



INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF CREATIVE RESEARCH THOUGHTS (IJCRT)

An International Open Access, Peer-reviewed, Refereed Journal

CONFLICT, CONFLICT MANAGEMENT, AND DEMOCRATISATION IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO (DRC)

SAURAV RANJAN
M.A. IN POLITICAL SCIENCE
UGC-NET QUALIFIED

Abstract

The work has focused on the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and its management. It finds the impacts of conflicts and conflict management on the democratization of the DRC. After suffering the worst level of atrocities at the hands of its Belgian colonial masters for eight decades, the Congo became a free state in 1960. The first human right campaign which was launched in the early 1900s exposed the belgian king leopode's crimes and the high degree of devastation the belgian meted against the congolese. This led to the end of Leopold's ownership of the Congo Free State. The devastation was followed by the rampant corruption, genocide and refugee crises. The DRC continued to experience serious human rights violations, including mass killings in the context of armed conflict and inter-communal violence, a crackdown on dissent and ill-treatment of detainees. The authorities continued to show a lack of political will to hold the perpetrators of human rights violations to account. The right to education was violated. This article goes on further to study the democratization process and peace building efforts in the DRC. This article is also highlighting a brief history of the relative political instability and geo-politics of the DRC and the neighboring eastern countries such as Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi. This article enriches our understanding of the current status of the DRC as one of the poorest and most unstable countries in the world. This work will make us understand what makes the DRC unique in a positive way and what can we learn from her to apply to our own lives.

Key words:

Conflict, Conflict management, Democratisation

INTRODUCTION

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is a country located in the central African region of the African continent. As per the name suggests it is centered on the Congo basin. This contains vast stretches of verdant, lush land in central Africa that has nurtured the development of a wide variety of tribal groups. It is the second largest country in the continent after Algeria. It is the 11th largest country in the world.¹ It is the fourth most populous country in Africa. It is the most populous officially Francophone country in the world. It is bordered to the northwest by the Republic of the Congo; to the north by the Central African Republic; to the northeast by South Sudan; to the east by Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi, and by Tanzania (across Lake Tanganyika); to the south and southeast by Zambia; to the southwest by Angola; and to the west by the South Atlantic Ocean and the Cabinda Province exclave of Angola. The country is currently divided into the city-province of Kinshasa and 25 other provinces.² The provinces are subdivided into 145 territories and 32 cities.³

Sub-Saharan Africa is a term to describe the largest poor region on Earth. Though half of the world's poor live in Sub-Saharan Africa, with a population of 700 million, and the region has been beset by wars and disease over the past two decades in particular, it also contains rich cultural and environmental value. The most significant historical phenomenon to hit this region came with the Bantu migrations that lasted between 1500 BCE and 1000 CE.⁴ The Bantu make up the largest ethnic in Africa, and they all share a common language group. Great kingdoms, smaller city-states, and tribal communities arose throughout this region in the wake of the migrations. During the modern era these kingdoms and tribal communities suffered conquest and subjugation by European invaders.

Political History

The Portuguese first entered the Congo in the fifteenth century to extract slaves bound for Europe and later the Americas.⁵ The Belgians, French, and Germans conquered this area for its resources in the nineteenth century. Endeavors by outsiders such as these have caused environmental and cultural devastation, and much of the forested areas have become barren as a result. The amount of natural resources such as rubber, ivory, palm, uranium, gold, coltan, and oil have long lured both outsiders and locals to seek control over the region. Today, they are used in part by armed groups who

¹ United Nations. "World Population Prospects 2022". population.un.org. Retrieved 10 November 2022.

² Central Intelligence Agency (2014). "Democratic Republic of the Congo". The World Factbook. Langley, Virginia: Central Intelligence Agency. Archived from the original on 22 February 2021. Retrieved 29 April 2014.

³ The National Assembly adopts the laws regarding the limits of the provinces in the Democratic Republic of the Congo Archived 27 January 2015 at the Wayback Machine, National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 10 January 2015. (in French)

⁴ Adler, Philip J.; Pouwels, Randall L. (2007). World Civilizations: Since 1500. Cengage Learning. p. 169. ISBN 978-0-495-50262-

⁵ Elbl, Ivana (1992). "Cross-Cultural Trade and Diplomacy: Portuguese Relations with West Africa 1441-1521". Journal of World History. 3 (2): 171. JSTOR 20078528

extract their wealth to finance wars.⁶ The eastern Congo, comprising the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Rwanda, Burundi, and Uganda, is perhaps the most war-torn region of the past two decades on the planet, with a drastic reduction in the past several years.

In the 1870s, just before the onset of the Scramble for Africa, European exploration of the Congo Basin was carried out, first led by Henry Morton Stanley under the sponsorship of Leopold II of Belgium. Leopold formally acquired rights to the Congo territory at the Berlin Conference in 1885 and declared the land his private property, naming it the Congo Free State.⁷ During the Free State, his colonial military unit, the Force Publique, forced the local population to produce rubber. From 1885 to 1908, millions of Congolese people died as a consequence of disease and exploitation. In 1908, Leopold, despite his initial reluctance, ceded to Belgium the so-called Free State, which thus became known as the Belgian Congo.⁸ The transition from the Congo Free State to the Belgian Congo was a turning point, but it was also marked by a considerable continuity. While conditions were improved somewhat relative to rule under King Leopold, reports by doctors such as Dr. Raingard show the low importance the Belgian government placed on healthcare and basic education of the natives.⁹

Congo achieved independence from Belgium on 30 June 1960 under the name Republic of the Congo. Congolese nationalist Patrice Lumumba was elected the first Prime Minister, while Joseph Kasavubu became the first President.

After suffering the worst level of atrocities at the hands of its Belgian colonial masters over a period of eight decades, the Congo was finally a free state in 1960. Ironically, it had been called The Congo Free State under the man who had this enormous Central African colony conquered for his own personal possession from 1885 to 1908. Thus, when his descendent, King Baudouin I (1951-1993), lauded Leopold II and his successor in a speech given to the independent Congolese in June 1960, the new Congo prime minister, Patrice Lumumba, retorted with biting accuracy criticism condemning Belgian colonialism. The Belgians did not expect one of their former subjects to dismiss their efforts to “civilize” the Congo because they believed in European supremacy over Africans. This much was obvious, but the level of devastation the Belgians meted out against the Congolese, especially under Leopold II, was actually known to all because Leopold’s crimes had been exposed in the first international human rights campaign ever launched (in the early 1900s), which led to the end of his ownership of The Congo Free State.

