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From Zaire to the DRC: A Case Study of State Failure

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From Zaire to the DRC: A Case Study of State Failure

by

Adam Zachariah Trautman

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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Abstract

The issue of state failure within the international system has been a perplexing phenomenon in our increasingly mobile and modern society. The question of why some states succeed in developing into strong states within the international environment and why some fail is a question often overlooked. The focus of this thesis will be on three key factors that contribute towards state failure. The research will show how these three key factors: **outdated state infrastructure, lack of economic development, and external intervention** contribute to the occurrence of this phenomenon. Analyzing these key factors will highlight how state failure occurs within a case study. The chosen state for the focus of this thesis will be the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). By focusing on this case I plan to cross-reference factors that have been commonly used to gauge state failure. This will show that external factors, as well as internal factors can cause detrimental obstacles in state development. The unit of examination of these three factors will be focused on the DRC. My research will show that the three key factors are the reason why the DRC became a failed state and that due to external events the DRC was able to maintain an image of a stable environment, while the citizens of the country suffered. As a result of the rising influence of globalization and the push for development in the international system state failure has become a preoccupation for scholars.

Chapter One: Introduction

In my attempt to understand the phenomenon of state failure in the international system, it is hard not to see the perplexing phenomenon and the devastating effects that a failing state brings upon its people and surrounding regions. In my thesis, I will be focusing on the issue of state failure in our modern times, as well as how state failure is the result of non-functioning state institutions, the absence of economic development, and the effects of external intervention. These are key factors that I, as well as many other scholars who have approached this topic in the international relations field, have made attempts to understand when delving into the cyclic nature of state failure in our global society. The issue of the state and its manmade boundaries has evolved to a point that the condition of a state has become an issue, which has crossed borders of what we as a society have considered a traditional state system. Much like a close-knit neighborhood, everyone affects everyone, which highlights the importance of this research showing why this is necessary to see how states decline in legitimacy and how they may succeed in the reformation of their state identity. The past has shown that external influence and intervention have been the desired solution to developing states, especially how these external influences interact with states that have weakening governmental systems. This thesis will focus specifically on the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), as a case study, to underscore how state failure ultimately led to the degradation of the DRC.

Research Question

Why did the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) experience state failure? The research will analyze or examine the factors and the external/internal influences that contribute to the progression or regression of the state in the international environment. In addition to this, the research will show how the effects from external/internal factors inhibit the development of the state and ultimately can lead towards a state's own failure. The factors that will be discussed in this research will highlight points of weakness or strengths that would lead to the delegitimizing or legitimization of the state's identity.

Hypothesis

In this thesis, I hypothesize that **outdated state infrastructure, lack of economic development, and external interventions** have contributed to state failure in the DRC. The analysis will rely on both primary sources (CIA Fact book 2012, UN Statistics Division, and the World Bank) and secondary sources (scholarly articles and books) to examine the progression of state failure within the DRC and how these factors contributed to the overall condition of the country.

State Failure and the DRC

Since the end of the Cold War, the instance of state failure occurring in the international community has increased. The factors surrounding such occurrences have been scattered and in some cases significant to that particular state. The ability to gauge if a state was going down the path of failure has been hard to determine, but international relations scholars have identified certain factors that maybe generalized toward a state exhibiting signs of failure. The determination of a state's level of success or failure is often displayed on a spectrum that gauges the degree of state failure.

The occurrence of state failure in the current international environment has to do with the emerging issue of globalization in our society. The increasing mobility of communication and international markets has created an environment that is being

pushed by policies that promote the reduction of state institutions and an increase in the free market approach. These policies and global institutions (for example, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund) have made states interact with one another and compete in a global arena. The different levels of development that states have achieved since the occurrence of such a global environment have created rifts between competing countries. The 1980's brought forth new forms of policies and the 1990s pushed them toward global levels. The importance of this occurrence within my research is that it reveals a backdrop for state interactions within our current international environment.

There have been occurrences of state failure all over the world. Central Africa has exhibited a very strong example of state failure compared to many other regions. This level of disruption in development has spurred the curiosity of many social science researchers, but the result of this research has not revealed a definite answer to why states fail. This occurrence is one of a shifting nature. Each country that exhibits signs of failure or the complete collapse of its governmental institutions has varying factors to contribute towards its relative decline. One way of approaching such a problem is to use a case study to highlight factors that are gauged to show the level of progression a particular state is making.

By using the DRC as an example I will illustrate that the factors proposed for observation: **state infrastructure**, **lack of economic development**, and **external intervention** are essential to the strength of the state. These factors directly impact how a state functions and its possibility of development in the short/long term. The importance of this data is to show that external or internal influences direct the progression of a state. These influences are being imposed by a growing international standard that promotes a global market and a reduction in the role of governmental institutions within the state.

The degradation of state infrastructure, lack of economic development, and external intervention contribute to the occurrence of state failure in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The DRC is an example of a state falling into a downward spiral of mismanagement, corruption, and a loss of state legitimacy. In this research, it is important to rely on previous scholarly work on the subject matter. It especially focuses on state development, state failure, and the policy agenda set out by the West to resolve state failure issues. The analysis will rely on secondary resources, previous scholarly work on the DRC, as well as primary resources (government statistics). The nature of the occurrence and the inability to relate all cases of state failure/development to one another demonstrates the limited scope of the purposed research.

Conceptual Clarification

State Failure is a relatively new concept in our modern times, but has old origins. Empires and communities have been failing since the beginning of time, but the concept of the state is a relatively new occurrence. The categorization of what constitutes a failed state has been hotly debated and still is to some extent. The definition from leading social science researchers varies from scholar to scholar, but there are some general aspects that seem to be in most definitions proposed in this field of research. Brinkerhoff characterizes state failure as, the lack of human security, public services, and a lack of a credible entity within the international theater.¹ The lack of sustainability by the state seems to be an essential trait for what constitutes state failure. Kraxberger determines that state failure is a vacuum of authority where what was once an establishment that brought forth these services collapses on itself.² As a result the state loses its legitimacy and separates its identity from the people that live within its boundaries. In contrast, Brooks takes a devil's advocate approach by looking at how state failure is categorized

¹ Brinkerhoff, Derick, W. "Rebuilding Governance in Failed States and Post-Conflict Societies: Core Concepts and Cross-Cutting Themes." *Public Administration and Development*. 25. (2005):4.

² Kraxberger, B. "Failed States: Temporary obstacles to Democratic Diffusion or Fundamental Holes in the World Political Map?" *Third World Quarterly*. 28. 6. (2007): 1057.

and labeled by focusing on the standard that it is compared to.³ This may reveal a disadvantage in gauging state failure and a development goal that may not be realistically met for some states exhibiting signs of state failure. King and Zeng approach a perspective of state failure that reveals the potential risk for neighboring states as the run off of refugee and criminal activity spreading to neighboring countries. They highlight the fact that failed states have failed governments that cannot project power and authority within the state, which is usually followed by a humanitarian crisis or violent conflict. The result is the destabilization or the weakening of the neighboring states as refugees retreat from the region.⁴ Bates brings a very simple but powerful definition of state failure, by claiming that state failure is the powerful preying on the weak and as a result the state implodes from its own corruption.⁵ Milliken, Gros, and Rotberg have similar definitions of what constitutes state failure in that it is a failure of the government to perform the basic duties, healthcare, education, security, and the development of public institutions in order to benefit the people of the state.^{6,7} For the purpose of this thesis I will define state failure as the inability of the state to provide basic services to its people. These services include: health care, security in agriculture development, effective state institutions, human rights, education, and rule of law, among others. Through the loss of these basic rights the states legitimacy starts to erode and its governmental system will crumble. The identity of the state and its connection to its people begins to disappear. *State Collapse* is the complete disintegration of the state and its ability to function as a symbol of power and stability within the boundaries of the state. Furthermore, the occurrence of state collapse symbolizes the loss of state identity for the government and the citizens residing in the state.

³ Ehrenreich, Rosa. "Failed States, or the State as Failure?" *The University of Chicago Law Review*. 72.4. (2005):1160-61.

⁴ King, Gary and Zeng, Langche. "Improving Forecast of State Failure." *World Politics*. 53. 4. (2001): 623.

⁵ Bates, Robert. "State Failure." *Annual Review of Political Science*. 11. (2008): 1-12.

⁶ Gros, Jean-Germain. "Towards a taxonomy of Failed States in the New World Order: decaying Somalia, Liberia, Rwanda and Haiti." *Third World Quarterly*. 17. 3. (1996): 456.

⁷ Rotberg, Robert. *When States Fail: Causes and Consequence*. Princeton University Press (2003): 2.

⁸ Milliken, Jennifer and Krause, Keith. "State Failure, State Collapse, and State Reconstruction: Concepts, Lessons and Strategies." *Development and Change*. 33. 5. (2002): 753-774.

State Infrastructure is defined in this thesis as the institutions that are created to meet problems that are plaguing the citizens of the state. These problems are related to: collecting/issuing taxes for state development, upholding laws against criminal activities and to maintain the peace within the region, and the ability of the government's to project its power and create a unifying identity among its citizens.

Economic Development is the growth of the domestic/international economic industry within the state and the interaction between these industries with domestic/international industrial entities to promote the overall state economy. *External Intervention* is the intervention by external groups who use foreign policy, foreign aid, or foreign invasion of a state that may negatively influence the development of that state.

Chapter Overview

The proceeding chapters introduce the correlating literature on state failure and the DRC, a historical timeline, an introduction to state failure within the DRC and the outdated state infrastructure, the lack of economic development, external intervention, and the conclusion of the thesis. These chapters will outline the reasons for state failure as well as the contributing factors that have led the DRC to its present condition.

Chapter two is a comprehensive overview of literature of the DRC and the state failure paradigm. In this chapter, I outline key scholarly research on the history of the DRC and the nature of state failure. In addition to this, I correlate this literature to help paint a clearer picture of how state failure occurred within the country.

In chapter three, the focus is on the historical background of the country. I highlight important dates that are relevant to the construction of the state and how these dates support the three factors I propose in my hypothesis. In conjunction to this, the timeline helps to give a point of reference for the audience to relate historical events and the development of state failure factors.

Chapter four is an introduction to the three factors of state failure. In this introduction I briefly highlight the importance of these factors in conjunction with state failure in the DRC. Also, I finish the chapter with the first factor, outdated state infrastructure.

Chapter five is an overview of the lack of economic development, which is the second factor in my research. The chapter reveals how economic policy and the occurrence of an ineffective regulatory system have inhibited the growth of the domestic/international economy in the country. In addition to this the chapter highlights other points of interest that have further degraded the country's ability to grow economically.

Chapter six is an overview of the impact of external entities on the country. In this overview I will discuss the emergence of groups such as NGO's, state groups, private interest groups, and private industry into the country. I will discuss the effects of such groups in relation to the previous two factors.

The seventh chapter will be a summary of information from the previous chapters and correlation of this information. The chapter will also tie the three proposed factors and how they relate to state failure in the DRC. Furthermore, the process of state failure and how interrelates with these factors will be discussed further in an overview of the research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) had a turbulent transition from its Belgian colonial rule to independence. The years of 1960 to 1965 were a disruptive period for the Belgium Congo. The transition of governmental leadership happened swiftly and often. Not until 1965 did the Congo receive an unknown individual that would be the country's longstanding leader who would not conclude his reign until the late-1990s. In his wake, he would leave a country that was in utter chaos. In the midst of this chaos the state infrastructure would be left in shambles, the citizens starving, war causalities and conflict would be ripe within the region, and there would be little hope for the country's revival.

Mobutu's Rise to Power

In the midst of the state's death throws, Mobutu Sese Seko became a leader who used his political position, stability of the state, and the international environment as a means to reap the benefits of the newly independent state's abundant natural resources and use any means necessary to hold on to his political position. The ability of Mobutu to maintain his political position and (in at least the first two decades of his reign) maintain a model of a prospering state was his ability to use external aid and the already existing colonial infrastructure as an appearance of stability. Yet, what most Western aid donors failed to realize was that the large amount of aid going into the Congo/Zaire was used by Mobutu and his political elite for their own personal gain rather than the maintenance and development of the state's infrastructure. Carmenta highlights the West's failure to recognize the outcome of the aid distribution:

...that most Western powers failed to pay attention to developing viable institutions of governance in Africa which could support the independence of new states. As a consequence, African authoritarianism emerged from a series of interrelated phenomena that arose out of the colonial legacy (most states were conceived in violence, there was little transformation in the economy and the local ethnic elite's commitment to the Western imposed structures was low)⁹.

Mobutu's legacy was fueled and pushed forward by external aid and intervention, which undeniably helped to create a dependency for the country.

The Emergence of Zaire

During the 1970s and the 1980s Mobutu utilized the focus of the Cold War as a means to extract large amounts of money and aid from Western countries in their efforts to combat the reach of communism. The United States and allying countries fed a steady flow of resources to countries like the Congo, which later would be renamed Zaire by Mobutu, and created a reliance between the African country and Western governing powers. As a result of this, the development of democratic governance that was the focus of the Cold War alliance was a figment of the imagination within the Central African state.

Fukuyama alludes to Mobutu's rise to power and his ability to reallocate a large portion of the state's resources for himself and leave the rest of the society in what is termed as a 'predatory state'. Mobutu used the public sector to acquire property rights to benefit his needs.¹⁰ The social divide became apparent to the international community in the late-1980s and 1990s, when in the early-1980s the Zairian state started to show signs of decline, but was still held together by external contributions.

Zaire became a predatory state for its citizens; the average citizen received little help from its governing powers while those same governing elites took everything. Reno highlights the internal aspect of life within Zaire and explains that citizens within the country initially organized to fight the reign of Mobutu and his ability to take essential

⁹ Carmenta, David. "Assessing State failure: Implications for Theory and Policy". *Third World Quarterly*. 24. 3. (2003): 412.

¹⁰ Fukuyama, Francis. *State -Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century*. Cornell University Press. 2004: 16.

resources from the citizens and the relocation of these resources to external entities to reinforce his hold on power within the country, but they were not successful.¹¹

The upheaval that occurred in the early 1990s was coming to head with the aggravating factors that could be attributed to the end of the Cold War, when the West lost interest in maintaining aid to its Central African affiliates and the decades of abuse and lack of infrastructure maintenance led to state failure. The international community was forced to try and understand why after decades of assistance is the Democratic Republic of the Congo (previously Zaire and the Belgian Congo) not in better standing. Van de Walle referred to the lack of organization and planning by the revolutionary movement that occurred in the 1990's, which did not have a real political strategy for the transformation of government. Much like the 1960's, the people wanted a new government and change within their society, but did not find a solution to this problem.¹² Many may argue that from the beginning, just after independence, the lack of political strategy amidst all of the chaos of independence, the abuse of not only Western powers in their struggle for control of the international environment during the Cold War, the political struggle, corruption, the failing infrastructure, and the lack of a viable economy all led to the crumbling remnants of the DRC. In the midst of these many factors I believe that they contributed to state failure in the DRC.

State Infrastructure

Since the 1960s the DRC has been relying on the state infrastructure from the previous colonial government as its means to support the citizens of the state. Mobutu had the ability to transform the Belgium system of government into his own and utilize it, but he chose to rely on the already existing infrastructure to suit his means. These means led to a social divide between the political elite and the rest of the population. He did this by creating an authoritarian state that also resembled a democratic one at the

¹¹ Reno, William. *Warlord Politics and African States*. Lynne Rienner Publishers 1998: 219.

