

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**THE EFFECTS OF RESOURCE CONFLICT ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT:
THE CASE OF EASTERN DRC, '1998-2010'**

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Omondi, Emily Achieng , declare that this project is my original work and has not been submitted for a degree to any other University.

Omondi Emily Achieng

Date

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

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.....

Dr. Farah Ibrahim

Date

DEDICATION

To my mother, grandmother and my late Uncle Juma

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During my study at the university, I encountered many friends who encouraged me and some have become very good friends. My first appreciation is to DR. Farah who gave me support through guidance on areas to focus and the analytical touch he gave this research.

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ABSTRACT

This study seeks to investigate the effects of resource conflicts on sustainable development in DRC. It aims at understanding sustainable development in the context of resource conflict and the role played by the different actors in exploitation of these natural resources. The study looks at the historical overview of the conflict in DRC especially the contributions of the regimes that have exercised their control over the region from 1998 to 2010. It uses the greed versus grievance theory as the analytical tool for the study. Hence the study supports the notion that abundance in natural resources combined with weak governance fuels conflicts in resource rich Eastern DRC. The study reaches a number of conclusions. Among them is the fact that resource conflict in eastern DRC is one of the several destabilizing phenomena commonly cited as defining many of the conflicts in the Great Lakes region hence unsustainable development in the region. The study, while recognizing the existing methodologies and practices that have been used to solve conflicts in Eastern Congo, suggests that other corresponding ideas like sustainable development should be developed and utilized. This will ensure that resource based conflicts in eastern DRC are eradicated and the future of the generations to come is insured.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AFDL-Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo

ADF-Allied Democratic Forces

CNDP-National Congress for the Defense of the People

DRC-Democratic Republic of Congo

FDLR-Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda

FDD-Forces for the Defence of Democracy

FAZ- Forces Armees Zairoises

HIV-Human Immunodeficiency Virus

ISS - Institute for Security Studies

ICD - Inter - Congolese Dialogue

ICUN- International Union for Conservation of Nature

GDP-Gross Domestic Product

MONUC - The United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo

MONUSCO-United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic republic
of Congo

M23 - The March 23 Movement

MRC - Congolese Revolutionary Movement

MLC-Movement for the liberation of the Congo

NGO - Non Governmental Organization

OCECD - Organization for Economic Corporation and Development

RCDN/N - The Congolese Rally for Democracy/ National

RCD-Rally for the Congolese Democracy

SADC - South African Development Community

UN - United Nations

UNDP - United Nations Development Programme

UNICEF - United Nations Children's Fund

UNIFEM - United Nations Development Fund for Women

UNFPA-United Nations Population Fund

UNEP - United Nations Environmental Programme

UNITA-National Union for the Total Independence of Angola

USD-United States Dollar

WCDE-World Commission on Environment and Development

WWSSD-World Summit on Sustainable Development

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Conflict is a natural part of human interaction. The way humans choose to deal with conflict has tremendous repercussions on their neighbours and on the environment. It is no secret these days that the global human population is growing fast, the gap between the rich and the poor is increasing, natural resources are being systematically depleted and ecological services disrupted. Many of these issues are the causes or drivers of conflict in the world, and many of these same issues are caused or exacerbated by violent conflicts. When a conflict erupts, it destroys decades of development efforts and creates economic, social, political and regional costs and the consequences can live on for decades.

There is no gain in saying that the major conflicts in the world and especially in Eastern Congo continue to be a major concern for international security evidence of which is seen in the international involvement in restoring peace in the region. It is also evident that conflicts in the horn of Africa are fuelled by factors that are related to unsustainable development. Un sustainability continues to be a major challenge that has been brought about by globalisation and industrial revolution. The practice of un sustainability is also gaining increased scrutiny as the population becomes more urbanized leading to increased criticism from environmentalists.

According to Kamakana, conflict in the Democratic republic of Congo has attracted a number of countries that are either directly or indirectly involved. Hence Conflict in Eastern Democratic of Congo has currently become the epicentre of conflicts in the Great Lakes region asit involves six neighbouring countries among them Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda,

Namibia and Burundi. ¹Resource conflicts in Congo, has either triggered conflicts in these states while conflicts in the neighbouring states have also been triggered by conflicts in Congo. Other actors that are involved in conflict in Eastern DRC are states from other continents and multinational corporations that have been involved in the looting of Congolese natural resources. Eastern Congo conflict has become a prey to external actors due to the poor structures that have been put in place from the colonial times to the regime of Joseph Kabila. This has led to over exploitation of the natural resources.

Congo is one of the wealthiest nations in the world in terms of natural resources yet one of the poorest in the world. The state boasts of minerals like gold, diamonds, Cobalt, copper, coltan and timber from its natural forests. It is these resources that have contributed to an interminable history of conflict over exploitation of the resources leading to un sustainability in the great lakes region reflected in the loss of millions of lives. Whilst issues pertaining to sustainability can be the cause behind major conflicts, they can also offer opportunities that will promote systemic and societal change. This is because unsustainable development continues to be the main challenge and evil that the African continent is facing and Eastern Congo is no exception. Correct measures to eradicate un sustainability will positively affect the African continent. Eradication of un sustainability will require the involvement of all actors. This is mainly because states exist in a system where problems of un sustainability on one state are bound to affect other states either directly or indirectly. Furthermore, the human race is part and parcel of the environment and if they fail to loose in the fight against environmental destruction then they will find themselves on the losing side. This is because all conflicts despite the duration they take will eventually end and when they do the future generations will be forced to live with the consequences. Addressing the impact of the

¹Kamukana Daniel."Recent Conflicts In The Great Lakes "presented to the African studies Association of the United Kingdom,Benial Conference, SOAS,(London: university of London,1998)p18

challenges of natural resource conflict in Eastern Congo and incorporating sustainable development is the major premise of this thesis.

1.2 Statement of the research problem

The future of Eastern Congo is directly intertwined with the availability and accessibility of resources, the status of the environment and the sustainable management of these available resources. Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is a major source and is rich in tin, tantalum, tungsten and gold. The area also boasts of vast forests which are a major source of timber.

The accessibility of these mineral resources in the Congo is equivalent to one being able to sustain himself and the family. The resources, despite being in abundance in the region have been a major source of conflict in the region for decades, as different groups comprising of the Congolese rebels, rebels from Uganda and Rwanda, local militias, foreign actors and the government scramble to extract these minerals hence making it the epicentre of war in DRC. It has generated a multitude of armed groups, with over two dozen emerging over the past two decades. It was here that the precursors to the Congo wars began with ethnic violence in 1993, and it is here that the most formidable challenges to sustainable development in the country continue today.

It is allegedly said that in 2008 the Rwandan Hutu Rebel Group obtained a huge percentage of its revenue from taxation of DRC minerals while the brigade of Congolese army obtained a lower percent. The above is a clear indication of the dependency on the mineral resources that have developed in the region. From the estimates one can deduce that there continues to be an over extracting of these new non-renewable resources which are likely to lead to their extinction. With poor governance in the DRC, the conflict and its impact has escalated even to the neighbouring countries, hence becoming a major obstacle to sustainable peace in the

Great Lakes Region as states continue to keep a hawk's eye on their neighbouring states. The fact that the DRC conflict has also lasted for several years makes it a major concern for the international community. The United Nations (UN) for example has deployed peace keeping missions in the area but this too has not been fruitful². This concern is further aggravated by the fact that despite investments by different organizations both governmental and non-governmental, regional and international bodies and the signing of myriad peace agreements, peace and sustainable development remains obscure as events in Eastern DRC underscore.

With the emergence of economic power houses like China and India that highly rely on the above resources to develop, competition for these resources continues. This therefore means that conflicts over minerals and other resources like timber is not likely to be history in Congo anytime soon if a sustainable solution is not found. Eastern Congo is part of the Congo basin forest which is responsible for the sustenance of human life. Yet with the increased industrialisation, environmental degradation continues to threaten the existence of mankind.

1.3 Objective of the study

The overall objective of the study is to analyse the effects of natural resource conflicts on sustainable development in the case of Eastern DRC. More specifically the study aims to:

- i. Provide an overview of the resource of conflicts in Eastern DRC;
- ii. Examine the major obstacles to restoring sustainable development in Congo;
- iii. Explore the link between conflict and sustainable development and the spill over effects of the conflict.

² Hans Hoesbeke, "The politics of continuity?," *African.Org*, February 2010

1.4 Literature review

This section reviews past studies, critical reviews and relevant literature. Since the study looks at resource conflict and sustainable development, the literature review in this section is divided into two sections. The first section is on conflict and will focus on the different definitions of conflicts, triggers and its causes. It will also look at different definitions of resources and its relationship with conflict. The second section deals with sustainable development. This section will help in understanding the origin of sustainable development and its understanding over the years. It will also enlighten on how conflict affects sustainable development.

1.4.1 Conflict

According to Wallenstein and Sollenberg, conflict can be defined as a battle between two parties with incompatible interests over a territory by use of an armed force and one of the parties involved is usually a national government.³ From this point of view, the conflict in Eastern DRC is due to the incompatibility of interests between rebels in DRC and Kabila's government. Folger and Stuntman on the other hand define conflict as the interaction of interdependent people who perceive incompatible goals leading to interference from each other in achieving these goals.⁴ Conrad on the other hand defines conflict as a means of communication where people are interdependent and perceive that they have incompatible interests leading to tension.⁵ From the above definitions, it is clear that most scholars are of the opinion that conflicts occur within a given group of people and that this group must be interdependent.

³P.Wallenstein and Sollenberg Margarata," Armed Conflict." *journal of peace and research* 37,no 5(2000):pp635-639

⁴Folger,poole et al. *Working through conflict strategies for relationships, groups, and organizations*. (4th ed.).New York, NY: Longman, (2001) p 404

⁵ Conrad Charles, *strategic organizational communication: An integrated perspective* (worth Texas: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc,1990)p4

1.4.2 Natural resources

According to the organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, natural resources are raw materials valued according to their economic production and consumption. These resources provide potential benefits and are “subject primarily to quantitative depletion through human use. The resources are further divided into four; mineral, energy, water and soil resources.⁶This definition is upheld by the United Nations expert group on natural resources and conflict in Africa which define natural resources in terms of renewable and non-renewable.⁷ OECD defines renewable resources as resources that after exploitation, they can be returned to their original state after use and non-renewable resources as those once exploited, cannot be rejuvenated. Examples of renewable resources are fresh water, timber, biomass amongst others. It is important to note that these resources if used at a faster rate than nature can replace them, then they become non-renewable natural resources. Examples of non-renewable resources are minerals.

1.4.3 The link between natural resources and conflict

Three distinguishing characteristics of natural resources are significant in defining the link between natural resources and conflict. The first is the geographical positioning of this natural resource. That if a natural resource is located at centres of power then there is low cost incurred in controlling the resources. The second characteristic is the loot ability. This means that natural resources that are loot able can easily be extracted and hence sold to the markets. This increases chances of land grabbing, examples of loot able resources are timber and diamonds.⁸The third characteristic is the distribution of resources. Natural resources that

⁶ Organization for economic cooperation and development(OECD).*Glossary of statistical terms :Natural resources*, OECD 2001

⁷United Nations (UN),”United Nations Expert Group Meeting on Natural Resources and conflict in Africa: transforming a peace Asset, Cairo: UN 2006

⁸Michael Ross, “What do we know about natural resources and civil war?”*journal of peace research* 41,no3(2004):338,350

diffuse are difficult to control unlike those that are centred in one place. In essence resources that are loot able are far from the central authority hence they provide an incentive for external actors

The link between natural resources and conflicts depend on political, economic and social issues together with the three issues discussed above which interact to either weaken or reinforce conflicts. As a result many scholars have attempted to study this relationship in depth. These scholars can be divided into two; those that agree that resource abundance causes conflicts and those that agree that resources cannot be attributed to conflict. While Dixons argues that conflict is triggered by resource scarcity as it leads to civil unrests,⁹ Auty contradicts this view by arguing that abundance of natural resources creates problems to the society as it gives rise to bad economic and social politics.¹⁰

Le Billon tends to agree with Auty's comments as he argues that states with weak institutions are more likely to have oil conflicts while those with strong institutions reflected in good governance are less likely to go to war.¹¹ Natural resources conflicts in Eastern Congo could therefore be attributed to poor governance institutions while lack of conflicts or low levels of conflicts over resources in resource rich states could be attributed to the above views. Galtung argues that conflict is catalysed by lack of order and justice in the underlying structures. The poor structures laid down by the society that triggers the formation of social classes in the society. The social classes later on become an obstacle to development leading to different forms of injustice either politically, socially or economically.¹²

⁹Dixons Hommer, *Environmental, Scarcity and Violence*(Princeton: Princeton University Press,1999)

¹⁰Richard Auty, *How natural resources affect economic development.*' Journal of policy review 18(oxford: oxford (2001)pp.346- 367

¹¹Le Billon Phillip. 'The political ecology of war: Natural resources and armed conflicts' *Political Geography* 20,no 5(2001): 561-584.

¹²John Galtung Peace and Peace Research vol 3(1969)167-191.

Mc Neil also seems to be one of the few scholars to comment on the positive contribution of resources and conflicts as he argues that conflicts sets free those that are oppressed as it forces governments to install structures that are just, hence conflict can contribute to development of a state. Eastern DRC conflict can therefore be justified on the basis that it is a step towards ensuring that good governance structures are installed. If this is the case, then the question that it raises would be how long should it take for the structures to be put in place.¹³

There continues to exist debates linking natural resources and sustainable peace. One of the fundamental questions that most scholars have attempted to answer is whether there is any link between natural resources and armed conflicts .According to Collier and Hoeffler, greed is a major motivator for conflicts and resources provide a favourable setting for conflicts.¹⁴

This statement has however not been embraced by all as some argue that there is no correlation between the two. Some studies however show that oil reliance and dependence triggers armed conflicts especially if accompanied with weak institutions while those with strong institutions reflecting good governance are less likely to go to war¹⁵.The Sudanese conflict over oil and the conflict in Eastern DRC could therefore be attributed to the poor institutions and governance in these states, while the low levels of oil conflicts in the United Arab Emirates, which is rich in oil as a natural resource could be attributed to good governance structures and institutions.

¹³Mc Neil Herbert. "war and the state of Africa" *journal of international security* 14(1990)117-139

¹⁴Collier, Hoeffler, et al. "On the duration of civil war" *Journal of Peace Research* 41 (3): (2004) 253–273.

¹⁵Fearon, James , "Why do some civil wars last so much longer than others?" *Journal of Peace Research* 41 no 3 (2004): 275–302.

While most scholars are of the opinion that resources trigger conflicts and hence are a “curse” to these states, others are of the opinion that resources help in eradicating conflicts. Le Billon for example argues that the abundance of diamonds and industrial exploitation seem to reduce incidences of conflicts occurring.¹⁶ Le Billon’s arguments however do not offer a perfect explanation to the Congolese conflicts since it is well endowed with resources but continues to witness a series of internal conflicts. Conceivably, this could be due to lack of industrialization. He further suggests that the resources are likely to cause conflicts depending on whether they are geographically centred. If the resources are located to centres of power, then a civil war is likely to be a struggle over state power and if the resources are diffuse and far from state power, war lordship is likely to be possible. He argues that resources close to centres of power produce secessionism while diffuse resources close to centres of power generate mass Rebellion.¹⁷ The Congolese war can therefore be explained in terms of its proximity to Kinshasa.

Resources trigger conflicts because they represent an opportunity for profit and enrichment by individuals and organizations. The resources’ worth attracts representatives with an economic schema who are not only willing to fight for but also to use people as instruments that will enable them to access the resources and the profits derived from accessing them.¹⁸

From Collier’s debates, the involvement of internal, regional and international actors in the Eastern DRC conflict could be an attempt to access the revenues and access the natural resources. One can also argue that the installation of Mobutu Seseko and his affiliations by some European countries was a way of stripping Congo off its natural resources.

¹⁶Le Billon, Philippe, “The political ecology of war: Natural resources and armed conflicts” *Political Geography* 20, no 5 (2001):pp. 561–584.

¹⁷Billon, Philippe, *Fuelling War: Natural Resources and Armed Conflict*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, (2005) p.36

¹⁸ Collier, Paul AnkeHoeffler, *Greed and Grievance in Civil War*(*Oxford Economic Papers*, 2004),pp. 56: 563–595.

Le billion argues that the elements of states that act as conflict triggers are low capita income, decreasing economic growth, weak state coercive capacity and institutional authority and political regimes institutions. This means that highly valued resources like oil, gold and diamonds sometimes become a curse rather than a blessing as it becomes a major trigger for un sustainability .The supremacy of state extractive sector makes the economy volatile to the resource prices on the world market which results into complications in the long term planning and exposes the resource rich country to boom and bust prices. This vulnerability combined with long term planning and control of market prices can create a breeding ground for conflict as low international market prices can be translated by citizens as exploitation by the government. ¹⁹

According to North and Choucri, high demand by states to become economically stable makes them to move beyond their borders to attain what they want. From their study, one can explain that since power ceased to be measured in terms of military capability but in terms of economic capability, this has led to economic competition among different states that has catalysed demand for natural resources that are available in a few states²⁰ .

Goldstein comments that the conflict over natural resources is bound to take place in states that are endowed with such strategic minerals as several actors including states rush to access them. By carrying out research on thirteen case studies, Rose concludes that sometimes natural resources influence not only the occurrence and the extent of conflict, but also the intensity of the conflict. He outlines Diamonds, copper, gemstones, oil, timber and coltan.

