and pillage of resources, Satanism...were but the materialization of King Leopold II's imagination applied over the Congo (Van Reybrouck, 2014, Pratt *et al*, 2004; Oury, 2008; Mukwege and Nangini, 2008; Mukwege *et al*, 2010).

<sup>835</sup> (Money, 1984).

<sup>836</sup> (Freund, 1084; Oliver ad Atmore, 2005).

<sup>837</sup> (Van Reybrouck, 2014).

slavery or used as porters for free and treated like pieces of garbage by Stanley. Before his arrival in the Congo, there were empires and kingdoms that were well-organized, powerful and influential ones. But the conquest of those kingdoms led to their collapse and disorganization to finally being left in ruin, much to the advantage of the colonizers<sup>838</sup>.

On behalf of Leopold II, Stanley instituted a system of forced labour and exploitation in the Basin of the Congo River. He used the very system to construct stations that were later used as point of collection of rubber and ivory. Leopold II was commanding from his royal quarters in Brussels and the chief of station were implementing his orders locally in the Basin of the Congo River. Pressed by the demand of rubber on the world market from the motor industry that relied than on equatorial rubber, Leopold II initiated a system of violent economic coercion led by his chief of stations. Congolese were stripped of their right to the land, liberty, self-governance and emancipation to the bloody rubber collection system. Violence was creeping in the Congolese society and governance<sup>839</sup> then as peaceful and well-governed autonomous societies were turned into a class of proletariats without remuneration.

To best control the Congolese masses, an army of mercenaries was put in place, this was known as 'Force Publique' armed with weapons purchased overseas by Leopold II and shipped to the Congo from where ships were returning to Belgium loaded with tons of rubber and ivory and any possible valuable thing grabbed in the Basin of the Congo River. It was then that the Congo was referred to as Congo Free State (CFS)<sup>840</sup>. The force Publique was made of freebooters from Europe, Africa and elsewhere, all at the sole service of the Belgian king. They were not an army of soldiers hired to protect the Congolese but serving the purpose of Leopold II in the economy of coercion that he instituted in the CFS. Congolese men were forced to supply a quota of rubber per day and whenever this was not done, their wives and kids were kidnapped and kept hostages at the station until their husbands could supply the required amount of rubber.

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<sup>838</sup> (Gann and Duignan, 1979).

<sup>839</sup> (Hochschild, 1999).

<sup>840</sup> (Stanley, 1885).



Congolese without distinction were subjected to the system of the 'Chicotte'<sup>841</sup> that also claimed lives by means of hemorrhage of the victims.

In the process of keeping hostage the Congolese women, these were raped by the chief of station. Those who resisted were exiled and their lands seized or conversely, entire villages were ravaged and torched by the agents of Leopold II<sup>842</sup>. The income from selling rubber was swelling to enrich a single individual, Leopold II, who demanded more from the poor Congolese who had no proper means of defending themselves against the Belgian hell in the CFS. The exacerbation of the use of violent force on the Congolese changed the dimension. All those who were required to supply rubber to the chief of station were killed and others had their hands cut off for failure to supply required quota of rubber to the chief of station. Congolese were turned into real games and were hunted for rubber collection as the demand of rubber for fabrication of the tires was positing at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

Gross violation of human right committed by the Leopoldian machine in the CFS amounted to a genocide and crime against humanity<sup>843</sup>. The world may have denied the first Congolese genocide in the name of rubber, ivory and natural resources collection under Leopold II but it stands in the archives of history and no human hand or mind will ever succeed to erase it. That state of things called on individuals with a clear heart to blow the whistle against the Leopodian deadly machine. Investigation conducted by liberals and socialist within the Belgian

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<sup>841</sup> The word chicotte is the French translation of the world whip. The chicotte was a thick whip cut out of the hippo skin that was used to lash the Congolese on the stomach and the back. It dug deep in the skin and in most of the cases, the victim was bleeding to death after he had been beaten by the Kapitais or the elements of the Force Publique (Hoskyns, 1965; Gann and Duignan, 1979).

<sup>842</sup> Land that was seized was passed to Leopold II and became his own. In other instances he would just order huge tracks of land to be cut from the rest and that became the crown domain. That land was leased or given as collateral to potential investors on the benefit of Leopold II. This was the origin of the concessions in the Congo (Hoskyns, 1965; Hochschild, 1999; Kanza, 1972; Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002)

<sup>843</sup> The magnitude of violence orchestrated by the Leopoldian system of governance surpasses all the blunders of crimes and genocides of the contemporary time. It was higher than the German Holocaust under Hitler, the Rwandese genocide and the Armenian genocide. Its horrors remained of insignificant importance compared to the Balkan tragedy (Van Reybrouck, 2014;).

parliament<sup>844</sup> supported by proofs from the British press and humanitarian activists forced Leopold II to lose his grip over the CFS and hand over his country, the Kingdom of Belgium.

By 1908-1909, Leopold II had accumulated an overwhelming wealth from the exploitation of the Congo accumulated by means of rape, bloodshed, capital flight, death and land grabbing with the system of concessions and bonds that used the Congolese heritage as collateral. Not having developmental projects, he splashed his blood money on parties, building monuments, buying castles in Europe and entertaining. He had mounted and built a violent system of the likes of an octopus, which tentacles infiltrated all the spheres of the CFS and grew ramifications that stretched to future generations in the Congolese society. A system that never had words such as services, goods, mercy, humanity, human dignity, human right, solidarity, pluralism, etc. and which knew no governance; a bunch of gangsters and racketeers like pirates on the Caribbean seas.

By the moment Belgium took over the CFS officially as a colony and the country was named Belgian-Congo, a naming that explain the mode of exploitation exercised over the Congo. The violence changed the content and was mitigated in a sense. For Belgium worked to erase the Leopoldian horrors. Belgian colonists continued the work of their King that was referred to as a genius of Leopold by his descendant<sup>845</sup>. Because structures and institutions from the CFS were carrying the seeds of violence and though they could be changed, they still keep the very seeds. The CFS having been a failure and the Belgian-Congo administration having adopted its systems and processes was doomed to fail in a way or another and the virus was continued in the veins of leadership and governance over the Congo.

With the invention of synthetic rubber, the Belgian-Congo focused on other sources of wealth in the Congo. Prospection made from the CFS by their dead king proved to be useful. The discovery of a range of minerals and other resources became the preoccupation of the colony. An extensive exploitation of minerals was initiated and continued by the colonists using exploitation, racism, segregation, underdevelopment of the Congolese people and their exclusion

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<sup>844</sup> (Gann and Duignan, 1979).

<sup>845</sup> Cfr the speech of King Baudouin in 1960 (Meredith, 2011; Kanza 1972).

from the politico economic wealth making machine<sup>846</sup>. Though there were schools that were built by the missionaries and a sound health system, the Congolese people were limited to the level of primary schools in a way to limit them from occupying posts of responsibilities in the public administration, the army, the police forces, the health sector and in any other field.

What Congolese people could do was to content themselves with very lower position of responsibilities as they were designed to remain occupants of menial jobs and serve as a reservoir of labourers at the service of the colonists<sup>847</sup>. Conversely, immigrants from around the world, starting with Belgians, were landing in the Congo day by day to occupy positions of key responsibilities in the army, the public administration, the educational and the health sectors, etc. they were paid hundred times higher than Congolese. The system of the chicotte continued and Congolese lived in isolation on the periphery of towns with a system of pass imposed upon them. In a silent manner, the colonists maintained a segregation and apartheid against the Congolese people during the days of colonialism<sup>848</sup>. It differed from the South African one in the sense that it was not made legal; albeit it was scrutinised and strengthened. The crushing of human rights and liberty of the Congolese continued. The wealth, heritage and riches of the Congo continued to be flown to Belgium where they caused the construction of museums for the interest of the metropole.

Colonization in the Congo was brutal, inhuman, debasing and heart breaking. It limited Congolese people from developing and emancipating and relegated them to the echelon of simple labourers who were made to execute the corvee<sup>849</sup> for the Westerners. The administration, the politics, the economy and the society as a whole was designed and maintained in a pyramidal

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<sup>846</sup> The patterns of segregation, exclusion and racism following from the demagoguery of the Belgian system were copied on the apartheid model of the South African pre-colonial and colonial periods. It is not impossible to discover traces of apartheid in today's society after the advent of democracy (Feinstein, 2005; Farmer, 2005).

<sup>847</sup> (Farmer, 2004).

<sup>848</sup> The only difference with the South African apartheid system was that segregation was a law and there were policies to strengthen it such as the Group Act, the Native Land Act, etc where as in the Congo it was not a law and there were no clear policies to sustain it. However, there was a latent apartheid as well in the Congo (Feinstein, 2005; Hoskyns, 1965).

<sup>849</sup> A system of free, hard and forced labour initiated by Leopold II and continued by the Belgian colonial state (Hochschild, 1999; Gann and Duignan, 1979).

manner with the Europeans at the pick of the pyramid and the middle class of Europeans that stood over the masses of Congolese at grassroots, though being the majority in the colony. A terrible top-bottom model of politics, economy and development that profited only the colonist at the expense of the citizens was entertained by the Belgian administration<sup>850</sup>.

