THE ROLE OF RECONCILIATION IN PROMOTING SUSTAINABLE PEACE

BUILDING IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO: A CASE STUDY OF

THE NORTH KATANGA PROVINCE

BY

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE

REQUIREMENTS OF THE MASTERS DEGREE IN PEACE AND GOVERNANCE

IN THE INSTITUTE OF PEACE, LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE AT AFRICA

UNIVERSITY

2014

Abstract

This research investigates the role of reconciliation in promoting sustainable peacebuilding in the north Katanga province / DRC. Due to the intractable conflict in north Katanga province and human rights violations by the Mai-Mai militia for more than a decade, the DRC's government initiated reconciliation process for re-building relationships among people and between the State and its citizens. A lot of Mai Mai fighters took arms against the government as a reaction to frustration due to the national army brutality and to the lack of fair allocation of province's resources. The data for this research was collected using interviews and focus group discussions. Burton's human needs theory was adopted to explain how and why Mai-Mai militias became violent or aggressive in regard to the government's failure to fulfill their basic needs. Mai Mai's frustration is a feeling of tension that occurred when their efforts to meet human needs are blocked. This study embraces the human needs theory that considers conflicts as the result of a process driven by unfulfilled needs and collective fears. As such, understanding the root causes of conflict and its psychological dimension is crucial for sustainable peace building. This study recommends that policy-makers should shape comprehensive and holistic method, seeking to address not only the manifestation of conflicts in the north Katanga but also the roots causes that drive it.

Declaration

I, Ngoy Tshikala, do hereby declare that this research is my own work except where sources have been acknowledged. This work has never been submitted to another university in the awarding of another degree.

Signed

Student…………………………………Date……………………..

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Supervisor…………………………………..Date………………………

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Acknowledgements

I am greatly indebted to Dr Martha Mutisi for her professional guidance and supervision in the writing this dissertation. It was really an educational experience to have been under the guidance of such an academic. My sincere thanks go to all lectures and staff at IPLG for their support. I also tender my sincere appreciation to my colleagues for their exciting discussions we had together and for their expressions of encouragement when my heart grew weak. I thank all the respondents from Katanga province for their kind and gratifying co-operation. Special mention goes to the governmental leaders, Journalists, NGOs members, civilian population, civil society and Mai Mai fighters. To these people I am deeply grateful for the safe time from their otherwise busy agenda to have interviews with me.

I thank with reverence my father Reverend Elie Tshikala Banza Djuba and my mother Angeline Ngoy Nshimbi. I declare my everlasting love for you. I could not complete the task of writing this dissertation if it had not for the resolute moral and financial support I got from them. I would like to thank Mamy Ilunga Kibanza my wife, my children(Ange Ngoy Nshimbi, Gorety Ilunga wa Maloba, Theo Tshikala Banza Djuba, Sophia Tshikala Banza Djuba) and Eric Banza Mumbele my young brother for their great affection.

I thank those who have devoted in data collection of this study- Dr Mbuyu Kibanza, Oswald Kilambwe Lecturer at University of Likasi, and others unnamed.

Dedication

I dedicate this study to my God of the word of truth and reconciling that shines in the World and for the World.

To my father Reverend Elie Tshikala Banza Djuba, for his visionary leadership.

I recall with reverence and dedicate to those of Katangese combatants who have journeyed to the land of the spirit ancestors: M'siri Mwenda Wa Bayeke, Jonson Sendwe, Moise Tshombe Kapend, Mzee Laurent Desire Kabila (WA ku Vidje Tumbo), and others unnamed.

List of Acronyms

ANC   African National Congress

CEH   Commission for Historical Clarification

CNS   Sovereign national Conference

CONADER   National commission Disarmament Demobilization and Reinsertion

CONAKAT   Confederation Tribal Association   Katanga

DRC   Democratic Republic of the Congo

DDR   Disarmament, Demobilization and reintegration

EIC   Congo Free State

FAP   Popular self Defense

FAC   Congolese Armed Force

FARDC	Republic Democratic of the Congo Armed Force
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HCR-PT	High Council of the Republic of the Transitional Parliament
HNT	Human Needs Theory
IDPs	Internal Displaced People
ICD	Inter Congolese Dialogue
ICC	International Criminal Court
MONUSCO	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in DRC
MLC	Movement for the Liberation of Congo
NRC	National Reconciliation Commission
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and Protection Cluster
PAREC	Ecumenical Program for Peace, Conflict Resolution and Reconciliation
PRM	Patriot Resistant Mai-Mai
RRC	Reparation Rehabilitation Committee
RCD	Congolese Rally for Democracy
TRC	Truth Reconciliation Commission
UNAFEC	National Union of Federalists of Congo
URNG	Guatemala National Revolutionary Unit
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNESCO	United Nations Education Science and Culture Organization.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.0 Introduction

Reconciliation is a key objective in building sustainable peace and preventing a relapse into conflict. It is about re-building relationships among people and groups in society and between the state and its citizens. Creating trust and understanding between former enemies is essential to address in the process of building a lasting peace. Examining the painful past, acknowledging it, and understanding it, and above all transcending it together, is the best way to guarantee that it does not and cannot happen again (Bloomfield D et al, 2003).

In this regard, the history of DRC has been a succession of coups d'état, secession attempts, aggression by foreign troops, civil wars, rebellions, lootings, authoritarian regimes, and United Nations (UN) interventions (Ndikumana 2003). Accordingly, from Mobutu to Joseph Kabila through Laurent D Kabila, many actions have been taken with the objectives of reconciliation such as: national conferences or dialogues, fusion of the army, integration of former rebel in the army and the Police, among others. In addition, the Ecumenical Programme for Peace, Conflict Resolution and Reconciliation (PAREC) an NGO, had initiated in DRC in general, and Katanga in particular, to collect weapons from those who handled them illegally. This study analyzes the root causes of the instability caused by the armed conflict in the northern Katanga province and the role of reconciliation efforts in promoting sustainable peacebuilding

1.1 Background of the study

According to its history, the Katangese people are referred to as regionalist, secessionist, separatist who feel constantly, the deep desire to move from national guardianship. The Katanga secessionist movement dates from the colonial era. Under the Congo Free State (EIC) from 1885 to1908, Katanga was not a part of (EIC) today's DRC. It was administered by the privately owned special committee of Katanga until 1910 when its administration was transferred to a vice governor general. (Meditz and Merrill, 1994).

After Congo was granted independence in 1960, on 11 July 1960, Katanga broke away from the new Congolese government of Patrice E. Lumumba, declaring independence under Moise Tshombe leader of the local CONAKAT party (Ndikumana 2003). Despite this, the new Katangese government did not enjoy support throughout the province, especially in Northern Katanga.

The province of Katanga was also known under Mobutu reign as the rebel province for mercenaries(ex-gendarme Katangais), Which led to the so-called " 80 day's war", in 1977 and 1978, to which Belgian, French, and Moroccan troops participated to president Mobutu's rescue(Nzogol 2007).

During the Rwando-Oudandais aggression, Laurent D Kabila created Mai-Mai militia known the popular auto-defense Force (FAP) in the region to stop the inversion of Rwanda's rebels. And particularly in the northern Katanga the Mai-Mai militia up to

date, has not been integrated completely into the national army. Accordingly, the northern Katanga was known as "No go zone". It was and still the most insecured and dangerous in Katanga province because of the presence of militias, which are responsible for gross human rights violations. In response to the alarming situation in this area, the current DRC government, UN mission and Ecumenical Program for Peace, Conflict Transformation and Reconciliation (PAREC), made an effort in terms of pacification in order to promote sustainable peacebuilding in this specific area of northern Katanga (Report 2003).

For instance, under president Joseph Kabila' instructions, the governor of Katanga province Urbain Kisula Ngoy, organized the so-called: "Kamina Forum" which gathered warlords, traditional leaders, stakeholders, population and PAREC NGO as an expert in conflict transformation area. The forum gave opportunity to warlords to list their needs and claims, which seems to be a precondition for lasting peace in northern Katanga. From this Forum, an agreement was made between all warlords to stop fighting, give up arms and demobilized the Mai Mai fighters. Unfortunately, the Kamina Forum failed because of lack of monitoring the forum's resolution by the government, to which warlords were looking forward to (Report 2003).

It is about the failure of Kamina Forum, that PAREC intervened according to the resolution of the Forum. Then, PAREC organization met with warlords, warring militias, religious leaders, teachers, farmers, fishermen, local leaders, and terrorized families,

encouraging them to turn in their weapon. In exchange, PAREC gave the northern Katangese people incentives that facilitated their return to a peaceful way of life such as: bicycles, clothing, plowing equipment, fishing equipment, and in very little cases, money (Report 2003).

Therefore, PAREC was able to bring some level of peace to the region, earned trust of people and was able to de-mobilized great number of warring faction as follows;

From 22 January to 6 February 2005, in the of territory of (Kamina, Kabongo, Kitenge, Bukama) warlord Tshindja tshindja (Killer or butcher) and Basil Kalombo Bakanda Bakoka (ungovernable) return back to PAREC an important weapon store from their lordship: 540 arms, 156 bombshell, bows and arrows and present 918 demobilized combatants Mai Mai. From 17 to 30 august 2005, in the territory of (Kongolo, kabalo, Malemba-Nkulu, Manono, Bukama, Lwena, Lububi, Ankoro and Kamina) PAREC collected : 3.601 arms, which were saw in front of the population, 889 small arms, 31 heavy weapons and 56 bombshell. In the territory of Moba one: 6.172 arms and Moba two: 5.349 arms were return back.

In addition, Makabe warlord, returned significant number of poisoned arrows, arms and his fighters for demobilization and Vwende Mutopa warlord presented 3600 children, which have been used as fighters Mai Mai. Consequently, the northern Katanga was pacified, reconciled and Internal Displaced People (IDPs) returned home, the schools

have taken, and ex-combatants were integrated in their respective village (PAREC 2005). However, since the escape of the Mai Mai Commander known as Gedeon Kyungu Mutanga from prison in September 2011, he has re-mobilized fighters and recruited child soldiers who have led attacks against villages located between the territories of Manono, Pweto and Mitwaba, known as the "Triangle of death". Furthermore, this militia newly well known as " Mai-Mai Bakata Katanga"(their name means "cut off Katanga"), on 23 March 2013 entered in Lubumbashi, the second largest city in the DR.Congo, who claim to be fighting for Katanga independence.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The situation in northern Katanga has been unstable long back ago. Groups of Mai-Mai fighters are known for their brutality and their attacks against the civilian population and villages, compulsory recruitment of a large number of children (UN, 2013). At the same time, national army (FARDC) attacks can be seen as collateral damage in their attempts to combat Mai-Mai groups, reports of indiscriminate firing against civilians, rapes, looting and torching of houses demonstrate that some elements of the army constitute danger to the civilian population (Monusco 2013).

According to humanitarian actors working on the ground, a common pattern observed is that the population that did not flee during or after Mai-Mai attacks will most indeed flees as the FARDC attempts to re-establish authority as they are afraid of being

perceived as supporters of the Mai-Mai. Therefore, a number of serious human rights violations and breaches of international humanitarian law have been reported throughout 2013. Mai-Mai militia is accused of killings, cannibalism, abductions, sexual violence, and pillaging and destruction of property.

This has prompted the UN Chief Martin Kobler to recommend that DRC government should end the rebellion, including social grievances about underdevelopment and the struggle between Katanga and central authorities over how to share the province's wealth (Gabrielle R 2014). There is also concerns that, addressing poverty in northern Katanga that has never recovered from DRC's past wars would go a long way to preventing any resurgence of militancy.

The researcher is interested in investigating the role of reconciliation which is conducted and the extent to which it contribute to sustainable peacebuilding, which lies at the success of societal stability and reconstruction such as restoring human rights and the economic and social development of all the people in the specific context of the northern Katanga.

1.3 Research objectives

The objectives of this study are to:

    i.   Investigate into the nature of the northern Katangese living conflicts.

    ii. Analyze the role of reconciliation in northern Katanga conflicts

    iii. Make recommendations on how best reconciliation can lead to sustainable peacebuilding in northern Katanga.

1.4 Research questions

    i.   What are the driver forces of northern Katanga conflict?

    ii. Is the reconciliation lead toward sustainable peacebuilding in Northern Katanga province?

    iii. What recommendation can be made so that reconciliation can bring sustainable peacebuilding in northern Katanga?

1.5 Assumptions of the study

Reconciliation is a precondition for peacebuilding and not addressing legacies of the past violations, means they will form the causes of new spirals of violence. The study assumes that reconciliation is the hallmark of sustainable peacebuilding. Without reconciliation the northern Katanga will remain an area of humanitarian concern and above people's vulnerability will increase significantly.

1.6 Justification of the study

The findings from this research would inform future studies and DRC's policy makers, on strategies of reconciliation used and its challenges in the northern Katanga. Regarding the nature of the past efforts towards reconciliation, the outcome of the research would suggest further strategies as a palliative solution to the gap of the previous ones.

This study would provide a new lens for looking at and understanding different aspects of reconciliation, as a way forwards for sustainable peacebuilding in the specific context of the Katanga province.

