THE IMPACT OF AID ON CONFLICT: A CASE STUDY OF HOW FOREIGN AID TO RWANDA AND UGANDA AFFECTS THE DRC CONFLICT

BY

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Thesis submitted to the school of arts and sciences in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations

UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

SUMMER 2013
DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis submitted to the United States International University (USIU) in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations has not been previously submitted by me for a degree at this or any other university, that it is my original work and all the sources have been quoted and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I give my gratitude to the Almighty God for bringing me this far. I would not be where I am today without Him. I also wish to express my sincere thanks to the entire faculty of USIU for their efficient services without which I would not have been able to complete my studies. My sincere gratitude also goes to my thesis supervisor; Dr. Eunice Riungu for her relentless guidance and encouragement. Thanks to her input, I am a better student and researcher.

Last but not least, I am indebted to my family and friends for their motivational and financial support when I needed it. Special thanks goes to my dad, mom, husband, sisters and brother for their unwavering love and concern regardless of the circumstances. To my colleagues and close friends who had my back the entire time of my research, I salute and thank you.
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to some special individuals in my life who have given me unrelenting support during the writing of my thesis. Firstly, I dedicate this research to my husband; Vincent Kemboi who has given me steadfast encouragement during this trying period of my life. His confidence in my scholarly abilities gave me the strength and hope to move on despite any challenges I encountered along the way. Secondly, my parents: Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Kiget deserve the dedication for their unconditional love, support and prayers always. Thirdly, I dedicate this work to Mr. George Tuwei; an inspiration and a close family friend who financially supported me through my graduate studies; without his input, I would not be where I am today.
# ACRONYMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABAKO</td>
<td>Alliance des Bakongo (Bakongo Tribal Association)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ADF</td>
<td>Allied Democratic Forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFDL</td>
<td>Alliance des forces démocratiques pour la libération du Congo-Zaïre (Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANC</td>
<td>Armee Nationale Congolaise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNDP</td>
<td>National Congress for the Defence of the People</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRD</td>
<td>Congolese Rally for Democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAC</td>
<td>Development Assistance Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDRRR</td>
<td>Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration, Resettlement and Rehabilitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FARDC</td>
<td>Forces Armees de la Republique du Congo (Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDLR</td>
<td>Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLC</td>
<td>Front de libération du Congo (merger of MLC and RCD-ML)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FNI</td>
<td>The Lendu Nationalist and Integrationist Front</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIPC</td>
<td>Highly Indebted Poor Countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFI</td>
<td>International Financial Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LDC</td>
<td>Least Developed Country</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDG</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLC</td>
<td>Mouvement de libération congolais (Movement for the Liberation of Congo)</td>
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<tr>
<td>MNC</td>
<td>Mouvement National Congolais</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONUC</td>
<td>United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo</td>
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<td>Acronym</td>
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<tr>
<td>MPR</td>
<td>The Popular Movement of the Revolution</td>
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<tr>
<td>NRA</td>
<td>National Resistance Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ODA</td>
<td>Official Development Assistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPEC</td>
<td>Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRA</td>
<td>Popular Resistance Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCD</td>
<td>Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie (Rally for Congolese Democracy)</td>
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<tr>
<td>RCD</td>
<td>Goma Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie, based in Goma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCD</td>
<td>Kisangani Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie, based in Kisangani, later based in Bunia and referred to as RCD-ML</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCD-ML</td>
<td>Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie — Mouvement de Libération, first based in Kisangani, later in Bunia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCD</td>
<td>National Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie — National, located in Bafwasende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPA</td>
<td>Rwandan Patriotic Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPF</td>
<td>Rwandan Patriotic Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SADC</td>
<td>South Africa Development Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAP</td>
<td>Structural Adjustment Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SONEX</td>
<td>RCD-Goma's Financial Arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UFF</td>
<td>Ugandan Freedom Fighters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPDF</td>
<td>Uganda People’s Defence Forces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</td>
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<tr>
<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Trade Organization</td>
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ABSTRACT

This study examines the impact of aid on conflict. It presents a case study of how foreign aid given to Rwanda and Uganda by Western Powers is affecting the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). By examining the link between aid and conflict in the DRC, the study aims to portray how the Global North uses proxies to exacerbate conflicts in the Global South under the guise of foreign aid. The research therefore delves into the history of DRC's conflict in detail dating back to the pre-colonial era owing to the fact that the country has been engaged in one of the longest wars ever witnessed worldwide. This then brings out the underlying causes of the endless violence that seems to be escalating. The study therefore relies on qualitative research analysis; the data has been collected from scholarly books and articles, published reports and internet sources. It builds on Economist Dambisa Moyo's argument that aid is not working in Africa and has only sought to under-develop the continent; the unrelenting conflict in the DRC is proof of this statement.
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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The study is an assessment of the impact of aid on the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The study intends to explore how foreign aid by the Global North such as the United States (US), United Kingdom (UK) and International Financial Institutions (IFI's) such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) has played a part in the conflict. This part of the study introduces the project at hand. A brief background of the subject matter shall be delved into as a means of setting pace for the rest of the study.

1.1 Background

Map 1: Map of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC )
Source: Africa Policy Journal, Spring 2006, Vol. 1
From map 1 above, DRC is an extremely large country; it is similar to Western Europe in size. It has an estimated population of 68.6 million comprising of over 200 ethnic groups; the majority of who are Bantus (CIA World Factbook, 2010). Moreover, DRC is extremely wealthy; it is abound with minerals such as gold, diamonds, coltan, copper, cobalt and zinc. Unfortunately, this source of wealth has proved to be a curse for the nation as it is the root cause of the never-ending conflict in Congo (DRC).

The war in Congo dates back to the early 20th Century when King Leopold through the Belgian forces invaded and ruled the country as his own personal territory during the colonial era. Independence was finally achieved on 30th June 1960; albeit with great challenges. Soon after independence, secessionist movements fought against the new leadership under President Joseph Kasavubu. This culminated to Mobutu Sese Seko seizing power in 1965 and changing the country’s name to Zaire (Gebrewold, 2009).

However, Mobutu proved to be a dictator just like most African leaders who seek to enrich themselves at the expense of their countries’ interests. He was soon seduced by the immense wealth of the rich state and set about plundering the country just like the former leaders. Mobutu’s opponents stepped up the call for radical change. In 1996, the tensions from the neighbouring Rwandan Genocide finally spilled over to Zaire forcing Mobutu to flee the country. This culminated to the plunging of the state into one of the deadliest conflicts in the history of Africa (Gebrewold, 2009).

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

There are many types of aid. However, aid can broadly be categorized into three major groups. Firstly, there is Humanitarian or Emergency Aid. This type of aid is used in response
to catastrophes and calamities such as conflict and natural disasters. It aims to prevent human
casualties and ensure access to basic needs such as food, water, healthcare and sanitation.

Secondly, there is the Charity-based Aid. These funds are usually dispensed by charitable
organizations to institutions and individuals to run certain society-based programs. Lastly,
Systemic Aid is defined as payments transferred directly to state governments. They are
further divided into two types: bilateral aid (cash transfers from one government to another);
and multilateral aid (cash transfers through mega institutions like the World Bank).

This study aims to focus on the third type of aid; systemic aid and how it has helped fuel the
crisis in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). There are several ways to go around this
issue. However, the focal point of this paper is to look at the role played by Uganda and
Rwanda in the conflict in DRC; with emphasis on how systemic aid is manipulated by both
countries to continue the war in Congo. Thus the military perspective will be brought into
light at this point in relation to financial aid.

The research will be broken down into several key sub-topics in an effort to portray the
statement of the research problem. Firstly, the theoretical framework of the topic at hand in
relation to international relations as a whole will be elaborated as basis for the paper. The
next issue to be tackled will be the parties to the conflict with emphasis on the roles of
Rwanda and Uganda. The aid factor will then come into play; this part of the paper will focus
on financial aid (systematic aid) and how it is being manipulated by the parties to fuel the
conflict in Congo. This will further influence the gravity of the situation while portraying
how other actors have now joined the fracas and the consequences therewith. Lastly, in
conclusion, an analysis of the situation will be elaborated regarding the future prospects of the DRC war.

1.3 Research Questions

The study will seek to answer the following questions:-

i. What is the history behind the war in Congo?

ii. Why has the presence of mineral resources fuelled the conflict in Congo?

iii. How has the aid factor played a role in continuing the conflict in Congo?

iv. What devastating effects has the war left in its wake?

v. What are the reasonable measures proposed so as to end the conflict in Congo?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The research has the following objectives:-

i. To understand the history of Congo’s war.

ii. To analyze the relationship between mineral resources and the conflict.

iii. To assess the aid factor as one of the major causes of the war in Congo.

iv. To analyze the devastating impact of the resurgent war on Congo’s future development.

v. To propose measures that can be taken by Congo and the International Community at large in order to end the conflict.
1.5 Significance of the Study

Of the many internal conflicts documented all over the world, none poses as significant a threat to the stability of a continent as Congo’s war. The war in Congo has affected most of Africa and Western powers in overall due to its affluence in rich minerals; greed is the driving factor. Kenya, for example has been mentioned as a hide-out of the gold from Congo at one time; this then saw President Kabila visiting Kenya to enquire of the same. The issue seemed to have never been resolved to date.

The study will thus look at how the war in DRC can easily spill over to her equally unstable neighbouring countries; this would then mean serious crisis for Africa as a whole since Congo’s war does not seem to be ending any time soon. It is similar in nature to the conflicts in Somalia, North and Southern Sudan and the religious war in Nigeria. They are violent senseless wars that are often irregular in nature. Africa then cannot be said to be stable at all because the risk of spillover effects of such conflicts is imminent. Moreover, Congo is strategically situated at the centre of Africa geographically; this means that its focal positioning poses a huge risk of instability to the rest of Africa because it connects most of her surrounding nation states.

The war in Congo has been studied by many scholars, however, the study hopes to bring in a new dimension by analyzing how aid is being used to fuel the war in Congo and consequently propose how the same can be effectively used to stop the said war. The initiatives proposed by other scholars on the subject will also be assessed to establish their veracity.
It is a fact that Congo is being looted left, right and centre; the focus of the study will then be to analyze the role of her neighbours comprising Rwanda, Uganda, Angola, Zambia, Cameroon and Gabon. More specifically, Rwanda and Uganda's active participation will be unraveled in the internal conflict affecting the Eastern part of Congo which has vast fields rich in minerals since their soldiers actively participate in fuelling the war so as to loot further.

The Western powers, on the other hand, give systematic aid to countries such as Rwanda and Uganda; this is in turn injected into the reinforcement of arms dealings which are then used to cause conflict in Congo as a form of diversion in order to loot minerals. The result is economic degradation and abject poverty of the civilians who are then too weak to fight for their country. The external forces thus join in the share of the looted minerals.

The United Nations (UN) worsens the situation as it has taken a neutral stand and merely watch as the atrocities are committed by heavily armed militia on the already suffering civilians. Therefore, the message is clear, no one is interested in saving Congo's suffering masses or ensuring that her future economic development is secure.

The study therefore intends to delve into the role of aid in perpetrating the ethnic hatred causing senseless violence in the region; it will dispel the successive and misguided interventions by neighbouring countries which are only after their own selfish interests in this sense. The roles of Rwanda and Uganda will be highlighted upon as they are the most notorious of the interveners with ulterior motives in that they have the capacity and means to fuel the war in Congo with the backing of Western powers (they are being used as proxies).
Their tactics on invasion, economic pillage and counter-genocide will be critically assessed in an effort to uncover the truth behind their so-called intervention.

1.6 Hypotheses

The following relates to the expected outcome of the study:

i. The war in Congo may be traced back to its history.

ii. There is a correlation between mineral resources and the conflict in Congo.

iii. Aid by Western Powers (Global North) exacerbates conflicts in the Global South.

iv. The DRC conflict may impact negatively on its future development.

v. The conflict in Congo is likely to be resolved by all the stakeholders involved.

1.7 Methodology

A methodology involves three major components: types of data; methods of data collection; and methods of data analysis. This research is not field-oriented, hence it is a qualitative research. Therefore, firstly, the type of data (set of information and materials needed for the study) will be secondary materials. Since the study deals with the conflict in the DRC which has been one of the longest wars ever witnessed in history, most of the study will rely on policy papers written on the subject matter. This will include reports and statistics, for example, from the UN, indicating the mineral conflict occurrences and the humanitarian disaster prevalent in the country. The key concepts of foreign aid and conflict will also be used in the study as important components of the subject matter.

Secondly, the method for data collection (sources of the data aforementioned) shall be from secondary data. This will encompass books, journals, articles and other documents written about the war in the DRC by the many scholars and academicians interested in the subject.
Case studies and usage of electronic data; internet access shall also be encompassed in the study especially regarding illustrations such as maps and tables that will aim to stress on specific vital arguments of the study.

Thirdly, the method of data analysis utilized in the study shall be qualitative data analysis. This will mostly encompass document analysis sourced from secondary data. Various methods of qualitative analysis shall be applied in the study. They shall include the use of excerpts which is extracting pieces of discourses from a larger body of information such as quotes from various authors talking of key arguments in this study like the concept of aid. Some of these pieces of information shall also be paraphrased to avoid monotony, however, they shall be referenced. Diagrams such as maps and tables used in the study shall also be cited.

Content analysis; specifically relational analysis shall further be adopted in the study especially regarding the hypotheses. For example, the study aims to relate the finding that there is a correlation between mineral resources and the conflict in the DRC. The study shall also utilize theory application; it shall expound on the two key theories touching on the subject matter: conflict and aid. These theories shall then be analyzed together to portray the connection between the two in relation to the conflict in the DRC under the qualitative data analysis method of analytical triangulation. Reflexivity shall also be a vital aspect of the study in that my input into the research will be portrayed in the analysis, findings and outcome section of the study which is in Chapter Four.
1.8 Chapter Breakdown

Chapter One

It gives a breakdown of the study at hand. This includes a brief background and significance of the project, the statement of the research problem, the research questions, objectives, hypotheses and methodology to be used. This chapter therefore introduces the study and highlights the issues to be tackled.

Chapter Two

This chapter delves into the literature review and the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study. It looks into several materials and the related theories and concepts touching on the war in Congo.

Chapter Three

The case study is discussed in detail at this juncture. The heart of the study; the issue of aid, is elaborated. This part of the project aims to portray how aid flows from the donor countries and institutions to the parties of the conflict who then help fuel the war in the DRC. Thus a connection between the aid and the conflict in Congo is explained and consequently expounded.

Chapter Four

This part of the study focuses on the findings, analysis and recommendations of the project.
Chapter Five

This chapter concludes the project. It gives an analytical breakdown of the chapters discussed in a nutshell. Ultimately, it gives closure to the study.

