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Degree of Master's of International Studies

(International Area Studies)

**Unstoppable Conflicts in the Democratic
Republic of the Congo Great Lakes Area
since 2003**

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Chatlin KINDOMBE MBUAKI

ABSTRACT

The Democratic Republic of Congo's Great Lake Area continues to experience chronic conflict and instability despite efforts at the national, regional and international levels to negotiate to end this cycle of conflict.

This thesis aims to understand and analyze the factors that maintain to the continuation of this cycle of conflicts in eastern DRC. From the beginning, we have highlighted the four factors that favor the perpetuation of conflicts in this part of the DRC. These are ethnic factors, illegal exploitation of natural resources, geopolitical factors and factors related to poor governance. These factors have played an important role in the escalations of these conflicts.

These lines of thought are the major triggers around which our hypothesis is structured and articulated. This case was used to analyze the nature of this conflict, which is deadlocked with any hope for its peaceful resolutions. The three-dimensional level theory framework, which used to analyze this study explain the interest of these actors in this unstoppable conflict and show us the interest of each actor in this conflict.

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Key words: Unstoppable Conflicts, Great Lake Area, Armed Groups, instability

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AMP	Alliance Pour la Majorite Presidentielle
ADF-NALU	Allied Democratic Forces/National Army of Liberation of Uganda,
AFDL	Alliances des Forces Democratique Pour la Liberation
ICGLR	International Conference on the Great Lake Region
DDR	Demonization, Disarmament and Reinsertion
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DFLR	Democratic Forces for Liberation of Rwanda
FARDC	Forces Armees de la Republique Democratique du Congo
MLC	Mouvement de Liberation du Congo
RCD	Rassemblement Congolais Pour la Democratie
RDC	Republique Democratique du Congo
UN	United Nations
USA	United State of America

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Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction

Over the last two decades, Africa has had a interesting record of economic growth, as well as steady progress in political stability. The end of conflicts in some countries and the consolidation of the democratic process in a large number of States on the continent marked this period.

However, we still notice instability in some regions of Africa, for instance in the Great Lakes region. Especially, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo where insecurity is a serious impediment of its socio-economic development and for the entire region.

The violent conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) between the years 1996 to 2003 resulted in genocide and commission of worst crimes against humanity. The conflict also caused perpetration of serious atrocities leading to death of millions of people, large displacement of people and destruction of property (ICC, 2015).

To date, peace reigns throughout the national territory except the eastern part of the DR Congo including the province of north and south KIVU, which for twenty years are the prey of men in arms. This area of the DR Congo integrated in the Great Lakes region and sharing borders with Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania, this zone still faces a perpetration of the atrocities in spite of the efforts made for the peace.

This study focused on unstoppable conflicts in the DR Congo Great Lakes Areas with a view of examining the factors that cause conflicts in the

eastern part of DR Congo. It emphasizes the role of different actors in different levels in the prospect of finding a lasting solution in this part that suffers so much.

1.2. Background of the study

Since its independence from Belgium in 1960, the DRC has always been an arena of instability. The DR Congo often faces inter-ethnic conflicts and sometimes-foreign armies have invaded the Country (Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, Angola, Eritrea, Somalia...).

The weakening and fragmentation of the DR Congo result from its dependence on the resources designed under the colonial period and the lack of democratic institutions during the independence.

Neighboring Countries (Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda) conflicts are mostly exported to the Kivu provinces due to its proximity with the Great Lakes. Then, foreign soldiers easily have access on the eastern DR Congo territory.

The current conflict in the Great Lakes was triggered by the genocide in Rwanda and Burundi genocide in 1994. Many from these two countries found asylum in the eastern Congo. , this genocide happened when both Rwanda and Burundi presidents were shot in the plane near Kigali Airport. This triggered genocide in both countries, and many Tutsis and moderate Hutus have been reported killed.

Later on, the Tutsi regime that came to power in Rwanda after genocide supported Laurent Desire Kabila rebellion and got into the DRC in 1996 to overthrow the former president MOBUTU and end his dictatorial regime on 17 May 1997).

According to many observers, Rwanda support to Laurent Desire KABILA consisted mainly to settle accounts to Hutu who committed genocide in Rwanda and had found refuge in the eastern Congo.

Moreover, "the eastern of Congo has seriously been affected by the genocide of Rwanda, which triggered the cycle of unstoppable conflicts. After Hutu refugees reached to eastern DRC, they turned into an armed group.

During the second war of Congo in 1998, loyalist forces supported by Angola, Namibia, and Zimbabwe fought rebels backed by Rwanda and Uganda. While estimates vary significantly, Despite all the efforts made for peace and the formation of a transitional government in 2003, the DR Congo Great Lake Area is still a theatre of unstoppable conflicts sustained by weak institutions, corruption and poor governance.

On this regard, this research will analyze the reasons why it has been so difficult to have durable peace in this area, and try to understand the causes of this unstoppable conflict , process and the challenges for lasting peace.

This study will use historical analysis to analyze the process through which the conflict has evolved.

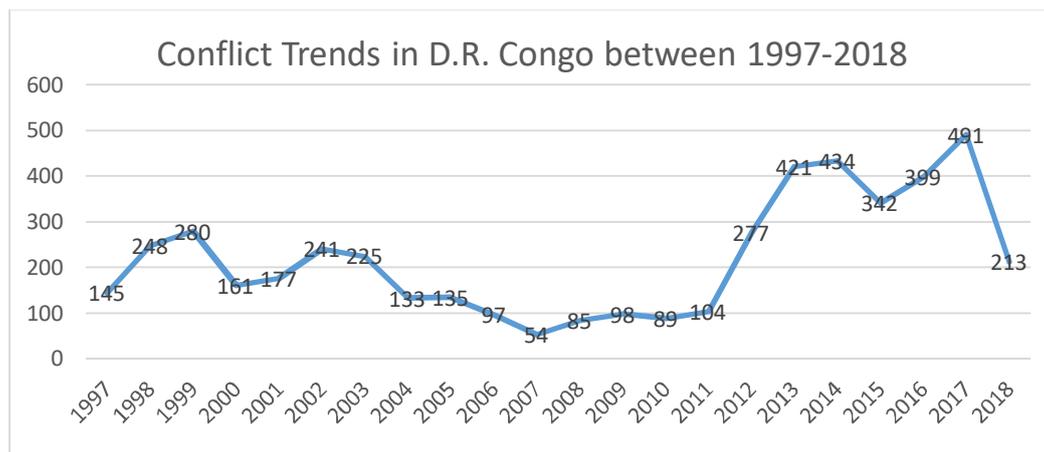
1.3. Statement of the problem

The *Eastern Congo* has been suffering from conflicts for nearly two decades and it is one of the deadliest in the world. While many countries in the Great Lakes region of Africa have resolved to end their internal conflicts, if they have not fully resolved their differences, they have at least pacified their country by mastering all the probable conflicts.

However, the DRC although controlling all of its territory after various known wars, it struggles to solve the eastern conflicts. More particularly in the north and south KIVU where the instability is caused by many armed groups that are made and disbanded by conflict, against a backdrop of looting, rape and murder.

The provinces of North and South Kivu have fallen prey to armed men for the past twenty years. The DR Congo Great Lakes Area has become a battleground. Whenever the government finds an agreement through negotiations or political dialogue or manages to win the war, another conflict arises.

This situation pushed me to conduct my research on the causes of this unstoppable conflict to raise recommendations for sustainable peace in this area. We will rely on the historical approach to understand why it is still tough to make this part of DR Congo stable. In doing so, the research will use significant conflicts before and after the colonial period.



Source data: Armed Conflict Location and Event Dataset (ACLED)

1.4. Objectives of the study

This study is conducted for developing durable peace strategies in addressing the unstoppable conflicts happening in the DR Congo Great Lake Area through an analysis on the causes and process of the conflict.

1.5. Research Question

This study will be focused on the following question:

What are the main factors causing conflict in the DR Congo Great Lake Area?

Sub-Questions

What are the causes of the conflicts in the DR Congo Great Lakes Area before and after 2003?

Who are the main actors in the conflict and for what interests?

Why is the eastern part of DR Congo still shaken by in the conflict?

What are the challenges to be addressed ?

What are the actions undertaken by the under International on the Great lakes region to solve the conflict within the region?

1.6. Research hypothesis

The study posits four hypotheses:

HA1: The Ethnic dimension causes conflicts in eastern part of DR Congo.

HA2: Poor Governance has a positive influence on the conflict in the DR Congo Great Lake Area.

HA3: The illegal exploitation of Natural Resources has a positive influence on the conflicts in the DR Congo Great Lake Area.

HA4: The Geopolitical factors have a positive influence on the DR Congo Great Lake Area.

1.7. Research Methodology

Research methodology is made of the paradigm of theory that student uses for research ; to the stance the student acts as a researcher and his arguments arguments are sustained explained by assumptions.

It can be used as an important tool to explain the problem of the research. It provides details on the structure of research and gives information on procedures followed to reach the goal of the study.

Data collection Methods

In the purpose of gathering data, our principal source was the Library , and for auxiliairy data, we were based on various sources such as books, thesis, articles, protocol, UN reports, etc.

1.8. LITERATURE REVIEW

We refered to some of the previous researches in the relation with the conflicts in Africa and their effects on African states.

Alao stated that African conflicts are caused by the way of managing the national resources (Alao.2007).

He further pointed that the conflicts in African Countries are result of African leader's failure in natural resources management for their development. He also argued that poor governance on natural resources sharing led many resourceful countries of Africa to a chaos. In his conclusion, the author considers poor governance as the core cause conflicts in Africa.

For (**Beverly Crawford and Ronnie Lipchitz**) in their book" Discourse of war: Security and the case of Yugoslavia" argued that crises of identity and discrimination can cause conflict.

According to (Salomon, 1999), external interference is one of the causes of conflicts in Africa, mainly the more active and direct intervention in the civil wars of other states to help support rebel or insurgent groups. It goes from Liberia, Sierra Leone, Congo, and Rwanda ... but still the conflict in the DRC is the symptomatic example with the involvement of eight African States.

Furthermore (Rene DEGNI, 2002) in his analysis on the causes of conflicts in Africa, considers as another form of interference causing violence in Africa is that of the great Western powers, and especially their multinational corporations, that have been incessantly promoting civil wars in Africa by more or less openly adding their support to one of the parties to conflict, or to both at once.

This study will analyze the DR Congo Great Lake Area conflict as a social fact, likely to be transformed by different actors. In Analyzing this conflict, most literatures and different researchers were more focused on historical,

economic and geopolitical perspectives, this research is conducted much more on the analytical aspect of this problem.