⁶ Tsabora, J. (2014). Fighting the “resource wars” in the Democratic Republic of the Congo: an exploratory diagnosis of the legal and institutional problems. *The Comparative and International Law Journal of Southern Africa*, 47(1), 109–128.

⁷ Pakenham 1992, pp. 253–5

⁸ Stengers, Jean (2005), *Congo: Mythes et réalités*, Brussels: Editions Racine

⁹ Marchal, Jules (2008). "7: The Compagnie Due Kasai Proves to be Worse Than the HCB (1927-1930)" pp. 121–128. ISBN 978-1-84467-239-4

Congo After Independence

After his release in 1957, Patrice Lumumba eventually became a member of the National Congolese Movement (MNC) and openly led the move for independence. Though many political parties emerged along ethnic and regional lines (as predicted by Nyerere), the MNC was alone in pushing for Congolese independence as one nation. The Belgians finally held talks with Congolese groups in January 1960 in Brussels, where it was decided independence would officially begin June 30 of that year. When the MNC was victorious in the June elections and Lumumba was named prime minister, rivalries were already rampant across the country. Not only was President Kasa Vubu (1960-1965) opposed to Lumumba, but the army was run entirely by Belgian officers. Lumumba quickly resolved this problem and placed Joseph Sese Mobutu in charge of the army.¹⁰ Soldiers rose in protest over wages and soon ran rampant across the capital, attacking whites in the streets and causing the Belgians to intervene militarily. There were rebellions in other regions, including the copper mining district of Katanga, where rebel leader Moise Tshombe received Belgian assistance even as the UN intervened to stabilize the country.

The United States added itself to the fray soon enough. The Dwight Eisenhower (1953-1961) administration considered Lumumba a Communist and authorized the CIA to “eliminate” him. The CIA paid an assassin \$100,000 for the job, but he failed to reach Lumumba. Still, Belgian troops and Tshombe’s rebels shot Lumumba and several associates in January 1961, ending the Congo’s first attempt at democracy. They would not get another one for four decades. The next four years were still chaotic as Katanga was independent until 1963, and a leftist insurgency in eastern Congo led by Laurent Kabila erupted in 1964. This war brought the United States, South Africa, and Rhodesia into allegiance with the Congo military against Kabila and his Cuban guerrilla support unit led by Che Guevara. Che had thought of the Congo as the perfect place for a guerrilla insurgency that could spread throughout Africa. After six months, he and his Cuban comrades left dejected in 1965. The Congolese were not ideologically motivated, nor did they possess the discipline and skill necessary to succeed in guerrilla warfare. Che had no respect for Kabila, who rarely spent time with his troops and gave rather easily and left for exile in Tanzania.¹¹

Mobutu emerged as the only leader capable of instilling a semblance of order in Congo, which he renamed Zaire after taking power from President Kasa Vubu in 1965. Mobutu ruled the country in a manner other dictators emulated. He was known for his brutality but especially for wasting billions of dollars in international aid for his own luxuries and poorly managed state-run businesses and projects.¹² He rose in stature

¹⁰ Hoskyns, Catherine (1965). *The Congo Since Independence: January 1960 – December 1961*. London: Oxford University Press. OCLC 414961.

¹¹ "Mfi Hebdo". Rfi.fr. 6 July 2009. Archived from the original on 16 June 2017. Retrieved 2 May 2010.

¹² Close, William T. *Beyond the Storm: Treating the Powerless & the Powerful in Mobutu's Congo/Zaire*. Meadowlark Springs Production. ISBN 0-9703371-4-0

briefly when he hosted the famous “Rumble in the Jungle” boxing match between undefeated world heavyweight champion George Foreman and Muhammad Ali.¹³ Mobutu became wealthy on international loans he would never pay back and was supported by France and the United States. These loan payments he ultimately placed on the backs of his people when he was overthrown in 1997.¹⁴

The U.S. investigative program “Frontline” aired a gripping special in 2004 on the genocide in Rwanda that stands out as the definitive documentary on the event.¹⁵ A two-hour blow by blow depiction revealing the horrors made up almost exclusively of actual footage and interviews, with fact-based narration, made this program particularly authentic and meaningful. It can even be said to have honoured the victims by showing the world just how awful the Hutus were to the Tutsis. However, it left out so many important truths that, when excluded, leave the uninformed viewer with some false notions of the causes and effects of the genocide. The fact that the Tutsis and the Hutus had fought each other for decades before 1994, in Rwanda and Burundi, where hundreds of thousands had died in civil wars and smaller genocides, was not mentioned. This was important because hundreds of thousands had already died, making this not the out-of-the-blue mass killing spree portrayed in the film. The fact that the Tutsis pursued the Hutus into Zaire in 1996 and killed tens of thousands of Hutus, the vast majority of whom had nothing to do with the 1994 genocide, was not mentioned. That the Tutsi-led government in Rwanda was the main player in the following decade of wars in the Congo was never mentioned either. These Congo Wars from 1996 to the present have killed 5 million people, and the Rwandan Tutsis, although not exclusively to blame by any means, played a central role in fomenting the violence.¹⁶

The reasons for these events are so complicated that only large volumes can treat them fairly, and although it is better for viewing audiences to have some knowledge than none at all, in practice, stories about Africa such as the “Frontline” episode lead to distorted views on issues we cannot comprehend fairly without in-depth knowledge. In the case of Rwanda, the viewer leaves feeling something concrete about the people there: Hutus are bad because they killed 800,000 Tutsi and moderate Hutus indiscriminately, and Tutsis are simply innocent victims of genocide. The victims of the Tutsis themselves before and after do not factor into the viewer’s mind because he or she will probably never delve deeper than the two-hour program he or she just watched. This is not really a criticism of the program, because it performed a service to the world for illustrating in such stark detail what did occur in those fateful months.

¹³ "Rumble in the Jungle: the night Ali became King of the World again". The Guardian. 29 October 2014. Retrieved 29 October 2014.