This study may also provoke questions which may require further research in the area of reconciliation and development.

1.7 Delimitation of study

In analyzing the role of reconciliation in promoting sustainable peacebuilding, this study is delimited to two districts in the northern Katanga namely: Upper-Katanga and Tanganyika. The Katanga province is very big, therefore, the researcher cannot carry out the study without using research assistants. Therefore, the study is confined to two districts. It would be manageable and data would be collected and analyzed in detail .Also, this area is the headquarters' of militias and an observed site of internal displaced persons. This study is delimited also to this area, because it is well known from human

rights violations perpetrated and organized by the militia and/or national army. This study is limited to the so-called "Triangle of death".

1.8 Definition of concepts

1.8.1. Reconciliation

According to Brouneus (2007), Reconciliation is a societal process that involves mutual acknowledgment of past suffering and the changing of destructive attitudes and behavior into constructive relationships toward sustainable peace. It is undisputable that creating trust and understanding between former enemies is an essential way forward to address in the process of building a lasting peace. For the purpose of this study, I will use this definition.

1.8.2. Peacebuilding

Peacebuilding is "a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development. Peacebuilding strategies must be coherent and tailored to the specific needs of the country concerned, based on national ownership, and should comprise a carefully prioritized, sequenced, and relatively narrow set of activities aimed at achieving the above objective". (UN, 2013). I will use this definition because it focuses on the direct, structural, and /or cultural violence which accordingly are the antithesis of peace rather than the conflict.

1.9 Structure of research

Chapter 1 gives the background of the problem to be studied. It gives an overview of the northern Katanga living conflicts, its history and the humanitarian picture of the northern Katanga. It also highlights the central research objectives questions, justification and purpose of study. The assumptions of the study are also included in this study. Chapter 2 offers a literature review and theoretical framework that informs the study. Literature on the human needs theory is laid out and international and Congolese perspective and case studies on reconciliation are provided in this chapter. The importance of reconciliation in promoting sustainable peacebuilding is explained in the review and the challenges of matching theory with practice.

Chapter 3 will focus on the research method that are used and explains why the research chose those methods. It describes the research design, population and sampling methods that are used and their validity with regards to the research topic. Chapter 4 gives the presentation and interpretation of research findings and chapter 5 gives conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides theories that inform the role of reconciliation in promoting sustainable peacebuilding. It reviews literature on the issues related to basic human needs, how conflict and violent conflicts are caused by unmet needs (Bloomfield 2003). The idea of frustration as factor of aggressive behavior is briefly discussed. Literature reviewed in this chapter includes theory from empirical study which explains the role of reconciliation in promoting sustainable peacebuilding. It looks at explanations offered and these include the outcome of the reconciliation between conflicting parties.

2.1 Theoretical framework of the study

This study was informed by the human needs theory. This theory derived from the work of Burton focusing on explaining that conflicts and violent conflicts are caused by unmet human needs. Burton saw that violence occurs when certain individuals or groups do not see any other way to meet their need, or when they need understanding, respect and consideration for their needs. Violence is a tragic expression of unmet human needs, implying that all actions undertaken by human beings are attempts to satisfy their needs. If we are able to connect with our needs and those of others, we will therefore be able to look at other ways of meeting such needs, avoiding violence and destruction (Lambourne W, 2004).

2.1.1 Human Needs Theory

This theory assumes that what motivate people to do things are human needs. Maslow claims that the satisfaction of these human needs is hierarchical or progressive which implies that the individual has to fulfill the needs in succession and not simultaneously. On this hierarchy there are five identifiable human needs which physiological, safety, belonging, self esteem and self actualization (Maslow, 1970). The needs that are usually taken as the starting point for motivation are the so-called physiological drives or needs. These physiological needs are the most pre-potent of all needs.

Burton often describes needs as biological phenomena. He characterized needs as an absolute objectivity that cannot be socially engineered away or made subject to deprivation by society. He argues that conflict results because social structures are not always compatible to the desires and needs of individuals. The argument is that such desires and needs are not flexible, but social structures are, and therefore must be changed to meet the demands of needs. However, (Laureen 2010) think that escalating the biological account beyond the positivistic framework will show us that needs are just as much expressions of social conventions and values as they are derived biologically.

Oscar (1990) takes a phenomenogical approach, which basically holds that all knowledge of the world, things and people are mediated, and therefore subject to the

conditions of that mediation. These conditions are manifold and they include history, society, family, education, personal experiences, etc. This manifold forms a constellation within one's knowledge that makes up one's world-view and indeed a "world" in the phenomenological way.

According to Gultung (1980), violence is an avoidable insult to basic needs and more generally to life, lowering the real level of needs satisfaction below what is potentially possible. Combining the distinction between direct and structural violence, Gultung find out four classes of basic needs: Survival need (negation: death, mortality); well-being needs (negation: misery, morbidity); identity, meaning needs (negation: alienation); and freedom needs (negation: repression). From this combination, Gultung get the typology of table 1:

Table 1 Galtung's Typology of Needs

	Survival needs	**Well-being needs**	**Identity needs**	**Freedom needs**
Direct violence	Killing	Maiming Siege, sanction Misery	Desocialization Resocialization Secondary citizen	Repression Detention Expulsion

| Structural violence | Exploitation A | Exploitation B | Penetration

Segmentation | Marginalization

Fragmentation |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Need is a condition if present, would improve the well-being of an individual or groups of people. Thus Human Needs Theory begins by explaining that, most conflicts have to do with other unmet human needs, such as protection, identity, recognition, participation and understanding needs. Only by giving more importance to these latter needs, truly recognizing them as human needs essential to the wellbeing of all human being, will we be able to address current and intractable conflicts (Evans G, 1993).

John Burton (1994) has been applying human needs theory more actively to current social and political conflicts. In his work on protracted, social conflicts, he looks at how universal human needs often are neglected, leading groups to use violence to claim their rights and satisfying their needs. In what is really a compatibility of human needs, Burton argues that Education and culture make parties manipulate the issues and dehumanizing the other parties (Burton W, 1990). This theory attempts to also explain how and why people become violent or aggressive during certain scenarios. The idea is that frustration; when it cannot be displaced or relieved, turns into aggression. This aggression may then turn into violence, resulting in the frustrated person lashing out.

This lashing out may be directed at another person or at an inanimate object. Having conceptualized the theory of human needs, the researcher was interested to establish whether reconciliation in the Northern Katanga would work without considering the human needs theory.

2.1.2 Unfulfilled Needs and Violence

All human beings have basic needs. Part of these needs is physical, like the need for food, water or shelter, but essential needs go beyond these few elements because they cover the psychological sphere. "Needs" theorists, like conflict scholar John Burton, defined four needs in particular that are universal and nonnegotiable and, therefore, should be primarily addressed as a basis for negotiating peace settlements (Doucey M 2011).

These needs are not hierarchical, but rather sought all together: security or safety, meaning both stability and freedom from fear; identity, defined by needs theorists as a sense of self in relation to the outside world; recognition, including the recognition of one's identity and recognition from the others; family and community; and personal development, which includes a dimension of personal fulfillment, or in other words "the need to reach one's potential in all areas of life."

However, if these needs are unfulfilled because the state fails to properly address them, or if a group feels that these needs are unmet, or perceives a threat to these needs, violence can emerge. The perception, rational or not, of any injustice regarding the distributive system can quickly lead to an identity-based struggle. Commonly, these needs are naturally fulfilled through the community, or through the policies, public goods, and services provided by the state. Having raised the question of needs fulfillment, it is relevant to underscore the psychological dimension of conflicts, particularly analyzing the weight of fear in escalating violence. Fear, in its literal definition, is "an unpleasant emotion caused by the threat of danger, pain, or harm."(Doucey M 2011). Fear is a natural and common feeling that allows people to identify a potential danger. Therefore, collective fears, which are fueled by the denial of basic needs, can lead to violent reactions, as an ultimate attempt of people to secure the necessities of life and rectify the perceived injustice. In addition, violent actions are reinforced by massive mobilization: the larger the group that takes up arms, the more legitimates the violence appears to be to the rest of the population. This can create a rapid domino effect and provoke large-scale struggles; de-escalating violence then becomes even more challenging.

Having conceptualized Human Needs Theorists such as Maslow who emphasized on physiological needs as the most powerful of all needs, Burton who often describes needs as biological phenomena, and Laureen who think that needs are just as much expressions of social conventions and values; this study however, will transcend this monist

perception of human needs by referring to Gestalt approach. Because of "Human's indivisibility nature", human needs must be understood in interactional manner and not as a isolated part of the whole. Meaning cannot be found from breaking things down into parts, but comes from appreciation of the whole in other words, Summed up, meeting human needs based on individual as a totality of mind, body, emotion and spirit will be meaningful in promoting stainable peace in Katanga province.

2.1.3 Reconciliation in other countries

Preventing the recurrence of armed conflict in a country devastated by war is one of the most important issues on the international agenda. The costs of war are enormous: whether counted in casualties, in economic and environmental resources, insecurity risks within the country as well as for neighboring countries, or seen in the immense human suffering it entails. Reconciliation processes have become viewed as an essential part of peacebuilding. As almost all conflicts today are intra-state, former enemies, perpetrators and victims, must continue living side by side after the war .so far, attitudes and behaviors do not change at the moment of a declaration of peace. Since coexistence is necessary, the need for reconciliation is profound (Brouneus K, 2005).

For almost three decades of Cambodia's recent history, its people suffered ongoing was and social upheaval. Cambodians have lived under a variety of political regimes as the country changed from a monarchy to a capitalist Republic, to a communist Republic, to

a socialist Republic and then the constitutional monarchy. The most traumatic years of this period were undoubtedly those of the "killing fields" from 1975 to 1979, when Khemer Rouge established what they called Democratic Kampuchea and attempted to transform all aspects of society totally. In this endeavor, acts of unspeakable barbarism were committed against the people: out of an estimated population of eight million, five million were displaced (Bloomfield 2003).

The Paris agreements of October 1991 were meant to end the war in Cambodia. Within the agreements, the extent of the tragedy was formally recognized and respect for human rights enshrined. In detail, they focused mainly on political issues related to the cessation of hostilities, the provision for national elections and rehabilitation and reconciliation of Cambodia. For the Cambodian people at that time, reconciliation was largely equated with the cessation of hostilities and return of refugees.

From the above, it goes without saying that, reconciliation in Cambodia contributed to building a level of peace by fulfilling some basic human needs such security, rehabilitation of refugees and so on. In this case, the researcher was interested to find out whether reconciliation agreements will meet the needs of northern Katangese people, would recognize and respect, protect and promote human rights, in addressing conflict in northern Katanga.

The Israeli-Palestinian context is defined by a series of interrelated phenomena: a continuing loss of Israeli and Palestinian lives; political turbulence. According to the

Special Conflict Report (2002), among both Palestinians and Israelis, public attitudes are currently characterized by two aspects, according to an Israeli analyst as "tactical hawks and strategic doves."

Of vital importance to understanding current dynamics is the fact that suicide bombings, especially the huge surge in bombings that occurred in March 2002, have convinced many Israelis who formerly believed otherwise that the Palestinians remain committed to the destruction of the state of Israel. Therefore, in peace processes, solutions are seldom win-lose or win-win; more often than not, they are lose-lose with each side making concessions to reach a deal (The carter Center 2002). A peace process certainly cannot be successful if it does not meet the basic needs that have not been fulfilled. The events in the Israel- Palestine conflict show that no solution can be found, no peace agreement can be sustainable, if the deepest fears of both populations are not addressed. Palestinians' claim for statehood is gaining greater legitimacy within the international sphere, as showed by UNESCO's vote to grant Palestine full membership. However, even a formal recognition of Palestine statehood by the UN would not be enough to pacify and reconcile the issues dividing Israel and Palestine. The Israel-Palestian dispute mainly relies on grievances that deal with identity as a fundamental need.

Having conceptualized the Israel-Palestine conflict, the researcher was interested whether or not reconciliation process in northern Katanga would pay attention on collective needs, which motivated militias to violent behavior.

The civil war in Guatemala, fought between anti-communist government forces and Leftit rebels Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unit (URNG), lasted over 30 years and resulted in some 200.000 deaths and disappearances. Among the most controversial issues on the table during the peace negotiations was the question of how past human rights violations and war crimes would be addressed during the transition peace. This was resolved in June 1994 when the government and the URNG agreed to establish a Commission for Historical Clarification (CEH). The mandate of the commission was to clarify the human rights violations and acts of violence committed between 1962 and 1996 and connected with the armed conflict (Bloomfield 2003).

Then, the Guatemala Commission for Historical Clarification was required to prepare a final report based on its investigations, containing conclusions as well as recommendations to encourage peace, democracy and human rights, and to preserve the memory of the victims. Despite these minor advances, the realities of life in Guatemala remain largely unchanged. There has not been a renewal not conflict, but most of the root causes of the conflict (Bloomfield 2003). The State is responsible for addressing collective needs of the different groups of its population in order to enforce peace and security in its territory. Although the truth commission of Guatemala did not change significantly the realities of life, the researcher was interested to compare if the approach their used in Guatemala, approach based on reparation to victims, would relate to the reconciliation processes in northern Katanga.