Violence continued to grow in the various spheres of life in the Belgian Congo. Structural violence thrust Congolese in a dark hole of semi-illiteracy, poverty and exploitation and denied them the right to political participation and a culture of violence tolerated it. To add to it, physical violence was used to repress the masses anytime they would demand any right that was their rightful due. Any attempt to organize themselves was met with a muscled reaction from the force publique<sup>851</sup>. Their oppression called on their organization and pushed them to press on the demand for their rights. Thus, their nationalism took a momentum. In the late 1950s, they were finally allowed to gather in a political manner by still not to integrate the politico-economic sphere and continued to be pushed on the side<sup>852</sup>.

There were underground entertained by the colonist who maintained the politics of divide to rule and the political parties formed by the Congolese took a tribal tendency and could not shake the colonial state. Even though the Bakongo organized themselves around their tribesmen and the Baluba did the same, the country had to wait upon the emergence of Patrice Lumumba, the only true politician who envisioned a united and inclusive Congolese political party and so was his projection of the future the Congolese society. His invitation to the Pan-African congress in Accra by Kwame Nkrumah in 1958 was an eye opener to a vision of Pan Africanism that could save the continent and the people of Congo. Upon his return, Lumumba united the Congolese and led them in the struggle for freedom<sup>853</sup>.

The first fruits of his labour together with other Congolese political leaders was paid by the organization of the Round Table in 1959 in Brussels where discussion were held by

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<sup>850</sup> A typical model of underdevelopment within the development of the underdevelopment such as observed in the 3<sup>rd</sup> World countries (Rodney, 1972; Santos, 1970).

<sup>851</sup> (Hoskyns, 1965; Harris and Lewis, 1999).

<sup>852</sup> (Kanza, 1972).

<sup>853</sup> (Nkrumah et al, 1963; Kanza, 1979; Hoskyns, 1965).

representatives of both parties, the Belgian and the Congolese. A date was fixed for the independence of the Congo to June 30<sup>th</sup> 1960. Even though the colonial state was cradled by the Leopoldian system of administration that entailed the non-emancipation of the people, the level of education and managerial skills of the Congolese elite was not adequate to lead the country after it gained independence. A miscalculation of the Belgian government that overlooked the kindness and hospitality and peacefulness of the Congolese and never conceived or designed an emancipatory plan of coming out of the colonial cycle<sup>854</sup>.

The Belgians did not anticipate a Congolese demand for independence with immediate effect. On the day of independence, in front of distinguished guests, speech pronounced by the Belgian King and the first Congolese President, Joseph Kasavubu, were moderate. Lumumba made an inventory of the colonial rule of Belgians over the Congo and brought it up in the speech to the amazement and dislike of his auditors from both sides<sup>855</sup>. Lumumba's speech was contravening the Berlin Protocol that stipulated that the Congo was made to be zone of commercial exchange and a digging ground of raw material. The Americano-European protocol over the Congo from 1885 during the Berlin Conference in Germany was torn by the vision of nationalism and unitarism capped by Panafricanism by Patrice Lumumba. This was unacceptable to the eyes of the world leaders then.

The signatories of the Berlin Protocol triggered Lumumba's death. History demonstrated clearly that up to June 1960, Leopold II has plundered the Congo from the Pre-Berlin period alone, barring the way to other super powers that intended to have their share of the Congolese cake. From 1909, the Congo instead of serving as a carrefour of world commercial activities was passed to Belgium and continued to fail in of fully following the application of the dictates of the Berlin Protocol<sup>856</sup>. Powerful nations of the world that signed the very protocol lurked in the rampage in wait for a chance to enter the Congo to harvest the products of the soil and the undergrounds of the Congolese land. Any individual who was not conducive to the continuation

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<sup>854</sup> (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

<sup>855</sup> (Meredith, 2011; Kanza, 1979, Hochschild, 1999).

<sup>856</sup> (Craven, 2015).

of the Berlin Protocol was to be erased from political scene to leave the space for partisans of neoliberal paradigm. This is a clear explanation of the disappearance of Patrice Lumumba.

The crisis that preceded the death of Lumumba from his very first month of his office tenure involved the Belgo-American alliance in the name of the Cold War<sup>857</sup>. The involvement of the Americans in the Congo is a clear demonstration of the fact that many other world powers were waiting for a chance to get involved in the geological scandal to grip the opportunity of cutting their share of the Congolese cake such as conceived by the world leaders from 1885. After the First World War, to maintain peace in the world, the leaders of the world came up with the idea of creating an organization for the maintenance of peace. The Society of Nations came to existence for peace sake. Unable to maintain peace for decades, the United Nations (UN) that started to see to the peace among nations replaced the Societies of Nations.

World leaders having their hidden agenda have used the Society of Nations and continued to use the UN today to achieve their own agendas. This explains the involvement of the UN from 1961 to 1964 in the so-called independent Congo. The plan of the world leaders over the Congo was the application of the Berlin Protocol as it gave provisions for every big nation to have a piece of the geological scandal in heart of the African continent. The UN has thus been used to overseas politico-economic-military operations from 191 to 1964<sup>858</sup>. It was about finding a leader who could rule in the manner to allow the application of the Berlin Protocol. Preference of the liberal Congolese elites was chosen over the nationalist ones<sup>859</sup>. Once the nationalist leaders were silenced, the country was ripe for the liberals ones to take over the country. The job of bringing to reality that purpose was perfected by UN operations.

The departure of the UN in 1964 signaled a new political era in the Congo or the coming into power of late President Mobutu Sese Seko. Having achieved her mission, the UN left the Congo. Mobutu was brought to power by the West and maintained onto it for 32 years. The West

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<sup>857</sup> (Hoskyns, 1965; Stahn and Melber, 2014; Snow, 1993).

<sup>858</sup> (Spooner, 2010).

<sup>859</sup> (The liberal Congolese elites were different from the national ones in the sense that they sought of the interests of their own at the service of the West where as the national ones saw the interests of the Congolese people first and thus were favoured by the West to govern the country (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002; Kanza, 1972).

sustained him with military and financial assistance over three decades<sup>860</sup>. The alibi of the Cold War was over and the Congo was able to be accessed by the foreign powers and was an open ground to Western looters. If the West failed the Lumumba's government, they sustained the Mobutu as their adopted son. What he did while on power did not matter as long as the West could get what it desired; the manipulations of the Mobutu's era were tolerated by the West as long as minerals such as cobalt, uranium, copper, etc. were controlled by the Western investors for atomic security purpose.

It is under Mobutu that the country took a downward curve economically, socially and politically. The governance of the country was based on the foundations of the Leopoldian system. The ravages of the CFS were continued in the Congo that was named Zaire in 1971. The personal rule of King Leopold II that was adopted by the Belgian-Congo, which was denied to the Lumumba's government, was again allowed to Mobutu by the West in return of military-financial support that maintained him on power. Mobutu continued the concessionary system initiated by Leopold II that was perpetrated by the colonial state but denied to the Lumumba's government<sup>861</sup>. Mobutu continued the violence of the Leopoldian and the Belgian empire in all impunity.

The widespread gross violation of human rights, dictatorship and autocracy, money laundering, kidnapping, political-economic oppression, violence in its most crude format, clientelism, nepotism, personal glorification and cute immiseration of the masses at grassroots level from the CFS were reincarnated first in the Belgian Congo and infiltrated the Mobutu era. The country continued to bleed from capital flight and got more indebted by the Financial Institutions. Politicians continued to borrow money in the form of aid from the international financial institutions in the name of the Congolese people; but the masses will not know what happened as the elites pocket the money<sup>862</sup> and make put powder to the eyes of the masses by means of eloquent rhetoric that ends up cradling the masses into a false hope.

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<sup>860</sup> (Turner, 2007; Turner, 2013).

<sup>861</sup> (Hoskyns, 1965).

<sup>862</sup> (Trefon, 2011).

The megalomaniac Mobutu was humiliated by doses of the adjustment programmes of the early 1980s where the measures of regulation, stabilization and fiscal policies of the World Bank on the Republic of Zaire proved to be counter-productive over the economy of the country. By concurrence of circumstances, the adjustments policies overlapped with one of the most deadly policies adopted by many African countries known as ‘Africanisation’. In the Republic of Zaire, it was termed ‘Zaireanisation’<sup>863</sup>. It consisted of transferring assets and properties of the Europeans into the hands of African elites in the newly independent African states. Unfortunately, following the ingredients of the Leopoldian system and their infiltration of its violence in the subsequent rulership from the CFS to Zaire, a crisis of leadership was severing from the lack of managerial skills and expertise. Individuals connected to the President were rewarded with businesses and tracks of lands that were inherited from the Europeans who were forced to leave the country.