¹⁴ Tharoor, Ishaan (20 October 2011). "Mobutu Sese Seko". Top 15 Toppled Dictators. Time Magazine. Archived from the original on 22 October 2011.

¹⁵ Guichaoua, André (2 January 2020). "Counting the Rwandan Victims of War and Genocide: Concluding Reflections". Journal of Genocide Research. 22 (1): 125–141.

¹⁶ Bavier, Joe (22 January 2007). "Congo war-driven crisis kills 45,000 a month: study". Reuters. Archived from the original on 21 February 2009.

These programs unfortunately portray Africa as a violent place in need of assistance, but some argue that the economy suffers from these negative portrayals. The post-Cold War era has been marked by waves of famine, disease, and war, to be sure, that African economics and politics have changed radically during this time. Most governments are in transition away from dictatorship toward electoral democracy, albeit with deeply entrenched problems.¹⁷ Most countries have experienced economic growth, whereas others have stagnated or even slid backward slightly. Countries such as Kenya, Ethiopia, Egypt, Sudan, Rwanda, Nigeria, South Africa, Angola, and Ghana have expanded their economic bases as the wider phenomenon of urbanization and improved agricultural techniques have enhanced along with extended links to international trading partners in Europe, Asia, and the United States. Most of these have also suffered from internal conflicts.

Conversely, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Niger, Zimbabwe, the Central African Republic, Malawi, Somalia, and others have suffered tremendous economic setbacks.¹⁸ In addition to viewing Africa's two separate economic categories, we can see it in two political categories: One group of nations is just now beginning to transition to independence, whether from white rule or outright colonial or monarchical rule, while the other group is in its second or third generation of independence from colonial rule. Nearly all African countries suffer from a lack of political and economic equity, but the strides that have been made in the past twenty years by such a relatively poor continent that also suffers from the highest level (by far) of HIV, malaria, and tuberculosis are admirable, to say the least.

The group of countries, such as the DRC, Rwanda, Nigeria, Algeria, Egypt, Ghana, Libya, Nigeria, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and others have enjoyed independence since the 1950s and 1960s, but the results vary tremendously. Egypt, Ghana, Tanzania, and Kenya have been relatively stable despite several episodes of civil conflict since independence from Great Britain, whereas Algeria, Sudan, Somalia, Nigeria, the DRC, Rwanda, Libya, and Uganda have suffered horrible wars both within their borders and with their neighbours since independence from their European overseers. The period since 1994 has been a tremendous change in some countries and continuity with others.¹⁹

¹⁷ Gedlu, Mesfin. "Democracy by Order—Sub-Saharan Africa after the Cold War." *Perspectives*, no. 9, 1997, pp. 97–107.

¹⁸ *ibid*

¹⁹ Cox, Kevin R., and Rohit Negi. "The State and the Question of Development in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 37, no. 123, 2010, pp. 71–85.

Conflicts in the DRC

Conflict, according to some thinkers, is a condition of incompatibility of interest or values. In the words of Jessie Bernard, "conflict is one which arises when there are controversial and mutually exclusive goals or values pursued by different closely placed parties".²⁰ Incompatibility arises because the parties are like players, competing for the same prize such as power, position, authority, territory or material or disagreement about rules of the game. Conflict is generally considered as evil or as Tallcot Parson says, "a disease".²¹ "It is treated as a pathological condition equilibrium." conflict within places people in stress and strain. It may result in physical altercation, destruction or annihilation or its less intensity arrests the regular course of life. In the process of conflict, a huge measure of energy is depleted which, in turn stunts the growth and development. Hobbes made the observation that humanity is characterised by ceaseless, and indeed relentless, thirst for power. For Hobbes, humans carry within them the inherent drive to fight, which demands that societies be led by power. Only by imposing will upon the ruled can society be organised to run efficiently and peacefully. Rousseau saw humanity as having moved from a state of nature to one of society, and social intercourse. In addition to humanity's 'desire for self-preservation, which Hobbes had found basic to man, Rousseau added compassion, the instinctive abhorrence felt at the sight of another living being, and especially another man, suffering pain and death.' Kant states that democratic states do not go to war because of economic ties and interdependence.²² These western philosophers influenced the development of democratic liberal state in the West. There are several theories developed by philosophers and political theorists which help in understanding the conflict.

The origins of the current violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) are in the mid-90s. Following the genocide in bordering Rwanda, the DRC fought the First Congo War. The war involved several armed groups, some of which were formed by Rwandan Hutus who crossed the border following the genocide. The Congolese government was unable to control and defeat the various armed groups, some of which directly threatened populations in neighboring countries, and war eventually broke out.

Soon before his demise in 1961, the Africanist Frantz Fanon stated that: "Africa has the shape of a gun and the Congo is its trigger; pulling that trigger could blow a whole continent apart."²³ It is one of the worst war torn countries and violent places on earth. Its people suffer from the viciousness of armed forces and political instability. The current violence in the DRC traces its origin from the inception of the massive refugee crisis and spillover from the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. After Hutu génocidaires fled to eastern DRC and formed armed groups, opposing Tutsi and other opportunistic rebel groups arose. The Congolese government was

²⁰ Bernard, Bernard, Jessie, Peas, T.H. and Angel Robert, the Nature of Human Conflict (Liege, UNESCO) 1957, p.40

²¹ (Parson, 1964)

²² Layne, Christopher. "Kant or Cant: The Myth of the Democratic Peace." International Security, vol. 19, no. 2, 1994, pp. 5–49.

²³ PRUNIER, GÉRARD. Why the Congo Matters. Atlantic Council, 2016

unable to control and defeat the various armed groups, some of which directly threatened populations in neighboring countries, and war eventually broke out.²⁴

From 1998 to 2003, government forces supported by Angola, Namibia, and Zimbabwe fought rebels backed by Rwanda and Uganda in what is known as the Second Congo War. While estimates vary greatly, the death toll may have reached over three million people. Despite a peace deal in 2002 and the formation of a transitional government in 2003, ongoing violence perpetrated by armed groups against civilians in the eastern region has continued, largely due to poor governance, weak institutions, and rampant corruption.²⁵

One of the most prominent rebel groups to emerge in the aftermath of the war was known as the March 23 Movement (M23), made up primarily of ethnic Tutsis who were allegedly supported by the Rwandan government. M23 rebelled against the Congolese government for supposedly reneging on a peace deal signed in 2009.²⁶ The UN Security Council authorized an offensive brigade under the mandate of the UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the DRC (MONUSCO) to support the DRC state army in its fight against M23. The Congolese army and UN peacekeepers defeated the group in 2013, but other armed groups have since emerged.²⁷ Weak governance and the prevalence of many armed groups have subjected Congolese civilians to widespread rape and sexual violence, massive human rights violations, and extreme poverty.

