

**NATURAL RESOURCE BASED CONFLICTS IN POSTCOLONIAL
AFRICA: THE CASE OF DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO
(DRC), 1996 - 2011 //**

BY

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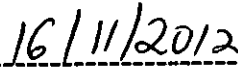
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

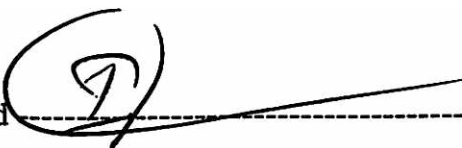
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This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University supervisor.

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Date

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DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to my wonderful family for their support, love and understanding.

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First of all I would like to thank the Almighty God for giving me the strength and guidance in doing this project. I would like to acknowledge the invaluable inputs of contributors to this project. These are staff of IGAD, Ministry of foreign affairs, Embassy of Democratic Republic of Congo in Kenya, Students of International Studies from DRC, without them it would have been extremely difficult to complete the task on schedule. I also like to express my gratitude to the Director, and the members of the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS) at the University of Nairobi for their hospitality, and the efficient way in which they organized the project writings programme. While I thank my friends for their support, I want to express a special appreciation to my supervisor Dr. Ibrahim Farah for his particular interest in, and the encouragement he gave me on the DRC, case study. Finally, my sincere gratitude to my partner, my parents, and my daughter who endured this long process with me, always offering their unwavering love, support and encouragement.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFDL	Alliance Des Forces Democratiques pour la Liberation du Congo Zaire
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
FAC	Force Armies Congalaiscs
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MLC	Mouvement Pour la Literation du Congo
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
OAU	Organization of African Unity
RSA	Republic of South Africa
RCD	Resemblement Congolans pour la Democratie
U N	United Nations

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ABSTRACT

The study examined the root causes and what actually have been fuelling conflicts in Democratic Republic of Congo, in the period between 1996 and 2011. The overall objectives of the study was to examine the Africa conflicts in natural resource areas, and conflict resolution approaches with the case study of the Democratic Republic Congo, 1996-2011, More especially the study aimed to; Examine the factors that leads to conflict in DRC , Analyze the conflict resolution approaches in DRC. Explore the best conflict approaches in resolving conflicts in the DRC. The study made an attempt to establish the main causes of conflict in the DRC. The study used both quantitative and qualitative methods to collect relevant information. The population from which the sample was drawn, based on the DRC Embassy residents in Kenya, Kenyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs officers, non government officers, Students of International studies and academicians and a sample of 40 respondents. The primary data collection involved interview guides, group discussions, a questionnaire, focused group discussions with a few selected senior officers in both Embassy bodies and non-governmental organizations, residing in Nairobi-Kenya. The secondary data, the study reviewed vast literature on the subject of study published and unpublished documents were reviewed. The study established that, the dispute minerals ownership was the most significant cause of the conflict between the local communities living in DRC. This was followed by conflict over land issues, resource scarcity, border conflict, gold field control, DRC forest services, DRC political systems, nationalism and identity of politics, ethnicity, foreign interference, and tribal hatred business rivalry. T he studies also established effects of conflict on the parties involved. The study concludes that the conflicts resolution could be achieved through peaceful approaches which have been identified as the best instrument in brining and creating a peaceful environment in Democratic Republic of Congo.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

Conflict has been a feature of human society since time immemorial. Disputes that arise may be organized around social class, ethnicity, religion, region, or some combination of these factors. The struggle can be over economic opportunities, as well as political and civil rights, among other contestable factors.¹

Getui observes that conflict refers to the situation where there are at least two entities between which there is a battle, fighting, struggle, tension, clash, controversy, or opposition because of differences in opinion, ideas or interests. The cause could also be attributed to competition for resources and power.² Perhaps it is intuitive that natural resources could become conflict issues, but less obvious is the role that resources may have in specific instances of a given conflict. Inequities in the distribution, use, needs, desires, and consequences of resources management have been sources of tension and international and intrastate disputes.

Mwagiru states that in a simple conflict, for example between two people, the incompatibility arises because they may both have different perceptions, goals, and ideas about how to achieve them.³ Underlying that situation is a conflict of vision, and often an inability or unwillingness to see the other person-point of view. Mwagiru further, alludes

¹ Murshed, M. Conflict, *Civil War and Underdevelopment: An Introduction*, Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 39, No. 4, Sage Publications, Ltd. pp. 387-393. Accessed: 21/04/2011 04:51
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1555273>.

² N. M. Getui "The Ethnicity factor in politics religion and conflict" in A. Tarimo and P. Manwelo (eds) *Ethnicity conflict and the future of African state*, (Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 2009). P.50

³ M. Mwagiru, *Conflict: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management*, (Nairobi: Watermark Printers Kenya Ltd, 1999) P.3

that conflict is about values, want and interests which are negotiable and not susceptible to settlement⁴. Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff view conflict as a condition that exists when one group of human beings, whether tribal, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious, social economic or political is engaged in conscious opposition to one or identifiable human group because this group are pursuing what are or appear to be incompatible goals.⁵ Zartman too asserts that a conflict refers to the outbreak of armed hostilities between parties.⁶ This means that there will always be conflict as long as nations and people pursue different interests and hence to learn how to manage conflict and its effects on the people and nation is of paramount importance.

1.1 Background

The war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC - formerly called Zaire under President Mobutu Sese Seko is the widest interstate war in modern African history. The DRC has become an environment in which numerous foreign players⁷ have become involved, some within the immediate sub-region, and some from much further a field. That only serves to complicate the situation and to make peaceful resolution of the conflict much more complex. The war, centered mainly in eastern Congo, has involved nine African nations and directly affected the lives of 50 million Congolese.⁸

⁴ M. Mwagiru, *The International Management of Internal Conflict in Africa: The Uganda Mediation*, 1985 (PhD dissertation, University of Kent at Canterbury, 1994), P15.

⁵ J. F. Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, *Contending Theories of International Relations*, (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1990), P182.

⁶ I., Zartman, *Ripe for Resolution: Conflict and Intervention in African*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), P.8

⁷ "Reinforcing What? *The EU's Role in Eastern Congo*", Neil Campbell in Reuters: The Great Debate, 18 November 2008

⁸ Coghlan, B. et al., "Mortality in the Democratic Republic of Congo: An ongoing crisis", International Rescue Committee (January 2007)

The Congolese people are made up of around 200 separate ethnic groups. These ethnic groups generally are concentrated regionally and speak distinct languages. There is no majority ethnic group - some of the largest ethnic groups are the Luba, Kongo and Anamongo. The various ethnic groups speak many different languages but only four indigenous languages have official status - Kiswahili, Lingala, Kikongo and Tshiluba. French is the language of government, commerce and education. Societal discrimination on the basis of ethnicity is widely practiced by members of virtually all ethnic groups and is evident in private hiring and buying patterns and in patterns of de facto ethnic segregation in some cities. In large cities, however, intermarriage across ethnic and regional divides is common.

By 1996, the war and genocide in neighboring Rwanda had spilled over to the DRC (then Zaire). Rwandan Hutu militia forces (Interahamwe) who fled Rwanda following the ascension of a Tutsi-led government were using Hutu refugee camps in eastern DRC as bases for incursions against Rwanda.

In October 1996, Rwandan troops (RPA) entered the DRC with an armed coalition led by Laurent-Desire Kabila known as the Alliance des Forces Democratiques pour la Liberation du Congo-Zaire (AFDL). With the goal of forcibly ousting Mobutu, the AFDL, supported by Rwanda and Uganda, began a military campaign toward Kinshasa. Following failed peace talks between Mobutu and Kabila in May 1997, Mobutu left the country, and Kabila marched into Kinshasa on May 17, 1997. Kabila declared himself president, consolidated power around himself and the AFDL, and renamed the country the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). RPA units continued to operate with the DRC's military, which was renamed the Forces Armees Congolaises

(FAC). Congolese Tutsis as well as the Governments of Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda, all relied on the Rwandan military presence in DRC for protection against hostile armed groups operating from the eastern part of the country.⁹

During 1997, relations between Kabila and his foreign backers deteriorated. In July 1998, Kabila ordered all foreign troops to leave the DRC. Most refused to leave. On August 2, fighting erupted throughout the DRC as Rwandan troops mutinied, and fresh Rwandan and Ugandan troops entered the DRC. Two days later, Rwandan troops flew to Bas-Congo, with the intention of marching on Kinshasa, ousting Laurent Kabila, and replacing him with the newly formed Rwandan-backed rebel group called the Rassemblement Congolais pour la Democratie (RCD). The Rwandan campaign was thwarted at the last minute when Angolan, Zimbabwean, and Namibian troops intervened on behalf of the DRC Government. The Rwandans and the RCD withdrew to eastern DRC, where they established de facto control over portions of eastern DRC and continued to fight the Congolese Army and its foreign allies.

In February 1999, Uganda backed the formation of a rebel group called the Mouvement pour la Liberation du Congo (MLC). Together, Uganda and the MLC established control over the northern third of the DRC. At this stage, the DRC was divided de facto into three segments, and the parties controlling each segment had reached military deadlock. In July 1999, a cease-fire was proposed in Lusaka, Zambia, which all six parties (The DRC, Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia, Uganda, and Rwanda) signed by the end of August. The Lusaka Accord called for a cease-fire, the deployment of a UN peacekeeping operation (MONUC), the withdrawal of foreign troops, and the

⁹ Human Rights Watch, "Renewed Crisis in North Kivu", Volume 19, No. 17 (a), October 2007.

launching of an "Inter-Congolese Dialogue" to form a transitional government leading to elections. However, the parties to the Lusaka Accord failed to fully implement its provisions in 1999 and 2000.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Civil wars lead to suffering on noncombatants who have little say in whether the conflict is initiated or settled. As the conflict continues, incomes plummet, mortality rises, and diseases spread. The majority of civil wars produce a spectacular failure of development. Civil wars also affect the country's neighbors and the global community. After testing for a number of factors, Collier and Hoeffler found that there are significant the level of income per capita, rate of economic growth, and structure of the economy, namely, dependence on primary commodity exports. The tools of war need to be financed, making civil war an expensive proposition. Unless a successful rebel organization is financed by another country or an extensive and willing diaspora, it must generate income by operating some business activity alongside its military operations. According to Ian Bannon and Paul Collier, before the end of the cold war, rebel groups typically were financed by one of the superpowers or by proxy regional powers. With the end of the cold war, rebel groups have had to look for alternative funding sources. So irrespective of the motivation of the rebellion, the rebel group must also become a business organization. Its main and pressing challenge is to secure funds in order to wage war. If it cannot overcome this financing problem, the rebel group will wither away or be capable of only limited and low-level violence, more of an irritant than a serious threat to an established government.

Rural areas, where most rebel groups are based, produce primary commodities with high economic rents, generally for export. It is a relatively simple matter for rebel groups to run an extortion racket, levying protection charges on producers or carrying out some of the trade themselves. Michael Ross noted that a number of other commodities such as coltan, drugs, gold, and timber have, at various times, been linked with civil wars in developing countries. In the case of high-value agricultural exports, the rebel group is not directly involved in production but levies informal taxes on producers and traders. The most spectacular example is that of illegal drugs, which, because of their illegality they have a high value. Therefore, this study seeks to investigate the contribution of conflict in DRC. It focuses on conflict in DRC in the period 1996-2011 and seeks to explain how conflict affects the communities who have been living together in peace and consequently causes of conflict. The fundamental research question being investigated is: what are the causes and resolution to conflict in DRC?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The overall objectives of the study is to examine the African conflicts in natural resource areas, and conflict resolution approaches with the case study of the Democratic Republic Congo, 1996-2011, More especially the study aims to;

1. Examine the factors that lead to conflict in the DRC.
2. Analyze the conflict resolution approaches in the DRC.
3. Explore the best conflict approaches in resolving conflicts in the DRC.

1.4. Literature Review

It is now widely acknowledged that at the heart of most conflicts is the issue of resources. The literature on conflicts in Africa has recently focused on the role of resources in instigating, sustaining, abetting conflict, and even in affecting outcome. The resource factor is inbuilt in African conflicts in different ways, namely, access, control, management, and exploitation. Many of the violent conflicts, especially the civil wars, have been found to be only the outward manifestations of deep-seated issues related to resources.

The literature review comprises of the literature on conflict, conflict and conflict resolution from individual, societal and State Agencies' level. The literature presents and critiqued on a general overview gathered on causes, issues and interventions and responses. However, most of the contribution to the literature is based on the structural violence build on the work of Johan Galtung. Galtung considers structural violence to exist when the actual realization of human beings were below their potential realizations¹⁰. Such a situation arises because of anomalous social, economic, political or legal structures. Curle has also made an important contribution to the intellectual tradition of structural violence by reconceptualizing the traditional dichotomy between war and peace. He introduces the possibility that a society may be neither at war nor at peace.¹¹ Curle regards such situation as "un peaceful" in those human beings is impeded from achieving their full potential because of relations that exist in society. The debate on

¹⁰ J. Galtung, "Violence, Peace and Peace Research" *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol.3 (1969), P167-191.

¹¹ A Curle, *Making Peace*, (London: Tavistock, Publications, 1971), P.31

structural violence has also been considerably enriched by human needs perspectives, much of which is built on the work of John Burton.¹²

Burton provides some insights into structural violence through the human needs theory. He is one of the main advocates. He argues that systems, no matter how coercive, that neglect human needs must generate protest behaviour and conflict. Burton contends that there are certain ontological and genetic needs which will be pursued, and that socialization process, if not compatible with such human needs will lead to frustrations and anti-social personal and group behaviour.¹³

Conflict is endemic in society. It will be always be present and be an important part of human life. Conflict will always be there as long as human beings are in existence. However, in order to understand conflict early warning, it is important to understand the nature of conflict and its content. According to Mitchell, a conflict arises when two or more parties have incompatible goals.¹⁴ A conflict will thus occur when two people, when they have incompatible goals because they may have different perceptions, objectives, goals and ideas about how to achieve them.

Mwagiru states that in a simple conflict, for example between two people, the incompatibility arises because they may both have different perceptions, goals, and ideas about how to achieve them.¹⁵ Underlying that situation is a conflict of vision, and often an inability or unwillingness to see the other person-point of view. He further eludes that conflict, is about values, wants and interests which are negotiable and not susceptible to

¹² J. Burton, *Human Needs Theory*, (London: Macmillan, 1990), P.2

¹³ J. Burton, *Conflict Resolution and Prevention*, (London: Macmillan, 1990), P32-48.

¹⁴ C. R. Mitchell, *The Structure of International Conflict*, (London: Macmillan, 1998), P15-25.

¹⁵ M. Mwagiru, *Conflict: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management*, (Nairobi: Watermark Printers Kenya Ltd, 1999) P.3

settlement¹⁶. Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff view conflict as a condition that exists when one group of human beings, whether tribal, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious, social economic or political is engaged in conscious opposition to one or identifiable human groups because these groups are pursuing what are or appear to be incompatible goals.¹⁷

Zartman too asserts that a conflict refers to the outbreak of armed hostilities between parties¹⁸. This means that there will always be conflict as long as nations and people pursue different interests and hence learn how to manage conflict and its effects on the people and nation is of paramount importance. There has been an increase in conflicts in Africa, especially internal conflicts, which have become internationalized as they involve various actors and according to Mwagiru, previously, an internal conflict becomes endowed with many external characteristics.¹⁹ Paradoxically, however, Thakur's view, just as the complexities of war have changed and has the wish for peace increased.²⁰ This has been evidenced by the increased efforts being made to prevent and resolve global conflicts and Africa has featured prominently in these efforts. Such efforts have been witnessed in Middle East – Iraq, Afghanistan and the DRC to name but a few.

De Reuck argues that the value of the objectives being sought by the parties involved is proportional to the intensity of the conflict.²¹ Conflict may either involve

¹⁶ M. Mwagiru, *The International Management of Internal Conflict in Africa: The Uganda Mediation*, 1985 (PhD dissertation, University of Kent at Canterbury, 1994), P15.

¹⁷ J. F. Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, *Contending Theories of International Relations*, (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1990), P182.

¹⁸ I., Zartman, *Ripe for Resolution: Conflict and Intervention in African*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), P.8

¹⁹ M. Mwagiru, "Conflict and Peace Management in the Horn of Africa", Paper presented at the IRG Conference on Peace and Security, in the Horn of Africa in Mombasa, (1996).

²⁰ R. Thakur, *Peace Research in Work in Progress*, (Tokyo: United Nations University Bulletin, Vol. 15, No.3, Summer, 1999), P12.

²¹ A de Reuck, "The Logic of Conflict: Its Origin Development and Resolution", In M, Barks, (ed), *Conflict in World Society: A New Perspective on International Relations*, (Sussex, Harvest, Press 1984). P96-111

physical violence or structural violence. Physical violence involves the deliberate use of force to injure, subdue or kill another human being. Structural violence, on the other hand, is a type of conflict which is embedded in the structure of relationships and interactions.²²

Lund states that once some levels of significant violence have begun; it is prone to escalate due to an interactive process of attack and retaliation which leads to a self-perpetuating cycle.²³ Thus, conflicts begin and continue escalating because intervening variables facilitate the process. These variables are current on the behaviour of actors and their interests. Mitchell observes that a conflict arises when two or more parties have incompatible goals about something.²⁴ He similarly observes that conflict behaviour itself can be an important influence in affecting conflict intensity if it involves high levels of violence, damage or loss of participants.²⁵ Such behaviour would involve an increase in the levels of anger, hatred, fear or desire for revenge on the part of those suffering damage. Overtime, behaviour of the opposing party may appear sufficient reason for continuing and intensifying one's own conflict behaviour often producing an analogous impact on the attitudes and subsequent behaviour of the adversary. This means conflict behaviour may become the source of future conflict attitudes and behaviour irrespective of any future development of mutually incompatible goals.

Jabri notices that, "war mood" takes hold when conflicts escalate.²⁶ For her, it is expected that once violent destruction of the enemy and his or her valued resources

²² M. Mwagiru, *Conflict, Theory, Process and Institutions of Management*, (Nairobi: Watermark, 2000), p14-15.

²³ M. S. Lund, *Preventing Violent Conflicts: A strategy for preventive diplomacy*, (Washington, US institute of peace press, 1996), p133-134.

²⁴ C. Mitchell, *The Structure of International Conflict*, (London: Mac Millan Press, 1998), p15-25.

²⁵ C. Mitchell, *The Structure of International Conflict*, (London: Mac Millan Press, 1981), pp52.

²⁶ V. Jabri, *Discourses on Violence*, (Manchester University Press, 1996) p6.

comes to define a relationship, then rules of the game change and behaviour that is unacceptable during peacetime become legitimate during wartime. These acts include killing, torture, rape, mass expulsions, ethnic cleansing and creation of concentration camps. This position points out that conflict is not only destructive but it also leads to some form of gains to warring groups.

Ampleford et al asserts that, over time, conflict as a process may be more important than conflict start up conditions.²⁷ It will therefore not be sufficient to statistically identify operating variable worth looking but also to identify the dynamic process that may overtake these static start up conditions. Identification of conflict start up conditions is necessary as demonstrated by the gradual incorporation into mainstreams conflict analysis of underlying causes or structural dimensions or sources of latent or open conflict. This analysis points out that, conflicts tend to develop in environments characterized by structural factors which form the pre-conditions of crisis situations, such as systematic inequities, economic decline and ecological deterioration.

Azar argues that the most useful unit of analysis in protracted social conflict situations is the identity of group, racial, religious, ethnic and cultural. In intra-state conflicts, actors range from conventional armies to paramilitary units, local warlords, mercenary groups and even criminal gangs. This requires State level analysis to comprehend the groups in conflicts and their claims. The understanding gained from the analysis of actors would help identify issues to negotiate in the peace process. He also hypothesizes that the source of protracted conflict is the denial of those elements required in the development of all people and society, and whose pursuit is a compelling need.