Late Mobutu epitomized the politics of the belly initiated by Leopold II<sup>864</sup>. This state of things integrated and continued violence in the daily life in Zaire. President Mobutu was unable to remedy to the erosions of violence he inherited from the dictates of the Berlin Conference that were reinforced by Leopold II. The entertaining and maintenance of Mobutu on the throne of the Congo was justified by the evil desire of the West to pursue the Berlin protocol agenda over the Congo. By getting rid of the politicians of nationalist tendencies from the political scene allowed the West to have their hand over the national resources of the Congo. Thus, president Mobutu could easily totalized thirty-two years as head of the state in Zaire with all the abuses of power and people, all-inclusive.

Over the disagreements with the West following from the refusal of the continuation of the stabilization and regulisations measures of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, President Mobutu became very unpopular with the money lenders and his rupture with their direct cooperation left the West with no choice but to remove him from power in Zaire. The

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<sup>863</sup> Failures of the International financial institutions can clearly be seen in the way they look for their interest first instead of helping really poor countries of the 3<sup>rd</sup> World countries and else in the world (Dcker, 2010; Hesselbein, 2007; Pongo, 1999; Jeffries, 1983).

<sup>864</sup> (Conrad, 1902; Pongo, 1999; Hesselbein, 2007).



making of the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) plus its armed branch, the Rwandese Patriotic Army (RPA) from Uganda and their sustenance by the West first brought President Museveni of Uganda to power and was propelled to win the civil war over the Hutu government of Juvenal Habyarimana in 1994. The coming into power in Rwanda of President Paul Kagame signaled the invasion of the Congo<sup>865</sup>.

Leaders of the RPF created the Alliance des Forces Démocratique pour la Libération du Congo (AFDL) with the aim of invading Zaire and bring to power a leader that the West could manipulate easily in continuing Western agendas. In the process, they found an ally in the person of Laurent Desire Kabila whom from the position of speaker of the movement became the President of the country after only seven months of war<sup>866</sup>. Couple of years later, President Lurent Desire Kabila was assassinated for failing to follow the wishes of the Berlin Protocol. It may have been argued that President Kabila had no policy in the leadership of the country but the job he performed while being President of the country, that he renamed the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), was very beneficial to the Congolese people.

Kabila turned to China in the effort of developing the country, he reorganised the state machine, worked hard to return to order within the state apparel and brought a relief to the entire country as he worked with the aim putting people first in the socio-politico-economic agendas; a phenomenon that is not welcome by the representatives of the neo-liberalism today. Because the actions and the result of his political alignments were anti-Berlin protocols, bells rang in the world high spheres of oppression, tyranny and dictatorship and he was thus candidate for murder and was finally assassinated in very tricky circumstances. His assassination brought to power his son, Joseph Kabila, who has been in power from 2001 by the choice of the West<sup>867</sup>. Elected in 2006, first, the 2011 election was not clear and ended up in a violent contestation of the results by the opposition side. Jean-Pierre Bemba the opposition leader from the MNCL was charged of crime against humanity and sent to The Hague. President Joseph Kabila who was picked from

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<sup>865</sup> (Bemba, 2002; Onana, 2009; N'gbanda and Onana, 2004).

<sup>866</sup> Armed coalition of several African countries with mercenaries led by the RPF soldiers capsized the Mobutu rule of 32 years (Van Reybrouck, 2014; Turner, 1985; Nzongola, 2002).

<sup>867</sup> (Onana, 1999; Van Reybrouck, 2014).

the army ranks continued to rule the country. His stay on power for over a decade after consuming two presidential mandates and a long transition period signals the guarantee of the continuation of the Berlin Protocol of 1885 concerning the Congo.

### ***Research Recommendations***

Drawing from the findings of this study, the suggestions are made in a way such as to eradicate violence and reconstruct the Kabare District, especially in the zones where research centres were built from the colonial period and their direct vicinities, the eastern Congo, but the suggestion also applies to the entire Congo. The suggestions postulate a three folds plan. It starts with the sine qua non condition of revisiting or reviewing the root causes of the Congolese empire of violence, which foundations were laid down by King Leopold II and the edifice was erected by his deadly socio-economic-political policies that have infiltrated the subsequent governments in the Congo. The value of the first suggestion is such as other programmes of eradicating violence and rebuilding the Congo remains dependent of the total success of the first one. The other two suggestions consist of dealing with the germs of insecurity in the Kabare District and the last one is about the rehabilitation of capital in the Kabare District. The rebuilding of the country is so depending on the first plan than the other two since a peaceful Congo depends on it.

Herein lies a key difficulty, what role is the state to play in the rebuilding of the country? The DRC is essentially a failed state and its very practices have reinforced the very violence understudy here. Therefore, part of the solution requires the entire state edifice to change how it relates to its people and how it operates. The state has inherited colonial practices from Leopold's era through to the present as I have discussed above. These need to change and simply replacing the government is insufficient as it is the culture of violence and the structural inequality inherent in the state that need to change. Here, this thesis aims to unpack some of these structural and cultural forms of violence with the aim in by revealing them and their roots we, as Congolese citizens, can begin to reshape and address those problems.

### ***The revisiting of the Berlin Protocol of 1885 concerning the Congo***

By suggesting revisiting the Berlin Protocol, I do not mean exploring all the horrendous consequences of the scramble of Africa. Globalisation has established new nation-states and it cannot be undone today. Revisiting the Berlin for the DRC concerns those socio-politico-economic issues that are directly linked to the content of the very treaty. The socio-politico-economic violence that has been and continues to tear the Congo into pieces is the result of the application of the content of the Berlin Protocol. It is there and then where Western powers agreed on using the Basin of the Congo River<sup>868</sup> as a common ground that was to be used as digging ground of raw material that was in demand on the world market to be supplied in Europe. The Congo was set to be a commercial carrefour of international powers where they are all allowed to sell their finished product<sup>869</sup>.

It is the application of the Berlin Protocol that explains the mutinies; rebellions, wars and acute violence that the country has suffered since the occupation of the Congo by Leopold II. He accumulated wealth for himself by means of an economy of violence and Belgium followed suit but attenuating the degree of violence and varying it. As they did not give room to other powers to share the cake of the geological scandal, other signatories waited in the shadows for inopportune moment. Thus, they dived in the internal socio-economic-political affairs of the Congo and exacerbated the violence sown by the Leopoldian system by means of multinationals, foreign armies and mercenaries<sup>870</sup> with the complicity of the international press to see to see to the continuation of the Berlin agenda concerning the Congo at the price of the blood and the sweat of the Congolese people.

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<sup>868</sup> Later the Congo Free State, then the Belgian-Congo to which the Congo succeeded and then Zaire came into existence prior to the advent of the Liberation War of 1996 from where late president Laurent Kabila renamed the country the DRC (Stahn and Melber, 2014; Snow, 1993; Rodney, 1972; Santos, 1970).

<sup>869</sup> By the look of things, the application of the Berlin Protocol seems to be at its pinnacle in the DRC. After a careful research and sustained observation, it transpires that the DRC consumes over 95 percent of commodities that are manufactured in the West and China. The only thing that was found to be made in Congo is a very scant range of cosmetics. But the rest is dumped by powerful countries, especially those who signed the Berlin Protocol over the Congo and their subsidiary countries. There are the river and their satellites are their tributaries in the supplies of commodities in the Congo (Field notes).

<sup>870</sup> (Kaldor, 1999; Kaldor, 2013).

Sustainable peace in the DRC entails the revisiting of the very Protocol in changing its content. The best could be changing the nature of cooperation between the North and the South by changing the terms. Cooperation between the North and the South to take place based on equal terms and on the respect of human rights<sup>871</sup>. The revisiting of the Berlin protocol of 1885 is the *sine qua non* condition for the entire exercise of eradicating violence in the Congo posits. Since the empire of violence is justified by the very protocol, it is only by reversing its content that violence its effects can be eradicated in the Congo.

The West has to go back to the drawing board and reconsider the 1885 agreement of the Berlin Conference concerning the Congo from where stem all the woes that the Congo has known from the days of the CFS. It is the pre-requisite for releasing the Congo from the grip of socio-economic-political dependency as well as putting a stop to Western interference in the internal affairs of the Congo. For example, The Congo has been colonized by Belgium but colonization is long gone and the two countries are still far from dealing on equal terms. In the simplest manner, the theory of comparative advantage can apply. Belgium can sell to the Congo the best of what it produces and vice-versa. This trend has to apply to the rest of the Western countries. Until this is reached, the thesis of eminent scholars<sup>872</sup> including the using of people as pawns in the game, the enslaving of the masses and the bottom million can be considered as being true.

### ***Fixing insecurity in the Kabare District***

The overt violent confrontation has ceased but insecurity is still looming in the Kabare area. The Kabare district, just like the entire eastern Congo and the whole African Great Lakes Region has been heavily militarized over the last decades. There have been tons of weapons and ammunitions dropped in the region in general and then from country to country. There is no country in the region that has not accumulated an arsenal for security reasons. Security has been

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<sup>871</sup> The West has well spoken about respect of human rights but in practice they are the ones who violate them by keeping African countries in bondage and modern slavery through aid that turns into debts to be paid with exponent interests. It not time to listen to well-spoken words but justice must be done to Africa and the African people (Collier, 2007; Moyo, 2009; Trefon, 2011).

