

Into the Heart of Darkness: Cosmopolitanism vs. Realism and the Democratic Republic of
Congo

A Senior Honors Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for graduation *with research distinction in
Political Science* in the undergraduate colleges of The Ohio State University

by
Christopher Schmidt

The Ohio State University
June 2010

Project Advisors: Professor Alexander Thompson, Department of Political Science
Professor Jennifer Mitzen, Department of Political Science

Acknowledgements

It was four years ago during the start of my undergraduate career at Santa Monica College in Los Angeles that I was introduced to Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. It was not until transferring to American University in Washington, DC that I began to take an immediate interest in international relations. Nonetheless, the greatest experience of my undergraduate career has been the past two years at The Ohio State University and my study in the Department of Political Science. First, I would like to thank Professor Sarah Johnson, who taught my first world politics course at American University. I thank her for her encouragement, enthusiasm and passion for international relations. It was her instruction that drove me to pursue an international relations focus in political science.

Second, I would like to thank Professor Alexander Thompson, for without his guidance, support and critique of my ideas at The Ohio State University, I surely would have hit many brick walls. His expertise in international relations has motivated me to pursue an advanced degree, and maybe one day become an accomplished academic like him. Thirdly, I would like to thank Professor Jennifer Mitzen, whose Global Governance course introduced the many ideas and problems in international society. She has always answered my questions and guided me during her instruction and throughout my thesis. Last, and certainly not least, I would like to thank the wonderful Alyssa Wolice who in our three year relationship, has spent countless times looking over my papers. She has kept me moving even when the world seemed against me.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	4
Part I: Historical and Political Dimensions: 1874 – 1999	
<i>The Beginning of an Enterprise: King Leopold’s Congo</i>	10
<i>Belgium’s Colonial Congo</i>	13
<i>Political Factionalization in the 1950s and the Civil War from 1960-1965</i>	14
<i>Mobutu’s Totalitarian Regime, 1965-1997</i>	18
<i>Transition to Democracy, Genocide in Rwanda and a Continental War</i>	20
Part II: A Dichotomy in International Relations	
<i>Cosmopolitanism vs. Realism and the DRC</i>	24
<i>The UN Charter</i>	27
<i>Examining MONUC</i>	29
<i>The UN Security Council: A Weakness or an Imperative?</i>	34
<i>The United States and China</i>	36
Part III: <i>The Heart of Darkness</i>	
<i>Conclusions</i>	41 – 46
ADDENDUM: Reassessing the Central Arguments: An Evolution in UN Peacekeeping?.....	
<i>Somalia: One of Many in a New World Order</i>	49
<i>The Genocide in Rwanda: Back to Square One</i>	50
<i>Conclusions</i>	52 – 53

Introduction

It was 42 years before the end of World War II that Joseph Conrad wrote his infamous novel “Heart of Darkness,” yet today its relevance to the Congo remains starkly the same, as the aegis of colonialism has left a devastating footprint. The novel explores the hypocrisy of Belgium’s imperialism as the act of civilizing the African became quite uncivil. The imperial incivility, political factionalization, and decades of authoritarian rule and war have led the United Nations (UN) to enter the Congo, quite like Marlow’s travel up the Congo River. Yet, amidst the chaos of Belgium’s enterprise and the aftermath of World War II, the Congo offers a troubling and difficult case for policymakers and for international relations theory. This paper aims at pondering this case to hopefully shed light into the heart of darkness and give an explanation for ‘the horror’ that Kurtz only realized at his final moment.

Following World War II, it was abundantly clear through international consensus that the urgency for preventive action against another world war required the reorganization of the League of Nations system. The former colonial and imperial powers of Europe were decimated and the United States and Russia stood as victors against an impetuous regime. The global order was changing rapidly with the creation of the atomic bomb and the rise of the United States and Russia as superpowers. With a potent collective memory, the post-World War II era ushered in the establishment of international law and human rights doctrines under the auspices of regional and universal organizations, in large part as a result of the UN Charter. On April 25, 1945, the Charter of the United Nations (UN) was finalized under the Westphalian principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and peace and security amongst nations.¹ The Charter outlined principles for peace and prosperity and collective security. Most importantly, the UN Charter

¹ Karen A. Mingst and Margaret P. Karns, The United Nations in the 21st Century (Westview Press: Boulder, Colorado, 2007) 18.

motivated several universal documents, which subsequently outlined the fundamental importance of individual sovereignty amidst a system dominated by interstate relations. A new global order emerged aimed for deterring future wars and creating a council of peaceful discourse amongst states. It is important to note that this emergence shifted the international system from a Westphalian state-centrism to a UN-based idealism that granted the individual sovereignty and autonomy within their respective state, as well as in a newly formed “international community.” Although some basic tenets of the Treaty of Westphalia continued, i.e. state sovereignty and the right to wage war, this UN idealism assumed the common interests of the member states and embarked on massive efforts of international cooperation, conflict resolution and peacekeeping. Ultimately, the UN system has moved the international system closer to a cosmopolitan ideal of universal norms and laws.

