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Causes of the Congolese Civil Wars and their implications for Humanitarian Assistance*

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1. Introduction

In the present article I will undertake the effort to provide some of the underlying theoretical explanations to the Congolese civil wars between 1996-1997, 1998-2001 and the following period of smouldering conflict in the country. Accordingly the major developments in these periods shall be presented together with a broader historical sketch and analysed afterwards forasmuch as they appeared to have a shaping role for the involvement of humanitarian actors.

1.1 State Failure

Defining weak statehood, state failure or state collapse, scholars face various analytical problems. The conceptual distinction of strong, weak, failed and collapsed states is rather subjective[1] and relies on chosen indicators and their gradual forming.

Robert I. Rotberg has given a broadly accepted classification of the mentioned phenomena.[2] It relies on the basic hypothesis of the state existing "to provide a decentralized method of delivering political (public) goods to persons living within the designated parameters (borders)."[3] Within this framework the state operates in a wide frame of "dimensions"[4] structured by the specific situation in which it is acting but as well relying on

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[1] Cf. Akude, John Emeka (2009): *Governance and Crisis of the State in Africa. The Context and Dynamics of the Conflicts in West Africa.* Adonis & Abbey, London, pp. 29-30.

[2] Rotberg, Robert I. (2004, ed.): *When States Fail. Causes and Consequences.* Princeton University Press, Princeton, pp. 1-50.

[3] Ibid, p. 2.

[4] Ibid.

the "hierarchy of political goods."[5] "The supply of security"[6] turns out to be the most important one. Beyond human security (with the notion of territorial security), other political goods including "methods of adjusticating disputes and regulating […] norms and […] mores" and "the right to participate"[7] are central ones a state is responsible to offer. Going further "medical and health care", "schools and educational instruction", "roads, railways, harbors and other physical infrastructures", "communication networks"[8] and various basic requirements for promising economical activity[9] followed by an equitable "sharing of the environmental commons"[10] are qualified as political goods.

Since it is difficult to measure this hierarchical frame, Akude offers an alternative built on the monopolisation of three instruments, verbatim "violence, taxation (including resource extraction) and law making."[11] An example would be a state losing its monopoly of violence in the legal area. As soon as the principle of general rule of law and independent jurisdiction vanishes, or the rule of law becomes irrelevant, patronage politics become easier as the elites create an environment free from accountability and other control mechanisms. The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is an example in numerous regards.

To answer the question whether a state is strong or weak, the whole set of mentioned goods is necessary. The logic behind this is obvious as "weak states show a mixed profile."[12] Hence a state may perform very well in providing security while not providing participation to its citizens.[13] In order to distinguish between strong, weak, failed and collapsed states the defined political goods have to be taken into consideration. Whereas strong states "deliver a full range and a high quality of political goods to their citizens"[14] weak states generically underperform in certain aspects. To measure the weakness of states Rotberg suggests various indicators including Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita, the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) Human Development Index, Transparency

[5] Ibid, p. 3.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] A functioning financial system. Further explanation in: Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Akude, p. 32.
[12] Rotberg. p. 4.
[13] Though this might be a rather improbable case but not an impossible one.
[14] Ibid, p. 4.

International's Corruption Perception Index or the Freedom of the World Report.[15]

In cases where weakness is accompanied by intense violence and warring fractions, acting against government, states may be characterized as failed or collapsed. Thereby, "the enduring character" and "the consuming quality" of the occurring violence are important rather than "the absolute intensity."[16] Among further indicators of state failure, "criminal violence" can play a role. A core part of Rotberg's argumentation consists of the notion that failed states are "not longer able or willing" to fulfil their responsibilities. Both conditions are very different, but can equally be the reason why a state loses its legitimacy.[17] In the case of DRC, the question of ability and will cannot be answered with certainty. Just as little, one can measure failure only by aggregate data sets, as another principal factor derives from the idea that relational allocation of political goods within the state plays a structuring role. Above all, the grade of weakness is not stable in relation to time as observable in DRC where the state has been oscillating between weakness, failure and collapse during the 1990s.[18]

1.2 Shadow-Statehood

This concept refers to a definition elaborated by William Reno.[19] While concepts of state failure emphasize the institutional frameworks, this approach rather points to the extra-institutional field. Reno employs the term shadow state to describe a political environment characterized by the existence of a sphere located parallel to the official and institution-based state. This shadow state is "a very real, but not formally recognized, patronage system that was rigidly organized and centered on rulers' control over resources."[20] In a shadow state, private networks challenge formal institutions. Still, as Akude argues, "external recognition is the basis of authority"[21] forasmuch as "shadow states have judicial, but seriously lack empirical sovereignty and even legitimacy."[22] Yet that recognition implies no further need to develop domestic legitimacy, as a regime "gathering critical resources either from superpower

[15] Cf. Ibid.
[16] Ibid, p. 5.
[17] Ibid, p. 9.
[18] Further, more detailed illustration of concrete indicators (electricity and water supply, telecommunication and such) see Rotberg (pp. 1-45) or amendments made by Akude (pp. 29-35).
[19] Cf. Reno, William (1999): *Warlord Politics and African States.* Lynne Rienner, Boulder/London.
[20] Reno 1999, p. 2.
[21] Akude, p. 71.
[22] Ibid.

patrons or from investors willing to invest"[23] is no longer dependent on taxation of domestic productive sectors.[24] In the majority of Sub-Saharan states primary resources and foreign aid represent a basic means of power allocation. Therefore, ruling elites are tempted to shift the level of control away from bureaucracy to the informal area. Within this area there is neither transparency nor accountability: The ruling regime can be seen as a pivotal point of politics whereas institutions supposed to offer general access to areas of public interest are deprived of their abilities and responsibilities.

This amounts to a sort of capture of the state allowing a pursuit "of power through purely personal means. This pursuit becomes synonymous with and indistinguishable from their private interests."[25] Such interests do not stop at the private allocation of wealth. It is rather a distinctive form of rule in weak states. Hence, systems of "patronage"[26] politics have replaced bureaucratic arrangements, which have turned out to be very weak. In such systems, rulers face a necessity to respond to interests of one or several clients in order to benefit from their support. Consequently, "private authority" of ruling elites overrides ideas of "collective authority."[27] This leads to the observation that the provision of goods in weak states is not declining equally but as Reno points out, "inhabitants do not enjoy security by right of membership in a state"[28], rather by membership of certain groups within the state. Other groups therefore tend to form similar set-ups, allowing extra-governmental leaders to pursue their motives by employing discourses of grievance. Foreign aid meant to generally enhance development or relieve suffering is likely to be captured by the shadow state.

