

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO-A FERTILE GROUND
FOR INSTABILITY IN THE GREAT
LAKES REGION STATES

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by

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ABSTRACT

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO-A FERTILE GROUND FOR INSTABILITY IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION STATES, by Major Emmanuel Sithole, 76 pages.

The armed conflict in the DRC has been in existence for the past twenty years. This situation has caused instability and chaos in the eastern provinces of the Congo, known as the Great Lakes Region. The DRC holds a strategic geographical position and is endowed with lucrative natural resources. In a bid to restore peace and stability, UN forces have been in the DRC for the past eighteen years. Initially, the UN mission was named the United Nation Missions in the Congo. Subsequently, this name changed to United Nation Stabilization Mission in the Congo, and in 2012, the UN introduced the Force Intervention Brigade. This was in response to occurrences on the ground. Despite the combined efforts of the UN and the Congolese government, non-state actors are perpetrating instability and chaos in the Great Lakes Region. These are insurgent groups from neighboring countries: Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi. These non-state actors have their own interests and goals; namely, wresting sovereignty away from the current government and taking control of the natural resources. The findings of this paper suggests that a lasting solution can only be realized through the synergistic efforts of the UN, the Congolese government, the other and the governments in the region.

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ACRONYMS

ADF	Allied Democratic Force
AU	African Union
CNDP	National Congress for the Defense of the People
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
FARDC	Democratic Republic of the Congo Armed Forces
FIB	Force Intervention Brigade
FLDR	Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda
FNL	National Forces for Liberation
LRA	Lord Resistance Army
MONUC	United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
MONUSCO	United Nations Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
PM	Prime Minister
SADC	Southern African Development Community
UN	United Nations

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research is to evaluate the failure of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Congo to establish and maintain security in its eastern provinces. Consequently, this has resulted in instability, which adversary affected the Great Lakes Region. This research is relevant because national and international policy makers need to know about this complex region in order to make decisions which support peace and stability.

Worldwide, civil wars have defined the destinies of numerous countries. Although these conflicts are characterized by fog and friction, the outcomes in some cases have been rewarding. However, in other cases the wars have had devastating consequences. Such is the case with the armed conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The DRC conflict has fueled numerous problems both within and outside its borders. Outside of the DRC, the Great Lakes Region has been a fertile ground for the conflict; problems exist in the social, political, economic, and security domains. The impact and intensity of the armed conflict has varied depending on location of the insurgent groups. The eastern Congo has been the worst hit due to the number of militia groups crossing borders within the countries in the Great Lakes Region.

The Great Lakes Region of East and Central Africa has been a hotbed of conflict from the late 1950s until today. The region is comprised of six countries: the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, and Kenya. For the purposes of this thesis the Great Lakes Region will refer to and focus on four countries: DRC, Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi. The region derives its name from the many lakes in the

region: Lake Victoria, Lake Tanganyika, Lake Kivu, and Lakes Albert, Edward, and Kyoga. Within this volatile region of East and Central Africa, armed conflict has been common with most of the countries having experienced more than their fair share of armed conflict (Siyabo 2012).



Figure 1. Countries in the Great Lakes Region

Source: BBC News, “Map of the Great Lakes Region,” accessed January 25, 2017, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/shared/spl/hi/pop_ups/04/africa_enl_1100876078/img/laun.jpg.

The Congo case provides an understanding of how the international community has been unsuccessful in establishing a lasting solution. It provides a litmus test on how

lamentably the international community failed. The world watched as the situation deteriorated in the DRC. Actors at various echelons had different understandings or perceptions regarding who was responsible for preventing war in the Congo. According to the UN Charter (1949), the United Nations (UN), an international body mandated to maintain peace and security, argued that the solution for the Congo conflict rested with the international players at the macro level. However, other actors argued that peacemaking, as well as peacebuilding, was hampered by the norms and beliefs dominant in the Congo culture. Some citizens looked at the UN as perpetrating the conflicts; such citizens resisted works provided by the UN (Lewis and Harbeson 2016).

Background



Figure 2. Geographical Location of the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Source: Harambee USA Foundation, “DR Congo Provinces,” November 2011, accessed January 13, 2017, <http://harambeeusa.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/Congo-outline-web.jpg>.

The DRC is located in the central part of Africa as indicated on the map above. It is largely a land-locked country surrounded by eight neighboring countries; Congo, Brazil, Central African Republic, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania, Zambia, and Angola. The Congo is the second largest land mass country in Africa following Algeria. It is as large as the continental United States east of the Mississippi River. The Congo is the richest resource country in the world endowed with gold, diamonds, and other strategic minerals. It is strategically positioned, with a vast territory three quarters of which is undeveloped or underutilized by its citizens. Due to its strategic location and

numerous natural resources, the Congo has been a field for international and regional competition. Various actors, mostly with ulterior motives, claimed the Congo as theirs. Due to this situation, the then Congo, was referred to as the “Congo Free State,” was in demand among various actors and countries. However, in 1885 the Belgium government claimed the Congo to be their possession. Belgian operations in the Congo were characterized by shoddy administration and the export of the natural resources to Belgium. The Belgians did not respect the Congolese citizens and, hence, mistreated them and violated their human rights as defined by the Geneva conventions. Despite these occurrences, the Belgians formally colonized the Congo in 1908, against the will and wishes of the Congolese (Hochschild 2006).

The Belgian Government ruled the Congo for 52 years after officially colonizing it. During this period the colonial masters did not bring forth development in the Congo, instead they utilized its resources to improve the living standard in Brussels. In 1960, the Congo emancipated itself from the shackles of colonialism and subsequently gained political independence. Following this milestone, the Congolese held elections in which the nationalist leader Patrice Lumumba became the first Prime Minister (PM). The transition from colonial-rule to self-rule was not as smooth as anticipated. It was plagued by a myriad of challenges ranging from mild instability to an armed secession movement in Katanga Province. These activities led to the murder of PM Patrice Lumumba in early 1961. The death of Lumumba plunged the Congo into a crisis, which led to the first deployment of the UN which operated in the Congo from 1960 to 1964 (Devlin 2008).

In 1965, Colonel Joseph Mobutu seized power in a coup after instigating the problems that followed the gaining of political independence in 1960. Mobutu was

involved in a number of unwarranted activities which included mutiny. After gaining power, Mobutu did not want to decentralize the government's power despite the enormity of the country. Instead, Mobutu gradually established a centralized and authoritarian type of government. Power resided in the PM as far as decision-making was concerned. Mobutu wanted to control everything and managed to do so in the Congo during his 32-year rule. Mobutu's stance was grounded in the prime minister's claims of establishing a national identity which was unique to indigenous Congolese citizens. Mobutu claimed to promote a more "authentic" country engrained in unique norms, beliefs, and values. Mobutu's ideology commenced with renaming himself Mobutu Sese Seko. This was followed by renaming the country Zaire. Sese Seko was actively involved in the Cold War that followed World War Two. In the process he created many enemies both locally in the continent and international (Stockwell 1979; French 1997).

During Sese Seko's rule, the regime was viewed as a "Kleptocracy." Government officials were more interested in personal gain than the interests of the citizens. Additionally, relationships between government officials were not sound. This situation fueled corruption in the Sese Seko regime which started with the president himself. Sese Seko amassed tremendous wealth at the expense of his country. During this period, elections were largely fraudulent. Patronage was at play and nepotism and bribery found fertile ground to grow and flourish (Askin and Collins 1993). Due to the prevailing conditions at the time, economically the country struggled. These problems resulted in enormous pressure on Sese Seko to either retire, pave the way for a new president, or hold elections. These pressures resulted in the deterioration of his health. In 1990, Sese Seko allowed elections to be held; however, the results were not made public in a timely

manner; consequently were deemed not free or fair. Zairean government institutions gradually deteriorated (Stearns 2011).

In 1994, the situation in Zaire worsened as a result of the Rwandan genocide. As it had in the past, the civil war in Rwanda spilled across the border into Zaire. The already economically shaken government was forced to divert resources to stabilize the situation in eastern Zaire. During this time about 300,000 ethnic Hutus fled from Rwandan Tutsis into Zaire which resulted in the establishment of refugee camps. The predominantly Rwandan Tutsi forces attacked these refugee camps periodically in response to Hutu attacks staged from within these camps. Additionally, the relationship between the Zairean and Ugandan governments soured. It was alleged that the Ugandan government supported Laurent Desire Kabila was fighting Sese Seko for power (Stearns 2011).

In 1997, Sese Seko's poor personal health took a toll on him, the rebellion succeeded and Kabila became president and renamed the country the Democratic Republic of Congo. Shortly after this, tensions erupted between Kabila and his erstwhile allies. In 1998, there was growing public hostility toward the Congolese Tutsis and the presence of Rwandan soldiers in the DRC. This resulted in the decision by the Congolese government to remove all Rwandan troops from the country. The Tutsis objected to this declaration and rapidly deployed both Rwandan and Ugandan troops to intervene. Their intentions went beyond stabilizing the situation and they chose to establish local rebel proxies this time in an effort to unseat Kabila. There were a number of countries that were on Kabila's side who quickly deployed troops in a bid to settle the situation in his favor. These countries included Angola, Zimbabwe, and Sudan. The conflict led to the

largest major humanitarian crisis since WWII; more than five million people died and hundreds of thousands were injured and displaced. This situation led to a second UN deployment in 1999 (Stearns 2011).