²⁷ Ampleford et al, *Country Indicators for Foreign Policy Rijk assessment Template*, FEWER, the Norman Paterson School of International affairs, August 2001, p4.

These are security, distinctive identity and effective participation in the process that determine conditions of security and identity and other such developmental requirements²⁸. According to him, the real source of conflict is the denial of those human needs that are common to all and whose pursuit is an ontological drive in all.

The causes and impact of conflict would be attributed to various reasons depending on the levels used. For instance, from sub national level ranging from the provincial or district level to the locality, as supported by Waltz in his analysis of *Man, State and War*, he observed that an appropriate way to discuss and evaluate critically the multitudes of approaches and theories on the causes of war, is to divide them along the social spectrum and to locate the fundamental linkages of war causality. Basing on this, he identified three main orientations on the causes of war.²⁹ Conflict therefore can draw actors from individual groups, societies and states.

Sandole expresses conflict as multidimensional and identifies these dimensions as linked to decision making, societal and trans-societal aspects. He agrees with Waltz's individual, state and international levels. He examined the role of variables located in different levels throughout the life-cycle of conflicts in which he divided into three successive periods namely; early stage, intermediate and late stages of a conflict system development.³⁰ These features must be understood when carrying out conflict mapping for appropriate responses. Further, he found that it is critical to differentiate between conflict as start up conditions and conflicts as process. The trend established that across

²⁸ E. E., Azar, *Protected International Conflicts: Ten propositions* in J. Burton F. Dukes (eds), *Conflicts: Readings in Management and Resolution*, (London, Macmillan Press, 1990), P.147-148).

²⁹ K. Waltz, *Man, State and War: Theoretical Analysis*, (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1959), P.453.

³⁰ D. J. D. Sandole, *Capturing the complexity of conflict: dealing with violent ethnic conflict of the post-cold war era*, (London and New York, Pinter, 1999), p18.

the three stages of conflict systems development of self-stimulating or self-perpetuating conflict processes, it is important in evaluating the relationship between different the variables located at different levels through the time. Therefore, different start up conditions can lead to the same process initiation, escalation and controlled responsiveness. This means at some point in the conflict cycle, conflict itself may become the main source of its continuation and protracted-ness.

Zartman further contends that one distinguishing factor of post cold war conflicts in Africa is that they are mainly within the States.³¹ Many are as a result of long years of cultural, political, religious and ethnic marginalization and domination. While more internal conflicts in Africa occurred in the post cold war era than in any other manor world region³², the continent is increasingly becoming marginalized in the United States and European foreign policies. As such, Africa needs to develop a regional capacity to prevent, contain and resolve conflicts relying on its own capabilities.

Mwagiru highlights that, “conflict also relates closely to the cultural setting, what may be considered wrong and divisive in one culture may not be considered offensive in another”.³³ He further explains that the cultural factor also extends to the causes of conflict. For instance, a gesture that is acceptable in one culture may be offensive in another on the other hand, a conciliatory gesture in one culture might not be considered to be in another one. Nantulya observes that, culture also tends to promote violence instigated by ethnicity and catalyzed by socio-economic marginalization, especially

³¹ I. Zartman, (ed) *Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority*, (Boulder Co: Lynne Rienner, 1995), P36.

³² *World Military Expenditures*, (Washington, D. C. World Priorities, 1993), P20

³³ M. Makumi, *Conflict in Africa, Theory, Process and Institution of Management*, (Nairobi C.C.R Publication, 2006), P.1-2.

among the pastoral communities due to lack of a proper policy framework to manage diversity, achieve culturally sensitive structures for good governance and the incompatibility of indigenous African cultures, values and institutions with the existing constitutional and political models while the liberal models of governance including the multi-party system are on the continent to stay, there is scarcity of creative modalities which make full use of cultural patterns of the people concerned.³⁴

Porto observes that resource based conflicts in Africa can be studied along the geographical boundaries of these conflicts. These would be categorized under different conflict systems. The most volatile conflict systems are the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes region. A number of linkages behind different conflicts in the Great Lakes Region and Greater Horn to national, regional and international contexts. It is evident that conflicts originate from environmental resources that communities share. For instance, conflict between herders and farmers in the Awash Valley in Ethiopia and in the Nile flood plain in the Equatorial province of Sudan have linkages to wider regional conflicts involving Sudan, Ethiopia and Egypt³⁵. Mwaura highlights that, literature on early warning and early response mechanisms, especially in African continent accepts that there has been an increasing need for the responsibility of peace and security to be devolved to regional organizations.³⁶

³⁴ P. Nantulya, "The Challenges of Managing Africa's Diversities and the Role of the African Union and Civil Society" in the perspective on the OAU/AU and conflict management in Africa, 2004, P37.

³⁵ J. G. Porto *Contemporary Conflict Analysis in Perspective*, in Lind, J and Kathryn Sturman (Eds) op cit, p28.

³⁶ Ciru Mwaura 'Regional Warning and Conflict Management Mechanisms' In Ciru , MSwaura and Susanne Schmeid (eds) *Early Warning and Conflict management in the Horn of Africa*, Asmara, the Red Sea Press pp 99-114

Jessica Schafer and Richard Black argue that the nature of conflicts over natural resources in the postwar period in Sussundenga district, Mozambique, as contextualized within a broad history of natural resource management in Mozambique from the colonial period through the post independence and war years to 2003. They concluded that the notion of a simple transition from wartime conflict to post-war sustainable development needs revision. Some patterns and practices of resource use predated the war and have outlasted it, some began and ended with the peace agreement, and others accelerated or were initiated after the end of armed hostility. Throughout these periods, there have been social conflicts between and within different groups of resource users at all levels. Armed conflict did change patterns of resource use in some respects, but the result was not entirely negative for the natural resource base; forest resources in some areas actually regenerated during the war years. These conclusions build on arguments in environmental history and political ecology demonstrating that there is no deterministic relationship between humans and the natural environment. Rather, there is a range of possible interactions depending on locally varying contexts as well as broader social and political structures.

Mansoob Murshed notes that conflict can be over economic opportunities, as well as political and civil rights, among other contestable factors. In peaceful societies, conflict is channelled into nonviolent means and institutions for both its expression and resolution. Civil war is not necessarily irrational, but a product of certain objectives, therefore amenable to rational-choice analysis. In low-income countries, civil war makes poverty reduction and growth difficult to achieve. Many contemporary civil wars have an ethnic dimension, as ethnicity is a strong uniting force. Grievances, therefore, play a

major part in contemporary conflict, but greed - the desire to control resources and capture rents - also enters into the calculus of conflict. Ultimately, open warfare cannot emerge inside a society with a functioning social contract, as greed and grievances are managed and conflict is contained in countries with properly operating institutions. Consequently, conflict resolution requires the reconstitution of the social contract.

Michelle explores the interactions between domestic politics and international conflict. The analysis shows that electoral uncertainty associated with competition between political parties, each representing a specific group of the electorate, imparts a negative "bias" on the nation's military spending, given military spending by other nations. In turn, electoral uncertainty lowers other nations' incentive to arm as well. In this context, democratic institutions can be thought of as a possible "precommitment" mechanism that reduces the severity of conflict between nations and, thereby, increases the amount of resources available globally for consumption.

Ian Bannon and Paul Collier observes that that developing countries face substantially higher risks of violent conflict and poor governance if they are highly dependent on primary commodities. They noted that revenues from exploitation of natural resources have financed devastating conflicts in a large number of countries across regions. Ian Bannon and Paul Collier further noted that even where countries initially manage to avoid violent conflict, large rents from natural resources can weaken state structures and make governments less accountable, often leading to the emergence of secessionist rebellions and all-out civil war. Natural resources are never the sole source of conflict, and they do not make conflict inevitable. But the presence of abundant

primary commodities, especially in low-income countries, exacerbates the risks of conflict and, if conflict does break out, tends to prolong it and makes it harder to resolve.

1.5 Justification of the study

The purpose of the research project is to illustrate the factors that lead to conflicts in natural resources areas, and analyzing the approaches in resolving conflicts in DRC, thus legitimizing the use of contemporary conflict approaches in the periphery world set up. Through this illustration on the use of DRC as a case study, provides an arena for the collection of data that has been largely attained from civilized countries. The case study puts to light the issues of natural resources and lack of conflict resolution approaches as a source of conflict that is both structural and violent in DRC. Therefore the study could be justified from an academic and policy perspective. The study academic justification for the study centers on providing a conflict perspective of the causes of conflicts in natural resource areas and conflict resolution approaches, particularly in natural resources in DRC. Current contributions to these causes of conflict have mainly been from the perspective of political science, history and socio-economic theories. A structural conflict perspective, which is situated within the discipline of conflict studies, is however vital to understanding the conflict arising. The study enlarges the theoretical discourse on the linkages between structural violence and conflict causes. It is also on this premise that the study is justified in its contribution to the existing body of knowledge in this field.

At policy level, the findings of this study should prove useful to policy makers in conflict resolution approaches organs of states and other institutions, by providing them with additional insights about causes of conflict in natural resource areas, problems

arising from natural resource areas and the approaches in ending conflicts. They may also find the study useful in analyzing and developing policies to manage and prevent conflicts in the natural resource areas.

1.6 Hypotheses

The research carried out leads to the formulation of the following hypotheses that the study shows as being affirmative.

1. Natural resources are fundamental sources of conflict in the DRC.
2. Improper conflict resolution approaches lead to conflicts in the DRC.
3. Best conflict approaches of conflict resolution in the DRC.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study is based on structural violence and structural conflict. The structural violence and structural conflict is used as an analytical tool for understanding the underlying causes of conflict in natural resource areas of DRC. The structural violence and structural conflict are all about structures that generate or cause conflict in society. These structures are psychological, social, economic, legal, institutional and governance.

Galtung develops the concept of structural violence by considering violence to be the result of the difference between the potential and the actual³⁷. He defines the potential level of realization as that which is possible with a given level of insight and resources. In cases where insight and resources are monopolized by a group or class or are used for other purposes then the actual levels fall below the potential level and violence is present in the system. Structural or indirect violence exists in so far as insight and resources are

³⁷ J. Galtung, ' *violence, peace and peace Research* ', op cit.

channeled away from constructive efforts to bring the actual closer to the potential. Direct violence exists where there is an actor who commits the violence, whereas in the case of structural violence, there may not be any person who directly harms another person in the structure. The structural violence is built into the structures of society and shows up in equal power and consequently in unequal life chances. Most fundamentally in a situation of structural violence the power to divide over the distribution of resources is unevenly distributed.

The whole concept of structural conflict is derived from reconceptualizing the dichotomy between peace and war. In classical discourses in political science, international relations and international law, there is a clear distinction made between 'peace' and 'war'. Exponents of structural violence, such as Adam Curle, find this dichotomy between peace and war unsatisfactory. They visualize a situation which does not fit into the classical dichotomy. In their view, while societies can be in condition of peace, or war, they can also equally be in situations which are neither. This situation is characterized as "un-peaceful".³⁸ Curle argues that in un-peaceful societies, there is little, or no, physical violence in evidence, yet there is no peace.³⁹ In such societies, peace lacks because the relations in those societies are organized in such a way that the potential for development of some members of the society is impeded. This potential for development is impeded by factors which may be economic, social or psychological.

³⁸ A. Curle, *Making Peace*, op cit

³⁹ Ibid.

1.8 Research Methodology

The study used both primary and secondary data to collect relevant information. Primary data is that which was collected directly by the researcher by use of unstructured and structured interviews with the population and sample; the population from which the sample was drawn was based on their information on natural resource conflicts in DRC, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Institutions like IGAD, AU, DRC Embassy in Kenya and students of International Conflict Management. The study also used structured questionnaire as a tool of data collection to obtain important information about the DRC conflict.⁴⁰ Secondly data was collected without interaction between the researcher and respondent or does not need direct interaction between the researcher and respondent. Secondary data also formed a key aspect of the research methodology for this study. Secondary sources included relevant published and unpublished documents on conflict particularly in the DRC; documents on conflict resolution, similar to conflict in other parts of Africa, documents such as research reports, workshops, journal articles, books and newspapers. Secondary sources were especially useful in guiding the theoretical foundations of the study and also in tracing the historical development of the key issues that inform the study. Finally, data obtained from the field was analyzed through use of both quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative data gathered in the survey was analyzed using quantitative analytical methods while the data collected through interviews and literature review were analyzed qualitatively. Finally tabulation of data, which is the process of summarizing raw data and displaying the same in compact form, that is in the form of statistical tables for further analysis was done. Simple descriptive

⁴⁰ Ibid.

analytical tools such as the simple frequency distribution tables and percentage were used to analyze the data obtained from the survey questionnaires. A qualitative analysis method which refers to non-empirical analysis was also used to analyze the data obtained mainly from interviews and focus group discussions. The qualitative data collected from the field was analyzed in a systematic way in order to come to some useful conclusions and recommendations.⁴¹

The scope of this research will be limited to the lining DRC within Africa and conflict resolution approaches to resolve conflicts from 1996-2011. Owing to the time frame given and the nature of the data required to address the research problem, it is envisaged that the research will face a number of limitations: First, it is not possible to gather the background materials that informed the development of the conflict resolution approaches in resolving conflicts in the DRC. This will, affect the examination of the structural and conflict resolution flaws that affect resolving the natural resources based conflicts in the DRC. Nonetheless, to address this challenge, efforts will be made to source relevant information from key stakeholders who are well versed with the genesis of the DRC resource conflicts. Secondly, it is not possible to interview all the stakeholders in the DRC Embassy, IGAD, and AU lining. However this problem will be mitigated by interviewing the few sampled key stakeholders for instance senior officers in Embassy, IGAD, AU and Foreign Affairs Ministry. Thirdly, the issue of causes of natural resource conflicts is considered to be a secret or confidential matter by most communities. Thus, certain data may be withheld or given with a certain bias, which may affect the analysis of the results. To address this challenge, an assurance will be given to

⁴¹ Ibid.

the informants that the information will only be used for academic purposes. Further; efforts will be made to corroborate the data collected with data available in the internet, media and NGOs.

1.9 Chapter Outline

Chapter one provided an introduction to the research study, the background of the study, the research problem; the statement of the problem; the research objectives; justification, the literature review, hypotheses, research methodology and the scope and limitations of the study. Chapter two provides an overview of natural resources conflict in post-colonial Africa; it discusses the historical background of the natural resources conflict in post-colonial Africa, root causes of the conflict in Africa and approaches to conflict in natural resource areas. Chapter three forms the data chapter of the study and analyzes the causes of the conflicts in natural resource areas and conflict resolution approaches to the conflict in the DRC. Chapter four provides a critical analysis of the findings. Chapter five gives summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

NATURAL RESOURCE BASED CONFLICTS IN POSTCOLONIAL AFRICA: AN OVERVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The previous chapter; chapter one, presented the background of the study, statement of the research problem, objectives of the study, specific objectives, justification of the study, literature review, theoretical frame work, hypotheses, research methodology and the chapter outline. This chapter presents an overview of conflict in natural resource areas and conflict resolution approaches. It is divided into the following sub sections; Historical background of conflicts in natural resource areas, underlying and root causes of conflicts in natural resource areas and conflict resolution approaches to violent conflict over natural resources in post colonial Africa.

2.1 Conflicts and natural resource in the DRC; A historical Background

The genealogy and dimension of conflicts in Africa is complex and varied. Mitchell observes that a conflict arises when two or more parties have incompatible goals.⁴² The root causes of the conflict in Africa are believed to be grounded in its history, its formation and characteristics. Koffi Anan has stated that the construction and nature of the state in Africa, which is rooted in the pedigree and tends to lean towards the institutionalization of ethnic entitlements, rights and privileges which have created differentiated and unequal statues of citizenships.⁴³

⁴² C. R. Mitchell, *The Structure Of International Conflict*, (London: Macmillan, 1998), P15-25

⁴³ A. Kofi, *Causes of Conflict in Africa*, UN secretary General Report, (New York: 1998), P113.

Minerals are essential indeed crucially vital strategic natural resources for all economics. Every country's drinking water supply, food production, energy supply, and consequently, industrial development hinge on water availability. The resource is very essential for healthy human living conditions and sound ecosystem.

Africa is unique among the developing world regions that all continental countries in Africa share one or more river or lake basins with their neighbours and all major river and lake basins in Africa are shared by two or more countries. The continent has over 80 major transboundary river and lake basins, and an equal number of ground water basins, some of which are the largest in the world in terms of their geographical extent. Some basins are shared by as many as ten countries, and each of the ten major basins is shared by more than four countries.

The political boundaries of fourteen countries fall almost entirely within the catchment and drainage areas of one or more transboundary river basins. These rivers and lakes in combination with some large aquifers located in Africa, offer a great opportunity for developing and sharing the full potential of water resources of the region for personal and household needs hydropower generation, agriculture and aqua-culture production, navigation industrialization and several other societal needs.⁴⁴

2.2 The Root causes of Natural Resource based Conflicts in Africa

In Africa, especially in the Horn of Africa and Central Africa, different factors have been seen as being responsible for the emergence and development of social conflict. These are religious, economic, political, cultural, institutional and colonial factors. These factors are structural because essentially, they are an outcome of incompatible interests based on

⁴⁴ M. Mutagamba, *on Africa's River and Lake Basin Organization*, (Uganda, Volume one, May 2007) P.7

competition for resources. Structural theory emphasizes the competing interest or groups as prime motivations of conflicts. It identifies the primary sources of conflict in the social, economic and political organization within a society, and in the nature and strengths of ties within and between communities. In using the structural approach to the regional conflicts, the study aimed to present a range of underlying factors which are the causes of the out break of the conflict in those constrained water resource areas.

2.2.1 Hostilities in Africa

The hostilities in African regions, has been a cause of conflict in natural resource areas, where by sharing of resources becomes very difficult. For instance, the hostilities in Sudan predominantly pit the northerners against the southerners, mainly because of perception and structural issues. The south perceives the north as dominating and they feel marginalized by them, politically, economically and socially. Hostilities have also been experienced in Lake Victoria Basin, which is shared by five Riparian countries; Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda. The lake and its resources are used to supply water to households, industry and as well as for fisheries, transportation to acquire building materials, to generate power, and to dispose of household, agricultural and industrial wastes. The Lake basin is fertile and densely populated, and it is farmed intensively. Million of people in its riparian countries earn their livelihood from fishing and fish processing.

The conflicts encountered here are mainly between export-oriented and traditional fisheries. There is also a full-blown conflict between Kenyan fishermen and Ugandan authorities who quite often stop Kenyan fishing boats and arrest fishermen for allegedly fishing in Uganda territorial waters. Lake Victoria also continues to be faced with

escalation-prone. Conflict between different users not the least of which is an international conflict between Kenya and Uganda. In addition, the Lake is also part of larger Nile conflict constellation.⁴⁵ The conflicts are as the result of competition among the different users and this supports the Mitchell's view that a conflict arises when two or more parties have incompatible goals.⁴⁶

2.2.2 Demarcation of African borders

Another underlying source of conflict is the demarcation of the Africa borders by the colonialist. For instance in East Africa, especially Kenya, in the pre-colonial era the Rift Valley province was home to scattered pastoral communities namely, Maasai and Kalenjins. The land was held communally. According to the Akiwumi report, land was purely held as means of maintaining life, and clan rights overland were limited to use and to the transmission of those rights. The land was not demarcated into division or districts or provinces.⁴⁷ Therefore this allowed a free movement of pastoral communities, from one area to another area. The pastoral communities wandered everywhere in the Rift Valley. Akiwumi report, further explained that, interclan and sometimes intertribal conflicts over land were common among those communities.