¹⁹Le billionL, Philippe, *Diamond Wars ?Conflict Diamonds and Geographies of Resource Wars*. Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 98 (2)2008) pp. 345–372

²⁰Nazli Chourci and Robert North: *Nations in Conflict*, National Growth and International Violence in D.J .Dand Sandole et al(eds):*Conflict Resolution Theory And Practice Integration Application*(Manchester: Manchester University Press)1993,p18

These he argues, can prolong the duration of conflict.²¹ Hence the cyclic nature of the Congolese conflict that has lasted for decades is due to the availability of timber, coltan and Diamonds, without these, Congo would be at peace.

1.4.4 Sustainable Development and Resource Conflicts

The phrase sustainable originally belongs to the field of ecology, a term that refers to an ecosystem's potential for subsisting overtime. According to Reborrati the concept was later adopted by the Brunt- land Commission which not only used it to refer to environmental related issues but also to the society and the economy.²² The term sustainable development as coined by the Brunt-land commission refers to development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future to meet their own needs.²³

While Acselrad argues that the idea of sustainable development expressed as a dissertation of ethics, which looks at human conduct with regard to good or evil,²⁴ Our common future concludes that human survival and well-being could depend on success in elevating sustainable development to a global ethics".²⁵ Robert Solow argues that sustainability is a matter of equality in distribution of and capacity for well-being between the present people and the future people.²⁶

²¹Michael Ross: "Oil ,Drugs And Diamonds; how do natural resources vary in their impact on civil war", *journal of conflict research*(June 5,2002) pp. 1-13

²²Reborrati,C.E.Territory, *Scale and Sustainable Development*, Sustainability and the Social Sciences(London: Zed books,1999)pp207-222

²³.Bruntland, G. (ed), *Our common future: the World Commission on Environment and development*(Oxford: Oxford University Press: United Nations,1987)pg 43

²⁴Acselrad, *Sustainability and territoriality: Meaningful practices and material transformation*.In: E. Becker, Th. Jahn (Eds.), *Sustainability and the social sciences: A cross disciplinary approach to integrating environmental considerations into theoretical reorientation* (London: Zed Books H. (1999).pg 106

²⁵WCED, Our common future .*The Bruntland report, world commission for environment and development*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987)pg 43

²⁶Solow Robert, *An almost practical step toward sustainability. Nobel Laureate in Economic Science (MIT)*. (1992)

Sustainable development incorporates three pillars: Environmental, Economic and Social pillars. The economic pillar aims at economic development by creating conditions whether political or social that will enable each human being to sustain himself. The social pillar aims at creating societies that respect human dignity, equity in resource distribution, good health, education, culture among other social amenities. The environmental pillar aims at ensuring that the eco-system maintains its diversity and quality hence ensuring its ability to maintain and support future generations by providing a wide variety of opportunities'. This is manifested in form of clean water, availability of resources and pollution free environment.

Forests and timber, being part of the environment, have always been a fundamental source of livelihood to societies through conservation, ecotourism and national parks and products like medicine. Conflicts over timber lead to uncontrolled logging which threatens the existence of not only animals but also human beings. During conflicts forest are cleared to create homes for refugees fleeing their homes. Forests are homes to animals and are known to attract rainfall. Cutting of trees during conflicts leads to lack of rainfall which in turn triggers desertification. Water scarcity, which in turn threatens human livelihood, leads to conflicts over these resources. In Darfur region of South Sudan, there has been a reduction of soil fertility due to overgrazing, and increased arrival of refugees, charcoal in Darfur is thought to have been part of the war economy. In Somalia the Kenyan Defence Forces were accused of exporting charcoal to the Middle East. This was a clear indication that conflicts offer opportunities for exploitation of resources.

The DRC for example is considered to have the finest timber that is in high demand by the global society especially China. Research carried out by UNEP give evidence that timber channelled for export was transported through Uganda and the ports of Dar es Salaam.

In Guinea, a large scale mine that existed between 1972 and 1998 before it was finally closed has had serious effects on resource developments in the country. Bougainville Pangua copper was closed due to violence that was directed at it from the neighbouring population that eventually led to a civil war that lasted for 15 years. The mine closure led to a decline in the economy.²⁷

Conflicts over minerals on the other hand, leads to overexploitation of mineral resources which in turn have led to deep trenches in the former mining areas that increases the chances of soil erosion.²⁸ Conflict also has positive impacts on the environment although they are minimal compared to the negative effects. For example UNEP argues that during conflicts there is reduced accessibility to the fields which in turn allows the growth of plants and the renewal of soil fertility.²⁹ In West Africa conflicts have contributed to controlling locust invasion.

Resource conflicts and the economic pillar of Sustainable development

According to Collier, conflict can destroy economic development levels that have taken decades to develop. His argument is that the sequel of conflicts continues to negatively affect growth for a long period even after the cessation of the conflict.³⁰ Studies carried out by economic scholars and reports on natural resources have revealed that countries endowed with resources and especially mineral resources experience slow economic growth compared to countries with poor economic growth. Reports from the studies carried out revealed that in

²⁷Glen Banks." understanding resource conflicts in Papua New Guinea." *Asia Pacific view point*, vol 49 no 1(2008): p.27

²⁸ Ibid

²⁹ UNEP. Sudan: *Post conflict Assessment*.(UNEP:2007),p.89

³⁰ Antony Vinci, "Greed Grievance reconsidered. The role of power and survival in the motivation of armed groups". *civil wars* 8(1)2007:35

the 1990s, states with more than 50% of their source of revenue on minerals had dropped in overall GDP compared to countries that are not endowed with much mineral resources.

Long term development planning is one of the negative effects of conflict. In Cameroon for example, long term development planning cannot be sustained due to lack of accountability in management of oil revenues. Instead of investing in physical, social or human infrastructure, oil revenues are sumptuously spent instead of investing it on economic development. Wanyande affirms to this fact by declaring that the costs of conflicts in terms of destruction of property and infrastructure are enormous of the country³¹

In cases where the conflict is armed, the government spends a lot of money on buying military equipment's instead of investing in infrastructure. In the DRC and southern part of Sudan due to the conflicts has very poor road network. Armed resource conflicts also make it difficult to export and import goods as it becomes difficult to access markets. Rebels destroy food crops to prevent the enemy from accessing food supplies.³²

From the above arguments there is lack of consensus on the kind of relationship that exists between conflicts, natural resources and sustainable development. The lack of consensus on the causes of conflict has greatly affected the management of conflict since management of conflict requires an in depth explanation on its causes. The literature also lacks in depth analysis of how unsustainable development fuels conflicts in resource rich zones. A comprehensive study on the relationship between resource conflict and sustainable development in Congo is necessary to offer lasting solution to Eastern Congo conflict .The study will therefore try and fill the gap of the stated problem.

³¹Wanyande, P. *State Driven Conflict in the Greater Horn of Africa*, Revised Paper Presented at the USAID Organized workshop on Conflict in the Great Horn of Africa May 21-23, Methodist House: Nairobi. (1997)

³² Ibid. pg 12

1.5 Justification of the Study

The African continent continues to face two major issues that have become a theatre for international debates, the issues of conflict and sustainable development. The two issues are symbiotic in nature such that a solution for one issue is a solution to another and solving one without incorporating the other may just be a dressing solution. There is also the complaint that the results of conflict resolutions have neither been satisfactory nor have they lasted seen in the emergence and reemergence of conflicts especially in the Sub Saharan Africa as they fail to address the root causes of the conflicts. Eastern Congo continues to give a picture that conflict over resources can last for and may have effects that may further fuel the same.

Un like most conflicts in Africa, the resource conflict in Eastern Congo is a stretched one. It continues to boast of adverse negative effects on sustainability not only in Eastern Congo but also on stability and sustainability in the great lakes region. According to Vogt the societal approach to deal with complex environmental and social problems is typically a disciplinary based approach and is symbolically addressed by using a bandage to control a symptom and not the disease.³³ This means that a bandage solution to a multifaceted environmental problem does not make the problem disappear .It will perhaps explode again when triggered by something else.

To gain a lasting peace in eastern Congo then it is only right that environmental issues and other sustainable development issues are addressed since the impact of conflicts are also its major catalysts. Hsu comments that “today there is need to’ decode or unpack sustainability’ so that both societies and environments can retain their resiliency and still allow the

³³Vogt, Patelet al, *Sustainability Unpacked:food,energy and water for resilient environments and societies*(London: Earthscan,2012) p. 8

development of the world's human capital while continuing to consume the globe's resources; we cannot always count on luck to survive .

The study focuses on Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo since it has influenced conflicts in The Great Lakes and very few studies have focused on how un sustainability in Eastern DRC have contributed to the lack of consummation of the Eastern DRC conflict. The study also aims at filling the gaps left by academic writers on the effects of armed resource conflicts on sustainable development in Eastern DRC and how un sustainability has contributed to the same. The study is therefore relevant to international conflict and sustainable development policy makers and academicians .The study may also trigger interest on further research on this area of study.

1.6 Research questions

The study seeks to answer the following broad research question. What is the effect of natural resource conflict in Eastern DRC?

More specifically, the study will also attempt to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the causes of resource conflict in Eastern DRC?
2. Is there a link between conflict and sustainable development in eastern DRC and if there is what are its spill over effects?
3. Are there major obstacles to restoring sustainable development in eastern DRC conflict and what are the opportunities available?

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The study examines resource conflicts and its effects on sustainable development. Theories that deal with conflicts and resources like the relative deprivation theory, greed versus grievance among other conflict theories are therefore relevant. However, the theory of greed versus grievance will be adopted in this study because Eastern DRC relies on its natural

resources which are highly on demand for survival. The greed and grievance theory was propagated by Paul Collier and Anke Hoofler³⁴.

According to the theory, conflicts are likely to occur within states that highly depend on natural resources that provide gains that can be used as an instrument to prolong conflicts which in turn increases the gains of the actors involved. The theory also postulates that rebels in any given conflict are more motivated by greed rather than grievance³⁵ Greed leads to elite competition over valuable natural resources as one desires to own more than what one actually has. Greed is also likely to lead to cessation conflicts as resource rich regions feel that separation from the state will enable them better their lives. Armed groups are therefore more likely to be motivated by control over resources than by actual political differences with government authorities or ethnic divisions.

Grievance is attributed to unfair distribution of resources. The argument for grievance is that relative deprivation and the feeling of denial of what they feel they deserve provides an arena for rebellion that eventually leads to armed conflicts. This however does not mean that these grievances are always genuine; rather the grievances like ethnic discrimination, political difference among others are always a means used by these groups for their own greedy economic agendas. Collier and Hofler are of the opinion that addressing while addressing these grievances, caution should be applied since if they succeed in overthrowing the government they are likely to be worse than their predecessors and continue looting resources.³⁶ Another proponent of the greed versus grievance theory is Lichbach who argues that these rebel groups are willing to avoid any peace agreement or initiatives that are to

³⁴Paul Collier and AnkeHoofler .*On Economic Causes Of Civil war, World bank: The economics of crime and Violence project*(Washington D C: world Bank,1998) pp.563-573

³⁵p83

³⁶Paul Collier and AnkeHoofler.*On Economic Causes Of Civil war, World bank: The economics of crime and Violence project*(Washington DC: world Bank,1998) pp.563-573

address these grievances. He further argues that these rebels will always have many grievances hence making it difficult to address them collectively. He reinforces the opinion that these groups will always switch sides among different opposing groups and can only take side once conflict is over which in most times does not occur.³⁷ Although greed versus grievance has initiated and contributed to explanation of resource conflicts it is increasingly facing certain criticisms.

One of the criticisms of the theory has been that other forces despite greed and grievance can trigger conflicts.³⁸ Other opponents of the greed versus grievance theory have argued that it does not incorporate the role of the government. This they argue is important since proceeds from these resources are always responsible for the creation of weak institutions seen through corruption and lack of equity in resource allocation. This in turn leads to violation of human rights.³⁹ Greed over resources in Eastern DRC has led to the emergence of several actors both local and international who have been driven by greed of exploiting mineral resources. These actors have played a major role in sustaining this conflict by blocking all sustainable peace attempts leading to its cyclic nature. Hence the greed versus grievance theory is relevant to this study as it covers all the tenets of the greed versus grievance theory.

1.8 Research Methodology

The study adopted a case study design. A Case study is an explanatory analysis of an event or grouping to find the triggers of something in order to come up with a solution. The research relied heavily on secondary data as well as primary data. In utilizing secondary data, books,

³⁷ Mark, Lichbach. *The Rebels Dilemma* (Michigan: university of Michigan press, 1995) p284

³⁸ Antony Vinci, "Greed Grievance reconsidered: The role of power and survival in the motivation of armed groups". *civil wars* 8(1)92007):35

³⁹ Arvind Ganesan and Alex vines. "Engine Of War: Resources in Human, Greed, And The Predatory State In Human Rights Watch World Report: Human Rights And Armed Conflict. (Washington, D.C. human rights watch 2004) pp301-322 available at www.hrw.org

journals and publication of different organizations were used. More specifically, the study relied on credible documents from the United Nations and treaties made by the DRC government.

To acquire primary data, the researcher used face to face interviews with some Congolese who had knowledge on the conflict in Eastern DRC .The researcher also went to the embassy of DRC in Kenya in order to gather more information and also clarify the information gathered from other respondents. The scope of the study was specific to conflict in Eastern DRC from 1998 to 2010.The main limitation of the study was that the researcher could not travel to eastern DRC to gather the information due to the on-going conflict.

1.9 Chapter Outline

- Chapter one: Introduction to the study
- Chapter two: Conflict in DRC: An overview
- Chapter three: The effects of resource conflicts on sustainable development in eastern DRC, 1998 - 2010
- Chapter four: The effects of resource conflict on sustainable development in Eastern DRC, A critical analysis
- Chapter five: Conclusion

CHAPTER TWO

CONFLICT IN THE DRC: AN OVERVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Chapter one was an introduction to conflict and sustainable development in eastern DRC. It discussed the background to the study, the problem statement, the objectives of the study, the literature review which discussed the origins of the key terms of the study which are conflict, resources and sustainable development and the debates surrounding these key terms. It also contained the justification for the study, the theoretical framework, the research methodology for the study and finally concluded with the chapter outline for the study.

This chapter will be a historical overview of the conflict in Eastern DRC. It will provide an explanation to the causes of the conflict by referring to the different histories, regimes and events that have characterized the present day Eastern DRC state. The chapter will eventually look at the major actors in the DRC conflict and their contribution to conflict in the region. Attempts will be made to explain how peace initiatives in Eastern DRC have further fuelled the conflict which has led to unsustainable development.

2.2 Background to Eastern Congo

The Congo has been a bedrock of chaos and confusion since the withdrawal of the Belgian protectorate in 1960. Since its independence, Eastern Congo has become a subject of international watch and attention and has gradually developed into a subject of study of conflicts in the world. At independence Congolese leaders like Patrice Lumumba, who was Congo's first Prime minister posited on the break of a new dawn for the Congolese: a dawn of new hope, peace, prosperity and a bright Congo that will be the "Centre of radiance for Africa. "Together my brothers, we are going to establish social justice, and to show the world

what the black man can do when he works.’’⁴⁰ Yet in just four days after Congo attained its independence, after the Belgians withdrew their forces, there was open conflict over political antagonism, tribalism, conflict for resources and geographical diversity.⁴¹ Hence several decades after independence, Lumumba’s sentiments still remain to be mirages that haven’t been fulfilled in Eastern Congo.

Currently Eastern Congo’s history is characterized by scandals and striking scenarios reflected in the violent conflicts over resources and the un sustainability in resource management in the region. Probably few know about the distressing happenings in the Congo and yet today there is urgent need to not only know but also vividly comprehend since the problems of Congo have become international problems. As Merrium argues’’ Together with the Congolese we must seek solutions which will give this new nation not only the answers to its own problems but answers to some of ours as well.⁴²

Eastern Congo continues to experience ethnic massacres. This region was and still is the epicenter of the inter related conflicts born from Belgian colonialism, decades of Mobutu’s dictatorship and discrimination and the inheritance of the Rwandan, Burundian and Uganda wars. Eastern Congo conflict is further complicated by the involvement of rebel groups, military intervention from both regional and foreign states and continued mutilation of natural resources. Indeed, most, if not all regional actors involved in Eastern Congo conflict are after quenching their own thirst.

⁴⁰ The text of Lumumba’s address, June 30,1960 in Alan Merrium. *Congo: Background of the Conflict*(North western University Press,1961) pp.352-54

⁴¹ Ibid 55

⁴² Alan Merrium *Congo: Background of the conflict* (Northwestern university America1961) p.3

2.3 Conflict in the DRC: An Overview

2.3.1 Pre independent Congo

There is no gainsaying that most conflicts in the Great lakes region and in the African continent can be traced back to the structures of the colonial governments. The Rwandan genocide, most boundary disputes and resource conflicts in Africa among others can all be attributed to colonization. In light of this discussion, the resource conflicts in Congo aren't an exception. Eastern Congo was a Belgian Colony from 1884 to 1960 when DRC finally gained independence. Preceding colonization, Congo was controlled by King Leopold II who considered it his Colony or his personal entity. Leopold exposed Congolese natives to slave trade leading to the reduction of its population as most of its cable bodied citizens were sold as slaves. The Belgian government took over from King Leopold the leadership of Congo in 1908. This transfer of power marked the beginning of a new Eastern Congo.

The structures put in place by the Belgian regime did very little or even nothing to instill acquisition of leadership and self-governance skills to the Congolese elite but promoted greed and grievance that would later on be manifested after independence. These policies by the Belgian ruling class promoted exploitation and oppression of the Congolese natives. For instance Nancy Hunt asserts that the Belgian policy of promoting African health through building of more hospitals than schools was not out of an honest concern for the health of Africans, but was a policy aimed at ensuring continued supply of labor to the Belgians. This was further supported by the exemption of families that had more children from some taxes.⁴³

By independence there were just a few Congolese elite who had acquired basic administrative skills to govern. Prior to independence Africans were not involved in the politics of their country.

