CONFLICT RESOLUTION FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO:

A Practical Theological Perspective

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Declaration

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Abstract

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is second to Algeria as the largest country in Africa in terms of size. The country and is exponentially rich in both natural resources and wild life. However, the country is classed among the poorest of the world and it also has a long history of conflicts. Conflict and development are interconnected and, in the case of the DRC, the state of the country's poverty may find its explanation in the long history of conflicts. This, in turn, creates potentials for conflicts. The DRC has an estimated 90 per cent of Christian followers despite being officially a secular country.

Although there is a significant amount of literature on the subject of conflict resolution and development on the DRC, this study focuses on the role of the church in conflict resolution and its efforts in promoting sustainable development; this, from a theological perspective. The study, therefore, explores the history of the DRC and that of the Great Lakes Region in order to understand the Congolese crisis, which has national, regional and international connotations.

Development and conflict theories are, therefore, developed for a better understanding of the subject under investigation and the interrelationship between the two is argued within the context of the DRC and the broader African continent. The theological concept of *shalom* is here explored in order to reflect on how the church could be involved in conflict resolution and sustainable development. An argument is made that the biblical concept of *shalom* is holistic. From various historical records, it is noted that the church has always been involved in the day to day life in the DRC. The research shows that the church and its leadership have not done enough to see *shalom* established in the DRC despite the many opportunities they have been given to do so from the colonial era up to this day. The research, ultimately, makes recommendations to the church in order to promote identified Kingdom values for the establishment of *shalom,* which leads to the resolution of the conflict and the implementation of sustainable development. Finally, a peace-building model that focuses on hope, healing, forgiveness and reconciliation is proposed to resolve the conflict and bring about sustainable development in the DRC.

Opsomming

Die Demokratiese Republiek van die Kongo (DRK) is die tweede grootste land in Afrika na Algerië en is ryk in natuurlike hulpbronne. Alhoewel die land nie amptelik 'n Christelike nasie is nie, is 90 persent van die bevolking Christen. Maar, die land word geklassifiseer as een van die armste in die wêreld en dit het 'n lang geskiedenis van konflik. Konflik en ontwikkeling word verbind aan mekaar en in die geval van die DRK kan die toestand van die land se armoede toegeskryf word aan die geskiedenis van konflik, en terselfde tyd veroorsaak dit die potensiaal vir konflik.

Alhoewel daar 'n gewigtige hoeveelheid literatuur oor konflik oplossing en ontwikkeling aangaande die Demokratiese Republiek van die Kongo (DRK) bestaan, fokus hierdie navorsing op die rol van die kerk en sy leierskap in konflik oplossing en volhoubare ontwikkeling vanaf 'n teologiese perspektief. Dit verken dus die geskiedenis van die DRK en Groot Mere Streek om die Kongolese krisisse te verstaan, aangesien dit aangeteken word dat die krisisse nasionale, streeks en internasionale konnotasies het.

Ontwikkelings en konflik teoriëe is dus ontwikkel vir 'n beter begrip van die onderwerp wat ondersoek word en die verhouding tussen die twee word geredeneer in die konteks van Kongo en die wyer kontinent van Afrika. Die teologiese konsep van *shalom* word dan verken om na te dink oor hoe die kerk en sy leierskap moet (en kan) betrokke wees by konflik oplossing en volhoubare ontwikkeling. *Shalom* is alomvattend en is die werk van God, wie mense nooi na hom beide binne en buite die kerk. Vanaf verskeie opgeskrewe gebeurtenisse is dit duidelik dat die kerk nog altyd betrokke was in die daaglikse lewe in die DRK. Die navorsing wys dat die kerk en sy leierskap nie genoeg gedoen het om *shalom* te vestig in die DRK nie, ten spyte van vele geleenthede wat hulle gegun is vanaf koloniale tye tot vandag.

Die navorsing maak op die ou end aanbevelings na die kerk en sy leierskap vir die bevordering van geïdentifiseerde Koningrykswaardes vir die vestiging van *shalom,* wat sal lei tot die oplossing van die konflik en die toepassing van volhoubare ontwikkeling.

Laastens word 'n vredebouende model voorgestel wat fokus op hoop, genesing, vergifnis en versoening om die konflik op te los en om volhoubare ontwikkeling in werking te stel in die Demokratiese Republiek van die Kongo.

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First of all, I thank the Almighty God for his grace that has sustained me and my family during the course of the program. To him be the glory, the honour and the power in the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

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Kasongo wa Kumutombo Didier

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to

Madeleine Kasongo and Godans Kasongo

For their limitless love, encouraging companionship that has sustained me through the years,

As well as

Robert James Dau and Penelope Joy Dau

For being respectively a brother and father, a sister and mother to me, personally, and to my family in general

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Abbreviations

A.D.   : Anno Domini (After Death)

ABAKO   : Association de Bakongo

AFDL   : Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération (du Congo)

AICs   : African Independent Churches

ANC   : Armée Nationale Congolaise

AU   : African Union

B.C.   : Before Christ

BALUBAKAT   : Baluba du Katanga

CAR   : Central African Republic

CDR   : Coalition for the Defense of the Republic

CENCO   : Conférence Episcopale du Congo

CNDD   : Conseil National pour la Défense de la Démocratie

CNL   : National Liberation Movement

CONAKAT   : Confédération des Associations (Tribales) du Katanga

DRC   : Democratic Republic of Congo

DW   : Dutsche Welle

ECC   : Eglise du Christ au Congo

ESO   : External Service Organization

FAP   : Force d'Auto-Défense Populaire

FAR   : Forces Armées Rwandaises

FBOs   : Faith-Based Organizations

FGOR   : Former Government of Rwanda

FPR   : Front Patriotique Rwandais

FRODEBU   : Front pour la Démocratie au Burundi

IAA   : International African Association

IAC   : International Association of the Congo

IBRD   : International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

IFAPA   : Inter-Faith Action for Peace in Africa

IMF   : International Monetary Fund

M23	: Mouvement du 23 Mars
MDGs	: Millennium Development Goals
MDR	: Rwandan Democratic Movement
MLC	: Mouvement de Libération du Congo
MLC	: Mouvement de Libération du Congo
MNC	: Mouvement National Congolais
MONUSCO	: Mission des Nations Unies pour la Stabilisation du Congo
MPR	: Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution
MRND	: Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement
NALU	: National Army for the Liberation of Uganda
NEPAD	: New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	: Non-Governmental Organization
NRA	: National Resistance Army
NT	: New Testament
OCHA	: Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
ONUC	: Organisation des Nations Unies au Congo
OT	: Old Testament
PALIPEHUTU	: Parti pour la Libération du Peuple Hutu
PARMEHUTU	: Parti du Mouvement de l'Emancipation Hutu
PDC	: Parti des Démocrates Chrétien
PLC	: Parti de Libération Congolais
PSD	: Parti Social Démocratique
RCD	: Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie
RERC	: Regroupement des Eglise de Réveil au Congo
RPA	: Rwandan Patriotic Army
RPF	: Rwandan Patriotic Front
SDGs	: Sustainable Development Goals
UDPS	: Union pour La Démocratie et le Progrès Social
UN	: United Nations (Organisation)
UNCED	: United Nations Conference on Environment and Development

UNHCR   : United Nations High Commission for Refugees

UNISA   : University of South Africa

UPRONA   : Union pour le Progrès National

US   : United States (of America)

WCC   : World Council of Churches

WCS   : World Conservation Strategy

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background and rationale

Meredith (2006:150) argues that Africa is the poorest continent and the least developed region on earth. In the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), poverty is a daily experience of the majority. Indeed, Africa's poverty appears to have many explanations from various schools of thoughts. However, this research is positions itself within the premise according to which the root causes of Africa's poverty lie in the rise of conflicts on the continent. The majority of African people live in poverty. This makes development to be one of the major concerns for African leaders. Within the context of this thesis, therefore, it should be noted that the DRC is described as "the most unstable of the countries created during the colonial period with the deepest ethnic divisions and rivalry for resources" as Calderisi (2006:221-222) puts it. Calderisi (2006) further reports "four million of death due to warfare and starvation" and argues that "aids should be directed to direct administration and reconstruction" (Calderisi 2006: 221-222).

However, it should be noted that conflict and development are interconnected and interdependent. That is to say, where there is conflict there is no sustainable development, and where there is no development there is conflict. At the same time, where there is development that is not equitably shared there will be conflicts. In this case, resolving conflict is about bringing development; and implementing development is about creating ways to stop conflict (Tindifa 2001). As far as transformation is concerned, conflict resolution should, therefore, be perceived as development itself and not as a stage of development.

In terms of development, conflict may be considered as either destructive or constructive.[1] Development may, therefore, help reduce conflict or create conflict depending on the way it is handled (Miall et al. 2011:8). According to Paul Collier (UN 2004), resolving the conflict is a way forward to sustainable development; therefore, the latter should be handled in an equitable way so that all may enjoy of its fruits.

My motivation as a researcher in addressing this interrelated issue of conflict and development in the DRC is firstly rooted in my own day to day experience as one who

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[1] "Wars are doubtless destructive. But wars can also be constructive. Wars destroy lives and livelihoods. But wars also lead people to chart new ways to rebuild their lives and prevent new wars from occurring" (Souaré 2006: xv).

personally witnessed the devastating effects of conflict during the conflict between Katangese and Kasaians in the Congolese province of Katanga in 1992.[2] The conflict left many Kasaians jobless, homeless and in inhuman conditions. This situation was just a repetition of what happened in 1960 during the post-war expansion as Nugent (2004) argues. According to Nugent (2004:85), "in Elizabethville[3] the Baluba, Lulua and other peoples from Kasai were lumped together as strangers by southern Katangese who construed themselves as the true indigenes". In addition to this experience was the war of 1998 (section 3.5). Before the war started, the Congolese people experienced relative wellbeing after many years of suffering during the reign of the late president Mobutu. Destruction, misery and suffering became the daily bread of the majority of Congolese people as the war continued endlessly displacing many from their homes and residences to the extent that some ran for their lives to foreign countries to seek asylum. Having lived in South Africa for almost ten years, I have also personally experienced the need to have a stable and prosperous country.

In fact, peace is needed in order to implement development because *Kavutakanya kaleta musala*[4] (where there is conflict/trouble, things cannot work properly), which means that peace and development (in our context) are connected. Also, *Kudja talala i kwabana biya*[5] (If you want peace, you need to share equitably). This means that whatever is a product of development should be at the advantage of all and conflict should be avoided if the current situation of the DRC is to be changed.

The focus of this research is, therefore, to explore the notion of sustainable development through conflict resolution – based on a practical theological perspective – using the DRC as a case study. This is because, I personally consider that resolving conflicts is one of the ways to foster sustainable development in a given community. Generally, conflict ranges from the individual level, through the community level right up to national level, but for the sake of this research, conflict will be considered at the national level of DRC. This investigation will be on the impact of conflict on the socio-political situation of the DRC (especially in the eastern part) and its impact on the Great Lakes Region.

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2 *Kasaians* refers to the people who originate from the province of Kasai in the Democratic Republic of Congo while Katangese are those from the province of Katanga. At the time of these events, there were two provinces of Kasai (Western Kasai and Eastern Kasai) and both were concerned by the events.
3 Elizabethville is now called Lubumbashi.
[4] This saying is taken from "Kiluba", a language spoken in the north part the Province of Katanga in the DRC.
[5] Ibid.

The focus of the research is to understand the relationship between development and conflict. Within that context, the role of the church will also be examined. This is because the church contributes to the work of God in the world. It cannot be emphasised more that the church is commissioned to demonstrate the word of God through its engagement, which is a way of participating God's plan of establishing *shalom*. That constitutes a missional church. For Van Gelder and Zscheile (2011:115,117) "the missional church is a passionate church – a church that feels, listens and acts deeply in sympathy with its neighbors in the world… the need of reconciliation in our world - and within the church itself – is profound". Also, the church is potentially in charge of the future because God is in control (Nürnberger 1999:159).

In the DRC it is estimated that more than 90% of the population are Christian[6] (Johnstone & Mandryk 2001: 198). God has given to the church the ministry of reconciliation, and the church in the DRC has been involved in socio-political life of the Congolese people. It has also been a provider of public services such as schools and hospitals for many years (Thinkafricapress 2013). Therefore, the church in DRC is in a position of undeniable influence on the daily life of the Congolese as it constitutes the majority. It also has the power to expose any wrongdoing, promote national unity and stand on the side of the marginalised with love. In the process, the church can invite both the churches of neighbouring countries and from the international community to do the same and promote reconciliation in their own countries. The investigation will cover the period of time from the day DRC got its independence from Belgium (30 June 1960) until today with some important events of the colonial period (also those of the slave trade period) being looked at. The aim of this research is to make good recommendations that will hopefully help to challenge both the Congolese church and its leadership with regard to conflict resolution and sustainable development in the country.

Any conflict or poverty in the DRC will always have negative impacts on its neighbours and that can be extended to all continents. There is an urgent need to resolve the ongoing conflict in DRC so that the resulting development will impact its neighbours and the continent. The peace and development of the DRC is not the need of the Congolese people alone, but rather of the region and Africa. The study seeks to explore, describe and analyse the role of the church in conflict and development; and the conflict itself for a durable peace and sustainable

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[6] The point of giving this statistic is interesting by the fact that the country has a long story of crisis while the majority of its people are Christians. It helps to raise the question to know the role of the church in the conflict and underdevelopment.

development in the DRC from a theological perspective. It is obvious that no one has done a study on the relationship between conflict and development from a theological perspective; however, there are literature that focus on conflict, development, or conflict and development in the DRC.[7]

1.2 Literature Review

Since development and conflict resolution are the main concepts, this section briefly reviews some of the descriptions, analyses and interpretations in socio-political, theological and other literature. Frederick Cooper (2002)[8] describes the succession of events between colonialism and post-colonialism that could have led to Africa's present situation. He exposes ways in which colonial regimes and African governments transformed Africa and how African people responded to refashion the way they lived. Robert Calderisi (2006)[9] provides an exposition of the shortcomings and indulgences of foreign aid and debt relief in Africa. He proposes that "only Africans can break the cycle of terror, poverty, and mediocrity that keeps them subdued" (Calderisi 2006). Africans do not need foreign aid or arms, but rather they need "solid investigative reporting by journalists, the creation of pressure groups, appeals to international opinion and even civil disobedience" to liberate Africa (Calderisi 2006: 230, 226, 229).

Cooper (2002:105) argues that the DRC is rich in minerals yet it is a victim of "predatory government and the looting of diamonds and gold by networks organised by its neighbours, allies as well as rivals". This fact is also acknowledged by Calderisi (2006:95, 97, 220) and it was also raised by African religious leaders as they met in Uganda in November 2008 (Nzwili, 2008). Prifti (2009:6) writes that "The Democratic Republic of Congo is a violent environment, where violence either comes from the regional, national or local context". Therefore, each one of the contexts requires particular attention.

Cooper (2002:163-168) and Nugent (2004:54, 85-89, 233-239, 460-464) describe the decolonisation of the Belgian Congo in 1960 as being disastrous. From its independence the country went from -crisis to crisis dragging the country to further poverty and underdevelopment. Already on the eve of the independence in 1959 there was a riot involving

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[7] For instance, Muyingi (2013) has conducted a study under the topic: *Conflict and Development in the Democratic Republic of Congo: A Review of Related Literature*. available online on the website: www.mcser.org/journal/index.php/mjss/article/download/502/529

[8] In his book, *Africa Since 1940*

[9] In his book, *The Trouble with Africa: Why Foreign Aid isn't working*

two political parties based in different regions (Association des Bakongo (ABAKO) and Confederations des Associations Tribales du Katanga (CONAKAT), plus Mouvement National Congolais (MNC)). Just after independence, there arose different conflicts beginning from the one between Kasavubu and Lumumba to that which was backed by Rwanda and Uganda in 1996. From the latest onward the country has known the birth of many armed groups with different claims.

Within the Great Lakes Region, the Rwandan conflict that resulted in genocide played a negative role on the situation of the DRC. During this conflict, many Rwandan refugees – including the *genocidaires*[10] – crossed the border into the eastern DRC while French forces were trying to stabilize the Rwanda-DRC border in 1995. Rwandan refugees started to organise themselves in the camps in the DRC in order to attack the regime in Kigali, and this made the situation more explosive. As a result, the ethnic conflict from Rwandan led to a new war in Central Africa with over 4 million people killed. The Rwandan conflict was transported in the DRC, as Cooper (2002:104) puts it, internal conflict of some country can spread across borders.

Much has been done in order to resolve conflicts by local, regional and international organisations and the UN has a special department that deals with the resolution of conflicts in the world (UN 2013). Gibbons and Morican (1983)[11] present the League of Nations as the first organisation established to deal with peace among nations after the First World War. Luard (1979), describes the UN as an organisation that deals with the different emerging problems that challenge the world that still needs transformation to meet the growing demands that are made on it. Among the five first major peace forces one was in the DRC (Luard 1979: 2-3). In fact, according to Luard (1979:13) the Security Council became active in the conflict in the DRC in 1960. Paul Kennedy (2006),[12] gives insights on the different contributions of the UN to the international peace, human rights, development and environment protection (Kennedy 2006: 61, 67, 84-85, 104).

"Conflict is part of human life. Wherever two or more human beings are together, conflict is bound to arise…" (Lötter 1997:7). Depending on their nature, conflicts can either be constructive or destructive. Conflicts may also be produced by the increase of injustice in relation to what people have and do (Lötter 1997:7). It is suggested that conflicts of interest

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[10] This refers to the Hutu Rwandans who killed Tutsis and moderate Hutus in Rwanda in 1994.
[11] in their book *The League of Nations and UNO*
[12] in his book *The Parliament of Man: The United Nations and the Quest for World Government*

are the biggest problems facing reconstruction and development which can only be achieved through transparency. This shows that conflicting parties have conflicting agendas and everything is motivated by their interests (Bekker et al. 1995:82, 89-90). African conflicts are to be looked at from this perspective. Recently after the arrival of a couple of members of the organization "Bakata Katanga"[13] in March 2013 in Lubumbashi/Katanga, Gabriel Kyungu wa Kumwanza[14], linked the conflict in the northern part of the province to the state of poverty (Katanga News 2013). This makes it understandable that conflict brings forth poverty and poverty opens doors to new conflicts. "Marginalisation" is the root cause of poverty for the poor and prosperity for the rich (Nürnberger 1999:4). In a conflicting situation people who feel marginalised will end up organising themselves against those who marginalise them as it is the case of the northern part of the province of Katanga in DRC.[15] Marginalisation gives birth to conflict and conflict gives birth to marginalisation. Development seen as transformation is only possible with God who "can transform the conflict by transforming what is into what it ought to be" argues Nürnberger (1999: 174).

Therefore, the real need of development is not just to see some kind of changes but rather transformation, which in this thesis is recognised as the work of God. Samuel and Sugden (1987:xi-xii) define transformation as "the change of human existence contrary to God's purpose to one in which people are able to enjoy fullness of life in harmony with God". For Bragg (1987: 39, 40) "transformation is to take what is and turn it into what it could and should be. It is a Christian framework of human and social change and is not posed as an alternative to development". According to Dickson (in Lötter 1997:214), for transformation to take place, development needs to have a coherent set of analysis and interpretations which could provide the basis for rational action. A better understanding of the relationship between transformation and development can be found in Bragg's (1987:39-40) argument as follows,

> Transformation is a joint enterprise between God and humanity in history, not just a mechanistic or naturalistic process. It involves a transformation of the human relationships, and whole societies. The so-called 'developed' modernized world needs transformation to free itself from a secular, materialistic condition marked by broken relationship, violence, economic subjugation, and devastation of nature; and the 'underdeveloped' world needs transformation from the subhuman condition of

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13 Bakata Katanga is an armed organization that is claiming the independence of Katanga.
14 Gabriel Kyungu wa Kumwanza is the first Katangese governor in Katanga and now chairperson of the provincial parliament of the same province.
15 A good example is that of "Bakata Katanga" who are operating in the north part of the Katanga Province.

>poverty, premature death and hunger, exposure, oppression, disease and fear. Whereas 'development' tends to be that term that the West applies to the Third World, transformation is equally applicable to both the 'overdeveloped' and the 'underdeveloped' worlds.

It is interesting that Lötter, a social scientist, states that "lasting Christian peace benefits everyone in society" when special care is given to the marginalized. He also states God's involvement in conflict resolution through Jesus (Lötter 1997:178, 180). For Moltmann (1993:19-22), Christian faith and hope are absorbers, promoters and stimuli of development [16]for nations.

Kenge (2015)[17] suggests that theology can lay a good foundation of sustainable peace among people at grassroots levels because people should use their belief to develop a culture of peace. However, she (Kenge) also links the fragility of processes of peace-building in both the DRC and the region to the fact that Christians are less motivated by their religious belief in their effort to bring peace and their lack of a strong religious or theological pronouncement on peace.

As for reconciliation, it is considered as a process to build bridges, to allow conflicting stories to interact with respect, to build relationships and help restructure power relations. This is only possible in Jesus Christ, where God heals and restores His relationship with the world. In Jesus, God is inviting us personally to join Him in His initiative to bring about His justice (De Gruchy 2002: 106, 184-185). Any authentic and lasting reconciliation is a slow process which is an enduring peace which restores human dignity and launches a more equitable society. John W. De Gruchy (2002)[18], offers a compelling account of hope for reconciliation. God's gift of reconciliation in Christ and political struggles for justice and peace are connected.

Brian Frost (1998)[19], explores the power of personal and corporate forgiveness to transform the fabric of a society torn apart by the wrongs of apartheid. Among the many themes of the book he develops is the role of the majorities and minorities, churches and organisations that are involved in the establishment of a fairer society. Bernard F. Connor (1998) considers

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[16] in his book, *The Difficult Traverse: From Amnesty to Reconciliation*

[17] Towards a Theology of Peace-building in the Democratic Republic of Congo: the Contribution of Christian Women, available online on the website: www.researchspace.ukzn.ac.za/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10413/12036/Kenge_Esther_Lubunga_2015.pdf:sequence=1

[18] in his book, *Reconciliation Restoring Justice*

[19] in his book, S*truggling to Forgive*

personal, social and theological aspects of reconciliation as product of a gift from God and His initiative that is depending upon His grace. One of the many issues he deals with is the heightening of certain conflicts and the means by which evil becomes embedded in everyday workings of society (Connor 1998: 23). Habits of hatred and cycle of vengeance are obstruction to the process of reconciliation (Everett in De Gruchy 2002:106*).*

The church has a potential other organizations do not have. Kennedy (2006:228) states that "Churches sometimes have the power to make governments move that NGOs could only dream of possessing". The church can live by example or it can speak to governments whenever there is wrongdoing that may lead to conflicts and the perpetuation of poverty. Bosch (1991:428, 429, 426) notes that "the church in mission must take sides for life and against death, for justice and against oppression like its Lord" and he sees the power of God in the struggle of people where God works through their experiences and works towards reconciliation and social-justice. With regard to ethnic conflict, Cooper (2002: 60, 61, 89-90) argues that "religious affinity in Africa" brings unity within people and breaks ethnic limitations within Christianity, Islam or otherwise. A movement such as Kitawala[20] in the DRC, for example, is described as an example of a cross-ethnic, cross-border movement in Central Africa.

It should be noted that Congolese religious leaders participated at the summit of Inter-Faith Action for Peace in Africa (IFAPA) Summit in Johannesburg (April 21-25, 2005)[21]. The Congolese delegation called for the intervention of the IFAPA. At the meeting in Uganda the church was invited to be in the DRC with the suffering people and there was a call to address the humanitarian disaster of the Congolese (Nzwili 2008). William Macpherson writes that in September 2012 a delegation of religious leaders[22] from DRC visited the US and Canada to build awareness of the war at the border between DRC and Rwanda (Allafrica 2012) and a petition was handed over to the UN.

While such interventions are praiseworthy, the African religious context is also a complex one and it should also be noted that in Africa in the 1980s there was a multiplication of evangelical Protestant churches, which focused on individual salvation and distanced

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20 Kitawala was an offshoot of the Jehovah's Witnesses, carrying with it a Christian messianic vision while adapting to varied religious practices in the area, including the identification of evil with the workings of witches (See Cooper 2002: 61).

21 Congo's religious leaders seek inter-faith intervention to stop conflict, available online on the website:reliefweb.int/report/democratic-republic-congo's-religious-leaders-seek-interfaith-intervention-stop

22 Christians and Muslims came together for the common cause.

themselves from social and political action which may also have contributed to the state of the African situation (Calderisi 2006:118).

1.3 Research question

This study seeks to answer the following two-fold question:

What is the relationship between sustainable development and conflict and in what ways can the church in the Democratic Republic of Congo contribute to the resolution of such conflict?

The resolution of the ongoing conflict in DRC depends on the resolution of both the internal and external conflicts in the region. Both conflicts (internal and external) are ethnic in nature before they become political or economic. A genuine resolution of the conflict requires a breaking of the ethnic barriers in DRC and in the region. There will be sustainable development in DRC once the conflicts are resolved both in DRC and in the region. The church is not exempted from ethnic conflicts (Macpherson, 2013) and needs to embark on the journey of ethnic reconciliation within and outside itself. The church and its leadership in the DRC may be used as a powerful agent of development and conflict resolution as it will be investigated in this study. The ongoing conflict has contributed to the underdevelopment of DRC (Macpherson, 2013). Resolving this conflict is a way forward to the development of DRC and the region.

1.4 Objectives

The study will seek to meet the following research objectives:

- To explore the impact of the Great Lakes Region's countries and the international community on both conflict resolution and development in the DRC;
- To identify the main causes of the conflict and underdevelopment, and the different parties involved in the conflict (both internal and external);
- To identify the relationship between conflict and sustainable development;
- To explore the theological notion of *shalom* and its relevance in the concept of sustainable development and conflict resolution;
- To describe and analyse the role of the church in both sustainable development (or underdevelopment) and conflict (or conflict resolution);
- To make recommendations that will guide the DRC church towards sustainable development, peace and a better life for all

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1.5 Research Methodology

A research method influences ways in which the research is conducted in order to achieve the objectives. Babbie (2010:33) argues that every research is conducted through and accomplished within a specific theoretical paradigm. A study in Practical Theology consists of description, interpretation, explanation, and action (Heitink 1999:228). According to Van Der Ven (in Heitink 1999:229), the same study can use a combination of research: explorative-descriptive, explorative-explanatory, testing-descriptive, or testing-exploratory. Descriptive Research describes the present situation and attempts to find its causes and is furthermore used "when the object of the research is very complex" as it is the case of this study (Goddard & Melville 2001:9).

Exploratory research seeks to explore a specific field by reading a range of available information that are compared, contrasted and analysed. For this type of research, information is gathered from existing primary and secondary sources (Goddard & Melville 2001:10; cf. Garbers 1996:287). Explorative research is based on explanation and interpretation with the explanation being under the influence of normative views and a responsible biblical-theological data influencing the suggestions for action (Heitink 1999:228, 230).

The focus of exploratory research is on an area that has not been previously studied (David & Sutton 2011:11; cf. UNISA 2013, cf. Fox & Bayat 2007:30; cf. Garbers 1996:287). There is a general perception that all social science researches are oriented toward bringing about social change and indeed, social theorizing "can influence and transform social practices in various ways such as unmasking, demystification, explication, confirmation, legitimating, justification…" (Joubert & Mouton 1990: 43, 45).

The topic of this research is sufficiently complex and is, therefore, both descriptive and exploratory. Both approaches will be used in order to describe, identify, analyse and interpret factors that may be considered as those contributing to the poverty and conflicts; and to the resolution of the conflicts in order to have sustainable development based on a theological perspective in the DRC as this has not yet been so far studied.

A literature review and analysis of existing data from the body of knowledge which are contextual to the topic under investigation will be used in this research. Leed & Ormrod (2015:71) note that a literature review is so important because it bring more knowledge about the investigation and perspectives that are related to the topic. This thesis may also be

positioned as a Practical Theology within which the subfield of Theology and development is situated.

History is used as an instrument to help understand how practices have taken place in the lives of communities through a social and historical process (Fea 2013:3, 5). It helps to bring to light hidden or past realities that impact the present by finding the origin of particular form of practices. It also helps to retrieve historical resources that can be used to reconstruct certain practices today (Daniels III 2008:323, 234, 236). For this reason, the second, fourth and seventh chapters are constituted of historical events that are helpful to understand some of the root causes of the Congolese situation.

1.6 Position of the thesis within Practical Theology

There are two main subject fields that constitute the focus of this section: Practical Theology and Theology and Development (or D*iakonia* as it is known in other parts of the world). Both Practical Theology and Theology and Development are at the same time interdisciplinary and intra-disciplinary with both theological and secular subjects (August 2014:92-93, 95, 96; Osmer 2008:163-64). Theology and Development and Diakonia are regarded as one of the areas of Practical Theology – as it focuses on the church's social ministry (Dietrich 2014:1-2). According to Lutheran World federation, "*diakonia* is a theological concept that points to the very identity and mission of the church. Another is its practical implication in the sense that *diakonia* is a call to action, as a response to challenges of human suffering, injustice and care for creation" ((Dietrich 2014:2). Moreover, the church is the community that God calls in order to equip, empower, and serve the community, which also constitutes the focus of Theology and Development studies (August 2014:96). Therefore, Practical Theology and Theology and Development are connected by the fact that they both help the church to address the needs of the community besides the facts that they both are intra-disciplinary and interdisciplinary. In this section, the position of the thesis within these two fields will be clarified.

1.6.1 Practical Theology

Theology is "a discipline, a self-conscious scholarly enterprise of understanding" and "a practical know-how necessary to ministerial work" (Farley in De Gruchy 1986: 48-49). For Tracy (in Heitink 1999:118), "theology is the discipline that articulates mutually critical correlations between the meaning and truth of an interpretation of the Christian fact and the meaning and the truth of an interpretation of the contemporary situation". Therefore, our

contemporary situation being the crisis in the DRC, the task is to theologically reflect on the concept of *shalom* as means of both resolving the conflict and implementing sustainable development.

According to Plant and Weis (2015:54), the reflection of theology is made from the "practices and experiences of a particular faith community" and it must be clearly expressed by taking into account biblical, natural human reasoning and church tradition norms without transcending the limits of human understanding. With "theology as faith seeking to understand" (Barth in De Gruchy 2015:128), our theological reflection will focus on how our understanding of the concept of *shalom* is fundamental in resolving the Congolese conflict in order to establish sustainable development.

The focus of Practical Theology is on the understanding that God's action is mediated by human action through Christian faith (Heitink 1999:4, 8). Practical Theology is based on a critical interpretation of theory and praxis of both the Christian fact and contemporary situation[23] (Heitink 1999:118). Therefore, social problems in modern society are the concern of Practical Theology and this allows Christians to be concerned with common interests and public morality. Practical Theology recognises the work of God through his people who reflect on their own situation in the light of scriptures. [24] It is, therefore, interested in praxes[25] from many fields (moral, existential, religious, politics…) (Samuel & Sudgen 1981:35). In return, praxes produce topics that can be used for research in Practical Theology (Ganzevoort & Roeland 2014). Practical Theology, therefore, studies both ecclesial and social structures and individual institutions in order to transform them (Campbell 2000:77, 78; 84; cf. Osmer 2008:17). As a theological discipline, Practical Theology always interprets within a given context by creating "a bridge between the sub-disciplines of academic Practical Theology and between the academy and the church" (Osmer 2008:12,13, 17). In other words, Practical Theology is at the same time engaged in an intra-disciplinary dialogue with other perspectives within the same fields and interdisciplinary dialogue with perspectives of other fields (Osmer 2008:163-64). It, therefore, establishes interactions with other theological and

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[23] "Practical Theology is thus seen to be a theoretical enquiry, in so far as it seeks to understand practice, to evaluate, to criticize, to look at the relationship between what is done and what is said or professed. At the same time, it is a deep practical discipline, which does not only seek to understand the significance of practice for theology, but also recognizes as the primary goal then guiding and transforming of future practices which will inform and shape the life of faith" (Swinton & Mowat 2006:11-12).

[24] What is practical theology? Available online on the website: G:\what is practical theology.htm

[25] Praxis is the object of practical theology's study and reflection. Praxis refers to practices, it about actions, it is the way religion is lived (Ganzevoort& Roeland 2014).

non-theological fields of studies in order to better describe and shape its various contexts as it explores its mission in the world (Cahalan & Nieman 2008:78-9).

In our case, we are engaging with the issues that emerge from the religious, social, economic, political context of the DRC and, therefore, with several academic fields besides theology include: Development Studies, Conflict Studies and Political Science. A significant aspect of this thesis also refers to historical events. However, the aim of Practical Theology in all this is to produce proposals that will put to the church's disposal in order to address the Congolese situation. In this regard, Campbell (2008:85) puts it in the following manner:

> The findings of Practical Theology can be expected to be mostly in the form of concrete proposals for the restructuring of the church's life of witness, fellowship, and service, for the style of life of individual Christians within the secular structures of society, and for the renewal and reforming of the secular structures themselves. At the same time such proposals must than become the subject of fresh theological reflection if Practical Theology is not to return to a new form of 'hints and tips', but one with a fashionable political emphasis.

In the context of this research, the concern is about resolving the Congolese conflict and the implementation of sustainable development and conflict resolution. The topic of the research is *Conflict Resolution for Sustainable Development in the DRC: A Theological Perspective* falls within the field of Practical Theology, because it aims to identify, describe, analyse and interpret praxes in order to improve them.[26] Also, as Ganzevoort & Roeland (2014)[27] note, the insights of practical theological research are in connection with the empirical, pastoral and public theologies, and this is applicable to this research because it addresses the church, the academy and the society.[28]

1.6.2 Theology and Development

Development, "is a process by which people gain greater control over themselves, their environment and their future, in order to realize the full potential of life that God has made

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[26]As Ganzevoort & Roeland (2014) put it "the practical theologian is almost a concerned and engaged scholar… The research outcomes lead to a new relation of research and praxis, often in the form of new Knowledge, new possible modes of action, or a new inspiration".

[27]Lived Religion the Praxis of Practical Theology, available online on the website: www.ruadganzevoort.nl/pdf/2014_Lived_Religion.pdf

[28]According to Ganzevoort& Roeland (2014) "practical theology has evolved out of three historically styles of theology with different concepts and methodological approaches toward praxis: pastoral theology, empirical theology, and public theology". And Tracy (in Ganzevoort& Roeland 2014) distinguishes three audiences of practical theology: the church is the audience of pastoral theology, the academy is the audience of empirical theology, and society is that of public theology.

possible" (Samuel & Sugden 1981:19). Development is a concept that has gone through different stages of definitions and the most connotation that was connected to it was the fact that it was considered as doing things for the poor to change their situations (Du Toit 2003: 166). According to Clarke and Donnelly (in Clarke 2011: 3) Development was undertaken by 'organizations' and 'faith-inspired individuals' before the concept 'development' was introduced. This means that the praxis of development was undertaken without any clear reference to and any theological reflection of its concept. However, today there is a theological reflection on development that both appears to create tension among the disciplines of theology and "builds a theology and a ministry of integrity and wholeness" (August 2008:96). Theology and Development as field is gaining increasing interest because of the responses it provides to the many issues of globalisation – as may be reflected in this thesis (De Gruchy 2015:107):

> Theology and Development… constitute the core theological issues that are raised when we deal with poverty, unemployment, gender justice, ecological degradation, HIV and AIDS, forced immigration and food security (De Gruchy 2015:134).

According to Samuel & Sugden (1981:19), "Theology and Development is reflection on the reasons for Christian involvement in development, the method of involvement, and the goal of involvement from a Christian and biblical perspective". In the context of this, reflection is mainly based on the establishment of *shalom* by God through his church and outside of the church. Shalom is, therefore, put forward as a theological framework through which to reflect on the intersections between conflict and development. It is only by reflecting of the issues related to conflict and sustainable development in relation to the history of the DRC from a practical theological perspective that we can produce recommendations that may challenge the church and its leadership as well as other people involved in the fields of sustainable development and conflict resolution

The DRC is a Christianised country with an estimated 90% of the population being Christians; it has the Belgian imperial legacy[29], the country is politically independent, the country is among the poorest countries in the world and was ranked 176 out of 187 countries on the Human Development Index in 2015 (World Bank 2016), it has experienced many conflicts from its independence to the present time. It is this context that shapes this research in the particular field of Theology and Development as an intersectional sub-field of Practical

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[29] It is to be reminded that "the church's expansion went hand in hand with the western economic and political expansion" (Sine 1981:72).

Theology[30]. In this context, sustainable development is supposed to be achieved through resolving the country's conflict which is a way forwards in achieving sustainable development and the church has a role to play.

1.7 The Research Conceptualisation

The topic of the research is so complex that there is need to define some of the more important concepts in order to facilitate, clarify and avoid ambiguity (August 1999:10). As Welman et al. (2005: 20) put it, there is no meaningful communication where the concepts are not agreed on. For this research, only conceptual definitions of these terms are used to describe them. The following concepts need to be conceptualised: conflict resolution and reconciliation, development and sustainable development, poverty, church and agency, *shalom* and God's Kingdom, natural world (ecology or environment).

1.7.1 Conflict Resolution and Reconciliation

Conflict resolution is not only about ending an armed conflict, but rather a process which leads to the establishment of lasting peace. As noted by Dayton and Kriesberg (2009:5), it is simply the 'first half' of the long process of a sustainable peace. The main aim of resolving social conflicts is not to come up with solutions to contentious issues. Rather, to reach mutually acceptable outcomes between conflicting parties based on balanced power and equitable social and economic relations together with self-esteem, identity and well-being. This also implies the exploitation of all transformative possibilities in the conflicting parties (Joeng 1999:3).

According to Anstey (1993:17) any attempt to resolve a conflict should always start by identifying the many visible aspects of it. These are the parties involved, the issues over which they are in conflict, the nature of these issues, underlying the interests which may inform the positions of the parties, the manner in which the conflict is being expressed, the history of relations between the parties, the perceptions the parties hold of the conflict and each other, whether the conflict is escalating, and the potential for violence in the situation.

De Gruchy (2002:45, 67) describes reconciliation as "the reuniting of God and humanity through the sacrifice on Christ on the cross" Through reconciliation the world enters a process of moral transformation. According to Lochman (in De Gruchy 2002:59) the

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[30] It should be noted that this field also intersects with other theological sub disciplines such as Practical Theology, Ethics and Missiology as illustrated by this thesis.

Christian doctrine of reconciliation develops around the perception that God does abandon the broken world but rather he is involved in it to suffer for it, strive for it, and conquer it in order to free it.

> In Christ, the mediator between God and humanity, God has renewed his covenant in a new initiative to reconcile all things to himself. From the perspective of faith, this event radically changes human history and provides the objective basis both for our present experience of reconciliation and the hope that we have for the future of the world. In Jesus the human situation has been fundamentally changed. What remains is for Christians[31] (De Gruchy 2002:69).

In Jesus Christ God emptied himself and Jesus took our place through his humiliation and suffering on the cross. God chose the way of allowing political and religious powers to work together in order to achieve reconciliation and church and state play a role in God's reconciling will for humanity. The church's role and that of the state should be respected and provided in order to achieve the common goal of reconciliation. Through the suffering of Christ God shows his love for the world by forgiving, struggling and overcoming powers and idolatries, judging and condemning every unjust thing, setting free from oppression, and restoring both humanity and relationships. It is in Christ where God stands in solidarity with human beings in their sin to bring about liberation and moral transformation. Therefore, the way of reconciliation becomes the way of struggle against a world that has rejected the way of Christ and Christ as its representative (De Gruchy 2002:70, 71).

"Reconciliation seeks to restore the lost *shalom* of creation" (Lightsey 2012:172). Therefore, for the purpose of this research, the main theme of focus of conflict resolution is reconciliation. This understanding of reconciliation finds its roots in the New Testament proclaims the kind of reconciliation which depends on God's covenant with humanity and the family of Abraham; on the completed God's saving revelation in Jesus Christ; and on the permanent work of the Holy Spirit to renew human life and to restore human community and to renew all God's creation (De Gruchy 2002:66-7). In other words, reconciliation takes place in a context of relationships which were destroyed in human history (Lightsey 2012:171). A broader description of reconciliation is provided by Villa-Vicencio (2010:164-165) in the following manner:

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[31] According to Barth (De Gruchy 2002:70) what remains is for Christians "to welcome the divine verdict, to take it seriously with full responsibility, not to keep their knowledge of it to themselves, but by the witness of their existence and proclamation to make known to the world which is still blind and deaf to this verdict the alteration which has in fact taken place by it".

Reconciliation is a slow, multi-faceted process. It takes time. It is both process and goal. As a process it is inevitably uneven, lapsing into counterproductive, even violent, ways of redressing conflict. It requires restraint, generosity of spirit, empathy and perseverance. It is about exploring ways of gaining a deeper and more inclusive understanding of the problems that are the root cause of conflict. It is about opening the way to better understanding, respect and trust-building. Above all, it is about finding ways to connect people across what are often historical and entrenched barriers of suspicion, prejudice and inequality. The goal is a change of values, a willingness to venture beyond the promotion of rigid identities that result in war and cultivate a new attitude towards others – as the basis for addressing the major material and structural challenges that so often cause post-conflict societies to slide back into war. Reconciliation is an art rather than a science. Sometimes it happens. When it does, it is invariably in the wake of hard work that begins with cautious first contacts between enemies through intermediaries, personal encounters, rapprochement, talks about possible talks, talks, negotiations and trust-building. Reconciliation is about risk and the ability to imagine a different set of relations with one's adversaries and enemies.

1.7.2 Poverty

According to August (1999: 14) the concept of poverty does not have a specific definition. For instance Sen (in Pick &Sirkin 2010:8) relates poverty to the deprivation of capabilities[32]. In his capacity approach he argues that freedoms are the essence of development. For Burkey (1993: 3-5) poverty can be defined in terms of basic needs which are those things that an individual must have in order to survive as a human being. Poverty is *absolute* when basic needs cannot be met and it is *relative* when basic needs are met with the inability to 'meet perceived needs and desires in addition to basic needs. It is difficult to correctly attempt to identify and quantify poverty. Beside this definition, Blanche & Stevens (in De la Rey et al. 2011:345) provide three situations in which poverty is psychologically experienced: hopelessness, uncertainty of the future, and alienation from mainstream society. As Green (2008:7) points out, according to the World Bank Published Voices of the Poor of 2000, the concept of poverty may also be directly linked to the state of powerlessness (Green 2008:7).

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[32] "Capabilities are what real opportunities you have regarding the life you may lead".

Poverty can also play a negative role as far as peace and human rights are concerned. In other words, where there is poverty, there are potentials for conflict and the violation of human rights as Salih (in Francis 2008:171) puts it in the following manner:

> Poverty may undermine peace by creating situations that contribute to the abuse of human rights as a result of horizontal (such as ethnic, religious, regional, etc.) or vertical (such as class and elite) inequality and inequitable distribution of resources.

Nürnberger (1999: 59, 61) provides three types of material needs that can be helpful in the understanding of poverty. They are: basic essentials, social expectations and personal wishes. *Basic essentials* are those basic needs for the everyday life. *Social expectations* material needs are those met according to life standards of people in the society. *Personal wishes* "are gratifications of personal wants and desires". From these types of material needs, Nürnberger provides four definitions of poverty[33] which are:

a) **Absolute poverty** *is a situation in which income meets the level of basic essentials.*

b) **Relative deprivation** *is a situation in which income meets basic essentials but not the level of social expectations.*

c) **Relative poverty** *is a situation in which income meets basic essentials and social expectations but not all reasonable wishes.*

The understanding of poverty by Myers (2007:86-7) has the best fit for the purpose of this research: "poverty is a result of relations that do not work, that are unjust, that are not for life, that are not harmonious or enjoyable. Poverty is the absence of *shalom* in all its meanings". Poverty is altogether an economic, a moral and theological issue (Yang 2012:136). Therefore,

> The church should clearly take the side of the poor in society, not because the poor will always be right but because they are most likely to be taken advantage of and be unprotected against those who would exploit them. The church should make the poor aware of their rights and dignity as human beings, informed both by the rights enshrined in national and international declarations, which spell out justice in the society. The church should work for change in the political and economic systems, so that there is room for the poor both to attain and to exercise their legitimate rights (Samuel & Sugden in Sider 1981: 46-7).

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[33] In the case of the DRC, poverty may be defined in relative terms in urban areas, while in rural area; it may be defined in absolute terms, Elas & Lizumu (in Gran 1979:109).

From a theological perspective, the main cause of poverty is sin that has distorted the relationship between humans and God, humans and humans and humans and the rest of creation (Myers 2007: 27, cf. Lane 2014:77). This view is also agreed on by different scholars like Samuel & Sugdeen, Santa Ana, as well as Hughes & Bennett (in August 2010:18). Sin can be individual or corporate because it can be found in individuals as well as in the structures of society to the extent that both individuals and the structure of society need to be transformed (Nadine 2005:214-16, cf. Lane 2014:75) However, it is important to stress that poor people are not sinners and rich people are not. Poor people and rich people are all affected by sin (Lane 2014:71). In fact, the fall of human beings through disobedience has produced devastating effects on the different relationships of humans (with self, family, community, others and environment) (Meyers 1999:27-30). "Transformational Development links sin with the socio-economic challenges of the context and cites sin as the root cause of poverty, powerlessness, and vulnerability" (Bowers Du Toit 2005:221). People are not poor because they sin, but sin has created an environment where poverty can develop.

1.7.3 Sustainable development

The concept of sustainable development that was introduced by the Brundtland Report in 1987 was defined as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Green 2008: 113; cf. Haq 1995: 77-8; cf. Mawhinney 2002: 3, 4). Based on this report, Atkinson (2007:1) sees sustainable development as including economic development, a better environment, and the well-being of humans both in the present and future. Sustainable development always, therefore, consists of several components: environmental, economic and sustainably oriented (Adam in Tomalin 2013:175).

Contrary to the Millennium Development Goals that have only 8 goals[34], the Sustainable Development Goals have 17 goals[35], 169 targets and additional indicators that are being

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[34] The MDGs were launched by the UN in 2000 and ran for 15 years until 2015. The MDGs were the following:
  - To eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
  - To achieve universal primary education
  - To promote gender equality and empower women
  - To reduce child mortality rates
  - To improve mental health
  - To combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases
  - To ensure environmental sustainability
  - To develop a global partnership for development (Sachs 2005: xii)

[35] These goals are:
  1. End of poverty in all its forms everywhere
  2. End of hunger, achieve food security and improve nutrition, and promote sustainable agriculture

assessed by groups of experts for their feasibility, suitability and relevance. Supposedly there will be 2 indicators for each target and their finalization was scheduled in March 2016. One of the 169 targets concerned the reduction by half of people living in poverty by 2030, and the eradication of extreme poverty (Ford 2015). Practically the MDGs ended in December 2015 and the SDGs were launched in January 2016 as a means to continue and build on the agenda put forward by the MDGs. The SDGs are targeted to end in 2030 (Ford 2015)[36].

De Gruchy (2013:24) argues that the goals of both the MDGs (now the SDGs) may be embraced by the Christian community because they relate to the Micah Challenge movement which also draws its inspiration from the book of Micah 6:8. Theologically, our reasons to join the SDGs should be the "idea of Integral Mission" – which in this thesis is interpreted within the framework of the field of Theology and Development. The mission of the church includes all areas of life, therefore, all that which is addressed by the 17 goals of the SDGs should be part and parcel of this mission. In fact, according to the Micah Integral Mission and lifestyle:

> Integral mission or holistic transformation is the proclamation and demonstration of the gospel. It is not simply that evangelism and social are to be done along each other. Rather, in integral mission our proclamation has social consequences we call people to love and repentance in all areas of life. And our social involvement has evangelistic consequences as we bear witness to the transforming grace of Jesus. If we ignore the world we betray the word of God which sends us out to serve the world. If we ignore the word of God we have nothing to bring to the world. Justice and justification by faith, worship and political action, the spiritual and the material,

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3. Ensure healthy lives and promote wellbeing for all ages
4. Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all
5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls
6. Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all
7. Ensure access to affordable, reliable and modern energy for all
8. Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment, and decent work for all
9. Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization, and foster innovation
10. Reduce inequality within and among countries
11. Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable
12. Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns
13. Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts
14. Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, and marine resources for sustainable development
15. Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification and halt and reverse land degradation, and halt biodiversity loss
16. Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all
17. Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development (Ford 2015; cf. Saxena 2015).

[36] Sustainable development goals: all that you need to know, available online on the website: http://www.the guardian.com/global-development/2015/jan/19/sustainable-development-goals-united-nations

personal change and structural change belong together. As in the life of Jesus, being, doing and saying are the heart of our integral task (De Gruchy 2015:24).

1.7.4 Church and agency

In exploring the book of Romans, Hastings (2007: 33) argues that the church, as the body of Christ, is the place where divine agency operates and that, therefore, the role of the church within society is transformational. On this way, the church's role is to: administer sacraments, preach and teach the word, shepherd God's people, serve the poor, confront the powers, and transform the world. For Schleiermacher (in Campbell 2000:78), "the church is the fellowship of those who share in God-consciousness." Moreover, the church is the community that God calls in order to equip empower, and serve the community, which also constitute the focus of theology and development studies (August 2014:92, 93, 96).

The church is a community through which God accomplishes his purpose of redeeming the world through the establishment of *shalom*. This community is blessed by God so that it can bless others. The church is called to "participate in the advocacy of mercy and justice in all areas and facets of life" (August 2014). It is characterised by the compassion and righteousness of God and also "participates in the unfolding of a divine plan for creation" (August 2014). Therefore, this community should always be able to respond to the challenges of any time (August 2014:44, 45). The church is "a community in which poor people belong and participate" (De Gruchy 2015:29). In this research, the concept church is applied to all the Christians in the DRC without any discrimination.

For the sake of this research, the understanding of the concept of the church is referred to three categories that describe various social and theological entities. These are: 1) denominations or their members in a larger formal or informal structure; 2) parishes and congregations representing local church; and 3) faith based organizations that are involved in conflict resolution and development (Forster 2010:89; cf. Bowers Du Toit 2005:20). These entities "help to influence public life in various ways (Bowers Du Toit 2005:20). It is important to note that the church plays an important role in collapsing society as described by Johnstone & Mandryk (2001:24) in the following manner:

> In many countries the church is the only effective social organization that can bring reconciliation between ethnic groups, cope with the many economic, health and education challenges in collapsing societies.

The Collins Dictionary of the English Language also defines the term agency as an "action or power by which something happens", and an agent as "someone or something which causes an effect" (Brookes 2010:14, 136). Agents are those organizations or individuals whose acts affect change positively or negatively (Green 2008: 436). In our case the church is considered as an agent of change of both peace and sustainable development. The research seeks to discover how the church and its leadership have contributed either to the blockages of promotion of the peace and sustainable development.

1.7.5 *Shalom* and God's kingdom

By definition, *shalom* is about well-being/wholeness, prosperity, peace (Gushee 2012:65; cf. Deist 1984:156). The Kingdom[37] of God represents the reign of God and it is directly connected to the concept *shalom*. In other words, the Kingdom of God is the Kingdom of shalom, and wherever we see the signs of *shalom* we see the establishment of God's Kingdom. *Shalom* implies right and harmonious relationship between humans and God, between human and human and between human and between human and nature (Wolterstorff 2011:110-11).

> God in Christ promises abundant life for all creation. By the power of the Holy Spirit, the Church receives this promise through faith and takes up a way of life that embodies Christ's abundant life in and for the world. The church's ministers are called to embrace this way of life and also to lead particular communities of faith to live it in their own situations. To do this, pastors and other ecclesial ministers must be educated and formed in ways of knowing, perceiving, relating, and acting that enable such leadership (Bass & Dykstra 2008:1).

According to the Bible, the purpose of God for the world always has a "social shape and it is peace" (Yoder 1985:116). *Shalom* is an active peace in which it is enjoyed by humanity and nature as at the time of creation because God created a world of peace. There was peace between God and human beings, between God and nature, between man and woman, between human beings and nature[38] and between nature and nature (Taesoo 2006:164-68). God created a good world in a state of *shalom* (Benson et al. (2011:4) and the two first chapters of the book of Genesis clearly reflect the divine vision of *shalom* for the whole creation.

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[37]Kingdom is "a place or area considered to be under the total power and control of a person, organization, or thing" (Brookes et al. 2010: 442).

[38] Nature is an aspect of creation. It is "that which scientifically accessible to human beings in creation; it biological environment of every living thing" (Pantoja 2002).

Presently, God is working towards the establishment of a new social order[39] of peace, justice, freedom, equity, and well-being (Brueggemann 1987:75). Therefore, the entire fabric of creation needs to be protected. As a consequence, to harm any creature or nature affects the entire fabric of creation (Orr & Spanier 1992:60). "The biblical understanding of *shalom* is comprehensive-liberation for creation, justice for humanity, and peace for all people" (Pantoja 2002). *Shalom,* therefore, stands for a community that welcomes outsiders (Gushee 2012:75).

> *Shalom* primarily signifies a value, an ethical category – it denotes the overcoming of strife, quarrel, and social tension, the prevention of enmity and war. It is still, to be sure, depicted as a blessing, a manifestation of divine grace, but in a great many sayings it appears in a normative context: The pursuit of peace is the obligation of the individual and the goal of various social regulations and structures… (Ravitsky in Swartley 2006:33).

Shalom is established through relationships with God, with self, with others and with nature. This takes place through transformation of the broken relationships into right, harmonious and delightful relationships between humans and God, humans and humans and between humans and nature (Wolterstorff 2011:110-11; cf. Meyers 1999:51).

1.7.6 Region

A region is defined as "an area considered as a unit for geographical or social reasons" (Brooks et al. 2010: 691). In the DRC's case, the common geographical unit of the region is the Great Lakes and the countries that are situated in the surrounding area of the great lakes in Africa. These countries are: Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, Tanzania and the DRC. In fact, the Congolese crisis can only be understood by considering both the national and regional dimensions. A crisis in any country in the region affects all the others and can even be transported to them. All these countries of the region share some common environment and any negative effects on this environment (natural world) by one country will have negative consequences for the whole region.

1.7.7 Ecological soundness

Ecological soundness is one of the main concerns of the SDGs and it is the focus of its seven of the seventeen goals (6, 7 and 11-15) (section 1.7.3). The natural world is used to represent

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[39] "The new order is not at all to be established by human plan, human knowledge, or human power. It is the inscrutable, irresistible work of God" (Brueggemann 1987:74).

the rest of God's creation under the stewardship of human beings (Myers 2007:25). The natural world is the field where God works by "creating and sustaining shalom, and restoring it when it is absent (De Gruchy 2015:26, 27). Ecological soundness is one of the characteristics of transformation in the understanding of development (Bragg in Myers 2007:95) and human beings have the duty to look after their environment because their lives depend on it (Meyers 2007:120). In this research the concepts natural world, environment and ecology are used interchangeably to mean the same thing.

1.8 Significance and potential impact of study

Much has been written on the conflict and development within the context of the DRC. For instance, Kasolwa (2015)"[40] aims to understand the different conflicts in the DRC in order to make suggestions of a model of reconciliation, which based on a Christian ownership of approved traditional practices. On the other side, Kakwata (2014), in "The Pentecostal Church in the Congo/30ème Communauté: Engaging in Poverty Eradication", addresses the involvement of the Pentecostal Church, particularly that of the city of Lubumbashi, in poverty eradication.

However, neither of these has focused on the role of the Congolese Church (Catholic, Mainstream churches and African Independent Churches (AICs) and their leadership with regards to conflict and sustainable development in the Democratic Republic of Congo from a theological perspective. The Democratic Republic of Congo occupies a strategic geographical position in Africa as it is in very central part of the continent and shares its boundaries with nine countries. The Democratic Republic of Congo is "Africa's potentially wealthiest nation" beside its strategic position (Johnstone & Mandryk 2001:197). The importance of the DRC is also stated by the Assistance Secretary of State for African Affairs Susan E. Rice's statement to the U.S. House of Representatives International Relations Committee's Subcommittee on Africa on September 15, 1997 in the following manner:

> As I testified before this subcommittee in March, the Democratic Republic of the
> Congo is one of the most important countries in Africa. Its political course and
> economic prospects will have enormous implications for not only the people of the
> Congo but also for many in the Central and Southern African regions as well… With

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[40] In *Pour un modèle inculturé de réconciliation pour la République démocratique du Congo (RDC): une appropriation chrétienne des pratiques traditionnelles de réconciliation à partir de Genèse* (pg 32-33). "For culturally oriented model of reconciliation for the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC): A Christian appropriation of traditional reconciliation practices from the book of Genesis 32-33" (Translation mine).

its vast mineral, agricultural and water resources, the country has the potential to serve as an economic powerhouse – to improve the lives not only of its own citizens but of many of its poor and troubled neighbors… The Rwandan genocide of 1994, in which over half a million Tutsis and moderate Hutus were brutally murdered, set the stage for the recent crisis (Baregu 1999:186, 187).

The main contribution of this study is to identify ways in which the Congolese conflict is created and can be resolved with the implication that the church may open doors to theology, peace and development that will impact the lives of the people of the Democratic Republic, the region and Africa. The findings of the study will be at the disposal of those who are engaged in conflict resolution and community development. On one hand researchers and those involved in making policies in peace building will also find needed information for their duties. On the other hand, the findings may be used by the church and its leadership to both reflect and get engaged to resolve conflicts and contribute to community development.

According to Clarke (in Clarke 2011: 3, 6, 11, 12) religion has to play a major role in promoting development and peace in the world though it is excluded from the development studies literature.[41] Religion is considered also by Clarke as an instrument that helps to understand the world in order to bring changes in the world. Therefore, community's religious values should always be taken into account to produce a genuine development. "Religious communities…are uniquely equipped to meet the challenges of our time: resolving conflict, caring for the sick and needy, promoting peaceful co-existence among all peoples" (James in Clarke 2011:3).

Our theological contribution is based on the belief that the idea of God's *shalom* is essential in the quest to resolve the Congolese conflict and implement a sustainable development. In fact, conflict resolution that produces peace and sustainable development that addresses all issues of development are directly connected to the implementation of *shalom*.

1.9 Limitations

The researcher was not able to use empirical methods due lack of proper documents in order to travel to the DRC. However, explorative and descriptive methods have been used in order to answer the question: "*What is the relationship between sustainable development and*

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[41]This is contrary to the fact that "persuasive arguments can be made that religion has exacerbated poverty in various ways, including gender inequality, the doctrine of predestination, religious spending on temples, and emphasis on non-temporal salvation, the protection of vested interests by those in authority, and so on (Clarke 2011:5).

conflict and in what ways can the church and its leadership – in the Democratic Republic of Congo – contribute to its resolution?" and also to reach the objective of the research (section 1.5). Therefore, information was collected from different written materials and sources such as scholarly books, articles and relevant internet sources.

1.10 Research structure

Chapter 1- <u>Research Background</u>: The chapter is the skeleton of the research. It introduces the reader to the study and helps them understand the phenomenon under investigation. In this chapter are outlined a brief overview of the research methodology and the motivation for doing the research. The chapter gives a general introduction of the research.

Chapter 2 –<u>The DRC conflict within the context of the Great Lakes Region</u>: The chapter deals with the presentation of the Great Lakes Region. In this chapter five countries (DRC, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda) will be considered and investigated, later in chapter 4, because of either their role or influence on the conflicts in the DRC and the region. The chapter is mainly historical. The chapter also looks on the history of the DRC. The chapter will provide different historical events that will be analysed and interpreted in order to understand the role that the church and its leadership have played to influence the Congolese crisis from the slave trade period to the present time.

Chapter 3 – <u>The relationship between development and conflict with special reference to the DRC</u>: The chapter is mainly descriptive and it deals with two main concepts: conflict and sustainable development. It deals with these two concepts and also with their interconnectedness, which later will be applied to the situation in the DRC. This is discussed in order to find out how each concept influences the other within the context of the Democratic Republic of Congo. The aim of this chapter is to help us consider seriously the impacts of conflicts on development and vice-versa to help us realize the great need to get engaged to resolve the current conflict and to establish a sustainable development in Democratic Republic of Congo.

Chapter 4 – <u>Socio-Political Analysis and Interpretation of Historical Events within the DRC</u>: The chapter is analytic and interpretative of the second chapter. In the chapter different points will be exploited in order to identify the origin of conflict and its impact on the region and the state of development within the DRC. The chapter seeks to develop an understanding of the current conflict in the DRC in relation to the different events of both the DRC and of its neighbours of the region before engaging in the resolution of the conflict.

Chapter 5 – *Shalom* as theological perspective with regard to the intersection of conflict resolution and development: The chapter will focus on understanding sustainable development through conflict resolution as being the initiative and work of God to bring all of His creations under the reign of Jesus Christ. The chapter is focused on the concept of *shalom* and both peace and sustainable development will be understood in terms of *shalom*. The church and its leadership will be considered as agents of the establishment of *shalom*, which will be mainly related to the Kingdom of God.

The chapter is also an attempt to integrate the concept of *shalom* into that of sustainable development. Five interconnected concepts will constitute this chapter, namely: sustainable development, well-being, ecology, reconciliation and peacebuilding. Therefore, the chapter will altogether try to look at shalom in connection to all these concepts.

Chapter 6 – The Agency of the church in conflict resolution and sustainable development in the DRC: The chapter will describe and analyse the role and nature of the church and its leadership (Catholic, Mainstream churches, and African Independent Churches (AICs)[42]/Kimbanguist) as far as conflict and development are concerned during the colonial and post-colonial period in the Democratic Republic of Congo. An emphasis in analysis will be placed on church leadership with regards to their roles and impacts with regards to either to conflict, development or both.

Chapter 7 – Conclusion and Recommendations: The chapter will be a summary of the research findings and draw conclusion on the basis of the preceding arguments. The chapter will focus on findings and recommendations of the research.

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[42] In the initials AIC the initial "I" stands for "initiated", "instituted", "independent" or "indigenous" (Born et al. 2008:28), therefore I have preferred to only use the initials AICs to represent these churches.

Chapter 2: The DRC Conflict within the Context of the Great Lakes Region

2.1 Introduction

The conflict in the DRC cannot be fully understood by focusing on the history of the country without any genuine consideration of the history of the region[43]. In fact, the DRC conflict is not an isolated case, but rather a very complex one. Prunier (2009:67-69), for example, portrays the conflict as one that has both regional and geopolitical[44] implications. According to Cooper (2013: 3), there are foreign involvements in the Congolese wars where foreign interests and business connections, arms trafficking, money laundering and other organized crime, all play a role (1996-1997 & 1998-2003). Stearns (2011: 4) argues that the Congo wars "are the product of a deep history, often unknown to outside observers". This chapter, therefore, attempts to identify the unknown deep history from the local, regional and international factors of the Congolese conflict. With regard to the nature of history, Fuentes (in Brueggemann 1987:71) notes that:

> …history is something we have created ourselves. We are thus responsible for our history. No one was in the past. But there is no living present with a dead past. No one has been present in the future. But there is no living present without the imagination of a better world. We both made the history of this hemisphere. We must both remember it. We must both imagine it…

In fact, people make their own history by creating social institutions, which in return impact their daily lives. It is impossible, therefore, to understand people without understanding their social systems be they political, religious, or economic. Jones (in Myers 1999:48) notes, for example, the manner in which people and systems are interrelated:

> People and social system are interrelated. While people create the political, religious, and economic institutions of their society, at the same time these institutions shape (create) the people who live in them. The impact of sin, and hence the scope of the gospel, includes both the personal and the social.

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[43] Chrétien (2003:22) the situation in the region in the following manner: "For many years, the region was a paradise for colonizers, missionaries, and so-called development experts… But then the Holy Spirit "blew a tornado" (to quote a still-popular Burundian expression from the 1930). Suddenly, in Uganda in the mid 1980, in Burundi in 1993, in Rwanda in 1994, and in Zaire/DRC in 1997, mass graves and hundreds of dead evoked the image of hell in commentators' eyes."