The three level of analysis will serve as a tool to understand the role played by different actors in the perpetration of the crisis in the DR Congo Great Lake Area, then, through this path, we can suggest policy recommendations to be adopted in order to have durable peace in the DR Congo Great Lake Area.

1.9. Significance of research

This research can be used as a reference of recommendations to the government or International community on the factors that cause conflicts in the DR Congo Great Lakes Area and why there is still no durable peace in this area. The study will benefit the government, civil society, private sector and international community in coming up with long-term measures of addressing historical causes which trigger conflict and violence.

In addition, the key players will settle initiatives to promote smooth transfer of power, democracy, inclusivity and equity in the distribution of national resources. It is also an opportunity to demonstrate some of the reasons that justify instability of the African Great Lake Region, a region rich in natural resources and multiple stakes.

This research is therefore the tool for raising causes of repeated conflicts in the eastern part of DR Congo, given that it is the area that suffers more of this scourge, by unstoppable conflicts perpetrated by armed groups, which essentially rely on neighboring countries members of the International Conference on the Great Lakes.

As result, this research can serve as framework for questioning and preventing potential conflicts that often occur in this area, insofar as it can enable the DR Congo to identify the strengths and weakness of cooperation existing between the DRC and ICGLR in developing stability and peace in the region.

1.10. Scope and limitation

The research was focused on t unstoppable conflict in the DR Congo Great Lakes Area. The DR Congo Great Lake Area is situated in the eastern part of DR Congo, made up with the north and south kivu provinces and ITURI. More specifically, the study analyzed the causes of conflicts in this area by considering the situation before and after 2003 (the end of the second in war in DR Congo).

The DR Congo Great Conflicts started longtime ago but seems to be ignored by many people. Many Congolese have not written much on this issue. Privacy is the biggest impediment especially in getting official document on the conflict.

1.11. Theoretical Framework

This section presents the theory that will better explain the current study. The Key concepts will be examined and contextualized for the current study. The levels of Analysis, Governance and Governmentality have been used as theory of this study.

Three images levels of Analysis

Kenneth Waltz in the 1952 through his book called *Man, the state and war*, introduced the three images level of analysis in the field of international relations. He characterized the study of international politics into three levels, which he called images. These images are individuals, state and world system.

Through this theory, Waltz explained why state are inter in to the conflict with another. He essentially relied on the classical realist view on the study of international relations and by using this theory as a tool; one can understand easily the causes of conflicts. (Waltz, 2010)

The first Image: According to Waltz, the first image of analysis is essentially about the individual in the conflicts. The majority of these individuals are often the leaders of the countries and through them nations can go for or against the war. From Morgenthau view, the human nature is the principal reasons of the conflict (Morgenthau and Thompson, 1992). He further refers to the situation in the state of nature whereby human was living in miserable life without rules and order. In the state of nature, killing one another was the order of the day and life was survival for the fittest. By this statement, we can also apply this understanding in the DR Congo Great Lakes Area conflicts whereby the leaders of Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi are involved.

The Second image: the second Image is more about the domestic's characteristics of the state. While the first images consider the human nature as the causes of conflicts among state. The second image is related to the domestic structure within the country. From waltz perspective's, the domestic politics in the state may be considered as the main causes of the war whereby the core values of a certain state differ from another (W.T.KENNETH, 1967).

The democratic peace theory can better illustrate this view whereby some philosophers believed that democratic countries cannot go in to war. In our case study, we can use this level to study what was the political ideology and structure of the DR Congo since the conflict started.

The third image: the Global system or world level of analysis of international relations. Waltz came to the conclusion that in this level, one can understand the causes of war through the study of the world system. Different from the first and the second images, the third image views the world through a system and this system is the main cause of war and conflicts between States. This idea is strongly supported by structural realist's scholars such as John Mearsheimer. This level was more used in explaining the relations between states in the cold war period whereby the bipolar system was dominant (Waltz, 2010).

Furthermore, the main argument by scholars in this level is the existing structures such as unipolarity, bipolarity and multipolarit

Governance and Governmentality

Governance is the combination of ways that people and institutions, from public and private sector conduct their common affairs through a process for cooperative actions (Lawrence, 1995). Global governance and domestic governance, or internal exclusive of control or sovereignty, are important to form a stability of a country, then poor governance can lead to chronic instability.

To examine domestic instability, we will use governmentality. Governmentality is governing of people conduct through positive means to formulate the laws and it is associated with the willing participation of the people

who are governed. Unlike Max Weber, Foucault built his theory based on state organism and perceived the evolvement of a government (Aalbert, 2012), which leads to an argument that constant interactions between the civil society and the government are important to form a sound and transparent governmentality.

As DR Congo was one of the authoritarian country, the research demonstrates how the authoritarian leadership suppressed the civil society movements, and controlled the people's response to the government. The analysis then provides explanations on how unstranparent law, corrupts government officials, and illegimate government (central and local government) led to inequitable distribution of resources causing chronic conflicts.

1.12. Chapter outline

The study is organized in four chapters which Chapter one is about the introduction of the study by discussing the background of the study, the statement of the problem, the research objectives and hypothesis, justification of the study, Litterature Review, scope and delimitation of the study as well as theoretical framework.

Chapter two analyzes the conflict in the DR Congo Great Lake Area. We will examine the literature related to the factors of conflict. This chapter will explain the factors causing conflict and why it never ends.

Chapter three uses three images level theoretical framework to determine actors in this conflict. This theory will explicit the role of the actors by emphasizing the interest of each one of them in this conflict. In addition, we are going to raise the challenges for solving the DR Congo Great Lakes Conflict. In

chapter four, the researcher will sum up the study, and then provide conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter 2: UNDERSTANDING THE DR CONGO GREAT LAKE AREA CONFLICT

In this chapter, we will first discuss the historical background of the conflict in order to better understand the meaning of this conflict in order to then allow us to identify the causes of this unstoppable conflict in DR Congo Great Lake Area.

2.1 Historical Background of the DR Congo Great Lake Area Conflict

This section allows us to retrospect the conflicts in the Democratic Republic of Congo and helps us to analyze their causes.

The section describes the historical context of recent conflicts, as well as their links to past conflicts.

In addition to the recent conflicts, known as "*First Congo War*" in 1997 and "*Second Congo War*" between 2001 and 2003, we will discuss the Rwandan massacre, which has had a significant impact on the recurrent conflict in the eastern part of the DRC.

This will help us to identify structural problems that have not been resolved in the resolution of past conflicts, and which need to be the subject of an in-depth study on strategies to achieve lasting stability and peace in the Eastern part of the DRC and in the Great Lakes region.

The Dr Congo Great Lake Area is the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo, made up of provinces of North and South Kivu, which have been victims of armed men for the last twenty years.

This remote area of the capital Kinshasa is part of the Great Lakes region and borders Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania. Eastern DRC serves of a battleground for many armed groups, including the important natural resources of its soil. Gold, oil, cassiterite necessary for the manufacture of mobile phones, methane gas.

The region has become an anarchy zone where civilians are looted, raped and killed by sometimes-indeterminate groups, repeated conflicts that ravage a destitute population and leave the government idle.

To better understand the situation in Kivu, we have to go back in time, which is to say, we will see what happened before and after the year 2003.

In 1994, the rebel movement, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) with a Tutsi majority, succeeded in ending the massacres and took power. es promoters of the massacre, Hutu rebels, then cross the lake, settle in Kivu and form the group of the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR). Two million Hutu Rwandans are also taking refuge in the Kivu region.

Two years later, the RPF crosses the border to crush the threat, killing hundreds of refugees. The ADF militia, Ugandan Muslim rebels opposed to President Yoweri Museveni, is also moving to the east of the DRC since 1995. (Alexandra Vépierre)

2.1.1. First DR Congo War (1996-1997)

In 1996, the deputy governor of South Kivu province ordered Rwandans from Kivu to leave Zaire (ex DR CONGO) on pain of death. The latter joined forces with the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Zaire

(AFDL), which was supported by Burundi, Uganda and Rwanda, and participated in the fall of the Zairean president (Congolese of the time). Mobutu Sese Seko.

When Marshal Mobutu's regime falls on May 17, 1997, Zaire is witnessing the end of nearly four decades of autocratic rule and power. This country was during the Cold War an essential link of the camp of the West is a geostrategic country for Eastern Africa, Central Africa and Southern Africa.

It is the only one in Africa to share its national borders with nine neighboring countries namely: Angola, Burundi, Congo-Brazzaville, Rwanda, Uganda, Central African Republic and Sudan, Tanzania and Zambia country. (Modeste Mba Talla, 2012)

The AFDL, the rebel group led by Laurent Désiré Kabila was launched in October 1996 in Eastern Zaire (formerly DR Congo) with the support of a regional coalition of five of the nine immediate neighbors of Zaire (Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Zambia and Angola).

This alliance is backed by other countries, especially the United States, and some other African states such as Eritrea, Ethiopia and Zimbabwe. The AFDL began first as the rebellion "Banyamulenge", and then took on the features of a real invasion war. (Modeste Mba Talla, 2012).

Laurent-Désiré Kabila took the place of Marshal MOBUTU and renames Zaire: Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

2.1.2. Second DR Congo war (1998-2003)

While Mobutu is swept away by history, Laurent Désiré Kabila takes the reins of power, and Zaire becomes the DRC.

After coming to power, the friendship between the leader of the AFDL and his godfathers will not last long. On August 2, 1998, rebellion broke out again in Eastern DRC, a new rebel group supported once again by Rwanda, Uganda.

This rebellion is called the Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie (RCD). Other politico-military groups will be born in November such as the Movement for the Liberation of Congo (MLC) that have been backed by Uganda.

Therefore, we will witness the multiplication of actors who will occupy nearly 3/5 of the territory of the DRC, reminding us of the revolutionary rebellions of (1963-1966), when the rebellion of Mayi-Mayi or Simba Eastern Provinces (and Kivu, which spilled over half of Ecuador, Kasai and Katanga) occupied almost the same area (rebellion in which Laurent Desiré Kabila had participated alongside Pierre Mulele, Theodore Bengila, Christopher Gbenye, Laurentin Ngolo and Gaston Soumialot).

The first signs of rupture between the two godfathers of the new rebellion in the summer of 1999, combined with the intervention of the Kinshasa allies (Angola, Zimbabwe, Chad, Namibia) as early as August 1998 as well as the re-emergence of the nationalist warriors of the Maï- Maï, will install the second war of the DRC in the long term with alliances between armed actors who are knotted and unmade under the circumstances. As a result, impunity for massive violations of human rights and international humanitarian law.

After many delays from the international community, we will witness on July 10, 1999, the signing of the Lusaka Agreement, which provides for a ceasefire and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the DRC.