The country as a whole, and the Eastern region in particular, has endured war and conflict for over two decades. As a result of which youth as well as children sometimes take part in armed conflicts - some volunteer to fight, while others are forced - and youth are mostly seen as either violent actors or as victims of the conflict. The country has a young population with 68% being under the age of 25 (DRC, 2009) and 52% under 18 (UNICEF, 2014). Several illegal armed groups and army units are responsible for persistent human rights abuses and widespread insecurity. Civilians carry a great burden of the ongoing conflicts.

Intercommunity tensions are high in many places, and conflicts erupt over land and access to political power (IA 2010, p.5). Politicians and other persons with influence often manipulate existing tensions in order to ensure continued status quo to safeguard their privileges (SFCG 2014, p.22). Sexual violence is widespread, especially during armed confrontations, but gender-based violence is also pervasive when it comes to economic opportunities, inheritance, access to land, and early marriage (HHI 2009, p.22 and 2010; HRW 2009, p.37; IA 2012, p.22; SFCG 2014, p.34).

²⁴ Kanza, Thomas R. (1994). *The Rise and Fall of Patrice Lumumba: Conflict in the Congo* (expanded ed.). Rochester, Vermont: Schenkman Books, Inc. ISBN 0-87073-901-8

²⁵ Autesserre, Séverine. "D. R. Congo: Explaining Peace Building Failures, 2003-2006." *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 34, no. 113, 2007, pp. 423-41

²⁶ Casey-Maslen, Stuart, ed. (2013). *The War Report: Armed Conflict in 2012*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 107.

²⁷ "UN defends failed attempt to halt capture of Congo's Goma". Reuters. 21 November 2012. Archived from the original on 29 November 2012.

The Congo Wars

The refugee crisis that resulted from the Rwanda Patriotic Front's (RPF) ending the genocide in Rwanda dumped 2 million Hutus into Zaire, mostly in the eastern Kivu region.²⁸ Thousands died every week for months after their arrival in July 1994 from exposure, disease, hunger, and abuse. The international relief effort was odd, because there was virtually none during the genocide, and yet the refugees in Zaire received thousands of aid workers whose agencies and governments spent billions of dollars. The French even sent 5,000 troops to assist the Hutus' escape after providing them with political and military support both during the 1990-1993 civil war and on the lead-up to the genocide. Even with this tremendous effort, the death toll of the Hutu exodus made this the worst humanitarian crisis of the 1990s after the genocide in Rwanda, and it touched off the Congo Wars that lasted from 1996 to 2002.²⁹ And despite their official end in 2002, the violence continues till date.

The complicated nature of the Congo Wars, also referred to as "Africa's World War" by Congo expert Gerard Prunier, makes this section particularly challenging for observers to comprehend.³⁰ At the same time, this complexity should reveal just how we cannot view Africa in simplistic terms. The stories emanating from the DRC since these wars began in 1996 have shocked the world, and yet shock value obscures why these horrors have occurred, making the people on the ground seem monstrous as opposed to rational human beings. We are, thus, sucked into a conundrum: Do we focus on the tragedies in all their details? Or, do we examine the interests and how they played out on the battlefield of the Congo to come up with generalized human lessons that will enable humanity to benefit from historical analysis in an honest manner? The former can cause readers to act. The latter can cause readers to think. It is your choice to what degree each affects your conscience.

The war actually began long before the 1994 genocide in Rwanda when rebel troops under Laurent Kabila took up arms against the dictator of Zaire, Joseph Sese Mobutu (1965-1997) with Cuban assistance.³¹ The quick defeat of Kabila's forces in 1965 was followed by three decades of corrupt rule but relative internal stability as Mobutu served as a counterweight against the rising tide of socialism in Africa. He was heavily supported by the United States, South Africa, and France. Mobutu had also assisted the Habyarimana government in Rwanda in their suppression of the RPF insurgency between 1990 and 1993 and provided military assistance to the genocidaires in the Kivu region between 1994 and 1996, making him a thorn in the side of the new RPF-dominated government in Rwanda. By 1996, with the help of Rwanda, Uganda, Zimbabwe, and Angola, the same Kabila from the previous revolt restarted his insurgency under the banner of the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo after years of exile.³² Within a year of fighting, he overthrew Mobutu and placed

²⁸ Clark, John F. (2002) *The African Stakes in the Congo War*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

²⁹ *ibid*

³⁰ PRUNIER, GÉRARD. *Why the Congo Matters*. Atlantic Council, 2016

³¹ Edgerton, Robert (18 December 2002). *The Troubled Heart of Africa: A History of the Congo*. St. Martin's Press. ISBN 0-312-30486-2.

³² *ibid*

himself in the presidency, renaming the country the Democratic Republic of the Congo, thus ending what is known as The First Congo War.

Rwanda played the major role in supporting Kabila's insurrection and had placed itself strategically within the Congo by 1996. In that year, Rwanda had begun an effort to root out the Interahamwe militias in Zaire, killing tens of thousands of Hutu genocidaires and civilians alike. They had also established a proxy army of Congolese Tutsis, or Banyarwanda, to carry out some of these operations, stirring up anti-Rwanda sentiment in the Congo.³³ At the same time, Rwandans were seen as too powerful within the new administration in Kinshasa, the capital of the DRC, and eventually a clash broke out between Rwandan Tutsis and Kabila's government in 1998. Thus began the Second Congo War. The ensuing conflict pitted Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi against the DRC, Angola, Chad, and Zimbabwe, but the fighting all took place in and over control of the DRC and its resources. By 2001, an estimated 3.1 million people had died as result of the conflict.³⁴

What made these wars different from the other major wars of the twentieth century were the indirect casualties. Most had died as a result of displacement and diversion of resources to the war effort. Disease, hunger, and exposure-related deaths all skyrocketed after 1996 in an otherwise impoverished country that had been pillaged of its resources and money by colonial powers, European and Asian corporations, and Mobutu and Kabila.