In 2001, President Laurent Kabila was slayed by one of his body-guards and his son, Joseph Kabila, ascended to the presidency. Kabila continued with the peace process that his father did not complete. There was a demand and a subsequent agreement for the withdrawal of troops from the DRC in 2002. This was followed by a systematic disarmament, demobilization, resettlement, and reintegration of the rebel groups and civilians. In 2003, a coalition government was established which paved the way for general elections in 2006. Various international actors including the Department of United Nations Peace Keeping Operations supported and funded the national elections. Kabila was one of the contenders and emerged victorious in the elections defeating his opponent, the former rebel leader Jean Pierre Bemba. The national elections were characterized by violence. Elections were to be held every five years, hence the next election took place in 2011 and Kabila was re-elected for his last five-year term (Turner 2007).

The relationship among Angola, Rwanda, Uganda, and the DRC during this period was multifaceted and unpredictable. For instance, Angola was largely viewed and reported as a reliable ally, unlike Rwanda which was viewed as a source of chaos in Eastern Congo. Rwanda accused of fueling, sponsoring, supporting, and arming insurgent groups in the Great Lakes Region. The activities that had perpetrated the civil war in Eastern Congo dates as far back as the mid-1990s (Turner 2007).

In 2008, the relationship between Kabila and Rwandan president Paul Kagame was very bad and required urgent attention. The only conduit through which this relationship could be amended was through bilateral diplomacy. Ties were re-established in 2009 through diplomacy. The measures that were agreed upon brought sanity between these two presidents but did not resolve the root causes of conflict in the Congo. There were allegations that Uganda had fueled and perpetrated conflict in Eastern Congo. The Allied Democratic Forces (ADFs) and the Lord Resistance Army (LRA) perpetrated civil war in Eastern Congo (United Nations Security Council 2012).

There were allegations emanating from the Rwandan government that the Congolese government had failed to resolve the protracted civil war. This was in retaliation for the allegations leveled against Rwanda for involving themselves in the DRC conflict. This was particularly the conflict in Eastern Congo. The DRC government pointed out that the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) engaged themselves in violent activities ranging from injuring to killing Congolese civilians in Eastern Congo. Villagers suffered at the hands of the FDLR, who originated in Rwanda. The thick forests provided a safe haven for the FDLR after rooting villages. The majority of the FDLR membership claimed that they were denied land, citizenship, and other rights. Hence, they engaged themselves in the smuggling of resources from the Congo. Burundi also shares in the blame for this quagmire in eastern Congo. The National Forces of Liberation (FNL) is a rebel group from Burundi engaged in violence in eastern Congo stationed in Gatumba as their stronghold (Bekele 2011).

Research Questions

Primary Research Question

What do national and international policy-makers need to know about this complex region in order to make policy decisions which support peace and stability?

Secondary Research Questions

The following secondary questions must be answered in order to address the primary research question:

1. What are the main causes of the DRC conflict and how has the conflict evolved?
2. Who are the actors and stakeholders? What are their interests, goals, capabilities, weaknesses, and alliances?
3. What are the significant historical events that shape this environment?
4. What do a variety of sources and perspectives say are the primary reasons for the failure to achieve a peaceful resolution and progress in this area?
5. After reviewing the actors and a network influence diagram, are there any recommendations for issues-opportunities that can be placed on the negotiation-planning table?

Statement of the Problem

Preceding the series of cease-fire agreements and dialogue between the warring factions and the DRC Government, the situation in the Congo was devastating and disheartening. The subsequent deployment of the militaries from various countries under the auspices of the United Nations Department of Peace Keeping Operations in 1999 was

meant to ease the security problems. The Congo armed conflict led to the majority of the Congolese citizens injured, or killed and those who survived fled for their lives. Some were displaced within the boundaries of the DRC while others were forced to flee to neighboring countries such as Zambia. Millions of the DRC citizens were killed in this civil war. The militia groups at the heart of all these atrocities were found mainly in the Great Lakes Region. Ideally alleged to be involved. Ideally, it was expected that the deployment of the UN troops and the Force Intervention Brigade (FIB) from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) would bring about a unified government, peace, and, ultimately, a normal life for the Congolese citizens. Furthermore, there was hope for a systematic disarmament and demobilization of the former insurgents. For the displaced citizens (Internally Displaced Persons or Refugees) it was expected that they would be reintegrated, resettled, and reunited with their family members. In reality, the Congo conflict continued date and many more people have been displaced, injured, and killed. It is this information gap between the ideal and the real situation that has necessitated the conduct of this research.

Significance of the Research

The significance of the study is to provide information on the DRC conflict and the effect it has had on the Great Lakes Region. A basic understanding of the implications of the civil war is necessary. It is hoped that this research will supplement the existing literature on the DRC armed conflict and further highlight the problems faced by SADC and the DRC government. Although this research is meant for academic purposes, it is the researcher's hope that this information will increase awareness regarding the prevailing situation in eastern DRC and an understanding of the various stakeholders in

the Great Lakes Region. Further, this information recommends practical and theoretical solutions to the problems faced by the DRC and the surrounding countries and also the SADC and the UN.

Limitations

This study is not devoid of limitations. These limitations have affected the findings. First, sampling methods were not applied to select the subjects to be included in the research to provide primary information. This was the case with key informants who could not be purposively selected. These informants should have been Congolese citizens residing either in the Congo or in the diaspora but had experience with the Congo conflict. Second, obtaining primary information from key informants who reside in the Congo would have been an expensive venture. Third, the provision of first-hand accounts from leaders who were involved in the conflict at the operational and tactical levels was not attainable. Fourth, this research was confined to English literature. These limitations had effects on the findings.

Assumptions

The DRC conflict has taken more than 10 years to end. First, it was assumed that there was a lack of synergy among various actors and stakeholders. Second, the research assumed that the DRC government had shifted its attention from ending the atrocities in the eastern DRC to a struggle for power. Third, the researcher assumed that the UN took up a permanent responsibility to be in the Congo. Fourth, the Congo conflict, including the Great Lakes Region impasse, was being perpetrated by external actors. These

assumptions are likely to be investigated and information provided on their validity and reliability.

Delimitation

This research will examine the main causes of the DRC conflict and how this conflict has evolved over time. It will endeavor to examine the initiatives implemented by the UN, African Union (AU), and the SADC to end the conflict in the Eastern Congo. Further, the research will look at the roles that other Great Lakes Region countries played in this conflict. Finally, the thesis will analyze approaches that the DRC government have employed to establish security in the eastern DRC. Generally, the major actors and stakeholders were analyzed in-depth.

Definitions of Concepts

The following concepts have been defined to enhance the understanding of this research:

Civil War: This is a disagreement between two groups within the state, nation, or country which includes fighting against each other, in order to topple the existing government.

Conflict: This is a protracted ideological, political, economic disagreement between two or more groups.

Democracy: A form of governance in which the citizens decide the activities that involve governance. It is government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Friction: The resistance experienced when two forces are engaged in war. It is characterized by bombs and bullets flying all over the battle field.

Great Lakes Region: The region which consist of 11 countries: Democratic Republic of the Congo, Republic of Rwanda, Republic of Burundi, Central African Republic, Republic of Congo, United Republic of Tanzania, Republic of Angola, Republic of Kenya, Republic of the South Sudan, Republic of Zambia, and the Republic of Uganda.

Republic: The state in which supreme power resides in citizens in that they vote for their presidents and representatives.

Security: The situation in which people are protected by their government.

Summary

Chapter 1 provided the detailed background and framework of the Congo conflict from pre-independence through the present time. Successful governments had their own share of problems. The 1994 Rwandan genocide sparked the 1997 Congo conflict which is presently ongoing.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The purpose of the research was to evaluate the government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo's failure to establish and maintain security in the eastern provinces. Furthermore, the research seeks to understand why the above stated situation produced instability which adversely affected the Great Lakes Region. At the end of it all, national and international policy makers need to know about this complex region in order to make decisions that will facilitate of peace and stability.

The Congo conflict has generated much concern from scholars, academicians, and authors regarding the reasons why the government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo has failed to establish and maintain security in the eastern provinces and, subsequently, causing instability in the Great Lakes Region. Furthermore, the scholars are concerned because of the death and destruction that has occurred within the DRC, the degree of instability that the Congo conflict has had on the Great Lakes Region, and the fact that international community, regional, and sub-regional organizations have not been able to set the conditions for stability. In order to make this research more reliable, a review of various literature and studies on the similar subject has been conducted. The research has attempted to systematically identify the causes of the Congo conflict and was focused on finding the answers to the research question: What are the main causes of the DRC conflict and how has this conflict evolved over time? This was meant to establish a basis for the subsequent research questions to be attended to.

This chapter progressively moved from historical perspective in as far as the Congo conflict is concerned to the current situation. Various researchers on the subject were widely consulted and their thoughts taken into consideration. A substantial amount of effort was directed to examining the literature from post-colonial rule through the Rwandan genocide, Laurent Kabila's rule, and the current instability in the Great Lakes Region.

Causes of the Conflict

Lack of Control by the Central Government

According to Ludo De Witte (2001) in his book entitled *The Assassination of Lumumba*, the cause of the 1960 conflict was the result of a lack of control by the government. The Congo government was premature to take care of herself immediately after independence. On July 6, 1960, the Congo was rocked into a conflict a week after gaining self-rule status from Belgium. It started with a mutiny by the Congolese Army in the then capital city of Leopoldville and close to Thysville, as depicted on the Congo map of 1960. Shortly after, other military units joined in the mutiny instigated by the Congolese Army. The situation was characterized by looting and rampage organized against the Belgians and other white men originally from Europe. In order to help the Congo government, Belgian troops landed in the DRC to protect Belgians and their property. The turmoil worsened when the Congolese saw the Belgian troops, thinking that it was the second imposition of colonial rule.