This agreement will not put an end to the Congolese crisis, especially since on the ground we are witnessing the break-up of fronts and the fragmentation of armed groups. But we must wait for the assassination of Laurent-Désiré Kabila on January 16, 2001 and his replacement by his son Joseph Kabila, to see the strengthening of the presence of MONUC forces; but especially the Global and Inclusive Agreement (GIA) on April 19, 2003. The GIA will set in motion the largest political crisis-resolution process culminating in the establishment of a transitional government (1 + 4).

This politico-military transition goes after 42 years of dictatorship, 7 years of political transition, and 10 years of internationalized armed conflicts, leading, in 2006 and 2007, to the first pluralist general elections. The war involves nine African countries and thirty groups' Armed forces, including Hutu forces that gather Rwandans, Burundian rebels, Congolese Hutus and Mai-Mai militias, and indigenous people fighting for the defense of their land. (Modeste Mba Talla, 2012).

2.1.3. Kivu War (2004-2009)

The war opposes the rebel Tutsi officer Laurent Nkunda leader of the rebel movement of the National Congress for Democracy (NCDP), which did not recognize the new Government in 2004 and takes refuge in North Kivu, with the army of the DRC with its allies. The officer justified his rebellion by the need to protect the Tutsi of the Congo, whose security and economic interests appear threatened.

Members of the FDLR to whom they provide weapons and Mai Mai, an ethnic group that rejects Tutsi, accompany the armed forces of the DRC (FARDC). The struggle between this armed militia causes the death of many

civilians. On March 23, 2009, 2006-elected President Joseph Kabila pledged to integrate the rebels into the regular army and to recognize their rank.

Another rebel groups, made up essentially of Tutsis supported by the Rwandan government, rose in 2009. M23 rebelled against the Congolese government claiming the non-respect of a peace agreement signed with the government.

Then started a new war in DR Congo Great Lakes Area. Rwanda supported this rebel group, aiming economic interests of thia area. The group committed many abuses and then signed a peace agreement in 2013. (Alexandra Vépierre, 2016)

Taking into account this brief historical overview of the conflict in the DRC, we find that all the scenes of the conflict always start in the east of the country and have mostly moved in this area.

It is for this reason that we will look in the appropriate section for the causes of this conflict in the DRC.

2.2. The Factors causing conflicts in the DR Congo Great Lakes Area

Several factors may be at the root of the unstoppable conflicts in eastern DRC.

As part of our work, we will address ethnic factors, natural resources, geopolitical factors, and poor governance.

2.2.1. Ethnic factors of conflict in DR Congo Great Lake Area.

In the ethnic dimension of conflict in DR Congo's Great Lake Area, we will analyze the conflicts between different ethnic groups in eastern

DRC to assess how this factor is determining the perpetuation of conflicts in eastern DRC. .

To this end, we will study two ethnic oppositions for a good illustration. These are oppositions: *Indigenous / foreign, Hutu / Tutsi*.

Indigenous / foreign

On Kivu nationality, Pabanel stated that Kivu has long been a welcoming place for migrants from Rwanda. Less populated than this one, it served him as a demographic outlet: the spontaneous migrations or organized by the Belgian colonial administration within the framework of the Mission of Immigration of the Banyarwanda (MIB) set up in 1937, drained migrant flows estimated at 200,000 for the colonial period and 100,000 for the first decade of independence.

Pabanel adds that since there has been no census of population since 1984 and that ethnic counts are being manipulated, it is clear that Rwandophones predominantly populate the districts of Rutshuru and Masisi.

In the Bwisho (northeast of Rutshuru) formerly dependent on the kingdom of Rwanda, their presence has ancient roots in Masisi, migration became important only after the Belgian mandate (**Pabanel J.P, 1991**).

Pabanel (**JP Pabanel, 1991**) further states that the populations deemed "indigenous", that is to say, settled before the arrival of Rwandan migrants, felt gradually dispossessed of their prerogatives and land rights symbolic that there attached. Tensions crystallized around land and the issue of nationality.

The 1981 revision in a restrictive sense of the criteria for claiming to be Congolese (Zairian at the time) deprived tens of thousands of Banyarwanda of Congolese nationality, exacerbating inter-communal relations (**Pabanel J.P, 1991**).

From 1990, the prospects for a return to an electoral democracy have increased the fear of the native people, where they are today in the minority, to pass under those who they still often considered as foreigners. In Kinshasa the National Conference had closed its doors to Rwandophones under the pretext of "dubious nationality," Pourtier said It is in this context that inter-ethnic tensions in Masisi degenerated in 1993 into armed violence between natives (mainly the Hunde) and the Banyarwanda (Tutsis and Hutus); they caused several thousand deaths. (**Pourtier Roland, 2009**).

According to Koen Vlassenroot, the reference to ethnicity had become the most important instrument in recruitment strategies for non-state armed actors (this was particularly the case with Mayi Mayi and Banyamulenge militias in South Kivu) (**Koen Vlassenroot, 2004**).

He (**Koen Vlassenroot**) adds that to be successful in military terms and maintain control of the population, armed groups have learned to recruit on an ethnic basis. On the other hand, these militias also depend on access to local markets and resources for financing their private and military operations. What emerges from this internal dynamic is a territorialisation of ethnicity around vital economic assets, where violent and 'tribal' elements have come to form the starting point for any form of socio-economic integration (**Koen Vlassenroot, 2004**).

As demonstrated by the confrontations between Lendu and Hema (Ituri), Banyarwanda and Hunde (North Kivu), Banyamulenge and Babembe,

Bafulero and Bavira (South Kivu), we clearly see that there is a correlation between ethnic dimension and the perpetuation of conflict in this part of the DRC.

Hutu / Tutsi

The Rwandan war that led to genocide had an impact in the DRC, mostly in Kivu, the eastern part of the DRC. Most Hutu Rwandans had gone to the DRC for Refuge.

According to Roland Pourtier, The Rwanda war, against the backdrop of exasperation of hatred between Hutus and Tutsis to the paroxysm of the 1994 genocide, then spread its metastases in Kivu.

The permanent settlement of more than one million Hutus in refugee camps near the Rwandan border helped to destabilize an already fragile region, reactivating the hostility of indigenous people towards the Banyarwanda, but especially towards Congolese Tutsis, who did not hide their sympathies for the new regime of Kigali (Roland Pourtier, 2009).

Pourtier goes on to say that several thousand Congolese Tutsis had joined the ranks of the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA). Many of them participated in the military operation initiated by Rwanda to eliminate the Kivu refugee camps. They served as cover for the offensive of autumn 1996 and made the bed of the AFDL (rebel movement) of Laurent Désiré Kabila.

They took part in the destruction of the camps and the massive massacres of Hutus who accompanied him. If the survivors who now form the backbone of the FDLR have been able to maintain their presence in Kivu, it is with the complicity of some local authorities hostile to Tutsis. This hostility often covers economic rivalries, as is the case, for example, between the Nande of

Butembo and Beni, whose big traders compete with the Tutsis. There is thus a resurgence of ethnic antagonisms, with natives potentially approaching Hutu Banyarwanda in opportunistic alliances against Tutsis (Roland Pourtier, 2009).

2.2.2 Illegal exploitation of natural resources

Eastern DRC, like the rest of the DRC, suffers from its own natural resources. Indeed, as mentioned in the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa's report, *The Abundance of Natural Resources* or, to be more precise, the dependence on these resources has been identified as a factor and a significant feature of the conflicts in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

From this point of view, the DR Congo has faced the most serious case of what is known as the "resource curse" (**UN ECONOMIC COMMISSION for Africa, 2015**).

Natural Resources is the one of the factors prolonged the crisis in DR Congo Great Lakes Area as well as the weakening of other sectors.

Collier and Hoeffler even claim that the Democratic Republic of Congo provides a perfect example of conflict fueled by natural resources (**Collier and Hoeffler, 2012**).

Natural resources are conflict-related in many ways, as illustrated by the "commodity curse" denounced by many NGOs. Thus, war, the exploitation of natural resources and corruption have become commonplace in this part of the DRC.

It is for this reason that Pourtier argues that, The mining economy is closely linked with the war and insecurity. and he adds that all the actors of the

conflict participate in the looting of the resources, either to finance the purchase of weapons, either for reasons of personal enrichment (**Pourtier Roland, 2009**).

The first group of UN experts on the illegal exploitation of natural resources in the DRC had already highlighted the fact that the exploitation of natural resources, as means of financing the conflict had become the purpose, and therefore the cause of its perpetuation (**UN Report on DR Congo Natural Resources Exploitation, 2002**).

A survey conducted in August 2008 by Global Witness leads to the same conclusions: all military groups are concerned on the illegal exploitation of mineral resources (**Global witness, 2008**).

The rebel group “Front Democratique pour la Liberation du Rwanda” (FDLR) hold the most important positions; they include large traders who negotiate with sales offices, including in Rwanda. Several FARDC brigades are not outdone and profit from the mining, jointly with the FDLR or PARECO (**Pourtier Roland, 2009**).

Pourtier concludes that if the conflict continues east of the DRC, it is largely because many external actors find their interest. For Rwanda, the perpetuation of confusion in Kivu favors its settlement enterprise, its economic positions in the commercialization of mineral resources and its political influence. For the multinationals and more generally all the globalized companies, the productions extracted from the basement of Kivu by a multitude of miserable miners are a boon because put on the market at low prices they allow considerable profits throughout a chain of marketing where the activities deemed lawful spawn shamelessly with the obscure world of illicit (**Pourtier Roland, 2009**).

The Belgian research group IPIS report gave insight into the situation of artisanal mining in DRC over the period 2013-2015. On 1615, Mining sites visited 65 % Mines where armed presence was observed.

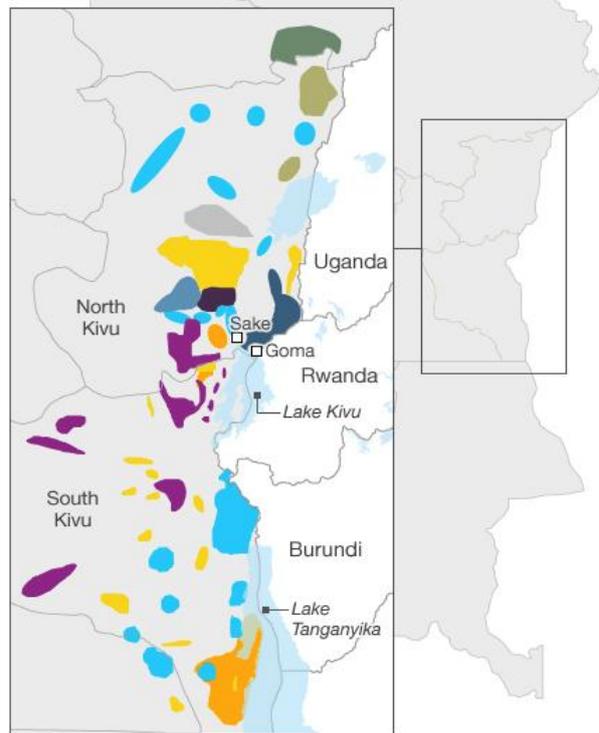
In view of the above, we observe a close correlation between recurrent conflicts in eastern DRC and the illegal exploitation of natural resources. That is to say that keeping this zone in a situation of instability is currently the strategy put in place by different rebel groups, even neighboring countries, to profit from it whatever the price (displacement of people, rapes, murders ...)