[44] "If the catalyst of the conflict was local – the persecution of the Banyamulenge by a Kinshasa-supported South Kivu tribal collision – the reasons why it broke out, and especially why it broke out on such a large scale, involved the entire region".

The Great Lakes Region has its own history that needs to be explored for the understanding of the region's situation, in general, and it's relationship to that of the DRC, in particular. According to Ntalaja (2002:215), the Great Lakes Region consists of nine countries: The DRC[45], Uganda, Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania, Zambia, Malawi, and Mozambique. But "the label Great Lakes Region is conventionally restricted to the core of the region, whose members are Congo, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania" (Ibid). The restricted label given to the Great Lakes Region, which is made up of the five latter countries, is maintained for the sake of this study. Therefore, the focus in this chapter is on the geography, peoples, religion, economy and politics of each country in relation to the selected recorded historical events, which will be analyzed and interpreted, in the next chapter, as a means of providing a context of the regional and Congolese conflict.

In order to express the complexity of the causes of the Congolese conflict, Reverend Banyene Bulere[46] (Micah network 2007)[47] points out that there are many actors with different agendas. These actors may be: political leaders, governments, multinational companies, the international community and rulers or ethnic chieftains (militias). Here, the focus will be on the events in the region and in the Democratic Republic of Congo. To achieve this objective, four major periods have been selected: the colonial period, the period from independence onward, the period from the Rwandan genocide (1994) to 1996 and the period from 1996 to the present time due to the fact that the Congolese conflict cannot be fully understood in isolation from the rest of the region. Also, events from the slave trade that might have some impacts on the conflicts in the region in general and on the DRC, in particular, will be investigated. The country[48] has had different names which may be used in this research but that of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) will be preferred. The next section focuses on the presentation of the region.

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[45] The Democratic Republic of Congo, the country was first called Zaire and in this research the two names will be used interchangeably. The country was first called 'the Congo Free State' during Leopold II rule and later it became 'the Belgian Congo' under the Belgian rule. The country was renamed 'the Democratic Republic of Congo' at independence and later renamed 'Zaire' under Mobutu's rule in 1975. Finally in 1997, it was renamed 'the Democratic Republic of Congo under Laurent Désiré Kabila.

[46] He is the Legal Representative of the 8th Community of the Pentecostal Churches of Central Africa in DRC.

[47] Conflict, Wars and the Church: The case of the Democratic Republic of Congo, available online on the website: www.micahnetwork.org/sites/default/files/doc/event/drc_conflit_wars_church.pdf

[48] According to Prunier (2009:75), the country was first named the "Congo Free State" (1885-1908), then "Belgian-Congo" (1908-1960), then the "Congo Republic" (or the Democratic Republic of Congo) (1960-1971), and later it was called "Zaire" (1971-1997). According to Meredith (2006:536) the country was renamed "the Democratic Republic of the Congo on the 17th May 1997. But in this research the country will be referred to mainly as the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) with few references to the name Zaire or both.

2.2 Regional geography, politics and socio-economic features

This section is included in this study because of the complexity of the actors in the Congolese conflict. As such, this conflict cannot be fully understood without a serious scrutiny of the different events in relation to the social, economic and political activities in the region. This section stands to consider different events of the region that may help to identify some of the root causes of the Congolese conflict that may have negative impact on the development of the country.

2.2.1 Geography, people and religion of the region

Four countries, which are all members of the Great Lakes Region, constitute the main fields of investigation for this section, namely Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda and Tanzania. One interesting fact is that all four share their borders with the unstable eastern part of the DRC/Zaire. As Reyntjens (2009:42, 43) points out, the regionalization of violence is reinforced by the geographical proximity of conflicts, by the game of alliances and by population flows.[49] A description of each of the four countries that share borders with the DRC follows.

Rwanda is a mountainous country with an area of 26,338 sq. kms. It is made up of three main groups of population with 81% Hutu (Bantu), 18% Tutsi (Nilotic), 0.3% Twa (Pygmy) and 0.7% of other peoples. English, French and KiNyarwanda[50] are the spoken languages in the country. The capital city is Kigali (Johnstone & Mandryk 2001: 550-1) and the country has four neighbors: Uganda in the north, Burundi in the south, the DRC in the west and Tanzania in the east. 80.83% of the population of Rwanda are Christians, 10.50% are Muslim, 4.50% are non-religious/other, 3.97% are traditional ethnic and 0.20% are Baha'i (Johnstone & Mandryk 2001: 551). It is reported that a large majority of the people of Rwanda are Christians with a high "church attendance". As a result, many schools and clinics are run by church organizations (Meredith 2006: 485; cf. Adelman & Suhrke 1999:85).

Like its neighbor, Burundi is a mountainous country with an area of 27,834 sq. kms and its people are categorised as follow: 82% Hutus, 14% Tutsi, 1% Twa and 3% of other people. All speak Kirundi and French. Bujumbura is Burundi's capital city. Johnstone & Mandryk (2001: 134), Burundi and Rwanda are the most fertile countries in Africa (cf. Reader

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[49] For instance there was a high demographic pressure in Rwanda and Burundi and there was land pressure in the DRC/Zaire in the areas bordering Rwanda and Burundi. There were also alliances such as the Mobutu-Habyarimana and Museveni-Kagame (Reyntjens 2009:43).

[50] The entire population speaks Kinyarwanda (see Johnstone & Mandryk 2001: 550)

1997:654). The country shares its borders with three neighbors: Rwanda in the north, Tanzania in the east and the DRC in the west. Christians constitute 90.06% of the Burundian population, traditional ethnic religions constitute 6.72%, Muslim 3.00%, Baha'i 0.08%, Hindu 0.08% and 0.06% are non-religious/other (Johnstone & Mandryk 2001: 134).

Uganda is significantly larger than Rwanda and Burundi covering an area of 241,040 sq. kms with much of the land being fertile. There are four groups of peoples: 64.8% Bantu, 27.9% Nilotic, 5.4% Sudanic and 1.9% other peoples. Kampala is the capital city (Johnstone & Mandryk 2001: 641). The country has six neighbors: the DRC in the west, Rwanda and Tanzania in the south, South Sudan in the north and Kenya in the east. 88.65% of Ugandans are Christians, 6.00% are Muslim, 4.15% are traditional ethnic, 0.40% are Baha'i and 0.20% are Hindu (Johnstone & Mandryk 2001: 641). The most spoken languages are English, Luganda and Swahili (Wanyama 2015)[51].

Tanzania is larger than Uganda and has an area of 945,037 sq. kms. The country has five groups of people: 92.4% Bantu, 2% Cushitic, 0.4% Khoisan, 2.3% of other peoples and refugees. Swahili[52], English and 135 other languages are spoken. The capital city is Dar-Es-Salam (Johnstone & Mandryk 2001: 613, 615). The country has eight neighbors: the DRC, Rwanda and Burundi in the east, Uganda and Kenya in the north and Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique in the south. In the eastern part of the country is the Indian Ocean. In Tanzania, 51.42% of the population are Christians, 31.80% are Muslims, 15.15% are Traditional ethnic religions, 0.90% are Hindus, 0.40% are Baha'i, 0.30% are non-religious/other and 0.03% of the populations are Sikh (Johnstone & Mandryk 2001: 615).

2.2.2 Economy of the Region

As far as east Africa is concerned, Richmond & Gestrin (2009:186) argue that "rainfall is a major dominant factor of survival and well-being… The economies of the region are agricultural – or pastoral – based and heavily dependent on rainfall." The choice to classify Rwanda and Burundi together is explained by the fact that both countries share almost the same history with regard to their people and both were colonized by the same European powers. Uganda and Tanzania too were colonized by the same power (Germany & Belguim).

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[51] English rules in Uganda, but local languages shouldn't be sidelined, available online on the website: www.theconverstion.com/english-rules-in-uganda-but-local-languages-shouldn't-be-sidelined

[52] The promotion and use of Kiswahili has obscured some tribal divisions (See Johnstone & Mandryk 2001: 615)

2.2.2.1 Uganda and Tanzania

The economy of Uganda is largely dependent on agriculture its main export. Continuing war in the north and west as well as the ravage of AIDS and disease have been hindrances to development (Johnstone & Mandryk 2001: 641). Uganda mainly exports coffee, cotton and tea (Meredith 2011:232). The Ugandan economy is growing, thanks to a program of national reconstruction based on economic liberalism and decentralization that was introduced by President Yoweri Museveni from 1986 onwards (Richmond & Gestrin 2009:187).

In connection to the Congolese conflict, Marysse & André Reybrouck (2014:455) note that Uganda, a country that has hardly any significant gold deposits, had its gold exports rise to between $90 and $95 million per year in 1999 and 2000. This was applied also to other minerals. Leclercq (in Reybrouck 2014:456) reports that diamond exports were at $200,000 when the war started but increased to $1.8 million in 1999.

The economy of Tanzania is mainly dependent on agriculture and the country has no mineral potential (Arnold 2005:406). During President Nyerere's rule, the Tanzanian economy was nationalized through village farming cooperatives (*ujamaa*). However, currently Tanzania has abandoned its former economic system by introducing economic reforms, encouraging investment and increasing development assistance. Tourism is currently viewed as big business in Tanzania[53] (Richmond & Gestrin 2009:188).

2.2.2.2 Rwanda and Burundi

The economy of the Republic of Rwanda depends mainly on agriculture and few natural resources with coffee, tea and aid as the main sources of foreign exchange. Some problems with regard to development are over-population, the distance to the sea and the ethnic conflict, which has lasted nearly 40 years[54] (Johnstone & Mandryk 2001: 550). A few mineral resources are also found in the country, namely tin and coltan. There is also a sizeable amount of methane and fuel in the Lake Kivu (Turner 2007:26). Rwanda is also producer of bananas, eucalyptus groves and coffee (Meredith 2011:485).

Marysse & André (in Reybrouck 2014:455, 456) argue that Rwanda, which does not have any good reserve of gold deposits exported $29 million worth of gold annually in 1999 and

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[53] There is more description of Uganda than it is of Tanzania because Uganda has played a central role in the DRC conflict. The country is directly involved in the conflict.

[54] It is important to be reminded that the first open conflict between Hutu and Tutsi in Rwanda took place in 1959.

2000. During the same period, Rwanda exported about $40 millions worth of diamonds despite not having any diamond deposits. According to Global Witness, Reybrouck (2014:456) reports that:

> From Congo, Rwanda also raked in tin, a much more workday ore used around the world to manufacture food packaging. Between 1998 and 2004 that country produced some 2,200 metric tons (2,420 U.S tons) of cassiterite (tine ore) itself, but exported 6,800 metric tons (nearly 7,480 U.S. tons), more than three times that amount.

Like its neighbor Rwanda, the Burundian economy depends on agriculture and few natural resources. Ethnic conflicts are also hindrances to development (Johnstone & Mandryk 2001: 134). After this short consideration of the economies of the four eastern neighbouring countries, the section that follows will deal with the context of colonialism in the shaping of the Congolese conflict in these countries.

2.3 The context of colonialism in the shaping of the conflict (1885-1960s)

The current conflict in the DRC needs also to be understood by considering different periods of the country's history and that of the region. This section focuses on the colonial period and its contribution in the shaping of the Congolese conflict from a regional perspective. The ways colonial powers handled conflicts that already existed before their arrival and their socio-economic and political systems had negative impacts on both conflict and sustainable development.

2.3.1 Brief overview of the colonial period in Africa with special reference to the DRC (1885-1960s)

It is important to note that a good understanding of the effects of colonialism on the African people goes hand in hand with that of slavery. According to Fage (1995: 237; cf. Reader 1997: 395-95; Macqueen 2002:36), the increasing demand for slaves in America led the Portuguese to turn their attention to the Kingdom of Kongo[55], which they discovered in 1482. The Portuguese conquered territories of Africa "by Christianization and peaceful penetration… in 1491 the first of a series of contingents of priests and skilled artisans was

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[55] The kingdom of Kongo also known as the kingdom of Congo was established in Angola, the Republic of Congo and the DRC.

sent out to begin the conversion of the kingdom into a Christian state under Portuguese protection"[56]. Fage (1995: 238) describes this situation in the following manner:

> By the second quarter of the sixteenth century, about a third of all slaves being taken out of Africa by the Portuguese were coming from the Congo region… In 1526… many Bakongo chiefs were actively engaging in slave trading and raiding, and the slave trade was a major economic activity of the kingdom.

Hopkins (in Reader 1997: 415) observes that "the remarkable expansion of the slave trade in the eighteen century provides a horrific illustration of the rapid response of producers in an undeveloped economy to price intensives". According to Reader (1997: 415, 416, 417) and Collins & Burns (2007:215), African traders[57] were also involved in the slave trade and they sold both slaves and "whatever those slaves might have to contribute to the indigenous African economy". They were unable to resist the European offers of trade and they were motivated by "individual self-aggrandizement". They conducted slave-raids on behalf of the European interlopers using "the force of custom and political authority". As far as African traders are concerned, Reader (1997: 416) notes that:

> Chiefs and wealthy elites took people whom customary practice had enslaved within the indigenous economy, where the practice bestowed at least a measure of benefit on all parties, and sold them abroad for goods that brought little benefit to anyone other than the traders themselves – indeed, it could be argued that the inflow of foreign goods seriously disrupted the development of indigenous economies.

There was also flourishing trade between Europeans and people for the Near East or North Africa. In this trade, Europeans were exporting timber, metal and slaves in exchange for luxury produce such as spices, perfumes, drugs, silks, and other fine cloths, from Muslim merchants (Fage 1995: 217). It is interesting to note here that the involvement of Christianity and Islam are placed side by side in the slave trade. Christianity was associated with Europeans as they conquered Africa and Islam is associated with traders from the Near East who exchanged their commodities against slaves and other materials (Hennessy 1961:9-12, 92). A general conclusion of the slave trade in Africa may well be described by Fage (1995: 322) in his observation that:

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[56] See also Hennessy (1961:9-12), Reader (1997:3995-97), Hochschild (2006:11-10) and Collins & Burns (2007:214) for more details.

[57] They sold their brothers, their cousins, their neighbors, the only conceivable justification being that slaves were a commonplace feature of African society – chattels, valued less highly than the goods offered by European traders (see Reader 1997: 416).

The general picture given by travelers from the outside world who, following the inspiration of David Livingston, began increasingly to penetrate Bantu Africa from the 1850s onwards, is one of the near-universal destruction of peace, village agricultural society, and its replacement by chaos and barbarism. The blame for this was laid on wars and raids to secure slaves for robber societies and economies both outside and inside Africa, and the only remedy seen was the introduction – if necessary, the imposition – of European commerce, Christianity and colonization to extirpate such crimes against humanity, and to lead Africans back to the path of civilization.

It is now clear that Africans suffered the devastating effects of the slave trade, which was perpetuated by Europeans in collaboration with Africans. During this period, Africans were marginalized by both outsiders and their fellow Africans and this is argued to have had a negative impact on African lives in years from then on. After the slave trade, Africans would be exposed to the effects of colonization by the Europeans. It is evident, then, that both the slave trade and colonization are forms of marginalization because Africans' human rights were not respected by both the traders and the colonizers who were only concerned by their own interests.

It is certain that as a result of colonization, the African continent will never be the same again. It is also true that colonization affected the daily lives of Africans in both positive and negative ways. According to Collins and Burns (2007:309), the colonial enterprise was both 'exploitative' and 'constructive'. Therefore, what will be exposed here is mainly the product of the insights of Collins & Burns (2007: 309-327) with regard to the colonial legacy, which assist us in capturing the impact of colonization on Africa and its people, as well as on development[58] and conflict.

During and after the First World War, there was massive unrest and calls for political reforms in the French and English colonies after the draft programs of development that were intended to mobilize African resources in order to rescue the economies of the colonial countries (Britain in 1940 and France in 1946) (Collins & Burns 2007). Labour[59] was "Africa's principal commodity" for the colonial states. At that time, Africans also became

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[58] "A recurrent theme in the literature on underdevelopment in Africa and the weakness of the African states traces the source to the impact of colonial rule on the process of state formation", according to Grosse (Jones 2001:16).

[59] The economic policy of the colonial state was dependent upon harnessing African labor, by force it necessary, to build the infrastructure for military and political control an obtaining cheap workers for export-oriented industries and settler farms. Africans needed to be prodded into productivity for the plantation, the mine, and the state (see Collins & Burns 2007: 314).

entrepreneurs, and this fact was perceived differently by both white settlers and the colonial authorities. For the former, it was viewed as competition and for the latter, it was viewed as a danger to their politics (Collins & Burns 2007: 309, 314). Even though Africans could now participate in the new economic order imposed by colonial rule, only males were part of it as women were completely excluded:

> The economic and social policies imposed by the colonial state virtually excluded women from employment, and both consciously and unconsciously, inclined African gender roles to imitate European – and particularly Victorian – concepts of masculinity and femininity (Collins & Burns 2007: 318).

The "new economic environment" profited mainly young males who were able to work. Cash money enabled these young men either "to challenge or simply ignore established hierarchy in their traditional societies"[60]. Older men were affected by this situation, but women became the main victims. Now that they had means, the young men were able to marry many wives and this presented other challenges to their traditional societies. Colonialism placed a double burden on African women, who were seen now to embrace the European 'cult of respectability' and to construct a migrant labour industry from rural agriculture production (Collins & Burns 2007: 318, 319). Besides the implication of the new economic environment on the social life of Africans, African labour was also used in the construction of railways and roads.

Thousands of African workers were engaged in the construction of railways and thousands died on the job. Railways were to link the interior of Africa to the coasts and the landlocked colonies such as Rwanda and Burundi were simply ignored. These railways facilitated the "the rapid circulation of people, goods, ideas, and microbes throughout the continent". Roads were developed to support railways and navigation and with roads, and railways established. Africans were no longer living in isolation from the rest of the world to the extent that there was a deep cultural impact on them from the colonizers (Collins & Burns 2007: 316).

African identity was not spared from the influence of colonial rule. For example, identities were no longer defined by ties of family, clan or lineage, but rather by language and tribes. Migrant laborers received passes that helped to identify and control their movements by the colonizers. This provided migrants with an identity and also it "encouraged the sense of

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[60] In most African communities the dominance of older men was based on their control of land, cattle and women (Collins and Burns 2007: 318).

belonging to a particular tribe"[61] (Collins & Burns 2007: 320). Migrants were naturally attracted by the cleavage between tribes as they were living a long way from their homes. Africans, who migrated, for whatever reason, could find it very comfortable to associate themselves with tribesmen who already were living in the city.

Furthermore, colonial rule played a major role in the expansion of both Islam and Christianity. European officials favored and supported Christian missionaries who offered an alternative to traditional religious practices and escape for marginalised people. However, some African preachers who founded their own Christian denominations were perceived by colonial officials as potential destabilizing forces because of their zealous converts. One of these denominations was the Watchtower[62]. The introduction of education was first in the hands of Christian missionaries and in the early years most students were marginalised members of the society (slaves, women, orphans, undesirables), who were denied their rights in their own communities. It is interesting to note that despite the introduction of institutions of higher education in French and British colonies, there were no such opportunities offered in Portuguese and Belgian colonies (Collins & Burns 2007: 320, 322).

The African population began to increase after the First World War as Africans began to abandon traditional practices that often resulted in high rates of infant mortality. This population growth was also made possible by the end of slavery, better foods, and the containment of epidemics. Devastating diseases such as malaria were now treated by health authorities. Hospitals were established for colonial officials and African elites, and whole networks of clinics and dispensaries were established for rural people. The introduction of capitalism and Christianity put an emphasis on the individual thus implying a shift from the traditional African emphasis on community (Collins & Burns 2007: 322, 323, 326). There was already division in the provision of basic services established by colonial regimes. Collins and Burns (Ibid: 326-7) find that the psychology of the colonial experience is the 'intangible' and 'enduring' legacy of the colonial rule as captured in the following:

> Every colony had a small but growing numbers of Africans who avidly adopted
> European dress, diet, and culture. They were the first in their communities to take
> European names, to speak European languages, and to dress in European clothing.
> Many accepted the European characterization of African culture as primitive and

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[61] The growth consciousness found fertile ground in the townships and mining compounds, where new migrants relied on tribal affiliations to help them find work, to provide a social network, and to maintain their ties to their rural homelands (see Collins and Burns 2007: 320).

[62] This was the name by which the Jehovah Witnesses were identified by.

believed that eventually Africans would be assimilated by European beliefs, customs, and languages. Not all educated Africans adopted these views, but the influence of European culture indelibly shaped the class that would take power after independence.

Nugent (2004: 56) describes the Belgian imperial legacy as being an extremely unfortunate one that left ordinary people in the Congo, Burundi and Rwanda, who were already engaged in the struggle over inheritance and political kingdoms, in a hopeless situation. The outcome of the Belgian legacy served the colonizers' interests. Belgians had nothing to do with supporting governments of their colonies, but they had to preserve their business interests as was the case of Katanga[63]. With regard to the DRC, Stearns (2011:7) rightly points out that "by the time they were forced to hand over power, the Belgians had set the new nation up to fail". As far as education is concerned, "the Belgian colonial administration left a legacy of a massive system of primary schools[64] that produced few graduates" (Hull 1979:140-41).

As far as 'ethnic conflict' is concerned, Belgium played a major role in dividing Africans. Ntalaja (2002: 217) observes that "the colonial trinity[65] sought to impose its hegemony through paternalism, white supremacy and administratively enforced ethnic division among Africans". In DRC the result was internal conflicts of interests and violent social conflicts that led to the deterioration of the conditions of economic exploitation of the colony and for political control (Gran 1979:49). The conflict between Hutu and Tutsi in both Rwanda and Burundi should also be understood in the same context where the colonizers played a negative role in the socio-economic and political life of both Tutsi and Hutu. This will be discussed in a later section of this chapter (section 2.3.2.2).

2.3.2 The Colonial period with reference to the region (1885-1960s)

The aim of this section is to present a brief history of the colonial period in four countries of the Great Lakes region, namely: Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi. Some historical events of this section might help us in the understanding of development and conflict in the

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[63] 'The largest mining company, the Union Minière du Haut Katanga, offered money to both sides (Belgian government and Congolese government), before finally deciding to plump for Katangan secession' (see Nugent, p. 56).

[64] "More than 75% of the pupils were in Roman Catholic schools, which were government subsidized; and 19% in Protestant schools among which a few were government subsidized".

[65] Colonial regime, Church (Missionaries) and Companies. Also Gran (1979:41) puts it this way: "Political power was exercised by the interpretation of three entities: the bureaucracy that controlled the colonial administration and the army, the capitalists who controlled the industrial sector, and the church. See also MacGaffey (1991:27).

region as well as the implications this might have had on the Congolese conflict (bearing in mind that conflict is related to development).

It is also important to consider the evolution of situations in the two northern neighbors of the DRC, the Central African Republic (CAR)[66] and South Sudan[67] even if there is no specific focus on the two countries, the conflicts in any of these countries can have a negative impact in the DRC as was the case of the Rwandan conflict (section 2.4.3). The point is that the DRC is still recovering from a very long experience of war in which eastern neighbours have been involved; and now new waves of refugees are coming into the country. The government of the DRC should follow the development of events in the neighbouring countries with all seriousness to avoid the mistake of the past. It is shown in this chapter (see sections 2.3.2.2 & 2.4.2), that the coming of Rwandan refugees into the DRC was the beginning of a conflict that has brought the country to its knees. The DRC has also the obligation to learn constructive lessons from both conflicts.

2.3.2.1 Uganda and Tanzania

Meredith (2006: 11) asserts that in In Britain's colonies in east and central Africa, political activities revolved around the demands of white settlers[68] for more political power. In both Uganda and Tanzania, there was the fear of losing land to the advantage of the white settlers and the importation of a racial hierarchy as evidenced in Kenya. After World War Two, Europeans were invited and in the decade after 1948 their number doubled in Tanganyika[69]. In Tanganyika, the initial debate over Closer Union had led to the formation, as early as 1929, of the African Association, which was the first political organization to aspire towards national coverage. This organization was transformed into the Tanganyika African National Union largely owning to post-war proposals (Nugent 2004: 32).

In both Uganda and Tanganyika, the situation was quite different from that of the three Belgian colonies (namely DR Congo/Zaire, Burundi and Rwanda), where there was much

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[66] The CAR and the DRC share almost the same history at independence. "The colonial experience did too little to forge a sense of common identity" (Nugent 2004:224-28).Here is the same issue of lack of common identity that we have also seen in the cases of Rwanda and Burundi.

[67] The current conflict in South Sudan requires much attention, because the country was born as a way of resolving long conflicts between the north and the south Sudan. After many efforts to resolve the conflict "every internationally-sponsored peace forum has ended at the same place: self-determination as the principle on which the war is to be resolved" (Johnson 2003:180). One of the lessons that the DRC should learn from this country is that a conflict may seem to be resolved when it is not. The end of the war should never be a guarantee of durable peace, and that root causes of the conflicts need to be dealt with seriously.

[68] Europeans living in the colonies

[69] A former name of Tanzania

ethnic conflict. In Uganda and Tanzania, the conflict opposed races instead of ethnic groups[70]. Nugent (2004: 33) writes that "in Tanganyika, Governor Twining was an enthusiastic advocate of partnership, and sought a means of reconciling the conflicting aspirations of Europeans, Asians and Africans". On the whole, there were conflicts in these countries and marginalization should be seen as the root cause of all of them in one way or another. The next focus is on political events in Rwanda and Burundi.

2.3.2.2 Rwanda and Burundi

During the colonial rule, Rwanda and Burundi were under the same administration, first by the Germans then by the Belgians and they formed what was called "Ruanda-Urundi" (Stampworldhistory 2016)[71]. Although the Hutus and Tutsis were seen as living together united by the same language and customs, it is important to notice that the feudal ruling class was constituted of the "royal elite, chiefs and aristocracy of Tutsi" long before colonialism. This situation then received the support of the colonial rulers (Germans and Belgians) (Meredith 2006:157-58; cf. Adelman & Suhrke 1999:5; cf. Stearns 2011: 22; cf. Cooper 2013:9) and of the Catholic Church[72]. In fact, the Belgians went further by introducing identity cards (1920s) specifying the tribe of the holder. They also favored the education of Tutsi. Primary schools were segregated and only a few Hutu could further their education in seminaries and by the late 1930s, the Belgians had made ethnicity the defining feature of ordinary life in both Rwanda and Burundi (Meredith 2006: 158-60; cf. Jones 2001:19).

The Tutsi aristocratic rule over the Hutus and its impact on the colonizers is also acknowledged by Reader (1997: 655- 658) and (Jones 2001:17-19) who report that during colonization, the Germans chose to collaborate with the Tutsi whom they selected to hold positions of authority in the colonial administration. German ethnographic researchers learnt that all the political and economic power was in the hands of Tutsi[73] who, theoretically, owned all the land. The Belgians conquered Ruanda-Urundi in April 1916 and treated the new territory as an extension of Belgian Congo. The lack of wealth to be exploited led Belgians to bring the Hutus and Tutsis[74] to work in the mines of Katanga (in DRC). At the same time, Ruanda-Urundi became the breadbasket of the Belgian Congo.

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[70] Conflict between ethnic groups was mainly a concern in the three Belgian colonies.

[71] Ruanda-Urundi, available online on the website: www.stampworldhistory.com/country-profiles-2/africa/ruanda-urundi/

[72] For example, Tutsi were privileged to have access to the church.

[73] Tutsis are reported to being dedicated to accumulate wealth through their 'cattle culture'.

[74] See also Stearns (2011:71-2).

The "political monopoly of one race" system was, however, challenged by a group of nine Hutu intellectuals[75] and the call for reform was advocated by church leaders (including Tutsi priests). Therefore, "majority rule" became understood as the rule of Hutu. This resulted to the formation of ethnic political parties with Hutus fighting against the Tutsi's monarchy in order to establish a republic (Meredith 2006: 157-60; cf. Jones 2001:20). The next section focuses on how the conflicts between the Hutus and the Tutsis unfolded in Rwanda.

The first violent confrontation between the Hutus and the Tutsis in Rwanda occurred in November 1959 when a Hutu sub chief was beaten by a group of Tutsis. The Hutus retaliated by attacking Tutsi authorities, burning Tutsi homes and property, killing hundreds of Tutsis causing thousands of Tutsis to go to exile (Cooper 2013:9). These events pushed the Belgians to change sides and in 1960, Colonel Guy Logiest[76] begun to appoint Hutu chiefs as replacements for the Tutsi as a response to the new situation. As the new Hutu chiefs started to persecute Tutsis, some 130,000 Tutsi[77] fled to the Congo, Burundi, Uganda[78] and Tanzania. The local government elections of June and July 1960 were won by the all-Hutu *Parti du Mouvement de l'Émancipation Hutu* (PARMEHUTU). At a meeting at Kitarama, the monarchy was abolished and the republic was established in January 1961. There were similar tensions in Burundi, but the Tutsi monarchy of that country did survive (Meredith 2006: 160-1; cf. Adelman & Suhrke 1999:5, 61-4).

As the situation deteriorated in Rwanda, a "Reconciliation Conference" was called by Belgium at the initiative of the UN but the results were inconclusive. At the same time, the Belgian authorities supported the Hutu leaders in their arrangement of what was termed a "legal coup". Rwandan nationalism is unique in Africa as it sought to remove the Tutsi hegemony, which colonial authorities had installed and supported, but not to rid itself of the colonial regime. At the time of independence, the political power was in the hands of Hutu. The latter will not seek reconciliation and national unity, but instead they will seek revenge against Tutsi (Reader 1997: 713-14). This attitude will determine the way Hutu will handle

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[75] They were all from the seminaries who published the *BaHutu* manifesto in 1957 that was challenging the entire administrative and economic system in Rwanda (see Meredith 2006: 159). For more details see Jones (2001:19-20).

[76] Colonel Guy Logiest was a Belgian army officer who was appointed to take charge of Rwanda as a Special Resident. In his repot to Brussels he declares: "Because of the force of circumstances, we have to take sides. We cannot remain neutral and passive (see Meredith 2006: 160).

[77] Among them was Paul Kagame, the son of a Tutsi family from the hill of Nyaratovu, in Kitarama, a lanky, intelligent figure who, at the age of four in 1961 had witnessed Hutu mobs set fire to Tutsi houses there before escaping into exile with his parents (see Meredith 2006: 491; Stearns 2011:47).

[78] Before this, there were waves of mass migration of Rwandan to Uganda from the 1920s to the 1950s (Adelman & Suhrke 1999:5).

power and the Tutsi's response to this handling. The end result of all these events was the genocide, which is dealt with in a later section (2.4.3). Here, we focus briefly on events in Burundi.

The political climate in Burundi was not based on ethnicity, as it was in Rwanda, but rather there were court cases of "clan rivalries" in relation to the Belgian administration. Political parties were formed with a nationalistic connotation appealing to both Hutu and Tutsi. Two main political parties were formed, namely the *Union pour le Progrès National* (UPRONA) and the *Parti Démocratique Chrétien* (PDC). UPRONA won the elections of September 1961 giving hope to smooth transition to independence, but the hope was shadowed by the assassination of its leader Rwagasore[79] a month later by PDC's members (Nugent 2004: 55-56). From the colonial legacy, we now move to the events from independence onward in the region.

2.4 Events from Independence Onward in the Region (1960s-1990s)

The period from independences to 1990s is very crucial and needs to be investigated because it stands as a link period between colonialism and the birth of the Congolese conflict. The conflict is believed to have direct link with events that took place during this period. This reason explains the inclusion of this section in the study.

The countries that constitute the investigation are placed in three groups: Rwanda and Burundi, Uganda and Tanzania, and South Sudan and the Central African Republic. Various factors have led to these groupings. Rwanda and Burundi share many common features to be grouped together: they both have the same population groups; they were both colonized by Germany and later by Belgium together with the DRC, they both experienced the Hutu-Tutsi conflict. In brief, the two countries have a similar history. Uganda is grouped with Tanzania by the simple fact that they both were colonized by Britain. As far as the conflict is concerned, it is interesting to note that Uganda is part of the conflict while Tanzania is not and this contrast is also important in the understanding of the Congolese conflict. The grouping of the South Sudan and the Central African Republic is explained by the fact that these countries are also experiencing a new wave of conflicts that can have negative impacts on the Congolese conflict if not handled properly.

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[79] Prince Rwagasore was married to a Hutu (see Young in Nugent, p. 56).

2.4.1 Uganda and Tanzania

Fage (1995: 486) reports that in Uganda, Africans were already part of the Legislative Council of the colonial regime in 1945. The British responded to the differing levels of development and local nationalisms of the Bantu kingdoms in southern Uganda by providing support for their demand of modernization and by using their people as agents of the extension of British power. As far as independence is concerned, Fage (1995: 486) writes that "completely fortuitous circumstances in 1961-1962 caused the Baganda to join in a coalition with the national party, led by Milton Obote, which represented the aspirations of most other ethnic groups, and in 1962 Britain felt able to grant Uganda its independence".

In order to forge a sense of national unity, Obote decided to have a "one-party state" because he saw tribal and factional groupings as threats to the country's stability. As Obote faced dissent within the cabinet, he chose to rely on armed police and imprisoned some of his own ministers. In April 1966, he became an executive President (endowed with immense power) through a new constitution. Obote then used Amin to suppress the parliamentary opposition resulting in removal of Kabaka and the death of hundreds of Baganda.[80] By 1997, his regime could only survive with the support of the army and police. With regard to security, "he developed a secret police organization known as the General Service Department, recruiting members largely from his own Langi tribe and giving it hand to arrest and imprison suspect opponents" (Meredith 2006, 232-3).

> As a prime minister of a coalition, Obote set out to accommodate the disparate ethnic groups on which Uganda was built. The broad division occurred between the Bantu groups to the south, such as the Baganda, and the Nilotic and Sudanic groups of the north, such as the Acholi and Langi, to which Obete belonged, but as much rivalry was to be found among southerners or among northerners as between the north and the south (Meredith 2006, 233).

Like Obote, Idi Amin was concerned with his own safety and so recruited largely from his tribe (Kakwa, Madi and Lugbara); and also among the Nubians[81] who were related directly to his tribal group. Obote and Amin were suspicious of each other, because of Idi Amin's misconduct. As a consequence, Idi Amin took advantage of the absence of Obote, who was attending a Commonwealth Conference, and initiated a coup in January 1971. First

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[80] Kabaka spent the rest of his life in exile in London, dependent on the dole and the generosity of friends, and died there of alcohol poisoning in 1969 (see Meredith 2006: 233).
[81] Nubian communities were descendants of southern Sudanese mercenaries used by the British authorities to pacify areas of Uganda (see Meredith 2006: 234).

impressions of Idi Amin's rule were optimistic, but out of the fear of counter-attack by Abote's supporters, Amin introduced the killing of suspected opponents and a mass killing of the tribal groups of Langi and Acholi. Amin then promoted members of his own west district and Nubians (Meredith 2006: 233-5). The scenario of Amin's rule by 1973 is described by Nugent (2004: 230) in the following manner:

> The armed forces were thoroughly disrupted by the shameless manner in which Amin used ethnicity as the principal criterion for promotion and secret execution as the means of getting rid of awkward leftovers. However, the problem was that the very boundaries of ethnic alignment were constantly mutating – providing a further example of why 'tribes' cannot be taken as a fixed quantity in Africa. Amin initially struck against so-called Nilotics in the army – Langi and Acholi – and advanced fellow West Nilers… As Amin began to play the Muslim card, he alienated groups from the West Nile who identified themselves as Christians. Purges against Alur, Lugbara and Madi soldiers and officers then followed, leading to a succession of counter-rebellions by the people affected. Amin's base was narrowed to that of the Kakwa, but even these were not to be trusted.

Amin enjoyed not only the support of the Nubian communities, but also cultivated ties with southern Sudanese non-Muslim and Congolese. In order to remain in power, Amin could only count on a force that was mainly composed of non-Ugandan mercenaries who constituted three-quarters of the national army. Because of Amin's violent oppression, ordinary Ugandans were left without any power to remove him. The only forces that would have the power to overthrow Amin will, therefore, come from outside the country. Amin's move, in October 1978, to attack Kagera in Tanzania was an open invitation for Nyerere to retaliate and march on Kampala, thus, ending the oppressive rule of Amin. In 1980, elections were organized, which Obote won in an atmosphere of violence and intimidation (Nugent 2004: 230-232). Meredith (2006:238) notes that "Obote's repression was as bad as Amin's had been; his 'northern' army was accused by human rights groups of being responsible for 300,000 civilian deaths. By the time Obote was overthrown in 1985, Uganda was ranked among the poorest countries in the world".

In January 1986, Obote was overthrown by Museveni who introduced a new kind of democracy where political parties were not allowed to campaign or field candidates for elections. Museveni justified the non-political party system by the fact that Uganda's multiparty history was a source of ethnic loyalty and conflict which resulted in the misery of

Ugandans. For him, ethnic and religious lines have proved that they are hindrances to democracy. Although the one-party system had been accepted by war-weary Ugandans leading to the defeat of Alice Lakwena's rebels in 1987, The Lord Resistance Army[82] remains undefeated (Nugent 2004: 414, 415, 417).

The accession of independence in Tanganyika is described by Fage (1995:485-486) as 'the most straightforward case'. The few European settlers in the country could not secure political power in advance to Africans because the interests of Africans were reinforced by the League of Nations mandate and the UN trusteeship.[83] The Tanganyika African National Union was able to establish a sense of national purpose due to the spread of the Swahili language and culture; and the European occupation up to 1918's damage to tribal institutions. The transition to independence was smooth because Nyerere, who was the founder of the Tanganyika African National Union, received the support of both the settlers and the British administration beside that of Africans. There was, nevertheless, the violent revolt in Zanzibar and mutiny in the Tanganyika army, which were suppressed successfully leading to the union of Zanzibar and Tanganyika. The union was later renamed Tanzania.

With regard to the issues of Hutu and Tutsi refugees in the region, especially in relation to the DRC and Tanzania as host countries, Mazrui (2008:47) finds that:

> Union with Tanzania would be safer than union with the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), in spite of the shared Belgian connection and French language. Tanzania is a less vulnerable society and a safer haven for Hutus and Tutsis. It is indeed significant that Hutus and Tutsis on the run are more likely to flee to Tanzania than to the DRC in spite of ethnic ties across the border with the DRC. Moreover, Hutus and Tutsis are becoming partially Swahilized and should be able to get on well with 'fellow' Tanzanian citizens. As citizens, they would be assimilated in due course; what was a refugee state would become and integrated part of their new country.

The Hutus and Tutsis, who fled to Tanzania and the DRC, came from Rwanda and Burundi became part of the population groups. In other words, the origin of the Hutu and Tutsi populations in the DRC and in Tanzania may also be traced from the times of conflicts in their countries (Rwanda and Burundi). The next section focuses on events in both Rwanda and Burundi.

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[82] The Lord Resistance Army is presently active on the Congolese soil (Reybrouck 2014:524-5).
[83] The League of Nations would become the United Nations Organization.

2.4.2 Rwanda and Burundi

Both Rwanda and Burundi became independent on 1 July 1962 (Reader 1997: 160-1). After independence, Hutus from Burundi were not able to carry out any revolution until 1972 when their attempted coup failed resulting in thousands of Hutus crossing borders into neighbouring countries (the DRC, Tanzania and Rwanda). After a succession of Tutsi leaders from Michel Micombero[84], Jean-Baptiste Bagaza[85] to Pierre Buyoya, Hutu militants felt obliged to form their own army, the *Parti pour la libération du people hutu* (Party for the Liberation of the Hutu People, PALIPEHUTU) with the intention of overthrowing the Tutsis' dictatorship. When the PALIPEHUTU attacked the regime in 1988, Buyoya made a deal with moderate Hutus by installing a Hutu as Prime Minister and giving half of the government portfolios to Hutus. All this culminated in the embracing of democracy, in 1990, by Buyoya (Nugent 2004:456-457).

After the National Unity Charter was approved in 1991, the constitution was voted for by a margin of 97 per cent in March 1992. At the June 1992 elections, Buyoya, who stood for the UPRONA, lost in favor of Melchior Ndadaye (the first Hutu president) of FRODEBU. Melchior Ndadaye[86], together with the President and Vice-President of the National Assembly, were executed by separatist Tutsis within the army. Between 500,000 and 100,000 Burundians lost their lives and 500,000 fled to Tanzania. The National Assembly chose Cyprien Ntaryamira of FRODEBU as President and Anatole Kanyenkiko of UPRONA as his Vice-President in order to embrace Hutus and Tutsis from both parties. With the killing of Cyprien Ntaryamira in 1994, "the internal fragmentation of political parties in Rwanda was also replicating itself in Burundi. Militants within FRODEBU decided that the time for compromise was over and they variously joined Hutu militias or the CNDD (*Conseil*

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[84] A Tutsi officer who was brought to power by a coup in 1966, he set out to remove the 'Hutu threat' once for all. He purged of Hutu members both the army and the government. "Faced with the Hutu uprising in 1972, Micombero exacted revenge on a scale never seen before in independent Africa. Hutus with any kind of education – teachers, church leaders, bank clerks, nurses, traders, civil servants – were rounded up by the army and killed. In a campaign subsequently described as 'selective' genocide', the Hutu elite was virtually eliminated. Possibly as many as 200,000 died. Another 200,000 fled in Rwanda" (Meredith 2006: 488).

[85] Bagaza mirrored Habyarimana's strategy (see Nugent 2004: 456).

[86] The assassination of Melchoir Ndadaye deepened the troubles in Burundi. After the failure of the power sharing, that followed "the former Hutu interior minister, Leonard Nyangoma went into exile and formed a political organization, the National Council for the Defense of Democracy (CNDD) and its armed branch, the Democratic Defense Front (FDD). He went in South Kivu, Zaire where the Hutu guerilla launched their operations into Northern Burundi. The Tutsi-dominated government in Burundi was condemned by the international community and neighbouring countries that imposed an embargo. But it joined the war on the basis of security imperatives and to maintain Tutsi supremacy in Burundi" (Adelman & Suhrke 1999: 388-89).

National Pour la Defense de la Démocratie) which resorted to arms, thereby adding to the PALIPEHUTU insurgency" (Nugent 2004: 457-8).

Although there was a power-sharing deal allocating fifty-five percent of ministerial portfolios to FRODEBU and its allies, and the remaining percent to UPRONA and its allies; the intensification of violence in the capital by mid-1986 pushed President Ntibantunganya to seek refuge at the American Embassy, thus, providing Buyoya with an excuse to come back into power. Negotiations to bring the conflicting parties together (a process started by Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere) were handed over to Nelson Mandela and an agreement was signed in December 2002. At the same time, there was still fighting in the east of the DRC where Tutsis and Hutus were actively involved. "The prospects for a solution depended upon events elsewhere in the Great Lakes Region, given the extent to which Hutu-Tutsi conflict had been regionalized" (Nugent 2004: 458-9; cf. Adelman & Suhrke 1999:338). The Rwandan independence was soon followed by terrible violence. With the Hutu revolution, about 130,000 Tutsis fled to neighbouring countries (Burundi, DRC, Uganda and Tanzania). From the camps, Tutsis began to organize themselves in "inyenzi"[87]. They tried unsuccessfully to carry out raids inside Rwanda. When a group of two hundred men crossed the border from Burundi, President Kayibanda took the opportunity to crush Tutsi opposition and gain momentum.[88] The government[89], which was about to collapse because of enormous dissentions, became united in order to face together the threat of the Tutsis (Meredith 2006: 487-8; cf. Adelman & Suhrke 1999:5-8; cf. Cooper 2013:9-10).

In the neighbouring Burundi, things were worse although different. Since its independence in 1962, there have already been seven governments and two assassinations of prime ministers. "In 1965, a mutiny by Hutu army and gendarmerie officers led to terrible reprisals against Hutu leaders". After a coup in 1966, Captain Michel Micombero was determined to finish with the 'Hutu threat' and "Hutu leaders and scores of soldiers were executed. Faced with a Hutu uprising in 1972, Micombero exacted revenge on a scale never seen before in independent Africa" (Meredith 2006:488). The revenge is well explained in the following quote:

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[87] Inyenzi is a Kinyarwanda word for cockcroach (see Meredith 2006: 487).

[88] Some 5,000 Tutsis were killed in Gikongoro and 100 Tutsi women and children drowned themselves in the river while running from Hutu killing at Shigira near the border with Congo. According to the World Council of Churches, the death toll in all was at least 10,000 Tutsis, and 10's thousands of refugees into neighbouring countries (Merdith 2006:487-8).

[89] The government was mainly formed by Hutu.

> Hutus with any kind of education – teachers, church leaders, bank clerks, nurses, traders, civil servants – were rounded up by the army and killed. In a campaign subsequently described as 'selective genocide', the Hutu elite was virtually eliminated. Possibly as many as 200,000 died. Another 200,000 fled into Rwanda.

Kayibanda used Burundi's situation as an excuse to launch another repression in the hope of raising the support of Hutus. The ruling party published a pamphlet in 1972 with the following declaration: "Tutsi domination is the origin of all the evil the Hutu have suffered since the beginning of time. It is comparable to a termite mound teeming with every cruelty known to man". Therefore, Kayibanda introduced an ethnic 'quota of 9 percent'[90] in education and all sector of employment for Tutsi. As a result, many Tutsis left the country. Because of lack of support of the Hutus from the north, Kayibanda[91], was overthrown by General Juvénal Habyarimana[92], a Hutu from Gisenyi, in the north, in 1973.   Habyarimana ruled under a one-party dictatorship and every Rwandan was supposed to be member of his *Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développent* (MRND). During his rule, he favored his fellow northerners, notably those from his home district of Gisenyi (Meredith 2006: 488-90; cf. Cooper 2013:9). As the situation deteriorated, critique of his rule and the need for reform was voiced by the Catholic Church:

> In February 1990 Catholic bishop issued a pastoral letter condemning nepotism, regionalism and official corruption… other prominent Rwandans began to call for an end to the MNRD's monopoly on power, the separation of party and state, the scheduling of a national conference to draft a new constitution and the holding of free and fair elections. Tutsi joined in, complaining about the quota system and restrictions on their employment (Meredith 2006: 491).

At the Franco-African summit in La Baule in France, Habyarimana was informed that any French aid was conditioned by political reform[93]. As if that was not enough, a rebels' army of Rwandan Tutsi who were exiled crossed the border from Uganda, thus, opening a new page of the Rwandan history (Meredith 2006: 491). In 1993 Rwandan Tutsis from Uganda vigorously attacked the regime in Rwanda, and in April 1994 Habyarimana, was killed while

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[90] Each ethnic group was allocated a percentage of participation in the different sectors of life and in abdication. According to this quota, Tutsi were to only get 9% of the total.

[91] Kayibanda was ruling through a small group of politicians who came from his home town of Gitarama, giving preference to 'southern' Hutu clans, he lost the support of 'northern' Hutu (see Meredith 2006: 489).

[92] Although Habyarimana kept the quota policy, he went further by not allowing Hutu soldiers to marry Tutsi women. "on a wall in his presidential mension in Kigali, Habyarimana kept a black and white photograph of Tutsi huts in flames, carefully labeled Apocalypse Révelation – Nov 1959" (Meredith 2006:489-90).

[93] In 1990, when François Mitterrand momentarily embraced the ideal of constitutional democracy for Africans, Habyarimana came under pressure to accept a greater measure of political pluralism (see Nugent 2004: 452).

flying home after attending discussions aimed at providing security to both Hutus and Tutsis (Cooper 2002 :7). Let us now look at the way events unfolded in the aftermath of the death of Habyarimana as we focus on the Rwandan genocide.

2.4.3 The Rwandan Genocide (1990-1994)

The waves of Tutsi refugees in neighbouring countries (Burundi, Uganda, Tanzania and DRC) arising from the events of 1959 and those which followed the post-independence period are already mentioned (Sections 2.3.2.2 & 2.4.2). It is important to mention that Rwandans lived in Uganda during colonial times for work and farming purposes. By 1990, the number of Rwandan refugees in neighbouring countries ranged between 400,000 and 700,000. Among the refugees, some dreamt of returning to Rwanda, while even those who found Uganda[94] to be a safe place became caught up in the violence during Amin's rule and in the brutalities during the second rule of Obote, who associated them with his opponents of the Democratic Party. Due to the persecution of Rwandan exiles, many of them joined the rebellion launched by Yoweri Museveni in 1981. When the National Resistance Army (NRA) of Museveni entered Kampala in 1986, there were estimated 3,000 Rwandans[95] out of 14,000 fighters[96] (Nugent 2004: 451-2; cf. Adelman & Suhrke 1999:32-4, 65; cf. Jones 2001:22-3; cf. Cooper 2013:9, 10). Nugent (2004) points out that:

> The Rwandan presence in Museveni's army soon became a source of some controversy in Uganda, as critics began to insinuate that the President himself was a closet Rwandan who was turning the country over to foreigners.[97] Rwigyema became the most prominent casualty of a policy of nativism which Museveni had been forced to implement by 1989. As refugees began to feel targeted once more, the idea of returning to Rwanda became more attractive (Nugent 2004: 452).

At the same time in Rwanda, Habyarimana spent more time worrying about intra-Hutu rivalries in a country where region and clan were important lines in cleavages.[98] The

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[94] There are three phases of the history of Rwandans in Uganda. During the period of 1950-1980, relations between Banyarwanda and the people of Uganda were relatively calm except the political and socio-ethnic tensions in the 1960s under Obote. The second phase (1960-1986) Rwandans became targeted after the removal of Idi Amin by Tanzanians. During this phase Rwandans joined the rebellion of Museveni. The last phase (from 1986) is marked by the presence of Rwandans in the institutions of Uganda under Museveni leading to the formation of the RPF (Jones 2001:22-4).

[95] It is important to note that the commander-in-chief and Museveni's Minister of Defense, Major-General Fred Rwigyema, was of Rwandan origin. Paul Kagame was the chief of military intelligence. See also Stearns (2011:49).

[96] See Gérard Prunier, The Rwandan Crisis: History of a Genocide (London: C. Hurst, 1995), p. 70.

[97] Museveni had a Rwandan grandmother (see notes in Nugent, p. 563)

[98] See Prunier, Rwandan Crisis, When Victims become Killers, pp. 85-7.

declaration of multiparty system gave opportunity to his opponents to enter into the political game. Each newly formed party had a specific political connotation.[99] These new political shifts also pushed the Catholic Church to engage publicly in criticizing the government[100] (Nugent 2004: 452; cf. Adelman & Suhrke 1999:61-8).

The different political parties were affected by what was taking place in Uganda. In 1987, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) had been formed in Uganda and began to plan an invasion of Rwanda, believing that the Habyarimana regime was in a greatly weakened position. At the end of September, 4,000 soldiers crossed the Rwandan border only to be defeated, resulting in the death of Fred Rwigyema. After returning to Uganda with the approval of Museveni, Major Paul Kagame started rebuilding the RPF on the bordering mountain of Virunga (Uganda). The French president, François Mitterrand then brought support to Habyarimana who was engaged in fighting with the RPF. As the war intensified, Hutus saw the coming of the RPF as leading to the deprivation of their birthright and accused Habyarimana of being soft. Despite the first planned massacres and high assassinations, it was believed at that time that democracy would be the answer to the situation of Rwanda (Nugent 2004: 453).

Habyarimana formed a coalition with opposition parties in order to negotiate with the RPF in Arusha. Among political parties in the government, the MRND[101] and the CDR[102] did not want to see a signed agreement; therefore, they decided to form a secret army of party militias by the end of 1992. Although an agreement was signed in January 1993, the continual killing in the north-west led the RPF to resume fighting thereby pushing to within 30 kilometers of the capital Kigali. Habyarimana then decided to "throw his lot in with the negotiators and on 4 August 1993 a fresh deal was signed with the RPF. RPF fighters were integrated in the army with 40 per cent of the troops 50 per cent of the officer corps". Finally, Rwandan refugees were assisted in returning home (Nugent 2004: 453-4).

Hutus from the Rwandan army and administration did not all welcome the return of the Rwandan Tutsis and peasant Hutu became worried by the return of refugees who could reclaim their lands and properties. Because of the events in the neighbouring Burundi[103],

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[99] The MDR somewhat attenuated Hutu chauvinism, the CDR was overtly racist and the PDS articulated a more liberal vision (see Nugent 2004: 452).

[100] See Sakia Van Hoyweghen, "The disintegration of the Catholic Church of Rwanda: a study of the fragmentation of political and religious authority", African Affairs 95, 380, July 1996.

[101] National Revolution Movement for Democracy

[102] Coalition for the Defense of the Republic

[103] In Burundi, a separate democratization exercise had led to free elections in June and installation of the first Hutu President, Melchior Ndadaye. This seemed to present a model for Rwanda to emulate. However, 0n 21

'even moderate Hutus in Rwanda began to worry about whether allowing the RPF back into the country would not be quite literally a fatal mistake' (Nugent 2004). Although the Arusha Agreement[104] was being implemented, militias continued to arm themselves and political parties rapidly fragmented. On 6 April 1994, on his way back to Kigali from Dar-Es-Salaam, Habyarimana was killed together with Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi. The killing of Habyarimana aggravated the carrying on of assassination plans from Kigali to the countryside. Different classes of Hutu got involved in the killing of Tutsis and moderate Hutus (Nugent 2004:454; cf. Adelman Suhrke 1999:79-80; cf. Cooper 2013:10). The responsibility for the killings was shared by individuals, groups and organizations as pointed out in the following quote:

> Although individual clergymen sought to protect Tutsis who sought refuge, the Catholic Church and the Protestant Churches failed to speak out publically, and the clergy were often counted among the killers – as indeed were doctors and teachers who liquidated their patients and pupils. Even human rights activists were implicated… The UNAMIR (United Nations Assistance Mission to Rwanda) soldiers were implicated in the sense that they literally watched people being killed because their rules of engagement did not entitle them to intervene (Nugent 2004: 455).

Kigali was taken by the RPF on 8 April 1994 and it is said that some of the Tutsis recruited by the RPF did conduct Hutu killings of their own accord. With the launch of 'Operation Turquoise' many perpetrators fled to the French zone and ended their journeys in the DRC. A new government was established in Kigali and with the withdrawal of French troops came the final victory of the RPF. Two waves of moves were noticed: Tutsis were coming home (from Uganda, Burundi and the DRC) while Hutus were leaving their country for the DRC (Nugent 2004: 456; cf. Cooper 2013:11-12, cf. Reybrouck 2014:414-15). French support for Habyarimana is explained by the protection of their interests[105]. According to the French:

> The region cannot be left in the hands of an English-speaking strongman completely aligned to American views and interests. This is why since 1990 France has supported the late President Juvénal Habyarimana in order to fight the RPF. It did not work out, so now the only choice left is to put back in the saddle the Zairian President

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October the president was kidnapped and executed by Tutsis soldiers, provoking wholesale bloodletting and a flight of some 200,000 Hutu refugees across the border into Rwanda (see Nugent 2004: 454).

[104] This was the agreement signed by both the Habyarimana government and the Patriotic Front of Kagame in order to stop fighting in Arusha/Tanzania.

[105] "This was problematic, as the Rwandan Hutu-dominated government had received political and financial support as well as military training from the French since 1990" (Boulden 2003:256).

Mobutu Sese Seko, the one man capable of standing up to Museveni (Meredith 2006: 525).

As a result, France practically then influenced the change of the venue of a planned leaders meeting in Rwanda due to be held in April 1994 in Tanzania. As for France, the matter of a 'Francophone' country cannot be held in an 'Anglophone' one. Besides this, the new President of Rwanda, Pasteur Bizimungu, was refused an invitation to attend a Franco-African summit in Biarritz in November 1994, yet Mobutu received a warm welcome. France described the new government in Kigali as 'an Anglophone Tutsi government coming from Uganda'. After one year, the government of Kigali was refused another invitation, and during the opening ceremony, Jacques Chirac asked delegates to observe a moment of silence in honor of the memory of Habyarimana, instead of the victims of the genocide (Meredith 2006: 525-6).

2.5 The Democratic Republic of Congo

After a scrutiny of different events that took place in the region during different periods, there is need to consider the events in the DRC. The Congolese conflict can only be fully understood by considering it at the national, regional and international levels. The two last levels have been already covered in previous sections (2.3 & 2.4), now the focus is to understand this conflict in relation to the country's own history from the slave trade to the 1990s. This history is shaped by regional and international involvement at one stage or another.

2.5.1 Presentation of the DRC

The DRC is the largest country within the Great Lakes Region and has an area of 2,344,858 sq.km. The country has about 450 ethnic and linguistic groups and numerous sub-groups. There are 82.4% Bantu, 13% Sudanic, 1.5% Nilotic, 0.9% Pygmy and other peoples, including refugees (Johnstone & Mandryk 2001:197). The capital city is Kinshasa. The DRC is the second-largest country in Africa, after Algeria and it occupies a strategic location in the "heart of Africa"[106] (MacGaffey 1991:17; Cooper 2013:4). With regard to the importance of the strategic position of the DRC, Kwame NKrumah (Essack 1997:21) argues that "the size and pivotal position of the Congo furnishes the greatest military advantage, either for the

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[106] "Its frontiers all border regions diverse in commercial opportunities. Although Zaire is not unique in having massive flows of clandestine trade across its borders, the length of its frontiers and the varieties of economies to which they give access does perhaps a particular advantage in such trade".

purpose of attack or defense when fighting in Africa… the Congo is the area from which the domination of Africa can be assured."

The DRC is situated in the central part of Africa. The country shares its borders with nine countries: Congo Brazzaville in the west, Central African Republic and South Soudan in the north; Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania in the east; and Zambia, and Angola in the south. Rwanda and Burundi, known as Ruanda-Urundi, were German colonies before being conquered by the Belgians who annexed them to the DRC[107] (Reader 1997:656-57).

According to Legum (1985: 109), 95.29% of the population of the DRC are Christians, 2.44% are traditional ethnic, 1.10% are Muslims, 0.56% are non-religious/other, 0.43% are Baha'i and 0.18% are Hindus (Johnstone & Mandryk 2001: 197). By 1975, 68% of the population was at least nominally Christian with two-third being Catholic and one-third Protestant or Kimbanguist[108]. According to Ntalaja (2002:50) "Kimbanguism is the third major religious community in the Congo after Catholicism and Protestantism".

The DRC "is a large mineral-rich country"[109]. The DRC's economy is dependent on vast mineral resources and agricultural potential (Gran 1979:308, cf. Cooper 2013:4, 5). This is in contrast to the Republic of Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda, whose economies mainly depend on agriculture (this has been dealt with in another section (2.2). Among the hindrances to development that are mentioned are the following: post-independence chaos, widespread maladministration and corruption, and the ongoing war (Johnstone & Mandryk 2001: 197). According to Turner (2007:26) the DRC is described as a "geological scandal" because of its mineral resources that include copper, cobalt, tin, uranium, manganese, gold

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[107] According to Louis (in Reader 1997:657), "Belgian statesmen did not want the tiny landlocked territory – indeed could only add to their problems in the Congo – and they themselves admitted that the inhabitants would be better off if Ruanda-Urundi remained part of the former German East Africa."

[108] The Kimbanguist Church is commonly known as the "Church of Jesus Christ on Earth by His Special Envoy, Simon Kimbangu". The church started from the visions of Biblical Jesus Christ appearing to Kimbangu, who was commissioned to start a movement of spiritual awakening by preaching the word of God and healing. It became the first African church to be a full member of the World Council of Churches in 1970. "They are strictly monogamous, they do not both or sleep naked. They abstain from smoking, alcohol and eating pork. Shoes are removed when praying and in every place of worship, women and girls cover their hair. The church confesses the Triune God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit (The latter being understood as both a divine power and a full person like the Father and the Son). The bible is the sole authority on matters of faith and the Ten Commandments are taught and read everyday. The church adheres to the Nicene Creed. It has four sacraments: baptism, Eucharist, Marriage and Ordination. The Eucharist is only celebrated three times a year: on the 6th April (beginning of Kimbanguist movement), on the 25th May (birthday of Dialungana kiangani) and 12th December (death of Simon Kimbangu). The clergy consist of ordained men and women without discrimination. Woman pastors perform every sacrament without restriction" (Lumbu, 2009).

[109] "DRC is enormously rich in minerals", and the illegal exploitation of some of those "conflict minerals" (especially the so-called "3 Ts" i.e. tantalum, tin, and tungsten, plus gold) has been cited as factor both financing the fighting and, at the same time, giving armed groups a reason to fight" (Turner 2013:13).

and diamonds, coltan and petroleum. This description is formulated by Braeckman (in Autesserre 2010:62) in the following manner:

> The Congo has massive reserves of gold and diamonds, most of the world's reserves of columbo-tentalite (an essential material for most electronic equipment), numerous mines of silver, cadmium, copper and zinc, and the rare minerals such as cobalt, nickel, niobium, tantalum, beryl, cassiterite, and wolfram (used in high-technology industries). Many of these resources are located in the eastern provinces of the Kivu, Katanga, Kasai, and Maniema, and most of them have not yet been tapped.

According to Global Edge (2013)[110] the country's agricultural potential is defined as follows: the main cash crops include coffee, palm oil, rubber, cotton, sugar, tea, and cocoa. Food crops include cassava, plantains, maize, groundnuts and rice. There is limitation in commercial agricultural production or processing. The DRC's formal economy is dominated by the mining sector[111] that contributes to the country's export earnings. According to Prunier (2009:161), the economy of the DRC started to collapse around 1990 due to the combination of lower copper prices and growing political and administrative confusion. With this in mind, I now turn to the colonial period in the DRC.

2.5.2 The Colonial Period in the DRC (1885-1960)

It was in 1885 that the DRC was officially internationally approved as the personal empire of Leopold II[112] under the name "the Congo Free State" (Hennessy 1961:18; Meredith 2006:95). Leopold's principal aim was to make wealth for himself, especially through obtaining ivory using all possible means. When rubber[113] became the next fortune of Leopold, "villagers who failed to fulfill their quotas were flogged, imprisoned and even mutilated, their hands cut off" (Meredith 2006: 95). Those who resisted were killed and many others fled their homes (Meredith 2006: 95). The church, together with activists reacted to the human rights abuses by leading the first international human rights campaign, which pressurized King Leopold to hand over the Congo Free State to the Belgian government[114] in 1908 (Macqueen 2002:36-7; cf. Stearns 2011:7).

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[110] Democratic Republic of the Congo: Economy, available online on the website: globaledge.msu.edu/countries/democratic-republic-of-the-congo/economy
[111] This role must have changed over time but the potential to deliver is still huge.
[112] King of Belgium
[113] See Hochschild (1961: 167) and Stearns (2011:7) for more details.
[114] "Although they established a much more elaborate administration with extensive primary education, the Belgians still focused on extracting resources and did little to encourage Congolese development. The upper echelons of the military and civil service were entirely white, pass laws kept Congolese from living in upper-class neighborhoods, and education was limited to the bare minimum".

The discovery of minerals in the Katanga Province was a boost to the accumulation of wealth. In order to maintain the production of minerals and crops, Belgium kept its presence throughout the country even in the remotest villages. "All this enabled Belgium to maintain a framework of law, order and development which far surpasses the efforts of other colonial powers" (Meredith 2006: 97). Villagers were to produce crops, maintain roads and work in plantations and the mines. Colonial missionaries[115] were in charge of building primary schools and clinics impacting the life of people and it was estimated that one-third of the population were "professed Christians". At the same time, mining companies were seen to provide housing, welfare and technical training to their employees (Meredith 2006: 97, cf. Collins & Burns 2007:306).

The Congolese, however, had no participation in the governmental system. They had no political voice, no right to own lands or to travel freely. Curfews were imposed to keep them in urban areas and they were often threatened into forced labor in the rural areas. They had no right to higher education and or to study in Belgium; however, a few Catholic seminaries were built. It was only in 1950 that a few Congolese children were allowed access to white secondary schools. In this regard, the Belgians acted deliberately in order to isolate the Congo from any outside influence and to suppress the emergence of Congolese elite, which might demand a change in the system (Meredith 2006: 97; cf. Collins & Burns 2007:306). For Belgian authorities, to educate Congolese was to empower them for future responsibilities, so they deliberately decided to deprive them of education in order to prevent them from any early claim of independence. This attitude affected events at and after independence as the country achieved its independence while its people were unprepared. Concerning the lack of education Bowles (in Merriam 1961: 65) noted, as early as in 1953, that:

> The weakness of the (Belgian) program appears to be their reluctance to allow the African to secure an advanced education… for fear that he will then demand a growing share of responsibility in the shaping of his future… The danger lies not so much in the possibility that the Belgians will not compromise eventually with the force of nationalism, but that when they do they will find the Africans almost totally inexperienced in handling the responsibilities which they are certain to demand and eventually to get.