Peacekeeping, a direct example of UN ambition and its idealism, is not once mentioned in the UN Charter; however, the newly formed UN system began a campaign of peacekeeping throughout the 1950’s to the present day. In the post-Cold War era, it is hard to imagine that such peace and prosperity could have continued in this international “community” given the reuse of genocide as a form of war in the 1990’s. The international response to the genocide in Rwanda demonstrated several weaknesses in the UN system, such as its inability to work efficiently with member states in stopping the systematic slaughter of the Tutsi minority. Instead, the UN allowed the genocide to continue as did the United State, the sole superpower. In the DRC, the most astounding element is the silence in the international media and the ignorance of the global North to the political breakdown of 10 central African states that resulted in a continental war in

1998. At the middle of this conflict lies the ‘heart of darkness’² so pervasive that the very foundations of human civility and decency are challenged.

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has suffered from nearly 70 years of colonial rule and exploitation and several decades of authoritarian dictatorship. Since 1998, an estimated 5.4 to 7.8 million Congolese people have lost their lives due to the conflict, the most of any conflict since World War II. Eventually, the UN Security Council voted to initiate a UN mission to the Congo after passing UN Resolution 1304(2000).³ The emergence of the United Nations Organization Mission to the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC) has attempted to institutionalize normative democratic principles and subsequent international law within the government and society. MONUC is currently the largest UN mission in the world consisting of nearly 20 thousand military personnel. Dissecting the structural bureaucratic workings of MONUC and other international efforts will provide an important basis for understanding the current situation on a domestic level.

At the center of most African politics is the arbitrary nature of the state as a result of European colonialism. This arbitrariness is a cause for much of the violence throughout the continent as most conflicts surrounding the DRC have rebuked state boundaries and repeatedly violated the concept of national sovereignty as granted by international law. This paper aims at describing the flaws in the theory of liberal institutionalism in reference to central Africa. The nation has failed, the state has failed, and therefore the ability of international institutions to build a strong liberal form of government in the DRC is a challenging feat. Additionally, there exists a multipolar domestic political system in the DRC, owing to the hundreds of tribal and

² Joseph Conrad, Heart of Darkness: An Authoritative Text Backgrounds and Sources Criticism, Third Edition

³ Mango, Anthony, and Edmund Jan Osmanzyk. *Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements*. 3rd ed. New York: Routledge, 2004. Print.

ethnic affiliations. To assume a national identity and embody a 'Congolese' affinity is a first major step to unifying the state. Without this element, the DRC can neither exist as a nation nor act as a state in the international community. This assumption draws on a very Western plane of thought and does not take into account the intransigent nature of African polities, i.e. the complex hierarchical systems of tribal unity that already exists. However, given the norms that persist within the international community ideal, Congolese affinity is an important element in taking control of the government and allocating the resources towards pragmatic means of distribution. Amidst the deep-rooted historical connections and ethnocentrism in the DRC, this element separates the Congolese from the international community ideal.

It is most important for this paper to distinguish between the cosmopolitanism of the United Nations and the international community, as the former stems from the latter. The United Nations is an international organization of nation-states aimed at engaging in meaningful discourse to achieve international peace and security, but also it is a means for states to define and pursue their national interests and engage in conflict resolution. The UN is a physical body where international law and human rights manifest. The term 'international community' is a concept stemming from and supported by the UN system and its concept assumes the common interests of member states, i.e. states share common goals of international cooperation and peace often through collective measures. Therefore, the UN may represent a more cosmopolitan approach to international cooperation and peace. However, the term is more difficult to define as international relations scholars debate its very existence. Therefore, what is the international community in reference to the DRC? To better understand the nature of the international system, this paper will focus on two divergent schools of thought in international relations theory; cosmopolitanism (universal moral worth as world citizenship) and realism, (state-centrism, state

sovereignty and the national interest). After examining these theories in tandem with international efforts in the DRC, this paper hopes to find a more consistent construction of the international system, and one that can better explain the DRC case.