Figure 02: Map of Rebel groups in eastern DR Congo

Rebel groups in eastern DR Congo

UN forces and the Congolese army are present in large towns

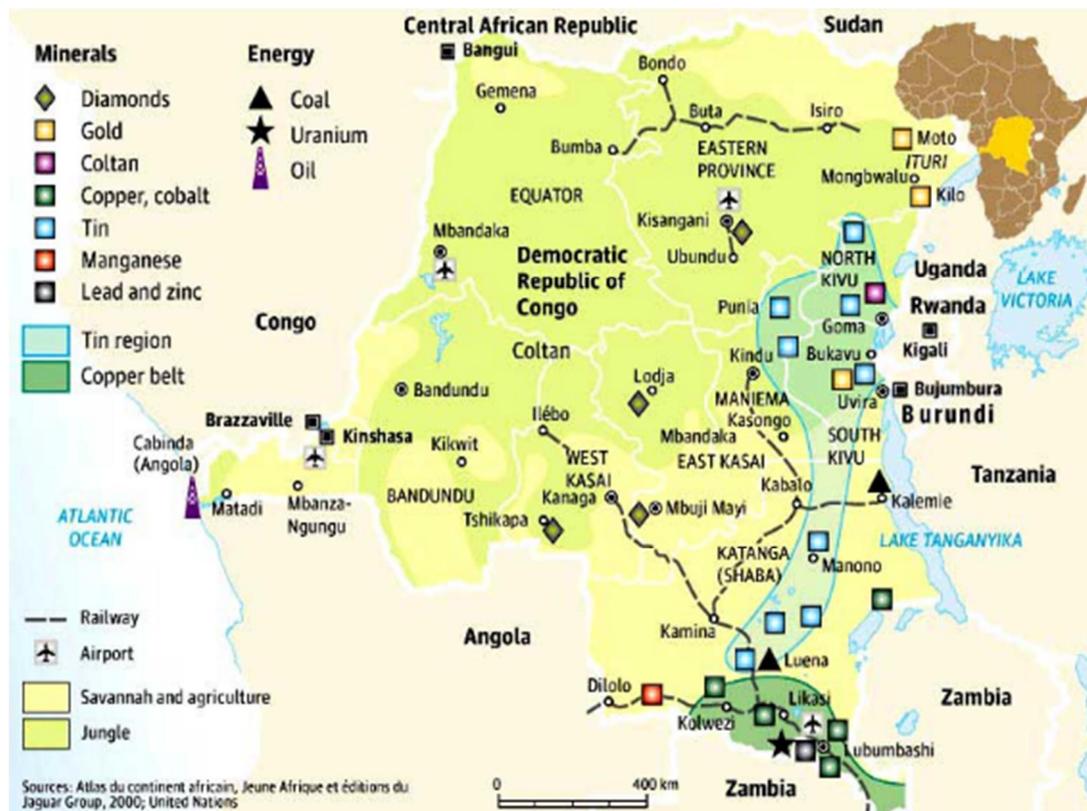
- ADF-NALU**
Ugandan-led Islamists
- APCLS**
Mai Mai group
- FDLR**
Mostly Hutu Rwandan rebels
- FRPI**
Based in gold-rich Ituri region
- M23**
Mostly Tutsi, said to be Rwandan-backed
- Rai Mutomboki**
Anti-FDLR group
- Sheka**
Mai Mai group
- UPCP**
Loose coalition of smaller nationalist groups
- Mai Mai groups**
Local forces claiming to act in self-defence
- Other armed groups**



Source: Oxfam

*An estimate of where armed groups were in November 2012 based on the best available information. The conflict is changing daily.

Figure 03: Map of Mineral Resources in DR Congo



Source : La carte des minerais en RDC [en ligne]. Disponible sur:

https://www.pagewecongo.com/actions.php?a=dbo_articles&rid=45

2.2.3 Geopolitical factors of DR Congo Great Lake Area

This section, we will demonstrate how geopolitical factors also cause repetitive conflicts in eastern DRC.

For Professor Alexandre Delay, geopolitics aims at studying the interactions between geographical space and the rivalries of powers that flow from it. It is the locus of local, regional or global power (DELAY, 2005).

Thus, in this study, we will retain the following definition

The present study assigns as an objective the analysis of the geopolitical dimension as a factor of repetitive conflicts in eastern DRC at the national, regional and global levels.

2.2.3.1 The Geopolitical dimension of DR Congo Great Lake Area at the national level

The DR Congo's Great Lake Area, located in eastern DRC, is of particular importance to many of the assets that nature has bestowed on it. In fact, apart from its geopolitical position, most of the continent's valuable soil and subsoil resources exist in this part of the country.

To better understand the geopolitical dimension of DR Congo's Great Lake Area conflict at the national level, we will first focus on demonstrating the links between the proliferation of armed groups in the East and the geopolitical issues of eastern DRC, also identify the stakes of this part of the DRC compared to the West of the DRC.

CHIMERHE defines the stake as what one risks losing in a part of game and that the winner recovers. It is about what can be gained or lost in a company or a business (**CHIMERHE, 2014**).

Thus, the stakes pursued by these armed groups are sometimes difficult to pin down. However, after several analyzes of their modes of operation and their behavior towards the populations in the areas under their control, we found that many of them articulate their ambitions on economic issues although more often, they put forward political reasons for legitimizing their ambitions.

As part of this study, we will focus more on the economic challenge (exploitation of natural resources) considered as a cause of conflicts in DRC in general.

View as a geological scandal because of the immensity of its riches such as niobiun, copper, cobalt, gold, diamond, petroleum, uranium, lead, zinc, manganese, etc. These resources can be found throughout its national territory, from north to south and from east to west.

However, the Eastern part of the DRC is full of wealth that is peculiar, which is not found in other areas of the DRC. This is for example coltan, cassiterite and necessary for the manufacture of portable telephones.

These resources peculiar to this part of the country make it the object of desire of many Congolese who organized themselves into a militia or armed group in order to control this zone and derive the economic benefits.

Thus, the economic stakes of eastern DRC due to the specificity of its minerals compared to those of western DRC are at the basis of the perpetuation of conflicts in the east.

In our research, we found that there is more proliferation of armed groups and conflicts in the Eastern Part than in the western Part of the DRC. These armed groups are created to control these resources. According to Modeste Mba, about thirty armed groups have been listed in the east while in the west there is almost no.

In addition to the specificity of minerals in this part of the DRC, the geostrategic dimension of the conflict of eastern DRC with respect to the western Part is also noted by the ease of their evacuation outside the DRC for

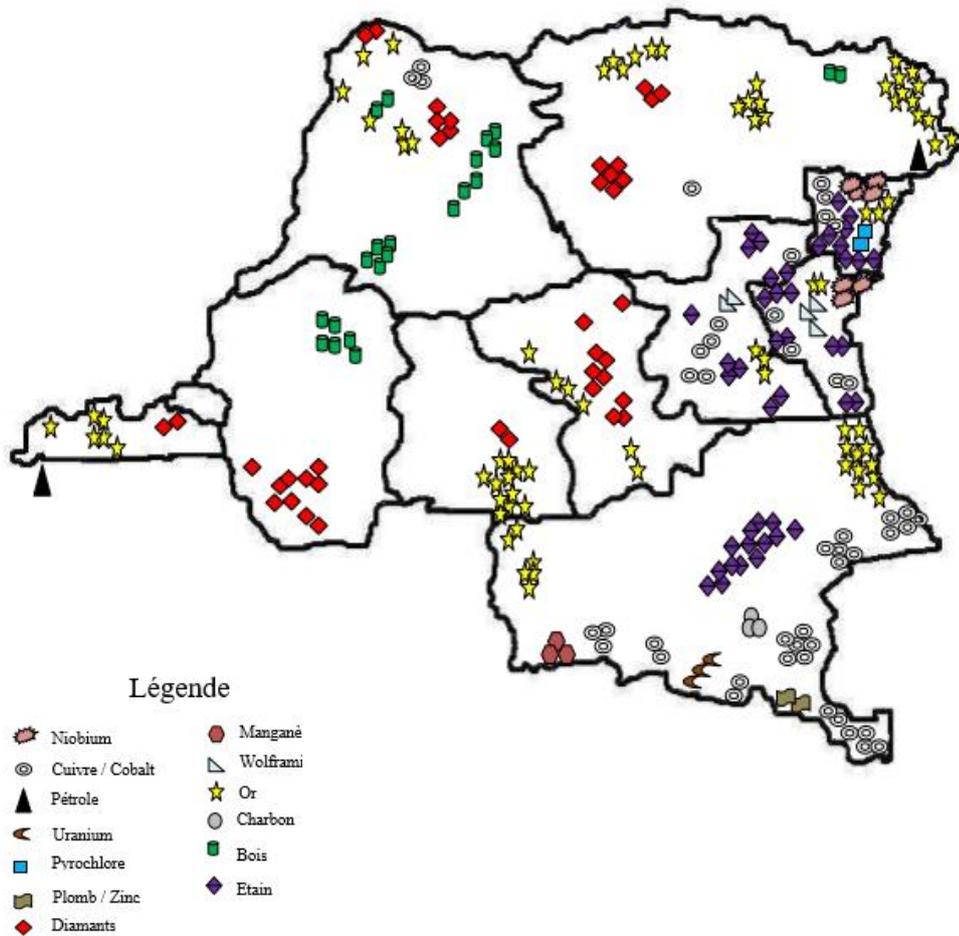
their commercialization. These ores that escape the control of the Congolese Government pass through neighboring countries including Rwanda and Burundi for their marketing abroad.

The basement of eastern Area of DRC presents important economic issues that confer monopoly on the export of these resources specific to this area such as coltan.

To this end, the rebels who control mining areas and logging areas have been able to weigh in the negotiations to obtain positions of power.

Therefore, the greed of all these riches of DR Congo Great Lake Area underground forces Congolese to make war, finally to have control of this area regardless of the consequences that result (many displaced or refugees, instability, etc.).

Figure 04: Map of DR Congo Natural Resources Allocation in different Regions.