¹² Van de Walle, Nicolas. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*. Cambridge University Press. 2001: 107.

same time. The state infrastructure did not evolve as the decades of Mobutu's rule went on. Additionally, the lack of establishing an internal/external economy for the country led to the reliance on external loans and aid from Western powers that were detrimental to an already deteriorating state infrastructure. Rotberg captures this in his passage:

Plausible though it is to detect historical continuities between the horrors of the Leopoldian system and the Mobutu's brutally exploitative dictatorship, or between the sheer oppressiveness of Belgian rule and the excesses of the successor state, in the last analysis Mobutu himself must be seen as the determining agent behind this vertiginous descent into the abyss. What set Mobutu apart from other neo-patrimonial rulers was his unparalleled capacity to institutionalize kleptocracy at every level of the social pyramid and his unrivaled talent for transforming personal rule into a cult and political clientelism into cronyism. Stealing was not so much a perversion of the ethos of public service as it was its raison d'être. The failure of the Zairian state was thus inscribed in the logic of a system which money was the only political tool for rewarding loyalty, a system that set its own limitations on the capacity of the state to provide political (public) goods, institutionalize civil service norms, and effectively mediate ethno-regional conflicts.¹³

Even though this was a slow process, it was helped along by external factors, such as the rivalry of the Cold War.

External Influences

As with many African nations in this conflict, external catalyst provided potential opportunities for directing forces in state behavior. One of the major contributing external factors is the rivalry of the Cold War, as a result allowed super powers to use developing states as their battlefields in the spread of their brand of ideology. The DRC was no exception in this matter. Mobutu positioned himself as the recipient of aid from the West such that most of the DRC's GDP comprised of external assistance. Van de Walle further reinforces the fact that the involvement of both the Soviet Union and the United States in state affairs in Central Africa directly affected the state's development and the ability for Mobutu to remain the leader of Zaire.¹⁴ The decades of corruption and abuse

¹³ Rotberg, Robert. I. *State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror*. Brookings Institute Press, 2003: 31.

¹⁴ Van de Walle, Nicolas. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*. Cambridge University Press. 2001: 135.

led the DRC into decay during the 1990s and eventual conflict that ousted the authoritarian leader.

Additional external catalyst effecting Mobutu's reign was the genocide in Rwanda in 1994. The refugee flow from this event bled into the eastern Congo as millions of Hutu refugees fled the terrible massacre happening in Rwanda. The camps setup to house this on-flow of armed refugees became a beacon for Rwandan forces. The Rwandan army invaded the camps and revealed a weakness in the Mobutu regime when foreign forces attacked/occupied parts of Zaire. Rotberg states that one of the biggest contributing factors for the ousting of Mobutu in the mid-1990 is the refugees who emerged from the Rwandan genocide in 1994.

Over 1.2 million refugees crossed the border into Zaire, setting up refugee camps along the North and South border of Kivu. Many of these refugees were members of militias and former members of the Forces Armees Rwandaises (FAR). As a result, the Rwandan government acted on this widespread refugee on-flow, by conducting pre-emptive attacks on the refugee camps in Zaire. The act of attacking the camps and the inability of Mobutu to defend against this invasion into Zaire displayed a weakness in his regime. The resulting operations after this initial assault resulted in the disintegration of Mobutu's army and a campaign against Mobutu himself.¹⁵ The Rwandan invasion and pre-emptive attack aided in the eventual downfall of the Mobutu regime and the succession of the Kabila regime in the late-1990s and into the millennia.

Lack of Economic Development

What had become apparent in this crisis is that the DRC was not self-sufficient. The lack of economic development in the domestic and international state economy was due to corrupt officials and backdoor policies that benefited the elite and not the state or its citizens. In this lack of self-sufficiency, state failure was borne. The DRC is continuing

¹⁵ Rotberg, Robert. I. *State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror*. Brookings Institute Press, 2003: 36.

to face serious and detrimental obstacles in its growth. In the following sections my research is focused on what state failure is and how it relates to aspects of the DRC.

State Identity

State failure affects everyone within the state and in some instances outside of the state. Yet, the purpose of the state is to act as a mediator between its people and the outside world while maintaining a balance that meets the needs of its citizens. Acting as an internal and external mediator between the dangers and possible success of the state, Rotberg defines the boundaries a state structure needs to construct for its people to establish a national consciousness:

Nation-states exist to provide a decentralized method of delivering political (public) goods to persons living within designated parameters (borders). Having inherited, assumed, or replaced the monarchs of yore, modern states focus and answer the concerns and demands of citizenries. They organize and channel the interests of their people, often but not exclusively in furtherance of national goals and values. They buffer or manipulate external forces and influences, champion the local or particular concerns of their adherents, and mediate between the constraints and challenges of the international arena and the dynamism of their own internal economic, political, and social realities.¹⁶

Rotberg's assertion is that the state is a modern extension of the people of that region and an outlet for the citizens through state institutions to be recognized within the international system as an identifiable group. The idea of group identity has been evolving for centuries but the necessity of its survival in our modern times is essential for successful state participation within the international community.

In some aspects of the literature, scholars believe that the nation-state paradigm is falling apart in our mobilizing global age. The rise of communication technology and accessibility of travel to all parts of the world has weakened the identity and state structure societies need to prosper in our current environment. Despite this perspective, in our current times state identity is an essential factor in the development of the state;

¹⁶ Rotberg, Robert.I. *When States Fail: Causes and Consequence*. Princeton University Press (2003): 2.

furthermore, it is essential to have this identification to establish development for the betterment of its people and the growth of prosperity within its borders. Enereich argues that it is essential to have this identifiable trait within the international community to be able to sustain a global presence and institute policy for the benefit of the state itself. As a result, non-state entities cannot function in the international environment or abide by formal treaties.

State Failure

A state exhibiting signs of state failure will not be recognized or have the ability to participate in treaties or agreements concerning human rights, international trade, or environmental issues. Enrenreich highlights that not being able to participate in these international agreements further disintegrates the relationship between the state government and its citizens, because it is not able to protect citizens with international contracts/policies.¹⁷ In addition to the state's acceptance within the international society, a state's identity can work against a country. By not successfully developing a unifying identity within the state, in most cases, it is not accepted as an entity within the international realm.

One of the major arguments within state failure research is that African countries were accepted as states soon after the elimination of colonialism. For this reason these states did not experience similar historical development as most states did in our current international society. The tendency for dealing with this problem is not to notice it as a problem, but recognize its effects on states and citizens outside of the territorial boundaries of that particular country. State failure in many respects is the elephant in the room or the monster under the bed, we have yet to really want or feel the need to deal with the problem in a serious manner, despite this reluctance to face the problem, and

¹⁷ Ehrenreich, Rosa. "Failed States, or the State as Failure?" *The University of Chicago Law Review*. 72.4. (2005):1162.

not addressing it can have devastating effects on the surrounding states within the international community as whole.

In many respects the failure of a developing state to make the mark as a stable and successful entity is blamed on the leadership and its administration. The action of these groups direct the state and paves the way of that country's development, but in most cases there are a list of external factors that need to be addressed in recognizing why a state may fail. According to Gros the external dimension of state decay and the importance of recognizing the impact on external influences from the international environment are essential in developing states. By doing this the signs of state failure can become more apparent.¹⁸ There are two reasons for this, first since the occurrence of state failure in the modern state system there has always been some form of external influence guiding it or external factor that pushed the state toward a direction of decay. For example, in the case of the DRC the Cold War played a significant role in the states development. Without the monetary aid from the United States, the stability and stamina of the Mobutu regime would not have likely lasted as long. This is not say that there is a conspiracy always apparent in state failure, but the nature of our international society leaves us more and more connected in our current times. The second reason is that the international system is a competitive system that is always changing , states trying to find ways to better themselves and get the upper hand.

For the purpose of this thesis some of the external forces that I will be focusing on are: colonialism, the Cold War, and Non-Governmental Agencies (NGOs). The reasons for the focus on these three factors is that they all had or are currently having a long lasting effect on the course of state development on the DRC. Much like many African states these three factors directed the course of the state's construction and ultimately led to its current state structure in our modern era.

¹⁸ Gros, Jean-Germain. "Towards a taxonomy of Failed States in the New World Order: decaying Somalia, Liberia, Rwanda and Haiti." *Third World Quarterly*. 17. 3. (1996): 465.

State Collapse

The effects of state failure and potentially state collapse can be devastating to neighboring countries. In many respects it can lead to the destabilizing of those surrounding states because of the outflow of people from that particular state, criminal element that are left unchecked, and the fact that the state is now an ungoverned space. As a result, the surrounding states are burdened by the refugee flow, healthcare issues, and the overall impact on the economy. Additionally, if state collapse occurs the ungoverned space could harbor criminal elements, as well as create a possible refuge for undesirable elements that could plague surrounding state's stability. This after-effect of the destabilization of state structures within a failing society reveals the necessity to mitigate such problems at the start by addressing the international emerging threat of state failure to the international environment. State collapse is everyone's problem not just the state in question and if left unresolved will continue to become worse not better. There are not many cases of state collapse, the fact that there are any still represents a threat to the structure of state identity in its entirety leaving into question what identifies the state as a state.

For the purpose of this thesis I will not go further into what constitutes a state, but it is important to recognize that state identity is in question when dealing with state failure. Milliken and Kruase comment that even though this phenomenon is only seen in a handful of cases it still brings into question where other states are on the development/failure spectrum:

Full-blown cases of state collapse, which involve the extreme disintegration of public authority and the metamorphosis of societies into a battlefield of all against all, remain relatively rare; in recent years only states such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Congo/Zaire and perhaps Albania seem to fit this definition. But if state collapse remains a rare phenomenon and state maintenance (in weakened or decayed capacity) remains the norm, it is nevertheless true

that many more states are today failing to provide security and public order, legitimate representation, and wealth or welfare to their citizens.¹⁹

International Response to State Failure

The international response to this problem has been mixed. The effectiveness of the results has not been universal and approaches to answer this difficult question need to be adapted to fit each state differently. Yet, the answer to the question of how to deal with state failure has been slow to develop. Langford reveals a perspective to solving this problem by changing the direction of state intervention policy. By moving more towards an intervention policy that is comprehensive and coordinating this approach by compiling the historical experiences in dealing with the particular state and using these experiences as guide to establishing a relationship with that state before intervening in the state's affairs.²⁰ Other reactions to continued state decay are to punish the state as if it was still an acting and controlling entity of its citizens. By doing this the state exhibiting signs of failure would be viewed as a sovereign and stable state entity, which would fall under the eye of the international community and be punished under that context.

In the instance of state failure, the state by many definitions is not an acting state, but a shell or fragment of what is recognized as a functional state in the international community. Herbst describes the failures of the international community in dealing with this problem:

...the current static state system in Africa has institutionalized weakness and decline, irrespective of the sources of failure. The current complete disassociation between a country's economic and political performance and its sovereign status means that, no matter how poorly a country performs, the international community continues to give it legitimacy, pretends that it is a functioning state, and supports efforts to preserve its integrity.²¹

The lack of attention to this problem only adds fuel to the fire. The recognition of a state that is still not functioning in the boundaries of what a state is supposed to be is not

¹⁹ Milliken, Jennifer and Krause, Keith. "State Failure, State Collapse, and State Reconstruction: Concepts, Lessons and Strategies." *Development and Change*. 33. 5. (2002): 754.

²⁰ Langford, Tonya. "Things Fall Apart: State Failure and the Politics of Intervention." *International Studies Review*. 1. 1. (Spring 1999): 61.

²¹ Herbst, Jeffrey. "Responding to State Failure." *International Security*. 21. 3. (1996-97): 131.

beneficial to the state or the international system surrounding it. One of the interesting aspects of state failure/collapse is that every state that exhibits signs of state deconstruction is different. There is not a model that is universal to all aspects of state failure. This is important to point out, because the phenomenon is ever changing and the environment mitigates the changes. Furthermore, the state indirectly alters the course of these neighboring states by their own actions. Herbst points out that these problems in the case of the African state failure phenomenon are unique in each case. A state may exhibit factors that lead to its destabilization in one instance, but are not seen in other cases of state failure.²²

State Infrastructure, State Development, and the DRC

State infrastructure is one of the essential elements to the development of a state experiencing signs of state failure or that has experienced a total collapse. The purpose of the state infrastructures is to establish institutions to meet problems that are plaguing the citizens of the state, collect and issue taxes for state development, uphold laws against criminal activities, maintain the peace within the region, and to broadcast the government's power so that it can project its influence and create a unifying identity among its citizens. Rotberg characterizes the lack of state infrastructure as the inability of a state government to project its power and provide stability throughout the region.²³ The ability of the state to hold and project influence of the government is essential in maintaining development throughout the governing infrastructure within its borders. In the case of the DRC and many other post-colonial African states it is the transition from a colonial infrastructure to an independent identity. Herbst notes that the European model of state infrastructure had factors that helped it in its initial transition. The European model of government, which was introduced to pre-colonial regions as a form of government did not have the time or environmental factors that led the European

²² Herbst, Jeffrey. "Responding to State Failure." *International Security*. 21. 3. (1996-97): 125.

²³ Rotberg, Robert.I. *When States Fail: Causes and Consequence*. Princeton University Press (2003):161.

system to be successful. In the DRC these environmental factors were accelerated and resulted in the lack of development in addressing common governmental problem that snowballed into substantial issue for the state, which eventually disrupted social services, as well as maintaining control of the state overall.²⁴

The case of the DRC, the legacy of the colonial infrastructure may or may not have helped the transition from colonial government to an independent one. The transition from colonial governance, led the state to adopt pre-existing colonials laws as a means to keep order. As a result, these laws were based in a society that runs by a European-based system of governance. The absence of this system led to an ineffective governing system within the DRC.²⁵ There was a lack of transitional factors that could help the country to a stable government structure.

In this thesis I argue that the DRC resulted in a discovery of abuse of these transitional factors and Mobutu relied on these pre-established colonial state institutions to a point that they became unusable in the long-term. In most cases, if the functioning state institutions are in place at the time of independence they may be used for a short time to maintain order until a better system is established to meet the needs of the people. An example of a blatant abuse of post-colonial institutions is Mobutu's retaining of colonial state institutions already established to run his country. Because the DRC's state infrastructure was suffering from a lack of development due to corruption and misuse of monetary aid, the needs of the citizens as well as the development of state institutions to meet these need never occurred resulting in state failure.

External Aid and State Infrastructure Involvement

The common factor that is seen in post-colonial countries in Africa is a failure to reestablish a link between the people and their government. In order to meet the needs for international aid, African states often paid lip service to demonstrate democratic

²⁴ Herbst, Jeffrey. "Responding to State Failure." *International Security*. 21. 3. (1996-97): 130.

²⁵ Rotberg, Robert.I. *When States Fail: Causes and Consequence*. Princeton University Press (2003):189.

development within their countries. Rotberg argues that it is impossible to establish a democracy without creating an independent state first and that traditional ownership patterns creates a dependency among the states citizens that inhibits the development of political independence.²⁶ What Rotberg is alluding to is that these states from the beginning were depending on external aid and assistance when democracy was purposed as their system of government. Without an established state system that has maintained order, a democracy cannot evolve.

In many cases, especially in the DRC, state officials fall into corrupt practices and establish a cycle of decay that starts on the inside and works its way out. The private companies and donor agencies come to the aid of the state and establish private institutions in place of public institutions, securing their place in that country's infrastructure. While private companies create markets for the international community in aiding these failing countries, they are not helping them in the traditional sense, but enabling them to establish a solid public infrastructure within the government. Additionally, by establishing these private institutions massive layoffs of the public sector employees occur and political loyalties are established between private sector parties and the governing parties.

