

**AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE SOCIO- ECONOMIC
CHALLENGES FACING DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF
CONGO IN POST WAR PEACEBUILDING**

BY

KEBONYEMODISA WATOTA

(STUDENT NO: 16562666)

**A mini dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment for the Degree
of Masters of Arts in Peace Studies and International Relations
from the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences at the North West
University, South Africa**

SUPERVISOR: DR KALE EWUSI

Declaration

I Kebonyemodisa Watota declare that, my-dissertation entitled: An investigation into the social-economic challenges facing Democratic Republic of Congo in post war peace building is my own work and is submitted in partial fulfillment of the Masters degree in Peace Studies and International Relations. I have not submitted it in part or as a whole to any other university. All sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete reference.

Signature.....

Date.....

K.T Watota

DEDICATION

I dedicate this study in solidarity with of billions of people that have been affected by conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo, especially women and children.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to convey my sincere gratitude and appreciation to Dr Kale Ewusi, Mr. Dankiso Mabula and Mrs. Wendy Leepile from the department of Politics and International Relations for providing me with the skills, techniques, guidance and moral support which lead to my success in completing this dissertation. I would also like to thank all the people who helped me in this journey.



ABSTRACT

Democratic Republic of Congo is a vast country in Africa sharing borders with nine countries. Since its independence from Belgium in 1960 the country has never had peace and this has created many social and economic problems for the country and its neighbours. This study analyzed the socio-economic challenges facing the Democratic Republic of Congo in post war peace building. This case study and qualitative methods were used. Data was extracted from a wide variety of existing sources including published books, journals and other research reports. The study focused on the socio-economic challenges and ways to address them. The review showed that DRC had been hit hard by the conflict. The two recent conflicts (the First and Second Congo Wars), which began in 1996, have dramatically reduced national output and government revenue, have increased external debt, and have resulted in the deaths from war, famine, and disease of perhaps 3.8 million people. Foreign businesses have curtailed operations due to uncertainty about the outcome of the conflict, lack of infrastructure, and the difficult operating environment.

The war has intensified the impact of such basic problems as there is an uncertain legal framework, corruption, inflation, and lack of openness in government economic policy and financial operations. Malnutrition had affected approximately two thirds of the country's population. The basic need of population such as food, shelter and health care had not been primary been attain by citizens. Based on the finding of the study it was concluded that there is a need for social and economic revival of DRC especially more attention been paid to women children and disabled, as they are the most affected victims of the war.

On the basis of the finding, the following recommendation are made

- The government must have total control over its borders and minerals.
- Social and economic development that is related to UN millennium development goals.

- Improvement of working relationship with DRC and its neighbouring countries and even countries like Angola and South Africa that comes out of the war.
- Adherence to African Peer Review Mechanism.
- Truth and reconciliation that include restorative Justice.
- Peace studies and international relations Degree in DRC universities.

ACRONYMS

ACCORD- African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Dispute

AFDL-Alliance Des Forces democratic of Congo

ANC-African National Congress

AU-African Union

APRM-African Peer Review Mechanism

CIA - Central Intelligence Agency

DRC-Democratic Republic of Congo

EU- European Union

IDASA-The Institute for Democracy in South Africa

IDO. - Institute for Defence Policy

ICD-Inter –Congolese Dialogue

IMF-International Monetary fund

JMC- Joint Military Commission

UNDP-United Nations Development Programme

UN-United Nations

USA-United States of America

NGO- Non – Governmental Organization

NEPAD-New Partnership of African Development

MCL-Mouvement Pour la Liberation du Congo

MONUC-United Nations Observer Mission of the Congo

NUPI- Norwegian Institute for International Affairs

OAU- Organization of African Union

RPF-Rwandan Patriotic Front

SADC-Southern Africa Development Community

SADCC-Southern Africa Development Community Conference

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Background

Africa has for long been viewed as synonymous with violent conflict and political turmoil. Years of instability have left many countries devastated and lagging behind on all indicators of human development. There is a belief that Africa's underdevelopment can largely be attributed to, among other things, the numerous violent conflicts. Africa's peculiar historical circumstances, including its colonial past and subsequent subordination in global politics and economy, have continued to inhibit its ability to organize its affairs and manage critical processes and tensions. Domestic and international resources have been committed to the execution of wars, provision of relief, and to peacekeeping and rehabilitation. These are resources that could be used to improve the quality of the lives of people, thus contributing to the prevention of violent conflict (Oyebade 1997).

Of the 49 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, at least 19 of them have been involved in internal armed conflicts. Human losses and suffering from these unconventional wars have been staggering. For example Over 800,000 people in Rwanda were killed in the three months in 1994, and over 200,000 people killed in Burundi since violence erupted in 1993, in addition to the 200,000 people that lost their lives in what the United Nations described as "genocidal repression" in 1972 (Ngaruko and Nkurinziza 2000). In Uganda an estimated 800,000 People lost lives over a 20-year period (1996-1986) of political autocracy, repression, and civil war. Furthermore, neighbouring Democratic Republic of the Congo, has witnessed the mother of all complex violent conflicts since the mid 1990s with an estimated 3.5 million lives lost in this continuing tragedy.

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) gained independence from Belgium in June 1960. During its 80 years of colonial rule, Belgium did not prepare the Congolese people for self-rule. As a result, a lack of political and administrative experience became evident during the first five years of sovereignty. Indigenous

skills and experience in managing cultural diversity, nation building, civil and military relations were almost non-existent (Adam, 2005).

Shortly after independence, the provinces of Katanga (lead by Moise Tshombe) and South Kasai engaged in secessionist struggles against the new leadership. Subsequent events led to a crisis between President Kasavubu and Prime Minister Lumumba. On September 5, 1960, Kasavubu dismissed Lumumba from office. Lumumba declared Kasavubu's action "unconstitutional" and a crisis between the two leaders developed. Lumumba had previously appointed Joseph Mobutu chief of staff of the new Congo army, Armee Nationale Congolaise (ANC). Taking advantage of the leadership crisis between Kasavubu and Lumumba, Mobutu garnered enough support within the army to create sentiment sufficient to inspire mutinous action. With financial support from the United States and Belgium, Mobutu made payments to his soldiers in order to generate their loyalty. The aversion of Western powers towards communism and leftist ideology in general influenced the United States and Belgium decision to finance Mobutu's quest to maintain "order" in the new state and to neutralizing Kasavubu and Lumumba in a coup by proxy (Butcher 2007).



On January 17, 1961, Katangan forces assassinated Patrice Lumumba, supported by the Belgian government's desire to retain rights to mine for copper and diamonds in Katanga and South Kasai and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency's desire to remove any leftist sympathizers in the region. Amidst widespread confusion and chaos, several temporary government led by technicians (College des Commissaires) Evariste Kimba, Joseph Ileo, Cyrille Adoula and Moise Tshombe took over in quick succession. For five years there was political and civil unrest and in 1965 there was a military coup led by Lientenant General Joseph Mabuto.

According to Amnesty International Report (2003) when president Mobutu came into office in 1965, a sustained period of institutionalized corruption and

misappropriation of the state resources began. The newly installed regime was notorious for cronyism and corruption. Large proportion of the revenues from the state owned companies, such as copper and Cobalt Company went not to the state treasury but straight into the pockets of president Mobutu and his closest allies. To show clearly that Mobutu raped the country, David Malin Roodman elaborate by saying, “Today Mobutu is deposed and dead, but his legacies live on. His family holds his fortune, and his country holds his \$12 billion debt. In a nation with an annual income of \$110 per capita each resident theoretically owns foreign creditors\$236 (Malin, & Roodman, 2001). The US prolonged the rule of Zairian dictator Mabuto Sese Seko by providing more than \$300 million in weapons and \$1 million in military training. Mobutu used his US supplied arsenal to repress his own people and plunder his nation’s economy for three decades (William & Moix, 2000).

Mobuto Sese seko, it was not only corruption but he abused of human rights, and repressed his people hence people started to hate him. The basic social services such as shelter, water and food were rare commodities and the citizens were marginalized during his rule. People did not even enjoy the status of being inhabitants of the then Zaire; He paid little attention to the rehabilitation of infrastructure and to building schools, and hospitals and recreational facilities. Because of political persecution many people went into exile in neighboring countries. When cold war ended and as the Soviet Union collapsed and the USA did not want him like they used to. They reduced their support for him and his opponents within Zaire stepped up demands for reforms.

Laurent Desire Kabila, who was in exile, returned in October 1996, and leading ethnic Tutsis from South Kivu against Hutu forces, thus marking the beginning of the First Congo War. With support from Burundi, Uganda and the Rwandan Tutsi government, Laurent Kabila pushed his forces into a full-scale rebellion against Mobutu under the auspices of Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of

Congo-Zaire (ADFL). The large exodus of refugees from Burundi and Rwanda made matters worse. There was a need for democratic reform which came largely cosmetic in May 1997(Congo Civil War Global Security report 1997).

By mid-1997, after having killed "tens of thousands of civilians," the ADFL had made significant gains. Following failed peace talks in May 1997, Mobutu fled the country, and Kabila entered Kinshasa on May 20. Kabila made himself head of state, created the Public Salvation Government and renamed the country the Democratic Republic of Congo .In 1998, Kabila's former allies in Uganda and Rwanda turned against him and backed a new rebellion of the Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD). Kabila had been a committed Marxist, but his policies at this point were a mix of capitalism and collectivism. While some in the West hailed Kabila as representing a "new breed" of African leadership, critics charged that Kabila's policies differed little from his predecessor's, which were being characterized by authoritarianism, corruption, and human rights abuses. Kabila was also accused of self-aggrandizing tendencies, including trying to set up a personality cult, with the help of Mobutu's former Minister of Information, Dominique Sakombi Inongo.He was also forced to focus more on the security of his own rebel group and his safety at the expense of the overall security. To him the control of Kinshasa was very crucial. (Kevin . Dunn, Clark, ed., 2004,)

Kabila found new allies Zimbabwe, Namibia and Angola and managed to hold on in the south and west of the country. In July 1999, the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement was signed by the six warring countries (Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Rwanda, and Uganda) and, Of the same year, the MLC. The RCD refused to sign. Under the agreement, forces from all sides, under a Joint Military Commission, would cooperate in tracking, disarming and documenting all armed groups in the Congo, especially those forces identified with the 1994 Rwandan genocide. Few provisions were made to actually disarm the militias.

In a dialogue that was supposed to comprise five components, two rebel movements, and an opposition group (MLC) as well as the Rwandan-backed Congolese Rally for Democracy, non-armed opposition groups, political parties, civil society organization and the government, only the government and the opposition group did the main talks on the power sharing question. The Lusaka agreement was declared dead though it was said that attempts would be made to continue the dialogue, and that various other groups who had disagreements on a variety of issues and as the International Crisis Group (2002) conclude “the future for the DRC remains uncertain.

Laurant Kabila was shot in the afternoon of January 16, 2001 by one of his own staff, Rashidi Kasereka, who was also killed. The assassination was part of a failed coup attempt which had been crushed before Joseph and Kabila, Laurant’s son, became president ten days later. Nonetheless at the end of 2001, a peace agreement had been signed to supposedly end the civil war, though only Joseph Kabila, president of the DRC, and Paul Kagame president of Rwanda were party to this agreement, and others involved in the conflict were not part of this agreement.

The new president quickly began overture to end the war and an accord was signed in South Africa in 2002 (Thomas 2007)The Sun City Agreement was formalized on April 19, 2002. It was a framework for providing the Congo with a unified, multipartite government and democratic elections. However, critics noted that there were no stipulations regarding the unification of the army, which weakened the effectiveness of the agreement. There have been several reported breaches of the Sun City agreement, but it has seen a reduction in the fighting.

