

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**



**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN  
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO (2010-2018)**

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**DECLARATION**

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for examination in any other university.

Signed  .....

Date 12/11/2019 .....

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This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the university supervisor

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## **DEDICATIONS**

**I dedicate this study to my spouse Mbabazi Annet and our two sons Gisa Sesonga Ivan and Shema Sesonga David who have stood steadfast with me throughout the period of the study.**

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The purpose of this study was to assess the role of the United Nations in conflict resolution in Democratic Republic of Congo (2010-2018). Three specific objectives anchored the study. They were: to establish the genesis of the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo; to determine the role of the United Nations in mediating the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo; and to identify the challenges faced by UN in resolving the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo. The foundation of this study was the Conflict theory as proposed by Karl Marx in 1848. The focus of this theory is on factors causing and sustaining conflicts. Conflict theory is considered relevant in this study because it reflects the issues dealing with genesis of conflicts like the DRC conflict, the link between conflict and the resulting human suffering. The theory links the first objective; establish the genesis of the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo. The research methodology of the study is based on utilization of secondary data sourced from library sources, books, e-books, government publications, journals, newspapers and magazines. The data was systematically analyzed to identify the major findings from which the research has drawn the summary conclusions and recommendations. The major findings of the study are that the genesis of the conflict in DR Congo may be traced from the colonialism and the propagation of conflicts and crises by colonial masters. The study established that post-colonial legacy as a source of the conflict is notable since with decolonization of the late 1950's and 1960s, a group of rather poorly governed African countries like DR Congo came into being. Subsequently, DRC became a victim to the superpower contest during the cold war which demarcated their territorial boundaries and consolidated their political systems along the lines of their imposing ideology. The findings are that the struggle for control over natural resources has exacerbated conflict in DR Congo. The study concluded that Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) acted as a trial phase of the United Nations peacekeeping in the 1960s in Africa. This is what has informed the second round of UN peace operations in 2000-2018 which has been comparable ambitious and innovative. The study concluded that refusal of developed countries to send troops for peacekeeping missions have been a source of concern for the success of the peacekeeping operation in DR Congo. The study concluded that non-provision of adequate manpower, equipment and other resource materials is a challenge facing the United Nations peacekeeping operations in DR Congo. The findings concluded that the nature of United Nation's peace keeping policy that gives room for a nation to dictate the mode of operations of a U.N mission

limits the overall success of the peacekeeping missions. From the findings, the null hypothesis that there is no significant role of the United Nations in conflict resolution in Democratic Republic of Congo was rejected. Subsequently, the alternate hypothesis that there is significant role of the United Nations in conflict resolution in Democratic Republic of Congo was accepted. The study recommended that understanding the historical context of the conflict in DR Congo is paramount in realizing the genesis of this conflict. The study recommends that the United Nations needs to learn from its historical involvement in the DR Congo conflicts and resolve the current conflict once and for all. Finally, the study recommends for the need for direct involvement of developed countries in the conflict. An area for further research is that a study should be undertaken to focus on the role of rebel groups from external and internal in the conflict in DR Congo. Further, a study should be undertaken to focus on the role of neighbouring countries in the conflict in DR Congo.

## TABLE OF CONTENT

<b>DECLARATION</b> .....	<b>ii</b>
<b>DEDICATIONS</b> .....	<b>iii</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b> .....	<b>iv</b>
<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	<b>v</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENT</b> .....	<b>vii</b>
<b>ABBREVIATIONS</b> .....	<b>i</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>1</b>
1.0. Introduction.....	1
1.1. Back Ground to the Study .....	1
1.2. Problem Statement.....	5
1.3. Research Questions.....	6
1.4. Research Objectives.....	6
1.4.1. Broad Objectives.....	6
1.4.2. Specific Objectives .....	6
1.5. Literature Review.....	7
1.5.1. Theoretical Literature Review .....	7
1.5.2. Empirical Literature Review.....	11
1.5.3. Gaps in the Literature.....	24
1.6. Research Hypotheses .....	24
1.7. Justification of the Study .....	25
1.7.1. Policy Justification.....	25
1.7.2. Academic Justification.....	25
1.8. Theoretical Framework .....	25
1.9. Research Methodology .....	25
1.10. Chapter Outline.....	26
1.11. Chapter Summary .....	26
<b>CHAPTER TWO</b> .....	<b>27</b>
<b>GENESIS OF THE CONFLICT IN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO</b> .....	<b>27</b>
2.0. Introduction.....	27



2.1.	Colonialism and Conflict in DRC.....	27
2.2.	Post-Colonial Legacy and the Conflict in the DRC.....	34
2.3.	Natural Resources and Conflict in DRC.....	38
2.4.	Summary of Major Findings.....	43
<b>CHAPTER THREE.....</b>		<b>45</b>
<b>ROLE OF UNITED NATIONS.....</b>		<b>45</b>
3.0.	Introduction.....	45
3.1.	History of United Nations in DRC.....	45
3.2.	Ceasefire and Establishment of MONUC.....	46
3.3.	Transition to MONUSCO.....	48
3.3.1.	Force Intervention Brigade Under resolution 2098.....	50
3.4.	Summary of Major Findings.....	53
<b>CHAPTER FOUR.....</b>		<b>54</b>
<b>CHALLENGES OF UNITED NATIONS IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN DRC.....</b>		<b>54</b>
4.0.	Introduction.....	54
4.1.	Non-Participation of Troops from Developed Countries.....	54
4.2.	Inadequate Manpower and Logistics.....	55
4.3.	United Nation’s Peace Keeping Policy.....	56
4.4.	Non-Cooperation of Congolese Militia Warlords.....	57
4.5.	Violation of Human Rights.....	57
4.6.	Sexual Violence.....	58
4.7.	Children and Armed Conflict.....	59
4.8.	Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources.....	60
4.9.	Summary of the Major Findings.....	61
<b>CHAPTER FIVE.....</b>		<b>64</b>
<b>SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....</b>		<b>64</b>
5.0.	Introduction.....	64
5.1.	Summary of the Study.....	64
5.2.	Conclusion of the Study.....	65
5.2.1.	Colonialism and Conflict in DR Congo.....	65
5.2.2.	Role of United Nations in DR Congo Conflict.....	66

5.2.3. Challenges Facing UN in DR Congo.....	66
5.3. Recommendations of the Study .....	68
5.4. Areas for Further Research .....	68
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>69</b>

## ABBREVIATIONS

<b>AFDL:</b>	<i>Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo</i>
<b>AU:</b>	African Union
<b>DRC:</b>	Democratic Republic of Congo
<b>MLC:</b>	Movement for the Liberation of Congo
<b>MONUSCO:</b>	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo
<b>RDC:</b>	Rally for Congolese Democracy
<b>SADC:</b>	Southern Africa Development Community
<b>UN:</b>	United Nations
<b>UNAMID:</b>	United Nations and African Union Mission in Darfur
<b>USA:</b>	United States of America

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0 Introduction

This study investigates the role of the United Nations in conflict resolution in Democratic Republic of Congo (2010-2018). This chapter highlights the background of the study, statement of the problem, research questions, research objectives, literature review and theoretical review. The research will also encompass, research hypotheses, justification, research methodology and the chapter outline.

#### 1.1 Back Ground to the Study

Since the establishment of United Nations (UN) in 1945, it has attempted to intervene in almost all the major conflicts globally. One major conflict of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that UN had attempted intervention was between Bosnia and Kosovo<sup>1</sup>. The Bosnia/ Kosovo conflict started in February of 1998 and lasted until 11<sup>th</sup> June 1999. The United Nations was soon involved in the conflict in attempt to bring it to an end<sup>2</sup>. The United Nations has also been involved in other global conflicts such as the Iraq war in 1991-2004.

In 2005, the United Nations Security Council passed resolution 1483 that legitimized the United States of America (USA) led Iraqi occupation. Afghanistan is another country that has a long history of armed conflicts since 2001<sup>3</sup>. In 2001, United Nations Security Council authorized United States to counter the Taliban presence in Afghanistan with an aim of removing them from power<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Dorcas McCoy. American foreign policy and post-cold war affairs towards Somalia. *Journal of World Affairs*, 163 (1), 2017.

<sup>2</sup> Mvunganyi Jackson. United Nations peacekeepers death in Darfur-Voice of America. Retrieved 7<sup>th</sup> November 2018.

<sup>3</sup> Dorcas McCoy. American foreign policy and post-cold war affairs towards Somalia. *Journal of World Affairs*, 163 (1), 2017.

<sup>4</sup> Global policy forum. Involvement of United Nations in Afghanistan. VOA, 2017.

The United Nations has also been active in the African sphere of conflicts. UN Security Council has deployed more than 18 peacekeeping missions in Africa. Of all peace keeping forces by UN half of them have been in Africa making it the experimental laboratory for the world body. It has been demonstrated that of all the UN peacekeeping missions that the UN Security Council has mandated in Africa, a high number of them have been in sub-Saharan Africa<sup>5</sup>.

The United Nations has been involved in the armed conflict in Darfur through a hybrid operation between United Nations and African Union acronym UNAMID<sup>6</sup>. The United Nations has been instrumental in bringing stability in war torn Somali. When civil conflict erupted in the early 1990s, the United Nations sanctioned USA to intervene in Somali to protect humanitarian aid<sup>7</sup>. Nowhere in Africa has the United Nations been involved in more than the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)<sup>8</sup>.

Since the independence of the DRC, several events have destabilized the country including: secessions, wars and changes in the political systems of rule. In 1965, Mobutu seized control of the country for five years and centralizing power, establishing a dictatorship in the process. In the 1990's, at the height of the Cold War, Mobutu was weakened by external and internal pressures, coupled with heightened international criticism of his regime and a series of domestic protests. He was eventually dethroned in 1997<sup>9</sup>.

Etienne Tshisekedi father of the current president was elected as the opposition leader in 1992 by the Sovereign National Conference which had more than 2000 representatives. He was made the

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<sup>5</sup> Eugene Bope Mikobi. Role of United Nations in Democratic Republic of Congo: democracy and human rights. PhD Thesis, 2011.

<sup>6</sup> Mvunganyi Jackson. Unite Nations peacekeepers death in Darfur-Voice of America. Retrieved 7<sup>th</sup> November 2018.

<sup>7</sup> Dorcas McCoy. American foreign policy and post-cold war affairs towards Somalia. *Journal of World Affairs*. 163 (1), 2017.

<sup>8</sup> Eugene Bope Mikobi. Role of United Nations in Democratic Republic of Congo: democracy and human rights. PhD Thesis, 2011.

<sup>9</sup> Mvunganyi Jackson. Unite Nations peacekeepers death in Darfur-Voice of America. Retrieved 7<sup>th</sup> November 2018.

prime minister. In this conference there were many attempts to hold presidential and legislative elections but they eventually never happened<sup>10</sup>. However, in 1994 the war in Rwanda was in the culmination phase and UN involvement failed to prevent genocide against the Tusti.

This situation affected the DRC especially in its Eastern part where Rwandese former Military and Hutu militia forces of *Interhamwe*, who had fled from Rwanda after committing the genocide against the Tusti. Mubutu welcomed them and erected their camps as bases for incursions against the new Rwandan reconciliation government<sup>11</sup>. This forced Rwanda to get into DR Congo and flash out the insurgency which was destabilizing the country. This culminated in the overthrow of Mobutu and assisting Laurent Kabila who was the leader of the *Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo* (AFDL). On 17 May 1997 Mobutu left power, and Kabila seized control of the country, declaring himself president as he consolidated power around himself<sup>12</sup>.

One year later, relations between Laurent Kabila and the other parts involved in his fragile coalition deteriorated he made an order for all foreign troops to leave DRC. Rwandese in fear of stabilization of its stability by rebel groups like *Interhamwe* raised the issue of its security. On 2 August 1998 war broke out all over DRC<sup>13</sup>. Probably the 1998 war was one of the worst witnessed conflicts in DRC<sup>14</sup>. As of September 1998, DRC conflict had claimed approximately 3.3 million lives. It was by that time that it started attracting global attention<sup>15</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> Koko Sadiki. Assessment of the UN peace operations in DRC. *Journal of Strategic Studies in Southern Africa*, 34 (2), 2012.

<sup>11</sup> Emanuel Wanki. The war in Congo: the peace process. *Journal of Conflict Resolutions*, 1 (1) 12, 2011. Zistel Saw. *Conflicts and transformation in Uganda*. New York: Palgrave Mcmillan, 2008.

<sup>12</sup> Mvunganyi Jackson. Unite Nations peacekeepers death in Darfur-Voice of America. Retrieved 7<sup>th</sup> November 2018.

<sup>13</sup> Emanuel Wanki. The war in Congo: the peace process. *Journal of Conflict Resolutions*, 1 (1) 12, 2011. Zistel Saw. *Conflicts and transformation in Uganda*. New York: Palgrave Mcmillan, 2008.

<sup>14</sup> Koko Sadiki. Assessment of the UN peace operations in DRC. *Journal of Strategic Studies in Southern Africa*, 34 (2), 2012.

<sup>15</sup> Koko Sadiki. Assessment of the UN peace operations in DRC. *Journal of Strategic Studies in Southern Africa*, 34 (2), 2012.

The armed conflict in DRC in 1998 was one of the most complex conflicts in Africa. There were many internal and external factors at play. There were up to nine countries that had sent their militaries in DRC that were categorized into two opposite factions. One side was supporting the Kinshasa government and was composed of Angolan, Zimbabwean, Namibian and Chad militaries. The other side supported different rebel functions<sup>16</sup>. After great pressure from the international community, there was a peace agreement signed in Lusaka where different warring factions were represented<sup>17</sup>.

The agreement was called the “Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement” and was concluded in July and August 1999. The escalation in the conflict made the UN to establish the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO abbreviated from French) by United Nations Security Council resolution number 1279 of year 1999 and another one 1291 and later of year 2000. It was mandated to monitor the peace process established in the country<sup>18</sup>.

Since 1998, the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo has caused a death toll of 3.3 million people, meaning it has resulted to more deaths than in any other conflict in the world since the cold war with more than 3 million people dead. Laurent Kabila was assassinated. His son Joseph Kabila took over and introduced new policies<sup>19</sup>. This allowed MONUSCO to deploy its troops all over Congo and dialogue of Congolese parties proceeded. On July 30, 2006 the DRC held its

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<sup>16</sup> Koko Sadiki. Assessment of the UN peace operations in DRC. *Journal of Strategic Studies in Southern Africa*, 34 (2), 2012.

<sup>17</sup> Koko Sadiki. Assessment of the UN peace operations in DRC. *Journal of Strategic Studies in Southern Africa*, 34 (2), 2012.

<sup>18</sup> Emanuel Wanki. The war in Congo: the peace process. *Journal of Conflict Resolutions*, 1 (1) 12, 2011. Zistel Saw. *Conflicts and transformation in Uganda*. New York: Palgrave Mcmillan, 2008.