According to (William 2004), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people and their supporters have advocated a move towards reconciliation in Australia since 1960, such as the people's movement for reconciliation and its predecessor, the council for Aboriginal reconciliation. These have sought to educate Australians for the past wrongs committed against indigenous Australians and address the widespread social and economic disadvantages affecting them .Events in which these issues were addressed include the Mabo decision which in 1992 overturned the doctrine of "terra nullius" and the release of a report that, in effect, apologized for removal of Aboriginal children (or the stolen generation) from their families in the 1950s and 1960s. Since then emphasing issues of living standards, education and employment over those of culture identity or formal recognition. In view of the approach used in Australia, it seems linked to political and economical aspects of reconciliation.

The improvement in economic well-being together with increased political openness significantly decreases the risk of experiencing war anew. Walter writes: "Conflict begets conflict not because violence makes poor countries poorer or undemocratic governments more autocratic, but because individuals in these countries fail to experience any improvement over time". On the same lines, Collier and Hoeffler (1997) argue that negative economic growth rates are the primary source of civil war. Economic development seems essential for peace, and peace is essential for reconciliation.

In light of the above, it seems that reconciliation process in Australia was used in a peaceful manner. As such, the researcher would search whether reconciliation in the northern Katanga would seek to educate Katangese people for the past wrongs committed against the northern Katangese and address the widespread social and economic disadvantages affecting them, in promoting sustainable peacebuilding. During three months from April to July 1994 an estimated 800.000 Rwandans were killed in one of the most extensive genocide of our time (Melvern 2000). The genocide in Rwanda was the culmination of a century of ethnic discrimination and violence, and four years of civil war. Sexual violence was used systematically against Tutsi women and girls as a method of war by the Hutu extremists, not only to inflict pain and humiliation but also to spread HIV and ensure the end of the Tutsi people.

After the genocide, the new Rwandan government was faced with the task of making peace, in every village on every hill. As a result in 2002, the gacaca process was initiated by the government, in order to spread up the trials and promote truth, unity and reconciliation. The gacaca , the traditional village tribunals which previously had dealt with minor crimes such as stealing, were now given the task of dealing with major crimes of genocide. The gacaca process being focused on restorative justice and the fact that reconciliation at any level involves simplification of reality (King et al 1994); this process was helpful for rebuilding relationship between Tutsi and Hutu people.

According to the Centre for justice and reconciliation (2008), Restorative justice is motivated primarily by the need to address the harm done; it does not take place unless and until the person who has caused the harm has fully and freely admitted to their actions and is willing to take responsibility for them.

In this regard Desmond Tutu (1999) argued that "even the supporters of apartheid were victims" and "the oppressor was dehumanized as much as, if not more than, the oppressed".

During the transition from apartheid in 1995, the South African government passed the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, which provided for the creation of a truth and reconciliation commission tasked with establishing an authoritative narrative of human rights violations committed between 1960 and 1994. It gave the TRC the power to grant individualized amnesty, the promotion of national unity and reconciliation act designed the TRC to work in three interconnected committees that are: The human rights violations committee which was responsible for collecting statements from victims and witnesses and recording the extent of violations; the amnesty committee processed and decided on individual applications for amnesty; and the reparations and rehabilitation committee (RRC) designed and put forward recommendation for reparation programme (Freeman et al 1999).

The price for peace and democracy was amnesty; a compromise to balance the political realities with the desire to uncover crimes committed and holds to account those who

ordered these crimes. By offering amnesty in exchange for full disclosure, the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) hoped to provide an incentive for perpetrators to come forward of their own accord. The commission released its final report in 1998, which not only found that the prior government had committed the majority of human rights abuses, but also found the African National Congress (ANC) and other liberation movements guilty of gross human rights violations.

The South African TRC process sought to lay the foundation for a strong democracy. It was an important vehicle for achieving national reconciliation and accountability, setting the standard in Africa.

Nonetheless, the commission was criticized for failing to address the socioeconomic effects of apartheid and failing to hold individual and institutional beneficiaries of apartheid accountable. It was also widely criticized for raising expectations about its ability to foster individual reconciliation, when at best it was set up to contribute to national and political reconciliation (Freeman et al 1999).

According to the International Peace Institute (2013), critics of transitional justice often cite Mozambique to support the argument that formal accountability mechanisms for reconciliation and stability after conflict are insignificant or unnecessary. After years of war, Mozambican parties signed a peace agreement in 1992 that provided amnesty to all combatants for crimes committed between 1979 and 1992. However, informal

mechanisms to deal with issues of reconciliation have flourished in Mozambique. Civil society organizations have engaged in peacebuilding activities that have reintegrated former combatants and trained rural communities in dispute resolution and various methods of reconciliation and healing.

In the same way, (Bliss S 2010) argued that peace building does not end with disarmament, ceasefire, election monitoring, restoration of democracy, repatriation of refugees or even monitoring conflicts through peacekeeping forces but lies at the success of societal stability and reconstruction such as restoring human rights and the economic and social development of all the people. Economic development seems essential for peace, and peace is essential for reconciliation. Furthermore, and more specifically, in the work of truth commissions around the world the importance of economic compensation has become unmistakable. "Reconciliation must go hand in hand with economic justice", states (Brouneus K 2003). Northern Katanga being economically the poorest part of the province, the researcher would like whether conflict resolvers in this northern Katanga would lies reconciliation to distributive justice issues.

Morocco's transitional justice experience yields important lessons about the integration and interdependence of various mechanisms. The ascension to the throne in 1999 by King Mohammed VI led to gradual political liberalization, including a landmark decision to establish a truth and reconciliation commission. The Moroccan Equity and Reconciliation Commission was the world's first truth commission with the power to

grant reparations directly. It was established by royal decree on January 7, 2004, to investigate instances of enforced disappearance and arbitrary detention between 1956 and 1999, issue reparations to victims, provide recommendations on other measures for victims, and establish a good historical record of abuses. The commission began its operations in the aftermath of the work of the Independent Arbitration Panel (1999), which had awarded reparations to 3,681 people but faced criticism for arbitrariness and lack of transparency in its operations. Moroccan truth commission was groundbreaking in its gender-sensitive work on reparations, despite the fact that only one of the seventeen commissioners was a woman.

Reparations in these contexts must not only do justice to the victims, but also contribute to re-establishing essential systems of norms, including norms of justice, which are inevitably weakened during times of conflict or authoritarianism.

Commonly, these needs for reparation are fulfilled through the community, or through the policies, public goods, and services provided by the State. The researcher was interested whether the needs of reparation to victim would be one of the components of reconciliation programme in the northern Katanga Province.Ghana's transitional justice process stands out among Africa's cases for establishing a truth-seeking process years after its transition to democratic rule. The desire to address the historical wrongs under military rule remained strong ten years after the end of that rule. Although the 1992 constitution had a provision that absolved military personnel from judicial inquiry and

prosecution, President John Kufuor established the National Reconciliation Commission (NRC) in 2002 to investigate human rights violations during the period of military rule and encourage national reconciliation. The commission's mandate covered human rights violations including illegal detention, torture, killings, and disappearances under military governments between 1966 and 1992.

The commission achieved notable successes: its public hearings garnered massive attention from the media, and victims turned out in large numbers to make statements and testify. Reflecting this attention, victims had a generally positive view of the commission's work, which publicized the magnitude of the historic violations. Although fraught with problems, the reparations process recommended by the commission was at least implemented in some form. By June 2008, the government had paid more than $1 million to victims of human rights violations (UN 2008).

Reparation can be conceptualized as a relationship between three terms, namely, victims, beneficiaries and benefits. A reparations programme aims to guarantee that every victim will receive at least some sort of benefit from it, thereby becoming a beneficiary, victims are persons who individually or collectively suffered harm, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss or substantial impairment of their fundamental rights, through acts or omissions that constitute gross violations of international human rights law, or serious violations of international humanitarian law (UN 2008).

2.1.4 Reconciliation processes in the DR. Congo.

2.1.4.1 The Sovereign National Conference (CNS).

The Sovereign National Conference (CNS) was a meeting, which lasted over a year and a half or the second half of 1990 to 1992, and was attended by delegates representing all segments of the population, all regions and the Diaspora Zaire (Congo - Kinshasa). Among these delegates, we noted the presence of representatives of registered political parties, civil society, business and the Zairian army groups. The Presidency of the Republic there was also represented by someone other than the president Mobutu Sese Seko (Report 2001).

Following the major changes undergone by international politics in the late 1980s with the collapse of the Eastern bloc and the redirection of aid policies now conscious development to promote good governance and respect for human rights, role of Mobutu Sese Seko, then president of Zaire, as a bastion of Western powers against communism no longer had meaning and policy made him an anxious partner against the public opinion. Aware of this, Mobutu launched January 14, 1990 the project of a national debate which the people take part to express his opinion on improving the country's development.

The CNS took place following the public consultations organized by President Mobutu from January 30 to April 2, 1990, in order hear the concerns of the people. These

consultations were held in all major centers, each center in organizing meetings with the people or their delegates, the latter saying out their grievances. After public consultations, the National Conference was then called and was at the very beginning of its work, successful in acquiring its legal sovereignty, hence its designation as a " Sovereign National Conference "(Report 2001).The purpose of the CNS was that the citizens of Zaire come together to discuss and analyze the situation in the country and together they find the solutions to the ills that plagued the country. The goal has indeed been successfully achieved and new bases were then thrown through the "Resolutions and the Acquits of the Sovereign National Conference."

Among these resolutions and achievements, we also find the purpose of the CNS that, after giving birth to all the specialized committees are taking would complete the legal status of the High Council of the Republic in place of the Transitional Parliament, or HCR- PT. Unfortunately, all these good resolutions, which inspired the hope of the Zairian people, could not be applied following the decision of President Mobutu to suspend the CNS and its refusal to recognize and allow the implementation of resolutions and achievements of the CNS , even though its very institution was acquired from the CNS (Report 2001).

2.1.4.2 The inter-Congolese dialogue (ICD).

With a death toll of at least 3.3 million since the war broke out in August 1998, the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has cost more lives than any other since the Second World War.2 Resulting from an intricate cluster of internal and external factors, it also probably counts among the most complex conflicts, with up to nine states militarily involved in Congolese territory and even more rebel groups brought in. Broadly speaking, the war in the DRC initially composed of two sides, the Kinshasa government, its Angolan, Namibian and Zimbabwean allies as well as various paramilitary forces on the one hand, and a divided set of rebel groups (notably the Congolese Rally for Democracy- RCD- and the Movement for the Liberation of Congo-MLC) and their Rwandan and Ugandan sponsors on the other (Report 2003).

As a result of a year-long international (mainly African) process that placed great pressure on the belligerents, a ceasefire agreement was signed by the Heads of State of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Namibia, Rwanda, Uganda and Zimbabwe and the Minister of Defense of Angola on 10 July 1999.This ceasefire agreement was then signed by the Ugandan-backed MLC on 1 August 1999 and 50 people representing both factions of the RCD on 31 August. As its title indicates, the 'Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement 'only provided for the cessation of hostilities pending a political settlement among the Congolese parties themselves. Chapter V of the agreement, which defined the parameters of the Inter-Congolese Dialogue (ICD), called for the official launch of this

process of negotiations, which should lead to a 'new political dispensation and national reconciliation in the DRC (Report 1999).

Consequently, On 17 December 2002 in Pretoria, the main Congolese parties to the conflict, including the DRC's government, RCD-Goma, MLC, RCD-ML, RCD-N and the Mayi-Mayi, finally signed the Global and All-Inclusive Agreement on the Transition in the DRC (also called 'Pretoria II'). Short of addressing the causes of the conflict, this agreement reflected a deal between the principle warlords as to how they would share power at the governmental level during the 24- month transition period, at the end of which elections should be held. In brief, President Kabila would remain Head of State (and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces) but would be assisted by four Vice-Presidents in charge of governmental commissions, each comprising ministers and deputy ministers (Report 2003).

A political commission have been chaired by the (new) leader of the RCD Goma (Azaria Ruberwa); an economic and finance commission by the (former) leader of the MLC (Jean-Pierre Bemba); a reconstruction and development commission by a member of Kabila's government (former foreign minister Abdoulaye Yerodia Ndombasi); and a social and cultural commission by a representative of the political opposition (former international civil servant Arthur Z'ahidi Ngoma). In total, the transitional government included no less than 36 ministers and 25 deputy ministers. In addition, the signatories also agreed on the structure and composition of the parliament, which would consist of a

national assembly (comprising 500 members and presided over by an MLC representative) and a senate (comprising 120 members and presided over by the '*forces vives*'). Civil society would also head the five independent institutions 'in support of democracy' whose establishment was decided at Sun City, including the independent electoral commission.