⁴³Nancy Hunt: A Colonial lexicon of birth ritual, medicalization and mobility in the Congo.(London: Duke university press,1990) pp.10 and 236-280

Belgian Congo was politically administered by the colonial ministry in Brussels through a Governor General and a Governor for each of the six provinces of Kivu, Katanga, Orientale Kasai, Kivu, Katanga and Leopoldville. The emergence of political parties was first witnessed in 1957 when the first elections were conducted in the Congo. The elections were however restricted to the local officials and were later extended to the provincial level due to the dissatisfaction of Congolese political elite like Patrice Lumumba. It is important to note that by independence most of the local political parties were ethnic based. It is against this lack of preparation that led to the convening of the Brussels round table.⁴⁴

The Brussels round table on October 1960 suggested a four year transitional plan by the Belgian government. This however was denied by the Congolese under the direction of her political leaders who wanted immediate vindication from their adversaries. They had felt demoralized enough .In view of this, by independence Congo had not amply geared up for self-governance. This was reflected in the deficiency of parties with national plea and agenda, tribal based parties managed by untrained men and the Congolese had no experience on civil administration except those who held low administrative positions.⁴⁵

Economically, the Belgian government annexed huge parcels of land for settler farming hence rendering the natives squatters and landless in their own country. The Belgian government initiated a public works project that later faced the threat of extinction or failure due to the great depression that had started in the early in 1920. This led to a decision of outsourcing development of the Kivu's by the national committee of Kivu. This committee did not only lease but also sold land to foreigners. In addition to the annexed land the Belgian government also gazetted thirty six thousand hectares of land to establish a national park.

⁴⁴Ibid. p.8

⁴⁵Ibid.

The outsourcing and the leasing led to increased demand for land especially in Kivu leading to massive influx of foreigners. It also led to increased mining and agricultural activities which resulted in high demand for labour especially in Kivu.⁴⁶ This led to a decision that would later on trigger conflicts in the country in the coming decades.

The solution to labour shortage was the importation of labour from the neighbouring country, Rwanda. According to Bucyalime more than seventeen thousand, nine hundred and two labourers were of Rwandese origin that came to Congo seeking employment in both mining and agricultural sectors. Later on the Belgian government encouraged the immigration of labourers together with their families under the umbrella of the *Mission d'Immigration des Banyarwanda*. Most of the immigrants were to be located in Masisi.

The government later on purchased land from Chief Kalinda. This move was rejected by the Hunde who felt that their ancestral land was being snatched from them. The few that stayed behind were also against subordination to the Rwandese chiefs that were installed by the Belgium government. With time this group became a minority in their own native land while the Banyarwanda continued to flourish. These grievances brought by the new structures later on played a key role in breeding violence over natural resources that would immensely affect Eastern DRC.

On attaining independence, there was continued exploitation of natural resources like timber, animals and diamond and some of the colonial policies that promoted conflicts were never uprooted. These resources however were to benefit a few leading to a feeling of marginalization and exploitation. One can therefore argue that the unsustainability of the

⁴⁶Bucyalimwe Stanislas: Land Conflicts In Masisi, Eastern Zaire: The Impact And Aftermath Of Belgian Colonial Policy(1920-1989:Indiana:Indiana university,1990) pp. 109–111 and, pp. 115–117.

Congo, including Eastern Congo has its roots in the Belgian reign and King Leopold slave trade eras.

2.3.2 DRC at independence

On 2 July 1960, two days after independence, Congo became a theatre for tragic drama for the international community as inter-ethnic conflicts erupted in Leopoldville and Thysville. This was later followed by the mutiny of Belgian officers by their fellow Congolese soldiers that led to the death of a few Belgians and the destruction of property. This incidence triggered the exodus of Belgians from Congo en masse. Several explanations can be attributed to this conflict.

Unlike in other colonial territories in Africa, the major cause of the conflict was the Belgian government failure to prepare Congo both politically and economically for its own independence. This is majorly due to the fact that the Congolese were never assigned either economic or political responsibility as the paternalistic Belgian colony controlled all aspects of the political and social life of Congo. This rendered the Congolese dependent on the Belgian ruling class.

By 1959 the Congolese economy was mainly dominated by the Belgian government. The Congo due to its wealth potential had attracted the Soviet Union interest and that of other countries. Ganshof points out that “unlike in other African states, the Congo had virtually no effective preparation for self-government. The paternalistic Belgian administration did not seriously acknowledge the Congolese right to independence until the outbreak of political rioting in 1959 and immediately after Congo gained independence hence no period of apprenticeship.”⁴⁷

⁴⁷Ganshof van der Meersch, *fin de la souverainite Belge au Congo* (Brussels: Institute royal des relations internationales, 1963) p596

Although some scholars like Ganshof have attributed this to a probable interference by the communist bloc agents, it is evident that the Galtung theory of structural violence and the Greed versus Grievance theory offers a perfect explanation to the conflict that rocked Congo. According to Galtung, structural conflict is caused by the structures that have been put in place. Oppressive structures could lead to conflicts aimed at destroying the structures in place. One can therefore deduce that the mutiny by the Congolese soldiers was aimed at destroying a structure that had for several decades oppressed them. One can also argue that the Congolese soldiers had been trained to strike terror for several years especially against those who were not from their ethnic communities. The other argument is attributed to the fact that the Congolese soldiers desired to have some of the material and psychological rewards the Belgian officers enjoyed hence greed versus grievance.

The third major proximate catalyst of conflict at independence was the proclamation of Katanga as an independent province on July 11 by President Moïse Tshombe. Although he claimed that the move aimed at saving Katanga from the communist chaos followed by Lumumba, the move was inspired by greed to safeguard Katanga's wealth and to promote his political interests, to advance the interests of the Belgian residents in the area and other economic enterprises in Katanga. Katanga had become wealthy and by 1960, it provided about fifty percent of the Congo's revenue.⁴⁸

Two years preceding independence, the Belgium government bestowed the Rwandan immigrants the authority to take part in the 1958 elections since they had become citizens of Congo. Most influential positions however remained in the hands of the elites of Nande, Hunde and Nyanga.

⁴⁸Ibid.

According to Bucylimwe, the Hunde grabbed the opportunity to oppress the Banyarwanda by dismissing the Banyarwanda chiefs and replacing them with Hunde chiefs even in areas where there were few Hunde.⁴⁹ This conflict later on continued after independence in 1962 when some Tutsis attacked police stations leading to a decision to deport all the Rwandan Tutsis and the withdrawal of their voting rights by the commission that was initiated to look into the issue. The result of this war led to the assassination of Patrice Lumumba and the rise of Mobutu Sseseko.

2.3.3 Post independent DRC

Ethnic Conflicts and the Rwandan Hutu Exodus.

Debates on Nationality in Eastern Zaire triggered attacks on who the offspring of eighteenth century immigrants from Rwanda were and hence causing conflicts. Before independence and colonization and since there were no borders, there were continuous migration of different communities into other territories by the pastoralists communities in search for water and pasture. Some permanently settled in these new territories while others returned to their native homes. This created conflicts between them and especially the natives who were always agriculturalists. Hence conflicts over resources between the agriculturalists and pastoralists communities are unbridled in Africa and Eastern Congo is no exception in this too.

According to Reno, even before the influx of the Rwandan genocide refugees, the relationship between the inhabitants of Kivu and the immigrants from Rwanda had always been stained. This is mainly because the immigrants are shepherds while the natives of Kivu

⁴⁹Bucyalimwe, *Land Conflicts In Masisi, Eastern Zaire: The Impact And Aftermath Of Belgian Colonial Policy (1920-1989)*(Indiana: Indiana university,1990) pp. 217–18.

are farmers.⁵⁰ Just like most natural resource conflicts in Africa the two groups were and have not been able to find a peaceful means of curbing the conflict.

By 1981, the Rwandan immigrants had flourished economically and politically. This success however became an envy of other ethnic communities like the Hunde –Nyanga who falsely accused them of “secretly putting in place a hierarchical structure” composed of the immigrants to promote their economic and political power. In 1981 Zaire instituted a new law on citizenship which demanded evidence of ancestry. Since the Banyamulenge and the Banyarwanda had migrated to Zaire, they were therefore not considered as natives and as a result their citizenship was revoked.⁵¹ Mobutu’s tactic of divide and rule also contributed to conflicts in Eastern Congo. Mobutu instigated conflicts between different ethnic groups to prevent unification of Zaire which would become a threat to his oppressive regime. Apart from the attacks of the Rwandan immigrants by the natives of Kivu, Mobutu also ordered the attack of the Kisan by the local people. This was mainly to control his economic interests in Katanga which was a mineral rich area.

When the Tutsi came to power in Rwanda, approximately 1.2 million Hutus fled in fear of the ruling Tutsi. According to Olsson and Congdon Fors, out of the 1.2 million Hutus who were fleeing Congo, about four thousand had been involved in the genocide. The other innocent refugees later on joined other militia groups as a means of protecting themselves from the conflict that had already erupted. It is this group that was later on used by Mobutu to activate conflict towards the Banyamulenge, who were of the same family as the Rwandan Tutsi. This was later accompanied by the oppression of the Hutus and the Tutsi by the forces Armees Zairoises (FAZ)⁵²

⁵⁰ Reno W: *Warlord politics and African states* (Boulder: Lynne Renner 1999) p. 23

⁵¹ Howard. Adelman and A. Shuker (eds): *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwandan Crisis from Uganda to Zaire* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1999)

⁵² Olsson, Ola and Heather Congdon Fors. Congo: The Prize of Predation: *Journal of Peace*

Apart from triggering inter-ethnic conflicts, Mobutu initiated large scale exploitation of the natural resources especially in Eastern Congo for not only himself but also those who had supported his leadership. Estimates indicate that Mobutu had approximately four billion US dollars in Swiss banks and was supported by foreign states. The foreign states that supported Mobutu did so in bid to protect their national interests. It is against this background that the United States supported Mobutu despite the violations of human rights⁵³. Mobutu employed divide and rule tactics reflected in implementation of the land laws that became a major source of conflicts.

In 1960 The Brussels round table (*table rond*) resolution 11 stated that all Burundians and Rwandans who had lived in Congo for more than ten years would be allowed to take part in the elections or the voting process. This meant that the Congolese immigrants were recognized as citizens by the Belgium government. It was followed by the 1964 Lualubourg constitution which stated that “there is one Congolese citizenship. It is attributed, on 30th June 1960, to any person with one ancestor who was or is a member of a tribe or part of a tribe established on the territory of the Congo before 1908.”The translation of this law was that Rwandese immigrants who had immigrated to Congo during the colonial era were stripped off their citizenship. The next law was a contradicting decision in 1971 which granted citizenship to all Rwandese and Burundi immigrants who had come to Congo by June 1960. Another contradictory law was further implemented in 1972 where the law declared that citizenship would be granted to Rwandans and Burundians who had arrived in Congo from January 1950. It was passed in the spirit of authenticity that aimed at promoting the status of the indigenous community. In 1981, just before Mobutu ceased from power, the law nullified the preceding laws on legislation and attributed 1885 the year to which an ethnic community

Research 3, no. 41 (2004): pp 321-336.

⁵³Hochschild, Adam. “Congo's Many Plunderers.” *Economic and Political Weekly* 4, no. 36(2001): pp 287-288.

ought to have been established in Congo for it to be considered a native of the state or to be granted citizenship. The citizenship of the immigrants was once more revoked. These land politics promoted hatred among those considered as natives and those considered as outcast who fought for their citizenship rights leading to conflicts. It is within this regard that the 2004 Congolese transitional government inaugurated a law that stated that “any individual belonging to an ethnic group whose people and territory constitute what became the Congo have a right to citizenship. This was aimed at promoting peace in the region.

Apart from Mobutu’s ethnic conflicts and land policies, his greed and exploitation of the natural resources also formed a crucial role in the termination of his regime. Mobutu needed the support of the elites in Congo to ensure the continuity of his regime. This support he sustained through sharing and allocating the proceeds of the resources, giving them exorbitant taxes and exempting them from taxation. Mobutu plundered the state’s resources and treated the Congolese wealth as his own.⁵⁴

This inaugurated the roots of rebellion as they felt that the poor state of Congolese economy was deep rooted in Mobutu’s greed. AS Geroges comments “For the Congolese people, the major consequences of the Mobutu’s system of institutionalized theft and corruption has been the ruin of the country’s economy and social fabric, together with state decay and collapse. Mobutu and his retainers succeeded in blocking economic growth and development by destroying or neglecting the economic growth and social infrastructure inherited from the colonial past, and by depriving the state of basic resources needed to meet the vital needs of the people and to improve their living conditions. In the Congo, as in the rest of the African continent, the persistent economic and state crises have led to a growing realization that a

⁵⁴Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, *The Congo: From Leopold to Kabila: A People’s History* (London and New York: Zed Books, 2002),p.148

close relationship does exist between their ability of the state to ensure a decent livelihood for its citizens and the lack of democracy⁵⁵. It is the combination of the above factors that led to the formation of a rebel group in eastern Congo under the leadership of Laurent Kabila, supported by other great lakes states.

Burundi, Uganda, Angola and Rwanda opposed Mobutu while Sudan supported Mobutu. In May 1997, the Alliance of the Democratic Forces for the liberation of Congo-Zaire (AFDL) with the help of Rwanda and Uganda marched and overthrew Mobutu's regime. Rwanda supported Kabila in order to eliminate the Hutu forces in Zaire. Uganda supported Kabila as a means of destroying Ugandan opposition groups like the Lord's Resistance Army that had settled in Eastern Congo. Angola joined the movement due to the fact that Mobutu had not only oppressed the Angolan immigrants that had fled to Zaire but also to eliminate the Cabinda separatists of Angola (UNITA) who supported Mobutu⁵⁶. In retrospect, Uganda and Rwanda were also interested in looting the resources that were in Congo. This was later on confirmed by the military clashes between Ugandan and Rwandan soldiers between 1999 and 2002 in Kisangani as Rwanda allowed foreign firms to exploit mineral resources and ended up taking the lion's share of the proceeds.

Eastern Congo under Laurent Kabila

The military forces of Laurent Kabila's alliance des forces Democratic pour la liberation du Congo captured Kinshasa on 17th May 1997, bringing to an end Mobutu dictatorship. Kabila restored the Country's name to the Democratic republic of Congo from Mobutu's Zaire.

⁵⁵ Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, *The Congo: From Leopold to Kabila: A People's History* (London and New York: Zed Books, 2002) p. 152

⁵⁶ *ibid*

Buckley, Stephen. *Uganda Helps Rebels In Zaire*, Diplomats Say. International Herald-Tribune. March 5, 1997, p. 2. implication de l'Angola? La Presse (Tunis), April 25, 1997, p. 12.

Laurent Kabila declared himself the president while at the same time promised a new constitution and voting by October 1998 and April 1999 respectively. The regime of Laurent Kabila saw the ignition of policies aimed at improving the economic growth of the state. In 1997, Kabila made a presentation on a three year development and reconstruction project aimed at creating a social market. The plan required an estimated three billion dollars. Unfortunately this plan was rejected. Kabila, still determined to improve the economic growth of the state, introduced policies like the exclusion of foreigners from diamond mining, the introduction of the Congolese franc, the creation of the people's shops that aimed at providing basic needs at subsidised rates, the introduction of mining tax by foreign mining companies among other. These policies led to economic development of Congo in 1997.⁵⁷

Although Kabila tried to create unity among different ethnic communities through the formation of the committees for people power, he failed to address the grievances of all Congolese leading to his collapse. Changing the structures that created inequality and conflicts in Congo required a lot of money which Kabila did not have and the international community was not willing to give funds besides him threatening their exploitation of minerals.

In 1998 Kabila fell out of the alliance with his friends who had put him to the throne over the distribution of resources. He also felt threatened by the huge number of Tutsi government officials, reinstated by the Ugandan and the Rwandan states. This threatened his legitimacy as they paid their allegiance to the Rwanda. He therefore ordered Rwanda to withdraw all its forces from Congo. It is this statement that led to a second war in Congo in 1998 which has been described by some scholars as one of the most dangerous wars in Africa since it involved eight countries. It also led to the formation of rebel groups whereby recruitment was

⁵⁷ Martens, Ludo. *Kabila et la révolution Congolaise; Pan Africanisme ou néocolonialisme* (Antwerp:éditions EPO 2002) p. 245

based along communal lines. Rwanda, for example instigated the *Rassemblement congolais pour la democratie*, a movement that they claimed would restore democracy in Congo but later was to be used to abuse human rights in the region especially in Kivu while Kabila also turned to other rebel groups when he felt threatened by Uganda and Rwanda. These rebel groups have further complicated conflicts in Eastern Congo.

It is evident that most if not all actors involved in the Congo conflict felt threatened by the new structures that Kabila was putting in place to end the looting of Congolese resources and the Pan Africanist orientation of his regime which had been used by some to address to satisfy their own greed.⁵⁸The evidence of this was later on confirmed by the military clashes between Ugandan and Rwandan soldiers' between 1999 and 2002 in Kisangani as Rwanda allowed foreign firms to exploit mineral resources and ended up taking the lion's share of the proceeds.