1.3 The politics of the Belly[29]

Defined by Jean-François Bayart, this concept refers to the state being a 'milk-cow' for the tenants of political power.[30] It is linked to phenomena of corruption and nepotism.[31] The

[23] Reno, William (2000): *Shadow states and the Political Economy of Civil Wars*, in: Berdal, Mats/Malone, David: *Greed and Grievance. Economic Agendas in Civil Wars.* Lynne Rienner, Boulder/London, p. 45.
[24] Cf. ibid.
[25] Ibid, p. 3.
[26] Cf. Reno 1999, p. 2 and Akude, p. 71-72.
[27] Reno 1999, p. 3.
[28] Ibid.
[29] This term is translated from original French term 'La politique du ventre' taken up by Jean-François Bayart.
[30] Bayart, Jean-François/Ellis Stephen/Hibou, Béatrice (1999): *The Criminalization of the State in Africa (African Issues).* Indiana University Press/James Currey, Bloomington/Oxford, p. 8.

chronic weakness of the post-colonial state in Africa joined by a systematic lack of productive industries has perverted the state into a compensatory kind of enterprise. During the Cold War, that caused a considerable number of so-called proxy-wars[32], African leaders were basically not sanctioned but supported from outside, regardless if they practised corrupt politics or not. With the end of global bipolarity and "in the name of good governance and the workings of market"[33] the political climate changed and the international community now condemns corruption publicly, though that is often mere lip service. Globalization on the other hand has widely facilitated illegal economic activities.

Bayart et al. argue, "the relationship between economic accumulation and the tenure of power in Africa now exists in new conditions."[34] As mentioned above, distinct features of African political economies and the influence of Western ideas of the state allowed the emergence of so-called kleptocracies[35] in Africa. The reasons for that are widespread: On the one hand, the idea of the nation-state and western market economy does not merge with pre-colonial modes of governance. The colonial state resembles a cap drawn over the African continent. But instead of installing a copy of the traditional Westphalian state, colonies used to function like enterprises extracting as much goods as possible. This explains why post-colonial African regimes regard the state as a form of enterprise. The vicious circle we face nowadays has simply been established by the first regime in any state beginning to use the state for personal enrichment and the following incumbents performing similarly in order to compensate the generated mismatch. Akude implies this circle, noting that

> Using state power to accumulate personal riches over a long time produces a tendency that partly legitimises such practices and partly illegitimises the state in the hearts and minds of its citizens as the state increasingly loses its ability and readiness to provide public goods. After several decades, this process assumes a kind of path-dependence.[36]

On the other hand, benefits of globalisation and neo-liberal ideology eased transnational

[31] Cf. Akude, p. 68.
[32] This term describes a kind of war, mostly experienced in Sub-Saharan Africa, but marginally less in South America and Asia, characterized by domestic actors, i.e. the current government versus a major rebel army, which have been financially and logistically supported by the U.S. and the USSR in their struggle for power in the respective country. Mostly these wars had ideological connotations and were supposed to widen superpower influence in the concerned region.
[33] Bayart et al., p. 8.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Cp. Akude, p. 68.
[36] Ibid, p. 108.

cooperation between states and private companies as well as between non-state actors and private companies. Such trade connections already had a long tradition not least because African leaders were tempted to "enjoy a higher level of living comparative to the rest of their societies."[37] Recurring to Bayart, this has been recognized as "strategies of extraversion"[38] in scientific literature, as a pre-colonial phenomenon sustained in modified forms during colonial and post-colonial times.[39] Both explanations strengthen the underlying hypothesis of "the state, being a product of this trajectory of extraversion" and "an instrument of this strategy."[40] "The combination of positions of public office with positions of accumulation"[41] is still a pattern in the respective polities and the process of internationalisation and transnationalisation offers "new opportunities for […] illegal activities"[42] which as observable in the context of DRC, become virulent in the context of foreign, especially humanitarian aid.

2. State Failure and Civil War in Congo

The following paragraphs shall depict the historical context of DRC and display the complexity of its conflict layers. It is a short and descriptive compendium of the most important academic writings on DRC's (post-) colonial history and focuses on the country's conflictuous development between 1995 and 2005.

2.1 Congo Free State and Belgian Congo

Until the late 19th century, the region or state we call DRC today has been a little known area in Central Africa that had not region-wide centralised political structures. Between 1850 and 1900, Europeans and Arabs undertook several exploratory missions. In 1885[43], Léopold II, King of Belgium, managed to become sovereign of a territory whose borders have been defined by political negotiations rather than regional logics. In the following years, the Congo Free State was established and alongside with it infrastructure projects to promote the ruthless extraction of goods and a political architecture that included coercion and violence as means

[37] Ibid, p. 69.
[38] Akude, p. 69.
[39] Cf. Akude, p. 70.
[40] Ibid, p. 70.
[41] Corruption is defined that way by Bayart, p. 8.
[42] Bayart, p. 8.
[43] In Berlin where Africa was divided between various colonisers in absence of African representatives.

of rule. Backed by the 'Force Publique', which was some sort of local army under Belgian control, the colonial administration exploited the local population.

The end of the Congo Free State and its transformation into a public Belgian colony was a starting point for some minor changes such as the introduction of Congolese citizenship.[44] The economic structure of the colony differed from the previously private model though still remaining a predatory system that served colonial interests. Lots of corporations and joint ventures that still inured to the benefit of the Belgian economy after independence were established between 1908 and 1930.[45] On the social and political level, the main difference lied in the presence of colonial administration that was much more pervasive compared to its Free State predecessor and other colonial regimes as well. Furthermore, the Belgian administration installed some sort of indirect rule based, partly upon invented social structures.[46] In terms of education, the colonised population lacked knowledge and in economic terms[47], the Congolese were basically put under 'tutelle'. From 1958 on, the so-called 'évolués'[48] were the first group that succeeded in starting real political action against colonial rule. Upheavals spread across Léopoldville (later: Kinshasa) and finally provoked Belgium to release its colony to independence much earlier than planned.[49]

2.2 Independence and the Mobutu era

On the 30th of June 1960 the hitherto Belgian province became an independent state. This "occurred at a time when extensive colonial state planned industrialisation made Congo look like a better prospect for rapid development than many Asian countries."[50] But as we saw above this was also a time of social unrest, inequality and grievances of the population that had been abandoned by its colonisers who left not at lot more than the mere skeleton of what

[44] Cf. Johnson, Dominic (2008): Kongo. Kriege, Korruption und die Kunst des Überlebens. Frankfurt, Brandes und Apsel.
[45] Cf. ibid.
[46] Cf. ibid, p. 28.
[47] A detailed analysis of the (colonial) economy in Belgian Congo has been delivered by Jewsiewicki, B. (1977): *The Great Depression and the Making of the Colonial Economic System in the Belgian Congo*, in: African Economic History, No. 4. University of Wisconsin, Madison, pp. 153-176.
[48] This was the comparatively small group of young Congolese that enjoyed education and began to get politically active in the frame of different bodies similar to parties. The most prominent évolué is without doubt Patrice Emery Lumumba, later the first Prime Minister of independent Congo.
[49] Cf. Johnson 2008, p. 30 et seq.
[50] Reno William (2006): *Congo: From State Collapse to 'Absolutism', to State Failure*, in: Third World Quarterly, Vol. 27, No. 1. Taylor and Francis, London, p. 44.