There were also hundreds of thousands of rapes, tortures, and other atrocities that did not end lives but devastated them nonetheless. However, what made this war similar to other conflicts was the presence of the incentive to fight over resources.

During the Cold War, it was uranium for nuclear missiles that drew Attention to the Congo (Congolese uranium was used for building the atomic bombs that fell on Japan in 1945). During the Congo Wars, it was gold, diamonds, and coltan, a mineral used for video game consoles, computers, and cell phones, the value of which climbed considerably during the war, as it occurred during the so-called "dotcom boom."³⁵ All of the more than twenty competing armed groups (militaries and their proxies from all nations involved) fought for control over these resources and carried out atrocities against the civilian population whenever threatened by one of their competitor armies. Thus, the people who suffered the most were (and are) the villagers who happened to live in regions dominated by armed groups. Europeans also fought over these riches during the colonial period, Witness the Boer Wars fought over gold and diamonds. Witness Leopold II's Congo Free State atrocities over rubber profits. And the examples go on and on. Seen in this light, the recent Congo atrocities fit into a broader history of tragedy that many, outsiders and insiders alike, have created. By the end of the Second Congo War in 2002, Kabila had been assassinated (in 2001) by a member of his personal guard, and his son Joseph (2001-2019) had taken over the presidency with little prospects for

³³ ibid

³⁴ ibid

³⁵ Hewlett & Anderson 1962, pp. 285–288

creating lasting change.³⁶ The years since then have led to the deaths of a further 2 million people due to the chaos unleashed by the Congo Wars.

2020 Congo attacks

The 2020 Democratic Republic of the Congo attacks were a series of attacks which took place in 2020. The attacks were mostly carried out by the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF), a radical Islamist rebel group and the Cooperative for the Development of Congo (CODECO), an agricultural and religious group made up of ethnic Lendu people. The attacks left at least 1,316 people dead and 132 injured.

2021 Congo attacks

Attacks were carried out by various armed groups in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 2021 and 2022. The attacks have killed 629 and injured 321 (not including rebel casualties). At least 82 perpetrators were also killed and one injured in these attacks.³⁷

Throughout the conflict, rebel troops have carried out raids and massacres across the DRC, resulting in heavy civilian casualties. In October 2021, the ADF launched a bombing campaign in Uganda, leading to the intervention of the Ugandan military the year later, which had pursued a policy of airstrikes against ADF targets.² In contrast, the Islamic State has reportedly lent support to the Allied Democratic Forces.¹ The government under Félix Tshisekedi has tried to combat the insurgency by declaring martial law, with mixed success.

Internally displaced people's rights

An additional 600,000 people were forced to flee their homes in 2022 according to UNHCR, the UN refugee agency, bringing the number of internally displaced people nationwide to nearly 6 million, more than in any other African country, and up from 5.5 million in 2021.³⁸

Armed groups continued their targeted attacks against internally displaced people in eastern DRC, killing hundreds of people and injuring many others, while further displacing tens of thousands. In Nord-Kivu alone, fighting between the Congolese army and the M23 rebels forced more than 200,000 people to flee their homes.

Data collected by the UN showed that at least 250 internally displaced people were killed during the year as a result of deliberate attacks against their camps in the east, with 180 killed in Ituri alone. On 1 February, CODECO fighters attacked the Plaine Savo camp in Ituri, killing at least 62 civilians and injuring dozens of others, according to the UN. The camp was home to more than 24,000 people who fled violence in Djugu territory in 2019. In June, armed men attacked the Rujagati camp in Nord-Kivu, killing seven civilians. In Sud-Kivu province, at least 10 members of the Banyamulenge community were killed between May and October

³⁶ Reyntjens, Filip (2009). *The Great African War: Congo and Regional Geopolitics, 1996-2006*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

³⁷ "DR Congo accepts US military help against ADF militia". Al Jazeera. August 16, 2021.

³⁸ UNHCR warns of mounting needs in DR Congo as forced displacement continues - B-roll. May 5, 2023.

during attacks against their internally displaced people camps around the towns of Minembwe and Fizi. On several occasions, the Congolese security forces and the UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the DRC – whose primary mandate is the protection of civilians – failed to prevent or stop these attacks, including when they had been warned through existing community alert mechanisms.

Conflict Management

Wars produce the worst violation of human rights in the DRC and are greatest impediments to human development. Conflict management works to mitigate such conflicts and build sustainable peace. Conflict management refers to peace, and looks for alternative channels for dialogue and negotiation. Conflict management helps warring parties when traditional methods fail, filling the space between official diplomacy and unofficial grassroots peace efforts. Conflict management has become a necessity of the modern international system. Conflict control has become both a diplomatic task and a branch of military strategy. United Nations development cooperation should aim to strengthen society's capacity for coping, managing, and resolving tensions before violent conflict erupts. This includes providing assistance in strengthening governance in areas undergoing development that will help to address unstable situations, the judiciary, traditional conflict management mechanisms, the cultivation of the political will and leadership for peaceful management of disputes, the development of conflict management skills and practices, consensus-building and public policy dialogue, and the promotion of participatory and inclusive decision-making on central economic, social, and political issues. At the request of Governments, the UNDP portfolio for governance and rule of law activities, with an annual budget exceeding USD 1.2 billion. In addition, a number of UNDP programmes support regional cooperation on cross-border issues that have a clear conflict prevention impact. In recent years, there has been increased cooperation between the United Nations system and the Bretton Woods institutions, which have openly acknowledged that conflict seriously affects their development goals, and that understanding and working to prevent conflict should be considered a part of their mandates. As each organization increases its activities in post-conflict peace-building, which is an aspect of conflict prevention, the relationship has deepened. The World Bank's acceptance of the United Nations offers to participate in the Executive Committee on Peace and preventing the internal displacement of civilians can play an important and at times a pivotal role in the prevention of conflict.