2.2.3 Colonial Legacy

Colonial legacy is another underlying source of conflict in Africa. Nthamburi, argues that it is a fact that colonialism legally continues to impact the present nation states. Some of these states had in pre-colonial times, indigenous political systems that were

⁴⁵ W. scheumann and S. Neubert, *Transboundary Water Management in Africa*, (German: D.I.E, 2005), P52-53

⁴⁶ C.R. Mitchell, *The structure of international conflict*, op cit, p.15-25

⁴⁷ A. M, Justice Akiwumi, *Report of the Judicial Commission Appointed to Inquire into Tribal Clashes in Kenya, 1999* (The Government Printers, Nairobi, 31st July 1999), P 60-61.

functional. Colonialism distributed this innovation and many states were forced to conform to western models of nation-state.⁴⁸ He further argued that they were not prepared to work through very crucial historical, social and political issues that arose in the process of rapid social changes. The colonial enterprise often played one ethnic community off against the other (divide and rule, separate development). States were thus created which were quite artificial and where boundaries of different states cut across “notions” in total disregard of their cultural, language and territorial identity. For example the Maasai in Tanzania and Kenya, Pokots in Kenya and Uganda, and Somali in Somalia and Kenya.

This argument is further supported by Mwangi who states that the African ethnic context were enshrined at the 1884 - 5 Berlin conference, where Africa was carved up by the imperial powers without paying attention to ethnic, cultural and geographical or other factors.⁴⁹ This review is manifested in Kenyan conflict as the imperial power paid little attention to the diversity in Kenya, when carving out the borders. Although colonial powers established borders that corresponded little to African political, cultural and economic life, after independence, the first generation of African independence leaders accepted colonial borders and eschewed the arduous and politically volatile task of redrawing them. The charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) placed great

⁴⁸ Z. Nthamburi; “ *The paradigm of Ethnicity; its influence and Relevance in public life today,*” In A. Tarimo and P. Manwelo, eds , *Ethnicity and the future of African states*,(Nairobi; publications Africa,2009),p.72-74.

⁴⁹ M. Mwangi *Conflict: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management*, (Watermark Printers Kenya Ltd, 1999). P65.

emphasis on the permanence of existing borders and the principle of territorial integrity.⁵⁰

Therefore borders conflicts have become a source of conflict in Kenya and Africa.

2.2.4 The Role of Ethnicity

Ethnicity in Africa is another underlying source of the conflicts. The term "ethnicity" is derived from the Greek word *ethnos* meaning race, or group of people with common racial features and common cultural peculiarities. Ethnicity refers to a subjective perception of common origins, historical memories, ties and aspirations.⁵¹ Anthony Smith considers an ethnic community as a named human population, with a myth of common ancestry, shared memories and cultural elements; a link with a historic territory or homeland, a measure of solidarity.⁵² As ethnic conflicts in the context of conflict, is an incompatibility of goals in relation to political, economic, social, cultural or territorial issues between two or more ethnic communities.⁵³ Such incompatibilities may arise as ethnic groups seek to serve their political economic and social interests. Conflict arises when competition with other groups trying to achieve the same objectives disagree.

To understand how ethnicity leads to conflict, there is need to also know the origin of it. The origin of ethnicity in Africa can be traced to the colonial period. On the surface, the Darfur crisis in Sudan wears an "ethnic" face. However, at the root of the so-called Afro-Arab conflict is the struggle for the scarce pasture and water. The two main rebel groups, the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement

⁵⁰ O. John, *Under Current of Ethnic Conflict in Kenya*, (Netherlands: Leider , 2002), P.4.

⁵¹ D. Rothchild, *Managing Ethnic conflicts in Africa: Pressures and Incentives for Cooperation*, (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 1997), P3-22.

⁵² A. Smith, "The Ethnic Sources of Nationalism", *Ethnic Conflict and International Security*, 28-29.

⁵³ M. E. Brown, "Ethnic and Internal Conflicts", in C. A. Crocker, F. E. Hampson and A. Crocker, eds, *Turbulent peace: the challenges of managing international conflict*, (Washington, D. C. US Institute of Peace, 2001), p209-226

representing mainly black African farmers, has claimed that the Arab-dominated government in Khartoum has taken sides in favour of the Arab pastoralists against African farmers over access to the few wells, the only source of water in the region.

The intermittent Rwanda and Burundi civil wars are also rooted in scarcity of one of the most valuable resources in the two countries, that is, land. In these countries, where the population density in some areas is as high as 110 persons per km², access to land is a key determinant of wealth and prosperity. In such a situation, land tenure can become one part of a complicated combination of structural factors contributing to violence. In Rwanda, for instance, the National Unity and Reconciliation Council has emphasized time and again that land disputes "is the greatest factor that is hindering sustainable peace".

The establishment of colonial rule in the final years of the 19th century saw the country divided into administrative provinces and districts that on the whole coincided with ethnic grouping. For instance in Kenya, the Kikuyu for example, were placed in central province while the Luo were placed in Nyanza province along with the Kisii and the Kuria communities. However, the Kisii and the Kuria were each given their own administrative districts within the province. The Luhya community occupied western province. The Kalenjin and Maasai communities, on the other-hand, were placed in the Rift Valley province with each group having its own district. This gave each community a feeling that they were different real or imagined unfair distribution of public resources and the feeling that the groups were different intensified.

Mwagiru further conceives that the realities of the African ethnic context were enshrined at 1884-45 Berlin conference, where Africa was carved up by the imperial powers. The colonialists paid little attention to the ethnic diversity in Africa when curving out the borders. The boundaries were drawn without heed to different religious and ethnics groups that already inhabited the territory.⁵⁴ For example the Orange River basin, its immediate riparians are Lesotho, Namibia, Botswana, and South Africa. The Orange River forms the border between Republic of South Africa (RSA) and Namibia. There are some problems concerning the actual course of the border between the two countries. In 1890 the boundary was defined on the basis of the high-water level along the northern banks of the river, and this meant that Namibia was without direct access to the rivers water. Prior to independence, Namibia was promised that the boundary would be shifted to the middle of the river; but the promise was broken, and since then there have been disputes over the border.

A conflict between Namibia and Bostwana over the course of the border in Lake Kiambezi has been experienced. There was also a more serious, continuing border conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon that in 1993 led to fighting between the armed forces of the two sides. The conflict involved the whole of the border, between the two countries as well as the Bakassie Penisula far to the south. The lake Chad Basin was also part of the conflict, since the shrinkage of the lake has blurred the course of the borders: local groups formally Nigerian citizens, followed the receding waters and founded villages on Cameroonian territory. The Nigerian administration moved in the fill the Vacuum and this triggered official protests from Cameroon. For some years now the two

⁵⁴ M. Mwagiru ,*Conflict, Theory, Process and Institutions of Management*, op cit,p.65.

sides. with international support have been working to settle the conflict and a special Cameroon – Nigeria mixed commission was established for the purpose.⁵⁵

2.2.5 The Role of Post Colonial African governments

The post-independent government perpetuated the use of administrative boundaries to divide people of different ethnic backgrounds. This was particularly the case under the leadership of President Daniel Arap Moi and Mwai Kibaki. Moi, for example, created Kuria district in an attempt to make the Kuria people feel different from the Luo with whom they had shared south Nyanza district for a very long time. He also carved Teso district from Busia district in an attempt to divide the Teso community from the Luhya to Busia district. The Bukusu, a sub-group of the Luhya ethnic community occupies its own district, known as Bungoma. The Bukusu regard themselves as different from the rest of the Luhya, a feeling that has been strengthened by the fact that they have a separate district from the rest of the Luhya community.

The Moi government ethnicized the provincial administration and the security apparatus and used them to start the ethnic clashes against other communities in the Rift Valley province in order to fulfill the regimes prophecy that multi-party competition would create ethnic strife. The 1992 ethnic violence was used by the government to punish ethnic groups that were perceived to support the opposition in the run-up to the first multiparty elections and to force non-Kalenjins to vacate land in the Rift Valley province. It was therefore evident that such violence was backed by the urge to systematically exclude non Kalenjins from formal livelihood resources such as land,

⁵⁵ D. Rothchild , *Managing Ethnic conflicts in Africa; Pressures and incentives for cooperation* , op cit p.66

work, wages, public welfare schemes, political participation and even from the nation as a collective social and cultural construct.⁵⁶

Though ethnic violence did not start in 1991 with the reintroduction of multiparty politics in Kenya; it is during this period that widespread ethnic conflict caused thousands of people to be displaced from their homes. This period also saw the emergence of ethnic patterns fashioned along political party lines. To ensure that their people toed the ethnic line, the politicians told their communities that they were being finished, marginalized and discriminated against. They were therefore advised to protect themselves from outsiders. The Kalenjin through propaganda were made to believe that incase power shifted to a non-Kalenjin, they would be isolated, persecuted, marginalized and victimized for imaginary crimes. The leaders therefore propagated for majimbolism in public political rallies and expulsion of non-indigenous ethnic communities from the Rift Valley.⁵⁷

During conflicts in Kenya the ethics of governance tend to be compromised under the justification of violence especially when an incumbent government is involved, as was the case during the Rift Valley clashes. In this case, provincial administration and security agents initiated violence against individuals from non-Kalenjin communities. For example in the Rift Valley there were reports of trained security personnel being involved in most of the raids using government resources at their disposal particularly guns and ammunitions to support their kins.⁵⁸ Prior to the clashes it was reported that both the

⁵⁶ O .John ,*under current of Ethnic conflict in Kenya* ,op cit, p.75.

⁵⁷ A. Tarimo, and P. Manwelo (eds) *Ethnicity conflict and the future of African states*, (Nairobi ; Paulines Publications Africa, 2009), p.29.

⁵⁸ The main causes effects and possible solutions to conflicts in Samburu District, Centre for Conflict Resolution-Kenya, April and May 2001, P18-19.

police and provincial administration were warned of the impending clashes in various places. But no action were taken to pre-empt any violence that was looming. The police and provincial administrations behaviour showed negligence and insensitivity.

The politicians then capitalized on weak legal structures to initiate violence. Their main concern being the capturing of political power through intimidation, which included, bribery, buying and inducing fear and hatred to the voters with little respect for the principles of democracy for example, the Rift Valley clashes disrupted the 1992 voters registration in communities that whole-heartedly supported the opposition. As a result thousands of eligible voters were unable to exercise their democratic right of choosing their leaders due to the displacements and destruction caused by the violence.⁵⁹

The legal structures of security are compromised during violence and this leads to the breakdown of law and order in the society especially in times of social conflict, electoral and political violence. This kind of violence decreases the government's legitimacy in the eyes of the population and creates subsequent distrust of the state, the law enforcing agencies and the institutions of power. Communities are forced to form vigilante groups to protect and solve their everyday problems. The youths are therefore encouraged to disobey the law take up arms and protect their communities. In this case, the obligation of the state to ensure the protection and enjoyment of the fundamental rights by every individual, institution and group is passed on to the youths. Communities are forced to live in a state of preparedness anticipating any adverse eventualities, expecting no assistance from the government in times of trouble.

⁵⁹ *Ethnicity, Violence and Democracy*, op cit,p31.

2.2.6 Approaches to Development

The current approaches to development in Africa could also be a source of conflict. Nthamburi observes that for countries, they have been divided on the basis of ethnicity, religion or ideology.⁶⁰ He further argues that, current approaches to development have produced inequalities which is a receipt for ethnic conflict. When unequal opportunities for scarce services are experienced, perception of social inequalities widens, hence, this results in intolerance and political instability. It has been observed that many ethnic conflicts can be traced to the way in which unequal opportunities are made available to groups who perceive to be discriminated against indeed, ethnic chauvinism is traced to inequalities in accessing jobs, holding assets or even the manner in which social services are distributed. In Kenya this has been witnessed during the Moi regime. The levels of social inequalities were too high, militant protests were common which sometimes culminated in violent demonstrations.

Structural violence is linked to ethnic conflict fashioned by the conflict of interests and human needs. Burton states that the whole basis of law and order in a society is called when people's basic needs are frustrated.⁶¹ Such needs are universal motivations which are considered to be an integral part of the human being. In addition to the needs of food and shelter, there are also needs related to growth such as needs for personal identity and recognition.⁶² Structural violence is closely tied to the inadequate satisfaction of basic needs because its essence is the idea that people are unable to fully develop their

⁶⁰ Z. Nthamburi, *"the paradigm of Ethnicity: its influence and Relevance in Public life today"*, In A. Tarimo and P. Manwelo, eds, *Ethnicity conflict and the future of African states*, (Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa, 2009), P.73).

⁶¹ J. Burton, *Violence Explained*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), P32-40.

⁶² J. Burton, *Conflict: Resolution and Prevention*, (London: Palgrave, 1990), P36-48).

full potential. The weak institutional structures in Kenya have failed to serve the needs of everyone especially during the Moi regime. However, sites state that the structural anomalies in many African states have implied that the needs of some ethnic groups are served at the expense of others. As long as a state serves specific interests rather than the common good, the needs of many citizens will remain unsatisfied.⁶³ Constitution is another underlying source of conflicts. The constitutional structure envisages a diffusion of authority among different centres of decision-making, specifically, the executive the judiciary and the legislature. However, the mere existence of a constitution does not imply that such a constitution adheres to the tenets of constitutionalism.

Many African states possess political, economic, and social structures that prevent a large number of their citizens from achieving their full potential. Defective constitutions are central features that promote structural violence in many African states. There has been a clear link between the erosion of the constitutional structure and the presence of structural violence in many African states. For example in Kenya the old constitution has been the source of conflicts. The constitution gave the president enormous powers in relation to other organs of government. Therefore there has been a clear link between the erosion of the constitution structure and the presence of structural violence in Kenya. Nwabueze, observes that constitutionalism implies that government is necessary but that a limitation should be placed on its powers.⁶⁴

⁶³ P. Sites, "Legitimacy and Human needs", in J. Burton and F. Dukes, *Conflict: Readings in Management and Resolution*, (London: Macmillan, 1990), P117-141.

⁶⁴ B. O. Nwabueze, *Constitutionalism in the Emergent States*, (London: C., Hurst and Co., 1973), P1-21.

2.2.7 The Issues of Scarce Resource

The first argument is that 'scarce resources equals more conflicts', meaning that people will fight each other for the resources they need to survive. To put it in a more sophisticated way, resource poor societies are confronted by the capture of resource rents by the elite and are unable to adapt to the scarcity of resources. According to this neo-Malthusian argument, voiced at a time when environmental concerns were high on the international agenda, the degradation and depletion of renewable resources in the context of population growth motivates the capture of resources by powerful groups. Cases include the appropriation of irrigated lands on the Senegal/Mauritania border, scarce forest and agricultural lands in the Philippines or Mexico, grazing areas in Sudan associated with a displacement of local populations to marginal lands. These distributional conflicts take place when societies in environments with scarce or depleted resources are unable to innovate and mobilise sufficient capital in order to generate sufficient wealth. Grievances by the powerless against resource allocation and the inability of the government to address such problems can undermine the legitimacy of authorities and social structures, resulting in open conflict.

From this perspective, a resource war is the violent expression of a distributional conflict associated with the paucity of resources, the lack of capacity to innovate, the greed of powerful groups, and the grievances of marginalized groups. There are three major counter arguments to the 'scarcity-driven violence' thesis. First, resource scarcity and population pressure can result in socio-economic innovation, including a diversification of the economy, which also results in a more even distribution of power across society. Secondly, the state itself is more dependent on financial inputs from

society, so it is more likely to be representative and accountable towards it. Finally, the economic agenda of a resource poor country is to develop and harness human capital, rather than protect the weak resource rents of elites. As human capital develops (e.g. through education and institutions on resource management), the economy diversifies, and governance becomes more representative and accountable, the likelihood of violent conflict decreases. Indeed, even if specific cases support this 'scarce resource war' argument, a systematic examination of resources and conflicts through multivariate models has indicated that the level of endowment in renewable resources – those concerned by the 'greenwar' argument – are not associated with the risk of conflict. In contrast, countries with abundant non-renewable resources – those with a high proportion of their Gross Domestic Product (GDP) consisting of mineral exports – are more likely to face conflict.

Scarcity of natural resources leads to marginalization for instance in Kenya, Cattle rustling among the pastoral communities in Kenya can also be attributed to the socio-economic marginalization. For instance lack of necessary infrastructure to counter such attacks, perpetuates the situation. Insecurity due to minimal police presences, inadequate security agents deployment, proliferation of small arms and light weapons and selective disarmament.⁶⁵ The report further argued that , without proper structures put in place to guarantee the community's security, cumulatively the result is the vulnerability of its people and exposure to attacks from neighbouring communities worsened by the scramble for available minimal resources especially water and pasture land. They are also exposed to attacks during and after the drought by those aspiring to restock their

⁶⁵ Report on Cattle Rustling, "*Factors contributing to cattle Rustling, Boundary and Inter Ethnic violence in Kenya*", (foundation for Dialogue, January 2004) P. 8 - 10

herds. Lastly, these people they have persistently violently attacked each other because they lack alternative sources of income to supplement their pastoralists practices. Pastoral communities in Uganda, have also been a problem to Kenyan communities. Kenya has been experiencing frequent attacks from the Karamonjong community of Uganda. The Karamonjong community are cattle rustlers. For instance, in 2005, the Karamonjong cattle rustlers stole a large herd of animals from four Manyattas in Loima division, near the Turkana-West Pokot districts boundary. People were killed and injured as the raiders took off with 30 heads of cattle, 20 donkeys and 550 goats.⁶⁶

Also, Resource Scarcity as a Source of Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa, for instance, In Kenya, the perennial intra- and inter-clan clashes among the Somali communities in the north are actually "resource wars" to the extent that they are about pasture and water-which are very scarce in the arid and semi-arid northern districts. Different clans of the predominantly pastoral Somali community have often fought over pasture and water for their cattle and camels, especially during the dry season. Apart from the few water dams that have been dug in the region, the Government of Kenya has also sunk a few boreholes which are not enough. The Somali pastoralists in the region have organized.

2.2.8 Environmental and Demographic Stress

Environmental and demographic stresses have often precipitated conflicts in Kenya. A growing population combined with unsustainable ecological practices has resulted in a significant depletion of available resources, which in turn has led to impoverishment, migrations and clashes over access to remaining resources.

⁶⁶ K., Masibo "Cattle Rustlers form Uganda," Daily Nation, (Nairobi), 17th January 2005, P.7

Environmental factors have played a role in the decrease of available fertile agricultural land and depletion of fish stocks: over-fishing and water pollution, deforestation, and desertification.⁶⁷ For instance; over-fishing and water pollution, Lake Victoria, by surface area the third – largest fresh water lake in the world and an extremely important source of fish for Kenya, has experienced significant reduction in fish stock levels. This reduction can be attributed in part to over-fishing and toxic chemicals flowing in from the seven Kenyan rivers that feed Lake Victoria. Rivers carrying pollutants for example smoke particles deriving from the burning of forests and fields in the hinter land, flow into Lake Victoria. These pollutants have resulted in a massive influx of nitrogen, phosphorus and sulphur, which has boosted the reproduction of oxygen – usurping seaweed in the lake and led a “death zone” for fish which is already over 40 meters thick.

Deforestation between 1970 and 1990, Kenya lost 11,450 hectares of forests one of the primary effects of this deforestation has been a reduction in soil quality. By exposing the soil to wind and rain, deforestation has led to a reduction in crop land availability and crop land production. Silting caused by soil erosion has also resulted in the near disappearance of Lake Jipe and Lake Bogoria, and has systematically reduced the water table of Lake Turkana – Kenya’s second largest lake. Desertification, Inappropriate cultivation practices over – cultivation and the use of toxic chemicals and pollution, have all contributed to Kenya’ alarming desertification.