had been the Belgian Congo in terms of administration, economy and infrastructure.[51]

President Joseph Kasa-Vubu[52] was the first head of state with Patrice Emery Lumumba as a Prime Minister. Administrative underdevelopment was though accompanying this government from its very first steps.[53] In addition, secessionist approaches of Katanga province opened up the struggle over natural resources and fuelled a latent state of confusion. Belgium reacted in deploying paratroopers to enhance Moise Tshombé's[54] attempt of secession and supported the mineral-rich province in its fight against the central government. In the light of permanent disorder the government of Lumumba and Kasa-Vubu rapidly became instable and divided.[55] Consequently Lumumba lost power and had to flee – he was captured and later killed under mysterious conditions.[56] The following years have been marked by the struggle for power that including numerous factions – Mobutu and the military, the Kasa-Vubu camp, Tshombé's Katanga and the Lumumbists.[57] Foreign powers, especially Belgium, the USA and France inferred at several points of time.[58]

On November 25th 1965, Mobutu seized power. After the first years of independence, the 'Maréchal's' action was rather welcomed by the Congolese who were tired of chaos and instability.[59] And in fact the new ruler re-established a certain level of order. He nationalised the economy and succeeded in promoting short-term economic rise and industrial progress.[60]

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[51] Cf. Johnson 2008, p. 31.

[52] Kasa-Vubu was a politician from the Bas-Congo province. He was the leader of the then influential ABAKO, one of the first black political movements in Belgian Congo.

[53] The notion of underdevelopment refers to the way this term is defined according to Eurocentric discourses.

[54] Tshombé was a Luba businessman and politician. In 1960 he was elected President of Katanga province.

[55] Both Kasa-Vubu and Lumumba removed each other from office. This was followed by the first coup of Joseph-Désiré Mobutu who was head of the army at that time. Cf. Johnson 2008, pp. 31-33.

[56] The assassination of Lumumba is still not completely cleared up. Probably he was executed by a group of Congolese from Katanga, but Belgian and US forces seem to have played some relevant role in facilitating this issue. Cf. Johnson 2008, p. 32. For a detailed and historically adequate description of the Lumumba case, please see: De Witte, Ludo (2000): *L'assasinat de Lumumba*. Karthala, Paris.

[57] Among others, Gaston Soumialot, Antoine Gizenga (who was Prime Minister under Joseph Kabila from 2006-2008), Christophe Gbenye and Pierre Mulele were the major representatives from this group that had its power base around Stanleyville/Kisangani. Cf. Johnson 2008, pp. 32-34.

[58] At that point, we cannot explain the post-independence confusions in detail. Johnson (2008) provides lots of information on that. A general history of the Congo has been provided by: Gondola, Ch. Didier (2002): *The History of Congo*. Greenwood, Westport/CT. In Chapter 7 he deals with the First Republic from 1960 to 1965.

[59] Cf. Johnson 2008, p. 41.

[60] This coincided with the de-federalisation of the political system, the development of a one-party system and increasing repression against oppositional forces. Further, Mobutu's boom relied on high commodity prices on the world markets. Cf. Johnson 2008, pp. 42-44. For some more detailed analysis of Mobutu's economic policy strategy and his dangerous liaisons with external investments, see: Reno 1998, pp. 147-181.

"Reforms in 1967 and fiscal austerity convinced foreign investors that Mobutu was serious about promoting economic growth."[61] First signs of corruption and patronage politics did not have a place in the public and international discourse at that time since the Congolese economy had convincing growth rates of about 10%.[62] 1967 was also the year the Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution (MPR) was founded by the Maréchal and his partisans that some time later became the only political party in the country. The following years were marked by the upcoming of repression and in 1971 the campaign of 'authenticité'[63] or 'zairianisation' was introduced by Mobutu: The country, its currency and the Congo river were given the name of Zaire[64] and its leader assumed the name of Mobutu Sese Seko and made the MPR party flag the national one.[65] The zairianisation led to the nationalisation of numerous agricultural and commercial enterprises whose assets were simply distributed through the clientelist network of MPR. From the 1970s on, Mobutu's system of clientelist relations was the dominant pattern of political economy in Zaire. One of the main reasons for which it was designed was the play-off of rival client formations. New networks of exploitation were the consequence of the nationalisation: They exacerbated the establishment of a felonious state: "These networks thrived on the dismantled Mobutist system of patrimonial exploitation of natural resources and the absence of a Weberian state system with tax collectors, a functioning bureaucracy and impartial judicial system."[66]

Socio-politically, Mobutu did not act differently. The oil crisis in the 1970s enhanced the downfall of Zairian economy due to its strong dependence on stock market prices for commodities. Even in the 1980s, this dynamic could not be stopped since Mobutu continued to pursue his mode of governance in order to cope with the claims of his entourage and other clients. The proportion of government expenditures allocated to the presidency rose from 28%

[61] Reno 2006, p. 47.
[62] Cf. Johnson 2008, pp. 42/43.
[63] The notion of authenticity often referred to a positive post-colonial (cultural) development and was linked to panafrican aspirations and the struggle for complete independence in the 1960s and 1970s. Cf Chabal, Patrick/Daloz, Sébastien (1999): *Africa works. Disorder as a political instrument*. James Currey, London, p. 61.
[64] Zaire is actually the misspelled Portuguese version of Nzadi, an ancient Kikongo word for the Congo river.
[65] Cf. ibid., p. 44.
[66] Tréfon, Théodore/Van Hoyweghen, Saskia/Smis, Stefaan (2002): *State Failure in the Congo: Perceptions & Realities*, in: Review of African Political Economy, Vol. 29, No. 93/94. Taylor and Francis, London, p. 380.

to 95% between 1972 and 1992.[67] At the same time that of social services stood at 17.5% in 1972 and vanished completely by 1992. The GDP per capita continued to decline from 434 USD in 1980 to 150 United States Dollar (USD) in 1987.[68] Aid already played a substantial role in the Zairian economy at that time.