<sup>19</sup> Koko Sadiki. Assessment of the UN peace operations in DRC. *Journal of Strategic Studies in Southern Africa*, 34 (2), 2012.

first free, democratic, multi-party elections in more than forty years and Joseph Kabila was elected as president of the country<sup>20</sup>.

MONUSCO is the most costly mission undertaken by UN globally. It has faced many challenges in accomplishing its mandate. Despite its efforts for maintaining the ceasefires on one hand and on the other hand its support to the transitional government and to national elections held in 2006, peace in the country is still fragile<sup>21</sup>. The mission has struggled to maintain peace and security and is still lacking in a certain number of factors for its success. This is despite MONUSCO having gone further than each of the preceding peacekeeping missions with a broader mandate than any of them. Thus, despite the presence of this contingent of peacekeepers, the country has continuously been going through unending cycles of conflict.

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

Africa is characterized by numerous protracted social political conflicts that are usually violent in nature. The situation is worsened by ineffective conflict management systems. Where the mechanisms exist, they are usually weak, uncoordinated and often not sustained for long. This has placed the continent under highly disruptive conflicts that undermine the continent's development. In the East and Central African region, the cycles of conflicts are especially prevalent in countries in the Great Lakes Region. DRC is one of the worst affected countries.

The conflict in DRC is protracted and extremely complex. The violence has claimed a lot of lives and displaced many people in and out of DRC. The conflict has been complicated by the government in Kinshasa's inability to effectively administer all regions of the country, being completely absent in some Eastern regions. Numerous land conflicts, disagreements of

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<sup>20</sup> Rufanges Jordi. Conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo. *Review of Forty Years of Conflict*. Centre Delas, 2016.

<sup>21</sup> Koko Sadiki. Assessment of the UN peace operations in DRC. *Journal of Strategic Studies in Southern Africa*, 34 (2), 2012.



customary and modern laws, and exploitation of natural resources are other factors worsening the situation. Entrepreneurs profiting from the war through human and mineral smuggling have financed small armed groups to perpetuate the conflict.

Various international organizations have made attempts to bring peace to the resource rich country. The United Nations has funded peace initiatives in the DRC directly or through local peace organizations such as Mwalimu Julius Nyerere's Foundation. The international body has also deployed military peace keeping forces in the country since 1999. However, despite the United Nations close to twenty years intervention in DRC, the country is yet to attain sustained peace. It is from this background that this study investigates the role of United Nations in conflict resolution in DRC.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

1. What is the genesis of the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo?
2. What is the role of the United Nations in mediating the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo?
3. What are the challenges faced by UN in resolving the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo?

### **1.4 Research Objectives**

#### **1.4.1 Broad Objectives**

The broad objective of the study is to assess the role of the United Nations in conflict resolution in Democratic Republic of Congo (2010-2018)

#### **1.4.2 Specific Objectives**

1. To establish the genesis of the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo.

2. To determine the role of the United Nations in mediating the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo.

3. To identify the challenges faced by UN in resolving the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo.

## **1.5 Literature Review**

For this study, empirical literature review has been done around the three specific objectives. These objectives are: to establish the genesis of the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo; to determine the role of the United Nations in mediating the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo; and to identify the challenges faced by UN in resolving the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo.

### **1.5.1 Theoretical Literature Review**

The theoretical review focuses on three theories. They are conflict theory, power approach theory to mediation and conciliatory approach theory.

#### **1.5.1.1 Conflict Theory**

This theory owes its origin to Karl Max's 1848 work which laid emphasis on class based conflicts. Karl Max attempted to explain the class wars between the bourgeoisie (those who controlled production means) and proletariats (the poor in the working class)<sup>22</sup>. The theory stipulates that relative deprivation, failure to meet people perceived basic needs, social institutions inability to meet its expected functions. Relative deprivation occurs when their conditions of life do not meet their expectations<sup>23</sup>. Conflicts will also result to a group that alleges injustice or poor treatment being ignored or feeling that its concerns are neglected by

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<sup>22</sup> Burton, John. *Conflict. Human Needs Theory*. Macmillan: London, 1990.

<sup>23</sup> Emanuel Remi Aiyede. Theories of conflict management, *Research Gate* 12, 4 (2015)

those who have capacity to address their grievances. The grieving party may hence result to confrontational relationship with the other party. The group may grow aggressive, start litigations or use physical violence<sup>24</sup>.

Burton<sup>25</sup> has related group based conflicts and basic needs of humans, recognition, identity and survival. He reasons that conflicts are based on unmet or poorly fulfilled basic human needs amongst various human categories. The theory states that power imbalances amongst human beings are a key source of conflicts when it reflects in decision making processes.

The structural origin of group conflicts can be related to the arrangements of social roles attached to domination and subjection. This happens when one group is in a position of dominion while the other is subdued. If subdued groups interests are neglected long enough, a conflict is likely to happen<sup>26</sup>. This theory is relevant to this study since it attempts to establish the origin of the conflict in DR Congo. It delves on the history of DR Congo in an attempt to examine the root causes of the long-term conflict. Thus the theory is relevant since it assists in supporting the first objective on the genesis of the conflict in DR Congo.

#### **1.5.1.2 Power Approach Theory to Mediation**

This theory was established by Dacher Keltner (2003). It argues that power is capable of transforming a state's psychological condition<sup>27</sup>. This theory of mediation applies when a party external to the conflict comes up to mediate the conflicting parties. The third party will be driven by his broader strategic interests more than the parties to the conflict. The third party will throw

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<sup>24</sup> Emanuel Remi Aiyede, Theories of conflict management, *Research Gate* 12, 4 (2015)

<sup>25</sup> Burton, John. *Conflict. Human Needs Theory*. Macmillan: London, 1990.

<sup>26</sup> Emanuel Remi Aiyede, Theories of conflict management, *Research Gate* 12, 4 (2015)

<sup>27</sup> Keltner Dacher and Deborah Harry. Power, approach, and inhibition. *Review of Global Conflicts*. 110 (2), 2010.

in their weight to the conflict based on the power they hold over the conflicting parties and influence outcomes to the conflict in line with the strategic interests of the party.<sup>28</sup>

To influence the mediation outcomes, the third party may use light strategies such as promises, persuasion, and ingratiation. They may use heavy tactics such as threats and demands of certain commitments from conflicting parties. Ingratiation involves making the opposing party more amenable to the other party so that it does not resist agreement too much. The tactics may involve flattery, making small favors to the other party or agreeing to the opinions of the other party. The tactics under gamesmanship involves making a country inciting a state of unrest that lowers the ability of another to resist. Gamesmanship or ingratiation works if the party being applied on is not aware of it<sup>29</sup>.

Persuasive arguments are meant to lower the opposing party's aspirations. A party may argue that it has a legitimate right to a specified outcome in the mediation process or that the opposing party's best interests are best addressed by lowered aspirations. Promises induce certain positive consequences of accepting given conditions while threats offer harmful consequences. Promises work better to induce desired outcomes because they are warm and comforting<sup>30</sup>. This theory is relevant in this study since it assists in highlighting the importance of a mediator and the mediation process in resolving conflicts. It focuses on the role of the United Nations as a mediator in the DRC conflict. It therefore anchors the second objective on the role of the United Nations in mediating the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo.

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<sup>28</sup> Edward Lavine. Mediation in International Politics: A Universe and Some Observations. *Journal of International Peace Studies*. 18 (2), 2008.

<sup>29</sup> Edward Lavine. Mediation in International Politics: A Universe and Some Observations. *Journal of International Peace Studies*. 18 (2), 2008.

<sup>30</sup> Edward Lavine. Mediation in International Politics: A Universe and Some Observations. *Journal of International Peace Studies*. 18 (2), 2008.

### 1.5.1.3 The Conciliatory Approach

This approach is propounded by scholars such as Johann Galtung, John Paul Lederach, and Thania Paffenholz. Conciliation is a process of conflict resolution where an independent person or group is selected by the parties in conflict due to their expertise or experience in the dispute and uses various techniques in order to bring parties to an agreement that is mutually acceptable<sup>31</sup>. In this approach to mediation, the third party mediator attempts to bring the parties to the conflict closer by improving communication.

The mediator helps the parties in conflict interpret the matters driving them apart in a way that will result to more common perception and which will look less adversarial to each. The objective is to arrive at a peaceful settlement<sup>32</sup>. While addressing deep seated emotive issues that raise negative feelings, the mediator in this process will work to ensure that parties to the conflict interpret the issues in a more positive way. This way the negative energy is converted to possibilities for middle ground<sup>33</sup>.

Communication is key to this approach of conflict resolution. Conflict management starts with clarification of communication ensuring that each party's understanding of the issue under conflict is clear. This involves facilitating the parties to speak their minds openly, encouraging careful listening, and creating an environment where strong feelings are expressed but in an appropriate manner. It is important for conflicting parties to be rational and hold a win-win spirit through the mediation process<sup>34</sup>.

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<sup>31</sup> Zistel Saw. *Conflicts and transformation in Uganda*. New York: Palgrave Mcmillan, 2008.

<sup>32</sup> Keltner Dacher and Deborah Harry. Power, approach, and inhibition. *Review of Global Conflicts*, 110 (2), 2010.

<sup>33</sup> Jacob Berkovitch. *Mediation and resolution of conflicts in the world*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace and Conflicts. 107, 2005.

<sup>34</sup> Pelin Erap, David Quinn and Jonathan Walkman. *Peace and conflicts in African intrastate wars*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 91, 2012.

The theory is relevant to this study since it expounds the role of the United Nations as a conciliator in the conflict in DR Congo. It essentially focuses on highlighting the various challenges that the UN as a conciliator in this conflict encounters. It thus supports the third objective of assessing the challenges faced by UN in resolving the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo.

### **1.5.2 Empirical Literature Review**

In this study, empirical literature has been done around the three specific objectives. These are, genesis of the conflict in DRC, role of UN in DRC conflict and the challenges facing UN in DRC conflict.

#### **1.5.2.1 Genesis of the Conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo**

From the intensity of human rights abuses and the civilian death tolls recorded in DRC conflict, the conflict has attracted great regional and international attention. The genesis of DRC conflict runs way back to the reign of King Leopold II continuing through the colonial governments. The Belgian colonial government is blamed for laying the grounds of poor governance that has fueled the DRC conflict. They initiated the culture of unchecked personal power in governance, use of national resources for personal enrichment, brutal repression of dissenting voices, massive abuse of human rights and dividing the country along social, ethnic and regional lines<sup>35</sup>.

With this kind of basis, the post-independence DRC was unstable and was marked with rebellions and secessionist movements since 1960's up to date. The conflicts in the early leadership of DRC were evident right from independence. The structure of the state for example

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<sup>35</sup> Kisangani Ezekiel. *The policies of the United States in the Great Lakes Region of Africa*. Lanham: Lexington Publishers, 115, 2014.

was not amicably agreed on. Some sections of leaders preferred federalism while others wanted a centralized government<sup>36</sup>.

The country was rooted in ethnic divisions' right from the start. Colonial masters, Belgium, could not let DRC go owing to the huge natural resource interest they had in the country. Western governments used DRC to leverage against expansion of communism in Africa. Thus since independence to date DRC conflict has had both internal and external dimensions<sup>37</sup>. Democratic Republic of Congo is a country that has been involved in armed conflict in the 20<sup>th</sup> and now 21st century. Genocides under the colonial government of Belgium and tyranny under President Mobutu Sese Seko form the basic history of the country. Scholars and development agencies have investigated the root causes of the conflict in DRC<sup>38</sup>.

The conflict in DRC has had many players over the years. There have been studies on the unique factors that have sustained the armed conflict in the DRC. DRC has had many countries in East and Central Africa directly involved in the conflict<sup>39</sup>. Some countries have supported various governments at different times while others have supplied the rebels with weapons and other logistical support. In 1998 for example, the conflict in DRC involved so many African countries that it was referred to as First African World War<sup>40</sup>. The point is that that the conflict in DRC is complex with a dense history.

The genesis of the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is a widely debated and researched topic. Many researchers have focused on the role of various factors like external and

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<sup>36</sup> Kisangani Ezekiel. *The policies of the United States in the Great Lakes Region of Africa*. Lanham: Lexington Publishers, 115, 2014.

<sup>37</sup> Kisangani Ezekiel. *The policies of the United States in the Great Lakes Region of Africa*. Lanham: Lexington Publishers, 115, 2014.

<sup>38</sup> Amnesty International and African Watch (Afrewatch). Human rights abuses in the DRC. Retrieved on January 22, 2018.

<sup>39</sup> Rufanges Jordi. Conflict in the Democratique Republic of Congo. *Review of Forty Years of Conflict*. Centre Delas, 2016.

<sup>40</sup> Rufanges Jordi. Conflict in the Democratique Republic of Congo. *Review of Forty Years of Conflict*. Centre Delas, 2016.

internal aggression as well as natural resources in the conflict in DRC. A lot of studies have considered poor governance as the causes of the conflict in the region. However, Jordi Calvo and Josep Maria<sup>41</sup> reports that the role of interference of DRC by external players has been discussed by many scholars. However, few studies have explicitly focused on the role of international community players like the United Nations in stabilization of conflicts in DRC<sup>42</sup>. This is empirical gap that this study will focus on.

Prunier<sup>43</sup> observes that DRC is a unique country that needs greater investigation of the peace process. He discusses the collapse of peace agreement in DRC in 2009. DRC is a country with more than 700 ethnic groups and they all have different interests that need to be accommodated in any sustainable peace agreement. The study recommends for the need to investigate how the complexity of the ethnic composition of the various ethnic groups in DRC has been the genesis of the conflict in the country. There is also need to study the challenges facing UN in its endeavour for peace processes and how a sustainable intervention is possible in the country.

A lot of studies done on the causes of the conflict in DRC have rightly concluded that a major cause is resources in the country. Most studies have investigated the role of multinational companies and regional states in perpetuating the conflict to exploit the massive resources. However, the local context of resources is neglected. The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa<sup>44</sup> observes the bigger issue in the conflict originate from redistribution of resources amongst various ethnic groups and interest groups in the country. A recommendation is made on more studies on this aspect of the resource conflict.

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<sup>41</sup> Rufanges Jordi. Conflict in the Democratique Republic of Congo. *Review of Forty Years of Conflict*. Centre Delas, 2016.

<sup>42</sup> Rufanges Jordi. Conflict in the Democratique Republic of Congo. *Review of Forty Years of Conflict*. Centre Delas, 2016.

<sup>43</sup> Prunier, Grain. *Genocide and continental conflicts*. New York: Hurst Publishers, 2010.

<sup>44</sup> United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. *Causes of conflicts in the Great Lake regions of Africa*. Addis Ababa: United Nations, 2016.