According to the International Crisis Group (2003) initially, the Inter-Congolese Dialogue could have been seen an appropriate conflict resolution tool that would address both the contextual factors of the Congo war (in particular the failure of Mobutu's Zaire) and the greedy motives of most belligerents. While bad governance and democratic deficit had characterized the Mobutist state and eventually caused its collapse, the launching of a nation-wide dialogue open to non-belligerents was the first step towards establishing a new political order based on popular consent and inclusive participation. This broad-based dialogue also indicated that the belligerent parties were not considered the only relevant political actors, but that political legitimacy could also be acquired without resorting to violence. At the end of the day, however, although a few resolutions were approved at Sun City that might later reveal their peace-building value, key issues for the reconstruction of the Congo were not adequately (if at all) addressed during the whole process. The ICD can thus be considered a failure in spite of the signing of 'global and all-inclusive' agreement, and in fact because of the signing of this very agreement.

2.1.4.3 The truth and reconciliation Commission (TRC).

The DRC established a truth and reconciliation commission in 2003, partly as a result of political deal-making during the transitional government. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement signed in December 2002 created the framework for the truth commission as one of five institutions "supporting the democracy". The inclusion of a truth commission mechanism in the peace agreement was lobbied for by Congolese civil society groups.

Articles 154-160 of the Transition Constitution tasked the commission to establish the truth among conflicting versions of history and to promote peace, reparation, and reconciliation. Article 160 stipulates that the specificities of the truth commission would be determined by an organic law, but until a year after the establishment of the commission, it was operating without the law. On July 30, 2004, the mandate (Law no 04/018) was enacted by President Kabila (Carayannis 2009).

According to Article 155 of the Transitional Constitution, the mandate of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was to "promote consolidation of the national unity". The commission was set up to examine the political, economic, and societal conflicts between the country's independence in 1960 and the conclusions of the peace agreement in 2003. The commission was also expected to contribute to the compensation of victims. However, the neglect of justice in efforts to build peace in the DRC has contributed to the ongoing cycles of violence by allowing actors with shady records, inside and outside Congo, to operate with impunity. The Inter-Congolese Dialogue was

to be the 'founding act' of the process of national reconciliation, but it never quite met those expectations as it failed to create a new political dispensation in the DRC (Carayannis 2009). The challenges faced by the current practice of crisis management and conflict resolution often highlight the lack of a comprehensive and holistic approach. A peace process certainly cannot be successful if it does not meet the basic needs that have not been fulfilled.

2.1.4.4 National concentrations

In reference to order N0 13/078 concerning June 2013 creation, organization and functioning of national concentrations , the start of National concentrations at the people's palace in Kinshasa on September 7, 2013 aimed at putting an end to the political, social and security impasse in the country. The president recalled previous moments on national crisis such as: The national sovereign conference summoned during the Mobutu regime and the inter-Congolese dialogue sealed in Sun-city, South Africa, in 2002. The national dialogue was organized in conformity with the Addis Ababa agreement which called on the DRC government to summon a national conference in order to have a frank and sincere debate on the security challenges facing the country.

During the opening ceremony, Congolese President Joseph Kabila was applauded when he said that jailed political leaders would be released. At the end of the dialogue, He signed an ordinance "collective grace" in fact commutations for many convicts. A

measure that will "mark and strengthen the national reconciliation and cohesion." (Security Council 2013). Death row inmates and other lesser penalties will benefit from a "collective pardon "taken by Congolese President Joseph Kabila. The Ordinance provides that "persons convicted, feature switch their death penalty than life imprisonment "or " switching their term of imprisonment for life in the 20 years of penal servitude.

Many exceptions, however, are provided so that the measure does not affect the most serious crimes. "The switching reduction and remission of penalties are not granted to convicted persons" for attempted or sexual abuse, embezzlement, murder, illegal possession of weapons war and "any other offense against the authority of the state and territorial integrity." Also excluded are sentenced for attempted or war crimes, crimes against humanity and crimes of genocide (UN 2013).

Concerning the presidential ordinance, criticism was made on amnesty granted as follow: it is evident that pardons can be an inducement for impunity because persons, who commit offences, including acts of political violence, may do so in expectation of receiving mercy from the person holding presidential office. When pardons are granted, it means that any complaints against persons receiving amnesty and a presidential pardon become meaningless, as the issue that was meant to be brought before the courts is sacrificed for expediency and to protect supporters of the ruling party. If amnesties

can be used to erode the rule of law, the danger is that they can be used to perpetrate torture.

2.2 Conclusion

This chapter provided the theoretical framework for the study. Literature that was reviewed explained the role of reconciliation in promoting sustainable peacebuilding and its implication on the study. The human needs theory was also as an approach explaining the causes of conflicts and violent conflicts. In this chapter the study reviewed related literature on reconciliation and peacebuilding. Cases of Cambodia, Israeli- Palestine, Guatemala, Rwanda to name just a few.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the methodological approach that was adopted in this study. It explains the context of the research setting in northern Katanga province where reconciliation had taken place between Mayi-Mayi fighters and the DR.Congo's government. The survey sough to assess the role of reconciliation in promoting sustainable peacebuilding in the northern Katanga province. Other key informants were the provincial ministry of local affairs, decentralization and custom affairs, NGOs and the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the DR.Congo (Monusco). This study investigated the driver forces of conflict and the role of reconciliation being done by the above institutions in promoting sustainable peacebuilding. A qualitative approach was adopted.

In this section, methods of data collection, the research experience and the methods of data analysis were summarized. This primary data was collated in chapter 4 with information from secondary sources such as reports and newspaper articles. The procedures followed attempted to capture the role of reconciliation in promoting sustainable peacebuilding in the northern Katanga province.

3.1 Research Design and Delimitation

Research design is about how to conduct a study such that the information gathered is the true representation of reality and that similar result can be obtained if someone else comes and conducts the same study at a different time. Qualitative research design was used in this research. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) asserted that qualitative research emphasizes the process of discovering how social meaning is constructed and stresses the relationship between the investigator and the topic studied. Data collection was done in northern Katanga, particularly in upper- Katanga and Tanganyika districts, where the "Triangle of death" is found. Upper-Katanga district is in the south close to the Zambia border. This part shares the "copper belt" with Zambia. Tanganyika district located entirely in the northern part, close to the Tanzania border. In the first district we focused more on Pweto and Mitwaba territory which form the bottom of the triangle and in the second district, we focused on Manono territory which represent the summit of the "triangle of death".

Data have been collected from the government leaders (with focus on members of parliament from the two districts), NGOs, journalists, militia fighters and civilians through face to face interview, group focus discussion and questionnaire. Militia fighters have been selected from their political party such as Patriot Resistant Mai-Mai (PRM). Interviews were conducted to give room capture more of the subjects' opinions and viewpoints. The research was therefore confined to those who were directly involved with administering of the reconciliation and the need of sustainable peacebuilding in

northern Katanga province; such as the Ecumenical program for peace, Conflict transformation and Reconciliation (PAREC), which gathered all warlords, traditional leaders and demobilized a good number of Mai-Mai fighters.

The timing of the research coincided with a number of serious human rights violations and breaches of international humanitarian law have been reported throughout 2013. Mai-Mai fighters are accused of killings, abductions, sexual violence, and forced recruitments, notably of children, and pillaging and destruction of property. The allegations of massive child recruitment were substantiated in the recent surrender of Mai-Mai combatants in Lubumbashi in 2012 where out of 242 fighters that surrendered, 70 were identified as children (UN 2013). In addition, the timing of research coincided with the "national concertations" organized on September 2013, in conformity with the Addis Ababa agreement which called on the DRC's government to summon a national conference in order to have a frank and sincere debate on the security challenges facing the country. My survey, interview questions and the topics of my focus group discussions came at a relevant time. According to the size of the northern Katanga and the time defined for data collection, the researcher used research assistant who were trained on how to conduct data collection in the field.

3.2. Qualitative Approaches

For Stake, (2010) qualitative research is interpretive, experimental, situational, personalistic and emphasis personal experience. In assessing reconciliation as a tool for Conversation and observation in natural settings as opposed to a controlled artificial setting, qualitative approach allowed for insiders' view of the issues under investigation to be accurately captured and affirmed.

The strength of qualitative research was its ability to provide complex textual descriptions of how people experienced a reconciliation process in north Katanga province. According to Denzin N (2000), quantitative methods are typically more flexible that is, they allowed greater spontaneity and adaptation of the interaction between the researcher and the study participants. For example, qualitative method asked mostly "open-ended" questions that were not necessarily worded in exactly the same way with each participant. With open-ended questions, participants were free to respond in their own words, and these responses tended to be more complex than simply "yes" or "no".

In addition, with qualitative method, the relationship between the researcher and the participant was often less formal than in quantitative research. Participants had the opportunity to respond more elaborately and in greater details (Pope 2000).

Hussey (1997) describes qualitative research as an approach bringing meaning to things in their natural environment based on empirical evidence; it is the strength of evidence

that increases the knowledge of all phenomena that can be experienced in the real or imaginary world. The researcher used qualitative method because it allowed for conversation and observation in natural settings as opposed to an artificial setting. Accordingly, qualitative method have been used in this study in the sense that focusing on open-ended questions, it gave participants opportunity to respond in their own words on the reconciliation issues in the northern Katanga; rather than forcing them to choose from fixed responses. Open-ended questions had the ability to evoke responses that are: Meaningful and culturally salient to the participant. Unanticipated by the researcher, rich and explanatory in nature. The justification for using it in this study lied in the quest to establish how the reconciliation has been impacted on sustainable peacebuilding in northern Katanga.

3.3 Population

A population refers to a discrete group of units of analysis or whatever groups the researcher wished to make inference about. According to Polit and Hungler (1991), population is a totality of all the subjects that conform to a set of specification. In this study my population constituted; the fighters Mai-Mai, civilians victims, government leaders, NGOs and civil society; youth and adults, male and females, especially those from two districts namely Upper-Katanga and Tanganika. The above category was able to provide information for the research.

3.4 Sample

According to Schofiled (2006), a sample is a set of elements selected in some way from a population and its aim in research is to save time and effort as well as obtained unbiased and consistent estimates of the population status in terms of what is being researched. For Cochrane (1998) a sample is a group chosen out of a large number and is questioned or tested in order to obtain information about the larger group. Sampling gives room for the simplification of the research, it addressed the problem of the impracticality of dealing with large number of the population. According to Polit and Hungler (1987), the purpose of sampling is to select a portion of the population to represent the whole population.

Participants for the research have been identified through the use of snowball and purposive sampling methods. In the selection of the sample, the researcher aimed to select information from rich sources that helped the researcher to conduct in depth study on the role of reconciliation in promoting sustainable peacebuilding. The sample for this study was a total of 50 individuals. Among them, 27 were male and 23 female. Concerning the study's population (such as size and diversity), the researcher through some key informants or participants with whom contact has already been made use their social networks to refer the researcher to the people who could potentially participate in

or contribute to the study. This is the case of religious leaders as informants facilitated the researcher to find and recruit "hidden population" such traditional leaders.

The categories of people involved in the research were civilians from Upper- Katanga and Tanganika district, representative from the ministry of local affairs, NGOs, journalists and militia. From these 50 individuals, 5 took part in the focus group discussions. These individuals have been selected from NGOs, and different media.

According to Bernard (2002), purposive sampling, when used appropriately, is more efficient than random sampling in practical field circumstances, because the random members of a community may not be as knowledgeable and observant as an expert informant. In this method of sampling according to Korb (2012), the researcher used his judgment to select participants that were representative of the population. This study considered factors that influenced the population.

Table 2Breakdown of Sample Research

Population category	Number of male participants	Number of female participants	Total number of participants
Government leaders	3	2	5
PAREC NGO activists	3	2	5
Journalists	3	2	5
Civilians	15	15	30
Mai-Mai fighters	3	2	5
Total	27	23	50

3.5 Data Collection

This research was informed by interviews with individual participants, focus group discussions, questionnaire and documentation. During interviews, notes have been taken in order to capture important issues arising during the interviews. The use of interviews immensely facilitated the collection of primary data that were essential for this study. The open-ended interview guide has been used to solicit more ideas and studied the

attitudes and behaviors of the participants. The interviews had taken an average time of one hour each and the focus group discussions two hours in total.

3.5.1 Interviews

Structured and unstructured interviews: Selection of key informants was based mostly on knowledge of the research area. Interview as an interchange of views between two or more people on a topic of mutual interest, the background of the informant on the topic, his ability to interact for knowledge production was the criterion for selection. Unstructured interviews were adopted and used. Minichiello (1990) defines unstructured interviews as interviews in which neither the question nor the answer categories are predetermined. They rely on social interaction between the researcher and informant to extract information.

Easter by-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe (2002), assert that in a semi structured interview, the interviewee is given the opportunity to talk freely about events, behavior and beliefs in relation to the topic area and also provide with opportunity to probe answers where the interviewee will explain or build on their responses. The study thus used semi-structured interviews to achieve these benefits. Significantly, interviewing is a particularly efficient means of collecting data when the research design involves an analysis of people's motivations and opinions (Keats, 2000), as was the case in the present study.

For the key informants such as the government leaders, MONUSCO, Civil society and Journalists interview questions have been designed to bring out their knowledge on current conflict in the northern Katanga province.