Essentially, my thesis aims at examining the DRC in terms of the humanitarian plight, the current UN mission, MONUC, and the willingness of states in the international system to contribute to the most destructive war since WWII. Based on the evidence of the DRC, what view is most consistent, if any? The political breakdown of central Africa and the continued humanitarian plight and political strife in the DRC offers a troubling but necessary case in international relations as it challenges the efforts of the UN system and the concept of an international community following the end of World War II. Is this community only limited to the developed states of the global North? What are the implications of events in the DRC for how we think about the UN and the notion of an “international community?” This paper aims to examine not only the domestic affairs of the DRC through the actions of MONUC, but also to investigate and understand what truly lies at the heart of darkness, and what can the UN and the supposed international community do about it.

This analysis is formatted into three sections to better portray important factors in analyzing the international community. Section I focuses on the history of the DRC beginning with Belgium’s imperialism in 1874 and ending with the fall of Mobutu’s regime in 1997. Within this large gap of history, important context is provided with frequent reference to US and Russian relations during the Cold War and to other international efforts at the fall of Mobutu’s regime and the beginning of the largest war since WWII. The objective of this section is to provide a historically motivated base for analyzing the domestic and international forces in the DRC. Part II utilizes the domestic and international history to analyze cosmopolitan and realist

substantiation. This section will also examine various state relations with the DRC during the height of violence, the UN mission (MONUC), and the Security Council's role in maintaining peace. At a larger level, this section as a whole will tie together these factors to offer a conclusive view of the international community, which will be provided in section three. In conclusion of the first two sections outlined throughout this paper, cosmopolitan ethics cannot be supported as a tangible portrayal of the international system given the DRC case. Part II and III explain in far more detail this dilemma. Realism continues to shape international efforts in the DRC case; however, progress has been made amidst the tumultuous period of the 1990s and the DRC case in general.

Part I

Historical and Political Dimensions
1874 -1999

“They grabbed what they could for the sake of what was to be got. It was just robbery with violence, aggravated murder on a great scale, and men going at it blind—as is very proper for those who tackle the darkness.”⁴

--Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*

The Beginning of an Enterprise: King Leopold’s Congo

The pillaging of African property has been a recurring theme throughout its history beginning notoriously with European inquisition and conquest. The invasion that began in the early seventeenth century evolved amidst a globalizing international community where a European dominated capitalist market and the booming industrial revolution worldwide generated a territorial and resource free-for-all. The colonial enterprise that emerged marked an era of European dominance that would claim countless lives and destroy many of the indigenous cultures and societies of Africa. These economic ventures exploited the vast mineral wealth of the Congo and most of the West and Central African kingdoms alongside a massive slave trade. Yet amidst the foundering European exceptionalism arose an influential state in European affairs, a whited Sepulchre⁵ of wealth embezzled at the hands of its leader, King Leopold II of Belgium.

⁴ Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness: An Authoritative Text* 3rd Ed (New York, NY, Norton, 1988) 10.

⁵ See Joseph Conrad 13, “In a very few hours I arrived in a city that always makes me think of a whited sepulchre.” Conrad uses ‘whited sepulchre’ possibly as a metaphorical reference to Brussels, Belgium, where much of his imperial campaign over Congo through the AIC was headquartered. A Sepulchre refers to a painted tomb containing a corpse. See Holy Bible, Mathew 23: 27-8: “Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men’s bones, and of all uncleanness. Even so ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity.”

Congo's riches were not discovered by King Leopold II, but rather by a journalist for the *New York Herald* and explorer of great tenure, Henry Morton Stanley. In 1874, Stanley spent 234 days traveling the Congo River for a missing journalist and found much more than he had expected.⁶ Immediately following this discovery, western societies conjured descriptive plans for the ownership, colonization, and eventual exploitation of Africa, but not without reserve. King Leopold II, who commissioned Stanley to gain consent from African tribes for colonization, formed the first international organization in the Congo, the Association International du Congo (AIC), responsible for initiating colonization and building trading posts for Leopold's enterprise.⁷ The formation of the organization exemplified the changing international and regional system in Europe. Two centuries prior, the signing of the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia confirmed the need for a balance of power for the growing self-determination of European nation states and their economic and political sovereignty. The increasing interdependence amongst these states ushered in an era of multilateralism, which came to a standstill at the onset of World War I and World War II. Nonetheless, increasing multilateral practices explain the formation of the AIC and its eventual legitimacy in central Africa.

Africa was for the taking and therefore, disputes between major European powers required an accord between claims to territory. In order to appease the contending powers of Europe over the formation of the AIC, in November 1884 to February 1885 the Concert of Europe, a regional organization designed to initiate multilateral talks amongst its great powers,⁸ convened in Berlin to resolve such disputes and eventually recognized Leopold's claim to the Congo under the AIC by passing the *Berlin Act on the Congo*.⁹ Karen A. Mingst and Margaret P.