<sup>872</sup> (N'gbanda and Onana, 2004; Ike, 1999; Ike, 2014; Carr and leyman, 1958; Collier, 2007; [Séverac, 2010](#); Conrad, 1902).

at the top of the priorities regionally and nationally without thinking about the side effects of the over-securisation and over-militarisation of the region. The arsenal that remained from the Second World War and the one accumulated over the year has been used in the atrocities in the Congo. Mutinies, rebellions and civil wars have all existed simply because there is an overabundance of weapons in the country. The existence of militias and the criminal activities of some of the demobilized soldiers have been possible owing to the abundance of small weapons and the primacy of security over education, health and development in general.

The demobilization, demilitarization and reintegration (DDR) has been shaky and shallow owing to problems of logistic order. Combatants have been recruited in number during military campaign that aimed at changing the leadership in the country. Once the goal has been achieved, only a handful of individuals have been reinserted in the regular army<sup>873</sup>. The rest of combatants have not been properly reintegrated in the society. The use of child soldier of which majority has not known any other job besides levering an AK47; are left to mend their way in a world where they know nowhere to start owing to lack of skills that are necessary to make a living. Not properly demobilized, they end up creating a militia that, in turn, will be a thorn to the civilians as they know how to find illicit weapons with ease. It is these weapons that are going to be used in committing criminal offenses. Looking into the issues relating to DDR and taking into account the problems faced by demobilized soldier, by the current government is responsible for attending to their needs, among others, education, training and counseling, will help eradicate problems of insecurity relating to the unemployment of former soldiers coupled with fragile and incomplete operations of demobilization and disarmament. Once the insecurity burden is lifted, investors can come back and reinvest in the area, which can procure jobs to the local population.

### ***Rethinking education and Peace Studies***

The violence that is inherent in the Congolese society finds its rationale, way back, in the shifting educational system over a century. The seeds of violence sown by the Berlin Protocol relating to

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<sup>873</sup> (Dzineza, 2008; Emizet, 1997).

the Congo have been fertilized by Leopold II through his governance and have entangled the Congolese social-politico-economic fabric integrally. This had a very negative impact over the economy and the politics of the country. The Congolese government will have to rethink peace education and implement it in the national curricula at all levels of learning. Since peace education aims at equipping the individuals with the necessary knowledge of what violence is and how to avoid, the ideal would be to design such programmes from the kindergarten to the tertiary education. This will restore peaceful societies in the Congo and instill a culture of peace to all citizens.

The military, the police, the civil servants, the educators, researchers and various professionals will have to go through peace education, politicians included. Today in the DRC, there is nothing like free education. From kindergarten upwards, education is open for those who can pay to go to school. There is an abundance of unschooled children and those who attend school in any institution and at any given level; those who still wear a uniform and those who do not, can be seen in the street moving up and down in the streets after the classes are open in the morning and in the afternoon having been chased from attending owing to lack of fee payment. In a context where unemployment is rife<sup>874</sup>, parents are struggling to send to pay school fees for their children.

The Congolese educational system needs an overhaul then a reformation. Important is for the government to pay the teacher a living salary that will allow them to survive from month to month and put at the disposal of the Congolese a free education from primary to secondary at least, and open training centres where those who do wish so can get a chance to learn a trade. Then again, peace education is to be part and parcel of any learning system in the country. It will allow the elaboration of sound mechanisms of dealing with conflicts in a non-violent manner and in a less costly manner since violence entails destruction and the reconstruction is happen to be time consuming and expensive. Preventive diplomacy can be adopted as a national mechanism of

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<sup>874</sup> It is estimated that 90% of the Congolese in age of being employed and those who are in good health are unemployed or the majority have thus been swallowed in the informal sector.

preventing conflicts rather than resolving them. This will be the role that peace education will play in the Congo.

### ***Women's rights rehabilitation and participation***

Worldwide, in most of the cases, women have been victims of violence. In the DRC they are the recipients of several types of violence. This is a Leopoldian system making and it has been continued by the governments after the CFS. Patriarchy in the Congo has been reinforced by the violent Leopoldian system. The Leopoldian machine brought the Congolese women to the lowest echelon of the social pyramid in using them as bait, prey and spoil in the pursuit of economic gains. The state of women in the DRC has not changed for the best for them to be included in the daily affairs of life. Government has to review the status of women in the DRC and change the Leopoldian patterns of violence over women. Suffice is to say that equal chance of competing for opportunities in several spheres of life is to be presented to women at the same level and same rate as men. Women are to be protected from shocks seasonality and vulnerability if the Congolese society is to develop evenly. In the politics, the economy, education, health... and other sectors, women are to be lifted to more positions of responsibility as men and their protection from threat and violence should be guaranteed by the government.

Those who have been victim of rape and other atrocities during the past couple of decades of violence are to be treated appropriately and then reinserted in the society<sup>875</sup>. It will fix the issue of food insecurity since women are the ones who sacrifice their lives to bring up kids and attend to the works of the farm to feed the nation. Putting women at the centre of socio-politico-economic life is desirable since it is one of the concerns of the millennium development goals. Those who were forced to leave their parental inheritance, like farms, properties, etc. will have to be rehabilitated by the government. This will help restore peasant economic activities in the area and sort problems related to joblessness as many rural activities are restored.

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<sup>875</sup> There is a very important need to put in place institutions of counseling for mental treatment and spiritual restoration. The violence that took place in the Congo the past two decades is not isolated from Satanism that was introduced in the Congo in 1900 and that ever since has claimed many lives in the Congo (Gann and Duignan, 1979; Brown, 1992).

### ***Restoring livelihoods and rebuilding the Peasant economy***

The Kabare District just like most of the eastern Congo has been suffering from chronic unemployment, poverty and food insecurity, among the many socio-economic issues as a consequence of protracted social conflict that ceded to intractable violence<sup>876</sup>. These are linked to the decimation of peasant economy that was subservient to mainstream Congolese economy. During the years prior to the protracted violence, the Kabare District was an engine of rural development. The Mulungu agricultural and agronomic research centre was thriving in the production of foods that were locally and regionally consumed<sup>877</sup>. The scientific research was a leading medical centre that was very beneficial to the population in inventing vaccine for several diseases, developing medicinal plants, producing meat, cheese and eggs in the Tshibati farm and the Fomulac medical centre saw to the medico-physiological needs of the population surrounding and coming remote areas. All these activities were linked to peasant economy<sup>878</sup>.

Even though these centres in the Bugorhe areas within the Kabare District were weakened by the government failures, particularly during the Second Republic, they continue to survive through partnerships with several European institutions of similar calling and kept their places in the socio-politico-economic race. They were decimated when violence settled in from 1994 with the arrival of Rwandese Hutu refugees<sup>879</sup>. The apex of violence of 1996 during the Liberation War finally killed all the assets that were still available for economic production. Ever since the Kabare District has been plunged in a night of agony with men in military uniform and gumboots who swarmed the countryside in the eastern Congo<sup>880</sup> and swept all the remnants of peasants 'means of production.

The devastation that followed the wars can be remedied by government intervention. Here, the state and its leaders need to be aware of the structural conditions of violence that the state itself perpetuates. They need to revisit their policies and practices as they rebuild and move away from

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<sup>876</sup> (Bar-Tal, 2007; Bebeduce, Jourdan et al, 2006).

<sup>877</sup> (Bernstein, 2003; Brycesson, 2000).

<sup>878</sup> (Chayanov et al, 1986).

<sup>879</sup> ([Reyntjens, 1996](#)).

<sup>880</sup> (Turner, 2001; Turner, 2013).



being a failed state. The Congolese government has to see the urging and persisting needs of peasants who have been pauperized by a circle of violence that was intentionally directed to innocent civilians with the intention of stripping them off their last means of survival<sup>881</sup>. Once that is understood, the government can make it its top priority since the food is produced in the countryside and so long as the latter is deprived of agricultural inputs, there food insecurity will persist in the Kabare area and the city of Bukavu will suffer the very fate with the consequence of the shooting of the price of food, a blatant consequence of the structural adjustment policies of the World Bank over the Congo<sup>882</sup>.

The government will have to rehabilitate farmers who lost their means of substance just like those who were displaced from their native areas and have been living in a constant fear of returning there to attend to farming activities. Government can opt to redistribute seeds, fertilisers and pesticides plus bring in experts in agri-business such as to relaunch agricultural production. This can help restore rural markets and open the commercial broken link between the countryside and the city resulting from the ravages of past armed violence<sup>883</sup>. A technical and logistic assistance from government to research centres will be an advantage to both the scientific community and the people living directly in the vicinity of the centres. In that vein of idea, the market in Bukavu can be refurnished with a variety of foods, a state of thing that is required and desirable as population growth require an abundance of food to sustain their dietary needs.

The building of road system that links the countryside to the cities to evacuate the products of agriculture to centres of consumption will be the next step in the restoration of livelihoods in the Kabare district. On top of pre-existing ones, the government will add to them arteries that lead to deep rural areas to excerpt the harvest, just like the mining has done to allow an increase in the production of mineral product during colonial times. This can encourage the agricultural sector to produce for export and bring home foreign currency. To the agricultural production, the conservation industry can be put in place to help pack some of the agricultural products into

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<sup>881</sup> (Turner, 2007; N'gbanda and Onana, 2004).