On July 30, 2002 Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo signed a peace deal after five days of talks in Pretoria, South Africa. The talks centered on two issues. One was the withdrawal of the estimated 20,000 Rwandan soldiers in the Congo. The other was the rounding up of the ex-Rwandan soldiers and the dismantling of the Hutu militia known as Interahamwe, which took part in

Rwanda's 1994 genocide and continues to operate out of eastern Congo. Rwanda had previously refused to withdraw until the Hutu militias were dealt with.

By late 2003, a fragile peace prevailed as the transitional government was formed. Joseph Kabila appointed four vice presidents, two of whom had been fighting to oust him until 2003. On July 30, 2006, DRC, held its first multiparty elections since 1960. After this Joseph Kabila took 45 percent of the votes and his main opponent Jean Pierre Bemba took 20 percent. A second round of elections between two leading candidates, Kabila and Bemba, was held on 29 October 2006. Both Kabila and Bemba assured that they would respect the outcome of the result (International Herald Tribute, 2006) but Bemba militants began riots against of the decision by the supreme court that would legitimize Kabila 58% -42 % winning results on the run off (The Economist, November 23 2006).

The Democratic Republic of the Congo is slowly emerging from one of the most brutal and costly wars in recent history. Atrocities in the region purported include mass murder, rape, forced labour forced relocation and torture. Although most of the official military fighting has ceased, isolated battles and violence against civilians continue, especially in the Ituri region in the north west of the DRC.

The economy of the DRC a nation endowed with vast potential wealth has declined drastically since the mid-1980s. The two recent conflicts (the First and Second Congo Wars), which began in 1996, have dramatically reduced national output and government revenue, have increased external debt, and have resulted in the deaths from war, famine, and disease of perhaps 3.8 million people. Foreign businesses have curtailed operations due to uncertainty about the outcome of the conflict, lack of infrastructure, and the difficult operating environment. The war has intensified the impact of such basic problems as an uncertain legal framework, corruption, inflation, and lack of openness in government economic policy and financial operations. Malnutrition affects approximately two thirds of the country's population (Moloney 2007).

In October 2000, the UN World food programme estimated that the social-economic fabric was “completely devastated” central bank estimates show that inflation was running at a staggering 520 percent in 2002, Gross National Product 110US dollars (World bank 1998) external debt 11.645 billion dollars (World bank 2000) and armed forces were estimated at 81,400 men by the international institute of strategic statistics (2000)

According to first regular session of the UNDP/UNFP Executive Board report of 20-27 January 2006, the DRC is coming out of a period of violent internal conflict characterized by the active engagement of neighbouring countries. The interstate structure and economy have been left in a state of disarray and degradation. A series of multifaceted socio-economic challenges are faced by the Government of DRC. The following challenges are worth underscoring for the transformation of the DRC.

- Responding to the unbalanced processes of development and wealth distribution through appropriate good governance related interventions including justice, and legal reforms, reconciliation, public administration reform and economic governance.
- Reversing the current weak development capacity stemming from a system of militarized, centralized governance through capacity building, security sector reforms and local governance.
- Addressing the pressing and increasing needs of war affected population to reduce vulnerability.
- Ensuring sustainable peace through recovery of the productive capacity and the restoration of the social fabric, hence there is need for reform for post war peace building.

The purpose of post conflict peace building is to prevent violent conflict from re-emerging and to rebuild the capabilities of a society to resolve the conflict without fighting.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Countries emerging from violent conflict face extraordinary constraints in socio and economic challenges. The rebuilding of the country socially and economically is a huge task to the new regime especially when the conflict had taken many years like DRC. The conflict can be traced back to its independence day. An updated Oxfam report, while written back in 2001, also notes the following facts (some numbers may be out of date and have gotten worse, but the sheer scale of these numbers alone are shocking): Two million people are internally displaced and it is estimated that majority of people in DRC have died from preventable diseases. Approximately 18.5 million people, have no access to any kind of formal health care. 16 million people have critical food needs. National maternal mortality is 1837 per 100,000 live births, one of the worst in the world. DRC is ranked 152nd on the UNDP Human Development index of 174 countries: a fall of 12 places since 1992. There are more than 10,000 child soldiers. Over 15 per cent of newly recruited combatants are children under the age of 18. A substantial number are under the age of 12. Officially, between 800,000 and 900,000 children have been orphaned by AIDS. Only 45 per cent of people have access to safe drinking water. In some rural areas, this is as low as three per cent. Four out of ten children are not in school. 400,000 displaced children have no access to education. Of 145,000 km of roads, no more than 2,500km are asphalt.

The statement of the problem is expressed in the following questions;

- What are the Socio-economic challenges facing DRC?
- How can the socio-economic challenges facing the DRC be surmounted?

1.3 Rationale of the study

DRC had never had peace since its independence in 1960. It is a country associated with bad things, poor social and economic conditions. The study was vital because DRC fuel conflicts in the region and if there is peace in DRC it will reduce conflicts in Africa as the country is used as military based by regional rebel groups. Stable DRC will liberate Africa from neo colonialism as the country will have total control over natural resources and hence limit foreign player's interference. The DRC remains a forgotten emergency. Falling outside of the media spotlight, and experiencing persistent shortfalls in pledged humanitarian aid, the population of the DRC has been largely abandoned to struggle for their own survival. There is pain and suffering in DRC as it is illustrated by Salvatore Bulamuzi, a member of the Lendu community whose parents, two wives and five children were all killed in recent attacks on the town of Bunia, north-eastern DRC when he said this, "I am convinced now ... that the lives of Congolese people no longer mean anything to anybody. Not to those who kill us like flies, our brothers who help kill us or those you call the international community.... Even God does not listen to our prayers any more and abandons us." (Quoted from "*Our brothers who help kill us*"—*economic exploitation and human rights abuses in the east*, a report from Amnesty International, AFR 62/010/2003, and April 1, 2003.) His pain is the pain of the country as it looks for path toward long lasting peace and prosperity for all and this is a motivation factor to help find this path for DRC the country that had never ending war.

1.4. Aim of the Study

The aim of the study is to investigate socio economic challenges facing DRC in post war peace building.

1.5. Objectives of the Study

- Identify the socio-economic challenges facing DRC in post-conflict.

- Identify way of addressing socio-economic challenges in facing DRC.

1.6. Hypothesis

The study is premised on the following hypothesis;

- Democratization and development seems to be the answer to post war peace building in DRC.

1.7. Significance of the Study

The study is important in the sense it will contribute to the body of knowledge in the field of Peace Studies and International Relations. The study will be helpful to Africa in general particularly to those countries that are faced with post war peace building and even those that have never gone into war. This study will add value to the already existing literature that exists regarding post war reconstruction and peace building. The study usage will be vital in assisting DRC, African countries and regional organizations in the reconstruction of DRC beyond 2015. The study will help in economic and social reconstruction of DRC. It should be noted that DRC is one of the richest countries in terms of minerals and at the same time is one of the least developed countries. The study will be used as a reference tool for social and economic transformation in Africa.



1.8 Scope of the Study

The scope of the study is centred on the socio-economic challenges facing DRC in post war peace building. Much of the attention is focused on DRC post war peace building because the conflict has lasted for more than 47 years and the involvement of so many actors in the conflict has made the conflict to be more complex. Because the study focuses on socio and economic challenges within the DRC boundaries will be DRC only. As a result less focus will be on other stakeholders and on other countries that share borders with DRC.

1.9 Limitation of the Study

- Not enough funds to travel to collect data.

The DRC is miles away from the base which is the University of North West. This was a limitation because there were no funds to go to DRC to observe and collect primary data from the people. The researcher depended on data from DRC national's in exile and from documentaries about the conflicts in DRC.

- Some of the people that the researcher had wanted to interview could not turn up for appointments as in most cases they said they were busy. The researcher therefore decided to study some of the documents written by people that were supposed to be interviewed.

- Language barrier;
Some of the participants were French-speaking nationals and it became very difficult to interview them. The researcher could have used the interpreter but due to unavailability of funds this was impossible.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature review and Theoretical Perspectives

2.1 Literature Review

Literature review is very important in research because it sharpens and deepens the theoretical framework of the research. It allows for study of different theories related to the topic to be studied, and familiarizes the researcher with latest developments in the area of research as well as in related areas. The researcher becomes acquainted with the problems, hypotheses and results obtained by other researcher. The Literature review, it identify gaps in knowledge, as well as weaknesses in previous studies, it allows discover connection, contradictions or other relations between different research result by comparing investigations, and lastly it identifies variables that must be considered in the research.(Claire, et.al 2006)

Since 1945, only one-third of the negotiated settlements of “identity civil wars” (or ethnic conflicts) have resulted in lasting peace (Crocker et.al, 1996). Post conflict peacebuilding is evidently not a simple process. The efforts of the international community to promote peace in societies recovering from violent conflict are further complicated when there has not been a negotiated peace settlement, as in Rwanda after the genocide 1994. In the aftermath of genocide, the peacebuilding process faces ever-greater challenges in dealing with the total devastation of societies and individuals physically, psychologically, structurally, politically, economically, socially and spiritually.

Post conflict peacebuilding may be defined as a set of strategies designed to promote a secure and stable lasting peace in which the basic human needs of the population are met and violent conflicts do not recur. This definition incorporates the goals of both negative peace (absence of physical violence) and positive peace (absence of structural violence). In order to be successful, post conflict peacebuilding must address the underlying causes of conflict in addition to the surface manifestations such as the military culture and proliferation of weapons.

The peace building process involves such activities as economic reconstruction and development assistance; refugee repatriation and reintegration; promotion of the rule of law and respect for human rights; development of police forces and judiciaries, strengthening of civil society; election monitoring; support of democratization, demining, disarmament; demobilization of militaries, prosecution of war criminals; and trauma healing and reconciliation workshops (Loumborne, 2003).

According to Johan Galtung (1990) structures must be found to remove causes of war in situations where war might occur. He describes peacebuilding activities as directed at “building structural and cultural peace”. During 1990, peacebuilding was seen as an international necessity and responsibility. It represented a collective commitment by the United Nations and other International actors to redress sources of violent conflicts in conflict- torn societies while preparing the grounds for sustainable peace and development. Grounded in “liberal Internationalism” peacebuilding was seen as going beyond state centric conception of realpolitik or the interests of any single country, bloc or entity even though national interests of members inevitably influenced the nature of the international response.

Boutros Ghali also underlines the social and economic aspects of peacebuilding. He said peacebuilding is the construction of a new environment, which not only avoids a relapse into conflict, but also aims to advance a sense of confidence and well being among people. Boutros Ghali specified that only sustained, coordinated work can deal with underlying economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems that can be placed on achieved peace as durable foundation, and most writers acknowledge the importance of the socio-economic dimension. An important characteristic of peacebuilding is its political stature. (Ghali, 1999)

Irrespective of the genesis of a conflict, an immediate post-conflict task is creating the space, and facilitating national dialogue. The challenge is to build consensus

on the parameters of a new system of governance, essential for ensuring both stability and economic recovery, either through a new constitution or through a broader agreement that an initial pact or truce among the warring parties. Such a process can take many forms, both modern and traditional. South African's national constitutional dialogue and the Afghan constitutional loya jirga that led to the first elected government in decades are good examples (Robert, 2002).