Amnesty International and Afrewatch<sup>45</sup> investigated what has sustained conflict in Eastern Congo despite there being relative peace in other parts of the country. They trace the causes to the complex history of DRC and how adversely Eastern Congo was affected. The highly ethnicized region had been subjected to intense suffering by Mobutu Sese Seko's regime. The situation did not improve much after Joseph Kabila formed a transition government. The region still finds Joseph Kabila's government to have neglected them<sup>46</sup>. Thus the gap in the various empirical literatures is that the view that complexity of DRC is the cause of the conflict is too generalized. This study therefore aims at abridging the gap by focusing on the specific causes of the conflict in DRC.

Bope<sup>47</sup> studied on the role of MONUSCO to prevent conflict and facilitate the enhancement of democracy and human rights in DRC. The study found that dealing with human rights abuses, MONUSCO helped the Congolese government to capture and transfer Thomas Lubanga Dyilo, the leader of the (Union des Patriotes Congolais) UPC to the ICC because of war crimes and the using of child soldiers, it (MONUC) did not achieve together with the Congolese judiciary system the prosecution of other cases of serious crimes committed in the DRC as well as an end to impunity. However, the study has not focused on the genesis of the conflict in DRC.

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<sup>45</sup> Amnesty International and African Watch (Afrewatch). Human rights abuses in the DRC. Retrieved on January 22, 2018.

<sup>46</sup> Mvunganyi Jackson. Unite Nations peacekeepers death in Darfur-Voice of America. Retrieved 7<sup>th</sup> November 2018.

<sup>47</sup> Eugene Bope Mikobi. Role of United Nations in Democratic Republic of Congo: democracy and human rights. PhD Thesis, 2011.

<sup>48</sup> Rufanges Jordi. Conflict in the Democratique Republic of Congo. *Review of Forty Years of Conflict*. Centre Delas, 2016.

The situation did not improve much after Joseph Kabila formed a transition government. The region stills finds Laurent Kabila's government to have neglected them<sup>49</sup>. Thus the gap in the various empirical literatures is that the view that complexity of DRC is the cause of the conflict is too generalized. This study therefore aims at abridging the gap by focusing on the specific causes of the conflict in DRC.

### **1.5.2.2 Role played by UN in the Conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo**

United Nations has maintained conflict prevention as one of its core mandates. This goal has been maintained since the creation of the body post Second World War. It aims to protect generations from the impacts of war. UN has expanded its focus and strategies from peace talks to addressing other deeper rooted causes of conflict such as poverty, governance, and violation of human rights

The UN is highly deliberate from being reactive to war but rather being proactive. It intends to always deal with root causes of war dealing effectively with national and international systems that are facilitative of war across the world. To stop conflicts in international politics, United Nations tracks international political movements, and mitigates potential war causing fissures before they erupt. Led by UN Secretary- General UN is heavily involved in diplomacy efforts across the world<sup>50</sup>.

The United Nations has been instrumental in mediating peace in DRC. Reporting to United Nations General Assembly on 29th August 2018, the UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres stated that with conflicts getting more complex and transnational, United Nations is keen to come up with bold and creative ways for mediation and peace building. The UN emphasized

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<sup>49</sup> Mvunganyi Jackson. Unite Nations peacekeepers death in Darfur-Voice of America. Retrieved 7<sup>th</sup> November 2018.

<sup>50</sup> United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. *Causes of conflicts in the Great Lake regions of Africa*. Addis Ababa: United Nations, 2016.

peaceful means to resolving the conflict in DRC organizing various peace forums to establish an all accommodating political agreement. The conflict in DRC is a complex one with many players at play. It is hence important to investigate in detail how United Nations mediation process can manage to accommodate not only the interests of parties within DRC but also those outside the country such as Rwanda who have an equally great interests because of their ethnic populations and refugees in the country.

Logistical challenges that the United Nations peace keeping force encounter in their mission in DRC and how they have affected the effectiveness in bringing stability in the country has been studied . DRC is almost the size of Western Europe with rough terrains. This has made it very expensive to maintain peace keeping forces in the country. The UN peace keeping force in DRC is in fact the most expensive in the entire UN's history.

The United Nations has been vocal in establishment of a sustainable peace process in DRC. Amnesty International and Afrewatch discusses the effectiveness of UN supported Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and the reasons for its failure in DRC. The TRC was formed in 2003 and in its almost four years of existence did not achieve much. TRC did not investigate crimes against humanity in DRC nor hold any public hearing sessions. Membership of the body was contested. Some commissioners were accused of intimate connection with suspect of human rights abuses. These studies have not fully explained the causes of the failure by the UN in diffusing the crises in DRC.

Fischer Lundgren and Jahjah (2013)<sup>51</sup> studied on monetary policies in DRC and their effects on micro and macro economies of the country. The author's singled out the effect of United Nations

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<sup>51</sup> Fischer Fuller, Chambers Lundgren and Stephen Jahjah. *The case of conflicts in Democratic Republic of Congo*. Washington: IMF Working Paper, 2013.

and other international organizations in shaping the economic culture of the country. They observed that DRC has relied on donor funding for such a long time due to the conflict that the resulting dependency has discouraged domestic resource mobilization.

Eriksson Baaz, and Stern (2010)<sup>52</sup> looked at the role United Nations has played in curbing sexual violence and abuse of human rights in DRC. He observed that girls and women have been exposed to rape and extreme sexual violence as an instrument of war. Affected communities have sought to retaliate thus sustaining the conflict. The United Nations has been at the fore front in gathering evidence of sexual violence with an aim of bringing the perpetrators to justice. The United Nations has hoped prosecutions will deter perpetrators from continuing with the crime<sup>53</sup>.

However, since the United Nations has not performed well as far as bringing the conflict to a conclusive end. This is even after deployment of MONUSCO to curb the conflict in DRC. Therefore there is need to examine the role of UN and specifically MONUSCO in conflict resolution between 2000 and 2018. John Ahere<sup>54</sup> focused on the peace process in DRC. He discusses how effective UN has been in incorporating regional bodies such as Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) and African Union in addressing the conflict in the country.

However, John notes that while various efforts have been put in place by these bodies, the conflict continues to gain momentum especially in Eastern Congo. He recommends UN Security Council to give greater scrutiny to the special circumstances in Eastern Congo that have made the region evade stability while other parts of Congo have gained relative peace. However, the study fails in getting into the depth on the role of UN in the conflict.

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<sup>52</sup> Mvunganyi Jackson. Unite Nations peacekeepers death in Darfur-Voice of America. Retrieved 7<sup>th</sup> November 2018.

<sup>53</sup> Fischer Fuller, Chambers Lundgren and Stephen Jahjah. *The case of conflicts in Democratic Republic of Congo*. Washington: IMF Working Paper, 2013.

<sup>54</sup> John Ahere. *The quagmire of the conflict and peace process in Democratic Republic of Congo*. New York: Hurst Publishers. 23, 2012.

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### **1.5.2.3 Challenges Facing UN in Resolving the Conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo**

UN efforts to address DRC conflict is the most complex and expensive ever in the UN history. Since 199, approximately 8.9 billion dollars have been expended in this country with about 20,000 UN troops deployed in DRC by 2016. The contribution, militarily to UN troops has come from more than 30 countries. With a mission this size, there must be difficulties experienced.

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<sup>55</sup> United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. *Causes of conflicts in the Great Lake regions of Africa*. Addis Ababa: United Nations, 2016.

<sup>56</sup> Nasu, Hitoshi. *Institutional Evolution in Africa and the' Peacekeeping Institution*, (2016).

<sup>57</sup> Rufanges Jordi. *Conflict in the Democratique Republic of Congo. Review of Forty Years of Conflict*. Centre Delas, 2016.

Some of them have included delays in release of funds, UNSC's bureaucratic authorization procedures holding up operations, and language barriers that has frustrate common training approaches.

With this wide diversity of contributing countries, unity of command becomes a challenge. There has been tensions and sometimes clashes between military personnel from different countries that has resulted to some countries withdrawing their military support. The very principles of peace operations have been a frustrating source of divisions as various factions differ on appropriate strategies and political considerations. This resulted to poor conception of political transition strategies in the country. Some of the militias were poorly integrated into the national military and governance systems that resulted to a sustained peace.

The biggest failure of MONUC/MONUSCO's is poorly matched peace force with its environmental operational conditions. The international community did not see the DRC conflict beyond its national level causes. De Vries, a scholar of DRC conflict points that the dichotomy in perception of the conflict in DRC and understanding of the violence between international actors and the realities on the ground. Local tensions are poorly addressed since they run deep into village level conflicts and have deep relationship with regional conflicts such as migration of refugees, and former military with interahamwe militia from Rwanda after the genocide against the Tutsi.

Neither the UN secretariat nor the UNSC made any significant attempt to address the local level causes of conflict in DRC from a proper point of knowledge during the war and after the ceasefire. They focused at peace building from national and regional levels ignoring the local

level tensions that turned out to be the big drivers of the conflict<sup>58</sup>. De Vries further explains that peace in DRC failed to be sustained because DRC was erroneously classified as a post conflict country when it was not while the conceptualization by international community that DRC was a national and regional conflict only made it worse. By concluding DRC was a post conflict country resulted to poor strategies that assumed peace had been arrived at.

Approximately \$8.7 billion was used in DRC peace keeping effort since 1999. It is a well-established fact that minerals and other natural resources have been at the core of DRC conflict. Though United Nations have done a lot to ensure that sanctions are placed on those using violence in DRC to exploit its resources, the challenge is in enforcement of those sanctions. United Nations Economic Commission for Africa observes that the international players have failed to support the United Nations in self-regulation to rid of companies plying on conflict in DRC for the minerals.

The complexity of the challenges in the conflict in DRC makes it worthwhile to investigate the challenges the UN has encountered since the deployment of MONUSCO in the country. Bearing in mind that MONUSCO is the largest peace keeping contingent in the world, why is the conflict still ongoing? Has the UN been unable to settle the conflict? What are the undermining challenges that it faces in ending the conflict? These are the gaps that this objective is going to focus.

Human Rights Watch (2009)<sup>59</sup> investigating sexual violence in DRC observed that conflict in DRC is highly complex that it poses significant challenges for institutions intervening to bring

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<sup>58</sup> Nasu, Hitoshi. *Institutional Evolution in Africa and the Peacekeeping Institution*, (2016).

<sup>59</sup> Human Rights Watch. *Causes of rape among commanders in the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 2009.

peace and stability in the region. The leadership in DRC and the region has manipulated citizenship and ethnicity issues to gain political cover and perpetuate the violence<sup>60</sup>.

This has resulted to complex national and international conflicts that have only served to make it harder for a political settlement to be reached. Rebel genocidal groups such as Interahamwe are mixed in the conflict with intentions of harming neighbouring countries like Rwanda. Rwanda Defence Forces for example have had to wage warfare along its border with DRC in an effort to secure the threats of its stability. The United Nations hence finds itself with a complex maze to unravel if sustainable peace is to be established in DRC<sup>61</sup>.

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<sup>60</sup> Amnesty International and African Watch (Afriwatch). Human rights abuses in the DRC. Retrieved on January 22, 2018.

<sup>61</sup> Nasu, Hitoshi. Institutional Evolution in Africa and the' Peacekeeping Institution, (2016).

<sup>62</sup> United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. *Causes of conflicts in the Great Lake regions of Africa*. Addis Ababa: United Nations, 2016.

<sup>63</sup> Amnesty International and African Watch (Afriwatch). Human rights abuses in the DRC. Retrieved on January 22, 2018.

<sup>64</sup> Human Rights Watch. *Causes of rape among commanders in the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 2009.

<sup>65</sup> Amnesty International and African Watch (Afriwatch). Human rights abuses in the DRC. Retrieved on January 22, 2018.



resulted to complex national and international conflicts that have only served to make it harder for a political settlement to be reached.

Hitoshi<sup>66</sup> investigated the challenges UN has had in mobilizing troops and resources for peace keeping missions in DRC. The study found that the United Nations faces a bigger challenge, a legal challenge. This is evident when UN gives directive against exploitation of natural resources in the country. The monetary and financial laws available to the UN are not strong or elaborate enough to capture and punish companies and states violating the laws. It is hence important to study how the UN can be supported better by other regional laws to counter resource laundering in DRC<sup>67</sup>.

Adebajo, Boulden, and Cilliers and Malan<sup>68</sup> argue that the size of DRC and complexity of the conflict, sometimes involving at least twelve armed rebel groups and nine African countries, often require a large and a well-resourced mission to succeed and be effective. The authors attribute the main challenge facing MONUSCO in DRC is a logistical. This is due to the fact that it involves issues to do with insufficient troop's size and insufficient resources. The authors further argues that lack of commitment to provide adequate resources specifically at the begging of peace keeping operations have generally affected the credibility of the missions increasing the significance of ultimate failures. The study has inadequacies since it has not connected the actual roles of peacekeeping forces in DRC conflict.

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<sup>66</sup> Nasu, Hitoshi. "Institutional Evolution in Africa and the Peacekeeping Institution'." (2016).

<sup>67</sup> Fischer Fuller, Chambers Lundgren and Stephen Jahjah. *The case of conflicts in Democratic Republic of Congo*. Washington: IMF Working Paper, 2013.

<sup>68</sup> Adebajo, Adeku, Boulden, John and Ellis Cilliers and DanielTafadzwa. "A critical analysis of the United Nations Organisation mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo: a focus on MONUC." PhD diss., University of Cape Town, 2012.

Some MONUSCO did not maintain professional standards in their operations. They raped women and girls taking advantage of the collapsed social structures<sup>69</sup>. They also plundered resources in DRC with some being accused of smuggling gold and diamonds from the country. Others were involved in illegal arms sales, and human trafficking. The peace keepers sent as protectors of the innocent had turned to be their abusers. However, this study failed by not investigating the role of peacekeepers in the conflict.

Veronica Foster and Dan Benitez<sup>70</sup> study revealed that the conflict in DRC has reduced in intensity in recent years with United Nations playing a significant role. There has been a substantial improvement in the countries macro-economic performance. Inflation has stabilized to single digit levels with the government able to put in place better fiscal policies.

However there are concerns that an increasing youthful population that is finding itself in an environment of poverty and high levels of unemployment may provide fodder for conflicts and frustrate UN peace initiatives in DRC. This study has not revealed the challenges international players like the UN are encountering in the peace resolution in DRC. The current study will attempt to fill this empirical gap.

The complexity of the challenges in the conflict in DRC makes it worthwhile to investigate the challenges the UN has encountered since the deployment of MONUSCO in the country. Bearing in mind that MONUSCO is the largest peace keeping contingent in the world, why is the conflict still ongoing? Has the UN been unable to settle the conflict? What are the undermining challenges that it faces in ending the conflict?