Depleted fish stocks and increasingly scarce fertile land have resulted in two social effects: economic decline and migrations. Economic decline; while Kenya has faced droughts for many decades the effects of these droughts in combination with the

⁶⁷ D. Schwartz, and Ashbindu Singh, *Environmental Conditions Resources, and Conflicts, an introductory overview and Data collection*, (Nairobi: UNEP, 1999), P, 25

pressures of a scarcity in viable agricultural land and renewable fish stocks contributed to economic hardship for Kenyans. Food imports and food are still needed in Kenya. Migrations; the Kikuyu people, who received special privileges during colonial rule, have been migrating out of fertile highlands in search of new land since the 1960's. Migration has intensified in the last two decades. Many Kikuyu peoples have migrated to the Rift valley, where the Kalenjin people and other pastoralists reside.⁶⁸

Therefore clashes between various groups began in 1991, intensified in 1992 and continued to the present date. The most prominent clashes have occurred between the Kalenjin "warriors" as well as members of pastoralist tribes such as the Maasai and the Kikuyu people. Tribe members of the Luo, Luhya, Kisii, Kamba, Meru and Teso, have also been targets of the Kalenjin "warriors" and the Masai, migrations have contributed to these clashes. Economic decline has also fueled these conflicts by making competition over already scarce resources more intense.

2.2.9 Climatology

Climate change is another contributor to conflict in water resource areas. Climate change is a direct consequence of global warming resulting from depletion of the Ozone layer by green houses gases. Green house gases effects on Ozone are worsened by degradation of forest cover that acts as carbon sinks for these gases. The negative impacts of climate change are being manifested in various ways such as prolonged droughts erratic fires. devastating floods, and melting ice. As a result of climate change, for instance in Kenya

⁶⁸ D. Schwartz ,and Ashbindu Singh ,*Environmental Conditions Resources, and Conflicts* ,op.cit,p.26.

today there are many water related conflicts among the communities and loss of wildlife is on the increase due to lack of pasture resulting from the prevailing drought.⁶⁹

In Ethiopia, water resources management is becoming a challenge through climate change. The effect has been reflected on the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), the indicators vary from the increase in temperature and rainfall distribution, the drying up of rivers that lead to the decrease in resources which at last enhanced poverty, competition over scarce resources, migration and the inevitable conflicts.⁷⁰ Environmental changes in the lake region have also given rise to a good number of conflicts at different levels, some of which have taken a violent course. For instance lake Chad Basin. There have been conflicts between upstream and downstream communities along tributaries concerning dam projects, and there have also been heated conflicts between nomadic pastoralist and settled farmers. These groups are in competition for the region's growing scarce natural resources, land for grazing and water. There have at times also been conflicts between the lake's riparian states. In the late 1970s, for instance, there were clashes between Nigeria and Chad.

2.2.10 Natural Resources

Africa accommodates two types of resources based conflict. Wars of resource scarcity and wars of abundance. The most common conflicts of scarcity are related to the control of land and water rights. In both cases, the crucial elements are how competing interests for those resources are managed. The water scarcity, for instance the rising consumption and the asymmetrical hydro political relations between countries fuelled the

⁶⁹ S. Mutia, *Kenya's Experience in Managing Climate Change and Water Resource Conflicts*, (Nairobi: 155, 2009), p.6.

⁷⁰ F. Negash, *Role of Government in preventing climate change induced water resource conflict*, (Ethiopia, BDS & W. U.C.D, (2009) p10.

assumption that water shortages would just about inevitably lead to violent conflict. A much cited example was conflict among the riparian countries along the Nile and Euphrates- Tigris; Egypt is wholly dependent on the waters of the Nile for its economic development and for this reason Egypt has declared a secure supply of water from the areas beyond its border to be a vital national security interest. In the past there have been repeated conflicts between Egypt and the upstream Nile riparian over the allocation of the waters of the Nile, and these conflicts have even led to threats of war times of particular stress, that is in periods of drought.

In some cases, the water sources actually serve as borders but the extents to which states share these resources remain a source of concern and in some cases it has sucked in political leadership at the highest level. For instance, the disputes over the Migingo Island on Lake Victoria, has invited comments from both the Ugandan and Kenyan Presidents.⁷¹

Abundant resource conflict; the second basic argument is that 'abundant resources equals more conflicts', meaning that when wealth depends on state or territorial control, competing groups will resort to non-cooperation or violence to control revenues. Here again, a more sophisticated approach argues that a wealth of resources can result in less democracy, poor economic growth, and greedy behaviour by competing elites. All these factors are generally associated with a greater likelihood of conflict. The wealth of natural resources deeply influences the political economy of a country and its type of governance.

⁷¹ K. Sabala, *the Role and Experiences of IGAD in managing climate change and transboundary water conflicts in IGAD Region*, (Nairobi: IGAD, 2009), p14.

Economically, an abundance of natural resources is generally associated with poor economic performance and greater socio-economic inequalities. Resource poor economies often grow faster than resource rich economies. The economy of a resource rich country can be affected by 'the Dutch disease', where the non-resource sector shrinks because talent and investment is ploughed into the resource sector and into rent seeking activities (most non-tradable) rather than into productive activities. The resource sector and associated rent-seeking activities – such as the manipulation of foreign exchange, imports, public budget, and subsidies – offer higher private returns than non-resource sectors. Incentives to invest in the latter (especially in their tradable components) are usually undermined by the adverse effects of the currency appreciation associated with the large foreign-exchange inflows arising from the resource sector. State attempts to support the non-resource sector through subsidies often prove unsustainable when they fail to address long-term competitiveness.

Perverse economic and institutional effects of resource abundance include: poor economic growth; neglect of non-resource sectors and low level of economic linkages; high level of inequalities; corruption of state institutions; high economic inefficiency and subsidization of politicized schemes; budgetary mismanagement; high level of debt due to over optimistic revenue forecast and use of future revenues as collateral for loans; and high vulnerability to external shock, especially on resource prices.

Politically, resource rents provide leaders with a classic means for staying in power by establishing a regime organized through a system of patronage that rewards followers and punishes opponents. Clientelist networks linked to the resource sector thus shape power politics. Such regimes can divest themselves of the need for popular

legitimacy by eliminating the need for broad-based taxation of a diversified formal economy, finance a repressive security apparatus, and reward a close circle of supporters and/or the general population. Populations or interest groups which are lightly, or not taxed at all by the government may be less concerned by its lack of accountability, legitimacy and representativeness than heavily taxed ones. When resources guarantee sufficient rent, there is little incentive for the leadership to develop a diversified economy that could give rise to alternative sources of economic power, which may strengthen political competitors. In this regard, the resource rent can be deliberately used to avoid the emergence of a class demanding political change (e.g. by impeding the growth of a middle class independent from the resource rent). The risk of domestic political competition can even be further curtailed by devolving the exploitation of the resource sector to foreign firms (e.g. through privatisation schemes); a measure that also offers the advantage of satisfying international financial institutions and consolidating external political support.

The dominance of the resource sector in the economy and its political control by the ruling elite leaves little scope for accumulating wealth and status outside state patronage. As the wealth and power gap between the ruling and the ruled increases, so does the frustration of marginalised groups, who see political change as the only avenue for satisfying their aspirations or expressing their grievances. Such groups may include competing elites (e.g. marginalised politicians or military officers), disenfranchised groups (e.g. unemployed youths), or an association of both. In the absence of widespread political consensus – which cannot be maintained only through a distribution of rents and repression – violence becomes the main if not only route to wealth and power for these

groups. Developing countries with abundant resources tend to have predatory governments serving sectional interests and so face a greater risk of violent conflict. Even if not overtly predatory benevolent governments “must manage contests for resource rents ... and trade off a coherent economic policy that maximises long-run welfare against the management of social tension.” This trade off results in inefficient investment and low growth, which – if the resource rent proves insufficient to dampen conflictual demands for reform – increases social tensions, lowers the cost of joining criminal gangs or rebel groups, and heightens the likelihood of conflict.

2.2.11 Weak Governing Structures

The weak governing institutions with minimal capacity such as Transboundary water resource management have caused regional conflicts, for example the case of the Nile River Basin. Debay observes that, to date there is no comprehensive agreement on the use of the Nile River among the 10 riparian states; the few agreements that exist so far were entered between the two downstream riparian states Sudan and Egypt, in 1929 and 1959 to the total exclusion of other riparian states. This peculiar feature of the Nile has become an obstacle to effective cooperation such as development of joint projects and investments.⁷²

2.2.12 Exploitation of Resources

The exploitation of resources to finance conflicts has been conspicuous in the history of wars. From cattle raiding, merchant capital and imperialist wars to contemporary conflicts, natural resources have financed the violent activities of many different types of

⁷² Debay Tadesse, *Conflict And Cooperation On Transboundary Water Resource*, (Addis Ababa: R.I.S.S, 2009), p.3

belligerents. With the end of the Cold War and the resulting sharp drop in foreign assistance to many governments and rebel groups, belligerents have become more dependent upon mobilising tradable commodities, such as minerals, timber or drugs, to sustain their military and political activities. As local resources gain in importance for belligerents, so the focus of military activities becomes centred on areas of economic significance. This has a critical effect on the location of conflicts, prompting rebel groups in particular to establish permanent strongholds wherever resources and transport routes are located, moving away from their traditional strategy of high mobility and location along international borders. War economies, including commercial activities, tend to shift from an economy of proximity, to an economy of networks. These diffuse and extensive networks involve mostly private groups (including international organised crime groups, transnational corporations, and diasporas), as well as the leadership of foreign countries (especially regional or former colonial powers), and consumers in importing countries.

Abundant resources provide armed groups with a source of cash, or collateral for credit lines, to purchase military equipment and support from the private sector. Beyond financing a conflict, the exploitation and commercialisation of natural resources can also help armed groups to develop an extensive and diversified support network, which integrates all people having an economic stake in the exploitation of resources. Such networks include private companies and middlemen involved in resource exploitation and trade, but also foreign political leaders. For example, UNITA's diamonds not only allowed the rebel movement to buy arms, but also to gain diplomatic and logistical support from regional political leaders whose 'friendship' for Savimbi partly rested on business interests (e.g. Compaoré in Burkina Faso, Eyadema in Togo). Networks can also

extend to national authorities in exporting and importing countries. In the case of Cambodia, the network of support of the Khmer Rouge rebels included the leadership of the Cambodian government, its adversary in the war, but the authoriser for its timber exports to Thailand. Similarly, lax controls on export licensing allowed UNITA to sell diamonds through government controlled channels, with handsome profits for officials and middlemen facilitating this laundering. In this type of relation, opposing parties may have an interest in prolonging a profitable military stalemate in order to preserve economic interests that could be threatened by a total victory and subsequent peace.

2.3. Conclusions

This chapter presented an overview of the Natural Resource Based Conflict in Africa and conflict resolution approaches. It was sub divided into four sections which include: an introduction, historical background of Natural Resource Based Conflict in Africa, the main root causes of Africa conflicts in natural resources areas, and conflict resolution approaches to African conflicts in natural resources areas.

CHAPTER THREE

NATURAL RESOURCE BASED CONFLICTS IN POSTCOLONIAL AFRICA: THE CASE OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO (DRC), 1996 - 2011.

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter; chapter two, made a presentation of the historical background of the Natural Resource Based Conflict in Africa, underlying and root causes of Africa conflicts in natural resource areas, and conflict resolution approaches to Africa Conflict in natural resources areas. This was tackled through the analysis of the various theories of conflicts such as structural violence and structural conflict.

This chapter three as the case study of the project presents both primary and secondary data collected with regards to Democratic Republic of Congo from the years, 1996-2011. However, the chapter gives information on the years before the case study as background information. The chapter also examines the causes of the conflicts, effects of conflict on the parties engaged, people, or group or organization involved in bringing peace and the conflict resolution approaches used to resolve the conflict.

3.1 Historical Background

The war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC - formerly called Zaire under President Mobutu Sese Seko) is the widest interstate war in modern African history. The DRC has become an environment in which numerous foreign players.⁷³ have become involved, some within the immediate sub-region, and some from much further a field.

⁷³ "Reinforcing What? The EU's Role in Eastern Congo", Neil Campbell in Reuters: The Great Debate, 18 November 2008

That only serves to complicate the situation and to make peaceful resolution of the conflict much more complex. The war, centered mainly in eastern Congo, has involved nine African nations and directly affected the lives of 50 million Congolese.⁷⁴

The Congolese people are made up of around 200 separate ethnic groups. These ethnic groups generally are concentrated regionally and speak distinct languages. There is no majority ethnic group - some of the largest ethnic groups are the Luba, Kongo and Anamongo. The various ethnic groups speak many different languages but only four indigenous languages have official status - Kiswahili, Lingala, Kikongo and Tshiluba. French is the language of government, commerce and education. Societal discrimination on the basis of ethnicity is widely practiced by members of virtually all ethnic groups and is evident in private hiring and buying patterns and in patterns of de facto ethnic segregation in some cities. In large cities, however, intermarriage across ethnic and regional divides is common.

By 1996, the war and genocide in neighboring Rwanda had spilled over to the DRC (then Zaire). Rwandan Hutu militia forces (Interahamwe) who fled Rwanda following the ascension of a Tutsi-led government were using Hutu refugee camps in eastern DRC as bases for incursions against Rwanda. In October 1996, Rwandan troops (RPA) entered the DRC with an armed coalition led by Laurent-Desire Kabila known as the Alliance des Forces Democratiques pour la Liberation du Congo-Zaire (AFDL). With the goal of forcibly ousting Mobutu, the AFDL, supported by Rwanda and Uganda, began a military campaign toward Kinshasa. Following failed peace talks between

⁷⁴ Coghlan, B. et al., "Mortality in the Democratic Republic of Congo: An ongoing crisis", International Rescue Committee (January 2007)

Mobutu and Kabila in May 1997, Mobutu left the country, and Kabila marched into Kinshasa on May 17, 1997. Kabila declared himself president, consolidated power around himself and the AFDL, and renamed the country the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). RPA units continued to operate with the DRC's military, which was renamed the Forces Armees Congolaises (FAC). Congolese Tutsis as well as the Governments of Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda, all relied on the Rwandan military presence in DRC for protection against hostile armed groups operating from the eastern part of the country.⁷⁵

During 1997, relations between Kabila and his foreign backers deteriorated. In July 1998, Kabila ordered all foreign troops to leave the DRC. Most refused to leave. On August 2, fighting erupted throughout the DRC as Rwandan troops mutinied, and fresh Rwandan and Ugandan troops entered the DRC. Two days later, Rwandan troops flew to Bas-Congo, with the intention of marching on Kinshasa, ousting Laurent Kabila, and replacing him with the newly formed Rwandan-backed rebel group called the Rassemblement Congolais pour la Democratie (RCD). The Rwandan campaign was thwarted at the last minute when Angolan, Zimbabwean, and Namibian troops intervened on behalf of the DRC Government. The Rwandans and the RCD withdrew to eastern DRC, where they established de facto control over portions of eastern DRC and continued to fight the Congolese Army and its foreign allies.

In February 1999, Uganda backed the formation of a rebel group called the Mouvement pour la Liberation du Congo (MLC). Together, Uganda and the MLC established control over the northern third of the DRC. At this stage, the DRC was

⁷⁵ Human Rights Watch, "Renewed Crisis in North Kivu", Volume 19, No. 17 (a), October 2007.

divided de facto into three segments, and the parties controlling each segment had reached military deadlock. In July 1999, a cease-fire was proposed in Lusaka, Zambia, which all six parties (The DRC, Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia, Uganda, and Rwanda) signed by the end of August. The Lusaka Accord called for a cease-fire, the deployment of a UN peacekeeping operation (MONUC), the withdrawal of foreign troops, and the launching of an "Inter-Congolese Dialogue" to form a transitional government leading to elections. The parties to the Lusaka Accord failed to fully implement its provisions in 1999 and 2000. Laurent Kabila drew increasing international criticism for blocking full deployment of UN troops⁷⁶, hindering progress toward an Inter-Congolese Dialogue, and suppressing internal political activity. Each side in the conflict repeatedly accused the other of violating the Lusaka accord, which seemed to exist only on paper. As of late December 1999 the deteriorating military and security situation suggested that the slightest incident could have triggered large-scale organized attacks against civilians, especially ethnic Tutsis. Given the threat to the Congolese Tutsi community, they themselves could have triggered an anti-Tutsi offensive through violent actions against their neighbors.

In June 2000, the President of the UN Security Council requested the UN Secretary-General to establish a Panel of Experts on the illegal exploitation of the natural resources and other forms of wealth of the DRC to follow up on reports and collect information on all activities of illegal exploitation of natural resources⁷⁷ and other forms of wealth of the DRC, including in violation of the sovereignty of that country; and to

⁷⁶ "Maintain the UN Mission in the Democratic Republic Of Congo", Mark L. Schneider (Crisis Group) with Raymond C. Offenheiser, *The Christian Science Monitor*, 23 April 2007

⁷⁷ DR Congo: "Conflict and interests", Neil Campbell in *Public Service Review*, 12 December 2008

research and analyze the links between the exploitation of the natural resources and other forms of wealth in the DRC and the continuation of the conflict.

On January 16, 2001, Laurent Kabila was assassinated. He was succeeded by his son, Joseph Kabila. In October 2001, the Inter-Congolese Dialogue began in Addis Ababa under the auspices of Kctumile Masire (former president of Botswana). The initial meetings made little progress and were adjourned. In February 2002, the dialogue was reconvened in South Africa. It included representatives from the government, rebel groups, political opposition, civil society, and the Mai-Mai. The talks ended inconclusively in April 2002, when the government and the MLC brokered an agreement that was signed by the majority of delegates at the dialogue but left out the RCD and opposition UDPS party, among others.

This partial agreement was never implemented, and negotiations resumed in South Africa in October 2002. This time, the talks led to an all-inclusive powersharing agreement, which was signed by delegates in Pretoria on December 17, 2002. By the end of 2002, all Angolan, Namibian, and Zimbabwean troops had withdrawn from the DRC⁷⁸. Rwandan troops had officially withdrawn from the DRC in October 2002, although there were continued, unconfirmed reports that Rwandan soldiers and military advisers remained integrated with RCD forces in eastern DRC. The Pretoria Accord was formally ratified by all parties on April 2, 2003 in Sun City, South Africa. Ugandan troops officially withdrew from the DRC in May 2003. Following nominations by each of the various signatory groups, President Kabila on June 30, 2003 issued a decree that formally announced the transitional government lineup. The four vice presidents took the oath of

⁷⁸Resolving Africa's Two Most Deadly Conflicts, Crisis Group Statement, 24 June 2005
"Rape as a Weapon of War in Congo", François Grignon in *Spiegel International*, 11 June 2009

office on July 17, 2003, and most incoming ministers assumed their new functions within days thereafter. Elections were then scheduled for 2005 or 2006.

Despite the supposed cessation of hostilities, massacres continued in eastern Congo during 2003-2004.⁷⁹ Rwandan Hutu militiamen feared returning to Rwanda, believing they would be targeted by revenge-seeking Tutsis. These Hutu remained in the forests of east Congo, preying on villages for food and money. Rwandan incursions into the DRC disrupted the fragile government and created instability. In December 2004, rival units within the DRC's national army clashed in the eastern part of the country. In May 2005 it was reported that Rwandan Hutu rebels based in eastern Congo were responsible for hundreds of summary executions, rapes, beatings and hostage-taking of Congolese civilians in the territory of Walungu, South Kivu Province.

Throughout 2005, rival militias backed by Rwanda and Uganda, respectively, created instability in the northeastern region of Ituri, as they battled over border trade and gold fields. Additionally, Rwandan militias continued to operate in eastern rainforests, keeping the threat of an invasion alive. Still, the rest of the country remained relatively stable under President Kabila.