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[115] Actually "the Belgian Congo was to be administered by a trinity of the colonial state apparatus, the Catholic Church, and big business" (Collins & Burns 2007:305-07).

Despite the Belgians' strategy to keep Congolese away from any idea for change; a glimmer of change came in 1956 with Lumumba writing that the Congolese elite wished to have the same human rights as those of the Belgians. That same year, Lumumba was accused of embezzlement and jailed for a year in Stanleyville (Kisangani). After his release, he moved to Leopoldville[116] and worked there as a salesman for a local brewery. In the capital, a stimulus for political activities came with the independence of Ghana in 1957 and the imminent independence of neighbouring French colonies (Meredith 2006: 98; cf. Villafaña 2009:17-18). Whatever was taking place elsewhere in Africa now had a direct impact on the political life in Congo and the hindrance of education that was the strategy of the Belgians was overcome because Congolese were politically active.

From that time onwards, there were many political activities taking place in Leopoldville (Kinshasa) and Congolese became conscious of taking their destiny into their own hands. As political activities intensified in the capital, ABAKO[117] shifted its focus from a linguistic organization to one that made political demands (Reader 1997:695). This move resulted in the formation of a tribal organization. Its leader, Kasavubu[118] was working toward reuniting the Bakongo people divided by the boundaries of the Belgian Congo, the French Congo, and Angola to rebuild the old Kongo Kingdom of the sixteenth century. In 1958, Lumumba joined the *Mouvement National Congolais* (MNC) based on the national vision (Meredith 2006: 98; cf. Villafaña 2009:19). Upon his return from participating in "the All African's People Conference"[119] in Accra, Lumumba declared that:

> The Mouvement National Congolais has as its basic aim the liberation of the Congolese people from the colonial regime… we wish to bid farewell to the old regime, this regime of subjection… Africa is engaged in a merciless struggle for its liberation against the colonizer (Meredith 2006: 99).

In January 1959, there was a riot in Leopoldville caused by the refusal of the local authorities to allow ABAKO to hold its scheduled meeting. The colonial government responded by announcing political reforms, followed by local government elections in order to appease the situation. To this was added a vague promise of independence. Across the country, many political parties were formed mostly along tribal lines. For example, in Katanga the

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[116] Leopoldville is no other than Kinshasa. The name was of use during colonial period and was changed into Kinshasa later after independence.

[117] ABAKO stands for *Association de Bakongo* (Bakongo Association).

[118] Kasavubu was trained as a priest (see Meredith 2006: 98, Macqueen 2002:37).

[119] The "All-African People's Conference" was convened by Nkrumah in 1958 and its aim was to spread the message of independence and the unity of the continent (see Meredith 2006: 98 and Nugent 2002: 58).

'*Confederation des Associations Tribales du Katanga*' (CONAKAT) was formed, a Lunda-dominated party led by Moise Tshombe, which maintained close ties with Belgium (Meredith 2006: 99; cf. Nugent 2004: 53-4; cf. Villafaña 2009: 21).

It is interesting to note that most of the political parties formed during the period before independence were ethnically based (Gran 1979:71-72). The observation of Young (Nugent 2004:54) is that "Congolese parties were unique in Africa in their use of ethnic nomenclature". This was seen even in the provinces such as that of Katanga where the North was a *Baluba du Katanga* (BALUBKAT) strong hold and the South was for the *Confédération des Associations Tribales du Katanga* (CONAKAT) strong hold. CONAKAT was mainly Lunda oriented while BALUBAKAT was Baluba oriented. Nugent (2004:54) argues that "ethnic mobilization consequently proceeded on the basis of lived experience, in a way that nationalism could not. Moreover, it tended to feed off violence and insecurity, whereas the dream of a liberated Congo evaporated in the mêlée". Besides the internal conflict in the Katanga Province, there was a tribal war that broke out between Lulua and Baluba in the Kasai province (Nugent 2004:54; cf. Meredith 2006: 100). As a result, at independence, the Congolese were divided from the regional to the national level.

As political activities intensified across the country, twenty-six people were killed following the riot that was provoked by Lumumba's speech[120] in October 1959. Lumumba was sentenced to six months of imprisonment and was only released to participate in the "Conference of Brussels" in January 1960.[121] The conference was called by the Belgian government in order to discuss issues related to the independence of Congo. Thirteen political parties[122] were invited to participate. At the conference, the independence that was scheduled for the 1 June 1960 was changed to the 30th June 1960. Elections were then organized and the *Mouvement national Congolais* (MNC) won the majority of seats. Coalitions were formed in the process and one of these was formed by 12 parties with bitter rivals. The end result of all this was the appointment of Kasavubu as a non-executive president and of Lumumba as the Prime Minister (Meredith 2006: 100-2; cf. Macqueen 2002:37-39; cf. Villafaña 2009:18; cf.

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[120] The speech was made in Kisangani and created the strongest resentment against Western rule in Africa. As a result of the riot, the Belgian government was nor able to hold on to power (Villafaña 2009:18).

[121] Belgian mediators, at the conference, were hoping to get an agreement which would lead to a phased transfer of power over a period of about four years, but they found themselves faced with a united front of Congolese delegates, excited by the prospect of power and position demanding immediate elections and independence on 1 June 1960 (see Meredith 2006: 100).

[122] "The MNC refused to attend the conference without Lumumba. Having run out of options, the Belgian authorities reluctantly released him from prison and flew him to Brussels as part of the preparation for Congolese elections (Villafaña 2009:18).

Williams 2011:30). The state in which Congo was at the time of independence is described by Reader (1997: 689) as follows:

> The Belgian Congo was among the least prepared of the nations that became independent in the 1960s. Chaos and rebellion erupted within days of the independence ceremonies. But the Congo was strategically important, and America's meddling in the Congo's affairs typifies the manner in which African countries thus became pawns in the Cold War. CIA agents planned to assassinate the Congo's first Prime Minister, the Soviet-learning Patrice Lumumba, and U.S. support for Mobutu was designed to frustrate Soviet ambition in the region.

Congolese were not well prepared when they acceded to their independence. They were divided instead of being united at independence. Nugent (2004: 50) rightly points out that "the eve of the Belgian retreat was characterized in each instance by conditions of political uncertainty, administrative division, and a good deal of violence and loss of life". As far as the Belgians' responsibility is concerned in the unfolding of events in the Congo at interdependence, Cooper (2002: 83) provides a good description of the situation Congolese would face as far as the international community is concerned:

> Belgian's abdication of responsibility for its brutal colonization and inept decolonization opened the way to the United States, the Soviet Union, France, and the United Nations to inject their own interests, while allegedly trying to bring order to a land whose people had never been allowed to enjoy the riches their country possessed.

The colonial period seems to have played a major role in the ways independence would be achieved in Africa. Africans were either prepared or unprepared to take over political and economic responsibilities in their future states. In the case of Belgium it was no different. There was little concern for the preparation of Congolese leaders with regards to independence and this lack of preparation ultimately disadvantaged the Congo at independence (Cooper 2002: 83). As mentioned earlier the context of Congo at independence opened doors to conflicts, between Congolese and between superpowers[123] to the extent that the United Nations was forced to intervene.

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[123] "There were many mistakes made by both the East and the West during the Cold War… to be ranked by order of importance regarding their impact on future events, Lumumba's assassination would rank close to the top of the list (Villafaña 2009:17).

2.5.3 Events from Independence (1960) to 1996

The pre-independence period was marked by many political activities on the part of both the colonizers and the colonized, and this has been exposed in the preceding section (2.5.2). One will note the formation of political parties which were mainly based on ethnic affiliation (see section 2.5.2). These political parties were not exempt from the influence of the colonizers as they sought to maintain their influence on the continent (further in this section). The three main parties in DRC were, ABAKO, MNC and CONAKAT (Nugent 2004: 53-6). There were many challenges at the independence of the DRC but here let us consider those reported by Hudson (2012:5):

> The Congo's greatest challenges at independence and thereafter were its natural, physical and ethnic diversity, its size and the lack of any political impetus on the part of the colonial power or the indigenous politicians to rise above narrow self-interest and overcome the centripetal forces which had the potential to render the country asunder. Internationally, the strategic location and roiling Cold War interests in Africa militated against any possibility of a peaceful future.

Reader (1997: 703, 705) describes the transfer of power, from colonisers to Africans, as being successful with the exception of Congo, which he describes to be "terrible". The newly independent African states were promising and there was hope for the future. The countries could be poor but not the poorest of the world. There was constant economic growth and the future was promising in most of the former colonies. It was a belief, among the nationalists, that colonialism was an obstacle to social and economic development, and that independence will be used to boost development of their countries.

The transfer of political power by the Belgians to the Congolese was a clear indication of the colonizers' intention to keep their presence in the country. Fage (1995:484) remarks that "the Belgians had taken a massive gamble, calculating in effect that the Congo had been so little prepared for independence that their continued presence would be seen to be essential to the territory's survival". As a result of this attitude, Belgium did not consider the training of Congolese who will run the country once it becomes independent. This lack of literacy proved disastrous to the political and economic life as events unfolded from independence.

At the celebration of independence, three speeches were delivered: one from King Baudouin of Belgium, the other by Kasavubu (the then president of Congo) and the last one by Patrice Lumumba (the then prime minister of Congo). In his speech, king Baudouin mainly praised

the colonisers with special mention made of Léopold II. As a response to Baudouin's speech, Kasavubu omitted the last part of his speech which was to give tribute to the king. Lumumba changed his speech and held a nationalistic speech exposing the abuses of the colonial regime in Africa. Lumumba's speech, though applauded by the Congolese, was perceived by Belgians "as a bitter insult". In spite of all this, Congo became independent on Thursday 30th, 1960 (Reader 1997: 696-97; cf. De Witte 1999:1-3; cf. Williams 2011: 30-31).

After independence, the government became Congolese, but the army remained in the hands of Belgians. Calls to have Congolese officer corps resulted in the nomination of Lundula as army commander and Mobutu as his deputy. Violence erupted and disorder took place across the country with the removal of authority, "whites were humiliated, beaten, and raped; priest and nuns were singled out for special insult. Belgians responded to the new situation by reinforcing their troops in the Congo, which was seen by Lumumba as a coming back of the Belgian rule" (Reader 1997: 697; cf. Williams 2011:31).

At the same time, Tshombe[124] took advantage of the unrest to proclaim the independence of Katanga on 11 July 1960, with the blessing of the Belgian troops who disarmed and expelled Congolese army units hiding behind the protection of Belgian interests. The result was the departure of thousands of people on whom both the administration and the economy were depending. Lumumba blamed the chaos on Belgium and appealed to the United Nations for military assistance. Lumumba was disappointed by the achievement of UN troops, so on the 16th July, he threatened to call on the Soviet Union for help in case the Belgian troops were not evacuated. The UN Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld, was seen as a Belgian 'puppet' by Lumumba and as a western stooge by the Soviet Union when he was engaged into negotiation in order to settle the matter. It was clear, however, that Lumumba had no agenda of negotiation concerning the secession of Katanga (Reader 1997: 698-99; cf. Villafaña 2009:21-23; cf. Williams 2011:32-35). A good picture of the political situation of the Congo six months after independence was that of a divided country as Meredith (2006: 108) notes:

> The Congo, six months after independence, was divided into four regimes, each with
> its own army and each its foreign sponsors. Mobutu and Kasavubu in Leopoldville
> were supported by Western governments; Gizenga in Stanleyville received help from
> the Soviet bloc and radical leaders such Nasser in Cairo; Tshombe in Katanga, though

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[124] Tshombe, Moise was the leader of the Confédérations Tribales du Katanga (CONAKAT) and was a son of a wealthy Katanga businessman (Swart 2010: 8).

still not formally recognized, relied on Belgian assistance; and in South Kasai, the ramshackle 'Diamond State' led Albert Kalonji also received help from Belgian interests. Only the presence of UN troops and civilian personnel provided some semblance of national order. But the UN operation itself was constantly buffeted by rows and disputes among rival delegations in New York and by fierce tension in the Congo.

With Lumumba now relying on aid from the Soviet Union, the Congo's conflict was opening doors to a Cold War confrontation. The situation, therefore, called on speedy action by the West. The situation was discussed at the US Security Council on 18 August 1960 where a plan was initiated to assassinate Lumumba. Before the plan was implemented, Kasavubu, with the backing of American diplomats, Belgian advisers and Congolese, dismissed Lumumba on 5 September as prime minister. Lumumba reacted by dismissing Kasavubu as president. As a result of this confusing situation, three political groups emerged in the country: Kasavubu's supporters, Lumumba's supporters and Ileo[125]'s supporters; and the parliament got involved by voting against both Kasavubu's and Lumumba's decisions (Reader 1997: 699-700; cf. Villafaña 2009: 24, 25; cf. Williams 2011:36, 37). The new situation may explain the coup d'état that took place later in 1965.

With the escalation of the situation, Colonel Joseph Mobutu succeeded in neutralizing Kasavubu, Lumumba and Ileo on 14 September 1960. He thereafter called on the Congolese students abroad to help him govern the country (Reader 1997:700). Mobutu gave forty-eight days to the Soviet and Czechoslovak embassies to leave the Congo. His actions might be considered by some analysts as one way of pleasing the Americans who were fighting against the Soviet's interests in the DRC. Mobutu's coup was criticized by the Soviets who accused the UN of being partial toward the West. At the UN, the Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, openly criticised the UN and even proposed the abolishing of the Secretary –General and the establishment of a troika comprising the three major blocks: western, socialist and neutralist, but the proposal was rejected (Reader 1997: 700-01; cf. Villafaña 2009:25; cf. Williams 2011:37).

As promised, Kasavubu was reinstated as president of the country while Mobutu took advantage of the presence of UN troops to build up the army. After the withdrawal of UN troops, Tshombe was appointed as prime minister by Kasavubu leading to a political power

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[125] Joseph Ileo was a moderate politician whom Kasavubu appointed as prime minister in replacement of Lumumba whom he revoked (Meredith 2006: 106; cf. Gran 1979:72).

struggle, which Mobutu later dissolved by means of a coup on the 24 October 1965. Mobutu became president and acted by reducing the power of parliament, suspending all provincial assemblies, assuming the command of the police, and having suspected rivals executed. He also took the office of Prime minister and under his absolute political control, a new constitution was drafted. Lumumba was guarded in the prime minister's residence by UN[126] troops, but when he tried to escape to join his supporters in Stanleyville (Kisangani), he was arrested[127] and later transferred to Katanga where he was assassinated[128] in the presence of Tshombe and Gerard, a Belgian police officer, together with two of his companions[129] (Reader 1997: 701-02; cf. Villafaña 2009:26; cf. Williams 2011:39; cf. Bouwer 2010:227-8; cf. Zeilig 2013:39-41).

The Katanga secession was completely ended in January 1963, but the failure to integrate Tshombe into the Kasavubu-Adoula government led to his exile into Spain in the same year the UN troops left the Congo. Although Katanga was reintegrated into the map of Congo, Lumumba's followers formed guerrilla struggles among which was the *Simba[130]* rebellion in the east. The hardship during the Kasavubu-Adoula regime made many young people believe in the necessity of a second independence after the death of Lumumba[131]. The eastern Congo rebellion finds its origin in the creation of the National Liberation Movement (CNL) by Christophe Gbenye and Davidson in October 1963 in Brazzaville. Later Gaston Soumialot and Antoine Gizenga moved to eastern Congo to organize Simba units to fight the Congo government. Soumialot successfully negotiated an agreement with Tutsi exiles from Rwanda with the backing of Burundi authorities, and he was able to recruit thousands of dedicated troops in Sud-Kivu Province, along the border with Burundi (Nugent 2004:87-8; cf. Villafaña 2009:62, 65, 66, 69).

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[126] "As soon as the UN forces withdrew in 1964, the northeastern Congo erupted into leftist-led tribal warfare. Regarded as a pro-communist by much of the free world, and supported by Soviet and Chinese arms, this uprising was suppressed with the help of white mercenary commandos, supported by a mercenary air force sponsored by the US, in 1965" (Cooper 2013:6).

[127] The arrest was accomplished by Mobutu's army, with the help of Larry Devlin's (Congo CIA Station Chief) informants and the Belgians (Villafaña 2009:26).

[128] They were shot one by one and their bodies were cut and burnt in sulfuric acid, and whatever remained was buried (Bouwer 2010:227-8; cf. Zeilig 2013:39-40).

[129] Joseph Okito, the Vice -Pesident of the Senate and Maurice Mpolo.

[130] Swahili name for Lion.

[131] "Congolese people were looking to avenge Lumumba's assassination and were further offended that mostly white UN soldiers had invaded their country. The population looked for leadership from former Lumumba left-wing followers such as Pierre Mulele, Christophe Gbenye, Antoine Gizenga, Gaston Soumialot, and Thomas Kanza (Villafaña 2009:65).

As the situation evolved, the CNL declared its independence after taking over Kisangani and changed the country name into the People's Republic of Congo which was recognized by Cuba, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The Congo became a major Cold War theatre with superpowers siding either with the Kinshasa or the Kisangani governments. The Kisangani government was defeated by the Kinshasa government under Tshombe (Nugent 2004:89; cf. Villafaña 2009: 76; 84). The new situation in the east was described as follows:

> The area along the Great Lakes would remain insecure for the next two and half years. Massengo and Kabila continued guerrilla warfare along the wet shore of Lake Tanganyika. In spite of Soumaliot's exile, his troops continued fighting is Sud-Kivu, particularly along the Fizi-Uvira axis. Mulele stayed in the Badundu Province jungle and for some time conducted guerrilla warfare. The leftist Simba rebellion had been dealt a pernicious blow, but the Soviet Union, China, and particularly Castro's Cuba would not accept that the revolution had been defeated. Castro has assembled resources to breathe new life into the moribund Congolese revolution (Villafaña 2009:111).

Mobutu took power in 1965 and explained that his motive to seize power was in order to prevent the country (Congo) from descending into chaos and corruption (Meredith 2006: 294; cf Kabwit in Gran 1979:183). He also blamed politicians whom he considered to have ruined the country. To create "conditions for a disciplined government", four former ministers were tried and hanged publicly. By 1970, the Congo under Mobutu[132] was regarded as a viable state and Mobutu was praised by the western world especially the Americans (Meredith 2006: 294) because of this achievement.

The creation of the *Mouvement Populaire de la Revolution* (MPR) as the one national political party was the beginning of the deep transformation that will follow. Mobutu justified the creation of the party as the desire of Congolese to conform to the traditions of the continent where there is but only one chief. Gradually, he accumulated vast personal power to

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[132] Although Mobutu's rule was popular, it also paved the way for the collapse of the country (Zaire). "Political interference and corruption eroded the justice system, administration, and security services; Mobutu was only able to ward off military challenges by restoring to dependence on his cold war allies and mercenaries. With the end of the cold war, even those resources had become more difficult to muster" (Stearns 2011:7, 64).

the extent that names of places and people were changed. At the same time, he assumed many titles resulting in a "personality cult"[133] (Nugent 2004:235).

Now Mobutu was moving to self-enrichment. In 1973, he ordered the seizure of foreign-owned enterprises to be given to individuals (mainly for his family) as private properties. He acquired free of charge a vast agricultural empire. His fortune was estimated to be one-third of the total national revenues. The central bank was at his disposal and his influence was in every economic activity of the country. By the end of the 1970s, Mobutu had become one of the world's richest men. In the 1980s, his fortune was estimated to be total $5 billion, but at the same time, Zaire was getting into crisis. Beside the degradation of the economy was the rapid disintegration of the administration to the extent that corruption became the only way of life and a means to survive (Meredith 2006: 297-301; cf. Nugent 2004:236-9). Here is the pastoral letter of Archbishop Kabanga of Lubumbashi concerning Mobutu's system as recorded by Meredith (2006: 302):

> The thirst for money… transforms men into assassins. Many poor unemployed are condemned to misery along with their families because they are unable to pay off the person who hires. How many children and adults die without medical care because they are unable to bribe the medical personnel who are supposed to care for them? Why are there no medical supplies in the hospitals, while they are found in the marketplace? How did they get there? Why is it that in our courts justice can only be obtained by fat bribes to the judge? Why are prisoners forgotten in jail? They have no one to pay off the judge who sits on the dossier. Why do our government offices force people to come back day after day to obtain services to which they are entitled...? Whoever holds a morsel of authority, or means of pressure, profits from it to impose on people, especially in rural areas. All means are good to obtain money, or humiliate the human being.

In 1972, tension was created between indigenous communities of the Kivus (such as Nande and Hunde), and refugees[134] from Rwanda and Burundi when the latter were promised citizenship by the government of that time. In 1981, the government stance to only give

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[133] According to Mobutu's interior minister Engulu Baanga, "God has sent a great prophet, our religious Guide Mobutu. This prophet is our liberator, our Messiah. Our church is the MPR. Its chief is Mobutu. We respect him like one respects the Pope. Our gospel is Mobutuism. This is why the crucifix must be replaced by the image of our Messiah (Meredith 2006:296-7)

[134] Only refugees who came between 1959 and 1963 were the beneficiaries of the government offer. Later it will be reduced to only those who had lived in the country prior to the colonial partition (Nugent 2004: 460). Their political situation during the first republic was stable (1960-1965), but antagonism toward them led to war in Masisi in 1964 after their electoral win of Masisi (Adelman & Suhrke 1999:53).

citizenship to people who lived in the country prior to colonial times put refugees in a situation of insecurity. Both Hutus and Tutsis became united in responding to their common plight, but whatever was happening in Rwanda and Burundi had a direct impact on them (Nugent 2004: 460).

Although Mobutu acknowledged the chaotic situation of the country, he relied on corruption[135] to hold the system together and solidify his power. The situation in the country worsened after ten year of Mobutu's rule. Kabongo (Meredith 2006: 303), describes the DRC as having two parties: a zone of existence occupied by the political elite and a zone of non-existence, for the rest. Because of the chaotic situation of the country, Mobutu protected his power base by relying on elite military[136], police units and the promotion of personnel from his own region (Equateur). Ministers were rotated, dismissed or imprisoned. In 1980, when thirteen parliamentarians blamed Mobutu for the difficulties of Zaire and demanded open election in a fifty-one-page document, he responded by sending them to remote villages. While some dissidents joined the regime, another group led by Etienne Tshisekedi formed their own party, *Union pour la Démocratie et le Progrès Social* (UDPS) in1982. In 1988, Tshisekedi who became tired of struggle, agreed to quit politics in exchange for freedom. For Tshesekedi, it was not fun because they were always arrested, exiled or banished (Ntalaja 1986:20; cf. Meredith 2006: 303, 305, 306-07).

Although the regime of Mobutu was repressive and corrupt, he still enjoyed the support[137] of western governments (Ntalaja 1986:3; cf. Meredith 2006: 307). He was considered a powerful means to combat the Soviet interest in Africa. Americans considered Mobutu[138] as a friendly tyrant, a faithful ally who could be relied upon to support Western interests no matter what. For Mobutu, the choice was either him (Mobutu) or chaos (Meredith 2006: 307; cf. Turner 2013:38). The message here was that if one protects the western interests, he/she will

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[135] Systematic corruption, in itself, is not a structural cause of Zairian underdevelopment but it is rather a most important operational mechanism for it (Gran 1979:106). At the party's conference in 1997, Mobutu advised party delegates to steal but not too much at a time. "*yiba na mayele*" (steal cleverly, little by little), he told them. He also acknowledged that every service, even legitimate rights, was sold in the country (Meredith 2006:302-3).
[136] Such as the *Division Spéciale Présidentielle,* which was commanded by a select group of officers from his own Ngbendi tribe and which he rewarded with high pay and perks (see Meredith 2006: 305).
[137] Ntalaja (1986:19) puts this situation in that "it is the international structures of dominion associate with the West that not only are responsible for the rise of authoritarian state in underdeveloped countries, but also play the major role in sustaining it".
[138] "The situation in Zaire worsened dramatically after the Cold War, shifting the equilibrium in Africa. The USA, France and Belgium practically cancelled their financial and military support for Mobutu" (Cooper 2013:7).

be rewarded by enjoying their support. Mobutu[139] himself would later be a victim of the support he provided to the West as it will be discussed later in this chapter (section 2.5.4).

The Rwandan genocide (1994) became an opportunity for Mobutu to regain the West's attention because the arrival of Hutu refugees on Congolese soil required his consent together with that of the United Nations High Commission for refugees (UNHCR) and other relief agencies. Mobutu once again became an 'important' partner of both the Americans and the French. The Hutu refugees arrived in the DRC under the leaders[140] who had masterminded the genocide and for whom the French had provided a safe exit (Meredith 2006: 521-22; cf. Boulden 2003:257; cf. Nugent 2004: 459). According to Boulden (2003:257), "these effects resulted in the profound destabilization of eastern Congo." These leaders had no intention of returning to Rwanda under the RPF, but wished to obtain a territory of their own in the DRC with the connivance of Mobutu. They also possessed economic influence, because they emptied the banks of Kigali of all foreign exchange. The Former Government of Rwanda (FGOR) formed a new army, in the DRC, of about 50,000 troops. (Nugent 2004: 459-60; cf. Cooper 2013:24-5). Meredith provides a good picture of what was going on in the refugee camps in the east of the DRC:

> With the blessing of Mobutu and the support of a refugee aid budget totaling $800 million over twelve months, Rwandan's génocidaires carved out a mini-state in Kivu, setting up their own administration, finances and system of control. Using the same command structures as before, the army – the former Forces Armées Rwandaises (ex-FAR) – established headquarters at Lac Vert, ten miles west of Goma, regrouped its forces in military camps, organized recruitment and training programmes and ordered weapons supplies from abroad. Its ranks grew from 30,000 to 50,000. Heavy weapons originally confiscated by French forces in the 'safe zone' and handed over to Zaire were sold back to the ex-FAR by Zairian officers. Refugee camps were organized by préfecture, by commune and by secteur, led by bourgmestres and conseillers, just as in Rwanda. Fed and cared for by foreign aid agencies, the population remained in the grip of génocidaires, held in camps by a mixture of brute force and propaganda

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[139] "The situation in Zaire worsened dramatically after the Cold War, shifting equilibrium in Africa. The USA, France and Belgium practically cancelled their financial and military support for Mobutu… although heavily dependent on the military for maintaining power, after being left without foreign financial aid; Mobutu dramatically reduced the salary of army officers, non-commissioned officers (NCOs) and soldiers…" (Cooper 2013:7).

[140] "A section of the FAR was thus eventually able to retreat into Zaire intact, with its full complement of military equipment" (Jones 2001:43).

warning that they faced certain death form Tutsis back in Rwanda (Meredith 2006: 526-527).

The situation already worsened with the Sovereign National Conference taking another stance with regard to the citizenship issues and, as a result in 1992, Tutsi and Hutus were confined to the status of foreigners. Hutus responded by claiming to be indigenous while Tutsis identified themselves as 'Banyamulenge' (Tutsi living in the DRC). By 1993, vulnerable Tutsis variously sided either with the autochthons[141] against Hutus or with the Hutus against autochthons. The arrival of the FGOR was a nightmare to Tutsis who were targeted and driven out of North Kivu (Nugent 2004: 260; cf. Stearns 2011:65-6; cf. Cooper 2013:27).

The camps acquired a permanent character. A survey carried out by the UNHCR in 1995 listed nearly 82,000 thriving enterprises in the camps, including 2,324 bars, 450 restaurants, 589 general shops, 62 hairdressers, 51 pharmacies and 25 butchers. There were photo studios, libraries and cinemas. The camps were so well stocked with cheap supplies that Congolese came from miles to shop chez les *Rwandais[142]*. Aid agencies fattened the coffers of Hutus Power by employing civil servants, doctors, nurses and other professional staff loyal to the cause. They also provided transport, meeting places and office supplies to Hutu Power groups masquerading as community self-help agencies. More than two-thirds of all the foreign assistance provided for Rwanda went not to the reconstruction efforts but to the camps of "Hutuland" and their genocidal bosses (Meredith 2006:527-528; cf. Stearns 2011:33-44; cf. Adelman & Suhrke 1999:310-320). The FGOR started carrying out attacks on Tutsis within the DRC/Zaire (Nugent 2004: 460).

In Rwanda in 1995, Paul Kagame became frustrated by the events in the east of the DRC because the *génocidaires* were making raids on Rwanda from the DRC, and attacking the Tutsis living in the DRC (Jones 2001:146; cf. Adelman & Suhrke 1999:337). During his visit to Washington, Kagame warned that he would take action should the International Community fail to deal with the *génocidaires*. In his position, Kagame was backed by Museveni, who found an occasion to fight militias on the Congolese soil to destabilize his regime, and also to extend his regional power. Museveni insisted on having a Congolese figure to cover their intervention in the DRC and so Laurent-Désiré Kabila became this

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[141] Local Congolese.
[142] This means "at the place of Rwandans".

person (Meredith 2006: 530-1; cf. Cooper 2013:27-29). The socio-economic and political situation in the east of the DRC opened doors for Rwanda to invade the country.

For this purpose, Kagame organized the training of Banyamulunge and Tutsis who came from Kivu, and unities of the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) for actions in the DRC. The right opportunity was found on the 8th October 1996, when the deputy governor of South Kivu, Lwasi Ngabo Lwabanji, ordered all Banyamulenge to leave the country within a week and threatened them with extermination or expulsion (Meredith 2006: 531; cf. Essack 1997:1). Kagame's response to this ultimatum was straight forward,

> we were ready to hit them, hit them very hard – and handle three things: first to save
> the Banyamulenge and not let them die, empower them to fight or fight for them; then
> to dismantle the camps, return the refugees to Rwanda, and destroy the ex-FAR and
> militias; and third to change the situation in Zaire (Meredith 2006: 531-2; cf. Cooper
> 2013:28).

This confirms Herbst's (Clapham et al. 2006: 236) argument that "when one state is attacked by another, it may be for reasons originating with the invader and not because the target is necessarily dysfunctional". To attack the DRC, Rwanda provided three reasons: 1) to stop the FGOR from attacking Rwanda, 2) to protect the Banyamulenge and 3) to remove Mobutu from power; which might have changed, as the conflict went on.

According to Timothy Longman's analysis about the Rwanda's attack in the DRC, there are five reasons that need our consideration: 1) Humanitarian and ethnic solidarity; 2) security threats from the Congo; 3) domestic security concern (to unite Tutsis from Uganda, Burundi, Congo and genocide survivors); 4) Economic interests; and 5) Tutsi triumphalism (Tutsis sided with Museveni's NRA to overthrow Obote government, they overthrew the governments of Habyarimana and Mobutu) (Turner 2007: 15-6). This is the focus of the next section as we look at events from 1996 to today (2015).

2.5.4 Events from 1996 to Today (2016)

According to Stearns (2011:8), "By 1996, a regional[143] coalition led by Angola[144], Uganda[145], and Rwanda had been formed to overthrow Mobutu". According to Adelman and Suhrke

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[143] Beside Angola, Uganda and Rwanda in the region, "Zimbabwe provided tens of millions of dollars in military equipment and cash to the rebellion. Eritrea sent a battalion from its navy to conduct covert speedboat operation on Lake Kivu. Ethiopia and Tanzania sent military advisors" (Stearns 2011:55). It is argued that Tanzania remained in the DRC training Congolese even after the second war that broke in 1998 (Prunier2009:199).

(1999:339), Burundi was a member of the coalition where all members were concerned with their borders' security because of the threats that their respective rebel groups who were operating from the DRC posed. But Uganda and Rwanda refused to associate with Burundi to fight the Hutu rebellion because Burundi was criticized by the international community and neighbouring countries which have imposed arms embargo. This was due to the ways political events were unfolding in Burundi. According to Rawlence (2012:13), Rwanda did not consider Mobutu a good partner to eliminate the threat of Hutus who were operating from the DRC.

As the situation evolved; a former rebel (1963-1964) and now businessman, Laurent-Désiré Kabila[146] returned to politics. His movement began to be linked to the Banyamulenge before receiving support from the RPF government in Rwanda. 'In October 1996, the RPF invaded Kivu and attacked the refugee camps, which it accused of harboring the perpetrators of genocide. Two months later, the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo (AFDL)[147] was formed out of four distinct rebel groups, including that of Kabila.[148] The AFDL enjoyed both moral and material support from the Rwandan authorities, besides the support of militiamen from local Congolese (Mai-Mai) and Banyamulenge facilitating its advance on the ground. FGOR retreated deeper into the DRC while some ordinary refugees returned to Rwanda. One after another, towns fell into the hands of the AFDL and on the 17th May 1997 Mobutu, who was terminally ill, was driven out of Kinshasa and signed the victory of the AFDL. Two victories are to be considered at this point: for the Congolese and Kagame, Mobutu's regime is over and for Kagame the "*génocidaires*" are removed from the east of the DRC. The country was renamed The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) (Nugent 2004: 460-1).

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[144] Angola's involvement in the conflict was due to the fact that Mobutu's regime was support the Angolan rebel movement of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), led by Jonas Savimbi in the north (Stearns 2011:53-4).

[145] Uganda's involvement in the conflict was in relation to the presence of dozen of rebel groups in eastern Congo. As for Museveni, he was looking for economic opportunities in the region for his government. "For years, he had been dreaming about fostering business between north-western Zaire and Uganda – much of the lucrative timber, diamonds, and palm oil from that region had to pass through Uganda to get onto the international market, and the burgeoning Ugandan manufacturing sector could peddle its soap, mattresses, and plastics to the millions of Zairians living there" (Stearns 2011: 52).

[146] "kabila was promptly appointed the president of the AFDL, with Bugera as secretary-general, Ngandu as military commander and Nindanga as Ngandu's deputy" (Cooper 2013:24).

[147] The AFDL was formed in 1996 in Kigali (Stearns 2011:69).

[148] For Boulden (2003:260) this was done in order to avoid the invasion to be seen as an act of aggression against a sovereign state, but rather to be considered as an anti-Mobutu revolution.

 The victory proved too temporary as Kabila began to eliminate principal rivals within the AFDL and because of the opposition politicians for whom Kabila did not meet their aspiration of the formation of broad-based government. After suspending all political institutions Kabila conferred all legislative and executive power on himself.[149] He co-opted many credited politicians but dispatched Tshisekedi (of UDPS) to his home village.

The presence of Banyamulenge, who were considered foreigners by the Congolese politicians and civilians, was not welcomed and in July 1998 Kabila dismissed all the Rwandan troops and ordered them to return to Rwanda. The Banyamulenge soldiers returned to the east of Congo where they formed a rebellion against Kabila under the RCD (*Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie*). The new rebellion that launched an attack on Kinshasa in 1998 was backed by Rwandans who were already present in the DRC fighting Hutus, and Ugandans. This attack failed, however, because Kabila called on the assistance of the Angolans. The Rwandans and Ugandans moved to launch a war in the east and Kabila now called on the assistance of Sudan, Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe (Nugent 2004: 461-462). Although each country present on Congolese soil had its objective, the situation is described along the following lines:

> Whatever the reasons for initial involvement in the war, it did not take long before vested interests began to play in its prolongation. All of the armies became involved in pillaging the natural wealth of the DRC. Ugandan and Rwandan officers made themselves extremely wealthy trading goods into their respective zones and shipping valuable commodities out: especially gold, diamonds, timber and columbium tantalite (coltan), an important component in the production of mobile telephones. The involvement of multinational companies at different stages of the chain demonstrates the extent to which the war was thoroughly global (Nugent 2004: 463).

Newbury (in Turner 2007: 62) points out at a very strategic element that may also have some connection with the engagement of Rwanda in the DRC as he observes:

> In 1998, in a press conference at Kigali's Meridian Hotel, Rwandan president Pasteur Bizimungu unfolded a map that showed Rwanda's boundaries. In particular, large portions of Congo's North Kivu province were shown as former Rwandan territory. In the context, when Rwanda had just launched its second major invasion of its

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[149] "The first demonstrations in Kinshasa occurred only hours after Kabila officially announced his government and declared the Democratic Republic of Congo on 24 May 1997. Without a political base in the country, without a military or democratic background, Kabila knew no other way to react but through violence" (Cooper 2013:4).

largest neighbor, this seemed a clear claim to revise the boundary inherited from colonial rule. The map was reproduced from the Abbé Kagame's *Abrégé de l'ethno-histoire du Rwanda* (1972). It showed as parts of pre-colonial Rwanda not only the undoubtedly Kinyarwanda speaking areas of Bwisha (in Congo) and Bufumbira (in Uganda) but vast spaces the Rwandan armies had supposedly conquered in the centuries when Rwanda in fact was centered far to the east, if indeed Rwanda existed at all.

As the events unfolded, In May 1999, Ernest Wamba-dia-Wamba broke away from the RCD and formed the *RCD-Mouvement de Libération* (RCD-ML) under the patronage of Ugandans leaving the Congolese Tutsi to form RCD-Goma with the support of Rwandans. With Jean-Pierre Bemba in the north-west, the Ugandans spawned another rebel group, the Mouvement de Libération du Congo (MLC). Some autochthons saw the Banyamulenge as being a greater threat than Kabila's regime so they organized themselves as Mai-Mai and Simba militias. In short, "much of the DRC was turned into killing fields, where civilians enjoyed some respite they were subjected to occupying armies who preyed off them in a thoroughly predatory manner" (Nugent 2004: 462-3).

Steps towards a peace agreement were made when the six countries, which had troops in the DRC, together with the Kabila government, signed the Lusaka Accord in July 1999. Later, rebel groups joined the move. The agreement provided for a ceasefire, the deployment of UN peacekeepers and the disarming of negative forces. An inter-Congolese dialogue was envisaged to lead to the formation of national government. in August 1999 the Rwandan and Ugandan armies fought on Congolese soil over business interests between commanders of the two armies. With the killing of Laurent Kabila in January 2001 and the appointment of his son Joseph Kabila as the new president, the context changed. In July 2003, a government was formed that included the rebel groups. The deal that was signed between the government and rebel groups did not, however, take into account rival militias operating in the Ituri district and as a result, the peace deal in Kinshasa failed to resolve the crisis in eastern Congo. The estimation of people who died up to mid-2003 was about three million, including 50,000 who died in Ituri alone. This conflict has been qualified as the bloodiest conflict since the Second World War (Nugent: 2004: 464, cf. Cooper 2013:3). Also the peace accord did not allow war criminals to be persecuted, but rather they were promoted to the office of vice president in order to keep peace. Besides this, opportunity for a lasting reconstruction of society was perceived as means for individual interests. At the same time, the war in the east of the DRC

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was not stopped (Reybrouck 2015:467, 469, 471-474). As Reybrouck (2015:469) puts it "politics was war by other means".

> The new leaders did not do particularly good job; they emulated the abuses of Mobutism with a zeal that would have startled Mobutu himself. While crucial dossiers dealing with military reform and electoral process awaited actions, one of the first laws to pass through parliament stipulated… higher wages for the members of parliament… The senators… even jacked their pay to fifteen hundred dollars a month (Valon 2006:23).

The DRC had its first democratic election in 2006, which was won by Kabila at the second round (Reybrouck 2015:99-508). A second democratic election, which was very controversial, was held in 2011 and Kabila was declared the winner. The result was rejected by the veteran opposition leader Tshisekedi who declared himself president. It is also important to note that the electoral commission was led by Pastor Mulunda[150]. As a result of the controversial election of 2011, there were at least 18 people killed in election-related violence (Smith 2015). Besides these elections, President Kabila is perceived by the opposition as wanting to hold on to power after his second and last constitutional term. This situation is capable of creating potential for further conflicts (Berwouts 2015).

2.6 Summative Conclusion

The Congolese conflict and the country's underdevelopment can only be understood by looking at the different historical events of the country and of the Great Lakes Region in order to discover both the internal and external (regional and international) factors which may be considered as root causes. Peace in the DRC and in the region is a condition for a sustainable development and vice-versa. The position of the DRC is strategic in Africa and the resources of the country attract many multinational corporations, countries of the region and those of the international communities.

Therefore, creating a conflict in the DRC is a way forward to exploiting the resources of the country at the expense of the Congolese people. Both the slave trade and colonialism had a negative impact on the region and on the DRC because they were exploitative to the extent that the Congolese people were treated without dignity. They were also instrumental in promoting self-interest and marginalisation which led to conflict and underdevelopment. With regard to education, Belgian authorities did not educate, nor prepare the Congolese to

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[150] Mulunda is a church minister from the Protestant churches.

handle their future political and economic responsibilities. Besides this, Congolese were more divided than united when they achieved their independence. They spoke with one voice at the conference in Belgium, but the division was widespread on the ground. Most of the political parties formed at independence were ethnically based. Ethnicity has been negatively exploited by political leaders (both Congolese and regional) and colonizers as means to achieve their objectives in the DRC and in the region.

The problem of citizenship of the Rwandan Tutsi living on Congolese soil was not seriously addressed by both the colonial regime and the Mobutu regime. Later, this conflict fuels the current conflict. The neighbouring countries of the DRC, especially Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi have, and are playing, a critical role in conflict of the country. In some instances, conflicts in these countries were transported to the DRC such as the ethnic conflict between Hutu and Tutsi and the Rwandan genocide, which was not handled properly both by the international community and the regime of Mobutu. During the Cold War, the Mobutu regime received western support in order to protect the interests of the West. The regime was used to fight communism in Central Africa to the extent that the West did not consider the abuses of the regime, the suffering and cries of the Congolese. As a result, the regime was almost weak because the people could not carry on suffering.

On the eve of the 1996 conflict, Mobutu was no longer useful to the West and he had made enemies among his neighbours. Added to this is the fact that Mobutu lost the support of his people. The so-called war of liberation of 1996 that was initiated by neighbouring counties was a poisoned gift to the Congolese people. Those who organized the war had their own agendas, which may be unknown to the Congolese, who were only used in order to cover the presence of the foreigner armies that invaded the DRC. The country has been engaged in making an end to the different conflicts with the assistance of the UN and African Union. Some progress has been made so far but there is still lot to be done. Therefore, the regional and the international communities have to play a crucial role to bring lasting peace in the DRC and that will result in sustainable development. The DRC has the duty to work together with regional powers and the international community to achieve a long lasting peace. From the historical context of the DRC and the region, the next focus will be on the relationship between development with a specific reference to the Democratic Republic of Congo. From this historical context of the DRC and the region, the next focus will be on collecting theories of conflict and development that will help in the analysis and interpretation of the second chapter later in chapter 4 in light of the next chapter.

Chapter 3: The relationship between development and conflict with special reference to the DRC

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter was focused on the description of main historical events from the DRC and the Great Lakes Region, which will be analysed and interpreted in the next chapter. However, the focus of this chapter is to understand the concepts of sustainable development and conflict and their interconnectedness (section 1.1) with reference to the DRC. According to Gumedze (2011: 1), Africa (in our case the DRC)[151], has witnessed an unparalleled human suffering in history with a complex and prolonged intra- and inter-state conflict[152]: "Most informed people today know that the African continent is in a deep and serious crisis. According to some, this crisis has already passed the alarming stage and reached a fatal stage" (Van der Walt 2003: 39). Africa is also presented in the Western media in terms of war, famine and death (Hart et al. 2010:57). For the sake of this research, this crisis in the DRC is looked at from the perspective of two concepts, namely conflict and sustainable development, which are arguably related in the context of Africa and, specifically, the DRC.

The approach of this chapter is mostly descriptive with regard to the major concepts of this study: sustainable development and conflict. In fact, to resolve a conflict and to implement any sustainable development project requires some kind of understanding of these concepts. Therefore, the main focus of this chapter is on the understanding of the concepts of sustainable development and conflict. The focus of the chapter will, therefore, be on the role of the UN in conflict and development. The chapter will conclude with a focus on the interconnectedness between the two concepts with an emphasis on their application to the situation of the DRC. Our first focus is on the UN because of its involvement in peace and development with reference to the DRC.

3.2 The United Nations, conflict and development

The introduction of this section is explained by the fact that the UN, as an international organization, aims to promote peace and development in the world (Neuland & Venter 2005: vii, 294; cf. Chakravarti 2005: 69-70). There are undeniable proofs of this international organization's involvement in the promotion of both peace and development, especially in

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[151] About the intra-state and inter-state conflicts in the DRC see chapter two (sections 2.4.3 & 2.5.4).
[152] For more details on intra-state and inter-state conflicts see section 3.4.3

the case of the DRC.[153] It is also interesting to note that Alger (in Galtung 1996:227) sees the League of Nations and the United Nations as organizations, which have executive power that favours Western countries because they are constructed around Western theories and practice.[154] However, this section is mainly aimed at understanding how this organization functions with regard to peace and development before applying it to the situation of the DRC during different periods of the country's history.

3.2.1 History of the establishment of the United Nations

The League of Nations was created in 1920 after the First World War (1914-1918) and the United Nations Organization in 1945 after the Second World War (1939-1945) (Gibbons & Morican 1983: 6, 7, 9-10, 12, 78; cf. Kennedy 2006: 46, cf. Souaré 2006:48-52). As far as the establishment of peace is concerned, Miall et al. (2012:37) argues that the first move towards peace research was made by the establishment of international relations (IR) as a distinct academic discipline in 1918. It is interesting to note that Africa did not participate at all in the formation of the two world organizations even though it would come to play a significant role in the UN with a number of Africans[155] occupying leadership positions. But for Souaré (2006:51), Africa was marginalized because it was absent from the whole process which was influenced by colonial powers.

The two organizations were created in the same context, and they have something in common: the establishment of peace, security and development. If the League of Nations was focused on the establishment of peace and the reconstruction of Europe, the United Nations Organization focused on peace and security of the globe (Heywood 2009:158). In relation to the objective of this study, peace is to be implemented through resolving the conflict and establishment of sustainable development. Security is related to development, which also depends on the establishment of peace. This will be discussed at further stages in this chapter (section 3.5).

The United Nations is comprised of five organs: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat (Gibbons & Morican 1983: 81-2; cf. Souaré 2006:52-61). The purposes

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[153] This section will be discussed in detail later in this section.
[154] This argument will be more developed later under subsection Structural Conflict.
[155] Such as the Senegalese Amadou-Mahtar M'bow, the Egyptian Boutros Boutros-Ghali and the Ghanaian Kofi Anan.

and principles of the United Nations Organization are described in its Article 1 and Kennedy (2006: 314-315) puts these in the following manner:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.
2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace.
3. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and
4. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

The General Assembly is formed by all the nations, who are members of the United Nations Organization. The Security Council is composed of fifteen members out of which five are permanent and ten are non-permanent members. The permanent members are: the Republic of China, Russia, France, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and North Ireland, and the United States of America. The non-permanent members are elected by the General Assembly for a two-year mandate (Kennedy 2006: 319, 320, 321; cf. Heywood 2009:158). At the Security Council, only permanent members have the right of veto to block any action, and this veto does not include abstaining from voting (Gibbons & Morican 1983: 84).

3.2.2. Peacekeeping and Humanitarian aid

The involvement of the United Nations in Conflict and development is mediated through peacekeeping missions and humanitarian aid. Under article 43[156] of the United Nations' Charter (Kennedy 2006: 325); both the Security Council and the General Assembly can

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[156] According to Kennedy (2006: 325): 1) All members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining peace and security.
2) Such agreement or agreements shall govern the members and types of forces, their degree and general location, and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided.
3) The agreement or agreements shall be negotiated as soon as possible on the initiative of the Security Council. They shall be concluded between the Security Council and Members or between the Security Council and groups of Members and shall be subject to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

undertake peacekeeping operations[157] in any troubled spot of the world. Such operations have been undertaken in the Middle East in 1956; in the DRC in 1960; in Cyprus in 1964; in Lebanon in 1978; in Yugoslavia in 1992; in Cambodia in 1992; in Somalia in 1992; each operation with its own mandate (Dugard 1994: 309-10). In 2015 alone, there have been more than one hundred thousand peacekeepers only in Africa with the DRC having one of the largest UN peacekeeping missions (Renwick 2015)[158]. Every peacekeeping mission has been working according to its own mandate that is given by the Security Council. These mandates have changed over time as Pulver (2011:60) puts it,

> The peace keeping mission has evolved from the deployment of military observers to monitor a ceasefire, multidimensional approaches in which peacekeeping operations are called upon to facilitate the implementation of peace agreements, to promote human rights, and help national authorities to strengthen and restore rule of law institutions (Pulver 2011:60).

The International Aid System was born out of the concern of rebuilding Europe after the Second World War. Allies who met at Bretton Woods created the International Monetary Fund (IMF) whose purpose was to help coordinate rules about policies toward money and exchange rates facing a temporary crisis; and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), now known as the World Bank was aimed to act as a bank and make long-term loans to finance reconstruction of the roads, bridges, and other infrastructures destroyed during the war (Moss 2011: 122).

In fact, there are two kinds of aid: humanitarian aid and development aid. Humanitarian aid (relief) is an immediate assistance to the people who are affected, while development aid is mainly directed to poverty alleviation (Riddell 2007:330, 311, Bolton 2008:75). Bolton (2008:76, 169) suggests that development aid tries to create the opportunities for poor people to pull themselves out of poverty for the long term. As a result of this, poor people will be empowered to control their lives and deal with humanitarian disasters on their own.[159] It is important to note, however, that aid cannot deliver development, but rather it creates

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[157] "UN peacekeeping operations are frequently deployed in settings in which justice systems, along with almost all other state institutions, have completely ceased to function" (Pulver 2011:61).

[158] Peace Operations in Africa, available online on the website: http://www.cfr.org/peacekeeping/peace-operations-africa/p9333

[159] Unfortunately "most poor people and poor communities have no knowledge of how development aid provided to help them is used, and even when development aid is directly targeted to poor people and poor communities, it has often been personnel within aid agencies and not the poor people themselves who have decided how aid should be given… today, only a tiny amount of aid (almost certainly less than 10 per cent) is given directly to poor people and poor communities for them to choose how to use it" (Riddell 2007:406-07).

conditions for development. In many instances, humanitarian aid may be considered part of the context of conflict in that:

> It influences the decision-making of key actors in conflict and in post-conflict reconstruction, especially elite actors, who often direct or control economic resources and political power and may have a localized monopoly on the use of violence. These may be politicians, local militias, warlord-led groups, insurgencies, rebel movements or military forces whose command, control, organization and discipline has broken down or been restructured in the context of conflict (Beswick & Jackson 2011:78)

For a peacekeeping mission to be effective, the root causes of the conflict should be addressed and dealt with seriously. Describing the evolution of aid intervention and peacekeeping in the 1990s, Pugh (2000: 4) points out that:

> Humanitarian aid and military peacekeeping were not enough. They did not address the root cause of conflict or secure social development beyond emergencies. Such predicaments were already confronted in fieldwork, especially among NGOs that had been reassessing the impact of disaster relief and development programs from the 1970s.

Historically, Africa has become the target of the International Aid System with the rising concerns of decolonization, especially in the early 1960s, to smooth the transition to independence. This aid will be used later for strategic purposes particularly to oppose Soviet influence or to promote the continued European influence on the African continent. Furthermore, although the aid is mainly for moral or humanitarian reasons (to relieve avoidable suffering[160] and promote economic opportunity), it exists to support a new security agenda (based on a supposed relationship between poverty and emerging transnational threats) and the economic interest of the West (Moss 2011: 122-23). Moss (2011: 121-22) notes the following with regard to the international aid system:

> Africa is among the prime targets of much of aid business, as the region with the worst poverty and so far seemingly the least responsive past aids efforts. Growing concerns about security threats from Africa – terrorism, international crime, disease pandemics, and more – have also added a new urgency to making aid to Africa greater and more effective.

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[160] According to Hilhorst (in Beswick & Jackson 2011:75) humanitarian aid "is intended to prevent and alleviate human suffering".

In fact, African states are vulnerable to interventions because of their weaknesses: permeable and disputed borders as well as inadequate and unreliable armies. The vulnerability of Africa is also explained by the potential mineral resources which attract foreign companies and states. At the time the conflicts start, African states are not able to stop it on their own and can only rely on the assistance from outside (Cleaver in Furley & May 2001:223). In the case of the Congolese conflict, the neighbouring countries were themselves part of the conflict and were involved in the looting of the natural resources, making it impossible for them to intervene (see previous chapters).

According to Macqueen (2002:3) the peacekeeping missions in Africa have gone from monitoring and observation to combat forces, although the classic concept of the missions is founded on the physical interposition of an external third force that exerts moral rather than physical pressure between conflicting parties. It is interesting to note that one of the reasons advanced by Rwanda to invade the DRC was connected with the UN's failure to intervene successfully in Africa (namely in the east of the DRC, see section 2.5.4) (Furley & May 2001:8).

The main question with regard to Western aid to Africa is to find out if it really does profit Africa. The response might be "yes" or "no", but the position taken by Van der Walt on the issues of the international economic system requires good attention. Van der Walt (2003: 46) points out that the Western aid to Africa profits the rich countries and it represents a way to impoverish and exploit poor countries. Nevertheless, Chakravarti (2005:39) proposes that the increase in aid will have positive impacts on development no matter what the motives of the donors are. Also, studies of the World Bank on Aid and Reform in Africa have shown that, "aid in a country with social and economic policies and no political movement to change, aid cannot promote structural reform and development" (Chakravarti 2005:105). Speaking about the ecology and armed conflict in relation to the development aid, Nürnberger (1999: 89) remarks that:

> Modern weaponry has become freely available even to poor societies – often in the form of "development aid". As the lure of fighting power increases, people lose their sense of solidarity, their regard for the dignity of others, let alone for the interests of future generations.

In many cases, the aid that poor countries receive becomes a burden as these countries reach some point of not being able to pay back. Nürnberger (1999: 128) reports instances of

political, social and economic instability due to the deterioration of social services and general wellbeing in the debtor country. The point here is that when a country gets into debt, its inability to pay back its debts puts it in conditions of potential poverty and creates a dynamic for conflict. It is also the case that "all too often, aid follows political self-interest rather than need"[161] (Green 2008:386).

As for humanitarian aid, Annan (2008:40, 41) argues that it addresses the symptoms of the conflict rather than the causes. It cannot end a conflict and if it is not used properly, it may contribute to the prolongation of the conflict. It is also suggested that humanitarian aid cannot help to reduce poverty (see also Riddell 2007:312; Bolton 2008:96; Green 2008:380). For instance, there has been big humanitarian assistance in the Great Lakes Region with very little impact on the real problems of the region. Humanitarian aid can also be used to finance conflict (Mateos in Bowd & Chikwanha 2010:28). It is also argued by Khadiagala that:

> Aid funds and donor-sponsored policy reforms can inadvertently strengthen elite dominance and patronage, fuel resentment among certain groups, increase exclusion and increase the risk that such excluded groups may resort to violence to address their grievances (2013:117).

Similarly, Calderisi (2009:37) finds that there is a need to increase the recipient country's ownership and partnership of aid. This has been as a response to the complaints that policy reform and projects have been dictated by donors. For Riddell (2007:3) and Collier (2011:301, 322), aid is mostly connected to poverty alleviation. But, as Burnside and Dollar (Collier 2011:302), have argued "the impact of aid on growth depends on the quality of intensive regime". The impact of aid also depends on how it affects the poverty reduction in the recipient country (Riddel 2007:7, 17-18).

3.2.3 The United Nations and the Democratic Republic of Congo

UN involvement in the DRC dates from the 1960s (Lemarchand 2013:213). The UN peacekeeping mission had both positive and negative impacts both on conflict and development of the country. According to De Witte (2001: xxi), the Congolese crisis started in the form of a foreign intervention by Belgians and Western powers, who used the umbrella of the UN in order to overthrow the legitimate government of Lumumba and replace it with a neo-colonial regime so that they could continue exploiting the country. This first involvement

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[161] "Aid allocation is often distorted by geopolitical interest. A recent study showed that when a developing country becomes a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, its aid from the USA increases on averageby 60 per cent" (Werker in Green 2008:363).

of the UN in Africa, through what was termed peacekeeping, was repeated in a new form[162], forty years later. The first involvement known as *Opération des Nations Unies au Congo* (ONUC) began in July 1960 and ended in June 1964 (Macqueen 2002:33, cf. Omeje in Francis 2008:86, 87). On the one hand, the crisis in the Congo was by "implication and potential", a crisis of the internal state; therefore, the UN intervention[163] was questionable in relation to its charter. On the other hand, the principle of the "host-state consent" was irrelevant because the existence of "host-state" was problematic (Macqueen 2002: 34, 35).

The first UN intervention in the DRC was directly linked to the secession of Katanga[164] in the course of events that followed the unfortunate independence of the country (section 2.5.3). The disorder that erupted in the country reached Katanga on the 8th July 1960 and Moise Tshombe[165] appealed for Belgian military intervention in order to restore order. After stabilizing Katanga, Tshombe declared the independence of Katanga from the Congo on the 11th July 1960 and refused all leaders of the national government admission to the territory. The following day, both Kasavubu and Lumumba requested the intervention of the United Nations[166] in what they considered "Belgian aggression" rather than internal collapse. Their reasons for requesting military aid was to assist in protecting the nation's integrity from an external aggression (De Witte 2001: xxi, cf. Macqueen 2002:39, Souaré 2006:94-8).

At the request of the leaders of the national government, the then secretary-general, Hammarskjöld, called for the Security Council to authorize an operation that would permit Belgian forces to withdraw from the Congo as a way that could lead to the training and preparation of the ANC[167] in its role as a national army. A resolution that was drafted by Tunisia was adopted calling on Belgium to withdraw its troops from the Congo, and authorizing Hammarskjöld to take steps in consultation of the Government of Congo[168], to

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[162] The United Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) was established by Kofi Anan after the Lusaka Agreement of 10th July 1999 was signed by the governments of: Angola, the DRC, Namibia, Rwanda, Uganda and Zimbabwe (Souaré 2006:99).

[163] "The Congo intervention therefore posed a variety of challenges to the vision of peacekeeping as an alternative to the collective security enforcement that had been deemed unworkable in a popular system. Finally, the Congo experience illustrated the danger that UN intervention, far from fencing-off local conflicts from the larger global contest, could actually become an element in that contest, encouraging the very embroilment it was designed to prevent" (Macqueen 2002:35-36).

[164] For more details, see De Witte (2001:4-14).

[165] "One of a handful of successful African Businessmen in the Congo" (Macqueen 2002:38).

[166] "On the day that the first Belgian soldiers were deployed, Lumumba had approached UN under-secretary-general Ralph Bunche (an African-American who was in the Congo to assess development needs) with a request for UN help in training the ANC. He did not at that stage ask for a peacekeeping force" Macqueen 2002:39).

[167] Armé Nationale Congolaise

[168] There is here the Host State consent which is an element in peacekeeping concept being made explicit in the initial mandate (Macqueen 2002:40).

provide the military assistance until peace is restored and the Congolese army is able to secure the country. All this led to the authorization of the establishment of the ONUC[169] on the 14th July 1960, which was strongly backed[170] by the United States (Macqueen 2002:40).

The first UN troops deployed were mostly Africans[171] with world Superpowers assisting with transport and logistics. The role of the UN troops in the Congo, however, was perceived differently by Hammarskjöld and Lumumba. For Hammarskjöld, the Congolese crisis was an internal matter in which the UN should not get involved and did not have adequate resources to deploy. For Lumumba, it was a national crisis that the UN had been mandated to help resolve. This left the situation of the secession of Katanga unresolved for the remainder of 1960. Congolese instability was worsened by the stance that Lumumba took to mobilize Soviet-supplied transport and equipment at the beginning of September 1960. At the same time, tension between Kasavubu and Lumumba remained unresolved to the extent that it created ideologies[172] beyond the Congo and into the broader Cold War contest. During this crisis, the UN had to act contrary to its principle of non-intervention in domestic affairs (Macqueen 2002:44-45).

In the presence of persistent conflict between Kasavubu and Lumumba, UN troops received orders to close all airfields in the country and to shut down the capital's radio[173] station. In mid-September, Lumumba won support from the parliament, but this was followed by a putsch carried out by Colonel Joseph Mobutu. In the process, his presence became extremely vulnerable and he was placed under UN protection. The Security Council was divided on developments in Leopoldville, which were now cast in explicit cold war[174] terms. Finally, in November, the General Assembly accepted the credentials of the Kasavubu delegation (Macqueen 2002:45, 46, 47). This situation unfolded in the following manner:

> After the victory of his rivals in New York, Lumumba slipped away from the
> protection of the ONUC in Leopoldville with the aim of returning to his political base
> in Stanleyville (now Kisangani) and there mobilizing sufficient military support to

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[169] Organisation des Nations Unies pour le Congo.

[170] The Soviet delegation was against and France and Britain abstained in sympathy to the Belgian position (Macqueen 2002:40-41).

[171] They came from Ghana, Tunisia, Morocco, Ethiopia, Guinea and Liberia.

[172] "Lumumba became the revolutionary, pro-Soviet prophet of Afro-Asian liberation. Kasavubu, on the other hand, became the pragmatic and helpful friend of the West" (Macqueen 2002:45).

[173] This turned in favour of Kasavubu who was able to broadcast from Brazzaville in the former French Congo, and against Lumumba for whom that was the only means of mass communication (Macqueen 2002:45).

[174] "With the Congo, Cold War competition had come, paradoxically, to pose a threat to the idea of peacekeeping – an activity that had itself developed to neutralize that competition" (Macqueen 2002:49).

confront Mobutu's ANC. It was an ill-planned and badly executed venture, however, and he was quickly captured by soldiers loyal to Mobutu (Macqueen 2002:50).

The capture of Lumumba brought Mobutu and the Belgians together as they engaged to fight those who were still loyal to Lumumba in the North Katanga. This was contrary to the position of Hammarskjöld, whose priority was to have reconciliation between the factions among which one was led by Kasavubu and the other by Lumumba. Later, Lumumba[175] was transferred to Katanga where he was murdered on the 17 January 1967 and this was seen as a pre-arrangement plan between Mobutu and Tshombe with the blessing of Western powers specifically Belgium and the USA. In the midst of the political confusion that followed the death of Lumumba, the UN sought to retrieve the situation by agreeing on a resolution that gave the ONUC the power to impose peace in the Congo by military means; and by appealing to the immediate withdrawal and evacuation of all Belgian and foreign military and paramilitary personnel, and mercenaries (Macqueen 2002:50, 51-52).

In the interim, tensions arose between Lunda and Baluba within Katanga, as the former claimed the secession of Katanga and the latter promoted the unity of the Congo. Being threatened within Katanga, the Baluba sought the protection of the UN. In this situation, the central government under Cyrille Adoula became determined to end the secession. On 17 September 1961, Hammarskjöld was killed in a plane crash on his way to a meeting in Ndola (Zambia). He was then replaced by the first non-European general-secretary, U Thant. Although there were still international divisions with regard to the situation of Katanga, it became obvious that Katanga's independence would never be achieved. After a period of action and counteraction between the UN and the government of Katanga, Tshombe's regime was defeated. So on 14 January 1963, Tshombe announced the end of Katangan secession as well as his unconditional acceptance of U Thant's plan for reunification (Macqueen 2002:54, 55, 56, 57). The positive impact of the UN intervention then were stabilization and the unification of the country (Lemarchand 2013:213). Gibbons and Morican (1983: 144) describe the work of the UN as that of nursing the DRC to stability:

> The Congo had been ill-prepared for independence. Congolese doctors, lawyers, engineers and other professional people just did not exist. The UN, working from rooms in a hotel, set about the urgent task of running the country. A civil service had to be set up, hospitals reopened, communications restored. Suitable people, from

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[175] Both the arrest and death of Lumumba had negative implications on the ONUC. His arrest created a sense of resentment among the Afro-Asian world. His transfer to Katanga and his death were perceived as incompetence and negligence (Macqueen 2002:50-52).

wherever they could be found, were recruited to meet the emergency. At the same time, Congolese natives had to be taught to run their own country. The task that Belgium had so woefully neglected was undertaken by the UN. Courses were run to train teachers, engineers, civil servants, lawyers, police officers, air traffic controllers and other key personnel. Congolese were sent abroad on UN fellowships to study and fit themselves for eventual responsibility. UN experts were brought in – over a thousand of them – to teach the multitude of skills needed to run the nation. An impending famine in Kasai was staved off by prompt UN action.