1.9 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has examined the background aspects of the study which include the statement of the research problem, research questions, objectives and hypotheses, significance of the study, methodology and chapter breakdown. The next chapter delves into the literature review and the theoretical and analytical aspects of the study.
CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL & CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

In the first part, the chapter will involve exploration of literature appertaining to the area under study. Hence a comprehensive review of literature touching on the subject matter shall be delved into in an effort to establish the loopholes that warrant the need for carrying out this research. The second part will delve into the theories and concepts underlying the study. Here, the theoretical and conceptual framework for the study will be analyzed in order to get a better understanding of the underlying key notions.

2.2 Literature Review

This part of the chapter will be divided into different sub-headings portraying what several academicians have to say on the key components of this paper.

2.2.1 The Colonial Influence

The war in Congo can be traced back to the pre-colonial era. The country’s mammoth size, its sundry and many ethnic tribes and languages combined with the diversity of its geography rendered it more of an empire than a colony. It was among the last areas of Africa to be discovered hence late to experience civilization too. Thus its people were more primitive and therefore less likely to organize themselves into a modern nationalistic society (Martelli, 1966).

Ultimately, the igniting factor for the war stemmed from the United Nation’s declaration for the immediate independence of all the territories that were non-self governing. This is because
Congo was not ready for such a leap from colonialism straight into independence without a transitional period. Martelli contends that the UN made a mistake by forcefully driving away the Belgians from Congo since according to him, the colonialists were the only rightful parties to aim and teach emerging nations how to go it alone in terms of running their governments (Ibid).

The author further contends that the UN made a second mistake by trying to intervene in an attempt to quell the rising ethnic clashes in the country. By so doing, they were essentially going against the spirit of non-interference with the internal affairs of an independent state also entrenched in its resolutions (Security Council resolution 9 of August, 1960). Hence in an attempt to stop Congo from becoming an international disaster or ‘another Korean tragedy’, their illegal intervention only sought to prolong instability in the country and made the solving of internal disputes more difficult to achieve (Martelli, 1966).

Martelli is right in the sense that the UN made a miscalculated move in the measures it undertook in attempting to give Congo her freedom; Congo was politically premature. The devastating results can be felt to date as Congo is still entrenched in ethnic clashes and fighting over her natural resources. Moreover, the UN has currently taken a neutral stand in the on-going conflict in the country, the situation seems to clearly go beyond their capacity to control the complex scenario as it is today. Furthermore, Mc Calpin avers that the conflict in the Congo cannot be seen as an isolated event. It is the culmination of colonialistic rule that was harsh, an independence that was miscalculated and that consequently resulted in post-colonial catastrophes (Mc Calpin in Clark, 2002).
2.2.2 The Great Lakes Regional History: The Hutu-Tutsi Factor

Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, on the other hand, states that the root of the conflict in Congo lies deep in the Great Lakes regional history in addition to the national, regional and international political alignments associated with the Mobutu Sese-Seko regime (Ntalaja in Mandaza, 1999). Ntalaja further explores these points in the book ‘The Congo from Leopold to Kabila: A People’s History’ by explaining that the Great Lakes region is the core of the region and comprises of Congo, Tanzania, Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi whose system of tributaries and lakes drain the central part of the Great Rift Valley of Africa. However, the war in the Great Lakes Region has essentially involved Congo, Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, Namibia, Angola, Zimbabwe and even Chad. These countries were involved in a war that can be traced back to the year 1996 and proceeded right into the Twenty-First Century (Ntalaja, 2002).

Hence according to Ntalaja, the major causes of instability in this region are the Rwandan genocide in 1994 and Mobutu’s fall from Presidency in 1997. These two events brought about ethnic clashes, political alignments and false interventions. The genocide in Rwanda saw the mass killings of the Tutsi ethnic group which forced some of them to cross over to Congo for refuge. However, among these refugees were the entire Hutu army and moderate rebel militia groups. The Tutsi extremists followed them into Congo and the war continued. Mobutu’s leadership was criticized for being self-centred and undemocratic. He did not develop the country nor help his people. Upon his fall from power, the power vacuum he left saw pretentious neighbouring states using the umbrella of intervention in order to loot Congo’s resources. The spill-over of the internal clashes of Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda and Congo saw Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia invade Congo in the name of protecting themselves from rebel groups.
Ntalaja further aims to dispel the myth propagated by the international media that Rwanda and Uganda entered Congo as rebels in order to participate in the civil war in the DRC. He refutes this fallacy as according to him, there was no fighting whatsoever in the Congo prior to the invasion by the said troops on 2\textsuperscript{nd} August, 1998. He also asserts that no Congolese rebels existed prior to the said date (Ntalaja, 2004).

2.2.3 The Excuse of Intervention

Another scholar by the name John F. Clark states in his introduction that his edited book aims to explore the issue of interventionist measures. He explains that the war in Congo is as a result of external intervention and not internal collapse. He states that the major rebel groups currently fighting in the Congo are the work of external forces and they use this ruse of intervention to build their military power, administrative strength and economic force just like their colonial predecessors (Clark, 2002).

The role of Uganda and Rwanda is also an important aspect of this paper and Clark expounds on their impact on the war in Congo. He has particularly focused on Rwanda as a major instigator of the conflict. He dispels the false impression of Rwanda’s current government and how its unscrupulous actions of forced invasion, economic pillage and counter-genocide usually get overlooked especially by the international community since they are the ones who brought an end to the genocide in the first place (Ibid).

Clark has also delved into the issue of South Africa’s neutrality in their attempts to intervene in the war in Congo. During President Nelson Mandela’s reign in power, he carried out foreign policies aimed at enhancing Pan-Africanism. His diplomatic intervention in the transition of Mobutu’s government to Kabila’s government never bore fruit. His efforts to
enjoin DRC in the South Africa Development Community (SADC) also never saw the light of day. Upon Thabo Mbeki taking over presidency from Mandela, South Africa’s diplomatic ambitions in the Congo decreased to the point of neutrality, this is the position to date (Ibid).

Regarding Uganda, Clark states that their initial goal of improving their internal security situation in claiming to intervene in Congo has lost focus since President Yoweri Museveni’s forces have been entangled in local internal conflicts such as that between the Hema and Lendu in Congo. Meanwhile, they continue in their mission to loot and exploit Congo of her natural resources even though this move has never brought them success in terms of national development (Ibid).

However, Thomas Turner summarizes the successive external intervention by Congo’s neighbours as self-interested and grossly misguided. He has also termed the actions of the UN troops as impotent and thus more of a ‘hands-off’ approach. He has clearly elaborated on the first 2 Congo wars: the first 1966-1997 Congo war that saw Mobutu’s fall from power and the second 1998-2002 Congo war that ended in a ceasefire being signed by the stakeholders in the war. Unfortunately, Turner has failed to speak of the on-going 3rd Congo War in the Eastern part of DRC. This is a serious oversight as it is the longest of the Congo wars and also the most devastating (Turner, 2007).

2.2.4 Coltan as a Key Mineral

The causes of wars in Africa have been attributed to several factors by various scholars and writers as can be seen from the foregoing paragraphs. There is however an interesting emerging attribute to such wars as has been explained by scholars Ogechi Emmanuel Anyanwu and Raphael Chijioke Njoku. They explain that the driving force behind wars in
Africa is based on the human fear of, and response to domination and deprivations. These two conditions have existed from the era of ancient civilization to the post-colonial era and are manifested by the need of stronger states to dominate weaker states (Anyanwu and Njoku in Falola and Njoku, 2010). John Kent, a scholar, further reiterates this point by stating that the interested groups and actors based inside and outside of Congo had to replace the imposition of control of colonialism with a more delicate form of domination in the post-colonialism era. This was necessary in order to facilitate the continued looting of Congo’s abundant natural resources (Kent, 2010).

The need to dominate the DRC even after attaining her independence in 1960 was deemed important by factions in and out of Congo mostly due to her vast minerals. Of great importance among these minerals is said to be coltan or columbite-tantalite. It is a metallic ore crucial in the manufacture of electronic devices such as laptop computers and cell phones. This is the main reason why Congo has attracted a large number of players including global corporations dealing with electronics, oversees distributors especially from Europe, guerilla insurgents and child miners. Hence illegal mining of coltan has flourished over the years in the DRC (French in Falola and Njoku, 2010).

Niles French however argues that the most active players in the mining of coltan in Congo are the military rebels, but their driving factor is not senseless violence and economic profit, rather it is associated with political motivations. His opinion therefore differs with those of several writers who see the motive of economic gain behind the guerilla insurgencies fighting in the Congo. An example of such a scholar is Anthony Carlson (2006) who has argued that “The greatest motive for violence is not the thirst for political power so much as the thirst for immense potential profit from the DRC’s ample mineral wealth.” Geraldine Mattioli of
Human Right Watch echoed Carlson’s sentiments by stating that they believed that Rwanda and Uganda started the wars in Congo because the chaos would help them plunder Congo of her minerals (Glassborow, 2007).

French thus argues that both persons above are grossly mistaken as they are being narrow-minded in analyzing all of the factors that could have possibly fuelled the Congo war to date. He states that all the parties involved are part of a global networking system and are very organized in their operations; they are not merely bandits causing immense havoc for economic gain. In a nutshell, the mining of coltan is not the only driving factor of the ongoing war in Congo, there are political factors behind the conflict as well. This position is corroborated by scholars Morten Boas and Kevin Dunn (Boas and Dunn, 2007).

Ernest Wamba dia Wamba and Jacques Delpechin have gone a step further and critically analyzed the political reasons of the guerilla rebels fighting in the Congo, key among them are the Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD), Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) and the Movement for the Liberation of Congo (MLC). RCD, on their part, wanted Laurent Kabila out of power and further to protect Rwandan Tutsis from their fellow Hutu rebels in the Congo, hence Rwanda and Uganda allied themselves with this movement. The same aspirations were equally shared by the RPA. Uganda, on the other hand, supported MLC because it was one of the most active military groups mining coltan in the DRC (Longman, 2004).

It has been established that the DRC holds 80% of the world’s coltan reserves, hence the foregoing writers have agreed on one aspect; that this is the reason as to why there are many players involved in the business of mining the essential mineral in Congo. However, it goes
without saying that the major beneficiaries of this trade are Rwanda, Uganda and the Multi-
National Corporations involved in the trade of coltan. For Uganda and Rwanda, this lucrative
business funds their continued war efforts in the DRC, hence they have managed to control
nearly all the aspects of the trade involving coltan. The victims of this torturous cycle have
been the Congolese people who are left experiencing abject poverty and hazardous working
conditions for the miners who earn less than a dollar a day (French, 2010).

Ultimately, the trade of coltan has come to attract foreign interest over the years key among
these players including China, Belgium and Sweden. This quest has driven them to build
closer ties with Uganda and Rwanda due to the control the two states exert in the coltan trade
in the DRC. This has led to the issuing of several grants and loans to these two countries
under the cover of developmental aid. The result has been the strengthening of Rwanda’s and
Uganda’s military capacities hence the continued aggressive war efforts in Eastern Congo
(Niles, 2010). This then brings us to the heart of this paper; the issue of aid and how it has
helped fuel the war in the Congo.

2.2.5 The Aid Factor

The aid factor can be attributed to wars in Africa from different angles. For example,
humanitarian aid has been manipulated in that children from war-torn counties such as
Sudan, Liberia and Chad have been staged as orphans in order to attract aid. The result is the
mushrooming of orphanages that are out to make profit from international assistance. The
same tactic was employed regarding the case of Sierra Leonean amputees and children of war
(Polman, 2011). From this angle, war can be said to be a necessary ingredient for donor
assistance especially in the African continent whereby even the victims are participants in the
illegal aid business.
The focus of this paper however lies in the area of systematic aid and how it has helped continue the war in the Congo. More importantly, the roles of Rwanda and Uganda are the subjects of analysis regarding this type of aid and their connection to the conflict in Africa’s second largest continent- the DRC. Following the April 6, 1994 genocide in Rwanda whereby extremist Hutus slaughtered over 800,000 of their Tutsis and moderate Hutus compatriots in a span of three weeks, thousands of Rwandan Hutus and Tutsis fled towards Tanzania and Burundi. But the majority of these refugees settled at Goma which is situated on the Eastern part of Congo (Ibid).

The Rwandan refugees in Goma majority of who were Hutus subsequently attracted an international urge to help. A cholera outbreak that nearly swept the entire refugee camp fuelled this urge. This led to aid agencies pouring funds into aid organizations that were set up to help the refugees (Ibid). Ultimately, and unfortunately so, aid brought about arms dealing in the Goma camp, the Rwandan Hutu refugee rebels regrouped and the Rwandan Government army made up of Tutsis found the perfect excuse to invade Goma and flush out all the Hutu rebels that were regrouping; subsequently, the Goma camp was completely destroyed. Therefore in 1996 and in 1998 Rwanda invaded Congo in the name of stopping the regrouping of rebel groups that would eventually come back to spark off another genocide in Rwanda; but the 1998 invasion led to a war that lasted five years and involved the armies of four other countries. Rwanda, Uganda and Congolese rebel factions united and took a hold of most of the North Eastern part of Congo (Ibid).

Polman has therefore looked at aid as a weapon of war from several angles. She however states that it is mostly the aid to war-torn countries that is usually stolen and diverted and often goes unreported that is providing the warring parties with additional resources to help
fuel the conflict. Moreover, she has analyzed that the recipients of the aforesaid international assistance often take advantage of the rivalry within the industry of aid whereby the aid donors usually compete with each other to give aid in order to look good and establish partnerships for future dealings (Ibid).

Rwanda and Burundi became some of the nations favoured by aid donors such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The justification of the said donors is that the two states are among those listed as 'Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) and hence have to benefit from the initiative of major debt relief whereby their external debts are written off. They also argue that cutting off such aid will hurt a fragile economy like Rwanda's and that its intervention in the war in Congo is for the sake of protecting her growing economy from rebels emerging from Congo (Willum, 2001).

As a result, Rwanda and Uganda have amassed huge wealth from donor funds and this is in turn used by the two states to build their military capacity in fuelling the war in Congo. Clearly, the West is turning a blind eye to the havoc caused by these intruders because they also stand to benefit from the looting of DRC's resources; hence they use the cover of supposedly neutral international donor organizations such as the IMF and World Bank to fund these two notorious states which are used as proxies in the DRC war.

Dambisa Moyo has correctly summarized the mistake the West has made in aiming to help Africa; they are giving something expecting nothing in return. In giving aid to Africa without caring about the outcomes, they have created a class of elites who in turn impoverish the majority of the masses; the result is political instability and consequently endless violence (Moyo, 2010). The situation in the Congo is a perfect example here and my research aims to
delve into this loophole in detail in an effort to propose the way forward for the people of Congo.