A similar study by David Francis titled *Civil Militia: Africa's Intractable Security Menace?* indicated that the Belgian legacy in the Congo was at play in the conflict. The Belgians created a three-way division of power and emphasized tribal and regional

differences. Regions were supposedly relatively autonomous and held together in a federal format with a non-executive president in the person of Kasavubu (Francis 2005, 237). This prevented the government from working as a whole. Various situations were difficult for the central government to resolve. Due to the autonomy enjoyed by the regions, on July 11, 1960, Moise Tshombe, the president of the Southern Province of Katanga, declared independence from the Congo. The economic and political support Tshombe received from the Belgian Government provided him with the needed courage to secede from the Congo and this exacerbated the problems of the already fragile central government. Consequently, the UN deployed troops between 1960 and 1965 to save the situation. This situation painted a clear picture on the failure of leadership to effectively work together (De Witte 2001).



Figure 3. The Congo Map of 1960

Source: Wikimedi, “Congo Spoorwegen,” accessed January 3, 2017, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/0/01/Congo_spoorwegen.png/600px-Congo_spoorwegen.png.

Another well-known academician, Goerge Nzongola-Ntalaja, a native Congolese author and career diplomat, in his study entitled the *The Congo: From Leopard to Kabila, a People's History* analyzed the cause of conflict in the Congo from a historical perspective. He argued that Belgian colonization had a negative impact on the leadership of the DRC. Leaders were not courageous enough to make decisions that could benefit the majority of the Congolese. There was a decay in the state's instruments of power (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002, 214). Further, he argued that lack of credible leadership made the geographically smaller countries such as Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi attack the DRC. It was ruled by "Mafia-type" organizations serving the selfish interest of Mobutu Sese Seko and his entourage. The egocentric leadership which was driven by selfish motives were at play in the Congo conflict.

The International Crisis Group also shared similar views as shown in its report titled *Escaping the Conflict Trap: Promoting Good Governance in the Congo*. The report indicated that the Democratic Republic of the Congo could have made strides towards peace or prevented conflict if the leaders were transparent and accountable in their dealings. The organization indicated that the government did not apply any effort to create a transparent and accountable government. State institutions such as, the Democratic Republic of the Congo Armed Forces (FARDC), the police, the civil service, and the judiciary are corrupt and subsequently too weak to effectively and efficiently exert their authority and control (ICG 2006, i). This report by the International Crisis Group is actually in tandem with the writings of Nzongola-Ntalaja by pointing at the cause of conflict in the Congo to be the leadership: Government. However, the

International Crisis Group focused on the current position or government, while Nzongola-Ntalaja brought out the historical perspective of Sese Seko's reign.

Further, in his study Nzongola-Ntalaja argued that the 1994 Rwandan genocide was within the control of the DRC; it could have stopped it or prevented the effects of it from spilling over into the DRC if the leaders were serious. The DRC should have used its capacity and influence over late the President Juvenal Habyarimana to prevent it. However, the government failed to stop it and lamentably failed to prevent the armed groups from launching attacks on Uganda from the DRC forests. This lack of leadership resulted in armed groups from neighboring countries turning the Congo forests into safe-havens.

Scramble for Territory (Land) and Mineral Resources

Another study was conducted by Thomas Turner entitled "*The Congo Wars: Conflict Myth and Reality*," in which he pointed out that the major cause of conflict in the Congo was the scramble for territory (Turner 2007). Land was a source of wealth and livelihood. It provided the needed natural resources such as minerals. It could also be used for agricultural purposes: cultivating the land for crop production and-or animal husbandry. The lack of permanent ownership and title deeds exacerbated the struggle for land in the Congo. These factors provided a recipe for conflict. This was rife when the displaced Rwandese entered the DRC and wanted land where they could settle. Tensions erupted, resulting in a civil war which glared its ugly face to the world.

According to numerous UN and non-governmental organization reports, the struggle for resources fueled armed conflict in the DRC. Competition between existing armed groups mainly from neighboring countries over resources such as tantalum,

significantly escalated the conflict in the Congo (United Nation Security Council 2007). These groups included the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda, National Congress for the Defense of the People (CNDP), and the factions of the Congolese Army. They taxed the mines and population as well as extorted minerals or cash for profit. The problem of illicit mining was further worsened by the DRC government's failure to secure the spread of small-scale mining (Karuhanga 2009).

Ethnicity

Autesserre (2010) conducted a study to understand if ethnicity was at play in instigating conflict in the Congo. In his work entitled "*The trouble with the Congo,*" he concluded that friction was founded in ethnic and social orientation between the pastoralists and cultivators. He sought to understand the role of local identity as far as the tensions were concerned, between the self-styled "indigenous" communities and Congolese with Rwanda ancestry (Autesserre 2010, 129). He looked at it from two perspectives. First, "to locate the local roots of the antagonisms that eventually caused large-scale violence during and after the wars of the 1990s, and second, to illuminate the interaction between . . . causes of violence." (Autesserre 2010, 129) noted that most of the micro-level rivalries over land, resources, and power involved only a few villages at both the local and national levels. The study confirmed that ethnicity was at play between the Congolese of Rwanda ancestry and the indigenous communities of the North and South Kivu provinces.

In support of the findings of the preceding study, Filip Reyntjens in his study entitled *The Great African War*, pointed out that ethnicity and struggle for land played a key role in the conflict. During the massacre of the Hutus and the Tutsi Banyarwanda

which occurred at Masisi, their houses were burned and their domestic animals stolen. The Banyarwanda accused the indigenous people of chasing them while the indigenous accused the Banyarwanda of wanting to claim the territory they allegedly considered to be part of “ancient Rwanda” (Reyntjens 2009, 15). By virtue of their different backgrounds, conflict was fueled due to the struggle for land, coupled with diverse interests, and no regard for one another. This had effects even at the presidential level between Sese Seko of the Congo who was pro-Hutu and Paul Kagame of Rwanda who was pro Tutsi.

According to Gerard Prunier in his study entitled *From Genocide to Continental War: The Congolese Conflict and the Crisis of Contemporary Africa*, the cause of conflict cannot be isolated to ethnicity and-or land issues in the Kivu provinces. The two groups, indigenous and the settlers, had been part of the problem in the Congo. Refugees that have arrived in Eastern Congo since 1995 have been at play in this conflict (Prunier 2009, 48). Some of the refugees have xenophobic tendencies which manifested in the settlers preventing other immigrants from using their land. This has manifested itself since the era of Sese Seko.

Common Causes of Conflict Applying to the Four Countries in the Great Lakes Region

The Great Lakes Region in this research will refer to the four countries as indicated earlier on the map: Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi. The following factors underlie the continuous conflict in the Great Lakes Region.

Lack of Credible Leadership

Chronic bad leadership and bad governance are two of the causes of continuous conflict amongst the four countries. There are widespread features common to the countries in question. These governments are characterized by bribery, discrimination, inequality, marginalization, and imbalanced distribution of national resources (Shyaka, 2008). The resources are basically shared among the elite. The majority of the citizens are usually wallowing in abject poverty. This uneven distribution of resources is one of the causes of conflict. Corruption is widespread and very common among the Great Lakes Region governments. At almost all the levels of governance, all forms of corruption are prevalent. The president is usually ineffective because of engaging or partaking in the vice. Government officials practice corruption as though it was part of their culture and a norm. The institutions mandated to curb corruption in these countries are non-functional. The manifestation of these causes have seen various types of conflict such as elite conflict, factional conflicts, communal conflicts, and mass conflicts (Chaze et al. 1999). These conflicts have seen the downfall and breakdown of regimes: Rwanda in 1994, DRC in 1990s, Burundi between 1993 and 1996, and Uganda between 1981 and 1986 (Chaze et al. 1999).

Absence of Strong Values within Political Systems

Countries in the Great Lakes Region do not have adequate political systems (Shyaka 2008). The political systems that are required to champion the principles of democracy are absent. The violation of the principles of democracy is the order of the day. In fact, it has become common for these governments to merely speculate about the tenets of good governance; it is just rhetoric. Currently, the presidents of all four

countries have served more than their mandated number of terms: DRC President Joseph Kabila is going for a third term, President Paul Kagame in Rwanda has been in the seat for more than 15 years, in Uganda, President Yoweri Museveni has been in power for more than 20 years, and Pierre Nkurunziza of Burundi has been in power for more than 15 years. These scenarios have been recipes for conflicts. The insurgents have evolved to fight these governments which hang onto power and violate the rule of law.

Colonialism

Generally, Africa, the Great Lakes Region in particular, lost power due to the entrenched unfavorable consequences of colonialism (Rodney 1982). The colonial legacy is also accountable for continued conflict in the Great lakes Region. Despite the fact that these countries were colonized by different countries: Germany, Belgium, and Britain, the effects are equally felt. The colonial masters practiced different forms of administration which basically fall into two categories: direct or indirect. However, the agendas were similar in that they meant to destroy the traditional indigenous structures and practiced a divide and rule. These common situations fueled conflicts in the Great Lakes Region and continues to influence the vice. The immediate post-colonial rule saw the killing of the likely founding fathers of these nations: On July 25, 1959 King Mutara III Rudahigwa of Rwanda was killed by the so called “social Revolution,” which was the underlying factor later in the Hutu-Tutsi conflict in 1994. A year after gaining political independence, in January 1961, PM Emery Lumumba of the DRC was mysteriously killed. Prince Louis Rwagasore, was assassinated on October 13, 1961 immediately after being elected as PM of Burundi (Shyaka 2008). The former colonial power masterminded killings did not affect Uganda.