To disperse possible uprisings, Mobutu publicly asked his people to follow his example. This is still known as 'article 15 – debrouillez-vous'.[69] As Tréfon et al. have shown his negligence in providing basic services to the Zairian population had a further political implication, too: "Mobutu kept people individually and creatively occupied in search of survival so as to avoid political mobilisation."[70] Internationally, he almost reached perfection in playing off superpowers and highly profited from Western support. Namely, Zaire received massive financial aid from the United States of America (USA) as Mobutu managed to display his country as an anti-communist stronghold[71] and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) that – probably following US interests – funded Zaire along different project lines at various times. In the context of such Cold War games it became obvious that "African political societies are duplicated between, on the one hand, a pays légal, a legal structure which is the focus of attention for multilateral donors and Western states, and one the other hand, a pays réel where real power is wielded"[72] is crucial to understand the structural nature of aid for developing countries. The breakdown of those systems came to some end as changing polarity and conditionality policies replaced ideological proximity as distribution factors for aid.

Threatened by declining foreign aid and the distance of his former allies, Mobutu

[67] German economist Erwin Blumenthal indicted the pervasiveness of the Mobutist system of distraction in a report written for the IMF in 1982. Cf. Johnson 2008, pp. 46-47.

[68] Cf. Johnson 2008, p. 47.

[69] This article never existed in any Congolese or Zairian constitution, but according to witnesses at various occasions Mobutu invited people to get along or cope with the economic scarcity in terms of illegal or semi-legal activities. Another factor for the economic downfall Zairians have been exposed to, was the hyperinflation of the Zaire and after its abolition, that of the New Zaire. Unfortunately we cannot depict this in detail due to space.

[70] Tréfon et al. 2002, p. 383.

[71] An image that was probably based on the perception of Mobutist struggle against the 'socialist' forces around Lumumba. This perception is though bizarre, given that it was Mobutu who elevated Lumumba in proclaiming him as a 'héros national' and implementing the originally Lumumbist ideas of nationalisation. Nevertheless the tradition of friendship between the USA and Zaire remained stable until the fall of the Iron Curtain.

[72] Bayart, Jean-François (2000): *Africa in the World: A History of Extraversion*, in: African Affairs, Vol. 99. London, pp. 229/230. Bayart also noted that "aid donors have shown themselves incapable of prevailing upon their African Partners to follow the prescriptions intended for them." This pattern is still relevant in the international aid system after 1990 and addresses potential problems of agency that will be relevant in both the theoretical and empirical parts of this thesis.

was urged to initiate seemingly democratic measures.[73] 1991, in the aftermath of the creation of various democratic bodies, massive riots and pillages shattered Kinshasa (and partly Lubumbashi, the capital of Katanga).[74] The outcome after 30 years of Mobutu leadership was a failed state including numerous conflict spots. The weak infrastructure remaining from colonial times was destroyed and the economy[75] was either imploded or informalised.[76] When the regime approached its final period, neighbouring Rwanda was shattered by the genocide of its Tutsi population that later served as a "catalyst"[77] for civil war and insecurity in the whole Great Lakes region. Both the history sketched up to this point and the genocide can be seen as different root causes for the contemporary conflict.[78]

2.3 The Rwandan Genocide and its consequences for DRC

April 6th 1994, then Rwandan president Juvénal Habyarimana and his Burundian counterpart Cyprien Ntaryamira were killed in a plane crash. Afterwards, the political situation in Rwanda got out of control. For several years, Rwanda had experienced a civil war between Hutu and Tutsi populations. A peace agreement between Hutu government and the Tutsi opposition in 1993 already provoked radical forces within the Hutu-dominated Forces Armées Ruandaises (FAR) and the 'interahamwe' militia[79] to become active in averting the reconciliation.[80] The crash was followed by the Rwandan army putting countrywide roadblocks. The interahamwe were killing around 800,000 people in less than two months. The United Nations Assistance

[73] Cf. Johnson 2008, pp. 49-53. The political development of Zaire from 1990 on has also been analysed in Gondola 2002, pp. 155-162.
[74] Cf. Johnson 2008, p. 50. On the following pages, Johnson has compiled the major events of the so-called 'transition' in Zaire that cannot be addressed in this framework, i.e. the military riots of 1993.
[75] For a detailed analysis of DRC's informal economy, see: MacGaffey, Janet/Bazenguissa-Ganga, Rémy (2000): *Congo-Paris: Transnational Traders on the Margins of the Law.* James Currey, London.
[76] Cf. Johnson 2008, pp. 53-58. It is widely undisputed that Mobutu's kleptocratic rule was a major reason for the collapse of Zaire and paved the way for DRC sinking into civil war. It also considerably shaped some of the features the political system retained under its subsequent governments and might have an influence on how humanitarian and development aid has been dealt with in the period between 1994 until these days.
[77] Prunier, Gérard (2009): *From Genocide to Continental War*. Hurst, London, p. xxxi.
[78] We chose the word 'disorder' to give reference to a situation that is characterised by the absence of a state that fulfils its monopoly of violence and the lack of a strong formal economic system, social services, rule of law and human security. A useful discussion of the term 'disorder' in African politics is delivered in Chabal/Daloz 1999.
[79] A radical Hutu militia, that grew in the orbit of the Rwandan army and later played a key role in the genocide. Interahamwe means those who fight together, see: Prunier 2009 p. xxi.
[80] Cf. Johnson 2008, p. 70.

Mission to Rwanda (UNAMIR) did not have a strong mandate[81] to actively interfere in the genocide that was not even recognised as such from the beginning. Although the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) had been timely informed about the events, the international community was inert and missed the opportunity to prevent the killings.

Finally, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) under Pasteur Bizimungu and Paul Kagame[82] set an end to the atrocities and seized power in Kigali.[83] The resulting exodus was mainly directed towards the Zairian frontier. Out of the 2.1 million Hutu that crossed the border to neighbouring countries[84], approximately three quarters sought shelter around the Zairian frontier cities of Goma and Bukavu.[85] This resulted in a refugee crisis that exceeded any expectations[86] and the formation of so-called humanitarian sanctuaries as some sort of recreational area. The exiled Hutu government used them to restructure its troops[87] hence the numerous "camps were an uneasy compromise between genuine refugee settlements and war machines built for the reconquest of power in Rwanda"[88] or as Joel Boutroue called it in a very Clausewitzian way, "exile was the continuation of war by other means."[89] The organisational policy of structuring the camps in order to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian aid placed high ranked Hutu government officials in key administrative positions they could abuse to continue their war strategies.[90]

[81] The mission referred to chapter 6 of the UN Charter and was not meant to enforce peace but to keep it. Cf. United Nations (1945): *Charter of the United Nations*, at: http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/index.shtml. After the killing of Belgian soldiers, the mission was reduced from 2500 to 250 people. The successive mission (UNAMIR II, a mission following chapter 7 or the Charter) known as Opération Turquoise came too late to engage against the genocide crimes since the FPR had defeated the interahamwe and the FAR before.