2.3 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

The subject of international relations basically involves dealings between states; hence international politics falls under this cocoon. The inter-relation between the countries engaging in the war in the DRC thus entails an aspect of international relations focusing on political interests. Evidently, there is an inter-play of several theories in the paper. However, this part of the study shall focus on the two key concepts: conflict and aid.

2.3.1 Conflict

The conflict is as a result of the rich minerals abundant in Congo; it remains the major cause of the war in the country. The study of conflict is important to many international relations theorists; especially the Realists, they give a good explanation regarding the conflict in DRC. To Realists, war/conflict is necessary so long as it serves a nation’s interests; and the key towards achieving these interests is power operating through national interest. Hence there is need for the struggle of power in the anarchical nature of the international system as a whole (Morgenthau, 1978).

Rwanda and Uganda as sovereign states are engaging in conflict with DRC in order to benefit from the resources available in the country. They are purely driven by national interests and are using power through funds from aid to fuel the crisis in Congo so as to continue with the looting. They are trying to survive in an anarchical system that has no rules.
Johan Galtung further describes conflict as actors in pursuit of incompatible goals (Galtung, 1973). This is true in the case of Congo. There are several actors involved; they include militia groups, insurgencies, neighbouring states and international corporations. These actors are clearly in pursuit of incompatible goals in that as much as the key interest is dominance over Congo’s vast minerals, they cannot agree on how to share it equitably. Hence they use all sorts of excuses such as external intervention and protection of their own borders in order to pursue their selfish interests. It is clearly a situation of survival for the fittest.

However, Edward Azar best describes the conflict in the DRC in his theory of Protracted Social Conflict. He states that this type of conflict refers to hostile relations between communal entities based on deep-rooted hatreds that are either ethnic, racial, cultural or religious in nature and that take place over long periods of time sparked by sporadic episodes of violence. The struggle is over basic needs such as recognition, security, acceptance, equal economic development and justice among others and this leads to a situation whereby the majority is then dominated by a small group of elites and consequently oppressed (Fisher & Ronald, 2001).

Azar further states that there are four key preconditions to this type of conflict. One is the communal content which denotes people dividing themselves into identity groups whereby some of these groups end up dominating others and widening the gap between such groups; there is no element of national identity in this sense. The second precondition is the deprivation of basic human needs while the third is the existence of weak governments with centralized power. Lastly, Azar names international linkages as the last precondition of such violence; this includes reliance on an external supply of arms among other things (Ibid).
It goes without saying that Edward Azar has best captured the type of conflict Congo is experiencing. All the above key conditions to such conflict are present; Congo’s war involves many players including a weak government and international identities impoverishing the masses who lack even the most basic of needs. Moreover, it is true as per Azar’s theory that Congo’s conflict can be traced to deep-rooted hatreds such as the Hutu-Tutsi ethnic violence that spilled over to DRC during the Rwandan genocide era and that there are sporadic violent bursts attributed to such factors to date.

2.3.2 Aid

The concept of aid, on the other hand, falls under the umbrella of foreign aid which is a factor attributed to the recent advent of Globalization. As a result, it is closely associated with issues of development and dependency. It has therefore drawn more criticism over the years especially with regard to its connection to the under-development in the Global South. According to William Easterly, the programme of international foreign aid is commonly characterized by patronizing, westernized and post-colonial approach (Guardian Unlimited, 2005). This in turn capitulates dependency and not economic development in today’s free markets.

The concept of foreign aid can therefore be said to be closely linked to the development theory. The conception of international foreign aid (otherwise known as development aid) can be traced back to the early 1950’s and the era of the Marshall Plan. Foreign development assistance was however practiced earlier on during the colonial period when colonial empires used these investments to exploit regions under their control for the benefit of their host nations. It is for this reason that foreign aid is still closely associated with the colonialism aspect (Ravi Kanbur, 2003).
The modern concept of development assistance however dates back to the period when the Second World War was ending and the Marshall Plan of bilateral assistance was hatched. International institutions such as the IMF and World Bank (created in 1944 during the Bretton Woods Conference) and also the UN were then used to facilitate the dispersing of the aid. The focus was to try rebuild Europe which had suffered devastating effects of the war in an effort to stabilize the international market. This assistance later on spread to South America and lastly, Sub-Saharan Africa in order of priority. Economic growth was thus the main objective of foreign aid and development theory from the 1940's to the 1960's (Ibid).

Things took an ugly turn during the period of 1970's- 1980's. International relations experienced its most turbulent times. The development assistance to South America widened the divide between the rich and the poor. There was great dependency on foreign aid by the recipient countries as many fell back on their debt. The conditionalities known as Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP's) attached to the aid such as fiscal and monetary austerity measures, privatization and financial liberation of capital goods did not help matters. Africa was not an exemption as indicated by the oil crisis of 1973-1979. This occasioned huge amounts being lent to Organization of Petroleum Producing Countries (OPEC) worsening the debt crisis (Ibid).

The international community then shifted its focus towards debt-relief and poverty reduction and it was during this period that international foreign aid and the development theory were intertwined to try and boost development for countries in debt. This did not help matters and in 1997, the financial crisis in Asia hit hard. The subject of foreign aid and the development theory drew in criticism worldwide. The policies of foreign aid were questioned as dependency by developing countries increased. In the 21st Century, specifically in the year
2000, the international community developed a new initiative known as Millennium Development Goals (MDG’s) providing benchmarks aimed at eradicating poverty by the year 2015 (Erick Thorbecke, 2005). The initiative is yet to bear any fruits as of today. International foreign aid therefore continues to be associated with Africa's underdevelopment and the problems accompanying it such as perpetual conflict owing to the policies attached to it.

The school of thought of Dependency, on the other hand, best captures aspects of development vis-à-vis underdevelopment closely associated with foreign aid under this study. Under this school, the periphery (poor) states such as the South depend on the core (rich) states in the North for survival. However, these states are further subdivided between the proletariats (the poor people and the bourgeoisie (elite). Therefore, the main conceptual assumption of this theory relates to the fact that the elites from both the core and periphery states perpetuate structural dominance whereby the proletariats remain the victims of the system; the conflict is structural violence in nature just like DRC’s conflict.

The parties to the said conflict belong to the elite class from both the core and periphery states. The former is giving aid to the latter with the full knowledge that the same will be used for military purposes aimed at continuing the state of unrest in Congo so as to loot the resources available. Hence both classes will benefit from this perspective, but at the expense of the poor civilians who then become the victims of this vicious cycle of conflict.
2.4 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has sought to comprehensively delve into the theories and concepts surrounding the subject of the war in Congo. It has aimed to highlight the key ideas the study hopes to expound on so as to get a better understanding of the subject matter.
CHAPTER THREE

3.0 CASE STUDY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter captures the heart of the study. It is divided into three main sections. The first part explains the intricate nature of the conflict in the DRC by highlighting the key historical events that relate to the war in the region and the underlying core issues. The second part explores the involvement of Rwanda and Uganda in the conflict. The third part delves into the issue of foreign aid and how it has affected the escalating war in the DRC. Here, the study aims to link how aid given to Rwanda and Uganda is used to continue the instability in the DRC.

3.2 The Crisis in the Congo

Map 2- Map of the Democratic Republic of Congo
Source- www.hrw.org/reports/2005/drc0505/index.htm
The war in Congo is an interesting but complex subject. This is attributed to several factors such as its size, large population and the many ethnic communities present in the region. The DRC is an extremely large country situated in Central Africa as illustrated in map 2 above. It is the second-largest state in the African Continent and the eleventh-largest in the world. It is divided into ten major provinces comprising of Equateur, Katanga, Bandundu, Maniema, Bas-Congo, Province Orientale, Kasai-Oriental, Kasai-Occidental, Nord-Kivu and Sud-Kivu; and one city province known as Kinshasa; also portrayed in the map. It has a population of over 71 million inhabitants speaking more than 242 ethnic languages mostly comprising of Bantus. However, French is the official language (The World Factbook, 2012).

The DRC has experienced the longest and most destructive conflict ever recorded in the history of her soils over the last 50 years. This conflict has come to be popularly known as ‘Africa's World War’ (Montague, 2002). It is evidenced by resurgent violence and ethnic hatred. To understand the conflict in Congo, it is important to go back to her historical roots.

3.2.1 The Pre-Colonial Period (Before 1885)

The existence of the DRC can be traced back to 80,000 years ago. However, its formal habitation is rooted to the period between 14th and 18th Centuries when the powerful Kingdom of Kongo existed. It occupied what is now northern Angola, Congo-Brazaville and Cabinda. It was one of the most dominant kingdoms in the region and was famous for trading in slaves and other items such as ivory, cloth, copper and pottery with its neighbours. It existed peacefully until it encountered wars with the Portuguese between the 15th and 16th Century. The Portuguese finally won in 1665 and stayed in the Atlantic Coast until the Europeans came to explore the region in the 18th Century and started colonialism. Below is a map of the said once powerful Kingdom of Kongo.
3.2. The Colonial Period (1885-1960)

This period is important in understanding the history of the DRC conflict because it was a time whereby the country was under the influence of the Belgian authority. Moreover, the rampant plunder of the resources of Congo can be rooted to this period. This section of the study shall be divided into two key eras: firstly, the Congo Free State and secondly, the Belgian Congo.
3.2.2.1 Congo Free State (1885-1908)

King Leopold II of Belgium (a Constitutional Monarch) gained his sights on the mineral-rich Congo in the 1870's while exploring potential colonies and sought to acquire full control of the territory during the Berlin Conference of 1885 by making it his private property. He allied himself with powerful shell companies and managed to form a non-governmental organization called 'Association Internationale African' in which he became the sole stakeholder and chairman. He succeeded in his quest via the said organization and named his newly acquired territory the 'Congo Free State'. However, his interests were purely for personal gain as he set about exploiting Congo's rubber using local labour as there was a high demand for the commodity in the international market. He got extremely wealthy from the trade and used the profits gained to further facilitate his exploitation and construct buildings in his country under his name (Keyes, 2004).

Leopold's exploitation of the local natives was brutal since millions of these people died out of starvation and disease. But perhaps the most heinous act committed by Leopold's government; the 'Force Publique' was the cutting of limbs during the timber-extraction expeditions. Those locals who failed to meet the threshold of supplying set quotas of ivory and rubber sold at fixed low prices were killed and their limbs cut off. Even the children were not spared as can be seen from figure 1 below. Other means of enforcing the quotas was through inhuman punishments such as rape, imprisonment, burning and torture of rebellious villagers. The blatantly brutal nature of Leopold's rule finally saw an international outcry criticizing his practice and pressure mounted for his removal from Congo (Hochschild, 1999).
3.2.2.2 Belgian Congo (1908-1960)

Following massive international protests, King Leopold II of Belgium was ultimately forced to relinquish his hold of the Congo territory and hand her to a reluctant Belgian parliament on 15th November, 1908. Under the Belgian administration, the Congo Free State was renamed
the ‘Belgian Congo’. The lives of the Congolese people improved; for example, forced labour and the punishments associated with Leopold’s rule ended. However, the patronizing attitude started by the former administration continued since the Belgian colony did not bother to educate local Congolese people who would later become black leaders. Nevertheless, the Belgian Congo brought about some economic and social progress such as investments in infrastructure, healthcare facilities and housing but the exploitation of Congo’s resources continued unabated. Congo became one of the leading world suppliers of ores and rubber (Mwesiga, 2011).

Towards the end of the 1950’s, there was an international pressure calling for decolonization of territories. The Belgian colony also faced serious opposition from the locals. All efforts to try and hold talks with the local Congolese leaders failed including the scheduled Brussels meeting of January 1960. And since the Belgians did not want a colonial war, they held a hasty election in May and on the 30th of that month, the Congo; also known as ‘Congo-Leopoldville’ became an independent state under the name ‘Republic of Congo’. Patrice Lumumba; a once jailed leader and head of the Mouvement National Congolais (MNC) was elected as the Prime Minister and the Head of Government while Joseph Kasavubu of the Alliance des Bakongo (ABAKO) party was elected President by Parliament. The crisis of the post-colonial period followed (Ibid).
3.2.3 The Post Colonial Period (1960-2003)

This period saw a series of crisis after crisis in the newly independent state. It has been broken down into several eras starting with the uprising between 1960 and 1965, Mobutu Sese Seko’s reign, the First Civil War and the Second Civil War.

3.2.3.1 The Political Crisis (1960-1965)

A few weeks after achieving her independence, the newly independent Republic of Congo was plunged into chaos. The provinces of Katanga (led by strongman Moïse Tshombe) and South Kasai carried out secessionist struggles against the new government. More than 100,000 Belgians fled the country due to the increasing violence. Tshombe shielded off the Congolese army attacks with the help of Belgain forces interested in key mining areas in Katanga. Prime Minister Lumumba; a Socialist, then called for support from the Soviet Union (USSR) who gave him military aid and several advisers. The war continued. The UN called in its troops to try and intervene and in December 1961, a bloody campaign saw South Kasai recaptured. Tshombe was also defeated after lengthy clashes with the UN and by January, 1963, Katanga was forcefully re-integrated into Congo. Thus between the period of 1960 and 1963, several leaders took over the Government in quick succession and they included Joseph Ileo, Cyrille Adoula and Moïse Tshombe (Gondola, 2002).

During the aforesaid period and more specifically soon after independence, relations between Lumumba and Kasavubu soured and on 5th September, 1960, Kasavubu dismissed Lumumba as the Prime Minister. Lumumba resisted this move and termed it unconstitutional.

General Joseph Mobutu who had been formerly appointed by Lumumba as the Chief of Staff of the new Congolese Army Armée Nationale Congolaise (ANC) was pressured by the
Belgian and US governments who were anti-Communists to intervene in the situation. He created a mutiny with the help of Belgium and US support and led a coup in 1965 that saw Lumumba put under house arrest. He later escaped to Kisangani but was captured and taken to Lubumbashi where he was tortured and executed in January, 1961 in the presence of Belgian and US officials and the CIA (Ludo, 2001).

President Kasavubu remained in power and Tshombe from Katanga replaced Lumumba as Prime Minister. In 1964, Pierre Mulele; a supporter of Maoist movement and Lumumba's policies of socialism launched a rebellion and managed to occupy two thirds of the Country. He also sought help from China but once again, US and Belgian intervened and used Mobutu to stop Mulele's efforts. He was later tricked and captured by Mobutu and also publicly tortured to death. General Mobutu struck yet again by organizing a coup in 1965 in a fake attempt of intervening between Kasavubu and Tshombe who had disagreed with each other. He took over the government and changed the country's name to the 'Democratic Republic of the Congo'. Hence this period from 1960 to 1965 experienced widespread violence and came to be known as the 'Congo Crisis' (Gondola, 2002).