Then there is a need to establish a working government as Kumar (1997); "Practically all war torn societies require comprehensive reforms in their political, economic, and security sectors". In particular these problems require a strong state with minimum ability to provide security for its citizens, make decisions in a politically acceptable way, and create organization that will implement these decisions. Each set of problems is formidable, and outsider's help is very important.

There is also a need for democratization as (Rummel, 1997) states that " by democracy is meant liberal democracy where those who hold power are elected in competitive elections with a secret ballot and wide franchise (loosely understood as including at least two thirds of adults males): Elections therefore, serve the following functions, they provide a routine mechanism for recruiting and selecting individuals to occupy seats in representative institutions, they provide periodic opportunities to review the governments record, asses its mandate and replace it with an alternative, they accord the elected government domestic and international legitimacy as well as moral title to rule. They also act as agents of political socialization and political integration, providing a unifying focus for the country (Jackson et. Al.1999)

Democracy can only operate under a good constitution which has liberal values where there is freedom of speech, religion, and organization, and constitutional framework of law which the government is subordinate and that guarantees equal rights".) Competitive elections, while good indicator of democratic governance

(Schumpeter, 1950) are not in and of themselves what democracy is all about. Shumiter (1991) pointed out and that we need to be aware at the fallacy of electoral system when the voting is not enough. Democratization requires the establishment not only of a series of regular elections (which South Africa had under the half of apartheid rule) but also a wide battery of other institutions and procedures. These institutions and processes include legislative, judicial and investigative bodies within the state plus interest groups, civil association and political parties within society, which are all, empowered to hold political executive accountable. Therefore there is democratization hence peace.

Former European Commissioner for External Relations Chris Patten gave EU as the example of a secure world. He said this is inevitable because the EU was formed partly to protect liberal values. So it is hardly surprising that we should think it appropriate to speak out. But, it is also sensible for strategic reasons. Free societies tend not to fight one another or become bad neighbours. The secure Europe is a better world, The European security strategy states; the best protection for our security is a world of well-governed democratic states. The world must be made safe for democracy. Stability is crucial for elections to serve their intended functions. It is also widely accepted that electoral system play an important role in either stabilizing or destabilizing political systems in the region (Matlosa, 2000) Be that as it may, elections and electoral systems on their own are not sufficient conditions or instruments for ensuring and sustaining peace and stability in Southern Africa.

Not all democracies are suitable for postwar peacebuilding and hence there need for government that includes all. Wood (2000) concludes that changing elites interests in oligarchies makes continuation of civil war too expensive and democracy and attractive alternatives. Leonard Wantchekon and Neeman (2000) suggest that elites in conflict prefer basic decisions to be made by the population at large rather than their opponents. Since the interest of the population are more

divided and likely to be neutral. However, simple majoritarian democracy is likely to be acceptable to groups who see themselves as permanent minorities. This means that the conventional parliamentary system, which most European states exported to their colonies, will not work well. The US constitution, perhaps reinforced by a federal system, may seem more attractive but it is not clear how the legal checks on executive authority can be enforced. The more common strategy is a parliamentary system with some sort of proportional representation (Harzell, 1999) This guarantees access to the government but risk producing weak governments.

For the purpose of postconflict peacebuilding, the democratization process should be part of comprehensive project to rebuild society's institution. Political structural changes focus on political development, state building, and the establishment of effective government institutions. This often involves election reforms, judicial reform, power sharing initiatives, and constitutional reform. It also includes building political parties, creating institutions that provide procedures and mechanisms for effectively handling and resolving conflict, and establishing mechanism to monitor and protect human rights. Such institutions building and infrastructure development typically requires the dismantling, strengthening or reformation of old institutions in order to make them more effective. It is crucial to establish and maintain the rule of law, and to implement rules and procedures that constrain the powers of all parties and hold them accountable for their actions (Kritz, 1996).

But structural changes can also be economic. Many note that economic development is integral to preventing future conflicts and avoiding a relapse into violence. Economic factors that put societies at risk include lack of employment opportunities, food scarcity, and lack of access to natural resources or land. A variety of social structural changes aim to eliminate the structural violence that arises out of a society's economic system. These economic and social reforms

include economic development programs, health care assistance, land reform, social safety nets, and programs to promote agricultural productivity (Lund, 2001). Maslow advanced a theory of human needs to as hierarchy of needs. In this theory he pointed out some of the needs are basic to others. It says that that needs must be satisfied before higher needs can be felt and fulfilled. Basic needs are food, water and shelter (Mwamwenda 1995). If human being had basic needs these would motivate them to climb the ladder of hierarchy of needs passing through safety needs. They would have a sense of belonging and feel beloved and hence they would have a high self esteem and lastly they will have self actualization.

There is also a need for women empowerment, according to Donald K. Steinberg, Deputy Director, and Policy Planning Staff on his Remarks to the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City March 6, 2003 he said women involvement in post war peace building is vital as this is not just a question of equity or fairness. He added that bringing women to the peace table improves the quality of agreements reached and increases the chance of success in implementing, just as involving women in post-conflict governance reduces the likelihood of returning to war. Reconstruction works best when it involves women as planners, implementers, and beneficiaries. The single most productive investment in revitalizing agriculture, restoring health systems, reducing infant mortality, and improving other social indicators after conflict is in women and girls' education. Further, insisting on full accountability for actions against women during conflict is essential for the re-establishment of the rule of law. Moreover these lessons well known, but too frequently, in the press of responding to the latest crises, issues related to conflict prevention in general – much less the role of women in this process – get lost in the shuffle. And yet it is precisely in the midst of crises that these issues should take center stage. (Botswana daily news 2003)

According to Donald K. Steinberg during his service as Ambassador to Angola from 1995 to 1998, Angola was the site of the world's largest UN peacekeeping operation. The UN Special Representative of the Secretary General was sensitive

to gender issues, and there was an active UN human rights program that forced attention to these issues as well. At the American Embassy, backed by advice from the Women's Commission on Refugee Women and Children, the American embassy assembled a wide array of projects to enhance the role of women in the political and economic life of the country. These included dialogue across political and ethnic lines, formation of women's NGOs, and projects targeting girls' education, micro-credit, and mother-child health care. Still, when conflict re-emerged in 1998 and millions of displaced persons were in need of emergency relief programs, they set aside their good intentions. They allowed themselves to believe that the urgency of getting food to these people outweighed their focus on women's participation.

There is a growing body of literature dealing with the roles of children and young people in armed conflict and the effect of such conflict on their development (Wessells 1998). This literature based on extensive field has provided important evidence of intensive child and youth involvement in warfare, the reasons for that involvement, the processes of induction into armed groups, the activities of children in these groups-as fighters, cooks, spies, couriers, and in providing sexual services and their immediate-term rehabilitation needs once a war has been ended. Ball (2002) proposes that there is a need for demobilization. He says demobilization usually involves assembling the fighters to disarm them and give them some preparation for re-entering civilian life, perhaps including some skill and basic education and providing them with some basic resources for some time. It's a complex and expensive process, and delay often seem inevitable. However, such delay raises the threat that the civil war armies may reform, undermining confidence in the settlement and they should be avoided if possible.

Some people may ask why youth had to be involved in postwar peace building and McKay and Mazurana 1998 states that the youth have in many cases been active agents during armed struggle and their agency creates special and diverse need in the post war period. They are often the primary producers of violence in the post-

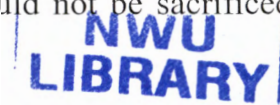
accord period-from political dissident violence to crime- and they are intrinsic to the success of new law and order. They are also the victims of much post- accord violence-directed assaults and displacement as well as structural violence, which while it may not fatally impact the peace process will shape attitudes and behaviour over the long- term. Moreover the youth are the primary actors in the grassroots community development/relations as they are at the frontlines of peace building. They have also the right of participation.

Postwar peace building can never be achieved without reconciliation. The concept of reconciliation has its origins in Christian theology, and only recently has the term found its way into political discourse (Shiver et al 1995). Reconciliation between individuals or groups requires the involvement of two or more parties in an interaction of apology and forgiveness and the willingness to embark on a new relationship based on the acceptance and trust. The ability to forgive and reconcile with an enemy has been described as a profound process of psychological and spiritual healing and transformation (Borris 1997).

Bronkhorst (1995:152) argues that ... no true reconciliation is possible unless there has at the very least been the chance to bring the worst offenders to justice.... Amnesty International states this position even more forcibly: amnesty is only acceptable after the due process of law has been properly completed. Justice is generally understood to mean what is right, fair, appropriate, deserved. Justice is achieved when an unjust act is redressed and the victim feels whole again. Justice also means the offender is held accountable for his behaviour. Juan Mendez, an Argentinean lawyer, learnt that truth is not always easy to establish .The truth does not necessarily emerge from a commission or an exercise in truth telling. In fact, I would argue that it is misguided to separate truth and justice because prosecutions provide a measure of truth that is more complete and more undeniable than that which is achievable through a truth commission. (Juan Mendez)

The problematic of truth always circle back in these matters to the exigencies of justice, including punishment (Popkin 2000). Especially when combined with immunity from prosecution, with pardons, or with amnesty, the wages of truth telling may become contested (e.g., Christodoulidis 2000). In South Africa, where the granting of amnesty by the Commission has been one of the most controversial aspects of its functioning, Bishop Tutu (1999) argued, “freedom was exchanged for truth.” Heribert Adam (1998) writes of “trading justice for truth.” Now is raised the ethically impacted problem of fungibility, the question of whether truth is a commodity that can be traded -- and if so, for what and at what price (Henderson 2000) as it is clearly stated,

Dyzenhaus, (1998) states that the price of historical truth and the presumption of political (re)conciliation involved a significant compromise in the pursuit of criminal justice. Hayner's assessment of truth commissions is not overly critical, but it is sober, she believes that a truth commission's strength lies in advancing reconciliation on a national level. In her view, truth commissions can ease political relationships, and may relegitimize national institutions that have lost the trust of the public, but on an individual level reconciliation is difficult to achieve, especially by national commissions. She says justice should not be sacrificed in favour of political expediency.



As noted above, truth and reconciliation commissions are usually established by “transitional governments” coming to power in place of repressive regimes and after periods of widespread violence, state terror, or ethnic conflict. This is how their work is identified with “transitional justice” (e.g., O’Donnell et al., 1986; Kritz 1995; Rosenberg 1995; Skaar 1999).

Kaye (1997) gives several reasons why transitional governments should opt for full accountability for past crimes. Not only is it a moral obligation and a legal requirement under international law to bring to justice perpetrators of human rights violations, it is also the practical option, for two reasons. First, without

punishment there will be no deterrent to prevent military or security forces from carrying out the same violations in the future. Secondly, accountability is an essential prerequisite for a successful democratic transition. If past violations of human rights go unpunished, it will undermine the rule of law and the very foundations of the new democratic institutions that are being built.

The morality of this exchange of truth for retributive justice is the problematic of Truth v. Justice, a collection of essays edited by Robert Rotberg and Dennis Thompson. The question is whether not only political necessity but also moral reasons and, in particular, reasons of justice can be thought of as justifying clemency. How can clemency for the perpetrators of the most gross acts of violence be just? To go further, and include forgiveness of such individuals as part of the vision of national reconciliation, may seem not only unrealistic but also outrageous. There should be an element of justice because there is no reconciliation without justice. The need for justice is a strong motivating force in human life, whether it plays out in violent revenge or the application of legal principle in court.