2.4. The Role of the African States in the Second Congo War, 1998-2002

The second Congolese war led to the formation of several alliances between and among African member states. The severity of this war led to it being labelled African Second World War. These alliances can be divided into two; the anti and the pro Kabila .The anti-Kabila states were Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi. One of the reasons why Rwanda was involved in the Eastern DRC conflict in 1998 was majorly for security purposes. Rwanda had initially played a role in installing Kabila as a means of ending the cross border Hutu raids⁵⁹. Kabila failed to end the activities of the rebel group and it was further claimed that the group received support from Kabila himself .In response to Kabila failure Rwanda intervened in the Congo conflict not only to eliminate the Interamhwe that were located on the boarder

⁵⁸JC William;The friends of Congo and the Kabila system”a journal of opinion vol26(1)

⁵⁹David Shearer, “Africa’s Great War,” *Survival*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Summer 1999):p. 94.

Rwanda Eastern Congo border and the increasing Hutu raids that was becoming a security dilemma for the Rwandese Tutsi leaders but also to eliminate Kabila. According to Timothy, Rwanda was also involved in the conflict to protect the Tutsi that were facing opposition from both the natives of Eastern Congo and the Hutu who had fled there.⁶⁰ Other reasons that led to Rwanda's involvement in the conflict were for economic gain.⁶¹ Rwanda had initially been involved in plundering Congolese natural resources through its forces and Kabila's order of withdrawal of these forces would become an obstacle to Rwanda's economy.

One of the reasons why Uganda was involved in the second Congo war was due to Kabila's involvement with Sudan. Uganda and Sudan had a sour relationship with Sudan founded on Sudan's support of Uganda's rebel groups among them the lord's resistance army and the Nile front. Just like Rwanda, Uganda had also hoped that Kabila would terminate this rebel groups which he failed but instead became a friend to Uganda's enemy leading to a declaration by president Museveni to enter into the Congolese territory to fight the rebels. Museveni also commanded his troops to sieve Congolese airports to avert the Sudanese forces from using them against Uganda. Uganda was also interested in the natural resources of eastern Congo just like Rwanda.⁶²

Burundi on the other hand claimed to join the anti-Kabila coalition with the mandate of terminating incursions by Hutu extremists, the forces for the Defence of Democracy (FDD). Burundi just like Rwanda had had its own share of ethnic conflicts between the Hutu and Tutsi. Kabila empowered the FDD in Eastern Congo to avert the Rwanda Uganda alliance forces.⁶³ Some scholars have argued that for a long time before economic sanctions were

⁶⁰Timothy Longman, "The Complex Reasons for Rwanda's Engagement in Congo," In *The African Stakes of the Congo War*, ed. John F. Clark (New York: Palgrave Macmillan,2002),p.131

⁶¹ Ibid p.130

⁶²John F. Clark, "Museveni's Adventure in the Congo War: Uganda's Vietnam?" in *The African Stakes of the Congo War*, ed. John F. Clark (New York: Palgrave Macmillan,2002),p.151

⁶³International Crisis Group, "Africa's Seven-Nation War," May 21, 1999,p. 27

imposed in the country it was a major market for gold smuggled from Congo. Hence it was also involved for economic gains. Zimbabwe being a member at the same time the head of the department of defence got involved in the Congo conflict in response to Laurent Kabila's call for help from SADC against the Rwandan, Ugandan and Burundi armies. Zimbabwe also saw Congo as a fountain of wealth that would uproot Zimbabwe from the financial crisis. Zimbabwe troop was therefore engaged in the conflict for the sole purpose of exploiting natural resources.⁶⁴ Angola surprised the international community when Angolan president, dos Santos became a strong supporter of Kabila and launched a sudden attack on August 23rd on the Rwandan forces that were marching toward Kinshasa. Dos Santos was driven by the fact that the Angolan rebel group, the UNITA forces were receiving massive support from Rwanda. Angola also feared the probability of her resources being plundered by Uganda's forces that were based in Kitona, situated near Angola's oil rich region.⁶⁵

Sam Nujoma, the Namibian president, sent military troops to Congo in support of the SADC intervention. This was despite the fact that the Namibian parliament was against the president's actions. Nujoma also shared the same Marxist ideology as dos Santos, Mugabe and Kabila. He was also of the opinion that the UNITA troops were giving the Namibians rebels arms and assistance. Whether president Nujoma's intervention was out of the SADC intervention, friendship or gain is debatable. Evidence has shown that Nujoma's loyalty was rewarded shares in the Miba Diamond Company through his brother in law⁶⁶. This war led to the assassination of Laurent Kabila, just like Patrice Lumumba.

⁶⁴ Africa confidential: Rhodes to the rescue; Issue 40, No 22 November 5(1999) p.6

⁶⁵ Jason Stearns, *Dancing in the Glory of Monsters: The Collapse of the Congo and the Great War of Africa* (New York: Public Affairs, 2011) p.191

⁶⁶ *ibid*

2.5 The 2002 Inter-Congolese Dialogue

The inter - Congolese dialogue (ICD) is peace agreement that was signed between the government of Congo, the Congolese rally for democracy, the movement for the liberation of the Congo(MLC) the political opposition, the Congolese or democracy/liberation movement(RDC/ML) the Congolese rally for Democracy/ National(RCDN/N) and the Mai Mai. ⁶⁷The actors involved in the Congo conflict had an aim of planting an everlasting peace in the DRC. The negotiations to the agreement took place in Sun City and lasted nineteen months. ⁶⁸ The peace deal was accompanied by bilateral deals between Uganda and Tanzania. Although the peace agreement was a major success, it also sowed seeds that catalysed future conflicts. The global and inclusive agreement had a laid down structure for integration of a national army, a transitional government and the organisation of free and fair elections. In an attempt to implement the agreement, Azarias was appointed as one of the four vice presidents with senior RCD officers attaining command of north Kivu and western Kasai military regions. The implementation of the agreement however did not satisfy most of the RCD officials as they felt betrayed and cheated leading to several grievances. The first grievance of the agreement was witnessed by the Mai Mai. The Mai Mai, although they also received their own portion of the cake, they felt inadequate as some of their officers were not military or politically represented.

In response the Mai Mai rebels in October 2002, rebels seized the town of Uvira in south Kivu from the RCD which was supported by Rwanda. This was a clear indication of the brittle nature of the peace agreement signed earlier in the year. It also extinguished the cease fire agreement of Lusaka that involved the withdrawal of foreign troops. There was no gainsaying that even the termination of the Rwandan defence forces occupation in Congo, an

⁶⁷The Preamble, The 2002 inter Congolese Dialogue

⁶⁸Philip Winter, *A Sacred Cause: The Inter-Congolese Dialogue 2000–2003* (Edinburgh: Librario, 2012).p.56

agreement signed in July of the same year would be short lived. The Rwandese forces eventually withdrew from Congo hence rendering the RCD army weak. On the other hand the Mai Mai militias felt rejuvenated and advanced towards Bukavu with an intention of annexing more land and resources.⁶⁹

In 2006 elections was finally conducted and Kabila's son Joseph Kabila emerged as the winner. This created conflicts within some groups for example the RCD that was not able to win major positions in the elections. For example the RCD lost the governorship of north Kivu. This led to another greed based conflict where former RCD members under the leadership of Laurent Nkunda declined integration as it would have a negative impact on their economic status and power especially in eastern Congo. This later on resulted in the formation of two rebel groups: the *Congress pour la defence de peuple* (CNDP) between 2006 and 2009 and the March 23.

In 2004 Nkunda created havoc in south Kivu with a justification of shielding Tutsis from government genocide Nkunda's army occupation of Bukavu also created serious human rights abuses as women were raped and people forced to flee their dwelling places⁷⁰. "Nkunda officially launched his new CNDP rebellion in 2006. He drew largely on mid-ranking Tutsi officers who had previously been in the RCD. The CNDP, based in the highlands of Masisi and Rutshuru, claimed to defend the rights of the Tutsi community, those claims were marred by their many abuses against the local population.

The CNDP had big ambitions, in particular to bring about either federalism or, according to some of its former leaders, outright secession. But while the tight networks and loyalty of Tutsi commanders were the backbone of its military prowess, Tutsi identity was also its main

⁶⁹International crisis group. The Kivus the forgotten crucible of the Congo conflict. African report No 56,2003 , p. 6

⁷⁰ See more in International Crisis Group (ICG), 'The Congo's Transition Is Failing: Crisis in the Kivus. Africa Report N°91' (30 March 2005)

obstacle: in the eyes of most Congolese, the CNDP was another expression of Rwandan irredentism. This became particularly clear in the early days of the CNDP, when several of its high-ranking Hutu officers defected, under pressure from Serufili and other RCD leaders, who had by then been successfully courted by Kinshasa. In early 2006, the Hutu commanders of both the 81st and 83rd brigades, Colonels Smith and Rugayi, both defected from Nkunda and joined national army along with hundreds of troops.’’⁷¹

Nkunda rebel group continued to successfully grow seen in the recruitment of youth and even child soldiers from Rwanda into his army. In 2007, as a result of intensive fighting in the town of Sake, there was a call for a peace dialogue between Nkunda and the government. The outcome of the dialogue was the agreement by the CNDP to enter into some kind of military integration. This agreement was however not adhered to leading to a conflict between Kinshasa and defeated Nkunda. The outcome was the defeat of the government military.⁷²

The defeat of the government forces led to a feeling of insecurity and the lack of faith in the government to shield its population from the activities of the rebel groups. This in turn sowed the seeds that led to the mobilization of different military groups within different ethnic communities like the Hunde and Hutu communities. The government tried to resolve this conflict through the Goma conference also known as the *Conférence sur la Paix, la Sécurité et le Développement du Nord et du Sud Kivu* (Conference on the Peace, Security and Development of North and South Kivu). despite funding from external actors, the conference did not bear fruits.

⁷¹Jarsonstearns: Understanding Congolese Armed Groups, Usalama Project The Rift Valley Institute. Nairobi Kenya p. 39.

⁷²ibid

2.6 Conclusion

From the above summary of the conflict in DRC, it is evident that several factors triggered the conflict and have been responsible for its continuity. These factors range from the foundations of colonialism, land issues, greed and weak system of governance .All these factors have contributed in prolonging the conflict in Eastern DRC which is currently responsible for the unsustainable development in the region. It also evident that poor methodologies in solving conflicts plus poor implementation of peace agreements can fuel un ending conflicts.

CHAPTER THREE

THE EFFECTS OF RESOURCE CONFLICTS ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: A CASE STUDY OF EASTERN DRC, '1998 - 2010'

3.1 Introduction

Chapter two was an overview of conflict in Eastern Democratic republic of Congo. It analyzed the major causes of conflict in the Eastern Congo. It critically discussed the triggers of the conflict from the pre-colonial era to colonialism and finally under the major regimes after independence. The chapter also analysed other major actors in the conflict like the rebel groups and the great lakes states like Uganda and Sudan plus the different peace initiatives. Despite attempts by both the international and the local community to put an end to the conflict, the war in eastern DRC is still ongoing and continues to threaten sustainable development not only to herself but the Great lakes region as a whole.

Chapter three is a critical analysis of the case study. It expounds on the effects of the conflict by linking it with the three pillars of sustainable development. The chapter will also look at Kabila's strategies towards sustainable development. This chapter relies on both qualitative and quantitative data obtained.

3.2 Background

The term sustainable development as coined by the Brunt land commission refers to development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future to meet their own needs.⁷³This is the definition that this study will adopt.

In 1972, the United Nations held a conference in Stockholm on the Human environment. The mandate of the conference was to delineate the rights of human beings to a healthy and more productive environment. This conference was followed by other conferences that discussed

⁷³.Bruntland, G. (ed), *Our common future: the World Commission onEnvironment and Development*(Oxford: Oxford University Press: United Nations) 1987.p.45.

the rights of human beings on basic necessities like food, shelter, family planning amongst others. The acceptance of the link between human beings and the environment led to the creation of other development organizations within the United Nations.

In 1980, the international union for the conservation for natural resource (IUCN) provided a precursor for sustainable development by asserting that nature cannot be conserved without eradicating poverty. It concluded that unless fertility and productivity of the planet is safe guarded, the human future is at risk. In 1986, the World Commission On Environment And Development(WCDE) launched a report “Our Common Future” which advanced the understanding of the interdependent between the environment and human beings. It stated that “the environment does not exist as a sphere separate from human action, ambitions, man’s needs, and therefore it should not be considered in isolation from human concerns. The environment is where we all live, and development is what we all do in an attempting to improve our lot within abode. The two are inseparable.”⁷⁴

Chapter eleven of our common future focuses on peace, security, development and the environment. This identifies environmental stress as a source of conflict and conflict as a cause of unsustainable development. It argues that armed conflict creates obstacles to sustainable development as they exhaust resources and affluence that could be used to eradicate poverty, the collapsed environmental systems and underdevelopment that could otherwise be utilized in fighting underdevelopment which is a source of conflict.

In 1970 while celebrating the twenty fifth anniversaries, the United Nations secretary declared that mankind is today confronted by a critical and urgent choice, either increased peaceful cooperation and progress of disunity and conflict and even annihilation. In 1992, the Rio declaration avowed that warfare inhibits sustainable development and that tranquility,

⁷⁴ ibid

environmental protection and development are interrelated .Conflicts and sustainable development are consequently considered as a collective desideratum, whereby conflicts cannot be alienated from the economic, social and political pillars of sustainable development.

Since war wipes out the basis for development, the Rio declaration also assigned to states the responsibility of adopting a model for sustainable development, that each state should pursue social and economic progress and adopt a model for sustainable development, and the state of forest principles. Conflict in eastern democratic republic of Congo is a natural resource based conflict hence making it environmental related. Addressing the impact of the conflict on sustainable development in the area is major step towards ensuring sustainability in the region since unsustainable development causes conflicts.

3.3 The Effects of Conflict in Eastern DRC on Sustainable Development.

3.3.1 The effects of resource conflicts on the environmental pillar of sustainable development

The beauty of the Congolese environment is affirmed by its natives who consider it the best in Africa. Mr Emmanuel confirms this by saying that the Congolese environment is the best that Africa has to offer .It' riches cannot be compared to any other state “Congo is capable of providing resources to Africa. What you call rivers in Kenya is an equivalent of Congolese streams. Without Congolese forests, Africa would be a desert.”⁷⁵

Sustainable development requires the integration of environmental objectives, maintaining natural resources and human health that serve as support of current and future growth. Currently, the state of the environment continues to deteriorate .This deterioration will harm

⁷⁵Interview with Mr .Emmanuel Ali, Embassy of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Nairobi, July 27th 2013

the wellbeing of human beings especially the poor and vulnerable members of the society. In order to achieve sustainable development, environmental protection shall constitute an integral part of the development process and cannot be considered in isolation from it.⁷⁶

Conflict in eastern democratic republic continues to be a major threat to environmental sustainability and the United Nations is not employing its maximum capacity to avert environmental degradation in the region.⁷⁷ Aware of the reality of the importance of the environment to sustainability, the DRC constitution recognises the role of the state in the protection of the environment and the right of each individual to a healthy environment.⁷⁸ Although the state also boasts of a ministry of mining whose mandate is to implement among them policies that would ensure environmental protection, it stops short of implementing these policies.

One of the major effects of the conflict has been the loss of up to forty percent of the larger mammals. Eastern part of Congo is a home to the pluvial forest of the Congo which hosts Virunga National Park. Virunga National Park is considered a world heritage since it is a habitat to gorillas, a rare primate's species in the world. The park is home to the worlds 480 out of the remaining seven hundred in the world and is one of the oldest national parks in the world having been built in 1925.⁷⁹ several concerns have been raised over poaching as Congolese feel the threat of this practice on the tourism industry and the beauty of Congo. "With the rate of poaching and habitat loss, gorillas in the region may disappear from most of their present range in less than 10–15 years from now. yet the fate of the great apes is closely tied to ours as they inhabit some of the last remaining tropical rainforests – ecosystems that

⁷⁶ ibid

⁷⁷ ibid

⁷⁸ The constitution of the Democratic republic of Congo: Article 53(2005)

⁷⁹ MR. Emmanuel Ali, Embassy of the Democratic republic of Congo Interviewed by Omondi Emily, Nairobi, July 27th 2013

not only assist in supplying water, food and medicine but also play a global role in carbon sequestration and thus combating climate change.’’⁸⁰

Gorilla survival is endangered by loss of habitation due to agricultural growth, squalor of habitat from logging besides natural epidemics such as Ebola and the new risk of diseases passed from humans to gorillas, poaching for bush meat, mining and charcoal production.⁸¹ Illegal trade in gorillas also continues to be a major impediment.⁸² In 2007, an entire family of gorillas was wiped out by the rebels in protest against government policy on conservation of the parks. The conflict has whacked tourism which has not only led to loss of government revenue but also has deprived the national park of revenue that is to be used in ensuring that the park continues to run.

Logging

Forests present priceless ecological services at local, regional, and global levels. Local and regional services include preservation of the hydrological cycle and important flood control in a high-rainfall region. Other vital regional benefits include regional-scale climate regulation, cooling through evapo-transpiration, and buffering of climate variability. Globally, Congo Basin forests represent about 25 percent of the total carbon stored in tropical forests worldwide, mitigating anthropogenic emissions.⁸³ Logging therefore threatens the existence of forests which in turn threatens the existence of the human race.

In rural parts of Congo, wood fuel continues to be the major source of fuel considering that the price of gas and kerosene is high. Although the impact of wood fuel collection may be

⁸⁰Nellemann, C., I. Redmond, J. Refisch (eds). 2010. *The Last Stand of the Gorilla – Environmental Crime and Conflict in the Congo Basin*. A Rapid Response Assessment. United Nations Environment Programme, Printed by Birkeland Trykkeri AS, Norway

⁸¹ *ibid* pg 6

⁸² Emmanuel Ali, Embassy of the Democratic Republic Of Congo interviewed by Omondi Emily, Nairobi, July 27th 2013

⁸³ *ibid*

compensated by natural forest regeneration, it can still become a severe root of forest degradation especially when there is demand comes from concentrated markets such as urban households and businesses. It is within this high demand for timber by the industrialised countries that has initiated logging as a lucrative trade in eastern DRC especially for the militias and multinational companies. As part of the extraction process, militias in North and South Kivu of the DRC are estimated to make approximately 4 million USD annually from taxes on charcoal which is exported to the European Union, the Middle East, China and other states in Asia and the United States of America.⁸⁴

While efforts are made to control logging, several peace agreements have included the removal of vehicle check points previously enforced by park rangers to reduce not only logging but also animal poaching. This becomes a major obstacle in forest conservation in Eastern DRC. It also continues to threaten the existence of wildlife and the livelihoods of those living in the forest especially the pygmies.