3.2.3.2 The Reign of Mobutu (1965-1996)

Soon after taking control of the country with the support of Belgian and US forces, Mobutu placed it in a state of emergency and sought to eliminate all threats to his leadership such as weakening the Parliament and abolishing all the independent trade unions. He also established a one-party system and launched his own party; the Popular Movement of the Revolution (MPR) which he ensured had no opponents. He then declared himself Head of State and held periodic elections in which he was the sole candidate and hence won without
opposition. He drafted a Constitution that suited his interests and those of his cronies. He renamed the country 'Republic of Zaire' and himself 'Mobutu Sese Seko' in 1972 (Ibid).

Mobutu's support from the Western powers grew especially during the Cold War era, he continued receiving economic aid and political support for his regime due to his anti-Communism stance especially since neighbouring states like Angola had already been Communized by the USSR; hence it is this fear of spread of Communism across Africa that prompted the Western powers to support leaders like Mobutu. As a result, Mobutu became extremely wealthy from these perks in addition to profits gained from exploiting his country's resources. He is said to have amassed over $5 billion dollars in foreign accounts by the time he left office which was an amount similar to the country's national debt. Hence his government was awash with corruption and impunity as they sought to only enrich themselves at the detriment of the local Congolese people. During his reign, the national infrastructure deteriorated, virtually no development took place and gross human rights violations were carried out on those who stood in his way. His dictatorship way of ruling saw Congo grow into one of the world's most failed states (Ibid).

Towards the end of the Cold War period, USSR dissolved and Western powers no longer felt the need to support their counterparts in the South. Mobutu's allies from the North turned against him. Local opposition groups rose and the Congolese people rebelled against Mobutu's unscrupulous regime. The country held its first multi-party election in 1991 but things did not change. Violent conflicts broke out among the various fighting groups and Congo's economy spiraled into further destruction. Pressure mounted for Mobutu's removal from power as the chaos continued relentlessly. What followed was the First Congo War.
3.2.3 The First Civil War of Congo (1996-1998)

By mid-1990's, the continuous violence in the Congo had created a weak central government. As a result, various local rebel groups developed and took refuge away from Kinshasa in Eastern Zaire which had experienced endless ethnic strife among its locals. For example, the region of Kivu in Eastern Congo had seen many conflicts between local ethnic tribes and the Tutsis who had been brought by the Belgians in late 19th century from neighbouring Rwanda (Prunier, 2009).

Congo's first civil war was however sparked off by the spillover effects of the Rwandan genocide in 1994 that saw over 1.5 million Hutu and Tutsi Rwandan refugees flee towards Eastern Congo. Part of the refugees were Hutu militias who were responsible for instigating the genocide, they led an onslaught against the Tutsi refugees who had fled from Rwanda and also native Congolese Tutsi (also known as the Banyamulenge). They further organized attacks against the newly-installed Tutsi Government back home in an effort to overthrow it. Mobutu did nothing to stop the violence and instead supported the activities of the Hutu rebels (Reid, 2006).

The Tutsi-led Rwandan government sought to retaliate by training and supporting the Tutsi militias occupying the Congo and in August, 1996, serious fighting broke out when the Tutsis in the Kivu provinces led a rebellion against the Hutu rebels occupying the region with the aim of gaining control of both North and South Kivu. The group drew in local opposition rebels against Mobutu's regime and united as the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (AFDL). It was largely supported by Rwandan and Ugandan governments. The Zairian army was weak despite calling in support from Angola and the group managed to control most of Eastern Congo. They further took the war to the capital;
Kinshasa which eventually led to the overthrow of the government of Mobutu Sese seko in May 1997. Under AFDL influence, Laurent-Desire Kabila was installed as the new President and General James Kaberebe, a Rwandese, as chief of the armed forces. The main objective of this queer relationship was to enable the control of the country’s mass minerals as shall be explained later in the study. Kabila then changed the country’s name from Zaire to the Democratic Republic of Congo (Dagne, 2011).

3.2.3.4 The Second Civil War of Congo (1998-2003)

Once in power, President Laurent Kabila attempted to expel all foreign troops from the DRC in 1998. However, this move did not go well with some of his neighbouring counterparts. For example, matters deteriorated between President Laurent Kabila and his Rwandan and Ugandan allies owing to this reason, the relationship worsened within one year. A mutiny broke out in 1998 in Goma between Hutu and Tutsi rebels plunging the country into a second civil strife that saw many lives lost. Rwanda, Uganda (and Burundi) found the perfect opportunity to invade the country a second time purporting to chase their rebels who were engaging in the war and further claiming that Kabila had failed to deal with the Hutu militia. Kabila then sought help from Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe and also Chad, Libya and Sudan and for the next several years the parties engaged in the second deadliest conflict ever witnessed in the DRC. The war was a cover to loot the country’s resources; for example, Uganda and Rwanda fought over the diamond trade in Kisangani, a city in northern DRC in August 1999 (Reid, 2006).

In July, 1999, a peace agreement was signed between the parties to the conflict. The leaders of Congo, Rwanda, Uganda, Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe agreed to the withdrawal of foreign troops from the DRC and to settle out their differences through political dialogue as
some of the key objectives. The former Botswana President, Sir Ketumile Masire was appointed the facilitator of the peace process. However, the talks collapsed following Kabila’s assassination by one of his security guards in 2001. UN peacekeepers under the United Nations Organization Mission in the DRC (MONUC) then came in to attempt to quell the chaos. Kabila’s son, Joseph Kabila assumed presidency a few weeks later. Nevertheless, the conflict continued; in 2002, ethnic clashes broke out in the northeast. However, after a series of torturous peace talks under a South African UN mission, all parties on board finally agreed to withdraw their foreign troops from Congo and to establish a transitional government (Dagne, 2011).

The All-Inclusive Agreement was finally signed in Pretoria, South Africa by the parties namely: the DRC government; the Movement for the Congolese Liberation (MLC); the Congolese Democratic Rally (RCD-Goma); and the representatives of other party groups. The transitional government comprising of President Kabila and four vice-presidents was finally sworn into office on July, 2003 (Ibid). Although the war was finally declared over in 2003, Eastern Congo still continues to be unstable (Polman, 2010).

1.4 Congo’s Transitional Government (2003-2006)

Joseph Kabila was president of the transitional government until 30th July, 2006 when DRC conducted its first multi-party elections since her independence. Kabila got the majority of the votes. However, chaos erupted soon after the disputed elections between Kabila’s supporters and rival Jean-Pierre Bemba’s supporters. MONUC and the Congo police had to intervene to subdue the crisis. On 29th October, 2006, a second election had to be conducted in which Kabila won with a landslide of 70% of the votes. This marked the end of the transitional government; Kabila was then officially sworn in as President (Dagne, 2011).
3.2.5 DRC’s Current Government (2006- Date)

The fragility of the new DRC has suffered numerous challenges posed by several factors such as ethnic tensions and external interference linked to her historical roots. Shortly after the swearing in of President Kabila, a proxy war continued between Rwanda and the Kinshasa government. In October, 2008, the notorious warlord believed to be backed by Rwanda; General Laurent Nkunda who was the commander of the National Congress for the Defence of the People (CNDP) led an attack against the DRC Armed Forces (FARDC) in eastern Congo. His aim was to destroy the Hutu rebels from the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) by attacking FARDC as he believed the government was backing FDLR. The conflict ended when Rwanda agreed to join forces with the DRC government to combat FDLR militia in North and South Kivu provinces. In addition, General Nkunda was taken out of DRC and confined to house arrest in Rwanda (Ibid).

Therefore, despite the installation of a new government, Congo continued experiencing continuous strife that threatened to plunge the country into another civil war. In 2011, DRC held another general election and Kabila once again won after securing more than 50% of the overall votes. Today, despite putting his best efforts to bring peace to Congo, President Joseph Kabila is in charge of a deeply fragmented country torn apart by continuous violence, ethnic hatred, political instability, neo-colonialism perpetuated by exploitative mining corporations and false interventions, and a crippled economy (Autesserre, 2010).
3.3 Key Underlying Factors at the Core of the Conflict

The unending conflict in Africa's second-largest country; the DRC is attributed to several key factors including ethnicity, resources, bad governance and foreign interference. They are discussed as follows:-

3.3.1 Ethnicity

Ethnic conflicts, especially in Africa, are often deep-rooted. This is because they are closely associated with issues of religion, race, identity and language which gives one a sense of belonging. As a result, these conflicts are complex and often difficult to resolve due to the diversity of cultures. The sense of belonging causes people to acquire more power through resources hence ethnic conflicts are mostly manifested by competition over scarce resources. They can also be attributed to the colonial factor in that colonial powers practiced the 'divide and rule' method which capitalized on isolating the various ethnic groups and pitting them against each other so as to act as a diversion to distract them from rising against the colonial rulers (Godwin, 2005).

Tensions in a country, especially those that are ethnic in nature are mostly associated with fighting over resources as explained above. They are further complicated by deeply rooted patterns of both internal and external migration and displacement which result in conflicts between the indigenous people and the immigrant groups. Therefore, a large presence of refugees in a country often tends to exacerbate conflict (Paddon and Lacaille, 2011). This has been the case in the DRC.

The DRC is a large country with over 200 ethnic groups living in it. This large presence of ethnic communities comprise of both indigenous and migrant inhabitants. As a result,
fighting over resources is rampant in the country due to the diversity of cultures. However, this study focuses on two key rival ethnic groups that have largely contributed to the continuous conflict in the DRC: the Hema/Lendu and Hutu/Tutsi ethnic conflicts.

3.3.1.1 The Hema/Lendu Ethnic Conflict

Map 4- The Ituri Region in Northeast DRC
Source: https://en.wikipedia.org

The ethnic tension between the Hema and Lendu communities has taken place in the Ituri Region of northeast DRC as can be seen from map 4 above; hence it has come to be known as the 'Ituri Conflict'. It can be traced to the colonial era when the Belgian colony is said to have favoured the predominantly pastoralist Hema over their agriculturalist Lendu counterparts. The wealth and education disparity between the communities widened as a result deepening the hatred between them. The first conflict manifested itself in 1972 over the misuse of the system of land law applied at the time that allowed people with money to buy land and gain full ownership after two years if no longer legally contested. The Hema took advantage and forced many Lendu families from their homes using the wealth they had
accumulated over the years. Conflict erupted again in 1985 and 1996 over the same issue (Gough, 2000).

However, the ethnic conflict between the Hema and the Lendu turned regional during the Second Congo War that began in 1998. Most of northern DRC was invaded and controlled by Uganda People’s Defence Force (UPDF) headed by James Kazini and Kisangani faction backed by Uganda- Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD-K) that was headed by Ernest Wamba dia Wamba (Ibid).

In June, 1999, differences arose between the two rebel leaders when Kazini created a new province; Ituri in eastern Orientale Province and installed a new Hema governor. The Lendu were then convinced that the Uganda government and RCD-K were supporting the Hema and leading attacks against them. Chaos that erupted were fuelled by the borrowing of the Hutu-Tutsi ideology that was associated with the 1994 Rwanda Genocide in that the Hema related themselves to the Hutu while the Lendu viewed themselves as Tutsi (Human Rights Watch, 2003). This led to the **Blukwa Massacre** in which more than 400 Hemas were slaughtered by the Lendus (Gough, 2000).

Both the UPDF and the RCD-K continued fighting over the leadership of the new Ituri province and the groups further fragmented. The war was finally declared over in 2003 but fighting in the Ituri region continued. This was occasioned by a weak internal authority and the fighting over mineral resources by the various rebel groups still present in the region. The UN Observer Mission sent in troops- MONUC to bring peace in the region. By April, 2003, over 7,000 Ugandan troops had withdrawn from the Ituri region. The struggle to ensure complete withdrawal of militia still operating in northern DRC following peace deals
continued up to 2007 when the last of the militia rebel groups still present— the Lendu Nationalist and Integrationist Front (FNI) surrendered its weapons (Allen, 2006).

3.3.1.2 The Hutu/Tutsi Ethnic Conflict

The ethnic conflict between the Hutu and the Tutsi communities has long been associated with several countries including Rwanda, Burundi, the DRC and even Uganda. However, the two ethnic tribes are known to have initially originated from Rwanda. In the case of DRC, their origin is rooted to late 19th Century when the Belgian administration who were also colonizing Rwanda brought into Congo some Tutsis. They eventually settled in the Kivu region in Eastern Congo. This move did not sit well with the indigenous Congolese people and they led attacks against their intruders in a series of communal wars (Prunier, 2009).

To understand the Hutu/Tutsi factor in the DRC conflict, it is important to look into a brief history of the two rival groups in their native Rwanda. During the pre-colonial period, the Tutsis were considered of a higher social status than their majority Hutu counterparts. They continued to prosper until the arrival of the Germans who colonized them. The colonizers eventually lost their power over the country and the Belgian administration took over control.

During the 1950's when most countries were fighting for their independence, a Hutu-dominated political movement enjoying majority support led an attack against the Tutsis that lasted from 1959 to 1962 killing hundreds of them and forcing thousands others to flee to neighbouring countries such as Tanzania and Zaire. The Tutsis lost their high social standing and the Hutu took over government upon attaining independence in 1962 (Ibid).

Ethnic tension between the two tribal groups escalated following independence. The Tutsi refugees in Zaire and Tanzania staged attacks against the Hutu government and targets
between 1962-1967. This then occasioned retaliatory killings targeting native Tutsis in Rwanda and by the end of 1980's, over 400,000 Rwandan refugees had fled to Uganda, Burundi, Tanzania and Zaire. The said refugees most of who were Tutsis aligned themselves with local forces in an effort to reform their government and seek repatriation of those in exile by joining groups such as the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) founded in Kampala, Uganda in 1988. The RPF launched systematic attacks against the government in Rwanda with backing from Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni. This civil war continued for several years (Ibid).

In 1994, the face of the war took a different turn following the assassination of the Presidents of both Rwanda and Burundi in a plane crash that was occasioned by a rocket missile on 6th April, 1994. What followed was massive violent killings targeting the Tutsi ethnic group by Hutu militia. An estimated one million people perished as a result and more than 250,000 women were raped in a span of a few weeks. It was a massacre of unimaginable proportion that left the world gaping in shock. Eventually, the UN Security Council sent a French-led force known as 'Operation Turquoise' on 22nd June, 1994 to carry out a humanitarian operation that saved thousands of civilians in Southwest Rwanda who managed to flee the country. However, among these refugees were the militia, soldiers and officials who had instigated the genocide. The killings finally ended on July, 4 when the RPF militarily took control of the entire country. Paul Kagame; a Tutsi, took over the presidency (Ibid).