As a concept, it has been accepted as part of political discourse since the “golden age of Athens” (Shiver, 1995) and is central tenet of monotheistic religious doctrine. The definition of justice assumed in Western legal traditions is based on the ideas of retribution and restitution (or reparation) Retribution originally meant a settling of one’s accounts involving both the punishment of evil and rewarding of goods deeds, but has become associated solely with punishment and revenge in common usage in the twentieth century (Borneman, 1997). Restitution, meaning the recovery of losses or compensation to rectify harms generally takes the form of a financial payment made to the victim either by the offender or by the state.

Religion is a good agent of post war peace building and reconciliation. According to Paul Lederach it would be gratifying the report that the religious peace builders have been effective in neutralizing the religious extremes in their own community. A more defensible claim is that courageous religious leaders who advocate non-

violent social change, while, while they often seem to be of in the minority, perform an invaluable functions when they contest and refuse to cede the religious and moral grounds.

In fact, conditions of moderates Sunnis religious leaders have repeatedly and openly condemned extremist operating under the banner of Islam,” Socially engaged” Buddhists such as Sulak Sivaraksa (Thailand) and Aung Sa Suu Kyi (Burma) have denounced the military extremism of their respective governments, as well as the complicity of their fellow Buddhists in supporting, or failing to resist, political leaders who ignored the basic needs of their people. Judaism, Christianity and Hinduism have also produced influential figures of moral authority that describes the non-violent struggle for justice and reconciliation as a religious obligation. (Lederach 1997)

All these processes need a vehicle, and this vehicle is civil society. Peacebuilding measures should integrate civil society in all efforts and include levels of society in the post conflict strategy. All society members, from those of the elite’s leadership positions, to religious leaders, to those at the grassroots level, have a role to play in building lasting peace. Many apply Johan Paul Lederach model of hierarchical intervention level to make sense of the various levels at which peacebuilding efforts occur. Nevertheless, outside parties typically play a crucial role in advancing such peacebuilding efforts. Few peacebuilding plans work unless regional neighbors and other significant international actors support peace through economic development aid and humanitarian relief (Doyle and Sambanis, M 2000).

At the request of the affected country, international organizations intervene at the government level to transform established structures. They not only promote monetary support to post conflict governments, but also assist in the restoration of financial and political institutions because their efforts carry the legitimacy of the international community and they can be quite effective. Various institutions provide the necessary funding for peacebuilding projects. While the international

institutions are the largest donor, the private foundations contribute a great deal through project based financing. In addition, regional organizations often help with both fund and implement peace building strategies.

Finally non-governmental organizations (NGOs) often carry out small-scale projects to strengthen countries at grassroots level. Not traditional NGOs only but also the business and academic community and various grassroots organizations work to further these peace building efforts. The entire groups help to address “the limits imposed on governmental actions by limited resources, lack of consensus, or sufficient political will” (Stephens, 1997).

2.2 Theoretical framework of the study

A theoretical framework is the in-depth analysis of the various explanations that are related to the problem of the study. According to Le Pere, Landsberg and Van Niekerk there is no single theory that is widely thought to provide the basis for understanding a phenomenon. It is therefore imperative for the study to provide liberalism, functionalism, modernization and democratic peace theory. All of these theories are like blind men examining the elephant. They are correct, but only about the part of the problem they are concentrating on (Mearsheimer 2001).

2.2.1 Liberalism

Liberalists maintain that the state is not the only actor in international relations. There are other actors such as Multinational Corporations, non-governmental organizations and international financial institutions who are more powerful than states themselves. For post war peace building in DRC there is a need for social and economic partnership in development of the state and state apparatus. These non-states are vital as they are the basic components of peace building. According to Lederach (1997) for peace building to be sustainable all the three tracks must play a role. Track three is people at the grassroots level, while Track two are the international NGO's, churches, academics, and private business and track one is

the international and regional organizations and the international financial institution. For better peace building all these non state actors must operate in a liberalist environment where there are fundamental human rights especially the first generation rights which include the right to life, freedom of speech, freedom of movement, the right to have political parties, to vote, provision of basic rights.

2.2.2 Functionalism

Functionalism talks about the structure and workings of society. Functionalists see state as made up of inter-dependent sections which work together to fulfill the functions necessary for the survival of society as a whole. People are socialized into roles and behaviors which fulfill the needs of society. Functionalists believe that behaviour in society is structural. They believe that rules and regulations help organize relationships between members of society. Values provide general guidelines for behaviour in terms of roles and norms. These institutions of society in DRC such as the population, the economy, the educational and political systems, are major aspects of the social structure.

The country is made up of interconnected roles or inter-related norms. For example, inter-connected roles in the DRC are the role of people of all tribes, civil society government and international organizations. This requires team work and cooperation in order to produce better reconstructions which will lead to long lasting peace. The theory is based around a number of key concepts. First, society is viewed as a system – a collection of interdependent parts, with a tendency toward equilibrium. Second, there are functional requirements that must be met in a society for its survival (such as reproduction of the population). Third, phenomena are seen to exist because they serve a function (Holmwood, 2005:87)

DRC has failed in the past because the main actors were not fully involved in peace building processes. There was no commitment from the past governments, rebel groups, Rwanda, Burundi, and Uganda to collectively own the war and agree

on best possible way to end it and move on. Functionalism requires parties to work together hence for the future of DRC. All stakeholders must be involved. Even the western powers like USA, Russia and Belgium should be involved because they harvested from DRC.

2.2.3 Modernization Theory

Modernization talks about transformation of the international system in countries. There is a need for countries to get “civilized” in their ways of resolving issues. Resolution of problems should not be through war and war must always be used as the last resort because there are many ways of resolving conflict. Non-violence method is one of the best ways to solve dispute. During war people are killed, property destroyed and it even becomes hard for people to reconcile. It becomes difficult to live side by side with someone who had killed all members of one’s family. DRC must adhere to today conflict resolution and peace building mechanism.

2.2.4 Democratic Peace Theory

Presidents of both the major American parties have expressed support for the theory. Former President Bill Clinton of the Democratic Party said, “Ultimately the best strategy to ensure our security and to build a durable peace is to support the advance of democracy elsewhere. Democracies don’t attack each other. Current president George W. Bush of the Republican Party said “that the reason why I’m so strong on democracy is democracies do not go to war with each other. And the reason why the people of most societies don’t like war, they understand what war means.... I have faith in democracies to promote peace” (Bush speech 2004)

Kant foreshadowed this theory. In his “essay perpetual peace” written in 1795, he said that he thought that constitutional republic was the only one of several necessary conditions for a perpetual peace. Kant theory was that a majority of the people would never vote to go to war, unless in self-defense. Therefore if all

nations were republics, it would end war, because there would be no aggressors. Other explanations have been proposed since then, but the modern theory is principally the empirical claim that democracies rarely or never fight (Ray 1998). Promotion of democracy in Great Lakes can bring peace because liberal democracy culture may make the leaders get accustomed to negotiation and compromise (Weart 1998, Miller& Wolf 2004). Another is that belief in human rights may make people in democracies reluctant to go to war, especially against another democracy.



CHAPTER THREE

DELINEATION OF VARIABLES

In order to understand the socio-economic challenges facing DRC in postwar peace building, this study focused on a broad range of variables. They are role played by SADC, AU and UN. These specific variables are defined and explained below.

3.1 THE ROLE PLAYED BY SADC IN DRC POSTWAR PEACEBUILDING

SADC's origins lie in the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), which was formed in 1980 as part of the strategy of the Front Line States (FLS) to counter apartheid destabilisation and promote decolonisation in the Southern African region. SADCC sought to reduce its members' economic and transportation dependence on South Africa and to co-ordinate foreign aid and investment in the region. In response to a rapidly changing regional and international political climate, SADCC negotiated a new treaty and SADC came into existence in August 1992 with ten founding members. South Africa (1994), Mauritius (1995), the DRC and Seychelles (1997) have since joined them. The SADC Treaty has common economic, environmental, political, peace and security goals for its members, as is evident in its first three objectives: *"To achieve development and economic growth; evolve common political values, systems and institutions and promote and defend peace and security.* (SADC preamble 1992)

Although economic considerations informed the creation and maintenance of SADC, peace and security concerns were evident throughout the colonial and post-colonial period in Southern Africa. In fact, the FLS (formed in 1975 to advance the liberation struggles of the Southern African region) created a security substructure called the Inter-State Defence and Security Committee (ISDSC), which met regularly, yet informally, at both ministerial and official levels. With

Namibian independence and the demise of apartheid (including an end to regional destabilisation), the activities of the FLS alliance declined. However, the 1992 SADC Treaty anticipated the creation of a security (Khadiagala, 2001).

As it is already stated The DRC and Seychelles joined in 1997. According to Sidaway and Gibb (1998), South Africa was to include the DRC in SADC to access its resources particularly its hydroelectric power. Yet the infrastructure of the DRC has been decimated by three decades of misrule and (then) two years of war, and the DRC has lacked a functioning economy. Moreover, its connection to Southern Africa was always tenuous at best. Indeed the DRC had almost none of the approved criteria for admissions to the body proximity to Southern African, democratic government, and a sharing of the SADC's ideals.

The acceptance of DRC gave the country a sense of belonging and security According to Nest (2001), through the security wing that the SADC Heads of State accepted in June 1996, the "Organ on Politics, Defence and Security", SADC went though divided to assist its ally and to safeguard the people and development in the DRC against instability arising from civil disorder; to promote the development of a common foreign policy in areas of mutual interest; to develop close co-operation between the police and security services and to encourage the observance of human rights in DRC

When war again broke out in the DRC in August 1998, the appointed chairman of the SADC Organ for Politics Defence and Security, Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe, was the first to defend Kabila's regime with military forces. Angola, fighting its own rebels who use the DRC's territory, soon followed suit, as did neighboring Namibia. The involvement of the three SADC states was endorsed at a meeting of SADC defence ministers in Harare on 18 August 1998. On the other hand, South Africa remained aloof from the fray, with SADC Chairperson Nelson Mandela

espousing the need for dialogue and a negotiated settlement to the conflict. The territorial integrity of DRC was maintained. Heads of State and Government held a summit in Mauritius on 13 and 14 September 1998. The Summit. "... Welcomed initiatives by SADC and its Member States intended to assist in the restoration of peace, security and stability in DRC ... and ... commended the Governments of Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe for timorously providing troops to assist the Government and people of DRC..."(Final communiqué of the 1998 SADC Summit of Heads of State and Government, Grand Baie, Republic of Mauritius, 19 September 1998).

The Lusaka Peace Accord was signed by the six nations in Lusaka, Zambia in July 1999. African leaders came to the UN to re-affirm their commitment to peace and press the Security Council to deploy peacekeeping troops to monitor and enforce the cease-fire agreement negotiated by President Chiluba under a peacemaking initiative of the OAU and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). The Lusaka agreement, which calls for the halt of hostilities, a dialogue within the DRC leading to national elections and the withdrawal of foreign forces, was signed by the belligerent states on 10 July 1999. The principal Congolese rebel organizations signed a month later (Lusaka peace Accord report 1999).

The Lusaka peace accord was organized by SADC as a peace building mechanism SADC had also used one of the great statesmen such as Sir Ketumile Masire (the former president of Botswana) to mediate in the conflict. The Pretoria accord was signed in South Africa in 2002. It paved a way forward. The parties in the conflict agreed that there would be a transitional government which would pave way for a democratically elected government where everyone would be free to choose whom he or she wanted and stand for elections if he or she wants to. . On 2 April 2003 in Sun City South Africa, participants in the second phase of the peace process for the DRC, known as the Inter-Congolese Dialogue, signed the Final Act of the negotiations that started in October 2001, formally endorsing a package of

agreements that would restore peace and national sovereignty over a two-year transition period. Thirty-six of the 300 delegates to this second phase of the peace process were women, who formed a cross party Congolese Women's Caucus supported by donor countries and UN agencies (The inter-Congolese dialogue report 2001).