Since the end of the Cold War and the end of a strategic flow of aid to post-colonial countries, state infrastructures were in shambles from their lack of development and deep rooted corrupted state officials:

What has changed since the end of the Cold War is the extent to which private firms are filling in for direct strong-state action and financial backing in places conventional diplomacy has written off as irrelevant or hopelessly corrupt. The alternative has become tacit support for a weak-state politics that increasingly resembles warlord politics rather than conventional strategies for state building.²⁷

²⁶ Rotberg, Robert.I. *When States Fail: Causes and Consequence*. Princeton University Press (2003):191.

²⁷ Reno, William. *Warlord Politics and African States*. Lynne Rienner Publishers (1998):71.

The outcome is that what is left from the conclusion of the Cold War and the invasion of private firms taking the place of state institutions are a form of institutional politics that catered toward an authoritarian regime.

The solution to this recently established problem has been debated within the international community as well as social science scholars. Langford outlines certain fundamental factors that a state and its institutions need to establish before development can occur. These factors include security of the population, economic stability, and the well-being of the state. Langford believes this can be achieved, but only through a massive intervention by external entities, such as external actors, groups, and states seeking to aid the country and restoring ability to self-govern.²⁸ The problem with establishing functioning state institutions is that the ruling administration needs to root out corruption and ineffective state officials before this can happen. A restructuring of this political environment not only needs to function, but regain trust from its citizens to becoming a working entity within state borders. State infrastructure development is only one portion of the problem, but to address state failure and promote development of the state itself a list of factors need to be addressed at once.

The Need for State Identity Development in a Failing State

The social link between a state's administration and its citizens is essentially the motivating factor that could propel a state to development. The decomposition of state authority results in the weakening of state identity and ultimately the ability of the state to projects its ability to enforce laws and regulations within the state's boundaries. The relationship between the government and the citizens that live under this structure continues to weaken. Eventually, the identity between the state and its citizens will disappear and result in citizens identifying themselves into smaller groups by religion or ethnicity within the previous state boundaries.

²⁸ Langford, Tonya. "Things Fall Apart: State Failure and the Politics of Intervention." *International Studies Review*. 1 . 1. (Spring 1999): 66.

The social link between a state and its citizens is important but to establish this, a redistribution of government tax contribution to public services is needed to win back the support from a failing state. State failure usually exhibits tendencies of state government officials reaping the profits from tax collection, resource abuse, and external/internal bribery to the point that state functions cease to exist for the citizens and state resources that support state funded projects decline rapidly and become non-existent. The line between state government elites and the rest of the population becomes distinctly apparent at this time.

Powerful public figures use their position to acquire private incomes from citizens that they govern, creating a predatory environment within the state. Elite groups that render the state ineffective have taken state resources and the citizens that make up the population below this social class divider become predatory in nature. As a result, the population solves problems that state institutions once were created to solve. The outcome of this divide increases the chances of state failure to occur. Public revenues cease to exist because the state's citizens cannot afford to pay taxes, which also reveal that there are not any officials to collect these taxes because they cannot be paid. Internal groups become predatory in nature, as the elite groups strip any state resources that they can from the people. Bates highlights the importance of public revenues and how corruption within state infrastructure can lead to the degradation of public services. This can happen when public revenues cease to exist and governments cannot pay civil servants, further destabilizing state infrastructure.²⁹ Overall state institutions represent the glue that binds the citizens to state governing forces, when these institutions or state officials fail to meet the needs of its citizens a social divide occurs resulting in the disintegration of state structure and identity.

²⁹Bates, Robert. "State Failure." *Annual Review of Political Science*. 11. (2008): 5.

Economic Development and the DRC

One of the most essential environments that need to be nurtured and harvested for state development to come from the edges of failure is the economy. The state's economy creates the fuel for a country's growth and overall development. Internally and externally, a state needs to be able to maintain a strong and stable economy. In cases of Central African states and their ability to maintain a domestic/international economy, it is essential to not only their development, but their identity as a state within the global environment.

The DRC and its list of problems are not different than the surrounding Central African nations. The government is plagued by corruption, natural resources are pillaged by invading forces and private industry, and its economic global footprint is almost non-existent. As mentioned previously, state failure/collapse is not one problem but a list of negative factors that contribute to an overall disintegration of the state.

In the West's attempt to reestablish state structure and economy, one of the failures that has been apparent over time, is the lack of attention external forces have to recognizing that policies that are instituted may not be effective at this level of decay in state institutions. This narrow perspective has led to a subjective view of the global economic environment while states such as, the DRC suffer at the West's prosperity. Thomas points out that neoliberal policies and ideology have become the norm globally and have become a mirror example of social structure that does not translate to all levels of development/failure within the international environment:

The neoliberal ideology has thus come to be promoted around the globe as the proper approach to development. Neoliberalism supports global economic integration and presents it as the best, the most natural and the universal path towards economic growth, and therefore towards development, for all humanity. Critics, on the other hand, see its expansion across the globe as hegemonic.³⁰

³⁰ Thomas, Caroline. "Global Governance, Development and Human Security: Exploring the Links." *Third World Quarterly*. 22. 2. (2001): 167.

Furthermore, neoliberal policies have created social divides that make state structural development increasingly harder. Thomas explains that neoliberalism can increase social divisions by implementing policies that favor one part of the society over the other in a state failure environment.³¹ Despite this, neoliberalism does bring a certain amount of optimism if successfully implemented into state structures. With a promise of prosperity and growth of capitalism that neoliberalism can be successful if the environment and the state of development was at the right stages. If the factors are developed enough, such as economic and state infrastructure stability then capitalism may flourish in a structured and regulated environment.

External institutions have adopted the neoliberal design and have tried to project this through institutions such as, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the World Bank. Yet, in my research I have noticed that this trend is not effective in creating strong economies for every state and in some cases may make matters worse in their development. In response to this, one size fits all approach, in the 1990s Central African states were characterized as a total failure in their inability to develop stable and growing economies, often considered to be a hindrance on the stable international market.

The DRC's weakness to divert the path of economic growth away from imposed Western strategy has been in most accounts a failure. Bratton mentions the proposed weakness of African states to resist the power of external forces and their influence within the economy:

The state's weakness in Africa derives from its subordination to stronger external institutions and, while the state has sponsored the formation of a bureaucratic class, it acts fundamentally as a collaborator on a project led by international capital. Internally, state elites

³¹ Thomas, Caroline. "Global Governance, Development and Human Security: Exploring the Links." *Third World Quarterly*. 22. 2. (2001):168 .

*seek to monopolize economic activity and prevent the formation of social constellations with an independent base.*³²

The financial hold that external agencies or groups have on developing states within Africa has been quite substantial and has given external agencies such as the IMF and the World Bank the ability to influence and guide states, such as the DRC, in economic policies that have been in some cases detrimental to their overall development.

The situation of failed economies and the attempt to develop them is simple if looked upon as a whole picture approach. It seems from the research already conducted for this thesis, that there is a gap in technology development and implementation. Failed states much like the DRC do not have the means or the ability to focus their society to meet the demands of the capitalist environment. The societies that are still using primitive means of agriculture technology in production and distribution of surplus cannot meet the demands of the growing international market. In their current state they would not be able to be competitive, which is essential to be successful or even stable in that environment. As a result of this deficiency, failing societies cannot accommodate an economic environment that would be needed to sustain a capitalist approach. It is obvious then that if a state cannot compete in the competitive economic environment of a capitalist structure it would not be successful in that environment. What makes it equally disappointing is that countries like the DRC are capable of sustaining themselves and in optimal conditions prosper beyond their current situation. With abundance of natural resources and a population needing economic stability the capability is there, but because of decades of abuse and corruption the state is left in disarray and debt. In response to this, government budgets have increased in the possible hope of entering the international economy and sustaining this type of momentum, taxing the population beyond their means. Additionally, moving needed resources away from production and

³² Bratton, Michael. "Beyond the State: Civil Society and Associational Life in Africa." *World Politics*. 41. 3. (1989): 419.

further hindering the local economy. This also reinforces an already predatory environment.

The DRC exhibited many of the factors that other Central African states have experienced in economic growth. To add to the already mentioned list of negative economic factors, conflict plays a big role in the development of the current economic environment in the DRC. Micheal Nest highlights the difficulties of local industry possibilities as invading forces disrupt the opportunity of production and further investment of external private entities within the region.³³ The amount of obstacles faced by external as well as internal private industry groups is inflated by the crumbling infrastructure, such as the legal system, that was heavily influenced by the highest bidder.

External as well as internal entrepreneurs faced legal obstacles because government officials were easily bribed to make decisions. In many instances international private industry, non-governmental groups (NGOs), domestic private industry, and governmental groups had to meet the needs of governing forces that were separate from government regulations:

We realized that it is difficult to do business in the DRC, and that we could not compete on price---until our soldier friends in the Congolese army came back and said 'supply us with uniforms, boots, food'...So we sent a container of rain jackets as a test---worth \$50,000. When (the commander) saw that we could deliver before we had been paid, he accepted the shipment and paid in US dollars. So it was from that relationship that our business in the DRC began.³⁴

To meet the many needs of the various groups that are present within the DRC, for business purposes, the ability to conduct legitimate business is almost impossible. It is hard to see how a mineral and resource rich country has come to this point from observing the current economic crisis at this time. So, it is necessary to look back to its independence and work forward.

³³ Nest, Micheal. "Ambitions, Profits, and Loss: Zimbabwean Economic Involvement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo." *African Affairs*. 100. (2001): 479.

³⁴ Nest, Micheal. "Ambitions, Profits, and Loss: Zimbabwean Economic Involvement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo." *African Affairs*. 100. (2001): 478.

The DRC since its rule with Mobutu has been a shell of a state. Mobutu and his elite cadre have pillaged much of the country's accumulated wealth from natural resources and aid, leaving state institutions to crumble and not meet the needs of its people. At the end of the Cold War, the state was put into a period of shock when aid was stopped and a good source of the country's income was not available. The country was already exhibiting signs of economic trouble in the 1980s, but in the 1990s it truly hit bottom and the country spiraled into chaos.

President Kabila's take over did not help in the development of the economy and in many respects made it worse. Kabila mortgaged half of the country's mineral resources to allies to maintain stability, while the other half was confiscated by the invading forces in the region. Rotberg argues that Kabila's ineptness added greatly to the demise of the DRC's market:

What is beyond dispute is that in his three years in office, Laurent Kabila outdid Mobutu in taking his country into the abyss. Measured by the familiar yardsticks of the Mobutu dictatorship--extreme personalization of power and nepotism, corruption and rent seeking, neglect of public services, and indifference to the demands of the civil society---his performance is arguably even worse than that of his predecessor. Although Mobutu must bear full responsibility for sponsoring the failure of the state, Laurent Kabila's ineptitude is what precipitated its dismemberment. Where Mobutu refused to share power while resisting the breakup of the state, Laurent Kabila preferred sharing the country to sharing power.³⁵

What seems to be an attempt to struggle to keep power and revive the market, Kabila continued to rent out resources and borrow from Western donors leaving the country in a state of client-patron relations with Western agencies and neighboring countries. As with many of the African states, the DRC was left handicapped to provide for itself. As a result the DRC was taken advantage of by neighboring states and acquire all potential sources of wealth. Additionally, these natural resources were also, pillaged by international companies that further degraded the ability of the state.

³⁵ Rotberg, Robert. I. *State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror*. Brookings Institute Press, (2003):51.

The local economy clearly became a predatory market and much of the state became a haven for illegal trafficking and selling of weapons, drugs, and various precious minerals. The external production within the country did not benefit the populace, but lined the pockets of elite groups and private industry seeking the abundant resources of the country. This being said, the country is not a unified economic structure, the addition of state building factors, such as state institutions that would be in place to regulate and protect against such acts, are not available. Economic development cannot be achieved without the establishment of regulation within the state.

Western agencies, such as the IMF and the World Bank, tried to established policies that fit the needs of the global economy, but capitalist ideology would not work and has faced many obstacles for the DRC. Without a structure to work from, the country cannot regulate policies that are being implemented within the country. What is being done in the process of implementing these policies is that warlord politics comes into play: bribery, extortion, and the general abuse of the population at the expense of the few. As Herbst candidly points out, "With the global liberalization of finance have come sophisticated systems that allow African warlords, corrupt leaders, and others access capital".³⁶ This being said the current approach to solving state failure woe's in the DRC is a failure in itself.

³⁶ Herbst, Jeffrey. "Let Them Fail: State Failure in Theory and Practice: Implications for Policy." In Robert I. Rotberg (ed.), *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*. Princeton University Press. (2004):305.

Chapter Three: DRC Historical Timeline

The DRC is a mineral rich and healthy country in many respects, concerning natural resource abundance, it is also one of the largest countries in Africa, which has a robust population that is dispersed on the outer rims of the country and leaving the center barren of the general population. Yet, the DRC is in the midst of deconstruction of its state infrastructure and institutions from corrupt leadership, civil wars, and economic decline that has left the state in shambles. Herbst characterizes the condition of the DRC in terms of geological and infrastructure status as:

Democratic Republic of the Congo (the second largest---in terms of square kilometers---of the forty states south of the Sahara included in this book) is perhaps the classic case of an extremely challenging population distribution: the country has a large population density centered around Kinshasa and then other areas of high population scattered throughout its vast landmass, including one area of high population more than eight hundred miles away on the eastern border. In between are areas of extremely low population. D.R.O.C. is an almost classic instance of a 'rimland' country: the major population concentrations are found in its border regions while its interior is relatively empty. This particular distribution presents significant political problems because it makes constructing an infrastructure to support the extension of state power difficult, especially given the absolute size of the country, since there would have to be roads that went through vast areas that are relatively under populated. It is therefore no wonder that Kinshasa has had such an extraordinarily difficult time consolidating power and that many provinces have informally seceded.³⁷

Herbst depiction of the DRC is an after effect of decades of abuse and corruption that has plagued the country. How could a state with so many advantages in natural resources and a recent independence from colonial rule have failed in such a short

³⁷ Herbst, Jeffery. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton University Press. (2000): 146-147.

period of time? In the following chapters of this thesis I will outline the history of the DRC from its conception in 1885 until 2002 and use previous literature to elaborate on important points within the historical timeline of the DRC. The historical timeline will help to connect basic elements that are related to the factors of state failure in the DRC and connect these deconstructing factors to show how such a promising state came to be in this position.

The Belgian Congo from 1885--1960

The nation-state of the Congo was conceived in the hands of Belgium colonial control and under the banner of colonialism in 1885 as a possession of Leopold II, King of the Belgians. Pre-colonial governorship was completely eliminated after colonial rule was established. The Belgians maintained a European governing system that implemented an infrastructure that was not present in the history of the Congolese people. The infrastructure utilized the natural resources and pumped money into a prospering international economy that pushed forward the colonial machine that was so profitable for the Belgians.

The Belgian colony created a robust system of transportation networks and state institutions to maintain control of its colony. The colonial system was a tool for the Belgians to oppress the Congolese for profit. During the colonial period, from 1885 to the late 1950s, the colonial state of the Belgium Congo was reborn and restructured to meet the needs of the colonial conquest. Transportation routes and state institutions were built along the model of the European system of governance. The colonial system housed many Belgian civil service officials to fulfill the roles for leadership within the community, to better utilize the resources that were available, and to govern a society that was under the rule of the Belgium nation. The region is a collection of natural resources that under a responsible governorship would deem the nation prosperous under many circumstances.