Map of DR Congo Natural Resources Allocation in different Regions.

Source : Mba Talla, Émergence, “fragmentation”, et perpetuation des rebellions au Congo RDC (1990-2010) : Une politologie des groupes armes, Ottawa

2.2.3.2. The geopolitical dimension of DR Congo Great Lake Area at regional level

In this part, we will develop the geopolitical dimension of the conflict in the eastern Part of DRC in the context of the African Great Lakes region.

The Great Lakes Region is made up of the inter-lake zone between the DRC, Rwanda, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Burundi and their areas of border influence (the course of the Congo River with the Republic Central African Republic, Republic of Congo, Angola and Sudan).

This region has often been the victim of particularly violent and recurrent armed conflicts. The cycles of violence derive from its pre-colonial, colonial, and postcolonial history. The causes of conflict in this region of Africa have a regional dimension and a regional character. There is a propensity for the regionalization of instability, fueled by a de facto ethnic, socio-cultural and political proximity of the populations of the region.

This proximity implies the tendency of conflicts to be exported beyond their national homes to spread, through the effect of contamination, to all countries bordering the region.

It is in this context of regionalization that we analyze the conflict in eastern Part of DRC in order to demonstrate the relations that exist between the armed groups operating in DR Congo Great Lake Area and the geopolitical stakes of eastern DRC in comparison with the other countries in the Great Lakes region, all determining the level of involvement of these Great Lakes countries in the challenges that this part of the DRC presents.

The specificity of the minerals in the eastern DRC not only attracts Congolese envy inside the DRC. Neighboring countries in the Great Lakes region are also interested in the riches of eastern Part of DRC in order to reap economic benefits.

It is in this framework that Rwanda and Uganda, the Great Lakes Region, have supported some rebellions in the DRC such as AFDL, RCD-GOMA, RCD-KML, MLC, CNDP, and M23. These two countries of the Region have used a system of regional sponsorship and the Strategy of subcontracting these armed groups by granting them the stature of National Congolese rebellions.

It is not only coltan that constitutes the economic stake of the perpetuation of this conflict in the East. There is also the gold, the diamond, the wood that constitute the resources of the conflict.

Rwanda and Uganda have always supported each other when it comes to controlling the rebels and exploiting Congolese wealth, even allowed themselves to fight on Congolese soil for their interests, which proves to the fullest extent how much control of the wealth of this part of the DRC is necessary for them.

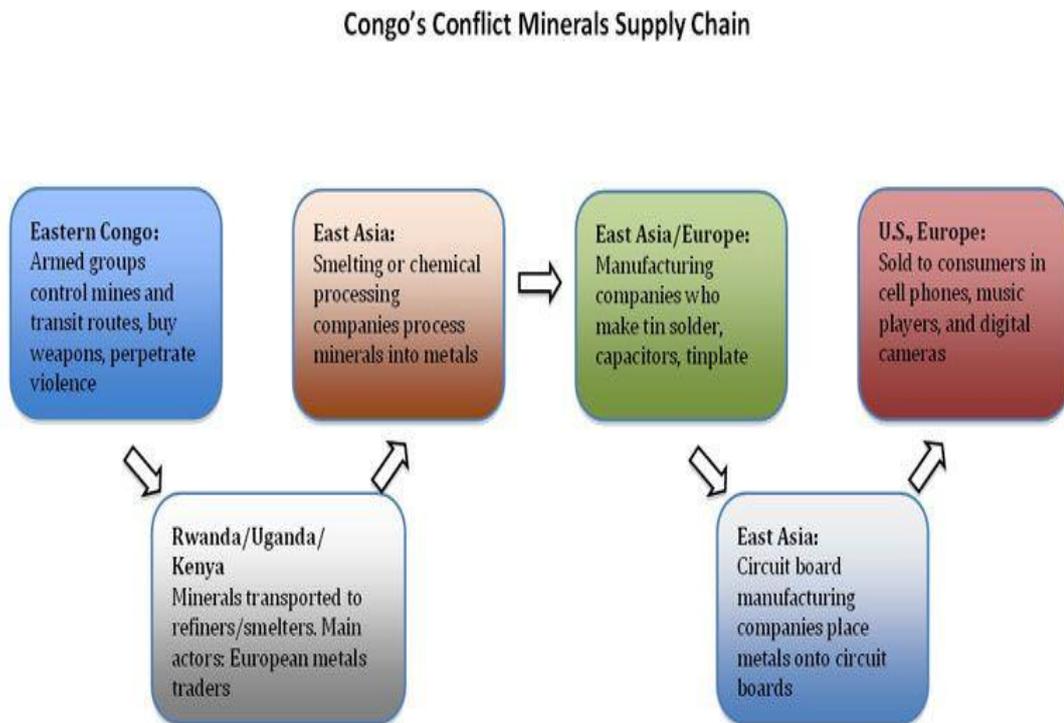
All eastern Part of DRC is commercially linked to the Kenyan ports of Mombassa and Tanzanian Dar-es-Salaam.

The flows flow through Burundi, Uganda and Rwanda, which, in the process, collect or export as national products. These countries derive a geopolitical benefit from the economic benefits of their support to armed groups (mainly the various rebellions supported by Rwanda and Uganda) or their positioning in the networks for transporting these flows for export (**Moise Mbala, 2014**).

According to LAGRANGE, the financial evaluations of these exports represented ½ billion dollars (**LAGRANGE, 2014**). With this economic power, the sponsors (Rwanda and Uganda) rebellions meanwhile, have weighed all their weight on the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) they have controlled politically.

In light of all the above, we clearly see the links between the multiplication of armed groups in the eastern Part of DRC and the countries of the Great Lakes region that provide support for keeping the DR Congo Great Lake Area unstable to control this part in order to take advantage of the economic stakes of this part of the DRC.

Figure 05: Conflict Mineral Supply Chain



Source: Pinterest.com

2.2.3.3. The geopolitical dimension of DR Congo Great Lake Area at World level

In the face of the economic challenges posed by the minerals of eastern DRC, other countries in Europe, Asia and America have not been left indifferent to the benefits they can derive from them.

This is how Pourtier indicates that the great North American, European and now Asian powers played an undeniable role upstream of the conflict in eastern DRC by supplying weapons,

This vicious circle has been denounced for years without much effect, even though some European companies involved in the metal trade have ceased their activities in Congo under pressure from international NGOs such as Global Witness (**Pourtier, 2009**)

Furthermore, Pourtier specifies that the implementation of the Kimberley process concerning diamonds or the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) presuppose the prior pacification of mining areas and the normalization of exploitation. We are very far, the great powers finally worrying little about what is happening in the reclusive forests of Kivu (**Roland Pourtier, 2009**).

Another strategy envisaged by the major powers to better control the mineral resources of eastern DRC is *balkanization*.

On February 11, 2013, in an address to Washington's Brookings Institute, US under Secretary of State for African Affairs Johnnie Carson said that the solution to bring peace to the DRC would have to borrow from the patterns of the former Yugoslavia or Sudan, meaning that the balkanization of this country was necessary.

The instability of the Part eastern of DRC is the business of most of these countries that are sourcing minerals from eastern DRC at low prices. Part of the profits drawn, is allocated to armaments to sustain instability in the region.

2.2.4 POOR Governance

As far as our study is concerned, poor governance is retained as one of the factors of the perpetuation of conflicts in the DRC.

Good governance is a real engine of development. Many African countries do not have good governance.

The DRC is not exceptional case to this, it also suffers from its poor governance and poor governance comes first from the Belgian colonial heritage whose independence is qualified by some analysts as "early, failed" because no Congolese cadre was prepared to govern because of their absence from the country.

Thus, in his interview with the president of the civil society of Bukavu / South Kivu WALTER DE KUYSSHE in the Congo cannibalized think that the colonization of the Congo by the Belgians was not among the best and the independence was missed by an absence from the beginning of Congolese cadres **(WALTER DE KUYSSHE, 2007)**.

On the other hand, NINANI BIHUZO, to the question of governance, he suggests in these studies that the colonial legacy in Africa is one of the reasons for the apparently endemic instability of this continent. According to the same author, some authors go so far as to assert that the position of Africa at the end of the 19th century is the main reason for the current conflicts **(NINANI BIHUZO, 2008)**.

For this purpose, in the years of the authoritarian regime without any democratic reflection where the people should enjoy their civil and political rights. Despite the richness of Congo's soil and subsoil, Congolese have

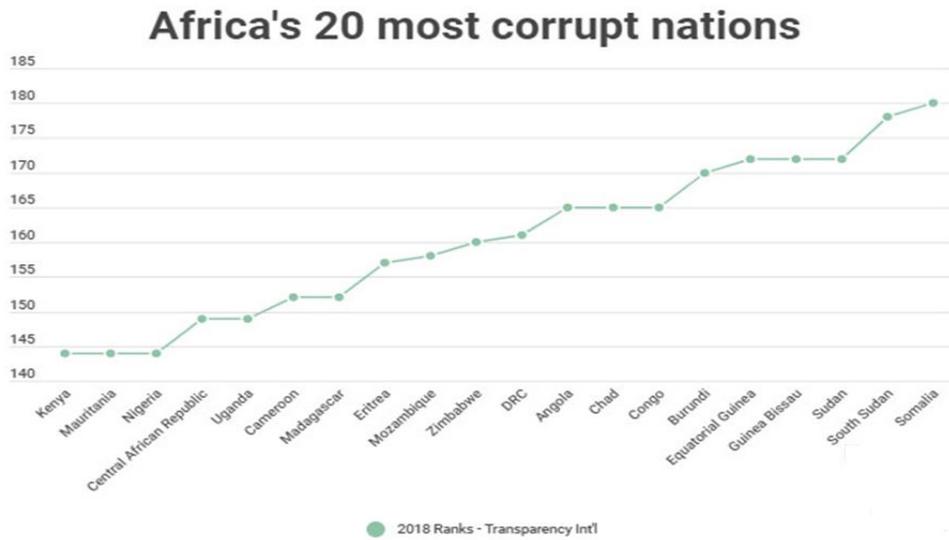
continued to become poorer and misery has been lost until they lose hope of living and lack the courage to hope for a good state of affairs.

This is how some have described the sick Congo of its men, the political and economic elites have lost the nationalist values to promote the welfare of citizens; hence, the distorted governance that characterized the Congolese state was encouraged by some power and the former colonists became the international community.

The responsibility attributed to Belgium, which has not trained Congolese capable of managing the affairs of the state, is great in the current state of governance of the Democratic Republic of Congo because it has handed over to the first Congolese leaders a country and a power they did not know what to do, with around them all a merit of Western advisers, mostly Belgians, that had interest in the new leaders remain in the logic they had created and that they wanted to see it go on, already using corruption to arrive at their logic. Since then corruption has characterized management of administrative institutions, also dictatorship has been reinforced by the gatekeepers for ruling the country, lack of democracy, etc.