<sup>882</sup> (Jeffries, 1983).

<sup>883</sup> Trefon, 2001).

canes. Jobs can be thus created and food wastage can be avoided. Not only people will be given an extra choice in their daily eating habits but pets also can be catered for.

From there, the government will help restore a sound banking system to help speed up economic recovery in the Kabare District. The creation of rural cooperatives and the extension of the banking facilities to the rural areas will allow peasants to have access to cash and will boost their business activities. Credit facilities, particularly with the availability of the micro-loans to the peasants can boost their confidence and relaunch their commercial activities<sup>884</sup>. It can take the agri-business to new heights and can create parallel industries and the building of new markets to benefit the population. The access to micro-loans can transform the countryside both socially and economically and could even create a class of new entrepreneurs who can turn faster the wheels of the economy in a positive manner<sup>885</sup>.

The rebuilding of physical capital is required. Clinics, hospitals, public buildings, public institutions, public schools, state enterprise are all in such a state that an urgent reconstruction is needed<sup>886</sup>. To help cementing the efforts of reconstruction of the peasant economy, the government will be required to reconstruct the physical capital. It will help the return to a normal functioning of the rural areas and will lead to their emancipation and put them at a better pedestal where they will be able to communicate and cooperate adequately with the urban areas for mutual dependence and assistance in the optic of a sound development.

The restoration of the above referred capitals will boost the human capital since schools, clinics, and infrastructures in place evolving in a developed agricultural environment will be conducive to the production of scholars, doctors, engineers, researchers, and specialists of several areas<sup>887</sup>. The integration of restored capitals will revolutionise the social capital in putting in place a wide network of relations through which individuals can tap in for access to goods and services. The

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<sup>884</sup> Accent is to be put on micro-enterprises and avail micro-loans to citizens who have been victim of violence in the District to help them relaunch their economic activities. As they produce, they will repay their loans gradually until they are able to stand on their own feet in the spirit of encouraging entrepreneurship (Woodworth, 2011; Wilson, 1999).

<sup>885</sup> (Hite and Seitz, 2015).

<sup>886</sup> (Hasic, 2004).

<sup>887</sup> (Helliwell and Putnam, 1995).

restoration of capitals will bring back investors and allow the return to normality of life in the Kabare District where the research institutes are located.

The research institutes themselves need to be further supported as they once played a key role in the area. They supported agriculture and better practices and can continue into the future to do so. Here the state can intervene with support, as can the international community. Here, the local communities that drew on these centres can once again be supported, but also they can use these as a platform for assisting the state move away from the structural conditions that caused such harm.

### ***Final Conclusion***

Contrary to the generic discourse and rhetoric such as presented by prominent scholars and specialists of the Congo politics, state failure in the Congo is not totally the result of bad leadership. It is the product of the pursuit of the application of the 1885 Berlin Protocol concerning the Congo. According to that protocol, the Congo was never made to be a modern state functioning like Western countries, even if the Congolese leadership could apply the best democratic principles of this century. From 1885 on the tables of the Berlin Conference, the Congo was set to be a commercial carrefour and a zone of Western economic commercialization of products and services for the benefit of world leaders and a digging ground or a reservoir of raw material in demand on the World Market<sup>888</sup>. It was an agenda that was set to be pursued by the signatories of the very protocol with the contribution of world leading nations and economies such as the US and the European Union.

The troubles of the Congo are explained by the above world agenda for the simple reason that all sorts of minerals required by the West are available in the Congo<sup>889</sup>. The leadership has to be twisted if the West has to have access to those rare goodies that abound in the Congo. The violence endemic within the Congolese structures is a reproduction and the pursuit of the 1885 Berlin paradigm that was inaugurated by Leopold II and then the government of Belgium<sup>890</sup>. As

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<sup>888</sup> (Forster *et al.* 1988; Keltie, 2014).

<sup>889</sup> (Van Reybrouck, 2014).

<sup>890</sup> (Hochschild, 1999; Conrad, 1902; Dumett, 2004; è Nziem, 1998).

long as society, politics and economy were flowing within the direction desired by world leaders in the Congo, it was well. The moment an intruder by the name of Patrice Lumumba came to interrupt the smooth running of the Berlin River in the Congo in 1960, he became a foreign body within the hellish river that flowed from the 1885 Berlin Protocol and was to be gotten rid of at any cost<sup>891</sup>.

It explains the presence of the UN in the Congo to play the cards that were to restore the application of the Berlin Protocol in the country. It took 4 years of patience until a new breed of liberal elites was ready to be used to continue the flow of the Berlin River in the Congo. And for the second time, the coming into power of Desire Kabila was a second interruption of the flowing of the Berlin River in the Congo<sup>892</sup>. He was to be killed and the UN had to be brought in to accomplish the dirty work of the signatory of the 1885 Berlin Protocol over the Congo. Though this time the UN is having an open agenda of peacekeeping on one hand and maintaining the flow of Multinationals, it encourages the militarization of the Congo in order to create protected zones where raw materials are dug while the weapons and ammunitions are used to kill the civilians in those protected areas and uses the press to divert their attention from the real happenings, keeping them unsuspected<sup>893</sup>.

Thus, the violence, mutinies, rebellions and atrocities ever experienced in the Congo follow from the interruption of the flow of the 1885 Berlin Protocol over the Congo. To resolve the Congolese crisis and put in place peaceful societies among over 450 ethnicities in the Congo, the Berlin Protocol has to be reviewed and the content changed. As long as that protocol has not been changed to bring the Congo to the level of a free nation-state that will cooperate equally with Western nations, the violence in the Congo will never stop. The bottom billion thesis such as presented by Collier<sup>894</sup> will be true and real and the Congo will continue to be its theatre where the signatories of the 1885 Berlin protocol will be the stage.

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<sup>891</sup> ([Gerard and Kuklick, 2015](#)). (Abi-Saab, 1978; Mc Queen, 2014; [Scarnecchia, 2011](#)).

<sup>892</sup> (Abi-Saab, 1978; Mc Queen, 2014; [Scarnecchia, 2011](#)).

<sup>893</sup> See the Kamananga events in the Chapter on the UN in the Congo (Field notes).

<sup>894</sup> (Collier, 2007).

The freedom of the Congo is conditioned by the changing of the content of the Berlin Protocol. Even if the best blue print of conflict resolution or rebuilding/reconstruction after protracted social conflict, the Congo will always go back to square one of violence following from the fighting for securing the space for the application of the Berlin Protocol, continuing the flowing of the 1885 Berlin River within the banks of the Western conspirators and tyrants playing their card over the Congo.

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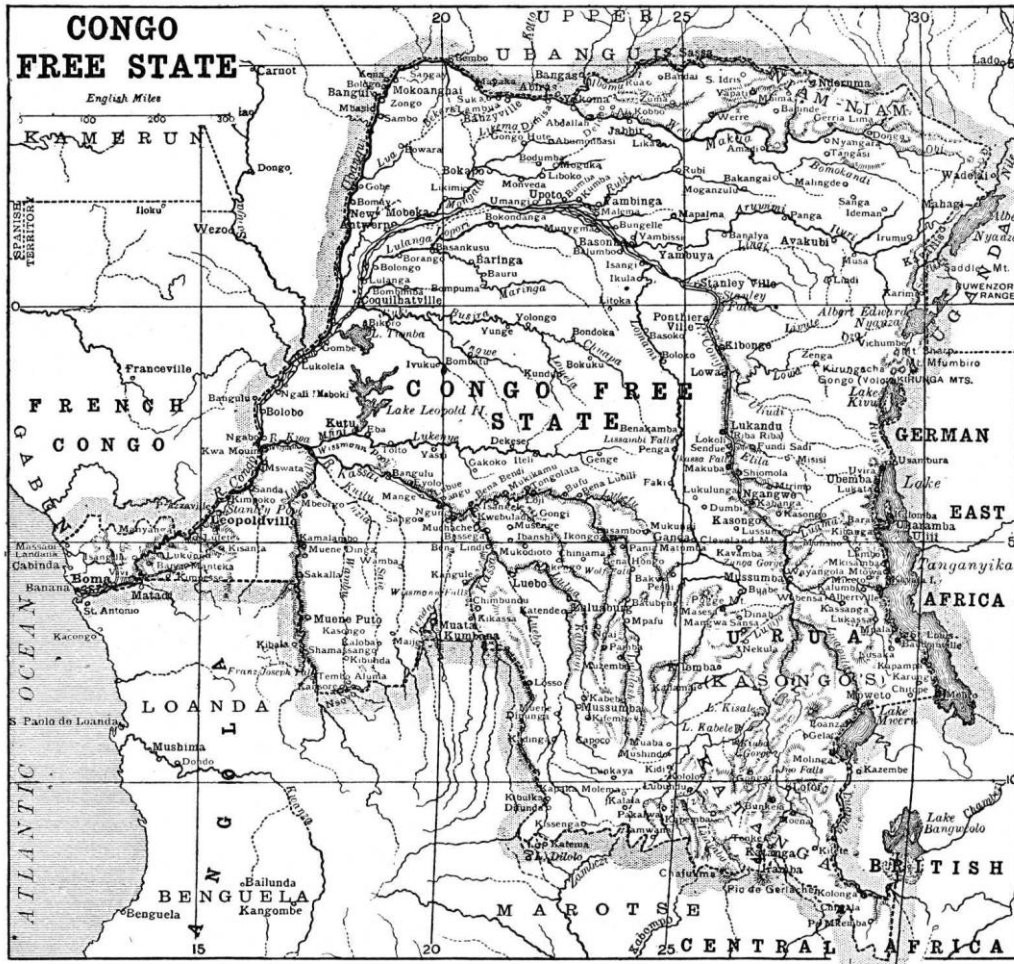
Zlozniski, C. (1994). "The informal economy in an advanced industrialized society: Mexican immigrant labor in Silicon Valley." *Yale Law Journal*: 2305-2335.