Elections were held on July 30, 2006. DRC held its first multi-party elections since independence in 1960. SADC sent a team to DRC. According to (2006 election report) The Southern African Development Committee Parliamentary forum (the Forum) pre-election mission was sent to DRC and it had its consultations with stakeholders in the capital Kinshasa. A six members delegation was as at the invitation of the Independent electoral Commission (IEC).

The deployment of the pre-election assessment mission, which was preceded by a visit to Kinshasa by a technical assessment team, marked the commencement of the Forum's overall engagement with the electoral process in the DRC. The pre-election assessment mission was followed by the deployment in July 2006 of a 129-member election observation mission and twelve-member post election mission elections to be observed by the Forum in the SADC region since 1999. In the post election period, the Forum intends to deploy a post election mission later in 2006, primarily to build stakeholder consensus on the process and the outcome of the elections. SADC indorse the fairness of elections as free and fair.

3.1.1 THE SADC PROGRAMME OF ACTION -SPA

The SPA is a totality of Sectoral Programmes, with their policy objectives, strategies and projects designed to realise the overall goals and objectives of SADC. The SPA has evolved over time in line with the priorities and challenges facing the organization. The number of projects under the SPA now stands at 407 with an estimated cost of US\$8.09 billion. Approximately 90 per cent of this amount is from external sources and close to 50 per cent has already been secured.

Under the SPA, several protocols have been developed and signed in the areas of Shared Water Course Systems, Energy, Combating Illicit Drug Trafficking, Transport, Communication and Meteorology, Trade, Education and Training, Mining, Immunities and Privileges, Health, Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement, Tribunal and Legal Affairs. Most of these have been ratified and are at various stages of implementation. The Trade Protocol, that is critical for SADC's integration process, entered into force on the 25th of January 2000 following its ratification by the required number of member States. The implementation of this protocol was launched on 1st September 2000. (SADC programme of action report 2007)

In addition to these protocols, the Summit has signed a Declaration on Gender and Development. This declaration calls for the equal representation of women and men in the decision making of member states and SADC Structures at all levels, and the achievement of at least 30 per cent target of women in political and decision-making structures by the year 2005. In addition, a Declaration on Productivity, which commits Member States to increase productivity in order to meet global competitiveness challenges, was signed in August 2000. (SADC Programme of action report 2007)

For peace building initiatives the organization has been working together with The Norwegian Institute for International Affairs (NUPI) South African-based African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Dispute (ACCORD) and the Institute for Defence Policy (IDO) to organise a programme of sub-regional peacekeeping training seminars for SADC countries. According to Monnagotla (1996), "the aim of these projects is to enhance peacekeeping capacity for a more secure and stable southern Africa". (Monnagotta, 1996,)

There is also a partnership between SADC and EU, through which are post war initiatives. They are worth underscoring

3.1.2 Examples of European Union interventions in SADC

- The EU-SADC Investment Promotion Programme (ESIPP; E18.3 million) is mobilizing foreign capital and technology into the region through capacity building of private sectors intermediaries such as investment promotion agencies, chamber of commerce and other financial institutions. ESIPP has an ongoing programme of Sectoral Partnership Meeting (SPM) for potential investors from the EU and SADC or Third World countries.
- Support of the EU-SADC negotiations (E7.5 million) to build capacity in the SADC Secretariat and the SADC EPA member states on trade policy issues and EPA negotiations. The project also assists in strengthening the active involvement of public and private stakeholders in trade policy making. It is financed to the amount of (E7.6 million).
- The Promotion of Regional Integration in the livestock sector (PRINT) was designed to lay down a sustainable base for a coherent regional approach towards the development of the livestock sector. The project focuses on establishing a viable, efficient and sustainable core body of human and technical resources at the SADC Secretariat level (E 7.9million).
- The Implementation and Coordination of Agricultural Research and Training in The SADC region (ICART) programme promotes innovative research and training activities to overcome constraints to the sustainable use of natural resources. It aims at improving incomes of small-scale farmers, processors and traders (E15 million
- The SADC regional Statistical Training Project (E4.8 million) assists SADC countries in improving the collection and availability of relevant statistical data through enhancing human resources capacity for the production and utilization of official statistics.
- The development of a regional framework for the control of Trans boundary animal diseases (EU projects report).

3.1.3 MAJOR NEW PROGRAMMES IN THE PROCESS OF BEING APPROVED

- Capacity building on Maximum Residue Levels (MLR) in food and feed products (E7.5 million).
- Support for the implementation of the Finance and Investment Protocol (E16 million).

Rehabilitation of regional road links.

- Capacity Building for regional integration (E10 million)
- . The SADC Foot and Mouth Disease Project (E12.6 million) assists the SADC member states in decreasing the spread of the disease through a vaccination campaign, the establishment of a SADC FMD epidemiological intelligence.

The objectives are to increase economic growth and reduce poverty through higher levels of regional economic integration and to improve trade-negotiating capacities at regional and multi-lateral levels. The two priority areas of the RIP are therefore regional integration/trade and transport/ communications (EU projects reports). For the mere fact that she is a member of SADC, DRC is likely to benefit from the majority of these projects.

3.2 THE ROLE PLAYED BY AU IN DRC POSTWAR PEACEBUILDING

The conflict arena in Africa has undergone radical change over the past decade. Africa colonial legacy has resulted in the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of member states is embedded in the charter of the OAU as one of its “unshakable” founding principles. This principle effectively precluded collective action to address civil wars and other internal conflicts in Africa by the OAU or other African governments and institutions in the past. Previously, the conflict management arena in Africa was dominated by foreign, mostly European, concerns, interests and initiatives. For example, the Portuguese facilitated negotiations between Angola’s factions in 1990-1992, followed by the UN in

1993-1995; the Italians mediated the end of the Mozambique civil war during 1991-1992; and the US took the lead with regard to Ethiopia in 1990-91 and Somalia in 1992-1993. (African union report 2007)

This changed in 1993, when the 29th OA Assembly of Heads of State and Government met in Cairo to establish the mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution. The mechanism institutionalized conflict resolution at the center of the OAU's being, and established the Central Organ, a committee of member states, to take charge of the process. Africa's experiences in Mozambique, Angola, Sudan, Liberia, Rwanda, Ethiopia and Somalia show that internal conflicts generate massive flows of displaced people and refugees; encourage the proliferation of arms which continues to fuel conflicts; spur crimes and destroys the economic/investment credibility of the sub- region and eventually that of the entire continent. Because their factors combine to hinder the economic development of individual countries, of region, and of continent, and because internal wars were recognized to have external consequences, collective actions to manage these conflicts were now judged both appropriate and necessary (Murithi 1999).

Salim Ahmed Salim the then secretary general urged both sides in DRC to exercise restraint and to seek a peaceful solution to the conflict. He also dispatched a fact-finding mission to the region, under the leadership of his Special Representative to Burundi. Based on information from the mission, the central organ met 1 August 1998. It asked both sides to seek a peaceful solution to the problem, condemned all external involvement in the conflict and encouraged the efforts of regional states, particularly Southern African Development Committee (SADC) members, to seek a solution to the crisis. In April 1999, Uganda's Yoweri Museveni met with Kabila in Sirte, Libya, where they signed a peace agreement. The Sirte agreement turned out to be the basis for Lusaka peace talks in April

1999 which were undertaken by SADC with the support of the OAU. That same month, Kabila signed a collective defence act with the leaders of Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe in which the four signatories committed themselves to a point of response in the event that one of them was attacked. In July 1999, after another round of talks in Lusaka, Kabila, the rebels and all the countries involved in the conflict agreed to a cease-fire that failed to hold, with both sides accusing each other of violating the agreement (Africa union report 2007).

In 2000, the OAU was extremely active in its diplomatic efforts to bring the DRC conflict to an end. In January, the OAU participated in a series of meetings including one with UN officials, to discuss ways in which they could coordinate their efforts in the DRC. Later that month, the OAU participated in the fourth session of the Joint Military Committee in the third session of the Political Committee on the DRC peace process, and in the special session of the UN Security Council on the DRC. The meeting resulted in the adoption of the UN Security Council Resolution 1291, under which a peacekeeping mission was to be sent to the DRC. Since then the OAU has seen a flurry of activities aimed at getting the parties to the conflict to commit to a cease-fire and agree to the disengagement and redeployment of their troops on the ground, and in the long term, to bring peace to the DRC. OAU officials have accompanied the facilitator for the Inter-Congolese dialogue, Sir Ketumile Masire former president of the Botswana went, to the region for discussions with the parties to the conflict, which has so far proved unsuccessful.

There are also specific conflicts in which the OAU played important roles. In Rwanda, the organization came in when an early stalemate was reached in the military conflict between the government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). The OAU initiated a mediation process between the warring sides and the series of

talks, which took place between them during 1990 and 1992 led to an agreement to send a 55-man OAU Observer force (later expanded to 120) to Rwanda to oversee implementation of the cease-fire. The OAU also played an important role in the Arusha Peace process signed in August 1993.

In neighbouring Burundi, the OAU deployed, in early 1994, a military Observer Mission, (OMIB), following the UN Security Council's unfavourable response to dispatching a stronger peacekeeping force to the country. This mission was initially composed of 67 observers, charged with promoting confidence building among the parties. This was also complemented by the appointment of a Special Envoy to Burundi. When, however, the Buyoya coup occurred in July 1996, the OAU terminated the OMIB mission. This OAU mission in Burundi had positive influence toward DRC as these countries are ethnically related. A crisis in one other country affects other badly.



The AU had added more to peace building by encouraging countries to peer review mechanism which, according to AU is an instrument that is voluntarily acceded to by member states of the African Union as an African self-monitoring mechanism is to ensure that the policies and practices of participating states conform to the agreed political, economic and corporate governance values, codes and standard contained in the Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance. The African Union (AU) and its flagship programme the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) has a enumerated a framework to enhance the capacity and efficiency of African countries to promote peace and consolidate reconstruction (Mwanasali 1998). The APRM is the mutually agreed instrument for self-monitoring by the participating member governments. The primary purpose of the APRM is to foster the adoption policies, standards and practices that lead to political stability, high economic growth, sustainable development and accelerated sub-regional and continental economic integration through sharing of experiences and reinforcement of successful and

best practice, including identifying deficiencies and assessing the needs for capacity building.

3.3 THE ROLE PLAYED BY UN IN DRC POSTWAR PEACEBUILDING

The UN Charter of 1945 makes provisions for the promotion of peace, notably through Article 33, which states that “parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall first of all seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediate, conciliate, arbitrate, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangement, or other peaceful means”. (UN charter article 3) The conflict in DRC can be traced back to the day of independence. According to Peter Calvocoressi, the UN came to the Congo in response to the three appeals by Kasavumbu and Lumumba on the 10, 11, and 13 July 1960. They appealed first for technical aid, including aid in the organization and equipment of security forces. In their second and third messages they appealed for help against Belgian aggression. Dag Hammarskjöld the then secretary general took the initiative under article 99 of the charter, on the 13 July asked the Security Council to consider technical aid for the Congo and the problem of law and order. The council authorized the dispatch of military aid to the Congolese government with the proviso that force should not be used by UN troops except in self defense (Peter Calvocoressi 1999) Dag Hammarskjöld died in a plane crash on 17 September 1961 leaving the conflict unresolved and since then UN has undertaken many peace building initiatives which are worth underscoring.