Globalisation force has led to increased technological innovation. This has in turn led to increased demand in electronics like mobile phones, play stations amongst others all of which depend on cassiterite and coltan which is mined in eastern Congo. The growing demand of these minerals have led to high prices which in turn has increased over exploitation of these minerals as more miners and mines continue to come up. This poses a threat to the existence and use by future generations. Other environmental concerns related to mining include digging of pits without backfilling, and its effect on water levels.

⁸⁴World Bank. De Wasseige C et al. *Deforestation Trends In The Congo Basin: Reconciling The Environment And Economic Growth In The Congo Basin*(2012) pg7

Strategies to respond to these issues include the setting up of socially responsive and environmentally sustainable supply chains and measures to professionalize and formalize artisanal and small-scale mining activities, so that risks are managed and minimum standards are introduced. These initiatives are partially inspired by the success of a third-party certification scheme called “Green Gold—Oro Verde” introduced in 1999 in Colombia to stop the social and environmental devastation caused by poor mining practices in the lush Choco Bioregion and to supply select jewellers with traceable, sustainable metal. In essence, it is important to note that successful economic development, which is the driver of environmental degradation in Eastern Congo will not be sustainable if environmental Issues are not addressed at the planning stage.⁸⁵

3.3.2 The Effects on the Economic Pillar

The negotiations at the WSSD in 2002 demonstrated a major shift in the perception of sustainable development—away from environmental issues toward social and economic development. This shift, was driven by the needs of the developing countries and strongly influenced by the Millennium Development Goals. Economic sustainability, is the ability of an economy to sustain a defined level of productivity indefinitely.

The economy of eastern Congo is highly dependent on mining and logging of forests apart from farming. Eastern Congo is rich in mineral like tin, tungsten, tantalum, and gold. These minerals are also known as “conflict minerals” for their role in fuelling the world’s deadliest on-going conflict. Tens of thousands of rural artisanal miners and their families rely heavily on mining as their source of revenue. This dependence has deepened over the years of armed violent conflict. Pitiably governance and the lack of implementation of the rule of law have worn the social fabric of communities and the feasibility of sustainable economic

⁸⁵World commission on environment and development. Our common future(1987)pp.62-65

alternatives. A few who opt to extract and transport minerals, do not profit a lot as even during transportation there is corruption and bribery involved. Many miners however, earn more than they could hope to in any other activity considering that the average income of a Congolese is only around US\$1 per day.

After mining, these tainted minerals enter a complex supply chain that stretches around the world. Most of these minerals leave the DRC illegally and are then sold to smelters in Asia and Europe.⁸⁶ Having been smelted, refined and processed, the minerals are incorporated into components such as capacitors, resistors or solder, to be used in the assembly of a range of products from portable consumer electronics to medical devices and advanced aeronautics. After passing through brokers, wholesalers, and retailers, at the end of this supply chain are the consumers. These are buyers of goods like cell phones, cars, and light bulbs⁸⁷ There are prevalent information of conspiracy between rebel groups and the national army to illicitly exploit, tax, and trade minerals, money and arms.⁸⁸

This is a system that rewards illicit trade and discourages legal and stable commerce. Minerals mined in areas controlled by armed groups pass along the supply chain with unreliable, falsified, or simply non-existent documentation. Military and civilian authorities are often unable, or unwilling, to fulfil their most basic regulatory responsibilities. Many are preoccupied with extorting illegal “taxes” along trade routes and at checkpoints.⁸⁹ The militarization of mining is exacerbating the armed conflict which in turn threatens the economy of eastern Congo. Instability and grinding poverty in the Congo have created a

⁸⁶ John Prendergast and Sasha Lezhnev, “From Mine to Mobile Phone,” The Enough Project, November 10, 2009, p.37

⁸⁷ *ibid*

⁸⁸ Global Witness, “Faced with a Gun, What Can You Do?’: War and the Militarisation of Mining in Eastern Congo,” July 2009, pp. 43-47.

⁸⁹ *ibid*. pp. 23-37

stagnant economy, and few companies are willing to invest in this central African nation. The international companies who *have* invested in the Congo are primarily interested in the resource-extraction sector, which at best does little to help local people and at worst fuels competition and conflict between armed groups.

In 2009 and 2010, there were a few foreign investments in the Congolese banking system, which still remains weak and often unreliable. Even though a considerable number of commercial banks have started to operate in the DRC, the majority of commercial transactions still go through other informal channels, which account for more than 80% of the money supplied. Due to geographical and infrastructural constraints, and many years of violence, most of these banks have remained confined to major cities. There was no indicator that they could expand their operations in the near future. In addition, banking regulation and supervision are inadequate, and there is no sustainable and functioning capital market. A micro-finance sector, which aims to support small-scale projects, is ineffective, inaccessible and largely non-existent in many parts of eastern Congo, especially in rural areas. Credits to the private sector accounts for less than 5% of GDP. The central banks estimate that there are just about 60,000 bank accounts in Congo. The country lacks a formalized banking sector. Yet as of 2012 Congo had a population of 4.337 million.⁹⁰

Economically, the Congolese conflict has negatively affected the Congolese agricultural sector. An agricultural economy has always been vital especially for developing countries as it guarantees the provision of food for families that cannot afford to purchase the goods. At independence, Eastern Congo had a mixed agricultural economy of both pastoralism and agriculture. Eastern Congo is very fertile and hence produces high agricultural yields. The consistent conflict has alienated the whole area from agricultural production, resulting in

⁹⁰ Annual World Bank Report On Congo, (Democratic Republic Of Congo 2012)p.1

unemployment and suddenly mounting prices. Between 2000 to 2003, during the second Congolese war, the price of manioc which is a staple food increased by over 9,000 per cent in urban and rural markets in North Kivu in local currency. It rose by a factor of three to four, and most sharply in rural areas. This huge economic decline was catalysed by the present war. It was also as result of decades of conflict and oppression that eastern Congo especially Kivus have known from pre-colonial times, to colonialism and eventually through the regimes of independent Congo.

From pastoralist point of view, the destruction of their livelihood undoubtedly started in North Kivu with the blanket destruction of numerous hundred thousand heads of cattle between 1993 and 1996. Although most of the victims were major economic allies of the Mobutu era, there were other small scale pastoralist and agricultural producers. It is this destruction of livelihood that drove most of the inhabitants into the dangerous mining industry and to join rebel groups. “We can't go back to the way things were before colt an, because before, we used to have cows and goats, but since the war there have been none. Each family here used to have maybe fifteen cows, now there are none anymore.”⁹¹

Despite the positive link between infrastructure and economic development, there continues to be evidence that infrastructure in eastern DRC is below international standards not only in terms of quality but also quantity. The river transportation networks of the Congo Basin for example hold great potential (25,000 kilometres of navigable waterways) but remain insignificant due to non-operational infrastructure, lack of investment, and poor regulatory frameworks. Lack of transportation infrastructure has in essence fraught economic growth in

⁹¹ICG interview, local chief near Kichanga, 17 April 2002

the eastern Congo Basin by instilling blockades to trade not only with international markets but also internally in domestic markets.⁹²

The Armed resource conflict has also led to unsustainable development as it makes a huge dent on scarce resources. Monetary resources that have been earmarked for health, education, and economic development have been diverted to procure arms and train military personnel. Despite the importance of state security, the amount of money that has been and is being spent on buying arms itself poses a threat to the social human security itself which in turn triggers conflict making it difficult for the state to avert the conflict.

3.3.3 Resource Conflicts and the Social Pillar

The social pillar of Sustainable Development aims at developing health care, education, security, stabilized population and equity.

Healthcare

One of the consequences of the prolonged conflict is the outright collapse of the Congolese health care system. Tens of thousands of the survivors of the war including women who have survived rape and the violence lack access to the medical facilities. The Congolese government is unable to provide adequate medical services, rehabilitation programs, or psychological counselling. According to a research carried out by the World Bank in 2002, the percentage of Congolese who had access to medical facilities was at 48.2 while only 52 percent have access to nutrition.

The miners also face numerous threats to their health and personal safety. Miners work without safety equipment or protection gear. Accidents that occur in such areas become an impediment to their well-being especially cave-ins of shafts and suffer landslides.

⁹²Carole Megev and,Aline Mosnier et al .The world bank. Deforestation trends in the Congo Basin;Reconciling Economic Growth And Forest Protection. New York.

Other related threats include exhaustion Malnutrition, poor sanitation, physical trauma, poor sanitation, lack of medical treatment, and no clean water supply. Common injuries and ailments include eye injuries; silicosis, conjunctivitis, bronchitis, tuberculosis, asthma, diarrhoea, skin lesions, deformed muscle and bone in children due to heavy loads, and contusions and severe bruising. Added to these are the impact of extensive drug use and sexually transmitted diseases. The intense crowding of enslaved miners by the rebels are sometimes forced to sleep jammed together in the mine shafts leading to infectious diseases that have become rampant.⁹³

According to a Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey, conducted in early 2010, positions the DRC amongst the worst-off for scores of basic indicators of health and well-being. The under-5 child mortality rate was 158 per 1,000 live births. The whole state lingered near the crisis porch for global acute malnutrition of 10 per cent. Not more than half of the population had access to safe drinking-water cisterns, and only 14 per cent possess ample sanitation facilities. The number of medical practioners was found to be low with some being forced to acquire roles that they were not trained in. "I was not trained as a gynaecologist, but I am being trained on the job, because the need at the hospital is so large. The Congolese government does not provide our hospital with any resources."⁹⁴ The few medical practioners are also centred in the cities and are afraid of working in eastern democratic Congo especially when there is conflict.⁹⁵

This means that the victims of the conflict have a very difficult time surviving the physical scars of violence, much less addressing the psychological ones. Moreover, lack of adequate medical care to avert and treat diseases such as cholera and malaria further append to the

⁹³Emmanuel Ali, Embassy of the democratic republic of Congo, Nairobi, July 27th 2013

⁹⁴Interview with Dr. Roger Luhiriri, Panzi Hospital, Buvaku, South Kivu, September 2008

⁹⁵ibid

insurmountable daily struggles and dangers witnessed by Congolese women and their children. The conflict has also led to the destruction of hospitals and other health facilities leading to its collapse in certain areas.

Human security

The conflict in eastern DRC is infamous for serious violation of human right to security. Security of an individual is the basic prerogative that is guaranteed by article three of the universal declaration which states that “everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of a person.”⁹⁶It was adopted by the United Nations in 1948 and subsequently its members. Security of a person means that one is free from all forms of violence from either public or private sources, not to be tortured in any way, to bodily and psychological honour and to security in and control of their body. Security is one of the twenty seven principles of sustainable development given that sustainable development is pertinent to all the aspects of human life.⁹⁷Security of an individual encourages both economic and social development which in turn promotes sustainable development. Lack of security promotes a security dilemma seen in increased purchase of weapons for self protection which results in conflicts when triggered by other factors hence un sustainability. As the United Nations commission on human security report puts it “good health and peace for all depend on peace and development-to ensure universal access to the basic requirements of food, nutrition, clean drinking water, hygiene ,sanitation and housing.”⁹⁸

According to the United Nations, the government of DRC has failed to provide human security to the natives of eastern DRC despite its recognition in the constitution. Article 16 of the constitution of DRC 2005 states that “the individual is sacred and that the state has the

⁹⁶The Universal Declaration Of Human Rights Article 3

⁹⁷ Rio Declaration On Environment And Protection(1992)Principle 25

⁹⁸United Nations. *Human Security Now: Commission On Human Security*(New York :World Bank,2003),7

obligation to protect him or her. All persons have the right to life, physical integrity and to the free development of their personality, while respecting the law, public order, the rights of others and public morality.⁹⁹

The mandate of implementing this constitution is the role of the different security bodies like the police and the army. These public authorities are also responsible for the elimination of sexual violence used as an instrument in the destabilization and displacement of families.

International treaties and agreements notwithstanding, any sexual violence committed against any person with the intention to destabilize or to displace a family and to make a whole people disappear is established as a crime against humanity punishable by law. Yet, it is the same government that has been accused of human rights security violations.¹⁰⁰ According to enough projects, the police, the army and the government are the primary predators of rape, murder, torture and extortion. There is high level of corruption within the Congolese national army.¹⁰¹ This has escalated the conflict leading to the loss of approximately 5.4 million people who have died as a result of the conflict since 1996.¹⁰²

Since the late 1990s, waves of violent conflict have forced hundreds of thousands of people from their homes; in late 2010, the displaced population was an estimated 1.7 million, more than half of them children. Targeted sexual violence and mass rape continue to terrify and severely harm women and girls. Civilians in eastern Congo, predominantly women and girls, are targets of conscience-shocking viciousness and sexual violence. On a daily basis, they face a harrowing display of terrorization from armed militias, the military, and even the police. This has created a culture of rape and killing which is seen normal by not only the

⁹⁹The constitution of the Democratic republic of Congo: Article 16(2005)

¹⁰⁰Ibid. Article 15

¹⁰¹Report of International Trade Union Confederation. Violence Against Women In Eastern DRC : Whose Responsibility ? Whose Complicity ?,2011

¹⁰²Interview with Mr. Emmanuel Ali, Embassy of the democratic republic of Congo, Nairobi, July 27th 2013

rebel but also the inhabitants.¹⁰³ Armed groups wreak havoc in Eastern Congo by terrorizing communities and fighting for power and mineral resources. The Congolese conflict has also led to thousands of forced displacements. These include forcibly displaced asylum seekers, all cadres of refugees and internally displaced persons.

The conflict has also negatively affected sustainable peace in The Great Lakes. For instance the attack of the city of Goma by the ADF on July 11, 2013 led to an exodus of about 66,000 Congolese who fled to Uganda for security.¹⁰⁴ This already has created security tensions in the lake region. Uganda for example is on the alert due to the July 2013 attack and has responded by tightening its security to ensure that there are no rebels moving into the country¹⁰⁵. The attack could also lead to a rebirth of conflict between Rwanda and the DRC as already DRC is accusing Rwanda of direct involvement in the attack.

The influx of refugees from Eastern Congo could also provide a breeding zone of a new rebel group Uganda. This is likely to result into a spill over or bad neighbourhood effect which is a major risk factor as such countries are likely to experience onsets of instability.¹⁰⁶ Within the context of human security, the priority given to housing has always been reflection of the value attached to sustainable settlements as a prerequisite for the attainment for development objectives. Access to adequate housing is a vital necessity for sustainable family units. Thousands of people were and have been forced to flee their homes and live in camps while some continue living in the cold as they flee from the conflict zones.¹⁰⁷ The reality of lack of shelter also means that these people are not eligible to access basic public services like sanitation facilities. In addition to these deprivations, the realism of living in camps and forests is concurrent to the psychological trauma of gloom and bleakness which

¹⁰³ Interview with MR. Emmanuel Ali, Embassy of the democratic republic of Congo, Nairobi, July 27th 2013

¹⁰⁴ he on 23rd july

¹⁰² ibid.

¹⁰⁶ World Bank, Development report 2011,2

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Mr..Emmanuel Ali, Embassy of the democratic republic of Congo, Nairobi, July 27th 2013

is born as a result of lack of opportunities aligned with mounting aspirations .in essence, inadequate housing leads to an insecure generation.¹⁰⁸

Poverty

There is strong evidence in the conflict literature that conflict fuels poverty which compromises development. Recent poverty surveys reveal that poverty is reducing in most parts of the world, but countries affected by conflicts cannot keep up. This is mainly for every country affected by conflict; poverty eradication lags behind by 2.7 percent.¹⁰⁹On average a country that experienced violence from 1981 to 2005 has a 25 percent higher poverty rates than that with no violence.¹¹⁰Eastern Congo has experienced conflict for decades that has resulted in increased poverty .This poverty has exposed them to extreme exploitation by the rebels as most inhabitants see mining as the only means of subsistence.

Living and working in squalid conditions, individuals and families borrow beyond their scanty means, finding themselves in debt and at the mercy of mine shaft owners, lenders and the armed groups. Informants disclosed that living and working conditions in the mines controlled by the FARDC (DRC's national army) are as poor as those in mines controlled by the FDLR (a militia led by Rwandan Hutu rebels originally formed by Rwanda's *génocidaires*) and other armed groups.¹¹¹

Equity

The ethical principle of equity and especially intergenerational equity is key to the concept of sustainable development. Equity can be defined by looking at its basic indicators which range from equality of an opportunity to realize one's latent, at the macro-level, reduced disparities

¹⁰⁸ Clarence Tshitereke. Institute for security studies. *There Shall Be Houses, Security And Comfort.*(south Africa, institute for security studies,2009) pg 4

¹⁰⁹ World Bank, World development report(2011) p.4

¹¹⁰ Ibid pg 60

¹¹¹FTS Interviews in Goma, Bukavu, Walikale and Masisi, DRC, June and July 2010.

in income and wealth, fair distribution and allocation of public assets including proceeds from the natural resources, empowerment to access information and representation and participation in vital process of decision making.¹¹²

According to the United Nations Development Programme, inclusion and equity are “indispensable requirements for sustainable development just as development cannot only be about economic growth nor can sustainability be only about protection the environment”¹¹³. Equity promotes a sustainable use of resources. Fair distribution of resources results in collective responsibility in managing the resources.¹¹⁴ This in turn promotes sustainable development. Inequality in resource allocation in turn leads to conflicts. Indeed some of the rebel groups in eastern democratic republic of Congo emerged as a result of unfair distribution of the proceeds of the resources especially during the Mobutu era.¹¹⁵ The rebel groups are in turn responsible for overexploitation of resources that threatens their existence and possible use by generations to come.