⁶ David Lea, *A political Chronology of Africa*, (United Kingdom: Europa Publications, 2001) 104.

⁷ David Lea 104.

⁸ Mingst and Karns 18.

Karns note that one of the important factors of the Concert system had been the establishment of fundamental operations of international organizations, i.e. “multilateral consultation” (as in the colonial disputes in Africa), “and collective diplomacy,” mostly on the basis of the growing interdependence of European powers and their national interests.¹⁰ Subsequently, the conference legitimized Leopold’s conquest on a regional and international level and further extenuated his power over African property, which quickly attracted partnerships with private banks and companies to fund a desired and growing project.¹¹ As a result, the Congo was raided, pillaged and scourged with violence in an internationally legitimized conquest for wealth.

King Leopold named his property *l’Etat Indépendent du Congo* or the Congo Free State; a superficial designation to the least and an irony all its own, the Congo Free State became the forefront of Leopold’s exploitation tactfully legitimized through the Concert system. The brutal enslavement and labor of Congo natives commenced in 1890, paving the way for a massive rail system and the extraction and deportation of ivory, rubber, and other desired commodities.¹² International demand for rubber increased dramatically with the invention of the motorcar, thus, in 1890, 100 tons of rubber was exported from the Congo, and by 1901 6,000 tons was exported. Leopold continued exploiting the Congo through harsh methods of forced labor and mass killings until political and territorial ownership of his enterprise was annexed to the Belgian government in 1904 as a result of international uproar over such methods.¹³ The brutal treatment of the Congolese violated international human rights law that would not exist until after World War II, as established by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Leopoldian enterprise chastised the black Congolese as inferior and subhuman and it was in this chastisement where

⁹ Ch. Didier Gondola, *The History of Congo* (New York: Greenwood Press, 2002) 76.

¹⁰ Mingst and Karns 18.

¹¹ Martin Meredith 95.

¹² Martin Meredith 96.

¹³ Ch. Didier Gondola 77.

the hypocrisy originated. The international consensus under the Concert system acknowledged the African as savage and uncivilized, and it became the AIC's duty to rid the Congolese of this savagery and enlighten the darkness of the Congo. Conversely, the Congolese property was pillaged and exploited at the hands of nearly 10 million Congolese lives. The heart of darkness was born and the European savagery continued after Leopold's death.

Belgium's Colonial Congo:

Belgium's colonial state soon took power in 1908 and ushered in an era of stricter policies of racial subjugation that removed an emergence of a black elite.¹⁴ The transition to power signaled very little change in the management of the Congo as a colonial state and colonial opposition manifested itself amongst the local population. An increase in international demand for Congo's resources required efficient infrastructure to transport the resources into international markets and therefore, forced labor remained the dominant practice. However, amidst the increasing importance of the Congo's commodities and the onset of World War I, social and political movements emerged as a weakening Belgium reorganized the administration within the Congo. In 1926, eight years after the end of World War I, Belgium gave the administrative power of the colony to the indigenous chiefs in efforts to achieve more cooperation within the state.¹⁵ Although this granted slight autonomy to the Congolese, the new administrative system was meant to provide Belgian forces with greater control.¹⁶ This signaled Belgium's recognition of a changing political atmosphere, which was a necessary precursor to the eventual secession of the Congo as Belgian property. World War I had serious consequences for Europe's many colonies; however, a bigger problem was on the horizon. Germany's

¹⁴ Ch. Didier Gondola 79.

¹⁵ Ch. Didier Gondola 79.

¹⁶ Ch. Didier Gondola 80.

increasing aggression and power over European states marked the end to multilateral practices and in 1940; Belgium officially entered the worsening international conflict.

For nearly three decades, Belgium ruled the Congo under an administrative system that operated under three important and influential actors: the Belgian state, Christian missions that provided education and westernization of the population, and big financial institutions that were allowed to exploit the Congo's minerals in exchange for infrastructure building.¹⁷ The actual implementation of infrastructure building was limited to essential transportation methods for the efficient movement of exploited resources, i.e. roads, railways and river ports. The private companies ignored the building of schools, hospitals, and other important structures unless it supported the efforts of the many workers exporting resources. The African was therefore, subhuman and undeserving of basic human needs. World War II drastically increased the export of rubber and valuable minerals causing a massive rural migration to industrial urban centers, which changed the demographics of the Congo. Nonetheless, World War II came to an end in 1945 and the change that followed throughout the international system profoundly determined the fate of Africa, as colonial powers such as Britain and France relinquished their political and economic ownership of their colonial claims. There were many economic and political implications for the Congo considering its importance to international economic markets.