3.3.1 PEACE KEEPING

MONUC has deployed 14,500 troops The Security Council began a "phased deployment" last August with 90 military liaison officers. Their principal tasks were to establish contact with the belligerents, advise the Secretary-General on possible additional deployments of UN personnel and provide technical assistance to the JMC. In November; the Security Council authorized the Secretary-General

to prepare for phase two of the DRC deployment: the dispatch of up to 500 military observers. Cease-fire violations continued and UN military liaison officers were denied access to some parts of the country, making deployment of the observers impossible and reinforcing the views of Security Council sceptics. The Council had before it a recommendation from Secretary-General Annan to augment the 500 military observers already approved for the UN Organization Mission to the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC), with an additional 5,000 personnel, including four infantry battalions, two marine companies and logistical units, as well as human rights and child protection officers.

On 24 February 2000, the Security Council voted unanimously to authorize the deployment of up to 5,537 UN personnel in the DRC to support the Lusaka agreement. Its mandate, in keeping with its capabilities, was limited. MONUC would work jointly with the JMC to monitor -- but not enforce -- the cease-fire. It facilitated humanitarian assistance operations, provided logistical and technical assistance to Mr. Masire in conducting the inter-Congolese dialogue and provide security for UN and JMC personnel. MONUC is also authorized, "as it deems within its capabilities," to protect civilians under imminent threat of attack. Currently there are 18,473 troops - including 776 military observers and 1,075 police - serving with the UN Mission in the DRC (MONUC) has played a major role in the DRC stabilization, Ban Kim Moon the UN secretary general said it was important that the Congolese army and police take over.

Moreover, on 11 April 2007 – The United Nations peacekeeping mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) helped former vice-president Jean-Pierre Bemba, whose guards were involved in deadly fighting with the Congolese army, to leave the country safely for medical treatment. The mission, known as MONUC, provided security for Mr. Bemba's transport from the South African embassy in the capital, Kinshasa, to the airport. Mr. Bemba then took a flight to Portugal, where he was scheduled to receive medical treatment for an old injury.

The MONUC move followed a request from Mr. Bemba and Congolese authorities after the President of the Provisional Office of the Senate granted him permission to leave Kinshasa. (Xinhua News Agency 11 April 2007)

3.3.2 DISARMAMENT

According to the report from the Refugees International, in June 2005, MONUC, the Government of Rwanda, and other agencies began demobilization and reintegration program towards a Rwandan militia group, the FDLR, in the east region of the DRC. The Secretary-General reported that by the end of June 2005, 15,607 combatants, including 4,395 children, had been disarmed through the disarmament and community reintegration programme. 840 of them were girls (Special report on children on armed conflict 2007)

The issue of refugees had also been attended. 61,000 Congolese are refugees in Zambian territory, with the majority living there since the outbreak of war in the DRC in 1998. UNHCR is now in the planning stages of the operation, which will receive logistical and technical support from MONUC. UNHCR has already coordinated with the DRC government, MONUC and other UN agencies, as well as international and local NGO partners, and transit centers are now being set up in Pweto and Moba to cater for the refugees. According to Mr. Hesemann. "Here they will stay for one or two days, where they will await transport to their villages of origin. They will also receive food rations and medical assistance whilst in the centers, as well as basic household kits so that they can start to rebuild their lives in the DRC, (UNHCR 2007 report)

3.3.3.CANCELATION OF DEBT

The World Bank activities are focused on the reduction of global poverty, focusing on the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), goals calling for the elimination of poverty and the implementation of sustainable development. The constituent parts of the Bank, the IBRD and the IDA achieve their aims through the provision of low or no interest loans and grants to countries with little or no access to international credit markets. The Bank is a market based non-profit organization, using its high credit rating to make up for the low interest rate loans. The Bank mission is to aid developing countries and their inhabitants to achieve the MDGs through the alleviation of poverty, by developing an environment for investment, jobs and sustainable growth, thus promoting economical growth and through investment in empowerment of the poor to enable them to participate in development. (World Bank 1998)

The Bank also grants for the facilitation of development projects through the encouragement of innovation, cooperation between the organizations and the participation of local stakeholders in projects. IDA grants are predominantly used for;

- Debt burden relief in the most indebted and poverty struck countries
- Ameliorating of sanitation and water supply
- Supporting of vaccination and immunization programs for the reduction of communicable disease such as Malaria
- Combating the HIV/AIDS pandemic
- Support civil society organizations
- Creating initiatives for the reduction of green

(World Bank 1998)

The UN and its G-8 members have advocated for debt cancellation and DRC has benefited from the new structure according to Afro news, The Norwegian government too has decided on the cancellation of Congo Kinshasa's (DRC) entire

debt to the Scandinavian country, totaling kroner 288 million (Euro 35 million). The cancellation is to be made in two turns, with more than half of the debt to be erased immediately. The government's decision was made in reference to the debt cancellation programme agreed up on by the Paris Club - a grouping of the world's major creditor nations - in November last year. The Paris Club is following up on the Initiative for the "Heavily Indebted Poor Countries" (HIPC Initiative), through which the Kinshasa government has embarked on economic reforms under guidance from the IMF.

3.3.4 PEACE EDUCATION

- UNA-DRC was engaged in advocacy campaigns and spreading information for peace, human rights, justice, free press and media.
- When the UN came to the aid of an agonizing DRC, UNA-DRC restarted their activities that were suspended by force by the warlords. Then they worked in partnership with the UN mission in the DRC 'MONUC' in areas of peacekeeping and peacemaking. Most of the role was to educate and inform citizens about the UN mission in the DRC and counteract the flow of misinformation.
- UNA-DRC launched an information, education and sensitization campaign aimed to mobilize public understanding and support toward the UN mission. UNA-DRC organized about 21 seminars, workshops and discussion group meetings within universities, schools, and with community groups/civil society organizations at the national and local levels. During this time, UN mission representatives came to speak directly to the public. UNA-DRC built bridges between the UN and Congolese people that opened a way to constructive dialogues between the two groups.

- When the peace accords were signed, UNA-DRC immediately launched a conflict prevention and peace building action program. For two years, UNA-DRC was a leading civil society peace worker with the aim of supporting and promoting the UN, international community and governmental peace process. This had been done through seminars, workshops, and radio program and training and bulletins. In addition UNA-DRC translated the peace accords into four national languages (Cissa Wa Numbe, the Secretary-General of the UNA of DRC, 2007 report)

3.3.5 WOMEN EMPOWERMENT



Since 2001, UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) has worked with women's organizations and the facilitator's office to support anticipation of 36 women's delegates and experts to the Inter-Congolese Dialogue (ICD). UNIFEM has worked closely with leading NGOs who had been following the situation closely, such as Femmes Africa Solidarité, and ACCORD South Africa to help form a cross-party space for women to articulate their agenda.

UNIFEM assisted Congolese women to meet with women that had experienced peace negotiations and processes, such as those in South Africa, Guatemala and Uganda. UNIFEM facilitated a solidarity mission by the Women's League of the African National Congress (ANC) on 4 April 2002 to support Congolese women attending the ICD in Sun City, South Africa. The ANC women shared the history of their struggle for political participation and urged the Congolese women to create a support group to assist one another to access political leadership. They also urged the more than 60 Congolese women present to fight the system of gender discrimination. The women experts contributed substantively to the agenda of the five commissions: defense and security, political and reconciliation. In the Inter-Congolese Dialogue, Commitment was made to provide further technical assistance to the Facilitator's office in the last

round of negotiations. The women have drawn up a memorandum appealing for sustainable peace in the Congo and have given television and radio interviews. They have also been successful in meeting representatives of the three key players in the peace talks - the government and the rebel groups. In 2002, UNIFEM worked closely with MONUC's Office of Gender Affairs (OGA), including participating in meetings around the ICD and designing strategies around mainstreaming gender in the reintegration of Rwandans in the DDR process (women watch 2007 report).

UNIFEM involvement in DRC during the first part of the 2003 was a continuation of the activities carried out throughout year 2002 in support of the Inter-Congolese Dialogue under the Peace and Security Programme. The UNIFEM's engagement entailed provision of technical, financial and strategic support. UNIFEM supported women from various political affiliations, government representatives, religious groups, international and civil society organization to effectively take part in various peace-building efforts inside the DR Congo and outside. In 2003, UNIFEM availed a consultant to provide sustained strategy formulation and lobbying, which enabled the carrying out of the activities, as well as leveraging of crucial support of the Africa Unity, the Facilitator's Office and the Special UN Representative. Moreover, UNIFEM assisted in organizing peace demonstrations and reconciliation conferences in Kinshasa and other provinces inside DR Congo. In March, UNIFEM also provided financial and technical support that enabled the Women's Peace Caucus to attend a conference in Johannesburg, South Africa. The conference brought together over 300 participants from the DRC and South Africa. Guided by previous declarations and plans of action, the Conference came up with a declaration and an inclusive plan of action targeting the transition period. The Johannesburg Conference coincided with an important session of the ICD in Pretoria, and provided a unique opportunity for participating women to influence the session and process (Unifem 2007DRC report).

3.3.6 Peace building Commission

The General Assembly established a new Peace building Commission to help rebuild and stabilize countries emerging from conflict. As studies have shown, those up to half those of countries can relapse into conflict within five years of a peace agreement. This decision could mark a watershed in UN efforts to help states and societies manage the difficult transition from war to peace. The Commission will, for the first time, bring together all the major actors concerned with a country emerging from conflict to decide on a long-term peace building strategy. By establishing a link between immediate post-conflict efforts on the one hand and long-term recovery and development efforts on the other, it will fill a previously existing gap in the UN system. The Commission will focus attention on reconstruction and institution building and improve coordination within and outside the UN system so that international attention does not wane during the crucial post-conflict years. (UN Peace Building Commission preamble)

3.3.7 HELP FROM UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The United States of America has done a tremendous job in DRC. USA assisted to consolidate peace through efforts to revitalize the economy, enhance national security, deliver basic services, and strengthen governance and rule of law. In 2007, USA provided over \$462 million in assistance to the DRC, including \$77 million in development, and security assistance, \$85 million in humanitarian assistance (including refugee support) and \$300 million to support the peacekeeping mission.

More over USA is helping DRC in the following

- **Security Sector Reform:** USA is developing a professional national military. And provides support for training rapid response battalions.
- **Child Labor:** Through the Department of Labor, USA supported a four-year project to reintegrate 4,000 war-affected children in the DRC. A new

project began in 2007, which will provide vocational training, formal and non-formal education, and start-up kits.

- **Education:** Through USAID, USA is focusing on immediate needs in primary education by improving access to and the quality of basic education. USAID activities support teacher training, distribution of educational materials, girls' scholarships, reduction of school fees, and encouraging community participation in education (Report from USAID 2007)
- **Bilateral Debt Relief:** USA intends to provide 100 percent cancellation of \$2.2 billion in outstanding bilateral claims on the DRC, in coordination with the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) framework.
- **Multilateral Debt Relief:** USA supports the cancellation of the vast majority of the DRC's approximately \$8 billion in external debt through the HIPC framework and the Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative. It exercised strong leadership, along with the United Kingdom, in developing and securing agreement on the latter landmark initiative.
- **Development Agency,** USA signed an agreement to prepare a feasibility study for a hydropower project in Katanga province.
- **Forestry and Conservation:** In 2002, USAID helped to launch the Congo Basin Forest Partnership (CBFP) to promote good governance and sustainable management of natural resources in the Congo Basin (Report from USAID 2007).
- **Emergency Assistance:** Through USAID, USA provides life-saving assistance for internally displaced persons and returnees. This assistance focuses on health and nutrition sectors, shelter and household equipment, and agricultural production. In 2007, USAID provided \$25.1 million and reached over 2 million beneficiaries, largely in war-impacted areas. USA also provided \$37.8 million in 2007 for emergency food aid assistance. In

addition, USAID and CDC provided \$591,000 to combat the Ebola epidemic (Report from USAID 2007).