[82] The FPR was formed in Ugandan exile, where thousands of Tutsi had fund shelter from the 1960s on. According to Prunier 2009 (p. 13) most of the later leaders had experienced the Ugandan Civil Wars in the 1970s and 1980s. Bizimungu later became President from 1994 to 2000. Kagame is his successor in office. In 2010 he got re-elected for another term, but massive accusations concerning his autocratic rule accompanied the polls.

[83] On the other side the FPR itself committed a high number of war crimes. They have been compiled by Desforges, Alison (1999) in the key HRW document on the genocide: *Leave no one to tell the story. Genocide in Rwanda*. Human Rights Watch, New York, pp. 540-552.

[84] Cf. Prunier 2009, p. 5.

[85] Cf. Johnson 2008, pp. 70-71 and Prunier 2009 pp. 24-29.

[86] After a couple of weeks cholera and other diarrhoea diseases broke out in the camps around Gama and aggravated the yet unbearable situation of thousands of the Rwandan refugees. The death tolls within the camps were constantly at some hundreds a day and rose as the number of inhabitants increased.

[87] Zaire benevolently accepted this, since Mobutu and Habyarimana had been allies. Cf. Terry Fiona (2002): *Condemned to repeat? The paradox of humanitarian action*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, pp. 156-158.

[88] Prunier 2009, p. 25.

[89] Boutroue, in ibid., p. 24.

[90] Cp. ibid., p. 25. A further issue that did not quite help to mitigate the post-genocide tensions between the exiled population and the people still in Rwanda was the distribution of emergency funding that largely favoured Hutu refugees (and génocidaires). Cf. ibid, 2009, p. 30.

To put it into context, round about 80000 troops[91] that had been implicated in the genocide were suddenly introduced to Zairian territory, in a region located far from Kinshasa that had been widely neglected by the Mobutu government for a long time. Additionally, Zaire was a host that had neither the means nor the capacities to address the needs of the refugees in terms of food, water, health, shelter and other domains.[92] In addition, Mobutu supported the exiled Hutu government under the leadership of Augustin Bizimungu.[93]

2.4 Africa's World War

Although the Rwandan genocide was not the only causal source for what has been called Africa's World War by Gérard Prunier and other scholars, it though fulfilled an important precondition for the events that led to the collapse of Zaire, the regionalisation and combination of the different smouldering conflicts around Lake Kivu. The first consequences emerging from the refugee influx to the Kivu provinces occurred in April 1995 and became known as the Kibeho massacre.[94] As per reports, the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) systematically killed up to 4000 people within not even a week with the UNAMIR II battalion being stuck with hands tied due to its mandate[95] and Prunier concludes with the presumption, "the Kibeho tragedy stood as a kind of rehearsal for much bigger things."[96] On the Zairian side, the Kivu provinces were an available matrix for multi-faceted conflict structures, as the whole region was already the area of differently layered conflicts[97] and did not seem to have any capacity to cope with the refugee problem. Being a highly "dangerous and volatile environment"[98] the region already had most features of the 'Rwandan' conflict available, mostly due to issues of land tenure. The massive influx of refugees did thus steadily exacerbate problems already inherent on that side of the border.[99] The only new aspect was

[91] Between 30 000 and 50 000 FAR troops and up to 50 000 different Hutu militia. Cf. Terry 2002, p. 159.
[92] Yet the Zairian population itself did not relish any sufficient governmental care at that time.
[93] Augustin Bizimungu shall not be confused with Pasteur Bizimungu, a moderate Hutu of the FPR who became President of Rwanda after the genocide. Cf. Prunier 2009, p. 28.
[94] Kibeho is a small town near Butare in Rwanda. Cf. ibid., pp. 38-42.
[95] Cf. Prunier 2009, p. 40.
[96] Ibid, p. 42.
[97] Those conflicts often stood in a wider cross-border Great Lakes context. Cf. Prunier 2009, p. 47.
[98] Ibid, p. 53.
[99] The notion of border may lead to some shortcomings, so it is important here to note that the Zairian borderlands towards its Eastern neighbours was extremely permeable at that time – one classic feature of missing territorial sovereignty of a failed state.

the politicisation of the refugees by the former Rwandan Hutu government.[100]

Although repatriation had started shortly after the genocide – as then wished by both the new Rwandan RPF government and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) – the 'génocidaires' did not lose their strategic advantages and successfully started to intimidate their constituency by spreading rumours of returnees being killed.[101] In the meantime, military segments (ex-FAR, interahamwe and similar groups) of the displaced population had well recuperated and went at war again. Under General Bizimungu, attacks were launched at Zairian Tutsi in different places of the North Kivu province during the first months of 1996. Mobutu who had provided troops securing the camp areas and controlling the displaced[102] did not seem to be uneasy with these events, for himself envisaging a strong Hutu constituency in the provinces that had traditionally denied his regime.[103] The dangers the Zairian Tutsi – that may more appropriately be called Banyabwisha and Banyamulenge[104] – had to cope with represented the opportunity for Paul Kagame to restart the war from the other side of the border. With a mixture of covert cross-border action and artillery attacks the Rwandan Defense Forces (RDF) opened battle and quickly managed to forge a coalition with the emerging Banyamulenge militias in South Kivu.[105] The present international organisms did neither have the capacities nor the mandate to interfere.

Late 1996 was then characterised by growing insecurity for the local populations in the Kivu provinces that had to get along with attacks from both the RPA and Zairian Banyamulenge squads and the ex-FAR with remaining interahamwe segments. This period was also marked by the public emergence of Laurent-Désiré Kabila's Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo (AFDL) forces that unveiled themselves after the

[100] Cf. Terry 2002, p. 175-181.

[101] That was partly right, as we saw in the Kibeho case, but within the camps around Goma those news were exaggerated by far in order to keep the refugee population in situ. Cf. Prunier, pp. 55-56.

[102] This happened due to the lack of blue helmets or another type of international intervention.

[103] At that time Mobutu was already composing strategies for 'democratic' elections that should have taken place in 1997. At the same time the conflict also restarted in Burundi, were Tutsi population were displaced massively. Cf. Prunier, pp. 58/68 and pp. 59-65 on Burundi.

[104] The Banyamulenge, verbatim 'the people of Mulenge', and the Banyabwisha, a group located near Rutshuru, are groups that emerged from the Tutsi that left Rwandan territory decades ago (information gathered from locals during field research in Goma and Bukavu in October 2010). Logically they became a suitable target for extremist Hutu as well.

