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Re-Thinking Development in Conflict

Lessons and Impressions from the African Great Lakes

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

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in Development Studies at
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Jonathan David ANDREWS

ABSTRACT

Based on a review of contemporary development literature and substantial experience in relief work in the Great Lakes Region of Central Africa, this thesis asserts the need to 're-think' development and relief work in conflict situations.

Recent 'development' has been a process of prescriptive global modernisation based on models created following World War II when periods of conflict and resolution were well-defined. Western ideas became institutionalised into the form that many international development agencies remain in today. Much development in practice is not only inappropriate, but also increases the vulnerability of poor communities and adds to the likelihood of conflict.

Colonial powers imposed western systems upon traditional orders, distorting and exploiting issues of kinship and ethnicity for short-term economic gain. With a focus on the South Kivu province of the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaïre), and recent events in the Great Lakes Region of Central Africa, links between power, poverty and conflict are discussed and social and economic consequences examined.

Contemporary humanitarian emergencies are complex, caused by and resulting in a multitude of social, political and economic issues. Conflict permeates society, exacts a high toll on civilian population and further impoverishes vulnerable communities. Such emergencies require comprehensive solutions. Poverty and conflict, and accordingly relief and development work, are inextricably linked.

Localised long-term 'vulnerabilities', rather than short-term 'emergency needs', should be the focus of relief assistance. Peace is essential for true sustainable development, but the international community does not act as a cohesive whole for the elimination of global conflict and poverty. Some political leaders also promote conflict to their own ends. Therefore, continued conflict is a likelihood and appropriate interim interventions to safeguard community welfare must be continued.

NGOs and individuals have a crucial role and must remain committed and openminded in order to promote truly beneficial development in a local context. Individual recognition of the historical, social and cultural dimensions of contemporary crises and understanding of the root causes of conflict are crucial for the effectiveness of international relief and development work towards long-term peace and local prosperity. "American, French, I don't care. When you start bombing the brown races of the world, you're an Englishman. You had King Leopold of Belgium and now you have fucking Harry Truman of the USA. You all learned it from the English."

Voice of Kirpal Singh

Michael Ondaatje The English Patient 1993:286

PREFACE

I have written this thesis as both a personal learning exercise and to highlight 'lessons and impressions' gained from experience in international relief work in a conflict situation. Thus, I hope to make a small contribution towards refining global development practice and trust that the expression of such views may aid others in similar employ. I would have liked to have better understood the issues discussed within this thesis before commencing work in Africa myself.

The thesis is specifically written from the perspective of an expatriate, transient in a complex environment of profound culture and conflict. It is a philosophical discourse following a period of further research and reflection as opposed to the many technical reports that I have produced over this period in the field. With the benefit of hindsight, the actions suggested within this thesis may be somewhat contradictory to the purely 'technical' recommendations that I have previously proposed.

Having experienced a certain evolution of consciousness during the process of compiling this thesis, I understand that the international community does not, as a whole, act in favour of eliminating global conflict and poverty. Rather, it is the good will, knowledge and respect of individuals within their associated agencies that can effectively act to influence good change and combat poverty under a shadow of prevalent and recurrent conflict.

I have been a part of the conflict described on the following pages and I have felt the loss of colleagues and personal friends. As the final words of this thesis are typed, combat continues in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo.

Jonathan Andrews Grafton, Auckland 25 November, 1998

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people from both the local and expatriate communities in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo assisted with information for this thesis. They are too numerous to name here and an attempt to list key contributors is included within references following the main thesis text.

Much information is drawn from Oxfam publications. The work of Chris Roche from Oxfam's Programme Development Team must be acknowledged and his model of 'The Changing Emphasis of Support' from his article on 'Operationality in Turbulence' has been used as a basis for Figure VII in Chapter 9 (Roche, 1994:18). The comprehensive review of 'development' by Gustavo Esteva (1992) is much referred to as a basis for Chapter 2.

Many sources of information were found to have a political bias, such as several quotes referred to by Dr. Theogene Rudasingwa, the current Ambassador of Rwanda to the United States. The author has attempted to exercise discretion in their selection and only uses quotes from the least emotive abstracts that he feels reflect the reality of the situation. Information is also drawn from American-run business data systems, and it is recognised that these sources are also not entirely objective nor complete.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Section I CONTEXT

CHAPTER 1	INTRODUCTION	1
AIM		1
KEY CONCEPTS		2
STRUCTURE		3
METHODOLOGY	4	
THE STUDY ARE	6	
Geography		6
Populations		7
Socio-Economic	c Setting	7
CHAPTER 2	DEVELOPMENT AND CONFLICT	9
DEFINITIONS		9
The Changing I	Face of Conflict	11
	FDEVELOPMENT	12
The Birth of Un	nderdevelopment	13
Development In	stitutionalised	15
New Thinking a	and the NGO Movement	21
Failed Develops	ment	23
The Relief-Development Dichotomy		23
Summary		24
	Section II HISTORY	
CHAPTER 3	SOUTH KIVU IN THE GREAT LAKES	27
A BRIEF HISTOR	Y	27
Pre-Colonial Ti	imes	27
EXTERNAL INFL	UENCE	29
The Congo Col	onised	29
Ruanda-Urundi	32	
THE COMING OF INDEPENDENCE		34
Independent Congo		34
Rwanda and Bu	35	
POST INDEPEND		36
Zaïre and the R	36	
Post Colonial R	39	
Summary		41