The Congo's Independence

In June of 1960, the Congo entered into the international system as an independent state, which in a rush to establish a new state identity was aggressively pushed by European nations to be formed as a democratic model of governorship. In a major shift of governance in the early-1960s, Belgium insisted that a democratic model be instituted in their absence.³⁸ Free from the bonds of the Belgium government, the state had earned its independence from colonialism.

The DRC was set at a disadvantage. The government that was funded and led by a European state was lacking in experienced leadership to fill the gap after the exodus of Europeans in 1960. It is believed that colonialism stunted the growth and evolution of the nation-state in Africa. In comparison to European states that had centuries to develop, the African nation-states had a brief moment to make this evolutionary leap. As Reno alludes, the Congo was not different in this case:

Independence in June 1960 brought almost immediate violence as Congolese soldiers mutinied and Belgium paratroopers lent aid to the secessionist administration of mineral-rich Katanga. Ultimately, however, the battle appeared to be over the possibility of indigenous forces taking over the Western-dominated economy to redirect its formidable local resources toward developing a truly national industrial base. Couple with a reorientation of the Congo's health, education and economic planning, independence provided opportunities to create a new cadre of Congolese technical specialist, educators, junior military officers and state officials.³⁹

The transition from being ruled in a colonial governing system to being independent was relatively fast. The people of the Congo were put into a position where they had to fill many governing stations with a population that had little experience in handling positions in government. They were not trained or educated to run a European governing system, such as the colonial government that preceded them. By the time of independence the lack of an educated populace was apparent in the rate of graduates in 1960. As Reno

³⁸ Callaghy, Thomas. M. *The State-Society Struggle: Zaire in Comparative Perspectives*. Columbia University Press. (1984): 88.

³⁹ Reno, William. "Congo: From state collapse to 'absolutism', to state failure." *Third World Quarterly*. 27. 1. (2006): 47.

describes the country's first university graduate received his degree in 1956. After the country became independent there were only 16 university graduates.⁴⁰ The need to build a strong infrastructure to replace the colonial government's institutions and a growing intellectual base was apparent, but these and many needs for the newly established state could not be achieved by itself.

During the period of 1958-1960 the colony of Belgium Congo was influenced by external events that helped shape the anti-colonial movement that was spreading through Africa after World War II. Callaghy points out that the Belgian government was not able to keep the country isolated from the independence movement. These external events that helped to shape the entrance of independence of the young Central African nation-state helped to form a rapid development of anti-colonial feeling within the region:

Several external events helped to foster the late but rapid growth of a Congolese independence movement---Charles de Gaulle's offer of independence to the French Congo in a speech in Brazzaville in late August 1958, the Brussels World's Fair in the Fall of the same year, and the first pan-African conference organized by Kwame Nkrumah in Accra, Ghana, in December 1958 attended among others, Price Lumumba. These events were followed by bloody riots in Kinshasa (Leopoldville) on June 5, 1960, which accelerated both Belgian panic and the pace of events leading toward independence.⁴¹

After the independence of the Belgian Congo, the country was struggling with its inexperience to govern itself.

The idea of politics and the model of government infrastructure were based on the Belgian colonial system of government. Political parties existed only in name prior to 1960 and were quickly fragmented after independence. The competition for and the need for a governing structure took a toll on the stability of the nation. There needed to be order instilled into the region, but without the authority of the Belgium government the country quickly fell into chaos. The Belgium army mutinied against Belgian officers,

⁴⁰ Reno, William. "Congo: From state collapse to 'absolutism', to state failure." *Third World Quarterly*. 27. 1. (2006): 45.

⁴¹ Callaghy, Thomas. M. *The State-Society Struggle: Zaire in Comparative Perspectives*. Columbia University Press. (1984): 152.

which resulted in the exodus of Belgian officials and residents from the region. Amidst the chaos and instability within the region a young enlisted soldier named Joseph Desire Mobutu took control.

Mobutu and the New Congo: 1965-1997

Mobutu wanted to create a new Congo, but had to eliminate remaining threats within the country. He did this by exiling, killing, or arresting any potential offenders. Mobutu was an ambitious and manipulative leader. He took the reins of the failing government in 1965, the former sergeant in the Belgium army was quickly appointed as Chief of staff in the Congolese National Army in 1960 under Prime Minister Lumumba. Like many before him that have had the opportunity to experience such power, he was ruthless in his ability to lead. This could only be obtained with help from external powers. Western aid helped to maintain Mobutu both militarily and financially. This was crucial in Mobutu's stabilization of the state. The essence of his and the country's survival was forged in the middle of the Cold War.

The struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union helped to establish the state and keep Mobutu from allowing the Congo to spiral into state failure. With the help of the United States, Mobutu expelled the Soviet Union; in response to this the U.S. gave a considerable amount of military aid and financial backing during these early years. Through this assistance Mobutu established a significant and loyal military wing to secure his power. As with many of the African states during the postcolonial period external assistance was crucial and almost detrimental in its evolution since the state received its freedom from colonialism. The 1960's and 1970's were highly vulnerable for post-colonial states; Western country's exerted influence with foreign aid.⁴² The reinforcement of Western donors helped to bolster the reign of Mobutu and allow his regime to last for many decades longer than it should have.

⁴² Van de Walle, Nicolas. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*. Cambridge University Press. (2001): 17.

In the early 1971 Mobutu changed the name of the country from the Congo to Zaire. As possibly a means to unify the country and its people in a nationalistic effort, much like controlling the social communication network and promotion of identity as a leader, Mobutu created an image of a growing and unifying country that was coming out of the grasp of European control. Despite these efforts the infrastructure and the people were suffering at the hands of their leadership. Although not originally intended to be sustainable past Zaire's independence, Mobutu utilized the already established colonial state structure and minimized his restructuring of the state institutions to ensure greater financial gain from international and domestic resources.

With the combination of foreign aid and the already established state infrastructure, Mobutu had the appearance of a functioning and developing state. Callaghy highlights Mobutu's plan during the post-colonial period this way, "Thus we can see that Mobutu's strategy of state formation entails recentralization and personalization of power and the resurrection of the colonial state in structure and spirit although shrouded in revolutionary language and mobilization rhetoric".⁴³ Additionally, he started to create a nationalistic rhetoric that would establish him and the nation for the decades to follow.

In early 1973, Mobutu directly controlled all media, sports, and religious events.⁴⁴ Mobutu also took control of religious publications and press releases. In 1974, he went further and established sites that were historically marked from Mobutu's life, mostly from his home region, which was commonly referred to as Bethlehem or the Holy land.⁴⁵ As Mobutu established himself and his proclaimed state structure he did so in a manner that is a direct reflection of authoritarian leadership.

⁴³ Callaghy, Thomas. M. *The State-Society Struggle: Zaire in Comparative Perspectives*. Columbia University Press. (1984): 169.

⁴⁴ Callaghy, Thomas. M. *The State-Society Struggle: Zaire in Comparative Perspectives*. Columbia University Press. (1984): 176-77.

⁴⁵ Callaghy, Thomas. M. *The State-Society Struggle: Zaire in Comparative Perspectives*. Columbia University Press. (1984): 181.

With the backing from the West, the infrastructure that was already put in place by the previous Belgium colonial system, and the establishment of elites that were to aid him in his rule, Mobutu created the appearance of a flourishing state. Nevertheless, the appearance was just that, he kept his power centralized around himself and his political elites while eliminating competition by creating a political environment that was held together by secrets and assassinations of those who posed a threat to his power. Callaghy comments on Mobutu's perspective of holding power in Zaire, "...President Mobutu explained what the term 'man of State' [*home d'état*] meant to him: 'A man of State is one who knows how to keep secrets. If we decide today to kill someone for reasons of State [*des raisons d'état*], it must remain between us".⁴⁶ Mobutu used his leverage to gain influence and monetary wealth at the expense of his people.

The Cold War was a key factor in Mobutu's staying in power for such a long period of time. Furthermore, his ability to rent out the natural resources to external private and state companies ultimately led his country down decades of patron/client relationships that they did not know of at the time, but would haunt them for years to come. Rotberg explains Mobutu's strategy in dealing with external aid and maintaining a crumbling state infrastructure:

Mobutu used analogous tactics in the patrimony of Zaire. As his people's self-proclaimed guide, or as the personalist embodiment of national leadership during the Cold War, he deployed the largesse of his American and other western patrons to enhance his personal wealth, to heighten his stature over his countrymen, and to weave a tightly manipulated web of loyalties across the army and into all aspects of Zairese society. Every proper political and democratic institution was an obstacle to the edifice that he created. So was civil society, politics itself in the broad sense, and economic development. Letting the country's Belgian-built infrastructure rot, maintaining a colonial type of resource extraction (of copper, other metals, and diamonds), rebuffing the rise of a real bourgeoisie, and feeding his people false glories instead of real substance and per capita growth accentuated his own power, wealth, and importance. As with Stevens and Sia Barre, the modernizing state was the enemy. Mobutu had no sense of noblesse

⁴⁶ Callaghy, Thomas. M. *The State-Society Struggle: Zaire in Comparative Perspectives*. Columbia University Press. (1984): 3.

*oblige. Rene Lemarchand says that for Mobutu's state, patronage was the indispensable lubricant. Ultimately, however, 'the lubricant ran out and the Mobutist machine was brought to a ...standstill...The inability of the Mobutist state to generate a volume of rewards consistent with its clientelistic ambitions is the key....[to]...its rapid loss of legitimacy.'*⁴⁷

Mobutu continued to abuse his people and the state's natural resources through the 1970s and the effects started to become apparent in 1980s as Zaire started to show strains in its economic stability. Rotberg further alludes to the amount of abuse and corruption Mobutu allowed in Zaire:

*Mobutu's kleptocratic rule extracted the marrow of Zaire and left nothing for the mass of his national dependents. Much of the resource wealth of the vast country ended up on his or his cronies' pockets; hardly any wealth was devoted to uplifting the Congolese people, improving their welfare, building infrastructures, or even providing more than rudimentary amounts of human security. Mobutu's government performed only for Mobutu...*⁴⁸

It became clear, maybe more in hindsight, that Zaire's success was really Mobutu's success. What I mean by this is that since his rise to power he created a façade that served himself, Western powers, and his elite cadre, but no one else. He used the already established and already crumbling colonial infrastructure as his base. This governing structure was originally supported by the Belgian government, but since the country's independence it could not be maintained to the standard that it was previously held up to.

In the initial years of the newly established state, Zaire had the full support of Western powers in their fight against the Soviet Union. As will be seen later on in this thesis this does not last. The crutch that was created for maintaining Mobutu's regime will eventually be eliminated in the coming decades. Additionally, natural resources, such as precious metals, were being rented to state and non-state organizations that stripped the country of its ability to sustain itself, what is appropriately labeled as a version of the "resource curse". The combination of these events helped to amass a

⁴⁷ Rotberg, Robert. I. *State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror*. Brookings Institute Press, (2003):12-13.

⁴⁸ Rotberg, Robert. I. *State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror*. Brookings Institute Press, (2003):22-23.

fortune for Mobutu and his political elite, which were at the direct expense of his country and its people.

The 1980s were considered by most scholars as a period of time that the Mobutu regimes were living off of the success of his corruption. In the beginning of Zaire's formation Mobutu was not considered corrupt. There seemed to be an attempt at least at a state formation, but the international community did not see him as a threat or realize what he would have done during his reign. It was not apparent during the beginning of the 1980s that economic failure for Zaire was on the horizon. The regime was still renting out its natural resources and collecting heavily from Western powers during the Cold War. In this context, Mobutu was not threatened by economic destabilization. As Van de Walle points out, authoritarian leaders that are not threatened by the occurrence of economic failure may not feel the need to change. Zaire's economic disaster during the 1980s revealed that these events did not affect the power and privilege of Mobutu and his elite cadre.⁴⁹ The appearance of a stable and prospering economy was not to last, the disintegration of the country's economy would eventually catch up with Mobutu, and the state structure would move forward toward state failure. Herbst makes a clear reflection of Mobutu's leadership by describing how Mobutu was able to stay in power, despite an enormous economic decline in Zaire, which was due to the lack of robust productivity within the country.⁵⁰ In light of this, corruption and the lack of development characterized Zaire as an example of a corrupt state by its inability to maintain rapid structural growth within its so called development.⁵¹ Reno highlights the demise of the Mobutu image in the 1980s by comparing him in the 1970s as a progressive leader to his image as a corrupt leader responsible for the decline of his state.⁵² From its conception the state of Zaire started out toward democracy, saw the rise of a promising

⁴⁹ Van de Walle, Nicolas. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*. Cambridge University Press. (2001): 44.

⁵⁰ Herbst, Jeffery. "Political Liberalization in Africa after Ten Years." *Comparative Politics*. 33. 3. (April, 2001): 361.

⁵¹ Reno, William. *Warlord Politics and African States*. Lynne Rienner Publishers. (1998):44.

⁵² Reno, William. *Warlord Politics and African States*. Lynne Rienner Publishers. (1998):43.

leader in Mobutu, started toward a downward spiral as he and his administration abused the power that was given to them, rented out natural resources, and heavily depended on external aid for self-survival. In the midst of all this, the Mobutu regime took a majority of the profits, which ultimately left the country penniless and helpless as it slipped into state failure.

The 1990s marked a major transition for Zaire as the end of the Cold War surprised the world and was considered a victory for the West. Transitioning from the tension felt by the conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States, there was a sense of change and hope for a better future in the international community. Despite this, the end of the Cold War had devastating effects for Zaire and Mobutu's hold on the country. As Reno points out Mobutu and Zaire's political usefulness to the West stopped and the flow of financial assistance and aid ceased to exist for the Central African nation. As a result of the absence of aid, non-governmental agencies and private donors have replaced the aid for public services that were formerly funded by this assistance.⁵³ State infrastructure and institutions were barely functioning or not apparent at this point of time.

The years of abuse and corruption had stripped the country of its ability to be actively self-sufficient. Following the end of Western aid, the state began to rapidly fall into a cycle of decay. In an attempt to reestablish his control over the country and regain international assistance from the West, Mobutu made a move toward democratic transition in 1990. This transition marked the end of the proclaimed second Republic, which lasted from 1965-1990.⁵⁴ He was able to hold on to a diminishing image as the leader of Zaire until the 1990s, but was showing signs of an obvious loss of power. Nzongola-Ntalaja highlights this transition of leadership, "On August 4 1992, the overwhelming majority of the 2,842 delegates at the Congolese Sovereign National

⁵³ Trefon, Theodore. *Reinventing Order in the Congo: How People Respond to State Failure in Kinshasa*. Zed Books. (2004):11.

⁵⁴ Trefon, Theodore. *Reinventing Order in the Congo: How People Respond to State Failure in Kinshasa*. Zed Books. (2004):5.

Conference in Kinshasa voted, by acclamation and standing ovation, to change the name of the country to 'Zaire' back to its original name of 'Congo'".⁵⁵ A set of events eventually led to the complete removal of Mobutu and his political elite from its governmental functions as the leadership for Zaire.