Recently DRC has been ranked the 161 least corrupt nation out of 175 countries, according to the 2018 Corruption Perceptions Index reported by Transparency International. Corruption Rank in Congo averaged 157.27 from 2004 until 2018, reaching an all time high of 171 in 2008 and a record low of 133 in 2004 (tradingeconomics.com)

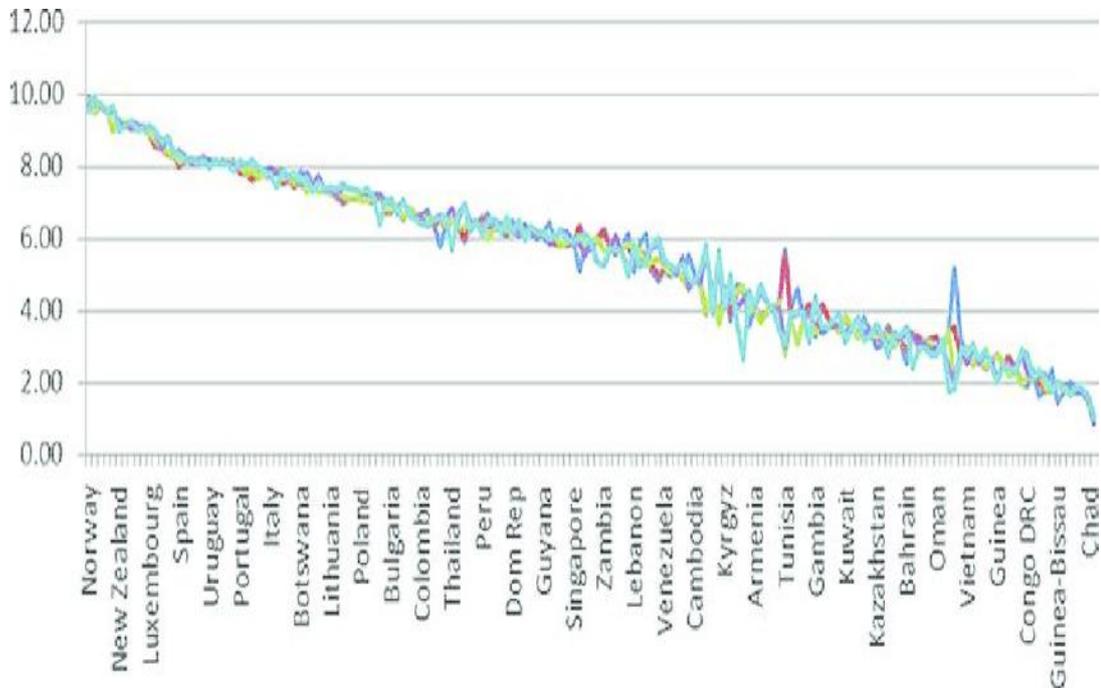
Figure 06: Africa 20 most corrupt Nations



Source: <https://www.pulse.ng/bi/politics/these-are-the-20-most-corrupt-countries-in-africa-right-now/vd2fc2k>

In addition, according to the democracy index of Economist Intelligence Unit, based on a statistical analysis of Democracy Indexes for all 167 countries for the period of 2006-2012, The DR Congo has been placed in type of Authoritarian Regime.

Figure 07: Democracy Indexes



Source: Researchgate.net

Thus, this colonial heritage continues to have negative repercussions in the head of the governance, following this lack of confidence, in spite of the elections, one notes on a large scale a fragility of the State from where the recourse to arms seems a means to correct the rulers.

Starting from this bad culture, the Congolese pursued this logic of destroying their own country in order to enrich themselves illegally by exporting the natural resources of the country by the means of the arms by seeking the allies abroad like Rwanda, Uganda in the Great Lakes region, particularly North and South Kivu, taking into account the wealth of this part of the DRC.

Following the different factors causing conflict in the eastern DR Congo, one should note that the illegal exploitation is considered as the core factor among the four factors listed in this research because it is the main interest or incentive of different actors in causing conflicts. The table below gives a better illustration and summary of the four factors causing conflict in the DR Congo Great Lake Area.

Table 01: summarizing Factors causing conflicts in the Eastern DR Congo

Conflict Factors	Interests	Strategies
Ethnics Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Land control issues - Mining concessions (Natural Resources) 	Ethnics antagonism
Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources	Control of Natural Resources	Proliferation of Armed groups and militia by creating instability.
Geopolitical Factors	Control of natural Resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Proliferation of Armed Groups(NationalLevel) - Subcontracting Armed Groups by granting them the stature of National congolese rebellion (Neighboring countries)
Poor Governance	Political Power (dictatorship)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gatekeeping (leaders in Power) - Recourse to arms to address the dictatorship issue.

Source: Author

CHAPTER 3: THREE IMAGES LEVELS OF ANALYSIS IN DR CONGO GREAT LAKE AREA CONFLICT

The first section of this chapter will determine the actors in the conflict with their strategies and interests.

This theory will allow us to understand the part of each actor in the conflict. We will be more focused on how and why the interests of some actors differ from others.

The level of analysis as a tool of analysis will allow us to examine the conflict on three dimensions which are spheres where both causes and effects of the issue can be detected.

The second section will be about the challenges in solving the Unstoppable conflict in the DR Congo Great Lake Area. The challenges will be corresponding with the levels of analysis that was used to explain the implications of each actor in the conflict.

3.1. Levels of Analysis

3.1.1 FIRST IMAGE: INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

At this point, we are going to point out individuals and armed groups who contributed on the one way or another in intensifying or decreasing of the conflict. They are either political leaders or armed groups leaders.

Joseph KABILA:

Son of President Laurent-Désiré Kabila, he succeeds after his assassination, January 16, 2001, during the second Congo war.

In 2006, he was elected in the second round of the presidential election and he was re-elected in 2011.

When he came to power, he was faced with repeated wars in eastern Congo, where rebel forces were trying to destabilize the country through violence, crime, looting of resources.

His victories in the presidential elections of 2006 and 2011 were contested because the electoral process was considered tainted by irregularities and not credible by some Congolese and this led to disputes here and there. This is how the CNDP and M23 rebel movements relied on this to justify their rebellion.

Joseph Kabila led the Alliance for the Presidential Majority (AMP) and created the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD).

Laurent NKUNDA:

Head of the rebel movement denominates the National Congress for the Defense of the People (CNDP).

This politico-military movement originated from Rwandophone populations, designated under the generic name of "Banyarwanda" and more specifically from their Tutsi component "Banyamulenge" Its leader, General Laurent Nkunda, justified his rebellion by the need to protect the Tutsis of Congo precisely in North Kivu (Eastern part of the DRC), whose security and economic interests appear threatened.

Pourtier says that in the spring of 2004, barely a year after the withdrawal of Rwandan and Ugandan troops from eastern Congo, some of these soldiers entered into dissidence under the leadership of Nkunda.

Pourtier further explains that Laurent Nkunda and the CNDP had organized themselves as the State in governing the area under their control. He imposed various "taxes" on agricultural productions, on charcoal, road tolls, contributions from traders etc. they also controlled the Bunagana border post where they were collecting a portion of customs revenue.

Later on Laurent Nkunda's ambitions and interests were specified, it was simply to control natural resources in eastern DRC.

Sultani MAKENGA:

Sultani Makenga is a member of the Democratic Movement of the Congo. In May 2013, the M23 rebels clashed with FARDC (Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo)

This movement was composed of mostly Tutsi-backed Congolese by Rwanda according to an official UN report. These Tutsis claimed the Congolese nationality that they had obtained under the of President Mobutu regime in 1972.

On March 23, 2009, Laurent NKUNDA's CNDP leader and Joseph Kabila elected President in 2006, signed agreements in Goma. After the second election of President KABILA on November 2011 for a second term, the CNDP accused the President KABILA of non-compliance with the agreements signed in 2009.

Therefore, from the CNDP that became political party then emanated the M23 (movement of March 23), an armed group which wanted to see the commitments made with Joseph Kabila in March 2009, respected. It was the starting point of another crisis in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

In addition to the failure of Joseph Kabila to respect the agreements, other requests came later. For example the return of Tutsi refugees in Rwanda and Tanzania. They also required the security and protection of the Tutsi people against the FDLR (Hutu armed group threatening Tutsis).

Charlotte Cosset adds that according to a report of the UN, the Rwandan and Ugandan government supported the M23. Rwanda support to this rebellion was due to the great interests it had in maintaining a situation of insecurity in the eastern part of the Congo, says Charlotte Cosset. (**Charlotte cosset, 2012**).

Democratic Front for Liberation of Rwanda (DFLR):

DFLR (Democratic Front of Liberation of Rwanda): These Hutu survivors have taken refuge in the forests of Kivu and are under the protection of Kinshasa. The presence of Hutus in eastern DRC had just been a pretext for Rwanda to legitimize its interventions in this area.

This is why Pourtier explains that For Kigali, the presence of these Hutus in the DRC represents a cause of disagreement prohibiting any lastingly pacified relationship between the two countries, but it is also a convenient excuse to legitimize various forms of Rwandan intervention in Kivu (**Pourtier Roland, 2009**).

The DFLR was openly fighting with the Congolese army, which supplied them with weapons and ammunition. In addition to this source of supply, the mineral resources exploitation was the source of financing of the armed component of the FDLR in the areas it controlled in North and South Kivu, Pourtier reports in his book "Kivu in the war: actors and challenges "(**Pourtier, 2009**).

Mai Mai:

It is a group with strong ethnic identity; they fight against Rwandans (mainly Tutsis) which is a common point with the DFLR.

Pourtier indicates that these militias, which emerged during the rebellion in eastern Congo in 1964, resurfaced in the chaotic situation of Zaire in the 1990s. They constitute self-defense groups of local communities and consequently solid ethnic identity.

Mai-Mai groups are very autonomous but sometimes manipulated by politicians and other war contractors; they have different connexions, they commonly reject foreigners", in this case the Rwandans and by extension all the natives of Rwanda, mainly Tutsis, and the relations between the May Mai rally leaders (some are DRC officials) and the Congolese armed forces are close; senior FARDC officers provided ammunition to PARECO fighters Mai Mai (**Pourtier, 2009**).

According to a December 2008 report by the United Nations Panel of Experts, Mai Mai was the third largest armed group after the DFLR and the CNDP (**DR Congo Natural Resources, 2008**).