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<sup>69</sup> Nasu, Hitoshi. Institutional Evolution in Africa and the' Peacekeeping Institution. (2016).

<sup>70</sup> Veronica Foster and Dan Benitez. Conflict and war in Democratic Republic of Congo. World Bank policy paper, 2018.

### 1.5.3 Gaps in the Literature

The empirical literature has identified the fact that though scholars like Bope<sup>71</sup> has focused on role of MONUSCO to prevent conflict, they have not focused on the genesis of the conflict in DRC. Whereas the research by Amnesty International and Afrewatch<sup>72</sup> has attempted an assessment of causes of sustained conflict in Eastern Congo, the view that complexity of DRC is the cause of the conflict is too generalized. This study therefore aims at abridging the gap by focusing on the specific causes of the conflict in DRC.

Though studies on UN in DRC has been undertaken by researchers like John Ahere<sup>73</sup> focused on the peace process in DRC, the study fails in getting into the depth on the role of UN in the conflict and have not fully examined the role of UN and specifically MONUSCO in conflict resolution between 2000 and 2018. The current study will bridge this empirical gap. Whereas studies by various scholars (Veronica Foster and Dan Benitez; Adebajo, Boulden, and Cilliers and Malan) have focused on the role of UN in DRC, they have not fully revealed the challenges international players like the UN are encountering in the peace resolution in DRC. The current study will attempt to fill this empirical gap.

### 1.6 Research Hypotheses

**H<sub>01</sub>:** There is no significant role of the United Nations in conflict resolution in Democratic Republic of Congo.

**H<sub>a1</sub>:** There is significant role of the United Nations in conflict resolution in Democratic Republic of Congo.

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<sup>71</sup> Eugene Bope Mikobi. Role of United Nations in Democratic Republic of Congo: democracy and human rights. PhD Thesis, 2011.

<sup>72</sup> Amnesty International and African Watch (Afrewatch). Human rights abuses in the DRC. Retrieved on January 22, 2018.

<sup>73</sup> John Ahere. *The quagmire of the conflict and peace process in Democratic Republic of Congo*. New York: Hurst Publishers, 23. 2012.

## **1.7 Justification of the Study**

### **1.7.1 Policy Justification**

This study is important since it will inform stakeholders in international peacekeeping efforts on the genesis, failure in mediation process and challenges facing UN attempt at resolving the conflict in DRC. Policy makers will thus modify the existing strategies of mediation in the future conflicts.

### **1.7.2 Academic Justification**

The study will generate new and useful knowledge to stakeholders on the conflict in DRC. The study is useful to future academicians since it will impart new knowledge on genesis, failure in mediation process and challenges facing UN attempt at resolving the conflict in DRC.

## **1.8 Theoretical Framework**

The Conflict theory has its origin from Karl Marx's 1848 work. Its main area of concentration was the causes of conflict between the owners of means of production called the bourgeoisie and the workers or the poor referred to as proletariat<sup>74</sup>. The theory attempts to explain factors causing and sustaining conflicts. The theory stipulates that relative deprivation, failure to meet people's perceived basic needs, social institutions' inability to meet their expected functions. Conflict theory is considered relevant in this study because it reflects the issues dealing with the genesis of conflicts like the DRC conflict, the link between conflict and the resulting human suffering. The theory links the first objective; establish the genesis of the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo.

## **1.9 Research Methodology**

This is a library-based research that utilized secondary data sourced from library sources, books, e-books, government publications, journals, newspapers and magazines. The data was

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<sup>74</sup> Burton, John. *Conflict and theory of human wants*. London: Engrave Publishers, 1990.

systematically analyzed to identify the major findings from which the research has drawn conclusions and recommendations.

### **1.10 Chapter Outline**

Chapter one introduces the topic of the research study, by first setting the broad context of the study, the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, literature review, hypotheses, justification, theoretical framework, and the methodology of the study. Chapter two provides the background on the genesis of the DRC conflicts. Chapter three discusses the role of United Nations in mediating the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo. Chapter four analyzes the challenging facing the UN in resolving the conflict in DRC. Chapter five discusses the findings of the data analyzed conclusions and recommendations and provide suggestions on areas for further study.

### **1.11 Chapter Summary**

The chapter reviewed literature on role of United Nations in mediating the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo. The literature has advanced the interpretation and analysis of key issues leading to the conflict in DRC. Thereafter, the study gap has been identified.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **GENESIS OF THE CONFLICT IN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

The origin of DRC conflict was the worst in the history of Africa on humanitarian crisis due to several factors. The history of the conflicts in DRC may be traced from the colonialism and the propagation of conflicts and crises by colonial masters. Post-colonial legacy has continued to escalate the pre-colonial era conflicts in DRC. For hundreds of years, many western and European powers have been seeking to exploit the natural resources from DRC. These three phases of the conflict in DRC are highlighted as the genesis of the conflict in DRC.

#### **2.1 Colonialism and Conflict in DRC**

If one is to understand the current conflicts in DRC one has to dig deep into the countries colonial history. Identities build along religious, ethnic and regional lines have over the years sparked divisions and hatred amongst citizens of this country. Colonialisms used this play book to divide DRC and hence have an easier time exploiting the countries resources for their own good<sup>75</sup>.

Before colonialisms, divisions in DRC were not that bad. However, Belgian colonialist were deliberate to plant discord and by the time the country was being handed over in independence, divisions were deep rooted. The divisions reflected in a poorly performing economy<sup>76</sup>.

Before colonials, Congo was one of the richest kingdoms in Africa. The Luba and Lunda traded with the kingdom for copper, salts, crafts and other tools. The trade networks expanded with

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<sup>75</sup>John Emeka Akude. *Crisis and Governance in the African States*. London: Adonis Publishers, 2009.

<sup>76</sup>Nasu, Hitoshi. *Institutional Evolution in Africa and the' Peacekeeping Institution*, (2016).

years as technology and cultural ties expanded<sup>77</sup>. However, King Leopolds II of Belgium takeover of DRC in 1885 as his personal property started the downfall of the kingdoms economy. He plundered the countries natural resources helped by the Belgium military and ruled the locals with brutality. Subsequently, traditional traders with DRC such as the Arabs, Swahili and Zanzibar withdrew from the region<sup>78</sup>.

Leopolds brutality was so severe that half of the local population is reported to have died in forced labor conditions alongside starvation and diseases. The massacre of Congolese was worse than the Nazi killing of Jews in Second World War. Ironically, King Leopold was a signatory to anti-slavery treaties<sup>79</sup>. King Leopold constructed a railway that delivered medicine and other necessities to local populations from which he based his forced labor arguments. He stated that the locals did not have currency to pay with and hence could only compensate him through labor. Most local workforce was used to harvest rubber that was in huge demand in the west to make bicycle and tires as well as other industrial use. Some of the barbarities King Leopold's regime is accused of against the locals included amputation of limbs, when they failed to meet the set performance targets in collecting ivory, rubber and palm oil<sup>80</sup>.

King Leopold II was able to convince the European countries that his work in DRC was on humanitarian grounds and that Congo was for free people trading freely through the king. The king sought support from European countries apparently to combat slave trade in the Africa. However, back in Congo, King Leopold was only making things harder for African, by for example making decrees that even the little they harvested from their farms could only be sold to the state and which was done at very poor rates.

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<sup>77</sup> Kevin Dunn. *Remembering the conflict in Congo*. New York: Palgrave Publishers, 2013.

<sup>78</sup> Kevin Dunn. *Remembering the conflict in Congo*. New York: Palgrave Publishers, 2013.

<sup>79</sup> Kevin Dunn. *Remembering the conflict in Congo*. New York: Palgrave Publishers, 2013.

<sup>80</sup> Kevin Dunn. *Remembering the conflict in Congo*. New York: Palgrave Publishers, 2013.

The Congolese earned no capital through export and this only served to destroy the economy. In October of 1892, King Leopold entered into agreement with two companies, Tanganyika and UMHK to extract natural resources such as rubber and ivory for onward export to Europe. The vast amounts of land they were given made huge profits at the detriment of the local economy<sup>81</sup>. The companies were used to force out private traders from Congo. They charged huge taxes deepening the economic woes of the locals.

Rubber export, for example grew by more than a 168 factor between 1888 and 1905 bringing the King huge profits that was never benefiting the locals<sup>82</sup>. The Congolese population rapidly decreased by more than 50% over the two decades following start of rubber trade. Villages are reported to have been depopulated through mass murder. Wars amongst locals were started along tribal lines to further divide and control them. Revolts against European traders made the locals get annihilated as with Budja tribe which was extensively slaughtered by Force Publique<sup>83</sup>.

Many locals fled Congo Free State as living conditions became very difficult. They fled to other countries in the neighborhood. By the time King Leopold's regime was coming to an end, Congolese economy had crashed. In 1911, King Leopold handed over Congo to Belgium who ruled the country up to 1960. In this colonial period, Belgian elites continued to control Congo's economy while the local's exploitation through forced labor with minimal pay continued<sup>84</sup>.

However, Belgian colony attempted to restore some order in Congolese systems by introducing chieftains. This was however only aimed at facilitating the Belgians control amongst the locals. The system however was a failure since most of the formerly respected chiefs had died, and the

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<sup>81</sup> Dorcas McCoy. American foreign policy and post-cold war affairs towards Somalia. *Journal of World Affairs*, 163 (1), 2017.

<sup>82</sup> Kevin Dunn. *Remembering the conflict in Congo*. New York: Palgrave Publishers, 2013.

<sup>83</sup> Nasu, Hitoshi. *Institutional Evolution in Africa and the' Peacekeeping Institution*, (2016).

<sup>84</sup> John Emeka Akude. *Crisis and Governance in the African States*. London: Adonis Publishers, 2009.



vast brutality of King Leopold's regimes had destroyed cultural ties that gave authority to traditional chiefs previously. Migration in the region was encouraged by the colonial regime. Close to 85,000 Rwandese for example were moved to Kivu regions of Congo as workers in colonial plantations. Turner reports that about 25,000 Rwandese were settled in Masisi regions in 1937 and 1945 while another 60,000 were settled there between 1949 and 1955<sup>85</sup>.

Ethnic identity in Congo is best captured in its urbanization trends. Towns provided the first points of tensions as migrants from Africa were faced by an urban environment that made them lose communal cohesiveness. African in urban settings soon formed themselves into associations build on ethnicity support each other better. These ethnic groupings provided a source of identity and solidarity. Belgian colonial governments controlled education that made Congolese literate but devalued cultural values of the locals. History of atrocities Congolese suffered under King Leopold was also erased through education systems<sup>86</sup>.

Through collaboration with local tribal leaders, Belgium colonialists were able to ensure consistent supply of labor from locals that enabled them to exploit natural resources and construct trade routes. In return the tribal leaders were given positions in colonial administration such as local administrators. The leadership structures in Congo hence started being influenced by colonial political interests from there hence forth. Though colonial government attempted to resettle locals in lands they could farm most European corporations retained control of most valuable natural resources<sup>87</sup>.

Katanga region of Congo was especially important to Europeans. They discovered copper there and copper was highly needed to sustain advantage in World War II. Katanga region was settled

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<sup>85</sup> Thomas Turner. *The conflict in Congo*. London: Zed Publishers, 2007.

<sup>86</sup> Walter Rodney and Vincent Harding. *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. Washington DC: Howard University Press, 1981.

<sup>87</sup> Dorcas McCoy. American foreign policy and post-cold war affairs towards Somalia. *Journal of World Affairs*, 163 (1), 2017.

by many Europeans and it began to flourish as houses, hospitals and other infrastructure started coming up<sup>88</sup>. Other minerals such as gold and diamond were discovered in this region too raising its importance.

The locals in this region benefited somewhat with their standards of living being noted to improve but still they were overworked, paid less and taxed more. The improvement in conditions for the locals in these regions can hence not be celebrated as it did not reflect their right to benefits accrued considering the resource was there and most input was made by them<sup>89</sup>.

In Leopoldville, a town named after King Leopold, locals started demanding autonomy from colonial government in 1959. The resulting riots and protests shock the Belgium colonialists to an extent that they started considering aborting their mission in Congo. There was a wave in Africa where countries were now gaining independence from European colonialists. This impacted Belgium government in Congo.

However, unlike the other colonial governments that prepared the locals for self-rule after their exit, Belgium did not do the same in preparation for Congo's independence in 1960. When the country gained independence the local people had little knowledge on how to run themselves independently and how to survive in a capitalist economy<sup>90</sup>.

Patrice Emery Lumumba became the first prime minister of DRC in its first election after the country's independence. There were not many people who had university degrees then. As a matter of fact they were only 17 people. However political events and participation were vibrant with more than 120 political parties<sup>91</sup>. Patrice Lumumba and Joseph Kasavubu, the president,

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<sup>88</sup> Bayart Jean Francis. *The history of conflicts in Africa and internal affairs*. Retrieved on February 8, 2019.

<sup>89</sup> Bayart Jean Francis. *The history of conflicts in Africa and internal affairs*. Retrieved on February 8, 2019.

<sup>90</sup> Lemarchand Rene. *Political reawakening in Congo*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964.

<sup>91</sup> Bayart Jean Francis. *The history of conflicts in Africa and internal affairs*. Retrieved on February 8, 2019..

formed a coalition government. There were differences in how the two leaders wanted the country governed. Lumumba wanted a centralized government to unite the country after sharp divisions by colonialists while Kasavubu was for empowerment of decentralized albeit ethnicized groupings. Tensions between the two leaders grew with each wanting all power. Seeds of discord and division in the post-colonial Congo had been sown and they would only flourish from that point going forward<sup>92</sup>.

The Belgian colonialists had never allowed Congolese African into government and therefore they had little capacity of running a unified country. The education system promoted by Belgians had not prepared the country for self-rule that rapidly arrived. However, the education system had resulted to high literacy levels in the country with Congo having the highest literacy levels in the Africa. Secondary and university educations however were not as established in Congo by the time. By 1960, only 22 Congolese had university education. Patrice Lumumba run for prime ministerial position with only primary education<sup>93</sup>.

With no educated background, there was no much hope to Congolese political establishments. The identity differences were brought to the fore more forcefully when district borders were being drawn. Originally Congo had 15 districts that were increased into 22 by 1912. The districts were also subdivided into many territories by the colonial government. By 1933, six provinces had been created. By then the districts had been increased to 102 with Belgium colonialists continued to reshuffle administrations and boundaries to accommodate tribal enclaves<sup>94</sup>.

Belgians, in doing this were reinforcing positions that national identities were made on tribal grounds and hence Congolese never identified on provincial levels leave alone the national level.

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<sup>92</sup> John Emeka Akude. *Crisis and Governance in the African States*. London: Adonis Publishers, 2009.

<sup>93</sup> John Emeka Akude. *Crisis and Governance in the African States*. London: Adonis Publishers, 2009.