The first was the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, which acted as a catalyst for neighboring countries to remove Mobutu from power. The 1994 genocide in Rwanda started the political upheaval in Zaire as refugees fled the terrible events that took place in Rwanda and invaded the state boundaries of the neighboring Zaire.⁵⁶ As an apparent problem with failing states is the migration of the state's citizens from conflict areas, which can be a heavy burden on that particular neighboring country(s). The massive migration of refugees, equaling up to 1 million people, brought also armed invasions of Eastern provinces along Zaire's borders. In addition to this, the massive inflow of refugees also brought disease, such as Ebola and Polio epidemics that had not been seen in those regions before.⁵⁷ The mass migration from Rwanda opened the doors for neighboring states to take the advantage of access to Zaire and help aid the removal of Mobutu. As Herbst alludes to this in this passage, Mubutu's control of Zaire was slipping out of his hands:

*...Mobutu was recognized as the ruler of Zaire even though he controlled little more than Kinshasa and its environs for the last years of his rule and continued to be recognized as the leader while the forces of Luarent Kabila marched through the country in late 1996 and early 1997. Kabila was only recognized as the legitimate ruler when he captured Kinshasa on 17 May 1997.*⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Nzongola-Ntalaja, Goerges. "From Zaire to the Democratic Republic of the Congo." *Current African Issues*. 28. (2004):5.

⁵⁶ Nzongola-Ntalaja, Goerges. "From Zaire to the Democratic Republic of the Congo." *Current African Issues*. 28. (2004):8.

⁵⁷ Trefon, Theodore. *Reinventing Order in the Congo: How People Respond to State Failure in Kinshasa*. Zed Books. (2004):71.

⁵⁸ Herbst, Jeffrey. "Let Them Fail: State Failure in Theory and Practice: Implications for Policy." In Robert I. Rotberg (ed.), *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*. Princeton University Press. (2004):110.

The emerging leader Laurent Kabila was taking control of Zaire and merged forces with the Rwandan army, which crossed the Zairian border in 1996 allowing for the removal of Mobutu from power and the eventual disintegration of the former state of Zaire.⁵⁹

President Kabila's Takeover and the Recognition of the DRC: 1997-Present

With this, Kabila became the leader of the former state of Zaire and what would become known as the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) on 17 May 1997. Kabila's march through Zaire was mostly unchallenged by Mobutu forces.⁶⁰ It is important to point out that the final death blow to Mobutu's hold on the Zairian state was directly related to the Rwandan army's pursuit of refugee camps in Kivu. Nzongola-Ntalaja alludes to the transition of power in the DRC, "Mobutu's fall and Laurent-Desire Kabila's rise to power in Kinshasa were direct consequences of the RPF drive to destroy the UNHCR refugee camps in Kivu, together with the support that the ex-FAR and the HUTU extremist militia were receiving from the Mobutu regime".⁶¹ The new DRC President Kabila was a known revolutionary and clearly at this point a bright light in the darkness that Mobutu had created for the region.

Kabila had a revolutionary history with his participation in guerilla wars in the Congo in 1960 to 1985. He was a known resistance leader during the 1960 to 1963 Katanga secession and in command of the Eastern wing of the popular insurrections in 1964 and 1966. Additionally, he was the president of the *Parti Revolutionnaire du People* (PRP) 1967 to 1985.⁶² After the capture of Kinshasa, Kabila was recognized as the president of the DRC. Herbst marks this transition of power:

For instance, Mobutu Sese Seko was recognized as the ruler of Zaire even though he controlled little more than Kinshasa and its environs for the last years of his rule; he continued to be recognized as the leader while the forces of Laurent Kabila marched through the country in late 1996 and early 1997. Kabila was only recognized as the legitimate ruler when he captured

⁵⁹ Bates, Robert. *When Things Fell Apart: State Failure in Late-Century Africa*. Cambridge University Press. (2008):127.

⁶⁰ Nzongola-Ntalaja, Goerges. "From Zaire to the Democratic Republic of the Congo." *Current African Issues*. 28. (2004):5.

⁶¹ Nzongola-Ntalaja, Goerges. "From Zaire to the Democratic Republic of the Congo." *Current African Issues*. 28. (2004):8.

⁶² Nzongola-Ntalaja, Goerges. "From Zaire to the Democratic Republic of the Congo." *Current African Issues*. 28. (2004):13.

*Kinshasa on 17 May 1997. International legal practice is inadequate for understanding the actual forces on the ground because it is almost always the case (Somalia is the major exception) that some force can claim control of the the capital.*⁶³

In an anti-climactic ending for Mobutu, Trefon notes his final demise as he died in exile on 7 September, 1997, only four months after being exiled from the DRC.⁶⁴ Despite the success and the eventual death of Mobutu, troubles continued to plague the country.

The mixed blessing of the assistance of Rwanda and eventually Uganda in the ousting of Mobutu from power in Kinshasa came at an extended price in the form of their armies continuing their stay in the region and trying to exert control. Herbst notes that the influence of Uganda and Rwanda was not just the removal of Mobutu, but a form of influence on the developing country's actions:

*In 1998, Rwanda and Uganda decided to try to oust Laurent Kabila and replace him with a more manageable puppet in order to have their security concerns addressed. They did not try to simply seize territory in eastern D.R.O.C. and declare that their states had grown, even though this would have been far easier than replacing the government in far-away Kinshasa.*⁶⁵

Kabila had new adversaries to face and the remaining armies from these countries posed a problem to his continued control of the region. The two countries wanted to maintain control of occupied areas of the DRC. Their presence would further destabilize the country and influence its direction. Facing an uphill battle to maintain control, this left a wake of destruction that continued into the turn of the century. Rotberg points out that the death sited by the International Rescue Committee since 1998 maybe possibly as high as 3 million deaths.⁶⁶ The DRC continues to fight an uphill battle in the new millennia.

In early 2001 the President, Laurent Kabila was murdered by his own body guard. The country was in an economic crisis, considered a failed state; its natural

⁶³ Herbst, Jeffrey. "Let Them Fail: State Failure in Theory and Practice: Implications for Policy." In Robert I. Rotberg (ed.), *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*. Princeton University Press. (2004):302-303.

⁶⁴ Trefon, Theodore. *Reinventing Order in the Congo: How People Respond to State Failure in Kinshasa*. Zed Books. (2004):157.

⁶⁵ Herbst, Jeffrey. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton University Press. (2000):104-105.

⁶⁶ Rotberg, Robert. I. *State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror*. Brookings Institute Press, (2003):29.

⁶⁶ Reynjtjens, Filip. "Democratic Republic of the Congo: Political Transition and Beyond." *African Affairs*. 106.423. (2007):309.

resources have been pillaged either by occupying forces or the Mobutu legacy of patron/client relationships from the country's natural resources. Filip notes that the international community views the DRC as one of the biggest examples of a resource rich country becoming a geological scandal. The DRC could fund its own development, but is unable to maintain the wealth that could be attributed to its vast mineral resources.⁶⁷

In 2002, the DRC was considered a failed state on every level: conflict, economic decline, crumbling infrastructure, transparent borders, lawlessness, and the lack of public services were rampant in the country. Many scholarly perspectives viewed the DRC as in a state of failure and in some cases a perfect example of what state failure would look like in the international system. Furthermore, the country had become a staging ground for conflict of several other countries in Central Africa in 2002.⁶⁸ Nzongola-Ntalaja further describes the descent of the country, "...more than 3 million Congolese died between August 1998 and November 2002 of war-related causes such as malnutrition, lack of health care and dangerous living conditions in areas where refuge has been sought in the bush".⁶⁹ The country is in total state of decline. The possibilities that would be evident in its development have been given, taken, or dissolved in the past decades.

DRC in the Present: A Look from the Outside In

According to the CIA World Fact book for 2012, in October of 2002, Joseph Kabila, the son of the late President, was elected the new President following his father's assassination. He was successful in negotiating a withdrawal of Rwandan forces from the Eastern region of the DRC. By the end of 2002, Kabila was successful in pushing forth the Pretoria Act, which had all warring parties cease fighting and promote national

⁶⁷ Reyntjens, Filip. "Democratic Republic of the Congo: Political Transition and Beyond." *African Affairs*. 106.423. (2007):316.

⁶⁸ Rotberg, Robert. I. *State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror*. Brookings Institute Press, (2003):29.

⁶⁹ Nzongola-Ntalaja, Georges. "From Zaire to the Democratic Republic of the Congo." *Current African Issues*. 28. (2004):17.

unity within the country. Following the relative peace in mid-2003, the transitional government was established. By the end of 2005, a constitutional referendum was created and in 2006 the first successful elections were conducted. In a somewhat disputed election, Kabila was reelected to office.⁷⁰

According to statistics gathered from the World Bank and the United Nations Statistics Division a list of indicators showed the progression or regression of the development of the DRC since the end of the Cold War. The World Bank reported that in 2006 the population that was living below poverty line was 27%. In addition to this, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) for 2011 was \$15.65 billion (US dollars). The DRC has shown an increase of growth from 1993 which was at -13.5 % of growth per year to 6.9 % of growth in 2012. Even though the DRC shows signs of growth the country still holds a low income level rating. The net taxes on products starting at 1993 revealed that the DRC issued \$85,662,336 to a reduction of \$677, 476,307 in 2011.⁷¹

The CPIA Building Human Resources collected data that showed an increase in human resource development within the country. CPIA used a spectrum gauging the countries growth from 1-6 (1 being the lowest and 6 being the highest). In 2006, the level was at 3, but increased to 3.5 by 2011. The net official development and aid received in 1993 was \$177,820,000 but had dropped to \$3,542,980,000 in 2010. This revealed a significant drop in aid and development assistance to the country since the early 1990s. The economic breakdown between male/female workers within the country, as reported by the UN Statistics Division revealed that during 2011 70% of women were employed in the current work force compared 73% of men.⁷²

According to the World Bank, in 2011 the life expectancy of a person was 48 years old. In addition to this, the UN Statistics Division reported that the percentage of

⁷⁰ CIA, *The World Fact Book 2012* (Washington, D.C. 2012). <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/>

⁷¹ World Bank, *The World Bank*. <http://go.worldbank.org/3QT2P1GNH0>

⁷² United Nations Statistics Division, *The United Nations Statistics Division*. <http://go.worldbank.org/3QT2P1GNH0>

the population that had HIV/AIDS was between 380,000 to 490,000 people during 2009. Furthermore, the amount of citizens that have secondary education in the country was at 36% in 2010. The ability to gauge the progress of the DRC since the end of the Cold War or since its conception in the 1960s is limited.⁷³

⁷³ World Bank, *The World Bank*, <http://go.worldbank.org/3QT2P1GNH0>

Chapter Four: DRC and State Failure

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) has experienced many obstacles since its founding. Since its independence the DRC has had a corrupt and ruinous leadership, unstable economy, internal conflict, degradation of infrastructure and institutions, and the lack of basic facilities for its people. The combination of these factors has left a devastating effect on the country as a whole and at present the DRC is considered a failed state. State failure is a diagnosis by the international community as a sickness of the state. Much like a patient in terminal care, its vital organs are failing and the body is struggling to survive.

Three Key Factor Attributed to State Failure in the DRC

There are three key factors that a failed state needs to strengthen if it hopes to regain a status of identity within the international community and with its own citizens within its borders. Additionally, these three indicators can be used to gauge the level of failure within the state. By using these indicators this thesis will be focused on explaining how state failure occurred in the DRC.

The DRC is in need of a reconstruction of basic infrastructural institutions so that the needs of its people can be met and regulated preventing corruption from interrupting the basic services that its citizens need to survive on a daily basis. The importance of this cannot be stressed enough and whatever comes after this fact is an evolution in the DRC's governmental status, but as a beginning point state institutions need to be put in place for the dispersal of funds from both internal and external donors. Institutions bring the ability to apply state intervention to meet the needs of the people and provide an

outlet for the government and its people to have a meeting point to resolve issues that are plaguing the country. Currently, these institutions have degraded to a point that they are non-functional or if they are operational are corrupt to a level that is not effective in allowing the governmental structure (state institutions) to connect to the populace anymore. To re-establish this connection would bring back a flow of communication and means to improve the state's condition, and benefit its people.

The economy needs to be stabilized to help revive the domestic and the international economy. The DRC is rich in natural resources, but without the help of a state to regulate such an economy from illegal activities the chances of the DRC ever successfully entering into the international economy as a whole are not very good. Also, the country faces many issues of debt that is owed and obligations from private lenders for their natural resource wealth, not to mention neighboring state presence that threatens the stability of the state. Even though it has been documented that in the absence of a regulated domestic economy a secondary, illegal economic market (domestic black market) springs up to meet the needs of the people, the need for a formal economy is essential to allow for future entrance to the international realm. Regulations of laws to prohibit criminal actions are essential and institutions to guide/make these laws would be needed. In many ways this is the fuel for growth of the state. Without a strong economy the attributes and sections of the state will wither and die. So, the importance of this phase of development cannot be understated.

The appearance and action of external intervention within the DRC involved a multitude of actors that influence the development of the country. Non-State actors, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and other private institutions provide basic services to a country that is experiencing signs of failure or who are in a phase of state collapse. In the case of the DRC, NGOs have provided much needed supplies and aid to the people, but to take a look at the whole picture this may have been more detrimental

of an approach than to actually aiding a failing nation. Additionally, private institutions have lent money and aid at a price that the state and its people will be paying for decades to come in the form of patron/client relationships. The entrance of non-state entities in the DRC has left the country and its people vulnerable to outside influence and has weakened the state's borders. As a result, occupying foreign forces has weakened the identity of the state.

The DRC has had a combination of these factors due to the decades of corruption and abuse from its leadership. The proceeding sections of this thesis will highlight these three areas of weakness in the DRC and will use historical examples to illustrate why the country has come to this point. Furthermore, in a pursuit of a better understanding of state failure within the DRC, the use of the previously listed indicators will show how such a phenomenon came about. Through this approach, I will hope to answer the question of why state-failure has occurred in the DRC. Additionally, I hope to highlight the many factors and the changes in the external environment that have led the country to its current failing condition at this time.

State Infrastructure

The first factor that contributed to state failure in the DRC is its state infrastructure. In the post-colonial state of the Belgian Congo, the military acted as a major interdicting force in political affairs by securing the political elite into governing positions within the Congo after its formation. The result of this is the creation of an aristocratic political class that instilled its influence and economic threshold into their relationship with the state itself. The welfare and policies generated toward the citizens of the Congo was not a priority for the political aristocracy during this period. As a result, resource distribution and public services began to suffer from this new power shift. After Mobutu's take over and conversion from the Congo to the Zairian state, according to Callaghy the acting military began the abuse of power towards its citizens:

The Zairian military constantly abuses the subject population in a whole host of ways: theft, extortion, and armed robbery of all kinds; arbitrary arrest; illegal fines; setting up unauthorized barricades; kidnappings; beatings; rapes; forced labor; harassment of businessmen; physical attacks and extortion in village open-air markets; scavenging and pillage of crops, fruit, goats, and chickens; attacks on missions; and even fishing with dynamite, which destroys local fishing grounds. The local populations view of the military as a foreign conquering force.⁷⁴

The positioning of the political elites and the residing leadership of Mobutu in the Zairian state developed into an environment that would breed corruption and widespread abuse of state institutions. The decades of corruption and the lack of continued strengthening of the state's infrastructure led to the decay of state institutions put in place to maintain the well-being of the populace.

Corruption and Abuse: the Destabilization of State Institutions

The destabilization of the Zairian state institutions was the result of years of abuse. The amount of dependency put on the colonial infrastructure was not originally meant to be put to use this way. As a result, critical state institutions that were vital for the well-being of the citizens of Zaire were failing. State institutions, such as public health, transportation infrastructure, public education, and regulatory systems were deteriorating.

The future of the professional workforce within the region looked bleak, as governmental services were deteriorating. Due to civil wars and conflicts within the country, professionals such as doctors, teachers and citizens that had the resources for mobility left the country. As a result, replacing this professional working class is not an easy task. Educational opportunities and the ability for citizens to achieve a level of education needed to fill these roles are not very realistic in a war torn country.⁷⁵ The reaction to this by Mobutu and his political

⁷⁴ Callaghy, M. Thomas. *The State-Society Struggle Zaire un Comparative Politics*. Columbia University Press. (1984): 294.