Much of the Hutu/Tutsi conflict from the period of Rwandan genocide discussed above has been captured in the First and Second Congo wars already expounded upon earlier in the study. However, in a nutshell, the Hutu refugees who had fled to Congo settled on the eastern part, regrouped and fought both the Tutsi refugees who had fled Rwanda and the indigenous
Tutsi (Banyamulenge) inhabiting the Kivu region of DRC. They also sought to attack the
Tutsi-led government back home. Paul Kagame retaliated and sent in troops to invade Congo
in an effort to flush out the Hutu insurgencies fighting his government. The clashes marked
the First Congo war of 1996 that attracted forces against Mobutu's rule. They united as
AFDL and Mobutu was eventually ousted from power in 1997 with Laurent Kabila being
installed as the new President. In 1998, ethnic clashes between Hutu and Tutsi factions broke
out in Goma. External forces comprising of Rwanda, Uganda, Angola, Zimbabwe and
Namibia among others engaged in what became known as Second Congo War. The tension
continued until 2001 when Laurent Kabila was assassinated and his son Joseph Kabila took
over power. He has sought to hold several peace talks over the years with the fighting rebels
in his country in an effort to establish lasting peace. Nevertheless, the ethnic tension between
the Hutu and Tutsi communities continued to plague Eastern DRC and remains a thorny issue
associated with the DRC conflict.

3.3.2 Resources

From map 5 below, it is evident that the DRC is abundant with mineral resources; especially
on the Eastern side. These minerals include gold, diamonds, coltan, cobalt, cassiterite,
manganese, uranium, copper, zinc, germanium, wolfram, silver, lead and iron. They have
been a major cause of the conflict in DRC. However, not all these minerals are a source of
the conflict, certain key minerals that fetch value on the international market are what have
attracted the various fighting groups in the region. They are: Tin, Tantalum, Tungsten and
Gold. They have therefore come to be specially categorized as 'Conflict Minerals' (BSR,
2010). For this key reason, Eastern DRC is abound with fighting insurgencies aiming to
control the mining sites of these special category of minerals.
CONGO KINSHASA

Map 5-Mineral Occurrences in the Democratic Republic of Congo

Mineral indicator:
Cb = niobium  W = wolfram (a.k.a. tungsten)  Co = cobalt  Au = gold  Ta = tantalum
Dm = diamond
Sn = tin  Zn = zinc  Cu = copper  Mn = Manganese  Cem = cement  RE = rare earths
Pet = petroleum.

Source: United States Geological Survey, Congo Kinshasa ‘map’ and ‘key’, undated
documents, at http://minerals.usgs.gov/minerals/pubs/country/africa.html#cg
The fighting insurgencies comprise of both local and external rebel units and militias; they use proceeds from the looted minerals to fund themselves. They benefit from the trade by either controlling the mining areas directly or by illegally taxing the trade and transport of minerals along routes under their control. It is difficult to give an exact estimate of profits gained from the said minerals and link them to the various rebel armed groups. However, in 2008, an estimated $185 million is said to have been amassed in profit by the rebels from trading in the minerals of DRC (Ibid). The pie chart below shows a comparative value of profits gained from the conflict minerals in 2008.

**Figure 2: Comparative Value of DRC Minerals**

![Pie chart showing comparative value of DRC minerals]


Currently, the leading conflict mineral in terms of its value in the dollar is Tin which is produced from the Cassiterite ore. The strength of its value can also be seen from the computed values in figure 2 above. It is commonly used in making electronics, stainless-steel materials, glass products among other goods. DRC is approximated as the sixth leading producer of the mineral worldwide pulling in 6-7% of its production globally. More than half of Tin is deposited in North Kivu in the Bisie mine and has therefore attracted various
fighting insurgencies over the years. It is currently under the control of the Congolese army (Ibid).

Resultantly, majority of the Congolese inhabitants have come to depend on the mineral trade for survival. The World Bank estimated in 2010 that 10 million Congolese people depended on the minerals for survival while over one million people in the Great Lakes Region were also dependent economically on the same (Ibid). Thus the competition over mineral resources in the DRC is closely linked to the continuous conflict in the country. Its history of weak institutions does not also help matters.

3.3.3 Bad Governance

The DRC has been plagued by weak governing institutions since the post-colonial times. The sheer massive size of the country in itself has contributed to this situation owing to the diversity of the population, and hence the tendency to disagree on power sharing. However, its history of selfish elites who have sought to plunder the country's resources at the expense of the majority has also played a part.

Bad governance has a rather long lineage in the DRC and is notably associated with Mobutu Sese Seko's regime (1965-1997) whereby he is said to have exerted little control over most of the country hence the nickname 'Mayor of Kinshasa'. His government was riddled with corruption and impunity as his administration is said to have amassed wealth from unscrupulous dealings. Thus Mobutu set the pace for what has continued to halt DRC's growth to date; weak institutions. Moreover, the DRC is currently ranked as the fourth most failed state worldwide in the Failed State Index with over half of its state budget funded by the World Bank, IMF and African Development Bank (Foreign Policy, 2011). The provision
of social goods and services has also been tasked on international humanitarian agencies spread across the country.

The weakness of state institutions in the DRC is worsened by the precarious security situation in the country. This has led to the existence of porous borders that have drawn in external rebel groups to join in the exploitation of the resources in the country. The corruption prevalent among the state officials has also ensured lack of remuneration for the country's soldiers; a habit rooted to Mobutu's regime, who have instead joined the several militia and rebel insurgencies operating in Congo in an attempt to better their lives. The DRC government has therefore come to be termed as criminal in nature (malfaiteur) due to such practices and this has further complicated the security efforts in the DRC (Paddon and Lacaille, 2011).

Consequently, one author best captures the situation in the Congo. He states that Congo can virtually be said to have ceased existing as a state empirically speaking (Reyntjens, 2007). Another author, Englebert, brings out the paradox of DRC's existence by stating, "The State of Congo is maintained, in order for it to be emptied of its substance" (2006). Both these authors rightly reflect the situation in the Congo as their statements connote the weak institutions prevalent in the country. As a result, external interference is common.

### 3.3.4 External Interference

It is closely associated with the country's porous borders owing to the weak institutions that have failed to maintain security. Congo has had a long history of external interference but the most notable is rooted to the spillover effects of the 1994 Rwanda genocide in which millions of Rwandese fled and settled on the Eastern part of Congo (the Kivu region). What followed
was the First Congo War that lasted from 1996-1998. This situation marked the beginning of massive external interference of Congo by many neighbouring and foreign countries who invaded the country in the name of intervening in the crisis.

The invasions brought an influx of arms into Congo and also rebel insurgencies acting as proxies for the various foreign countries with interest in DRC’s plush resources. They have mostly settled in Eastern DRC which is abundant with mineral resources and have continued causing endemic conflicts in the region to date.

3.4 The Involvement of Rwanda and Uganda in the DRC Conflict

Congo has never experienced real peace since the inception of her independence in 1960. The country has been plunged in endless internal and external conflict, massive corruption and impunity, mineral exploitation, ethnic violence and political instability among other problems which have been discussed in the preceding paragraphs. Those responsible for the conflict are many but this study is focused on the involvement of Rwanda and Uganda.

3.4.1 Rwanda’s Role

The involvement of Rwanda in the DRC crisis is fairly recent. However, its continued presence in Congo has raised questions among policy-makers and this study seeks to establish why. Eastern Congo is plush with mineral resources. It is also notorious for its porous borders. It therefore made it easy for her neighbour Rwanda to invade the country in 1996 in the name of following its own rebels who had found a hide-out there. This was following Rwanda’s Genocidal war of 1994 that saw the overthrow of the Hutu regime by the Tutsi-dominated military group; the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) whereby millions of Rwandese were then said to have fled into the neighbouring Zaire at the time for fear of their
lives under the new regime. Their flight was facilitated by the intervention of the UN which sent French troops who provided a safe zone under the cover of 'Operation Turquoise' (Reid, 2006).

However, some of these refugees were the Hutu militia who had caused the genocide in the first place; they then allied themselves with Mobutu's government and continued their attacks against the ethnic Tutsis of Congo who had lived there for many years and also those who had fled the genocide. They also conducted regular raids across the country into Rwanda. Following the lack of intervention in the renewed crisis by the UN and government of Zaire, Rwanda took matters into its hands and retaliated (Ibid).

Their invasion into Congo was therefore based on two factors. Firstly, they were following the Hutu rebels who had fled the genocide together with their Tutsi counterparts and were posing great security risks to the new government in Rwanda. Secondly, they wanted to get rid of President Mobutu who had refused to disarm the dangerous rebels attacking Rwanda and to secure Rwanda's border. They therefore backed a Tutsi-dominated rebel group located in Eastern Zaire that drew in several other forces against Mobutu's rule. They united as the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo (AFDL) and installed Laurent Kabila as their leader (Barber, 1997). Massively backed by Rwanda, they took over Kinshasa in May 1997 overthrowing Mobutu from power and declaring Kabila as president (Beswick, 2009). This period marked the First Congo War (1996-1998) and indicated the first key involvement of Rwanda in the crisis in DRC.

The second key involvement of Rwanda followed soon after and was projected during the Second War of Congo (1998-2003). Once in power, Kabila realized it would be difficult to
shake off some of his supporters. For example, James Kaberebe, a Rwandan, became Chief of Staff of the DRC army under the influence of Kagame. Kabila then decided to call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops operating in his country. Rwanda did not take this lightly; they sought to join the Congolese Rally for Democracy (CRD) operating in Eastern Congo and launched a second deadly attack against the Kinshasa government in 1998. The crisis escalated in 2001 when President Laurent Kabila was assassinated by a bodyguard. Even with the accession of his son Joseph Kabila to power, Rwanda still had various troops operating in the Congo until 2003 when it withdrew most of them following peace deals with the new President Joseph Kabila (Beswick, 2012).

Despite the withdrawal of Rwandan troops from the DRC in 2003, Rwanda has continued facing allegations of being involved in the crisis on Congo. Two eminent scenarios come to mind. The first relates to the attacks instigated by the National Congress for the Defence of the People (CNDP) (made up of former Congolese army soldiers) which was under the leadership of Laurent Nkunda who was an ally of Rwanda and had helped challenge the previous regimes of Mobutu and Laurent Kabila. He used CNDP to attack and defeat the Congolese army and also the UN peace-keeping troops in DRC known as MONUC after his links and command of Eastern Congo were threatened. However, Rwanda intervened and put him under house arrest to avoid another full-scale war (Ibid).

The second and latest scenario involving Rwanda's involvement in the DRC conflict relates to the M23 group of rebels operating in DRC from 2012 to date. The name M23 came from the date of negotiations between Nkunda's former rebels in CNDP and Kabila's government that aimed to see the former rebels integrated into the Congolese army in March 23, 2009. However, citing poor military conditions and failure to implement the 2009 peace deal, the
former rebels left the group and formed the M23, they seized Goma and have continued leading attacks in Eastern DRC in the fight for resources. The UN Panel of Experts has reported that from their on-going investigations, there is evidence that Rwanda is currently backing the M23 by providing arms and military recruits; a fact Rwanda continues denying. Most of her donors cut back aid in 2012 but were left in a dilemma as to whether they could continue maintaining the aid supply or not due to several complex factors such as Rwanda providing many troops to the UN in the peace-keeping mission in Darfur (UN, 2001).

3.4.2 Uganda’s Role

Its involvement in the DRC crisis is also recent and although it has not been as outright as Rwanda’s, its motives are similar to Rwanda’s; they are both politically and economically-centered. Hence they have worked mutually as allies several times. Their relationship is historically motivated along ethnic ties, border security and military integration. For example, Yoweri Museveni formed the *Popular Resistance Movement* (PRA) which was predominantly Tutsi to overthrow Milton Obote’s regime in 1981. Its high-ranking officers were also refugee warriors of Tutsi origin and included Paul Kagame who would later form the RPF and use it to overthrow the Hutu regime in Rwanda during the genocide period of 1994 (Otunnu, 2003).

PRA later merged with the *Ugandan Freedom Fighters* (UFF) to form the *National Resistance Army* (NRA); also Tutsi-dominated that managed to overthrow Obote and install Museveni as President. Once both Kagame and Museveni were in power, they formed an alliance that sought to protect the Banyamulenge (ethnic Tutsis living in Zaire in the Kivu regions). They united under the AFDL in the First Congo War (1996-1998) in this quest and managed to overthrow Mobutu’s regime which had failed to intervene in attacks instigated by
rebel groups within Zaire such as Sudan-backed *Allied Democratic Forces* (ADF) against Uganda (Ibid).

From the foregoing paragraphs, Uganda's involvement in the crisis in DRC can therefore be said to be based on two key factors; the pursuing of rebels based in Congo threatening its security and preventing the likelihood of a renewed 'genocide' against the Banyamulenge. However, another key objective of its involvement relates to resource exploitation in the DRC. This has been evidenced by the rising export figures of minerals (some of which are not found in Uganda) over the years tabled by the UN Panel of Experts Report (UN, 2001). The UN has further stated that there is also evidence that Uganda has helped back the recently-formed M23 rebel group in 2012, although to a lesser extent, by providing military support just like her counterpart Rwanda. (UN, 2001). An important question then poses, 'where is the connection to the aid?'

### 3.5 The Aid Factor

Foreign aid as a subject of international relations has already been discussed in detail in the foregoing chapter. It is a concept developed in the 1950's and is closely associated with theories of development, globalization and dependency. However, this section shall aim to bring out the different faces of foreign aid in connection to the conflict in the DRC. Firstly, the components of aid shall be discussed in relation to the subject matter. Secondly, Rwanda and Uganda will be highlighted as key proxies for the aid donors causing the conflict in DRC whose sole objective is resource exploitation.
3.5.1 Components of Foreign Aid

Foreign aid can be defined as the "worldwide redistribution of resources to far-away peoples and places" (Martens, 2005). This connotes feelings of empathy by richer nations (the haves) towards those nations that are poor (the have-nots) despite belonging to different social classes (Carr, McAuliffe & MacLachlan, 1998). However, the most commonly used definition is provided by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and specifically the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) which defines foreign aid as Official Aid or 'Official Development Assistance' (ODA) which is aid given in form of loans or grants to countries listed as aid recipients on DAC's list which comprise of low income or Least Developed Countries (LDC's). ODA include humanitarian aid/ special assistance, debt reliefs, multilateral aid/ technical cooperation and bilateral developmental projects (Martens, 2005).

The OECD's main objective regarding ODA is that it is given to promote economic development and comes with financial terms that are concessional in nature. However, the real reasons as to why donors give aid purely depend on their interests behind the objectives. Aid can therefore be used to achieve two goals. Firstly, for geopolitical and economic interests (Holdar, 1995). Secondly, for real ethical and humanitarian concern for poverty (altruism) (Lumsdaine, 1993).