<sup>94</sup> Christopher Cramer. *The causes of conflicts in the developing world*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014.

Not unexpected there were many tribal based conflicts in the country most notably the Hutu and Tutsi tribes. This was further reinforced when the Belgium government introduced tribal based identity cards in 1962 in Eastern regions where Rwandese had settled to categorize Hutus and Tutsi differently<sup>95</sup>.

Young further expounds on ethnic divisions in Congo from right in colonial days. The Belgium colonial government identified people tribally along the river Congo calling them 'Ngala' to distinguish them from others in the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>96</sup>. This label continued even when these populations migrated to urban centers. This reinforced the identity of populations along river Congo as distinctly Ngala, an identity that previously never existed<sup>97</sup>.

Favoritism that had political interests also formed Belgium's approach to handling different tribes. The Hema tribe for example was favored more than Lendu where they were privileged in access to education and resources. The effects of that disparity have continued to date. Before colonialism the two tribes had peacefully co-existed with extensive intermarriages being recorded. However, there were armed conflicts in 1972, 1985 and 1996 when communal differences over land erupted in Congo. This history provides evidence that Belgium's orchestrated ethnic divisions within Congo to facilitate colonial conquest<sup>98</sup>.

There were fairly blurred distinctions between the Hutu and Tutsi before the European interventions in Central Africa. The Belgium colonialists created and exploited the resulted differences for political purposes. This created subjugations and differences within Congo which

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<sup>95</sup> John Emeka Akude. *Crisis and Governance in the African States*. London: Adonis Publishers, 2009.

<sup>96</sup> Crawford Young. *Politics and conflicts in the Congo*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965.

<sup>97</sup> McCullum Hugh. *The broken promises in Africa*. Geneva: WCC Publications, 2006.

<sup>98</sup> McCullum Hugh. *The broken promises in Africa*. Geneva: WCC Publications, 2006.

have persisted up to date. However other factors have since been added that have fueled conflicts in Congo to include corruption, and land ownership conflicts.

The conflicts were exacerbated by political schemes of post-colonial leaders such as Mobutu Sese Seko and domineering violent resistant groups such as one led by John Kony called Lord's Resistance Army and M23 rebel groups<sup>99</sup>. It is hence sensible to conclude that identity hatreds enhanced by colonial policies have sowed seeds of discord that has troubled DRC to date.

## **2.2 Post-Colonial Legacy and the Conflict in the DRC**

To grasp the political happening in post-colonial DRC one has to study Cold War international politics and how the competitions impacted DRC's political realities and social formations. Though some argue that Cold war brought stability in developing countries many hold that it facilitated war and instability in Africa<sup>100</sup>. There were many proxy wars in the continent between USSR and USA. Proxy wars were preferred by these competing world powers since they were relatively putting less at stake and were used to influence political dynamics in different regions. USA had huge economic interests in Congo Basin<sup>101</sup>. Congo vast natural resource base was particularly important to both USA and USSR<sup>102</sup>.

With decolonization happening across Africa in 1950's and 1960's Africa was now being governed by fairly inexperienced people and governance was generally weak. In Congo the government exhibited wide cracks and divisions and this played into the hands of the

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<sup>99</sup> Kevin Dunn. *Conflict in Congo*. New York: Palgrave Publishers, 2013.

<sup>100</sup> Veronica Foster and Dan Benitez. *The causes of destruction of infrastructures in Democratic Republic of Congo*. World Bank Working Paper, 2018.

<sup>101</sup> United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. *Causes of conflicts in the Great Lake regions of Africa*. Addis Ababa: United Nations, 2016.

<sup>102</sup> Eugene Bope Mikobi. *Role of United Nations in Democratic Republic of Congo: democracy and human rights*. PhD Thesis, 2011.

superpowers. Both USSR and USA had their ideologies imposed on various political factions in the country and this was exhibited in local political competitions.

In 1960 Congo acquired independence from their colonialists Belgium. Congo needed a different political and legitimation order as the old colonial governing systems were not working. There was drive to have an African seeming ideology and with that were rapid political shifts ideologically. In 1961, Patrice Lumumba became the first Prime minister elected in Congo and formed a coalition government with Joseph Kasavubu as the president. Lumumba wanted economic freedom of Congo where natural resources benefits would be controlled by Congolese and demonstrable benefits be seen amongst local populations<sup>103</sup>.

Moise Tshombe was the leader who had strong support from Belgium government. He had been given control of vast resources and stores in Katanga province of Congo. To retain a level of control of political process and consequently resources in Congo, Belgium government supported Moise to frustrate Lumumba. Lumumba sought UN's help to stabilize Congo<sup>104</sup>. The USA, UN and Soviet Union agreed to support the UN peacekeeping mission. MONUSC, the UN mission prevented collapse of Congo as a state but was also a theatre of cold war showdowns between USA and USSR<sup>105</sup>.

President Eisenhower wanted Congo protected from USSR communism agenda. Khrushchev on the other hand, hiding under anti colonialism rhetoric was determined to increase USSR's influence in Africa. Lumumba faced frustrations in securing financial support from USA and was

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<sup>103</sup> United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. *Causes of conflicts in the Great Lake regions of Africa*. Addis Ababa: United Nations, 2016.

<sup>104</sup> Dorcas McCoy. American foreign policy and post-cold war affairs towards Somalia. *Journal of World Affairs*, 163 (1), 2017.

<sup>105</sup> Bayart Jean Francis. *The history of conflicts in Africa and internal affairs*. Retrieved on February 8, 2019.

forced to turn to USSR. USA politicked this terming Lumumba as a communist puppet with the hope that he would be dissuaded from the path he had taken<sup>106</sup>.

USSR was quick to send military support to Lumumba in Congo. USA responded by pressing Congo President Kasavabu to get rid of Lumumba. There were armed conflicts in the country. USSR moved its planes from Congo to Cairo. However, the trucks remained but were captured by rebel leaders, Joseph Mobutu who had Kasavabu's and Tshombe's support<sup>107</sup>.

Civil unrest increased especially in Kasai regions with Mobutu's military arms rapidly advancing. Lumumba's political and military factions were under constant pressure. Lumumba was eventually captured and was exiled. Antoine Gizenga was made the countries prime minister. He quickly turned to USSR for support. He was given money to pay his army which encouraged them to counter Mobutu's troops<sup>108</sup>.

The Soviet Union was now consolidating an army to counter UN efforts in Congo since UN forces were opposing Lumumbists forces. This failed. Eventually, in February 1961, Patrice Lumumba was assassinated. USSR pride and prestige was severely wounded. USSR concluded that intervention in Congo was too risky of its global reputation. Request for more military support by Gizenga was repulsed by USSR<sup>109</sup>.

Patrice Lumumba's ouster from leadership of Congo was a major political changer in DRC. Despair increased in the country. Abuses of human rights were placed on UN forces and rebel forces were fighting for control in different parts of Congo. The resulting civil war between 1961

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<sup>106</sup> Kevin Dunn. *Conflict in Congo*. New York: Palgrave Publishers, 2013.

<sup>107</sup> John Emeka Akude. *Crisis and Governance in the African States*. London: Adonis Publishers, 2009.

<sup>108</sup> Jacob Berkovitch. *Mediation and resolution of conflicts in the world*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace and Conflicts, 107, 2005.

<sup>109</sup> Koko Sadiki. Assessment of the UN peace operations in DRC. *Journal of Strategic Studies in Southern Africa*, 34 (2), 2012.

and 1965 had thousands of people dead<sup>110</sup>. In 1965, Mobutu took over power in Congo and renamed the country Zaire. This was political move by USA who used their global influence to sustain Mobutu Sese seko in power for the next 30 years. Mobutu's government was riddled with corruption, economic mismanagement and severe suppression of human rights in Congo<sup>111</sup>.

The economy was on a free fall. When Congo was attaining independence in 1960, there were 85,000 miles of roads but this had reduced to a mere 20,000 miles by 1985<sup>112</sup>. The poor transport infrastructure meant Congo could not transport basic items including foods from farms that resulted to unnecessary famines, malnutrition and deaths in 1970s<sup>113</sup>. Mobutu's government ignored parts of Zaire that were not mineral rich. For his own political expedience, he distributed national resources to regions that he was assured of support.

He suppressed democracy by heavily crushing opposition in Zaire<sup>114</sup>. Mobutu Changed laws in 1966 to ensure that only the state owned land and mineral resources. Mobutu Sese Seko allowed his military people to be engaged in mineral trade for which they competed with local entrepreneurs. He invested very little in public service sector. Zaire was a route for smuggling resources and human trafficking<sup>115</sup>.

Mobutu enriched himself from natural resources attained from Congo. By 1985, Mobutu's personal wealth was estimated at five billion US dollars. He had driven Congo's economy into further despair. He perfected colonial mistreatment that Belgium started. The country was

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<sup>110</sup>John Emeka Akude. *Crisis and Governance in the African States*. London: Adonis Publishers, 2009.

<sup>111</sup>Eugene Bope Mikobi. *Role of United Nations in Democratic Republic of Congo: democracy and human rights*. PhD Thesis, 2011.

<sup>112</sup>Bayart Jean Francis. *The history of conflicts in Africa and internal affairs*. Retrieved on February 8, 2019.

<sup>113</sup>Crawford Young. *Politics and conflicts in the Congo*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965.

<sup>114</sup>Dorcas McCoy. American foreign policy and post-cold war affairs towards Somalia. *Journal of World Affairs*, 163 (1), 2017.

<sup>115</sup>Eugene Bope Mikobi. *Role of United Nations in Democratic Republic of Congo: democracy and human rights*. PhD Thesis, 2011.



eventually declared bankrupt<sup>116</sup>. Mobutu entrenched tribal divisions even further. He demanded for the Tutsi to leave Zaire for their original homeland in Rwanda. The Tutsi had attempted a rebellion against Mobutu's government, seeking help from Rwandan government. Mobutu was involved in scheme that destabilizes neighboring countries such as Rwanda by supporting insurgent groups there<sup>117</sup>.

In 1997, Mobutu was ousted out of power and was exiled in Russia where he later died. Mobutu's reign is an indicator of how cold war politics facilitated poor leadership in Africa with super power countries prioritizing their international positioning more than human rights<sup>118</sup>. USA continued supporting Mobutu despite his heavy record of abuses. The UN too was supportive of Mobutu too who added more loans and financial incentives in hope he would reform the country<sup>119</sup>.

Mobutu took advantage of rebellions in Zaire, used his ill attained wealth and most notably exploited the gaps created by cold war conflict to retain power in Congo. John Mueller notes that the key amount of residual warfare is the extent to which the government can adequately function. Weak systems in Zaire allowed Mobutu to pilferage the country economically<sup>120</sup>.

### **2.3 Natural Resources and Conflict in DRC**

Natural resource based conflict in DRC has big national, regional and international face. The struggle to gain and retain control of rare resources in DRC has made it hard to manage the resources and frustrated efforts to have them benefit public good. Globalization that started

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<sup>116</sup> Jacob Berkovitch. *Mediation and resolution of conflicts in the world*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace and Conflicts, 107, 2005.

<sup>117</sup> Crawford Young. *Politics and conflicts in the Congo*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965.

<sup>118</sup> Bayart Jean Francis. *The history of conflicts in Africa and internal affairs*. Retrieved on February 8, 2019.

<sup>119</sup> Crawford Young. *Politics and conflicts in the Congo*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965.

<sup>120</sup> United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. *Causes of conflicts in the Great Lake regions of Africa*. Addis Ababa: United Nations, 2016.

taking proper shape in the cold war era resulted to a huge demand of natural resources from Africa and this put spotlight on resource rich DRC. Extraction of resources both legally and illegally was happening and a higher rate in the country<sup>121</sup>.

Almost 30% of the world's diamond reserves are in DRC. Other resources include huge gold, copper and bauxite deposits. Cobalt, found in DRC, is now a hugely sought after mineral since it is a key component in making of laptops and mobile phones. War lord arose in Africa to control the natural resource deposits and these dynamics were most conspicuous in DRC<sup>122</sup>.

Though it was thought end of colonial rule would be a relief to Congolese who would start benefiting from their natural resources, this was not to be. Post-independence regimes especially Mobutu Sese Seko's government allowed Western countries to continue pillaging Congolese natural resources. Natural resource has been noted to increase propensity of conflict in a region through many channels. The two main channels are those that work through rebel groups and those that impact their influence through the state, its institutions and economy.<sup>123</sup>

Mobutu many years of mismanagement of Zaire had started breaking the country down to almost complete extents by early 1990s. Tribalism and nepotism were lifted high in Zaire above patriotic governance. Mobutu nationalized many Zairean resources and put them under control of the people he wanted to reward<sup>124</sup>. Clientilism had taken shape as the mode of political economy

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<sup>121</sup> Bayart Jean Francis. *The history of conflicts in Africa and internal affairs*. Retrieved on February 8, 2019.

<sup>122</sup> Amnesty International and African Watch (Afriwatch). Human rights abuses in the DRC. Retrieved on January 22, 2018.

<sup>123</sup> Eugene Bope Mikobi. *Role of United Nations in Democratic Republic of Congo: democracy and human rights*. PhD Thesis, 2011.

<sup>124</sup> Bayart Jean Francis. *The history of conflicts in Africa and internal affairs*. Retrieved on February 8, 2019.

in Zaire by 1970's. He used the system to wade off political competitions between different factions<sup>125</sup>.

When armed conflicts started in Congo exploitation of natural resources in the country became militarized. This was especially the case after the fall of Mobutu Sese Seko. UN reports that though in Mobutu's regime, forestry and mining sectors were under civilians, they fell into the hands of militaries and militias after 1996<sup>126</sup>. With this level of militarization mining regions essentially became battle fields leading to escalation of violence against civilians.

Lurent Kabila took over power of Congo after Mobutu was ousted. Many thought the clienteles and corruption witnessed in Mobutu's government had come to a welcome end<sup>127</sup>. Kabila had good intentions of rebuilding Congo but the populations distrust for government was already very heavily entrenched. Rebel groups did not stop their pursuit of regional control too. Just as had been the case with Mobutu, Kabila ascended to power through a military takeover. When he took over power he sought to empower the military more by increasing the financial budget allocated to them. Due to Kabila lack of political skills, another civil war soon erupted. Kabila would play off different mining companies to retain leverage which created anxiety amongst foreign investors. Tensions rose in ADFL (Alliance of Democratic forces for the liberation of Congo-Zaire)<sup>128</sup>.

Congolese resources have continued to be plundered this time even by countries in Africa. Reports show that between 1998 and 2003, foreign countries looted natural resources from

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<sup>125</sup> Eugene Bope Mikobi. Role of United Nations in Democratic Republic of Congo: democracy and human rights. PhD Thesis, 2011.

<sup>126</sup> Bayart Jean Francis. *The history of conflicts in Africa and internal affairs*. Retrieved on February 8, 2019.