⁷⁵ Rotberg, Robert.I. *When States Fail: Causes and Consequence*. Princeton University Press (2003):257-258.

cadre was to rely on patronage networks and aid donations to sustain critical political nodes within the state infrastructure.

Despite this, a majority of the donor aid was received by the governing forces and did not directly benefit the populace as it was originally intended. As Reno points out, Mobutu used the patron/client relationship between outside donors to keep his regime stable by utilizing these funds as means of sustaining substance for Zaire:

By the mid-1980s it appeared as though state institutions in Congo were experiencing a total collapse. But it also became apparent that Mobutu and his associates had found a new strategy for staying in power, even as formal institutions of their government withered. Much of the information about the parameters of this strategy emerged in the 'where did this money go' stories and analyses.⁷⁶

As a result, the country amassed a large national debt during the 1980s, which threatened the countries stability of critical institutions within the states infrastructure. Yet, Mobutu's use of the patron/client relationship between the Zairian state and foreign donors acted as a means to keep the Mobutu regime stable for the time being. Mobutu was able to utilize patron/client relationships as a means to maintain public services. By renting out precious state resources to external entities Mobutu was able to maintain the crumbling state institutions.⁷⁷

When famine and natural disaster hit the region in the mid-1980s, the Zairian state institutional structure failed to respond to such crisis, because of lack of resources and a decaying infrastructure to support them. The occurrence of natural disasters and the weight of the debt load on the country restricted many services that were needed for the general populace. As a result, famine and starvation were at record levels during the

⁷⁶ Reno, William. "Congo: From state collapse to 'absolutism', to state failure." *Third World Quarterly*. 27. 1. (2006): 43-56.

⁷⁷ Rotberg, Robert. I. *State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror*. Brookings Institute Press.(2003):37.

mid-1980's. The inability of the Mobutu government to provide these basic services to his people caused an increase in political instability.⁷⁸

The domestic market also suffered from a lack of regulatory systems and the enforcement of trade laws as such institution failed to emanate the power needed to create a presence within state borders. Nest alludes to the obstacles business entrepreneurs faced while conducting business in the DRC, "The weak legal system in the DRC made it almost impossible for entrepreneurs to ensure that their agreements with Congolese counterparts were enforced."⁷⁹In addition to the decaying infrastructure, transportation systems began to fail from lack of maintenance due to resource distribution within the state.

Critical transportation nodes, such as river boat and road networks were not maintained by the mid-1990.⁸⁰ The eventual decay of state institutions was the result of decades of abuse and corruption from the political elite class and the Mobutu regime. The funneling of money from donor recipients to the state resulted in the aristocracy as well as the Mobutu regime collecting large amounts of aid, while the rest of the populace suffered as a result.

In response to state institutions and their inability to manage problems between the state and its citizens, private organizations filled the gap. The continuation and the eventual evolution of private organizations took root in the public hemisphere in reaction to public need. In this political environment the Mobutu regime took advantage of the resources that became available by allowing private sector businesses to conduct their operations within the state boundaries. According to Reno, the commercialization of political control within Zaire was utilized to manipulate economic reform programs granted by Western donors. Mobutu's access to aid and the manipulation of these

⁷⁸ Owusu, Francis. "Pragmatism and the Gradual Shift from Dependency to Neoliberalism: The World Bank, African Leaders and Development Policy in Africa." *World Development*. 31. 10. (2003): 1658.

⁷⁹ Nest, Micheal. "Ambitions, Profits, and Loss: Zimbabwean Economic Involvement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo." *African Affairs*. 100. (2001): 488.

⁸⁰ Nest, Micheal. "Ambitions, Profits, and Loss: Zimbabwean Economic Involvement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo." *African Affairs*. 100. (2001): 479.

programs gave him the ability to utilize Western resources that were needed for his country and increase his political authority.⁸¹

Public civil service employees were replaced by private industry, not only adding to a growing unemployment situation within Zaire, but replacing essential free public services with private sector industry that citizens struggled to pay for. In response to this, public service workers were pushed out of their position as private industry moved in and took vital resources that the Mobutu government provided to them, leaving the public sector with virtually nothing to work with.⁸²

Toward the end of the Mobutu regime's rule, state institutions that used to provide basic services to and for the citizens of the Zaire were capitalized by private industry. This is due to the corrupted nature of the governing forces within the country and the allowance of private sector organizations to take the place of these failing institutions. As a result, private industry created an environment that services were paid by the citizens and added a heavy burden on an already shaky societal foundation. Rotberg describes the predatory nature of Zaire at the end of the Mobutu rule:

*Bad policies can lead to the failure of the state, until the state ceases to provide virtually any public goods, and state agents become almost entirely predatory. Zaire at the end of the Mobutu Sese Seko regime is probably exemplary. By the late 1980s, the state had stopped providing official funding for and social services, though many of them continued to be provided on a fee-for-service basis, effectively privatized by state agents.*⁸³

By the end of Mobutu's reign Zaire had lost its ability to maintain itself as a state and resorted to private sector services to provide services that the rest of the population could scarcely afford.

Also, in response to the failing state infrastructure was the presence of non-governmental agencies (NGOs) in their attempts to fill gaps within the state. This can be a mixed blessing in terms of states that are exhibiting signs of failure, while it is critical to

⁸¹ Reno, William. *Warlord Politics and African States*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.(1998): 21.

⁸² Reno, William. *Warlord Politics and African States*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.(1998): 22.

⁸³ Rotberg, Robert.I. *When States Fail: Causes and Consequence*. Princeton University Press. (2003): 106.

meet the basic needs of the people in a time of crisis or hardship it is also essential to meet these needs in a way that is constructive in terms of allowing the state's infrastructure to create an environment to help heal itself.

What happens when states depend on external services such as private institutions and support from NGOs is that the society that is being aided tends to rely on these aid organizations rather than building a stable and trusting relationship with their own government. As a result, this tends to breakdown the societal structure that the NGO presence is ultimately trying to build up. The dependence on funding from external aid groups divides society and government forces, undermining the relationship between the state and its citizens.⁸⁴ As a result, grassroots groups emerge and fill small roles within the state often in small areas and not really addressing the problem as a whole and the inclusion of governmental officials is limited due to the nature of these relationships. According to Ferguson, "...swarms of new 'nongovernmental organizations' (NGOs) have arisen, taking advantage of the shift in donor policies that moved funding for projects away from mistrusted state bureaucracies and into what were understood as more 'direct' or 'grassroots' channels of implementation."⁸⁵

The result of NGO activity and what ultimately becomes a grassroots organization is that they achieve a type of patchwork methodology for dealing with problems plaguing the state. Their inability to successfully create a relationship with the state leadership results in a non-constructive nature that ultimately leaves the problem unresolved or only resolved in certain areas of the state as long as the NGO is present. The failure in their approach or methodology to solve problems within a failed state, such as Zaire, is not solely on NGO's, but is equally connected to the demands of the host nation.

⁸⁴ Rotberg, Robert.I. *When States Fail: Causes and Consequence*. Princeton University Press. (2003): 244.

⁸⁵ Ferguson, James. *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order*. Duke University Press, (2006): 38.

In contrast to private organizations and their ability to function in place of state institutions is the result of their relationship with the state government and their ability to bribe or give additional aid to the governing forces that NGOs may not be able to abide by. The DRC unfortunately relied heavily on external support for a majority of its ability to function as a state. With the support from the West during the Cold War to the ushering in of private industry and NGO groups the state essentially relied on external support for its own well-being while the governing forces reaped the rewards from this relationship.

An important element within state infrastructure development is the relationship between the government and its people. After the establishment of the Zairian state (DRC after Mobutu's removal) Mobutu was quick to establish a nationalist state with him at the center of it. That relationship was established by removing threatening symbols of influence that may challenge his authority. According to Callaghy:

In 1972 regional officials suppressed a private (i.e., nonstate, nonchurch) school because it was not official recognized. Also in 1972, regional officials had to implement Mobutu's decision abolishing all church youth organizations and incorporating them into JMPR. All other church or religious organizations must be officially recognized and registered. Regional officials have trouble coping with the many new religious sects or churches that crop up.⁸⁶

Mobutu viewed the church as a threatening symbol that could act as an opposition to his power and steer the citizen population away from his favor. Furthermore, the church was not recognized by the state and Mobutu tried to make the church an illegitimate entity within Zaire. Mobutu moved to sever the international connection that the church brought into Zaire, viewing the church as a legitimate threat to sovereignty of the country and his power as leader.⁸⁷ Mobutu responded to the church by completely disenfranchising the institution from the state and its people. In response, Mobutu created Mobutuism as the official religious doctrine and declared holidays, such as Christmas as not legitimate.

⁸⁶ Callaghy, Thomas. M. *The State-Society Struggle: Zaire in Comparative Perspectives*. Columbia University Press. (1984): 269.

⁸⁷ Callaghy, Thomas. M. *The State-Society Struggle: Zaire in Comparative Perspectives*. Columbia University Press. (1984): 304.

The effects of Mobutu's creation of a nationalistic stance in the 1960's and 1970's made for a strong image of unity within the initial decades of Zaire's independence. Despite this, these decades also represented signs of a gross abuse of power that would not only effect the health and stability of the state, but the relationship the state had with its people. As mentioned previously, Zaire relied heavily on foreign aid from a multitude of sources to meet its needs and many of these aid functions never met the general populace, which created a gap between state governing agencies and the people they are purportedly supposed to be serving. This inability to meet the needs of the people and the elimination of state and non-state groups within the state to help establish the link between the two factions was eliminated due to a possible threat to Mobutu's regime. This can be seen in Mobutu's confrontation with the church in the early years of the countries creation. This identity gap has created the need of an essential factor in the stabilization of Zaire as a state. Its loss of identity not only makes it unrecognizable as a state to its citizens but weakens its chances of being recognized as a strong state to the international community.

After state failure occurred in the 1990s local law enforcement and state institutions were unable to regulate such activity. This inability to enforce law within the state has great ramification on the creation or stabilization of other institutions that aid the strengthening of the state itself, such as economic conditions and criminal activity. The ability to create law and order within the region is vital in establishing what can be expected from the government. The effects of Mobutu and elite cadre cannot be underestimated in the overall outcome of Zaire. State failure occurred because of the loss of state identity between the government and its people. This happened because the governing forces eliminated all opposition to them and replaced it with a nationalistic element, then grossly misused its resources and utilized external elements for their own personal gain rather than the building of their state.

Democratization and Western Influence

The push for democratization by the West and need to implement public services were severely lacking in Zaire. Over the following decades the citizens of Zaire had lost hope and a sense of identity with the state. Trefon alludes to the citizens general attitude to the proposed changes, “Congolese in general and Kinshasa in particular had lost hope in Mobutuism and were frustrated by the fiction of democratic transition. In response to this situation, they were forced to invent new solutions based primarily on friendship, trade and profession, neighborhood ties and religious affiliation.”⁸⁸ An alternate form of solution had to be formed to meet the needs of the people. This generally took the form of black markets or trade between professions.

The outlook for graduating college students was bleak, but the college diploma was often looked upon as a sense of entitlement to a noble status. In the early-1990s students faced the reality that a college degree will not always equal employment. Moreover, this was severely marginalized by the deteriorating condition of the state. No longer do these qualifications constitute an automatic stature within the society. The increase in unemployment, the downsizing of state institutions and their effectiveness within the population of Zaire, became a deteriorating factor which helped to lead to the eventual failure of the state in the 1990s.

Under these condition and much like many other failing states, the exodus of trained professionals to fill key essential roles within the state were left vacant by what many researchers have termed the “brain drain” effect. Under these conditions and the lack of trained professionals to help develop Zaire, ultimately led the country toward a crisis.

⁸⁸ Trefon, Theodore. *Reinventing Order in the Congo: How People Respond to State Failure in Kinshasa*. Zed Books. (2004):11.

Conclusion

The state infrastructure of Zaire met all the requirements for state failure. The exodus of professionals from the region due to unemployment, shrinking of government institutions that were eventually replaced by private sector organizations, the inclusion of NGOs within the country in forms of grassroots groups (further delegitimizing the state), the loss of identity between the state and its people, and the inability to project power and promote the rule of law within the state boundaries. The obvious answer to correct such problems would be to reverse these issues, but the ability to attack these issues also opens a Pandora's Box, which includes factors such as private interest groups and corruption on all levels of society. State institutions are the one form of government that connects and addresses the needs of the people to the ruling government. By not taking an active stance in trying to establish, strengthen, and promote these institutions under a rule of law the identity of the state and the legitimacy of the state are severely in question. The second factor that allowed state failure to occur in the DRC is the lack of economic development.

Chapter Five: Economic Development

During the initial decades of independence in Zaire, the country was considered to be in the midst of economic development and in relative good standing. Zaire is mineral rich and the abundance of other natural resources revealed a prosperous future for the newly established country. In the height of the 1960s and 1970s the abundance of this wealth also brought corruption, which originated within the political aristocracy.

The economic environment in the mid to late 1970s started to reveal the strain on the economic structure within Zaire. The lack of production and the amount of external private involvement in state industry that was detrimentally affecting the ability of the state to generate its own positive growth. Callaghy comments on the economic condition:

The financial condition of the Zairian absolutist state in the late 1960s and early 1970s was excellent, particularly because of the high price copper, which accounted for about two-thirds of Zaire's foreign exchange. The copper price peaked at \$1.40 per pound in April 1974, but it began to turn down in May and June. It declined to as low as \$0.53 by late 1975; in 1976 it had stabilized in the mid-sixties. By early 1976 Zaire was in the middle of a grave economic and financial crisis which 'pushed the state to the brink of international bankruptcy, and the Mobutu regime to the brink of disaster.' As the 1980s approached, Zaire was nearly \$ 5 billion in debt and on the verge of economic collapse.⁸⁹

The effects of the continued abuse by Mobutu and his political elite drove the country into further decline in the 1980s. Zaire often sought the assistance of Western governments, international private banks, international organizations (IMF and WTO) for further financial assistance. The system was broken and corruption had rooted itself

⁸⁹ Callaghy, Thomas. M. *The State-Society Struggle: Zaire in Comparative Perspectives*. Columbia University Press. (1984): 196.

within the state structure to the point that government and society did not connect in the way that they should have.

Corruption and State Economy

As mentioned in previous chapters, corruption plays a significant factor in the history of Zaire, in this context the state economy is a key factor that contributes to state failure. The economy has been used as a weapon by political elites and Mobutu to satisfy their hold on the citizens and line the pockets of the more affluent within the country. The aristocracy that resided over most of the power within the governing structure used state institutions and the state legitimacy as their own tool for personal benefit at the expense of the citizens they were supposed to be working for. As a result, the aristocracy effectively blocked any economic development within the country by depriving the state industry the means to develop production and improve conditions for the citizens of Zaire.⁹⁰

Other determining factors, that were due mostly to interference from Cold War politics, helped to prop up Zaire by pushing out the threat of communism in the country's development and usher in democratic ideology. Mobutu utilized his anti-communist appeal to the United States during the height of the Cold War, securing a large amount of aid from the West during this period of time to accommodate his lifestyle. According to Rotberg:

*The end of the Cold War sharply increased the Congo's international isolation and legitimacy deficit; bartering its anti-communist credentials for external assistance was no longer a feasible option. Just as Mobutu owed his rise to power to the penetration of East-West rivalries in the continent, the collapse of the Zairian state must be seen as a casualty of the Cold War's end.*⁹¹

Yet, it may be a casualty in that it did not utilize the aid and financial assets that were given to it. Mobutu was so effective in his accumulation of wealth from various external

⁹⁰ Callaghy, Thomas. M. *The State-Society Struggle: Zaire in Comparative Perspectives*. Columbia University Press. (1984): 56.