Elections were scheduled for first of June 2006 but the UDPS party threatened to boycott, postponing elections until late July 2006. The July 2006 presidential election in Congo, with a field of 32 candidates, ended in crisis.⁸⁰ The leading candidates, incumbent Joseph Kabila and rebel leader Jean Pierre Bemba, kept their forces on alert. Bemba, who had trailed Kabila by over 16% refused to accept defeat. Fortunately, there

⁷⁹ Médecins Sans Frontières, "Ituri - Civilians still the first victims: Permanence of sexual violence and impact of military operations", October 2007.

⁸⁰ Lee, R. "The Congo War (1998-Present)" http://www.historyguy.com/congo_war.htm

was only sporadic fighting in the wake of the result. In early December 2006, Kabila was inaugurated in a ceremony attended by many of Africa's heads of state. Other nations in the Great Lakes region expressed their hope that the election will bring an end to fighting. Numerous ceasefire agreements and military operations have failed to stabilise eastern Congo and civilians continue to suffer the consequences. The Rwandan-Congolese joint military operation earlier 2009, though an important step did not produce significant results against the Rwandan Hutu rebels, and integration of the former CNDP insurgency has been precarious.

Following the breakdown of the January 2008 "Goma agreement", which involved negotiations between the government, renegade general Laurent Nkunda and Mai-Mai militias, North Kivu was again engulfed by violence in late August 2008. Fighting escalated after Nkunda's CNDP rebels launched a fresh counter-offensive on army bases and, after FARDC's collapse, moved to the outskirts of the regional capital Goma in October. International diplomatic efforts managed to stave off an advance on the city and UN Special Envoy Oulsegun Obasanjo and Great Lakes Envoy Benjamin Mkapa, facilitated engagement between Kinshasa and CNDP. After a period of increasing Rwanda-Congo tension, much welcomed progress in relations was reported on 5th, December when military and political cooperation was announced.

Talks between Kinshasa and Kigali in late 2008 led to the preparation of a joint military plan to disarm the FDLR, integrate CNDP combatants into the national army and neutralise Nkunda.⁸¹ The military chief of staff of the CNDP, General Bosco Ntaganda, decided to work with Rwanda and Congo against the FDLR. Ntaganda, who is under an

⁸¹"Time for a New Approach to Disarm the FDLR", François Grignon in *The Africa Report*, 7 August 2009

arrest warrant for war crimes issued by the International Criminal Court, did so apparently after receiving Kigali's encouragement as well as financial support from Kinshasa and assurances that he will be protected against international justice. On 16 January 2009, Ntaganda announced that Nkunda was removed as the CNDP's chairman. The CNDP said it would remove all its roadblocks in North Kivu and requested promulgation of the amnesty law. PARECO and Mai-Mai groups made similar declarations.

Operation Umoja Wetu, the joint military offensive launched on 20th January 2009 against the Rwandan Hutu rebels of the FDLR did not fundamentally weaken the rebels in North Kivu. The operation lasted only 35 days and was limited to North Kivu, despite an important FDLR presence in South Kivu. The integration of the Tutsi-led insurgents from the CNDP into the national army is fragile.⁸² Over 850,000 IDPs are still unable to return safely to their areas of origin.

The most positive outcome of this initiative was the further political isolation of the FDLR, which had to face an unprecedented Congo-Rwanda coalition. On the ground, the operation initially pushed the FDLR westward, farther from Rwanda. Its command and control structure was temporarily disorganized, and it was dislodged from important bases, but the combatants mainly dispersed in small groups in nearby forests without suffering major casualties. The armed group still has up to 6,000 fighters and only 578 Hutu rebel combatants had been repatriated from 1 January to 30 April 2009.

As early as 13 February 2009, Human Rights Watch reported that retaliatory FDLR attacks killed over 100 Congolese civilians and that attacks against civilians in

⁸²"Time for a New Approach to Disarm the FDLR", François Grignon in *The Africa Report*, 7 August 2009

North Kivu continued to increase in March and April. By 10 April, the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) reported that in the first quarter of 2009, attacks against aid workers had risen by 22 per cent compared to the same period in 2008. On 7 April MONUC and the Congolese army agreed to establish a joint command structure to expand the operation against the FDLR in North and South Kivu. But the efficiency of this joint effort was undermined by tensions between various army units and by a struggle for leadership in integrated units between former members of the CNDP and regular army officers.⁸³

On 22 February Congo and CNDP delegations announced in Goma that they had negotiated a preliminary agreement addressing the former insurgents' political concerns. A final agreement was then signed on 23 March after a month of closed-door negotiations. The CNDP agreed to end its insurgency, become a political party and have its fighters join the police and army. In return, it obtained key concessions including the release of prisoners, promulgation of a comprehensive amnesty law, creation of a national reconciliation mechanism, and integration of CNDP officials into the North Kivu administration.

The integration of rebel groups into the Congolese army has not proceeded smoothly. Elements of the CNDP have fled to the hills of Busumba and Ruvunda in North Kivu as a result of dissatisfaction with their integration. CNDP rank and file were not convinced the Kigali-Kinshasa deal was in their interests and were particularly unhappy with the dismantling of the administrative, taxation, customs and duties structure established by the movement that had guaranteed them a steady income for

⁸³ "North Kivu: How to End a War", David Mugnier, openDemocracy, 3 December 2007

three years. On paper, the government gave the CNDP almost everything it could wish for. CNDP representatives obtained key positions in the security forces and in the political institutions of North Kivu. Indeed, the CNDP are the de facto government in the "petit nord", the southern part of the province. In reality, implementation of the agreement between the CNDP and Kinshasa will require a degree of goodwill and efficiency heretofore unknown in the Congolese government.

The reconciliation process that the agreement is supposed to have created ignores necessary judicial requirements⁸⁴. The amnesty law passed on 7 May 2009 by the Congolese parliament excluded war crimes and crimes against humanity, but negotiations were also under way to have Nkunda transferred to a third country, which would allow him to escape trial. Bosco Ntaganda, under an ICC arrest warrant, is now FARDC deputy commander for the anti-FDLR operation, but even a joint demarche by Kinshasa and Kigali to the ICC would not result in the lifting of the arrest warrant.

3.2 The causes of conflicts in the DRC

The study held interviews with key informants from the Congolese communities living within the Nairobi area, including the senior officers in DRC Embassy, Foreign affairs Ministry, Congolese students and Non-Governmental Organization Officers, IGAD, and AU. The sampling technique was random sampling. Babbie, defines random sampling as the key to obtaining a representative sample.⁸⁵ A total of 40 respondents from the Congolese communities living in Nairobi area were subjected to a structured questionnaire which I administered.

⁸⁴"Time for a New Approach to Disarm the FDLR", François Grignon in *The Africa Report*, 7 August 2009

⁸⁵ E. Babbie, *the practice of social research*, (New York: Wads Worth Publishing Company, 1995), p27.

Table 3:0 Sample Size

Community	Respondents	Percentage of total
Congolese in DRC Embassy	12	30
Congolese students in college	12	30
IGAD staff	12	30
AU staff	4	10
Total	40	100

Source: Author 2012

The above table is a representative of the study sample in the area of study. Among the survey respondents, 12 were from the Congolese staff in DRC Embassy in Kenya, 12 were from the Congolese students in a local Kenyan college, 12 from the IGAD community, while 4 of them were from African Union staff living within Nairobi city.⁸⁶ The study also held two focus group discussions, where selected members of the communities discussed the issues that arose during key informant interviews and in the survey.⁸⁷ Finally the data collected from the field was then examined and compared carefully, and analyzed. The findings and inter-presentation are recorded and interpreted in the following sub headings.

3.3 The Root Causes of the Conflict

The first objective of this study was to identify the root causes of the natural resources conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo. All the key informants and focus group participants asked them to list the root causes of the conflict in the DRC. They all

⁸⁶ Interview with respondent, on 28th April, 2012

⁸⁷ Focus group discussion, on 28th April, 2012

identified the following; land ownership, conflict over resources, border, gold field control, forest, political system, nationalism and identity of politics, ethnicity, foreign actors and minerals. Similarly, this supports Sandole's views on conflict. He expresses conflict as multidimensional where he linked this dimensions to decision making, societal and trans-societal aspects.⁸⁸

On the other hand, survey respondents also established the degree of which the average members of the local communities living in the area viewed the issues as the causes of conflict among them.

Table 3.1. The root causes of the DRC Conflict

Item	Frequency	Percentage
Land issues	15	37.5
Resource scarcity	10	25
Border conflict	5	12.5
Gold field control	1	2.5
Human activities in forest	1	2.5
DRC political system	3	7.5
Nationalism	1	2.5
Ethnicity	2	5
Minerals	1	2.5
Foreign actors	1	2.5

Source: Author 2012

The above table shows the various percentages of the causes of conflict in DRC. Land has the highest percentage while resource scarcity, border conflict, gold field, forest, political system, Nationalism and identity of politics, ethnicity, foreign actors and

⁸⁸ D. J. Sandole, *Capturing the Complexity of Conflict: Dealing with Ethnic Conflict of the Post Cold War Era*, (London and New York, Pinter, 1999), pp18.

minerals are the least. Of all the respondents interviewed, according to them the most significant root causes of the conflict in DRC were; disputes over land ownership (37.5%), conflict over resources (25%), conflict over border (12.5%), gold field control (7.5%), forest 5%, political system 5% and the rest; nationalism and identity of politics, ethnicity, foreign actors, and minerals, contributed each 1%. Therefore the table 3.1 signifies that land ownership followed by resources, were the main causes of the conflict. Hence above primary data confirms to the secondary data, and it is in line with Galtung's structural violence theory.

3.3.1 Land Issues

While some resource-related conflicts may be induced by abundance, as in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), some conflicts are occasioned by the scramble for scarce resources.

Table 3.2 Land ownership as a cause of the conflict

Land issues	Frequency	Percentage
IGAD community	18	45
AU community	10	25
Congolese students	10	25
Other	2	5
Total	40	100

Source: Author 2012

The table 3.2 shows that the land issues have fuelled conflict in the DRC. IGAD community majority considered the land issue as the main cause of conflict. However, the AU and Congolese students which both are 25% felt that land had been an important

cause of conflict between them. The survey respondents established that, 45% felt that land has caused conflicts between the communities living in DRC many times, 25% of the survey respondents said conflict over land had caused clashes several times while 5% said it had done so just once or twice. Both AU and Congolese students 25% felt that land had been an important cause of conflict between the local communities living in DRC.⁸⁹

3.3.2 Resources Scarcity

Conflict of resources scarcity relate to the control of diamond rights. In both cases the crucial element is now competing interest for those resources are managed.

Table 3.3 Resources scarcity as a cause of conflict

Item (Diamond)	Frequency	Percentage
Congolese community	20	50
AU community	12	30
IGAD community	5	12.5
Other	3	7.5
Total	40	100

Source: Author 2012

From the table 3.3, there is indication that water has contributed 50% to the conflicts in DRC. The AU community considered diamond as the main causes of conflict in the DRC. AU community 30% felt that water has been the cause of conflicts in DRC. While IGAD community, 12.5% considered diamonds has contributed to conflict. Other community living in the area, 7.5% considered diamond less contributor of the conflicts.

⁸⁹ Interview with survey respondents, on 29th April, 2012

The survey respondents from the communities living in DRC agreed that diamond had caused 50% conflict between the communities living in the area many times. 30% felt that diamond had done so just once. 12.5% said that diamonds had caused conflicts twice. While 7.5% agreed that water had caused conflicts several times. Most of the members of the communities also concurred that indeed diamond had caused conflict between them many times.⁹⁰

3.3.3 Border conflicts

The of Congolese rival militias backed by Rwanda and Uganda, respectively, created instability in the northeastern region of Ituri, as they battled over border trade and gold fields. Additionally, Rwandan militias continued to operate in eastern rainforests, keeping the threat of an invasion alive.

Table 3.4 Border as a cause to conflict

Item (Border)	Frequency	Percentage
Congolese students	24	60
IGAD community	6	15
DRC Embassy staff	6	15
Other	4	10
Total	40	100

Source: Author 2012

The respondents in the survey from the communities living in DRC area, 60% established that border had caused conflict between the Congolese, Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda. Many times in the previous years 30% of the respondents identified that border

⁹⁰ Interview with Kavila, On 29th April, 2012

had done several times. While 10% said it had done just once or twice. As illustrated in Table 3.4, there were slightly more members of Congolese community seeing border as cause of conflict between them than the Rwanda and Ugandan community.⁹¹

3.3.4 Control of Gold field

The study established that the cases of gold field control were cause of conflicts between the local communities. Sometimes, outsiders from other neighbouring countries and the local communities could collude to control gold field. Leading to accusations and counter accusations between the local communities that often result into conflicts.

Table 3.5: Gold field control as a cause to the conflict

Item (Gold field)	Frequency	Percentage
Congolese students	26	65
IGAD community	6	15
AU community	6	15
Other community	2	2
Total	40	100

Source: Author 2012

The survey confirmed that the local communities recognized gold field as a cause of the conflicts in DRC. Majority of respondents, 65% agreed that gold field control was a cause of conflict in DRC. 30% of respondents said for several times, gold field was a cause of conflict, while 5% of respondents argued that it has been once or twice, of the cause of conflict.⁹² However, there was a significant perception differences between the local Congolese and other communities on gold field control as a cause of conflict. Congolese students, 65% felt gold field was a cause of conflict, IGAD,

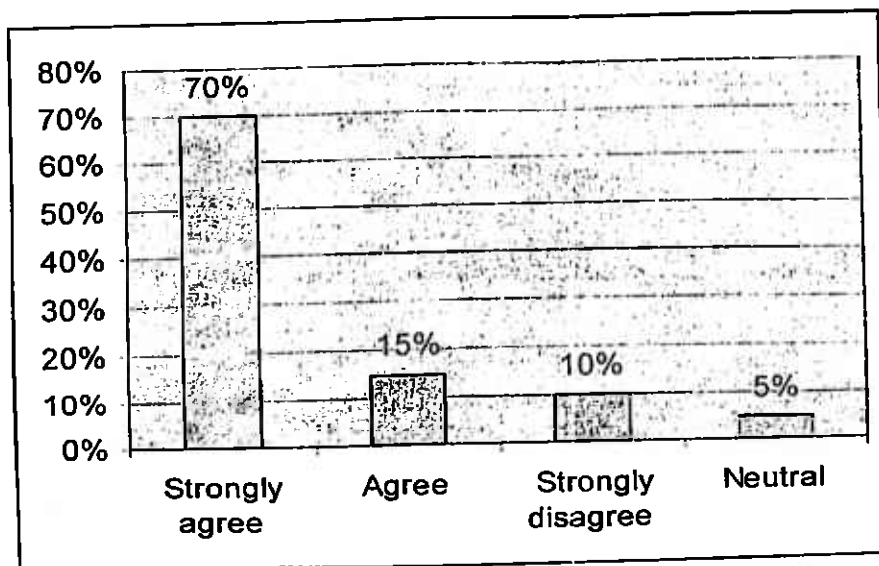
⁹¹ Interviews with Mary, on 30th April, 2012
⁹² Interviews with survey respondents, on 30th April, 2012

community 15 %, regard the gold field as a cause of conflict. AU, community 15% felt that gold field control was part of the conflict. While other communities 5% felt gold field control as a cause of conflict.

3.3.5 Forest Services

The DRC is occupied by the forest, which covers almost 65% of the country. It is located towards the Eastern part of DRC and Northern part of Kivu, in DRC. It is a block of forest that formed the once continuous and sprawling Congo forest complex. These forests are situated in agricultural high potential areas with the surrounding area harboring very dense human population. The DRC Forest ecosystem covers an area of thousands of hectares. The DRC Forest is comprised only of indigenous forests and associated vegetation. It presents a beautiful Mosaic of cedar and podocarpus forests with scattered natural glades. At the same time several rivers originate from the DR forest.

Figure 3.1 Human activities in Congo forest as a cause to the conflict. *



Source: Author 2012

The above figure indicates that, the interaction between the local communities and the forest is high. Therefore dependence on forest resources by the local communities is high, in terms of water, grazing, firewood, charcoal burning, honey harvesting and timber extraction. The research study established that, the interaction between the local communities and the forest has been a cause of conflicts between the local communities living near the Congo Forest and DRC Forest Service (DRC FS).

The above figure 3.7 represents the percentage of human activities in Congo forest as a cause of conflict. In the field study, most of respondents of the local communities interviewed, 70% agreed that human activities in Congo forest had contributed to the conflicts many times. 15% said several times, 10% felt that human activities in Congo forest caused conflict once, while 5% said twice⁹³. These results indicated that human activities in Congo forest were a major cause of conflict between the local communities in the many years.

3.3.6 Political Systems

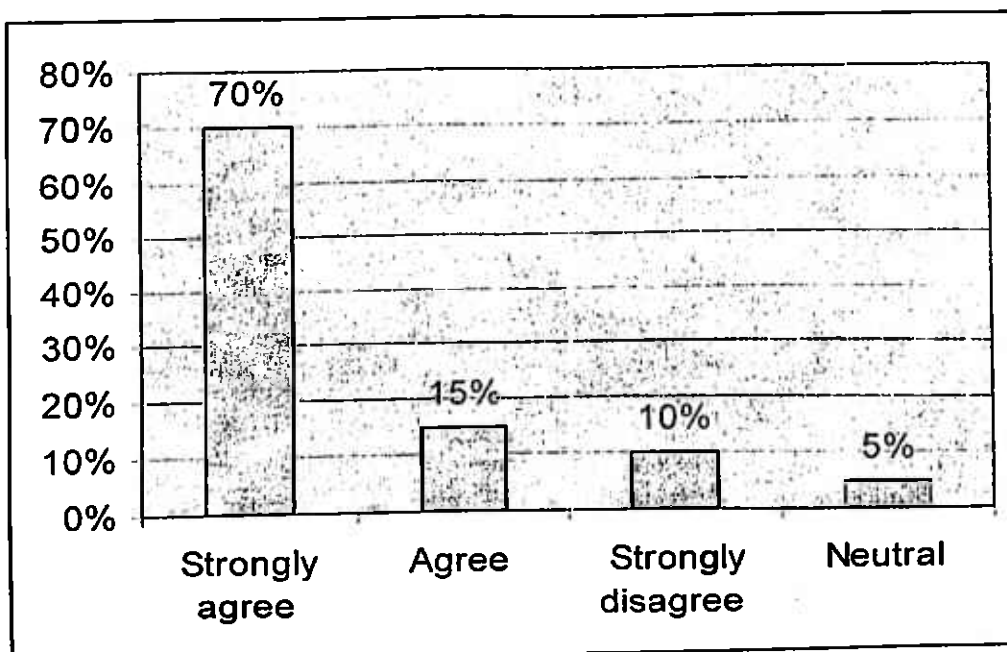
The typical African political system has generally operated within a predatory state where access to resources has been exclusively for the benefit of a select few, especially the ruling elite and their networks. The client system of governance, where the majority are denied access to resources and in most cases even restricted from participating in the exploitation of strategic resources, has been the cause of civil wars. It is obvious, therefore, that African political systems have to be reformed into inclusive, open democratic systems where resources are distributed fairly, and access to them guaranteed to the majority of the people. The ongoing democratization processes in Sub-

⁹³ Interview with Luambo, on 3rd May, 2011

Saharan Africa, especially in countries that have experienced civil wars like DRC, may not be able to guarantee peace if the resource dimension of conflict is not addressed.

DRC political systems have failed to govern their natural resources in a manner that would benefit their citizens. In spite of being home to many strategic and important natural resources, has failed to put in place government structures and policies that would enable the Congolese exploit them for their own benefit. The failure to provide appropriate structures to govern the natural resources has often made the resources become sources of conflict instead of being sources of development. DRC demonstrates how the huge deposits of diamonds became "blood" or "conflict" diamonds instead of being "development" diamonds.