Through interaction with them, the researcher was able to determine their opinions on the driver forces of the conflict and whether there were sustainable peacebuilding through government reconciliation and other stakeholders. The researcher ensured all informants that the research was conducted for a purely academic exercise which would be of use to other researchers and possibly future generations of peace builders and peacemakers as others would build upon my work.

3.5.2 Focus group discussion

A focus group discussion (FGD) is a good way to gather together people from similar backgrounds or experiences to discuss a specific topic of interest. The group of participants has been guided by a moderator (or group facilitator) who introduced topics for discussion and helped the group to participate in a lively and natural discussion amongst them (Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999). The strength of FGD relied on allowing the participants to agree or disagree with each other so that it provided an insight on what the group thinks about the issue, range of opinion and ideas, and the inconsistencies and variation that existed in a particular community in terms of beliefs and their experiences and practices. It is also a good method to employ prior to designing Questionnaires (

Heppner et al, 1999).In this study, FGD sessions needed to be prepared carefully through identifying the main objective(s) of the meeting, developing key questions, developing an agenda, and planning how to record the session. The next step is to identify and invite suitable participants for discussions on the conflict in the northern Katanga; the ideal number was between three and five.

According to (Heppner et al, 1999) in qualitative research, participants are fully informed and included in the analyses. A focus group is a carefully planned and moderated informal discussion where on person's ideas bounce off another's, creating a chain reaction of informative dialogue (Bogdan, 1992).

A focus group discussion is best carried out in a comfortable environment with the purpose of eliciting a wide range of views and opinions from participants who shared a common experience relative to the issues under discussion. The researcher acted as moderator of the discussion using the interview guiding questions as a guide for the discussion. Through these focus groups, the researcher was able to gain an in-depth view into respondent's perceptions on the conflict in the northern Katanga.

3.5.3   Secondary Data sources

To make a detailed and comprehensive assessment of the role of reconciliation in promoting sustainable peacebuilding in Upper-katanga and Tanganyika districts of northern Katanga, the research also reviewed secondary data, sources including the UN-reports, Ministry of local affairs reports. Newspaper articles and publication on the conflict in the northern Katanga. These reports provided data on the humanitarian consequences, the failure of the Kamina Forum for reconciliation, the outcome of the Ecumenical Program for Peace, Conflict Transformation and Reconciliation (PAREC), to name just a few.

3.6 Data analysis and interpretation

The research analysis section will present the findings and discussed them at the same time to avoid repetition. The data collected from the field have been analyzed and the information obtained has been categorized according to the interview questions. Analyzing the interview transcripts allowed the researcher to identify patterns and images that emerged from the data and this helped to improve the quality of questions interviews that were yet to be held. From analyzing the transcripts, the researcher was able to identify emerging themes from the responses given by participants through an analysis and interpretation of phrases or words that were frequently used to describe certain situations; such as reconciliation, stainable peace, basic needs, and violence and so on. (Marker S, 2003).

3.7 Research Ethics

The researcher guaranteed the protection of participant's privacy and confidentiality. Upon identifying the respondents for the research, the researcher immediately informed them of their rights as respondent, such as: confidential treatment, a diligent effort was made; as appropriate, to restore the reputation of the respondent, Access to evidence to which the study was based. Upon introduction of the topic and stating what the researcher expected from the respondents, the researcher highlighted that the respondent was free to choose whether to answer all question or some of the questions. The respondents were not required to write their names on the questionnaire. Respondents were also informed that taking part in the research was entirely a matter of choice. In some cases respondents assumed that the researcher was a government official. In such instances the researcher made clear and mentioned that this was strictly a research academic purposes, by producing the University Identity card in all cases.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter identified the case study as the research design for this research and explained its relevance. The chapter brought out that the study was largely qualitative and employed purposive and snowballing sampling methods. The justification for using these methods was explained. This chapter outlined how the study employed the semi-structured interview, focus group discussion and non-participant observation methods to collect data. It was also explained in this chapter that data collection and analysis for the

study was informed by the Human Needs Theory and equally the ethical considerations that informed the study were spelt out.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATON, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Introduction

This study sought to investigate the role of reconciliation in promoting sustainable peacebuilding in northern Katanga province. Likewise the chapter presents findings on the causes of the conflict between the militias Mai Mai and the government, the position, interests, and needs of militia. It also unpacks types of reconciliation initiatives, the actors targeted in reconciliation and the effectiveness of reconciliation efforts. In addition, this chapter unveils the finding on the challenges of reconciliation, the overall assessment of the reconciliation initiatives and the strategies that can be suggested towards making the reconciliation more sustainable.

4.1 Data Presentation

4.1.1 Causes of the conflict between in the north Katanga.

The respondent's response on the causes of the conflict in the Northern Katanga varied as depicted in figure 4.1. They mentioned a multiplicity of factors that motivated Mai-Mai militias to take arms against the government. These factors reflect the influence of violence and the desire to meet human needs as having been instrumental in causing violent behavior in northern Katanga province.

Figure 1Types of Violence

4.1.1.1 Direct violence

a. Military brutality

The respondents argued that military brutality caused by the National army (FARDC) and other foreigners (Rwandese) is among the core causes which led to the conflict in the northern Katanga. The national army has also taken part in violations against civilians in areas such as; humiliation, rape and sexual assault, beatings and killing or torture. The national army deployed in northern Katanga did not have any provision in terms of food. Civilian's represented their field from which food was coming from compulsory. Goat, sheet, chicken, fishes have been taken without the owner's consent. The presence of FAC and foreign soldiers in our area make us suffer more and more: It was compulsory to remove luggage carried on the bicycle, leave it on the way and to carry a soldier who is going in the opposite direction (about 30 km). In the village, crossing one barrier to another was chargeable. And if you want to go to the field you must pay a tax to the soldiers. Our wives became their wives, our houses became theirs and so on. In such frustrated situation of lack of need of freedom, peace, security and so

on, the single way forward to defend our rights was to fight against national army for human rights violations (Interview, 24 March 2014).These factors as listed constitute direct violence and cause of conflict in the north Katanga in the sense that the constitute an obstacle to meet human needs.

4.1.1.2 Structural violence

a. Economic hardship

The respondents argued that economic hardships caused by the State's poor economic governance provided the biggest impetus for the northern Katanga people to engage in militias groups against the government. The sentiment was echoed by the respondents who stated that: Continuing life in the exploitive and unjust social, political and economic systems is worse than the possibility of death in war. And they mention the fact that the DRC's political system is close and does not permit change, except by use of violence.
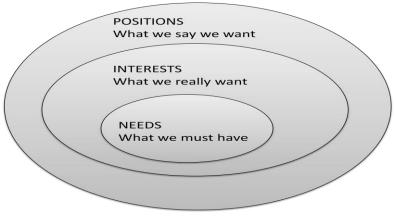
In addition, the Mai-Mai Bakata Katanga secessionist claims (in Kiswahili, their name literally means "dividers of Katanga") that the formation of the militia was a consequence of the government's failure to implement a constitutional provision to divide the country into 24 provinces and to share tax revenues between the central government (60%) and the provinces (40%).

Some federalists accuse Kabila of favoring non-Katangese and attempting to impose his family members on the Katangese political establishment. The former chairman of the electoral commission, who many observers believe helped secure Kabila's 2011 election victory, reportedly accused him in front of Katanga's provincial assembly of being an ingrate .Some civilians and Mai Mai combatants were complaining that: "we are so disappointed to realize that after voting massively for Kabila as our brother and our son nothing is going on in terms of development in our area: The road system is very poor, unemployment, lack of social amenities, poverty in the north Katanga seems to be intractable. That is why we took arms" (Interview, 24 March 2014). Others mentioned the lack of social project, bad governance, instability of political institutions and illiteracy as causes of conflict in north Katanga.

4.1.2 The positions, interests and needs of fighters Mai-Mai

The respondent's response on the position, interests and needs of the combatants Mai Mai was varied as depicted by the graphic representation in figure 4.2.

Figure 2 Onion Conflict Analysis Tool

4.2.1.1 Positions

a. Katanga's independence

The respondents argued that Mai Mai militias claim to be fighting for the independence of Katanga. This independentist attitude is reinforced by the fact that Katanga was not part of Congo according to his history. Independence is what is seen and heard publicly from Mai Mai militias. One of the respondents stated that: Katangese people must support massively this Independence's movement because as a richest province in DRC, Katangese people are leaving in extrem poverty.

Some, argued that: If we are delaying to join Mai Mai fighters is because we do not know where the registration is taking place otherwise majority of the people will decide to join Mai Mai movement for Katanga independence (Interview, 27 March 2014).
 In 2009, Katangese drafted a complaint against the ONU to the International Court of Justice for having fighting militarily the free State of Katanga from 11 July 1960 to 16 January 1963; having annexed by force Katanga to the DRCongo, and slaughtering thousand of Katangese children and women when they protested peacefully.

In 2012, a draft addressed to the head of State by the representative of the headquarter of the Armed Federal Force of Katanga of Angola state, stated that: "Katanga having realized 50 year of neo-colonialism by Congo-Kinshasa, we are claiming for the liberation of Katanga without condition".

On 23 March 2013, the raid of the "BAKATA-KATANGA" militia in Lubumbashi city, accompanied by their wives and children. Their number is about 240 according to the National Congolese Police (PNC). At the MONUSCO head-quarter one of them state: "we are here because we are tired with this suffering. Independence had been obtained in 1960 but till 2010 nothing is moving on. We are tired of being slaves. We are here not to give ourselves up or to give back our weapon but to claim our independence. We want Katanga to become a country."

Furthermore, from another draft (6 mars 2013), the raid of the General in charge of South Katanga's operations and all Katanga Warlord, accompanied by their troop was allowed in Katanga's city before 11 July 2013, in reference to independence day of Katanga free State: 11 July 1960. Lastly, some respondents argued that: "many countries had gotten independence and sovereignty by organizing referendum of self-determination with ONU's support. As an illustration, Eritrea, Western Sahara and South Sudan. In addition, ONU recognized the Free and Sovereign State of Kosovo, the former Serbia's province, Bangladesh, the former secessionist province of Eastern Pakistan. Why not recognize the same right to Katanga' people."

4.2.1.2 Interests

a. Respect of human rights

The respondent argued that the DRC's government has a responsibility or duty to protect, promote, and implement the human rights, to ensure that all persons under its jurisdiction are able to enjoy all social, economic, and political and other rights as freedom of practice. To take necessary measures to ensure protection of everyone against any violence, threats, retribution, adverse discrimination, pressure or any other arbitrary action. However, people in northern Katanga are prevented from meeting their basic needs and accessing their fundamental human rights such as: access to basic amenities (water, electricity), poor living conditions, lack of road system and so on. The interest is What Mai Mai fighters want to achieve from this particular situation

4.1.2.3 Needs

a. Sustainable development in the northern Katanga

The respondents refer to development as a core issues that the north Katanga must achieved. Development refers broadly to societal, economic and political processes which unlock expanded human capabilities and reduce vulnerability in this part of province. It is a process of societal change. However, in northern Katanga where there is a limited capacity of managing change and resolving differences peacefully, development is a particular challenging process which actually contributes to violent conflict. The needs are the core issues they want satisfied .Some respondent that,

"Katanga province is the sole producer of copper (70% of national production) and cobalt. Since independence up to now, Katanga contributes 75% of the Congo's mineral output, about 50% of total national resources, and roughly 20% of the government's total budgetary expenditures. Because of the mismanagement of natural resources, bad governance, and crisis of leadership, development of Katanga province remain a subject of deep concern". (Interview, 28 March 2014).

4.1.3 Efforts towards promoting reconciliation

a) Central government

The respondents support that, when the Congo became independent in 1960, Katanga proclaimed itself a Republic and seceded from the central government. Disorder was widespread, and the central government invoked the help of the United Nations. There was recurrent trouble between the UN force and the Katangese, and attempts at reconciliation with the central government proved fruitless. Furthermore, an agreement (December 1961) for reintegrating Katanga into the country proved abortive and diplomatic efforts to achieve reconciliation were unsuccessful.

b) Kamina Forum

In 2005, the governor of the province Urbain Kisula Ngoy, under the president J. Kabaila's instructions for pacification of the north Katanga province, organized the so-called Kamina Forum which gathered traditional leaders, stakeholders, warlords,

religious leaders and population. But this forum, failed because of lack of monitoring of the Forum's resolution by the government.

c) PAREC

The Ecumenical Program for Peace, Conflict transformation and Reconciliation (PAREC) decided to act according to the failure of Kamina Forum, through operation collecting arm (Demobilization) from Mai-Mai fighters against bicycle. As a result, PAREC bring a certain level of peace in north Katanga. Some respondents mention the national dialogue, In accordance with the presidential decree of 26 June 2013, stressing that it would help foster internal cohesion in order to overcome external aggression, reinforce State authority throughout the country, end the cycle of violence and pave the way for lasting peace and development.