The Role of the International Community to end the Congo Conflict

The UN was one of the international organizations that reacted to the Congo conflict which started in 1996. Based on its mandate the United Nations wanted to intervene by engaging with various actors to resolve the conflict that saw millions of people killed, thousands wounded and hundreds displaced.

The United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo

Kayode (2014) in his article entitled “Intervention Brigade’ for the Congo: A Precedent for United Nation Peace Enforcement” indicated that when the UN deployed peacekeepers in 1999 the mission was called United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC). It had a clear mandate propagated by the United Nations Security Council. Among the key milestones to be attained were a need to sign the ceasefire, the withdrawal of foreign forces from the Congo, non-interference in its internal affairs, and an end to the carnage witnessed in the aftermath of the rebellion (United Nations Security Council 1999). There were a number of activities that followed this announcement. Generally, Kayode (2014) argued that the MONUC in the Congo was significantly effective and successful in its mandate even though there were pockets of flashpoints, confrontations, and uprisings between late 1999 and mid-2006 during the democratic elections which witnessed run off, legal battle, and reports of attacks and intimidations, especially in the Kivu regions where the rebels hold substantial control over the territories. Joseph Kabila, the son of late Laurent Kabila, was declared the winner of the presidential elections while over 500 members were also elected into the

country's Parliament. The activities of the MONUC continued until the 1st of July, 2010 (United Nations Security Council 2010).

The United Nations Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo

The transition from MONUC to the United Nations Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) was based on a number of things; among them was the level to which conflict had reached. Tensions had significantly reduced. On July 1, 2010, the United Nations Security Council established MONUSCO (United Nations Security Council 2010). This was meant to conform with the activities obtained on the ground. The major focus was the *Peace Accord of March 23rd, 2009* signed between the Government of Congo and National Congress for the Defense of the People of the Congo. It was aimed at transforming the CNDP into a political party with its military wing reintegrated into the Armed Forces of the FARDC. At this stage the mandate of MONUSCO was largely to protect civilian populations, the government of the Congo, preserve the relative peace achieved so far, the suppression of rebel attacks in the Kivus and the Orientale Provinces (United Nations Security Council 2013, paras. 12-16). The new mission was authorized to use all necessary means to carry out its mandate related to the protection of civilians, humanitarian personnel and human rights defenders under imminent threat of physical violence, and to support the Government of the DRC in its stabilization and peace consolidation efforts (United Nations Security Council 2013).

In a study conducted by Copeland (2012) entitled *Civilian Protection in the Eastern DRC: Evaluation of the MONUSCO Peacekeeping Operation*, he outlined a

number of incidents that indicated how MONUSCO was inefficient. The findings of the study pointed to the fact the UN had failed in protecting civilians especially in the eastern part of the Congo. The majority of victims were women and children. The main perpetrators were the rebels' groups one of them being the "Lord Resistance Army" which is headed by Joseph Kony. This rebel group moves between Uganda and DRC.

United Nations Force Intervention Brigade

The UN decided to constitute a more robust force to deal with militia groups largely located in the eastern Congo. Consequently, the FIB was constituted of battalions from three African countries: Tanzania, Malawi, and South Africa. Since its deployment in June 2013, the UN-mandated FIB, under the auspices of the UN Mission in DRC (MONUSCO) and in cooperation with the DRC Army FARDC has been successful in defeating the rebel groups operating in eastern DRC (Jane's 2015). The FIB and FARDC are likely to engage the remaining armed groups through 2017. The current FARDC offensive operation, launched in February 2015, against Rwandan Hutu FDLR rebels, who missed their 31 December 2014 deadline to disarm, will likely only have limited success in neutralizing them due to the FIB's non-involvement. A failure to disarm the FDLR will increase war risks with Rwanda in the two-year outlook. Rwanda has repeatedly called for the neutralization of FDLR rebels, who aim to overthrow the Rwandan government. If the DRC authorities fail to disarm the FDLR, the Rwandan Defense Force is increasingly likely to stage a cross-border incursion into North Kivu, and Rwanda will likely face fresh allegations that it has resumed support for ethnic Tutsi insurgents in eastern DRC, which it has previously denied.

The African Union

The AU was established in 2001 with a mandate to promote peace, security, and stability in Africa as well to facilitate the creation of conditions conducive for sustainable development. The AU's right of intervention derives from the ideal of Pan-Africanism and the principle of no indifference. Those principles stipulated that African countries can no longer remain indifferent to the conflict and suffering that occurs in their neighborhoods, and that African countries have the primary responsibility for establishing and maintaining the peace and security architecture on the continent (Murithi 2009). In the Congo conflict the AU spearheaded the Lusaka Peace Agreement which addressed the concerns of the rebel groups and those of the neighboring countries. Consequently, forces of neighboring countries withdrew and eventually, elections were held in the DRC. However, the AU has had challenges in effectively handling conflict in Africa and the Congo conflict was one such example. Due to this failure the UN assisted the AU in facilitating peace and stability and eventually took over (Oguno and Ezeibe 2004).

Southern African Development Community

In 1992, in a bid to deal with economic, poverty, peace, security, democratic and governance issues, the southern part of Africa decided to establish the Southern African Development Community (SADC). It established its headquarters in Botswana, Gaborone with a clear mandate to prevent or to mitigate the impact of civil wars in southern Africa. The breakout of the civil war in 1998 in the DRC was a realistic test of whether or not the SADC could effectively and efficiently handle peace and security matters. SADC, through the AU, spearheaded the peace process through Zambia's

President Frederick Chiluba who was the chairman of SADC at the time. Despite these efforts, it was argued by some southern African analysts that SADC failed to pursue its goal of maintaining regional peace and security. They argued that SADC was consumed with fractious internal quarrels rather than implementing its peacekeeping efforts to resolve the Congo impasse (Nathan 2006).

The Role of the Congo Government in the Conflict

The resolve to ensure peace and stability among the various governments from the time the Congo gained self-rule to date has been reviewed. In addition, the approaches and the understanding and handling of security matters of the country including economic development has been extensively reviewed.

President Joseph Kasa-Vubu 1960-1965

A government plays a critical role in ensuring that its citizens are protected and pursues an environment which fosters social needs. According to N'gambwa (2010) since gaining independence, various DRC governments have lamentably failed to meet the entrenched social, economic, and political challenges facing the majority Congolese people. The first president Joseph Kasa-Vubu ruled from 1960 through to 1965. During this period the government generally failed to fulfil most of the foundational duties of their mandate. These services included the provision of peace and security by protecting all citizens and the entire DRC's territory including the vulnerable eastern part. Joseph Kasa-Vubu, reigned during the chaotic post-independence period and was not capable of stabilizing the country. Consequently, Kasa-Vubu was ousted by Mobutu Sese Seko in 1965.

President Mobutu Sese Seko 1965-1997

The Mobutu era, which commenced with a bag of empty promises of peace and prosperity, quickly became plagued by repression and corruption, and failed to implement promised social and economic projects (N'gambwa 2011). Part of the problem for president Mobutu can be attributed to incompetence and lack of vision. Another issue was accountability, as Mobutu came to power through force and was not accountable to the Congolese people. A deficit of character was definitely an issue for Mobutu. He condoned corruption, encouraged violence, and believed that he owed the Congolese nation nothing. Due to the impasse which was going on, the Rwandan and Ugandan governments backed Laurent Kabila a rebel leader to overthrow Mubutu Sese Seko. In 1997, they successfully captured Kinshasa, the country's capital, and installed Kabila as the president (Lalji 2007).

President Laurent Kabila 1997-2001

In 1997, Laurent-Désiré Kabila succeeded President Joseph Mubutu with a simple agenda for the DRC citizens. N'gambwa (2010), in "*United States Institute Special Report*," indicated that from the time he pronounced himself president in 1997, Laurent Kabila promised to reestablish peace and stability in the country. Furthermore, he assured the Congolese citizens that he was going to improve their lives. However, Laurent Kabila, just like Sese Seko, failed to deliver on the promises he made. Most likely, the lack of know-how attributed to his failure. Accountability was another critical issue that Laurent Kabila lacked. His ascendance to power as the president resulted in him not being responsive to the Congolese people. At the time of his death in 2001, peace was still a far-fetched dream for the Congolese and misery remained a way of life. Lalji

(2007) argued that during Kabila's regime, peace in the DRC was unattainable. Government militias from Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda proved disloyal to Kabila, backing rebel movements independently in the east and bringing their armed forces to the region. The region was further destabilized with the entry of the so-called peacekeeping forces from Chad, Zimbabwe, Angola, and Namibia. With no order in this area, the region's abundant natural resources were squandered.

President Joseph Kabila 2001-present

President Joseph Kabila, who ascended to power after the death of his father has been in office for more than a decade (ICG 2006). Just like his predecessor, Joseph Kabila had his own list of promises one of which was to bring forth lasting peace, stability and to reconstruct the country which was ravaged by a brutal armed conflict. In comparison to the three past presidents, Joseph Kabila has managed to restore political stability and calm to much of the country thanks to his political pragmatism. However, Kabila has not been successful in pacifying the entire country, as lasting peace remains elusive in the vast and volatile east. Kabila has failed to fight poverty, improve living conditions for Congolese, and provide lasting peace and security to the entire DRC perimeters. He has failed to get rid of corrupt officials in his administration, enforce existing laws, and strengthen all state institutions, including the security forces.

Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo

There are varying estimates on the size of the DRC military, the Armed Forces of the FARDC. This has been attributed to poor record keeping and the lack of a systematic build up as ex-combatants were being reintegrated into the system. It was estimated to

consist of between 144,000 and 159,000 soldiers by the close of 2014. Of this 30,000 were considered “shadows” residing on the government payroll. The government has applied relentless efforts to disarm, demobilize and reintegrate some of the ex-combatants into the FARDC, but this has not yielded results. One of the causes has been the lack of incentive to encourage the ex-rebels to disarm. The hollow Congolese economy has been one of the contributing and critical factor in the failing of reintegrating ex-combatants. Furthermore, troops from the CNDP have been integrated into the state military in an appeasement process meant to centralize political control of the legitimate armed groups in the capital city of the Congo: Kinshasa. This is not the case with the FARDC personnel in rank and file who have willingly mobilized. The situation has brought more harm than good. The tension is rife between the former and current military personnel (Refugees International 2007, 3).

Non-state Armed Groups Involved in the Congo Conflict

There have been a number of non-state actors from the four countries herein called the Great Lakes Region. These have played distinct roles in perpetrating the Congo conflict. The map below indicates the non-state armed groups from the three countries: Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi.

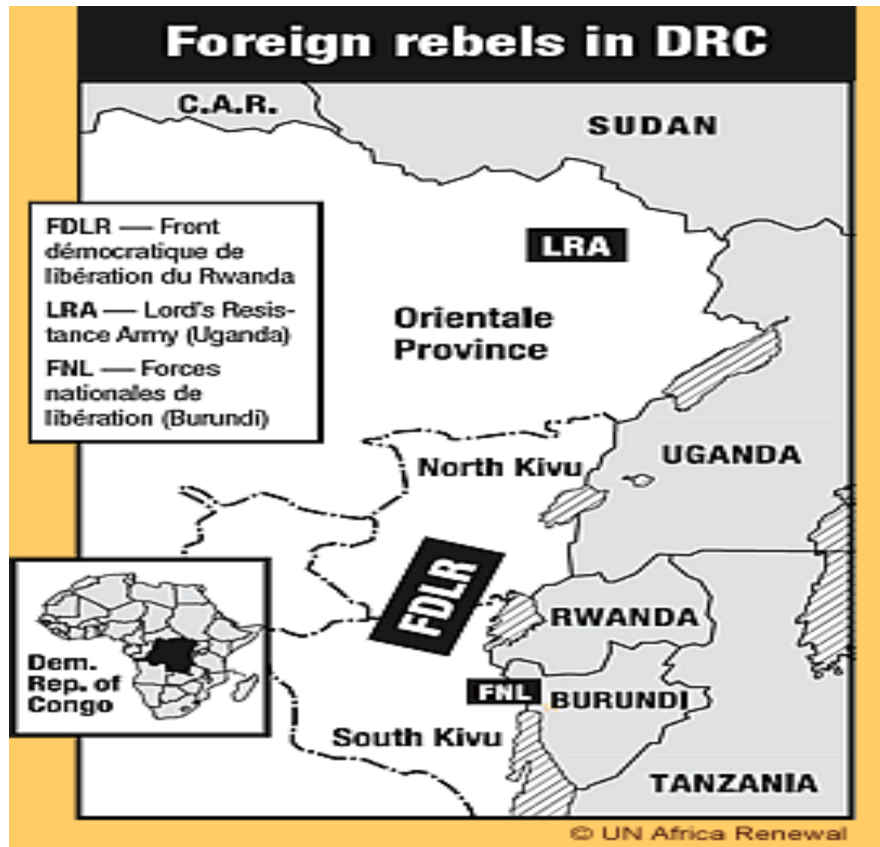


Figure 4. Foreign Insurgent Groups in the DRC

Source: Ernest Harsch, "Setting Foreign Fighters on the Road Home," *Africa Renewal* 23, no. 2 (July 2009), accessed 2 November 2011, <http://www.un.org/ecosocdev/geninfo/afrec/vol23no2/232-foreign-fighters.html>.

Lord Resistance Army/Movement-Uganda

The LRA was another contribution made by the Ugandan government to the Great Lakes Region. Mareike Schomerus, (2007) in his study titled *The Lord's Resistance Army in Sudan: A History and Overview*, argued that this rebel group has been active since 1987, when Joseph Kony took up arms against Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni. Among the major reasons for the creation of the LRA were the restoration of competitive multi-party democracy and the desire to bring an end to the gross violations of human

rights and dignity of Ugandans. However, it is argued that the LRA is one of the most extremely ruthless insurgent groups in the World. The LRA has been operating in the eastern part of the Congo which is characterized by skirmishes and impromptu attacks on the locals. The LRA's history is filled with horrific tactics. Joseph Kony is a hardcore fanatic of his own cause who has been difficult to capture. International efforts to capture him has proved futile. The LRA presents a primordial example of how warlords and other violent powerbrokers compete for control of state militaries, armed insurgencies, and militias in a landscape where social, political and economic motives are often impossible to decipher.

Allied Defense Forces-Uganda

The Ugandan government has its own share of the conflict in the Great Lakes Region. Uganda's contribution to the conflict manifests itself in a rebel group alleged to be operating in the eastern Congo. Butts and Bradshaw (2002) in their article entitled "*Central African Security: Conflict in the Congo*" argued that the ADFs rebel group has its roots in Uganda. The rebel group has been fighting the Ugandan government since 1996 and it is located in the southwest of Uganda near the border with the DRC. Composed of Tabliq Moslem, the ADF rebels are from the Moribund National Army for the Liberation of Uganda and soldiers from the overthrown governments of Rwanda and the DRC. They accuse Museveni of being a foreigner trying to establish a Tutsi empire in the Great Lakes Region. They are now receiving their support from Iran and Sudan. Recently, Congolese militias have worked with the ADF, which is fighting the Ugandan army in the west of the country. Therefore, the longer the duration of war in the DRC, the more likely this group might regain some momentum in the Great Lakes Region.

Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda

The 1994 Rwanda genocide fueled the conflict in the Congo and has continued to play a critical role either to perpetrate or to mitigate the effects of the Congo armed conflict. There have been conflicting reports on the role of the Rwandan government, however, the fact remains that Rwanda has vast interest in the minerals in the DRC. The FLDR is an insurgent group with its origin in Rwanda and used by the Rwandan government to syphon minerals from the Congo. This militia group is currently based in the eastern part of the Congo. The group's core purpose was to overthrow the Rwanda government. However, after failing to unsettle the regime of President Paul Kagame, they have now resorted to indirectly attacking his government. They are involved in carrying out sporadic attacks on the Congolese armed forces and civilians. There was an increase in the FLDR activities in the eastern Congo when the CNDP. FLDR has remained vibrant and distractive in the eastern Congo despite the arrest of their president in 2009 (Jane's 2015).

In 2014, the DRC Government, in a bid to curb the skirmishes in the eastern Congo adopted an amnesty law for "insurrection, acts of war, and political infractions committed between 1 January 2006 and 20 December 2013." This saw the FDLR interim president, Major General Victor Byiringiro promise to withdraw from the bush and proceed the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration process. Nevertheless, the promises were in vain as attacks in March 2014 occurred along the shore of Lake Edward in North Kivu provinces. This indicated that the splitter group was still active and posed a security danger to the indigenous populace. MONUSCO in pursuing its mandate has reaffirmed its commitment to fight FLDR (Jane's 2015).

Forces National of Liberation and Forces for the Defense of Democracy from Burundi

Hughes (2001) in his article entitled *Central African Security: Conflict in the Congo* indicated that the two major insurgent groups with the primary aim of unsettling the government of Burundi are largely constituted of Hutu. The FNL and Forces for the Defense of Democracy (FDD). The FNL and FDD have recruited from the three countries with its leadership coming from Burundi. This has propelled them to perpetrate their fight against the Burundi government. Thousands of ex-FAR are now reported to belong to these Burundian insurgent groups. Until the Burundi government implements democratic tenets, peace and stability is likely to remain a far-fetched dream for the Burundians and the Congolese residing in the eastern provinces of the Kivus.

China and Minerals from the Democratic Republic of the Congo

China is well-known to have immense interest in operating in the Congo. With its growing share of global electronics production and expanding consumer market, China depends on the exploitation of minerals from the Congo. There is a crackdown on the DRC's own efforts to solve the conflict due to dubious mineral trade engineered and perpetrated by the Chinese. Many of these activities are happening with little knowledge and blessing from the Congolese government. This is because the supply chain does not provide regulatory measures to monitor raw materials exiting the country. Moreover, the Chinese government disguises itself in the form of providing developmental projects such as construction of roads meantime extracting minerals to China (Ma 2003).

Summary

The causes of the Congo conflict are many and varied. They include the lack of control by the central government, the fight for mineral resources, ethnicity, lack of credible leadership, and poor political systems and the effects of colonialism. In trying to prevent the Congo conflict, many actors are involved such as the United Nations, African Union, and Southern African Development Community. The Congolese government through its succession of leaders played a critical role in the conflict. The various armed groups from countries such as Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi have exacerbated the Congo situation. Recently, China has registered its presence in this chaotic situation and worsening it through the silent extraction and externalization of minerals. There is a mosaic of actors in the Congo conflict and many factors account for its continuous existence.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The purpose of the research was to evaluate the Government of the Democratic Republic of Congo's failure to establish and maintain security in the eastern provinces. Furthermore, it sought to find out why the above stated situation had produced instability, which adversely affected the Great Lakes Region. National and international policymakers need to know about this complex region in order to make good policy decisions which support of peace and stability.