⁹¹ Rotberg, Robert. I. *State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror*. Brookings Institute Press. (2003): 38.

sources that he was able to maintain a lifestyle that was inconceivable to the average citizen.

Mobutu's accumulated fortune was considered to be equal to at least half the country's debt. In the early-1990's, Mobutu used reserved funds to pay military and government employees.⁹² Additionally, regional political elites have used their power to manipulate markets and withhold funding to secure their power within the state. Utilizing state-owned resources, regional elites privatized these state institutions for their own benefit.⁹³ Corruption of the economy does not solely emanate from political control over the citizen, but is used in the process of resource development and the flow of natural resource wealth within Zaire.

Natural Resource Development and the State Economy

The natural resource and mineral development within Zaire is one of the original attractions for colonial conquest. Yet, it was closely regulated and monitored for abuse among its workers. The revenues generated by natural resources, such as copper mining, diamond fields, etc..., generated a level of corruption that affects the product revenues and the direction of the revenue within the community. Utilizing these resources allowed for governing elites to manipulate the system in their favor. The economic environment was not beneficial for the developing state.

The lack of efficiency in production was permanently damaging the ability of the state to grow economically. Domestic markets were introduced to private companies as relationships were established through means that only benefited governing authorities at the time. According to Van de Walle, "In cases like the 'Zairianization' episode in Zaire, the policy was a little-disguised grab by the political elite of profitable private companies, and the rhetoric of economic nationalism was perfunctory and superficial."⁹⁴

⁹² Van de Walle, Nicolas. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*. Cambridge University Press. (2001): 67.

⁹³ Engleburt, Pierre and Denis M. Tull. "Postconflict Reconstruction in Africa: Flawed Ideas about Failed States". *International Security*. 32. 4. (Spring, 2008): 115.

⁹⁴ Van de Walle, Nicolas. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*. Cambridge University Press. (2001): 114.

The governing officials utilized their position to accumulate a massive amount of wealth through private contracts and resource procurement at the expense of the nation it was supposed to be governing.

Natural resources and their potential to establish a stable platform for a strong economic environment, more often than not reflects the opposite. Zaire has an abundant wealth in natural resources and mineral mining within the region. Ezekiel highlights the country's natural resource abundance, "Congo's mineral wealth includes copper, cobalt, gold, diamonds, tantalum, tin, niobium, silver, zinc, uranium, and thorium."⁹⁵ Zaire's utilization of its natural resources and mineral deposits opened doors to patron/client relationships between the government and private investors. This relationship catered toward the needs of the minority instead of the majority. Reno elaborates on Mobutu and his elite cadre's effectiveness in obtaining natural resource wealth:

...Mobutu's elite could manage quite well, so long as their patron could convince foreign officials and business deals. The country's abundant mineral resources attracted shady foreign firms willing to deal directly with predatory officials. Mobutu's commitment to a pro-Western stance in the context of the Cold War continued to interest foreign officials, especially in the USA, throughout the 1980s. By the early 1990s it appeared as though Mobutu was a creature of his Western patrons and would fall or survive in power at their sufferance.⁹⁶

Zaire also has rented or contracted their oil revenues for decades; prolonging any potential benefit that economic and political reform may have in the future. As a result, most of Zaire's oil production was contracted out for years to come.⁹⁷ What could constitute an uplifting factor in the development of the state economy and the citizens of Zaire has been contracted out by corrupt governing officials that have pocketed the financial capital from these endeavors and left the citizens to their own devices.

⁹⁵ Ezekiel, Aaron. "The Application of International Criminal Law to Resource Exploitation: Ituri, Democratic Republic of the Congo." *Natural Resource Journal*. 47. (Winter 2007): 226.

⁹⁶ Reno, William. "Congo: From state collapse to 'absolutism', to state failure." *Third World Quarterly*. 27. 1. (2006): 49-50.

⁹⁷ Clark, John. "Petro-Politics in Congo". *Journal of Democracy*. 8. 3. (July, 1997): 72-73

Privatization, Predatory Economic Environment, and the State Economy

The state economy experienced a continual process of decay throughout Zaire's history. In response to this, external groups ranging from NGO's to private industry have been ushered in to maintain services and seek profit within the country under the cloak of patron/client relationships between the government and these external organizations. Under this class distinction governing officials were increasingly allowed to create these relationships under limited, if any governing authority at all. Natural resources were rented out to the highest bidder and the elite officials collected at the expense of the citizens that were under them.

In the context of a predatory environment, Mobutu's political elite were able to introduce privatization to Zaire with limited regulatory institutions to monitor the developing relationships. The elite cadre that surrounded Mobutu was in better positions to exploit privatization to the state.⁹⁸ Furthermore, these relationships dictated the political policy within Zaire, allowing external influence to gain a foothold in the development of the state. According to Reno, "...the comparison shows how the social structure of patronage, especially the capacity of local administrators to use their offices in line with their own interests to develop their personal networks in illicit trades shapes the political strategies that leaders use to try to assert control."⁹⁹ The process of decaying state institutions and control was not a short one.

The country did not feel the effects of these factors until well into the 1970s and the process continued to develop as the governing forces used external means to substitute for depreciating public services within the country, which came at the price of their natural resources. The ongoing effects of this relationship are still decades in the making, since the means for generating profits were rented out to foreign industrial networks and the profits were taken by the governing elite. The West tried to resolve this

⁹⁸ Reno, William. "Congo: From state collapse to 'absolutism', to state failure." *Third World Quarterly*. 27. 1. (2006): 49.

⁹⁹ Reno, William. "Congo: From state collapse to 'absolutism', to state failure." *Third World Quarterly*. 27. 1. (2006): 51.

problem of a declining economic structure by introducing democracy and capitalism as a means for the future of Zaire.

Neoliberalism and Western Influence

Zaire was unstable during the introduction of neoliberalism by Western powers. At the end of the Cold War, democracy flourished through countries all around the world, but the basic essentials that needed to be involved for the success for such a style of government were not present in Zaire. Zaire had a decaying infrastructure, almost non-existent domestic/international economy, and the state's ability to reign in criminal activity was not apparent. Forms of capitalism did appear in this newly proposed environment, but not to the benefit of the state. Private industry, which was already reaping the rewards from past interactions, was not monitored by regulatory systems.

Many thought that the introduction of capitalism and neoliberal philosophy would boost economic potential within Zaire. Neoliberalism stated that removing any government obstacles that interfered with market growth would allow positive economic growth within the state. Thus, the growth of privatization would allow for capital to grow within the economy.¹⁰⁰ Yet, this did not occur, because the lack of regulatory agencies to monitor increased activity of private industry ran rampant and the class division increased among the citizens. Creating increased inequality and the marginalization of the social classes.¹⁰¹ In the case of Zaire, the effects of the end of the Cold War and the introduction of neoliberal policy within the state made Mobutu create an array of smaller economies to subsidize the lack of external resources that were not present. In the past, Mobutu took over small and foreign owned businesses within Zaire, ultimately making the domestic market state owned and eliminating foreign investment within the country. In reality, these purported state owned industries were distributed among the political elite within government.

¹⁰⁰ Ferguson, James. *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order*. Duke University Press. (2006): 11.

¹⁰¹ Ferguson, James. *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order*. Duke University Press. (2006): 11.

Lack of Technological Innovation and Industry

Another hindering factor in the development of the Zairian economy was the lack of technological innovation and implementation in industry and agriculture. The lack of investment in industrial technology severely limits Zaire's capabilities to produce and export their products at the needed rate. According to Callaghy, "...Zaire is a resource rich but technologically backward, with weak productive, as opposed to extractive, capacity. Transportation is backward, slow, irregular, unevenly distributed, inconvenient, dangerous, and costly."¹⁰² Furthermore, the ability to increase international trade is determined by the ability to utilize such technology.

Hyperinflation and the Predatory Economy

Throughout Zaire's history since the 1980s, the economy has affected many functions within the state structure. The Zairian military constantly had to endure inflation and try to maintain on a monthly salary of \$10 a month in the 1990's. In late September of 1990, the inflation reached 3,000 percent. In reaction to this the Zairian military protested and violence erupted in the industrial sector, which destroyed a major portion of their industrial capability.¹⁰³ As a result of this, the economy suffered from a reduction in economic investments and a decline in the tourism industry in the late 1990s.

In response to a predatory economy and a lack of regulation within the economic environment the citizens learned to adapt to the behavior of their employers and external industry. Trefon explains the general attitude of citizens in everyday life as they try to cope with an economic decline:

By taking advantage of his boss he feels he has accomplished something positive. This type of pilfering is deeply engraved in the Kinois spirit, reflecting the belief that people who do not steal when the opportunity presents itself are poor providers to their families. A day without stealing is perceived as a lost day.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Callaghy, Thomas. M. *The State-Society Struggle: Zaire in Comparative Perspectives*. Columbia University Press. (1984):145.

¹⁰³ Van de Walle, Nicolas. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*. Cambridge University Press. (2001): 213.

¹⁰⁴ Trefon, Theodore. *Reinventing Order in the Congo: How People Respond to State Failure in Kinshasa*. Zed Books. (2004):29.

The occurrence of economic decline has created a type of environment within Zaire. Citizens react by viewing what would be generally considered immoral behavior, as a legitimate means to help sustain themselves as well as their families. This is a general symptom of the effects of a longstanding degradation of citizens working conditions and their civil rights. The ineffectiveness of the government to suppress criminal activity has forced many foreign investors to seek other means of protection when conducting business within the state borders. As a result, contracts between private companies and local official were routed through the army to elicit their protection during business transaction and production.¹⁰⁵ The combination of these factors, both internal/external have evolved in nature as the decades wore on and created an economic environment that was more about survival than economic development.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Zaire has experienced many economic factors that have led to a devastated economic structure within the country. Ultimately, the state and its citizens seemed to give up hope on a capitalist market and adapted their behavior to survive the aftermath of such intrusion by private industry that is there to take precious natural resources from their country, while political officials reap the benefits from these transactions. The last factor that negatively affected the DRC is external intervention.

¹⁰⁵ Nest, Micheal. "Ambitions, Profits, and Loss: Zimbabwean Economic Involvement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo." *African Affairs*. 100. (2001): 477.

Chapter Six: External Intervention

The independence of the Congo, what would eventually be known as Zaire until the 1990s, could not have occurred without the appearance of external groups within the development of the newly formed state. These external groups came in a variety of forms: international financial institutions, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and private interest groups. For good or bad, external groups and their influence have directly shaped the DRC. In large part, the international communities have been using these groups as a way to mend the problems plaguing states exhibiting signs of failure or who are suffering signs of total collapse. Yet, the issues have not been resolved within the DRC.

The Impact of External Groups on Developing Countries

Langford alludes to the impact of external groups and their inability to enable states exhibiting signs of failure to reemerge with some form of strong development:

The international community has been treating symptoms, not causes, he continues, because peacekeeping focuses on stopping conflict, not remedying the underlying causes of it. Moreover, the current system allows economic and humanitarian aid to fall into the hands of those who serve to perpetuate the situation. The aid that is donated is too easily routed away from those who most need it by corrupt officials, street gangs, or warlords.¹⁰⁶

Aid and support from these private/state run institutions often are routed into undesirable hands and never benefiting the state itself or its people. This may be due to corruption, the interest of authoritarian leadership, or the special interests of that particular group to meet their own personal needs. What is apparent is that the international community has

¹⁰⁶ Langford, Tonya. "Things Fall Apart: State Failure and the Politics of Intervention." *International Studies Review*. 1 . 1. (Spring 1999): 67.

failed to remedy the problem for the long term, even if they have made some short term gains.

International Financial Institutions

The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), created economic policies for the DRC during the 1980s that initially helped the country in its economic turmoil, but were also used to insert policy control in the state's democratic development. In response, Mobutu used this support for his own means and created an image of democracy within the country as a ruse to acquire the help of the international financial community. According to Owusu, the economic environment in the state of Zaire created by international financial institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, pushed neoliberal economic arrangements and policies that slowed the rate of economic development in these countries.¹⁰⁷ The policies put forth were for the betterment of the society.

The goals set out for the DRC were not met and in many cases can be seen as creating negative development within the country. Milliken alludes to this:

...the policies of the international financial institutions (the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund) have become a case study in contradictions. On the one hand, they have incorporated pro-active roles in conflict prevention in their dealing with conflict prone societies by demanding 'good governance' and 'human rights' as yardsticks for engagement. On the other hand, through cure-all structural adjustment programmes, they have put excessive pressure on the already anorexic state to further slim down by selling off state assets, and cutting down on military expenditures and subsidies on essential social services.¹⁰⁸

Mobutu was not following policies the international community put forth and pressure on Zaire which was already showing signs of failure, made the condition of the state worse in all aspects of its existence.

¹⁰⁷ Owusu, Francis. "Pragmatism and the Gradual Shift from Dependency to Neoliberalism: The World Bank, African Leaders and Development Policy in Africa." *World Development*. 31. 10. (2003): 1655.

¹⁰⁸ Milliken, Jennifer. *State Failure, Collapse and Reconstruction*. Blackwell Publishing. (2003):167.

Non-Governmental Organizations

External groups such as NGOs, who use their substantial funding to essentially meet the needs of the local populace, filled in where state institutions could not or do not have the means to provide for their citizens. In this situation, NGOs may or may not have an established relationship with the government, which forces them to operate at a grassroots level. This may initially help by providing for a population in need of medical, educational, and constructional maintenance, but at the expense of not allowing infrastructure and state identity to develop at a natural pace. In some cases, according to Milton and Hickey, NGOs are related to special interest groups such as religious movements and political groups.

The recent development of NGO's within states exhibiting signs of failure can be understood by their relationship to special interest groups located in that particular country. These special interest groups can be religious groups or political movements that connect external aid groups to the community.¹⁰⁹ Yet, NGOs are arguably related to the rise of neoliberal policy that emerged in the 1980s, as this overwhelming ideology emerged so did groups that were meant to spread democracy in failing states. Milton and Hickey further allude to the nature of NGO activity that resulted in a rise of neoliberal agenda during the 1980s.¹¹⁰ In this light, NGOs were considered in many cases to be a nuisance to the failing government that they were supposed to be helping. Zaire is a prime example of this. Mobutu used and controlled NGO groups as a way to appease the citizens and show that development was occurring when it really was just a short term solution to a problem within the society. According to Trefon, state officials consider NGO presence in their country to be troublesome, as they become a rival to state

¹⁰⁹ Mitlin, Diana, Sam Hickey, And Anthony Bebbington. "Reclaiming Development? NGOs and the Challenge of Alternatives." *World Development*. 35. 10.(2007): 1702.

¹¹⁰ Mitlin, Diana, Sam Hickey, And Anthony Bebbington. "Reclaiming Development? NGOs and the Challenge of Alternatives." *World Development*. 35. 10.(2007): 1706.

authority and compete for funding that comes from external aid to that particular state.¹¹¹ Just like international financial institutions, in their mission to solve infrastructure problems, NGOs failed to create a bridge between the government and the people.