4.1.4 Kind of reconciliation initiatives

The respondents argued that there is different kind types of reconciliation used by the government, NGOs, and others actors:

   a) **Introduction to the new citizenship**

For the DRC' government it is one of the core initiatives. In his speech, the head of government deplored the decline of citizenship that reached alarming proportions. Faced with this crisis of values, it became imperative that the nation decides actively to stop this decline by embarking on a phase of not only economic reconstruction, but also formatting a new type of man. The primary objective of the new citizenship is the

formatting of the Congolese man to make it compatible with the objectives of the revolution of modernity initiated by the head of State. In summary, we must do everything for the Congolese society to become a society that respects the standards, embodies the values and comply with standards.

The new concept of citizenship implemented by the government of the Republic involves the act of stripping the old behavior that sleeps in our mental universe to endorse positive attitudes and hopeful, altruism, patriotism and solidarity.

b) Human rights education:

Education should encompass values such as peace, non-discrimination, equality, justice, non-violence, tolerance, to live in peace and security and respect for human dignity. These objectives can be achieved only through imparting human rights education, which is an integral part of right to education. Human rights education means a" lifelong process by which people at all levels of development and in all strata of society learns respect for dignity of others and the means and methods of ensuring that respect in all societies." From the above definition, it is clear that people living in any society have to discharge their duties with utmost sincerity at all times without any deviation. Such practices will promote the freedom of all and could transform a society to achieve its objectives. This being the concern of human rights education, impartation of it results in, to achieve the principles of democracy, rule of law, and social justice. Further, it will help to establish peace and security. It further enables us to achieve an all round socio-economic, political, and cultural sustainability.

c) Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR).

They fell in the wrong hands; arms are responsible for hundreds of thousands of deaths and far more injuries every year. Unregulated weapons are used for crimes in province: Killings, forced displacement, rape and torture. Small arms, in our province are used to intimidate, to threaten, to injure, to kill. To put an end to this situation that destroys the lives of hundreds of people each year, the Ecumenical Program for Peace, Conflict Transformation and reconciliation (PAREC), initiated operation in the north Katanga operation bicycle against weapon from which an good number of weapons was collected from Mai-Mai fighters and civilians. Thus, according to international day for destruction of small arms, PAREC destroyed those arms collected in the public square in order to strengthen civic trust of the population.

d) Mediation

It is instructive to view the church as one arena among many; from a local level perspective is related as much to its ability to transform village politics as it is to its ability to transform religious beliefs. Churches played a critical role in building peace in the north Katanga by mediating between combatants Mai-Mai and the government.

4.1.5 Actors targeted in reconciliation.

a) **Policy-makers**

The respondents argued that all human beings have basic needs. Commonly, the needs are naturally fulfilled through the community, policies, public goods, and services provides by the State. Therefore, policy-makers must be actors targeted in reconciliation and should shape comprehensive and holistic methods, seeking to address not only the manifestation of conflict (extreme violence) but also the root causes that drive it. Furthermore, the State is the main actor in reconciliation because it has the responsibility or duty to protect, promote, and implement the human rights; to ensure that all persons under its jurisdiction are able to enjoy all social, economic, and political rights. Also the State should take necessary measures to ensure protection of everyone against any violence, threats, retribution, adverse discrimination, pressure or any other arbitrary action.

b) Civil society

Civil society has a vital role to play in promoting sustainable peace, advancing and consolidating sectoral reforms, of course. It is an institution necessary for good governance, a means through which sectoral objectives can be achieved.

c) Monusco

The new mission has been authorized to use all necessary means to carry out its mandate relating to the protection of civilians, humanitarian personnel and human rights defenders under imminent threat of physical violence and to support the Government of the DRC in its stabilization and peace consolidation effort.

d. Local leaders

People's reconciliation involves wider community participation and is conducted on a much broader basis. Each village, sub district or district forms groups and can arrange meetings with their counterparts. Negotiation can be done from village to village under supervision of local leaders.

e.Balubakat association

The socio-cultural Baluba of Katanga association (BALUBAKAT) is another core actor targeted in reconciliation because the conflict as observed on the ground is more linked to identity issues in the sense that all militias (warlords) originated from north Katanga, a Baluba area. Identity being one of the strong catalysts for social mobilization, BALUBAKAT association would play an important role in reconciliation.

d) Mai-Mai militias

Although political leaders often manipulate identity and ethnicity to support this conflict, the manipulation of identity by leaders does not imply that people or Mai Mai fighters mobilized by this are not expressing legitimate and genuine concerns. Mai Mai militias find a special resonance in identity because they are able to identify themselves with narratives which emphasize shared and collective fears. For this reason, militias are also a key actor targeted in reconciliation.

4.1.6 Effectiveness or achievement of reconciliation efforts

The respondents mentioned various types of achievement of the reconciliation efforts made in northern Katanga conflict. These efforts reflect a certain level of peace building by the government and other actors using DDR program. In fact, the objective of the Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) process is to contribute to security and stability in post-conflict environment so that recovery and development can begin. Through a process of removing weapons from the hands of combatants, taking the combatants out of military structures and helping them to integrate socially and economically into society, DDR seeks to support ex-combatants so that they can become active participants in the peace process.

a)   Disarmament

The PAREC NGO had organized in the north Katanga operation bicycle for weapon with material and financial aid from stakeholders, mining companies and other. As a result, PAREC NGO managed to bring a level of peace and security by collecting an important arsenal of weapons from lordship including: Heavy weapons, small arms, bombshell, grenades, poisoned arrows, bows and so on.

b)   Demobilization

In the same operation, warlord Vwende Mutopa demobilized about 3600 children under 17years of age that he used as militia fighters. Recently, DRC government managed to

send an important number of Mai-Mai combatants to Kitona's military base in the Bas-Congo for DDR purposes.

c)   Reintegration

In the north Katanga, ex-combatants acquired civilian status and in exchange with arms, PAREC gave something that facilitated their return to a peaceful way of life such as: bicycles, clothing, plowing equipment, fishing equipment, and in a very few cases, money.

d)   Internally Displaced Person (IDPs)

Through reconciliation efforts, some persons or groups who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of the armed conflict, have returned to their areas of origin.

4.1.7 Agreement between Militias and the government

The respondents argued that there is some agreement between Mai-Mai and the government; through which warlords list their needs and claims, which according to them are precondition for sustainable peace in the north Katanga.

a. **Kamina's Forum**

The main concern of Mai- Mai in the Kamina agreement is focused on addressing the issue of poverty and insecurity which increase the insecurity in northern Katanga. At the core of the Militias Mai-Mai is the asserted unequal wealth distribution from the province's highly profitable mineral exports. In addition, the move to sub-divide Katanga has the potential to cement existing rifts between the resource-rich south and poorer northern areas. Bakata Katanga militia advocates for the establishment of an autonomous Katanga State.

In the same way, UN Chief Martin Kobler said "It up to the DRC government to end the rebellion, including social grievances about underdevelopment and the struggle between Katanga and central authorities over how to share the province's wealth". While rebel leaders claim to be pursuing lofty political goals, former foot-soldiers argue that addressing poverty in a region that has never recovered from DRC's past wars would go a long way to preventing any resurgence of militancy.

4.1.8 Traditional leader in reconciliation process

The respondents argued that generally, traditional leaders are involved in reconciliation process through religious leader's initiatives. In other words, villages which are surrounded by militia fighters referred to the collapse of traditional leadership. In this conflictual situation, a good number of traditional leaders have been killed by Mai-Mai

combatants. According to some respondents, because traditional leaders have magical powers not only to protect their villages, but also to stop the use of all magical powers against his jurisdiction. In this context, religious leaders play an important role which reconciles traditional leaders to Mai-Mai and Mai-Mai to population. In another case, the meeting with warlords (Fighters) by NGOs, political leaders and others is impossible unless they passing through traditional leaders. In other words, traditional leaders play the role of mediator. Some respondent argued that, traditional leaders are involved in reconciliation, when the government fails; they are task to make young people disarm or integrate the army, or talk with families by clan diplomacy that educates villages.

4.1.9 Policy of reparation to victims

The respondents argued that the government's policy of reparation of victims is delayed, weak or inexistent. Reparation is taking place with NGOs by providing health care, socio-psycho assistance while the government remains an observer. Some time reparation of victims seems to be complex because it implies Congolese State not only as responsible for reparation, but also as an indirect perpetrator. The Gedeon's trial case is a good illustration:

a) The Gedeon case: Crimes against humanity committed by the Mai-Mai

From October 2003 to 2006, attacks spread across the territory of Manono-Mitwaba-Pweto, known as the "Triangle of Death". The Mai-Mai group led by Gedeon Kyungu

Mutanga carried out systematic assassinations, torture, rape and many other forms of violence, including sexual, such as mutilation, sexual slavery, etc

On 5 March 2009, the first trial concerning crimes committed by the Mai Mai forces opened before the Military Court of the Upper Katanga Garrison. The Court rejected the majority of the actions brought by victims, determining that they were not admissible, or "unfounded, owing to the poor quality of their legal counsel". The Court also held the DRC government accountable, for having provided arms to the Mai-Mai militia and because State made no effort to effectively and totally disarms the combatants. The Court decided that the DRC government must repair the damage caused by the crimes, which is the subject of the claims for compensation by the civil parties in the case. The amount of compensation awarded ranged from 30,000 USD to 100,000USD.

A few months later Gedeon escaped from prison and committed further graves crimes (Katanga Military Court 2010).

b.The right to reparation in national courts

Congolese law maintains a conventional approach to reparation, which does not take account of developments in international law. An offender has a duty to repair the damage resulting from the offense, but such reparation may only be financial. Given that the convicted person is usually poor, this obligation is usually borne by the State. The amount is never calculated on the basis of an assessment of the extent of the damages suffered by the victim. Obtaining a judgment recognizing the commission of a crime and

punishing the perpetrators is an important form of reparation for victims. A conviction establishes who the guilty person is, and exonerates the victim from all liability. However, in DRC, convictions lose meaning as they are rarely enforced. Perpetrators generally succeed in bribing their guards and escaping from prison. One of the individuals interviewed said: "The only criminals who remain in prison are there because they don't want to leave" (Interview, 28 March 2014).The lack of prosecutions against high-ranking military personnel and government representatives confirms the partiality of the justice system and increases victims' distrust in national institutions.

b) Reparation limited to compensation

Financial reparation is the only form of reparation available under Congolese law. The law provides for the right of victims to receive monetary damages, with interest, to compensate for the damage suffered. This narrow monetary definition does not comply with the definition of reparation under international law, nor does it fulfill the obligation of the DRC State to ensure full reparation. Neither lawyers nor judges propose other form of reparation that would more adequately take account of the damage suffered and the needs of victims. A consultation with victims on their expectations for reparation, which is essential to any definition of effective remedies, is almost non-existent. Legal reparation is therefore exclusively monetary and individual.

4.1.10 Challenges of reconciliation

The respondents argued that, from Mobutu's principle which is to make shot sleeves to the revolution of modernity by Joseph Kabila through self-hold in charge of Laurent Desire Kabila, Katangese people have had enough and are necessitated to take care of their own destiny. In addition, many speeches, resolutions and even actions are taken with the objectives of the DRC' lift-off. However, all remain meaningless, that north Katanga province in particular is listed among the poorest. People are tired of hearing the same fruitless speeches that are never followed by their implementation. Some respondent argued that the fact that mai-mai militias are supported by government officials, is a big challenge for reconciliation.

a) Economic development

Poverty is one of the main challenges in the north Katanga. Economic development is one of the core factors to foster reconciliation towards peace building. Economic development refers to sustainable economic growth accompanied by significant structural change in production patterns and generalized improvement in living standards. DRC's State capacities cannot increase if a developmental commitment among the State elite is missing or insufficiently resolute.

b) Accountability to the law

Accountability to the law is a condition in which the people, public officials and perpetrators of past conflict-related crimes are held legally accountable for their actions; this condition is very challenging in the northern Katanga conflict which those who are responsible for human rights violations, seem to be above the law. In other words, some political leaders who are supporting Mai –Mai militias; remain untouchable by the law. The bishops said:" We denounce the Black Hand which manipulates young people and transforms them into pitiless Killers".

c) Access to justice

It is a condition from which people are able to seek and obtain a remedy for grievances through formal or informal institutions of justice that conform with international human rights standards, and a system exists to ensure equal and effective application of the law, procedural fairness, and transparency. Unfortunately, this condition seems to be a rare ingredient in Congolese justice system where access to justice is a big challenge. As a result, conflict between victim and perpetrator remains unresolved and tend to form a cycle of violence.

d) Culture of lawfulness

Because of the corrupted nature of Congolese justice system, people are somehow demotivated to follow the law and seek to access the justice system to address its grievances. The absence or delayed of prosecution in the north Katanga due to lack of

permanent court and tribunals, is another challenge; which gives impression that north Katanga is ungoverned, suffered from structural violence.

4.1.11 Overall assessment of reconciliation

The respondents suggest that all tribes in Katanga should gather around the same table in order to find effective ways to promote lasting peace. Those who are supporting militia Mai-Mai must be aware of human rights violations. There is also need for a real political will, direct actors (Militias groups) and indirect actors (Political godfathers) to respect protect and promote human rights.