Figure 3.2 Political system



Source: Author 2012

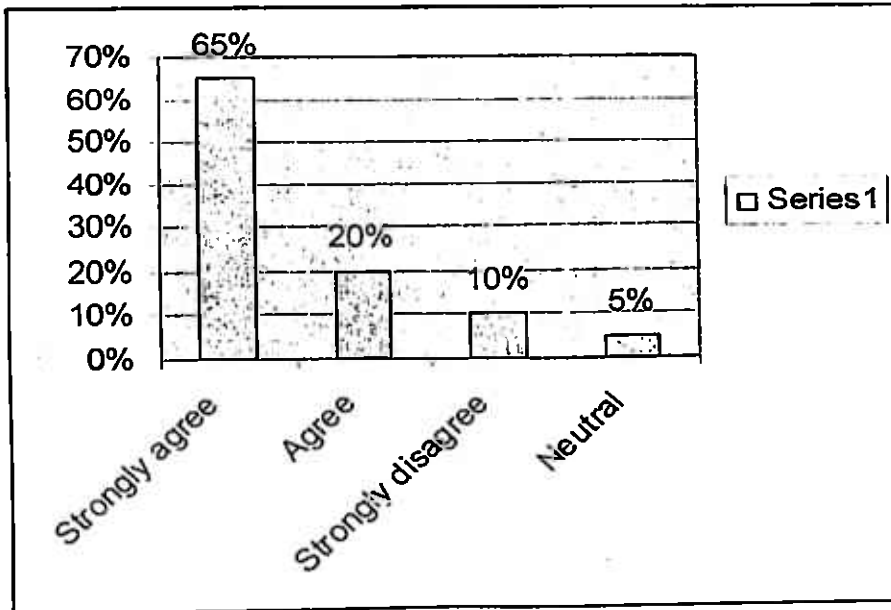
The above figure 3.8 represents the percentage of political system as a cause of conflict. In the field study, most of respondents of the local communities interviewed, 70% agreed that political system had contributed to the conflicts many times. 15% said several times, 10% felt that political system caused conflict once, while 5% said twice.⁹⁴ These results indicated that political system was a major cause of conflict between the local communities in the DRC areas of natural resources.

3.3.7 The issues of Nationalism and Identity of Politics

The study established that, nationalism and other forms of identity politics remain key factors in conflicts; power is increasingly gained through the successful control of local resources and the development of commercially driven global networks of support. The political economy and geographical distribution of resources thus significantly influence the likelihood and course of wars. This influence is played out through local resource exploitation schemes, involving territorial control and access to labour and capital, as well as through global commercial networks. To some extent, many contemporary wars resemble the merchant capital wars of early colonial times. Privately financed to serve economic objectives, these wars are now aggravated by the scale of the unregulated global economy, the initiatives of local authorities, and the availability of modern weaponry.

⁹⁴ Interview with survey respondent, on 3rd May, 2012

Figure 3.3 Nationalism and Identity of Politics as a cause to the conflict



Source: Author 2012

65% strongly agreed that nationalism and identity of politics contributed to conflict.

20% agree that nationalism and identity of politics have contributed to conflict.

10% strongly disagreed that nationalism and identity have contributed to conflict.

5% were neutral that nationalism and identity of politics have contributed to conflict.

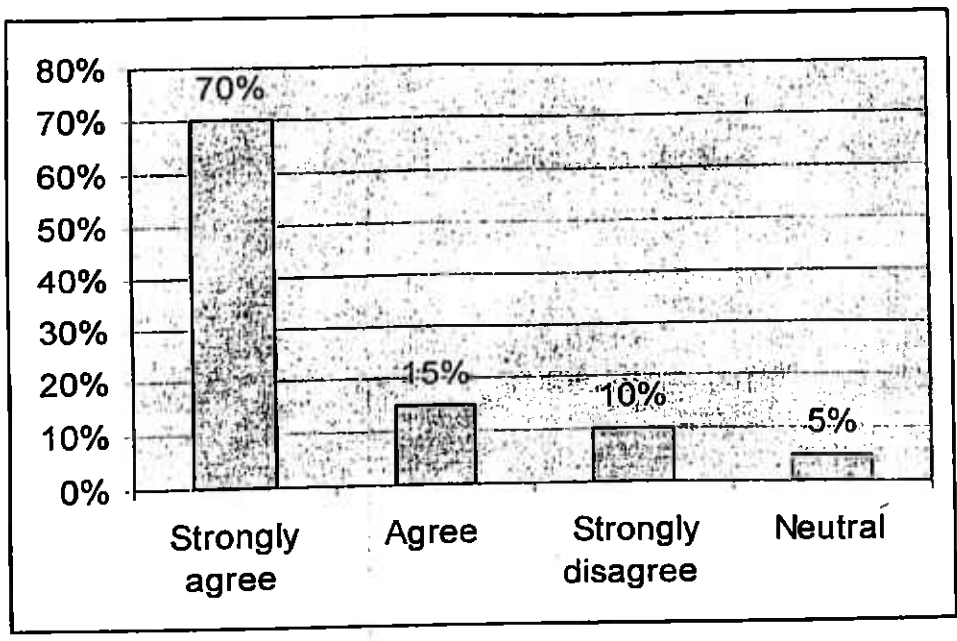
According to figure 3.3.9 indicates that during the survey, over half of the member of the Congolese local communities living in Nairobi area agreed that nationalism and identity of politics has contributed to conflict to local communities. The study investigated out that 65% respondents strongly agreed that nationalism and identity politics contributed to conflict. 20% agreed that nationalism and identity politics has caused conflict, while

10% strongly disagreed that nationalism and identity politics have contributed to conflict. 5% of respondents agreed' were neutral wildlife was contributor to conflict in DRC.⁹⁵

3.3.8 Ethnicity

Through carrying out interviews, in the DRC, the study established that, the Congolese people are made up of around 200 separate ethnic groups. These ethnic groups generally are concentrated regionally and speak distinct languages. There is no majority ethnic group - some of the largest ethnic groups are the Luba, Kongo and Anamongo, and each wants to be dominant creating a very delicate tribal rivalry that politicians easily manipulate.⁹⁶

Figure 3.4 Ethnicity as a cause to the conflict



Source: Author 2012

⁹⁵ Interview with survey respondent, on 2nd May, 2012
⁹⁶ Interviews with Fred, on 4th May, 2012.

According to figure 3.9 indicates that during the survey majority of the members of the DRC local communities agreed that tribal hatred between the local communities living in DRC had contributed to the conflicts between them. The study investigated out those 70% members of DRC community strongly claimed that tribal hatred had caused conflicts in the DRC. While 15% of IGAD community felt that tribal hatred had caused conflict in the DRC. AU felt that ethnicity had caused conflict, the rest of 5% from the other communities less –claimed that tribal hatred had caused conflicts in DRC.⁹⁷

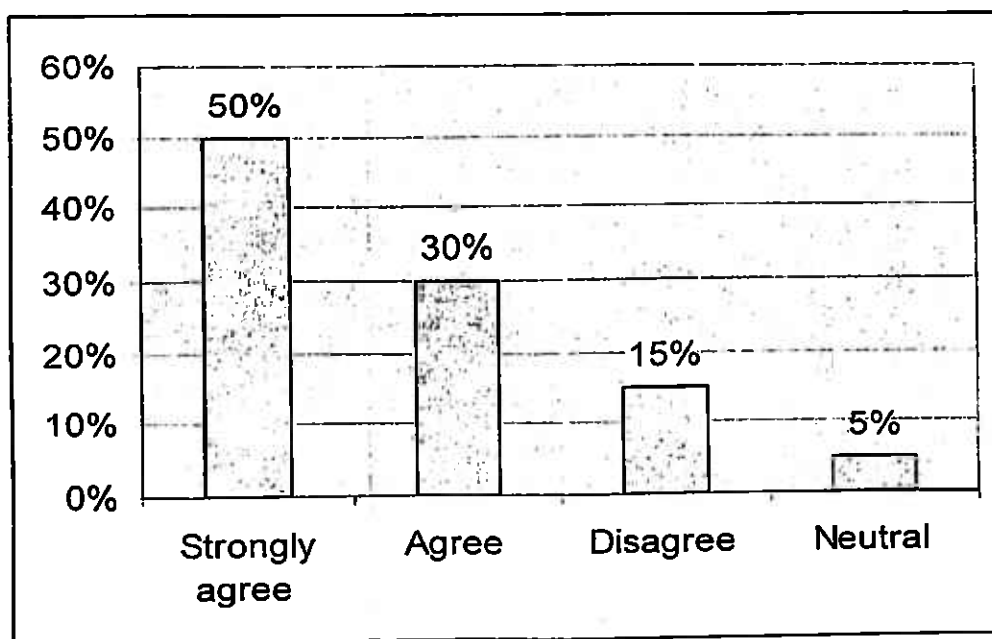
3.3.9 Foreign Interference

The presence of strategic resources in a country may fuel or even instigate conflict by inviting and attracting foreign or external forces, both state and non-state. In DRC, these external forces have found it easy to prey on resource-dependent countries because of the relative anarchy that prevails in these weak states. Because of the high interest in exploiting strategic resources, external powers and forces engage in activities that promote, abet, sustain, and even instigate conflicts in the resource-rich regions.

The study carried out in DRC, showed that business rivalry especially in the North-Eastern province of the DRC, multinational corporations from the US, Canada, Belgium, Germany, and even Kazakhstan fuel the conflict by making lucrative deals with the rebel movements. In return, the corporations supply financial and material resources which the rebels use to wage war against the DRC central government. Multinational companies were part of cause of conflict.

⁹⁷ Interview with survey respondent, on 6th May, 2012

Figure 3.5 Foreign actors as a cause of conflict



Source: Authority 2012

The above figure 3.10 shows that, 50% of respondent strongly agree that foreign actors was a cause of conflict in DRC, many times, whereas 35% of respondents agreed that foreign actors caused conflict several times. 15% of the respondents disagree that foreign actors caused conflict once or twice. While the rest of 5% of the survey respondent remained neutral that, foreign actors caused conflict in DRC.

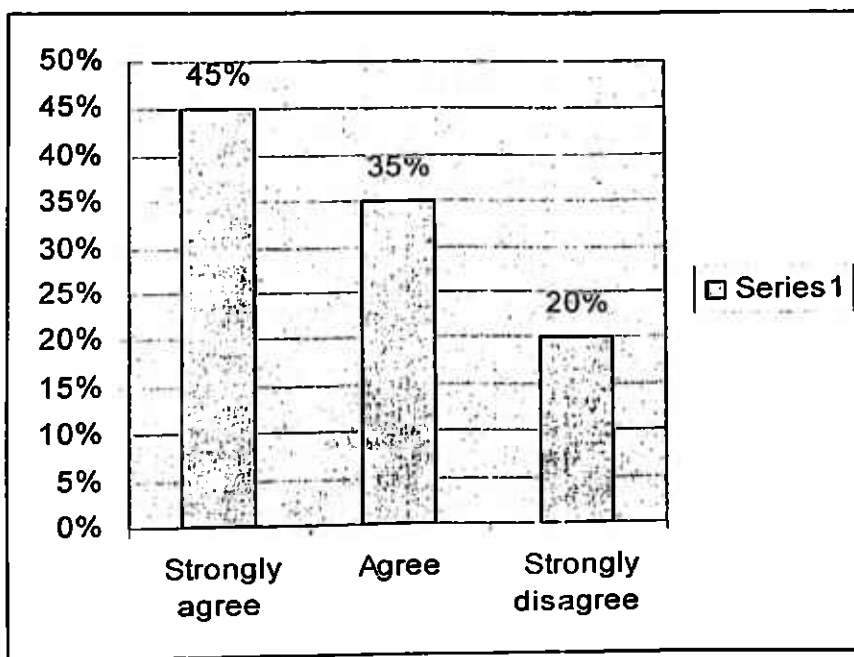
3.3.10 Minerals

The role played by Rwandan and Ugandan military personnel in the resource-rich eastern DRC has been well-documented. Under the guise of keeping peace and thereby preventing the DRC conflict from spilling over into their territories, the Rwandan and Ugandan forces appear to have, taken opposite sides in the DRC conflict by supporting different rebel groups who give them access to the minerals. Indeed, the bad blood between the central government in Kinshasa and its two former allies, Uganda and

Rwanda, stem from the conviction of the DRC Government that these two are not interested in keeping peace in Eastern DRC, but are out to plunder its resources. Even Namibia and Zimbabwe which sent forces to fight on the side of the government were motivated largely by the opportunity to benefit from the minerals.

The study carried out indicated that minerals within the DRC, was part of cause of conflicts.

Figure 3.6 Minerals as a cause of conflict



Source: Author 2012

Above figure 3.11 shows that minerals were a cause of conflict in DRC, 45% of respondents from the AU communities interviewed about the minerals, strongly agreed that minerals were cause of conflict in the DRC for many times. 35% of the respondent agreed that minerals for several time were cause of conflict. While, 20% of respondents strongly disagreed that those minerals once contributed to conflict in the DRC.

3.4 Conclusions

This chapter discussed the causes of conflicts in DRC. The subsection comprises of introduction, an overview to DRC conflict, the causes of conflicts in DRC, the root causes of the conflict in DRC; land issues, resource scarcity, border conflict , gold field control, forest, political system , nationalism and identity of politics, ethnicity, foreign actors and minerals.

CHAPTER FOUR

NATURAL RESOURCE BASED CONFLICTS IN POSTCOLONIAL AFRICA: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter three, provided the case study of DRC's conflicts. The chapter investigated conflicts in the DRC putting into consideration of the historical background of the DRC; causes of the conflict, impact of conflict on the parties involved and further examining the people, groups or organizations involved in bringing peace and the conflict resolution approaches used to resolve the conflict. Chapter four critically analyzes the conflict in the DRC. From this analysis; information is given on the causes of conflict. The analysis takes into account the effects of conflict approaches and issues identified in the case study as the back bone of the explanation.

4.1 Emerging issues

(i) Conflicts and Conflict Resolution Approaches

The study is investigating the causes of conflict impact and conflict resolution approaches used to resolve Natural Resource Based Conflict in the DRC. And in knowing various factors that contributed to conflict in DRC, the study establishes that there are four distinct factors. The first factor is land issues, the second factor is natural resources which are scarce, the third factor is border conflict, fourth gold field control, fifth factor is the

DRC forest and the sixth factor is lack of appropriate conflict resolution approaches in resolving DRC natural resource scarcity conflict.⁹⁸

Prior to explaining the overview of the conflicts and issues from the study and effects of conflicts on the parties involved, an overview of the objectives introduced in introduction to the study is given so as to draw attention to the outcomes that carrying out the case study has established.

The overall objective of the study is to examine the factors that lead to Natural Resource Based Conflict in the DRC and conflict resolution approaches with a case study of the DRC between 1996-2011. According to Getui, conflict refers to that situation where there are at least two entities between which there is a battle, fighting, struggle, tension, clash, controversy, or opposition because of differences in opinion, ideas or interests⁹⁹. In addition to this, conflict resolution approaches are defined as the means of using various methods or techniques, in getting a resolution or solving a problem. Davidson defines conflict resolution approaches as legitimized methods of giving the best conflict resolution as this leads to a reduction of conflict the natural resource users, a sustainable and availability, equitable benefits from the use of natural resources, the protection of unique natural resources and ecosystem leading to improvement in livelihood opportunities and food security and the potential for country's economic development and investment.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ M. N. Getui "*The Ethnicity factors in politics, religion and conflict*", op.cit p.50

¹⁰⁰ Davidson, *Integrated Transboundary River Management Policy*, op. cit, p.21

From the overall objective of the study there are three sub-objectives that are the base of the study. The first objective of the study is to examine the factors that lead to conflicts in DRC. The second objective is to analyze the conflict resolution approaches in the Mara River Basin area, while the third objective is to explore the best conflict resolution approaches in resolving conflicts in DRC. From the guidelines that objective gives for the study, the collected data, largely affirms that politics and natural resources plays a big role in leading to conflicts.

The politics and natural resources in relation to conflict in DRC, accelerated conflict of natural resources. However, Conflict has been a feature of human society since time immemorial. Disputes that arise may be organized around social class, ethnicity, religion, region, or some combination of these factors. The struggle can be over economic opportunities, as well as political and civil rights, among other contestable factors¹⁰¹. Although natural resources are inherently good in terms of generating wealth and contributing to peace and development, inequities in their distribution, use, needs, desires and management have been sources of tension both internationally and in intra-state disputes. The link between conflicts and natural resources is not always so clear, yet resource-rich countries have been shown to be more susceptible to conflict compared to resource-poor ones. The risk of conflict appears to be greatest in countries which depend on the export of primary commodities such as oil, gas and mineral ores.²

¹⁰¹ M., Murshed, . Conflict, Civil War and Underdevelopment: An Introduction, Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 39, No. 4, Sage Publications, Ltd. pp. 387-393. Accessed: 21/04/2011 04:51
<http://www.istor.org/stable/1555273>.

²Heinrich Böll Stiftung. The Green Political Foundation. (2008). Natural Resources and Conflict. Accessed 17/05/2012 Website: www.boell.de/resource_governance

³Ehrlich, & Gleick, (2000).

(ii) Issues of Land

In the pre-independence period from 1885 the Congo Free State, as it was then known was a colony of Belgium under King Leopold II. In 1908, it became the Belgian Congo when the King ceded it to the Belgian parliament. The country gained independence on 30th June 1960, Patrice Lumumba of the Mouvement National Congolais (MNC) party was elected the Prime Minister, Joseph Kasavubu the President from the Alliance des Bakongo (ABAKO).¹⁰²

The 80-year old Belgian colonization is blamed for both the current destabilization in the DRC and multiple secessions and mutinies of the post-independence period. The research study showed that these were a result of the failure of the Belgian government to select an elite leadership to govern the state on their behalf as Britain and France did. There was no smooth transition to Western-favored regimes which characterized independence elsewhere and the new administration was faced with uprisings and mutiny which foreign governments did much to foment.

The fight between the US and Soviet Union worsened the situation in post-independence Congo; the latter supported Lumumba as the legitimate leader of the country which the US opposed. Further it became evident that much of economic control of the state was in the hands of big foreign mining and plantation companies. Without economic control and political interference from the Western powers, a power struggle ensued between Kasavubu and Lumumba, the latter was dismissed from government in September 1960. The assassination of Lumumba and other key independence leaders with American and European support gave them greater ease of access to the country's

¹⁰² Ibid.

rich resources cheaply instead of using them for Congo's own people and their development.¹⁰³

Both President Kasavubu and his Prime Minister Tshombe were ousted in a 1965 coup by Joseph Mobutu whose 32 year rule left the most economic and political damage to the country. The DRC state of economy still bears the deep impact of Mobutu's absolutist and predatory rule of 32 years marked by gross human rights violations and political repression. The one-party system established by Mobutu in the name of democracy further worsened the political suppression; membership was compulsory and he was the only candidate that stood for the supposed democratic elections. He had absolute executive power in Zaire which gave him rights to change the 1974 constitution at his discretion. A large proportion of the revenues from state-owned mining companies went straight into the pockets of Mobutu and his closest allies and by the 1990's, the country's economy was facing collapse due to authoritarianism, mismanagement and corruption. This scenario gave credibility to the premise that conflicts in African states, including DRC are brought about by 'bad governance'.

The research study carried out showed that, the issue of land ownership is quite emotive in DRC, with members of the Congolese communities staking claim to its ownership based on historical possession. Pre-colonial; from around the 14th century, the country started receiving visitors from the Europe. The Belgians arrived at the DRC in 1885. During the Berlin Conference (1884-1885). The European powers divided African countries amongst themselves. Indeed, this supports Mwangiru, who states that the African ethnic context was enshrined at Berlin Conference of 1884-5 where Africa was carved up

¹⁰³ Ibid.

by the imperial powers without paying attention to ethnic, cultural and geographical or other factors¹⁰⁴. Congo was allocated to Belgium in 1885; the Belgium physically occupied Congo and decided to open up the interior of the country by establishing mining companies and plantations.