There are several international interventions in the DRC. Several of the UN agencies such as peacekeeping forces are active in the DRC for conflict management as well as for post-conflict peacebuilding in the DRC. UN peacekeepers, international political and economic advisors, and the International Criminal Court have been added to the ranks of the relief organizations and various armed groups that remain in the DRC after the wars have officially ended. In a situation such as this, one must ask, "How is the DRC to improve its situation?" Time and again, historians who examine the Congo see its problems as rooted in

colonialism primarily. The Portuguese robbed the soil of its native inhabitants and sold them into slavery beginning more than five centuries ago, and the Belgians killed millions in their effort to raise themselves to the economic levels of their European counterparts who had also benefited financially and technologically from their overseas conquests, The Congo has also never been a unified country. It has always been a vast region divided ethnically and ideologically, and any efforts to unify the country have inevitably led to despotism, exploitation, and war.

World bank efforts

More than 64% of the DRC's population lived on less than USD 2.15 a day, according to the World Bank, while 27 million people, including 3.4 million children, faced food insecurity according to the World Food Programme.³⁹

In addition to physical constraints such as the poor condition of roads, relentless attacks by armed groups and military operations made humanitarian access increasingly difficult. This was particularly the case in the eastern provinces, which host the majority of internally displaced people. In Nord-Kivu, particularly in the city of Beni, the increased use of explosive devices posed a threat to humanitarian workers and other civilians. Suspected combatants of the Allied Democratic Forces (a Ugandan rebel group considered a terrorist entity by the Congolese and Ugandan governments) carried out multiple attacks on the Beni-Kasindi road, an important trade route between the DRC and Uganda, limiting humanitarian access. In Rutshuru territory, areas controlled by the M23 rebel group were almost completely cut off from humanitarian access, including essential healthcare services, from May onwards. Widespread checkpoints manned by armed groups, and other deliberate movement restrictions imposed by both government forces and armed groups in Ituri, Sud-Kivu and Nord-Kivu, prevented communities from accessing vital assistance such as food, water and healthcare.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has dissolved the Social Fund of the Democratic Republic of Congo, which is the legal entity responsible for the implementation of three World Bank financed projects – DRC Gender Based Violence Prevention and Response Project; DRC Eastern Recovery Project; and Stabilization and Recovery in Eastern DRC (for one component) – and created a new entity with the same designation. The World Bank and DRC authorities are currently working to identify transition arrangements for the implementation of these three projects, with a view to minimize disruptions in project activities and any negative impacts on project beneficiaries. As agreed with the authorities, disbursements for the three projects are paused while transition arrangements are identified.⁴⁰

³⁹ Sen Nag, Oishimaya. "Poorest Countries In Africa". Worldatlas

⁴⁰ DRC - Gender Based Violence Prevention and Response Project led by team leader Hiska Noemi Reyes. The World Bank. December 8, 2022

As part of the World Bank's deepened engagement in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the Board of Directors approved yesterday a \$500 million Development Policy Operation (DPO) in support of critical economic governance reforms, together with a \$400 million Girls' Learning and Empowerment project that will strengthen the quality and access to secondary schools in DRC, with a special focus on keeping adolescent girls in school. Both projects are financed by the International Development Association (*IDA).⁴¹

The Foundational Economic Governance Reform operation, the second DPO in a series of two, supports the government's reform program, addressing key governance challenges in public finance, market liberalization, and the management of the forestry and extractive industries—with the overall objective of accelerating green, resilient, and inclusive growth and development.⁴² As such, the engagement supports measures that will lead to increased transparency as a prerequisite for enhanced government accountability and capacity in sustainably managing DRC's vast natural resources, including its forests, which represent a carbon sink of global importance.

The Girls' Learning and Empowerment Project will establish the foundations for an effective secondary school learning environment and promote knowledge, skills, and behavior change needed to make teaching more effective and schools safe, inclusive, and free of sexual exploitation and abuse. The project will also provide sexual reproductive health and menstrual health management education in secondary school classrooms. "In the context of the free primary education policy, implemented since 2019, this project offers an opportunity to achieve sustainable results in improving girls' education at the secondary level in DRC. By supporting learning and girls' empowerment in the country's provinces with the lowest girls' participation in secondary education, the project will help provide access to quality secondary education services for the most vulnerable population. These human capital investments will be critical for boosting growth and improving welfare of the country," said Hamoud Abdel Wedoud Kamil, World Bank Lead Education Specialist for the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Supporting democratization and institutional reforms to craft a new state.

In close cooperation with national and international partners, PAD monitors and supports democratization in the DRC. This entails practical support to national and provincial institutions, as well as civil society organisations, to create conditions conducive to the establishment of democracy and the rule of law. This also includes technical support for lawmaking and good governance. In Western DRC, PAD actively contributes to the MONUCOS multi-disciplinary peace-building teams working in tandem with the United Nations Country Team (UNCT) and local partners. In this regard, we maintain regular contacts

⁴¹ ibid

⁴² Jaffrin, Guillemette Sidonie, September 30 2022. Concept Program Information Document (PID) - DRC Foundational Economic Governance Reforms DPO series - P179141

with Congolese and international stakeholders, and provide conceptual support to senior management and other substantive components of the Mission through our inputs to analytical reports, policy papers, briefing notes, talking points, internal communications to United Nations Headquarters in New York, etc.

PAD contributes to MONUCOS strategy on conflict prevention and resolution, focusing primarily on developments in Eastern DRC (North and South Kivu, Haut-Uélé, Ituri, etc). We do also remain abreast of developments in other potentially volatile locations in Western DRC. In Eastern DRC, PAD is an active contributor to the MONUCOS multi-disciplinary Joint Protection Teams (JPT) working in tandem with the Mission's military component and other international and local partners. We conduct risk assessments, monitor developments on national and foreign armed groups as well as related aspects such as military and political integration, security sector reform (SSR), etc. We prepare reviews of the mining and energy sectors, informative documents on existing conflicts and profiles of various national stakeholders and parties in conflict, to propose timely corrective measures and resolve conflicts on issues such as land tenure, digging rights in mining areas and ownership of cattle. We offer counselling, advising, mediation and lobbying services to various actors. As the situation warrants, we draft special reports, background notes, etc. and provide accurate and timely strategic information to managers at the United Nations HQ in New York.