<sup>127</sup> Kevin Dunn. *Conflict in Congo*. New York: Palgrave Publishers, 2013.

<sup>128</sup> Rufanges Jordi. Conflict in the Democratique Republic of Congo. *Review of Forty Years of Conflict*. Centre Delas, 2016.

DRC<sup>129</sup>. There were several countries from Africa involved in the war such as South Africa, Uganda, Rwanda and Zimbabwe. Uganda was supporting rebel groups where Congo has rich gold deposits hoping to gain economically from mineral trade<sup>130</sup>. Zambia and Zimbabwe had also economic interests in Congo's mineral reserves. Kabila was supported by local militias rather than the national military. The rivalry over natural resources had just taken a new dimension in Congo. Kabila's rule remained weak and Congo did not benefit from their natural resources<sup>131</sup>.

Multinational Corporation's (MNC'S) have been highly impactful in the conflict in Congo. MNCs have been reported to finance conflicts so that the disruption allows them space to exploit natural resources in Congo. The big companies evade taxes when the country is unstable. UN reports that Trinity and Victoria MNC are responsible of tax evasion and illegal trade in DRC. Ugandan and Congolese companies have also been accused of the same<sup>132</sup>.

Rebel groups operating within Congo such as Forces Democratiques de Liberation du Rwanda (FDLR), Mai-mai, Joseph Kony's Lord Resistance Army and the Coalition of Congolese Patriotic Resistance (PARECO) have been accused of grave violation of human rights and illegal mining activities. In 2012, foreign direct investment in Congo was reported to be at a record high by United Nations. It is feared that this resource is used to finance militia groups in the country<sup>133</sup>.

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<sup>129</sup> Bayart Jean Francis. *The history of conflicts in Africa and internal affairs*. Retrieved on February 8, 2019.

<sup>130</sup> John Emeka Akude. *Crisis and Governance in the African States*. London: Adonis Publishers, 2009.

<sup>131</sup> Jacob Berkovitch. *Mediation and resolution of conflicts in the world*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace and Conflicts, 107, 2005.

<sup>132</sup> Bayart Jean Francis. *The history of conflicts in Africa and internal affairs*. Retrieved on February 8, 2019.

<sup>133</sup> Eugene Bope Mikobi. *Role of United Nations in Democratic Republic of Congo: democracy and human rights*. PhD Thesis, 2011.

Rebel groups take advantage of weak governance systems in Congo to thrive. They have taken control of many resource rich parts of Congo. The rebel groups use the resources they attain to finance their war efforts<sup>134</sup>. UN has identified 85 companies in Congo who it has accused at least of failing to observe good corporate practices in Congo indicating several participated in illegal exploitation of resources in Congo categorized the violations into two categories: giving of material assistance to militias or financing the war by acquiring minerals that warring factions controlled<sup>135</sup>.

A British company, Afrimex, has been accused of funding a rebel group that conduct grave human rights abuses in DRC. In exchange the said rebel group allowed the company to mine in the areas it controlled. Forced labor and very poor working conditions were reported in those mines. America Mineral Fields (AMF) has been accused of supporting Kabila's war efforts by financing his military and providing resources including planes<sup>136</sup>.

Rebel groups are known to terrorize local populations they perceive not supportive of their course by burning down villages and raping women and girls<sup>137</sup>. Some rebel groups tactfully control certain areas to retain leverage against the government. All this puts civilians in harm's way. For example, Kabila's military forces have been reported to have had fierce battle with rebel groups along the Inga hydropower station that supplies Kinshasa with both needing control of the resource. However many civilians lives have been put at risk in this conflict<sup>138</sup>.

Rebel groups have great impact in local and national conflicts in DRC. Though Mobutu had many rebel groups against him in his 30 years rule, they were not able to assassinate him. Kabila

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<sup>134</sup> Bayart Jean Francis. *The history of conflicts in Africa and internal affairs*. Retrieved on February 8, 2019.

<sup>135</sup> John Emeka Akude. *Crisis and Governance in the African States*. London: Adonis Publishers, 2009.

<sup>136</sup> Kevin Dunn. *Conflict in Congo*. New York: Palgrave Publishers, 2013.

<sup>137</sup> Bayart Jean Francis. *The history of conflicts in Africa and internal affairs*. Retrieved on February 8, 2019.

<sup>138</sup> Kevin Dunn. *Conflict in Congo*. New York: Palgrave Publishers, 2013.

regime has also been riddled with rebel rebellion. The first anti Kabila rebel group was called Congolese Democratic Coalition (CDC)<sup>139</sup>. CDC had helped Kabila assume power but soon turned against him. The president was later assassinated on 16<sup>th</sup> January 2001.

His son Joseph Kabila took over from him and has steered the government in relative stability. Joseph Kabila was able to attain and sustain peace agreements with many militia groups and managed to push out many foreign militaries from Congo<sup>140</sup>. In DRC rebel groups thrive in an environment of impunity. This is despite the efforts of DRC military with support from many countries and the UN to get rid of the groups. The rebel groups continue to pursue control of resource rich regions and will violate any form of human rights to that end<sup>141</sup>. The conflicts in DRC have decimated the country's economy<sup>142</sup>.

#### **2.4 Summary of Major Findings**

The major findings of the study are that the genesis of the conflict in DR Congo is due to three major factors. These are colonialism, colonial legacy and plundering of Congolese natural resources. The study established that the history of the conflicts in DRC may be traced from the colonialism and the propagation of conflicts and crises by colonial masters. The study established that post-colonial legacy as a source of the conflict is notable since with decolonization of the late 1950's and 1960s, a group of rather poorly governed African countries like DR Congo came into being. The findings are that the struggle for control over natural resources has exacerbated conflict in DR Congo. This study established that plundering of

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<sup>139</sup> Jacob Berkovitch. *Mediation and resolution of conflicts in the world*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace and Conflicts, 107, 2005.

<sup>140</sup> John Emeka Akude. *Crisis and Governance in the African States*. London: Adonis Publishers, 2009.

<sup>141</sup> Bayart Jean Francis. *The history of conflicts in Africa and internal affairs*. Retrieved on February 8, 2019.

<sup>142</sup> John Emeka Akude. *Crisis and Governance in the African States*. London: Adonis Publishers, 2009.

Congo's natural wealth was not only being done by Western countries but African nations as well.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **ROLE OF UNITED NATIONS**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter covers the history of the UN in Democratic Republic of Congo and the cease fire and establishment of MONUC. It also highlights the transition of MONUC to MONUSCO and the summary of the major findings.

#### **3.1 History of United Nations in DRC**

Since independence from Belgium in 1960, DRC has been a theatre of activity with UN being an ever present player. By 1964, UN had made a few interventions in Congo in protection of the government and repulsing separatist's movement in Southern Katanga province. Under the highly dictatorial rule of Mobutu Sese Seko, the government never got real control of Eastern parts of Congo. Mobutu, who ruled Congo for 32 years, is reputed of governing through corruption, autocracy and high decline in living standards. He was brutal in repulsing opposition movements but still managed to enjoy foreign support owing to the delicate cold war international political balances<sup>143</sup>.

When the cold war ended in the 1990s the West had started finding Mobutu a liability. An armed rebellion by Laurent Kabila gained Rwanda and Uganda support eventually toppled the weakened leader in 1997. But even with Kabila presidency, state structures remained weak. His opponents backed by foreign forces started another war in the country that drew in more than half a dozen African countries in what was regarded as African World War. The foreign

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<sup>143</sup> United Nations. *Due diligence policy in support of UN security forces*. New York: March 2017.



countries maintained a strong control in internal DRC politics even after pulling out of the country<sup>144</sup>.

### 3.2 Ceasefire and Establishment of MONUC

In a period of only six years between 1997 and 2003, the civil conflicts in DRC had killed more than 350,000 people with millions of people being displaced. Though a cease fire was signed by warring parties in 1999 war continued up to 2002 when Pretoria Joseph Kabila signed the peace agreement, the president who took over after his father Laurent Kabila was assassinated in 2001. The agreement spelt that a transitional government would be in place for the next four years until 2006 when democratic elections would be held. The transition government was led by Kabila and other four vice presidents representing various rebel groups<sup>145</sup>.

UNSC resolution 1279 established MONUC in 1999 responsible to ensure 1999 ceasefire. MONUC was initiated with less than 400 troops but eventually was added to be a 5000 peace keeping force<sup>146</sup>. With the peace keeping force faced with various challenges UN increased its mandate and capacity. In 2000 UNSC gave MONUC powers to guard and fight for its bases. The unit was given authority for voluntary disarmament efforts for warring factions<sup>147</sup>.

In 2002, Rwanda withdrew its more than 20,000 troops leaving behind a power vacuum. Nonetheless, MONUC was successful in helping DRC hold elections in 2006 after a 40 years wait<sup>148</sup>. MONUC now took a more assertive role after the election with a mandate of helping the new government attain control in many areas outside the capital it did not have. However

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<sup>144</sup> Koko Sadiki. Assessment of the UN peace operations in DRC. *Journal of Strategic Studies in Southern Africa*. 34 (2), 2012.

<sup>145</sup> United Nations. *The Secretary General's Report*. New York, 25<sup>th</sup> September, 2016.

<sup>146</sup> Fischer Fuller, Chambers Lundgren and Stephen Jahjah. *The case of conflicts in Democratic Republic of Congo*. Washington: IMF Working Paper, 2013.

<sup>147</sup> United Nations. *The Secretary General's Report*. New York, 25<sup>th</sup> September, 2016.

<sup>148</sup> Jacob Berkovitch. *Mediation and resolution of conflicts in the world*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace and Conflicts, 107, 2005.

MONUCH faced many challenges especially in Eastern Congo. There were numerous and often highly lethal inter-ethnic conflicts. Withdraw of military forces from neighbouring countries only made it harder for MONUC<sup>149</sup>.

Ituri district has some of the worst human rights abuses in the history of the world. UN responded through French troops in resolution 1484<sup>150</sup> in Eastern region. Artmis operation was meant to bring stability in specific regions. French forces in DRC were the first from a European country<sup>151</sup>. Resolution 1493 (28 July 2003) gave MONUC Chapter VII gave the mission mandated use of force while protecting civilians or ensuring arms embargo in the region was enforced. The mission was no longer observatory but one of enforcing authority of governance in DRC<sup>152</sup>. 1493 resolution extended authority to three regions in Eastern Congo. The French led mission was deemed a success but the success was short lived as efforts to upscale the same country wide failed<sup>153</sup>.

The UNSC passed resolutions that build on 1493 resolution in two years from 2013 to 2015 that enhanced the mission's efforts to enforce arms embargo and other sanctions alongside containment of rebel groups. The Arms embargo announced by UN in 2003 and 2004 was aimed at putting pressure on warring factions to accept peaceful resolutions in DRC<sup>154</sup>. UNSC resolution 1533 of 12<sup>th</sup> March 2004 mandated specified experts to monitor adherence of the arms embargo. The Group of Experts was mandated to provide a framework that would ensure that

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<sup>149</sup> United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. *Causes of conflicts in the Great Lake regions of Africa*. Addis Ababa: United Nations, 2016.

<sup>150</sup> United Nations. *The Secretary General's Report*. New York, 25<sup>th</sup> September, 2016.

<sup>151</sup> United Nations. *Due diligence policy in support of UN security forces*. New York: March 2017.

<sup>152</sup> Koko Sadiki. Assessment of the UN peace operations in DRC. *Journal of Strategic Studies in Southern Africa*, 34 (2), 2012.

<sup>153</sup> United Nations. *The Secretary General's Report*. New York, 25<sup>th</sup> September, 2016.

<sup>154</sup> Jacob Berkovitch. *Mediation and resolution of conflicts in the world*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace and Conflicts, 107, 2005.

mineral exploitation in DRC was done in an appropriate manner that would not destabilize the country<sup>155</sup>.

Through resolution 1952 (29 November 2010), the Security Council recommendation were made that DRC government identifies elements within its military that were supporting illegal mining and bring them to justice in UNSC resolution of 1952 made on 10<sup>th</sup> November<sup>156</sup>. MONUC had its mandate greatly widened under the 2004 UNSC resolution adding security factions, support of electoral systems, and mandate to protect civilians. In 2006, MONUC helped DRC hold its first democratic elections since end of colonial rule.

The parliamentary election where more than 500 seats were being contested was the most complex electoral process UN had ever conducted. MONUC provided technical and logistical support. The elections conducted where more than 500 national assembly seats were contested for were the most complex elections UN had ever overseen through provision of technical and logistical support. MONUC evolved to be one of the biggest missions by UN with close to 20,000 troops<sup>157</sup>.

### 3.3 Transition to MONUSCO

Based on several factors including improved relations with Rwanda, the situation in DRC appeared to be relative calm. President Kabila started pressuring the UN mission to withdraw from DRC hoping they would be eventually gone by 2011 when another round of elections were due in the country<sup>158</sup>. UN resisted this move fearing a vacuum would be left in DRC but reduced its mission by 200 in what was renamed MONUSCO in 1925 resolution of 28<sup>th</sup> May 2010. This

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<sup>155</sup> United Nations. *Conflict location and data project in Democratic Republic of Congo*. Retrieved on 15<sup>th</sup> March 2019.

<sup>156</sup> United Nations. *The Secretary General's Report*. New York, 25<sup>th</sup> September, 2016.

<sup>157</sup> United Nations. *Due diligence policy in support of UN security forces*. New York: March 2017.

<sup>158</sup> United Nations. *The Secretary General's Report*. New York, 25<sup>th</sup> September, 2016.

resolution gives a strong mandate to support the government in ensuring it has control of the entire country and string institutions<sup>159</sup>.

MONUSCO's first priority was to protect civilians under a zero civilian abuses tolerance policy. However its mission extended to supporting the government overpowers armed confrontation from rebel groups. The idea was to create a peaceful environment that would facilitate return of internally and externally displaced Congolese. The mission aimed to strengthen DRC military, and support in electoral process if requested. The missions further sought to support the government in stabilizing trade and exploitation of DRC's natural resources.<sup>160</sup>. Additionally, resolution 1925 tasked MONUSCO in ensuring that arms trade was legal in DRC ensuring that rebel groups were receiving no form of assistance militarily or financially from any sources that were imposed for the first time through resolution 1807 given on 31<sup>st</sup> march of 2008. This was further extended on 7<sup>th</sup> December of 2009 through resolution 1896<sup>161</sup>.

Resolution 1925 authorized there be maximum number of troops at almost 20,000 in DRC. A budget of 1.39 billion US dollars was approved for the mission. Many countries contributed to the mission such as India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Others were Uruguay, South Africa, Nepal and Egypt. Tanzania, Morocco, Gahan Senegal, Jordan and other had their contribution too<sup>162</sup>.