The UN intervention that helped to restore peace by unifying the country also played a major role in the promotion of development. The UN worked toward the promotion of education as they provided with training in different fields. The UN directly intervened from a humanitarian perspective to fight against starvation in the province of Kasai. In terms of other positive actions of the UN intervention in the DRC, Kennedy (2006: 85) also writes that:

> On the positive side, the United Nations had responded, gradually, to a member state's pleas for assistance and had returned that state to its integrity. It had shown it could enforce and not just observe the peace. The crisis had interested and involved the General Assembly in ways that had not previously been seen. It had also given its central offices, and the participant member nations, great experience, and the role of the Office of the Secretary-General as the operational Centre of peacekeeping and peace enforcement had become incontestable.

There is nevertheless also a negative perception[176] of the United Nations mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo:

> …the mission also stirred the feeling that the organization had gone too far and become too involved. Because it felt obliged to support the central government over the breakaway forces, it had certainly not been neutral and consensual, a fact that disturbed some member states in Europe and Latin America who preferred that the world body always play an impartial role. Moreover, what sort of example did it offer when the UN faced similar challenges? True, the peacekeepers had driven out the mercenaries and crushed Katanga's independence bid, but given the dreadful massacres all around, it could not be said to have been a great peacekeeping mission (Kennedy 2006: 85).

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[176] This is explained by the fact that there are stances that were taken by the UN, which were against the organisation's charter or that could not meet the aspirations of the Congolese in resolving the conflict.

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As events evolved after the end of the Katanga secession, some Lumumbists left the capital and fled to the mountains of the eastern Congo in September 1963. These Lumumbists would occupy Stanleyville a few months after the departure of the ONUC until their defeat by Belgian paratroopers. After their defeat, Lumumbists fled into the mountains from where they carried out a series of actions against the central government. It should be noted that one of the Lumumbist leaders was Laurent-Désiré Kabila (Macqueen 2002:58, 59) who would lead the rebellion that overthrew President Mobutu in 1997 (sections 2.5.3 & 2.5.4).

The UN would again be involved in the DRC during the conflict of 1998 where regional powers such as Rwanda and Uganda became involved. After the signing of the Lusaka agreement on 10 July 1999 by African countries present at the occasion, the agreement envisaged the provision by the UN peace enforcement units[177] that were proposed to confront any armed elements that failed to comply with the peace process. At first the UN played the role of observer, but in the process of events the plan was accepted by the Security Council and military observers were deployed to the country in mid-September 1999 (Macqueen 2002:90; cf. UN 2014). It is also important to mention that the UN is still actively involved in the DRC and that there is still much to be done in order to establish a lasting peace and sustainable development.

3.3 Sustainable development

Sustainable development should also affect, all together, the social, political, economic and environmental dimensions of human life. Therefore, any development that is only focused on the present and that does not include all the dimensions of human life; will have negative impacts on the life and wellbeing of both the present and the future generations. Ordinary people, including the poorest, must be part and parcel of any decision that affects their wellbeing and that of their future generations for sustainable development to take place. According to Küpçü (2005:45-103), the environment, the economy and the society are the three main pillars of sustainable development.

In terms of development, Mbeki (2002:11) argues that the advancement of Africa depends on the reduction of poverty, the improvement of people's lives and the observance of basic

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[177] The units of the mission were established by the resolution 1279 of 30 November 1999 of the UN. The mission was named the "United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo" (MONUC). Later the mission will be renamed the "United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo" (MONUSCO) by the Security Council resolution 1925 of 1 July 2010 (UN 2010).

minimum norms. As Schumacher (1995: 69-70) puts it, development should first of all address the primary causes of poverty[178] and it should always start with people. People should never be considered mere recipients of the effects of development, but they should always be active agents of their own development. In fact, people are often in a better position to identify the real causes of their own situation that are unknown to strangers. The whole process of development should be directed to meeting human needs in full using a kind of development that "respects people and the distinctiveness of their traditions and culture" (Reid 1995: 70-71).

> The implication… is that poor people are not the problem but the solution… If conditions are right they can be predisposed…, to resist and repulse short-term exploitation from the cores, and to take a long view in their husbandry of resources. The predisposing conditions for this are that they command resources, rights and livelihoods which are adequate, sustainable and above all secure (Reid 1995: 82).

In the case of an economic development, Kinoti (in van der Walt 2003:45) argues that the current international economic system is one of the hindrances to the development of Africa. The current economic system was based on the exploitation of Africans through slavery (1520-1833) that was followed by colonization (1880-1960). Through this system Africa, has become a source of raw materials and a market for manufactured goods from the West. In the system, the West has set mechanisms in order to have full control over the international economic system. The direct implication of such a system is that Africa and Africans have become means of international economic development. This kind of system needs to change if we want to achieve a sustainable development.

According to Prahalad (in Pick & Sirkin 2010:3), the world should be viewed through the lens of the majority of the people instead of that of the few as it has always been. Sustainable development is rooted in people's capacity to overcome their own psychological, social and contextual barriers and to become agents and not passive recipients of change. People should learn to have control over their lives and make their own decisions. Especially political change plays a major role in paving the way to sustainable development. With regard to political change, Reid (1995:177) suggests that "the catalyst for political change is our

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[178] According to Pick & Sirkin (2010:3) any effort for development that focuses on symptoms rather than on the causes of poverty are subject to failure. Both psychological and contextual factors are interrelated and both can be hindrance or solution to poverty. Both factors must be addressed integrally for individual and community growth and development through development of analytic thinking, problem solving, and decision making and assertiveness skills.

individual participation in action to influence decision-making in ways that use our energies most effectively".

African states are also concerned by the state of conflict and underdevelopment within and across their borders. For instance, "NEPAD[179] is a program of the AU (African Union) that focuses on the socioeconomic causes of conflict such as poverty, underdevelopment, and poor governance" (Curtis & Dzinesa 2012:109). Through NEPAD, African states are committed to the integration of sustainable development commitments, to alleviate poverty and to increase African participation in the world economy (Küpçü 2005:99, cf. Neuland & Venter 2005:274). The African post-conflict policy framework is an important institution of the AU and NEPAD that addresses the peace, security, humanitarian, development, and political dimensions of post conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding (Curtis & Dzinesa:110). This shows a clear commitment within the African continent to the establishment of peace and development on the continent especially through the NEPAD program. One of the NEPAD's goals in its action plan is:

> To move away from aid dependency towards a partnership with the developed world that will equitably develop and share the African resource base in order to contribute to sustainable global economic growth. It is also based on a new partnership between African leaders and their people and between Africans themselves. In short, NEPAD seeks to foster the alleviation of poverty in African countries by a sustainable development process that is African inspired and supported by the developed world (Neuland & Venter 2005: 276).

Development should be considered holistically because the main argument of this study is that the resolution of the conflict will result in sustainable development. There are many definitions of sustainable development from various sources, but a useful definition is that of the Brundtland Commission as it stresses the meeting of human needs. As far as sustainable development is concerned, Springett and Redclift (2015:17) argue that the meeting of human needs should go together with maintaining economic growth, and conserving the environment. In this regard, Hudson (2015:41) and Springett and Redclift (2015:17) provide four interconnected dimensions of sustainable development: institutional (political), environmental, social and economic with the latter being considered as not essential or harmful to the environment. In fact, "the legal arrangements that govern relations between

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[179] NEPAD stands for New Partnership for Africa's Development.

economy, society and natural world have implications both for the sustainability of the economy and the environment, political and social sustainability" (Hudson 2015:41).

With regard to sustainable development, the environment should be treated in ways to meet the needs of both the present and future generations (Lockie & Ransan-Cooper 2015:123). The goal of economic growth (development) should also be to improve the well-being of humans' life in a sustainable[180] way (Costanza et al. 2015:281) because wherever there is an abusive exploitation of the natural resources, the most affected people are the poor (Collin & Collin 2015:214). There is, therefore, the need for what Collin and Collin (2015:209) call "environment justice", which "refers to the movement to redress disproportionate adverse impacts on vulnerable populations" (ibid). In this regards Carley and Christie (in Reid 1995: 124-25) provide a more detailed definition of sustainable development that also calls our attention to the aim of this research. Sustainable development is:

> A continuing process of mediation among social, economic and environmental needs which results in positive socioeconomic change that does not undermine the ecological and social systems upon which communities and societies are dependent. Its successful implementation requires an integrated policy, planning and social learning process; its political viability depends on the full support of the people it affects through their governments, their social institutions, and their private activities.

Here, the implication is that for any development to be sustainable, it must affect both the present and the future. Sustainable development should also affect, all together, the social, political, economic and environmental dimensions of human life. Therefore, any development that is only focused on the present and that does not include all the dimensions of human life; will have negative impacts on the life and wellbeing of both the present and the future generations. Ordinary people, including the poorest, must be part and parcel of any decision that affects their wellbeing and that of their future generations for sustainable development to take place. According to Küpçü (2005:45-103), the environment, the economy and the society are the three main pillars of sustainable development.

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[180] "Sustainability will require us to confront the damage to our ecosystems, caused by our choice of development modality. Slavery, genocide, colonialism, industrialism, and exploitation of limited natural resources are part of those development choices. Sustainability will require us to address disparities that exist because of this development model and its history, and visit deliberate public policy decisions to scarify certain groups and communities for development in the quest for a better life for the majority" (Collin & Collin 2015:210).

According to Reid (1995: xiii, 22), the concept "sustainable development" was introduced in 1980 in the *World Conservation Strategy* (WCS) and has gained even greater attention since the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) was held in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992. Sustainable development focuses on a systematic alleviation of the global crisis through the integration of human, ecological and economic factors.

Sustainable development should also be understood in relation to four types of developments, which are suggested by Burkey (1993:38), namely: human (personal) development[181], economic development[182], political development and social development. These types of development can be built in the following manner: social development is on the horizontal top with the political development and the economic development on both vertical sides, human development on the horizontal bottom. A social development, which is supported by political and economic developments, is founded on human development. But the concept of sustainable development is more than the sum of this definition.

The concept of sustainable development is different from economic growth because its focus is holistic. Sustainable development is about changing things both for the present and preserving them for tomorrow. Whatever is done today in the development field should be projected in the future to measure consequences. Therefore, present development should never, in any way, be harmful neither to the present nor to the future in all domains of human life. The Dag Hammarskjöld Institute reports that:

> Development is a whole: it is an integral, value-loaded, cultural process; it encompasses the natural environment, social relations, education, production, consumption and well-being. The plurality of roads to development answers to the specificity of cultural or natural situations; no universal formula exists. Development is endogenous; it springs from the heart of each society, which relies first on its own

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[181] "Human (personal) development is a process by which an individual develops self-respect, and becomes more self-reliant, cooperative and tolerant of others through becoming aware of his/her shortcomings as well as his/her potential for positive change. This takes place through working with others, acquiring new skills and knowledge, and active participation in the economic, social and political development of their community" (Burkey 1993:35-6).

[182] "Economic development is a process by which people through their own individual and/or joint efforts boost production for direct consumption and to have a surplus to sell for cash. This requires that the people themselves analyze the problems, identify the causes, set their priorities and acquire new knowledge. It also requires them to organize themselves in order to coordinate and mobilize the effective application of the factors of production at their disposal. This means that they must plan, implement and manage their own economic activities. The higher income that accrues through increased savings and investments can be used to satisfy a wider range of the people's wants enabling them to realize greater wellbeing. However, continued progress requires reinvestment of part of this surplus" (Burkey 1993:36).

strength and resources and defines in sovereignty the vision of its future, co-operation with societies sharing its problems and aspirations (Reid 1995: 71-2).

Sustainable Development and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

Sustainable development is currently one of the major concerns of world leaders and the UN. There have always been theories and programs aimed to implement development in a general sense. There is, however, a new agenda for sustainable development under the rubric of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). These goals replace the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that were judged as having failed to produce its ascribed goals. In fact, the MDGs did not tackle successfully the issues of poverty, hunger, gender inequality, illiteracy, child mortality and environmental degradation (Ford 2015).

Contrary to the MDGs that have only 8 goals, the SDGs have 17 goals, 169 targets and additional indicators that are being assessed by groups of experts for their feasibility, suitability and relevance. There are be 2 indicators for each target. One of the 169 targets concerned the reduction by half the number of people living in poverty by 2030, and the eradication of extreme poverty (Ford 2015). Practically, the MDGs ended in December 2015 and the SDGs were launched in January 2016 and will end in 2030 (Ford 2015).

The implementation and the success of the SDGs' agenda are subject to critique and are debatable. Some critique has already been levelled with regard to their complexity. For some, there is firstly, the problem of bringing together so many different stakeholders as well as the many levels that must be involved in the implementation of this agenda. There is a significant question, for example, as to how to get all the stakeholders to work together "at the right time and place" in order to address the many different challenges to the SDGs (Patterson et al. 2015).

For others, the SDGs' agenda poses a problem because of the numbers of its goals, targets and indicators. For example, the agenda doesn't take into consideration the limited resources and funds, and therefore, lacks effective prioritization regardless of its good intention (Lomborg 2015). As Ellison (2015) puts it, "the problem with the UN goals is that they are not sufficiently focused to do the most good with the available resources. These are not at any rate resources that are at the disposition of the UN." But formally, the SDGs agenda has positive points because it proposes some solutions to the many challenges facing our world today and in the future. The agenda promotes well-being, peace, justice, inclusiveness, care

for the nature and equality as well as other positive social values (Ford 2015; cf. Saxena 2015). Some of its goals are directly linked to concepts that are related to development and conflict (see goals 1 and 16 of the SDGs).

The SDGs need our consideration because they address the wellbeing of people in an inclusive way. The SDGs, therefore, do not only address the issues of poverty and development, but rather, "they address the root causes of poverty and the universal need for development that works for all people" (Clark 2015). According to Clark (ibid), the SDGs are tools that can be used to meet the aspirations of human beings for peace, prosperity, wellbeing, and the preservation of the planet once all people agree to work together. For instance, the first and the sixteenth goals address the root causes of poverty and conflict (UN 2015) .

Target 1.1 focuses on the eradication of poverty for all people; target 1.4 addresses the equal distribution of resources and basic services; and target 1.5 addresses the interconnectedness between economy, society and environment. And for the sixteenth goal, target 16.1 addresses the reduction of violence; target 16.2 addresses all forms of abuse and exploitation; target 16.7 speaks of inclusiveness and participation in decision making; 16.10 speaks of fundamental freedoms; and target 16.b speaks of the rejection all forms of discrimination (UN 2015). Both goals 1 and 16 are in line with the concept of *shalom*, which will be developed later in chapter 5. Put together, all these targets, mainly targets 1 and 16, support the argument of the research for the establishment of peace and sustainable development. These also demonstrate the interconnectedness between development and conflict.

3.4 Conflict

Conflict studies are a complex and broad field and there is a great deal of literature on the subject. We are not going to explore the entire field of conflict studies, and for the sake of this research, the raison d'être of this section is to try to explore perspectives on conflict in order to get a glimpse of the concept in a very generalized way. The aim of this section is, therefore, to focus on key points such as: the nature of conflict, state of conflict and types of conflict.

3.4.1 The Nature of conflicts

In this research, there are three natures of conflict that will be explored: ethno-religious, economic-political and structural. It may be assumed, in the case of DRC conflict, that the

economic-political and structural natures of the conflict should be considered as those that constitute the main root causes of conflicts; while the ethno-religious aspects, are to be viewed as instruments used to support the economic-political and structural conflicts. It means that people in quest for political or economic advantages may be using ethnicity and religion to achieve their objectives and the conflict has negative impacts on sustainable development in one way or another.

3.4.1.1 Ethno-religious conflicts

By definition, from an anthropological perspective, an "ethnic group" is defined in relation to a particular culture that contains others. Cultural similarities (among members of the same ethnic group) and differences (between that group and others) are the main elements that define ethnicity. One ethnic group is distinguished from another on the basis of language, religion, history, geography, kinship or race (Kottak 2004: 384). Furthermore, Spears (2010:9) and Richmond & Gestrin (2009:11) observe that ethnic groups always choose plans or strategies that work for their survival in hostile and insecure environments.

From a psychological perspective, Abercrombie, Hiller & Turner (in Blanche & Stevens 2011: 348) define ethnicity as "a dynamic expression of individual and group identity based on shared social features such as language, religion, customs, traditions and history within a particular social group." As far as the meanings attached to ethnicity are concerned; Thompson (in Blanche & Stevens 2011: 348) argues that they are shaped by their context. Therefore, a conflict needs to be understood within the context in which it is experienced.

The psychological concepts work in a progressive way and they all express the level at which the conflict can be located. In fact, ethnocentrism produces attitudes towards the in-groups and the out-groups. From attitudes, people move to stereotype people to whom these attitudes are directed. Once stereotypes are established, prejudice takes place about the stereotyped group. It is noticeable that all these first concepts are about beliefs. The last step in the development of conflict is discrimination which is about actions taken towards the prejudiced group (De la Rey et al. 2011: 348-50). These concepts, therefore, play a certain role wherever there is a conflict that has an ethnic undertones.

According to Fox (2002:4, 25, 70-71), "Religion and ethnicity are often overlapping and even intertwined. Religion is included in most definitions of ethnicity as one among many potential traits that can define an ethnic group". Some religious conflict can mean many things that range from theological debate to civil war. Here, "religious conflict" is that in

which two groups with different economic-political goals and agenda, using religion, pursue them in the economic-political arena.

Schlee (2008: 9), disagrees with the popular view that ethnicity is a factor that causes or aggravates conflicts. For him, ethnicity is "something that emerges in the course of conflict, or acquires new shapes and functions in the course of such events". He also argues that there are no ethnic groups or ethnicity in a proper sense when it comes to conflict (Schlee 2008: 9, 7). However, others do not agree with Schlee. Stearns (2011:32) suggests scratching behind the surface of ethnicity to see its history, which is using it or being used by it, and for what reason. At this level, the position of Stearns is acceptable because ethnicity has existed in Africa even before slave trade and colonization. Here, Gestrin & Richmond (2009:11) observe that "in traditional African societies, each ethnic group strove to preserve the ways of its ancestors, and marriage outside the tribe was rare".

According to Kottak (2004: 379-82), ethnic conflict may arise from a context of prejudice, which is founded on attitudes and judgments. People who use prejudice devaluate or look down on others because of their assumed behavior, values, abilities, or attributes. In such contexts, the stereotypes of the groups are applied to individuals. Another cause of ethnic conflict is discrimination, which refers to policies and practices that harm a group and its members. There is also what is termed attitudinal discrimination and institutionalized discrimination. Genocide is the extreme form of discrimination, which is defined by the UN as acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group. Another root cause of ethnic conflict is multiculturalism where conflicts may be evident when different ethnic groups begin to compete. Factors such as assimilation, ethnocide and cultural colonialism can also fuel ethnic conflict.

3.4.1.2 Economic-political conflict

Politics and economy play a crucial role in the creation of conflict and this is applicable to the Congolese conflict as will be demonstrated in the next chapter (sections 4.2.1, 4.3.1 & 4.4.1). A good understanding of the conflict should, therefore, take seriously the interpretations of economic and political facts according to the specific context of the conflict. In the case of the DRC, this has been demonstrated through Congolese history, from the slave trade to the present time. As a result, any conflict should be looked at beyond ethnic lines by analysing the economic-political side of it. This subsection is mainly focused on the understanding of political and economic conflicts.

A political conflict is a conflict based on political interests. Power is exercised within a relationship, therefore, it plays a very important role in any kind of conflict. (Åkerlund 2005:48, Ham 2010:2, 3). As Ham (2010:1-2) puts it, the concept power needs serious consideration for economic and political change. About power, Jeong (2008: 6) argues that "power becomes an important element in the struggle for winning a conflict, since it is essential to engendering a desired difference in the targeted person's emotions and behavior". In politics, power is defined as the ability to influence others' behavior within a relationship (Heywood 2007:5, 7, cf. Ham 2010:2). The role of power in conflict is better explained by Winter (in Joeng 2008: 6) who argues that,

> The relationships in conflict are often described in terms of an exercise of coercive power. In a generic sense, power provides the ability to 'compel others to do something' and is also the source of people's ability to exercise control over decision making on valuable positions, limited goods and services.

As far as power is concerned, "social conflict refers to purposeful struggles between collective actors who use social power to defeat or remove opponents and to gain status, power resources and other scarce values (Anstey 2006:5). In other words, there is conflict when people begin to express their unhappiness towards the existing order in order to bring about change. As such, Jeong (1999:3) finds that inter-group conflicts are imbedded in political frameworks whose meanings can only be interpreted and constructed in social contexts.

Power is also a source of conflict in the world because it is used by the strong nations to impose their wills on the weak. Because of power, people or nations are treated impartially and without dignity. De Nevers's (Ham 2010:18) study of piracy, the slave trade, and terrorism has demonstrated the use of tools of power by the Great Powers to influence others. In terms of impartiality, De Nevers (Ibid) argues that "in norm promotion, great powers appear to speak 'softly' to those they regard as their peers, but they 'carry a big stick' to force others into line". Altogether, these situations may lead to conflict and underdevelopment. Power can also derive from the economic capacity one has to assist another (Ham 2010:37). Politics may also be linked to economy. Here, Nürnberger (1999: 88) notes, for example, that:

> Competition for scarce resources leads to rising conflict potential. The economic roots of a conflict are often overshadowed by more visible political motives, but

ultimately people fight over life chances and power. Where conflict over resources builds up, it often rekindles ethnic hostilities with all the intensity and bitterness.

It is argued in this chapter (section 3.4.1.3) that the exploitation and distribution of resources is one of the root causes of conflict. Now, the concepts of economics and politics need our attention in the understanding of their connection to the resources. Both concepts play some kind of role in the production and distribution of the resources. These roles are described by Caporaso & Levine (1992:16) in the following way:

> Economics and politics are alternative ways of making allocations regarding scarce resources. Politics refers not to the formal structure of government but to a distinctive way of making decisions about producing and distributing resources. Unlike economics, which emphasizes juridical voluntary exchange, the system of political allocation involves authority.

According to Anderton & Carter (2009: 2), there are two types of economic conflict: macro and micro conflict. The macro conflict comprises interstate conflict (e.g. civil war, domestic terrorism), while extra-state conflict between states and external actors (e.g. international terrorism, colonial wars). Micro conflict can also be among private persons and organizations (e.g. theft, extortion, human trafficking).

3.4.1.3 Structural conflict

Galtung (in Bowd & Chikwanha 2010: xx, cf. Winter & Leighton 2001:99) refers to structural conflict as "the violence caused by unregulated social structures, which effectively allow the strong to victimize the weak who are unable to protect themselves". According to Winter & Leighton (2001:99, 100), structural conflicts are dangerous and problematic because they frequently result in direct violence. Sadly, most of organized armed conflicts, across the globe, have been linked to structured inequalities. Structural conflicts are most of time invisible and hidden in social structures (Winter & Leighton 2001:99; cf. Abrahamsson 2003:179).

According to Anstey (2006:17), "structural imbalances occur where there is actual or perceived inequality of control of resources, ownership or resource distribution". The issues of power and authority are at the heart of these imbalances. Focusing on structural imbalances, Ferguson (2006:22) argues against the hypothesis that peace and prosperity are to be attained through decolonization. He observes that democracies have only produced

corruption, brutality and poverty especially in Africa. As Huntington (Anstey 2006:23) points out:

> Powerful nations fund and control the critical workings of the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization and the World Bank. Even the WTO[183], in which all countries have an equal vote, reflects important power asymmetries with poorer nations lacking resources to participate meaningfully in its affairs (Anstey 2006:23).

In the same vein, Wallerstein (2006:19) argues that:

> … All states are theoretically sovereign, but strong states find it easier to 'intervene' in the internal affairs of weak states than vice versa, and everyone is aware of that. Strong states relate to weak states by pressuring them to keep their frontiers open to the supply of those flows of factors of production that are useful and profitable to firms located in the strong states, while resisting any demand for reciprocity in this regard.

This can be perceived from the situation of the DRC where the country's sovereignty was simply violated by its neighbours with the backing of the international community. One can say that Rwanda's capability to invade the DRC was made possible by the support it received from the international community. Abrahamsson (2003:15) points out the essence of the theory of hegemonic stability according to which there is a need to have a dominant power for the implementation of agreed rules, norms and sanctions to be possible for world order stability. This plays a major role to guarantee the open world economy. This theory explains the supremacy of world superpowers on the world economy. The theory is, however, in opposition to the argument of this research because it does not support the establishment of *shalom* (see chapter 5). In terms of power, Strange (in Abrahamsson 2003:17) considers structural power as:

> …power to shape and determine the structures of the global political economy within which other states, that their political institutions, their economic enterprises and (not least) their scientists and other professional people have to operate …Structural power, in short, confers the power to decide on how things should be done, the power to shape frameworks within which states relate to each other, relate to people, or relate to corporate enterprises.

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[183] World Trade Organization.

The power relations between conflicting parties are the main requirements to be considered for an analysis of a structural conflict or violence (Beswick & Jackson 2011:50). For instance "if members of a particular group, defined by specific quality such as ethnicity, geographical location, religion or caste, are less able to fulfil their life potential than those of another, than structural violence occurs"[184] (Beswick & Jackson 2011:50). Rwanda and Burundi provide a particular illustration of this in that the deepening of ethnic divisions between Hutu and Tutsi laid ground for the 1994 genocide. In fact, the Tutsis were more privileged than their fellow countrymen, the Hutus, as it is pointed out in previous chapter (section 2.3.2.2. It was also noted, in the previous chapter (section 2.5.5) that some of the root causes of the Congolese conflict are linked to the Rwandan genocide.

In the previous chapters, the imbalances between different individuals and groups of individuals, at the different stages of the country's history have been pointed out. During the colonial period, the white colonizers had more privileges than the Congolese nationals. In the case of education, for example, it is clear that Congolese did not receive proper education (section 2.3.1). Furthermore, the same scenario was repeated after independence as it was noticed that only few people (mostly from the same ethnic or political affiliation) were educationally more privileged than others (section 3.4.1). For instance, Muscat (2002:115) connected some of structural conflicts to the colonial period in the following manner:

> In many of the former colonies, the coincidence of racial and ethnic divisions with economic class divisions was created by colonial policies that favored one group over another and/or promoted immigration of ethnically different manpower to meet specific labor supply requirements not filled (for whatever reasons) from the indigenous population.

The conflicts in the DRC and in the region may be considered as structural conflicts with a long history that can be traced back to colonization. In fact, when some individual or group have free access to the political and economic opportunities while others do not, the end result is the use of violence by those who are marginalized, on their own or with the support of outsiders. An example is the Tutsis who were marginalized in the DRC got the support of Rwanda.

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[184] Sierra Leone and Liberia are good examples of structural violence. Here those who took arms were mainly people who were excluded from political and economic life opportunities. Practically this was noticed by the way rebels acted during their conquest of some of the urban centers, where the first victims all those who and were related to the government (Beswick & Jackson 2011:50).

3.4.2 State of conflict

The concept "state" refers to the five forms in which conflicts may take, namely: open, hidden, inherited, new, long term or short term. An *open conflict* is that in which antagonists express openly their concerns (Cupta 2007). Most of wars and civil wars are to be identified as *open conflicts*. A hidden conflict is that in which antagonists, who may well be known, are not engaged public. It is much easier to resolve an open conflict than a hidden one considering that the former is observable and predictable while the latter is not and requires to be made open before dealing with it (Cupta 2007). It is also the case that in open conflicts, there are possibilities of direct intervention while in a hidden conflicts, only indirect interventions can be possible. According to Omeje (in Francis 2008:70):

> Open conflict is deep-rooted and very visible, and may require actions that address both the root causes and the visible effects; latent conflict occurs underground or below the surface and may need to be brought into the open before it can be effectively addressed; and surfaced conflict has shallow no roots and may be only a misunderstanding of goals that can be addressed by means of improved communication.

An *inherited conflict* is that which is not created by those engaged in it, but rather the antagonists have to take over from what happened in the past. Thus, "some conflicts have no objective rather than to retaliate for past injury, having no physical purpose but just satisfy internal desires of individual". An inherited conflict may be a direct continuation of an earlier conflict or can be founded on events that belong to the past. Green (2008:284) puts this in the following way: "Many conflicts are born of left grievances and are rooted in long-standing inequalities, and can only be resolved with measures that address the roots of discontent."

A *new conflict* is one which has not existed before. It is good if new conflicts can be resolved as soon as they appear to avoid their prolongation that can result in them being more destructive. We are living in a time when our TV screens, radios and newspapers display new conflicts that arise each day. There is a common invitation to contribute in one way or another to help find solutions to these new conflicts; and also to work in ways to avoid the creation of new conflicts or the repetition of conflicts. One good example of a new conflict is the conflict in South Sudan which can also be considered as the prolongation of the old conflict between Sudan and South Sudan (see section 2.4.3.3). Marshall and Gurr (in Jeong 2008: 3) argue that "each year, 20 to 40 armed conflicts of various sizes rage around the

world. Some conflicts have been successfully managed, but others have brought about devastating consequences such as wholesale killing".

The two last 'states' of conflict are mainly to be taken in relation to the time they take to be resolved, and these are: short term conflict and long-term conflict. A *short term conflict* is that which appears and is resolved in a very short time. The war of 1994 in Rwanda can be considered a short term conflict, because it only took few months to end. At the same time, the damages caused by this conflict were very high compared to the time it took because of genocide.

A *long-term* conflict is that which can be resolved after a long time and it can take many years. A good example is the conflict in the DRC, which has taken years. The current conflict started in 1996 and is still going on, and it has created dynamics for many small conflicts. Among these small conflicts can be classified the May-May operating in the province of Katanga and in the east of the DRC. This shows how dangerous it is to have a long-term conflict and the need to act as soon as possible to contain the continuation of any ongoing conflict. According to Jeong (2008: 12), "conflict is often negatively transformed through the ups and downs of a continuing fight. An unresolved conflict over a long period of time… is likely to resurface repeatedly with intervals of democracy and activity".

3.4.3 Types of conflicts

Aryasinha & Shain (2006:108) identify four types of conflicts: 1) state-to-state conflicts where the two sides are mainly fighting over resources or boundaries, with no intention of one party eliminating the opponent. 2) State-to-state conflicts where there is a dimension of a distinct minority such as the Armenia-Azerbaijan on Nagorno-Karabakh. 3) Intrastate conflicts where a minority is fighting for secession, and lastly 4) the intrastate conflicts where the objective is to change the regime without any question of the legitimacy of the state and its boundaries. In fact, there is an increase of intrastate conflicts and a decrease of state-to-state conflicts (Niens & Cairns 2001:48; Gebrewold 2009:38).

Gebrewold (2009:5) finds that the three types can be defined as: intrastate (local), interstate (regional) and global. In other words, Gebrewold classifies conflict at three levels: local, regional and global. African states are vulnerable to non-state actors in their conflict just because the continent is weak and in crisis. He specifically points out at the conflict in the

DRC as a case study that shows intrastate, regional[185] and global conflict, (Gebrewold 2009:6). According to David (Gebrewold 2009:38) it is suggested by international relation theory that the threat posed by intrastate conflict is greater than that posed by outside states. And Holsti (in Gebrewold 2009:38) concludes that "the problem of war in the Third World… states is not of the relations between states, but of relations within states".

Muscat (2002:5, 6) points out the decrease in interstate conflict on the globe and classifies central Africa among the regions with more sources of potential interstate violence than others. Intrastate conflicts vary from low annual causality levels to ethnic cleansing and genocide. Some intrastate conflicts have crossed borders just to split and bring on, or exacerbate in neighbouring countries. They have also caused refugees movement and internal population displacement.

It is arguable that there are contradicting interests in a conflict that is altogether national (intrastate), regional and global, such as that of the DRC. Therefore, all the aspects of the conflict at the local, regional and global levels are part and parcel of both the conflict and of the establishment of peace (Gebrewold 2009:128).

3.5 The relationship between conflict and development

The interconnectedness of the two concepts is so strong that they cannot be treated or understood fully in isolation within the African and, more particularly, the DRC context. It is important to state that conflict and development are directly connected (Galtung 1996:223; cf. Neuland & Venter 2005: viii, 284, see section 1.1). Also both conflict and poverty affect the state of the environment and vice-versa. It is interesting to note that the sixteenth goal of the SDGs is directly connected to the establishment of peace (section 3.3). For instance, Tomalin (2013:175) argues that "many of the poor in developing countries are particularly vulnerable to the consequences of environment problems." Sustainable development is, therefore, an important dimension of any process of development.

There are three schools of thought with regard to economic development and conflict. In relation to ethnic conflict, Esman (in Muscat 2002:118) summarizes the three schools of

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[185] According to Buzan and Waever (in Gebrewold 2009:39) the region "refers to the level where states or other units link together sufficiently closely that their security cannot be separate from each other. The regional level is where the extremes of national and global security interplay, and where most of the actions occur… Each regional security complex is made up of the fears and aspirations of the separate units (which in turn partly derive from domestic features and fractures). Both the security of the separate units and the process of global power intervention can be grasped only through understanding the regional security dynamics".

thought of economic development and conflict. For the first school, economic development facilitates ethnic conflict management. The second believes that economic growth aggravates ethnic conflict. For the third school, economic conflict has no effect on ethnic conflict (Muscat 2002:118). For the sake of this research, only the first two schools of thought can be taken into consideration because it is argued that there is a connection between conflict and development. In fact, many aspects of the development process have been proven relevant to conflict by exacerbating or ameliorating conflict (Muscat 2002:127). A study by Collier & Hoeffler concluded the following:

> Our results thus contrast with conventional beliefs about the causes of conflict. A stylized version of these beliefs would be that grievance begets conflict, which begets grievance, which begets conflict. With such an analysis, the only point of intervention is to reduce the level of grievance. Our model suggests what is actually happening is that opportunities for primary commodity predation cause conflict, and that the grievances which this generates include diaspora to finance further conflict…" (Muscat 2002:149).

According to Poku (2008:112) "state instability in Africa has generated the conflicts that have merely served to intensify the conditions of underdevelopment and the economic and social injustices that lead to further conflict." Also traditionally, development agencies have acknowledged the existence of tensions that are created by development. Muscat 2002:103 finds that in economic development, some people gain while other lose, changes and relationship are established. In such understanding, development and conflict are interconnected and everything depends on the relationship and changes between gainers and losers.

> At any point in time, recent changes and outcomes will have produced relative winners, relative losers, and absolute losers. If resulting tensions and perceptions of injustice are played out in a context of inclusive policy adjustments, to ensure that losers can have credible expectations of better future outcomes (or at least "fair" chances), then conflict can remain nonviolent… Some losers have no expectation of inclusion or justice. If they are marginal in number and location…, their discontent is unlikely to develop into high-intensity conflict that challenges the state (Muscat 2002:110).

From the same perspective, Muscat (2002:104) considers the contribution of the United States and many other donor countries to assist developing countries after World War II as an

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indication of the connection between development and conflict. Muscat (2002:109, 110) also points out a common view that development has aggravated conflict more than it has improved it. Economic development has been considered a destructive process for many countries post-independence as they have engaged with international development agencies. These agencies failed to work for the reduction of different factors that produced conflict and their focus was mainly on the implementation of economic development. Economic development can worsen division within societies and the "worsening of economic conditions correlates with conflict eruption" (Muscat 2002:140, 249). However, economic development has also played a significant role in the management of conflict as observed here:

> A strong case can be made that economic development has been a powerful force, perhaps the most powerful force yet experienced, for eliminating violent group, class, or ascriptive conflict as a method for settling intrastate differences in the modern world. Economic development has produced this happy outcome through its association with the evolution of stable democratic systems built on the rule of law and the guaranteeing of human rights (Muscat 2002:116).

The instability of a country can result in conflicts, which can also result in underdevelopment and poverty can create potentials for conflict. For instance, one can say that the economic chaos caused by wars in Africa have aggravated poverty and poverty has created dynamics for conflicts. Annan (2008:20) links African conflicts to the state of the continent's underdevelopment in the following words: "we have failed them by not doing enough to ensure peace and by our inability to create the conditions for sustainable development". Annan (2008: 42) also argues that durable peace in a post-conflict situation requires reconstruction and that development and any relief aid should be oriented towards development. In relation to armed conflict, Nürnberger (1999: 89) argues that:

> Ambitious and threatened elites of poor nations commit vast potions of their meager resources to armaments. In highly industrialized nations war has become too dangerous to be a political option, but in poor countries arms are extensively used to settle disputes, whether in the form of international tensions, civil wars, revolutionary violence, or social unrest. The result is that further resources are wasted, further environment destruction takes place, less food can be produced, and more people turn into refugees. And again it is the poor who suffer first and most. Armed conflict makes development illusory and destroys whatever development has already taken place. Potential rich countries, such as Angola or the Southern Sudan, have been devastated beyond recognition and will take decades to regain their pre-independence

levels. Probably the most afflicted are those who have been driven from their homes by wars and violence… Moreover, to protect their interests and sell their military hardware, industrial nations have contributed vastly to the military buildup in the Third World and continue to do so. The arms trade provides irresponsible leaders with the means to subdue their subjects and protect their interests. But the lucrativeness of the trade constitutes a disincentive for peace and democracy in the corridors of power. Corrupt and dictatorial regimes, such as Mobutu's regime in the former Zaire, have been propped up for decades by the "democratic" West.

With regard to the relationship between poverty and development, Sen (in Pick & Sirkin 2010:112) suggests that "the possession of commodities may not necessarily translate into well-being, but it is the ability to convert those commodities to achieve particular ends that are important". It has been noted, for instance; in the second chapter (section 2.5.2) that the DRC is rich in natural resources and yet it is still classed among the poorest countries. Cleaver (in Furley & May 2001:281) classifies the DRC among resource-rich countries where there are conflicts. For Collier (2011: xii), civil wars are an impediment to economic development. Also, Leaver (in Furley & May 2001:281) argues that "Africa's enormous economic, political and social problems are leading to increasing levels of conflict on the continent". The interconnectedness between conflict and development is described by Moss (2011: 67) in the following manner:

> There also seem to be strong linkages between conflict and underdevelopment – and in both directions. Conflict itself is thought to be a major contributor to African's poor economic performance and one reason the continent has fallen further behind other regions of the globe… People need to feel safe before they invest, trade, and engage in the normal economic activity that will make them and their communities wealthier. At the same time, underdevelopment itself can create conditions for a breakout of violence. One of the critical factors used to predict the risk of war is low income… It may also be the case that poor societies tend to have weaker political institutions to resolve grievances or provide economic opportunities.

In this way, poverty itself can also have negative impact on some of the major concerns of our world today such as mass migration, disease, and terror. Calderisi (in Hansen et al. 2009:29) reports that "more recently it has been argued that poverty is the breeding ground for mass migration, disease and terror and we ignore it to our peril" (cf. Riddell 2007:4). In light of this report, it is obvious that mass migration, disease and terror are all contributors to the state of poverty. Migration, disease and terror all deprive society of the main resource of

development, i.e. human beings. As Carter (Muscat 2002:121) indicates "most of today's wars are fuelled by poverty, not by ideology".

The failure to identify the true causes of the problems makes it impossible to resolve a conflict or to establish conditions conducive to development (Burkey 1993:8). This is also applicable to any welfare programs. This failure may lead to the administration of solutions that act like an anesthetic, thus, turning people's attention from the real solution of their problems. This may lead to the prolongation of the conflict or the state of underdevelopment. In terms of structural opportunity for peace, Abrahamson (2003:174) argues that in the process of resolving a conflict, development must be integrated into peace agreement to create conditions for political stability. Also, "sustainable resolution of world society conflicts requires new approaches to development" (Abrahamsson 2003:182). Aid plays some kind of role in relation to conflict and development.

According to Kabemba (2001: 119), "peace and security is one prerequisite for sustainable development in Africa". Nevertheless, there is a belief that stable peace should be built on social, economic and political foundations that respond to people's needs (Karbo 2008:122). Poverty may have a negative impact on peace. Salih (2008:171) observes the following:

> Poverty is one of the complicating factors affecting the possibility of attaining the noble attributes of human security. In the sense that human security can coexist with poverty, poverty in itself is not always associated with the negation of peace (i.e. conflict) and abuse of human rights. In other words, many poor societies enjoy peace, as much as poverty[186] may undermine peace by creating situations that contribute to the abuse of human rights as a result of horizontal (such as ethnic, religious, regional, etc.) or vertical (such as class and elite) inequality and inequitable distribution of resources.

Burkey (1993: 17, 25) suggests that some causes of poverty (economic, social, physical and political factors) have their roots at local level, others at national levels and some at international level. The root causes of poverty must be identified before taking development strategies that will help people to begin their own process of development. As far as physical factors are concerned, the DRC has both human and natural resources (see section 2.3.3), but the main concerns is the implementation of fair and just economic, social and political factors (see section 2.4.1 & 2.4.1.3).

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[186] "Realizing that poverty and inequality result in exclusion, which exacerbates grievance with its conspicuous role in conflict perpetuation" (Salih 2008:171).

Conflict resolution and development are two sides of the same coin. This means that to engage in conflict resolution is to engage into the development process. Miall et al. (2011:7, 53) argue that "conflict resolution is an integral part of work for development, social justice and social transformation…" They also suggest that "the process of peacemaking consists in making changes to relationship so that they may be brought to a point where development[187] can occur". Herge et al. (Miall et al. 2012:131) suggest that there is a widely accepted view that high levels of development reduce the risk of civil war. Collier et al. (Miall et al. 2012:131-32) suggest that "… mal-development creates a conflict trap… In turn violent conflict impoverishes people and puts development into reverse". Therefore, resolving or not resolving a conflict will always have either positive or negative impact on development. In this regard, Albert (2008: 31) reminds us of the negative impact of conflicts on sustainable development in Africa:

> Conflicts constitute a major threat to African development in terms of loss of human life, destruction of property, displacement of people, sometimes across international borders, and diversion of resources meant for promoting sustainable development into arms purchase and funding of expensive peacekeeping support operations.

There is also interconnectedness between conflict and development with regard to the environment. A research conducted in 13 countries by Schwartz and Singh, as quoted by Salih (2004:265) has concluded that there is a link between national and intra-national conflicts and the deteriorating environment conditions and resources. Salih (2004:269) points out to an argument, according to which conflict relates to resource-rich environment. It is also believed that environmental deterioration causes conflict (Beswick & Jackson 2011:46; Salih 2004:269). According to the Copenhagen School, interstate and intrastate conflicts are a result of dispute over access to scarce resources (Beswick & Jackson 2011:46). As Green (2008:278) puts it, "conflict destroys national economies, deepens poverty, and sows seeds of further violence."

3.5.1 Impact of development on conflict in the DRC

It is important to mention that most African countries are not in crisis because they are poor, but rather that their crises are created by their resources. These resources which could be used for state and nation-building, offer the cause of interminable civil war (as is the case of the conflicts in the DRC and in other countries of the world). In addition, in such countries, local

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[187] Development is an important preventive factor (Miall et al. 2012:131).

elites may be tempted to resist any development programs that force governments to spend money on the interests of ordinary citizens by creating stability and effective governance (Ignatieff 2003:304). These local elites are simply motivated by their selfishness and greed. The elites will take advantage of the presence of the conflict to enrich themselves. This is also the case of multinationals as noted in section 4.4.3. The state of poverty may open doors for conflict as it has been the case in the north of Katanga (in DRC).

In the northern part of Katanga – and in most parts of the DRC - the state of poverty and isolation from the national government may explain some of the conflicts. Contrary to what took place during the colonial period when roads were well maintained to facilitate the circulation of people, goods and ideas (section 2.4.2), most of the road system in the DRC currently are in a bad condition. Furthermore, the state of conflict has made it even more difficult to maintain roads because most of the government's efforts have been directed towards stopping the war. The country's leadership has to play a major role in implementing policies worthy of bringing development for all people of this nation. Political leaders have a major role to play in the eradication of poverty because,

> There is no doubt the enterprise of socio economic development and the reduction of poverty cannot be carried out in Africa without good political leadership… Leaders should be committed to the development of the entire society over which they rule. They can do this by ensuring that the formulation and implementation of public policies and programs are aimed at enhancing the quality of life of all their citizens. This is essentially a transformational task, that is, the moving of a country from a lower level of development to a higher level. Development should be manifested in reducing poverty and improvements in basic education, health, food and housing as well as in the promotion of good governance (which includes democracy, justice, respect of human rights, accountability, responsibility, duty, freedom of speech, personal altruism and integrity) (Ayee 2001: 268).

According to Karbo (2008: 122), development actors - such as the World Bank - have been involved in the implementation of programs that may help reduce violence and consolidate peace in the world, because they see a connection between poverty and conflict. These programs are aimed at preventing conflict as well as to help societies rebuild after violent armed conflict. Therefore, the DRC really needs specific programs of peace-building that are supported by international donors to help both reduce violence and establish lasting peace.

These programs should take into consideration both the fact that the country is partially out of a long armed conflict and still has spots of armed violence.

3.5.2 Impact of conflict on development in the DRC

Human beings play a central role in the implementation of the development of their different communities. The United Nations Development Program (Pick & Sirkin 2010:99) states that people are the real wealth of the nation. Now that the very important asset of development (namely the Congolese people) has been uprooted or destroyed by the conflict, the country's development is definitely affected negatively. Stearns (2011:5) rightly points out that "the mortality figures are so immense that they become absurd, almost meaningless". Also violent conflicts have negative impacts peace and development in Africa.

> Violent conflict has an unfortunate fate for the many African countries, and is often identified as one of the keys reasons for the continent's poor development performance. Conflicts have broken out frequently in Africa, have tended to last long time, and have often spilled over into neighbouring countries. The effects of such violence have been devastating for those affected, their neighbors, and the continent as a whole… Although generalizing about conflict is difficult, violence and post conflict reconstruction are major trends shaping the continent's development (Moss 2011: 57).

Moss (2011: 63) identifies four levels of the costs of conflict[188]: 1) *Individuals* who face death, property destruction, psychological trauma, or human trafficking. 2) *National*: There are negative effects on the economy because of infrastructure damage, interruption of normal activities, labor (either diverted to fighting or lost from injury or death) and the cost of reconstruction and healthcare. 3) *Regional*: Neighbors may be dragged in the war or simply have their economy affected. And 4) *Global*: Costs in peacekeeping and peacemaking, and from the loss in trade and investment opportunities. Conflicts can contribute to the perpetuation of international crime (drug, trafficking, terrorism, and disease) (section 4.4.3). According to the World Bank, there is relative peace in the DRC presently, however,

> Despite an impressive economic growth rate and a reduction in the poverty rate from 71% in 2005 to 63% in 2012, the poverty rate remains high in the DRC. The country is among the poorest countries in the world and was ranked 176 out of 187 countries on the Human Development in 2015, and its per capita income, which stood at $380

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[188] It is certain that the Congolese conflict has affected the country at the four levels of conflict. The individuals, the nation, the region and the global community have been all affected negatively by this conflict.

in 2014 (Atlas method), is among the lowest in the world. The United Nations estimates that there are some 2.3 million displaced persons and refugees in the country and 323,000 DRC nationals living in refugee camps outside the country. A humanitarian emergency persists in the more unstable parts of the DRC and sexual violence rates remain high (Word Bank 2016).

In the first chapter (section 1.1), it was noted that the president of the provincial assembly in Katanga linked the state of conflict in the northern part of Katanga to the state of poverty (see section 1.3). In these conditions of poverty, it becomes very easy to recruit young people with any promise to give them a better life, and the conflict itself results only in deepening the state of poverty.

Mputu (2007: 81, 82) records the sad events of pillage that followed the opening of the Conference on National Sovereignty in 1991. As a consequence of the lootings, Kinshasa has not fully recovered from its effects. This provides some clues in the understanding of the present situation where hospitals lack supplies, equipment, and medicine. The saddest part of this record is the involvement of Christians in the lootings:

> Unfortunately, many Christians joined in this frenzy of looting in Kinshasa. In subsequent prayer meeting and worship services, many of these Christian looters testified to God's goodness in providing for them. As the Reverend Doctor Lumeya said, "We have to wonder what is wrong if committed Christians can jump into the action and rejoice with the looters" (Mputu 2007:82).

For the looters, both Christians and non-Christians, looting was perceived as a means in order to escape from poverty. Looting seemed to them as God's way of providing for their needs. At the same time, the looting was very negative for those who were looted, in fact for all the Congolese. In other words, because of poverty, both Christians and non-Christians became involved in the looting, which has contributed to, among other factors, plunge the country in the state where it is now.

Villagers are displaced by the conflict, and there are negative consequences on their development. In the northern part of the province of Katanga, for example, people mainly rely on agriculture, but once they are displaced malnutrition becomes one of the many disasters that people face. The IRIN[189] (2013)[190] reports that "in one territory, Malemba

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[189] IRIN stands for Integrated Regional Information Networks.
[190] Conflict cuts civilians in DRC's Katanga, available online on the website: www.irinnews.org/fr/report/97963/conflict-cuts-off-civilians-in-drc-s-katanga

Nkulu, the number of displaced is estimated to have risen from 12,000 to 42,000 between, December 2012 and January 2013 and that malnutrition is a major contributor to the under-five mortality, which UNICEF's latest survey put at 188 per 1,000". The same phenomenon can be found in the rest of the DRC where there are many internal displaced people, especially in the eastern part. According to Rural Poverty Portal (2010),

> The 2013 Human Development Index of the United Nations Development Program ranked DR Congo 186th out of 187 countries and territories listed, and the country is off-track on achieving the Millennium Development Goals… In the west, deep-seated tensions exist in rural areas as a result of isolation, unemployment, poverty and malnutrition. The populous western provinces of Equateur, Bandundu, Bas-Congo, and Oriental are among the poorest in the country… In addition, the impact of the conflict – including destruction of electrical grid, roads and other basic infrastructure – impedes food security, market access and poverty reduction… As a result of these and other factors, extreme poverty and hunger remain endemic across DR Congo… According to the African Development Bank, 72 per cent of rural households and 59 per cent of urban households are poor. Nearly 40 per cent of children under five suffer from chronic malnutrition and most of the population lives under conditions of moderate to serious food insecurity.

In the DRC, the current conflict has had a negative impact on both human beings and the natural world of the country. McCarthy (2013) describes the situation of both humanity and nature as being under threat because of the long conflict that started after the Rwandan genocide of 1994. Because of the conflict and poverty, a fascinating animal like okapi[191] has been threatened with extinction. It is hunted for meat and its skin. There is, therefore, a big concern for peace and development to be addressed seriously and properly in order to come up with a lasting solution to this calamity.

3.6 Summative Conclusion

This chapter has focused on generalities and specifics about conflict and development in ways that facilitate our understanding of conflict and development, particularly in relation to the situation of the DRC. Another focus of the chapter is on the role of the United Nations role in development and peace with a particular reference to the DRC.

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[191] "The Okapi is revered in the DRC as a national symbol – it even features on the Congolese franc banknotes" (Kümpel in MacCarthy, 2013).

Conflict and underdevelopment are parts of day to day human experience in the DRC. Throughout the ages human beings have been on a quest for peace and security and the eradication of poverty. Both conflict and development are interconnected to the extent that one is either explained by or explains the other. The UN has played and is still playing an important role in the implementation of both peace and development in the DRC. Sustainable development is that which takes into consideration the present and the future, and also transforms altogether the social, economic, and political life of the concerned people. It also takes into consideration the environmental aspect. Development should first of all address basic human needs that must be met for all people. To be sustainable, development must address the whole of creation by considering the present and the future at the same time.

Conflict is a human reality that needs to be addressed and resolved after it has been carefully investigated and understood. The conflict in the DRC can be considered as one that always has both an internal (national) and external (regional and international) connotations. Development and conflict are interconnected and should be addressed properly to avoid any future surfacing of either underdevelopment or conflict in the aftermath. The Congolese conflict can be explained by the state of underdevelopment the country has been plunged in for decades, and at the same time, it explains the suffering of the Congolese people. The state of underdevelopment of the DRC has contributed to fuel the country's conflict. The Congolese conflict is economic-political with an ethnic connotation. This conflict is to be understood as a structural conflict. Although Africa may be considered a continent of conflict, poverty and underdevelopment, it still has the human and natural potential to develop itself and resolve its own conflicts.

Chapter 4: Socio-Political Analysis and Interpretation of Historical Events within the Democratic Republic of Congo

4.1 Introduction

The second and third chapters focused on the collection of historical records in the DRC and the Great Lakes region while the fourth chapter mainly focuses on the description of conflict in relation to sustainable development within the context of the DRC situation. The different events collected in chapters two and three will now be interpreted and analysed in this chapter in order to identify some of the root causes of the Congolese crisis with reference to conflict and development as noted in chapter 4. This chapter also seeks to understand the country's state of underdevelopment[192] and conflict, which can be connected to some of the unfortunate events the country has gone through. Because most of the events that are considered in the second and third chapters will be the object of the analysis and interpretation of this chapter with reference to the third chapter; it is possible that there might be some kinds of repetition of them. In fact, the topic of this research is so complex that it seems difficult to completely avoid repetition.

According to Abba (1992:68), recorded events are not made by all the events, but those worthy to be remembered and their meanings for the concerned people.[193] "This historical consciousness recognises continuity and change, order and purpose within the framework of man and his environment…" (Olaniyan 1982:2). Therefore, the recorded events of the region and the Congolese histories are used in order to understand some of the root causes of both conflict and underdevelopment in the DRC. For Turner (2013:73) the DRC's difficult situation is due to identity based conflict both within itself and its neighbours. At this point an attempt is made through analysis and interpretation different events, both in the DRC and in the Great Lakes Region, in order to establish any possible origins of the Congolese conflict and underdevelopment. It is important to point out that conflict, development, and the environment are interconnected and this was considered in chapter 3 (section 3.5).

For this reason, the historical events will be considered at three different levels of conflict as described in chapter 3 (section 3.4.3): national, regional and international. These levels will

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[192] Although the term underdevelopment is directly linked to that of development, it is used in this research to reflect the absence of a sustainable development.

[193] However, it is interesting to note that most of the records about the history of Africa in general, and of the region, in particular, are written by non-Africans. As Moss (2011:21) puts it "much of Africa's pre-colonial history remains unknown because few African societies were literate or formally recorded their history".

be analysed and interpreted separately in relation to each other and later to the Congolese conflict and underdevelopment. This analysis will be done in order to establish their possible origins with reference to the previous chapter propose solutions. As Green (2008:402) puts it, conflict and development are interconnected and need altogether local regional and international solutions. At each level two main points will be discussed as described in chapter 3 (section 3.4.1)[194]: economic and politics on one hand, and ethnicity on the other hand. Furthermore, other perspectives on human dignity and geography/peoples will be considered.

4.2 The Congolese conflict at a national level

Among the three levels of the Congolese conflict, the national level (including the local level) is very important to be understood with regard to the complexity of the economic, political and ethnic potentials the DRC has (section 2.5.1). In fact, the conflict and development are first of all Congolese in nature even if they have external role players from the region and the international community. Therefore, the analysis and interpretation of events starts at the national level. With regard to the complicity of the Congolese conflict, Stearns (2011:69) describes it in the following manner: "Like layers of an onion, the Congo war contains wars within wars. There was not one Congo war, or even two, but least forty different, interlocking wars. Local conflicts fed into regional and international conflicts and vice versa." In terms of conflict, it only took few years after independence to see a rebellion take place in 1964 that resulted in the death of at least 20,000 Congolese (Meredith 2006: 114, 370).

4.2.1 Economic-Political conflict in the DRC

Turner (2013:1) argues that the DRC has a history of conflicts from King Leopold II of Belgium (1885) to the invasion of Rwanda and Uganda in the eastern part mainly for economic interests (sections 2.3.1, 2.5.3 & 2.5.4). These conflicts have negative impacts on both sustainable development and the environment (section 3.5) because many people are killed, have their assets destroyed and the natural resources exploited abusively (section 3.4.1.3). The Congolese conflict and underdevelopment have a complicity of root causes and some of these at the national level can be found in the 32 years of Mobutu rule and in the lack of national cohesion since independence from Belgium in 1960 (Insight on Conflict, 2011)[195].

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[194] It is important to note that the structural aspect of the conflict falls under the economic-political aspects.

[195] DR Congo: Conflict Profile, available online on the website: www.insighton conflict.org/conflicts/dr-congo/conflict-profile/

Kabemba (2006:114) attributes the problems of the DRC to the inadequacies of a government that is unable to meet the minimum social needs[196] of its people. Some factors are seen as having posed, and continuing to pose, the greatest threat to the reconstruction of the state, namely: the level of disintegration of political power; the extent of the country's exposure to external interference, the wish to exploit the country's resources and the total absence of principled leadership (section 2.5). It is also interesting to note that the DRC has been ruled by soldiers[197] with the only exception of Kasavubu who was a civilian (sections 2.5.2 & 2.5.3) after independence; and this may also have contributed to the situation because it seems difficult for military rulers to peacefully hand over powers.

As for the exploitation of the DRC's resources, Kabemba (2001:118) attributes the first responsibility to Congolese citizens as he argues that "the exploitation of the DRC's resources by foreign forces, multinationals and individuals is carried out in collaboration with Congolese citizens". This means, like Mobutu, there are still some Congolese who are used in the plundering of the resources of their country.[198] As a result, the resources do not contribute to the welfare of the Congolese but they only benefit a minority of Congolese and outsiders. This situation also creates potentials for conflict and has negative impacts on the development environment (section 3.4.1.3).

As said (Section 2.5.3), Mobutu accumulated wealth for himself at the cost of the national economy. It may be possible that Mobutu learned from the behaviour of King Leopold who exploited the Congo as his personal domain and became one of the richest persons in Europe (section 2.2).[199] Or it may be possible that he learnt from African chiefs and wealthy elites who were engaged in slave trade (section 2.2). Or perhaps he learnt from the early years of his rule as he was given boxes of money from time to time in order to pay his soldiers:

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[196] For instance, Dearing (2012) warns, in the case of Katanga, that the social and economic problems must be addressed with a better distribution of the resources to the population in order to avoid popular resentment that can fuel violent conflict.

[197] Mobutu, Laurent Kabila and Joseph Kabila are all soldiers. It is assumed that military leaders in the region are not ready to transfer power even at the end of their constitutional terms. For instance most of the African leaders who are reported as not willing to step down after the constitutional mandates are former soldiers: Pierre Nkurunziza of Burundi, Paul Kagame of Rwanda, Joseph Kabila of the DRC, Denis Sassou Nguesso and Balise Compaoré, former president of Burkina Faso (Bensimon 2014).

[198] For instance, Dearing (2012) points out that "many high officials in the DRC government, including the national security minister, the minister of the presidency, the planning minister, and several directors of the state mining companies, have stakes in private companies. These elites have formed a joint business venture with George Forest, a Belgian businessman, and the state company Gecamines."

[199] For Deibert (2008) Mobutu mirrored aspects of Leopold's rule to set up the state as a vehicle for his own political and economic ambitions.

> Nevertheless, Mobutu was a willing accomplice in the intrigues of Western governments. 'From time to time', wrote Deyal, Western military attachés would visit Mobutu with bulging briefcases containing thick brown paper packets which they obligingly deposited on his table.' The CIA station chief, Lawrence Devlin, struck up a particularly close relationship with him, providing him with funds to secure the loyalty of his troops. In later years, Mobutu's fortunes would come to depend heavily on his links with the CIA (Meredith 2006: 108).

The point to be made here is that this kind of behaviour does not promote peace and sustainable development because it is in the advantage of foreigners instead of the citizens. Therefore the current conflict and its devastating impacts on the DRC's development can find some explanation from this kind of practices. The same behaviour is observed in the current leadership of the DRC where political leaders are busy spoiling the country for their personal interests. In this case, the Congolese people are still vulnerable and they need someone like the church and its leadership to intervene to change the situation.

There was a kind of hope to change the situation in the DRC when the late President Laurent Kabila overthrew the late president Mobutu, and the victory was attributed to the involvement of Rwandan and Ugandan armies (Reed 1998: 154). However, a deep consideration of the entire situation shows that the revolution was held at the right time, because Congolese were already frustrated by Mobutu and his regime (section 2.5.3).[200] This is because Mobutu had not had contact with his population and Laurent Kabila found the population waiting for a liberator from their sufferings, which included poverty, underdevelopment, and various forms of conflicts. Both the Mobutu government and the FGOR had lost the support of the international community, which opened the way to the AFDL (Reed 1998:154).

Also, the war to remove Mobutu was a very unfortunate one for the Congolese people who were not consulted by the regional leadership. This was a regional and international conflict with the involvement of regional and international actors before it became a national conflict (section 2.5.4). Stearns (2011:53) argues that even Laurent Kabila was only contacted to "act as a fig leaf for Rwandan involvement". The plan to remove Mobutu and that of the aftermath of the removal were not in the hands of the Congolese. To some extent one may say that the war was imposed on the Congolese because the outcome was out of their control. With regard

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[200] "Most Congolese refer to the 1996 invasion as the War of Liberation. The population had had enough of Mobutu; despise the suspicions regarding Rwanda's involvement, crowds across the country welcomed the rebels as liberators" (Stearns 2011:94). I personally witnessed the passage of the AFDL Army as they were welcomed by the population and did not fight at all. Instead of running from, people ran to the soldiers, with celebrations, one way to show them that this victory was not only theirs but a people victory as well.

to regional leaders' talks to launch the war in the Congo, Stearns (2011:56) states that "absent from these talks, however, were the Congolese. Their country was to be liberated for them by foreigners who knew little to nothing of their country. And of course, these foreigners would soon develop other interests that of ousting Mobutu"[201].

As far as wars are concerned in the DRC, Kakozi[202] (2007:84-5) notes that all wars mainly began in the eastern part of the DRC. Although the Mulelists'[203] leader, Pierre Mulele, was from the province of Bandundu, Mulelists came to launch their war from South Kivu and Jean Schramme[204] commanded the revolt of mercenaries in Bukavu in 1967. Laurent Kabila and his AFDL and the Rally for Congolese Democracy started in the eastern part of the DRC. Kakozi concludes by saying that the peace in the Kivus are, therefore, vital to that in the Great Lakes Region. For him the Great Lakes Region will again erupt in violence if the national and international authorities do not come up with viable solution in the Kivu provinces. According to Kakozi (2007:84-5), the Kivu provinces are characterised by intertribal conflicts that are provoked by the identity of the *Banyamulenge*[205] people.

There are also conflicts within the provinces of the DRC and these can be considered as open conflicts (section 3.4.2). According to the Crisis Group (2006)[206] the province of Katanga is one of the most violent yet neglected regions of the DRC. It plays both an important role of the Congolese politics and economy that produces 50 per cent to 90 percent of the national budget. It is argued in this research that the conflict in the Katanga has its roots in the state of poverty in this part of the province (section 1.2). The presence of armed groups in Katanga

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[201] This brings to mind the Berlin Conference, where Africans were absent during the division of the African continent among Europeans (section 2.3.1). As a result, this liberation will plunge the country into further conflicts with negative impacts on the country's development and environment.

[202] Ramazani Kakozi is the Director of the Department of Peace for the Community of Evangelical Churches of Friends in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

[203] Followers of Pierre Mulele.

[204] A Belgian mercenary.