4.1.12 Suggestions

The respondents suggested that a participatory governance, implementation of decentralization to bring the basis for the creation of social actions solutions. Also building civic trust in people, creation of a middle class in the north Katanga creating employment that will bring people out of poverty, which is the real cause of this threat.

Some of them think that authorities should be thinking of northern Katanga in term of development. Some suggested the need to promote dialogue and understanding, mutual tolerance and a culture of peace, good governance and equitable distribution of wealth.

4.2 Interpretation and Analysis of Data In Relation To Theory

The key question of this research was the role of reconciliation in promoting sustainable peacebuilding in the conflict of north Katanga province. The thesis of this research was that reconciliation is the hallmark of sustainable peacebuilding. Not addressing legacies of the past violations in north Katanga will form the bases for new spiral of violence and people's vulnerability will increase significantly. The interpretation and analysis that follow are done in light of the Human Needs Theory (HNT) and frustration-aggression theories which are cornerstone theoretical frameworks of this research.

4.2.1 Causes of conflict in the north Katanga

a. Direct violence

This study unveiled that military brutality is the factor that led to the conflict in north Katanga. The Mai-Mai fighter's involvement in militia's movement was a defense mechanism against human rights violations perpetrated by national army and other foreigner soldiers. They integrated in militia movement first with the objective to defend their villages against Rwanda invasion and national army abuses. The involvement of youth in Mai-Mai movement was their desire to express their inalienable rights to defend themselves and the country which was aggressed by Rwanda and Uganda. The failure of the State to protect civilian against military threat was an opportunity for civilian to take the initiative which was supposed to be the State prerogative. This initiative has been encouraged by Mzee Laurent Kabila' statement which calls upon Katangese people:

"Self hold in charge, if you are afraid to take arm, you will be dominated". This exciting statement led northerners Katangese people to take over arms and fights against all negative force, including national army troops for human rights violation such as: rape, killing, palling, torture and so on. Frustration causes aggression, and when the source of the frustration cannot be challenged, the aggression gets displaced onto an innocent target (Dollard J 1986). As an illustration, the DRC's government being in some extent unreachable the fighters Mai-Mai are targeting villages in the so-called "Triangle of death", firing against civilian's, rapes, looting and torching of houses and so on.

According to Gultung (1980), violence is an avoidable insult to basic needs and more generally to life. The causes of direct violent in the north Katanga, can be explained by the militia's claims for survival needs :(negation of death, mortality) and freedom needs (negation of repression) and by national army as well-being need (negation: misery). This violence is also explained by the fact that usually, the military troops deployed in north Katanga for security agenda are lacking foods, logistical means and even worse without pay. In this frustrating situation, soldiers or military troops react in extra punitive manner against civil protection and the government for unmet needs. In this context, Levinas (1989) argued that, "The primacy of law on duty is an ethical inversion whose major consequence is expanding violence".

In fact, the DRC's government is answerable for the conflict in north Katanga and mass human rights violations perpetrated by both, national army as well as by militia Mai-Mai. That is to say that this insecurity situation relates well to Human Needs Theory, in the sense that it stress that if needs are unfulfilled because the State fails to properly address them, or if a group feels that these needs are unmet, or perceives a threat to these needs, violence can emerge and forms a spiral of conflicts.

Military brutality also find justification in what we might call " personality basic", which was particularly strengthened through Mobutu reign, during which soldiers from the military training centers developed a negative attitude towards civilians, which consisted in reify the civilian population. This shared behavioral traits of DRC's soldiers raised in the same military culture and experiencing similar practices. Accordingly, human rights violations for which the national army and the militia Mai-Mai are accountable are in a large extent, a logical consequence of bad governance and crisis of leadership. This state of "Failed State", which characterizes the DRC, undermines significantly the so-called "nationalism", a key element of identification, social mobilization and national unity without which peace is not promising.

b. Structural violence

Findings of this research unpacked that the main causes that led the conflict in the north Katanga call for meeting basic human needs such as freedom, identity, to name just a few. The human needs theory found expression in the findings of this study as the

reasons that explain northerners Katangese people involvement in militias movement against the government. Contrary to the primacy of physiological needs as supported by Maslow and the fact that needs as describe by Burton as biological phenomena, findings of this research show that conflict in north Katanga did not emerge upon physio-biological needs, but conflict is about unmet needs in holistic manner. In other words, the idea of hierarchy of needs doesn't matter in understanding the roots conflict in Katanga. As an illustration, the respondent did not mention or complain making reference to a certain hierarchy of needs as pretend Maslow and other, but their complain which causes the conflict is more related to structuralism approach rather than to functionalism approach.

In this context of structural violence, north Katangese people refers more to the idea of development which if sustain in this part of province, an important number of conflict based-human needs will be addressed. Development to which the respondents refer can be understood as a process in which circumstances are improving for the better, in a narrow sense, it might refer to economic growth and the fairer distribution of province resources.

Meeting human needs in holistic perspective, is a condition if present, would improve the well-being of the north Katangese people. Thus Human Needs Theory begins by explaining that, most conflicts have to do with other unmet human needs, such as

protection, identity, recognition, participation and understanding needs. Only by giving more importance to these latter needs, truly recognizing them as human needs essential to the wellbeing of all human being, will we be able to address current and intractable conflicts (Evans G, 1993).

As an illustration, reconciliation process in Cambodia contributed to build a level of peace by fulfilling some basic human needs such security, rehabilitation of refugees. In the same perspective of recognizing human needs, in South Africa three committees were formed namely: Human rights Violations committee for collecting from victims, Amnesty committee which decided individual application for amnesty and reparation and rehabilitation committee designed and put forward recommendation for reparation program.

However, given that in north Katanga these needs are unfulfilled because the state fails to properly address them, people feels that these needs are unmet, and a perceived threat to these needs results in intractable violence. In the case of the north Katanga province, of course Structural violence exists. It is the physical and psychological harm that results from DRC' exploitative and unjust social, political and economic systems. Once again, the findings show that from this structural violence, people in north Katanga is harmed as an interactional totality.

The systems are structural because they are rooted in the political and economic organization of DRC' government; and they are violent because they cause injure to northerner Katangese. In north Katanga, structural violence is visited upon all those whose social status denies them access to the fruits of the so-called "geological scandal" for which Katanga is well known. Assefa (1993) describes this as "Killing people without the use of the gun".

In the same perspective, Chasin (1998) argued that structural violence can be defined as deprivation of food, health care, education, and other resources necessary for human life and development that leads to physical disability, the destruction of human potential and death. Structural violence, while it is a less visible form of the destruction of human life, can be deadly and affect large numbers of people in north Katanga. As an illustration, in Katanga the number of displaced people in the province has more than doubled from 64.082 to 149.812 people due to the return of Mai-Mai Gedeon, a warlord who escaped from prison at the end of 2011. Mai-Mai fighters are accused of killings, abductions, sexual violation, pillaging, destruction of property, and forced recruitments. It is estimated that approximately 800 (or 30 per cent) of the Gedeon fighters are children (UNICEF 2012).

In order to re-build relationship in Mozambique for instance, civil society organizations have engaged in peacebuilding activities that have reintegrated former combatants and

trained rural communities in dispute resolution and various methods of reconciliation and healing, and in Morocco the government granted reparations directly to victims of human rights violations.

In addition, the distinction between "Katanga useless" which represent the north and "Katanga useful" which represent the south part of the province seems to be a form of "cultural violence" which makes direct and structural violence look, even feel right. Thus, the perception, rational or not, of any injustice regarding the distributive system quickly led to identity-based struggle in north Katanga, a Baluba area against the failed DRC government. Are-there mineral resources the only factors of development? How many countries in the world are developed from a simple agriculture and other factors? It is an aberration for Congolese leaders to think that development is not possible without mineral resources. It is this way of perceiving things from which the north Katanga seems to be a" forgotten zone" to development agenda of the province as well as central government. The road system is almost inexistent; as a result there is no investment to the detriment of the density of its drainage network, the abundance of fishing resources very diversified and other natural resources unexploited even unknown until now because of " Cultural indifference", which justify in large extent the fact that situation in north Katanga goes from bad to worse. Improvement in economic well-being together with increased political openness significantly decreases the risk of experiencing war any more. In north Katanga, conflict begets conflict not because north

Katangese people fail to experience any improvement over time. On the same lines, respondents argue that negative economic growth rates are the primary source of violent conflict. Furthermore, the findings show that violent conflict greatly strains the economy, so that there is the potential for a trap a cycle of economic deterioration and repeat conflict. Economic development seems essential for peace, and peace is essential for reconciliation. Needless to say, reconciliation in promoting sustainable peace in north Katanga must go hand in hand with economic justice.

4.2.2 Achievement of reconciliation in the north Katanga

a. Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR).

A fundamental precondition for peace, stability and human development in the north Katanga province are comprehensive and effective Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) processes. The DDR aims at comprehensive reversal of war conditions to peace amongst belligerents and bring about peaceful conditions, enhance human security, stability and development through the transforming the role and posture of Mai-Mai combatants. At the light of the DDR objectives, it goes without saying that there is a positive correlation with the four classes of basic needs find out by Gultung (1980):

a. Survival needs: negation of death, mortality (by Disarmament).

b. Identity needs: negation of alienation (by Demobilization).

c. Well-being needs: negation of misery (by Reintegration).

d. Freedom needs: negation of repression (by Reinsertion).

The National Commission for DDR was established by decree N° 03/042 of December establishing the organization and functioning of the National Commission of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reinsertion in caption (CONADER).

According to World bank (2009), by the time presidential elections were completed and the transitional government came to close in December 2006, the DDR program had processed 186.000 combatants, of which 132.000 were demobilized (including 30.000 children and 2.670 women). Some 50.000 combatants had chosen to remain in the new army. In view of the daunting challenges, many viewed this as a remarkable achievement. More recently about 2000 Mai-Mai fighters were transferred to military Kitona's base.

An effective DDR process in Katanga province should not simply remove the guns from the ex-combatants but should go a long way in disarming their minds, which includes equipping them with new skills beyond the fighting mentality and backed by alternative livelihood means. Ending violence via peace agreement or disarmament does not mean the achievement of peace. Rather, the ending of violence in this Katanga context should provides a new set of opportunities that can be grasped. At the heart of

the notion of peacebuilding in the north Katanga, is the idea of meeting needs for security and order, for a reasonable standard of living, and for recognition of identity and worth.

The DDR program in Katanga often fails to identify the root causes that lead to violence and broken society. In other words, this program seems to be incomplete because it does not fulfill the basic needs of ex-combatants, which are according to Human Needs Theorists, the main causes of protracted conflict. The failure of DDR program in Katanga led to insecurity problem. Having served his country until supreme sacrifice, once demonized the government must pay more attention to ex-combatants for their successful social reintegration. Otherwise, the reality is that because they some of them failed this reintegration they re-take arm for revenging against a society, well a government which, they qualify as "Ingrate". Insecurity as widespread in nowadays in Katanga province is the logic consequence of the failure of the DRC government to meet human basic needs of its citizens. DDR program must be based on transformative approach: terminating something undesired (violence) and the building of something desired through the transformation of relationship and construction of conditions for peace.

DDR is consistent with the perspective that the task of Peacebuilding involves a switch of focus away from the warriors, with whom peace-keepers are concerned, to the

attitudes and socio-economic circumstances of ordinary people. Peacekeeping is about building barriers between the warriors (Mai-Mai) whereas, peacebuilding tries to build bridges between the ordinary.

The DDR program in the north Katanga should embraces the HNT that considers conflicts as the result of a process driven by unfulfilled needs and collective fears. The crisis management in the north Katanga can be successful only when basic Human needs are met and collective fears are addressed. In this perspective, the special Representative and head of the Monusco said: "It up to the DRC government to end the rebellion, including by addressing social grievances about underdevelopment and the struggle between Katanga and central authorities over how to share the province's wealth".

b. Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)

 In Katanga, the number of displaced people in the province has more than doubled from 64,082 to 149,812 people of end of June due to the return of Mayi-Mayi Gedeon, a warlord who escaped from prison at the end of 2011. Negotiations are being held between Mayi-Mayi and the provincial government, and UNICEF and its partners prepared a response to the possible exit of children from their ranks. It is estimated that approximately 800 (or 30 per cent) of the Gedeon fighters are children (UN 2013).

Removing Children from their Mai-Mai ranks is not enough. The government and other specialized NGOs should pay more attention for educative program of this "Katanga's future".

Concerning the alarming number of IDPs and conditions in which there lived, there was imperative need to address the widespread social and economic disadvantages affecting them. Events in which these issues were addressed in post-conflict state recovery and capacity building includes agreement between Mai Mai and government, building of infrastructure, consolidation of the political and economic systems, and increase in the quality and number of social services offered to the citizens. Additionally, the government in partnership with specialized NGOs created incentives for IDPs to return to their homes.