In the case of DRC, the donors obviously have "greater intentions" and therefore strategize to achieve maximum benefit. Top on the list is economic interest. Their sole intention is resource exploitation. One may wonder why they need to strategize in order to gain from DRC's resources. It all goes back to the special nature of Congo's resources which mostly comprise minerals that are abundant in the country. For example, bearing in mind that DRC...
is the world's top producer of Coltan which is used to manufacture automotive electronics, mobile phones and computers among other materials, the said donors from the Global North including the US and UK have found that the cheapest way to obtain such minerals at rock bottom prices is by using proxies.

They are not the first to use such means towards such an end. Proxy wars were common during the Cold War period as the two super powers at the time; the US and Soviet Union used proxies such as Angola, Korea, Afghanistan, Vietnam, Latin America and the Middle East so as to avoid a direct conflict that would lead to an all-out nuclear war. The conflict between Israel and Arab countries was another proxy war in the Cold War period with Israel acting as a proxy for the US while Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria were USSR's proxies (Dine, 2004). More recently, Qatar, Iran and Saudi Arabia are also fighting a proxy war in the uprising in Syria by sending help to the fighting factions in the country. They are fighting for regional dominance as the religious divide between the Shiites, Sunnis and Alawites now plays a minor role in the war (DW, Gorzewski, 3013).

3.5.2 Rwanda and Uganda as Proxies in the DRC Conflict

It is thus clear that when needs must, the strategy of using proxies is employed. It is in this light that this study intends to explore the aid given to both Rwanda and Uganda by the US, UK and IFI's and how the same is used to continue the conflict in the DRC by using the two countries as proxies. In other words, it investigates how foreign aid is given to one state for use in destabilizing another.

In consideration of aid as a factor in conflict, a number of facts come to mind. As stated earlier, when it is given, there are strings attached to it; it is not free. These expected
outcomes are called conditionalities and include privatization of state institutions, fiscal and austerity measures that entail opening up developing economies to exploitative foreign investment among other factors. Behind these conditions are the selfish interests of donor countries and institutions from the West giving the aid. More specifically, the US is notorious for demanding its fair share of gains from the recipients of her aid. For example, in the case of Congo, aid features majorly as a catalyst to the conflict. It is given by the donors to proxies such as Rwanda and Uganda for the sole purpose of facilitating the exploitation of Congo’s resources.

Mary Anderson captures the inter-play between aid and conflict by stating that "although aid agencies often seek to be neutral or non-partisan toward the winners and losers of a war, the impact of their aid is not neutral.....When given in conflict settings, aid can reinforce, exacerbate, and prolong the conflict; it can also reduce the tensions and strengthen people’s capacities to disengage from fighting and find peaceful options for solving problems. Often, an aid program does some of both. But in all cases aid given during conflict cannot remain separate from that conflict" (Anderson, 2000). In the case of DRC, aid has indeed been used to prolong the conflict by staging a proxy war whose main objective is looting of Congo’s resources.

In the case of Rwanda and Uganda being used as proxies, Western donors have maintained a steady supply of aid to these two countries with the full knowledge that they are the ones responsible for the humanitarian disaster in the DRC over the last sixteen years. They use the aid funds to strengthen their military capability so as to continue the conflict in order to benefit from the resources of Congo together with the donors.
Regarding the involvement of Rwanda as a proxy, over the past ten years, the major financial aid donors to Rwanda have been the US, UK, Germany, Denmark, EU and the Netherlands (bilateral donors). They transmit funds via IFI's like the World Bank and the IMF (multilateral donors). They encompass the other parties indirectly participating in the conflict in the DRC. Their objective is one; to exploit as much of Congo’s abundant resources as possible.

An analysis of the budget in Rwanda in 2001 showed that foreign assistance was directed at reducing poverty and improving education and governance. As a result, direct aid was at times provided to the budget in order to speed these reforms. Consequently, the balance of payments of Rwanda indicated a steady increase of budgetary support from $26.1 million in 1997 to $51.5 million in 1999. The said funds were then used to fund military factions supported by Rwanda to continue the crisis in Congo and loot her minerals (UN Panel of Experts Report, 2001).

The US is the most notorious of the donor countries interested in DRC’s resources. Its involvement in the DRC conflict can be traced to the Cold War period when it was considered a super power. It has thus opened up networks and supply lines to recently include other culprits such as China, North Korea, France and Serbia in the looting of Congo's resources. It is said to have provided military aid to Mobutu's regime by shipping $400 million in armament and training. This was a means of supporting Mobutu's government so as to benefit from the vast resources present in the country. However, when Mobutu was overthrown from power by AFDL forces, the US quickly shifted its allegiance to Rwanda and Uganda. This was clearly evidenced in 1998 when during the regional visit by then US President Bill Clinton, he praised both Presidents Museveni and Kagame as leaders
of the "African Renaissance" (Montague and Berrigan, 2001). A few months later, the two states launched a deadly attack on Congo using skills from US training and their weapons.

The US also established several financial institutions and corporations to encourage the exploitation of DRC's resources. This is because its survival in terms of economic prosperity, military dominance and consumer satisfaction is heavily reliant on Congo's plush minerals such as coltan which is used to manufacture electronics including spaceships. In 1999, it disbursed $5 million from Citibank New York to RCD backed financial arm known as SONEX situated on the Eastern part of DRC in Goma. SONEX was intended to finance the activities of the rebel group RCD including deals relating to the illegal mining of coltan especially in the Bukavu region which is situated near Goma (Ibid).

In replying to the question as to whether an approved loan of US$ 75 million would be used to sustain the Rwandan war effort in the Democratic Republic of Congo, World Bank economist Chukwuma Obidegwu asserts: “The Government of Rwanda assured us that it is not interested in the continuation of the war- which is satisfactory to us……We have no guarantees but we have their word.” (Willum, 2001). Additionally, an IMF official on 4th June, 2001, in replying to the question as to whether the Rwandan army receives extra-budgetary funding said that it was not the IMF’s task to investigate the possible exploitation from the Congo by the countries they lend money to such as Rwanda.

Rwanda has clearly been put on the spotlight from the above two passages. Since late October, 1996, it has been actively involved in the two major DRC wars in 1996 and 1998 consecutively and still participates in the conflict in Eastern Congo to date via the M23 rebel group. Over 2.5 million people have died as a result and millions others have suffered
various humanitarian disasters such as injuries and displacement. Nevertheless, Western multilateral donors such as the World Bank still regards Rwanda as one of the short listed ‘Highly Indebted Poor Countries’ (HIPC) and have gone ahead to ensure it benefits from the major debt relief under the HIPC initiative (writing off of external debt) (Ibid).

Moreover, over half of Rwanda’s budget is covered by foreign aid through grants and loans. Ever since the eruption of Congo’s second war in 1998, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have continued to approve and disburse millions of dollars to Rwanda despite the Rwanda Patriotic Army (RPA) being the top suspect of the heinous crimes committed during the Congo wars. These donors justify their cause on two arguments: that curtailment of the aid to Rwanda will hurt Rwanda’s fragile economy; and that Rwanda has every right to intervene in Congo’s crisis on a moral basis due to the security threats posed by rebels from Congo (Ibid).

The truth of the matter however, is that Rwanda has benefited the most from the conflict in DRC. Rwanda’s defence budget is around US $ 100-400 million at any one year 80% of which is paid by its army’s operations in Congo. Its army alone is estimated to spend at least US $ 60 million per year on maintenance, equipment and ammunition. Furthermore, Rwandan exports in coltan, gold and cassiterite are said to have considerably increased in the years following the 1996 and 1998 conflicts in then Zaire as illustrated in table 1. Diamond exports also increased steadily during the same period as shown in table 2. This was obviously from the looting that was happening due to the instability in the DRC. The coltan was thus mined in Rwandan-dominated areas in DRC and later exported to Kigali (Reid, 2006).
Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Gold (kg)</th>
<th>Cassiterite (ton)</th>
<th>Cobalt (ton)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Rwanda Official Statistics (No. 227/01/10/MIN).

Table 2
Rwanda: rough diamond exports, 1997-October 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Volume (carats)</th>
<th>Value (United States dollars)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>13 060.39</td>
<td>720425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>166.07</td>
<td>16606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>2 500.83</td>
<td>439347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>30 491.22</td>
<td>1 788 036</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Diamond High Council.

A report published by a UN expert panel whose objective was to investigate the illegal exploitation of the DRC and other forms of illegal accumulation of wealth concluded from the statistics above that Rwanda was indeed extracting the said minerals from the DRC since it has no production of cobalt, uranium, diamond, manganese and zinc. The irregular patterns of the exports also coincide with the period of the First and Second Congo wars in which Rwanda was a key player operating via the proxy of AFDL. The Global North through organizations such as Belgian Statistics, the WTO and High Diamond Council also supported...
Rwanda's looting as indicated by their computed data for the said minerals (see table 2). They are therefore abetting Rwanda's illegal extraction of Congo's resources as they also gain from the said exports (UN, 2001).

The UN thus summed up the involvement of Rwanda in the following words: "Rwanda's military appears to be benefiting directly from the conflict. Indeed, the Panel has noted a great integration between the military apparatus, the State civil bureaucracy and the business community. RPA finances its war in the Democratic Republic of Congo in five ways: (a) direct commercial activities; (b) profit from shares it holds in some companies; (c) direct payments from RCD-Goma; (d) taxes collected by the 'Congo desk' and other payments made for the protection RPA provides for their businesses; and (e) direct uptake by the soldiers from the land" (Ibid).

Uganda, on the other hand, has also been involved in the conflict in DRC as a proxy. Its involvement in the crisis is equally fairly recent and was at the behest of foreign powers' influence. Its involvement in the conflict has however not been as outright as Rwanda's. For example, it did not set up an extra-budgetary system in order to finance its presence in DRC, instead, it used the economy of re-exportation which means repackaging or sealing natural resources imported from DRC such as gold, coffee, coltan and diamonds as Ugandan products after which they are re-exported (UN, 2001).

This trick boosted Uganda's economy in numerous ways. Firstly, it increased income for key traders and businessmen in Uganda. For example, Congolese robusta coffee which is of low quality is imported at low prices (usually with counterfeit money) and mixed with high quality Uganda robusta coffee which is then re-exported as the latter at higher prices.
Secondly, the illegal exploitation of DRC gold saw an increase in Uganda's balance of payment, this improvement of her economy boosted the confidence of multilateral donors like the IMF which praised Uganda for its efforts. Thirdly, the treasury got more money through taxation of goods and services from the DRC transiting through the country (international trade) (Ibid).

Uganda also financed its presence in the DRC by purchasing military equipment on credit; this accruing debt is regarded as internal debt. It can afford to accrue this debt owing to the steady improvement of her GDP over the years which have impressed the international community. As a result, it is able to maintain its military budget at the required two percent of the overall GDP and can therefore focus on security matters as the bilateral and multilateral donors take care of the other sectors such as health, education and governance (Ibid). For example, it was estimated to have spent US $ 27.4 million alone in 1999 in military activities. These funds were directed at the purchasing, maintenance and replacing of military equipment used to fuel the conflict in Congo (Reid, 2006).

However, as has been stated, Ugandan exploitation of DRC’s resources was not as outright as Rwanda’s in that the former’s participation was systematic and mostly the work of top military commanders and their influence over the rebel movements. Nevertheless, just like her counterpart Rwanda, Uganda’s exports in gold, coltan and timber rose after 1997. It also started exporting diamonds and niobium; minerals it did not produce hence evident products of their looting in the DRC (Ibid). Tables 3, 4 and 5 below illustrate the irregular exports.
Table 3- Uganda: mineral exports and production, 1994-2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Gold</th>
<th>Tnt</th>
<th>Coltan</th>
<th>Cobalt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>5.07</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>6.82</td>
<td>4.43</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>5.03</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18.57</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>11.45</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>69.5</td>
<td>67.48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Mineral production (tons)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Volume (tons)</th>
<th>Value (United States dollars)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>0.0016</td>
<td>3.704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>0.0015</td>
<td>4.289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>0.0064</td>
<td>1.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>0.0082</td>
<td>1.102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>0.0047</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>0.0044</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Uganda, Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development. 2000 data are from January to October.

Table 4- Uganda: rough diamond exports, 1997-October 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Volume (carats)</th>
<th>Value (United States dollars)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>1 511.34</td>
<td>198 302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>11 303.86</td>
<td>1 440 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>11 024.46</td>
<td>1 813 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>9 387.51</td>
<td>1 263 385</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Diamond High Council.

Table 5- Uganda: niobium exports, 1995-1999 (thousands of United States dollars)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Niobium</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>782</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above information, it is also clear that the Western donors are supporting Uganda’s illegal exploitation of DRC resources as indicated by the computed data in tables 3, 4 and 5. The World Bank further praised Uganda for its economic performance and branded it a success story of the SAP’s. It further included it in the debt relief initiative of Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) hence opening the floodgate for the provision of more donor money (UN, 2001).

Therefore, Rwanda and Uganda have clearly been used as proxies of the foreign donors as a faction of the Global North in order to facilitate resource exploitation in the DRC. The said donors are giving mixed signals regarding evidentiary reports of the looting performed by both countries in the Congo such as the exports data. Their neutral stand indicates that they are supporting the conflict and are involved in the fracas via the said proxies operating through rebel groups and the foreign companies carrying out mining activities in the Congo. These queer combinations of parties are working together as partners in business benefitting largely from DRC resources. The only losers in this conglomerate business enterprise are the Congolese people.

3.6 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has sought to elaborate the subject matter of the study in detail; it has dealt with the case study. It has looked at the players involved in the crisis in the Congo while highlighting on the specific participation by Rwanda and Uganda. In an effort to unmask their roles, a history of the crisis in Congo has been explained in detail including the change of political regimes. This is because the war in Congo is closely connected to the political history of the Great Lakes Region.
Ultimately, the chapter has linked the aspect of aid to the conflict in the DRC by portraying how Western donors use proxies in conflict situations in order to exploit resources, in other words, how foreign aid given to one country can lead to war in another country. It has shown how such aid flows to Rwanda and Uganda and is in turn diverted to fuel Congo’s conflict. The major objective is to create an environment suitable for looting DRC’s rich mineral resources to the benefit of all the key players with the exception of the masses comprising of Congo’s civilians. The following chapter delves into the findings, analysis and recommendations of the study.
CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Introduction

The chapter highlights the findings of the study, the information and recommendations advanced. The first part delves into the key findings of the study while the second part projects the recommendations adduced.

4.2 Findings

The study arrived at a number of findings namely: Firstly, the war in Congo may be traced to its history. Secondly, there is a correlation between mineral resources and the conflict in the Congo. Thirdly, there is a correlation between aid by Western Powers and conflict and lastly, the DRC conflict may impact negatively on its future development.

4.2.1 The War in Congo may be traced back to its History

The war in Congo is traceable in a variety of historical aspects summarized in pre-independence and post-independence eras.