The DRC constitution recognises the importance of equity in to sustainable development. All the Congolese have the right to enjoy national wealth. The State has the duty to redistribute the wealth equitably and to safeguard the right to development.¹¹⁶ yet the Congolese government continues to go against the constitution by implementing policies that catalyse the existing inequities .

¹¹²Lele, S. Jaranam T. “Equity in the context of sustainable development”. *Note for UN GSP*. version no 2(April 2013):4

¹¹³Hellen Clark’ Statement On Global Launch Of The 2013 Human Development Report.”*The Rise Of The South: Human Progress In Diverse World*”.Mexico.2013

¹¹⁴Gadgil, M., "Culture, Perceptions and Attitudes to the Environment", in P. Jacobs and D. A. Munro (Eds.), *Conservation with Equity: Strategies for Sustainable Development*, International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources(Cambridge, U. K.,1987,)pp. 85-94.

¹¹⁵Interview with MR.Emanuel Ali, Embassy of the democratic republic of Congo, Nairobi, July 27th 2013

¹¹⁶The Constitution Of The Democratic Republic Of Congo: Article 58(2005)

The constitution also upholds equity in the treatment of both genders. It recognizes the importance and the role of women in both political and economic aspects of life to aid in the realization of development. One of the effects of the conflict in eastern DRC is that it has become an obstacle to women empowerment and hence development. Women forced into early marriages by the rebel groups are forced to drop out of school hence denying them of the chance of acquiring leadership posts in future. Women's voices are unheard and are a minority in the Congolese government.

According to the United Nations gender inequality index, that is measured in terms of reproductive health, empowerment and economic activity. The DRC has a GII value of 0.681, ranking it 144 out of 148 countries in the 2012 index. In Congo (Democratic Republic of the), 8.2 percent of parliamentary seats are held by women, and 10.7 percent of adult women have reached a secondary or higher level of education compared to 36.2 percent of their male counterparts. For every 100,000 live births, 540 women die from pregnancy related causes; and the adolescent fertility rate is 170.6 births per 1000 live births. Female participation in the labour market is 70.2 percent compared to 72.5 for men.¹¹⁷

The GII shows the loss in human development due to inequality between female and male achievements in the three GII dimensions.

Education

It is one of the universally agreed triggers of sustainable development. In December 2002, the united nations adopted resolution 57/254 on the united Nations decade for sustainable development(2005-2014). Education for sustainable development equips learners and even the citizens with skills that will sustain them in the future. It comprises the acquisition of

¹¹⁷United Nations Development report: The Rise Of The South, Human Progress In A Developing World, DRC(2013)4

knowledge skills, the right attitudes and values that will enable them will make them use the environment in a productive manner with an objective of improving the quality of life and sustaining societies. In essence it contributes to the “the acquisition and practice of knowledge, values and skills that ensure balance between the economic, social and environmental aspects of development and observance of both individuals and society development and progress in life.”¹¹⁸

Education equips one with basic skill that enhances sustainable development. Through education, conflict in eastern Congo can be eradicated as people will be able to explore other means of livelihood, settling disputes and acquire a better way of managing the resource. This unfortunately remain a dream for most citizens of eastern Congo.

The conflict in eastern Congo has had great consequences on education. Eastern Congo is a habitat to many orphans and children who were accused of witchcraft and hence banished from the community. About 12000 child soldiers are still being recruited by the armed groups. Some children however have voluntarily joined the armed forces to avenge the death of their kinsmen while others are driven to it due to poverty. This has made it difficult for children to access educational facilities. The orphans spend a lot of time looking for means of livelihood in the cities. Evidence of this is reflected in the capital city that currently has registered a large number of street children.

3.3.5 Poor governance

The DRC’s wealth is gradually becoming a mechanism for promoting loyalty to the Kabila regime. This is a residue of Mobutu’s governance where all the Mobutu allies were rewarded with the minerals in the region. Congo continues to be a theatre for corruption, divide and rule politics and discrimination. In 2011, the African progress panel estimated that

¹¹⁸UNESCO.Regional Guiding Framework of ESD for the Arab region, Beirut (2008)

approximately one point three five US dollars, which was equal to DRC's Congolese's double spending on health and education. According to the report, mining assets that were sold to two companies passed through the same company. The company had also evaded some taxes.¹¹⁹ The failure the Congolese government to provide security and basic amenities to its citizens is a reflection of poor governance.

3.4 Addressing Sustainable Development

3.4.1 Towards Sustainable Peace: -Joint Military Operations in eastern DRC

Several attempts have been made towards achieving sustainable peace in Congo. Some of them have to a great extent helped in freezing conflicts in the region. However it is important to note that none of the peace initiatives have been successful in its objective of restoring peace in the region.

Umoja Wetu

In 2008 the Congolese government sought the help of the Rwanda despite the fact that Rwanda had previously been accused of helping colonel Nkunda. Both parties were able to come to a mutual agreement on various issues. One of the major terms of the agreement was the inauguration of a joint military force against the CNDP and FDLR. This movement was referred to as Umojawetu. There is no gainsaying that the UmojaWetu initiative to a greater extent proved to be more successful compared to other imitative. This is majorly because by January 2009, the *chef* of the CNDP, general Nkunda was arrested in Rwanda after fleeing Eastern Congo. This arrest weakened the CNDP. The Rwandese troops were also able to uproot the FDLR from Kivu. In the same year in February, Rwanda withdrew her troops from Congo. Meanwhile Rwanda also extended amnesty to the FDLR forces that are ready to go back home as path towards achieving sustainable peace in the region. The Congolese forces

¹¹⁹ The African Progress Report, African Panel's Flagship publication.2011

however continued with the mandate of going after the remnants of the FDRL and CNDP forces that continue to violate human rights especially in eastern Congo.¹²⁰

Operation Kimia

The success of operation Umoja Wetu led to the formation of second peace operation called operation Kimia. This operation was a joint initiative of the government of Congo and the MONUC forces. The MONUC had a mandate of providing logistical and military support to both the FARDC and the government forces. The operation involved thirteen governments and targeted both the southern and the northern parts of Kivu¹²¹

This operation has however been ridiculed by human rights activists as it led a gross violation of human rights yet according to the united nations the primary objective of the operation was to protect the population; to put an end to the threat of the FDLR; and to re-establish the authority of the Congolese state.¹²²

Amani Leo

Operation Kimia I was terminated by the Congolese government in 2009 bringing into force operation Amani Leo. The objectives of the operation were “to protect the civilians, remove negative forces from the population centres, re-establish authority in liberated areas and to restore state authority and re-establish state authority.”¹²³To avoid human rights violations, international humanitarian and refugee law by their own forces. A zero tolerance policy for human rights violations will be strictly enforced.”¹²⁴MONUC and the Congolese government agreed to deploy military police at the battalion levels.

¹²⁰Report of the U.N. Secretary General on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo, December 4, 2009.

¹²¹Ibid.

¹²²UN Group of Experts, ‘Letter dated 10 December 2008 from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1533 (2004) concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo addressed to the President of the Security Council.

¹²³ Ibid

¹²⁴MONUC News *After Operation Kimia II*, January 2010.

MONUC

The request by the Congolese government for a gradual withdrawal of the United Nations peace keeping force led to the passing of resolution 1925 by the United Nations. The resolution changed the name of the United Nations mission in DRC (MONUC) to the United Nations stabilization mission in the DRC (MONUC). This change was to be effected from July 2010. The resolution advocated for the protection of both humanitarian workers and the civilians and withdrawal of peace keeping troops by the end of July 2010.¹²⁵

Despite attempts by the international community and even the Congolese government in eastern Congo, most of these peace initiatives have failed. Conflict in Eastern Congo is ongoing and continues to affect sustainable development in the region different ways.

In July 1999, a ceasefire agreement was signed in Lusaka. The United Nations peace keeping force was given the mandate to monitor the signed agreement to ensure the stability in the region. This was later to become a task too heavy for the UN peace keeping force since they failed to prevent violation of the agreement. The result was the assassination of Kabila in 2001. Rwanda withdrew its troops from Congo in 2002 while Uganda withdrew its troops in 2003.

In conclusion, all though this peace initiatives have been considered by many as a failure, it is important to note that they helped in maintaining peace for a given duration which helped in providing the environment for stability hence promoting sustainable development. However despite these attempts, the peace initiatives failed to come up with policies that

¹²⁵ Ibid.

would ensure that even the peace agreements are fully implemented. As result the conflict is still on going and increases to affect sustainable development.

3.4.2 Policies and Strategies of Kabila' s Administration

The democratic republic of Congo acknowledges the importance of sustainable development as a means of addressing conflict in eastern democratic republic of Congo. Joseph Kabila's government rests on '*cinq*' *chantiers* also known as five pillars, later on called *la revolution de la modernité* which is a plan for the reconstruction of the country in the sectors of infrastructure, health and education, water and electricity, housing and unemployment.¹²⁶

It is worth noting that since un sustainability in eastern Congo has been a result of conflicts, the most vital attempt to ensuring sustainability in the region has been through peace initiatives which were have been discussed above. While there continues to be ongoing conflicts in eastern Congo, the government recognizes the importance of this region towards ensuring economic growth in the country since it remains an attractive proposition to many investors who believe that it's a land where riches are quickly made. "The government has put policies to encourage foreign investments in the country. The DRC has reviewed its investment strategy by providing many incentives to potential investors."¹²⁷

Evidence of this is seen between 1998 to 2003, during the second Congo war, where the government signed sixty one mining contracts. The DRC not only adopted the Ghanaian mining code but also its own mining code considered by many as one of the best mining codes in the continent. The mining code of 2002 was under the sponsorship of the World Bank. This was followed by the mining regulation of 2003 that introduced liberalism in the mining sector. Despite the incentives of Kabila government to woo investors, there is

¹²⁶ Hans Hoebeke, "Kabila on Shaky Ground as DRC Turns 50: The Politics of Continuity?" *The African.Org*, February/March 2010

¹²⁷ Interview with Mr. Emmanuel Ali, Embassy of the democratic republic of Congo, Nairobi, July 27th 2013

evidence of contradictory signs from some of Kabila government policies that if not addressed would lower Congo as bait for investors.

The mining review, launched by the Congolese in 2007 is one such policy that has become a worry for investors. This policy was aimed at cleaning the corruption that had taken place in the mining sector by revoking mining licenses of investors as a means in r to increase revenue for the state. This was a horrifying experience for some companies as the time frame that was taken for the review was long. According to one of the governors, it was affecting the mining sector economically. “It’s a problem that this revisiting of contract has taken nearly a year. for the moment, it is frozen. Everyone is waiting for the review. Today the bankers do not want to give credit to miners, because the banks want to feel secure.”¹²⁸

The review finally led to illegal the shutting down of KingamnyamboMusonoi tailings (KMT) ,one of the largest investments in the country hence sending a negative signal to investors and questions their ability to protect foreign investors.¹²⁹ In April 2013 the government ordered copper companies to stop exporting since the country was going to process the minerals. This is despite the fact that the state lacks sufficient electricity to process its ore. As a result some companies have experienced a fall in their share trading.

One of the pillars of *la revolution de la modernite* is development in infrastructure. The government of DRC has signed an agreement with the republic of china in which China will invest nine billion US dollars in developing infrastructure including railway in exchange for access to Congolese minerals. However under pressure from the hegemonic powers, the deal was reduced to six million US dollars. China has so far built one kilometer road in Katanga

¹²⁸Hans Hoebeke, “Kabila On Shaky Ground As DRC Turns 50: The Politics Of Continuity?” *The African.Org*, February/March 2010

¹²⁹ibid

and north Kivu, two roads in Kinshasa and one hospital¹³⁰. Despite the benefits of infrastructure to the Congolese state, the future of this agreement is still bleak with the claims that China's Exim bank which was to protect the investors has withdrawn.

While the DRC health sector is considered one of the worst in the world, there have been attempts by the Kabila government to improve this sector. Although inadequate, the government has built health facilities in Congo to provide accessibility of health services. The presence of several governmental and nongovernmental organizations working in the region is a Crystal manifestation of Kabila's government willingness to complement its inadequacy in provision of health services. For instance, the government of DRC Congo has collaborated with the with the United States' government's Global health initiative.

The government also acknowledges the importance of herbal medicine in improving service delivery in the health care. The DRC government has allowed herbalist to practice traditional medicine. This to a great extent has allowed those who cannot access and buy modern medicine access health facilities at a lower cost. Besides, the herbal medicine has more advantages compared to conventional medicine as it has fewer side effects, a herb can sometimes cure more diseases than western medicine. This is besides claims that some herbal medicines cure diseases faster than conventional medicine.

President Kabila recognizes that children hold the destiny of Congo for generations to come. In one of his déclarations on the importance of children and the fact that the children suffer most during the conflict as it interferes with their rights to education, family, shelter , employment and eventually leaving them without hope. ,',¹³¹

¹³⁰Interview with Mr.Emmanuel Ali, Embassy of the democratic republic of Congo, Nairobi, July 27th 2013

¹³¹Ibid.

It is within this context that Kabila's new vision of la revolution de la modernité has embraced education as one of the sectors that his government is and will address. Due to the on-going conflict in eastern Congo, there is a considerable number of children who have dropped out of school. Some of these children, sometimes known as 'kadogo' sleep on the streets making them vulnerable to not only attacks, but as instruments of war by the rebel group. The government, in collaboration with United Nations international Children's Fund has come up with a policy of removing the children from the streets and providing both shelter and education.¹³²The government is also setting up technical colleges in an attempt to equip learners with skills for self-employment and to provide services to the Congolese economy .The notion of attracting investors to the country is also geared towards creating employment to the youth.

3.5 CONCLUSION

From the study, it is evident that the resource conflict in eastern democratic republic of Congo has had manifold effects on sustainable development in the DRC state. Evidence from the primary and secondary data used also portrays that this un sustainability continue to fuel conflicts in not only the state, but also The Great Lakes Region. It is also evident that despite attempts, the region, which is considered rich in minerals continues to be poor and the government also lacks enough resources to implement good policies aimed at implanting sustainable development in the state. Overcoming the negative effects of sustainable development will requires addressing the main issues arising from the conflict. Until these emerging issues are addressed at, it would be difficult to end un sustainability and hence the conflict.

¹³²Interview with Mr. Emmanuel Ali, Embassy of the democratic republic of Congo, Nairobi, July 27th 2013

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EFFECTS OF RESOURCE CONFLICTS ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN EASTERN DRC: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

Chapter three is based on the case study that is the effect of conflict on sustainable development. The chapter used both primary and secondary data to analyze how conflict has affected the environmental, economic and the social pillars of sustainable development. The chapter also discussed the attempts by Kabila's government to promote sustainable development. The conclusion from the study was that although there has been attempt by the government to promote sustainable development, these effort continues to be inadequate and unsustainable hence leading to the continued conflicts in the region.

This chapter is a scholarly analysis of the key issues that are emerging from the study, that is from chapter one to three. This chapter will give a detailed explanation and outlook on these issues to reinforce the importance of addressing them if sustainable development and solution to Eastern Congo conflict is to be reached. The issues to be addressed in this chapter are : poverty and sustainable development, women and conflict, the role of the United Nations with a special emphasis on the United Nations forces and poor implementation of sustainable development policies which continues to be a major obstacle towards attaining peace and sustainable development.

4.1 Emerging Issues

4.4.1 Poverty and Sustainable Development Efforts

Poverty and conflict are interwoven in DRC Congo and unsustainable development in Eastern DR C Congo particularly, is subject to many discourses and research in the past years all in attempt to find solutions to the political and humanitarian crisis. Historical, political,

ethnic speculative and economic factors have been linked to chronic poverty that has engulfed the region. It is therefore apparent that DRC Congo cannot attain sustainable development and stability without addressing underlying poverty dilemma that is afflicting Eastern DRC.

Numerous attempts have been made by the Congolese government and the international community towards eradicating conflict by creating an enabling environment for economic recovery but without a strong focus on poverty. The attempts, while emphasising on land conflict over resources fail to question the root causes. Poverty is a characteristic of a malfunctioning state hence any move towards building peace and sustainable development must focus on the root causes of poverty, which in essence is related to sustainable development as a whole. Poverty eradication is fundamental in restoring peace and also state authority on resources where armed groups challenge authority, and to boost development where a majority of stakeholder is looking for better conditions to secure their rights to natural resources. Poverty has continuously been used as an excuse to fuel human security violations. Due to poverty, many women are forced to often venture outside of safe zones to collect water or firewood, which puts them at greater risk of attack. It is also due to poverty that they are driven into working for rebels who end up abusing them.

Migration and artisanal mining

Migration is generally assumed to have not only an improving but also a deteriorating impact on the immigrants. In eastern DRC poverty has induced people to migrate to the mining sites in order to improve their livelihoods but this has in turn resulted in them becoming more impoverished and vulnerable. Economic disintegration, social flux, and resource plunder have resulted in the proliferation of mining sites with little or no respect for upholding

economic development or poverty eradication. State and non-state security forces and illegal armed groups take advantage of the lawlessness and levy illegal taxes on miners.¹³³

While artisanal miners are generally poorly paid in DRC Wages in North and South Kivu is much lower than in other provinces. In 2008 for example, miners in North Kivu, received between 1\$ and 5\$ a day.¹³⁴The estimated annual salary in cassiterite and coltan mines of North and South Kivu is 800\$, which was estimated to be a third of what artisanal miners received in western provinces.¹³⁵This salary received by the miners is always inadequate making it difficult for the miners to sustain their families. This is in addition to the high commodity prices that are associated with the remoteness and poor infrastructure that makes transportation difficult translating to the high commodity prices.