- **Refugees:** Through the Department of State, USA support the return and reintegration of Congolese refugees and assists other conflict-affected populations in the DRC. In 2007, the State Department provided nearly \$22 million primarily in the sectors of protection, health, livelihoods, water and sanitation, and gender-based violence. The Department of State also contributed \$50.7 million and \$39.7 million to UNHCR and the ICRC respectively for their Africa –wide programs, a portion of which supports programs in the DRC. (Report from USAID 2007)

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents a full description of how the challenges facing DRC were identified in terms of the research design, methods, sampling procedure. The chapter also presents types of data and how it was collected as well as the data analysis method employed. Methodology is a general approach to studying research topics; it involves the whole aspect of conducting a research project, developing appropriate methods of data collection and the aspect of comparing and constructing different techniques and methods. According to social science researcher, such as (Silverman 2000) the whole issue of methodology is devoted to explaining why certain methods are used in the research project. It also categorically address as the issue of the type of data used to gather data, why such method was chosen; its advantages and disadvantages; how such data was analyzed and finally the limitation of using the method of data analysis (Silverman 2000).

This was a case study of socio-economic challenges facing DRC in post war peace building. Geoff Payne and Judy Payne (2006) define a case study as a detailed study of a single social unit. Yin, on the other hand suggests that case a study should be defined as a research strategy, an empirical inquiry that investigates a phenomenon within its real-life context. Case study research means single- and multiple case studies; can include quantitative evidence; relies on multiple sources of evidence and benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions. He who notes that case studies should not be confused with qualitative research and points out that they can be based on any mix of quantitative and qualitative evidence (Yin 2002).

4.1 Research Sites

In order to have a clear and critical understanding of the research problems the researcher made an effort to collect data from various institutions associated with the socio-economic challenges facing DRC into post war peace building.

Key research subjects

- Peace Studies and international Relations graduates, *posses vital information on peace studies*
- Citizens from Great Lake, refugees, civil societies, *posses vital information especially primary data.*
- Research Institutes such as, ACCORD, ISS, AISA, SAIIA and the Institute for Global Dialogue SADC and EU: *They posses vital researched information on DRC and post war peace building mechanisms.*

Secondary Sources such as, books, Journals, newspapers and Internet: *They possess secondary data about DRC and post war peace building mechanism*

4.2 Instrumentation

Leedy and Ormrod (2005) emphasize the use of qualitative research as it investigates a complex and tangible phenomenon. It is more of unscientific but highly exploratory interviews. Its mode of data gathering such as typical interviews or their non numeric characters such as verbal protocols, make this method more relevant to this research study. The qualitative methods exemplify a common belief that can provide a deeper understanding of social phenomenon. (Denzin and Lincoln 1994).

This research used qualitative method because the researcher technique best suits the researcher's intention to investigate the social economic challenges facing DRC in post war peace building. The qualitative method is much more important because social sciences are not natural sciences and therefore important subjects of

data collection are not just objects but partners and expects where views are sought (Sarantako1997: 45).

This research best suits the researcher's intention to examine properties, values and needs as well as characteristics that distinguish individuals, groups, communities, events and settings. Qualitative research methods such as interviews, examination of available documents and focus group discussions form the core of data collection methods. Qualitative methods are especially of interest in how ordinary people observe and describe their lives (Silverman 1993:170.) It is the umbrella term covering different types of research. Almost all share certain features. The core concern is to seek out and interpret the meaning that people bring to their own actions rather than to describe any regulations on statistical association between variables. The qualitative methods help to draw out the vital clues by developing discussion, getting people to talk through their own words how they see a particular idea or subject, research subjects were able to express their views on issues pertaining to social and economic challenges facing DRC.

Another approach used in the study was focus group discussion a focus group is very important qualitative research technique used to extract data from target groups and individuals. The hallmark of focus group discussion is to produce qualitative data to provide insights into the attitudes, perceptions and opinions of participants. The focus group discussion technique was developed after World War 2 evaluate response to radio programs (Stewart and Shamdasani,1990).

Two focus group discussions were chosen randomly conducted in Botswana on refugees to obtain in depth views of the refugees, especially those who come from the great lakes, Rwanda, Burundi, DRC, Sudan and Namibia. The other focus group was done on six graduates of Peace Studies and International Relations to acquire more data and to give the researcher an inside look into the core problem

of the study. The number of participants was small and manageable. Their presentation was audio taped and written down for transcription so that it could be reserved during data analysis time. The moderator creates a permissive and nurturing environment that encourages different perceptions and points of view, without pressuring to vote, plan or reach consensus (Kruger 1998). The focus group discussion technique was therefore vital for this qualitative research because it provided a forum where selected groups and individuals provided an insight into their perception, attitudes and opinions into the socio economic challenges facing DRC in post war peace building.

Data was analyzed through content analysis as it took texts and transformed them into interesting objects of research. Second, content analysis is essentially systematic and detailed in both qualitative approaches. Third, it is not tied to a single theoretical interpretation in addition to qualitative orientations (Abercrombie and Warde 2002).

4.3 Ethical Considerations

- The researcher ensured confidentiality of information because some of the subjects actively involved in government service and post-war reconstruction.
- The respondents were informed before that participation in the study was voluntary;
- The official views and opinions of the subjects regarding issues to be raised on the subject were respected. This is by the virtue of political inclination. The research project will be presented to them before hand;
- The researcher undertook initiatives to provide the institutions and persons concerned with the research report. This will be done to ensure that the researcher does not misrepresent their views.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH FINDINGS

This chapter concerns itself with the socio-economic challenges facing DRC in post war peacebuilding. The analysis is guided by the research questions and objective of the study.

The DRC is a state coming out of the war that lasted for more than 47 years and there are some parts of the country that are volatile; hence huge social and economical challenges that can take the country to great highs and prosperity.

5.1 SOCIAL CHALLENGES

Poverty

Poverty in DRC can be traced back to the colonial era as the Belgium colonial rule. The Belgian government was milking the mineral resources of the country without the improvement of the lives of the people. The new regime led by Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba inherited a poor system and before he could come up with development plans his legitimate government was faced with political crises. He was assassinated and Mobutu Sese Seko took over. Mobutu Sese Seko increased the poverty that was already there. State resources were his personal possession and by the time he was disposed the country debt was equal to the amount of money he had on a Swiss bank. Laurent Kabila inherited weak, money less government and the little that was there was used to consolidate his military power with less paid to poverty reduction mechanisms. This clearly shows that the by DRC the situation is a challenge.

Unemployment

The unstable DRC led to many inhabitants of DRC spending a lot of time fighting against each other and running away for safety. Unskilled labour was not used to full potential and the only source of employment was merely paramilitary groups where the source of payment was sexual abuse and temporary security. People that



could have gone to school to acquire the basic skills, which could have made them employable, failed because of the prolonged war in which safety was the only reason to live.

Social and income inequality

The conflict in DRC had entrenched the classes that were created by Belgium. The capitalist structure perpetuated the class division and the situation it became survival of the fittest only those that had good modern guns and criminally intelligence manage to take care of their families. This had a serious impact on the majority of people especially the poor, the old, children, women, the disabled, the uneducated and the chronically unemployed.

Education and social services

The conflict in DRC has denied citizens one of the fundamental rights, which is the right to basic education. Education shapes human behaviour and without it becomes difficult to separate people from animals. It is through education that the government can execute plans well and the people behaviour can be controlled. The people of DRC had be denied the majority of their fundamental rights and social services which the government was supposed to provide. They the failed dismally as more energy was paid to militarization of the army instead of the welfare of people.

Health and HIV/AIDS

According to Aklilu Kidanu 2002 the HIV/AIDS pandemic is taking a severe toll in social, economic, political and security terms, with Africa having the highest population affected by the diseases. Botswana is leading in the countries that had been affected even though there is peace, free condoms and health education. A refugee focus group member asked that if the conditions are like this in a free country like Botswana and what about countries like where rape is used as a

weapon of war. In 2004, USAID found a 12% HIV seropositive rate among women who had been raped. A UNICEF representative told USAID staff at a meeting in Washington in March that other studies show as high as 27% among rape survivor in the eastern DRC. Curable diseases have not been cured, as the majority of children do not reach their first birthday.

5.2 ECONOMIC CHALLENGES

Congo-Kinshasa's GNP (World Bank estimate) in 2004 was about US\$6,389 million, equivalent to about US\$120 per capita. The very low general living standards this figure reflects belie the fact that the country has some of Africa's richest natural resources. However, the civil war of the immediate post-independence era, followed by decades of economic mismanagement and corruption by the government, has played a key role in the sluggishness of an economy with an annual growth rate of only about 1 per cent between 1965 and 1985. The mining industry, after a sharp decline, reached record levels in the early 1970s but was adversely affected by the sharp drop in the world market price of copper after 1974 (World Bank 2004).

Estimated budget figures for 2002 showed about US\$439.7 million in revenues and US\$460 million in expenditure. By the early 1990s the economy was in a state of collapse, with hyperinflation, loss of export earnings through labour unrest, a disintegrating transport infrastructure, US\$10,000 million in foreign debts, and a heavy reliance on food imports. Economic policy in the mid-1990s made some gains, but these were wiped out by the civil war in the latter part of the decade, which has left the country with many problems to overcome.

Unemployment.

It was also discovered that the majority of DRC have never had formal education, as 47 years of the country had never been at peace. The challenge that faces the post war government is to try and integrate these unskilled people into their economy but not forgetting the globalization where skilled people are to match

technology. Unemployment is a big hindrance to economic diversification and it can plough back the country into war. There is an English proverb that says “*a hungry man is an angry man*”

Debt

A sluggish economy remained DRC's greatest problem in the early 1980s. The country's foreign debt was rescheduled in 1981, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) extended a billion-dollar loan; further aid in 1983-1984 followed currency devaluation and other austerity measures. In 1986, however, DRC abandoned the IMF programme, and the economy took a downturn. The government again embraced economic reform in 1989, and in 1990, following strikes and other widespread popular unrest.

One author, once said, “*Africa is faced with debt crises that once life work can not repay*” “The past regime of DRC rape the country economically, especially Mobutu Sese Seko. USA used him in order to suppress communism and in the long run they gave him economic loans in order to develop his people but today his undevelopment legacy persist whilst the country is rich in minerals is at the same time poor and even asking for debt forgiveness. The new regime had to fight tooth and nail for total debt cancellation. According to Alexander Sack who theorized the doctoring of illegitimate debt; if the disposed power incurs debts not for the needs or the interest of the state but to strengthen his despotic regime, to repress the population that fights against it or to colonise its territories with members of a dominant nationality, etc... these debt are odious to the indigenous population. This debt is not an obligation for the nation. It is the regime debt, a personal debt of the power that has incurred it, when the power falls, that debt” consequently ... falls with the fall of the power.

Lack of foreign direct investment

DRC had failed to transform economically because the war drove away foreign direct investors. The climate had not been stable to attract the foreign investors as insecurity would bring threat to business. These businesses could have assisted in providing employment and hence providing economic stability, which is a prerequisite to political stability. Outbreaks of violence and looting, led many European and American civilians to flee the country.