4.2.1.1 Pre-Independence Era

This period captures two scenarios: Congo Free State and the Belgian Congo.

4.2.1.1.1 Congo Free State

The Belgians stumbled upon Congo’s vast resources in the late 18th Century. Upon their invasion, they realized that Congo was abundant in natural resources and set about extracting as much of her minerals as they could. King Leopold II of Belgium who ruled Congo from 1885 to 1908 then established a Congo Free State in order to facilitate the exploitation. This
exploitation was undertaken using very crude and brutal means as was the way of the colonial masters such as the cutting of limbs. Over ten million Congolese people died as a result including from starvation and disease and the cruel era has ultimately come to be known as the worst ‘genocide’ against the people of Congo (Gondola, 2002). Of note is the fact that the genocide has had repercussions on the local population. Needless to say, it left them bitter, feeling cheated, exploited and humiliated. The situation continued until the year 1908 when King Leopold II had to relinquish his hold of Congo as his private territory and hand it over to the Belgian Parliament due to pressure from the international community criticizing his rule. The Belgian Congo then came in.

4.2.1.1.2 The Belgian Congo

The Belgian Congo, as it was then called existed between 1908 and 1960. It was established when the Belgian government became the colonial power in the year 1908. Although this brought some sort of reprieve to the locals regarding the most brutal violations to their rights, the exploitation of their resources continued unabated. To achieve this objective, the Belgian colony exploited local labour to the maximum. As a result, the local peasant Congolese inhabitants became a depressed and bitter lot; they were simply a means to a goal. Further, the Belgian colony did not bother to invest in any infrastructural development in the Congo; they did not construct any schools or institutions. They were simply interested in looting the country. Their harsh and dictatorial rule was discriminative of the indigenous people who had been long subjected to the cruelty of colonial masters (Mwesiga, 2011).

Towards the end of the 1950’s; after the devastating effects of World War II, a massive wave of anti-colonialism hit worldwide. Colonial authorities were pressurized to give up their colonies; on the frontline of this opposition was the United Nations; a powerful international
organ comprising of Western and Eastern blocs of power. Ultimately, the Belgian forces in Congo yielded in to the pressure and Congo gained her independence in 1960. However, the impact of their harsh dictatorial rule left Congo a weakly fragile and fractured economy (Ibid). What followed was the beginning of an era of crisis in the new precarious state.

4.2.1.2 Post-Independence Era

This era encapsulates three key periods: the period after independence in 1960, the period of the first invasion of Rwanda and Uganda (First Congo War- 1996-1998) and the period that ushered President Joseph Kabila into power (2001- date).

4.2.1.2.1 The Period after Independence in 1960

The United Nations made a blunder by giving Congo her independence at a time when she was politically immature to handle the change. Her colonial masters ensured that any attempts to revolt against them would prove futile by discriminating against the locals in every aspect. For example, they used the 'divide and rule' method that ensured ethnic groups were separated and turned against each other; this would ensure they would engage in senseless civil wars that would divert their attention from revolting against their colonial masters. Further, they did not bother to educate the natives and the few that managed to mingle with the White colonial authorities like Patrice Lumumba had the difficult task of rousing a people long tormented by a hostile imperialistic rule. As a result, chaos and ethnic clashes erupted and became the order of the day in the period following Congo's independence (Ludo, 2001).

The United Nations (UN) soon realized their mistake and sought to intervene in the disaster. The situation became worse and the UN was eventually forced to withdraw its troops. During
this period, although Lumumba managed to get appointed as the country’s first Prime
Minister due to his efforts in fighting for Congo’s independence, his reign did not last long.
The powerful Western forces against his rule sought to destroy his dreams of a united Congo
and managed to abduct and execute him in cold blood (Ibid). Key among these forces was
Mobutu Sese Seko; with the backing of the United States and Belgium, he managed to rule
Congo in the same way his colonial predecessors had. He practiced dictatorship and his
government was awash with impunity and corruption. The ethnic clashes continued and the
Congo people continued to suffer (ICRC and Ipsos, 2009). The crisis made it easy for
external parties to invade Congo due to its porous borders.

4.2.1.2.2 The Invasion of Rwanda and Uganda

The study further highlights the invasions of Rwanda and Uganda in Congo’s civil wars as an
important aspect of the history that has led to Congo’s continued conflict. The Hutu/Tutsi
factor is also brought into light here. Mobutu’s opponents; mainly Rwanda and Uganda
called for reforms in the 1990’s following his unscrupulous rule. This opposition eventually
culminated in seeing Mobutu flee Zaire in 1997. The situation created a recipe for more
calamities that were to afflict Congo (Gondola, 2002).

The Rwandan genocide that had started in 1994 spilled into Congo with some of the Hutu
rebels responsible for the war taking solace in Congo’s refugee camps on the Eastern region.
This saw a unity being forged between Rwandan and Ugandan armies under the cover of
Tutsi militia; AFDL was invading Eastern Congo in pursuit of the Hutu rebels taking cover
there in 1996. Laurent Desire Kabila also found the perfect opportunity to install himself as
the new President of Congo amidst all these chaos upon Mobutu’s flight. This period marked
the First Congo War that lasted from 1996 to 1998. Eventually, his relationship with his
former allies Rwanda and Uganda grew sour and a plot was hatched to oust him from presidency. What followed was another devastating crisis that marked the Second Congo War (1998-2003) (Ibid) and that saw the coming into power of Joseph Kabila; DRC’s incumbent president.

4.2.1.2.3 The Coming of Incumbent President Joseph Kabila into Power

Following disagreements between Laurent Kabila and his former allies; Rwanda and Uganda, a second civil war struck Congo in 1998 drawing in more external forces such as Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia who were backing Kabila’s government. It left devastating effects in its wake and took more lives than any war ever recorded in the history of Congo. Laurent Kabila was eventually assassinated by his own bodyguard in 2001 and his son, Joseph Kabila succeeded him into presidency. He called for peace talks between the parties to the conflict in the DRC and a peace accord was eventually signed in 2002. By 2003, all foreign armies had withdrawn their troops from Congo except for Rwanda and Burundi (Beswick, 2012). In 2006, Congo held its first multi-party election and Kabila won with the majority of the votes. He also recently won the second general election held in 2011 for a second term and most of the country has somewhat experienced some sort of peace. However, ethnic clashes still continue to plunder the Eastern part of DRC due to the wrangling between rebel forces fighting over its abundant mineral resources.

The study therefore adduces that the political history of Congo has largely attributed to the ongoing civil conflict in the country. It has aimed to trace the resurgent war in Congo to its turbulent historical failures.
4.2.2 Correlation Between mineral Resources and the Conflict in the Congo

This section is divided into three key areas: DRC’s conflict minerals, the looters involved and the link to the conflict.

4.2.2.1 DRC’s Conflict Minerals

From map 6 below, DRC is a large country with vast deposits of rich minerals. However, four key minerals lie at the heart of the continued conflict in the country. They are: Tin (Cassiterite), Tungsten (Wolframite), Tantalum (Coltan) and Gold. They are specifically categorized as ‘conflict minerals’ due to the fact that they are in high demand at the international market and hence bring in huge profits for the armed groups fighting in the region (BSR, 2010). The Eastern DRC is rich in these minerals in areas such as the Kivus, Ituri and Bunia and that is the reason why it has attracted fighting factions that include the various militias and rebels. As a result, fighting in Eastern Congo has never subsided.

However, other important minerals exist in the DRC. They include diamonds, niobium, copper, cobalt and oil. There is also exploitation of natural resources such as timber and coffee on a massive scale. And despite such abundance in mineral and natural resources, the DRC remains one of the poorest countries in the world as her rich resources are not used to foster her development. They are exploited for the benefit of other stakeholders such as rebel and militia insurgencies, foreign businesses and companies and neighbouring States (the looters).
Map 6- Major Mineral Sites in the DRC
Source: www.hrw.org/reports/2005/-
4.2.2.2 The Looters

Looting of minerals is common. There are people who operate in the underworld on black markets as cartels and take advantage of the proceeds intended for rightful owners. Such is the case with DRC. They comprise both internal and external parties. They are mostly facilitated by the Congolese government and business people. These Congolese forces use rebel groups, local militias and units of Congolese army to exploit their own resources. However, they have brought on board foreign armies and militia from neighbouring countries such as Rwanda and Uganda and also foreign businesses. All these factions are part of a global criminal network whose sole interest is to exploit Congo’s resources for selfish gain (Ibid).

The study has uncovered that most of the players involved in the exploitation of Congo’s resources are external parties. However, the government of Congo has helped foster this situation in several ways. For example, it has failed in its attempt to ensure the complete withdrawal of external troops from the country since there is evidence of Rwandan and Ugandan troops still present in Congo operating via the local militia groups such as the M23. Most of the external armies from neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia and even the UN troops pulled out upon the signing of the Peace Accord in 2000. However, Rwanda and Uganda stayed behind under the guise of chasing their own rival rebel forces taking refuge in the DRC such as the FDLR.

The study has illustrated that both Rwanda and Uganda experienced an increase in their mineral production and revenue over the years according to the UN Panel of Experts Report in April 2001 and this was linked to their illegal involvement regarding exploiting Congo’s minerals. The warlords of the several militia groups operating in Congo such as the Mai-Mai,
Interahamwe and the recently formed M23 are also benefitting from exploiting Congo’s resources by working in collusion with foreign armies.

4.2.2.3 The Link

The study concludes that there is indeed a connection between conflict and minerals and that this connection is a common feature in the African continent. It is fuelled by factors such as ethnic hatred, weak governments and abundant mineral resources among others. All these features are evident in the case of DRC.

The occurrence of conflict provides a suitable environment to access and loot the resources of a region without much resistance. It is the most ideal catalyst to plunder another country’s resources without being questioned; a tactic that has been used by the various rebels and militia groups fighting in the Eastern part of Congo.

This link between mineral resources and the war in the DRC goes way back to the history of Congo; to the era when the Belgians practiced the ‘divide and rule’ method while colonizing the country. This method further fragmented Congo’s many ethnic groups so that by the time they gained full independence in 1960, they were so divided they could not agree on how to govern themselves. So the civil wars ensued and have continued to date especially in Eastern Congo. Therefore, although the link is rooted to her colonial masters, the goal of the many fighting groups in the region and even her colonizers has been to exploit her resources to the fullest.

It is thus possible to draw a link between the rebels and militia groups as part of conduits fostering the war in Congo. It is further notable that they are a part of a global network of organized criminal crooks comprising of internal rebel and militia groups, external States and
mega multi-national corporations interested in exploiting Congo’s rich resources. Their sole interest is looting the resources but they use the cover of intervention and protection of their country’s national and diplomatic interests and borders to gain access to Congo and plunder her resources. These parties entail States such as Rwanda and Uganda and international corporations linked to the Global North.

These groups get profit from the minerals largely deposited in Eastern DRC by either controlling the mines directly or by illegally taxing the trade and transport of the minerals along routes under their control. The foreign businesses mostly control the mines while the rebel and militia groups control the routes near the minerals. The profits gained are then used to continue supporting armed groups causing chaos in the core mineral regions. As a result, the study has established that over 50% of Congo’s vast mineral mines are under the control of armed groups (Ibid).

It is therefore proven that the conflict in the DRC is closely linked to the abundant mineral resources present in the country and not necessarily the political interests of the external parties still present in the country. The term ‘conflict minerals’ has also been used in an effort to explain how profitable mineral resources help foster conflict in any given situation such as the conflict in the DRC.

4.2.3 Correlation between Aid by Western Powers and Conflicts

A third key finding is that aid by Western Powers (Global North) exacerbates conflicts in the Global South. The key component of this finding is that foreign aid can be given to one State for the sole purpose of causing conflict in another state. This finding is based on some important issues explained as: core elements of aid, the donors and the connection to the war.
4.2.3.1 The Core Elements of Aid

The subject of foreign aid is not a recent development according to the study. Although it is considered an aspect of globalization, it has its roots in the era of the Breton Woods Conference held in 1944. This group of 44 nations from the Global North established international financial organizations like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in an attempt to reconstruct the post-war economy by offering economies in crisis with unconditional loans. However, this vision was never realized as the Western powers soon saw the opportunity to dominate developing states via the umbrella of ‘foreign aid’ (Salmonsson, 2007).

The study concludes that the international lending institutions were instead pressurized to offer loans based on strict conditionalities that later on came to be known as ‘Structural Adjustment Programmes’ or ‘Austerity Measures’. These measures which call for conditions such as cut-backs on government spending, privatization and opening up economies to exploitative foreign investment among other factors have only sought to increase the rate of dependency by poor countries on their richer counter-parts and hence increase the level of poverty worldwide.

The research therefore concludes that countries such as Rwanda and Uganda are no exception when it comes to the conditionalities attached to foreign aid given by the Global North. Although they are considered favourites of donor countries, there is a high price to pay in exchange and this includes the instigation of conflict in the DRC so as to benefit from her rich resources through export earnings.
4.2.3.2 The Donors (Global North)

The study has clearly explained that foreign aid is given by the Global North to economies in crisis situated in the Global South, however, they come with certain stringent conditions. The study has looked at some key donors from the Global North in relation to the conflict in the DRC, they are: United States (US), United Kingdom (UK) and International Financial Institutions (IFI’s) such as the IMF and World Bank. They are working in collusion to exploit the minerals in Congo.

The Global North uses the diplomacy of foreign aid to develop and pursue its own agenda in developing countries. The study has aimed to especially explore the area of opening up a developing economy such as the DRC in this case for investment as one of the key strings attached to foreign aid from donor countries. The foreign companies situated in the DRC carrying out mining activities work in collusion with their Global North governments in exploiting the resources of Congo for their own benefits.

The study has further elaborated how the said donors concentrate on humanitarian aid towards DRC yet the conflict in the DRC is mineral-based; they are intentionally shying away from the key solution which is liberating Congo’s economy from external exploiters because they also fall under this category. In addition, they are funding Congo’s neighbours so as to continue the war in the DRC in order to facilitate the exploitation of her plush mineral resources as shall be explained in the sub-section below.

4.2.3.3 The Connection to the War

Countries neighbouring the DRC such as Rwanda and Uganda are also given aid with the condition that they invade and exploit Congo’s resources. Thus the aid given to them is used
to build their military capacities so as to continue the conflict in Africa’s second-largest state; this has been illustrated by the several tables showing the increased mining production of the two states over the years yet the said minerals are not found in their regions. The said minerals are then exported to the Global North where there is a high demand for their supply.