Research Methodology

The study used the qualitative case study methodology. The complex nature of the topic and the environment under review necessitated the use of this type of methodology. It provided the needed tools to study this complex phenomenon within its context. It evaluated the various actors by looking at their relationships, functions, and tensions (RAFT) within the environment under review. Furthermore, the inability to collect data from subjects for quantitative analysis also provided a basis for this type of qualitative case study methodology.

Professional Case Study Research Method

The professional case study research method is an emerging method used to systematically analyze qualitative case studies. This research used this method because it provided a detailed description of the social phenomenon in the Great Lakes Region. This

detailed description provides a clear picture of what is happening in the Great Lakes Region and provides a basis for rational decisions by the decision makers (Long 2016).

Case Study Design (Type) of Case Study

Explanatory Case Study

An explanatory type of case study was best suited for this situation due a number of reasons: first, this type facilitated the investigation of the Congo conflict in its context based on the literature reviewed. The researcher investigated the failure by the Government of the DRC to establish and maintain peace and security in the eastern provinces. Explanatory case study allowed the researcher to critically review the documented information. Second, this type of case study provided a basis to seek answers and an explanation as to why the Congolese armed conflict has continued despite the number of international and regional bodies involved. Third, this thesis could not use survey or experimental strategies due to the complex nature of the armed conflict and the lack of subjects to provide the needed information. Furthermore, the Congo conflict has had a number of non-state armed groups emanating from other countries within the Great Lakes Region. Fourth, this design ensured that the Congo conflict was not explored through one source of information, but rather a variety of sources such as the internet, books, and the like, which allowed for numerous aspects of the phenomenon to be discovered and understood.

Single Case with Embedded Units

This thesis took a form of a single case evaluation in that the Congo conflict could not be compared with another armed conflict in the similar context. Instead, it was

analyzed based on the number of actors involved; these were the units embedded into the quagmire. The circumstances were unique to the Congo. It looked at the roles that various actors played either to prevent or perpetrate the armed conflict. Data was easily analyzed by critically looking at individual units and later categorizing the roles they played in this civil war. Each actor/unit required critical analysis on the role it played in the Congo conflict. This was the case to all the various actors.

Data Sources

In order to enhance the credibility of this thesis, the researcher used multiple secondary data sources to investigate the various research questions. The data source was mainly limited to documented materials. Data on the various facets of this research from multiple sources was brought together in the analysis process. This enhanced the understanding of the case and findings provided by the various components of data.

Database

The reliability of this the case study was reached through the creation of a database. The collected data was sorted and properly organized using the computer in order to easily keep track of it and retrieve it when needed. Information was categorized into non-state armed groups, state military, international bodies, continental bodies, regional bodies, and the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. This facilitated the easy retrieval when required by the researcher. The time and date collected was also one of the issues the database captured.

Data Analysis

This researcher employed thematic analysis to generate the findings in chapter 4. Each question was addressed in order to provide a description of the social phenomenon under investigation. The collected pieces of information facilitated a detailed analysis. This was meant to identify a pattern on the occurrence of activities in the DRC and the Great Lakes Region. It involved extensive studying of materials in order to get familiarized with the information. After doing so codes were generated based on the pattern. The creation of a database helped in generating initial codes. This enabled the author to have a better understanding of the case study. The researcher looked for themes, defined them and finally named them. This pieces of information which were analyzed looked at the Congo armed conflict and the surrounding countries in the Great Lakes Region.

Stakeholder Analysis Model

The stakeholder analysis model was used to analyze critically the various stakeholders taking part in the Great Lakes Region. The various stakeholders were analyzed starting from the UN down to the smallest non-state armed groups with their commanders. The approach necessitated a transition from a broader analysis of general issues/actors within the Congo conflict before they were narrowed down. Furthermore, each data source was treated and analyzed independently and the findings indicated separately. Then individual actors were then categorized based on the interest/goals, values, reputation, and the position on the role-played. The model provided the positions of these stakeholders in reference to the discussion table (Appendix 1).

Summary

Chapter 3 provided a systematic plan on how the thesis unfolded. The chapter started by looking at the research methodology followed by the type of case study employed in this thesis. This was followed by a detailed explanation as to why this thesis conducted a single case study. The sources of literature were identified, data collected, and systematically stored for easy retrieval when needed. Finally, the processes to be adopted was explained just before the summary.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

Introduction

The purpose of the research was to evaluate the Government of the Democratic Republic of Congo's failure to establish and maintain security in the eastern provinces. Furthermore, it sought to examine why the above stated situation had produced instability, which adversely affected the Great Lakes Region. At the end of it all, national and international policymakers need to know about this complex region in order to make good policy decisions which support of peace and stability.

Chapter 4 employed thematic analysis to generate the findings. The research questions guided the generation of the literature reviewed. It started by critically looking at the primary research question followed by a detailed analysis of the secondary research questions. Salient points from the analysis constituted the summary and conclusion of this chapter.

Factors at Play in the Congo Armed Conflict and Instability in Great Lakes Region

There were a number of factors at play in the Congolese conflict. These factors were either common to the countries in the Great Lakes Region or specific to certain countries, but affected others. Furthermore, some of these factors had a historical connotation cutting across the Great Lakes Region countries.

Historical Factors Shaping the Environment

What is currently prevailing in the Great Lakes Region is, in the author's opinion, the legacy of former colonial masters. History has a tendency of shaping the destiny of a country or region. In this case, the region was largely shaped by occurrences during the colonial era. The literature reviewed indicated that the 1960s was characterized by the killing of those individuals who exhibited good leadership traits (Rodney 1982). Between 1959 and 1961, the former colonial masters systematically killed King Mutara III Rudahigwa of Rwanda, PM Patrice Lumumba of the DRC, and Prince Louis Rwagasore of Burundi. This was a common phenomenon aimed at destroying any credible leadership that was capable of facilitating development. After gaining self-rule, focused, determined, accountable, transparent and selfless leadership was lacking in these countries. This was the first factor at play in the fragile situation within the DRC and the Great Lakes Region in general. However, this was not a permanent situation, but a temporary one. This meant that over time these countries should have found credible leaders to rule them.

The 1994 Rwandan genocide had lasting effects on peace and stability in the Great Lakes Region. The 1994 Rwandan genocide was a catalyst for armed conflict in the DRC. This social occurrence left a trail of destruction that affected countries in varying degrees. The road to recovery has been very difficult, with only minimal achievement so far. It had ripple effects that spilled over to the DRC and since then the Great Lakes Region has not seen peace and stability. A 20-year period is yet to pass; the Congo conflict started with no lasting solution in sight.

The large number of Internally Displaced Persons and Refugees (IDPRs) is also a factor at play in the continued conflict in the Great Lakes Region. Since gaining self-rule,

the countries in the Great Lakes Region have continued experiencing this scourge. For instance, the DRC has continued the legacy of King Leopold II, whose reign was characterized by violence and human rights violations. By 2010, the eastern Congo had 1.5 million displaced persons (Jacquemot 2010). Further, Rwanda was born in a refugee crisis in 1962, and since then a large number of persons have been displaced locally and externally. Ogwang (2006) argued that Uganda is no different because since gaining independence in 1962, there has been ethnic tensions resulting in refugees and displaced persons. In 1997, there were 1.8 million displaced persons and refugees because of the violent activities of the LRA and ADF. In addition, one of Africa's largest groups of refugees was the result of Burundians who fled their country between 1972 and 2001 (Ogwang 2014, 148). This mosaic of displaced persons and refugees has resulted in the loss of identity and some are willing to take up arms and join the rebel groups and-or support any government as they see fit. This is likely to continue worsening the situation.

Other Factors at Play

The succeeding factors are a subset of the immediate preceding ones. The countries in the Great Lakes Region have failed to produce credible leaders who could find lasting solutions to the numerous problems faced. The crop of leaders currently occupying official positions in various governments are mainly pre-occupied with remaining in power and satisfying their own interests. Ending conflict does not seem to be a top priority on their agenda. For instance, in the DRC, President Joseph Kabila of the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) has violated the constitution by running for a third term. Consequently, the general elections, which were supposed to be held on 19 December 2016 have been postponed to April 2018. In Rwanda, President

Kagame is running for a third term, and in Uganda, President Museveni has been continuously in power since 1986 and has persecuted his strongest opposition leader of Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) president, Kizza Besigye (Lawrence 2016). President Museveni has impeded the efforts to peace and tranquility in the Great Lakes Region on numerous occasions and through many ways.

It is the opinion of the researcher that President Museveni is a direct beneficiary to the chaos in the DRC. It is believed that Museveni is syphoning minerals from the DRC, hence providing a reason why he has been a problem. In Burundi, in 2015, Pierre Nkurunziza's party controversially nominated him for a third term in office (Aljazeera 2015). The presidents in these countries have no remorse about going against the stipulations of their constitutions and the will of their people. The above unfortunate scenario indicates that remaining in power is priority for many Great Lakes Region presidents.