## APPENDIX

Note: All maps have been sourced from google.com



### 1. The Basin of the Congo River

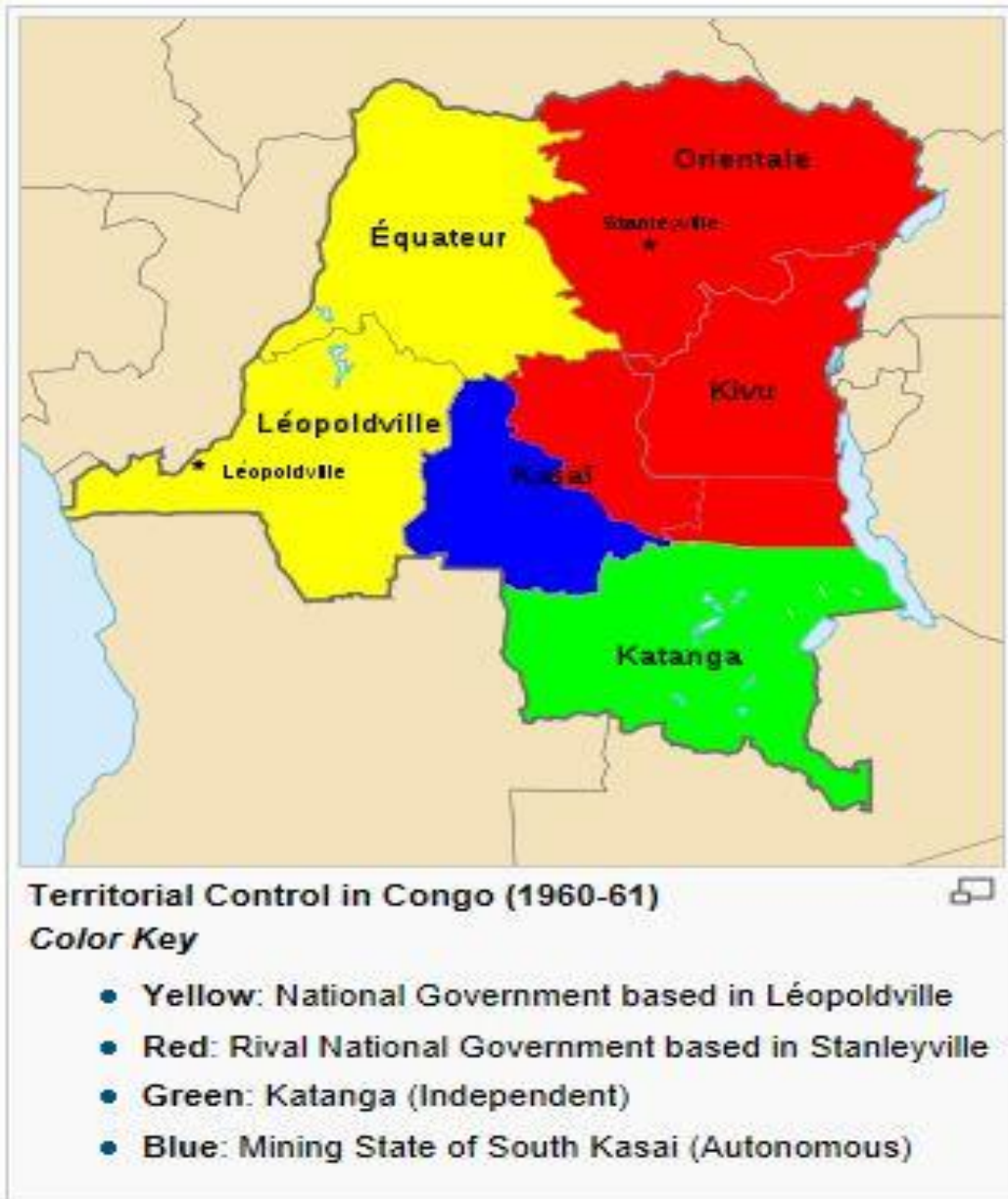


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## 2. Congo Free State



### 3. The Belgian Congo

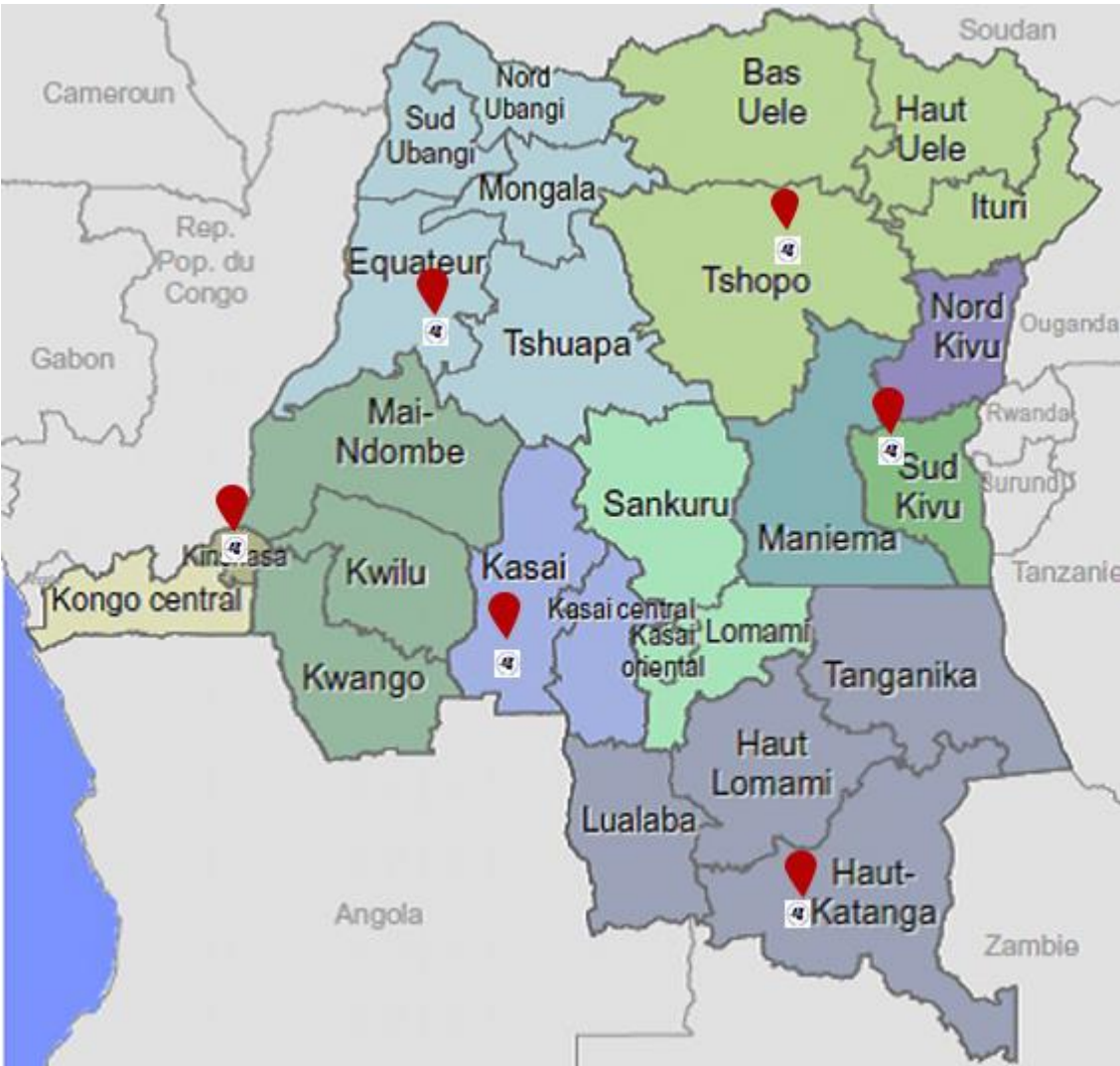