Armed Forces of the DRC (FARDC):

It is the national army of the DRC, whose mission is the defense of the national territory. It engaged in fighting in eastern DRC to safeguard the integrity of the national territory threatened by several rebellions including The CNDP, the M23 ... this army faces several challenges in the eastern part of the DRC.

Many army officers are even recognized as implicated in the illegal exploitation of the natural resources of the DRC by the UN group of experts, the situation of instability of the Eastern Part of the country is beneficial to them in the measure or they make money. **(A report on illegal exploitation of DR Congo Natural Resources, 2017).**

ADF-NALU

Ugandan Rebels fight against MUSEVENI Regime but acting on the Congo DR peninsula and destabilize the citizens for their own survival.

Based in Northwest of the Rwenzori Mountains, on the border with Uganda, this militia operates through illegal logging and gold mining, to a "network of taxis and mototaxis operating in the towns of Butembo, Beni and Oicha" and "transfers from London, Kenya and Uganda, the money being cashed by Congolese intermediaries in Beni and Butembo," according to a report by a UN panel of experts. Butembo, Beni and Oicha are in North Kivu province, DR Congo Great Lake Area.

The group arrived from Uganda in 1995. Attempts to neutralize ADF-Nalu in 2005 and 2010 were unsuccessful. "This Congolese-Ugandan armed group is showing extraordinary resilience due to its geostrategic position,

its insertion into the cross-border economy and the corruption of the security forces," the International Crisis Group (ICG) said in a 2012 report. .

In addition to its growing military power, ADF-Nalu is considered a potentially destabilizing force in the Great Lakes region because of its alleged links to radical Islamists. It sows terror, kills and plunders the civilian population without advancing any claim.

To date, this militia has not yet settled these demands in the public square, neither in the Congolese government nor in the international community, but continues to kill and commit abuses in the east of the DRC. We strongly believe that it is not risky that this militia does not have political interest in the DRC, commits abuses in this part of the country.

The aim is to create instability in this area in order to control it, taking into account the resources available to it, in order to derive economic benefits from it, taking advantage of lack of authority of the state in this part of the DRC.

3.1.2. SECOND IMAGE: STATE LEVEL ACTORS

This dimension reflects the role of the State in the conflict. Many countries have been involved in DR Congo Great Lake Area conflict.

Concerning the DR Congo Great Lake Area Conflicts, many countries have been involved in this conflict, as far as our research is concerned, we will only consider countries involved in this conflict from 2003, given that we are analyzing the conflict from that period up to present.

Rwanda:

Border country of the eastern part of the DRC, member of the International Conference on the Great Lakes. Rwanda has been either in front or in support of some rebel groups operating in the DRC since 2003.

According to **Pourtier**, the Rwandan presence in eastern DRC is not only for the destabilization of eastern DRC, but also because Kigali is trying to have control on East Kivu, for its security and for land and mineral resources appropriation as well. To this end Rwanda' supported Laurent Nkunda's CNDP and the M23.

Following a United Nations report, the Rwandan government has shown solidarity with these rebellions not only by ethnic sympathy, it is mainly because Rwanda has great interests in maintaining a situation of insecurity in the eastern part of the Congo.

Border instability facilitates trafficking, particularly of minerals such as cassiterite. It is rare and needed for the fabrication of mobile phones. The war also favors the circulation of all types of commodities.

Uganda:

Border country of the DRC also in the eastern part, member of the ICGLR too, like Rwanda. Uganda is directly or indirectly involved in many conflicts in eastern DRC through its support to several rebellion in DRC and more particularly to the east. M23, for example, have benefited from Uganda's contribution, although the Ugandan authorities have always denied it.

A UN report claimed that senior Ugandan officials provided Congolese insurgents with "troop reinforcements ..., weapons, technical assistance, joint planning, political advice and more help in the field of external relations".

Thus the spokesperson of the Congolese government, Lambert Mende, had asked that the personalities mentioned in the UN report as supporting the rebellion be subject to UN sanctions.

Ugandan support for rebellions east of the DRC is intended only to create instability in the area to facilitate the control of Congolese minerals for economic benefits, including illegal exploitation of Natural Resources.

The documentary "Blood in the Mobile" points to Uganda. According to its director, Frank Piasecki Poulsen, Uganda is the transit country through which illegally exploited minerals pass for their illicit commercialization.

Angola:

Border country of the DRC at the central position of Africa. Angola has supported the DRC in the conflict it was facing in the east.

This country combines the DRC in this conflict in the east, has played a regional role at the height of its new oil wealth. Based on the principle of international law, which states that between states, only interests are paramount, Angola has provided support to the DRC in return for economic benefits, and this intervention is at the same time a means of for Angola to assert itself against Rwanda.

3.1.3. THIRD IMAGE: GLOBAL LEVEL ACTORS

According to Waltz, through this level one can understand the causes of through the study of the world system (Waltz, 2010). For this purpose, we are going to analyze the role played by different organizations (international and regional) and we will analyze their interests and strategies implemented by these international structures in the conflict.

The United Nations (UN):

The United Nations is the Global Organization that was put in place in the year 1945 for maintaining peace and security in the world. In the case of disputes, the United Nations rely on the Article VI related to diplomatic resolutions in case of any problems opposing two countries. In addition, the UN can rely on military force as provided in the Article VII in case of the diplomatic means failiure.

As is customary, the United Nations carries out actions and often makes resolutions for countries in conflict. With regard to the DRC, several resolutions have been taken to end the conflict in the DRC as a whole and in the east in particular. Among these resolutions,

Those that caught our attention, the implementation of the United Nations Mission in Congo (MONUC) as well as the UN group of experts on the illegal exploitation of natural resources in the DRC.

The United Nations Mission in Congo (MONUC):

MONUC is a peacekeeping mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo created by the UN under the resolution 1279 of November 1999. Its purpose is the protection of the civilian population against all the clashes raging in the region

In addition to the missions of protecting civilians, disarming and demobilizing illegal armed groups ...), MONUC was also mandated to use its means of surveillance and inspection to prevent illegal armed groups from receiving support from illegal traffic of Natural resources ".

The people of eastern DRC were expecting a lot of MONUC, they hoped for a lasting peace in the region. However, the UN presence did not really meet the expectations of this population. Several critics have been made about the behavior of UN soldiers. A certain helplessness characterized the actions of MONUC on the ground.

In his research on Emergence, "fragmentation," and the perpetuation of rebellions in the DRC, Modeste Mba Talla believes that indiscipline characterized by the complicity of some elements of MONUC with some militias would have favored the perpetuation of armed militias. Especially since this complicity has favored the economic endowments of armed militias **(Modeste Mba, 2012)**.

He **(Modeste Mba)** proved this by evidence of complicity in arms, ivory and gold trafficking with the Indian and Pakistani peacekeepers stationed near Mongbwalu with the FNI militias who controlled the town that MONUC was supposed to disarm. He also pinpointed relations with the FDLR rebels, relations that were formed between 2005 and 2006 and where elements of

MONUC exchanged "food rations" and "intelligence" for "gold and dollars".
"(Modeste Mba, 2012).

Another element of complicity raised by Modeste Mba Talla is the link established between the Indian colonel Chand Saroha and the militia leader Nkunda batware. This colonel in mid-April 2008 in Kitchanga, stronghold of the CNDP, decorated the head of this militia with a medal of honor while calling him a "brother" who "fights for a noble cause" and who is "ready to sacrifice "like the" true revolutionaries ". For his part, Nkunda thanks him for his friendship and support: "You helped us a lot." These links between elements of MONUC and CNDP have been interpreted as support for the entire UN organization. Although MONUC has publicly rejected the attitude of these elements, a UN military official puts these actions into perspective **(Modeste Mba Talla, 2012).**

This situation has created a crisis of confidence in the population, but also with regard to other armed militias.

This context of suspicion has led armed militias to either disengage for some, and others to completely refuse to enter the process of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reinsertion, while this process was one of the missions assigned to MONUC, and the resultant of all this had prolonged the existence of armed militias.

MONUC transformed into Monusco for the stabilization of the Congo, with its 19,815 troops and an annual budget of one and a half billion dollars, it is still unable to disarm even one-armed group. This proves its presence is not in the good of the Congolese people. The massacres and rapes that have been committed near the camps of Monusco since 15 years of its presence in the

country evidence this. Monusco works for other missions that have nothing to do with the protection of the Congolese. His interests are even quite contrary to the Congolese people's aspirations for peace (**Moise MBALA, 2014**).

United Nations Panel of Experts in the DRC

This Panel of Experts was set on 2 June 2000 in order to monitor the illegal exploitation of the natural resources and other forms of wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and to further explore and do analysis of the probable correlation between the exploitation of natural resources and the continuation of the conflict inside the country.

The Group of Experts has submitted several reports to the UN Secretary-General on the situation of the DRC as a whole, and the eastern part of the DRC in particular. These reports shed light on the implications of several actors in the instability of eastern DRC.

The expert group has achieved in its field research to link the illegal exploitation of natural resources with the perpetuation of conflicts. To this end, the group has even drawn up a list of these actors including Congolese military officers, armed groups and neighboring countries involved. However, this remarkably done work only allowed to reveal the actors of the conflict in the East and not to stop it.

International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR):

It is a sub-regional organization composed of 11 Member States namely Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, Republic of Congo,

Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Sudan, Tanzania and Zambia.

The International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) was created in 2000 under the United Nations Secretariat and the African Union initiatives at a conference in Nairobi (Resolutions 1291 of February 2000 and 1304 of June 2000 of the UN Security Council).

It was therefore with the aim of preventing conflicts in one region (African Great Lakes) shaken in the 1990s by a series of bloody wars, culminating in the 1993 genocide in Rwanda, that the ICGLR was created. .

It is the result of an awareness of the regional dimension of these conflicts and the need to implement concerted initiatives to promote peace and sustainable development in the region.

It is in this context that the ICGLR took the initiative of the implementation of an international neutral force for the fight against the M23 and the fight against the illegal exploitation of the natural resources in the DRC, notably by the implementation of Six tools for combating the illicit exploitation of natural resources in the region are considered as one of the causes of recurrent conflicts in the Great Lakes region as a whole and the eastern part of the DRC in particular.

The six tools for combating the exploitation of natural resources are as follows: These are certification, early warning mechanisms, having a data bank, formalization of laws, EITI and harmonization of laws at the regional level.

The Neutral International Force

To support peacekeepers to incapacitate the rebellion of the M23 and to put all the rebel groups out of state of harm throughout the eastern DRC.

This neutral international force was created to stabilize the border to the east of the DRC. Though, the establishment of this force had made it possible to defeat the rebellion of the M23, however the instability in this zone had continued to beat its full east, given that this force was not intended to remain permanently and also this force only targeted the M23 whereas in DR Congo Great Lake Area, there is a complexity of rebels.