[205] According to Kakozi 2007:84-5), "the Congolese are divided over whether or not the *Banyamulenge* are foreigners; that is Rwandans, instead of Congolese. Those who consider them to be foreigners point out that when the war broke out in Uganda, the *Banyamulenge* sent their children to join the rebel army in Uganda, because the Ugandan government sided with Rwanda. When the war broke out in Rwanda in 1994, the *Banyamulenge* also sent their children to do military service there. In 1996, when the war in Cong with Laurent Kabila began, Kabila had no soldiers. Those who joined his rebellion were largely *Banyamulenge*, which is why this war is sometimes called the *Banyamulenge* war". Although the RPF received financial supports from the Rwandan diaspora, "most of the support came from the Tutsi of Zaire." In 1990, Zairo-Rwandan recruited and trained soldiers for the RPF in Bibwe, North Kivu, Zaire. "In 1993, a ship with a load of weapons, owned by a Zairo-Rwandan and destined for the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) soldiers, was apprehended by Zairian security forces; it was released without explanation"; argues Braeckman (in Adelman & Suhrke 1999:56, 58). It is also argued by Reytjens (in Adelman & Suhrke 1999:56) that Tutsi from Zaire contributed with nearly $2 million to the RPF.

[206] Katanga: The Congo's Forgotten Crisis, available online on the website: www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/africa/central-africa/dr-congo/103-katanga-the-congos-forgotten-crisis.aspx

finds its origins in 1998, when the late Laurent Kabila organised people to fight Rwandans who had turned against him. When it started, the organisation was called '*Force d'Auto-Défense Populaire*' (FAP), and its aim was to have people defend themselves. Later the group started to be identified as "May-May"[207] with its own claims.

In the case of the conflict in the province of Equateur, Refugees International (2010)[208] notes that, "the eruption in Equateur is closely linked to the long-standing socio-economic and political tensions between the *Lobala* and *Boba* tribes. It exemplifies the potential for instability outside of DRC's conflict-affected east, and also the inability of the Congolese government to respond to crises without the continued support of MONUC". The tension between *Lobala* and *Boba* in Dongo/Equateur Province finds its explanation in the historical events founded on the marginalisation of the *Lobala* by the *Boba*. This conflict is directly linked to economic interests and it is therefore connected to the concept of development because all people must have same access to their natural resources without any kind of discrimination for development to take place (section 3.3).

The unifying point of all these conflicts within the provinces of the DRC is that they all are caused by marginalisation and they have negative impacts on development and environment (section 5.3.2). The conflict may therefore be seen as genuine reaction to a socio-economic or political situation where some people feel marginalised by others, and where those who marginalise wish to gratify their self-interests. Beside the economic-political side of the conflict and underdevelopment in the DRC is the role of ethnicity. As Adelman and Suhrke (1999:348) argue, "the changes[209] in Zaire/DRC cannot in themselves end decades-long ethno-national and political conflicts in neighbouring states".

The conflict in the DRC can be qualified as intrastate and interstate conflict (section 3.4.3). This is because the conflict has local, regional and global connotations. The intrastate and interstate dimensions of the conflict are pointed out by Muscat (2002:6, 123) with the involvement of the Congolese government backed by local militias and countries from the

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[207] "The *May-May* wear masks and talismans and claim to have magical powers that stop bullets from penetrating their bodies… The so-called "may-May phenomenon" in Katanga, however, is actually recent. The groups formed in 1998, when President Laurent Kabila created armed civil defense forces in Katanga to stop Rwandan military from invading. After the Rwandans left, the *May-May* quickly developed into an assortment of pro- and anti-government groups. When Joseph Kabila became President in 2001, he lost control of them completely" (Integrated Regional Information Networks 2013).

[208] DR Congo: Spotlight on the Equateur Crisis, available online on the website: www.refugeesinternational.org/policy/field-report/dr-congo-spotlight-equateur-crisis

[209] The overthrow of Mobutu was seen as a condition for the stability in the region.

region and Africa. As an intrastate conflict, the Congolese conflict was classed among the high-intensity conflicts (with more than 1, 000 fatalities a year) just for the war of 1997.

The conflict between the DRC and Rwanda has something of the hidden and open (section 3.4.2) characteristics in one way or another. In the second chapter it has been mentioned that the presence of the FGOR in DRC (then Zaire) was already perceived as a threat to the regime of Kigali. Added to this was the situation of the *Banyamulenge* who were fighting for Congolese identity and the economic-political state of the DRC and the region. The end result of the open conflict between Rwanda (and Uganda), and the DRC has had deplorable effects than when it was almost hidden (sections 2.5.3 & 2.5.4). The conflict in the DRC is simply an inherited (section 3.4.2) one from Laurent Kabila to Joseph Kabila (section 2.5.4). An inherited conflict may become more complicated because those who inherit it might not know exactly the real reasons and causes of the conflict.

The Congolese conflict and the state of underdevelopment have a structural (section 3.4.1.3) connotation as well. This is seen in the different exploitations and social imbalances that were established during the slave trade period, the colonial period and the post-independence period as it is recorded in chapter one. For Jeong (2008:16), "Inequitable access to economic and social opportunities is often associated with the lack of political participation". However, Joeng (2008: 5) also points out that "The efforts to attain desired objects become more intense in the absence of agreed rules prescribing their equitable allocation". These agreed rules may help to combat any form of self-interest and marginalisation because resources are acquired according to needs and not by favour or merit. Here no individual or group is privileged against others as it always happens in cases where self-interest and marginalisation are the major motivations in having access to all available resources.

4.2.2 Ethnic-religious conflict in the DRC

In the DRC, the issues of ethnicity may be well understood when we try to trace them from the colonial period to the Mobutu[210] regime. As far as the role of the colonisers in the development of ethnicity in DRC is concerned Turner and Young (1985:143) write that the Belgian colonial system was founded on favouritism and the use of ethnic stereotypes (section 3.4.1.1). Therefore, particular groups were treated as industrious, intelligent, and open to civilisation, faithful collaborators or otherwise deserving a special consideration. This

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[210] Ethnic rivalries and conflicts over access to land in the eastern Congo were allowed by the weakness of the state. "During Mobutu's final years, he and other leaders cynically stocked these ethnic tensions in order to distract from challenges to their power and to rally support" (Stearns 2011:8).

may explain the different conflicts that sprang out at independence as it is noticed in the previous chapter (section 2.5.3). However, it is important to notice that there were ethnic tensions or conflicts in the DRC before the arrival of the Belgians (Cooper 2013:5).[211] Ethnicity has negative impacts on development because it favours some to the detriment of others.

Kabemba (2001:106) reports that there were "ethnic identity politics" in the DRC since its independence. As Mobutu came to power in 1965, he succeeded to some extent in carrying out programmes for the "de-ethnicisation" of the country's politics but later he was caught up in the same scenario of ethnicity as politics became centralised only in Kinshasa. This was expressed in the privileges Mobutu's system gave to only a few ethnic groups while many others were neglected.[212] Politically, ethnicity in the country became centred on four axes: the nine administrative regions, a small number of very large and visible ethnic units, such as the Kongo or Luba; the zones demarcated by the four major vernacular languages – Lingala, Swahili, Tshiluba, and Kikongo and the major cities, which were poles of social fields (Turner & Young 1985: 149, 155-6, cf. Reybrouck 2015:14-15).

Clark (2002: 34) writes the following with regard to the disintegration of the Mobutu regime in the 1990s that "when this fragile but expansive state began to crumble in the 1990s, all bombs that had lain buried, bombs like ethnic tensions and the pent up frustrations of poverty and underdevelopment, detonated into conflict in 1996-1997". The implication of this is that the Mobutu regime did not address properly the different issues that are related to conflict, poverty, environment, which are challenging the DRC today. The late president Mobutu[213] was masterful in opposing ethnic groups in order to obtain power[214]. This was seen in the

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[211] "Traditional tribal conflict was commonplace within the Congo before the arrival of the Belgians, but it was put down forcibly thereafter. Once the colonial power began to relinquish its tight hold over the country as independence approached, old tribal and ethnic tensions resurfaced and, coupled to the lack of coincidence between ethnic and administrative boundaries, led to political and ethnic conflicts which were exacerbated by the social and political differences between rural and urban inhabitants" (Cooper 2013:5).

[212] There is an estimated 450 ethnic and linguistic groups in the DRC (Johnstone & Mandryk 2001: 197).

[213] "From 1969 to 1977, Barthélémy Bisengimana, a Rwandan immigrant and the president's influential chief of staff, played an important role in promoting his community's interests… when Mobutu expropriated all foreign businesses in 1973; it was the Tutsi elite in North Kivu who benefited. In Masisi, 90 percent of all large plantations – almost half of the land – came to be owned by these immigrants or their descendants" (Stearns 2011:72).

[214] According to Turner, as quoted by Gnamo (in Adelman & Suhrke 1999:326), "The crudest examples of divide-and-rule tactics involves incitement of ethnic violence. In North Kivu, Hunde, Nyanga, and other 'local' peoples attacked immigrants from Rwanda, with obvious encouragement of Mobutu and his supporters. In mineral-rich Katanga (as Sahba was known once) local people attacked Kasaians as a direct result of Mobutu's rule". Mobutu also opposed the Tutsis of Rwandan origin commonly called Banyamulenge to the Congolese citizens in the eastern part of the DRC (section 2.5.3).

tensions that arose between Katangese and Kasaians in the 1990s and the first clash between the two peoples is mentioned in the first chapter (section 1.1). Kabemba (2001: 106) does not see the ethnic tensions as posing a problem for state survival but rather points to the state's ethnic conflict as being fostered by political elites. Turner and Young (1985:148) write with regard to favouritism during the colonial period that:

> Some groups enjoyed advantages deriving from favorable locations along communication routes or proximity to centers of employment, from favorable stereotypes perceived by the European ruling class, or from relatively early access to school system. These groups, such as the Kongo or the Kasai Luba, were particularly conspicuous in the évolués class by the 1950s, at which time many other groups had begun to grow conscious of their relative disadvantage.

At this point one should remember the state of corruption at all levels of institutions in the country during the reign of Mobutu (section 2.5.3.2), and that this also had negative impacts on peace and development. According to Reybrouck (2014:411) the ethnic conflict Kasaians and Katangese took place during the provincial governor Kyungu wa Kumwanza, who dreamed of an independent Katanga, with the blessing of Mobutu. In fact Mobutu only used the tension that already existed between these people groups to his advantage in the 1990s in order to remain in power. In reality,

> The provinces were largely separate fiefdoms, remote from the reach of central government. Most were afflicted by ethnic tensions, periodically stirred up by Mobutu as part of his divide-and-rule strategy, the last remnant of 'government' that he retained. In 1994, when a million and a half Rwandans suddenly arrived on the doorstep, nowhere was more combustible than the eastern region of Kivu as Meredith (2006:526).

In the eastern DRC, tensions between the indigenous inhabitants and the Tutsis date back to the colonial period as the first waves of these peoples came to live in the DRC.[215] For Reybrouck (2014:411) "the Banyarwanda were in Kivu what the Baluba (from Kasai) had been in Katanga: undesirable elements, intruders, outsiders, profiteers, foreigners, people who didn't belong".[216] The presence of Tutsis in the east was negatively perceived by the

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[215] It has been already mentioned in the second chapter (section 2.3.2.2) that between 1937 and 1955 many Tutsis immigrated to the DRC and that the "Hutu revolution" displaced Tutsis to the DRC in 1959.

[216] "Perhaps the biggest difference between Katanga and the Kivus is simply that the main problem of autochthony pits "authentic" Katanganas against other Congolese, the Luba-Kasai, whereas the equivalent problem in the Kivus concerns the Kinyarwnada-speakers" (Turner 2013:114).

indigenous peoples of the eastern Congo (Cooper 2013:12-13). For instance, Meredith (2006:529) notes that local Hunde chiefs had regular complaints about the pressure this exerted on mainly gazing land. He points out that in Masisi district, Banyarwanda families controlled 60 per cent of the available land over the process of time.[217] This situation establishes a direct link between conflict and underdevelopment because some people have access to the land when other are simply marginalised (section 5.3.2).

To this is added the resentment of the indigenous people to the problem of citizenship. Kabemba (2001:108) argues that the colonial legislation did not provide any sections that clearly dealt with the issue of the status of these people and, at independence, the legal arrangements dealt only with election related problems. It is obvious that the Belgian administration was not able to address the citizenship question in what had become an extremely diverse population. For Kabemba (2001:108), citizenship should be considered one of the causes, if not the immediate cause, of the current conflict and its consequences on development and the environment in the DRC because those who are denied citizenship feel marginalised and can stand and fight for their rights. As a result, they might get engaged in rebellion, as it was the case of Tutsi living in the DRC (section 2.5.4). This has a negative impact on both the people and the environment.

It is interesting to note that the origin of the May-May[218] as nationalistic militias' formation is linked to the resistance against all foreign influence during the animosity between Congolese and Rwandese in the eastern Congo. This is also applicable to those operating in the province of Katanga (section 4.2.1). In the eastern Congo, the May-May militias were inspired by the Simba militia[219], who fought against Mobutu and his Western allies (Reybrouck 2014:411). As far as the current conflict is concerned, Turner (2013:103) suggests that the creation of the May-May was made in response to the Rwanda-Uganda invasion.

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[217] According to Meredith (2006:528), "the Kivu region had been host to large numbers of Banyarwanda, both Hut and Tutsi, for many years. In the nineteenth century Tutsi emigrants from Rwanda settled on gazing land around *Mulenge* in south Kivu. In the 1960s they adopted the same *Banyamulenge* in order to distinguish themselves from Rwandan Tutsi refugees who arrived after 1959 massacres and so preserve their political rights access to land by laying claim to the status of authentic Congolese. Their presence aroused strong local resentment, notably among the Babembe".

[218] May-May are militia groups who believe in magic power to protect themselves.

[219] They are baptized in special water; receive a ritual scar, traditional potions, and medicinal plants. They are forbidden to steal or rape. They use rifles (the same they use to hunt birds) (Reybrouck 2014:411).

The resentment towards Tutsis[220] was also expressed shortly after the arrival of the AFDL in Kinshasa as many Congolese found it unbearable to see Kabila surrounded by Tutsi advisers and troops. The situation eventually turned against Laurent Désiré Kabila when he decided to distance himself from the Rwandans in order to gain popularity. The presence of foreigners beside Laurent Kabila constituted a kind of frustration of Congolese people and this can be considered as a hindrance or a contribution to their development according to the foreigners' agenda. In this case, foreigners' agenda in the DRC was for their economic interests to the spoliation of the resources of the country (section 4.4.3) and this was demonstrated when Rwandans and Ugandans were asked by Kabila to return to their countries (section 2.5.4).

There were also ethnic tensions in the Oriental Province, where the main ethnic groups are 'the Alur, Hema, Lendu, Ngiti, Bira and Ndo-Okebo' with an estimation of Hema and Lendu accounting for 40 per cent of the total population in Ituri (IRIN, 2002)[221]. According to the University of Pennsylvania – African Studies Center (1999)[222]:

> Conflict between Hema and Lendu has occurred several times in recent decades, including in 1972, 1985 and 1996. A local NGO involved in human rights and reconciliation issues told IRIN that the country's 1973 land law was an important source of the problem because, under the law, people can purchase already-inhabited property and then present the title to the land two years later when it becomes uncontestable in court. This practice has resulted in families being driven off their fields and out of their homes, the NGO said.

As if the tensions between Hema and Lendu were not enough, there are further divisions within the Hema ethnic group. These divisions are along "clan lines, between northern Gegere Hemas and the southern Hema-Sud faction" (Integrated Regional Information Networks 2010)[223]. The same situation of further ethnic divisions has been observed in the province of Katanga (see section 2.5.3.1). This shows the extent to which the province and the country are exposed to ethnic tensions that some may easily exploit to getting whatever they want. This is at the same time an open, inherited and long term conflict (section 3.4.2)

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[220] The resentment towards Tutsis also surfaced during the war of 1996 when the Kengo government was accused of not doing enough to defend the country. "Some tried to connect this weakness to his Tutsi ancestry (Gnamo in Adelman & Suhrke 1999:334).

[221]   In-depth: Ituri   in   the   Eastern   DRC,   available   at www.irinnews.org/indepthmain.aspx?Indepthld=33ReportId=70762

[222] DRC: IRIN Focus on Hema-Lendu Conflict, available at www.africa.upenn.edu/Hornet/irin_111599.html

[223]   In-depth: Ituri   in   the   Eastern   DRC,   available   at www.irinnews.org/indepthmain.aspx?Indepthld=33ReportId=70762

and an intrastate conflict (section 3.4.3), and it is a hindrance to development because it is argued in this research that conflict and development are directly connected (section 3.5).

Furthermore, according to Refugees International (2010) there have been, in the last decade, tensions between different ethnic groups in the province of Equateur. For instance, there have been long-standing tensions between Lobala and Boba over socio-economic and political issues. One of these tensions erupted in 2009 when two other ethnic groups, 'Inyelle' and 'Manzaya', fought over access to fishing ponds. Moombo[224] (IRIN, 2010) 'identified the attackers in the 2009 clash as being part of the Lobala ethnic group – comprising the Inyelle, Mtobi and Vako – which has long competed over natural resources, notably fish ponds, with the Boba, the majority in Dongo. Here again conflict and underdevelopment are interconnected and both have negative impacts on the environment. Let us now consider the regional dimension of the Congolese conflict. With regard to the tensions between the Hema and Lendu in Ituri, IRIN (2002) remarks that,

> Clashes between Hema and Lendu… have broken out on several occasions in the last three decades. However, the deadliest phase of the tensions… started in May 1999. Each group attempted to expel the other from contested areas in a policy of *ethnic cleansing*.

The tensions are to be traced at independence when the Belgians chose to favour the Hema by giving them large land concessions. The Lendu are now thinking of themselves as kin to the Hutu, while the Hema are identifying with the Tustsi" (IRIN 2002). It is interesting to notice a Hema woman's consideration of the conflict as she declares that, the "war is not one between Hema and Lendu, but between the rich Hema and the rest of us" (IRIN, 2002). Therefore, the problem may perhaps have to do with political and economic interests than ethnicity.

As far as the nature of conflict is concerned (section 3.4.1), our understanding of the Congolese conflict places it within ethnic conflict and the religious connotation is not perceivable. This does not mean that the true nature of the conflict is ethnic, but there is something of ethnicity in the conflict. This may mainly be found in the formation of political parties in the years before the country's independence and also in the reason evoked by Paul Kagame to attack the DRC in 1996. In both cases, ethnicity was the main binding force for the politicians (see previous chapters).

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[224] Clement Moombo heads an organization called 'The Voice with no Mouth' and he also is a human rights activist.

4.3 The Congolese Conflict at a Regional Level

The conflict of the DRC should also be analysed and interpreted in relation to historical events of the region (sections 2.3 and 2.4). Nugent (2004:451) reminds us that many of the conflicts during the 1980s and 1990s of the Great Lakes Region had a regional dimension. Boulden (2003:254) clearly points out that "the Congolese wars trace their roots to the Rwandan genocide of 1994". For instance the current conflict in the DRC should be understood by considering the account of the Rwandan genocide[225], which also had ramifications within the region (Cooper 2013:3; see also section 2.4.3).

Stearns (2011:54) points out that "The war that started in Zaire in September 1996 was not, above all, a civil war. It was a regional[226] conflict, pitting a new generation of young, visionary African leaders[227] against Mobutu Sese Seko, the continent's dinosaur". African countries were united for this common cause under the leadership of Rwanda. The events that took place in the DRC in 1996 will mark a new dawn in the history of the country especially with regard to the conflict and underdevelopment. Here again, our framework is chapter 3 (section 3.4.1).

4.3.1 Economic-political conflict in the region

Kabemba (2001:118) argues that the conflict in the DRC has highlighted the need to view the politics and economy of the conflict in its regional context[228] (section 3.4.3). The first point to be mentioned is that the resources of the DRC are illegally exploited by or through its neighbours. The illegal trade in the DRC's resources, using neighbouring states as transit routes, could be resolved through the adoption of a common security mechanism. Already, at this point the illegal trade of the Congolese is a big hindrance to its development and has negative impacts on its environment. The second point is that there is a connection between the current conflict in the DRC and the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. In fact, a conflict from a neighbouring country was transported to the DRC (section 2.4). Matsanza (SSRC Forums,

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[225] In Rwanda "Hutu and Tutsi engaged in bloody confrontation that destabilized the region and became a key cause of the international war that later unfolded in the neighbouring Democratic Republic of Congo" (Mazrui 2008:40).

[226] For more details see Stearns (2011:52-55).

[227] These African leaders could not overthrow easily Mobutu "without the encouragement, understanding and accommodation of the U.S." (Adelman & Suhrke 1999:343).

[228] Boulden (2003:97) argues that "… in the Great Lakes Region the neighbors were busy catering to their national or regime interests largely unencumbered by the constraints of regional institutional diplomacy."

2013)[229] understands the current conflict and underdevelopment in the DRC as being linked to a series of interrelated and complex conflicts of the Great Lakes Region:

> The DRC, Rwanda, Burundi, and Uganda all appear to be connected by geographical and historical factors and the legacies of decades of conflict interspersed by episodes of peace. Conflict in the region grows in part out of population movements across borders, an unresolved citizen question, and an explosive mixture of internal, regional, and international actors. These actors are associated with struggles over the distribution of political power and access to land, including the pillage of the immense natural resources in the region.

For Prunier (2009: 82) "trouble between Uganda and Zaire had long been endemic." In 1985, Mobutu and Arap Moi of Kenya provided support to the anti-Ugandan regime, the National Army for the Liberation of Uganda (NALU), rebellion under Amon Bazira who would later be shot in Nairobi. "Museveni, who had always seen Mobutu as the African stooge of imperialism incarnate, was even further angered by the NALU episode and started looking for ways of getting back at the Zairian dictator" Prunier (2009: 82). That occasion became available in 1996 when regional powers invade the DRC to remove Mobutu from power (Prunier 2009: 82) .

Concerning the tension between DRC and Uganda, Prunier (2009:82) writes that "in November 1994 President Museveni discussed the possibility of overthrowing Mobutu with a number of Congolese opponents" and at the same time the Ugandan External Service Organization (ESO) helped the *Parti de Libération Congolais* (PLC), an anti-Zairian regime's rebel group, by recruiting 'a young, idealistic, and dynamic young Mutetela named Kisase Ngandu' who later would be one of the founders of AFDL. There were many negative activities at the border of the DRC and Uganda. The use of DRC's soil by the Sudanese government to transfer arms to the Ugandan rebels also played a crucial role in the Ugandan involvement in the conflict. Prunier (2009: 88) argues that,

> As the Rwandese army began to launch its operation against the refugee camps in South Kivu in September, it was immediately obvious that given the degree of Sudanese support for the Zaire-based Ugandan guerillas, Kampala was going to take advantage of the general conflagration to do its own bit of cross-border Clean up.

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[229] Kujenga Amani: Congolese Crisis and Demographic Problems in African Great Lakes, Available online on the website: frums.ssrc.org/kujenga-amani/2013/04/29/Congolese-crisis-and-demographic-problems-in-the-african-great-lakes/

The population movements across borders, together with an unresolved citizenship question and an explosive mixture of internal, regional, and international actors need to be considered seriously in the understanding of the Congolese conflict and any conflict in the region. Population movements across borders may help us understand the history of the conflict in the DRC. It has already been said in the previous chapter about the waves of Tutsis towards neighbouring countries either for economic or safety reasons (sections 2.2.2 & 2.4.2). For instance, Tutsis became very active within the political life of the region in countries such as the DRC and Uganda.

Matsanza (SSRC Forums, 2013)[230] remarks that Lumumbist groups who fought against the Congolese regime (1963-1964) recruited some Tutsi refugees who fled from the 1959 catastrophe in Rwanda (section 2.3.2.2). Those Rwandan refugees who fled into Uganda fought on Museveni's side against Milton Obote and in 1986, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (FPR) was formed in Uganda by Tutsis. In Burundi, Tutsis refugees were protected by a Tutsi government led by Micombero. The citizenship question became one of major factors in the current crisis as descendants of the Tutsi refugees in the DRC started to claim their Congolese citizenship. As Matsanza (2013) puts it,

> The movement of ethnic groups, such as Tutsi, across international boundaries presents another challenge with regard to their status vis-à-vis the citizens of the host states. The situation becomes particularly complicated in cases where the host communities have the same identity as migrant populations, like Tutsi in different countries, raising questions regarding migrants' status in these communities and their involvement in local politics and conflicts. Other problem faced by these states can also be linked to waves of migration. The incapacity of the political system to integrate migrants makes citizenship and important issue that feeds into the militarization of politics and the emergence of armed groups… such as AFDL… RCD… CNDP… and M23… which often justify their existence based on the need to fight for identify rights, claim resources, and defend themselves from other groups or hostile forces.

Basinzira (in Turner 2007: 86) reports the presence of Banyamulenge within the Simba rebellion against the Kinshasa regime in 1964 and later the same Banyamulenge were used by

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[230] Kujenga Amani: Congolese Crisis and Demographic Problems in the African Great Lakes, available online on the website: furums.ssrc.org/kujenga-amani/2013/04/29/Congolese-crisis-and-demographic-problems-in-the-african-great-lakes/

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the Mobutu regime to fight against the Simba in the east in 1966.[231] On the one hand, this adhesion to the *Armée Nationale Congolaise* (ANC) created conflict between them and other populations who regarded them as traitors. On the other hand, it also created a new era of Congolese political life because the Banyamulenge were empowered through military training and their participation in the political activity of the country (Turner 2007: 86). Furthermore, Stearns (2011:62) argues that "the Banyamulenge's siding with Mobutu marked their entry in regional politics and the origin of open hostilies with the neighbouring communities". Vlassenroot (in Turner 2007: 86) reports about this situation in the following manner:

> For many Banyamulenge, their enrolment in the ANC[232] meant the start of a military career. As compensation for their war effort… the central government also offered them full access to education, social services and employment opportunities. The result was the formation of a new politico-military Banyamulenge elite and a socio-political emancipation of the entire Banyamulege society that became well aware of its own identity and its delicate position within Congolese society.

The Belgian colonisers did not officially acknowledge the Congolese citizenship of the Kinyarwanda-speaking people living in the country. There were, however, some moves made after independence regarding the issue. The first move came with the promulgation of the law of 5 January 1972 that gave Congolese nationality to "all persons of whom one of the ascendants is or was a member of one of the tribe established on the territory of the Republic of Zaire (now DRC) in its limits of 15 November 1908". According to the same law, people from "Rwanda-Urundi" who had been living in Kivu before 1 January 1960 were to receive their Congolese identity on the 30 June 1960 (Pabanel in Turner 2007: 87; Stearns 2011:66-7; cf. Turner 2013:93).

A second move was made to restrict the Congolese identity to only those who were able 'to demonstrate majority descent from a member of one of the tribes living in DRC before August 1885 (Adelman & Suhrke 1999:54-5; cf. Turner 2013:93). This law of 29 June 1981 was more restrictive and made it difficult if not impossible to discover who was excluded or who was not (Turner 2007:87; cf. Turner 2013:93-4). The last move even complicated the situation further when the Banyamulenge were refused entry to the 'Sovereign National

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[231] 'The rebels imposed taxes on the Banyamulenge, or simply raided their cattle. In response, the Banyamulenge aligned with the Congolese Army (ANC).'

[232] Armée Nationale Congolaise

Conference'[233] and the result of all these exclusions was that many young Banyamulenge men went to Rwanda and joined the RPF (Turner 2013:94). Also Turner (2007: 88) points out that:

> Banyamulenge delegates were refused entry to the Sovereign National Conference in Kinshasa in 1992, as were the Banyarwanda from North Kivu. Given the frustrations faced by the Banyamulenge community, it is not surprising that some of them responded favorably to recruitment drives by the Rwandan Patriotic Front, which invaded Rwanda from Uganda in 1990.

As Rwanda and Uganda continued to occupy the DRC, the main reason became economic and not political. Beside their claims to fight the enemies in the DRC, it became clear that the exploitation of the riches of the country and the profit they gained from it resulted in continued occupation by both Rwanda and Uganda. Meredith (2006:540) finds that, "the volume of trade and loot grew in leaps and bounds, becoming the principal reason for them to continue their occupation. Each established separate zones of control and set up Congolese militias as partners in the enterprise". In fact, the 'Congo Desk' of the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) was used by Rwanda to exploit the eastern Congo. The involvement of Rwanda in the spoliation of the DRC's resources was established by a UN Panel and Meredith (2006:540-1) reports it in the following manner:

> The UN Panel estimated that as much as 70 per cent of coltan production in eastern Congo was mined under the direct surveillance of RPA mining detaches and shipped out from airstrips near mining sites. Forced labor was used both for mining and transporting coltan. Another 20 per cent was purchased by 'comptoirs' owned by Rwandans, some of them serving army officers, who bought coltan from local 'négotiants' at remote coltan sites. The rest was left to Congolese traders. An expatriate 'comptoir' owner in Goma complained to a researcher: 'The US 'comptoir' is protected by Rwandans, the Egyptian one is associated with Rwandans, and the German has Rwandans employed there. You can say the same for all of them!... The Tutsi in the Masisi are exploiting the stuff there and shipping it straight to Rwanda through their brokers in Goma on to Rwanda. This part of the Congo is just being treated like a Rwandan company!'

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[233] At the time of the National Conference in 1991, Anzuluni Bembe, the then speaker of national assembly (parliament) and member of the Bembe ethnic community of South Kivu, moved to exclude the Banyamulenge, claiming they were not Zairians but Rwandans immigrants (Human Right Watch in Turner). Banyarwanda from North Kivu were similarly to be excluded. After this, leaders of other ethnic groups increasingly challenged the right of Banyamulenge and other Kinyarwanda-speakers to Zairian citizenship (Turner2007:88).

The same scenario is observed on the Ugandan side. Army officers, especially members of Museveni's family, were allowed to amass private fortunes. Consumer goods, foodstuffs and arms where transported from Uganda by aircraft to the DRC, and diamonds, gold and coltan were transported from the DRC to Uganda. Furthermore, Congo gold became a major Ugandan export. Ugandan officers also trained and equipped Congolese militias to act on their behalf and set up rebel administrations' in towns such Bunia, Beni and Butembo as a front to collect taxes and other revenues which they then expropriated (Meredith 2006: 541-542). According to the UN Panel conclusion:

> The success of the network's activities in the Democratic Republic of Congo relies on three interconnected features, namely: military intimidation, maintenance of a public sector façade, in the form of a rebel movement administration; and manipulation of the money supply and the banking sector, using counterfeit currency and other related mechanisms (Meredith 2006: 541-542).

Matsanza (2013) argues further that "the globalization of economy and the rising global demand for the strategic minerals and natural resources have further added to the conflict dynamics… in the region"[234]. He gives a good example of the *Mbororo pastoralist* phenomenon in the DRC. In recent years the north-eastern territories of Congo have been invaded by foreign stockbreeders from Central Africa, Niger, Chad, South Sudan, Ethiopia, and Eritrea in quest of pastures for their herds. They are armed to defend their cattle and battle hostile communities, and they often clash with local populations. Their presence in the DRC is creating new conflict dynamics, and the absence of any ethnic or cultural affinity between them and local communities poses serious challenges to peace and security in a region scarred by decades of conflicts. The current regime should take this situation seriously.

With regard to the political aspect of the conflict it may largely be explained by the failure of Mobutu's regime to impede Rwandan refugees from organising themselves on Congolese soil and to stop them from using Congolese soil to attack Rwanda (section 2.5.3). Ironically, the FPR did attack the Rwanda from Uganda but now it is afraid of being attacked from the DRC. Mobutu who was previously seen as the regional power-broker was to be replaced by Museveni (section 2.5.3).

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[234] For example Nabudere, as quoted by Akokpari (2008:92) notes that Angola, Uganda, Rwanda and Zimbabwe were involved in the Congolese conflict because they were attracted by the Congo's vast diamond and other resources.

Finally, on the political side, it is assumed that the main reasons for the Congolese conflict are well known by the regimes in Rwanda, Uganda and the DRC. The war to overthrow Mobutu was organised by Rwanda and Uganda with the backing of regional and international powers. Congolese partners were associated to cover the presence of foreign intervention on the Congolese soil. The current president, Joseph Kabila, and some of his cabinet members (former and current) who were either with the late L.D. Kabila or were in the other rebellions backed by Uganda and Rwanda might at some time have clues about the real reasons of the conflict. This being said, the Congolese people are becoming subject to a conflict that they do not truly comprehend. This is because all of them were supported by those who planned the invasion mainly the president of Rwanda Kagame (section 2.5.4).

Beside all this, there is a lesson that should be learnt by African leaders, in general, and the Great Lakes Region leaders[235] in particular. The lesson is that to serve the interests of the superpowers against the interests of the people may seem to be advantageous for leaders in the beginning, but the end might be disastrous (section 2.5.3). Mobutu enjoyed all the privileges of the West for as long as he was needed to uphold their interests, but once this chapter was over, he was abandoned to his own doom. Even if Kagame and Museveni may seem to enjoy the same privileges that Mobutu did in the region, it may be possible that their power may end up in the same manner. Any good politics and economy should always consider the interests of the people, those of the region and those of the superpowers to truly be effective.

Tanzania's position in the DRC conflict is explained by the fact that peace and political stability in the country depends on peace and stability in the DRC. The country has hosted refugees from Rwanda, DRC, and Burundi since 1959, whose presence "impacts negatively on the environment and social services. It has been a source of criminality and instability." Tanzania also shares a long border with the DRC and, therefore, for Tanzania, a lasting peace solution to the DRC conflict will benefit it (Muganda 1999: 107). Tanzania has three concerns that can help in finding a viable and equitable solution:

> First is the imperative of respecting the principle of inviolability of national
> boundaries as inherited at independence. The second is the obligation to support, and
> nationally to uphold, national unity and stability with an unequivocal affirmation of
> the full and equal rights of all citizens. The third is the recognition that, along with

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[235] "Leaders who had denounced the big men of Africa who stayed in power for decades began appearing more and more like the very creatures they have fought against for so many decades (Stearns 2011:56).

the security interests of the Democratic Republic of Congo, consideration must equally be given to all genuine security interests of its neighbouring countries (Muganda 1999: 108-09).

The intervention of Rwanda in the removal of Mobutu in the Democratic Republic of Congo may also be compared to the intervention of Tanzania in Uganda to remove Amin (section 2.4.1). In both the DRC and Uganda people were not able to act, on their own, to remove the oppressing regimes. Thanks to foreign intervention these regimes were removed. But, the difference between the two interventions is that Tanzania withdrew from Uganda after the removal of Amin, while Rwanda stayed in the DRC longer after the removal of Mobutu. Rwanda also supported different rebel groups to fight against Laurent Kabila, whom they brought into power instead of a simple withdrawal as did the Tanzanians in Uganda.

4.3.2 Ethno-religious conflict in the region

It has been noted in chapter 2 (section 2.4.3) that there have been ethnic tensions in the Great Lakes Region and some are rooted in history. Among all the ethnic conflict in the region, Rwanda[236] and Burundi have been experiencing the longest conflict between Hutus and Tutsis. Hutus and Tutsis 'have long been engaged in rivalry and eventually civil war with one another', says Cooper (2002: 1). This is the only conflict that has displaced many in neighbouring countries, and this is mainly due to the genocide of 1994 when millions of Hutus fled to the neighbouring countries. It is very interesting to see how the displaced people relate to people in the host countries. It should, however, be noted that the Hutus – Tutsi conflicts date of long before colonialism and the formation of political parties will be affected by these conflicts (sections 2.3.2.2 & 2.4.3).

The arrival of Rwandan Hutus in the DRC after committing genocidal acts in their country has already been mentioned in the previous chapter (section 2.4.3). After the different waves of refugees to neighbouring countries, Rwandan Tutsis were associated with Burundian Tutsis who protected them, but Hutus who fled to the Congo after the genocide were protected by the Congolese administration. Rwandan Tutsis have been a subject of controversy in the DRC for a number of years. Rwandan Tutsis who fled the country before 1994 were also engaged in political activities in the countries that hosted them. Those who were living in Uganda fought on the side of Museveni and the current president, Paul

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[236] Both the war that brought the RPF to power and the genocide of 1994 were conducted in ethnic terms. "The membership of the RPF was predominantly Tutsi, whereas the government of Rwanda was dominated by Hutu" (Jones 2001:16).

Kagame, occupied a high position in the Ugandan army (sections 2.4.3). After 1994, Hutus also became active in the DRC in an attempt to attack Rwanda.

As Uganda and Rwanda turned against Kabila in 1998, the latter decided to back the Interahamwe Hutu militia, which was joined by the Congolese that stood against the Banyamulenge to fight Rwanda (Nugent 2004: 464-65). "By 1999, the Mai-Mai had begun to co-operate with the FDD (Forces de la Défense de la Démocratie) in its war against the Burundian government" (Nugent 2004: 464-65). It becomes obvious that ethnicity plays a major role in the Congolese conflict and even in different conflicts in the region. By considering the seriousness of ethnic conflicts in the Great Lakes Region it requires that the issues of refugees hosted in neighbouring countries be treated with all possible care and seriousness in order to avoid creating any dynamic for conflict. The point to be made here is that with the already existing ethnic tensions within the Great Lakes Regions, it may be possible that some conflicts may be considered as having a negative impact on the conflict in the DRC.

4.4 The Congolese Conflict at an International Level

The importance of the DRC at an international level is undeniable. The country has been a subject of controversy between world powers from the beginning of the exploitation of African resources. Fage (1995:332) argues that, "No one would dispute that this Congo imbroglio led directly to the first European partition conference, the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885".[237] The interferences of Western superpowers in the politics and economy of the Congo can be understood in relation to the importance of the DRC. In almost any civil war there is a significant international element (Clapham et al. 2006: 236) and the importance of the DRC and the need to intervene in the current conflict by the international community is well presented in the following words of Ntalaja (2002: 94):

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[237] The position of the Congo was strategic to the extent that it attracted superpowers in Europe. The Berlin Conference was called upon to settle differences between European superpowers concerning the Congo. Five countries were engaged in this dispute: Belgium, France, Britain, German and Portugal, each having a personal claim about the Congo. In order to resolve the disputes Leopold II of Belgium called for the Geographical Conference in 1877 that resulted in the creation of the International African Association (IAA) presided by Leopold. The IAA was replaced by the International Association of the Congo (IAC). From this point onward moves were made by all countries mainly by Belgium to settle peacefully the matter, and after the Berlin Conference the IAC was officially given to Leopold II and Belgian parliament passed a resolution in this regard. Leopold II changed IAC into Congo Free State which later will be called Belgian Congo in 1908 (For details see Reader 1997:555-80).

On 4 February 2000, the United Nations Security Council authorized, for the second time in 40 years, the deployment of a UN peacemaking force to Congo. As in 1960, this decision was in response to the threat posed to international peace and security by violent conflict in Central Africa. For the Congo's strategic location in the middle of Africa and its fabulous natural endowment of minerals and other resources have since 1884 ensured that it would serve as a theatre for the playing out of the economic and strategic interests of outsiders: the colonial powers during the scramble of Africa; the superpowers during the Cold War; and neighbouring African states in the post-Cold War era.

At this point, an attempt was made in order to establish any responsibilities of the international community in the current conflict in the Great Lakes Region, in general, and in the DRC in particular. The international community's response and handling of the Congolese conflict may be looked at in order to establish some of its responsibilities in this conflict. Other responsibilities may be established in connection with some of the historic recorded events of the region and the DRC. At the international level, state of this conflict is hidden (section 3.4.2) and its type is global (section 3.4.3). Our framework to analyse this level is still that of chapter three (section 3.4.1).

4.4.1 Economic-political conflicts at the international level

The violence that swept throughout the DRC after independence may be largely attributed to the Belgian legacy (section 2.5.2). Stedman (in Nhema & Zeleza 2008:56) "notes that legacies from colonialism predisposed much of Africa to violent conflicts". Three mains factors are to be considered: The first is the unwillingness of Belgians to prepare Congolese for power after independence. There was no education beyond primary school, which resulted in the fact there were only a few college graduates post-independence. Secondly, independence was achieved through international pressure on the Belgian government, which, in turn then legalised political parties which resulted in the formation of hundreds ethnic associations. Thirdly, the young Congolese government experienced political interference of foreign governments, such as Belgium and the United States, who were mainly concerned with the nation's substantial mineral wealth (Collins and Burns 2007: 342). As it was for any African country, the situation in the DRC is well described by Reader (1997: 703),

The dreams of Africa becoming a continent of peaceful democratic states quickly evaporated. More than seventy coups occurred in the first thirty years of

independence. By the 1990s few states preserved even the vestiges of democracy. One-party states, presidents-for-life, and military rule became the norm; resources were squandered as the elite accumulated wealth and the majority of Africans suffered. Nigeria and Rwanda exemplify the nightmare; South Africa preserves a flickering hope of transforming dreams into reality.

The Berlin Conference exposed the fact that Europeans did not take ethnicity into serious consideration. In some ways, one could state that the continent was divided as if it was made of only one tribe. For the delegates at the conference the chief concern was to share what they have found (Africa) between each and their satisfaction. This division of Africa not only affected the continent but kingdoms, tribes and families. The Berlin Conference, therefore, may also be seen as a means of weakening families, tribes and kingdoms – these were division 'divide and rule'. In the previous chapter it is mentioned how ABAKO was formed to restore the Old Kongo kingdom of the sixteen century (section 2.5.2) and that may be seen as a response to the division of Africa at the Berlin Conference which divided the Kongo kingdom into three portions: one in Belgian Congo, another in French Congo and the last in Angola. About the division of Africa, Reader (1997: 601) writes,

> Africa's colonial boundaries were decided upon in Europe by negotiator with little consideration for local conditions. The boundaries cut through at least 177 ethnic 'culture areas', dividing pre-existing economic and social units and distorting the development of entire regions.

With regard to the boundaries set up during the Berlin Conference, Moss (2011:33) writes that colonisers did not take into account the diversity of linguistic groups. For instance, the DRC has more than two hundred linguistic groups. Instead, colonial powers often used rivers as natural borders and as a consequence many ethnic groups have found themselves divided among different states. Besides the division of Africa, it is important to mention that African people were displaced by particular events during colonial period and post-independence. The latter category should be seriously considered because it may be a source of controversy and conflict as it has been the case of Tutsis in the DRC (section 2.3.2.2).

According to recorded history, it is very important to mention that Tutsi who settled in the DRC did not receive official acknowledgement as being part of the population of the DRC by the colonial regime. I have reported, in this chapter, two waves of Tutsis to the DRC, one in 1959 and the other during the exploitation of mines in the province of Katanga (sections 2.3.2.2 & 2.4.2). In the first wave, Tutsis were running from their countrymen (Hutus) for

security reasons, but in the second they were brought in for economic reasons. They, therefore, came in both waves as foreigners and everything about their new status depended on the constitution of the land. The question one should ask is whether Rwandan Tutsis living in the DRC were never given the Congolese nationality or not either by the colonial administration or by the Mobutu regime.

The education of indigenous Congolese during the colonial period had a very negative impact on development. The Congolese did not receive appropriate training to take over after the colonizers are gone and yet Merlier (in Prunier 2009:76) puts it, the country was "the most industrialized and developed' country in Africa beside South Africa at independence. Already by 1958, '35 per cent of all adults were in salaried employment, a proportion unknown elsewhere in Africa". Prunier (2009:76) qualifies this development as being deceptive, because most of the workers were unqualified with only seventeen university graduates out of a population of over twenty million. This lack of education, that was one of the Belgians' political strategies towards the Congolese, had negative effects on the future of the DRC. The country has also been experiencing economic exploitation internationally from the time of the salve trade up to now.

Another international responsibility is with reference to the economy. The DRC was exploited from the time of King Leopold II and its wealth will be monopolised by the country's rulers and their foreign business partners to the detriment of the mass of the people, who remain among the poorest of the poor in the world today and that from the time of Leopold (Ntalaja 2002: 235). As a result, the Great Lakes Region has again become a zone of economic activities where arms are sold and all "types of unscrupulous business take place to make quick money" (Ntalaja 2002:235). This may explain why some outsiders would wish to see the DRC in a situation of conflict so that they may continue with their activities as described by Ntalaja (Ibid).

The current state of affairs started, however, at the beginning of the 1990s. Two main political events mark this period: the call for democracy made from the international community and the defeat of communism. Because of the latter, the US had to change their strategy (Kabemba 2001:104; Cooper 2013:5). At this point one should remember that one of the main reasons for US support of the Mobutu's regime was the fact that he was seen as a potential instrument to oppose Soviet interests in the region (section 2.5.3). It should be noted that those who valued Mobutu's support of privatisation, when he took power, were on the

frontline "to embrace economic liberation privatization". He (Mobutu) had failed to read the signs of the times and he was so reluctant to democratize and privatize companies. As a result his allies started to consider bringing about a change of regime (Kabemba 2001:104; cf. Cooper 2013:5).

The DRC was plunged into debt and the decline of Mobutu's fortune forced him to agree to the privatization of state owned mineral conglomerates.[238] This time, a major plan to dismantle the country was envisioned by Western corporations as Mobutu could not hold the country together or protect Western interests. It was only in 1996 that Mobutu realised that the Americans were working against him. For the first time, he understood their real interest. On one occasion Mobutu said that it was because of copper, cobalt, gold and diamonds that they were in the process of arming Kabila. Perhaps most significant is the fact that "the end of Mobutu's rule found the Congolese once again unprepared to cope with the reconstruction of the state" (Kabemba 2001:104-105).

The discussion indicates the complexity of the Congolese conflict. It shows the international responsibility of the conflict which is mainly concerned with its economic and political interests. The principle from all this may be that as long as the interests of the international community is guaranteed, regardless what the Congolese are going through, the leader is a good leader and will receive their support. With regard to this conclusion Kabemba (2001: 113-4) writes,

> Western diplomacy in Central Africa and in the DRC in particular has been to a large degree a dynamic process, which has been changing since the end of the Cold War. But one element has remained the same. For the West, any government in the DRC must maintain the kind of friendly and constructive relations with Western powers that serves their interests, which may not necessarily be identical with those of the Congolese people. Lumumba and Laurent Kabila, who attempted to oppose Western interests, were killed.

Richard Joseph (in Kabemba 2001: 103) puts it this way: "the erosion of the Zairian state resulted from the combined effects of external manipulation over an extend period and internal misrule and mismanagement". There was a kind of 'relative peace' in the DRC

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[238] State actors played a major role in the debt through their participation in 'consultative group meetings', and their direct or indirect influence with the IMF, World Banks, and the private banks. It is arguable that Mobutu and the political aristocracy used the triumvirate quite consciously to provide international 'management' cover or legitimacy behind which they could continue to pursue their own narrow personal and class interests (Ntalaja 1986:227).

during the rule of Mobutu and there was no civil war in principle during his rule. This may also be explained by the fact that he was receiving international support because he was seen as serving their interests. Mobutu was receiving this support mainly because of the threats posed by the Soviet Union, whose fall marked the beginning of the fall of the Mobutu regime. From political interests, the focus was turned towards the economic interests. All in all, the West was simply concerned with their political and economic interests in the DRC.

The international community also shares responsibility for the conflict in the region, in general, and in the DRC, in particular.[239] For example, French troops were in Rwanda at the time of genocide and they are seen as even facilitating the displacement of *génocidaires* who fled into the DRC with their weapons (Jones 2001:125). Responsibility is also shared by the Americans and other western nations at the time Rwanda and Uganda launched their attack on the DRC in 1998.[240] Concerning the US[241] support to Rwanda and Uganda, Ntalaja (2002:232-3) points out that the Western world and the US supported the invasion of the DRC by supporting Rwanda and Uganda by arguing that these two countries' presence was justified by protection of the Rwandan and Ugandan interests. This stance of the Superpowers only changed after the armies of the two countries fought each other on the Congolese soil and when human right abuses by the Rwandan and Ugandan armies were reported.

According to Braeckman (in Turner 2013:38), the Americans were actively following the preparations of Rwanda before invading the DRC in 1996. In Kigali, top embassy officials were present at the planning meetings, while from Washington (the Pentagon), Kagame's friends provided equipment. Americans offered special training to the RPF soldiers and also recruited Ugandans, Burundians, Eritreans, Somalis and Congolese. United States and France were involved in the overthrowing of Mobutu after having supported him for decades. For Turner (2013:44), the US, China, Belgium, France, and other extra-continental powers have

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[239] For example in regard with their response to the Rwandan genocide (See Jones 2001:128).

[240] "Having prevented UN action to stop the genocide, US policymakers and other major players in world politics feel so guilty with respect to Rwanda that they seem prepared to let the Tutsi-dominated regime there get away with murder. Add to this the seal of approval granted to Museveni and Kagame as two of Africa's 'new breed leaders'" gave the two leaders boldness to attack the DRC (Ntalaja, pp. 233-4). Also "Mobutu's national security adviser, Honore Ngbanda, was astonished to see the number of USAF transports at Entebbe and underway to Kigali, in early 1996. 'When I saw the huge concentration of the (the) US Air Force at Entebbe, where the situation rather resembled that of some major US military base that any international airport, it became clear that the American military engagement stood in no relation to official statements about the reasons for US presence'" (Cooper 2013:32).

[241] "The US has trained and armed both Rwanda and Uganda ostensibly to counter the Islamic fundamentalist state of Sudan. Although the US is the only remaining superpower, its world leadership role has sadly been marred by its continued cold-war behavior, especially where its interests are concerned" (Ntalaja 2002:232-3).

made central Africa a place where they compete. What is happening in the DRC also has international implications.

With regard to the position of the US and its Western allies in supporting Mobutu, it sent a negative message both within the region and throughout the whole of Africa. This creates the risk that some African regimes may be tempted to gain US and Western approval and, therefore, behave in whatever way pleases them as long as they guarantee the interests of the superpowers. Western powers should be impartial in their engagement in Africa, they should treat all African countries as independent and sovereign states if they really want to resolve conflicts and promote sustainable development. With reference to impartiality, Bourmaud (in Turner 2013:32) reinforces this point:

> For France, all leaders (Africans) are acceptable… from the most liberal to the most tyrannical, on condition that they remain faithful to the metropolitan power and to its interests. Every head of state knows that anything will be pardoned as long as they submit to the will of France.

In the Lusaka agreement of 10 July 1999, Ntalaja (2002:234) notes the lack of "a strong international commitment to a just and fair settlement of the Great Lakes conflict". To him, the agreement was partial because the war was not clearly singled out as an external aggression. The external actors were treated equally with no intention to discover their real motives to be involved in the war (did they come to rescue Kabila or did they conduct an aggression?). The agreement also showed unfairness in the fact rebels from the DRC were invited at the negotiation table while those from Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi had not place at the negotiation table and should be disarmed. But Jakaya Kikwete, the then president of Tanzania (Kigambo, 2013), saw things different as he openly suggested that:

> Rwanda's President Paul Kagame consider direct talks with rebels of the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR). He also urged Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni to talk to the Allied Democratic Forces and the National Army for the Liberation of Uganda, as well as asking DR Congo's President Kabila to talk to the M23 rebels and other forces that have established havens in eastern Congo.

It is interesting to see how swiftly the international community responded to the Rwandan genocide (section 2.4.3) through the creation of the International Criminal Tribunal for

Rwanda[242] (Scharf, 2013). The same international community's reaction to the Congolese conflict seems to be very which can be explained by some kind of division within the Security Council mainly between France and the USA.[243] Besides, the conflict was profitable to warlords and multinational corporations (Marchal 2008:ix). At the same time the Congolese conflict Rwanda and Uganda profited from the pillage of the eastern Congo's raw minerals and also played the roles of intermediaries in a globalised economy (Reybrouck 2014:157).

> Kagame and Museveni were not the end of any supply line; it was the multinational mining companies, shady fly-by-nights, notorious but highly evasive arms dealers, and crooked businessmen in Switzerland, Russia, Kazakhstan, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Germany who made a killing by selling Congo's stolen materials. They all operated in an extremely free marketplace. In political terms Congo was a disaster area, but in economic terms it was a paradise – at least for some (Reybrouck 2014:157).

The role of the humanitarian aid of the international community to the Rwandan refugees in the DRC can be considered as one of the fuelling factors of the Congolese conflict. As Beswick and Jackson (2011:66) point out, "the threat posed by the refugees to the new Rwandan state was clearly exacerbated by aid provided by agencies and donors supporting the refugees". This was also seen in the inability of both the international community and the humanitarian organisations to separate Rwandan refugees from Rwandan militias in the DRC. Later, the presence of the Rwandan militias on the Congolese soil will be used by the authorities of Rwanda to attack the DRC.

During the conflict, the international community was seen as condoning the behaviour of both Rwandan and Ugandan armies in the DRC. This was seen in the fact that there was no reduction of aids to the government of Rwanda and Uganda. Particularly the US "saw in the Presidents of Rwanda and Uganda a 'new generation of African leaders' pursuing a veritable 'African renaissance' (Pape 2004: 220). The position of the international community *vis-à-vis* Rwanda and Uganda can well be understood from the following argument: The international

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[242] This tribunal had a mandate to prosecute all responsible of violations of "international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda and Rwandan citizens responsible for genocide and other violations committed in the territory of neighbouring states, between 1 January 1994 and 31 December 1994" (Scharf, 2013).

[243] In fact, "whenever France was ready to apply pressure on Rwanda… this was blocked by the U.S. Similary, whenever the U.S. wished to put pressure on the DRC/Zaire this was blocked by France. Hence one could not expect much of the Security Council" (Prunier 2009:33).

community does not only play a negative role on the political-economic that affect the conflict but also a negative impact on ethnicity both in the region and in the DRC.

4.4.2 Ethno-religious conflicts at the international level

Ethnic divisions have a history in the DRC and originated during the trade contacts between the Portuguese and Arabs. Clark (2002: 34) provides a clear picture:

> These exchanges with the outside world also laid the basis for a fragmented society shaped by the complexities of ethnic divisions and dependent economic relations. Rivalries developed along the trading posts, and some ethnic groups were afforded more access to trade than others. These provided the context for future competitions among ethnic groups in their bid to access and obtain the scare resources.

In the case of the DRC, Clark (2002: 35) also describes the Belgian administration of the Congo and points out that there were strong ethnic tensions between Congolese communities and some rival ethnic groups had competitions for access to the colonial machinery. As a result, the colony was divided instead of being united. This was practically noted by the fact that Congolese were not allowed to participate in political and economic life of their country but they were allowed to have cultural associations and organisations which will later be transformed into political parties[244] (Cooper 2012:10-11, see also chapter 2.5.2).

At the same time, the transformation of ethnic (tribal) associations into political parties (section 2.5.2) was not a good move for the country's future. This contributed to the weakening of the basic structure of the different communities. Political parties are different from ethnic (tribal) associations in their objectives. For the first, the main objective is to conquer power while the latter works for the well-being of the members and pursuits specific social goals (Heywood 2007: 8, 272, 308, 455). After the ethnic (tribal) associations were hijacked by politicians, the church became the only strong civil society organization. More about civil society will be developed later in chapter 6 (Section 6.2). However, Clark (2002: 40-2) describes the way the Congolese were at independence in the following manner:

> Given the terminal colonial experience, as well as a miscalculated independence, crisis was at least very likely, if not inevitable. Congo was granted independence without the necessary construction of a national political consciousness. The rule of the inexperienced political elite that led the country into independence had intensified

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[244] For example: ABAKO (Association des Bakongo), CONAKAT (Confédération des Associations du Katanga) and BALUBAKAT (Association des Baluba du Katanga).

the possibility of a collapse of the Congo state. The political culture of the native political class remained nearly as authoritarian as that of the colonial rulers. The main additions to their political culture were the practices of ethnoregional and patrimonial politics. They proved more concerned with political advantage than with construction of a coherent and functional state. The problems of ethnic and regional identities, rather than being mitigated by the postcolonial political class, were exacerbated.

It has already been mentioned how Germany and Belgium sided with the Tutsis in both Burundi and Rwanda during the colonial period (section 2.3.2.2). Although the situation was not originally created by the colonisers, they in no way contributed to the resolution of the existing conflict – some may argue that their attitude deepened it (Adelman & Suhrke 1999:4). In Rwanda, the Belgians (who first sided with the Tutsis) later sided with Hutus as the country was nearing its independence, because this was every indication at the time that they were democratically positioned to take power. The conflict between Hutus and Tutsis, in the two countries, should be of great concern in the understanding of the present situation. According to Collins and Burns (2007:340),

> The sudden appearance of the ethnically based parties was an inevitable response to the colonial administrators, who had made a fetish of customary law and their favoritism and support for rulers who could establish their legitimacy as tribal leaders. Not surprisingly, these rulers felt threatened by the nationalists, who sought to subsume the power of royal institutions and ethnic minorities within a unitary sate, just as the African urban politicians these ethnically based parties and their "traditional" rulers as a threat to the integrity of the post-colonial. They often viewed royal and ethnic parties as tools of the colonial authorities and as a potential impediment to national integration. They despised them as a retrograde for of tribalism that was antithetical to their modernization agenda. They also suspected the leadership of these ethnic entities of defending narrow regional economic interests.

In both Rwanda and Burundi, the ethnic conflict between Hutus and Tutsis was reinforced by the colonial ideology of racism and paternalism. The colonisers took advantage of the existence of conflict between Hutus and Tutsis to intensify the antagonism between them by privileging Tutsis over Hutus. "It is that history of ethnic identity politics as a source of conflict that constitutes one of the root causes of the crisis in the Great Lakes Region" (Ntalaja 2002: 217, 218, 218). This argument should be understood in the way that ethnicity plays a major role in the state of conflicts within the region and the conflicts in the neighbouring countries (mainly that of Rwanda) will be transported into the DRC.

During the colonial period, the Belgians exploited the DRC systematically on the basis of paternalism. With the claim that each ethnic group had its own distinctive custom, the Belgians created a different set of customary laws, one of each ethnic group, and established a separate Native authority to enforce each set of laws. This system weakened the cohesion of Congolese communities.

Furthermore, African gender roles were reinforced by the economic and social policies of colonial regimes. Males were given preference with regard to employment opportunities while females were marginalised. At the same time the church played a very important role in mainly providing education to the marginalised people of the community and women were classified among the marginalised (section 2.3.1). It is important to note that the gender issue is not only an African one, but rather needs also to be interpreted in relation to the economic and social policies of the colonisers.

4.4.3 An example of structural conflict: the role of multinationals

Batware (2012) notices that "most of the conflicts worldwide are found in areas where natural resources are present" and that multinational corporations play a particularly significant role in the continuation of these conflicts". For Batware these corporations value their interests more than those of human beings in conflict zones. According to Desai and Zerial (Batware 2012) the international community has both failed to sanction the actors and to acknowledge the role of multinational corporations in the Congolese conflict while there are number of reports that confirm the role of multinational corporations in the continuation of the Congolese conflicts. As a matter of fact, conflict is directly linked to self-enrichment of the multinational to the disadvantage of the Congolese, thus affecting negatively their wellbeing and environment. A good example is that of the report of 2001 of the UN in which 85 companies were mentioned.[245] According to Desai and Zerial (Batware 2012) the UN report states that:

> Illegal exploitation of the mineral and forest resources of the Democratic Republic of
> the Congo is taking place at an alarming rate in two phases; mass-scale looting and
> the systematic exploitation of natural resources. Corporations from around the world
> have sought to profit from exploiting the DRC's natural resources on the cheap –

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[245] Here are some of the companies among the 85 companies mentioned by the UN report: Afrimex, A. Knight International Ltd, A & M Minerals and Metals Ltd, Alex Steward Ltd, Amalgamated Metal Corp, Anglo American Plc, Artic Investment, Barclays Bank, Das Air, Euromet, Mineral Afrika Ltd and De Beers.

particularly coltan, a mineral used to produce cell phones, laptops and video game consoles.

The involvement of 85 multinational corporations in the DRC is also reported by Newman and Richmond (2006:146), who also warn that there will not be real democracy in a situation where rebel movements can exist through lucrative relationships with international corporations. At this stage, the exploitation of the natural resources, that were supposed to be used for the wellbeing of all the Congolese, only profit both the multinationals and rebels. As a result, peace may be perceived by the latter as a hindrance to their interests, while for the Congolese it is a way forward to their development.

The companies mentioned in the UN report were attempting to prolong the fighting by stirring up conflict between rival militias and rebels in order to carry on with their lucrative activities (Carroll 2002). The history of the illicit exploitation of the Congolese resources by multination corporations dates from Leopold II (1908) to Mobutu's rule. This also continued during the rule of Laurent Kabila who used multinational corporations to finance his war against various rebel factions. The same practice continues during the current government under Joseph Kabila. In fact the corporations are siding either with the state or the rebels to achieve their own interests (Deibert 2008). This situation is well described by Dearing (2012) in the following manner:

> The link between conflict and resource exploitation in the DRC is complex, and rooted in a long history tracing back through numerous civil wars to the nation's colonial period. Networks of conflict involving local, regional, and international actors have produced the patterns of local and regional violence, as well as local resource extraction, which characterize what has become one of the most devastating humanitarian disasters of today.

As Dearing (2012) remarks multinational corporations facilitate local and regional groups to access the international mineral market.[246] Actors in the DRC conflict receive arms, taxes, licensing fees and armed security forces from multinational corporations. By doing so, they carry on with their illicit exploitation of the Congolese resources. For Dearing (2012), "international companies have viewed rebel-held territory as de facto sovereign states and

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[246] Carayannis (Dearing 2012) points out that "international companies and global markets are deeply complicit in perpetuating war economies, as they are frequently key nodes in these networks. They supply goods and services and provide market outlets to warring government authorities, rebels and warlords who, without these companies, would have neither the foreign capital to finance a war nor the profit incentive to sustain one".

used local leaders as conduits for illicit trade". This practice weakens the DRC government and at the same time it strengthens the position of rebels.

4.5 Human Rights Abuses Situation in the DRC (up to 2014)

According to Marchal (2008: ix, x), outsiders who are interested in the commodities of the DRC, exploit it causing the death of thousands and millions of Congolese. After the South Atlantic slave trade, Congolese were exposed to the most painful chapter of their history (section 2.5.2). Human beings are the first commodities to be extracted by Europeans besides natural resources. Congolese were exposed to forced labour (Turner 2013:9) and to state confiscation of land under the rule of King Leopold II of Belgium. All these abuses never allowed the Congolese to effectively work for the wellbeing of all because the first commodities are not empowered enough to take right responsibilities. The slave trade also played a negative role in the development of the DRC because it served to uproot the first commodities of the country. Many Congolese were sold as slaves and taken to foreign countries (section 2.3.1).

The Congolese people have suffered both the indignity of European slavery and Belgian colonialism, which are both considered crimes against humanity. During the colonial period, especially under Leopold's rule, Congolese suffered inhuman treatment that led to many deaths (section 2.5.3.1). As Morel (in Reader 1997:578) puts it, even after independence, the Congolese people have not effectively enjoyed the vast riches of the country. Like any Africans, the Congolese were treated inhumanly by salve traders who were buying Africans as if they were goods. During the colonial period Congolese suffered ill treatment with regard to the exploitation of rubber. There were also reports of human-rights abuses during Leopold II's regime, with evidence of enormous and continual butchery circulating in Europe in the early 1890s. All these kind of treatments profited outsiders and it affected the wellbeing of Congolese and their environment. This reality is better exposed by Casement (in Reader 1997: 579) who collected evidence of people who were forced to collect rubber:

> We tried, always going further into the forest, and when we failed and our rubber was short, the soldiers came to our towns and killed us. Many were shot some had their ears cut off; others were tied up with ropes around their necks and bodies and taken away. The white men at the post sometimes did not know of the bad things the soldiers did to us, but it was the white men who sent the soldiers to punish us for not bringing enough rubber.

The same evidence is provided by a Baptist missionary, who describes what he personally witnessed as the hands of men, women and children were placed in rows before the commissary, who counted them to see that the soldiers had not wasted cartridges. Morel (in Reader 1997: 579) reports the Baptist missionary's impression in the following manner:

> It is blood-curdling to see them (the soldiers) returning with the hands of the slain, and to find the hands of young children amongst the bigger ones evidencing their bravery… The rubber from this district has cost hundreds of lives, and the scenes I have witnessed, while unable to help the oppressed, have been almost enough to make me wish I were dead… This rubber traffic is steeped in blood…

This treatment of forced labour is again reported in the exploitation of natural resources in the east of the DRC. It has already been stated in the previous chapter how local populations were forced by foreigners, including Rwandans, to work in the mines in this part of the country that was under their occupation (sections 2.5.2.2 & 2.5.3.3). It is very sad and humiliating to see not what the Congolese they experienced during colonial period, but from their fellow Africans. The motive behind all this ill treatment is no other than greed. If Leopold II was after rubber, foreigners from Africa and the international community are after the resources of the DRC without any concern of the dignity of Congolese.