Special Interest Groups

Special interest groups, that provide some of the same services as NGOs, are faced with the same problems of an unresponsive and sometimes hostile government; this makes the aid and support given produce a negative impact on the society they are trying to revive. One example of this is the shipment of aid to a village or town. The aid is given freely to the populace or local combatants without thought about what it would do to local business. At times it negatively impacts the local economy. Milliken alludes to the presence of aid in the local economy and how that can negatively affect the development of the domestic economy, "Humanitarian aid often plays into the framework of the parallel economy by delivering resources through the hands of combatants. Thus, 'despite the best intentions of aid workers, and at times because of them, they become logisticians in the war efforts of warlords, fundamentalist, gangsters, and ethnic cleansers'..."¹¹². Special interest groups as well as NGOs and international financial institutions are not carefully planning their approach and communicating with the state government.

These groups then can be more detrimental to the development of the state. According to Brinkerhoff, the intentions of NGO groups and their ability to take the lead in providing essential services to the needs of the citizens of the state often bypasses the development of government state institutions to take over these functions in the future. Yet, this quick-fix action is what initially creates dependency between the state and external groups who are trying to assist in the needs of the state. Furthermore, by undermining state development the ability of the state to stabilize in the future is further

¹¹¹ Trefon, Theodore. *Reinventing Order in the Congo: How People Respond to State Failure in Kinshasa*. Zed Books. (2004): 104.

¹¹² Milliken, Jennifer. *State Failure, Collapse and Reconstruction*. Blackwell Publishing. (2003):203.

reduced.¹¹³ The effects of external groups within the DRC are considerable. The occurrence of external intervention may have prolonged or increased the chances of state failure within the DRC.

Western Influence and the Cold War

After the Congo received its independence in the early to mid 1960s external influences were already present and contributing to the development of the state. Herbert Weiss comments on Western involvement: “Between 1960 and 1962 the Congo was essentially under a UN protectorate which in turn was under strong US influence.”¹¹⁴ Much along these lines, the country formerly known as the Congo was renamed Zaire with the help of Western influence and external groups. Callaghy further highlights the involvement of Western powers:

*Major Western powers have repeatedly helped to keep Zaire together, have helped Mobutu to come to power and consolidate that power in important ways (while others have tried to overthrow him), and, along with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, have helped to keep him in power. But as the current economic and financial crises show, they are much less able to affect the structure and processes, even policies, of his regime in any substantial way. The Mobutu regime would not exist today without external support, past and present, but the ruler of this patrimonial administrative state and his political aristocracy have successfully fought off challenges to their relative autonomy.*¹¹⁵

Much of the formation of the country has been helped along by outside influence, which put Mobutu into power, fed his need for wealth, and supplied misdirected aid toward an end that resulted in the occurrence of state failure. According to Rotberg, “Although the massive infusion of financial assistance from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank contributed in no small way to satisfying Mobutu’s incessant demands for cash, once confronted with their reluctance to oblige, it took all of the pressure that the United States could bring to bear on both institutions to ensure that the aid money

¹¹³ Brinkerhoff, Derick, W. “Rebuilding Governance in Failed States and Post-Conflict Societies: Core Concepts and Cross-Cutting Themes.” *Public Administration and Development*. 25. (2005): 7.

¹¹⁴ Weiss, Herbert. “War and Peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.” *Current African Issues*. 22. (2000):22.

¹¹⁵ Callaghy, Thomas. M. *The State-Society Struggle: Zaire in Comparative Perspectives*. Columbia University Press. (1984): 57.

would keep flowing into Mobutu's private pockets."¹¹⁶ Most of this came at a time when the political environment was ripe for molding developing countries to fit the needs of the battling superpowers during the Cold War.

The Cold War presented an opportunity for the West to push democracy to all countries in hopes of defeating the spread of communism around the world. In light of this, the 1960s presented a pool of independent nations from the post-colonial era that both sides were determined to impose their political ideology upon with the promise of aid and monetary support. Dunning states that the objectives of these two superpowers and their aggressive need to maintain some form of superiority over the other left the country receiving aid the ability to negotiate terms for receipt of this aid. When the Cold War ended, the ability to withhold aid was easier and the conditionality of democratic reform was possible, because the threat of the Soviet Union was not present and the ability to negotiate the conditions for the aid ceased.¹¹⁷ During this consistent flow of aid and financial support, the country was not developing, but democracy and the image of Zaire were named to be stable.

The mask that external support produced for the country was removed when the Cold War ended and aid ceased. Herbst alludes to the sudden loss of external aid: "The artificially high external resource flow received due to the global strategic competition had the effect of masking the fundamental problems the state faced and delaying the point at which leaders had to adjust. When the aid associated with the Cold War ended, these states simply collapsed."¹¹⁸ Zaire relied heavily upon Cold War support. Mobutu had acquired most of the aid and left little in the way for the state infrastructure and institutional development for its citizens.

¹¹⁶ Rotberg, Robert. I. *State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror*. Brookings Institute Press. (2003):32.

¹¹⁷ Dunning, Thad. "Conditioning the Effects of Aid: Cold War Politics, Donor Creditability, and Democracy in Africa." *International Organization*. 58. (Spring 2004): 410.

¹¹⁸ Herbst, Jeffery. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton University Press. (2000): 260.

The End of the Cold War and Western Aid

The substantial decrease in aid going into Zaire after the end of the Cold War ultimately led to the downfall of Mobutu and the failure of the state as a whole. Van de Walle claims that Zaire along with Kenya, Somalia, and Sudan witnessed their aid totals drop by 24 percent between the years of 1990-1996, which was estimated to be \$2.3 billion during the 1990s.¹¹⁹ As a result, Zaire was not politically important to the West as it previously was. The race to beat the spread of communism and the need to implement democracy around the world was not as urgent and the significance of Zaire as an ally diminished. More importantly, besides the decline in funding, the amount of aid that was allowed to enter Zaire was heavily restricted by the influence of policy from the West. Under terms and conditions the desperate state of Zaire tried to remain stable, but due to the lack of governance and the chaotic conditions that surrounded the Zairian citizens, the chances of development after the Cold War did not look promising, unless they met the demands for the democratic process laid out for them.

State Recognition in the International Community

The debate about post-colonial statehood and the effects of declaring these former colonies states has been widely argued. The act of the international community certifying the Congo/Zaire/DRC as a state and allowing it the same rights granted by the standard was detrimental in the country's development. According to Herbst, "During the Mobutu era, the U.S. should have recognized Zaire for what it was, or was not, and decertified it as a sovereign nation."¹²⁰ Furthermore, the appropriate steps were not allowed to be taken for the Congo to develop on a path that would allow it to succeed in a natural progression.

The reliance on previously created institutional structure was inadequate to meet the needs of the country and further advisement on governmental structural

¹¹⁹ Van de Walle, Nicolas. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*. Cambridge University Press. (2001): 217.

¹²⁰ Herbst, Jeffery. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton University Press. (2000):265.

development was not provided in a manner that would deem it constructive to the state. This proper formation of a state is a scenario put forth in a perfect world, but to push a country that has not had any previous experience in state building into the international community with hopes of becoming a strong and developed state is not likely without outside intervention. So, where did the DRC and the international community go wrong? I argue that the early recognition of statehood after the independence of the Congo was a questionable judgment. Mobutu used the well intentioned and heavily motivated support from the West to build a country that was guided by the influence of Mobutu and his political elite. Callaghy reinforces this point, "In pursuing his state formation strategy, Mobutu has both relied heavily on external support and sought to limit external influence when it impinged on his interests and those of his political aristocracy."¹²¹ Mobutu's response to further external influence was to play the part of a government developing democracy in the progression of steps put forth by the international community, but what resulted was the formation of a country that resembled more like an authoritarian state.

The support and influence were used to the administration's advantage and state development went unchecked. As Callaghy alludes, Mobutu and elite cadre were effective during the Cold War to manipulate Western external actors in their fear of communist takeover or a possible collapse of the regime to support the Mobutu government. The political elite continued to manipulate state institutions to sabotage development to benefit their own accumulation wealth.¹²² The result of the international community's certification and the unguided flow of aid into the region allowed for a permissive environment to be created and the actions of Mobutu to go unchecked. Despite this, the ability to intervene by the international community is limited when state sovereignty is allowed for a country not meeting the standards of what constitutes a

¹²¹ Callaghy, Thomas. M. *The State-Society Struggle: Zaire in Comparative Perspectives*. Columbia University Press. (1984): 166.

¹²² Callaghy, Thomas. M. *The State-Society Struggle: Zaire in Comparative Perspectives*. Columbia University Press. (1984): 196.

state. Laying blame for the DRC's current condition can be debated on many levels, but ultimately it is the result of an accumulation of factors.

The Congo's recognition as a state early in its development restricted the ability of the international community to guide the country's growth. The unregulated amount of aid distributed to Zaire under few conditions gave Mobutu the means to create the government he desired. Yet, Mobutu's lack of ability to connect to the international community and his own citizens were ultimately to blame for the country's failure.

The ability of external groups and the governments they are attempting to help have an unstable relationship in developing countries. The mix of intrusion within the community to the lack of trust that a developing government may have in the motivation of external groups supporting their state can be questionable at times. The international community's approach to solving ailing state's problems is a one-dimensional solution. As Englebert points out, "The limited success of recent donor-sponsored market reforms and democracy promotion indicates that the grand vision of state building, with its one-size-fits-all approach, is likely to meet resistance."¹²³ In response to the failures of the past in resolving state failure issues, the approach to aid development has come with heavy policy influence laden within the agreement of distribution of aid to such countries.

Donor Aid and State Development

If the present government's administration wanted to stop the implementation of these policies, external groups would go right to the source of the problem and deal with the community on a grassroots level. According to McNeill, "Development became a specialized arena dominated by 'donor agencies' dealing with their 'recipients', and by professional development experts sharing an arcane language in which fundamental ethical issues were almost entirely absent."¹²⁴ Mobutu's response to such action was to

¹²³ Englebert, Pierre and Denis M. Tull. "Postconflict Reconstruction in Africa: Flawed Ideas about Failed States". *International Security*. 32. 4. (Spring, 2008): 110.

¹²⁴ McNeill, Desmond. "Poverty, Human Rights, and Global Justice: The Response-Ability of Multilateral Organizations." *Globalizations*. 8.1.(2011):99.

play the part just enough to fulfill the needs of the international community and the wave of external support coming from them.

He was able to control the flow of aid and use it to his benefit. Mobutu's ability to achieve this was the result of his regime's ability to maintain control of the state for so long. Rotberg claims that external intervention has been blamed for supporting failing regimes who would not survive on their own.¹²⁵ In addition to indirectly propping up unstable regimes, the effects of aid coming into the country may have adverse effects even if it does filter down to the domestic level.

This can happen in a variety of ways, but ultimately the unchecked distribution of aid can benefit the strongest in a society leaving the most needy to suffer further for these actions. As Milliken points out, aid organizations fail to see the initial impact of their activities and assume that their actions result in neutral or positive outcomes in an unstable environment.¹²⁶ The most apparent solution for the unregulated distribution of aid and the communication to influence the constructive nature that aid should have in a state is to have the initial relationship with the community and the government at the very beginning.

Conclusion

The combination of appropriately setting the structure for the development of a state for future recognition and having a hand in the development of state policy, with concerns to economic and institutional development is essential in preventing state failure in the future. This was not achieved in the DRC. As a result the early recognition of state sovereignty by the international community, the lack of development of state institutions, the domestic/international economy, and the unregulated flow of aid by

¹²⁵ Rotberg, Robert.I. *When States Fail: Causes and Consequence*. Princeton University Press. (2003): 57.

¹²⁶ Milliken, Jennifer. *State Failure, Collapse and Reconstruction*. Blackwell Publishing. (2003):210.

external groups bred an environment of corruption and eventual decay of the state identity within the DRC

Chapter Seven: Summary and Conclusion

The nature of state failure in the international system is by all means chaotic. As can be seen in the case of the DRC, three underlying factors are associated with the state's current condition. The deconstruction of these three factors interlaced to make a perfect storm. The deep seated corruption within the government and an eventual decay of all aspects of life for the citizens of the DRC occurred as a result of state failure. The interconnected nature of each factor is an interesting development and led me in a comprehensive approach when researching for this thesis.

The decay of government institutions is directly related to the distribution and communication of external groups. The domestic and international economy is impacted by the amount of aid flowing into the state, coupled with the absence of regulatory factors that would protect developing business interest in the DRC. The failure of the international community to address these issues is not surprising because they were approached in a singular fashion and to approach it all at once is overwhelming if not initially discouraging.

In my research on this specific phenomenon the factors identified were a result of leadership failure, misuse of aid and the invasive nature of accepting this aid, as well as the lack of development of state institutions within the DRC. These sub-factors led to the decay of government and their regulatory systems (state institutions), unchecked economic behavior, and the unregulated intervention of external groups within the DRC. To supplement the loss of services or to infuse monetary aid within the country without the requirement of follow-on structural adjustments proved to not benefit the country in

its attempts to develop. Nor, did the aid of external intervention reap benefits from these endeavors.

In the case of the DRC, these attempts seemed did not work because an unruly government abused the aid that was given (whatever their motives may have been). Mobutu was well documented in his use of monetary aid during the Cold War, which could have been used for infrastructure development. Natural resources are abundant throughout the DRC, but have been rented out through patron/client relations throughout the previous decades to external business entities. The developments of these relationships have hindered the use of natural resources for the enrichment of the country. External groups: NGOs, private industry, and governmental groups have implemented aid programs, policies, and external presence within the country that could be viewed on many levels as detrimental to the state's development. Yet, due to these factors the separation of the citizens and their government has not allowed for the development of state identity which is essential. The culmination of these factors has left the country in disarray and considered a failed state within the international community. Decades of efforts have not brought the country to a level of economic and political stability.

In order to stabilize the DRC, the state would have to make an evolutionary leap or a jump start to revitalize the country. State institutions would have to be reengaged to allow the flow of aid and trade to develop the country. Legal systems would have to be put in place as well as enforced to manage the levels of corruption that have plagued the DRC since its independence. The state government should monitor, under the guidance of external intervention, contract agreements dealing with natural resource development and the production coming from the DRC. The state under these conditions would be heavily regulating market development until domestic and international economies could be standardized under rule of law. When stabilization is established then regulatory

process would relax restrictions and allow for development to take place at a normal pace. This approach has been used in other cases, but the theory that it would work in all cases of state failure is not a guarantee.

The question of state sovereignty would have to be addressed. The categorization of the DRC as a state would either have to be downgraded or be mentored by an external entity. The actual achievement and responsibility of this would be substantial for the host country.

External groups would be the key to development within the DRC. Despite the misuse of appropriated funds or the lack of communication between government entities/aid groups the DRC needs external intervention to succeed in the developmental process. Without a relationship with the government, external involvement within the country would likely have no lasting effect. Connecting state government and its institutions to the external flow of aid coming into the country is a way to allow for positive growth.

The local economy would have to be established and regulated by the government until the creation of laws and the enforcement of these laws are established. International aid and local businesses would have to support the development of a domestic economy with minimal negative impact. After the establishment of the domestic economy the involvement of international interests in the production and distribution of natural resource procurement would then be allowed. Previous contracts and resource acquisition agreements that were previously established would have to be up for review and reevaluated for the benefit of the state. The effects of these actions cannot be underestimated, but are necessary in reestablishing the ability for the DRC to regain control and develop its natural resources.

External intervention, the lack of economic development, and state Institution development interlink to form what is identifiable as the cyclic nature of state failure.

Each factor influences the other and if positively reinforced may generate development of state identity as a whole. This would possibly reestablish the relationship between state government and the citizens within its boundaries. The actions that would have to be taken to achieve this would cross boundaries and force the international community to face emerging issues that affect all states within the international community itself.

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