Despite the above common features, the Congo has had a unique trend among their political leaders, specifically, their presidents (N'gambwa 2011). The literature reviewed, revealed that from the time the Congo gained its political independence, its leaders had not done much to ensure that the Congo remained peaceful and stable. President Kasa-vubu guided Congo to political freedom and ruled for five years. During his reign, the country was characterized by chaos. When Sese Seko came into power through military coup in 1965, he had no agenda to develop the Congo, instead he enriched himself. In 1997 Laurent Kabila ousted Sese Seko and seemed to have the enthusiasm to develop the Congo and bring about the peace and stability. However, in 2001, his bodyguard killed him, and his son, Joseph Kabila, took over the government.

The pattern indicated above shows how the Congo has had a problem in generating leaders who put peace and stability as the top priority on their agenda. Other than talking about peace and stability, little or no tangible actions were undertaken by these presidents. Peace and stability was mere rhetoric in their approaches. For peace and stability to reign in the Congo leadership was key, however, the present situation does not bring any hope in that aspect.

The political system, which was supposed to be defined by the observance of democratic tenets propagated by the western countries, was not a one size fits all (Shyaka 2008). The trends outlined show that democracy, though championed as the best way to elect leaders into office, may not be the best case in these countries. One would hope that, due to these difficulties, the traditional and indigenous forms of governance could be better than democracy. To the contrary, this shows how entrenched the problem of bad governance is in the Great Lakes Region. There is no smooth transition of power and leaders are not willing to let go of the instrument of power even when it is time to do so. Despite poor governance and the lack of development, political leaders are not willing to let go of power even at the expense of people losing their lives. This has fueled a number of insurgent groups fighting these governments and believed to perpetrate the insecurity and instability in the Great Lake Region.

The LRA has its origins in Uganda, FLDR originated in Rwanda, the FNL originated in Burundi and M23 was the most recent insurgent group to form, which had its roots in the DRC. Great Lakes Region instability is deep rooted and correcting it requires concerted efforts from all stakeholders. The individual issues faced by the various governments has had significant impact on the instability in the Great Lakes

Region. Each has a share of the Congo armed conflict and instability in the Great Lakes Region mainly emanating from their forms of governance.

The Hutus who fled from the Rwandan genocide in 1994 found themselves fighting for land and mineral resources in the eastern DRC (Turner 2007). This was also another factor at play in the DRC conflict and this generated widespread instability in the Great Lakes Region. Due to its natural resources and rich soil for crop cultivation and pastoralism, the Congo is an attractive country to many including those who fled from Rwanda. However, due to lack of permanent ownership through title deeds and little government control, these resources have been a source of conflict. The insurgents from the other three countries (Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi) also depend on these resources for their survival. The location and vastness of the DRC further complicates the situation because the three countries border the eastern part of the Congo. Consequently, insurgents exploit these mineral resources at will in the vast forests of eastern Congo. The situation has been made more complicated by other countries such as China demonstrating immense interest in these minerals. Many believe that these mineral resources are the driving force for instability in the Great Lakes Region.

It is not only the insurgents from these neighboring countries that are interested in minerals, but also the various governments and huge electronic companies in countries like China. There is an ever-increasing demand for minerals such as coltan tantalum, which is used essentially in the manufacturing of electronic capacitors for mobile phones and a number of electronic devices. The only way the interested parties can acquire these minerals is through sponsoring armed groups to ensure a continued conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

There has been a series of reports recently showing systematic illegal logging activities and irregular conduct on a huge scale by transnational logging corporations (Clement and Fernandes 2012). This further complicates the already unclear situation in the Great Lakes Region. For instance, the Chinese Kun Hou mining company made up to \$25, 000 a month by extorting the armed groups in the Shabunda territory located in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo in exchange with arms and cash (Solomons 2016). This clearly shows how deep-rooted the Democratic of Congo problem is. The DRC government has been deprived huge sums of money that might have contributed to the development of the country. These groups interested in minerals will do anything to cheaply obtain these valuable minerals even if it means escalating the armed conflict. The active and passive actors as well as the visible and invisible actors in the Great Lakes Region makes this situation even worse.

Finally, despite the FARDC being proportionally small in relation to the insurgent activities in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo, the lack of infrastructure hampers its operational reach. The lack of a good road network and well-established lines of communication chokes the efforts to effectively fight the insurgents and subsequently exert control over sovereign territory. The majority of the vast territory is under-developed. The insurgents can easily disappear into the vast forests of the eastern DRC after committing atrocities. This to large extent explains why the LRA has been shroud and explains the difficulties in bringing down Joseph Kony. The same goes for all the insurgent groups operating and emanating within the Great Lakes Region.

Actors at Play in the Great Lakes Region

The Great Lakes Region presents a mosaic of state actors, non-state actors and stakeholders with diverse interest, goals, capabilities, alliances and foes as indicated in the strategic estimate table for the Great Lakes Region below. These actors are grouped into international, continental, regional and finally country levels.

International Actors

The UN has been the international actor spearheading peace and stability in the DRC and Great Lakes Region. When UN forces were first deployed, they were called the United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC). The mission was aimed at bringing peace and stability to the DRC (Kayode 2014). Their mandate was specific but the activities were numerous ranging from facilitating the signing of the cease-fires to coordinating the demobilization, disarmament, and reintegration of ex-combatants. Later the observance of the cease-fire was a big problem as warring factions moved back and forth. However, MONUC gained some success and in 2010, after ten years, the name was changed to United Nations Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO). This was meant to conform to the occurrences on the ground. This was after a tremendous reduction in fighting in the eastern Congo. In 2012, the establishment of the United Nations Force Intervention Brigade was the only force allowed to operate under chapter 7, which allowed the use of force. The efficiency and effectiveness of the UN is usually questioned owing to the extended period the UN has been in the Congo. Additionally, insurgent groups from neighboring countries, such as the FDLR from Rwanda, freely cross the Congolese

border and enter in the eastern part of the Congo, commit atrocities and retreat into the jungle or to their countries.

Continental Actors—Regional Actors

The AU managed to bring the various stakeholders including rebel leaders together to sign the peace agreement (Murithi 2009). However, the implementation of the signed peace agreement was a big problem, as the AU did not have the tools to reinforce the agreement. This was the case with SADC. Despite having the common goal of implementing peace and stability measures, they did not have the needed forces to facilitate the implementation. Combining with the UN and Congolese government to augment each other's shortfalls has proved futile. The common interests and goals lacked the necessary implementation tools. In 2012, the FIB was established to decisively deal with emerging insurgent groups within the DRC. However, the extent to which the FIB has been success requires further analysis.

Country Level State and Non-State Actors

The DRC Government has always wanted to see peace and stability in the DRC and Great Lakes Region. It has employed the FARDC to protect its sovereignty through the prevention of any incursion from neighboring insurgent groups. Further, it has been employed to defeat any insurgent groups like M23 rebels that developed within the country in conjunction with the UNFIB (Peter Fabricius 2014, p. 1). However, the poor condition of services, the lack of modern equipment, and growing internal struggles between the FARDC and CNDP has taken a toll on the operations. The purchase and subsequent provision of the military equipment is the responsibility of the government.

However, the government has taken no actions to facilitate efficient and effective operations of the FARDC. The failure to prevent the incursion of external insurgent groups has had negative impact to the implementation of peace and stability measures. Despite operating together with the UN, there was a need to equip and improve the conditions of service. There is need to include all the troops on the payroll to boost their morale and prevent the FARDC from looting villagers.

The military largely determines the strength of a government. Further, a military protects the sovereignty of a country. Additionally, the military is very important in implementing and achieving the strategic objectives of the central government. This has not been the case in the Democratic Republic of Congo, as the eastern Congo lacks the effective government presence necessary to bring about stability. A number of factors explain this situation, although the main one is a weak central government because of the lack of credible leadership. The DRC government is marred with corruption and the strong desire to remain perpetually in power. This largely explains the prolonged UN presence and continued instability in the DRC, which has spilled over to the neighboring countries within the Great Lakes Region. This is looked at as a glaring opportunity for the neighboring governments to exploit the minerals.

Uganda—Rwanda—Burundi

The literature reviewed indicated that the governments of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi pledged support to bring about peace in the Great Lakes Region. However, despite these pledges to curb the atrocities committed by the insurgent groups coming from their respective countries, there has been little or no commitment. The ADF—LRA, FDLR, and FNL have continued terrorizing the eastern part of the Congo. This

exploitation of the eastern part of the Congo by these insurgents from neighboring countries generates more questions than answers. The failure of these insurgents groups to operate within the confines of their respective countries raises further concerns. Additionally, the failure by the respective government forces to attack and destroy these groups is another lacuna, which requires urgent information. The agenda for these insurgent groups are similar in the sense that they all want to change the incumbent governments. They believe that the current governments have violated the principles of democracy. They strongly believe that they can bring about development and the strict observance of democratic tenets. However, for Uganda and Burundi since there are two insurgent groups within each country vying for office the situation poses a great danger. The rise to power by one insurgent group is likely to mark a new chapter of fighting with another group. This is likely to form a vicious cycle.