Unlike previous mission, MONUSCO's SSR mandated run beyond training forces and ensuring security. They were focused on governance issues such as democratic accountability, and ensuring a political process that had local ownership<sup>163</sup>. The mission mapped out local security

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<sup>159</sup>United Nations. *Due diligence policy in support of UN security forces*. New York: March 2017.

<sup>160</sup> Fischer Fuller, Chambers Lundgren and Stephen Jahjah. *The case of conflicts in Democratic Republic of Congo*. Washington: IMF Working Paper, 2013.

<sup>161</sup> United Nations. *Conflict location and data project in Democratic Republic of Congo*. Retrieved on 15<sup>th</sup> March 2019.

<sup>162</sup> United Nations. *Conflict location and data project in Democratic Republic of Congo*. Retrieved on 15<sup>th</sup> March 2019.

<sup>163</sup> United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. *Causes of conflicts in the Great Lake regions of Africa*. Addis Ababa: United Nations, 2016.

forces capacity to check on defence and police forces. Judicial institutions were also appraised with an aim of drawing up strategies to strengthen them. The police, for example were trained on crowd control as well as prevention and investigation and prosecution of sexual violence<sup>164</sup>.

The security sector in DRC still lacks in adequate capacity. Per citizen personnel for a single security personnel is still very high in the country. Accessibility of illegal fire arms is still high in the country putting more strain to security<sup>165</sup>. Peace and Security Cooperation of DRC was signed by 11 countries in 2013. They committed to not interfering with DRC internal affairs. The government was mandated to continue with reforms mainly in the police and the military. However the challenge at the moment is the poor human rights recorded being noted in the government especially in Eastern Congo. This has undermined the authority and acceptance of security forces<sup>166</sup>.

### **3.3.1 Force Intervention Brigade Under resolution 2098**

The UN Security Council created a special unit called the Force Intervention Brigade on 28 March 2013 within MONUSCO's existing troop authorization. Just before this brigade was established M23 rebel group had effortlessly taken large portions of regions that were under the government's control<sup>167</sup>. MONUSCO failed to hold control of Goma making the UNSC increase its capacity to feed off foreign and local rebel fighters. Resolution 2098 of the UNSC resulted to destruction of rebel groups such as M23, the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda

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<sup>164</sup> United Nations. *Due diligence policy in support of UN security forces*. New York: March 2017.

<sup>165</sup> United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. *Causes of conflicts in the Great Lake regions of Africa*. Addis Ababa: United Nations, 2016.

<sup>166</sup> United Nations. *The Secretary General's Report*. New York, 25<sup>th</sup> September, 2016.

<sup>167</sup> Amnesty International and African Watch (Afrewatch). *Human rights abuses in the DRC*. Retrieved on January 22, 2018.

(FDLR), and the Lord's Resistance Army. However, they only managed to dismantle M23 while other fled to neighbouring countries<sup>168</sup>.

The resolution was clear that the Brigade was to support the DRC government but it is worth noting that the force was mandated to uptake offensive operations even without the government's involvement or awareness. This was the first time in history that UN forces were mandated to use military force against an army<sup>169</sup>. Again saw this Brigade force as an exit strategy from DRC. The force would receive further authorization to stay for as long as national security sector reforms were not adequate enough to support DRC's security. DRC's rapid reaction force, for example was hoped would eventually take up the Brigades security operations in DRC<sup>170</sup>.

This intervention force had about three thousand troops which was well equipped and all round with an additional budget of \$140 million per year The force is an indicator of frustration within the international community of DRC's inability to grow its security force that can maintain stability in the entire country more so the restive regions especially in the East<sup>171</sup>. The Brigade was successful in repulsing the violent efforts of M23 rebel group which had taken control of large areas in Kivu. However there are mixed results though for as far as the force is concerned dealing with other groups such as Lord's Resistance Army operational within DRC<sup>172</sup>.

Though DRC government have strongly voiced for MONUSCO mission to end the soonest possible the unit has remained pivotal especially in areas the government has failed to assert

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<sup>168</sup> United Nations. *Conflict location and data project in Democratic Republic of Congo*. Retrieved on 15<sup>th</sup> March 2019.

<sup>169</sup> United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. *Causes of conflicts in the Great Lake regions of Africa*. Addis Ababa: United Nations, 2016.

<sup>170</sup> United Nations. *Due diligence policy in support of UN security forces*. New York: March 2017.

<sup>171</sup> United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. *Causes of conflicts in the Great Lake regions of Africa*. Addis Ababa: United Nations, 2016.

<sup>172</sup> Bayart Jean Francis. *The history of conflicts in Africa and internal affairs*. Retrieved on February 8, 2019.

control or in region that exhibit high insecurity<sup>173</sup>. Though accusations have been leveled against MONUSCO especially on its failure to protect civilians, its presence in DRC has improved the general security of the country. UN force in DRC has been credited for the successful 2006 elections in DRC, but it has some very dark spots such as accusations of human ad minerals trafficking, state centric approaches and sexual abuses against the locals<sup>174</sup>.

The Brigades early success in securing civilians and bringing back state authority in many parts of DRC are indicators that UN can provide crucial resource inn stabilizing even very volatile counties in the world<sup>175</sup>. Though there have been challenges it is important to maintain support to UN processes in DRC alongside building the capacity of the government to take assume greater role in devolved governance. The Brigade has been seen to be more sympathetic of the government as noted in its relentless effort to bring sown M23<sup>176</sup>.

Elimination of M23 garnered the Brigade a lot of praise internationally bringing with it hoped that DRC could be stabilized. However the Brigades success in combatting Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda has been hampered by UN policies in DRC such as Due Diligence policy that prohibits support for militaries with accusations made on human rights abuses<sup>177</sup>. It is critical that the Force Intervention Brigade provides a plausible strategy for way out. Countries providing troops must show greater willingness to put their soldiers in harm's way as the Brigade undertakes its offensive mandates especially looking at the slow pace DRC is moving to establish its own capable military and police forces<sup>178</sup>.

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<sup>173</sup> United Nations. *The Secretary General's Report*. New York, 25<sup>th</sup> September, 2016.

<sup>174</sup> United Nations. *Conflict location and data project in Democratic Republic of Congo*. Retrieved on 15<sup>th</sup> March 2019.

<sup>175</sup> Dorcas McCoy. American foreign policy and post-cold war affairs towards Somalia. *Journal of World Affairs*, 163 (1), 2017.

<sup>176</sup> United Nations. Background of MONUSCO force. Retrieved on 23<sup>rd</sup> February 2019.

<sup>177</sup> United Nations. *The Secretary General's Report*. New York, 25<sup>th</sup> September, 2016.

<sup>178</sup> United Nations. *Conflict location and data project in Democratic Republic of Congo*. Retrieved on 15<sup>th</sup> March 2019.

Ordinarily, troops in UN missions were provided by specified large troops offering nations. However, the Force Intervention Brigade comes from South African countries under Southern African Development Community (SADC) states. The down turn according to some critics is the political entanglement these contributing countries have with DRC making the force look a mere extension of SADC's political interests in DRC<sup>179</sup>.

### **3.4 Summary of Major Findings**

The study established that Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) acted as a trial phase of the United Nations peacekeeping in the 1960s in Africa. The findings are that the 2000-2018 MONUSCO has grown from being a relatively simple peace keeping and ceasefire enforcement mission to one of the most complex UN missions ever in history. The force is given authority to rebuild DRC and ensure armed conflict does not reemerge in the country.

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<sup>179</sup> United Nations. Background of MONUSCO force. Retrieved on 23<sup>rd</sup> February 2019.



## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **CHALLENGES OF UNITED NATIONS IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN DRC**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter sets out to look at some of the challenges faced by United Nations peacekeeping operations in DR Congo under the UN mission of operations of MONUC and MONUSCO. During the course of peace keeping missions by the United Nations in DR Congo, the mission is faced with enormous challenges that threatened the existence of such operations and prolonged its duration. These challenges as faced by operatives in the United Nations peacekeeping operation are multifaceted and diverse.

They exist in different forms and therefore to point to a particular factor as responsible for the challenges faced by the United Nations peacekeepers will be a grave danger. In trying to understand United Nations peacekeeping mission in DR Congo, it was seen that the operations carried out had the major objective being to restore peace and stop the killings of innocent civilians. The United Nations was mainly concerned with how to promote peaceful co-existence among the warring factions and not to change a government<sup>180</sup>.

#### **4.1 Non-Participation of Troops from Developed Countries**

A major challenge to United Nations peacekeeping operations in DR Congo is the refusal of developed countries to send troops for peacekeeping missions. Developed nations have a platoon of well-trained and highly equipped troops that could crush out warring militias in no distant time, yet they allow developing nations that have a weak military base to be the major contributors of troops and as a result of their poor training and low manpower, peacekeeping

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<sup>180</sup> United Nations. Background of MONUSCO force. Retrieved on 23<sup>rd</sup> February 2019.

missions becomes a challenge for United Nations<sup>181</sup>. According to a Background Note on United Nations peacekeeping, Pakistan, Bangladesh, India, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Nigeria are the nations with the highest number of troop's contributing countries in the last fourteen years. Among the twenty nations listed with the number of troops contributed, only China as a permanent member of the Security Council was on the list ranking the fourteenth position<sup>182</sup>.

On the top 20 providers of assessed contribution to the United Nations peacekeeping budget, most of the countries listed are developed nations with USA ranking number one<sup>183</sup>. This therefore shows that developed nations are more willing to donate to the budget rather than the manpower. However, this has not augured well with United Nations peacekeeping operations in DR Congo because peace keeping also involved technicalities, experience and skilled training rather than brute and force which is commonly the characteristic of developing nations military. The best peacekeeper is a well-trained, disciplined and well-equipped soldier<sup>184</sup>.

#### **4.2 Inadequate Manpower and Logistics**

Failure to provide adequate resources including human resource, and equipment has been the biggest challenge UN mission has faced in DRC. The inability of MONUSCO in Congo to deploy adequate troop strength gave room for militia groups to frustrate both missions and thwart their effort<sup>185</sup>. The failure of peace process up till date in DR Congo is as a result of inadequate peacekeeping operation to effectively toll the whole country and bring it under control despite the entire attempt and this is as result of the country's large size. The setback experienced in DR

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<sup>181</sup> Biscop Sven. *The European security strategy in the Democratic Republic of Congo*. Routledge, 2016.

<sup>182</sup> Patricia Daley. Challenges to peace in the Great Lakes Region. *Third World Quarterly*, 27 (2), 303, 2016.

<sup>183</sup> Stojek Szymon and Jaroslav Kiev. The role of United Nations in civil war states. *European Journal of International Relations*, 21 (2), 352, 2015.

<sup>184</sup> Alex De Waal. Peacekeeping missions in the African continent. *Journal of International Affairs*, 85 (1), 99, 2018.

<sup>185</sup> Biscop Sven. *The European security strategy in the Democratic Republic of Congo*. Routledge, 2016.

Congo is due to the fact that the mandate and resources of MONUC and MONUSCO are inadequate in relation to the complexities of the tasks<sup>186</sup>.

### 4.3 United Nation's Peace Keeping Policy

The United Nation's peace keeping policy that gives room for a nation to dictate the mode of operations of a UN mission also limits its potential and act as a challenge. When United Nation seeks permission and agrees to operate under certain rules and principles set by the government of that nation, United Nation's operatives are often forced to work under conditions of lawlessness and violence where militias and paramilitary groups act autonomously<sup>187</sup>. Therefore, United Nations peacekeeping troops working under conditionality's are made to be neutral, impartial and unbiased which makes them a times to be spectators of murder, terrorism, arson etc.<sup>188</sup>.

This is true of the case in DR Congo when the government gave conditions to United Nations before it can intervene and when these conditions were accepted, the government also tried to frustrate the efforts of United Nations peacekeeping operatives by delaying the whole process and by not granting permission to United Nations workers to access some areas<sup>189</sup>. The UN peacekeepers at times fear venturing in certain areas for fear of being attacked by the militias in DR Congo. They sometimes attack the UN bases and inflict casualties. For example in Ituri

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<sup>186</sup> Biscop Sven, *The European security strategy in the Democratic Republic of Congo*. Routledge, 2016.

<sup>187</sup> Stojek Szymon and Jaroslav Kiev. The role of United Nations in civil war states. *European Journal of International Relations*, 21 (2), 352, 2015.

<sup>188</sup> Denis Tull, Peacekeeping in democratic Republic of Congo. *Journal of International Peacekeeping*, 16 (2), 215, 2013.

<sup>189</sup> Alex De Waal. Peacekeeping missions in the African continent. *Journal of International Affairs*, 85 (1), 99, 2018.

province the Allied Democratic Force (ADF) attacked the Tanzanian peacekeeping force resulting in 14 deaths and 43 serious injuries<sup>190</sup>.

#### **4.4 Non-Cooperation of Congolese Militia Warlords**

A mission however well organized and resourced can only achieve its mission in an environment of cooperation. Lack of commitment by belligerents to peace process is a challenge that has been consistent in all UN missions in the country<sup>191</sup>. These militias in DRC and their leaders will enter into peace agreements when they think there is some leverage to gain and will leave them at will. Such war lords are difficult to negotiate with<sup>192</sup>.

#### **4.5 Violation of Human Rights**

M23 massive violations of human rights in Northern Kivu had remained a source of concern across the world. In November 2012, there were massive cases of human rights and International Humanitarian Law abuses being reported about M23. These included murder of civilians, displacing populations forcefully, massive looting and rape<sup>193</sup>.

Nonetheless there were also human rights violations from the government forces with Armed Forces of the DR Congo (FARDC) being accused of this while retreating from Goma in November of 2012. Other armed groups, such as the Mai-Mai Raia Mutomboki, Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), the Mai-Mai Simba/ Lumumba, Lord Resistance Army (LRA) of Joseph Kony, Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) and the Mai-Mai Gédéon, continued to take advantage of the security void left by the redeployed FARDC units to areas

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<sup>190</sup> Seun Abiola, Cedric Coning and Eduardo Hamann. The contribution of the United Nations peacekeeping doctrine in Congo. *UN Peacekeeping Magazine*, pp 172, 2017.

<sup>191</sup> Patricia Daley. Challenges to peace in the Great Lakes Region. *Third World Quarterly*, 27 (2), 303, 2016.

<sup>192</sup> Stojek Szymon and Jaroslav Kiev. The role of United Nations in civil war states. *European Journal of International Relations*, 21 (2), 352, 2015.

<sup>193</sup> Denis Tull. Peacekeeping in democratic Republic of Congo. *Journal of International Peacekeeping*, 16 (2), 215, 2013.

affected by the M23 rebellion. They launched violent attacks in various areas, and committed serious human rights violations against the civilian population<sup>194</sup>.