Building great relations in the Great Lakes

PAD contributes to the improvement of bilateral relations between the DRC and its Great Lake neighbours, notably Rwanda and Uganda. We closely monitor developments in Central and Southern Africa to the extent that they do have implications on the DRC. We work with the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary General, the team of the SESG for the Great Lakes Region and the SESG for LRA affected areas to provide expertise in good offices, practical support and advice to Congolese civilian and military authorities in their efforts to rebuild confidence with Rwanda and Uganda, and to coordinate joint military operations against foreign armed groups. Other issues requiring political counsel include movements of refugees, IDPs and DDRRR, which have shown a wide range of political implications and the need for regional and international cooperation.

Right to truth, justice and reparations

No substantial progress was made towards systematically and appropriately addressing widespread impunity for crimes under international law and other serious human rights violations committed in the DRC since the 1990s. Nevertheless, additional steps towards a “transitional justice” agenda were made, although the government continued to emphasize reconciliation and reparations as opposed to accountability. In March, it launched public consultations on transitional justice across the country, with the stated aim of collecting people’s opinions on appropriate justice mechanisms. In October, with the UN Joint Human Rights Office’s support, the government set up a commission composed of Congolese experts, with the mission of developing a “national transitional justice strategy.” In December, a bill setting out “basic principles for protection and reparation for victims of conflict-related sexual violence and victims of crimes against the peace and security of mankind”, was enacted. The bill was prepared by a commission established under the First Lady’s leadership.

In February, the International Court of Justice delivered its long-awaited judgment, determining reparations due to the DRC from Uganda as a result of the latter’s breach of international humanitarian law during its armed activities on DRC territory between 1998 and 2003. The court ordered Uganda to pay the DRC USD 325 million in five annual installments of USD 65 million, starting on 1 September 2022.⁴³ The amount awarded included USD 225 million for damage to people, USD 40 million for damage to property and USD 60 million for damage relating to natural resources. In September, the government confirmed receipt of the first installment in line with the court’s order. It did not make public how the reparations to people would be allocated.⁴⁴

Freedom of expression, association and assembly

Authorities intensified their crackdown on the rights to freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly. They continued to use the Covid-19 pandemic and the extended “state of siege” (a form of martial law) in Ituri and Nord-Kivu as pretexts to ban or suppress public meetings and demonstrations by individuals and groups considered to be critical of the government.

Right to education

The government’s free education scheme continued for the third year. The government said the scheme allowed thousands of children from low-income families to access primary education. Nevertheless, an increasing number of parents, teachers’ unions and students denounced serious shortcomings in the scheme’s implementation. They highlighted the inequality of resources which favoured urban over rural schools, inadequate school infrastructure and furniture, overcrowded classrooms, and insufficient and irregular salary payments to teachers, among other challenges. According to UNESCO, more than 2 million

⁴³ ICJ orders Uganda to pay \$325m for DR Congo occupation. 9 February 2022. BBC NEWS. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-60323990>

⁴⁴ ibid

school-aged children remained out of school, despite some progress recorded in recent years, and the quality of education remained poor.

In areas affected by armed conflict and inter-communal violence, frequent attacks on schools continued, and many schools were used as internally displaced people's shelters. UNICEF said that more than 420 schools and 180,000 children were affected by the attacks on, or occupation of, schools due to the conflict in eastern and western DRC.

Conclusion

Democratization refers to the process of transition from authoritarianism to liberal democracy. Liberal democracy is a political regime in which a 'liberal' commitment to limited government is blended with a 'democratic' belief in popular rule: (1) the right to rule is gained through success in regular and competitive elections, based on universal adult suffrage; (2) constraints on government imposed by a constitution, institutional checks and balances, and protections for individual and minority rights; and (3) a vigorous civil society including a private enterprise economy, independent trade unions and a free press. Framing of the constitution is one of the important aspects of democratization. The Constitution of a country has defined the contours of state building. It is the framework within which the state and the entire political system operate by determining the limits of power of the sovereign and the rights of the people. It separates authority from the whims of a ruler.

The natural and human resources are also sources of beauty. The DRC is the home to the second largest river basin in the world, the Congo River Basin, and the flora and fauna there are almost unmatched. The culture is vibrant, with music, art, literature, and food of enviable quality. In short, the war should not define the DRC. DRC is endowed with exceptional natural resources, including minerals such as cobalt and copper, hydropower potential, significant arable land, immense biodiversity, and the world's second-largest rainforest. Most people in DRC have not benefited from this wealth. A long history of conflict, political upheaval and instability, and authoritarian rule have led to a grave, ongoing humanitarian crisis. In addition, there has been forced displacement of populations. These features have not changed significantly since the end of the Congo Wars in 2003.

The Government of DRC has to realize that post-conflict security sector reforms, as the foremost sector of peace-building, need an integrated or Whole of Government approach in order to align development agencies with military, intelligence agencies, police, prisons, and civil society. So that democratization of the political and social system can be possible. DRC has to actively use formal and informal networks across different agencies for effective coordination of both the design and implementation of peacebuilding agreements. This will result in greater coordination amongst various governmental agencies, both in the theater of post-conflict operations as also amongst donor governments and other international agencies.

Reference

Primary Sources

- DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, 2000 In Human Rights Watch World Report 2001.
- “What Kabila is hiding, civilian killings and impunity in the Congo.” Human Right Watch (online); v. 11, 1997
- “Uganda in Eastern DRC: fueling political and ethnic strife,” March 2001 Suliman Baldo et al., Africa Division, HRW) Human Rights Watch (Online); vol. 13, no. 2(A)
- The curse of gold (June 2005) = Le fléau de l'or -- New York: HRW, 2005.
- "Killings in Kiwanja: the UN's inability to protect civilians" (December 12, 2008) -- New York: HRW, 2008.
- Always on the run: the vicious cycle of displacement in eastern Congo (September 2010) -- New York: HRW
- "Our school became the battlefield!" : using schools for child recruitment and military purposes in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. (October 2015) -- New York: HRW, 2015.
- Constitution de la République démocratique du Congo, 2005
- "Special Mission: Recruitment of M23 rebels to suppress protests in the Democratic Republic of Congo," December 4, 2017. -- New York: HRW, 2017