Table 1. Strategic Estimate Table for the Great Lakes Region

	Actor	Interest	Goal	Capability	Weakness	Alliances	Foes
1.	UN	Peace building in DRC	Peace and Stability in the DRC and finally withdraw	Deploy Force Intervention Brigade (FIB) where and when need arise	Offensive action restrained by Chapter 6	FARDC	LRA, ADF, FDLR,FNL, FDD
2.	AU	Ensure peace reigns in the DRC	Promote peace, security and stability	Monitor the implementation of cease-fire and ensure peace reigns in the DRC	No independent force to be deployed	SADC and DRC Government	LRA, ADF, FDLR,FNL, FDD
3.	SAD C	Deal with peace, security and democratic issues	Prevent or mitigate armed conflict	Mediate the peace process	No standby force	DRC government and AU	LRA, ADF, FDLR,FNL, FDD
4.	China	Business	Raw materials	Provide developmental projects	Non-observance of human rights	DRC Government	
5	DRC	Stable government capable of development the DRC	Permanent solution to peace and stability problems in the DRC	Capable of employing FARDC to control certain areas in the eastern DRC	Limited strengths of FARDC	UN FIB	LRA, ADF, FDLR,FNL, FDD
6.	LRA	Control of State militaries, armed insurgents and militias	Topple the government of Museveni through violence	Sustained operations in the eastern Congo	Logistically dependent on looting-poor administration	ADF	Ugandan government, FARDC and UN
7.	ADF	To kill the Tutsi empire established by Museveni	To overthrow the current president Museveni	Conduct atrocities in the eastern DRC	Lack modern equipment	LRA	Ugandan government Forces, FARDC and UNFIB
8.	FDLR	To gain political power and Implement democratic tenets	To liberate Rwandese from Kagame's tyrannical rule	Sustained operations through attacking villages	Operations conducted using primitive equipment	-	Rwandan government forces, UNFIB and FARDC
9.	FNL	Unsettle the current government of Burundi	Liberate Burundians from dictatorship rule of president Nkurunziza	Conducting operations in the vast eastern DRC	Limited and old equipment	FDD	Burundi government forces, FARDC and UNFIB
10	FDD	Democratic tenets implementation after gaining political power	Rule Burundi and provide the needed development	Conducting operations in the vast eastern DRC	Not properly equipped	FNL	Burundi government forces, FARDC and UNFIB

Source: Created by author

Primary Reasons for the Failure to Achieve a Peaceful Resolution and Progress

The specific primary reasons that have led to the failure to find a lasting solution to the DRC conflict in the Great Lakes Region are difficult to pinpoint. This is so because of the mosaic of actors and stakeholders that are involved as seen from the literature reviewed. A lasting solution to the DRC problem requires careful analysis in order to identify the reasons why a lasting solution is still farfetched.

Summary

In conclusion, chapter 4 analyzed the literature reviewed using thematic analysis in order to establish particular patterns formed in the Great Lakes Region and Congo conflict. The instability in the Congo and Great Lakes Region is the result of numerous actors and stakeholders. These actors and stakeholders have various interests and goals, which require to be harmonized for the sake of peace and stability in the Congo and Great Lakes Region. This will facilitate a lasting solution without which peace and stability will be a farfetched dream.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

The purpose of the research was to evaluate the Government of the Democratic Republic of Congo's failure to establish and maintain security in the eastern provinces. Furthermore, to find out why the above stated situation had produced instability, which adversary affected the Great Lakes Region. In the end, national and international policy-makers need to know about this complex region in order to make good policy decisions which support peace and civilization.

Recommendations

A first recommendation is credible leadership, which is key to surmounting the instability in the Great Lakes Region. Credibility among leaders in the Great Lakes Region is paramount. The presidents of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi have not categorically stated their positions and shown any commitment to stability and tranquility in the Great Lakes Region. They have been rhetoric of fighting insurgent groups from their respective countries. It can be argued that these leaders have diverted views and interest. They are not fully committed to ensuring peace and stability in the Great Lakes Region.

A second recommendation is a concerted effort from all the actors. The UN should consider adopting the stakeholder analysis model and co-opt the various actors to resolve the impasse in the Great Lakes Region. The instability has been perpetrated by many actors, as a result, the solution ought to be relentlessly and frantically sought by the actors charged with the responsibility to install peace and stability. For instance, Uganda,

Rwanda, and Burundi should focus at attacking LRA, FDLR, and FNL respectively, instead of leaving such an enormous responsibility to the FARDC and the FIB. No single actor can manage to attack all these insurgent groups. Without synergetic efforts, it will be difficult for peace and stability to reign in the Great Lakes Region and these insurgent groups will continue ransacking defenseless villagers located in the eastern part of the Congo.

A third recommendation is that the UN should consider being more proactive rather than reactive in its approach to the Congo conflict. Although the FIB has stepped up in attacking and decimating insurgent groups within the DRC, it is not adequate to cover the vast eastern part. There is need for the UN HQs to allow all the other UN forces operate on the same mandate like the FIB in order to fight the insurgent groups. This will facilitate proactivity among UN troops. The local villagers will eventually be protected from the insurgent groups and finally, peace will be established and maintained.

A fourth recommendation is for enough troops to protect the sovereignty of the DRC. The FARDC is not adequate to cover the eastern Congo perimeter to prevent the incursion of insurgents. The DRC government has to employ more troops to ensure that the eastern part of the DRC is covered. Further, in order to enable operational reach, the DRC government must provide adequate equipment and weapons to the troops. The conditions of service must also be improved in order to enhance the morale of the troops. The DRC Air Force also require equipped and augmented in the fight against insurgents groups. There is need for the UN forces to augment the FARDC effort by deploying contingents along the Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi borders.

A fifth recommendation is for a well-streamlined process for the acquisition of land and subsequently title deeds. This is likely to reduce the conflict at grassroots level, as one of the causes is the fight over natural resources including minerals. The lack of title deeds among the citizens owning piece of land has brought more harm than good. For instance, Mai Mai Morgan group in possession of tradition fighting equipment in order to protect themselves and the land they own may attack the neighboring villagers to expand its sphere of influence. This act of expansions eventually leads to active insurgents groups that warrant the attention of the DRC government and the international community. Official title deeds issued by the DRC government will be the solution to this quagmire.

A sixth and final recommendation is the strict adherence to the will of the people by the leaders. The willful defiance of the citizens' will by amending the constitution to facilitate for the third term of the presidents was detrimental to the Great Lakes Region's peace and stability. This has seen the establishment of insurgent groups to overthrow such governments.

Recommendations for Further Study

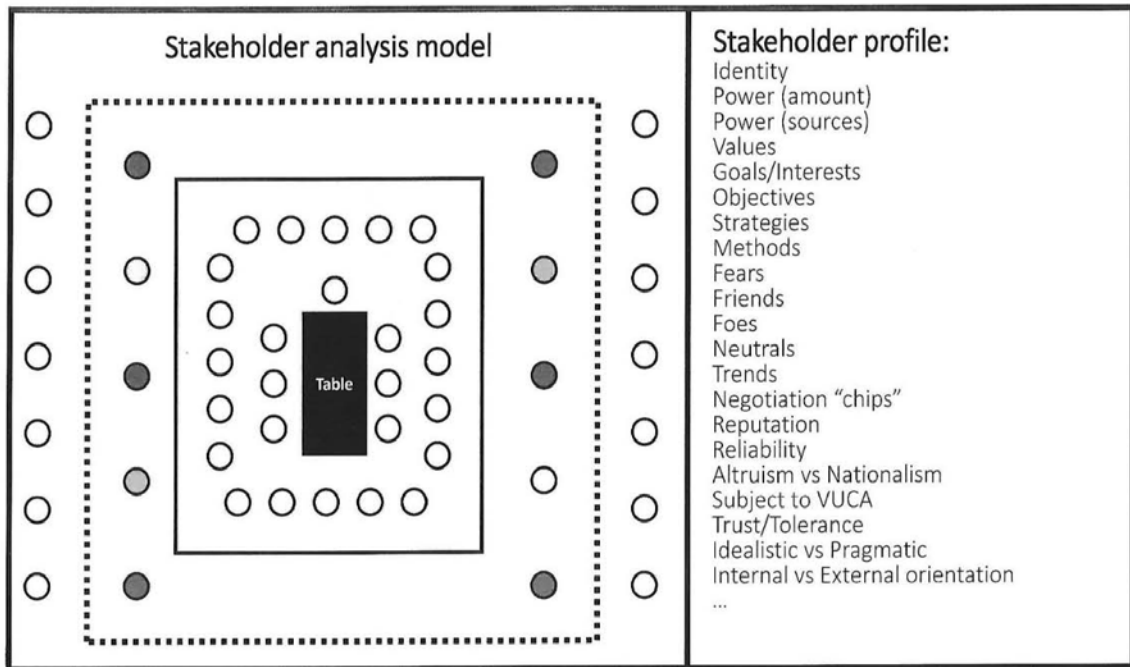
This thesis recommends further research into the role of the neighboring country's governments and the extent to which they willing and committed to enforce peace and stability in the Great Lakes Region. Due to the multiplicity of perpetrators, a single government cannot enforce peace and stability in the Great Lakes Region. The fact that the non-state actors are seeking refuge in the forest of the eastern Congo instead of residing in their respective countries, concerted effort is required from all the state actors in the Great Lakes Region. However, the extent to which the state actors are willing to

commit their resources to bring about peace and stability in the eastern and Great Lakes Region must be established.

Summary

This research endeavored to identify some of the causes of the Congo conflict. The DRC provided a complex scenario with unique problems. The number of actors and stakeholders with unclear and hidden agendas aggravates the problem. They have their own interests, goals, capabilities, weaknesses and enemies. The findings indicated that policy-makers needed to have a better understanding of the various stakeholders in order to generate effective policies to end the Congo conflict and to ensure peace and stability in the Great Lakes Region.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Source: Kenneth Long, email to author, January 9, 2017.

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