It is universally accepted that all employers aim at making maximum profits and that given an opportunity they would exploit and under pay their workers. It is within this regard that the United Nations consented to the formation of labour organisations and made it a right for all employees. The government of the democratic republic of Congo has recognised this in its constitution. Article fourteen of the Congolese constitution states that “All Congolese shall have the right to form trade unions, companies or other organisations or to freely become members thereof to promote their well-being and to ensure the defence of their social, economic and cultural interests, according to conditions stipulated by law.”¹³⁶

In eastern DRC, there is lack of bona fide trade unions since most trade unions fall short of active members as the employers and authorities apply the principle of divide and rule. The

¹³³N. Garrett, Walikale. Artisanal Cassiterite Mining and Trade in North Kivu, CASM, June 2008, p.12

¹³⁴ibid p.46

¹³⁵SIPRI, Artisanal Mining and Post-Conflict Reconstruction in the Democratic Republic of Congo, October 2009, pp. 1-2.

¹³⁶The Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Congo, article 41

performance of these unions appears to be relentlessly thwarted by self-interest and corruption and has not in actual fact helped to protect the rights of workers.¹³⁷

The result of this is reflected in the poor working conditions of artisanal miners where they work without basic safety equipment such as proper footwear, hard hats, and shielding eyewear and clothing, which often results in injuries. They also spend hours underground devoid of proper ventilation and landslides and cave ins of shafts which are frequent.¹³⁸

Migration also contributes to poverty as most immigrants forget their families hence leaving them to fend for themselves. According to UNICEF, this poverty has forced many children to drop out of school to help their parents to work in the mines. In country where there are many ignorant people, this poverty has also forced many to give their children into early marriages especially to the rebels.

A 2008 study meant to establish the levels of income and non-income child poverty, identified those most affected, identify strengths and weaknesses in development planning and policies, and propose areas of intervention .The study argues that poverty is affected by the household, the community dynamics and the institutional arrangements in relation to the child. Based on available information on these variables, indices was calculated to assess the incidence and intensity of poverty based on a monetary and deprivation approach. The study used a number of data sources: Survey 1-2-3 (2003), Multiple Indicators Clusters Survey (1995, 2001); the Demographic and Health Survey (2007); information on households from the National Survey on Housing and Socio-Economic Profiles (1999); and various socioeconomic data gathered by the Ministry of Planning, the Central Bank of Congo, economic forecasters, and bilateral and multilateral cooperation agencies. The study found

¹³⁷ International Trade Union Confederation .*2010 Annual Survey Of Violations Of Trade Unions Rights in Congo, Democratic Republic Of Congo*(2010

¹³⁸World Bank, *Democratic Republic of Congo. Growth with Governance in the Mining Sector*, May 2008, pp. 58-59.

that compared to the national poverty threshold level, the proportion of poor children is 56.6% while compared to the international poverty threshold level, and this proportion is 76.6%.

There were significant disparities between children in terms of poverty. Poverty is higher in rural areas seventy six point seventy two percent than urban areas with sixty one point four nine percent. this increases over the age of 15 and when the households contain more than seven People, decreases with increasing levels of parental education – from eighty four point nine percent where the household head is illiterate, to seventy six point seven percent where the household head has attended an educational institution. This report was confirmed by the Humphreys report that did a survey on south Kivu and Katanga districts. The report revealed that living conditions are very poor, both as measured by outcomes and as measured by access to services. Housing conditions are basic with over eighty percent of the sample surveyed living in houses constructed of mud or (unbaked) mud bricks. The typical household has to walk forty minutes to reach drinking water. Forty two percent of the sample has had no access to education while eleven percent had suffered from severe sickness over the two weeks.¹³⁹

Save the children maintains that most rural house-holds rely on food from their harvests which most of them cannot afford to sell as it is the major source of income. Poor households in Bwito and Rutshuru however rely on market exchange in addition to labour exchange. Poverty has made it impossible for the poor to save for other basic needs like health and education since eighty five percent of the total income is spent on food.¹⁴⁰ Lack of basic education due to Poverty has resulted in ignorance and illiteracy that shelter illiterate and

¹³⁹Humphreys, M. *Community-Driven Reconstruction in the Democratic Republic of Congo: Baseline Report*(Columbia University, 2008) p.23

¹⁴⁰Save the Children (UK), *Update Of The Household Economy Analysis Of The Rural Population Of The Plateaux Zone, Masisi, North Kivu, Democratic Republic Of Congo*, Save the Children UK – DRC Programme(2003)

ignorant citizens who don't comprehend the implications of human rights violations. This is in addition to the fact that the Congolese government has not put in place strict measures to ensure that every child is enrolled in school. It can also be attributed to the failure of the government to provide basic education on human rights awareness and to imprison the violators. Consequently, conflict in the region also has become an impediment to education as children are forced to stop their education as they flee to safer zones.

Most people are not aware of institutions that aim at upholding human rights and what the universal declaration of human rights entails. This has sustained the cycle of poverty and unsustainable development since if they do not go to school, then human rights abuses continue. It also means that those who do not go through education are likely not to take their children to school and their children too may follow pursuit. Children who drop out of school become targets of rebel groups hence were ensuring the continuity of the conflict as they do not only fight but also create revenue for the rebels by working in the mining sites. This allows the rebels to purchase arms. Others engage in crimes all of which becomes an impediment to sustainable development.

There is need for more funds to be allocated for poverty eradication programmes since the Congolese conflict has had a spill neighbourhood effect. These funds will not only aim at improving livelihoods of the natives of Eastern Congo but also provision of basic necessities in the refugee camps in neighbouring countries.

4.4.2 Women and the Conflict

There is significant increase in awareness in the sustainable development field that traditional practices concerning the identity and the role of women continues to be a major setback to attaining sustainable development in Africa. The negative norms that inhibit the contribution and the enjoyment of women rights are further catalyzed during armed conflict

hence leading to the notion that sexual violence and conflict is collateral. The conflict in eastern Congo has proved right this notion seen in the numerous violations of women's rights.

Sexual violence

Eastern Congo has been referred to by many as the capital of rape in the world. Sexual and gender-based violence is increasingly becoming a defining characteristic of this resource conflict. Women and girls are sexually abused in their own homes and at their workspace, including, fields, forests and remote mining sites where laws and rules are often disrespected and poor work and social conditions prevail. Estimates show that there are about 200,000 cases of rape that have been reported since the onset of the two Congolese wars. The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) concluded that more than 8000 cases of sexual violence took place yearly in 2009 and 2010 in Eastern DRC. This however could be less than the number of cases that have not been reported.¹⁴¹

The culture of sexual violence is catalysed by both the rebels and the Congolese soldiers who have made it their sole responsibility to ensure that this degrading act ceases to stop.

This rape has become so rampant that it has evolved and acquired different forms. Sexual violence is sometimes accompanied by gang rape, genital mutilation, rape in the presence of family members, and rape in public places, rape with instruments, looting and attack of whole villages.¹⁴² The culture of rape does not discriminate the victims range from both young and old women, those wealthy and poor.

¹⁴¹UNFPA. Statistics on sexual violence incidents in North Kivu in 2010,

¹⁴²Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, Characterizing Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo, August 2009, p. 16

There is no gainsaying that sexual violence is the worst form of violence that a woman can experience in her life time. Rape may lead to both psychological and sometimes mental problems that may eventually lead to committing suicide. In cases where the woman conceives, the child remains a constant reminder of the ordeal. The end result is always the neglect of the child by the parents and sometimes physical abuse. This leads to the denial of children's rights. Other consequences of rape include the contraction of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted facilities especially from the armed groups, high cases of teenage pregnancies among others being left by their husbands and stigmatisation. This, accompanied by lack of enough health facilities and counsellors impedes suffering. In places like Bitama, one has to cover sixty two kilometres in order to access the averagely equipped hospital of Masisi. This has led to death of so many women especially those with birth complications. One of the consequences of rape is that it has also led to economic underdevelopment in the region. In eastern Congo, just like the rest of Africa, women work twice as hard as men and are responsible for providing for their families. As a result of rape, some women are afraid of going out to the fields to engage in agricultural activities hence acting as an impediment to economic unsustainability.

Consequently the conflict has also led to forced marriages. The rebels have for instance been accused of taking women as their concubines and at the same time forcefully taking young girls into marriage. "Soldiers came in and pulled off all our clothes... they took us to the forest with them. They became our 'husbands' just by having sex with us."¹⁴³ apart from the minors, migrant miners also take wives and concubines for themselves. the belief that proceeds from the mining industry are more compared to other sources of livelihood forces male heads of families to migrate to such areas leaving their wives behind.

¹⁴³IPIS interview, Search for Common Ground, Goma, 4 October 2011.

Conflict and livelihood

The conflict has left women as the heads of their households. This is majorly due to the fact that their husbands have gone to the battle fields to fight either as rebels or against the rebels, have migrated to the mining regions while some due to poverty have simply neglected their families. Upholding this task however continues to be demanding as it requires a lot of sacrifice. For instance some women living in mining sites have been compelled to engage in prostitution as it is a quick way of earning money. According to IPS, miners spend chunks of their income on prostitutes although sometimes however they refused to pay for the services rendered.¹⁴⁴ The average ages of those who practice prostitution are between eighteen to thirty five years. Since prostitution in most cases occurs in entertainment joints like restaurants and pubs, most young people are lured into prostitution by older ladies who own this joint with the promise of employment. Poverty has forced majority of them to complement their meagre earnings from their employment with prostitution. Prostitution of minors is further fuelled by the demand of young girls due to the belief that sex with young girls is a source of wealth and virility.¹⁴⁵ For instance it is believed that if a man has sex with a Batwa woman, the man will not only be shielded from bullets, but his spinal cord will not be broken and if he is HIV positive, he will be cured. If he eats a Batwa woman or child he will be strengthened.¹⁴⁶

A study carried out by Sonke gender justice and network in collaboration with prom undo, a Brazilian nongovernmental organisation in Goma, one third of men admitted committing sexual violence. Two thirds of men interviewed accepted the notion that women who are raped have provoked it by their attitude. Majority of men did not believe that forced sex with

¹⁴⁴Pact, Contributing Towards a Post-Conflict Transition in the DRC: Addressing the Security of Artisanal Mining Women in Katanga and Orientale Provinces, pp. 14-95.

¹⁴⁵Ibid. p.8.

¹⁴⁶Women for women. "Ending violence against women in Congo: Preparing men to advocate for women's rights. 2007.

their spouses is not wrong while another quarter believe that women can be forced into sex and end up enjoying it. One interesting example is the confession of a forty year old man who said that a girl entered his shop and requested for water. The man however interpreted this as a request for sex. He therefore took her in the middle of the shop and had sex with her. He believes that the girl liked it because “her body accepted him to enter”¹⁴⁷

Apart from prostitution, women also practice contract relationships also known as *kufanyandoaku carrier* which is relationship based on provision of some of the revenue from the mine to the woman in exchange for sexual favours. When this occurs, the man’s wife who was left behind hardly receives any revenue and is forced to solely provide for the family. Still some women in an attempt to uphold their dignity engage in manual labour in the mining sites. In both south and North Kivu, approximately thirty to forty percent of women are engaged in the mining sector as minor labours. They are engaged in manual transportation of minerals, crushing, washing and sorting of ores. The patriarchal nature of the mining industry inhibits women from engaging in primary mining yet according to the Congolese mining code, any Congolese who is capable is allowed to work in the mining sector¹⁴⁸. In Kamituga, the women who crush Gold bearing rocks, also known as ‘Twangeuses’ are underpaid compared to their male counterparts. On average, their daily earning is less than a dollar per day, yet they are expected to use the amount to provide for their families¹⁴⁹. The dust from the mines also interferes with their health.

In eastern DRC women, livelihoods are also important in preventing domestic violence. Husbands hardly beat their wives when they come back home and find that there is food in the house. This only becomes possible when the women have a source of livelihood.

¹⁴⁷The Guardian .One third of Congolese Men admit committing sexual violence. 24,2013.

¹⁴⁸Article 26 of the Mining Code, Law number 007/2002.

¹⁴⁹Ibid pg 93

Sexual Violence in eastern DRC is further fuelled by the low number of unreported cases .a considerable number of women are not ready to report cases to the police for fear of being raped by the police, the perpetrators sometimes bribe the guards and are left to walk freely while sometimes it is the very police that they are expected to report to that they are victims of. For the few women and young girls who do get the opportunity to publicly identify their rapists, prosecutions are slow to non-existent, and reprisal attacks against the victim and/or her family are common. This is further promoted by the weak judicial system, hence , although Congolese laws exist to protect such sexual and other forms of gender abuse, the corrupt nature of the judicial system has made it impossible to implement the laws.

Women and Peace Building in Eastern DRC

Women's views are not considered by men since they are considered as children. This is despite the fact that women are not only victims of conflict, but they are either directly or indirectly involved in perpetrating conflict. "In our customs, we have popularly held notions like 'women always think like children,' and 'they never mature beyond 14 years.'" The above sentiments are a clear indication of the state of women in the Congolese society. For instance, women use their convincing power to influence their husbands and sons to stop conflict hence playing a role in restoration of peace. During wars, the women remain behind to take care of the families hence assuring their husbands of the continuity of the family. This gives them a reason to fight in the war to attain justice not only for themselves but also for their children. Women are also involved in preparation of food and performing other basic services for rebels to ensure that they live comfortably. All these factors promote the continuity of conflict. To develop effective sustainable development strategy in Eastern DRC will require the involvement of women. In essence, mobilizing women as agents of sustainable peace in DRC will demand the recognition of the power women have to not only challenge the thoughts but also the attitudes of men.

Although the DRC constitution recognizes the importance of women in the society, women are under-represented in leadership positions. The power to influence comes from leadership posts. Leadership provides a forum to air voices of the marginalized through institutions like parliament. Despite the fact that women represent over fifty percent of the total population of DRC, they comprise less than forty percent of Kabila's government making it difficult for the opinions to be heard. There is no gainsaying therefore that Kabila's promise of promoting the welfare of women remains to be theoretical.

Moving forward towards finalizing sustainable peace development is gender sensitive as it demands the realization of women's participation in the process. There is no denying that one of the failures of sustainable peace in Eastern DRC is the lack of involvement of women in the negotiations process. Peace negotiations on DRC do not involve women and even when they attend such forums, they are exempted from the real negotiation process yet the inclusion of women's ideas in sustainable conflict resolution serves to link peace missionaries with the realities on the ground. For instance women were not represented during the first peace negotiations. This left a feeling of insecurity especially because these same rebels are the same ones that had been involved in sexual violence.

Despite the lack of government support, there is an array of hope for women in Eastern DRC. The existence of nongovernmental organizations and other women initiatives are not only trying to empower women economically, but also act as a forum to air their grievances. Some of these organizations like women for women have also offered education to men to change their perception on women and to fight for the rights of women. If men change the negative attitudes towards women, then the culture of sexual violence will cease. Another women initiatives actively involved in empowering women is the United Nations women (UNIFEM). UNIFEM has advocated for the representation of women in peace

initiatives. For instance, UNIFEM supported women to attend the Sun City dialogue which was held in South Africa. UNIFEM was able to provide guidance to the five commissions that was set up on how women's needs would be taken into account.

This initiative led to the drafting of the Congolese women's declaration and action plan indicating recommendations for the peace process.¹⁵⁰ In addition to the initiatives of UNIFEM, the United Nations Security Council also made a resolution 1325 that called for all parties of armed conflict to recognize the role of women in peace building and also offer protection from sexual violence. It "Calls upon all parties to armed conflict to respectfully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls, especially as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court."¹⁵¹

In conclusion there is need for targeted economic development programs that help women such training in micro loans to support their economic well-being, provision of guidance and counseling services since exposure to prolonged violence and poverty has not only led to health but also mental health problems. According to a survey carried by women for women, seventy percent of women who make more than one dollar per day think of hurting themselves. There are now a critical window of opportunity for ensuring that Congolese women are actively included in their country's reconstruction. Yet, without concentrated

¹⁵⁰ Reliefweb, July 2013

¹⁵¹ United Nations Security Council. Resolution 1325(2000) adopted by the Security Council on 31st October 2000

attention to the patterns of inequality and discrimination against women, international efforts to promote sustainable development in Congo will continue to be futile.

4.4.3 The Role of the United Nations

The mandate of the United Nations Charter is to maintain and ensure world peace. This mandate however is becoming a major failure to the United Nations with eastern Congo acting as a theatre to test the effectiveness of the United Nations to uphold its mandate. The United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo also known as MONUC, is the largest United Nations peace keeping mission in the world with an estimated eighteen thousand ,six hundred and six uniformed workforce and a vast network of volunteers, buildings, vehicles, offices and infrastructure across the country. In the conflict stricken eastern DRC, the sight of the United Nations vehicles, tents and offices are a familiar sight that they have become part and parcel of eastern Congo. Some would therefore find the idea of the withdrawal of the UN forces in Eastern DRC unthinkable one. Yet despite all these there have been by not only the Congolese government but also the natives of eastern Congo asking for the withdrawal of the United Nations forces. For instance, in 2010,the Congolese minister of communications and media Mr. Lambert declared that “The government of the democratic republic of Congo believes it will be in a position to go it alone without the United Nations in the next two years.”¹⁵²

In July 2010, eastern region of the DRC witnessed the largest mass rape ever recorded in history of conflict since and after the Second World War. This mass rape occurred within a four-day period, whereby rebel groups not only terrorized but also sexually assaulted over 500 women. The amount of violence shocked local doctors, and initial reports described the

¹⁵²Institute for security studies .The African.org:Kabila on shaky ground as DRC turns fifty issue(2010)12

numbers as “defying belief.”¹⁵³ This happened despite the presence of the United Nations in eastern DRC. The general assumption has been that the presence of the United Nations in any given region or conflict should be a safe haven for the inhabitants.