[105] Cf. Prunier 2009, p. 70-71.

capture of Uvira.[106] Their rebellion began to gather pace in taking the cities of Bukavu[107] and then Beni, Butembo and Bunia.[108] After the taking of Bukavu, Kabila had proposed a ceasefire to allow Hutu refugees to return home. In the second week of November 1996 however massive violence broke out around the Mugunga camp.[109] Mugunga, in the north of Goma, was the last big camp at that time – and a classic military sanctuary too. According to de Waal, the "extremists levied a 15 per cent 'war tax'"[110] on all goods circulating there. Finally, the ex-FAR/interahamwe lost the battle and repatriation was coerced.[111]

Along their way, the AFDL troops were assisted by Ugandan forces[112] which had been accused they would meddle into internal Zairian affairs already before this incident. At the beginning of 1997 international involvement increased further, with the following coalitions pitted against each other: On the government side, the Forces Armées Zairoises (FAZ) collaborated with the ex-FAR, rebel groups from Burundi and received support from white mercenaries, Angolan União Nacional para la Indepencia Total de Angola (UNITA) and several Mayi-Mayi militias in the Kivu provinces as well.[113] On the other side, Kabila's AFDL could count on the Ugandan Peoples Defense Forces (UPDF), the RDF and even the Southern Peoples' Liberation Army (SPLA) and the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA). Throughout the year the AFDL led coalition managed to conquer Kisangani, Mbuji-Mayi and finally Lubumbashi – apart from Kinshasa now almost every important city and the majority of mineral-rich provinces Orientale, North Kivu, South Kivu and Katanga were under rebel control.[114] Soon after that, Kabila marched into Kinshasa.

The presidency of Mzee[115] Kabila did not change a lot in terms of the humanitarian situation in the country (now renamed Democratic Republic of Congo). The new regime was

[106] On October 25th, 1996, cf. Johnson 2008, p. 73.
[107] Cf. ibid, p. 75.
[108] All of them are located in the East of Orientale province.
[109] Cf. Johnson 2008, p. 75.
[110] De Waal, Alex (1997): *Famine Crimes. Politics and the Disaster Relief Industry in Africa.* James Currey, London,, p. 205.
[111] The public discourse has been redrawn by de Waal. He seriously questions the adequacy of the then funding appeals. Those were furnished with exaggerated figures and estimations in order to raise funds. Cf. De Waal 1997, pp. 206-210.
[112] Cf. Prunier 2009, p. 127.
[113] Cf. ibid, p. 128-130.
[114] Cf. ibid, p. 133-134.
[115] Mzee means 'wise man' in Kiswahili and was the epithet given to Kabila père.

barely installed when new problems raised in terms of the still large numbers of refugees, internally displaced persons (IDP's) and the highly fragmented topography of troops and foreign influence. Kabila rapidly showed himself as an almost equally brutal ruler than Mobutu was – arbitrary detentions and various 'clean-up'-measures were daily business in the first months of his leadership. Concerning the refugee problem, Kabila impressively showed his political and ideological flexibility and began to recruit new soldiers out of the ex-FAR and interahamwe contingents that had stayed on DRC territory.[116] Most of the economic production had come to a standstill in the sequence of the economic decline that has already been concomitant to the last years of Mobutu rule. Several mining deals Kabila had brewed with international companies during his conquest were cancelled later and the measures that were supposed to kick-start the food production and other trade sectors either failed or never came into action. Further, Mzee's regime turned out to follow the same patterns that had shaped the Mobutist system of clientelism.[117] During this period, aid was scarce.[118]

In the Kivu provinces, the calm did not last longer than a few weeks. Neglected by Kabila lots of the formerly AFDL aligned Mayi-Mayi militias changed sides and involved themselves in smaller conflicts with the Banyamulenge and exiled Tutsi populations. The fact that the Mayi-Mayi proved to be an effective troublemaking force in the Kivus led to first tension between the Congolese and Rwandan factions of AFDL of whom the former still dedicated themselves more deeply to the native Kivu populations than to the Rwandan cause.[119] Additionally the compilation of the new Forces Armées Congolaises (FAC) in May 1998 was a fertile soil for conflict: Among the troops, different elements of Banyamulenge, kadogo[120], Katangese rebels, some elements of ex-FAR/interahamwe and ex-FAZ soldiers were put together into new military formations. The FAC would face a loose coalition of Mayi-Mayi, ex-FAR, Forces Armées Burundaises (FAB) and interahamwe and could still count on UPDF and RDF support for the time being.[121] The preliminary climax was the expulsion of the Rwandan AFDL part, notably Army Chief of Staff James Kabarebe, who

[116] Cf. Prunier 2009, p. 157.
[117] Cf. ibid, p. 164-167.
[118] Since DRC was not part of any IMF programme at that time and bilateral aid flew very chewy in the first months of the new government.
[119] Cf. Prunier 2009, p. 174.
[120] *Mzee* Kabila's infamous child soldiers recruited during his march on Kinshasa.
[121] Cp. De Villers, Gauthier (1999): *Confusion politique au Congo-Kinshasa*, in: Canadian Review of African Studies, Vol. 33, No. 2. CAAS, Alberta, p. 439 & Prunier 2009, pp. 176-177.

eventually tried to kill Kabila after his decision to chase the Rwandan elements of AFDL.

What followed became later known as the Second Congo War.[122] In reaction to Kabila's u-turn Rwanda invaded DRC in August 1998 by sending troops into the Kivu provinces and airplanes into the Bas-Congo province.[123] Under Kabarebe the deployed RDF soldiers tried to get control over Ndjili airport, the hydroelectric power plant of Inga and finally Kinshasa itself. In the Kivus, Rwanda supported several of the newly resurrected rebel factions and – together with Uganda – promoted the creation of a new unified rebel movement called Rassemblement des Congolais pour la Démocratie (RCD). From its very beginning the RCD was a very heterogeneous meddling of different local and regional big men[124], although this did not prevent it from rapidly gaining control over large territories in all the Eastern provinces. While he was losing quickly what had been acquired shortly before, Kabila tried to mobilise external support – which he found in Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia.[125] The intervention of Angolan forces for example finally annihilated Kabarebe's attempt to crush Kinshasa, but on the other side the rebels managed to enlarge their sphere of influence by the end of 1998, when another player joined the game: Jean-Pierre Bemba, the son of a former Mobutu ally founded the MLC that engaged in the fighting at the Northern battlefront.

Meanwhile, Kabila mobilised further Hutu forces to counter the rebel coalition[126] and profited from a new reorientation of Mayi-Mayi groups that now rode attacks against the RCD forces in the Kivus. Their chaotic and incoherent action shall remain a constant uncertainty for both Kabila père and the RCD-RDF joint venture and even later for Kabila fils, the Conseil National pour la Défense du Peuple (CNDP) and the Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Ruanda (FDLR). During the first half of 1999 their operations further contributed to all sorts of atrocities against civilians.[127] On the other side some cleavages between Rwanda and Uganda – soon after they had installed a joint military command – reverberated in the split of RCD into a Ugandan backed RCD-K(isangani) and a Rwandan backed RCD-G(oma). Among others the extraversion of mineral resources for war purposes

[122] The First Congo War was the invasion of AFDL in 1996/1997.
[123] Cf. Johnson 2008, p. 87.
[124] Cf. ibid, p. 90.
[125] The whole setting, including the reasons of alignment (that often followed the paradigm of 'the enemies of my enemies are my friends') can be seen in Prunier 2009, pp. 184-185 and pp. 201-203.
[126] Cf. Prunier 2009, p. 206.
[127] Cf. ibid, p. 211.

and export boosting was a major trigger.[128] The resulting fighting between Rwanda and Uganda on Congolese territory became another symptomatic event for the helplessness of Congolese population. International pressure was the reason for which in July 1999 the peace agreement of Lusaka was signed – regardless of the continuing clashes in wide parts of DRC.