The Congolese people have not only suffered from exploitation by non-Congolese, such as the Belgians and the African neighbours. In the previous chapter it has been noted the miserable situation of Congolese under Mobutu's rule (section 2.5.3). During his rule, corruption became the only means of survival, especially for those in positions of power. Any service became payable to the point that it affected even the health services leaving poor Congolese desperate for their survival. All this indicates that the Mobutu regime did not treat the Congolese people with dignity as if they did not deserve to be treated with dignity. After Mobutu followed another period of uncertainty for the majority of Congolese fllowed as the country was caught in conflict.

The conflict, as it is argued in this chapter, has had many negative impacts on the day to day life of the common Congolese citizens. Their rights have been violated and their values compromised. During the 1997-2003 conflict and in the continued violence, the human cost has been unprecedented (Insight on Conflict, 2011) with an estimation of 5.4 million killed (equating to 45,000 deaths a month) and some 3.4 million fleeing their homes. Equally shocking is the unparalleled surge in rape cases by militias and soldiers against the local

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populations. Such violence traumatizes women and girls, humiliating their husbands and often leads to the break of families. For these reasons, the DR Congo crisis is often referred to as the worst and most neglected humanitarian crisis on earth (Insight on Conflict, 2011; cf. Turner 2013:12-3).

Based on the conflict in the province of Katanga alone, the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) reports human abuses by both soldiers and May-May. The report highlights alleged abuses by the army as well as the May-May, including allegations that 50 women and 20 girls were detained for two days and repeatedly raped by soldiers in February 2012 (Integrated Regional Information Networks, 2013).

Different reports about the conflict in the province of Equateur make mention of many human right abuses. For example, there were reports of burning of an entire village either by the Force Armée de la Republique Démocratique du Congo (FARDC) or rebel groups, FARDC abuses against local population, and reports of people who are traumatised by the effects of the conflict (Refugees International, 2001; cf. IRIN, 2010). All this and other treatments are to be considered as being against the human dignity of the Congolese people. Patrice (in Stearns 2011:256) gives some shocking reports about the RCD and Rwandan soldiers abuses in Kasika where they killed chief Naluindi's pregnant wife and fourteen other people who came to hide at his palace.[247] Patrice (in Stearns 2011:257) gives further reports of the abuses:

> The way the victims were killed said as much as the number of dead; they displayed a macabre fascination with the human anatomy. The survivors said the chief's heart had been cut off and his wife's genitals were gone. The soldiers had taken them. It wasn't enough to kill their victims; they disfigured and played with their bodies. They disemboweled one woman by cutting her open between her anus and vagina, then propped up the dead body on all fours and left her with her buttocks facing upwards. Another corpse was given two slits on either side of the belly, where were inserted. "Anavaa koti – they made him look like he was wearing a suit," the villagers told me. Another man had his mouth split open to his ears, was put in a chair and had a cigarette dangling from his lips when he was found. The killers wanted to show the villagers that this would be the consequence of any resistance. There were no limits to their revenge – they would kill the priest, rape the nuns, rip babies from their mothers' wombs, and twist the corpses into origami figures.

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[247] "The chief's wife eviscerated, her dead fetus on the ground next to her" (Sterans 2011:256).

These abuses have created hatred of the Tutsi by the Congolese people who were victims. "I hate Tutsi… If I see a Tutsi face, I feel fear" said Patrice to Stearns (2011:262). Wherever there are armed conflicts there are reports of human abuses, people are moved from their countries to unknown areas. Armed conflicts have victimized millions of women and children and children are the most vulnerable people in war situation (Skod 2008:203).

It seems that there is a relative peace in the DRC. The country is working with the regional powers and the international community from the perspective of restoring lasting peace and sustainable development. There are still some challenges that the DRC is still facing with regard to peace and development because there are still instances of armed conflicts and poverty. In other words, the country is on the process of recovering from a long and destructive conflict it has never experienced. From the general understanding of sustainable development and peace (through conflict resolution) the next focus is on theological perspective. As far as the research is concerned, theological themes which relate to development will be identified and interpreted in the context of the Christian faith.

4.6 Summative Conclusion

The focus of this chapter has been on the socio-political analysis and interpretation of different historical recorded events within the Great Lakes Region and in the DRC. This can be summarised the following way:

1. The current Conflict and underdevelopment and their impacts on the environment in the DRC and in the region has a direct connection with three major actors (International, regional and national), which are believed to share responsibility. The three actors are believed to be both part of the problem and part of the solution. 2. Congolese have suffered from the abuses of the slave trade and colonialism, which affected their human dignity and have impacted negatively on their future. 3. The lack of preparation before independence exposed Congolese to conflicts both from within and outside of the country. 4. From independence onwards, the Congolese suffered at the hands of both strangers and fellow countrymen. 5. Personal interest and marginalization from outsiders and countrymen have been at the heart of the exploitation and mistreatment of the Congolese people. The resources of the DRC have been exploited from the expansion of the European colonial to the present time.

Although there might be many sources of the conflict that arise from the slave trade, the immediate origin of the current conflict may be traced from the time of the Rwandan

genocide in 1994 that was not handled correctly by both the regional and international communities. As a result, the presence of Rwandan refugees on the Congolese soil offered good opportunities to the new government of Rwanda to attack the DRC. Rwanda did not act alone, there were also regional and international powers and multinationals involved in the conflict to carry on with their own agendas. Multinational corporations are using both the state governments (Congolese and regional) and rebel groups to exploit illicitly the resources of the DRC. These corporations finance and support conflicting parties in order to keep on the conflict and for them to carry on with their illicit exploitations.

Ethnicity is a powerful means used by people who want to achieve their dreams at all cost, or to sustain social inequality in times of conflict. Both Congolese and non-Congolese might have used ethnicity to achieve their objectives in the DRC. Both in the DRC and in the region, different ethnic groups have had unequal access to resources or have been systematically disadvantaged through political action or armed conflicts. The transformation of tribal (ethnic) associations into political parties during the pre-independence period played a negative role because it reduced the power of civil society, which constitutes the basic of well-being and development.

There have been serious violations of human rights of Congolese at the different periods of the county's history. Different people and groups of people have exploited the country's resources at the expense of the Congolese people who could even lose their lives in the operations. It seems as if King Leopold II's way of exploiting the country set a way for different future regimes to follow to achieve self-enrichment. As far as the conflict is concerned, it is obvious that there are still human abuses regarding the exploitation of the DRC's resources by the regional powers and the multinational corporations as they work together for common goals.

After getting a general understanding of the situation of the DRC and the region, the next focus will be on introduction of the concept of shalom as theological perspective that links the understanding of peace and development.

Chapter 5: *Shalom* as Theological Perspective with regard to the Intersection of Conflict Resolution and Development

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter analysed and interpreted the Congolese events from a historical perspective. This meanly focused on the relationship between conflict and development, and how these could be applied within the context of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). This chapter now attempts to look at these two concepts, conflict and development, from a theological perspective. Here, the theological concept of shalom will be developed throughout. This is because, arguably, the theological concept of *shalom* leads to a better understanding of the concepts of sustainable development and conflict resolution.

In fact, sustainable development is secular concept, while peace is both a secular and Christian concept. However, *shalom* is a theological link in the understanding of sustainable development and peace. For instance, a closer look at all the seventeen goals of sustainable development (section 1.7.3) leads to the conclusion that they are all part of concerns of *shalom*. Meyers (1999:51) puts it in a way that *shalom* is about living fully in the present and in the future. *Shalom* is the Christian understanding of sustainable development that also includes peace.

According to Gushee (2012:65) the word of God speaks about the restoration of a lost *shalom*. This explains God's mission to restore *shalom* through the reconciling work of Jesus. For this reason, the church is to participate in this work through consistent interaction and relationship between the gospel and the particular cultural contexts in which the church is situated as Franke (2012:145) observes. This is possible because *shalom* is central to the gospel story. God used the prophets to call Israel back to the way of peace and "Jesus' incarnation, prophetic ministry, teaching of the kingdom, death, resurrection, and ascension mediated the *shalom* of God to the good creation" (Benson et al. 2012:204, 205). In this regard, a Christian ministry that is founded on the biblical principles ought to be holistic both in its nature and in its function if it is to be partaker of God's plan for a *shalom* community. This is explained in the following scholarly extract thus:

> The Christian biblical basis of wholistic (*sic*) ministry and shalom can be examined
> by reflection upon two interlocking concepts: the Kingdom of God and the covenant
> of peace. The Kingdom is God's sovereign rule in nature and in history. The covenant

of peace is not merely the absence of conflict; it is the condition of well-being, peace, and harmony wherever God reigns (Bugu 2004:125-126).

In view of the above introductory remarks, this chapter seeks to discover how the concept of well-being and reconciliation are related to God's will for the whole of his creation. The chapter will also explore how the church can be involved in conflict resolution and sustainable development through the mechanisms of advocacy and peace-building. As the chapter focuses on the theological vision of *shalom*, a few questions will be posed: how do we respond to the will of God concerning sustainable development and conflict resolution? What are the responsibilities of humanity and those of the church towards God's creation? What is the role of the church's leadership in achieving sustainable development and conflict resolution?

5.2 Theological vision of s*halom*

Shalom incorporates right and harmonious relationships with God, right and harmonious relationships with other human beings and human community, and right and harmonious relationships with nature and our surroundings. This is further substantiated by Gushee (2012) when he argues that with *shalom* God continues both to challenge and bear with human beings (Gushee 2012:65). In other words, there is *shalom* when human beings dwell at peace in all their relationships: with God, with the selves, with their fellow human beings, and with nature (Wolterstorff 2011:109-111). In this vein, Brueggemann (1982:16) finds that *shalom* is "the dream of God for a redeemed world and an end to our division, hostility, fear, drivenness, and misery". This *shalom* is found wherever God liberates his creation from the destructive activities of human beings as Pantoja (2002) finds. Pantoja (2002) further observes that this liberation is accomplished through Jesus and it reduces violence to further and foster life. The idea of *shalom* being a liberating force is detailed by Brueggemann (1982:18, 50) in the following terms:

> Absence of *shalom* and lack of harmony are expressed in social disorder as evidenced economic inequality, judicial pervasion, and political oppression and exclusivism. […] Shalom is the end of coercion. Shalom is the end of fragmentation. Shalom is the freedom to rejoice. Shalom is the courage to live an integrated life in a community of coherence. Unity is having it all together, all of us sharing in an act of celebrating what we have in common.

According to Brueggemann (1982:35) the biblical concept of *shalom* is closer to the concept of blessing than it is to that of salvation. Furthermore, biblical *shalom* is closer to giving values to an order of prosperity than it is to the radical expectation for the future. Therefore, *shalom* concerns the present as it does with the future. In this regard, the concept of *shalom* must be considered holistically because it includes both the present and the future, as well as all the aspects of human life including the rest of God's creation (Brueggemann 1982:16). Although *shalom* is God's gift for the restoration of the whole creation in the present and in the future, human beings have the duty to maintain it by responding "to God's order that values and acts in accord with the divine moral order for human society" (Swartley 2006:29). [248]

As it were, S*halom* may be associated with the concept of Jubilee and Sabbath within the biblical narrative. During the time of Jubilee, God's people were called to restore God's peace both to human beings (particularly the poor and the marginalised) and to the land (nature). In this respect, Jubilee is seen as a promotion of an ethic of rest, equity, excess, and transformation. As for the Sabbath, it was meant to promote rest for both human beings and the nature. Thus, the biblical Sabbath has also an ethic of rest, unity, and freedom for all God's creations (Exodus 20:8-10). In view of this, all layers of the human race (i.e. rich, poor, master, slave, women, men, etc.) together with the animal race and natural world such as the land have to enjoy the right of rest and freedom as implied in Deuteronomy 5:12-15. Besides the celebration of Jubilee and Sabbath, there lies within the biblical text the expectation of *shalom* at the end of time in an eschatological way (Benson et al. 2012:10).

Shalom, however, has been destroyed throughout human history either by aggression and the rule of powerful countries or through war. Other factors that override the peace of ordinary people are suppression, exploitation, injustice and the lawlessness of the rulers and those who hold power. Violence and oppression of the rich and powerful over the poor also break the peace of society. Men break the *shalom* of women through gender discrimination. The *shalom* of the environment is also broken by human beings' activities and choices (Rajotte & Breuilly 1992:2, Robonson & Smith 2003:100). This explains Rajotte and Breuilly's (1992:2) warning that the destruction of the environment is both a danger to human beings and an offense against God. According to Pope John Paul II (in Rajotte & Breuilly 1992:2), "the

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[248] According to Yoder (in Swartley 2006:29) "*shalom* stands against oppression, deceit, fraud, and all actions that violate the divine order for human life".

ecological crisis is a moral issue", which is why the church needs to address the crisis and makes it part of its missional mandate.

God's *shalom* is different from the world's concept of peace. God's is concerned with justice, equity and integrity (Benson et al. 2012:9). For Wolterstorff (2011:110-11), with God's *shalom* people work towards preserving relationship, liberating, speaking on behalf of the weak, the poor, and the defenceless in the face of those working to preserve their own self-interest, power and prestige. According to (Benson et al. 2012:42), "*Shalom* is about the hard work of ensuring that all have what they need, rather than feeling satisfied when people get what they deserve". Furthermore, *Shalom* is manifested when everyone is safe because no one experiences, issues, or acts on threats to harm or attack others" (Benson et al. 2012:9). Wolterstorff (2011:113), in addition, attests that *shalom* is an invitation for Christians to work towards peace in the world rather than folding their hands and waiting for the arrival of it. That is to say, Christians are to be God's peace-workers for the reason that the mission of God is their mission.

It could be argued, therefore, that development is the work of God in history to bring abundant life through Jesus' death and resurrection as Mathews (1981:101) observes. This is because God is the provider, the sustainer, and the preserver of his creation and all life. The church's involvement in development is simply a response God's work. In Jesus, God is working in the world within and beyond the church, which must cooperate with God's activity as a simple instrument that is used to implement the fulfilled works of Jesus (the atonement and resurrection) to the whole of creation (Samuel & Sugden 1981:19-20). The well-being of both the community of human beings and their planet is directly connected and depends on human beings' activities. In view of this, creation must be enjoyed, appreciated, and taken care of as God intended it to be (Fahrenholz 1995:147). Human beings' activities have a direct impact on the creation, which is why peace, conflict, development, poverty, etc. have either positive or negative consequences. Here, Fahrenholf (1995:30) argument calls for specific consideration: the whole of creation suffers because of human activities but the nature is not itself fallen.

The concept of *Shalom* in the Old Testament (OT) lays the foundation for and is connected to that of peace. In this regard, Swartley (2006:27, 28, 34) finds that understanding *shalom* from the context of the NT, the OT and the Rabbinic writings is central. In other words, Christians are not to take the imageries of war in the OT literally to justify the doctrine of "just war".

Rather, they are to learn what the NT teaches about peace. In the same vein, Gushee (2012:75) adds that God brings *shalom,* and the *shalom* he promised in the OT was fulfilled in Jesus the Saviour of the world.

The word *shalom*[249] is used more than four hundred times in the Hebrew Bible (Duchrow & Liedke 1989:115; cf. Swratley 2006:28; Fuellenbach 1999:1667) and peace (*eirēnē*) in the NT derives from the Hebrew word *shalom* (Punt 1999:279). In fact, le concept of *shalom* in the OT and that of *eirēnē* in the NT are both gifts of God to his creation. However, *shalom* is made possible by attributes that are convenantal such as righteousness, justice and grace with the relationship between God and humans being on a process that leads both to God's salvation, and to the fullness of God's Kingdom (eschatological). And e*irēnē* results from the fruit of the gospel of peace[250] in relation to the restored relationship with God and with fellow humans that brings forth the fruit of peace[251] expressed in the new creation that salvation brings. *Shalom* requires a life of rightiousness and justice as they are prescribed in the covenant, while *eirēnē* is given through Jesus Christ (Swartley 2006:30, 41).

Jesus' statement that he came to give his sheep the fullness of life (John 10:10) is a strong expression regarding the establishment of *shalom*. In fact, as Gushee (2012:71) puts it, *shalom* happens when God saves both Israel and the world and its fulfilment is in the final salvation of the world. *Shalom* is already there and *shalom* is also coming. *Shalom* is about life, and life in its fullness. "The vision of *shalom* is perhaps the most holistic of all. It includes the material and spiritual in its understanding of salvation and goes further… Peace and justice go together; God is reconciled with humanity and humanity with itself, and all creation" (Taylor 2003:34).

Brueggemann (1982:97-101) introduces three agents for the establishment of *shalom* namely, the agent of order, the agent of vision, and the powerless. These three agents require special attention and consideration. 1) The agent of order is the legitimate authority who arranges

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[249] The word *shalom* is a theological concept. However, there are different scholarly perspectives about the concept of *shalom*. "For Von Rad, shalom denotes material, physical well-being within a social context. Thus, it has relational dimensions also. Eisenbeis concurs that *shalom* designates 'wholeness' of life but notes that the primary meaning describes some aspect of relationship with God. It is theological and closely associated with *salvation*. Westermann concurs that *shalom* denotes wholeness and well-being, but argues that it designates a *state* or *condition*, rather than a relationship. Gerleman holds that *shalom* refers to both a state and a relationship. Another schorly perspective argues that shalom refers to the concept of a correct order of life and that the notion of creation order binds together the various uses of *shalom* into a unified whole" (Yoder in Swartley 2006:28-9).

[250] Such as: God's Kingdom, righteousness, justice, justification, salvation, grace, reconciliation and new covenant.

[251] Fruit such as: love of God, love of neighbour, love of enemy, not returning evil for evil, overcoming evil with good, faith, holiness, harmony in the body, blessing and wholeness.

and administers power where there is chaos so people can live their humanity after God's image. 2) The agent of vision has the knowledge of who really is in charge and speaks of justice based on caring for the powerless in their own interest. 3) Lastly, the powerless are those without power. Nevertheless, *shalom* is only understood within the context of the Old Testament and the New Testament. Brueggemann (1982) further indicates that, in the Old Testament, the king was the agent of order, the prophet was the agent of vision, widows and orphans were the powerless. In the New Testament, Pharisees and chief priests were the agents of order; Jesus was the agent of vision; publicans and/or sinners were the powerless. In this regard, "whenever the king and the prophet talk to each other, they must talk about the new which is to come, and that means the agenda is always about how [the] powerless will come to power" (Brueggemann 1982:100-101). This is a call to work towards justice and freedom in the face of marginalisation. In the case of Egypt, Moses became the agent of vision to Pharaoh, and the agent of order to the Israelites who were marginalised and powerless. The two agents interact to find ways to empower the powerless (Brueggemann 1982:100, 101). In the face of marginalisation in our time, there is a need for an agent of vision and, it could be argued that, the church is in a better position to play this role. If marginalisation is considered as being opposed to the establishment of *shalom*, sustainable development and reconciliation are the confirmations of the presence of *shalom*. In the context of this research, the government of the DRC (together with other local, national, regional and international organisations) is the agent of order; the church is the agent of vision and the Congolese people are the powerless. The Congolese church is therefore called to interact with the agent of order in addressing the situation of conflict and underdevelopment that the people of Congo are facing.

5.3 *Shalom* through the Kingdom of God

The establishment of *shalom* is directly connected to the coming of the Kingdom of God[252] (Gushee 2012:72). This was demonstrated through the works of Jesus, who not only proclaimed the coming of the Kingdom but also invited the outcast and the oppressed to the "King's feast", reproached religious leaders for ignoring justice, and gave priority to the poor, the sick and the oppressed. God's Kingdom is at the same time in and beyond the church. This Kingdom is present wherever people repent and believe in God, and where just relationships are established. Therefore, God's work outside the church is seen through the

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[252] It is important to note that the "Kingdom of God" and the "reign of God" are made to mean the same thing. Therefore, throughout this research they will be used interchangeably.

death of resurrection of the Lord Jesus wherever justice takes place in the structures of the society (Samuel & Sugden 1981:52-54, 58). Therefore, to speak about the Kingdom of God is to speak about *shalom* and vice-versa.

As it were, the kingdom of God is both a present reality and a future reality. Hegstad (2013:30) observes that the Kingdom is already realised in the world with the presence of Jesus and it is to be fully realised when Jesus comes back.[253] The reign of God becomes real when the hungry are satisfied; when those who weep laugh; when the oppressed find justice and freedom; and when those who despair regain hope. It is the rule of love established in our heart and justice in human community through the power of God that empower us to live in the midst of adversities and despair (Song 1993:151, 153, 154, 160; cf. Hegstad 2013:31). Rightly put, God's reign is active and affects everyday life. It is expressed through human's struggle against oppression, exploitation and dehumanisation as Song (1993:152, 153) attests. According to Plantinga (2002:104), God's Kingdom is good news for people who are suffering, oppressed or abused. Verkuyl (1993:73) expands this by stating that the good news of the Kingdom addresses all kinds of human needs including physical needs and mental needs. This good news also is engaged in the struggles for racial, social, cultural, economic and political justice. This is why Myers (1999:49) indicates that

> If we act as if individuals are saved now and the kingdom is only in heaven when Jesus comes, then in effect leave the social order to the devil… Into this vacuum other ideologies and kingdoms move with their seductive and deceptive claims of a new humanity and a better tomorrow – socialism, capitalism, nationalism, ethnic identity, and denominationalism – shakable kingdoms all.

God is busy establishing his kingdom through Jesus Christ. His kingdom is in relation with the world he created. In this regard, the kingdom's activity is focused in and inaugurated by Jesus Christ. Thus, God works toward social change by different means including the conversion and building up of the church (Samuel & Sugden 1981:20, 52-60). This means God can use various means, including those outside the church, to bring about social change. The reign of God is to be achieved through the restoration of what was broken by injustice within human society. God's Kingdom works towards bringing transformation to social institutions in an attempt to restore order and justice (Suchoki 1989:185). In this way, God's Kingdom creates a new community of a transformed people. This new community is a

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[253] "The idea of the Kingdom of God being already and not yet is characteristic of the New Testament's interpretation of the time between the first and the second advent of Jesus" (Hegstad 2013:30-31).

community of repentance, forgiveness, faith, sharing and caring. It in lives by love expressed through justice, mercy, truth and servanthood in the socio-political areas (Mathews 1981:101). In this context, *shalom* in relation to God's Kingdom is understood through two main points: Kingdom values and social factors.

5.3.1 Kingdom Values

The Kingdom's values are the terms and conditions of *shalom*. There are nine major concepts among kingdom values that are selected and that will constitute the framework of this section: love; mercy, grace and justice; forgiveness and hope; freedom, equality, and human dignity. The aim of this section is mainly to explore briefly these terms in order to get a better understanding of *shalom*. It is proposed that the establishment of *shalom* is totally dependent on all these concepts, which are interconnected, and need to be interpreted as such.

5.3.1.1 Love

According to Franke (2012:142) to state that "God is love" refers to the unbreakable unity and fellowship among Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, who together are the one God. The implication of this is that God is as social Trinity, and he is the community of love throughout eternity. In the same way, Fahrenholf (1995:80) indicates that "the love of God is the fundamental witness of the Bible [as it] provides a solid ground on which all life rests". This means the concept of the image of God is present in the community, which explains why the church is to participate in the divine fellowship of love. In the context where the church is viewed as the representation of a new humanity, Franke (2012:142) argues that:

> …the divine design for Christ's community is that we be a people who, because we share in the Holy Spirit and thereby participate in the eternal love of God in the midst of a fallen world through lives that reflect God's own loving Character. Only through relationships and in the community can we truly show what God is like, for God is the community of love, the eternal relational dynamic enjoyed by the three persons of the Trinity.

Thurman (in Lightsey 2012:177) distinguishes two kinds of love: "love as interest in another person for ulterior reasons, and love as an expression of interest in another person for his own sake". This is suggestive of the fact that love is "an intrinsic interest in another person" (Lightsey 2012). At the personal level, we treat the other as loved by God when seeking to have peace with him or her. As far as the ministry of reconciliation is concerned, others must

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be loved unconditionally as God does. Winston (2002:4-5) distinguishes four kinds of love: the sexual love (*eros*), the brotherly love (*phileo*), the self-sacrificial love (*agape*) and the love in a social or moral sense (*agapao*). Therefore, love is an intimate act that requires courage (Benson et al. 2012:9). To love is an action not merely a theoretical concept. Because God loves, he gave his Son (cf. John 3:16). There is also a difference between the love of God[254] and that of the world.Thus, as Hegstad (2013:69) argues, the two are opposed and are in total exclusion. "The love of God …is a love that sees with compassion and enters into the situation of persons in bondage". (Macrae 2007:39).

The love of God operates through three dimensions of love: to love God, to love the neighbour and to love oneself. The three dimensions are based on relationships: with God, with neighbour and with oneself. To have the love of God is, therefore, to love God, to love the neighbour, and to love oneself altogether. To lack in one of these dimensions breaks the unity of God's love. Another dimension of the love of God that should be added is that of loving God's creation. Because God loves everything he has created, our love of God should be extended to everything God has created. Our relationship to nature should, therefore, always be taken seriously for the sake of our love of God. The love of God is an active power that enables us to love others unconditionally. Bonhoeffer (1965:173, 331) reminds us that "the love of God must be entirely spontaneous and unpremeditated… and love seeks those who are in need – our enemies, and those who are unresponsive to our love". The love of God is founded on our fellowship with God; we love because we are loved by God and not by being commanded to love (Macrae 2007:44). Practically, God's word tells us that we cannot love God whom we do not see and hate our fellow human beings whom we see (cf. 1 John 4:20). Therefore, to love God is an invitation to love fellow human beings. The church[255] involvement in social services may be explained by God's love and compassion and it is directed towards people in need (Liederman 2011:83).

Love is the main characteristic of the kingdom of God. As Hauerwas (1983:91) puts it, Jesus initiated a kingdom of peace and love, which is only possible through a forgiven people.

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[254] The love of God (*agape*) refers to God's love for us or for Jesus' love for the Father, and *agapao* refers to to people loving one another (Winston 2002:5). Our focus is on *agape* because *agapao* is simply assimilated to *agape*, in other words *agapao* simply results in response to the love of God

[255] As a Christian concept, the word "church" comes from the Greek word "diakonia", which is "a social theology service based on solidarity, inspired by Christian values (God's love and compassion). It is expressed through charity and philanthropy towards those in need. The term diakonia was used in early Christianity to indicate philanthropy and love (love of human person), which were used almost interchangeably in Christian theology" (Liederman 2011:83).

Jesus loves all people: he loves the oppressed by standing on their side, and he loves the oppressors by standing against them. We must love even our enemies because in Christ we, who were God's enemies, are now loved by him. Love is God's nature and a gift to us. God gives himself for others when acting among us so we are invited to live for others (Yoder 1985: 66-68). Love is a powerful weapon for the realization of *shalom* in our troubled world because love has positive qualities as described in 1 Corinthians 13:4-8. Love also implies mercy, grace and justice, which will constitute our next focus.

5.3.1.2 Freedom and Equality

Freedom is a gift from God and, as such, it needs to be enjoyed by all. However, when it is not cared for, natured and celebrated, it lasts for a short time. Freedom is well understood from the story of exodus and the gospel stories about Jesus. Jesus in the gospel stories and God in the exodus story caused people to come out of slavery, oppression, rejection and the like into freedom. This freedom always goes hand in hand with the responsibility and concern to care for others (Brueggemann 1982:41). In fact, the same freedom needed for people to be creative can be a source of destruction if it is not handled properly (De Gruchy 2015:20).

Paul describes three kinds of freedom: we are free from sin and death (Rom. 6:22-23), we are free from the law (Rom. 7:6) and we are free from judgment and condemnation (Rom. 8:1-2). These kinds of freedom put all the Christians in a state of equality before God and one another, and they restore our relationships with God and with one another and the nature. Such freedom and equality are fruit of the presence of *shalom*, which is also dependent on both. It is interesting to consider the declaration of King when he was looking forward to the establishment of freedom[256]. According to Martin Luther King Jr.:

> When we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and hamlet, from every state and city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children… will be able to join hands and to sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual: free at last, free at last; thank God Almighty, we are free at last! (Plantinga 2002:9).

All human beings should be treated equally because they all bear the image and the likeness of God (Genesis 1:28) and God's reconciling work is, therefore, directed to all men and

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[256] According to King Jr., it is only "when we allow to ring, when we let ring from every village and hamlet, from every state and city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children… will be able to join hands and to sing in the words of the Negro spiritual: free at last; thank God Almighty, we are free at last!" (Plantinga 2002:9).

women without partiality (1 Cor. 5:19). A genuine reconciliation is only possible when all human beings are treated equally. As stated by Achmat (2010:117), "the consciousness and active struggle for social justice and social equality is the most important route to reconciliation".

It is interesting to consider a non-Christian view on inequality according to which poverty in the world is caused by inequality, and that many people are poor and powerless because they are discriminated against by others (Green 2008:6, 7). According to Green (2008:5-6), inequality should be dealt with seriously because of its impacts on development: It wastes talent, undermines society and its institutions, undermines social cohesion, limits the impact of economic growth on poverty, and transmits poverty from one generation to the next. Generally speaking, Ciconello (in Green 2008:5) writes that:

> Extreme inequality provokes outrage and condemnation, because it violates the widely held notion that all people, wherever they are, enjoy certain basic rights. Addressing inequality is essential if countries are to live up to their obligations under the international human rights framework established by the UN, to guarantee equal civil and political rights and to pursue the progressive realization of economic, social and cultural rights.

There is no genuine enjoyment of human dignity without freedom and equality for all the community members. All human beings are treated equally before God who has demonstrated it by sending his Son to die for the sins of the world (cf. John 3:16; 8:1-11).

5.3.1.3 Human Dignity and Identity

Human dignity and identity are interconnected and are related to the fact that all human beings are created in the image and likeness of God. They are totally grounded in personhood and not on human qualities, status or class (Ajulu 2001:34, 40). Therefore, human dignity implies human identity. As far as human dignity is concerned, Malula[257] (in Mosca 2014:18) argues that the human dignity of each and every human being is to be acknowledged everywhere, always and by all. He mostly condemns any kind of racism (any form of oppression or persecution of a group of people by another group) as well as tribalism that stands in the way of Christian charity in Africa.

> God as both creator and redeemer of has given a special, inalienable, and absolute dignity to all humanity, male and female, including all ages, races, social and

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[257] Malula was the first Congolese Catholic Cardinal.

economic conditions, and all national origins. The violation of that dignity constantly

results in the loss of blessing and the debasement of human life (Peachy 1986:171).

Human beings should be free from anything that deprives them from enjoying their human rights.[258] In case of past traumas, there is an urgent need to acknowledge and deal with the past violations of human rights. This should be done in order to put traumas in their social and political context for the restoration of human dignity (Madikizela 2010:137-38). According to Koopman (2007:178), human dignity is directly connected to meeting basic human needs. Furthermore, human dignity is connected to the enjoyment of human rights, equality, freedom, and justice. From a Trinitarian perspective of human dignity "we have dignity because we are created in God's image… because God became human in Jesus Christ and redeemed us… because the Holy Spirit, as God at work in the world, is actualizing in and through us the new humanity that is a reality in Jesus Christ" (Koopman 2007:180).

> A Trinitarian approach to dignity and a related theological anthropology of vulnerability shed some light on human dignity discourses. It teaches that all humans do have dignity. Our dignity is an imputed dignity. It is an alien dignity which comes from God. And, because it comes from God it is inalienable. This alien dignity is expressed in especially the most vulnerable ones in the human family. The notion of alien dignity implies that all humans are equal that we are to be treated with justice, that we live in freedom (Koopman 2007:185).

Myers (1999:50, 115) points out with reference to the dignity of the poor that we are told by the biblical narrative that the poor have gifts, skills, and the potential as anyone else because they are also made in the image of God. Therefore, the poor and the non-poor are both made in the image of God who sent his Son to die for them because he values them. Both should enjoy the renewed relationships and can use their gifts, skills and potentials for their own well-being and that of their communities.[259] Exploitation of the poor is one of the many causes of poverty and it deprives them of their dignity. A Chilean peasant as quoted by Freire

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[258] Human rights can be understood here as those rights or privileges that every human being should enjoy. These are common God given rights that pertain to their life and well-being (*shalom*). They are made by God and can only be interpreted from will of God for the whole of his creation. At the same time human rights can be limited to a particular country and are defined by the country's constitution, and they legally recognized and applicable to all citizens. They also are human made rights. For Lötter (1999:129), for instance, "human rights belong to individual citizens of a country… they are given for a purpose... and specific reason… they place corresponding duties on citizens… they are protected and enforced by human beings."

[259] "The gospels portray Jesus as the King who stands in the place of the poor and the needy helping them to carry their burden. The message of both testaments is that when human governments stay within the limits of human dignity, and when the rich and powerful do not oppress the poor, then the blessing will come to humanity" (Peachey 1986:171).

(in Burkey, 1993: 10) puts it: "They used to say we were unproductive because we were lazy and drunkards. All lies. Now that we are respected as men, we're going to show everyone that we were never drunkards or lazy. We were exploited." This demonstrates that whatever form exploitation may take, the end result is poverty for the exploited and may be the opposite for the exploiters. From this it is also assumable that human dignity is a way forward to development because when people are treated and respected as human it gives them chance to work for their own development.

5.3.1.4 Mercy, Grace and Justice

Grace is different but related to mercy and justice. Through grace one receives what he/she does not deserve; through mercy one does not get what he/she deserves; and through justice one gets what he/she deserves (Winston 2002:63-4). As Veling (2005:183) puts it, there is no justice without mercy because mercy is the very condition of justice. In a process of reconciliation, grace and mercy are complementary and justice becomes a binding point of these two in order to balance them.

The connection of mercy, grace and justice can be clearly seen in the story of the adulterous woman (John 8:1-11, Life Application Study Bible). Here, mercy, grace and justice work together in the restoration of the woman's dignity. The woman was guilty of her action and, at the same time, victim of the injustices of a patriarchal predominant culture. She was unjustly condemned by her own community while the man was protected by the same community. God's mercy intervened and, despite her guilt, she was declared innocent. As a result, grace restored her dignity. The justice of God was made by Jesus through mercy and grace to restore the woman's dignity on one condition: "Go now and leave your life of sin". In other words, while human justice condemns, God's is established upon grace and mercy. The implication of this is that only God can establish *shalom* and human beings are instruments of it.

As Chappel (in Veling 2005:188) argues "mercy is at the heart of reality, at the heart of God, and at the heart of the message proclaimed by Jesus." There are three dimensions of mercy: mercy towards suffering, mercy towards sin, and mercy as a surprise blessing. Generally speaking, mercy "requires something of us" (in Veling 2005:188). Mercy requires of us to respond to the suffering of others, to forgive and repent, and to be regarded as a divine compassion.

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> …we clearly understand that the conflict that exists is undergirded by spiritual forces only put to rest both by the power of God and by our respectful response to the work of the grace of God in our lives. In so doing the work of reconciliation rests not only in the otherworldly sphere but also in the believer's role of setting an example for peace every day and demanding justice in a world bent together with avaricious and selfish ends (Lightsey 2012:174-75).

As far as the grace of God is concerned, Burghardt (2011:51) argues that it can be obstructed by poverty and politics[260], injustice and inhumanity. In such situations, the church is called to struggle against these obstructions. It is grace that enables Christians to act confidently for the promotion of peace and sustainable development. As Robinson & Smith (2003:105) put it, living the spirituality of grace[261] is at the heart of Jesus' call to follow him. Samuel & Sudgen (1981:56) remind us that God fulfils his work[262] through history with the purpose of grace and opens up societies to receive the full blessing of redemption.

Connor (1998) in his book, *The Difficult Traverse: From Amnesty to Reconciliation* considers personal, social and theological aspects of reconciliation as product of a gift from God and His initiative that is dependent upon His grace. As Robinson & Smith (2003:105, 104, 110) note: "grace can change the expected course of human history …the message of the gospel which is fundamentally a message of hope about the capacity of grace to reorder the world". The acts of grace that have positive impact on the world are produced by ordinary people whose lives are changed. Grace is not simply a word but rather a practice. Only people who have received grace are able to give grace to others. Transformation begins within individuals and it is never imposed from outside.

Justice is an essential tool that is used in addressing all the social and structural factors that create poverty (Veling 2005:183). As Veling (2005:184) defines it, "justice is owning. Justice is a debt that we owe to those who have been denied their well-being of human flourishing. Justice serves the common good and not simply the good of a few." Christians find their legitimacy to promote justice and peace among humans and between humans and God's creation from the already of God's achieved reconciliation through Jesus Christ. Other

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[260] "Politics, in its broadest sense, is the activity through which people make, preserve and amend the general rules under which they live" (Heywood 2007:4).
[261] For Yancey (in Robinson & Smith 2003:104) "the absence of grace sometimes shames the church and contradicts the core message of the gospel which is fundamentally a message of hope about the capacity of to reorder the world".
[262] "The central purpose of God's Kingdom activity is to restore and recreate man (Samuel & Sudgen 1981:57).

implications are that this reconciliation does not allow cheap grace and cheap forgiveness, and that we must love our enemies. In this regard, Brueggemann (1982:105),

> Justice, a major concern of the Bible refers to securing and guaranteeing the livelihood, well-being, freedom, and dignity of every person in community, not only those strong enough to insist upon it. Thus, justice is not punitive or retributive, but means a guarantee of a well-being to those who cannot insist upon it. (cf. Matthew 23:23, where it is linked with "mercy and faith", and Hosea 2:19-20, in which it is related to the most important component of biblical faith).

Justice is, therefore, crucial in the establishment of *shalom*. Justice brings peace between people. The whole creation and *shalom* is only found where there are just relationships. In the OT prophets called for Israelites to show God's peace by striving to end injustice and achieve justice. "Jubilee justice calls the people of God to restore God's peace to the land and the poor with abundance. It promotes an ethic of rest, equality, excess, and transformation" (Benson et al. 2012:8, 9). Indeed justice is God's reign of *shalom* over his creation which is bound by a covenant of love. Once the covenant is broken through injustice, the church should confront those who are supposed to be responsible.

> When the covenant is being broken, it is up to prophets to confront the ruling powers with the ways in which they are perpetuating injustice and to mobilize the masses to dismantle the injustice, all to the glory of God. It is from such a theological account of justice, rooted in the Hebrew prophets' vision of shalom, with Jesus being chief among the prophets, that Martin Luther took inspiration (Benson et al. 2012:25).

The expression of justice in the world is accomplished by the church through its mission and ministries. As Benson et al. (2012:26) put it, "Working for social justice is an integral part of the church embodying its mission in and for the world. Seeking to eradicate the injustice that affects the disinherited is one concrete way the church fulfils its prophetic vocation". About doing justice, Wolterstorff (2011:103) writes:

> The believer's doing of justice and struggling for the undoing of injustice is motivated by his desire to imitate God and obey Go's command. In turn, God's command to do justice is grounded in God's suffering love for the little ones of the world and in God longing to have a people which reflects and celebrates his own holiness. Hence believer's doing of justice and struggling for the undoing of injustice is also motivated by his sharing in God's suffering love for the little ones of the world and the desire to be holy even as God is holy.

On the contrary, the failure to do justice towards our fellow human beings is seen as one's failure to the duties of kinship and an act of inhumanity. To treat a fellow human being in an unjust way is to dehumanise him/her (Wolterstorff 2011:127). According to Calvin's (Wolterstorff 2011:131-2) theology, any action of injustice on a human being is a wound made to God who suffers through the victim's cries. This gives way for Christians to fight for justice and against injustice. Wolterstorff (2011:170) further argues that justice can only be sought in hope. We have hope because God is always ready to forgive.

5.3.1.5 Forgiveness

Many of the conflicts in the world are linked to memories of ancient and unforgiven wrongs. Therefore, forgiveness plays a major role in resolving conflict (De Klerk 2010:28, 30). Arendt (in Fahrenholz 1995:125) states that forgiveness is "as the contingent and creative power that enables us to break through the chain of inevitability that would otherwise bind us forever to former injustice". Forgiveness helps to free people from their bitterness and grievances. This is a good and strong stance to be put forward in promoting forgiveness, in the first place, in any conflict situation. This is important because:

> Forgiveness can lay the foundation for reconciliation. Through reconciliation we can balance and close the book of past grievances, we can reach the compromises that are essential for peace; and we can bring together those who have been divided by past grievances and hostility. Upon this foundation of forgiveness and reconciliation we can build lasting peace (De Klerk 2010:28, 30).

It is argued, therefore, that there is an interconnection between forgiveness and reconciliation. Krog (2010:141) argues this interconnectedness in a way that the beginning of one is a process in which the other is brought in at the same time. A genuine forgiveness is achieved through a painful process and so is reconciliation (De Gruchy 2002:171). Therefore, forgiveness is key to reconciliation and it is God's forgiveness and acceptance in Christ that further empowers people to become messengers of reconciliation (Kistner 2008:149).

In his book "Struggling to Forgive", Frost (1998) develops seven different themes related to forgiveness, which require consideration. Firstly, forgiveness is related to reconciliation through the role of political leader and Christian leader who are committed to reconciliation. Secondly forgiveness is related to remembering through the role of the history of the people in conflict. Thirdly, forgiveness is related to repentance through the role of the offenders. Fourthly, forgiveness is connected to love through the role of the offended. Fifthly, it is

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related to healing through the role of churches. Sixthly, it is connected to justice through the role of an established organisation that deals with the problem. And lastly, it is related to repairing through the role of restitution.

According to the Kairos Document[263], reconciliation is to be linked to justice and to the resolution of the conflict. According to the same Document, forgiveness[264] and negotiation are not possible without repentance.[265] The document stresses that "God is always willing to forgive" and His intention is to both restore the brokenness of His creation and to heal all its wounds, thus making it possible for all humans to live together. Therefore, God's promise to both forgive and restore his creation gives us room for hope (Pityana 2011) and there is no future without forgiveness. Moving from hatred to love requires the gift of forgiveness, which allows rediscovering love, the true identity and calling of every human being because hatred is a huge hindrance to the continuity of life (Katongole 2011:181-182). Forgiveness is power that sets people free from their own past and from any kind of injustice involving them, sometimes without their full knowledge (Kistner 2008:149).

5. 3.1.6 Hope

According to Brueggemann (1982:74) "*Shalom* is rooted in the theology of hope, in the powerful, buoyant conviction that the world can and will be transformed and renewed, that life can and will be changed and newness can and will come". In the same vein, Song (1993:155) attests that:

> Hope, together with faith and love, is the power to live and the power to be… Hope means life is open-ended… Hope is that power that enables us to break out of the impasse of life and create an opening journey of life. That power helps us to overcome fatalism, does not allow us to resign the impasse of today, and inspires us to mobilize ourselves for a new dawn. Hope is the power of life and energy for the future (Song 1993:155).

Hope is built on longing of what one really wants and some of our longing are articulated while others are not (Plantinga 2002:8). Therefore, for one to be alive, one must keep hope

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[263] This document presents attempts to develop a public theology of democratic reconstruction and transformation (De Gruchy 2002:67). It was within a South African context.

[264] "The ability and willingness to forgive is a sign of moral courage and strength, and as such it is a sign of wisdom. Forgiveness is the exercising of power in weakness and wisdom in apparent foolishness" (De Gruchy 2002:180).

[265] "As we seek Biblical Transformation we need to start by confessing our national sins" and "in the Bible national transformations always involved a return to studying and obeying the God's Word" (Hammond 2003:75, 77).

alive. Hope is supported by imagination, faith, and desire because "the hopeful person imagines a good state of affairs… He also believed that it's possible… Finally, he desires a good state of affairs he imagines and believes in…" (Smedes in Plantinga 2002:8, 11).

From a theological perspective, change can be brought when people live and act in hope (De Gruchy 2002:209). Paul, who had a Jewish background, believed that transformation for human beings and all other creation had been fulfilled in the resurrection of Jesus and that everything is rapidly moving towards it. Apostle John confirms the hope of a new earth and a new heaven, where there will be order, harmony, fruitfulness, justice and knowledge of God according to God's intention for creation (Revelation 21:1). Paul's understanding of reconciliation is thus:

> Christians are not called to restore the original integrity of creation in an absolute sense but to minimize destruction, to make a meaningful and joyful life possible, and to keep history open for its consummation through Christ. In political terms, this implies a preparedness to enter compromises with the view to finding the best possible solution for protecting and safeguarding life in a given situation. The hope of the final consummation of God's creation also protects Christians against feeling frustrated when they do not see any progress in their efforts for justice (Kistner 2008:149).

The hope of the poor and the oppressed was found in Jubilee justice, because God hears the cries of those who are hurt. As he did with the Israelites in Egypt, he hears and responds to the cries of those suffering. There is hope in the promise of the Messiah, the Prince of Peace, who will bring jubilee justice to the whole world (Benson et al. 2012:10). Jesus Christ was and is the only one who brings *shalom* in the world. In this regard, "Christian hope centers on Jesus Christ, the Lord of the whole cosmos, the one through [whom] God was pleased to reconcile to himself all things (Col.1:20)" (Plantinga 2002: 14). For one's hope to cover all humankind it needs to be enabled by the influence of the Holy Spirit. Like prophets and apostles, we are called to hope beyond ourselves. At the same time love makes us hope for ourselves and for others.

> Jesus' proclamation of the reign of God… always pointed beyond the present, but in a way that brought hope to those who suffered now and demanded repentance and obedience from those who were responsible of their condition and plight… Those who trust in God's covenant promise will never be prepared to accept given evils, as the last word (De Gruchy 2002:210, 211).

Christians should wait on God for this fulfillment and live waiting hopefully, witnessing to the importance of their waiting. The ministry of Jesus demonstrates, through healing, that the reign of God has broken in. This means that the envisaged shalom of the OT has broken in by the work of Jesus (Wolterstorff 2011:103). As Calvin[266] (in Wolterstorff 2011:103) puts it "to wait in patience must not be a passive acceptance, but rather to suffer against evils in the world".

God is altogether the Creator, Deliverer and Sustainer of his creation. Christians hope is hope for both redemption and consummation. In other words, "for Christians, Christ is the axis of history; that is, history has its origins as well as its climax. In Christ is to be found the answers to the questions human beings have been asking, in him is the fulfilment of their efforts to reach transcendence through their intellect and imagination" (Chia 2006:140).This is translated in the hope for the just reign of God within this present creation, and hope for a new creation. The hope for liberating justice works on the basis that Jesus will use Christians' actions and those of others in establishment of his kingdom of justice. This hope should always go hand in hand with the identification of the redemptive work of Jesus Christ (Wolterstorff 2011:179, 185; cf. Chia 2006:141) and is reinforced by De Gruchy (2002:212):

> But hope remains a powerful and necessary antidote to despair – despair about crime, about violence, about abuse and ongoing violations of human rights. Hope is all about the vision of what we believe our world can and should be. Hope enables us to believe our country can achieve some meaningful expression of justice, reconciliation and healing here and now even though the ultimate goal must always remain beyond our grasp.

Christian hope is in God's promise and faithful care for the world and renewal and perfection of humankind and the creation (Hauerwas 1983:104, cf. Chia 2006:139). But, above all, "hope in the world beyond makes suffering bearable" (Fahrenholf 1995:71). This hope is revealed in the word of God. This hope is both in God and in his final reordering of the whole of creation, redeeming it from the perversions of sin, and transforming it to perfection. It is hope that human relationships will be ordered under the standard of love (Chia 2006:139-40). Brueggemann (1986), in his book "Hopeful Imagination: Prophetic Voices in Exile", argues

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[266] For Calvin "all the suffering to which human life is subject and liable is a necessary exercise by which God partly invites us to repentance, partly instructs us in humility, and partly renders us more cautious and more attentive in guarding against the allurements of sin for the future" (Wolterstorff in Gornik & Thompson 2011:130).

that newness is only produced by grief, God's holiness produces hope and possibility only results from memory.

There are three main issues of the power of hope in the biblical texts: with hope the present is kept altogether open, provisional and under scrutiny; hope is possible only where people grieve and express it in their community; but muteness, fulfilment, technique are all enemies[267] of hope. Hope rejects the 'status quo' and it is a challenge to live now in anticipation of the coming Kingdom (Brueggemann 1987:90). In view of this, Kuzmic (in Bowers-Du Toit 2010:434, 435) argues that:

> Christian hope does not lead to an acceptance of the status quo; but instead challenges
> the faithful to realize the eschatological values of the Kingdom: love, joy, life, justice,
> peace, freedom, equality, harmony, unity, etc. Eschatology can therefore not be used
> to justify apathy … quietism, passivity and paralysis in waiting for the Kingdom
> return.

Christian hope is also connected to the cross (Chia 2006:154). It is only through the cross that we can understand the meaning of the worst events and that our disappointment and tribulations are parts of the course of life in the fallen world. Even in our disappointment and suffering, God is busy at work for our good. Because of hope we become prepared for present disappointment and sure of eternity in the age to come. Our hope is for righteousness in the midst of moral degradation; for justice in the midst of injustice and oppression, and of life in the midst of death (Chia 2006:154, 155). This hope is revealed in the word of God and can be experienced through the work of the Holy Spirit. The work of Jesus was a foretaste of the expected kingdom of God. His way to fight against the powerful authorities was not with arms.[268] It was made by raising up the helpless and living with them as an alternative to the existing order. This produces hope for the coming kingdom of God. God is already present

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[267] "Technology, science, economic enterprise, culture based on distinctions of language, custom, and ways of common life bring forth fruits that may glorify God and reflect his blessing. Yet this very human vitality, created and blessed and called by God brings us into conflict with each other. Technology expands the possibilities for all life and provides tools whereby some societies exploit and dominate others. Economic expansion promises a higher standard of living for the whole world, and develops a system in which the gap between rich and poor becomes ever greater. Structures of political power offer order and peace to some and oppression to others" (Peachy 1986:75).

[268] As Mickie & Rhoads (in Hauerwas 1983:81) puts it, "Jesus confronts the authorities with the nature of God's rule and with the seriousness of their offenses against it, but he does not impose his authority to them. After each confrontation, he moves on, leaving the authorities to choose their response. He is not a military messiah who uses a sword or manipulates the crowds to impose his authority. He does not even fight to defend himself, and he endures the consequences of his opponents' scorn".

restoring the world by his mercy and his power erupts in the midst of oppression, forgiving and healing the world.[269]

5.3.2 *Shalom* against Marginalisation

It is argued in this research that God works through human activities within and outside the church. Thus, wherever we see people engaged in the implementation of peace and sustainable development, we seen the signs of God's Kingdom and *shalom*. But wherever we see people marginalised, we see an obstruction to the Kingdom and to *shalom*. In this regard, as far as human dignity is concerned, marginalisation has a negative impact on people's social, political and economic life. Song (1993:6) argues that the reign of God is working towards restoring the dignity of men and women who are socially, economically and politically marginalised. Marginalisation is, therefore, a social factor that is in opposition to the Kingdom's values. Jesus' declaration of the Kingdom of God proclaimed forgiveness to oppose exclusion and marginalisation. It is in this same way that Suchocki (1989) understands forgiveness as a kind of "renewal of life". He puts it thus:

> Forgiveness conveyed renewal of life, and all who received this forgiveness entered into a new community whose governance was just, facilitating a joyful knowledge of God. The creation of such a community is present in Jesus' own declaration of the reign of God, for he took those who were outside the structures of well-being and drew them in to a new community of God, existing through the reversal of his contemporary society's values of exclusion and marginalization (Suchocki 1989:190).

Marginalisation and self-interest are two facets of the same coin and go 'hand in hand'. People who marginalise others do it to secure their own interests and those who want to secure their own interests end up marginalising others. There can, therefore, be no genuine *shalom* when people are marginalised.

With regard to marginalisation, Nürnberger (1999:62) describes the importance of the vertical and horizontal relationships that exist in societies. Horizontal relationships are often founded on equality, while vertical relationships are often based on inequality concerning power, income, prestige and position[270]. Vertical relationships are those where we can understand marginalization, because the party that has more power, income and prestige is the party that

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[269] The peace of God has eschatological connotation because it is a renewal of the peace as at the beginning when there was peace among all creatures (Riches in Hauerwas 1983:86, 87).

[270] In vertical relationships, one is in a superior position while the other is simply a subordinate.

marginalizes the party that has less power, income and prestige. In fact, "vertical relationship" is often used in reference to the relationship between human and God, while "horizontal relationship" is used for the relationship between human beings. According to Nürnberger (1999:62), marginalisation is, therefore, a process in which the party that has more power, income and prestige, "force out of its means of livelihood" the party that has less power, income and prestige. Furthermore, Joeng (1999:9, 10) writes the following concerning marginalisation:

> If the marginalized groups do not accept the existing social structures, their system either has to be reformed, or the opposition has to be oppressed by coercion[271]. Power struggle can be expressed in a manifest way with the mobilization of resources by marginalized groups and the initiation of organized resistance… Marginalized groups do not see any stake in cooperating with dominant groups if the solutions do not guarantee their rights[272] to self-identity, freedom, autonomy and physical well-being.

Therefore, marginalisation is to be fought against in every sphere of life. This is because it does not lead to *shalom* but to a sense of dehumanisation in society. Development agents that engage in transformational development are meant to resist all forces that encourage marginalisation in order to promote *shalom*. This is why the church needs to play the role and be an agent of *shalom*

5.4 Church as agent of *Shalom*

Advocacy is understood as an "active support of a cause or course of action" (Brooks et al. 2010:10). The aim of this section is to try to understand the role of the church in advocating the causes of the people who are not able to speak for themselves in order to establish God's *shalom*. Therefore, two points constitute this section: 1) the church as civil society actor, which explains the relationship between church and state, and 2) the church as a sign of shalom.

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[271] It is believed that political realities shape the nature of social struggle and that coercive power is a starting point for the genesis of human conflict (Joeng 1999:9).

[272] "Since poverty is a violation of rights, poor person is fully entitled to stand up and demand what is hers by right. She does have to beg for it; she must demand it. That's what's implied in rights …she is entitled to demand it not on the basis of her good behavior but on the basis of her personhood – this in turn grounding her imaging of God. And if and when she does finally receive what is due her, does not have to pen letters of gratitude. It will be quite enough for her to breathe a sigh of relief and move forward toward becoming what she can and should be" (Wolterstorff 2011:296).

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5.4.1 Church as civil society actor

It is important to state that religion is part and parcel of the national identity of any given country (Kalpakian 2001: 47) and, in the DRC case, religion is alive as Stearns (2011:103) observes. However, religion may be used to further or resolve conflict and politicians can use it to pursue power.[273] The distinction between civil society and state is described by the fact that civil society deals with the social sphere, while the political sphere is the concern of the state (Kymlicka 2002:388). Civil society and state are different because they pursue different objectives (Bujra 2002:26, see also Section 3.3.2). Therefore, civil society is independent from the state and it relatively operates on its own authority (Bujra 2002:26). For "civil society theorists" the virtues of mutual obligation can only be taught by the civil society (Kymlicka 2002:305). For Michael (in Kymlicka 2002:305), "the civility that makes democratic politics possible can only be learned in the associational networks of civil society". Therefore, civil society[274] actors, such as the church, play an important role in the development of personal responsibility and mutual obligation (Glendon 1991:109).

At the same time, (Glendon 1991:109) is not totally convinced that civil society is "the seedbed of civic virtue". According to him, the same civic society can teach things that are contrary to civil virtue. For instance, an ethnic group can teach prejudices against other groups or a church can teach intolerance against another faith. In such a situation, Walzer (in Kymlicka 2002:305) proposes what he calls "critical associationalism" according to which "the associations of civil society may need to be reformed in the light of principles of citizenship".[275] But this view is also subject to some objections because of the limitation of the state's intervention[276] into the businesses of the civil society (Kymlicka 2002:305-06). According to Bujra (2002:40), the advantage of civil society can be perceived in its ability to

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[273] For instance, in the Central African Republic, François Bozize, former president of that country, mobilised Christian militias to fight against the Muslim rebels (section 2.4.6). However the main focus of this sub-section is on the relationship between church and state. It is also important to focus briefly on the relationship between civil society and state because the church is part of civil society (Kymlicka 2002:305). Also, we can fully understand the concept of development only when we understand the relationship between the church and the state (Nwaigbo 2012:555).

[274] "Because these groups are voluntary, failure to live up to the responsibilities that come with them is usually met simply with disapproval, rather than legal punishment. Yet because the disapproval comes from family, friends, colleagues, or comrades, it is in many ways a more powerful incentive to act responsibly than punishment by an impersonal state. It is here that human character, competence, and capacity for citizenship are formed, for it is here that we internalize the idea of personal responsibility and mutual obligation, and learn the voluntary self-restraint which is essential to truly responsible citizenship" (Glendon in Kymlicka 2002:388).

[275] "In these circumstances, he says, we have to 'reconstruct' the associational network under new conditions of freedom and equality" (Walzer in Kymlicka 2002:305).

[276] The state is guaranteed the right to intervene in any situation where the rights of the people inside and outside of the group are under threat (Kymlicka 2002:306).

be present at all levels of communities. Its duty is to advocate and defend the interest of the group by interacting with the state. In this regard, Bujra (2002:26, 42) points out the influence of civil society in the face of social ills such as corruption and dictatorship this way:

> Civil society is able to influence the formation and operation of a government and monitor its activities and thereby prevent that government from sliding into arrogance, inefficiency, corruption and dictatorship. [In view of this,] civil society puts a government in power and keeps it… accountable to it… If civil society is active and forceful, it keeps government under control and accountable to it and has the power to change it. If civil society is docile then power shifts to the government which then becomes dictatorial and oppressive of members of civil society.

The subject of the relationship between church and state is very broad and complex. This relationship is crucial for understanding the way the church carries on its mission and mandate in any given circumstances and time. It is also important to take into consideration Cochran's (2007:60) argument according to which church and state are related within a cultural context. According to Cochran (2007:60), assimilation is the main cultural danger to faith, and this appears when the church carries on its mission by identifying itself with the dominant forces of the culture. He also acknowledges the role played by the church by shaping culture for the better. In this way, assimilation through collaboration between church and state allows for coexistence between the two.

As it were, there is a practical tension between the church and state within a cultural context. This tension can be expressed through four different forms: collaboration, competition, challenge, or transcendence (Cochran 2007). Tension through collaboration exists when the church and state offer the same services simultaneously. There is competition when church and state offer the same services in the same place and at the same time. With such challenges, the church confronts the state when it fails to fulfil its duties (Cochran 2007:64). Lastly transcendence allows the church to carry on its mission even if the state is bad, good or indifferent (Cochran 2007:64). The main tension between church and state is expressed through the tension between the transcendent and the immanent and this can be explained by the fact that Christians are human beings who fulfil their duties as citizens while, at the same time, they are citizens of heaven. This is why Christians are obedient to the laws of the countries where they live and at the same time transcend them (Cochran 2007:65-6).

The doctrine of the separation of church and state was introduced by Augustine in his work "The City of God" where he describes and differentiates the earthly city and the heavenly city

(Feldman 1997:27). Following Augustine's attempt to differentiate the church and the state, there has been a long debate regarding the separation between church and state. Contrary to the Christian view of the separation of church and state stood that of Aristotle[277] according to which "the political community… enables individuals to be citizens and to live virtuously"[278] (Feldman 1997:42).

For Aquinas (in Maynard 1952:665-666; cf. Feldman 1997:45) the church is above the state and its role is to prepare believers for eternal salvation. There are opposing views between Augustine and Aquinas about unjust civil authorities. For Augustine, people should humbly obey them, while for Aquinas they should disobey them because the state is supposed to create laws by acting "consistently with Christian tenets" (Feldman 1997:44). It is important to state that this view of obeying or disobeying unjust civil authorities is an endless debate and is applicable to our time.

During the Reformation period, the emphasis was on the separation between the spiritual and the secular with the spiritual placed above the secular (Feldman 1997:77, 78). Civil authorities who properly fulfilled their function were respected and honoured. The reformers' views about the separation of church and state weakened the position of the Catholic Church, which was already engaged in a battle of supremacy with the state, to the advantage of the Protestant church (Feldman 1997). This, however, became a powerful social institution. As a result, the Protestant church started working closer with civil authorities.

For Hobbes (in Feldman 1997:100, 103) "political society originated in human reason and that the state existed in order to maintain civil peace and security." Therefore, it is difficult to separate neither a citizen from a Christian nor a spiritual leader from a secular leader; and to obey civil law is perceived as a sign of righteousness. The ideal is to have the same leader over both the spiritual and the secular. With regard to this view, Hobbes (in Feldman 1997:102) writes:

> [A] Church, such as a one as is capable to command, to judge, Absolve, Condemn, or do any other act, is the same thing with a Civil Commonwealth, consisting of Christian men; and is called a Civil State, for that the subjects of it are Men; and a Church, for that the subjects thereof are Christians. Temporal and Spiritual Government, are but two words brought into the world, to make men see double, and

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[277] Aristotle's view is based on reason and is opposed to the Christian view, which is based on faith (Feldman 1997:42).

[278] This view was considered later by Machiavelli who went further in arguing that a civil state can be good only without religion and he perceived Christianity as an obstruction to the political affairs (Feldman 1997:52).

mistake their Lawful Sovereign. It is true, that the bodies of the faithful, after the Resurrection, shall be not only spiritual, but Eternal: but in this life they are grosse, and corruptible. There is therefore no other Government in this life, neither of State, nor Religion, but Temporal; nor teaching of any doctrine, lawful to any Subject, which the Governor both of the State, and of the Religion, forbidith to be taught: And that Governor must be one; or else there needs follow Faction, and Civil war in the common-wealth, between the Church and State; between Spiritualists, and Temporalists the Sword and Justice, and the Shield of Faith; and (which in more) in every Christian man's own best, between the Christian, and the Man.

Locke's view puts church and state in "separate and bounded spheres"[279] and he also advocates for a constitutional limitation of the civil state in its mandate to provide services for the wellbeing of its people through "the protection and preservation of people's lives, liberties and possessions". Consequently, people have the right to resist any corrupted civil authority (Feldman 1997:114, 118). Beside its secular mandate, the state is called to help the church in order to fulfil its spiritual mandate (Williams in Davis 2007:96). The church is also related to all other institutions based on its "transformational potential" through redemption (Cochran 2007:154). Generally, religion contributes to morality by easing the transformation of lives (Wilson in Wilburn 2002:49) and it contributes to the strengthening of civil society (Tocqueville & Putnam in Wuthnow 1996:17). Therefore, Wuthnow argues that:

> … Christians can be civil, but only if they recognize that their best values are subject to corruption and that they must have institutional safeguards in order to ensure trustworthy performance in the public arena.

Church and state are two distinct organisations. The mission of the church is to contribute to the well-being and development of the community without being neutral or disengaged from politics. The church should also train and form laypersons who may be involved in secular life. The church has to take salvation holistically as it educates people about "authentic and right means and ways" of issues related to peace, justice and welfare (Mugaruka 2010)[280]. Also whenever the church gathers to worship it proclaims the presence of a new order that

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[279] "In this manifestation of the bounded spheres, the carnal and temporal realm becomes the public sphere of secular government action. The spiritual realm of Christian faith becomes the private sphere of individual religious action and salvation" (Feldman 1997:262).

[280] Le Role Sociatal des Eglises et, en particulier, de l'Eglise Catholique en Republique Democratique du Congo Cinquante Ans après l'Accession du Pays à l'independence, available at htt://www.eurac-network.org/web/uploads/documents/20100630_1992.doc

will be fully realised when all kingdoms and governments will bow before its King (Devis 2007:208). Thus, Mugaruka (2010) argues that:

> The church has to know that God's reign is not opposed to human power. The church's role should be to proclaim the relativity of the temporal with regard to God's absolute and to stimulate lays actions by bringing them to a point where they engage and collaborate, with existing institutions, to the edification of a just and more fraternal society.