5.3 POLITICAL CHALLENGES

Establishment of stable democratic government

The first thing is to establish a stable democratic government that includes all. There is the need for a strong proportional representative government where all sectors (women, youth, all tribes) of the society could be fully represented, fail of which the country can relapse into war. Fundamental human rights especially first generation had to be broadly are stated in a constitution that is agreed by majority of the citizens for collective ownership. This could also accelerate the removal of ethnic lines in the political parties. Roland Paris contends that the rapid introduction of democracy and capitalism in the absence of effective institutions can increase rather than decrease the danger of renewed fighting. A more effective approach to post-war conflict peace building would be to introduce political and economical reforms in a gradual and controlled manner.

Separation of organs of the state

There is also the need for separation of organs of state. Majority rule pose a threat tyrant to democracy. Legislation, which is as direct agent of the people should take procedure over the executive branch. The legislation should decide on the policy of the government and the executive should doubtfully carry out the mandate of parliament. It is believed that if the rules are made by one group of people, applied or executed by another, and interpreted by yet a third, it should be

possible to prevent a situation where too much power accumulates in one place. These political apparatus would ensure the accountability of the governors to the governed.

Decentralization of power among all the inhabitants of DRC

The post war peace building need all people to be fully involved in the running of the states. One of the post a war challenges is to empower people in political parties especially the women, children and the poor. There should be a clear distinction between political power and chieftainship, which according to the Africa rules of successions, upon the death of the father the eldest son, should inherit the power. Every man or women should have equal chances if leading the people National actors should play a central role and lead where feasible. Such leadership strengthens the leader's abilities for making key economic decisions and cultivates the sense of ownership.

Demilitarization of political parties

In DRC it is very difficult to differentiate politics and rebel groups. Political parties are or armed militarised; the parties can be de militarised done by intergrading the military into one unified forces. The power structure in the military should serve as all former soldiers equally and all ethnic groups should be represented at the highest power structure. Military uniform and weapons must be reserved and used by the national army only. There must be a non-violent war against ethnicity. The Luba Hima and Geti must accept each other and other African ethnic groups such as the Mongo, Luba, Kongo, Mangbetu, and Azande; and Bantu, Nilo-Saharan, African-Asian, European, and Asian groups.

Reconciliation and reconstruction

Reconciliation and reconstruction should be priorities. Reconciliation should be linked with economic reconstruction and the latter should be accelerated as it was

done in South Africa. It should be a national reconciliation based on post war peace building. The psychological wounds of war can prevent groups from working together to build the economic capacity for lasting recovery. The courts should target the leaders responsible for egregious war crimes and rights violations. These instruments do not address the challenges facing the people of DRC.

Regional integration

It was also discovered in the study that DRC has never had close ties with its neighbours. DRC has developed enmity with its regional members and it has even asked for security from SADC. There is a need for regional integration of DRC and its neighbours to accelerate post war peace building. DRC needs partnership with NEPAD and G8 countries that can give the country massive aid, which can accelerate development.



Chapter Six

5.2 Conclusion

There is a need for democratic reforms in Democratic Republic of Congo, and its neighboring states. Democracies engage in the least amounts of foreign violence. Democracies use less violence in their internal affairs. In particular, modern democracies do not murder their citizens. Democracy can be a deterrence and détente against DRC political instability for Democracy lead to peace. Peace is more than the absence of conflict. And peace making is more than stopping war. It encompasses democratic ideals and protection of human rights. When citizens are empowered, they use their voices to influence policy, protect human rights, and hold their governments accountable.

The second step is social and economic development that is geared toward meeting the need of people that had been affected by war. Preference should be given women and children, as they are the more war-affected citizens. Basic services such as education, health care, electricity and security have to be priorities by government. There is also the need of the rehabilitation of infrastructure and reconciliation This can fully happen with the help of SADC, AU, UN EU and G 8 countries with either aid or strategic planning.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

For effective peace building the following must be done:

- DRC must secure its borders by having a strong government and organized army that can protect the territorial integrity and give its citizens security and total control of its minerals.
- Close ties with its neighbouring countries because they share common problems.
- Work hand in hand with countries that come out of war like Angola and South Africa to learn more about their post war peace building mechanism.
- Adherence to African Peer Review Mechanism, which is of the proposed cornerstones of continental governance. This Mechanism, is an instrument of self-monitoring, represents a new and unique opportunity for continental governance.
- International organization such as the World Bank must play a big role post war reconstruction with funds because peace in DRC is peace in Africa.
- Peace studies and international relations Degree courses in DRC Universities to solidify peace building.
- Introduction of religion subjects in primary schools
- Investment in sports.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adebayo Oyeade and Abiodun Alao (eds.) 1997, **Africa after the Cold War: The Changing Perspective on Security**, Trenton: Africa World Press,

Ball, Nicole, 1996 **Demobilizing and reintegrating soldiers; lesson from Africa in rebuilding society after civil war; critical roles for international assistances**

Brett, Rachel@ Margaret McCallin, 1996, **Children the invisible soldiers**. Stockholm Raddan Bannen

Bronkhorst, D. 1995: **Truth and reconciliation: Obstacles and opportunities for human rights**

Brunmen j and Nilsen A 2002 **Young peoples time perspectives from youth to adulthood**

Boutros –Ghali, boutros.1992, **An agenda for peace**. New York; United Nations

Carment, David and Frank Harvey. 2000. **Using force to prevent ethnic violence; an evaluation theory and evaluation**. Westport, Conn; Praeger Press

Collier, Paul.2000, **Policy for post conflict societies; reducing the risks of renewed conflict** Princeton University, Princeton

Claire Bless, Graig Higson Smith, Asharf Kagee 2006, **Fundermentals of social research methods. An African perspective** fourth edition. Juta Cape Town

Cortright, David, 1997, **The price of peace; incentives and international conflict prevention** lanham Md, Rowman and Littlefield

David Malin Roodman, **Still waiting for the jubilee**, world watch institute 26 April 2001

D. Dyzenhaus, '**Justifying the Truth and Reconciliation Commission**' (2000) 8 J. Political Philosophy 470.

Derek Ingram September 2000, **40 years on Lumumba still haunts the west**, Gemini news service I

Denzin, N ed (1970) **Sociological methods**. Chicago Aldine

Doyle, Michael W. 1997 **Ways of wars and peace**, New York

Doyle, Michael W, and Nicholas Sanibanis.2000, **International peacekeeping; a theoretical and Quantitative analysis** Princeton university, Princeton

Green-Thompson, A. & O Leary, S. 1998. **Assessing the Truth Commission, in Southern African**

Gurr, Ted Robert, 1993, **Minority at risk a global view of ethonopolitical conflict** Washington DC; United States institute of Peace press

Hammerrseely M,(1998)**Reading ethnography research** Harlow Addison Wesley London

Hartzell, Caroline, Matthew Hoodie and Donald Rothchild 2001 **Stabilizing the peace after civil war; an investigation of some key variables**, international organization 50 no 1 winter; 183-208

Hochschild, Adam, **King Leopold, ghost: a story of greed, terror and heroism in colonial Africa**

Holmwood, J., (2005) "**Functionalism and its Critics**" in Harrington, A., (ed) *Modern Social Theory: an introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 87-109

Jeffery, Anthea. 1999. **The Truth about the Truth Commission**, South African Institute of Race Relations. Justice and Society Program of the Aspen Institute. 1989. *State Crimes: Punishment or Pardon*. Queenstown, MD: The Aspen Institute Press.

Judith, Tony.2000. **The past is another Country**, Princeton NJ; Princeton University Press

Kant Immanuel, 1795, **Perpetual peace**: a philosophical sketch

Kathleen Stephens, 1997, **Peace building in a deeply rooted conflict**. Incore

Kevin C. Dunn,2004 "**A Survival Guide to Kinshasa: Lessons of the Father, Passed Down to the Son**" in John F. Clark, ed., *The African Stakes of the Congo War*, Palgrave MacMillan: New York,

Kochler, Hans 1995. **Democracy and the international rule of law: proposition for an alternative world order**, Springer

Kgomotso Monnakgotta,1996 "**From Ambivalence and Adversity to Stability in Southern Africa**", in Mark Malan (ed.), *New Partners in Peace: Towards a Southern African Peacekeeping Capacity*,

Kritz, Neil 1995.**Transitional justice; how emerging democracies recon with former regimes**, Washington DC, United States institution of Peace Press

Kumar, Krishna.1997, **The nature and focus of international assistance for rebuilding societies after civil war; critical roles for international assistance**, Boulder Colo, Lynne Renner

Landsberg C le Pere G and Van Niekerk, **A 1995 mission imperfect; redistributing South Africa's foreign policy**, Cape town, Creda press

Lederach, John Paul.1997. **Building peace; Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies**. Washington DC, United States Institute of Peace Press

Lederach, John, Paul 1999, **The journey towards reconciliation**. Scottsdale, Pa; Herald press

Licklinder, Roy 1995, **The consequences of negotiated settlement in civil wars**, American political science review

Maynard Kimberly, 1999. **Healing communities in conflict; international assistances in complex emergences**. New York; Columbia University Press

Michael Lund, 2001, **A toolbox for responding to conflict and building peace in peace building**, boulder Colorado; Lynne Reinner publisher

Mosecleng, P 2002, **The role of SADC and other regional arrangements in the maintenance of international Peace and security, a historical comparative study** doctoral thesis

Orr Robert 2002, **When chaos rules, enhancing governance and participation**, Washington quarterly volume 25 no 4

Popkin, Margaret. 2000. **Truth without Justice**. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State Press.

P.B. Hayner, '**Fifteen Truth Commissions – 1974 to 1994: A Comparative Study**' in Kritz, supra note 12 at 225

Robert Rotberg and Dennis Thompson, eds. **Truth v. Justice** (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000);

Rothchild, Donald. 1997 **Managing ethnic conflict in Africa; pressure and incentives for cooperation** Washington DC; Brooking institution

Robert Rotberg and Dennis Thompson, eds. **Truth v. Justice** (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000);

Rummel, Rudolph J, 1997 **Power kills: democracy as a method of nonviolence**, transaction Publishers

Sarantokos,S (1998)**Social research basing** Stoke Macmillan

Sisk, Timoty, 1996. **Power sharing and international mediation in ethnical conflict** Washington. DC United States institution of peace press

Silverman D,(1998) **Interpreting Qualitative data** London

Stedman, Stephen, 1997'**spoilers problems in peace processes**' International security 22 (2): 5-53

Straus. A and Corbin,J(1998) **basic of qualitative Research** London Sage

Wessells, Michael, G, 1998.**Children, armed conflict and peace**' Journal of peace 35 (5); 635-646

William d, Hartung and Bridget Moix, **deadly legacy; the Congo war arms and us arms to Africa trade resources center**, world policy Institute January 2000

William, M and ChereL C(2001) **Is there any such thing as homeless** European Journal of social research

Reports and news papers

Amnesty international report AFR 02/010/2003Our brother who helps kills us, economic exploitation and human rights abuse in the East.

Final communiqué of the 1998 SADC Summit of Heads of State and Government, Grand Baie, Republic of Mauritius, 19 September 1998.

Africa' s seven nation war report from the international crisis group

Daily telegraph news report 31 August 2002

Report of the UN panel of experts, April 2001

International herald tribute as rioters burn ballots, Congo strive to tally presidential vote, October 30 2006

Reuters Alert net Congo crises at make or break point-UN England by Lydia Polgreen July 30 2006

New Africa April 2007

Xinhua News Agency 11April 2007

Botswana Daily news