Even if Lusaka prompted some disengagement of foreign troop and arms providers, real peace was far from becoming reality after July 1999. Especially in the Kivu provinces where the frontlines were more and more difficult to assess, massacres and ambushes did not cease. Outside the Kivus major events until mid-2000 included the Mouvement pour la Libération du Congo (MLC) march down the Congo river and Rwanda's new perpetration of Katanga.[129] Consequently to the massive warfare since mid-1998 DRC's economic development had plummeted both in terms of natural and mineral production.[130] This decline was partially caused by the extractive war economy[131] that served almost all conflict parties and, of course, the continuing destruction of assets, production means and workforce.

That was the state of affairs, when the UN finally started the deployment of the Mission de l'Organisation des Nations Unies au Congo (MONUC) – the organisations largest peacekeeping mission in history, mandated under chapter seven of UN Charter. MONUC had not reached its operational and personnel wholeness when another incident eventually changed the whole setting: On January, 16th, 2001, Mzee Kabila was killed by one of his bodyguards.[132] His son Joseph Kabila Kabange was chosen to assume the presidency. Kabila fils rapidly managed to regroup his international supporters. On the domestic level, things were pushed forward in the frame of the Sun City agreement where the international community and particularly South Africa wanted to induce a solution to Africa's World war. Extensive disarmament and the withdrawal of foreign troops[133] were among the key pillars of the agreement, and it seemed to be fostered by the war fatigue of the bigger actors and

[128] Cf. ibid, p. 221.
[129] Cf. Prunier 2009, pp. 231-235.
[130] EIU 2000: *Congo Country report 1st quarter 2000*.
[131] This economy also led to very interesting increases in both Uganda's and Rwanda's diamond and gold exports in the late 1990s. Even if the estimates are not coherent, a basic consensus would be that there was some sort of massive raw material looting. Neither the looting issue nor the constant penetration by Rwanda and Uganda did prevent donors to supply the latter with generous foreign aid. Cf. Prunier 2009, pp. 243-246.
[132] Cf. Prunier 2009, p. 249.
[133] Cf. Prunier 2009, pp. 272-273.

waywardness of the smaller ones.[134] After more than one year of preparations, the agreement was finally signed in December 2002 and paved the way for a transitional government.[135]

Despite the splintered conflict topography, most of the involved actors were represented to a certain extent in the new governmental and legislative configurations.[136] Joseph Kabila held presidency but was now accompanied by the four vice-presidents Azarias Ruberwa (RCD-G), Jean-Pierre Bemba (MLC), Yerodia Ndombasi (Kabila faction) and Arthur Z'ahidi-Ngoma (ex-RCD, political opposition). But even the attempt of an publicly all-inclusive government that should tackle the challenges of organising democratic elections and economic reconstruction would be not entirely successful, if at all: In the Kivu provinces[137] the melting disorder could not be solved and a low-intensity civil war was perpetuated and the aggregated number of IDP's reached 2.4 million at the end of 2002.[138]

2.5 The perpetuation of civil war after 2003

The new massacres in the area of Bunia made clear that peace did still not reign in DRC after various agreements[139], although the newly established government was officially constituted in April 2003.[140] MONUC troops that had reached the conflict zone in the meantime did not actively engage in prevent the concomitant cruelties against civilians. The international community rapidly feared that a regionalisation of the new battlefront would seriously undermine the peace efforts. Hence, a French-led intervention called Opération Artemis was deployed and put an end to the escalation of violence in the Ituri region by June 2003.

In addition to the government of national unity mainly consisting of former war opponents, DRC's new national army Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo (FARDC) was another problem: As Johnson notes, the factual spheres of influence

[134] Cf. ibid.
[135] Johnson 2008, pp. 104-105.
[136] Cf. Prunier 2009, p. 277.
[137] In Goma, the humanitarian situation has been aggravated further, when on January 17th 2002, Nyiragongo volcano erupted and forced 350,000 people to flee. In this case, humanitarian aid remained uncoordinated and needs-orientation fell prey to own interests of the agencies in the field, as Johnson 2008 complained on pp. 113.
[138] With 5 million people suffering a complete lack of communication means and 16 million being dependent on permanent food aid. Cf. Johnson 2008, p. 106.
[139] Cf. Johnson 2008, pp. 134-135.
[140] The complete procedure of government formation did continue until the 30th of June, when Joseph Kabila – under protests of the non-considered political forces – officially appointed his deputies. Cf. ibid, p. 137.

were not touched, since there was an areal division of military power.[141] In consequence this led to a political system concentrated in Kinshasa and its military counterpart organized along the wartime inner-Congolese borders. In South Kivu for example, General Laurent Nkunda, a Banyamulenge RCD commander got appointed chief of the regional FARDC battalion. In June 2004, Nkunda mutinied and justified it with the need to protect his fellow Banyamulenge from Hutu attacks that re-emerged under the flag of FDLR.[142] Since the FDLR reportedly invaded both Burundi and Rwanda those days, Nkunda also seemed to be "Kigali's man"[143] to counter the Hutu extremists. Neither the newly trained FARDC forces that arrived in the Kivu provinces nor the already substantial presence of MONUC were able to get the situation under control. Contrarily, lots of the FARDC soldiers deserted in order to join Nkunda's cause.[144]
As to continuing disorder in the Eastern provinces and difficulties concerning organisational matters the scheduled elections were postponed from 2005 to 2006. Under the auspices of MONUC, now counting almost 20,000 troops and the EUFOR RD CONGO securitisation mission the poll was prepared for 30th of July. Joseph Kabila took the first place with a 44 per cent share, but had to enter run-off against Bemba. The results led to various incidents in Kinshasa, with the most severe being an assault on Bemba's house when he was just meeting with several Western ambassadors.[145] After building a coalition[146], the incumbent got 58 per cent of votes in the second poll – criticised by Bemba as being rigged.[147]

The aftermath of the elections was characterised by the cleavages between the ruling coalition under the lead of Kabila and Gizenga and the opposition, consisting of Bemba and people like former vice-president Ruberwa, but the clashes occurring in Kinshasa were rapidly outshined by new disorder in the Kivus: Laurent Nkunda's CNDP took over control in