Some scholars view the separation of church and state as one of the root causes of the decline of moral, "greed and materialism", "rampart secularism" and anything that may be perceived as God's judgment on people and nations. Therefore, there is a debate among scholars and some think that the separation of church and state has been misunderstood. Therefore, there is need to draw a line between the classical view of separation and "strict separationist" (Davis 2007:81). This research advocates for a separation of church and state with the two entities being able to interact in order to fulfil their missions. They need each other and operate within the limit of their missions.

Government serves Jesus Christ knowingly or unknowingly, faithfully or unfaithfully. The church has to call the whole world to submit to the reign of Jesus Christ. This is because its mandate includes calling government officials to believe in Jesus Christ for the sake of their own salvation (Brocker, 2006:516-522). The church is called to get involved in social life and this calling needs to be integrated into its spiritual life (Stott 2006:36, 37). In this regard, "the church should, therefore, not forget its primary calling to pray, worship, evangelize and call people to follow Christ. Politically, it also needs to be aware that even as it seeks the very best for human society and studies the Word of God in pursuit of a Christian mind, it cannot enshrine Christian thinking into a particular political programme", as Stott (2006:37) concludes.

The church[281] may seem to be silent and not active in politics, but it is arguable that the church cannot be totally neutral with regard to politics. Even if the church withdraws from politics, there will always be parts of it or its individual members who will be involved in politics. This may have serious negative impacts especially when sections of the church actively support or continue to support corrupt and oppressive regimes as was the case during the Rwandan genocide and South African Apartheid (Van der Walt 2003:45). However,

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[281] The church here is to be understood as the Body of Christ and not as denominations.

Jesus' ministry and Paul's letters give us a good picture of how the church can be related to the state according to Kistner (2008:218):

> …the ministry of Jesus and Paul point towards the need to promote a Church and Church life that is open to the challenges of the world, including the state. At the same time, a political and social order is to be promoted in which the authorities are open to be addressed by the Church, and also by people of other persuasions and convictions outside the Church, on their responsibility for survival and the well-being of the human community.

The nature of the civil state plays an important role that determines how the church fulfils its mission. According to Wogaman (2007:216) it is only within a normal democratic process that the church may be able to fulfil its public nature that consists of making absolute and authoritative pronouncements from God to be obeyed by the state. At the same time, the church should pay attention, get involved in and guard the state in a democratic society that works toward the wellbeing of all because this constitutes the mission of the church.

It is very important to acknowledge that it is a difficult task for the church to be open to the world and this has been proved from history. The early Christians who were persecuted by the Roman emperors were used by the emperors for political purposes in order to oppress their enemies, forbid other faiths and to expand their empire. This happened after the Christian faith was publically recognized by the Roman authorities (Kistner 2008:218). Even during the Reformation period, some leaders of Reformation movements used political authorities for their own protection, and in order to persecute or expel people who possessed different religious convictions (Kistner 2008:218).

However, Jesus' followers are not separated from the world. They are equipped to serve the world instead. This is, arguably, what constitutes the theology of justification. Thus, according to Paul, being justified means being equipped and prepared to serve in the world (Kistner 2008:217). Therefore, the church must critically engage with the secular state, which should, in turn, protect the church against any claim to control society. In other words, the church must hold on its calling (Kistner 2008:218, 219). This is why August (2004:37) states that the church must not withdraw from political processes, but rather be involved with a critical spirit.

5.4.2 The church as a sign of *shalom*

It was already mentioned (section 5.3) that the concept of *shalom* is directly linked to that of the Kingdom of God. There are strong connections between God's Kingdom and the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit and the church. The Kingdom is brought by God and the church is a sign of the Kingdom in the world (Myers 1999:38). The centre of God's Kingdom is Jesus (Koyama in Myers 1999:34) and God's Kingdom should be seen wherever the church is even if God is also working outside of it. In this regard, Bowers Du Toit (2010:434) has this to say:

> It follows that the church as a human community under God's rule is called to be the visible evidence of His presence and demonstration of His Kingdom in situations of poverty. It is important to note in this regard that the church is not the Kingdom, but an agent of the Kingdom.

The place of the church in the establishment of *shalom* must be understood within the context of the church's relationship to the Kingdom of God and the church sign of the Kingdom. The church is a community called by God to be a sign of the Kingdom and has to live in line with God's Law and promises, and this is demonstrated through her social, economic and political life (Samuel & Sugden 1981:55). Therefore, the church is the representation of an alternative community and God's Kingdom. It exists for the sake of the created world (Hegstad 2013:94). As an alternative community, the church is supposed to reflect God's work of restoration because the church is the visible reality of the restored humanity in the society as Samuel and Sugden (1981:58) state. Also, the church should be involved in God's redemption and restorative activities because God is carrying his purposes beyond the structural limits of the church. In this context, Katongole (2011:43) considers the church in Africa as "a sleeping giant that is yet to wake up to the full potential of the gospel as a social vision of reimagination". This is why the church has to demonstrate the new humanity regardless of its own tensions and weaknesses (Kistner 2008:45). In this vein, Newbegin (in Myers 1999:127) argues that:

> The major role of the church in relationship to the great issues of justice and peace will not be in its formal pronouncement, but in its continual nourishing and sustaining men and women who will act responsibly as believers in the course of their secular duties as citizens.

From a theological perspective the church members, as members of the alternative community, are called to demonstrate God's work of reconciliation with the world (Hessel

1952: 44). Christians are in a good position to contribute positively to the political, social and economic situation of Africa and, thus, advance development (Katongole 2011:1-3; cf. Kinoti & Adeyemo in Van der Walt 2003:54). The church is a social structure (Benson et al. 2012:18) and, therefore, has a social mandate. As Benson et al. (2012:12) and Worlterstorff (2011:106, 178) put it, Jesus Christ is no more physically present and the church is his representative.

The church has the mandate to continue the mission of Jesus in the power of the Spirit. Christians find their empowerment to share their God's given gifts and resources only in Jesus Christ where the foundation of a new community has been laid. By this the church can play its role in the social, political and economic order (Franke 2012:143). Therefore, the church has the duty to form members who are able to respond, in hope and faith, to the redemptive work of God who is establishing his Kingdom (Burghardt in Wolterstorff 2011:51). Furthermore, Plantinga (2002:124) argues thus:

> Christians seek to live their whole lives in continuity with Christ, taking on his mind and affections, acting as his body in the world, sharing his sufferings and his victories in the project of overcoming misery and rebuilding God's good creation. Christians gladly join this project out of gratitude to Christ, out of obedience to Christ, and out an enkindled desire to work within the Kingdom of Christ. As faithful workers within this Kingdom, Christians struggle to align themselves with the redemptive purposes of God in this world.

As a social organisation the church has always been involved in social life. A historical survey by Samuel and Sugden (1981:20-21) shows that "personal charity" was the only motivation for the church's involvement in relation to the poor from the first century to the seventeenth. Social change was of secondary importance and loving God was the only priority. Care for the poor was, therefore, essentially a means to gain salvation and the task of social change was believed to be carried out by secular rulers. However, the church was believed to be actively engaged in the society through daily activities of individual members. In the light of the New Testament the church is sent in the world for the sake of the world, which is why it needs to have a political dimension (Hegstad 2013:74, 80, 84). Hegstad (2013:92-93) further finds that

> The political engagement of the church is, first and foremost, to speak against injustice and fight for human dignity… it is the church's mission to speak out… the

church is not to limit itself not only to the human situation. Its service to the world includes the non-human part of the created reality as well.

The relationship between the church and the political world is established by the fact that the church is a witness of God's Kingdom. Because God's Kingdom works towards the restoration of the created world, the church witness is the benchmark from which societal conditions are criticised. It is also a source of inspiration to improve human conditions in the society. In this regard, the coming of the Kingdom is to be perceived as the expression of the work of God and not as a result of human effort (Hegstad 2013:93).

The church has a prophetic mission that consists of three aspects: to denounce, to announce and to educate (Mugaruka 2010). The prophetic action of the church does not only mean to denounce what is wrong without tackling the main causes. On the one hand, the church has to provide a good moral to the entire society that is in a crisis situation. On the other hand, Christians must testify to their faith by being involved as "yeast" and "salt" at all levels: professionally, socially, culturally, politically and even economically (Mugaruka 2010). The church and the political power are two distinct forces; but they are two ideologies that have worked together throughout history. The role of the church should be to work for the liberation of all human beings from all forms of injustice and oppression at all levels of life. In times of social crisis, the church should get involved by spreading the liberating message of God's Kingdom (Kayembe 2007). Therefore, Kistner (2008:228) argues that the church is called,

> To demonstrate the power of the gospel in the midst of a great social crisis is our vocation. Our goal is to lift up alternative spiritual and social possibilities at this crucial juncture of history; and our task is to demonstrate concretely what those alternatives might be. The Spirit calls us and provides the gifts and power to respond. We act, not just for the sake of the church, but for the sake of the world. In a time shrouded with death, we seek to bring the light of hope and healing. Faithful acts, great and small, can bring forth evidence of justice, peace, truth, goodness, dignity, grace and love.

Christians who are the light of the world and the salt of the earth (Matt. 5:13ff.) are not to be separated from the world. This is because Christians are equipped to serve the world. [282] As Robinson and Smith (2003:102) put it, "despite all of its faults, failures, disobedience and

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[282] According to Luther (in Kistner 2008:204), "God's unmerited grace doses not dispense believers from the service to the world, but empowers and obliges them to render such service and love and equip them for both".

weakness, the church remains the imperfect vessel through which God intends to work out his plan of reconciliation for mankind". This implies an ongoing renewal of the church and a complete change in the existing social relationships (Robinson & Smith 2003:102; Kistner 2008:117).[283] It is important to notice that the church should also work together with non-Christians who are committed to social justice (Robinson & Smith 2003:100). The church should identify itself mainly with the victims and avoid siding with the powerful if it wants to fulfil its reconciling vocation (De Gruchy 2002:94-5).

The church should not abandon the world that rejects God to its hopeless situation. Instead, it should be a community of people who bring hope where there is no hope because its role is to help the world to understand its true meaning by pointing it to the realities of the kingdom of God. (Hauerwas 1983:100-1). This is possible through the church's testimony to the possibility of human blessing that through the spiritual transformation that brings radical changes to individuals and communities and also restores human dignity to all (Peachey 1986:172). Therefore, the church should also take development seriously "because development is ultimately about a new vision for society, about a new humanity, about empowerment of people to experience full life as given by God in full respect of his creation" (August 1999:9). God is against anything that tends to destroy his creation, and the church needs a theological understanding of development in order to equip people who can work for a more just and democratic society. In this view, according to Samuel and Sugden (1981:46-47) the church is expected to

> …clearly take the side of the poor in society, not because the poor will always be right but because they are most likely to be taken advantage of and be unprotected against those who would exploit them. The church should make the poor aware of their rights and dignity as human beings, informed both by the rights enshrined in national and international declarations, which spell out justice in the society. The church should work for change in the political and economic systems, so that there is for the poor both to attain and to exercise their legitimate rights.

Christians have the duty to work for the welfare of the earth because they value it. They should view the world as God created and intended it to be in ways that make it possible for human beings to relate to each other and to the world. This vision is possible only when

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[283] Concerning the social-political challenges the church is facing, Kistner (2008:145, 153, 183, 200) argues that we examine the worship life, peaching, teaching, structures and practices that are prevailing in the church in the light of the gospel, and come up with new dimensions from which new strength can be gained. The church needs to be united and also understand and practice reconciliation with the knowledge that reconciliation, forgiveness and negotiation are inseparable and are not possible without repentance.

everything is looked at differently. God suffers whenever part of his creation is suffering. Every creation has a particular relationship to God who did not create the world to abandon it. God works through human beings for a pleasant and ordered world (Rajotte & Breuilly 1992:4 9; Page 1992:21, 25). Therefore, the church's duty is to create a true social life, thus, it has to rely on God's power through his word to bring order and life back (Page 1992:24; Yoder 1972:155). In other words, God is working towards what can be considered as sustainable development or well-being. He is working using human beings as instruments although fallen. Therefore this task is possible through the empowering of the Holy Spirit who "enables human beings to discover their relationships with their Creator God, with each other, and with the rest of creation" (Ajulu 2001:51). This leads us to the consideration of the Holy Spirit in relation to the concept of *shalom*.

5.5 *Shalom* **and the Holy Spirit**

The concept God's Kingdom is directly connected to that of the Trinitarian God: The Kingdom is the Father's, while Jesus is its embodiment (Myers 1999:37). The Holy Spirit is the first fruit of the Kingdom, the assurance of more things to come, and our helper in the discovery of the truth and fullness of the Kingdom. The church is the sign, a witness of the same Kingdom (Myers 1999:37-38). For Bonino (1999:121) it is in the power of the Holy Spirit that the continuation of Jesus' ministry to save, heal and sanctify is made possible today.

The Holy Spirit reveals Jesus as the manifestation and redeeming love in our struggle for justice in the world. The Holy Spirit transforms individuals, the church and the world. He also works for the production of unity and reconciliation. Particularly the Holy Spirit challenges Christians to live according to God's standard of life both in the personal and corporate ways. He frees people so that they can love and serve; by him people are invited to look at the love of God for every creature and commit themselves to this unconditional love (Castro 1993:134-136).

"Through the power of the Spirit, we are called to a personal union with the living Christ that becomes the basis for our ministry of seeking the flourishing of all humanity and the whole of the good creation" (Benson et al. 2012:11). Christians are moved and renewed by the Holy Spirit to be able to care for people in need (Peachey 1986:174). The Holy Spirit works to free us from anything that that keeps us from having a rich and meaningful relation with God and one another. Christians are well equipped by the Holy Spirit to prophetically challenge and

work for reconciliation (Lightsey 2012:176). Christians should always speak prophetically against any abuse through the power of the Holy Spirit (Benson et al. 2012:21, 27). In this regard, Benson et al. (2012:205) observe that

> After Jesus ascended, the manifestation of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost signified the empowerment of the disciples for living out Christ-centred shalom justice in ways that celebrate the diversity of the whole human community… Pentecost confirmed the possibility of shalom breaking out in the unique languages and cultures of different people.

It is not only the disciples who were empowered, but the Holy Spirit still continues to empower believers to continue fulfilling their duties as stewards from the original creation mandate as their struggle to be salt of the earth and light of the world that will be completely transformed at the return of Jesus (Bacote 2012:55-56). Thus, the Holy Spirit is the sustainer of all created things uniting the work of creation and that of redemption. It is the Spirit who maintains order, energy and love of life to all things. There is fear and terror in any place where the Holy Spirit is absent or concealed (Fahrenholz 1995:27). As Castro (1993:129) puts it:

> …this life-giving power of God is the Spirit which enabled people to come out of Egypt, resurrected Christ from death and started the church as a liberative community. We also experience the life-giving Spirit of God in our people's struggle for liberation, their cry for life and the beauty and gift of nature.

In view of this, it is important to bear in mind that the Holy Spirit is working within the church and beyond the parameters of the church. Therefore, the church is simply one of the many agents God uses to establish *shalom* through his Kingdom. As far as sustainable development is concerned Myers (1999:40) argues that the Holy Spirit enables the church to witness to Christ and his Kingdom. For development to be sustainable it must be produced by the Holy Spirit, therefore, Christian development workers need to expect and pray for the Holy Spirit's interventions.

Verkuyl (1993:72, 73, 77) reminds us that God is altogether the Creator, the Redeemer, and the Comforter of his creation. The Holy Spirit empowers the church in order to carry on its mission. God carries his work of establishing *shalom* through the church by the power of his Spirit. For Hegstad (2013:22, 24) the Holy Spirit makes the presence of Jesus Christ manifest in the church. Jesus made the promise of the Holy Spirit in a Trinitarian way (cf. John 16:6).

In this regard, it can be deduced that the presence of God in the church is understood through, and made possible, by the Holy Spirit.

5.6 *Shalom* and Sustainable Development: Exploring the relationship

This section attempts to engage *shalom* as theological perspective with the notions of sustainable development and conflict resolution. As discussed, the establishment of *shalom* is connected to that of sustainable development and well-being (Section 5.6.3) as discussed in this chapter. In other words, wherever and whenever people become involved in implementing sustainable development grounded on their people's well-being there are signs of the establishment of *shalom*. In this regard, it could be said that the promotion of peace goes hand in hand with sustainable development (De Gruchy 2015:46).

Another connection is established between reconciliation and *shalom* (cf. Section 5.6.4). The establishment of a sustainable development and the work of reconciliation are oriented to free people from oppression and marginalization (KÄrkkäinen 2013:372). It is important, therefore, to state that peace-building and reconciliation are also connected. According to Joeng (1999:24), conflict resolution consists of peace-building, reconciliation and restoration of the community's broken relationship. Thus, reconciliation is perceived as a social process that is produced by shared understandings of problems, empathy, changes in public discourse and concerns with social injustice Joeng (1999:24). There are other connections between development and conflict or peace, ecology and sustainable development, ecology and conflict or peace (cf. Section 3.5) and between ecology and *shalom* (cf. Section 5.2), which will be explored in this chapter in a more applied manner.

5.6.1 *Shalom* and the intersection between transformational development and sustainable development

It is important to note that the concept of sustainable development as described in Chapter 1 (Section 1.7.4) is largely developed in Chapter 3 (Section 3.3). As it were, the aim of sustainable development is "to provide an environment that promotes a life of dignity and well-being compatible with the continuation and integrity of supporting ecosystems" (Samuel & Sugden 1999:350, cf. Nordstokke 2014:46). However, the focus of this sub-section is mainly on the theological engagement of the 'secular' notion of sustainable development and the theological notion of *shalom*. Nevertheless, it is necessary to mention that the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) agenda (sections 1.7.3 & 3.3) is proof that sustainable

development is one of the major concerns of all human beings. It is interesting to notice that most of the values promoted by the SDGs are the same as those related to the Kingdom of God (sections 1.7.3 & 5.3.1). The agenda of the SDGs promotes well-being, peace, justice, inclusiveness, care for the nature and equality, etc. (cf. Section 3.3), and all of these are directly connected to the biblical concept of *shalom* as described in Chapter 5 (Section 5.2).

In relation to *shalom*, sustainable development must be transformational (Section 3.3) and must promote the values of the Kingdom. This means sustainable development must fulfil the following characteristics as described by Bragg (1987:41): life sustenance (human basic needs), equity, justice, dignity and self-worth, freedom, participation, reciprocity (interdependence), cultural fit, ecological soundness, hope and spiritual transformation (heart transformation). Here, again, it is clear that the SDGs retain some connection to Kingdom values (Section 5.3.1). However, the main difference between the two is that there is no transformational development without the transformation work of the Holy Spirit as Wallace (2002) argues.[284] Therefore, transformational development is about the hope of God transforming the present conflict and/or marginalisation into the kind of sustainable development that is consistent with his purpose for his creation (section 1.3). For this reason, it could be argued that it is in Christ that "the Christian church holds the secret to the remedy for the earth's sickness" as Rajotte and Breuilly (1992:3) observe. Thus, it cannot be overemphasised that taking care of the earth or the natural world in general is one of the church's duties for the establishment of *shalom*.

The concept of *shalom* has been argued and must be understood in terms of relationships with God, with the self, with the community, with "the others", and with the environment – this, indeed, is the goal of transformational development (Myers 1999:49; cf. De Gruchy 2015:87). These relationships can only be restored from a transformational development process of transformed people living in a transformed community. Therefore "any Christian understanding of transformational development must keep the person of Jesus and the claims and promise of the kingdom central to the defining of what better future we are working for and for choosing the means of getting there" (Myers 1999:49). As for De Gruchy (2015:54), the aim of such development is directed towards the establishment of a state of well-being for

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[284] Bringing good news to the poor: does church-based transformation development really work? Transformation, available at http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=rfh&AN=ATLA0001445766&site=ehostlive&scope =site

the concerned people who must be valued. In this case, it is about valuing the wellbeing of the Congolese people.

Therefore, the Christians' model of development is different from secular development paradigms such as modernisation. Thus, the reason Christians engage in development actions is because faith must be accompanied with works as James (cf. James 2:26) indicates. In this context, the poor and the marginalised are at the centre of a theology of development (De Gruchy 2015:56, 57, 66, 68-9). This explains why De Gruchy (2015:66) believes the following:

> This reminds that the Christian faith is not just about intellectual assent, but about a life lived in compassionate service to others, especially the vulnerable, sums up much of the Biblical witness from Moses and the Jubilee laws through to Jesus and the message in the vast Kingdom of God.

It could be stated that an important aspect of sustainable development is ultimately transformation. This is why Korten (in De Gruchy 2015:76) argues that it is important to look at people's movements "as key to transformational change" in our days. Korten further finds that for transformation to come, it has to come "as a consequence of voluntary action, an act of human commitment to collective survival driven by a vision that transcends the behaviours conditioned by existing institutions and culture" (in De Gruchy 2015:76). That is to say, even if external drivers and desire are the forces for change while denial, fear and risk aversion are resistant forces to change; spiritual transformation is only possible through God's work in the lives of humans (cf. Mawhinney 2002:137). Newbigin (in Myers 1999:121) contends that it is the view of evangelical Christianity that it is God who brings change in the hearts and minds of people as he graciously directs everything towards his purpose. In the same vein, Myers (1999:38, 44, 126, 129) argues that the transformational process launched by including the physical, mental, social, and spiritual. That is why it is sustainable. In other words, God's transformational development is possible in communities when the agents of such development are a transformed people. This is how Myers (1999:115) further puts it:

> The transforming truth is that poor and non-poor are made in God's image (identity) and are valuable enough to God to warrant the death of the Son in order to restore that relationship (dignity) and to give gifts that contribute to the well-being of themselves and their community (vocation).

Christians are, therefore, called to join God in what he is doing in the world as far as development is concerned. This is why *shalom* is related to the "abundant life" that Jesus spoke about, "…I have come that they have life, and that they have it ‚more abuntly" (John 10:10, New King James). The church should take seriously *shalom* as its vision and goal by relaying on the grace of God. God calls Christians to join him in his work through Jesus because they need an adequate model of development that clearly directs their actions (De Gruchy 2015:87, 88, 104).[285] It is, therefore, important to note that Christians engaged in development work should seek to engage secular development frameworks such as sustainable development with critical reference to the establishment of the vision of *shalom* and the Kingdom of God (Sections 5.2 & 5.3). Sustainable development needs to take care of the ecology (Narshall & Keough 2004:6). Thus, sustainable development is also connected to the concepts of *shalom*, ecology and church. This explains the stewardship of humanity *vis-à-vis* the whole of God's creation and emphasises the notion of care for the environment within an understanding of the relationship between *shalom* and ecology

5.6.2 S*halom*, ecology and church

As noted in Chapter 3 (cf. Section 3.5), there is no sustainable development that excludes a concern for the environment. This explains the connection between economic poverty and ecological poverty as the poor and the marginalised suffer the most from environmental destruction (Hallman in Johnson 2000:15, 16; cf. Conradie 2006:141). [286] Also, De Gruchy (2015:51) observes that the most dominant patterns of production and consumption in the world are globalised, which causes further environmental devastation and the distraction of life-supporting ecosystems as well as the massive loss of bio-diversity. De Gruchy (2015:51) argues that, even at the moment, globalisation prioritises economic development to the detriment of both social development and ecological conservation. This, indeed, constitutes unsustainable development, which is detrimental to both humanity and the rest of the creation. In addition, De Gruchy (2015:99) notes the following:

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[285] It is important to state that Christians are not only called to take care of their own fellow members who are needy, but also to work towards the alleviation of the socioeconomic poverty conditions of the world. This is why the first Christians were involved in charity and mutual aid as Swartley (2006:221) indicates.

[286] According to the Millennium Forum "the dominant patterns of production and consumption are being globalized, causing more environmental devastation of life-supporting ecosystems and massive loss of bio-diversity… Currently, globalization is giving priority to economic development at the expense of social development and ecological conservation. The effects of such unsustainable development has marginalized and impoverished many, including the owners and custodians of traditional knowledge and bio-diversity, indigenous peoples, older person, farmers and women"(De Gruchy 2015:51).

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…poor people experience between the environment and poverty in that their lack of access to assets makes it difficult to withstand the shocks and stresses of environmental elements of the vulnerability context such as winter, floods, water-borne diseases, and drought; and thus the little they do have is at the mercy of the elements leading to loss of homes, land and even family members through illness.

With regard to the interrelationship of the church and ecology, Sullivan (2000:xi) finds that "religious life and the earth's ecology are inextricably linked, [and] originally related" (Sullivan 2000: xi). In this way, both the Christian spiritual journey and the mission of the church in the world have to take into consideration the care of the whole of creation (Mische 2000:591). Nevertheless, human activities have always affected the natural world for better or for worse according to Johnson (2000:3, 15; cf. section 5.2). The subject of the natural world has been absent in all the forms of the Christian education for years with few cases of theological reflection on creation within the early church (Johnson 2000:3). However, Christianity is concomitant with stewardship but sin is arguably a blockage to fulfilling that divine mandate. This is why Ajulu (2001:49) finds that sin should be considered as the driving power that renders humans unable to take care of God's creation. It should be indicated that both the Jewish and the Christian scriptures picture God's concern of the natural world (cf. Section 5.2). It is in this regard that early Christians and medieval theologians considered that theology deals with both humanity and the natural world (Johnson 2000:6). In other words, they saw an ordered harmony and relationship between God, humanity and the natural world (Johnson 2000:4-7; Conradie 2006: 143). Here, it is significant to quote the former Roman Catholic pontiff, John Paul II, as cited in Johnson (2000:7):

God brought things into being in order that the divine goodness might be communicated to creatures and be represented by them. And because the divine goodness could not be adequately represented by one creature alone, God produced many and diverse creatures that what was wanting in one in the representation of divine goodness might be supplied by another. Foe goodness, which in God is simple and uniform, in creatures is manifest and divided. Thus the whole universe together participates in divine goodness more perfectly and represents it better than any single creature whatever.

Bookless (2008:20-34, 54, 58, 59) notes the following with regard to a theological perspective: "God, who is both the owner of and beyond creation, which speaks of and

reveals him, is committed to it and loves it". This means the creation itself is good and human beings are both part of the creation as they are set apart to serve it. In this regard, humanity's relationship is demonstrated in the way we treat the rest of the creation. Therefore, the ecological crisis can be resolved only when human beings recognise the owner of the creation and "repair their broken relationships with God and each other" (Bookless 2008:59).

Christians should be fully engaged in any programme that promotes the protection of the environment. In addition, the church is in a good position to lead a kind of development that takes place from below where people are agents of their own development (De Gruchy 2015:50, 53, 54). For Christianity, the rest of God's creation does not have any divine presence, but it is sacred because of its relationship with God. Thus, human beings are the only link between God and creation. They are the only creatures with the ability to create relationship and, for this reason, they have been entrusted with responsibilities to manage and take care of the rest of God's creation. This they do by being in a *shalom* relationship with God, with other human beings and with nature itself (Breuilly 1992:62-3).

Here, it is arguably apparent that the real need is having the different kinds of relationships transformed to what God intended them to be. In other words, human relationship to creation must be changed. This is diligent commitment to creation, which could be accomplished through religious, political and environment action (Rajotte & Breuilly 1992:118). In this way, it could be said that participating in God's mission of raising a *shalom* community requires knowing "judgment and salvation in solidarity with all creation in the righteousness of God" as Suchoki (1989:183) indicates. Human beings have the duty to look after the land and all its creatures because human beings have the image of God and they are answerable to God for their use of God's creation (Exodus 20:8-10, 23:12. This is also connected to the concept of Sabbath when the land was supposed to rest for a year. The death of Jesus was for the restoration of all the broken relationships including that with the environment (Bookless 2008:52, 54, 59, 71). Therefore, as Agbiji (2006:58) argues,

> In order to guarantee the just and equitable co-existence of all life species on earth, both now and in the future, it is inevitable that relevant ethical considerations will include issues regarding ecological justice, economic justice and sustainable development. In all, human beings should take responsible leadership as stewards of God's creation.

Christian awareness and commitment to the natural world can also be understood from the biblical principle of loving the neighbour (Mark 12:30, 31; see also Section 5.3.1.1). The love that can be extended to the neighbours' rights to water, food, shelter and adequate resources can also be extended to the rights and needs of future generations (Mische 2000:594, cf. Conradie 2006:164-6). This is also supported scripturally with the concept of stewardship (Genesis 1:28), which is a "vision for Christian responsibility" in caring for the natural world (Horrell 2010:4; cf. Berry 2006:1, 6-12). Therefore, there is need to include the issue of ecological justice in the ministry and the preaching of the church because, like human beings, creation looks forward for the vision of *shalom,* a time of justice and peace (De Gruchy 2015:180, 185).

However, the vision was distorted by the Christian worldview of dualism that led humans to exploit the natural world as their God given right (Horrell 2010:1). This conception led to the abusive exploitation of the natural world by humans. Another reason for Christians to neglect the preservation of the natural world is the views that doing so will oppose the progress of God's eschatological purposes (Horrell 2010:2, 3; cf. Tomalin 2013:177). For instance, there are two opposing views about this subject:

> Some evangelicals have insisted that the Bible calls Christians to evangelism to save individuals from the coming judgment, not to action to sustain the material earth, while others argue that the biblical view does indeed give humanity the rightful dominion over the earth, and a God-given vocation to transform nature from wildness to garden, in order for its best to serve human needs (Beisner in Horrell 2010:3).

Also the subject of the earth was not given much attention after the Reformation, as both Catholic and Protestant theologies focused on God and the notion of human self without any interest with little interest displayed with regard to the natural world. During this period, the natural world was viewed as a God-given resource available for human exploitation in order to survive. Regardless of the negative and positive opinions concerning the awareness and commitment to the natural world, this research advocates for a positive position toward the natural world. God is involved in the provision and conservation of all that he has created and human beings have the obligation to make right choices that cannot impact negatively on ecology, especially in relation to the well-being of present and future generations. Human beings are, therefore, called to adopt a kind of development that respects the environment. Any concern of the present needs should be addressed in ways that will not affect those of the future generations (De Gruchy 2015:220-222). Thus, human beings are simply stewards of

God's creation. This is why stewardship is considered as "the ordering of life in the world and creation, not merely in relation to money, budgeting, finances, or the ordering of affairs of only one family unit" (Ajulu 2001:46).

5.6.3 *Shalom* and well-being

There are different meanings that are attached to development as Agbiji (2012:28-31) observes.[287] It is argued in this research that the concept of *shalom* is connected to those of well-being and peace (Section 5.2). This well-being concerns human beings and all creatures, as *shalom* is understood as peace/wholeness, justice in relation with God, human beings and all the creation (Widjaja 2007:38, 39; cf. Haile, A. 2007:68). It has also been noted that *shalom* is the work of God through the establishment of his Kingdom (5.3) and that the church is perceived as the main agent used in the establishment of the Kingdom (Section 5.4.2). This section, therefore, assists in an understanding of the concept of *shalom* from the perspective of well-being. It also helps to lay a foundation on which the church will be looked at to understand its role in the promotion of the well-being of the people as it strives to meet their daily needs (De Gruchy 2015:77).

The focus of development is no longer, however, on the kind of economic growth that creates the "haves" and the "have nots" (Willis 2012:40). This means that it now rather has shifted focus towards well-being that includes both the material and the spiritual (Willis 2012:, 43, 44 72). In relation to the state of well-being the concept of sustainable development must be considered as "a system of values by which we reason and choose to live, a process that uses common sense and intuition as a baseline" (Flint 2013:25). Ideas and actions should be put on and taken by the concerned people so that they cannot have any negative impacts on the well-being of both human beings and the rest of the creation now and in the future (Flint 2013:25). This puts the local church and its leadership in a good position to assist people to think and take responsible actions because they are involved in the daily life of their communities.[288]

It is important to point out that the human well-being is also directly connected to that of the rest of the creation (Flint 2013:19).[289] Sustainable development must also be focused on creating conditions for the well-being of all humans together with the rest of God's creation.

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[287] Here are some of these meanings: economic and technological growth, liberation, people-centered development, extending access to social power, responsible well-being, a Kingdom response to powerlessness, freedom, and transformation (Agbiji 2012:29-31).

[288] For instance, church leaders have the duty to speak prophetically in order to empower the people such as the poor (Ilo 2014:127).

[289] "…if we cause too much damage to anyone of the "spheres" (air, lithosphere and biosphere), we will be the authors of our own demise – and that of the world's children into everlasting" (Maser in Flint 2013:19).

Willis (2012:38) proposed that "…the term well-being may better describe the goal of development, and that what matters most to people is to find meaning in their lives". Humans constitute the focus of sustainable development that involves consciousness and change (Nwaigbo 2012:554). The state of well-being is directly dependent on the presence of peace and this is clearly expressed in both the Old and the New Testament peace-building(Fox 2014:181, 182).

5.6.4 *Shalom* and reconciliation

Reconciliation (cf. Section 1.7.3) refers to ways that accommodate all members of conflicting parties involved in a destructive struggle. Reconciliation is the starting point in the fight against personal, social or political alienation that have destructive characters (Du Toit 2003:300) and "it is a process, it's not an event. It is something that's going to be happening over decades" (Tutu in Dixon 2009:123). Genuine reconciliation should always take into consideration the interconnection of the individual, the world, and God the Creator (Lightsey 2012:172). It is, therefore, aimed at removing the causes of conflicts   through a process that leads both perpetrators and victims to establish constructive relationships. This process is often accompanied by feelings of guilt from the offenders and acceptances of apology by the offended (Joeng 1999:28). It is through reconciliation that the lost *shalom* is holistically restored by the restoration of the relationships between humans and humans, between humans and nature and between humans and God (Lightsey 2012:172-73). In this regard, Lightsey (2012:171) finds that

> Reconciliation, above all, takes place in the context of relationships. It is restoring and creatively ending hostility between parties who have been estranged as a result of an intentional or unintentional act. It is a God-given response to the human predicament of needing healthy and loving relationships in order to survive… The greatest accomplishments of humanity all share the common denominator of having been born in the context of relationships with one another. In contrast, the greatest horrors of human history originated in the context of the estrangement of human relationships.

God and humans become united through reconciliation by the sacrificial death of Jesus. De Gruchy (2002:45, 67) argues that the world also is invited to enter this process of moral transformation. As such, the Christian doctrine of reconciliation develops around the perception that God does not abandon the broken world, but rather "he is involved in it to suffer for it, strive for it, and conquer it in order to free it" (Lochman in De Gruchy 2002:59).

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This is seen in Jesus who was an active peacemaker, who modeled peace in places of conflict as a social form of reconciliation (Benson et al. (2012:15). Furthermore, De Gruchy (2002:69) argues in this way:

> In Christ, the mediator between God and humanity, God has renewed his covenant in a new initiative to reconcile all things to himself. From the perspective of faith, this event radically changes human history and provides the objective basis both for our present experience of reconciliation and the hope that we have for the future of the world. In Jesus the human situation has been fundamentally changed. What remains is for Christians.

The church should integrate with discernment some of the traditional practices of reconciliation that are compatible with the Christian faith in a renewed and adapted model of reconciliation in the specific context (Kasolwa 2015:146, 148). Christian values should also be integrated in any reconciliation process.[290] As Benson (2012:38) notes, compassion, forgiveness, accountability, love and justice play an important role for reconciliation to take place (Section 5.7.1).

In the New Testament, the idea of peace was introduced through Jesus' proclamation of the arrival of the kingdom of God. Jesus promoted peace in his teaching on the love of the neighbour, and the way of nonviolence (Matt. 5:39-40).[291] The Greek word for peace as used in the New Testament is *eirēnē*, which is the equivalent of *shalom* in Hebrew as used in the Old Testament. This, too, is opposed to a state of war and accomplished order. It is used in parallel with "life" (cf. Rom. 8:6; John 16:33). The peace of Christ is everlasting and genuine and it gives life to all humanity. Jesus is the King of peace and "God calls us to be co-workers who should work for the completion of the Kingdom of God, the Kingdom of peace"[292] (Taesoo, 2006:171).

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[290] In 2006, Pastor Daniel Ngoy Mulunda, who was in charge of the Reconciliation Committee, led the national MPs to a ceremony of washing their hands as a symbol of purification and collective forgiveness. This was done for the country to be under God's grace. Unfortunately, most of the Christian values, such as acknowledgement of the past mistakes, confession, genuine forgiveness and reparation, were absent from the ceremony (Kasolwa 2015: 150-51).

[291] It is interesting to note the connection between the peace of Jesus and that of the *Pax Romana* as it is established by many Christian authors (Wengst 1987:7-8). In fact the *Pax Romana* was considered as a "new world order in favor of people of power and privilege (Horsley 2003:21). However the Peace of Jesus is different from the *Pax Romana* (Benson et al 2012:36, 37; cf. Fhrenzholz 1995:99 because peace and prosperity cannot be enjoyed at the cost and sacrifice of subjected people as it was within the Roman Empire (Wengst in Swartley 2006:38). Also, the *Pax Romana* had an exclusiveness connotation, while the peace of Jesus is inclusive (Horsley 2003:128).

[292] "The causes behind the destruction of peace are very diverse; therefore, the methods for recovering the peace are also diverse. Only a few persons, classes or experts cannot achieve peace. This peace can only be achieved

Christ is the Prince of Peace and he has set an example of resolving conflicts, establishing peace, and continuing on the journey of a deeper *shalom*. The mystery of reconciliation can only be unlocked by the love of God for his creation through Jesus Christ (Leghtsey 2012:176). In fact, God is restoring the good creation through Christ's work of redemption (Benson et al. 2012:26). The work of Jesus enables us to know and embody God's peace through peace with God, with ourselves, and with one another (Hauerwas 1983:92).. This is why "Jesus proclaims peace as an alternative, because he has made it possible to rest – to have the confidence that our lives are in God's hands" (Hauerwas 1983:87).

The way of the cross is the way of reconciliation between God and people (Verkuyl 1993:77). This reconciliation took place with the coming of Jesus and his proclamation that the Kingdom of God has come to us, which explains why De Gruchy (2002:45) observes that through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ on the cross God and humanity were reunited. Although Christ accepts and forgives us unconditionally, our role is to repent, convert and leave behind our old way of life (Kistner 2008:146, 148). From the implications of the understanding of 2 Corinthians 5, Kistner (2008:148) argues that Christian reconciliation should rely on God's reconciliation that is already achieved through Jesus. This reconciliation is universal and extends to all dimensions of creation. We therefore should hear, through reconciliation, the cries of the oppressed as God does.

In Jesus Christ, God emptied Godself and Jesus took our place through his humiliation and suffering on the cross. God chose the way of allowing political and religious powers to work together in order to achieve reconciliation. The church and state play the same role of God's reconciling will for humanity. The church's role and that of the state should be respected in order to achieve the common goal of reconciliation. Through the suffering of Christ God shows his love for the world by siding with the oppressor, setting them free from oppression and restoring both their humanity and relationships. It is in Christ where God stands in solidarity with human beings in their sin to bring about liberation and moral transformation. This is why God's peace-making will is for this world and it has already begun through Jesus who came to remove the barrier between antagonists. The people of God should live at peace with one another and truly resolve their own conflicts.

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by the cooperation of all humankind in every field of knowledge (such as politics, economics, law, environmental studies, social studies, cultural studies and theology) including all people of the world" (Taesoo, 2006:171).

In this way, the renewal of God's people becomes an invitation of the nations to join what God is already busy doing. In other words, the people of God participate in the God's peace-making process through worship, doxology and praise beside morality and politics as Yoder (1985: 33, 34, 107, 111, 115) indicates. Therefore, the way of reconciliation becomes the way of struggle against a world that has rejected the way of Christ and Christ as its representative (De Gruchy 2002:70, 71). The church needs to become engaged in reconciliation because reconciliation remains at the heart of faith despite the difficulties that come with it (Dixon 2009:145).

The concept of reconciliation is directly connected to the establishment of peace and development. Lightsey (2012:172) argues that the world's peace, poverty, hunger, justice and equality are all dependent on reconciliation while the concept of *shalom* brings together both development and liberation (Wolterstorff 2011:113). Humans must exploit natural resources in ways that do not harm the rest of creation. This is possible only where people live in the restored relationship with God.

5.6.5 *Shalom* as peace-building

It is important to state that there are three mechanisms in the establishment of peace: 1) peace-building, 2) peace-making and 3) peace keeping (Anstey 2006:325). These mechanisms require our attention as we are trying to address the issues of peace and development. The mechanism of peace-building works to avoid further destruction and make room for negotiation between conflicting parties. Peace-making works to establish negotiation between decision makers from conflicting parties mainly in addressing grassroots causes violence by transforming social and economic conditions of the people concerned (Anstey 2006:325). The mechanism of peace keeping is to facilitate the implementation of peace agreements, to promote human rights and to help the national authorities to strengthen and restore rule of law institutions (Section 3.2.2). However, our focus is on peace-building. Like reconciliation, "peace-building sometimes seems to be a never-ending process" and the process of peace does not end with the cessation of violence, but rather it is a way towards the establishment of *shalom* (Dixon 2009:121).

The concept peace-building was introduced in international intervention by Boutros Boutros-Ghali[293] in a context of post-war societies in 1992 (Smith-Höhn 2010:17). Peace-building includes conflict prevention, conflict management, and post-conflict reconstruction efforts. In

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[293] Boutros-Boutros-Gali is the former United Nations Secretary General.

the context of post-conflict, the goal of peace-building is to create conditions that are conducive to sustainable peace within countries emerging from civil war (Smith-Höhn 2010:17; cf. Åkerlund 2005:52; Mullenbach 2006:56). However, the concept has developed to include all phases of conflict (Åkerlund 2005:52). In the case of the church, this is possible through the empowerment of individuals and the empowerment of structures (Widjaja 2007:41). This is why Christians should be trained to become peace-builders in their process to become like Christ and the church should establish mechanisms that help resolve conflict from inside and outside of it (Widjaja 2007:41, 42). The promotion of peace by the church is based on biblical virtues such as love, forgiveness, mercy (Noyonzima 2007:117) and these are dealt with previously in this chapter (Section 5.3.1).

Karbo (in Francis 2008:114) introduces the concepts of 'negative peace and positive peace'[294] in the peace-building process and both peace-building's goals. There is negative peace when there is absence of physical violence, but positive peace is referred to the absence of structural violence. On the one hand, for Ramsbotham et al. (2011:12), there is negative peace when there is deprivation, injustice, exploitation and injustice. On the other hand, positive peace is associated with the main idea of 'legitimacy and justice'. Positive peace can only be achieved by removing any kind of injustice.

Sustainable peace-building requires the integration of the various actors involved in peace-making among which are religious groups and their leaders (Åkerlund 2005:112). It should be noted that Christianity happens to be the major religion in the Great Lakes region and, according to Åkerlund (2005:112), it "includes people associated with different sides in the conflict". This is stated by Sampson (Maregere 2012) in the following manner: "There is also an increased number of religious based citizen's groups focused on bringing about peace, justice, and reconciliation" and religious leaders have a considerable trust of the population and they also have leadership moral influence.[295] Also there are potentials for peace as far as religion is concerned according to Åkerlund (2005:112, 113). This explains why part of the church's mission is "to promote peace, to bring about peace and to keep peace" (August 2014:104). Religious actors, communities and their institutions can play a significant role in

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[294] Negative peace refers to a situation where there is absence of war or armed conflict. It also refers to the absence of violence, peace that is not always established by peaceful means. Positive peace refers to situation whereby there is sustainable peace that also includes the respect of universal human rights. It is achieved through peaceful means (Galtung, 2017; cf. Malley-Morisson, 2011).

[295] Religion: A Source of Conflict and a Resource for Peace, available online on the website: http:mercury.ethz.ch/Serviceengine/Files/ISN/130291/ichaptersection_singledocument/4bac9410-aa53-44d6c-9b2f-155fca085b8/en/Ch_3pdf

the resolution of intractable conflicts in the contemporary world. They can do so by providing social cohesion in the aftermath of violent conflict or spiritual support in order to help people who face agonizing pain and suffering.

The importance of the church in conflict resolution is explained by the fact that Christian peace-makers are committed to end violent conflict as opposed to religious extremists who want victory at all costs. According to Appleby (in Shore 2009:17), there are three modes of religious conflict transformation: (1) crisis mobilization such as Gandhi's mobilisation of non-violent resistance of the British rule, (2) saturation mode which he suggests to stand the best chance of evolving into actual religious peace building, and (3) intervention mode which includes mediation by external and internal religious actors. In this regard, the role of the church in the promotion of peace is significant because of its confidence and ability "to continue in the face of disappointment and setback" as well as the faith, hope and trust that the church places in God (Dixon 2009:156).

The role of religion in international relations has also demonstrated that religion has great influence that should also be used in conflict resolution. If in international relations, for instance, religion was used to minimise local resistance, therefore it was used as means of negotiation between the colonisers and the colonised. In the case of conflicts, there is also tension between opposing parties that needs to be resolved. Therefore, what religion offers to the international relation needs to be considered. For Instance, Shore (2009: 9) writes that "in the TRC hearings there was an explicit appeal to religion, especially Christianity, as an authorised and legitimate method of truth-telling, and as a way to foster reconciliation among former enemies".[296] There is, therefore, need for an approach that integrates religion as an important dimension in resolving conflict and peace building. Religion is considered as a source of both peace and conflict depending on the way it is used. But it still remains a powerful resource that can help create a society where *shalom* is experienced by all. In this regard, Maregere (in Mercury 2012) argues that "religion has the capacity to bring parties together, based on the increased trust that it can introduce in certain situations… religious institutions have continued to play a fundamental role in ending hostilies on the continent, cementing the argument that religion is indeed a resource for peace". A good example is the

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[296] In the context of the South African TRC, reconciliation is viewed as a process through which former enemies learn to live together. Although this reconciliation provides with ideas to the socio-political issues, the same is too expensive because its main requirement is forgiveness from victims. Therefore, "forgiveness may turn out to be a sequence rather than a prerequisite of reconciliation processes." Also, "reconciliation turns cheap when perpetrators or beneficiaries receive the acceptance of victims and survivors without reparations or lasting mutual involvement" (Du Toit 2003:300-1).

role the community of Sant'Egidio played in the resolution of the conflict in Mozambique (Giordano, 2004)[297].

As Fishers (in Mullenbach 2006:56) puts it, peace-building requires a third-party actor who must facilitate a process of interaction between the conflicting parties. Also peace-building must address all the dimensions of the conflict: social, economic, humanitarian, legal, military and political (Mullenbach 2006:56-9). Cockell (in Pugh 2000: 16) and Karbo (in Francis 2008:114) argue for the distinctiveness of peace-building by the fact that it is a "specific subject of political-economic inquiries and actions that address the fundamental root causes and conditions of the conflict within societies". Karbo (in Francis 2008:115) argues that the African context of peace-building is the restoration of broken relationship, the assertion of communal responsibility and solidarity. Karbo (in Francis 2008:114) further notes and echoes the notion of *shalom* in this quote: "Peace-building seeks to address the root causes and effects of conflict by restoring broken relationships, promoting reconciliation, institution-building and political reform, as well as facilitating economic transformation".

There are many Christian models of peace-building including one that is inspired by the Flame International ministry as Dixon (2009:139) observes. The focus of the Flame International ministry is on healing, forgiveness and reconciliation in areas where there are conflicts. The ministry organises seminars and workshops to promote hope, forgiveness and reconciliation that Jesus provides. As it were, prayer plays a pivotal role in the ministry because God is understood as the author of reconciliation. The ministry also believes that, as a Christian, our understanding of reconciliation must take into consideration that the human's story of suffering is related to the story of Jesus' story of suffering, death and resurrection. Practically, there are four stages of the process of reconciliation as developed by Schreiter (in Dixon 2009:140-2) from the story of Jesus' appearance after resurrection: accompaniment, hospitality, reconnecting and commissioning. These four stages are then used to facilitate peace-building. At the stage of accompaniment, victims should have someone to join them and listen to their past stories of pain and suffering. At the stage of hospitality, victims are introduced in environments of safety to help them to deal with their memory and where they can find hope. The stage of reconnecting is that where God restores individuals' humanities and the stage of commissioning helps victims to get involved in reconciliation ministry using

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[297] Community of Sant'Egidio – Dream, available online on the website: www.balzan.org/en/prizewinners/communita-di-sant-egidio-dream

their own experience. Also there is need to promote peace-building based on local projects aimed at developing peoples' own communities (Marshall & Keough 2004:250).

5.6.6 Summative conclusion

In this chapter, the focus has been on the understanding and interpretation of the concept *shalom* in relation to peace and sustainable development. It was indicated that the theological perspective of peace and sustainable development is directly connected to the establishment of *shalom,* which is also directly connected to the Kingdom of God. The chapter itself can be summarised this way: The understanding of shalom is directly linked to the establishment of God's Kingdom. In addition, the church and the state are two separate entities with different missions but the two can interact from time to time for the fulfilment of these missions. In this context, the following arguments can be agreed upon in the light of the theological perspective of sustainable development and peace that comes through conflict resolution.

Theologically, the understanding of sustainable development and peace are directly connected to that of *shalom*. This *shalom* is God's vision for all of his creation. In this chapter, it was mentioned that Kingdom values are necessary for the establishment of *shalom*, while marginalisation is an obstruction to the establishment of *shalom*. The Holy Spirit is at work for the establishment of God's Kingdom within and beyond the church. It was indicated that, like any civil society organisation, the church is separate from the state. The state mainly deals with public life and the civil society (of which the church forms part) deals with the private. However, the church should also critically be involved in the secular matters because this is part of its calling. Furthermore, it was highlighted that the church and the state are two separate entities that have to interact in order to see the purpose of God fulfilled for the whole of creation. As far as services are concerned, there have always been tensions between the church and state, which takes four forms: collaboration, completion, challenge and transcendence. Finally, it was underlined that the church is a divine institution that holds the key to sustainable development and peace for the world. The church is supposed to work together with those outside of it who are dedicated to the cause of peace and sustainable development.

In this regard, it was indicated that, because the church is defined by its relationship with the Kingdom of God, the success of the church cannot be measured by the number of won souls or any other achievement, but rather by determining how far *shalom* is established. In other

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words, the success of the church depends on the success of its involvement in peace-building and sustainable development.

This chapter's other focus was on the engagement of *shalom* with the concept of sustainable development, well-being, reconciliation and peace-building. In the chapter, connections have been established between the above concepts with *shalom* being the connecting word. In the chapter, it was highlighted that there is a connection between *shalom* and sustainable development, well-being, reconciliation and peace-building. The church as an agent of *shalom* is called to work towards sustainable development for the well-being of the whole creation of God. Also, the church needs to be involved in reconciliation mainly through peace-building.

Furthermore, it was indicated in the chapter that *shalom* is all about a right relationship with God, with other human beings and with the rest of God's creation. This is because God is the sustainer of all of his creation and the real source of *shalom*. Human beings in general and Christians in particular have the duty to take care of the creation because they are created in the image of God who has entrusted them with the role of stewardship.

In this regard, any genuine sustainable development must work for the well-being of human beings and the rest God's creation, and peace-building lays the foundation for reconciliation that leads to the resolution of conflicts. Human beings are called to take care of the ecology because this is one of the duties that God assigns to human beings. Even though the presence of sin is a major factor that has affected the carrying on of this duty, God has made a way through Jesus. The church and its leadership should develop and work for a particular peace-building model that must help them to establish sustainable development and lasting peace/ *shalom*. A proposed model, in this research, is that which is aimed to promote hope/healing, forgiveness and reconciliation. The next chapter will focus on the understanding of the role of the church in the implementation of *shalom*.

Chapter 6: The Agency of the Church in Conflict Resolution and Sustainable Development in the DRC

6.1 Introduction

There are two main things that require our consideration before exploring this chapter. In chapter 2 (Section 2.5), it is noted that more than 80% of Congolese people are Christians; and in chapter 5 (Section 5.5) it is argued that the church is an agent of *shalom*. It is estimated that 50% of the Congolese population is Catholic, 20% are Protestants, 10% are Kimbanguists and 10% are from the African Independent Churches (AICs) (Fil-info-France 2015). It is also important to mention that there is no official religion in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Generally speaking, all the Congolese churches have something in common regarding their mission: a spiritual dimension that promotes a right relationship between God and humans, and a material dimension that promotes the well-being of humans. In other words, all these churches promote peace and development in one way or another. However, these churches might differ in the ways they approach or address the issues of peace and development; and this is the main focus of this chapter.

It cannot be overemphasised that, the church is called to get involved in the implementation of God's integral justice. Believers' actions are founded and motivated by the different values of the Kingdom of God (cf. Section 5.3.1). In fact, with Practical theology, Christians are empowered to practice what they preach and hear (Section 1.7.2). In this way, the chapter looks at the practical side of Christians with a special focus to the Congolese situation. In other words, the chapter looks at the role of the church in relation to sustainable development and conflict resolution in the DRC. It is also important to state that the first solution to the suffering of Congolese is not to come from outsiders, but from inside (Katho 2013).

The analysis of the chapter is mainly based on the previous chapters and chapters five and six are used as a framework that helps to analyse the role of the Congolese church in both conflict resolution and sustainable development. The church is the unit of analysis of the biblical vision of *shalom*. The related concepts in chapter five of this study are used as a framework to analyse the manner in which the church does or does not engage with concepts identified in the previous chapter as key to promoting *shalom* within the context of sustainable development and lasting peace. Therefore the chapter is focusing on the church and Kingdom values (Section 5.3.1) vs. marginalisation (Section 5.3.2) in the DRC, the church as sign of *shalom* (Section 5.4.2) in the DRC, church and well-being (Section 5.6.3) in

the DRC, church and peace-building in the DRC (Section 5.6.5) and church and ecology (Section 6.3) in the DRC. Another focus is on the church and Practical Theology (Section 1.6.1) in the DRC because this research is conducted within the context of Theology and Development, which is a subfield of Practical Theology.

6.2 The church and Practical Theology in the DRC

It is important to be reminded that theology is a reflection made from the practices and experiences of a particular community (Section 1.7.1). In fact, "theology must be contextual" as De (Gruchy 2015:5) argues. In our case the community requiring reflection is the church in the DRC.[298] In the case of a theology of development, reflection is made to find out why Christians should get involved in development from a Christian perspective and Practical Theology makes the reflection relevant to the context of the targeted people (Section 1.6.2). In principle, ministers have the duty to address the real issues that members face and avoid what Bowers-Du Toit (2014) calls "political moralistic sermons". However, AICs leaders fail to genuinely address all the social-political issues (Semire 2011). Therefore, the church leaders are themselves ignorant of the socio-political issues or, they know, but do not inform members about these issues concerning their daily life.

The complicity of the churches' role in the situation of the DRC can be explained by many reasons and Mugaruka (2010), however, points out five points that may prove helpful insight the development of this subsection: 1) Privatization of church institutions, 2) Social services of churches are conceived as most unilaterally charitable and freely offered with a paternalistic connotation, 3) Lack of prophetic dimensions in the pastoral discourses and actions, 4) Most of pastors or clergy members lack faith and are ignorant of socio-political issues, and 5) Lack of organized religious and spiritual training and follow up of the country leaders.[299] These five points are directly connected such that they influence each other.

The tendency to run the church as personal business sends a negative signal to the rest of the community because it encourages and supports civil authorities who have the same

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[298] Some of the practices and experiences of the Congolese people are described in chapter 2.

[299] With their strong structures and infrastructures, the churches are run like private enterprises by the leaders who do not side with the poor to uplift their lives. Speaking of churches mostly means speaking of pastors, religious leaders and clergy. The social assistance of the churches to the needy does not promote self-reliance. The churches do not denounce the abuses and injustices of the state and they are seen as cooperating with it. Churches are often concerned with effects instead of the deep causes of the socio-political problems. The churches are mostly concerned with the salvation of souls and they do not address the socio-cultural issues such as tribalism. The churches are not spared of these socio-cultural vices. The Churches' message does not reach the socio-political leaders and actors who need it the most and they call people to conversion and not to revolt or revolution (Mugaruka M 2010).

behaviours. If people cannot challenge their spiritual leaders with regard to the way they run the churches, how can they challenge civil authorities? For instance, there is a connection between religious activities and socio-economic life. There is a difference between the reasons for the establishment of the AICs by the founders and the main causes for the members to join these organisations. For the founders, this is directly linked to economic motivation: self-enrichment, search of happiness and prosperity[300], and to get power[301]. However, for the members, they look for a place of comfort, material prosperity; a vital space within the society; freedom to worship and need of answers to social frustrations and to other spiritual issues (Semire 2011; cf. Tshikala 1999:49, 51, 57). In such situation, the church loses it meaning of being an assembly and body of Christ, and it carries news meaning of a social system, an enterprise or even a business (Semire 2011).

In a situation of misery, powerlessness and marginalization (Section 5.3.2) Congolese have no choice than to turn to any religion that promises them miracles and supernatural solutions to their problems. Also there is a common view that overcoming poverty requires faith and prayer and this puts organizations with religious faith systems in good position to have a central role of influence in communities (Clarke et al. in Clarke 2011: 3). Therefore, instead of pushing public authorities to fulfil their social, economic and political responsibilities, many Congolese blame God and wait for His divine intervention. This explains why the strong and powerful churches[302] in the DRC are not able to stand against all the socio-economic and political abuses of its history (Mugaruka 2010).

Churches are run as personal businesses because of selfishness and marginalisation, which have been identified in this research as some of the root causes of conflict and underdevelopment (section 5.3.2). AICs leaders are described as kings who own whatever belongs to the church (Lontulungu (2015). With such attitude, the leader becomes the centre of focus of the ministry instead of the members and the rest of the creation as argued in chapter 5 (Section 5.2); this situation can contribute to underdevelopment and conflict. This behaviour on the behalf of church leaders weakens the people with regard to their needs and rights. In this case, political leaders take advantage of these weaknesses to impose their rules.

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[300] There are two reasons of the easy penetration of the prosperity gospel in Africa. Firstly, this gospel meets the African thought that human events are always influenced by spiritual powers; this can be a good luck or a bad luck. Secondly, this gospel has found a firtile ground in Africa because of the sufferings of Christians due to material and spiritual poverty. There the church leaders use these weaknesses to impose their doctrine of prosperity to the members. Not only members are already suffering, but above all services are rendered by these church leaders are to be paid for (Semire 2011).

[301] This in order to have a free space to exercise power.

[302] Mainly the Catholic, the Mainstream churches and the Kimbanguist Churches

In such conditions it becomes difficult for the Congolese people to challenge their political leaders who fail to fulfil their duties because they also behave in the same way as their spiritual leaders.

Church leaders treat their members with a paternalistic attitude (cf. Section 2.3.1) and this attitude is against the sustainable development principles which advocate for people participation in their own processes of development (section 3.3), and this is sending a negative signal the establishment of a lasting peace (see Section 3.5). Actually people do not need to have everything done for them, and church leaders who still keep the paternalistic attitude can be perceived as contributors to the state of underdevelopment and conflict in the country. As Bowers-Du Toit (2014) puts it, "the response to poverty is a justice issue and not a charity issue".

It is alleged that some of the spiritual leaders take valuable things they qualify to be influenced by demonic powers (Semire 2011). In this regard, it could be said that they manipulate their members for self-interest (Tshikala 1999:68). As Semire (2011) puts it, they seem to bring solutions to the issues of their members, but they also manipulate them by imposing a life of hardship, isolation and fear. In this condition, they succeed to spoil members spiritually, socially, politically and economically, affecting even marriages to the extent that people become deprived of their individual and collective rights. Also in a situation where everything is centred on the church leader church members are tempted to lose their focus on Jesus and on other important issues concerning the Kingdom of God such the concern for the natural world. In the context of the AICs in DRC the focus is on the church leaders instead of it being on Jesus Christ (Tshikala 1999:85).

Church leaders leave behind them the notion of the promotion of development from below to join politics so they can enrich themselves (Muteba 2012:27). In the DRC, doing politics appears to be the easiest way to acquire wealth in lieu of serving the community for the common good of all citizens. Therefore, doing politics is considered as a means to get out of poverty, which is why those in politics tend to promote their own family members, tribesmen, and friends. Unfortunately, it could be argued that politics comes with many social evils such as corruption, nepotism, exploitation, etc., and all these are ever present in the Congolese

political landscape. As a result, all the other services that happen to be important for development are altogether neglected as Muteba (2012:27-29) argues.[303]

It is argued that Christianity, as brought by the European missionaries, was simply about the observance of all that Europeans brought and taught. As a result, Christian missionaries tended to overlook the atrocities of the colonial regime but helped to collect the victims (particularly children) and place them in places such as orphanages. There was extreme violence during the colonial period and the Catholic Church was quiet because it worked side by side with the colonial regime (Hochschild in Katho 2013).[304] This situation was repeated during the post-independence period when the church (mainly the Protestants and the AICs) collaborated with the state. In both situations the Congolese people were left hopeless.

During and after the colonial period the church has been mainly focusing on evangelisation, and appears to be paying little attention to the cries of the Congolese people. This may explain the birth of AICs such as Kimbanguism and others.[305] The same situation repeated itself after independence, especially during the period of the crisis, when more AICs mushroomed. There has been tension between evangelisation and social action and the church has missed the opportunity to properly understand what Bowers-du Toit (2010:269) considers as the challenge "to embody and appropriate its identity as a transformative agent in society". In fact, "the goal of Christian transformation is unique. It is that of shalom, or the New Testament concept of the Kingdom, where harmony, peace and justice reign under the Lordship of Christ" (Bowers Du Toit2010:266). Also as it is stated by the World Evangelical Fellowship consultation on the 'churches Responses to Human Need' "Evil is not only in the human heart but also in social structures … [T]he mission of the church includes both the proclamation of the Gospel and its demonstration. We must, therefore, evangelize in order to respond to immediate human needs, and press for social transformation" (Samuel & Sugden in Bowers Du Toit2010:266). Thus, the implication of this is that poverty and conflict call the church to work seriously for the establishment of *shalom,* which is the aspiration of all the

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[303] Fulgence Muteba is the Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Kilwa-Kasenga/Katanga

[304] Christianisme et développement de la république Démocratique du Congo: Relecture théologique de Les Fantomes du Roi Leopold II, available online on the website: www.unishabunia.org/USB/2_.B_Katho_III-.pdf

[305] According to Ntalaja (2002:49, 50), Simon Kimbangu had a vision in which God called him to preach the liberation of the people from all kinds of oppression. For Kimbangu and his followers, the new movement was considered by them to be the will of God concerning the ideal of the Pan-Africanism. The "Eglise de Jésus-Christ sur la terre par le prophète Simon Kimbangu (EJCSK), as it is called, was only recognized by the Belgian authorities, on Christmas Eve of 1959. For Stearns (2011:201, 215), Kimbangu is "a local Christian prophet and anti-colinial activist who rejected the white clergy's monopoly on religion. However this description may or may not be correct about what Kimbangu stood for. For Reybrouck (2014:147), the birth of the Kimbanguism opened doors to the multiplication of new Congolese prophets.

Congolese people. Naturally people are ready to seek God in difficult times, and they can be vulnerable if no one brings them genuine assistance.

African Christians have failed to critically get involved in politics that aim to promote the people's well-being as well as their social and economic life. This is because of the misunderstanding of Christianity based on the type of Christianity Africans received from the missionaries, which only focused on the spiritual aspect of the human being at the expense of all the others. The implication is that the whole gospel was not applied to the whole life and the gospel was read selectively while emphasising the spiritual salvation (Katongole 2011:107; cf. Kinoti in Van der Walt 2003: 54). Another reason for this failure is attributed to the perception that the social and material conditions of life were the prerogatives of politics while Christianity is supposed to bring its support to politics (Katongole (2011:1, 41).

The understanding and definition of the concept of poverty is a major concern for development within the circle of those who preach the prosperity Gospel. According to the doctrine or gospel of prosperity, "poverty is considered as the work of the Devil from which Christians should be delivered" (Togarasei in Kakwata 2014). In other words, acquiring material goods is a sign of approval and God's blessings (Kakwata 2014:230). It is impossible, therefore, to separate the spiritual and the material of a Christian Congolese (or African). With this misunderstanding of poverty, Christians are vulnerable because for them to come out of poverty, they have to attend deliverance sessions to receive their deliverance (Semire 2011). This also has an impact on the state of laziness and unemployment that are considered as contributing factor to poverty because most people go for deliverance sessions instead of looking for work so they can make use of their skills and/or create jobs (cf. Kakwata 2014:233, 236).