Post colonial period; members of the Congolese community further pointed out that the mining land was grabbed after independence. The Congolese were dispossessed of their land especially in Eastern and Northern Kivu. When political elites came to power and failed to address historical land injustices. Instead some politicians secretly colluded with colonial masters to exploit the poor local Congolese community to enrich themselves.

(iii) Distribution of Natural Resource Scarcity

The study carried out identified that, one of the major challenges on sustainable development in DRC, especially in the eastern and northern Kivu province is the supply and access to a range of natural resources underpinned by natural resources. Natural resources are needed to support domestic use, and earn foreign exchange. Geologically, DRC is situated in an area with deep volcanic ashes that were deposited during the formation of the Great Rift Valley and the numerous volcanic mountains in the area.¹⁰⁵

This means that as result of volcanic activities, RDC is endowed with various minerals. The study identified the highly competitive natural resources environment were competition for mineral use is between the local community and government. During discussions with key informants and focus groups, I established sharp differences in

¹⁰⁴ M. Mwangi, *Conflict: Theory, Process and Institutions of Management* (Nairobi: Watermark Printers (K) Ltd, 1999), p.65.

¹⁰⁵ F. C. A. Mc Bain, *A Physical and Economic Geography East Africa*, (Oxford University Press, 1986), P.59.

opinion on whether minerals were significant causes of the conflict in the area or not. Some key informants from the local communities dismiss the notion of minerals as causes of conflict in the area. They argued that minerals were often used by members of either community as an excuse to start the conflicts. Further they claimed that the local communities living in natural resources endowed areas have been sharing them regularly. Other key informants from the Congolese community accused some local leaders, and the government for licensing outsiders to mine without considering the local communities.

The research study, further established that, the war alone, fought in remote jungles by a multitude of rebels and national armies from the great lakes region, as a primary reason for the extension of the conflict has been a desire to gain control of easily appropriable and highly valuable natural resources like gold, diamonds, and coltan that Congo is endowed with.

(iv) Border Conflict

The study carried out indicated that, the natural resources cover a very large area, occupied by the different local communities. The competition over natural resources between the local communities and foreign interference has always resulted into conflict. This competition over natural resources supports Mitchell's view that a conflict arises when two or more parties have incommensurable goals about something.¹⁰⁶ The study established that the Congolese were not happy with the Rwanda-Hutu community refugees as they wanted to control the bordering land, which belonged to the Congolese community. The Rwandese community's desire to control border trade has contributed to stiff competition for trade in the DRC hence promoting conflict in the DRC.

¹⁰⁶ C. Mitchell, *The Structure of International Conflict*, (London: Mac Millan Press, 1998), p15-25.

The study also exposed that, Rwandan Hutu militiamen feared returning to Rwanda, believing they would be targeted by revenge-seeking Tutsis. These Hutu remained in the forests of east Congo, preying on villages for food and money. Rwandan incursions into the DRC disrupted the fragile government and created instability. In December 2004, rival units within the DRC's national army clashed in the eastern part of the country. In May 2005 it was reported that Rwandan Hutu rebels based in eastern Congo were responsible for hundreds of summary executions, rapes, beatings and hostage-taking of Congolese civilians in the territory of Walungu, South Kivu Province.

Throughout 2005, rival militias backed by Rwanda and Uganda, respectively, created instability in the northeastern region of Ituri, as they battled over border trade. Additionally, Rwandan militias continued to operate in eastern rainforests, keeping the threat of an invasion alive. Still, the rest of the country remained relatively stable under President Kabila.

(v) Gold Field Control

The study carried out indicated that, gold field control in some areas of DRC, contributed to conflict. The competition over gold between the local communities and foreign arrivals for instance Rwanda Hutu rebels have always resulted into conflict. This competition over gold field supports Mitchell's view that a conflict arises when two or more parties have incommensurable goals about something.¹⁰⁷ A conflict will thus occur when two people, when they have incompatible goals because they may have different perceptions, objectives, goals and ideas about how to achieve them.

¹⁰⁷ C. Mitchell, *The Structure of International Conflict*, (London: Mac Millan Press, 1998), p15-25.

Mwagiru states that in a simple conflict, for example between two people, the incompatibility arises because they may both have different perceptions, goals, and ideas about how to achieve them¹⁰⁸. Underlying that situation is a conflict of vision, and often an inability or unwillingness to see the other persons-point of view. Mwagiru further, alludes that conflict is about values, want and interests which are negotiable and not susceptible to settlement¹⁰⁹. The study established that the Congolese were not happy with the Rwanda Hutu rebels as they had a greedy motive of controlling the gold fields.

(vi) Congo Forest

During a group discussion, it was exposed that conflict has been existing between the Congo authority and the local residents of Kivu. They claimed that the conflict has been promoted by the lack of involvement in its management¹¹⁰. However, there were varied opinions with regards as to who is responsible for the management of the Congo forest. The respondent interviewed Kivu council as the body responsible for the management of the forest. On a smaller scale, respondents interviewed perceived the body responsible as the local community and government respectively. At the same time respondents surveyed were not aware of who was responsible for the management of the forest. With regards to community involvement in forest management, few of the sampled respondents acknowledged positively their involvement, although majority were not sure about being involved. Some of them cited possible involvements including reforestation, acting as watchdogs and engaging in conservation. Several reasons were cited as to why

¹⁰⁸ M. Mwagiru, *Conflict: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management*, (Nairobi: Watermark Printers Kenya Ltd, 1999) P.3

¹⁰⁹ M. Mwagiru, *The International Management of Internal Conflict in Africa: The Uganda Mediation*, 1985 (PhD dissertation, University of Kent at Canterbury, 1994), P15.

¹¹⁰ Group discussion, 2nd May, 2011

some members of the community were not involved in forest management. Among these were perceptions of the forest as being government property, which was the most common cited issue among the respondents. Other reasons cited were ignorance and being left out on management issues. This has posed a challenge to planners, managers and decision makers regarding the development of management plans, implementation of strategic plans as well as fostering a monitoring and evaluation programme for the forest.

(vii) Other issues identified

In addition to the five identified issues derived from the case study there are other issues that were discovered from carrying out the study.

Political Systems

The DRC, gained independence on 30th June 1960, Patrice Lumumba of the Movement National Congolais (MNC) party was elected the Prime Minister, Joseph Kasavubu the President from the Alliance des Bakongo (ABAKO). The 80-year old Belgian colonization is blamed for both the current destabilization in the DRC and multiple secessions and mutinies of the post-independence period. The research study showed that these were as a result of the failure of the Belgian government to select an elite leadership to govern the state on their behalf as Britain and France did. There was no smooth transition to Western-favored regimes which characterized independence elsewhere and the new administration was faced with uprisings and mutiny which foreign governments did much to foment.¹¹¹

Joseph Mobutu's 32 year rule left the most economic and political damage to the country. The Congolese state and economy still bear the deep impact of Mobutu's

¹¹¹ Ibid.

absolutist and predatory rule of 32 years marked by gross human rights violations and political repression. The one-party system established by Mobutu in the name of democracy further worsened the political suppression; membership was compulsory and he, the only candidate to stand for the supposed democratic elections. He had absolute executive power in Zaire which gave him rights to change the 1974 constitution at his discretion. A large proportion of the revenues from state-owned mining companies went straight into the pockets of Mobutu and his closest allies and by the 1990's, the country's economy was facing collapse due to authoritarianism, mismanagement and corruption. This scenario gave credibility to the premise that conflicts in African states, including DRC are brought about by 'bad governance'.¹¹²

The DRC political system has generally operated within a predatory state where access to resources has been exclusively for the benefit of a select few, especially the ruling elite and their networks. The client system of governance, where the majority are denied access to resources and in most cases even restricted from participating in the exploitation of strategic resources, has been the cause of civil wars. It is obvious, therefore, that DRC political systems have to be reformed into inclusive, open democratic systems where resources are distributed fairly, and access to them guaranteed to the majority of the people.¹¹³

DRC political systems have failed to govern their natural resources in a manner that would benefit their citizens. In spite of being home to many strategic and important natural resources, has failed to put in place government structures and policies that would enable the Congolese exploit them for their own benefit. The failure to provide

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

appropriate structures to govern the natural resources has often made the resources become sources of conflict instead of being sources of development.

Nationalism and Identity of Politics

The study established that, nationalism and other forms of identity politics remain key factors in conflicts; power is increasingly gained through the successful control of local resources and the development of commercially driven global networks of support. The political economy and geographical distribution of resources significantly influences the likelihood and course of wars. This influence is played out through local resource exploitation schemes, involving territorial control and access to labour and capital, as well as through global commercial networks. To some extent, many contemporary wars resemble the merchant capital wars of early colonial times. Privately financed to serve economic objectives, these wars are now aggravated by the scale of the unregulated global economy, the initiatives of local authorities, and the availability of modern weaponry.

Ethnicity

Through carrying out interviews, in the DRC, the study established that, The Congolese people are made up of around 200 separate ethnic groups. These ethnic groups generally are concentrated regionally and speak distinct languages. There is no majority ethnic group - some of the largest ethnic groups are the Luba, Kongo and Anamongo, and each wants to be dominant creating a very delicate tribal rivalry that politicians easily manipulate¹¹⁴.

¹¹⁴ Interviews with survey respondent, on 4th May, 2012.

Foreign Interference

The presence of strategic resources in a country may fuel or even instigate conflict by inviting and attracting foreign or external forces, both state and non-state. In DRC, these external forces have found it easy to prey on resource-dependent countries because of the relative anarchy that prevails in these weak states. Because of the high interest in exploiting strategic resources, external powers and forces engage in activities that promote, abet, sustain, and even instigate conflicts in the resource-rich regions.

The study carried out in DRC, showed that business rivalry especially in the North-Eastern province of the DRC, multinational corporations from the US, Canada, Belgium, Germany, and even Kazakhstan fuel the conflict by making lucrative deals with the rebel movements. In return, the corporations supply financial and material resources which the rebels use to wage war against the DRC central government. Multinational companies are therefore part of the causes of conflict.

Minerals

The role played by Rwandan and Ugandan military personnel in the resource-rich eastern DRC has been well-documented. Under the guise of keeping peace and thereby preventing the DRC conflict from spilling over into their territories, the Rwandan and Ugandan forces appear to have, taken opposite sides in the DRC conflict by supporting different rebel groups who give them access to the minerals.¹⁵ Indeed, the bad blood between the central government in Kinshasa and its two former allies, Uganda and Rwanda, stem from the conviction of the DRC Government that these two are not interested in peace keeping in Eastern DRC, but are out to plunder its resources. Even Namibia and Zimbabwe which sent forces to fight on the side of the government were

motivated largely by the opportunity to benefit from the minerals. The study carried out indicated that minerals within the DRC, was part of the cause of conflicts.¹¹⁵

Conflict Resolution Approaches

Conflict- the terms conflict refers to that situation where there are at least two entities between which there is a battle, fighting, struggle, tension, clash, controversy or opposition because of differences in opinion, ideas, or interests. The cause could also be attributed to competition for resources and power.¹¹⁶

The war in the DRC is the widest interstate war in modern African history. The DRC has become an environment in which numerous foreign players¹¹⁷ have become involved, some within the immediate sub-region, and some from much further a field. That only serves to complicate the situation and to make peaceful resolution of the conflict much more complex. The war, centered mainly in eastern Congo, has involved nine African nations and directly affected the lives of 50 million Congolese.¹¹⁸

The Congolese people are made up of around 200 separate ethnic groups. These ethnic groups generally are concentrated regionally and speak distinct languages. There is no majority ethnic group - some of the largest ethnic groups are the Luba, Kongo and Anamongo. The various ethnic groups speak many different languages but only four indigenous languages have official status - Kiswahili, Lingala, Kikongo and Tshiluba. French is the language of government, commerce and education. Societal discrimination

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Tarimo Aquiline, S. J. and Manwelo Paulin, s. J. (eds) *Ethnicity Conflict, and the Future of African States*, (Paulines Publications Africa, 2009). P.50.

¹¹⁷ "Reinforcing What? The EU's Role in Eastern Congo", Neil Campbell in Reuters: The Great Debate, 18 November 2008.

¹¹⁸ Coghlan, B. et al., "Mortality in the Democratic Republic of Congo: An ongoing crisis", International Rescue Committee (January 2007)

on the basis of ethnicity is widely practiced by members of virtually all ethnic groups and is evident in private hiring and buying patterns and in patterns of de facto ethnic segregation in some cities. In large cities, however, intermarriage across ethnic and regional divides is common.

The problem of conflicts in DRC, and lack of efficient and effective responses to DRC conflict, is the one of the biggest challenges for African diplomacy. Past responses to conflict have often failed to understand the context within which conflict has operated or to address the causes, while it is possible to distinguish between the root causes of conflict, the secondary causes that enable and sustain conflict and the tertiary causes, or the barriers that hinder resolution. Preventing war and maintaining peace remain among the most vital and most elusive goals of international relations. Indeed, the acid test for international and regional organizations is invariably their efficacy in the area of peace and security management. Thus the continuing proliferation of wars, conflicts, and all manner of sectarian violence and communal strife is eloquent testimony to the failure of international organizations to deal effectively with the peace and security nexus.¹¹⁹

The resolution of the civil conflict in the Congo goes back to early sixties. Immediately after independence in 1960, it was complicated by the involvement of foreign multinational companies interested in minerals. The Government of Belgium, for instance, supported the rebel leader Moisi Tshombe because of the desire to protect the Belgian corporation, the Societe Gerierale de Belgique, which controlled nearly 70 per cent of the Zairian mining economy.

¹¹⁹ Shannon Field: *Peace in Africa: Towards a Collaborative Security Regime*, (Johannesburg: The Institute for Global Dialogue, 2004) P16.

The international dimension of the resource-based conflict needs also to be addressed, through the development of international enforcement mechanisms that would regulate trade in resources used to support conflict. Such mechanisms would include economic sanctions, judicial and certification instruments, aid conditionality, and monitoring of corporate conduct. The resource factor is part and parcel of most conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa. Therefore, conflict management and resolution strategies ought to address the resource issue. One of the most important steps towards resolving resource-based conflicts is political reform. This study sought information on approaches to conflicts in DRC. The researcher requested the respondents to indicate or comment about resolutions or approaches to conflicts in DRC.

The study also sought information on approaches to conflict resolution in resource areas of DRC. The researcher requested the respondents to indicate or comment about responses or approaches to conflict resolution in DRC resource areas. The study revealed that, approaches to conflict in DRC was not sufficient to resolve the conflict. 54% of the respondents said approaches were fair. 20% claimed approaches to be good. 16% very good and 10% were none¹²⁰.

The Types of Conflict Resolution Approaches

The study investigated the type or the tactics of approaches used to resolve the conflict in DRC. The following conflict resolution approaches were revealed; the study showed that types of conflict resolution approaches used to resolve conflict in DRC. The respondents interview claimed that, accord was 86%, used in resolving conflict followed by military operation 85%, negotiation 80%, agreements 78%, dialogue 75%, conciliation 65% and

¹²⁰ Interview with Winnie Anyongo, on 8th May, 2012

court processes 10% while the rest of the other approaches were not applicable.¹²¹ But no peace has been achieved, despite use of those types of conflict resolution approaches in resolving DRC conflict.

Individual, Group, or Organization Involved in Bringing Peace

The study sought to investigate whether there were people, groups or organizations were working towards bringing peace in the DRC. The study showed that there was a percentage of commitment in bringing peace in DRC. 16% of the respondents indicated that the government was committed, 44% of the respondents indicated that international community was committed in bringing peace through peace keeping and use of panel of experts in DRC, 38% of respondents indicated that non-governmental organizations were committed and 2% of respondents shows that individuals were committed in building peace in the DRC.¹²² In spite of those commitments in bringing peace by Individuals, groups, and organizations, the peace has not yet been realized, and natural resource conflict is still there.

Impact on Conflict on the parties involved

The influence of resource wars on populations varies in comparison to commercialization considerably. In some cases, local populations can be closely involved in it, and benefit from the exploitation of these resources. This is true of the minerals producers in DRC. Without a situation of conflict, the production of these lucrative but illicit products would not be possible. In a way, rebel groups play a protective role for such populations. In other cases, belligerents see local people as a hindrance to resource control, resulting in forced evictions or massacres, such as in the diamond fields of DRC. Local populations

¹²¹ Interview with respondents, on 8th May, 2012

¹²² Interview John Kavila, on 9th May, 2012

can also be forcibly enrolled to exploit resources in addition to other uses such as logistics, food production, or sex. Finally, governments and rebel groups can simply neglect populations by focusing exclusively on resource control and exploitation, leaving the rest of the economy and public services in total disarray.

In terms of political and military impact, foreign support generally provides a means of consolidating and centralising armed groups as leaders channel assistance from the top to their supporters. This has clearly been the case for Angola, even though internal political opposition has been harshly repressed on both sides and many footsoldiers have relied on looting to survive. By contrast, the commercial activities involved in resource wars generally result in a fragmentation of armed groups – between the leadership level and local commanders, or even down to individual soldiers – as resources flow from the bottom to the top through a variety of quasi-autonomous channels. Very small rebel groups without a political agenda can emerge from this fragmentation and be assimilated into ‘criminal’ gangs gathering marginalised and impoverished youths seeking empowerment through the use of violence. Furthermore, the localisation of authority and motives for violence can be deeply influenced by economic considerations to the point of impeding a transition to peace, as even committed leaders cannot control their ‘followers’.¹²³

The study examined the effects of conflict on the parties involved in the DRC, and showed the impact of conflicts on the parties involved. 40% of the respondents interviewed indicated that conflict results to property destruction, 15% of respondents, conflict leads to population displacement, 20% of respondents claimed conflicts results to

¹²³ Ibid.

death, 12% of respondents indicated that conflicts cause disruption of social activities as schools, while 13% of respondents showed that conflicts lead to disruption of economic activities like business.¹²⁴ Further discussion showed that while the war has had a dramatic impact on many people, it is worth noting that the vast majority of the population has been sheltered from the direct consequences of the war. Most of their suffering arises from economic mismanagement and a lack of employment opportunities. Aside from subsistence agriculture, many survive through informal trading. Repression against this sector is relaxed when the oil price drops in order to broaden economic opportunities and ease social tensions. In this context, rising social inequalities – resulting from rent seeking and the ‘partial and uneven movement to a market economy’.

Further, resource wars result in the domination of the economy by the military and resource sectors. The former is associated with destruction and underdevelopment; the latter corrupts politics and undermines the economy. As the non-resource and non-military sectors decline, wealth and power become increasingly dependent upon controlling rents from the resource sector and transfers to and within the military apparatus. This political economy motivates those already in control of the resource rents to protect their privileged access to rents at all costs, including through continued fighting against those contesting control. Alternatively, opposing groups may reach compromises with each other to advance their mutual interests, while maintaining a level of conflict that preserves their individual interests. If the wealth generated by the resource sector is sufficiently large, then the system can be perpetuated even as the non-resource economy collapses. On the contrary, the collapse of the economy can result in a military end-game.

¹²⁴ Interviews with P. Kale, on 10th May, 2012

The study revealed that the conflict resolution approaches in bringing peace, was limited. Many of the approaches applied were military types of approaches, which have failed to yield peace in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The agreements and conciliation have been conducted or negotiated by the international community.¹²⁵ During the research study it emerged that there have been external conflicts as natural resources are highly valuable natural like gold, diamonds, and coltan that Congo is endowed with. Conflict resolution and natural resource management policies have been very difficult to implement. The lack of any explicit policy instruments that take an holistic approach for the whole of the DRC natural resources highlights the needs for the conflict resolution of social , economic and ecological aspects of natural resources management in a single DRC resource management policy.