Though MONUSCO faced challenges in proving violations of IHL by warring factions mainly due to security concerns of witnesses and other factors, they were able to develop a strong case against M23 rebel's violations in several parts of Rutshuru territory, Goma, Sake and surrounding areas. These included mass murders, wounding of civilians, rapes and massive looting. MONUSCO was able to provide security to categories of civilians that were under most risk from M23. In North and South Kivu not less than 19 journalists and human rights defenders reported death threats from M23 rebels for reporting their IHL violations there<sup>195</sup>.

Two major events happened in Goma and Northern Kivu all perpetrated by M23 rebels. They broke into Goma prison and freed all detainees while in Northern Kivu, the rebels set free 300 prisoners from Butembo prison and destroyed all files. This was a major setback to judicial processes in the regions and marked a perpetuation of impunity. The result was the judicial processes that were supported by MONUSCO had Mai-Mai Simba militias being convicted and jailed for 20 years and others up to life in prison for their human rights abuses during the war<sup>196</sup>.

#### 4.6 Sexual Violence

MONUSCO considered sexual violence a great concern and preventing it was core to its missions. MONUSCO has been monitoring sexual violence cases. It has so far recorded sexual violations against 333 women and 70 girls which have been perpetrated by armed groups and

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<sup>194</sup> Alex De Waal. Peacekeeping missions in the African continent. *Journal of International Affairs*, 85 (1), 99, 2018.

<sup>195</sup> Patricia Daley. Challenges to peace in the Great Lakes Region. *Third World Quarterly*, 27 (2), 303, 2016.

<sup>196</sup> Bayart Jean Francis. *The history of conflicts in Africa and internal affairs*. Retrieved on February 8, 2019.

forces of DRC national government. For example 66 women were raped in one month, November of 2013 by Mai-Main Simba Lumumba militias in Mambasa region<sup>197</sup>.

The victims were accused of collaborating with FARDC as the rebels were being repelled from mining area in Southern Mambasa. The investigation into these violations areas still ongoing with fears that the numbers may grow to be much higher<sup>198</sup>. FARDC poor capacity has been blamed for these sexual violations. FARDC has also been accused of sexual violations too. For example, the force was accused of raping 126 women in Southern Kivu including 24 young girl in Minova, and Kalehe between 20<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> November 2013<sup>199</sup>.

#### 4.7 Children and Armed Conflict

There was an alarming record of children being gravely violated in DRC conflicts with some being killed and many being maimed. Children were used as soldiers and many were sexually abused. By 31<sup>st</sup> December 2013, MONUSCO had reported that 41 children had been killed as directly from violent conflicts with 37 being injured<sup>200</sup>.

Child recruitment was happening in DRC at a massive rate. MONUSCO reported that 210 children, 187 being boys and 23 girls had been recruited as soldiers. M23 rebels were especially notorious for that. Congolese army had captured 11 children from MRC camp who had been recruited as soldiers<sup>201</sup>. Unfortunately, DRC soldiers helped these children as prisoners for a period of between 2 to 6 months until the intervention of MONUSCO had them released.

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<sup>197</sup> Patricia Duley. Challenges to peace in the Great Lakes Region. *Third World Quarterly*, 27 (2), 303, 2016.

<sup>198</sup> Denis Tull. Peacekeeping in democratic Republic of Congo. *Journal of International Peacekeeping*, 16 (2), 215, 2013.

<sup>199</sup> Biscop Sven. *The European security strategy in the Democratic Republic of Congo*. Routledge, 2016.

<sup>200</sup> Biscop Sven. *The European security strategy in the Democratic Republic of Congo*. Routledge, 2016.

<sup>201</sup> Philip Apuuli Kasaija. *Use of drones in United Nations peacekeeping mission in Democratic Republic of Congo*. American Society of International Law, 2014.

MONUSCO has been concerned that children are being detained by DRC government while captured in war and are detained in poor conditions. MONUSCO is providing safe passages for children who are transiting from war zones especially in Goma and have hosting camps there for children coming from being child soldiers. Infrastructure useful to children has been attacked by militaries. In Northern Kivu for example, 42 primary and secondary schools were destroyed by DRC armed forces or were occupied by the same making it difficult for children to acquire education. MONUSCO however have negotiated for withdraw of the soldiers from education institutions<sup>202</sup>.

#### 4.8 Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources

In December of 2012, all mining trading centers that the government had established were suspended during a stakeholder's forum with key partners and this was majorly attributed to two reasons. There were high levels of insecurity in some of the sites such as those surrounding Ndjingila and Itebero centres in Walikale territory as a result of threats from Mai-Mai Raia Mutomboki and other armed groups. The confrontations that were ongoing between these military groups and FARDC made the regions very unsafe. The other major reason for the cancellation was that there were rivalries between holders of mining titles and artisan miners. This affected the establishment of centres of Rubaya, in North Kivu, and Mugogo, in South Kivu<sup>203</sup>.

Artisan miners in their thousands engage in illegal and unaccounted for mining. No official artisan mining zones have been established. MONUSCO and the Ministry of Mines have attempted to no avail to strike an agreement between artisan miners and holders of mining titles

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<sup>202</sup> Philip Apuuli Kasaija. *Use of drones in United Nations peacekeeping mission in Democratic Republic of Congo*. American Society of International Law, 2014.

<sup>203</sup> Philip Apuuli Kasaija. *Use of drones in United Nations peacekeeping mission in Democratic Republic of Congo*. American Society of International Law, 2014.

that would facilitate the recognition of artisans and account for their mining. There is an agreement across board however that the upcoming legal frameworks needs to address artisanal miners operations acknowledging their social and economic impacts. This will facilitate attainment of long term and sustained solutions<sup>204</sup>.

#### **4.9 Summary of the Major Findings**

The findings revealed that the U.N mission of operations of MONUC and MONUSCO is faced with enormous challenges that threatened the existence of such operations and prolonged its duration. These challenges are multifaceted and diverse. They include non-participation of troops by developed countries, lack of adequate manpower and logistics, the peacekeeping, nature of the policy of the UN, non-cooperation by war lords, violation of human rights, and sexual violence among such challenges.

The study established that non-participation of troops from developed countries. The refusal of developed countries to send troops for peacekeeping missions has been a source of concern for the success of the peacekeeping operation in DR Congo. Developed countries have well-trained, disciplined and well-equipped soldiers. However, only developing countries with weak military bases have contributed troops to MONUSC and MONUSCO thus hampering the success of the mission.

The study revealed that non-provision of adequate manpower, equipment and other resource materials is a challenge facing the United Nations peacekeeping operations in DR Congo. The inability of MONUSCO in Congo to deploy adequate troop strength has often provided room for militia groups to frustrate the both missions and thwart their effort. The findings indicated that

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<sup>204</sup> Biscop Sven. *The European security strategy in the Democratic Republic of Congo*. Routledge, 2016.



the nature of United Nation's peace keeping policy that gives room for a nation to dictate the mode of operations of a U.N mission limits the overall success of the peacekeeping missions.

The United Nation seeks permission and agrees to operate under certain rules and principles set by the government of that nation. Thus, United Nations peacekeeping troops working under conditionality's are made to be neutral, impartial and unbiased which makes them a times to be spectators of murder, terrorism and arson as witnessed in DR Congo. The findings showed that lack of cooperation and political commitment by the warlords in DR Congo to ceasefire agreement is a challenge drawn from MONUC and MONUSCO experiences. This is because the warlords have to be appeased for peace to be restored.

The findings established that MONUSC and MONUSCO have the challenge of dealing with rebel groups to stop the conflict in DRC. In the process there is violation of human rights and such atrocities. A high number of allegations of violations of human rights and international humanitarian law by rebel groups such as M23, elements of FARDC, Mai-Mai Raia Mutomboki, FDLR, the Mai-Mai Simba/ Lumumba and the Mai-Mai Gédéon, have been reported.

The findings established that the UN has to deal with cases of sexual violence perpetrated by rebel and even government soldiers. MONUSCO has recorded cases of sexual violence involving at least women and girls allegedly committed by Mai-Mai Simba/Lumumba combatants and FARDC.

The findings revealed that MONUSCO has a challenge of dealing with cases of child rights abuses which have gone as far as wanton killing of children, or permanently injuring them through detention in jails and involving them as soldiers. Cases of illegal exploitations of natural resources by rebels, foreign armies Multi-National Corporations have also been documented.

There is also the prevailing cases of insecurity between mining sites around the Ndjingila and Itebero centres in Walikale territory due to the threats posed by the presence of Mai-Mai Raia Mutomboki and other armed groups and the FARDC military operations against them.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents the summary and conclusions of the study. It also illuminates the recommendations and areas for further research.

#### **5.1 Summary of the Study**

The purpose of this study was to assess the role of the United Nations in conflict resolution in Democratic Republic of Congo (2010-2018). Three specific objectives anchored the study. They were: to establish the genesis of the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo; to determine the role of the United Nations in mediating the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo; and to identify the challenges faced by UN in resolving the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo. The foundation of this study was the Conflict theory as proposed by Karl Marx in 1848. The focus of this theory is on factors causing and sustaining conflicts.

Conflict theory is considered relevant in this study because it reflects the issues dealing with genesis of conflicts like the DRC conflict, the link between conflict and the resulting human suffering. The theory links the first objective; establish the genesis of the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo. The research methodology of the study is based on utilization of secondary data sourced from library sources, books, e-books, government publications, journals, newspapers and magazines. The data was systematically analyzed to identify the major findings from which the research has drawn the summary conclusions and recommendations.

## **5.2 Conclusion of the Study**

The major conclusions of the study are that the genesis of the conflict in DR Congo is due to three major factors. These are colonialism, colonial legacy and plundering of Congolese natural resources.

### **5.2.1 Colonialism and Conflict in DR Congo**

The findings revealed that the history of the conflicts in DRC may be traced from the colonialism and the propagation of conflicts and crises by colonial masters. After independence from Belgium, were rife when identities were being constructed in Congo. Though Belgium granted Congo independence, Africans had hardly been involved in governance before and had almost no experience to govern.

The study established that post-colonial legacy as a source of the conflict is notable since with decolonization of the late 1950's and 1960s, a group of rather poorly governed African countries like DR Congo came into being. DRC became a venue for contest between super powers in the cold war. Post-colonial legacy as a source of the conflict is again notable through the interference of colonial masters in driving the affairs of DR Congo leading to conflicts.

The findings are that the struggle for control over natural resources has exacerbated conflict in DR Congo. The pillaging of natural resources in DRC started with the Belgians before independence and did not stop with independence. President Mobutu allowed powerful Western companies to come and pilfer Congolese resources.

The findings are that, even when Mobutu Seseko was removed from power illegal exploitation of natural resources in DRC did not get any better with the same happening in a more militarized way. The study established that the plundering of Congolese resources has been carried out not only by the West, but also by African countries. It is thought that all the foreign armies, together

with foreign companies from the West, looted the Congo's mineral wealth between 1998 and 2003, in what is known as Africa's Great War.

The findings revealed that Multinational Corporation's (MNC's) have been a significant contributor to the conflict in the country. The MNC are pressured to engage in illegal businesses in DRC to compensate for the declining stocks. UN has accused Trinity and Victoria groups of the same. The study established that rebel and genocidal groups from Rwanda such as Forces Democratiques de Liberation du Rwanda (FDLR), Mai-mai, Joseph Kony's Lord Resistance Army and the Coalition of Congolese Patriotic Resistance (PARECO) have been accused involvement in looting of Congolese mineral wealth.

### **5.2.2 Role of United Nations in DR Congo Conflict**

The study established that Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) acted as a trial phase of the United Nations peacekeeping in the 1960s in Africa. This is what has informed the second round of UN peace operations in 2000-2018 which has been comparable ambitious and innovative. The findings are that the 2000-2018 MONUSCO has evolved from a simple ceasefire operation to one of UN's most complex missions. It is mandated with reforming and rebuilding government institutions and preventing a relapse into conflict. The UN has also included within MONUSCO innovative combat operations that stretch the limits of what a peacekeeping force can do.

### **5.2.3 Challenges Facing UN in DR Congo**

The study established that non-participation of troops from developed countries. The refusal of developed countries to send troops for peacekeeping missions has been a source of concern for the success of the peacekeeping operation in DR Congo. However, only developing countries

with weak military bases have contributed troops to MONUSC and MONUSCO thus hampering the success of the mission.

The study revealed that non-provision of adequate manpower, equipment and other resource materials is a challenge facing the United Nations peacekeeping operations in DR Congo. The inability of MONUSCO in Congo to deploy adequate troop strength has often provided room for militia groups to frustrate the both missions and thwart their effort.

The findings indicated that the nature of United Nation's peace keeping policy that gives room for a nation to dictate the mode of operations of a U.N mission limits the overall success of the peacekeeping missions. The United Nation seeks permission and agrees to operate under certain rules and principles set by the government of that nation.

The findings established that MONUSC and MONUSCO have the challenge of dealing with rebel groups to stop the conflict in DRC. In the process there is violation of human rights and such atrocities. A high number of allegations of violations of human rights and international humanitarian law by rebel groups such as M23, elements of FARDC, Mai-Mai Raia Mutomboki, FDLR, the Mai-Mai Simba/ Lumumba and the Mai-Mai Gédéon, have been reported.

The findings established that the UN has to deal with cases of sexual violence perpetrated by rebel and even government soldiers. MONUSCO has recorded cases of sexual violence involving at least women and girls allegedly committed by Mai-Mai Simba/Lumumba combatants and FARDC. The findings revealed that MONUSCO has a challenge of dealing with cases of violations of children's rights including killing and maiming, child recruitment, sexual violence and occupation of schools.

Therefore, the null hypothesis that there is no significant role of the United Nations in conflict resolution in Democratic Republic of Congo was rejected. Subsequently, the alternate hypothesis that there is significant role of the United Nations in conflict resolution in Democratic Republic of Congo was accepted.

### **5.3 Recommendations of the Study**

The study recommended that understanding the historical context of the conflict in DR Congo is paramount in realizing the genesis of this conflict. To resolve the continuing conflict, the United Nations through MONUSCO first requires understanding of the contextual origin of the conflict in order to categorically create considerable milestone to resolve the conflict.

The study recommends that the United Nations needs to learn from its historical involvement in the DR Congo conflicts and resolve the current conflict once and for all. Since the UN has been active for all this time in the conflict in DRC since independence in 1960s, it ought to have learnt from its past mistakes and resolved the conflict.

On the challenges facing the UN in DR Congo, the study recommends for the need for direct involvement of developed countries in the conflict. Developed countries should take the leading role in resolving this conflict with their superior war machines and personnel. This way, the conflict in DR Congo will be permanently resolved.

### **5.4 Areas for Further Research**

1. A study should be undertaken to focus on the role of internal and external rebel groups in the conflict in DR Congo.
2. A study should be undertaken to focus on the role of neighbouring countries in the conflict in DR Congo.

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