Secondary Sources

- More, Duke (1986), Nzongola-Ntalaja (Ed.1988) *The Crisis in Zaire: Myths and Realities*. African World Press
- Deibert, Michael (2013) *The Democratic Republic of congo: between hope and despair (African Arguments)* Zed Books Publisher.
- N. Mbwankiem, Jean-claude (2021) *The conflict resolution in the DR Congo towards International peace*. LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing
- Williams, Dana (2021) *Conflict Resolution: How to Recognize Different Communication Styles & Effectively Manage Conflicts*. GTM Press LLC

- K. Kibiswa, Naupess (2015) *Ethnonationalism and conflict resolution: The Armed Group Bany2 in DR Congo*. Globalethics.net
- Autesserre, Severine (2010) *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding*. Cambridge University Press

Other Sources

1. United Nations. "World Population Prospects 2022". population.un.org. Retrieved 10 November 2022.
2. Central Intelligence Agency (2014). "Democratic Republic of the Congo". The World Factbook. Langley, Virginia: Central Intelligence Agency. Archived from the original on 22 February 2021. Retrieved 29 April 2014.
3. The National Assembly adopts the laws regarding the limits of the provinces in the Democratic Republic of the Congo Archived 27 January 2015 at the Wayback Machine, National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 10 January 2015. (in French)
4. Adler, Philip J.; Pouwels, Randall L. (2007). *World Civilizations: Since 1500*. Cengage Learning. p. 169. ISBN 978-0-495-50262-
5. Elbl, Ivana (1992). "Cross-Cultural Trade and Diplomacy: Portuguese Relations with West Africa 1441-1521". *Journal of World History*. 3 (2): 171. JSTOR 20078528.
6. Tsabora, J. (2014). Fighting the "resource wars" in the Democratic Republic of the Congo: an exploratory diagnosis of the legal and institutional problems. *The Comparative and International Law Journal of Southern Africa*, 47(1), 109–128. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24585819>
7. Pakenham 1992, pp. 253–5.
8. Stengers, Jean (2005), *Congo: Mythes et réalités*, Brussels: Editions Racine.
9. Marchal, Jules (2008). "7: The Compagnie Due Kasai Proves to be Worse Than the HCB (1927-1930)". *Lord Leverhulme's Ghosts: Colonial Exploitation in the Congo*. Translated by Martin Thom. Introduced by Adam Hochschild. London: Verso. pp. 121–128. ISBN 978-1-84467-239-4.
10. Hoskyns, Catherine (1965). *The Congo Since Independence: January 1960 – December 1961*. London: Oxford University Press. OCLC 414961.
11. "Mfi Hebdo". Rfi.fr. 6 July 2009. Archived from the original on 16 June 2017. Retrieved 2 May 2010.
12. Close, William T. *Beyond the Storm: Treating the Powerless & the Powerful in Mobutu's Congo/Zaire*. Meadowlark Springs Production. ISBN 0-9703371-4-0
13. "Rumble in the Jungle: the night Ali became King of the World again". *The Guardian*. 29 October 2014. Retrieved 29 October 2014.
14. Tharoor, Ishaan (20 October 2011). "Mobutu Sese Seko". *Top 15 Toppled Dictators*. Time Magazine. Archived from the original on 22 October 2011.
15. Guichaoua, André (2 January 2020). "Counting the Rwandan Victims of War and Genocide: Concluding Reflections". *Journal of Genocide Research*. 22 (1): 125–141.
16. Bavier, Joe (22 January 2007). "Congo war-driven crisis kills 45,000 a month: study". Reuters. Archived from the original on 21 February 2009.
17. Gedlu, Mesfin. "Democracy by Order—Sub-Saharan Africa after the Cold War." *Perspectives*, no. 9, 1997, pp. 97–107.
18. Cox, Kevin R., and Rohit Negi. "The State and the Question of Development in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 37, no. 123, 2010, pp. 71–85.
19. Bernard, Bernard, Jessie, Peas, T.H. and Angel Robert, *The Nature of Human Conflict* (Liege, UNESCO) 1957, p.40

20. (Parson, 1964)
21. Layne, Christopher. "Kant or Cant: The Myth of the Democratic Peace." *International Security*, vol. 19, no. 2, 1994, pp. 5–49.
22. PRUNIER, GÉRARD. *Why the Congo Matters*. Atlantic Council, 2016
23. Kanza, Thomas R. (1994). *The Rise and Fall of Patrice Lumumba: Conflict in the Congo* (expanded ed.). Rochester, Vermont: Schenkman Books, Inc. ISBN 0-87073-901-8
24. Autesserre, Séverine. "D. R. Congo: Explaining Peace Building Failures, 2003-2006." *Review of African Political Economy*, vol. 34, no. 113, 2007, pp. 423–41
25. Casey-Maslen, Stuart, ed. (2013). *The War Report: Armed Conflict in 2012*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 107.
26. "UN defends failed attempt to halt capture of Congo's Goma". Reuters. 21 November 2012. Archived from the original on 29 November 2012.
27. Clark, John F. (2002) *The African Stakes in the Congo War*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
28. PRUNIER, GÉRARD. *Why the Congo Matters*. Atlantic Council, 2016
29. Edgerton, Robert (18 December 2002). *The Troubled Heart of Africa: A History of the Congo*. St. Martin's Press. ISBN 0-312-30486-2.
30. Hewlett & Anderson 1962, pp. 285–288
31. Reyntjens, Filip (2009). *The Great African War: Congo and Regional Geopolitics, 1996-2006*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
32. "DR Congo accepts US military help against ADF militia". Al Jazeera. August 16, 2021.
33. UNHCR warns of mounting needs in DR Congo as forced displacement continues - B-roll. May 5, 2023.
34. Sen Nag, Oishimaya. "Poorest Countries In Africa". Worldatlas
35. DRC - Gender Based Violence Prevention and Response Project led by team leader Hiska Noemi Reyes. The World Bank. December 8, 2022
36. Jaffrin,Guillemette Sidonie, September 30 2022. Concept Program Information Document (PID) - DRC Foundational Economic Governance Reforms DPO series - P179141
37. ICJ orders Uganda to pay \$325m for DR Congo occupation. 9 February 2022. BBC NEWS. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-60323990>