[141] Cf. ibid, p. 139. For a more detailed analysis of FARDC composition and the associated problems, see Prunier 2009, pp. 306-307.
[142] Cp. Johnson 2008, pp. 140-141. Nkunda's militia included even some segments of Hutu fighters that had been disappointed by their former leaders. Further, FDLR and CNDP as opponents in one of the major cleavages between 2006 and 2008 had some sort of antagonistic but at the same time symbiotic relationship as the existence of the former justified the actions of the latter and vice versa, cf. Prunier 2009, p. 323.
[143] Cf. Prunier 2009, p. 297.
[144] Cf. Johnson 2008, p. 146.
[145] Cf. Prunier 2009, p. 311.
[146] Kabila managed to form a movement including old Lumumbist hero Gizenga and Mobutu's son Nzanga. Cf. Prunier 2009, p. 312-313.
[147] It cannot be definitely said those elections were manipulated or not. If yes, the extent is not likely to have changed overall results.

the area of Masisi where his forces managed to establish a quasi-state stronghold.[148] In reaction, Kinshasa tried to reach an agreement with the renegade general – mixed brigades were constituted in order to jointly fight the FDLR militia. Between January and August 2007 some 180,000 new IDP's gathered in camps around Rutshuru[149], but after a couple of months the FARDC-CNDP coalition was terminated by Nkunda, whose troops again started to get control over large parts of North Kivu. Meanwhile, numerous of the other remaining rebel forces (basically from unsteadily acting Mayi-Mayi groups) were struggling to maintain their influence and caused further trouble in the whole Eastern part of DRC.[150]

Around Mugunga, where the largest post-genocide refugee camps were located in 1995/1996, and Goma the history seemed to repeat itself[151] when the FARDC brigades began to engage in large-scale operations against Nkunda's troops. The CNDP repulsed, erased a large number of government troops, and consequently made large acquisitions of arms and ammunition.[152] Nkunda's victory changed Kabila's strategy and another peace conference was launched in late 2007. On 23rd of January 2008 a peace deal was signed between the government and a total of twenty-two armed groups that operated in the Kivu provinces at that period.[153] Despite hard fighting between 2006 and 2008, there were much less incentives and conducive elements for an extension of combats as it has happened ten years before.[154]

Armed conflict in (Eastern) DRC is still not at an end and the final chord of violence is hard to predict. In 2008, fighting continued between CNDP, FARDC, FDLR and other groups and the detention of Nkunda in early 2009 simply caused another integration of CNDP into the FARDC and the split-off of various battalions into new smaller groups. Further, the joint operations of RDF and FARDC against the FDLR were only successful to some extent and the military topography remained as splintered as the demographic one used to be in the Kivu provinces.[155] According to the Human Development Report 2010 the cumulated number

[148] Cf. Johnson 2008, p. 157.
[149] Cf. ibid, p. 158.
[150] Cf. Prunier 2009, p. 321-322.
[151] Cf. Johnson 2008, p. 159.
[152] Cf. Johnson 2008, p. 160.
[153] Cf. ibid, p. 161.
[154] Cf. Prunier 2009, p. 324.
[155] The most recommendable sources for newer war events in that region include UN reports of the Secretary-General on the Democratic Republic of Congo (available at www.un.org/en/documents) and reports from IRIN (www.irinnews.org) and ReliefWeb (www.reliefweb.int). Johnson, Prunier and other scholars mainly used these

of refugees and IDP's in DRC is by far the highest worldwide.[156]

3. Implications for analysing the role of humanitarian assistance in DRC

An open question remains that of concrete implications for foreign aid and humanitarian assistance in particular. As elaborated in the theoretical assumptions and the empirical analysis of DRC's state failure and civil war aid has played a vital role in long parts of the countries turbulent political and economic history. It has helped propping up the illegitimate and autocratic regime of Mobutu and his successor. It has been a crucial player during the 1995/96 refugee crisis and the continuing complex emergency in Eastern DRC.

Various scholars have already thought and worked on dilemmas in which humanitarian assistance but also foreign aid in general is likely to be involved.[157] Most of them though have concentrated on the very aspects of civil war and the challenges imposed to humanitarians in this regard. Others have emphasised however pointing on development aid the institutional dysfunctions of aid organisations. The case of DRC has often been mentioned in such studies while a comprehensive country-based study on humanitarian success or failure is lacking. Such analysis includes different obstacles: Due to the country's opaque conflict topography and the extensive occurrence of aid organisations any attempt to undertake such a project should be aimed quite carefully in terms of methodology and range of the research.

One of the most promising ideas may consist in a threefold approach to grasp the relevant theoretical aspects related to humanitarian intervention.[158] In such a research humanitarian action shall be analysed according to the following concepts: Institutional economics of aid, state failure, and war economy. First, the institutional aspects apply for humanitarian aid in DRC as much as they do for any type of aid in any target region. Many of the organisations active in DRC are larger international non-governmental organisations (NGOs), international organisations or governmental agencies. Their rules and regulations as well as operating procedures also apply in DRC. Second, the aspect of state failure is relevant since any aid organisation has to deal with governmental counterparts, either actively or

sources while doing research on that topic. Further real-time information can be found at www.radiookapi.net, www.trust.org/alertnet or www.rdc-humanitaire.net and Africa-related media stations. During fieldwork it became even obvious that the now headless CNDP de facto still controls certain areas around Walikale.

[156] United Nations Development Programme 2010, p. 175.

[157] Terry 2002 and de Waal 1997 are just two of the most renowned.

[158] Not to confuse with military intervention, which is often falsely labelled 'humanitarian'.

passively. Such ways of dealing are structured by the way the host state works (or not) and the respective communication to organisations. Third, where humanitarian assistance is needed a natural or man-made disaster has been happening by definition (otherwise there would be no need for humanitarian aid). This disaster is either finished or still ongoing. Empirically natural disasters are either finished or about to finish as humanitarian step in. Man-made disasters such as civil wars are different. As in many cases, the situation in DRC is still characterised by conflict activities, fragile peace and low-intensity war. Thus humanitarian aid both influences and will be influenced by a situation where peace is absent. A forecast based on empirical research the author has carried out in DRC implies the following: Institutional aspects are likely to shape humanitarian actors most visibly for the humanitarian landscape in DRC being very ramified and thick, but poorly coordinated and determined by market considerations. Aspects related to state failure and war economy are as important with the only difference that their explanatory strength varies.

Any analysis of humanitarian assistance in DRC will only be successful if all those elements are taken into consideration, as will be done in a forthcoming study.[159] External impact in terms of geography, geopolitics and international diplomacy is not to be dismissed either since it both shapes the conflict development and the humanitarian deployment.

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[159] Cf. Vogel 2011.

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