The United Nations also has the ability to provide for adequate leaders within each Peacekeeping group. Furthermore, the United Nations possesses the means to provide each peacekeeping group with communication devices. The United Nations did not employ any of these methods prior to July 2010. Rather, U.N. peacekeepers located twenty miles from the scene of the mass rape were unaware of the events until one week later. Some peacekeepers never had training in protecting civilians; others chose not to patrol areas when on duty. Others who patrolled were not keen enough to notice the habitats of the rebels.

Consequently the United Nations has been slow in adopting policies aimed at curbing this crime. For example the UN only recognised rape as a war crime in 2008. Prior to this there was resolution 1325 which allowed the perpetrators of rape to walk freely. It is worth noting that despite several attempts by the UN to stop rape in eastern Congo this crime still continues to date. The United Nations once again failed to provide security to this marginalized group.

A second failure of the United Nations MONUC has been the inability to get rid of the rebels despite the fact that they have been there for decades. In 2008, MONUC was incapable of preventing a new rebellion that had sprung. This is in spite of receiving reinforcements and the six battalions stationed in Goma. MONUC has combat helicopters and armoured vehicles while the M23 only has infantry troops. In 2009, the CNDP had 5,276 soldiers. In 2012, the M23 has five times fewer soldiers. Yet despite all this MONUC has not been able to protect M23 from terrorizing the natives of eastern Congo. It is worth noting that in an earlier report,

¹⁵³Lindsey Hilsum, *Abused Village Women Speak Out for Justice in “the Rape Capital of the World,”* GUARDIAN (Oct. 13, 2010) PG 15

MONUC had complained of lack of enough peace keeping personnel and resources as an obstacle to their success.

In May 2012 in the village of The FDLR rebel discussed in earlier chapters massacred civilians in Mijembe in South Kivu, 3km away from a MONUC base. In retort to MONUC's inaction, the people demonstrated against UN peacekeepers.¹⁵⁴ The outcome of this failure was the preference by the rural folks to pay the militias for protection especially in regions where there is only the presence of MONUC.¹⁵⁵ This is because for a long time it failed to have refused to using force against the militias to protect the natives despite its allowance in the UN charter and its use t by the militia against the people. In July 2013, history repeated itself when M23 attacked the city of Goma killing a few people under the watch of the United Nations. This again led to a demand by the Congolese for the withdrawal of MONUC.

In an attempt to restore peace in Eastern DRC, MONUC was able to negotiate peace with the FARC by intergrading them in the national Congolese army leading to the formation of the FARDC. This indicatives robust posture complicated other aspects of attaining peace as the FARDC was accused of reprisal killings while at the same time the idea instilled fear especially hence denial of justice to those who were previously their victims .besides this, the UN forces were also accused of abusing human rights ,which was their mandate.

The above failures have raised questions of who the United Nations is and what her mission in eastern is Congo is about. Most Congolese and other Africans have different answers to this question. To some MONUC are just a bunch of military tourists who have come to

¹⁵⁴“RDC: 11 casques bleus de la MONUC blessés à Kamananga”, Radio Okapi, 14 May 2012. “Voici l’oeuvre des FDLR INTERAHAMWE rwandais dans la Paroisse ‘YESU MSHINDAJI’ de BUNYAKIRI en territoire de KALEHE, Province du Sud-Kivu à l’Est de la RDCongo”, Diocesan Justice and Peace Commission, Bukavu.

¹⁵⁵Interview with MR. Emmanuel Ali, Embassy of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Nairobi, July 27th 2013

explore and witness the war in Eastern Congo¹⁵⁶. While some Congolese argue that the UN forces are civilian with no major interest in Eastern DRC but are out to make an income for themselves through the thousands of dollars that they receive as compensation,¹⁵⁷ others think they are just but instruments used by the united nations security council to hide their objective as they continue using Rwanda as an instrument to plunder Congolese resources. For instance, despite the United Nations findings that Rwanda and Uganda were plundering Congolese resources, no strict sanctions have been imposed on these countries and especially Rwanda which the DRC has on several occasions raised concerns over.

In conclusion, although the United Nations has continues to face challenges in restoring peace in the region, there is no gainsaying that it has failed through its methodologies of resolving conflicts. It also continues to waste a lot of international resources to pay the blue helmets that have been a disappointment to the Congolese. This raises the question of whether it is now the right time for these forces to live which to some is unthinkable. The answer to this question however is clear to the Congolese government who currently are mobilizing African forces from their friends in an attempt to find a lasting solution to this tragedy.

4.4.4 Poor Implementation of Sustainable Development Policies in DRC

Travesty in implementation of Peace agreements

Attempts by the Congolese government to restore peace in eastern DRC led to a military integration agreement on twenty third march 2009. This agreement was facilitated by Benjamin Mkapa, then Tanzanian president, Olesgun Obasanjo who was the president of Nigeria, the Nationa Congress For the Defense of the People, CNDP and

¹⁵⁶Yoweri Musevenis speech after the attack of the city of Goma in July 2013. available at www.telegraph.co.uk/news/world-news/africaandindianocean/democraticrepublicofcongo/973209/ugandas-president-launches-attack-on-UN-over-Congo-Military-tourism.html accessed on 23 August 2013

¹⁵⁷Interview with MR. Emmanuel Ali, Embassy of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Nairobi, July 27th 2013

the Congolese government. The CNDP would be incorporated into the army and the police, and at the same time transform into a political party and complete the necessary legal formalities to that end. In response, the government was to release the political prisoners, set reconciliation and amnesty.¹⁵⁸ It further stated that the government “Undertakes to create a ministerial structure responsible for national security, local affairs and reconciliation. If no distinct Ministry is created, all of the subjects mentioned above must clearly be taken into account in the definition of a same ministry’s responsibilities.”¹⁵⁹

Both parties however failed to this agreement. The government pretended to integrate the CNDP while those who were integrated in the army used the opportunity to harass civilians. The failure of this integration by the government led to the formation of M23.¹⁶⁰ A rebel group that continues to raise havoc in the country. The CNDP have argued that despite being accorded the status of apolitical party, the government took baby steps towards political integration but instead designated CNDPS traditional leaders in the provincial assembly on 22 December 2009 although preceding this there had been two ministerial reshuffles. This move was seen as a violation of the peace argument by the CNDP now M23¹⁶¹.

Moreover the cancellation of election results of Masisi, a strong hold of CNDP further aggravated this grievance. This election was to be the marking point of CNDP’s official entry to parliament. Other grievances that have been aired by the M23is that amnesty and reconciliation was never fully implemented. This became an impediment for the peace process since a sustainable peace process becomes successful through reconciliation. Integration of CNDP troops also became a major issue due to lack of clearness from the

¹⁵⁸DRC. *Agreement between the government and le congres international pour la defense de peuple(CNDP)*.(Goma,march 2009)

¹⁵⁹Ibid.Article 4

¹⁶⁰Crisis Group interview, M23 members, Bunagana, 15 July 2012.

¹⁶¹Ibid

government. The dispute revolved around the number of deployed CNDP forces who were a few according to the CNDP, the fact that they were allocated lower ranks and the reluctance on the part of the government to formally recognize their ranks. CNDP officers revolted by refusing to wear their uniforms. The Congolese government had one other distorting grievance brought by the FARDC members who expressed concern over the command posts given to the Tutsi and Hutus. This ended with a threat to mutiny in September 2011. All the above issues plus the influx of refugees from Rwanda leading to land conflicts¹⁶² provided a theatre for another conflict which is still ongoing and is increasingly becoming an obstacle to sustainable development.

Factors contributing to poor policy implementation

Bureaucratic Corruption

One of the factors that have led to poor economic growth of eastern DRC is the corruption that is practiced by the government officials which has spill-over effects. Corrupt officials export their activities by extending their influence on other public officials. These corrupt practices in future hinder development as with time the public officials solicit individuals for bribes. With time this becomes a culture hence reducing the amount of government revenue. A good example has been the mining sector. The Congolese soldiers have been accused by the natives of forming alliances with the rebels to exploit the resources. According to some Congolese the same soldiers, the same soldiers demand for payment in order to be allowed to engage in mining activities. In businesses there are high costs of operation which sometimes leads to losses hence discouraging others from engaging in the same. As a result Congolese informal has become dominant.

¹⁶²International Displacement Monitoring“ Land, power and identity. Roots of violent conflict in Eastern DRC”, 15 November 2010

Spill over effects is another factor that has been an obstacle to sustainable development. The United Nations panel of experts report on illegal exploitation of Congolese resources indicated that countries that were involved in conflict in Congo were more interested in Congolese resources. This has been discussed in the previous chapter. The involvement of these states has complicated attempts by Congolese government to exercise authority over their minerals and the mining sector. The report pointed out that states like Rwanda have been involved in supporting rebels who are responsible for plundering resources. In addition to this, the current Asian through Chinese investment in DRC also raises questions of how much minerals the Chinese government is likely to be offered and whether they will adhere with the agreement. China currently has been accused of going against sanctions in pursuit of natural resources. With the growing industrialisation in china, there is a high likelihood that logging will still continue and plundering of minerals may fail to cease. This is also likely to lead to strained relationships between Congo and other states like the United States who have the same interest and are anti-Asian domination.

Although DRC is the rich in terms of resources, it is one of the poorest in the world. As result of the conflict Congolese government lacks funds to fully implement its policies. According to a report issued by World Bank and the international monetary fund in 2010, the DRC attained the rank of one of the heavily indebted poor countries. In response to this, the Breton woods institutions lifted this debt by twelve point three billion US dollars and also allocated resources for development. There is no gainsaying that despite the poor governance, DRC has come up with some of the best policies that if implemented would boost sustainable. Among these are the mining policies, Kabila's development pillars amongst others.

4.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has analysed some of the major issues that have come up from the study that need to be critically addressed to ensure sustainability. Some of these issues have received very little recognition from not only the local government but also the international society thus addressing these issues would require both local and international support since the DRC government not only lacks the political drive to implement the policies, but its efforts to implement these policies seem to be hindered by failure to address unsustainable issues by the global community.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary

Chapter one set out to find the relationship between resource conflict and sustainable development. The study explored the research problem with an objective of finding out and showing the different meanings and understanding that has been given by different scholars on sustainable development on the relationship between conflict and sustainable development. The final conclusion hypothesised by the study was that the conflict in eastern DRC has been catalysed by the availability of natural resources.

Chapter two gave a historical overview of the resource conflict in Eastern DRC by tracing the origin of the first Congo war from pre-colonial era under king Leopold, Eastern Congo under colonisation, at independence and after independence by focussing on the three major regimes. Under the regimes the study discussed how land laws and politics played a major role in fuelling conflict in Eastern DRC and how the different policies and structures of Belgium later on became a determinant in Eastern DRC conflict .This chapter confirmed that natural resources have been a major source of conflict from the colonial times but was further aggravated by greed of different regimes and actors. The conclusion made was that the involvement of many actors plus weak governance accompanied by greed had negatively affected sustainable development in Eastern DRC.¹⁶³

Chapter three discussed the effects of this conflict on sustainable development. The chapter found out that resource conflict had negative effects on sustainable development. It also found out that the negative effects of un sustainability were also acting as conflict catalyst hence resulting in the cyclic nature of the conflict. The chapter also looked at the different

¹⁶³See Chapter Two

minerals found in Eastern DRC and a conclusion was made that all these resources have not been spared by the looters especially timber and cobalt that are necessary for industries and the mobile phone industry.

Chapter four was a critical analysis of emerging issues from the previous chapters. The issues analysed were the status of women in eastern DRC, migration and poverty, the failure of the United Nations peace keeping force and poor implementation of policies on sustainable development. The findings from this study revealed that oppression of women through sexual violence had made eastern DRC a rape capital .Women were also left to take care of the households by the men and were to a great extent contributing to the sustainability of violence. It was also observed that the failure by the government to involve women was become an impediment to sustainable peace process.

5.2 Key Findings

One of the key findings is that the conflict in Eastern DRC is complicated in nature as it involves multiple actors who were and are still involved in the conflict either directly or indirectly. Hence analysing conflict in DRC and attempts to restore peace should involve all these actors as they are capable of fuelling peace in the region. This should lead to policy recommendations that will not only address all these actors, but also will be comprehensive and inclusive.

This study also found out that the availability of natural resources alone does not lead to conflict which in turn threatens sustainability. This is because the existence of minerals in other countries like Tanzania and South Africa has not led to the massacres and unsustainability in all these countries. Unsustainable development and conflict occurs as a result of social evils like tribalism, corruption, predation from external actors as a result of weak political institutions among others. This has promoted the loot ability of these resources

and at the same time become a major obstacle in addressing the social pillar of sustainable development.

The Congolese policy of incorporating rebels into the army has not helped in promoting sustainable development.¹⁶⁴ On the contrary it has increased un sustainability as the perpetrators of violence have adopted a false sense of security that there would always be amnesty. This means that restoring security in the region and all sustainable peace efforts should apply legal measures in addressing those who have violated human rights. This will give the citizens a sense of security and at the same time discourage future violations.¹⁶⁵

Finally the study has unearthed the issue of spill over effect of conflict which has led to un sustainability and threatens the organization of African Union both during the first and the second Congolese war. This un sustainability has led to increased environmental degradation and un sustainability in a region that has great potential for growth due to its vast natural resources.

The study has concluded that natural resource based conflict affects sustainable development as they both are complementary. This is in agreement with the United Nations idea that peace and security provides an environment for sustainable growth. With this regard, the methodologies used in addressing conflict in Eastern DRC have to address sustainable development issues, good governance and the management of resources. Furthermore, the international community needs to recognise that failure to address un sustainability in eastern Congo threatens sustainability in the whole world.

¹⁶⁴ See The 2002 Inter-Congolese Dialogue

¹⁶⁵ See Chapter Two

5.3 Recommendations

The first recommendation is that the blue helmets should be equipped with skills on fighting militia groups as it has failed on several occasions to offer protection. There should be strict measures put in place by the United Nations to prevent incidences of human rights abuse. This will restore the people's confidence in them. There should also be a transparent investigation on the accusation that Rwanda is currently fuelling militia activities in the region. If found guilty there should be negative sanctions imposed on it as a state. The government also needs to clean its forces to avoid cases of collaboration with the militia.¹⁶⁶ All these will create a cooperative environment which may encourage people to report militia activities in the region. It may also prevent the springing up of local groups that spring up in the name of offering protection to the native who later on become rebels. Peace initiatives and forums should be created at village levels to promote reconciliation and ease tension between and among communities.

Although the United Nations has sought to end sexual crimes through the promulgation of article 1820, in 2008, there is need to end sexual violence,¹⁶⁷ methods taken should be fully implemented in order to obtain positive results. First of all there is need for a public campaign against sexual violence where the entire stakeholders are involved. Men should be encouraged to live with their families since it is the neglect of homes that leave women without any form of security hence making them vulnerable to attacks and rape by even the non-rebels. Women should also be sensitised on their rights since according to the finding in the study, most women are not aware of their rights. Economic empowerment of women through issuing of loans, training on basic business skills and other income generating skills including

¹⁶⁶See Chapter Three

¹⁶⁷United Nations Security Council Resolution 1820 Of 19th June 2008

technical colleges are important so that women get a source of livelihood and are not exposed to rape and sexual exploitation in the mines.¹⁶⁸

The government should encourage foreign investments in the field of healthcare and also other nongovernmental organizations by creating a peaceful environment. More medical personnel should be trained in order to serve the growing demand of their services. They should also be helped to acquire values of helplessness and saving life to avoid the fear of working in these areas. Basic public education on health and especially first aid should be offered to the natives of eastern DRC while the literate ones can also benefit from books like “where there is no doctor”. Since the conflict has psychological effects on the victims, there is need for free counselling sessions especially for the victims of rape and former rebels so that they can blend with the community. More HIV centres need to be built especially in eastern Congo.

Conflict resolution needs the authorities to prosecute perpetrators of war crimes, implement the governance reforms defined a long time ago, open up political space for legitimate actors and sanction foreign intervention since intergrading them in the government possess more threats to human security. Companies that take advantage of resources in war-torn areas should have a responsibility to protect the inhabitants of those areas. Transit countries can also set out rules on the origin of the natural resources.

The international community and regional organizations in Africa need to be united in realizing the effectiveness of sanctions. This ought to be done without discrimination as some states like Rwanda and Uganda who are involved in the conflict leading to a feeling of favouritism mistrust in the security council especially by the DRC citizens hence sowing

¹⁶⁸Institute For Security Studies. Women And Peace Building. South Africa: 2008, p.6

seeds of mistrust in of the security council concern over Congo. Some of the multinational companies from these states have also been accused of the same.

Currently there are calls by certain scholars to include culture as the fourth pillar of sustainable development. This call may receive recognition in the future since sustainable development operates in an environment and part of the environment is the society. There is also a dearth of literature on how the conflict has affected the Congolese culture. It would therefore be interesting to attempt a study in this field. Similarly, since the country is well endowed with resources, attempts should be made to analyse to what extent Congo can be a solution to poverty eradication in Africa.

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