The study further explored how countries neighbouring DRC still have their own rebels and militia group fighting in the Congo, especially those linked to Rwanda and Uganda. They fuel the war by causing unnecessary tension so that the chaotic environment allows them to loot the resources in the DRC. The foreign businesses from the Global North also benefit from the chaos as they continue their production without any local resistance because they work in collusion with the fighting insurgencies. Hence the kingpins benefitting from the plush resources of Congo comprise of a network of both the donors and beneficiaries of foreign aid and this is inclusive of the DRC Government.

The study has therefore proven how foreign aid from the Global North has helped fuel the crisis in the Congo. It has explained how the systematic aid given to countries such as Rwanda and Uganda have been used for the sole purpose of fuelling the conflict in the DRC in order to continue exploiting her resources for the benefit of all the players on board.

4.2.4 The DRC Conflict may Impact negatively on its Future Development

The finding here connotes that the economic development of the DRC has been negatively affected by the ongoing crisis and that the future prospects remain bleak. The negative impacts are as follows: violation of human rights, population displacement and food insecurity, theft and looting, and environmental degradation.
4.2.4.1 Violation of Human Rights

More than 5.4 million lives have been lost on Congolese soil ever since the outbreak of civil war in the 1990’s. Most of these deaths are attributed to the human rights violations rampant in the country. The study has found that the intensity of these violations vary regarding the amount of minerals found in any particular area. For example, North and South Kivu have experienced the worst of human violations over the recent years owing to the large deposits of gold and coltan found in the region. Shabunda in North Kivu has even come to be termed as ‘the forgotten Kosovo’ where the Mai-Mai rebel group is said to have committed a series of violent human rights violations as has been reported over the years. Such acts include military-style executions, subjecting the locals to poor mining conditions and starvation among others.

Perhaps the worst of these violations are the rampant reports of sexual violence committed against the women and girls in the DRC owing to the conflict. They are considered weak and defenseless and hence taken advantage of by the rebel and militia groups operating in the country. Stories have been narrated of horrific sexual acts such as gang rapes, sex slavery, genital mutilation and even murder of innocent young girls and women caught in the web of war. Similarly, the Kivus maintain the highest record of these violations as established in the study.

The rate of the spread of HIV/AIDS is also worrying especially in the Eastern part of Congo where fighting seems to have escalated over the years. Most of the armed factions are said to be infected and the sexual violence committed against the females helps spread the disease at an alarming rate. The lack of enough health facilities worsens the situation due to the
ongoing conflict. Hence the violations continue unabated and contribute to the continuous senseless deaths of the local Congolese people.

4.2.4.2 Population Displacement and Food Insecurity

The ongoing conflict in Congo has caused massive population displacement for the locals who are forced to flee their homes for fear of their lives. As a result, they are forced to live in forests and other nearby areas following the overcrowding experienced in the few remaining health and education centres which cannot contain the growing number of displaced persons.

The study has also proven that the various fighting factions in the DRC have taken over all the mining sites including areas occupied by the local inhabitants and those unfortunate are forced to work in the said mines. And since they are paid little or nothing at all, poverty is rampant in the country paving way for food insecurity. Poor harvests also cause some farmers to work in the mines in the hopes of making money so as to put food on the table.

4.2.4.3 Theft and looting

This practice occurs in many factions. The rebel and militia groups plunder any resources they lay their hands on from local harvests to livestock. They even loot the remaining struggling health and education centres for any of the equipment that they may need. The local banks and factories are not spared either during the raids. The result is very poor infrastructure which has become a prominent feature in Eastern DRC and DRC in general.

4.2.4.4 Environmental Degradation

DRC is said to contain the largest forest cover in the whole of Africa. It also has the most diversified animal and plant species and has been internationally recognized as having five of
the world’s natural World Heritage Sites which no other African country has been able to match. However, it is sad to note that there is little to show for these unique features as of today.

The second civil war of 1998 opened up a floodgate for the massive and unabated destruction of Congo’s impressive forests including national parks such as Virunga and Kahuzi-Biega which had been relatively well maintained until then. The latter was discovered to have large deposits of coltan and this saw the invasion of the park by families that had been displaced by war and militia groups such as the Interahamwe. Today, the park is a shell of what it once was.

Apart of deforestation, the protected species of animals such as elephants and lowland gorillas have all but a few been hunted and slaughtered for game-meat. The Okapi Wildlife Reserve in northeast Kisangani has been one of the many game reserves affected by such activities. The study has therefore found that the environmental degradation in DRC is worrying and no one seems to be concerned as to the future devastating effects of the continued vice.

4.3 Recommendations

The study proposes ways that would improve the situation in the DRC.

4.3.1 The Solution to the Conflict in Congo

It is that the crisis is likely to be resolved by all the stakeholders involved. All the parties involved in the crisis in the Congo have the chance of ensuring that the war ends. The war in the DRC is complex and involves an equally intricate web of conspirators. To ensure an end to the conflict, all these factions must be involved. As has been discussed in the study, the
parties to the conflict are both internal and external; they comprise of the DRC government, local militia and rebel groups, the foreign armies of neighbouring countries and international businesses. This section will therefore look at the roles to be played by: the DRC Government, foreign governments, neighbouring countries and the rebel and militia groups.

4.3.1.1 DRC Government

The DRC Government is perhaps the most influential of all the parties involved in the crisis in terms of ensuring that peace is achieved. However, this will prove to be Congo’s greatest challenge owing to many factors. The government of DRC is said to be awash with various allegations of corruption and impunity that can be traced back to the pre-colonial era. Despite the achievement of her independence in 1960 and the subsequent multi-party general elections, the conflict in the region seems to be escalating.

The DRC is a large country with diversified ethnic groups that have been in constant conflict with each other for a long time. The ethnic diversity and hatred aggravated by the Hutu/Tutsi factor worsen the situation. Thus the DRC Government needs to ensure an end to ethnic tension in the country and in order to succeed the governments of neighbouring Rwanda and Burundi need to co-operate so as to solve the Hutu/Tutsi hatred once and for all.

The incumbent President Joseph Kabila’s government is considered fragile and weak especially regarding its control of the mineral-rich Eastern part of Congo where over 50% of the mining sites are under the control of fighting insurgencies and foreign businesses. Although Kabila has managed to ensure meaningful peace in most of DRC, the Eastern part continues to be plagued by endless conflict. In order to regain control over this part, Kabila needs to re-think his priorities and adopt the right policies in steering his country towards
lasting peace. The corruption and impunity committed by the politicians and business-people under his government has to come to an end by installing the right mechanisms for internal checks and balances and consequent successful prosecution of the culprits. To ensure this success, public institutions such as the judicial system have to be strengthened by being granted the necessary powers to act independently.

The DRC Government may also need to re-strategize her diplomatic relations and try to seek support from the Eastern bloc of rising powers such as China and Japan in order to shake off the exploitative hold of the Western bloc from countries such as the US and the UK. Despite the US and UK coming up with various incentives over the years to end the conflict in the Congo, none of them have borne fruit due to the vast interest they have over Congo’s minerals. It is therefore high time for DRC to re-think her foreign policies and align herself with the right partners.

President Kabila’s Government also needs to protect its mineral resources from unscrupulous parties by complying fully with trade incentives such as the Kimberley Process for the Certification of Diamonds and further establishing similar regulations for other natural resources such as timber and coffee.

4.3.1.2 Foreign Governments

The United Nations (UN) as a powerful international organ needs to act and bring an end to the longest crisis in Africa. By taking action, the UN will ultimately coerce the super powers under it to follow its resolutions. The UN observer mission (MONUC), for example, needs to be re-energized in its efforts to ensure complete withdrawal of all foreign armies from the DRC including the recently-formed M23 rebel group said to be allied to the Rwandan and
Ugandan governments. It should also ensure the full implementation of the demobilization and disarmament process commonly known as Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration, Resettlement and Rehabilitation (DDRRR) of all the fighting factions in the DRC.

The US, UK and IFI’s giving aid to the Great Lakes Region also need to rethink their strategies in providing aid to this region. They need to set aside their selfish interests in Congo’s minerals and seek to rebuild the country. They ought to openly criticize the parties fuelling the war and punish their host States by imposing economic sanctions to act as deterrence. For example, the increased mining exports of Rwanda and Uganda ought to be investigated and not praised by their donors from the Global North.

The foreign businesses taking part in illegal mining activities in the DRC also need to pull out or follow the right legal procedures in carrying out their production in the region. This should be done with the full support from their host governments.

4.3.1.3 Neighbouring Countries

The war in Congo has mostly been perpetrated by her neighbouring countries. These States were involved right from the beginning; especially the second civil war of 1998 that drew in Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda under the guise of external intervention. Although most of them have complied with the Lusaka Accords and subsequent regional agreements of foreign troop withdrawal, there are reports of Rwandan and Ugandan rebel groups still operating in the country as has been established by the UN Panel of Experts Reports.

Rwanda and Uganda have deeply-rooted interests in the DRC. This is perhaps why questioning their continued involvement in the war and investigating the same has proved
near impossible. Their presence in Congo can be traced back to the era of Rwandan genocide in 1994 where the said tensions spilled over to the DRC. Their argument has remained that they are after their own rebels taking refuge in the DRC; purely political reasons. However, their involvement in the illegal mining in DRC’s resources is also evident as they work in collusion with local rebels and military groups present in the country. Therefore, unless the said States acknowledge their continued involvement in the DRC conflict to date, all efforts to ensure lasting peace for Congo and lack of interference from external neighbours shall not bear any fruit.

4.3.1.4 The Rebel and Militia Groups

They are the key instigators of the continued war in the DRC. However, they do not work alone; they are supported by both the DRC government and her neighbouring countries and also foreign businesses dominating the Eastern part of Congo. They include the much-feared Interahamwe and Mai-Mai insurgencies that have committed unimaginable atrocities against the people of Congo. These insurgents are many in Eastern DRC because of the vast mineral-deposits present in the area.

They are said to comprise of young soldiers recruited for the sole purpose of causing tension and chaos to enable the looting of resources. There have also been reports of child soldiers operating in the said groups; an issue that needs to be addressed urgently by all parties on board especially the international community since this is a serious international crime. These insurgencies are many and outnumber the Government and UN troops; hence they operate without any opposition. Therefore, unless their funders are identified and dealt with, they cannot be immobilized easily.
4.4 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter deduced findings which were analyzed and proposed recommendations for the study. The next chapter concludes the study.
CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the study in general. It seeks to highlight the key aspects of each chapter that inform the subject matter herein which deals with the impact of aid on the DRC conflict. It aims to recap on the heart of the study which portrays how foreign aid given to Rwanda and Uganda affects the DRC conflict.

5.2 Conclusion

The study set out to establish whether foreign aid given to Rwanda and Burundi by factions of the Global North has directly affected the war in the DRC. It sought to bring out the link between these two countries, DRC and the donors from Global North in relation to the conflict as explained in the introduction. To achieve this objective, the study firstly explored in detail the literature relating to the subject matter which touches on the history to the conflict in Congo, the parties involved and the various reasons for the continued war especially on the Eastern part of the DRC. This section looked at the various materials comprising of scholarly articles, books and reports dealing with the conflict in the DRC and sought to analyze how they inform the study.

The theoretical framework was also covered in this part of the study by concentrating on two key theories: conflict and aid. The concept of conflict was firstly analyzed as an aspect of international relations by expounding on its fundamental elements. To achieve this goal, the study sought to dig into what key international relations philosophers such as Hans Morgenthau had to say about the concept and consequently link what these conceptual
thinkers perceived to the subject matter of the study. Secondly, the concept of aid was delved into under the umbrella of the topic of foreign aid which is similarly a popular subject area in international relations. The relation of foreign aid to issues of development and under-development was consequently analyzed in order to bring out the key conceptual framework of Dependency theory relevant to the study.

The research then presented a case study firstly detailing core issues underlying the conflict in the DRC such as ethnicity, conflict minerals, bad governance and foreign interference. To bring out these issues it looked at what the conflict is about. Secondly, and most importantly, it explored how foreign aid from the Global North; in this case systematic cash transfers or grants, is given to countries in the South which entails Rwanda and Uganda in this study, with the intention of contributing to the conflict in the DRC so as to loot her plush resources which are then exported back to the Global North by the recipients of their donor funds. In this section, the study tried to portray this linkage between the donors and their two key recipients (used as proxies) to the conflict in Congo by putting up illustrations such as tables and maps that justify this complex network of conspirators.

The study then ultimately arrived at a number of findings relating to the subject matter. First, it established that the war in Congo (DRC) may be traced back to its history. Regarding this finding, the study looked into the key periods in the history of Congo that the war manifested itself starting from the era of the Belgian Congo to the present government of President Joseph Kabila. Secondly, the study proved that there is indeed a correlation between mineral resources and the conflict in the Congo. It aimed to look at the four key minerals causing the continuous tension in the region otherwise known as ‘Conflict Minerals’ and they include Tin, Tungsten, Tantalum and Gold. In this finding, the study has highlighted how the said
conflict minerals fuel the war due to their demand and high value at the international market. It has therefore linked these minerals to the various fighting factions in the DRC especially on the Eastern region owing to the large mineral deposits present there.

Thirdly, the study arrived at the finding that there is a correlation between aid by Western Powers and conflicts; that aid by Western Powers (Global North) exacerbates conflicts in the Global South. It has explored the aspect of foreign aid in an effort to portray how it is given with stringent ‘conditionalities’ which only seek to worsen the economic situations of countries in the Global South. The study has thus proven how foreign aid has been manipulated by certain factions of the Global North including states such as the US and UK in order to continue the crisis in the DRC to enable the looting of her minerals. It has linked this aid to Rwanda, Uganda and DRC itself and further explained how the first two countries act as key links for the Global North to exploit Congo’s resources.

The fourth finding connotes that the DRC’s future economic development may be negatively affected by the continued conflict in the region. To prove this point, the study has uncovered several factors portraying these negative impacts including the blatant violation of human rights, population displacement, food insecurity, environmental degradation, theft and looting. All these factors therefore adversely affect the economy of Congo and pose a threat to her future development.

The research finally proposed the recommendation that the conflict in the Congo is likely to be resolved by all the stakeholders involved. They include the DRC Government, foreign governments carrying out businesses in Congo, neighbouring countries such as Rwanda and Uganda, and the local and external insurgencies operating in the country. The study has
therefore looked into the role of each of these players in continuing the conflict in Congo and subsequently proposed recommendations on how they can all bring an end to the conflict so as to establish lasting peace for the DRC. However, the study has stressed on the importance of the government of DRC as a key player in ensuring that the said peace is achieved.

5.3 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has ultimately brought closure to the study which sought to look at the impact of aid on conflict and more specifically to explore a case study of how foreign aid to Rwanda and Uganda affects the DRC conflict. Thus it has provided a summary of the research in general and looked at each of the chapters discussed in a nutshell. It proposes that the conflict in the DRC can be resolved but only with the right policies, political will and commitment from all the stakeholders involved.
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