ONE DECADE. ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF CATASTROPHE COMPOUNDED	43	
INTRODUCTION	43	
DECADE OF DESPAIR	43 44	
THE RWANDAN GENOCIDE		
The International Response	47	
A New Phase of Conflict in the Making	48	
TUTSI, BANYARWANDA AND BANYAMULENGE	50	
Alienation of Tutsi : Conflict Cause and Effect The Banyamulenge Revolt	51 52	
Conflict Continues	56	
CHAPTER 5 POVERTY AND CONFLICT SUPERIMPOSED	59	
INTRODUCTION	59	
SOUTH KIVU IN 1990. INITIAL CONDITIONS	61	
Agriculture and the Rural Life	61	
Nutrition	63	
Health	63	
Education	64	
Water and Sanitation	66	
Infrastructure	66 67	
Social Factors SOUTHERN KIVU HOSPITALITY	67	
KIVU AT WAR	69	
POVERTY AND CONFLICT: SOUTH KIVU TODAY	72	
Section III DEVELOPMENT ACTORS		
ON A DEED (THE DIGERTHEOLIG	7.5	
CHAPTER 6 THE INSTITUTIONS	75	
TRADITIONAL DEVELOPMENT MECHANISMS	75	
CHURCHES	77	
STATE INSTITUTIONS	78	
NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS	79	
International NGOs Local NGOs	79 80	
THE UNITED NATIONS AGENCIES	81	
INTERNATIONAL DONORS	83	
SUMMARY	83	
	0 =	
CHAPTER 7 CASE STUDIES	85	
OXFAM	85	
Seeds and Tools Distribution	87	
Water supply projects in refugee affected areas	88	
THE MWAMI OF KISEKA		
Road Development Projects in Kiseka Emergency Assistance to High Plateaux Displacees		
GIHAMBA COMMUNITY		
	92	

Community Appraisal Summary UNHCR Relationship with Local Authorities The Expanded Humanitarian Programme SUMMARY	93 95 96 97 99 102
Section IV SYNTHESIS	
CHAPTER 8 PERSONAL EXPERIENCE	103
INTRODUCTION PERSPECTIVE ZAÏRE THE AFDL ATTACK WORKING WITH THE REBELS THE HIGH PLATEAUX MISSION END NOTE	103 104 106 110 114 119 122
CHAPTER 9 CONCLUSION	123
Contemporary Emergencies are Complex Relief and Development are Interrelated Sustainable Development Needs Peace Focus on Vulnerability Individual Agencies have a Crucial Role LESSONS AND IMPRESSIONS Types of Projects to Support Socialising Projects PROPOSALS FOR ACTION For Governments and Donors For UN Agencies For International Relief Workers FUTURE PROSPECTS Conflict and Population Dilemmas Leadership and Ethnicity The Importance of Individuals and NGOs REFERENCES FURTHER ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	123 123 124 125 126 127 130 131 135 137 137 138 141 142 143 144
APPENDICES	

A. Glossar	A.	Glossary
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B. Figure VIII. Map 4 Refugee Movements, 1996

C. Figure IX. Map 5 Repatriation Activities, 1997

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

		page
Figure I.	Map 1. The Democratic Republic of Congo	vii
Figure II.	Map 2. The Study Area: South Kivu	5
Figure III.	The 1949 (post-war) view of Conflict and Development	14
Figure IV.	The Institutionalisation of Development Philosophy	16
Figure V.	The Consequences of Poverty and Conflict Superimposed	59
Figure VI.	Map 3. Refugee Camps and Population Movements, 1997	71
Figure VII.	The Changing Focus of Humanitarian Support	124
Figure VIII.	Map 4. Refugee Movements, 1996	Appendix B
Figure IX .	Map 5. Repatriation Activities, 1997	Appendix C
Table I.	Gihamba Community. Perceived Needs and Responsibilities	es 94

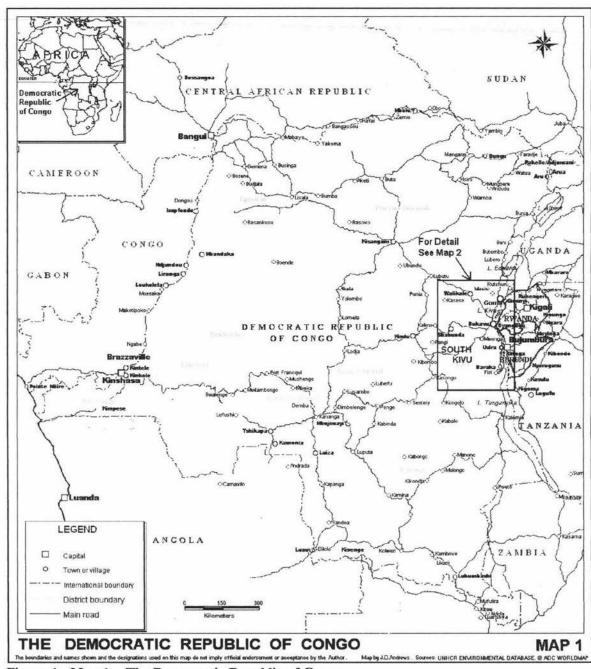


Figure 1. Map 1. The Democratic Republic of Congo