Also the lack of a sound theological understanding of development can explain the lack of church's involvement in poverty eradication and in the conservation of the environment. For instance, Kakwata (2014:241, 244) attributes the lack of the 30th CPCO[306] in the city of Lubumbashi for the eradication of poverty to the simple fact that the church puts its emphasis on spirituality than on development. This can also be applicable to many other denominations. Likewise, the Christian church in the DRC has a weak involvement in the

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[306] CPCO stands for Communauté de Pentecotistes au Congo.

protection and conservation of nature because most of the sermons do not deal with the human's responsibility to take care of God's creation (Ndunzi 2015).[307]

There is also a lack of theological training for most of the church leaders especially within the AICs' circle. For instance, a research conducted by the students of the Faculty of Theology of the University Shalom of Bunia shows that most of the AIC churches in the city have neither clear visions, nor values they want to hold on; not even plans. Besides, they are ignorant of any programme for sustainable development for their members. To this is added the fact that 80% of the church members are without education would complicates the equation even further (Semire 2011).[308] This is one of the main weaknesses the church leaders use to exploit their members and needs to be addressed seriously.

The lack of theological education among AICs members particularly the leadership could be traced from the colonial period when prophets (and other founders of the AICs) appeared in great numbers just after the birth of Kimbanguism (Ntalaja 2002:40, 47). Most, if not all of these religious leaders, were without theological training and one should remember that during the colonial period there were only few seminaries established by the Catholic Church. A leader such as Kimbangu, after whose name the religious sect of Kimbanguism takes its name, was originally from the Baptist church but had no formal theological training.

6.3 Church and Kingdom Values vs. Marginalisation in the DRC

The choice to bring together Kingdom values and marginalisation is explained by the fact that marginalization is one of social factors that are opposed to the values of the Kingdom of God. The presence of marginalisation stands in the way of the establishment of *shalom* (Section 5.3.2). In other words, where there is marginalisation there is conflict, and where there is conflict doors are closed to the implementation of sustainable development. The church of the colonial period played a negative role as far as marginalisation is concerned. Missionaries contributed to the vulgarisation of the concept of white superiority over the black people (Kunyanga 1999:23, 24). For Vanthemsche (2012:68), missionaries contributed to the Congolese's submission to the Europeans.[309] It is also reported that the Belgian authorities

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[307] Eglise et Ecologie au Congo-Kinshasa, source: www.editions-mennonite.fr/2015/04/reseau-mennonite-francophone/
[308] L'Eglise et le Defit de l'Evangile de Prosperité et des Miracles, source: ojs.globalmissiology.org/index.php/francais/viewFile/729/1792
[309] Lomomba (in Reybrouck 2014:171) reports the reaction of Tshibamba during an interview in the following manner: "in day-to-day life in which we grew up, the priest demanded our submission: the representative of Bula Matari, in other words of the government or the territorial administration, all had authority and that

and the Catholic Church contributed to the deepening divides along ethnic lines. This was specifically used to weaken any opposition to the colonial regime. For instance, they succeeded in dividing the Lulua and the Luba elite[310] (Ntalaja 2002:103, 04). With regard to ethnicity one should remember that it was at the heart of the launch of the Rwandan invasion of the DRC in 1996 (sections 2.4.3 & 2.5.4), therefore, its ethnicity finds its origin in the work of missionaries during the colonial period. Vreybouck (2014:230-231) points out that both the Catholics and the Protestants contributed to the imposition and the reinforcement of "an inferiority complex among Africans" by practicing segregation at their mission stations. It is also important to note that most of them shared the dominant European view that the Congolese were not ready for independence.

There was a common feeling during the colonial period that African civilisation was 'bad' and, for that reason, missionaries had to convert Africans to Christianity. In other words, African civilisation was connected to 'backwardness' and barbarism and, therefore, conversion to Christianity was considered a way of introducing Africans to Western civilisation[311] (Ewans 2002:28, 29, 98). In other words, African civilisation was considered the main cause of poverty and underdevelopment while Western civilisation through Christianity was the only way to development. Again the work of missionaries in the DRC during the colonial period was questioned by the Congolese because it did not properly address their lived realities. This explains why the Saviour of the missionaries was questioned if he was able to save Congolese from the sufferings caused by the exploitation of rubber (Hochschild in Katongole 2011:20). This proves that even the introduction of Western civilisation did not result in the well-being of the Congolese. As a result of all of these, missionaries did not treat the Congolese people with dignity (Sections 4.4 & 4.5).

It is interesting to note that there was a kind of discrimination within the church of the colonial period (MacGaffey 1991:27). The Protestant church, for example, was discriminated against by the colonial regime, while the Catholic Church was privileged. This shows that discrimination was a structural issue because it affected both Protestant missionaries and

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authority came from God. As a result, total obedience was expected from us. That is what the priest advice! Being good, both to God and to the people of this new society, which required obedience, subjection, and respect. We were reduced to servitude – that was no the term they used, but that was what it came down to."

[310] "In 1952, they helped set up an exclusive ethnic association called Lulua Frères, with the double aim of improving the socio-economic position of the Lulua counter-élites. This organization eventually served as the brains trust for Lulua political activities, and provided overall direction for ethnic cleansing against the Luba in 1959-1960" (Ntalaja 2002:104).

[311] This attitude is opposed to the spirit of a sustainable development according to which people are not a problem but rather they are part of the solution to their own problems (see chapter 4.2).

indigenous Congolese. The Catholic missions and big companies, furthermore, played a crucial role in the colony while the Protestants did not at all (Vanthemasche 2012:44). The Catholic Church was fully supported by the colonial regime resulting in the church becoming rich and powerful. Later, the same position of the church allowed it to criticise the government openly (MacGaffey 1991:27). During the repression of the Kimbanguism the Catholic Church sided with the colonial regime because of the privileges it enjoyed from the regime (Reybrouck 2014:148).

Under the Mobutu regime, it did not take that long for conflict to arise between him and the Catholic Cardinal Malula.[312] However, Etsou[313] (who replaced Malula) was from the same province as Mobutu and the relationship between the two men appeared to be good. It is interesting to note that the relationships between Etsou and Monsengwo[314] (who originally are from the Western side of the country) and both Laurent Kabila and Joseph Kabila, who are from the Eastern part of the country, has not been good, which once again points to tribal and geographical historical issues. During the 2006 election both Etsou and Monsengwo supported Bemba[315] thereby opposing Joseph Kabila. The relationship between Monsengwo and Malu Malu[316], the chairman of the National Independent Electoral Commission, is not good as well (Reybrouck 2014:400-401; cf. Forum des As 2014;). This is also argued by Longman (2001) who points out the ethnic and regional affinity within the Catholic Church in the following manner:

> …ethnic bias creates major problems for Congo's Catholic church. Congo has over 200 ethnic groups, and bishop have traditionally played an important role in seeing to it that their own ethnic communities get their share of national resources from both the church and the state. Ethnic groups without representation in the church leadership fear that they will be neglected by the church. The political pronouncements of bishops often seem to be based more on ethnic and regional loyalties than on theological principles, as the bishops support leaders popular with their constituencies and denounce those who are unpopular.

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[312] Joseph Malula was the first Congolese Catholic Cardinal.

[313] Etsou was the Congolese Catholic Cardinal who replaced Joseph Malula. "Frederic Etsou's nomination as cardinal following Malula's death sparked controversy because of Mobutu's promotion of his candidacy. Etsou's subsequent opposition to anti-government and pro-national conference protests reinforced the perception that he was Mobutu's ally" (Longman 2001).

[314] Monsengwo is the current Catholic Cardinal in the DRC.

[315] Bemba is also from the Western side part of Congo.

[316] Malu Malu is the former chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission in the DRC.

It is unfortunate to notice that Monsengwo had his own political agenda and contempt for democracy when he was chosen to preside over the Sovereign National Conference (SNC) that was believed to resolve the crisis during the Mobutu regime (Section 2.5.3). He had what may be called elitist thinking by which the future of the country was not to be decided by the delegates at the conference, but rather by the ruling political class. Monsengwo was also blamed for the elasticity of the conference, and the way he managed the work calendar[317] (Ntalaja 2002:195-96). Ntalaja (2002:195) describes Monsengwo as a leader who promotes his own interest and this was demonstrated while he was leading the SNC. The SNC was not successful and many people not only blamed the chairman who was a recognised church leader, but also the church in general because the chairman was seen as a reflection of the church.

Within mainstream churches, there is a geopolitical affinity as that observed with the Catholic Church. Pastor Bokeleale, who presided over the Church of Christ of Congo from 1968 to 1998, was very close to Mobutu. Bishop Bokeleale[318] himself conformed his siding to Mobutu's rule in an article he entitled "*The Marginalization of the Protestants in Our Country is a Danger Not Only Today but Especially for Future Generations*". The ties between the regime and the Eglise du Christ au Congo (E.C.C) were carried on by Bokelea's successor, Bishop Marini Bodho (Lokoleyacongo 2012). Lastly, with regard to the Kimbanguism, both Diangienda Kuntima and Dialungana Kiangani (who are from the western part of the country) were loyal to the Mobutu regime. As for the relationship between Dialungana Kiangani and Laurent Kabila (and later with Joseph Kabila), there has not been any conflict. This shows the real geopolitical affinity of the Congolese church leaders. This geopolitical affinity within the church in the DRC contributes to the already divided nation (Section 2.5.2).

6.4 Church as agent of *shalom* in the DRC[319]

As we consider the relationship between the church and the state, we should consider the involvement or non-involvement of church leaders in the affairs of society. This is done in order to establish the role of the Congolese church in conflict resolution and sustainable development from the relationship between church and state (Section 5.4.1), church and

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[317] The Sovereign Conference National took longer than it was expected.
[318] The first Chairperson of the "Eglise du Christ au Congo".
[319] The subject is used to anlyse the role of the church in the DRC in the implementation of *shalom* that has been developed previously.

ecology (Section 5.6.2), and the agency of the church in the establishment of *shalom* (Section 5.4). We should also realise that the relationships between church leaders and state and their participation in the activities of particular political groups should not be considered as general rules. This depends on their special gifts and the particular context (Kistner 2008:220-21). However, it must be noticed that church leaders in the DRC are the direct representations of the churches they preside over (Section 6.2).

Generally speaking, the church is supposed to speak against any human rights abuses and promote human dignity (section 4.5) especially in a time of conflict. In situations of oppression, the church is called to stand on the side of the oppressed and with love assist the oppressors deal with their evil deeds. Love enables the church to bring enemies to reconcile (section 5.3.1.1).

However, both during the slave and colonial periods, Christianity failed to play its role of advocacy before all the ill-treatments of Congolese by the traders and the colonial regime. For instance, the Commission of Inquiry of 1904 that was set up by king Leopold II of Belgium found that Roman Catholic authorities were faithful supporters of Leopold II's colonial policy, even during the campaign against the Congo Free State. This support was also manifested by the silence kept by the Catholic Church during the revelation of the horrors of "red rubber" (section 2.5.2). Also, the same commission pointed out the brutal and inhuman practices of the Catholic Church in the Congo through the ill-treatment of children, the exploitation of workers, abductions and other abuses. However, the same commission noted that there were some missionaries who were against Leopold II's policies (Vanthemasche 2012:66).

It is interesting to note that Christianity was used before the colonial period by the Portuguese in order to facilitate the slave trade (Reader 1997:396-7) instead of standing against this horrible practice.[320] Later, the Catholic Church was on the side of the regime during colonial time. According to Reybrouck (2014:22), the Catholic Church was the first to be involved in the Christianisation of the Congo, evangelising even the king[321] of the Kongo Empire. During the colonial period, the natural resources of the DRC were mainly exploited for the benefit of King Leopold II and the Belgian people while the church was fully supporting the state

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[320] The conversion of Nzinga Mbemba as Alfonso I can help as good example. King Alfonso I, a devouted Christian, will use his influence to provide with many slaves to the Portuguese even if he will later have an opposing stance against slavery (Reader 1997:396-97; cf. Fage 1995:238; cf. Collins & Burns 2007:183-84, 215; cf. Reybrouck 2014:21-2).

[321] For instance, King Nzinga Mbemba was baptized as Alfonso I in 1491 (Reader 1997:396).

(Section 2.5.2). As a result, Congolese people were treated as less human than the Europeans and this certainly contributed to the current situation in the country by deepening marginalisation within the Congolese society. The point here is that the church failed to stand against marginalisation by not promoting the Kingdom's values (Section 5.3.1).

During the same colonial period, the Protestant missions were regarded unfavourably compared to those of the Catholic Church and it is evident that the Belgians largely used the Catholic Church to establish official schools for the Congolese people (Vanthemsche 2012:50-51; cf. Reybrouck 2014:72). This position was mainly reinforced by Leopold II when he withdrew from the international association of the Congo[322], and openly granted preference to the Catholic Belgian missionaries (Reybrouck 2014:72). Furthermore, mainstream missions in the Congo were discriminated against in various ways during the colonial period (Vanthemsche 2012:66). As for the Kimbanguism, it was perceived by both the colonial regime and the Catholic Church as a threat (Reybrouck 2014:148). This attitude may also explain some kind of discrimination within the church of the DRC and between the church and the state.

During the colonial period when there were human rights abuses by the Belgians (Section 2.5.2), Kimbanguism, stood as a movement against the colonial ideology of paternalism by which the Belgians sought to undermine African nationalism by distracting their Congolese subjects from politics[323] (sections 2.3.1, 2.5.2 & 2.7). In such conditions, Congolese people reacted to colonial rule through prophetic religious movements and discourses (Ntalaja 2002:40, 47). The Kimbanguist Church, however, should be considered as a movement of consciousness and self-esteem with a revolutionary connotation (Kayembe, 2007). In other words, Kimbanguism came as a kind of solution to the suffering of the people. This also proves that the work of the missionaries failed to address the real problems of the people. The rise of the prophetic religious movements, it should be noted, were led by leaders who did not have any theological training, which may further explain the lack of interest in theological training among Congolese church leaders in general.

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[322] This was a personal invention of Leopold II in order to have a total control of the Congo. He did this to replace the International African Association (IAA) that was created to oversee the region of entire Congo basin, Lake Malawi, Lake Tanganika, Lake Victoria, and the upper Nile. The IAA was also created on the initiative of Leopold II (Reader 1997: 563-574; Pakenham 1991: 22, 161).

[323] "This meant encouraging as many as households as possible to own bicycles, phonographs and radios, and providing urban residents with lively entertainment in the form of bars or dancing halls with plenty of beer, and soccer matches. As slaveholders usually delude themselves, the Belgians were convinced that they succeeded in establishing a model colony, where 'the natives have happy smiles' (Ntalaja 2002:47).

Therefore, Kimbangu (later Kimbanguism) plays a significant role in the history of Christianity in the DRC and Kimbangu (or Kimbanguism) is the incarnation of hope, peace and development for the Congolese and Africans. Although Kimbangu never claims to be the replacement of Jesus Christ for the black people, some tendencies within Kimbanguism[324] believe so attributing him also the role of the third person of the Trinity. These tendencies are even wishing to see Kimbanguism as the state church of the DRC. As an African Independent Church, Kimbanguism offers an example of Christian living by teaching the gospel to Africans in a way that is in harmony with their mentality (Undy 1979:19-20, 24; cf. Reybrouck 2014:142-155). As far as the relationship between church and state is concerned,

> The Kimbanguist Church cannot remain mute and indifferent in face of flagrant and shameful violation of human rights. Its attitude is the consequence of its theology, which demands that we attach as much importance to the soul as to the body. Kimbaguist theology holds it is right for the church to engage in a certain number of economic and social activities aimed to supporting and complementing the action of the state with a view to constantly improving the living conditions of the people (Undy 1979:56).

As it was during the slave trade and the colonial periods, the Catholic Church again took the lead in the socio-political life of the DRC after independence (Afrikarabia 2014). Although the church's opposition to Mobutu began earlier, during the introduction of the policy of Zairian 'authenticity' in 1971, Mobutu's confrontation with the Catholic Church opened on January 4, 1975 when the regime began to crush all resistance in order to make the power of the president complete. The confrontation was led by Cardinal Malula. During this crisis, Mobutu acknowledged the power of the Catholic Church in the country and openly declared: "*Je ne suis pas contre L'Eglise Catholique, je suis contre l'individu Malula*" (I am not against the Catholic Church, I am against the individual Malula – Translation mine). Sadly after his return his ideologies became similar to those of the regime (Adelman in Kabwit 1979:285, 286; cf. Ntalaja 2002:173; cf. Way 2002[325]; cf. Tonda 2009[326]; cf. Reybrouck 2014:354-355). Later, Malula was even put in charge of the Maman Mobutu foundation (Balagizi).

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[324] The Kimbanguist Church became a member of the World Council of Churches on 16 August 1969 (Undy 1979:24). It also accounts for ten percent of the Congolese beleivers (Reybrouck 2014:142).

[325] Malula, Joseph 1917 à 1989, Eglise Catholique Romaine, République Démocratique du Congo, available online on the website: htt://www.dacb.org/stories/demrpcongo/f-malula1_joseph.html

[326] Clément Makiobo, Eglise catholique et mutations socio-politiques au Congo-Zaire. La Contestation du régime de Mobutu, available online on the website: http://assr.revues.org/3569?lang=en

During the post-independence period, the Catholic Church became a prophetic voice to the Mobutu regime. Malula openly criticised the lack of distributive justice within the social politics of the Mobutu regime in June 1969. In the process of these events the Catholic[327] bishops of the Congo became a powerful voice of opposition against the Mobutu regime (Ntalaja 2002:173). With regard to this new situation Kabwit (1979:287) concludes that "after having been on the side-lines for many years, the church had unmistakably joined the growing popular opposition against the corrupt regime of President Mobutu". Miso Gaa (in Kabwit 1979:287), clearly reports the stance against the regime of Mobutu in the following manner:

> Having been muzzled by Mobutu since 1975, when the government announced that it was taking over all church-run schools, the powerful Council of Catholic Bishops went public in the wake of the Shaba II crisis by issuing a public condemnation of the Mobutu regime in August 1978. Decrying what it called "the failure of the national institutions to live up to the maral ethics and standards," and thus contributing to "le mal Zairois" (the Zairian sickness), the council called the political authorities to work together with the Zairian people to strive for the larger goal of national reconciliation and recovery.

One of the main instances where the church failed to address the Congolese situation can be noticed through the different stances taken by church leaders in the 1970s. Particularly, with regard to their stance towards the concept of Zairianisation, which strictly emphasised a recourse to authentic lifestyle including the use of traditional names, introduced by the Mobutu regime. The church was divided in two: the Catholic Church stood against the Mobutu regime, and the Protestant church and the Kimbaguism supported it. However, the Catholic Church compromised because of pressure exercised by the regime. The result of Zairiasation, therefore, had negative consequences on the daily life of the majority of the Congolese (Country Data 1993; cf. Gargan 2015; see section 2.5.3).

During the period of crisis, Mobutu was forced to agree to the organisation of the SNC of which the church was an active participant in 1991 (Reybrouck 2014:397). And when Nguza[328] closed the Sovereign National Conference on the 19th January 1992 on orders from

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[327] In reality the Catholic Church was both critical to the regime and too conservative to lead a social movement against it. Young priests drafted progressive documents while individual bishops remained in good relation with the political authorities. The demonstration in Kinshasa in February 1992 that was led by radical priests and nuns is a good illustration of the state of the Catholic Church (Ntalaja 2002:173).

[328] Nguz Karl I Bond, Jean was named Prime Minister in November 1991 by Mobutu in replacement of Mungulu-Diaka who also earlier replaced Tshisekedi (Ntalaja 2002:189-90).

Mobutu, the Catholic Church took the lead. The Catholic priests and other religious groups organised a Christian march aimed at pressurising the regime to reopen the conference. Ordinary people consisting of mainly thousands of Christians who left church on Sunday joined the march and over thirty people were killed by the paramilitary. It is important to note that the march took place in many cities of the country (Ntalaja 2002:190). The church still needs to organise people to take their responsibility seriously to get involved in the issues related to the improvement of their conditions of life.

When the Mobutu regime decided to place all mission schools under state control, the Catholic Church challenged the decision openly and Archbishop Kabanga addressed it in his pastoral letter to his diocese of Lubumbashi that: "In past the colonizers crushed our dignity as human beings and as Africans. Today our situation is much worse; brought about by the behaviour of our own brothers". However, at this point the mainstream churches and the Kimbanguists decided not to become involved in the resistance. Mobutu, who was already powerless, was, however unable to silence the Catholic archbishop Kabanga (Kabwit 1979:286).

In addition, the Catholic Church was not silent during the first invasion of the DRC by the Rwandans in 1996. Lanotte (in Stearns 2011:111) reports that as Rwanda launched his attack on the DRC in 1996, the Catholic Church in Bukavu – together with civil society groups – protested on the streets against what they qualified as the "aggression by the Tutsi invaders" on September 18th. Their message was addressed to the government of Kinshasa to both restore the national integrity by chasing the foreign armies out the country and to find a lasting solution on the issue of citizenship of the Tutsi living in the DRC.

With regard to the mainstream churches[329], the church was considered as siding with the regime of Mobutu without denouncing all its abuses. This was noticeable during the first confrontation between the Catholic Church and the regime in February 1972, when the leadership of the ECZ/ECC (Eglise du Christ au Zaire/Congo) openly declared their support for the regime. Later during the celebration of the twelfth anniversary of the country's independence, Bishop Bokeleale[330] in confirming the Protestant church's allegiance to the regime even compared Mobutu to Noah, Abraham, Joseph, Moses, David, Jesus Christ, Martin Luther King and John XXIII. His argument was that God uses men to resolve human

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[329] They are all the churches that were established by missionaries especially during the colonial period.
[330] He is the first chairman of the E.C.Z.

problems and stated that Mobutu was that man for the country's peace and salvation (Balagizi, 2008). In this regard, it could be said that...

> The church remains an important role player and its leadership is needed, but it suffered as a result of Mobutu's manipulations. By the 1980s, the church had become reluctant to criticize the government and some felt that it had been infected by the system of corruption, accepting that it must pay bribes to conduct its business. While the church has not yet fully recovered from this, it has a central role to play in mobilizing citizens in the transitional period (Kabemba 2001:108).

This same position taken by the mainstream churches towards the regime would continue with the new chairman of the ECC, Marini, and the current regime under Kabila. The new leadership of the ECC under Marini is accused of collaborating with the current regime. Marini was later appointed to lead the transitional senate and the foundation Mzée Kabila (Kalombo 2011). Even Mulunda[331] (who would later be appointed the chairperson of independent electoral commission) is considered a representative of the Protestant church and was presented to the late president Kabila in 1997 after being introduced to Laurent Kabila by the Protestants after the *Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Liberation* (AFDL) victory.

The role of the Kimbanguism during the post-colonial period is that it yielded support to the Mobutu regime. This can be explained through the closeness of their ideologies. Also, the regime's recognition of Kimbanguism as a third church (beside the Catholic and the mainstream ones) led to their rapprochement. This closeness is demonstrated by its leader Diangenda who urged church members to fully support the revolution carried out by Mobutu and also gave full support to the regime's ideology of Zairianisation, which included changing all foreign names, particularly European ones, and adopting traditional Congolese (then Zairian) names. In this context, Congo was named Zaire (Section 3.4).

Let us consider two other main figures of the AICs who are key figures among the leaders of these organizations. In recent years Kutino, who called himself "Reverend", stands for those who are very critical of the established government. He has been in opposition to Mobutu, Laurent Kabila and Joseph Kabila, while Kafuta is a close ally of Joseph Kabila. It so happened that while Kutino started the campaign *Sauvons le Congo* ("Let Us Save Congo"), Joseph Kabila appointed Kafuta as head chaplain of the national army, which can be seen as

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[331] Mulunda is a former chairman of the National Electoral Commission.

evidence of their closeness (Reybrouck 2014:493). This is perhaps evidence of how the state in the DRC is trying to have the church on its side in order to gain the people's support. This confirms the declaration of Marini Bodho according to which the DRC is still a country because of the presence of the church (Balagizi, 2008).

With regard to the AICs, Kayembe (2007) argues that their proliferation can be explained by the fact that they do not constitute any threat to established institutions, in that they also contribute in diverting their members' attention from their own political, economic and social problems. It also can be explained by the fact that the political powers would not like to see a strong and united group that may constitute a strong resistance force. "*Si à l'époque, le colonisateur s'était servi de la religion pour assurer ses intérêts, et cela au nom de Dieu, c'est l'Africain qui, au nom de Dieu, se suicide*" (If in the past, the coloniser used religion for his own interests, and that in the name of God, today it is the African, in the name of the same God, who commits suicide – Translation mine). This points out what Burkey (1993:8) had said that some solutions can turn people's attention from the true solution of their problem. José Mpundu (in Reybrouck 2014:493), a Catholic priest, describes the AICs as a disturbance to development in the following manner:

> The new churches only rock people to sleep. They do nothing to liberate. They promise an easy kind of happiness in the form of 'miracles,' but they call no to account. Zambe akosala, the people say, God will take care of it… Those churches are a blessing for the regime. They make things easy for the politicians. That's why the regime supports them so generously. Sony Kafuta, the one who calls himself 'Rockman,' is quite close to Kabila and his mother; his is their spiritual leader.

The behaviour of many AICs leaders does not promote well-being and peace. AICs leaders are described as "kings" who own whatever belongs to the church (Lontulungu 2015). With such attitude, the leader becomes the centre of focus of the ministry instead of the members and the rest of the creation as argued in this (Section 6.2). This behaviour by church leaders weakens the people with regard to their needs and rights, and political leaders can take advantage of these weaknesses to impose their rules. In such conditions, it becomes difficult for the Congolese people to challenge their political leaders who fail to fulfil their duties because they also behave in the same way as their spiritual leaders.

The church, in general, and the Catholic Church in particular, are still actively engaged in the social life in the DRC. The church in the DRC was also united in 1992 during the

organisation of a march to call for the reopening of the SNC (Reybrouck 2014:402). In 2005 during a church leaders' meeting in Uganda, the Congolese church invited Christians from other countries to be with the suffering of Congolese people (Section 1.2).

Unity was also demonstrated when the church of the DRC stood for a common cause regarding the conflict in the east of the country. A team of 30-members of religious and civil leaders travelled to the USA and Canada, with a petition of one million signatures, calling for peace and dialogue with Rwanda – who they accused of war crimes and interference with the internal affairs of the DRC (Bloom & Omadjela 2012). They also called for prosecution of the perpetrators of human rights atrocities (rape and death). In asking for intervention by the U.S. government, Bishop Ntambo[332] told the U.S. congregational subcommittee on September 19th, that "Rwanda is killing our people" (Bloom & Omadjela 2012; cf. Section 1.2). At this point, the church is seen on the right side of exposing the real problem the country was facing and which needed to be addressed for peace and sustainable development. This also helped the church to bring the country's situation to the attention of the international community. In this regard, Wolterstorff (2011:374) argues that

> The church and its representatives continue to pour forth pronouncements on economic life. Some of these are critical of what transpires in economy; some are legitimating. Some are aimed at motivating people to continue doing what they are already doing; some are aimed at motivating people to change what they are doing.

However, the church in the DRC is currently used by politicians in order to convey their messages and spread their propaganda – especially during electoral campaigns. Politicians do so because they know that the church is – and remains – a place where they may get as many people as possible. The church in the DRC is also involved in the country's socio-political issues. For instance, the church was present during the organisation of the dialogue between political actors and the civil society at Sun City, South Africa, which culminated to the formation of a government of national unity locally referred to as "1+4" because it was made up of 1 president and four vice presidents. The purpose of this "inter-Congolese" dialogue was to end the then prevailing conflict (Kasolwa 2015: 76, 152).

All in all, the church in the DRC is always tempted to maintain corrupted relationships with different regimes and this can be directly connected to the quest for access to natural

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[332] Ntambo Nkulu Ntanda is the bishop of the North Katanga United Methodist Church in the DRC.

resources[333]. During the colonial period, the Catholic Church sided with the regime in order to get their support. Later, after independence, it became wealthy and strong to stand against the different post-independence regimes. After the independence, it was now the turn of mainstream churches to support the regimes for the same cause with the leaders taking personal advantage of the rewards instead of the church. Much later, the AICs came and they mostly favoured the regimes in order to get supports. Again, this support was of advantage to the leaders. In these conditions, it became difficult to properly address the issues of ecology or to live a life that promotes the values of the Kingdom (Section 5.3.

6.5 Church, well-being and development in the DRC

The Congolese church has been involved in poverty eradication by running developmental projects set up to uplift the different communities where they are established. This involvement can also be traced from the time the colonial regime was obliging all missions to get involved in social actions by means of – mainly schools and hospitals. This involvement is either the church's emphasis on social work (for example the Catholic Church through its Catholic Social Teaching) or on the spiritual aspects (for example the mainstream churches) (Kakwata 2014:215-217). However, there is much to be done.

In conditions of conflict and underdevelopment, the church seems to be the main social organisation to be engaged in the promotion of the well-being of the Congolese people. In principle, in situations of weak and fragile governments, religious groups play a major role in building community cohesion and peace. They also constitute the major social capital. They impact the everyday life of people as they even provide education. For instance the church in the DRC is acknowledged to having effectively replaced the state in providing public goods in these circumstances (Kaplan 2015:424-428). This also is reflected during the colonial period when the church was in charge of the welfare of the Congolese people (Section 2.3.1). After independence, the church in the DRC, as part of the civil society (section 5.4.1), played an important role in providing basic social services during the difficult time of dictatorship (Hendricks 2010:9).

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[333] It is interesting to notice that the natural resources of the DRC have also been at the heart of foreigners' interference in the country's affairs. King Leopold II was motivated by the natural resources of the DRC and initiated the Berlin Conference that resulted in colonization of the DRC (section 2.5.2). At the independence and after it, Americans and Europeans backed Mobutu in order for them to have full access to the resources of the DRC (section 2.5.3). Later, African regional powers invaded the DRC, with the blessing of multination corporations and the international community, in order to get the country's resources (sections 2.5.4 & 3.4.1.3).

There is also a positive side of the church's role both during the colonial and post-colonial periods. Both Catholic and the mainstream churches provided social services during the colonial period and they are still extending their social duties in different domains by providing with many social services to the population throughout the country. During the post-colonial period the Congolese church is associated with matters related to social services such as schools, as well as in political forums (as it was during the Sovereign National Conference). It is worth noting, therefore, that since 1990 the church in the DRC has organised platforms that serve for common actions to assist the people and state institutions (Mugaruka 2010).

During the colonial period the church (mainly the Catholic Church) produced medical assistants, clerks, nurses, teachers etc. through its missions (Ntalaja 2002:67). Indeed, the Catholic Church was in charge of education and healthcare during the colonial period in its partnership with the colonial authorities (Vanthemsche 2012:44). With regard to the mainstream churches' contribution to the well-being of the Congolese people, for instance, a Swedish Pentecostal missionary founded a clinic in Lemera in 1930 and this clinic was later transformed into one of the largest hospitals[334] in South Kivu. It is important to note, however, that all this took place while the Congolese people were still subjected to the many abuses of the colonial regime (Reybrouck 2014:88-98).

According to Reybrouck (2014:146, 147), the birth of Kimbanguism may be perceived as a response to the hardship of life imposed by the colonial regime. For many Congolese, a time of redemption had come and everyone had to go to Nkamba where Kimbangu was living as a form of religious pilgrimage. Although it was viewed as a time of redemption for some, many people also abandoned their fields and work, which had a negative economic impacts on their daily life. It also affected the colonial regime because it did not take long for the result of the movement to be experienced in Kinshasa where markets became empty whenever people went to Nkamba.

The AICs that were formed during the colonial period had a link to social conditions with a great focus on spirituality (Reybrouck 2014:148). Those formed during the period after independence could be seen as a response to the quest for well-being during the time of crisis. They have concerns for better social conditions and some leaders of these movements emphasise that redemption is both spiritual and physical (Reybrouck 2014:148, 490).

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[334] This hospital was attacked by the AFDL and the Rwandan troops in 1996 (2011:111-12).

Therefore, the birth of the AICs in the DRC can be perceived as "popular resistance to political and social oppression from the days of the colonial conquest to contemporary struggles against dictatorship and external aggression" (Ntalaja 2002:3).

With regard to the role of the AICs, one should be reminded that most AICs were established after independence and many of them took advantage of the situation of the misery and suffering of the Congolese people to make speeches with promises of miracles. The leaders of the new formation promise solutions to social, political and economic problems of the people who desperately need help if not a miracle (Tshibala 2000:37; cf. Magaruka M. 2010; cf. Reybrouck 2014:490). The same phenomenon took place in the 1990s and members of the new movements left their daily occupations to focus on prayer to change their situation (Lontulungu 2015) as was also the case with the Kimbanguism during the colonial period (Reybrouck 2014:146, 147).

In the case of the AICs, members come to them in quest of responses to their socio-economic problems (section 6.2). It can be argued that these members are exposed to a mode of obedience to the church leaders who promise them answers to their concerns (Semire 2011). One of the consequences of this practice is the instability of families because the church leaders come first and families come second. The spiritual leaders take valuable things they qualify to be influenced by demonic powers (Semire 2011). As a result, church leaders manipulate their members for self-interest (Tshikala 1999:68). As Semire (2011) further puts it, they seem to bring solutions to the issues of their members, but they also manipulate them by imposing a life of hardship, isolation and fear. In this condition, they succeed to spoil members spiritually, socially, politically and economically, affecting even marriages to the extent that people become totally under the control of these leaders. These practices find their background on the gospel of prosperity.

There are two main reasons for the easy penetration of the prosperity gospel for the success of such teaching in the African context (and, in this case, the Congolese context). First, the gospel addresses African thinking that human events are always influenced by spiritual powers; this can be a good luck or the bad luck. Second, this gospel has found a fertile ground in Africa because of the sufferings of Christians due to material and spiritual poverty. Therefore, church leaders use these weaknesses[335] to impose their doctrine to the members.

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[335] This reminds us of the the colonial period when missionaries used the weaknesses of the underprivileged to convert them to Christianity (Griffiths in Tshikala 1999:31).

Not only members are already suffering, but above all services there are rendered by these church leaders are to be paid (Simire 2011).

However, the same AICs' practices constitute a hindrance to development and open doors to conflict.[336] Leaders of these churches are putting their followers in what Lontulungu (2015) calls "prisons of belief". Also, members of these churches find themselves in a place of hopelessness because, instead of them going out to work using their skills and talents, they have to go to their meetings where they receive promises of a better life and where they also have to bring their financial and material contributions. This situation is also applicable to the time of the birth of Kimbanguism and it only contributes to poverty and conflict.

Also as local elites use conflicts for their personal interests (Sections 2.5.2 & 2.5.3) it may be assumed that church leaders may be tempted to also take advantage of either of conflict or of the state of poverty for their personal interests. This can be seen in the behaviours of church leaders who support corrupt governments and mainly through the behaviour of the AICs' leaders during the periods of crises in the DRC. It is even worst with the AICs where those elites who should be rebuked by the church leaders are simply honoured because they financially contribute to their churches. Both the colonial church and the present church have in common can be described as a failure to perceive the contradiction between their messages and the behaviours of politicians who were and are church members (Mugaruka 2010; Katho 2013). From all of these, one can argue that the Congolese church is involved to some extent in empowering people in light of different kinds of change that lead to sustainable development (Section 3.3).

6.6 *Shalom*, ecology and church in the DRC

As far as sustainable development is concerned, natural resources are to be used wisely so that they can meet the needs of the present and those of the future, and an abusive use of the natural resources mostly affects the poor (Section 3.3). In the DRC, there is an abusive use of natural resources (Section 3.4.1.3) and the church has a role to play in this regard. This means church in the DRC is not completely silent with regard to the issues of the environment. At a meeting in October 2015, the Congo's Catholic Bishops called for Western governments to stop their abusive exploitation of the natural resources that has negative impacts on the environment. Therefore, they also stressed the importance that these resources have to improve the life of the people. They accused Western firms for using violent groups in order

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[336] In principle religion is to be an agent of development and peace (see section 5.5).

to exploit illegally the resources including animals of the DRC. They founded their claims on the fact that all human beings must enjoy their dignity because they all are created in the image of God. They also blamed the government for not responding to their appeal concerning these issues (Luxmoore 2015; cf. Fides 2010).

Although the church has a steward mandate over all of God's creation (Section 5.4.2), the Congolese church seems to have failed to fulfil this mandate. There might be many explanations for this. The gospel of prosperity preached by most of the leaders of the AICs (Section 6.4) constitutes a hindrance to the protection of the environment because the main focus of their sermons is on wealth and there is no place for addressing issues that affect the environment. The relationship between the church and the state can also blind the church members to such an extent that they are unable and/or unwilling to expose any abusive exploitation of the national resources. For instance, during the colonial period, the Catholic Church was not able to stand against the abusive exploitation of the natural resources by the Belgians in the DRC (Section 2.5.2). Furthermore, the DRC has a weak involvement in the protection and conservation of nature because most sermons do not deal with the human's responsibility to take care of God's creation (Ndunzi 2015). There appears to be a weak involvement of the Congolese Christian church in the conservation of the environment, and this can be explained by the lack of a sound theological understanding of development (Ndunzi 2015).

6.7 Church and peace-building in the DRC

With regard to the Catholic Church, its mission in peace-building originates from the Vatican II Council[337] when the Peace and Justice Commission called the church to address the issues of poverty and social justice among nations. In the DRC the Peace and Justice Commission that was created in 1978 has as mission to work toward studies, research, training and action for social justice, peace, respect of human rights, democracy and good governance according to the church social doctrine (Malelo 2015). Kimbanguism focuses its mission on the spiritual life (teaching of the Word of God and reverence of the country's authority) and on the social life (quest for the wellbeing of people) (Wiley 1982). The mission of the AICs that belong to the ERC[338] is twofold: to promote peace between God and human beings, and to promote

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[337] This was a council that was launched by Pope John XXIII (1962-5), in order to adapt the life of the church toward ecumenism with a great participation of the laity. Also the use of dialects was encouraged instead of Latin (2002:442-3).

[338] ERC stands for Eglise de Réveil du Congo.

reconciliation between human beings, which brings national cohesion (La Prosperité 2015). Other AICs that do not belong to the ERC have their own mission statements, which might be different to that of the ERC. However, the common mission of the church is to promote all the Kingdom values (Section 5.3.1).

The church in the DRC has the duty to work toward reconciliation and peace, which are the characteristics of the manifestation of the Kingdom of God (Section 5.3). However, the church has played a negative role in this regard. During the colonial period, mission schools also played a negative role in dividing Congolese people by deepening the many differences between the many tribes living in the DRC. Reybrouck (2014:115) points out that "mission schools were factories for tribal prejudice… Pigmies were depicted as being less human in many handbooks of the people of Bongandanga in the late 1920s". It may be possible that the Congolese were divided before, however, it should be noted that mission schools certainly deepened these divisions. Also, missionaries introduced ethnicity through education and Reybrouck (2014:114) points out at one of its instances:

> In a grammar used by missionaries of the Sacred Heart in Bandaka in the 1930s, one finds the following reading exercise: "our language is Lonkundo… Although some people like to speak Lingala, we love our Lonkundo best. The language is very beautiful and has many shades of meanings. We are very fond of it. It is a language given to us by our ancestors.

It is arguable that one of the reasons there have always been political crises in the DRC since independence is because Congolese people were not ready for independence. Education-wise, the church contributed to the ill-preparation of the Congolese people for their future responsibility, because education was entrusted to the missionaries. The church can be seen here as simply carrying on with the coloniser's ideology of keeping the Congolese people under their control instead of preparing them for their future responsibilities (see Sections 2.5.2 & 6.2).

The Christian faith assigns to the believers the obligation of a life of righteousness, honesty, love and justice (Section 5.3.1) in every aspect of life. Once the church loses its authenticity, it ends up by being inactive. As it were, three quarters of the population in Rwanda and the DRC are baptised Christians (Mugaruka 2010). However, with regard to the Rwandan genocide and to the wars in the DRC, one may therefore question the quality of faith and the results of evangelism as opposed to discipleship. This situation challenges the church to re-explore with the kind of messages that focus on the moral re-education of its members. This

is because "*On ne peut, en effet, être un bon Chrétien, tout en étant un mauvais citoyen*" (one cannot, in fact, be a good Christian and be a bad citizen) (Mugaruka 2010). The church should begin by teaching itself before it teaches the world and this is done through an engaged love that respect all human beings and promotes their dignity (Mugaruka 2010).

Generally speaking, the church is not immune from ethnic tensions (section 6.2) and the first need is to have the church reconcile with itself . It should, therefore, make sure that all human justice is applicable to all human beings because there is hope that God is always ready to forgive (Section 5.3.1.5). Also, this hope is founded on the eschatological peace of God that renews the peace of the beginning when there was peace among all creatures (Section 5.3.1.6). The church is an established organisation that may assist to repair the wrongs of the past through restitution (Section 5.3.1.4). Unfortunately, the Congolese church has ethnic tensions and needs also to be reconciled with itself (Section 6.2).

6.8 Summative conclusion

Shalom, sustainable development, well-being, reconciliation and peace-building are directly connected, and Practical Theology helps to address the situation of the people in need. The church and the state are two separate organisations but which should work together in complementarity in order to fulfil their mission. However, the church in the DRC has not fully accomplished its mission for the establishment of *shalom* through sustainable development and peace. The church in the DRC has a history of corrupted relationships with different regimes from the colonial period to now.

There are some kinds of ethnic tensions within the church in the DRC. Also, the church in the DRC has not addressed properly the problem of poverty due to the lack of theological training. The church is run as a private business and there is lack of prophetic dimension and faith together with ignorance of socio-political issues from church leaders. In addition, the church leaders offer social services as in a way of charity with a paternalistic attitude. There is lack of religious and spiritual training. Access to the natural resources is central to the country's conflict and state of underdevelopment and the church has played a negative role in this regard.

Chapter 7: Conclusion and Recommendations

7.1 Introduction

In this thesis, there was an attempt to answer the research question: *What is the relationship between sustainable development and conflict and in what ways can the church and its leadership – in the Democratic Republic of Congo – contribute to its resolution?* The study makes use of descriptive and explanatory methods (Section 1.5) in order to do so and in light of chapters 2 & 3 and chapter 4, one can say that the Congolese situation has altogether national, regional and international connotations. Contextual information was drawn from different recorded events in an attempt to understand the Congolese crisis at these three levels. Both development (sections 1.3.3 & 3.3) and theological (section 1.6.1) lenses are explored. This is followed by a description and analysis of to the role of the church in conflict resolution and sustainable development regarding the concept of *shalom* (chapters 5 & 6). It should be noted that issues drawn from the chapters are only those perceived as having a negative impact on the Congolese crisis and calls our attention to actions that may establish lasting peace and sustainable development in the country.

According to the MONUSCO's[339] chief, Martin Kobler (Radiookapi, 2014)[340], the DRC has all it takes to become a stable country. Besides, it is important to stress the fact that the church in the DRC clearly has potentials to influence the social, economic political and environmental issues affecting Congolese people because more than 90% of the Congolese population are Christians (section 2.5.1). It is perhaps also important to note Mandela's praise of the broad ecumenical movement's role in the demise of Apartheid – he nevertheless reminded the church at that time that it could not "afford to retreat to the cosines of the sanctuary" – but that it needed to play the role of "a midwife to the birth of democracy" (Walshe 1997:398). It could be said that the Congolese church is a sleeping giant that need awakening in order to herald God's *shalom* into situations of conflict and poverty (section 6.4). This chapter sets out to review the key contextual, development and theological issues that emerged from previous chapters. This is followed by recommendations with regard to the church's role in conflict resolution and sustainable development. The chapter will provide pointers to what can still be done for further study in this field.

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[339] MONUSCO stands for "Mission de Nations Unies pour la Stabilisation de la republique democratic du Congo" (United Mission Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo).
[340] RDC: Le Gouvernement devra s'attaquer aux racines du conflict en 2014, selon Martin Kobler, available online on the website: http: //radiookapi.net/actualité/2014/01/02/drc-the-government-devra-sattaquer-aux-racines-du-conflict-en-2014-selon-martin-kobler/

7.2 Key Issues emerging from the chapters

The Congolese crisis can only be explored and better understood by reflecting on the different recorded invents of the country and the region. For instance, the Congolese conflict may find its origin in the Rwandan conflict, which has a strong ethnical connotation (sections 2.3.2 & 2.4). These events do not only explore the economic-political life of the Congolese but also the role of the church at different periods of the history of the country. Two main points constitute this section: (i) an overview of conflict and development issues in Congo as they are reflected in its history and (ii) the church's failure to respond to these issues.

7.2.1 Overview of conflict and development issues in the Democratic Republic of Congo as reflected in its history

The colonial legacy both in the region and in the DRC has a negative impact on conflict and development of the region and the DRC. Although the colonial administration did not create ethnicity in the region and in the DRC, it contributed in its deepening in order to advance their own interests. Congolese people were not treated with dignity during the slave and colonial period and there were many cases of ill-treatment by the colonial administration and their partners from the business sector. The colonial administration did not provide adequate education to Congolese although the main responsibility was allocated to the church. The Congolese were, therefore, ill prepared to run their own country following the independence, which led to crises that still prevail to this day. One example of this is the fact that political parties that were formed before independence were formed with ethnic connotation showing that educationally the Congolese people did not receive proper education with regard to dealing with ethnic tensions (Sections 2.5.2 & 4.4).

Ethnicity (or tribalism) has played an important role in the crisis of the DRC (Sections 4.2.2; 4.3.2 & 4.4.2) particularly the creation of political parties, which have developed in the DRC along tribal or ethnic lines. This may further be explained by the fact that ethnic (or tribal) social organisations were transformed into political parties (Section 2.5.2). The ethnic (or tribal) connotation of political parties may also be perceived within political parties within the Great Lakes Region (sections 2.4.1 & 2.4.2) and this have affected present political parties in the DRC and the region, and the church and its leadership are not exempted (section 6.3).

The church, which during the colonial history was mainly the Catholic Church, was a partner of the colonial administration and the business sector and was in control of education and

social services. The mainstream churches were discriminated by the colonial administration in favor of the Catholic Church and the rise of Kimbanguism was perceived as a threat by the same administration as well as the Catholic Church. Although Kimbanguism was perceived by Congolese as an answer to their situation, it also contributed to the situation of poverty as people left their jobs to follow Kimbangu (sections 2.5.2 & 5.2).

At independence, the 'superpowers'[341] did not withdraw from the politics of the DRC, and their interference played a negative role in the conflict that saw the first elected Prime Minister Lumumba killed in unknown circumstances. Later, the same superpowers gave their support to the dictatorial administration of Mobutu up to the time when they had no need of his support. Again when a plot was organised from the region to remove Mobutu, the international community would once again play a negative role by supporting Rwanda and Uganda (Section 3.4 & Section 3.5). As a result, Mobutu was forced to organise a national conference (the "Sovereign National Conference") and its leadership was given to a Christian church leader. This crisis was, nevertheless, not resolved and the conference was even viewed as deepening ethnic divisions (section 6.4.2).

Beside the international support, the Mobutu regime also enjoyed strong support from the church –mainly the mainstream churches and the African Independent Churches (AICs). However, the Catholic Church became a strong prophetic voice during that time and has remained such a voice until today. The introduction and implementation of the concept of Zairianization was at the heart of the decline of the Congolese economy that was flourishing during the Mobutu administration. After Mobutu had lost complete control of the country and after being abandoned by the West, he was removed from power by a rebellion that was organized from the region (mainly Rwanda and Uganda) (section 2.5.3).

The conflict in Rwanda and the Rwandan genocide played a major role in the DRC conflict and one could argue that the Rwandan conflict was transported to the DRC. In fact, the presence of '*genocidaires'* in the eastern part of the DRC was well perceived as such by both Congolese and the Kigali administration, who then used the opportunity to launch an attack on the DRC in 1996 (Sections 2.4.3 & 4.3.1). Although the arrival of Laurent Kabila was initially celebrated in Kinshasa, it did not take long before he was attacked by those who brought him into power. From this time onwards, many rebel groups were formed. Laurent Kabila was assassinated and Joseph Kabila took power. The latter then engaged in

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[341] These are the Europeans and Americans.

reconciliation efforts that brought a relative peace to the country and the first democratic elections, which were highlighted as having many irregularities. These elections were also presided over by a mainstream church leader. It is, therefore, important to note that the Independent Electoral Commission in the DRC falls under the responsibility of the church. Joseph Kabila currently enjoys the supports of the mainstream churches and of the AICs, but has received critique from the Catholic Church (section 6.4.1).

The Congolese crisis is very complex as it has an interstate and intrastate connotation and may be defined in terms of both hidden and open conflict. It is a structural, ethnic and economic-political conflict (sections 3.4.1 & 4.4.3). It has produced a negative impact on the development of the country because it has contributed to the killing of the human resources besides the destruction of the materials and exploitation of the natural resources, which together are the products for the implementation of development. The conflict has offered opportunities to a minority of Congolese, people of the region and multinational cooperation to advance their hidden agenda in order to satisfy their own interests while Congolese are kept in their misery (section 4.4.3).

Besides some rebel groups that appeared in the 1960s, the conflict of 1996 saw the creation of many rebellions and armed groups[342]. After the peace agreement of 2003 in Sun City, M23 (section 2.5.4) became the biggest movement that constituted a real threat to the government. Again, regional neighbours such as Rwanda and Uganda were accused of being behind the M23 movement but most of the remaining movements seem to be mainly from within the country. If we consider the words of Kobler, the end of the M23 movement does not necessarily mean the end of the conflict (Radio Okapi 2014).

The UN has played a crucial role in the Congolese crises from the 1960s to the present time (section 3.2.3). There are negative and positive sides of the UN involvement in the DRC. The first involvement did not go according to the principles of the UN even though it helped to pacify the country. The current phase came a little bit late but it is still doing a considerable work in the country (section 4.4.1). Although the church in the DRC seems to be divided, it has played an important role in advocating for the cause of the country to the UN and in many Western countries including the USA.

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[342] There are still sporadic fighting in the provinces of Katanga, Equateur and in the eastern part of the country.

7.2.2 The relationship between Sustainable Development and conflict resolution

The long crisis of the DRC can only be understood in light of what is developed in chapters 2 & 3 and their interpretations in relation to different theories developed in chapter 4. Peace and sustainable development in the DRC (section 3.5) are still long processes and the church still has an important role to play in the socio-political and economic life of the country. The DRC needs good policies and strong structures that may help build national cohesion and the church and its leadership can play an important role in this regard. Also, once all Congolese become proud of being Congolese and can identify themselves as Congolese, then those in power who seek their own interests will struggle to use ethnicity in order to marginalise others.

The concepts of sustainable development and conflict resolution have been dealt with in chapter 3. It has been established in this chapter that conflict and sustainable development are directly interconnected. As a result, the state of conflict in the country has direct negative impacts on its development and vice-versa. It is noted in chapter 3 (section 3.5) that the conflict in the DRC has negative impacts on the country's development. There is poverty in the country because of conflict and the state of poverty has created potentials for many forms of conflict – as illustrated by tracing the causes of the many different conflicts of the history of the country in the aforementioned chapters.

7.2.3 *Shalom* as theological response to the relationship between Development and Conflict resolution

Although there is a crisis in the DRC, God is concerned with and involved in his creation, which is regarded as being good and whole when it was created. Human beings are responsible for the destruction of the good creation. As a result, God is working toward the restoration of his world, and humans are invited to join him through obedience of his word and his Holy Spirit (chapter 5).

This thesis has proposed that a theological perspective based on the concept of *shalom* as the fundamental basis of a lasting peace and a sustainable development, and that the Kingdom values related to this notion are the main means towards the establishment of *shalom* (section 5.3.1). In other words, it is difficult, if not impossible, to have lasting peace and sustainable development where there is no love, justice, mercy, grace, forgiveness, freedom, hope – all of which constitute Kingdom values. It is important to note that peace and sustainable development can only take place through the transforming power of the Holy Spirit (section

5.5). The church is considered as the main agent of *shalom* even if God can use people outside of the church to establish it (section 5.4.2).

Therefore, sustainable development grounded on people's well-being is a sign of the establishment of *shalom*. Sustainable development and reconciliation are means for freeing people from oppression and marginalisation. They are also means that promote human dignity. Sustainable development, reconciliation, peace-building and well-being are interconnected concepts and may all be regarded as deeply connected to the theological notion of *shalom* (section 5.7).

7.2.4 Churches' failure to respond

Although the church has been present in the DRC beginning with the slave trade, it has failed to critically challenge the industries and states that have taken advantages of the most marginalised Congolese and has even allowed itself to become complicit in this ill treatment at various times in Congolese history. It is clear, for example, that despite the fact that the church was given responsibility for the Congolese education system, the church and its leadership have failed to deliver a kind of education that promotes the well-being of the Congolese. The church seems also to have failed to get engaged positively in the most pressing issues that affect the DRC such as: the establishment of refugee camps of Rwandans in the eastern part of the DRC (section 2.4.3), and the ill-treatments of the Congolese by different regimes at different periods of their history.

Some sectors of the church entertained corrupted relationships with different regimes in the DRC. In this regard, it has been noted that the Catholic Church was used during both the slave trade and the colonial period (sections 2.3.1 & 2.5.2). Further evidence of this include the mainstream churches and Kimbanguism's support of the Mobutu administration with the blessing of Western powers and the US and more recently the mainstream churches and the AICs support the Kabila administration during the conflict period – support which is undergirded by the influence of regional, international and multinational corporations (Sections 4.4.3 & 7.4).

It cannot be overemphasised that the church in the DRC has been given different opportunities to serve the people of the DRC in order to promote lasting peace and sustainable development at different periods of its history. Three of these opportunities are (i) the church's role in education during the colonial period (sections 2.3.1 & 2.5.2); (ii) the appointment of a church leader as chairperson of the Sovereign National Conference during

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the Mobutu administration (section 6.4.2); and (iii) within the democratic process during the post Mobutu administration when the position of the chairperson of the independent electoral commission was given to a church leader under whose auspices the elections were conducted (section 2.5.4).

With regard to education, the church has failed to assist in producing what Green (2008:42) qualifies to be a "good quality education that is emancipatory, a path to greater freedom and choice, and opens the door to improve health, earning opportunities, and material well-beings". As noted in the research (section 2.5.2), the colonial education system did not prepare Congolese for future responsibilities in their country. Beside the lack of education, there is the fact that social organisations were simply transformed into political parties (section 2.5.3). The church and its leadership failed in their responsibility to help Congolese to learn to be self-reliant in order to achieve their own development.

Furthermore, during the Sovereign National Conference led by a Catholic Church leader, the issues of ethnicity were not handled correctly, which resulted in the rejection of the "Banyamulenge" who were simply considered to be "foreigners" (sections 2.5.3 & 4.2.2). Also, the outcome of the 2011 elections was headed by a Protestant church leader, and has been labelled as controversial, thus putting the country on a dangerous democratic path. This compounded the issues identified during the democratic election in 2006, which also was also disputed (section 2.5.4). Such failed opportunities by the church highlight the fact that the church has not done enough to address the resolution of the crises in the DRC and that, in certain instances, they have even contributed to the perpetuation of the crisis.

Five factors have been identified as basic to an understanding of the failure of the church to fulfil its mission in the DRC: (1) the privatisation of the church, (2) the provision of social services as charities without any sense of empowering the beneficiaries, (3) lack of a prophetic dimension, (4) lack of faith and ignorance of socio-political issues, and (5) lack of theological training. There is need of public recognition of all wrongdoings[343] and a sincere repentance before God and fellow human beings – this alone will lead to a lasting solution to the Congolese crisis. In such an initiative, the church and its leadership are called to play a key role in terms of reconciliation.

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[343] For instance, Congolese have been hurt by their fellows just because of their belonging to such or such ethnic group as it was the case of Kasaians in Katanga Province. Also Congolese contributed in one way or another to the murder of their political leaders (such as Lumumba and Laurent Kabila) even if the blame is always on foreigners. It is, perhaps, also worth mentioning that many foreigners were also hurt during the process of Zairianisation when they lost their properties and goods (sections 3.4 & 3.5).

7.3 Recommendations

All the recommendations that are presented below arise from the key findings and analysis of information collected from the literature study. They are mainly directed at the Congolese Church, however, they may also inform the practices of church leaders, churches in other parts of Africa and the rest of the world that may be experiencing challenges similar to those described in this research.

1. **Address dualistic spirituality and promote a more holistic theology**: The church and its leadership should ensure that people become involved in the process of finding solutions to their own problems instead of simply watching from a distance and praying that things will improve. Prayer has to go with actions; that is, Christians should be involved in the political affairs of their countries where they are both citizens and part of the government; people should also follow the whole will of God (Kinoti in Van der Walt 2003:56-9). The church in the DRC should critically get involved in the socio-political and economic life of the country out of compassion. The church should seek to produce Christians who are able to analyse the social and religious situations, and who seriously engage with the Bible, and who are able to hear and respond the cry of the people of the DRC and the region. Theology should be directed towards reflection and actions for moral education based on the understanding of the mission of the church as being both spiritual and socio-political. Evangelisation and the management of politics should work hand in hand for the well-being of humankind (Mugaruka 2010). One way of doing this is through formation and training of church members (clergy and laity) in issues related to sustainable development and peace. Also, the church should encourage their members and communities to be aware or get involved in the economic-political issues of the DRC. This also implies a need of a sound practical theology based on the compassion of God.

2. **Church partnership across denominational lines and with civil society should be encouraged as a means towards tackling more complex issues together:** The Congolese church need to work in partnership and develop greater ecumenical cooperation with each other nationally, with the region and at the international level to address the different issues affecting the Democratic Republic of Congo. Therefore,

CENCO[344] on the Catholic side, ECC[345] on the mainstream churches side and RERC[346] on the AICs should work together and with their partners at regional and international levels in order to find solution to the crisis of the Democratic Republic of Congo.The church should also work in partnership with different organisations and civil societies actors in peace-building and development initiatives.

3. **Promote reconciliation and peace-building:** The church should advocate and work towards building a strong national cohesion which will, in turn, reduce the intensity of ethnic conflict. They should appeal to the government, political leaders and ethnic group leaders to publically engage in the promotion of a national reconciliation between ethnic groups because "only the community can decide to embark on a process of reconciliation and healing as a collective" (Du Toit 2003:282). This recommendation is also in line with the sixteenth goal of the SDGs (section 1.7.3). In this regard, leaders of different ethnic groups should publically recognise and repent of any wrongdoing that their ethnic groups have committed to others. Political leaders should publically acknowledge and repent of the wrongdoings that were attached to the introduction of Zairianisation and looting. Again, they should repent on behalf of the Congolese people for their contribution to the murder of their own political leaders such as Lumumba and Laurent Kabila. The church should play a major role if these aims are to be reached. The church in the DRC should work together with other churches within the region to bring about reconciliation between the different people of the region by publically recognising and confessing any wrongdoing that has affected others. Peace-building initiatives that promote hope, forgiveness and reconciliation such as the one developed from the ministry of the Flame International could be implemented by FBOs, church denominations and local congregations as grassroots initiatives to promote peace (section 6.6).

4. **Reclaim their role with regard to education:** The church should use the different opportunities and agencies it has to work for peace and sustainable development. Educationally, the church should train and inform people about their rights and duties as active citizens. The church in the DRC still has schools under its control and can use these venues together with their pulpits for these purposes. As Green (2008:42) puts it "education is crucial in breaking the cycle of poverty. It is a right in itself, and

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[344] CENCO stands for Conference Episcopale Nationale du Congo
[345] ECC stands for Eglise du Christ au Congo
[346] RERC stands for Regroupement des Eglises de Reveil au Congo

it equips individuals to lead full lives, understand the world and ultimately gain the self-confidence to make themselves heard." This recommendation also responds to the fourth goal of the SDGs (section 1.7.3)

5. **Promote participation of the people at grassroots in their own development:** The church in the DRC should ensure that Congolese people are always part and parcel of any process of development or conflict resolution at grassroots. Members should be trained to go about implementing processes of conflict resolution and sustainable development about their country.

6. **Advocate for creation care:** Any moral teaching from the church and its leadership should include commitment to the natural world and a struggle for more just social order so as "to establish and protect healthy ecosystems where all living creatures can flourish" (Johnson 2000:16). In this regard, the church should use all the opportunities and agencies at its disposal to educate members concerning the awareness and commitment to the integrity of creation (Mische 2000:595). This recommendation is also part of sustainable development with reagards to the sixth, twelfth, thirteenth and fifteenth goals of the SDGs (section 1.7.3). In light of the summary of the report of the committee of the World Evangelical Fellowship Theological Commission Unit on Ethics and Society/Au Sable Forum 1992 on Evangelical Christianity and the Environment (Samuel & Sudgen 1999:356-7), the following recommendations are also applicable to the Congolese church and its leadership:

   • The Christian community needs to develop practical policy approaches to the environment and environmental issues, based on biblical principles and sound analysis.

   • Christians need to form and join environmental organisations that apply explicitly Christian principles to environmental problems.

   • The Christian community must be willing to identify and condemn social and institutionalised evil, especially when it becomes embedded in a system. It will purpose solutions which both seek to reform and (if necessary) replace creation-harming institutions and practices.

   • Churches should seek to develop as creation-awareness centres in order to exemplify principles of stewardship for their members and communities and to express both delight in and care for creation in their worship and celebration. They

should particularly aim to produce curricula and programmes which encourage knowledge and care of creation.

- The Christian community must initiate and support the process of education (for all its members) on the Christian approach to environment ethics. In particular, Christian colleges and seminaries should provide teaching in this area. The church's goal should be the growth of earth-keepers, both in the habits of everyday life, and in the provision of leadership for the care of creation.

7. **Advocate for the rights of marginalised groups:** As agents of change, the church in the DRC (together with the church from the region and the international community) should advocate to the UN for a proper handling of the refugees' issues to avoid the repletion of the events after the Rwandan genocide of 1994 when camps in the eastern part of the DRC became strongholds of the FGOR[347] leading to the current situation.

8. **Repent of its complicity in promoting weak and self-enriching church leadership that has not served the interests of the people:** The church and its leadership in the DRC should fulfil their office as priest to work toward a genuine reconciliation between human beings and God and among human beings. As prophets, the church should courageously denounce any kind of sin; and as king it should lead by example, for instance, church members should live a godly life according to God's will and purpose for the whole of his creation. The church should practically live by their calling as "salt" of the earth and "light" of the world, and also help Congolese leaders to realise that their political carrier is an apostleship to serve the people, and avoid self-enrichment. The church and its leadership should also strive for:

> Another society, another humanity, another system of production, another style of living together, both within the family and society as a whole. We must struggle against alienating forces, and at the same time, give back to people their responsibility for themselves and their bodies, teaching them to challenge anything that smacks of chance and destiny (Élas in Katongole 2011:109).

9. **Prophetic challenge to the state and multinationals, regional and international levels in order to find lasting solutions to the current situation of the DRC and the region:** This should also be done in order to encourage politicians in the region to ensure that they accept to negotiate with their respective rebel groups for a lasting

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[347] Former Government of Rwanda

peace and sustainable development. For example, the church should encourage and promote the call of the MONUSCO chief, Martin Kobler (Radiookapi 2014) to the government in the DRC to work for the regulated exploitation of natural resources, regional cooperation that is more dynamic and stable and the respect of human rights which he considers to be the keys of ending the crisis and the beginning of dynamics to peace and development. This recommendation also promotes the fifteenth goal of the SDGs (section 1.7.3).

The church and its leadership in the Democratic Republic of Congo should embrace and engage critically with Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and any project that promotes peace and human rights because these are simply parts of the church's core mission.

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Appendix

Map of the Democratic Republic of Congo

Source: www.mapsofworld.com/democratic