However there are number of challenges in attempting to implement such a policy. These include lack of political commitment from within both Congo and Rwanda to ensure that regulatory frameworks for the legal enforcement of any policy put in place are based on principles of accountability, transparency and participatory democracy. Lack of finding mechanisms that take into account the sovereignty governance of minerals, land tenure, rights issues and potential impediments to policy implementation that need to be overcome by the conflicting aims and objectives of various sectoral and institutional stakeholders as well as the needs and concerns of people living within the Kivu province eastern area whose livelihoods are inextricably linked to the goods and services the natural resources provide.

¹²⁵ Interview with Franco, on 2nd May, 2011

The study exposed that the network of commercialization involves consumers in importing countries. While international trade ethics represent a difficult problem to address because of its pervasiveness, action can be taken concerning specific commodities financing conflicts. For example, investigations into marketing networks can reveal the actors and mechanisms linking natural resource exploitation in countries at war and consumption in rich countries. When these networks are somewhat obscure and/or highly diversified, as in the case of diamonds produced in Angola or Sierra Leone, a responsible management of the supply-chain by the industry should ensure that no commodity ending up on the international market has participated in funding these conflicts. The diamond cartel De Beers has pledged to take such steps and there is increasing pressure within the diamond industry to reform its practices.¹²⁶

The same could be argued about oil produced under repressive and corrupt regimes. While legitimate governments have a right to allocate oil revenues to address military threats, military expenditures have commonly provided a cover for embezzlement, occasionally with the complicity of foreign oil companies. In Angola, some foreign oil companies are directly involved in domestic political and financial matters and participate actively in helping finance arms purchases, including through extra-budgetary channels. Most prominently, Elf Aquitaine has reportedly acted as a facilitator in oil for arms deals and supported both sides in the conflict. Allegedly, such deals have been made with eastern European arms dealers associating Angolan officials (General Vieira Dias 'kopelipa'), arms brokers (Pierre Falcone and Arkadi Gaidamak), oil companies (Elf), and oil traders (Glencore). In 1998, oil shipments from Elf's

¹²⁶ Ibid.

'Palanka' fields were circumventing normal national accounting procedures to pay for such deals.

While, it is not in the short-term interests of private corporations to blow the whistle on such practices, it certainly is in their longer-term interest to address the problem as 'dirty' industries and commodities may suffer from consumer boycotts. Private corporations, either domestic or international, need to assume their political role and to take a moral stand by demonstrating their 'citizenship'. Such positions should, however, not be cynically used by first world companies to exclude competitors in the third world; for example by characterising African diamonds in general as 'dirty', and those of developed countries (e.g. Australia and Canada) as 'clean'. Nor should diamonds produced by multinationals be systematically considered 'clean' and artisanal ones 'dirty', with the risk of undermining local small-scale producers.

Criminalizing Conflicts

The study exposed that, the economic agendas associated with the exploitation of resources can also influence the course of conflicts through their criminalization, as financial motivations may come to override political ones. Financial self-interest may motivate individual soldiers, local commanders, and their political backers to sustain profitable conflicts thereby securing their stake in the resource wealth. Such 'freelancing' and the attendant anarchy usually results in violent competition. Yet, it can also involve accommodation between opposing factions who find a mutual benefit in a 'comfortable military stalemate', leaving the territory and its population under a no-war-nor-peace situation.

War economies, generally involving valuable (illicit) commodities such as gems, drugs, and hardwood, circumvent regulations and taxation, contributing to the growth of the informal economy. The deregulation and internationalization of trade through globalisation, has greatly facilitated external commercial links. Criminalisation occurs especially when the marketing of illicit commodities requires armed movements to develop downstream partnerships with criminal networks to facilitate international trade or retail sales. In these circumstances the imposition of sanctions may actually extend criminalisation by making normal economic activities illicit and pushing the state to engage with criminal gangs to run smuggling operations. This criminalisation is not exclusive to conflict countries rich in natural resources. It is observed – at least in the form of a ‘political economy of disorder’ – throughout most of Africa.¹²⁷

Conflict Resolution Approaches to Natural Resource Conflicts in the DRC

The problem of natural resource based conflicts in the DRC, and lack of efficient and effective conflict resolution approaches to regional conflicts is the one of the biggest challenges for African diplomacy. Past approaches to conflict have often failed to understand the context within which conflict has operated or to address the causes, while it is possible to distinguish between the root causes of conflict the secondary causes that enable and sustain conflict and tertiary causes, or the barriers that hinder resolution. Preventing conflict and maintaining peace remain among the most vital and most elusive goals of international conflict management.

Indeed, the acid test for international and regional organizations is invariably their efficacy in the area of peace and security management. Thus the continuing proliferation

¹²⁷ Ibid.

of wars, conflicts, and all manner of sectarian violence and communal strife is eloquent testimony to the failure of international organizations to deal effectively with the peace and security nexus.¹²⁸

Environmental cooperation approaches

In DRC: natural resource based conflicts prevention will not be effective unless it is based on Africa's own experience and capacity to approach crisis¹²⁹. Africa provides examples of some of the world's largest lasting regional conflicts. It also provides examples of enduring recoveries from conflict. Natural resource based conflict success, needs a commitment to use government and institutions as a means of managing regional conflicts. Africa needs to adapt the concept of environmental cooperation. The environmental cooperation is part of a long-time solution to conflict. It offers sustainable solutions for the future. It contributes to the improvement of living conditions such as supply of water, and it fosters the building of confidence and trust among adverse societies. Environmental issues and the mutual ecological dependence across territorial borders facilitate and encourage cooperation, which often is a first step toward the initiation of an ongoing dialogue, which would be difficult to mediate through political channels. A shared management of environmental resources develops and parties to a conflict are integrated in cooperative negotiation processes. Political tensions can be overcome and due to the establishment of mutual trust a creation of a common regional identity and the idea of mutual rights and expectations are likely to emerge.

¹²⁸ S. Field, *Peace in Africa: Towards A Collaborative Security Regime*, (Johannesburg: the institute for Global Dialogue, 2004) P.16

¹²⁹ A Mazrui, *Towards A Pax African A: A Study Of Ideology And Ambition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967). P.12

Carius, emphasizes that; the importance of environmental cooperation is to strengthen regional cooperation and fostering political convergence of parties to a conflict. According to him cooperation on environmental issues is likely to lead to: “the internalization of shared norms; the creation of a regional identity and regional interests. The creation of a regional identity is related to the way people see and understand geographical spaces and communities. Environmental cooperation has, in the long term, the potential to replace the traditional concept of mutually exclusive and politically defined identity with a concept of an ecological community, if the creation of shared perceptions, experiences and goals is fostered. Also the operationalization of information routines and reduction of the use of violence”.¹³⁰

Carius further delineates the advantages that environmental issues hold and that facilitate cooperation between adverse parties; environmental issues ignore political boundaries, in order to sustain and manage natural resources or mitigate negative environmental impacts parties must work together. This cooperation gives rise to a connection between different people, areas, regions and countries. Environmental issues require long term cooperation for their solution, requiring the long term process of cooperation and consultation, which is necessary. If shared environmental conditions want to be managed effectively, a platform for an ongoing dialogue and interaction is being created which fosters the building of trust between adverse societies. He further advances that environmental issues lend themselves to people-to-people interactions. While interactions among civil society could be seen as a pre-stage for an ongoing

¹³⁰ C. Alexander, *Environmental Peace building. Environmental cooperation as an instrument of crisis prevention and peace-building: conditions for success and constraints*, (Berlin: Adelphi Press, 2006) P.11

dialogue between states. Their ability to act on environment issues enables cross-border linkages may serve as precursors to state-to-state engagement.¹³¹

Policy and Institutional approaches

DRC,needs policy and institutional dimensions of integrated natural resource management approaches. Natural resource conflict areas, need adoption of policy and institutional integrated approaches to manage conflicts. There are those countries that have been successful in solving natural resource based conflicts, for instance, natural resource conflicts in the Tanzania. The natural resource conflicts have been managed by a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) whose vision and mission were developed in a participative process through a series of workshops. It focuses on facilitating good local governance across several sectors that included water, education and health.

The NGO initiated a dialogue project that focuses on the nature of relationships between users of natural resource and the systems of natural resource management that govern these relationships. The building blocks of the project's design are based on the underlying logic that if collaborative relationships among local stakeholders exist, good governance of natural resources would prevail. The basic principle behind the model is that people's mindsets can be changed through persuasion so that they start cooperating and entering into dialogue with their rivals (or perceived rivals) to resolve natural conflicts.¹³²

Apart from Tanzania Resource Management, DRC also needs to borrow much from the Inkomati Natural resource Management Area, South Africa. The integrated legal

¹³¹ D. Geoffrey, *Environment, Peace and the Dialogue among Civilization and cultures*, (Tehran: I.R.I, Press, 2006) P.11

¹³² Claudious Chikozho, *Policy and Institutional dimensions of Integrated Basin Management* (Pretoria: International Water Management Institute, 2005) P.11

approaches in Inkomati natural resource Management has been a classic example in resolving water conflicts in South Africa. The Inkomati Natural resource Management involved various stakeholders including; players from the agricultural sector, both commercial and subsistence, forestry, mining, industry, tourism, recreational fishing, local and provincial government, traditional leaders, NRMAs natural resource services providers, international natural resource bodies, sector representative bodies, NGOs, community-based organizations and other interest groups. All these groups seek to influence the way in which natural resources are managed.¹³³

4.2 Conclusions

The chapter criticizes the root causes of conflicts in the DRC. The criticism based on the land ownership issues and how the land has contributed to conflict. It also criticizes the resource scarcity conflict issues, border conflict, gold field control, DRC forest, DRC political system, Nationalism and identity of politics, Ethnicity, Foreign actors, issues as cause of conflicts and how Minerals have contributed to conflict. Conflict resolution approaches, the type of conflict resolution approaches, individual, groups, or organizations, involved in bringing peace, impact on conflict on the parties involved, criminalizing conflicts, conflict resolution approaches to natural resource conflicts in DRC, environmental cooperation approaches, policy and institutional approaches. The critical analysis focused on the strength and weakness of those root causes of conflicts in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

¹³³ Ibid.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

5.0 Summary

Chapter one, presented the background, statement of the research problem, objectives of the study, specific objectives, justification of the study, literature review, theoretical frame work, hypotheses, research methodology and the chapter outline. Chapter two presented an overview of natural resources based conflict in DRC and conflict resolution approaches. It is divided into the following sub sections; Historical background of DRC conflicts in natural resource areas, the main root causes of DRC conflicts in natural resource areas and conflict resolution approaches to natural resource areas. Chapter three, provided an overview of DRC's conflicts, the causes of the conflicts in DRC, effects of conflicts on the parties involved, the conflict resolution approaches, used to resolve the conflict, people or group or organization involved in bringing peace and focuses on data analysis.

Chapter four provided a critical case analysis of the causes of conflict in DRC. The subsection comprises of: the causes of conflict in DRC, the root causes of the conflict: criticizes the land issues, resource scarcity conflict issues, border conflict, gold field control, DRC forest, the DRC political system, Nationalism and identity of politics, Ethnicity, Foreign actors, issues as cause of conflicts and how Minerals have also contributed to conflict, conflict resolution approaches, the type of conflict resolution approaches, individual, group, or organization, involved in bringing peace, impact on conflict on the parties involved, criminalizing conflicts, conflict resolution approaches to

natural resource conflicts in DRC, environmental cooperation approaches, policy and institutional approaches. The critical analysis focused on the strengths and weaknesses of those root causes of conflicts in Democratic Republic of Congo, while chapter five gives summary, key findings, and recommendations.

5.1 Key Findings

The findings of the study were presented in accordance with the Research objectives: to examine the factors that have contributed to conflict in DRC. The study found out that the conflict in DRC, though resources based is complex from the foregoing, it becomes very clearly that the conflict in DRC has roots going deep into the past as far as the pre-colonial times, while others are as recent as the change over from the Mobutu seseko, Kabila government to the current Joseph Kabila government. It is also clear that though conflict over minerals could have fuelled the previous conflicts in the DRC, land from a variety of perspectives is seen to be the biggest issue in the area. Therefore, intervening by providing equal natural resources distribution to the local communities could only postpone the conflict but not solving the main problem.¹³⁴

Through the study findings, it has also become clear that no concerned efforts have been put on the ground either by the government, the civil society, the political elite and even the members of the local communities living in DRC natural resource areas to resolve their problems in a structured way. Instead the few NGOs that have responded have addressed the symptoms rather than the root causes.¹³⁵

¹³⁴ Interviews with respondents (name with held), on 28th April, 2012

¹³⁵ Interview with IGAD Senior officer, on 29th April 2012

During the study, it became clear that there were no strong traditional conflict resolution mechanisms within and between the local communities. However, members of the Congolese community reported that they had councils of elders, who helped to solve the conflict arising with other communities. During the group discussions with members of the Embassy community, they admitted that they had no traditional conflict resolution mechanisms. They felt that such roles should be taken by the community barazas and churches. They pointed out that they tried to use the elders in their community to broker peace but their initiatives were ignored as the conflicts continued. They agreed that the councils of elders do not command much authority any more in the Congolese community.

The study established how the DRC conflict over resources could be destructive to all parties involved, especially when given ethno-political competition, which has been achieved since independence, and has finally degenerated into discrimination and violence. For instance; ever since the flawed general election triggered a wave of ethno-political violence, many people have been violently driven from their homes and many are now resettling in ethnically homogenous zones. The phenomenon of ethnic discrimination comes into play when each region is identified with a certain ethnic group and whenever political misunderstandings emerge those who are identified as foreigners are always forced to go to their ancestral land.

During discussions with traders from the local communities, the study revealed that the conflicts affected business in DRC trading centers negatively¹³⁶. Circulation of Money goes down. The Congolese traders made huge losses during conflicts, many shops

¹³⁶ Interview with Congolese Businessman(name withheld),on 3rd May,2012

and hotels are closed down due to the lack of business. Further discussions with the local communities revealed that the conflicts do push back development in the area. Poverty and HIV/AIDS, are promoted as many families experiences sickness caused by exposure to the elements among the displaced during the conflicts, especially among the children.¹³⁷

5.2 Recommendations

As pressure on the natural resources continues to increase, it is ever more critical to find sustainable solutions to natural resource management. Reconciling the impacts of these pressures requires an understanding of how much and natural systems interact, their interdependencies and their changing relationship over time. Solutions require an understanding of the consequences of different management approaches, an ability to balance the needs of society and the natural resource, a willingness to develop dialogue with relevant stakeholders to focus both on the fundamental drivers of natural resources problems and on strategies for their management now and in the future.

In creating a peaceful environment, there is need for an integrated resource management policy which can be achieved through the following steps:

- (i) Investment in targeted natural resources research to close the gaps in current knowledge.
- (ii) Definition and harmonization of key demand of society and natural resource stakeholders.
- (iii) Reconciliation of social and natural resources needs with targets for economic growth.

¹³⁷ Interview with Congolese Embassy Officer, on 4th May, 2012.

- (iv) Characterization of effective regulatory mechanisms for the benchmarking and monitoring of natural resources users.
- (v) Implementation of guarantees for the transparency and accountability of policy measures.
- (vi) Recognition of effective governance in natural resources provision and use.

In nutshell, conflict resolution could be fully achieved through establishment of peace building. It is a long term process that occurs after violent conflict has slowed down, comprises of early warning, response efforts, violence prevention, advocacy work, civilian and military peacekeeping, military intervention, humanitarian assistance, ceasefire agreements, and the establishment of peace zones. Finally, Peace building has four elements; firstly, it is a process that facilitates the establishment of sustainable or durable peace; secondly, it seeks to prevent recurrence of conflict by addressing its roots causes, thirdly, it seeks to deal with the effects of conflict through reconciliation, institution building, and political as well as economic transformation and fourthly, the central task of it is to create a 'stable social equilibrium where in the surfacing new disputes do not spiral into violence and war. Therefore in the DRC case, permanent peace can only be achieved through peace-building.

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List of Interviewees

Joseph Komolo, Congolese student, University of Nairobi.

John Kabila Congolese student.

Winnie Anyango, IGAD Officer,

Peter Kale, Congolese Refugee

James Kavila, Congolese Student

Mary Wanja IGAD Senior Staff

P. Luambo, Officer in charge of DRC, Political Department

Fred Lukade, Congolese Businessman.

**APPENDIX I:
SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE**

In the interest of confidentiality, do not write your name anywhere on this questionnaire.

Dear Sir/Madam,

I kindly request you to complete this questionnaire seeking information that will assist me in my research. The objective of the study is to establish **“Natural resources conflict in DRC, from; 1996 and 2011”**

The questionnaire is in two parts and has 27 questions

Instructions on how to complete is given for each question, it will take about twenty minutes to complete.

PART A: INFORMATION ON YOUR PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES.

1. This question seeks to find a suitable description for current occupation. Please tick the appropriate box

Student	Employee	Diplomat	Business	None

Other specify

2. If you indicate employee, please comment about your current employment position

3 Please indicate by a tick in the appropriate box, the total number of years that you have been DRC.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
0-5 Years	10 Years	15 Years	20 Years	25 Years	Over 30 Years

4. Please tick the box that best corresponds to your highest level of education achievement.

		Please tick here
i)	Primary	
ii)	Secondary	
iii)	Tertiary	
iv)	University degree	
v)	University degree and above	

5. Please indicate your age group in years by ticking in the appropriate box below.

Code	Age in years	Please tick here
i)	18-35	
ii)	35-55	
iii)	55-65	
iv)	65+	

6. Please tick the appropriate box for your gender

Code	Gender	Please tick here
i)	Male	
ii)	Female	

7. Please indicate your marital status by ticking in the appropriate box below.

Code	Marital Status Categories	Please tick here
i)	Single	
ii)	Married	
iii)	Divorced/separate	
iv)	Widowed	

8. This question seeks to obtain information about your background, where you were born. Please tick the box that best describes you.

Code	Place of Birth	Please tick here
i)	Outside DRC	
ii)	DRC	

9. This question seeks information about your religion. Please tick the box that best describes you.

Code	Religion	Please tick here
i)	Protestant/Evangelical	
ii)	Catholic	
iii)	Muslim	
iv)	Indigenous Beliefs	
v)	Others	

10. This question seeks information about your living between the period 1996 and 2011, where have you been living. Please tick the box that best describes you.

Code	Place of childhood (first 18years)	Tick here
i)	Outside DRC	
ii)	DRC	

PART B: INFORMATION ON CONFLICTS RESOLUTION APPROACHES .

11. This question seeks information about DRC conflicts.

In your opinion, what were the root causes of the DRC conflict

12. Who were responsible for all that fighting?

13. Who were fighting in the conflict?

14. Is the conflict really over now? _____

15. If yes, how was the conflict resolved?

16. Study the table below and identify if any of the legal approaches was used to resolve the conflict. Tick where appropriate

Conflict resolution approaches	Yes	No
Mediation		
Arbitration		
Court processes		
Agreements		
Conciliation		

17. If other approaches specify?

18. If you tick any describe how it was used?

19. Is there likely-hood of the conflicts recurring?

20. What could be the possible causes of the conflict recurring?

21. Is there a solution to these issues

22. This question seeks information about approaches to conflicts in DRC. How could you comment about responses to conflicts in DRC.

	Approaches	Please tick here
i)	Very good	
ii)	Good	
iii)	Fair	
iv)	None	

23. If you indicate very good or good or fair or none, please comment about what drives your choice

24. Do you know people or group or organization involved in bringing peace.

25. Please could you list the organization?

26. How does the conflict affect you?

27. Could you give an account of effects of the conflict, especially on DR residents?

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation, I greatly appreciate your assistance in advancing this research endeavour.

Lorna W. Kariuki.
MA. Candidate

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