In recognition of the growing humanitarian needs in Katanga, the CERF underfunded financing mechanism allocated USD 12 million to be shared between South Kivu and Katanga in August 2012. While the majority of the funds went towards nutrition programmes and a logistics project to rehabilitate the road between Manono and Nyunzu, funds were also allocated to strengthen access to basic health services and to ensure a holistic treatment for survivors of sexual violence. In March 2013, a response plan for humanitarian assistance in Pweto has received $2, 5 million from the Common

Humanitarian Fund for health, food distribution and non-food items and emergency shelter (UNICEF, 2012).

This funding as based on the so-called "triangle of death", refers to the need of reparations to victims which are measures taken by the state and more than by NGOs to redress gross and systematic violations of human rights law or humanitarian law through the administration of some form of compensation or restitution to the victims.

In Mitwaba, UNICEF local partner covered the need of some 1400 IDPs children (out of 1500 planned) through the rehabilitation of 28 emergency classrooms and 7 schools received UNICEF emergency education supplies such as 256 desks and chairs to host the IDPs children. Additionally, the communities in which the schools are located are being targeted with income generation activities (cash transfer) to support school fee payments for IDP children. Local NGO Reconfort (under UNICEF and the Pooled Fund) has supported 3,198 vulnerable children in 4 Child Friendly Spaces (Mitwaba, Piana, Kasongo Mwana and Kasungeji); 106 survivors of sexual violence have received assistance, including medical care, psychosocial support and socioeconomic and educational reintegration (UNICEF 2012).

On the light of the above, it is necessary to mention that on individual level, traumatic experiences do not disappear through silence. Psychological trauma research has shown that it is of great importance to heal traumatic wounds in order for life to continue without the trauma becoming cemented in physical and/or mental disorder. Also, official acknowledgement of past atrocity and injustice is important indeed in Katanga context, because it validates past experiences and helps restore dignity and self –esteem. In this perspective of reparation to victims, Ghana government had paid more than $ 1 million to victims of human rights violations, in Guatemala the reconciliation commission sough to educate Guatemalan for the past wrongs committed and in Rwanda, traditional leadership had been involved in promoting peace after genocide in 1994.

4.2.3 Recommendation towards sustainable peacebuilding

This research recommends the central government to provide the needs required to troops deployed for military operation and allocate an adequate amount for effectiveness of DDR programs. Provincial government should shape developmental policy based on the north Katanga's needs (such as road systems, schools, employment…) and on its available resources and vocation, for instance agricultural land, professional fishing, tourism, producing electricity and so on. Shaping a policy is not enough. This policy should be implemented by using the so-called "professional selection". This requirement may be helpful because many policies fail because their implementation is done by

charlatan people, some time in complicity of policy-makers. Monitoring of this policy implementation, must be useful for achieving targets in peacebuilding in north Katanga.

The study recommends also to Monusco to be involved in order protect civilian from violations.

Civil society to:

- Protection of citizens against violence from conflicting parties,
- Monitoring of human rights violations and implementation of peace agreements,
- Advocacy for peace and human rights,
- Socialization to values of peace and democracy,
- Inter-group social cohesion by bringing people together from adversarial groups, and
- Facilitation of dialogue on local and national level between all sorts of actors.

Provincial government should provide an effective remedy for persons who claim to have been victims of human rights, to promote public understanding of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights .It should adopt such legislative, administrative and other steps as may be necessary to ensure effective implementation of rights and freedom.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, RECOMMANDATION AND CONCLUSIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter gives a summary of the research which sought to assess the role of reconciliation in promoting sustainable peacebuilding in the north Katanga province. This chapter also outlines the conclusions of the study and accordingly proffers its recommendations. It is the researcher's candid hope that the conclusions and recommendations herein will generate serious discussion among academics, policy makers in government, members of civil society on the issues to consider reconciliation as a precondition in paving sustainable peace.

5.1 Summary

The purpose of this study was to investigate the role of reconciliation in promoting sustainable peacebuilding in DR. Congo. The study was a case study of the north Katanga province. This research was thus informed by the Human Needs Theories (HNT). These theories attempt to explain how and why some people, or groups of people, become violent or aggressive during certain scenarios. The human needs theory explains that if the State fails to properly address the basic human needs, or if a group feels that these needs are unmet, or perceives a threat to these needs, violence can emerge. The human needs theory explains the motivation of the MaI Mai fighters to take arms against the government as a means of meeting human needs.

This research captured the perspectives of fifty (50) informants who gave their insights on the topic. The informants were a mixed bag which included governmental leaders, civil society member, journalists, Mai Mai fighters and civilian population. The informants were drawn from a broad spectrum of society and this assisted in bringing a holistic understanding of role of reconciliation in promoting sustainable peace in north Katanga province. Purposive and snowballing methods were engaged while semi-structured interviews, focus discussions, observation and oral histories were employed as the data collection methods for the study. The study was qualitative and used the case study as its research design. Glaser and Strauss's grounded theory was used to guide the data collection process and this assisted in a long way in enhancing the depth of analysis of this study's findings.

5.2 Conclusions

5.2.1 Causes of conflict in the north Katanga

Evidence gathered in this research highlighted that north Katanga province is a victim of military brutality, witnessed a steady economic decline due to failed economic governance, poor policy, and lack of visionary leadership. From 1998 to date the militias Mai-Mai movement has become a subject of humanitarian concern. The militia Mai Mai is a result of the State's unfulfillment of basic human needs, and it related to what Gultung (1996) calls as structural violence.

Contrary to the idea of hierarchy of needs, as supported by Maslow in stressing that physiological needs are the most powerful needs, Burton for who needs are essentially a biological phenomena, and Laureen who argued that needs are just an expression of social conventions, the findings of this research show that the so-called "unmet needs" having led to conflict in north Katanga did not follow any hierarchy. In other words, in this research human needs are understood in gestalt perspective, considering "human" as a totality of mind, body, emotions and spirit. As such, meaning cannot be found from breaking things down into parts, but comes from appreciation of the whole.

 As a result, Mai Mai combatants took arms against the government and claiming to fight for Katanga independence. The tendency to satisfy human needs in a holistic manner was the core reason of the conflict in north Katanga.

5.2.2 Kind of reconciliation initiatives

The decline of citizenship that reached alarming proportions in term of crisis of values implies the nation decides to stop this decline by embarking not only on economic reconstruction, but also formatting a new type of man. This primary objective of the new citizenship is about re-building relationship among people and groups in society and between the State and its citizens. Creating trust and understanding between former enemies through national dialogue, conference, negotiation and so on; is helpful in the process of building lasting peace.

5.2.3 Achievement of reconciliation in the north Katanga

Reconciliation processes managed to bring a certain level of peace by disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (reinsertion). Reconciliation facilitated meeting between the government and Mai Mai warlords, to hear their claims and to persuade them to demobilized their fighters and release children used as combatants. From this process, some zones which were previously unreachable for humanitarian assistance were accordingly reachable and internally displaced persons managed to return in their village. However, peace brought by reconciliation efforts is not sustainable because in practice the same causes produce the same effects. This ongoing conflict can be explained by the lack of franchise and honesty among those targeted in reconciliation process. For sustainable peace, reconciliation must focus on addressing the roots causes the conflict that are human needs as defined by militia Mai-Mai in peace agreement with the government.

5.2 4 Challenges of reconciliation

In the north Katanga province conflict begets conflict because the people have failed to experience any improvement over time. The lack of economic development seems to be a challenge of reconciliation in northern Katanga. A cycle of economic deterioration and repeated conflict explained in a larger extent the weakness of the reconciliation process towards sustainable peace. Reconciliation in promoting sustainable peace in north Katanga must go hand in hand with economic justice. Economic development seems

essential for peace, and peace is essential for reconciliation. Another of the underlying challenges of reconciliation is the lack of accountability to the law. Some of those who are targeted in reconciliation process are in the meantime part of the militias' supporters. In other words, some perpetrators of past conflict-related crimes are not held legally accountable for their actions. In this case, the judiciary system is dependent and not free from political influence. Consequently, access to justice system to address its grievances becomes very critical to the extent that the "culture of lawfulness" seems to disappear in population's mind. Justice is indispensable for reconciliation. The apparatus of justice system must be restored as it has usually broken down and lost all legitimity, in order to address the injustice and pain that has been suffered by Katangese people during conflict.

The lack of government's monitoring and respect of agreement with militia fighters are another challenge to which reconciliation is facing in the north Katanga. Missing from all reconciliation efforts thus far in Katanga are provisions to address impunity and to begin a serious national dialogue about justice. The neglect of justice in efforts to build peace in north Katanga has contributed to the ongoing cycles of violence by allowing actors with shady records inside, to operate with impunity. The result of the conflict between central government and the militia Mai-Mai bakata-Katanga is one example.

5.2.5 Policy of reparation to victims

The government's policy of reparation of victims is weak or not in existent. Reparation is taking place with NGOs by providing health care, socio-psycho assistance while the government remains viewer. Some time reparation to victims seems to be complex because it implies Congolese State not only as responsible for reparation, but also as an indirect perpetrator. The case of Mai-Mai militias which were provided by arms by the government in the past. Financial reparation seems the only form of reparation available under Congolese law. The law provides for the right of victims to receive monetary damages, with interest, to compensate for the damage suffered. Neither lawyers nor judges propose other form of reparation that would more adequately take account of the damage suffered and the needs of victims. A consultation with victims on their expectations for reparation, which is essential to any definition of effective remedies, is almost non-existent. Legal reparation is therefore exclusively monetary and individual.

5.3. Recommendations

5.3.1 Developmental commitment

The research recommends that the State should be more committed to developmental State which is characterized by a leadership which is strongly committed to developmental goals, and which places national development ahead of personal enrichment and /or political gain. Developmental commitment among the State elite must be a precondition for sustainable peace in the north Katanga province.

Provincial government should shape developmental policy based on the northern Katanga's needs (such as road systems, schools, employment…) and on its available resources and vocation, for instance agricultural land, industrial fishing, tourism, producing electricity and so on. Shaping such policy is not enough. This policy should be implemented by using the so-called "professional selection". This requirement may be helpful because many policies fail because their implementation is done by charlatan people, some time in complicity of policy-makers. Monitoring of this policy implementation, must be useful for achieving targets in peacebuilding in north Katanga.

Civil society has an important supportive role for peacebuilding during all stages of conflict, for instance:

- Protection of citizens against violence from conflicting parties,
- Monitoring of human rights violations and implementation of peace agreements,
- Advocacy for peace and human rights,
- Socialization to values of peace and democracy,
- Inter-group social cohesion by bringing people together from adversarial groups, and
- Facilitation of dialogue on local and national level between all sorts of actors.

5.3. 2 Human rights Education

This study recommends human rights education that should encompass values such as peace, non-discrimination, equality, justice, non-violence, tolerance, to live in peace and

security and respect for human dignity. These objectives can be achieved only through imparting human rights education, which is a lifelong process by which people at all levels of development and in all strata learns respect for dignity of others and the means and methods of ensuring that respect in all societies.

5.3.3 Reparations Programmes

The provincial Government should carry out reparation programmes in the north Katanga province based on individual as well as on collective reparation, by providing health care, psycho-social assistance and building roads, hospital, schools, houses and so on. Further, these programmes must be designed in consultation with affected communities in particular those living in the so-called "triangle of death".

5.3.4 Institutional reform

Evidence gathered in this research highlighted that there is a "black hand" beyond militia Mai Mai movements who manipulate illiterate youth to maintain their political power. As such, the study also recommends institutional reform. Public institutions that helped perpetuate conflict or repressive rule must be transformed into institutions that sustain peace, protect human rights, and foster a culture of respect for the rule of law. Vetting members of the public service, particularly in security, justice and decision-making sectors, is critical to facilitating transformation, by removing from office or refraining from recruiting those public employees personally responsible for gross

violations of human rights or complicity in the humanitarian crisis of north Katanga. This Study does not pretend to be perfect or explore all reality on the role of reconciliation in the north Katanga. It is just a Chain link in the ongoing process of research in this area .The future Studies will deepen the problematic on the ambivalent Character that present some Leaders involved in the reconciliation in the north Katanga province.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A Questionnaire for Government Leaders

1. What are the driver forces of the conflict in the northern Katanga?

2. What are the interests of militia in the northern Katanga?

3. When did the efforts towards promoting reconciliation begin in Katanga?

4. What kind of reconciliation initiatives are being used by the government, NGOs, and other actors in Katanga?

5. Who are the actors targeted in reconciliation?

6. How effective are there reconciliation efforts in promoting sustainable peace in Katanga?

Appendix B Interview Guide for Civilian and Mai_Mai

1. What is the achievement of reconciliation in the northern Katanga?

2. Are there some reconciliation agreement between Mai-Mai fighters and the government?

3. How traditional leaders have are involved in the reconciliation process?

4. What is the policy of reparation to victims in the northern Katanga?

5. What recommendation can be made so that reconciliation can bring sustainable peacebuilding in northern Katanga?

Appendix C Focus Group Discussions with NGOs and Journalists

1. What are the challenges of reconciliation in the northern Katanga

2. What is your overall assessment of the reconciliation initiatives in Katanga?

3. Are there any reconciliation that you would like to suggest towards making the reconciliation more sustainable?

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