4. Territorial control in Congo (1960-1961)

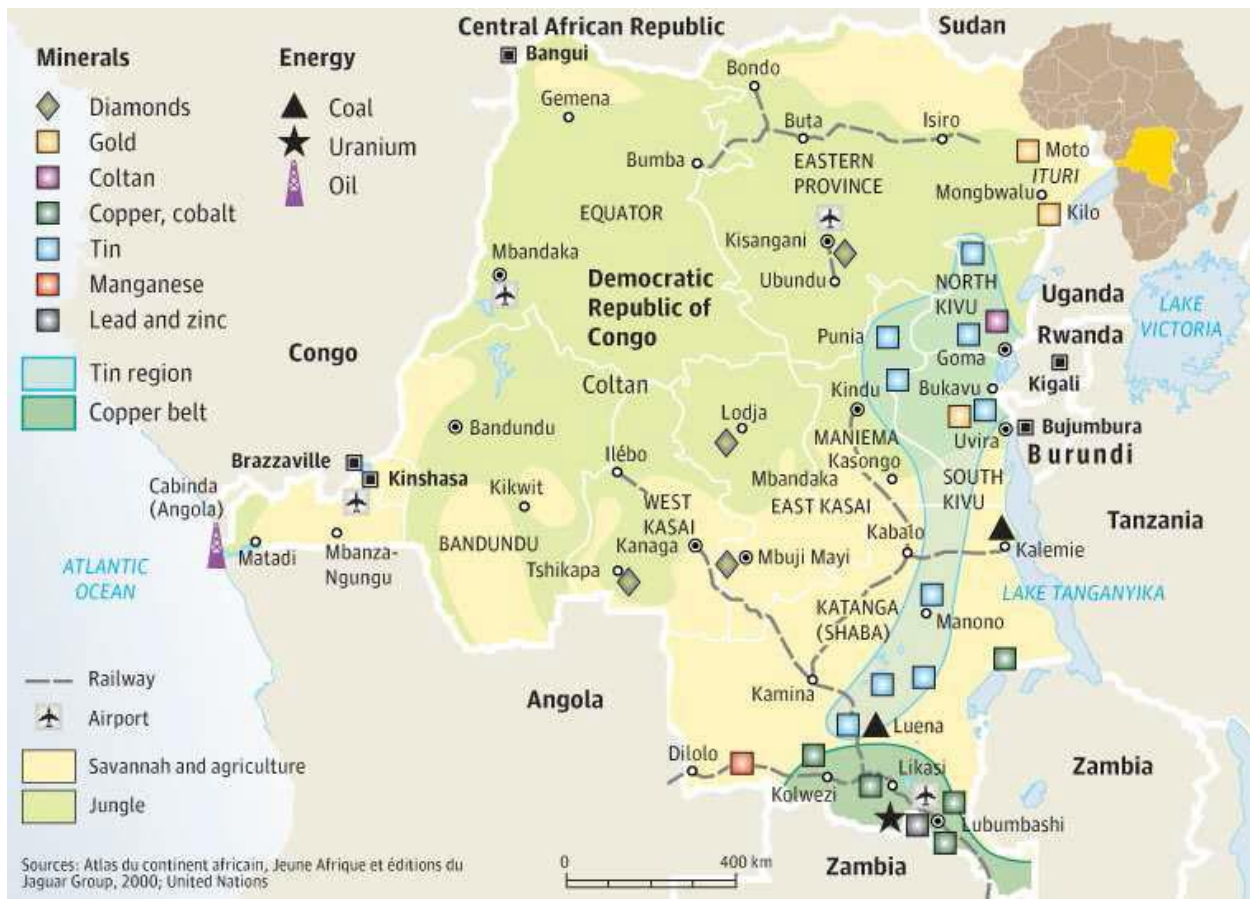




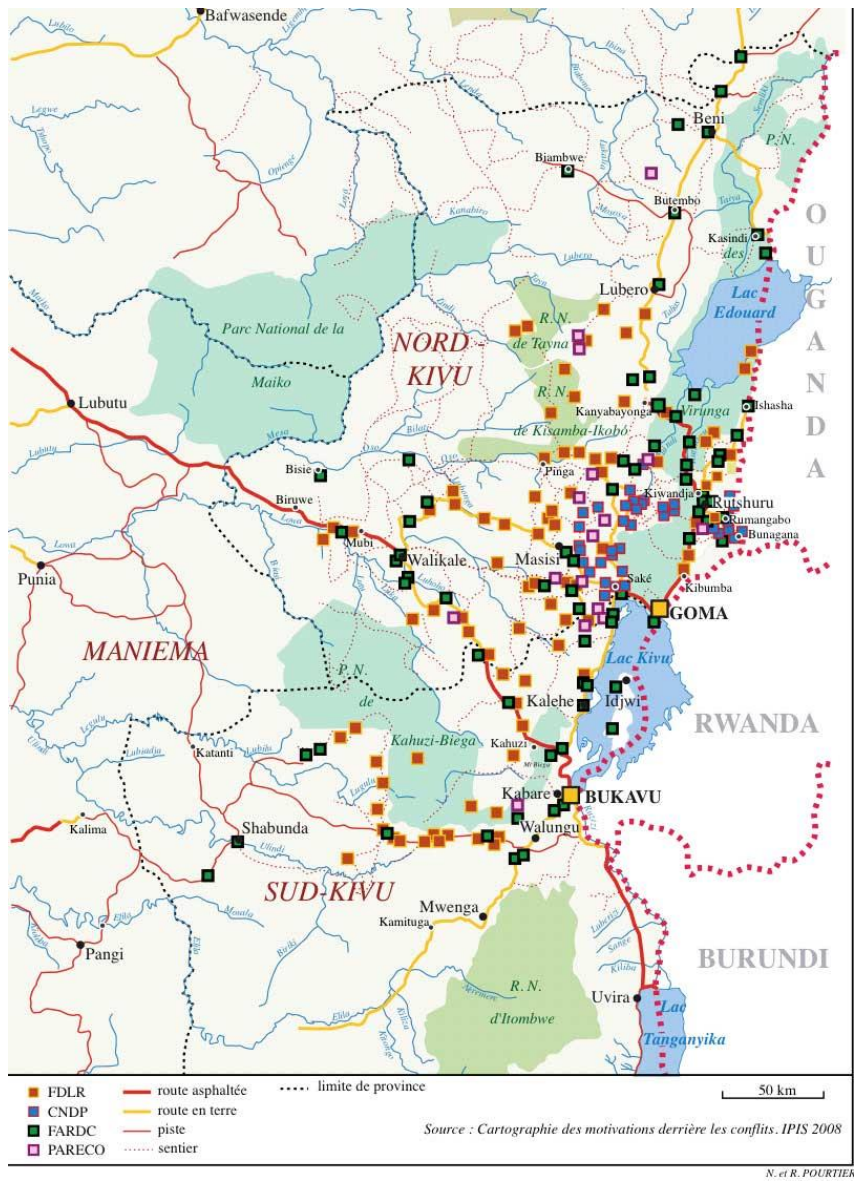
5. Map of Zaire from 1988 when the Kivu was divided into three provinces, name North-Kivu, South Kivu and maniema. When the counrty wasrenamed the DRC, the same map still apply until 2015.