Initiatives for the fight against the illegal exploitation of natural resources in the DRC

Having considered illegal exploitation and the illicit trade in natural resources as one of the causes of the perpetuation of conflicts and the maintenance of armed groups in the Great Lakes region in general and particularly in the DRC, the ICGLR through Heads of State signatories of the Lusaka Declaration decided to implement the six tools to combat the illegal exploitation of natural resources.

These are certification, early warning mechanisms, having a data bank, formalizing laws, EITI and harmonizing laws at the regional level.

Even though, the UN panel of experts, in its 2017 report, acknowledged the decline of illegal logging activities in the Great Lakes region, much remains to be done in the fight against armed groups, given that these measures do not consist in directly eradicating the armed groups.

Les multinationales:

These are the various international companies that are economically involved in the repetitive conflict in eastern DRC. These companies generally take advantage of the conflict to buy minerals at low prices.

The United Nations Group of Experts has published a list of societies involved in the illegal exploitation of natural resources in DR Congo Great Lakes Area . Most of these companies come from Europe and the USA.

Europe has not taken strict measures to forbid if not to sanction these companies to proceed illegally in the acquisition of natural resources resources. Only the United States has taken measures (the Dodd-Frank law) prohibiting the purchase of minerals from the east of the DRC considered as blood ores that is acquired with the price of blood.

On the line below, we are going to raise some challenges likely to be taken into account in the process of bringing durable in the DR Congo Great Lake Area.

3.2 Challenges in solving the conflicts

3.2.1. Cessation of hostilities, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration

(DDR) armed groups

A program of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of armed groups is vital for the pacification of eastern DRC. This is a prerequisite for the pacification and security of eastern DRC.

In 2003, the National Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Program (NDDRP) was set up with the aim of substantially

reducing illegal weapons, reintegrating demobilized combatants either through collective work or into the community.

Although several hundred rebels had been integrated into the national army, this program did not really deter rebel groups from their businesses.

We believe that such a program is of paramount importance in the process of pacification of eastern DRC; however, it requires the involvement of all social strata and above all a strong commitment of leaders to eradicate proliferation of armed groups in this area of the DRC.

3.2.2. The reform of security systems.

The DRC as a whole needs a modern and effective army, police and justice to stop abuses in the east of the country. However, within the national army and police there are some elements that are poorly trained and poorly supervised, or even impoverished.

The task is still complicated when it is necessary on the one hand to organize and professionalize and on the other to integrate rebels who were enemies and who count former looters.

Moreover, the political and technical capacities to carry out a reform are not easily met: "It is paradoxical to try to reintegrate individuals into structures that are being reformed, disorganized and penniless and which must theoretically undergo a cure. Although the arguments for security system reform are numerous and visible, the political and technical capacities for reform are at their lowest for reasons ranging from power sharing to the lack of trained cadres through security pressure and the prevalence of corruption "(Melmot, 2008).

3.2.3 Improvements in living conditions

The cycle of conflict often, make civilians, suffer and force to become displaced people. In addition, this displacement resulting from the war makes these populations victims of wars poors.

Therefore, the improvement of levels of income is necessary to recover the security for the demobilized combatants, as for those who were forced to leave their homes.

3.2.4 The fight against the fraud-based economy

Once security is established, we must break the conflicts pillars. The economic foundation of recurring fights in eastern Congo is widely known.

It is attached to the militarized fraudulent economy that has settled there for fifteen years around natural resources.

The economic benefits resulting from the war in this region remain the principal incentives of the warring parties. It is therefore vital to root out this phenomenon.

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION AND RECOMENATIONS

1. CONCLUSION

The endless conflicts in eastern DRC are complex in nature, scope and extent of their causes. The data presented in this research have identified four main categories of factors that most of time trigger of conflicts.

The first category includes the ethnic factors of conflict in eastern DRC. Here, our research has focused on establishing the link between conflicts and ethnic antagonisms in this part of the DRC. The study of this question has shown us how much the ethnic dimension has maintained the cycle of conflict in eastern DRC.

In a historical approach, we managed to go back in time in the year 1994, the year of the Rwandan genocide that had repercussions in the DRC. This genocide pushed many Rwandan Hutus to take refuge in eastern Part of DRC. Their arrival on Congolese soil triggered the cycle of ethnic conflicts between Hutus and Tutsis, and so many other ethnic groups from eastern Part of DRC, who formed alliances with land control issues and mining concessions.

The second category of factors is related to the illegal exploitation of natural resources. Here our study consisted in establishing the correlation between the illegal exploitation of natural resources and the perpetuation of conflicts east of the DRC.

From this research, we have managed to provide evidence that this is a sad reality. In particular, we have realized that the proliferation of militias and armed groups in this part of the country is only about the control of natural

resources in order for their exploitation and commercialization. The strategy adopted by these armed groups is to create instability in this area to encourage the movement of people and make the mining areas uncontrollable. Most of these armed groups are never concerned with conquering other areas of the country. The provinces under their conquest are not totally under their control.

The third category of factors includes geopolitical factors, in this part our research has sought to reveal the geopolitical dimension of conflict at the national, regional and global levels.

Recent conflicts have occurred in a resource-rich state that is particularly fragile institutionally and securely.

Thus, as in the past, the Democratic Republic of the Congo is now in a situation where the control of its own economic and political destiny is considerably threatened by forces at the national, regional and global levels.

The fourth category of factors concerns poor governance. The state has failed to fulfill its regalian functions of guaranteeing public order and defending the country's interests at the regional and global levels.

The state has also failed to put in place an institutional environment for appropriate regulation of economic activity. It has much more maintained a corrupted system, which leads the country to a chaotic exploitation of resources by domestic and foreign actors.

The analysis of strategies for conflict resolution and the establishment of a solid foundation for lasting peace must take into account these important lessons from the country's history.

As a first step, attention should be given to developing strategies for solving national problems, and not just focusing on conflicts in the eastern region. Second, strategies must include a new economic policy framework:

- To manage the natural resources sector to optimize public revenues and creation Jobs in an environmentally sustainable way.
- To put the country on the path of economic diversification, beyond natural resources.

2. RECOMMENDATIONS

According to this study, it is clear that the DR Congo Great Lake Area requires a set of important measures and actions and these can be retained :

1. CREATE A FRAMEWORK FOR COMMUNITY DIALOGUE

Ethnic groups, being the basis of the perpetuation of conflicts in the east, we advocate the creation of a community framework or community council in different localities in order to proceed to the peaceful settlement of conflicts to let them intensify to take a proportion such that it becomes difficult to solve them.

2. FIGHTING AGAINST ILLEGAL EXPLOITATION OF NATURAL RESOURCS

Given that illegal exploitation is the core cause of conflict in the DR Congo Greal Lake Area, solid and important measures are to be taken in

fighting illegal exploitation such as reinforcing the security of the national territory and the legal framework in fighting against illegal exploitation.

- ***Reinforcing Security***

Security is vital for the survival of a nation, particularly for DR Congo. The Government should adopt the human security approach that includes every aspect of human being (home, work, wealth, natural Resources, school, national territory, etc.)

DR Congo needs a well-organized, professionalized and disciplined army to eradicate armed groups and militia in order to secure mining zone. Soldiers must be provided with incentives and fair treatment.

- ***Legal Framework***

The Democratic Republic of Congo is to take courageous legal Framework in fighting against illegal exploitation. A legal framework that made with not only legal provisions but also Penalties in order to deter natural resources looters.

Security and legal framework are tools upon which the Government can rely to address the issue of illegal exploitation by deterring looters and eradicating rebellions.

3. ESTABLISH REGIONAL COOPERATION

Regional cooperation is an important option in the process of total peace in this area because it will favor security and stability in the region.

It will increase confidence between neighboring as so to work together in developing common economic and social project for prosperity of the

region. It then makes it possible to launch projects that unite rather than suffer divisive appetites.

4. ESTABLISH GOOD GOVERNANCE

Good Governance is the practice that promotes development. It involves justice, the rule of law, and promotes the establishment of strong institutions. One of the problems that plague the DRC is the weakness of its institutions.

The establishment of strong, durable and permanent institutions will strengthen the Congolese state and make it ubiquitous.

After all these years of conflict, the exercise of governance is difficult. Fraudulent trade and insecurity are flourishing in this area of the DRC; the state is fragile, "endowed with an unfinished and precarious democracy.

On a daily basis, administrative harassment, illegal taxation, and "barriers" penalize the development of productive and commercial activities. The practices of mismanagement and misappropriation of public revenues discourage those who do not see "down" in public action money that "rises" in the political-administrative hierarchy. Impunity creates a climate of mistrust in relation to everything that is administrative, political and military.

Strengthening state authority throughout the country, especially in the east, will promote good governance, strengthen justice and security.

Table 02: Summarizing the Recommendations related to each Factors

Factors of Conflicts	Recommandations	Implications
Ethnics Factors	Create a framework for community dialogue in different localities	Peaceful settlement of Conflicts.
Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources	-Reinforce the security of national Territory. - Implimenting legal framework in fighting illegal exploitation.	- Eradicating Rebelions -Deterring looters
Geopolitical factors	Establish Regional Cooperation	-Promoting Peace and Security -Boosting economy through exchange
Poor Governance	Establish Good Governance	-Promoting Democracy and strengthening institutions stability. -Stregthening State Authority

Source: Author

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ABSTRACT

콩고 민주 공화국의 그레이트 레이크 지역은 국가, 지역 및 국제 차원에서 이 갈등의주기를 끝내기 위한 협상에도 불구하고 계속해서 만성적인 갈등과 불안정을 경험하고 있습니다.

이 논문은 동부 DRC 에서 이 갈등의주기를 지속시키는 요소를 이해하고 분석하는 것을 목표로 한다. 처음부터 DRC 의 이 부분에서 갈등이 지속되는데 유리한 네 가지 요소를 강조했습니다. 이들은 민족적 요인, 천연 자원의 불법적 착취, 지정 학적 요인 및 거버넌스와 관련된 요인입니다. 이러한 요소는 이러한 갈등이 커지는 데 중요한 역할을 했습니다.

이러한 생각의 선은 우리의 가설이 구조화되고 표현되는 주요 원인입니다. 이 사건은 이 갈등의 본질을 분석하는 데 사용되었으며, 평화로운 결의에 대한 희망으로 교착 상태에 빠졌습니다. 이 연구를 분석하는 데 사용된 3 차원 수준의 이론 프레임 워크는 이 막을 수 없는 갈등에 대한 이러한 행위자의 관심을 설명하고 이 갈등에 대한 각 행위자의 관심을 보여줍니다.

핵심 단어 : 막을 수 없는 충돌, 그레이트 레이크 지역, 무장 그룹, 불안정

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