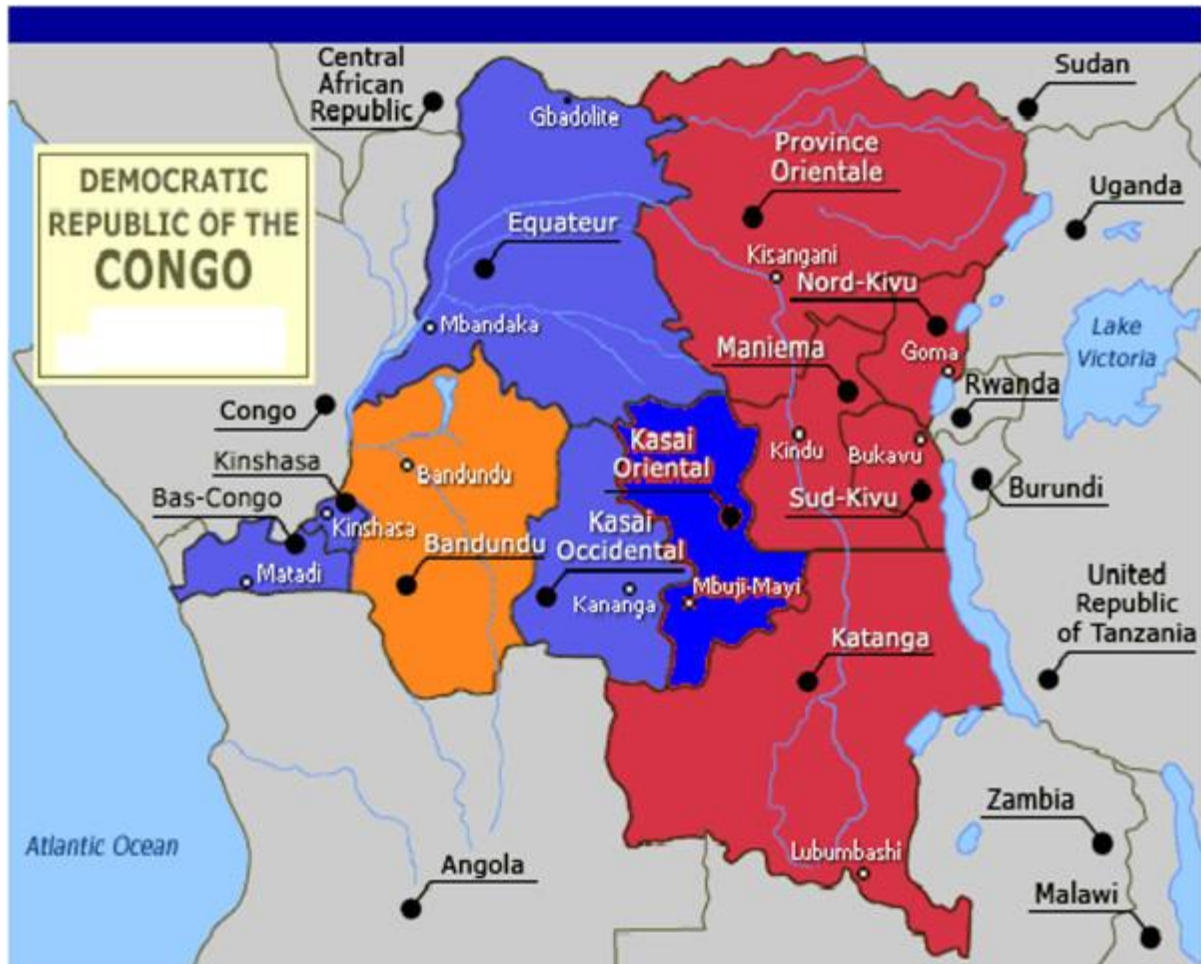
6. The DRC territory division from 2015



## 7. Minerals in the Eastern Congo

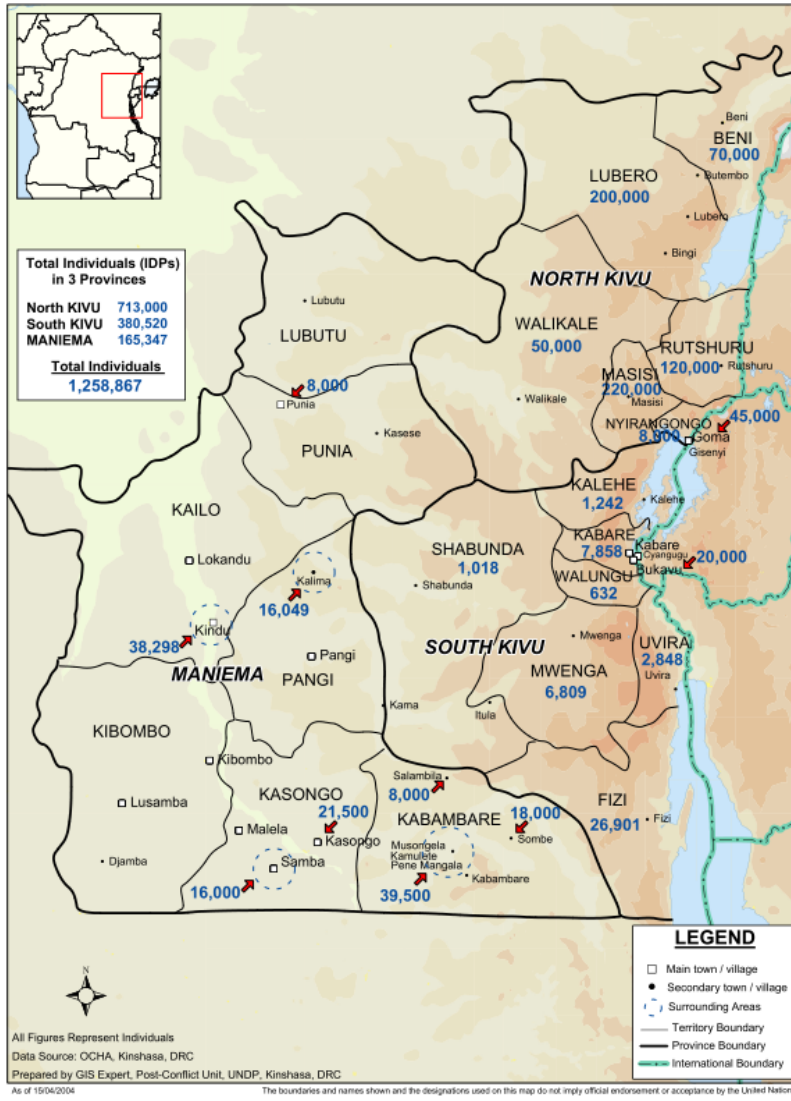


8. Minerals in the Eastern Congo that explain the persistence of violence.



9. Map of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Provinces highlighted in red colour, were conflict-affected areas. However, the conflict settled in the North and South-Kivu.

# IDPs Population & Location in North KIVU, South KIVU & MANIEMA

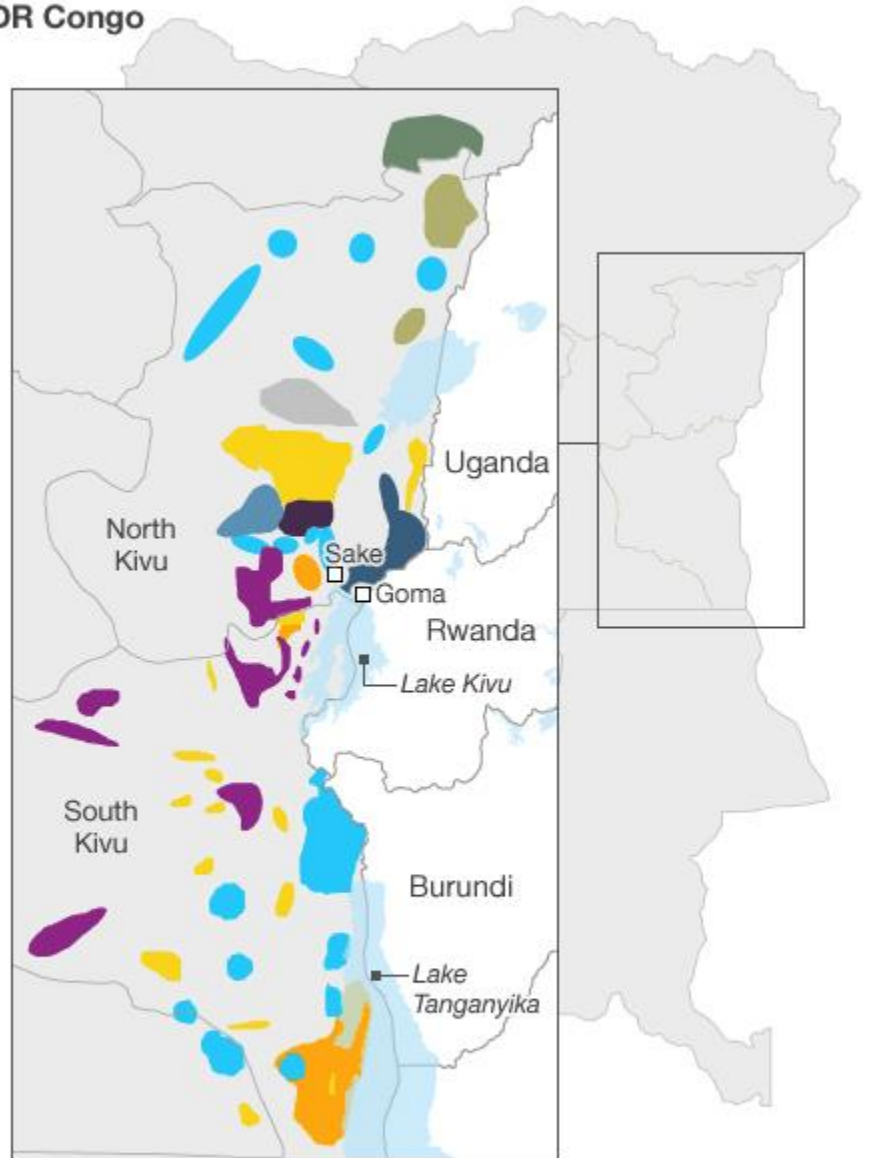


10. Internally displaced persons in the North and South Kivu, and Maniema as a result of protracted social conflict.

## Rebel groups in eastern DR Congo

UN forces and the Congolese army are present in large towns

- ADF-NALU**  
Ugandan-led Islamists
- APCLS**  
Mai Mai group
- FDLR**  
Mostly Hutu Rwandan rebels
- FRPI**  
Based in gold-rich Ituri region
- M23**  
Mostly Tutsi, said to be Rwandan-backed
- Rai Mutomboki**  
Anti-FDLR group
- Sheka**  
Mai Mai group
- UPCP**  
Loose coalition of smaller nationalist groups
- Mai Mai groups**  
Local forces claiming to act in self-defence
- Other armed groups**



Source: Oxfam

\*An estimate of where armed groups were in November 2012 based on the best available information. The conflict is changing daily.

### 11. Militias group in North and South-Kivu