Political Factionalization in the 1950's and the Civil War from 1960 -1965

The end of the war brought extensive political change as a black elite emerged in the Congo's prospering economy and in 1950, this culminated into the *Alliance des Bakango* (ABAKO), which was founded in the Congo's capital, Leopoldville, and led by Joseph

¹⁷ Ch. Didier Gondola 86.

Kasavubu.¹⁸ The rise of “normative” international law greatly affected the colonial masters of Africa, the Middle East, South America, and parts of Asia. The devastating effects of World War II and the resulting formation of the United Nations greatly affected international relations by building an idealism that claimed legitimacy in the international system. This movement was not limited to the Congo, but was a continental shift in African politics driven by the post World War II international system and also affected by colonial properties outside the African continent, such as India’s independence from Great Britain in 1947.

By 1952, the Congolese could choose to undergo a process of “immatriculation” that assured they had been westernized sufficiently and attained an understanding of European laws while disavowing their own indigenous laws.¹⁹ Subsequently, the 1950s ushered in many political reforms that permitted the Congolese to own land in rural and urban localities, access to public institutions, the right to buy alcohol, in 1957 the right to elect members to urban councils, and in 1958 the right to trial through all courts of law and not only indigenous tribunals.²⁰ It is no wonder then that Congolese political elites began to form antigovernment political groups amidst an apparent liberalization of Congolese society. In 1956, the political shift was so vast that political opposition groups, such as the ABAKO, distributed a manifesto that demanded independence from Belgium, while the formation of the *Mouvement Nationale Congolais* (MNC) announced an agenda of national unity and emancipation.²¹ Anti-European rioting and widening support of political change erupted throughout 1959, and on January 13, King Badouin of Belgium declared a policy of decolonization.²²

¹⁸ David Lea 105.

¹⁹ David Lea 105.

²⁰ David Lea 105.

²¹ David Lea 105.

²² David Lea 105

Regardless, the official end to Belgium's rule of the Congo manifested itself in the creation of hundreds of political and ethnic factions reaching for power within the new government. As Joseph-Desire Mobutu replaced the Belgian Chief of Staff of the armed forces, the United Nations Security Council commanded all Belgian forces to leave the Congo after violence erupted against Belgian nationals.²³ Elections were held for the central government and Lumumba and his party, the MNC, won a majority of seats giving him the position of Prime Minister. Kasavubu was elected president and a month later on June 30, 1960 the Republic of Congo gained sovereignty and independence from Belgium.²⁴ Importantly, the Belgians had established six provincial governments with almost equal power as the central government and when the Belgians left the Congo, a power struggle ensued between them.²⁵ Political strife and riots erupted throughout the regions as the newly elected officials were faced with constituents that lacked experience and training.²⁶ Prime Minister Lumumba was later accused of selling the country to the Soviet Union and was thrown from his position as Prime Minister by President Kasavubu, and the developed and mineral-wealthy Katanga region seceded, and a civil war ensued.²⁷ It is important to note the involvement of the Cold War in the Congo as "it was the first black African country into whose affairs (originally quite legitimately through the United Nations) the USSR would intervene."²⁸

This resulted in greater factionalization as Lumumba created a rebel government that resulted in a political stalemate.²⁹ Lumumba was eventually arrested a year later in 1961 as a

²³ David Lea 106.

²⁴ David Lea 106.

²⁵ Guy Arnold, *Historical Dictionary of Civil Wars in Africa, Historical Dictionaries of War, Revolution, and Civil Unrest*, Volume 12, The Scarecrow Press, London 1999, 93.

²⁶ Guy Arnold 93.

²⁷ Guy Arnold 94.

²⁸ Buy Arnold 94.

²⁹ David Lea 106.

traitor to the state and assassinated with his former deputies shortly after.³⁰ Lumumba was a tremendous figure in Congolese politics as he published several manifestos and books urging for a Congo free from colonial rule. The Secretary General of the UN Dag Hammarskjöld's plane crashed on his way to negotiate an end to the secession and immediately following, UN forces ended the Katanga secession in 1963.³¹ Nonetheless, the UN later concluded that the situation in the Congo had deteriorated dangerously, and strongly urged Kasavubu's government and the MNC to begin reconciliation negotiations; a task that was easier said than done. However, over a several month period, the government negotiated with the MNC and a new government was formed in August 1961; yet in December 1962, a little more than a year later, UN forces fired on police in Katanga and violence quickly erupted as the Prime Minister claimed an act of aggression and violence.³² The Civil War continued and ravaged the fragile political system and institutions that the Belgians had left.

Between December 1962 and January 1965, the political strife and factionalization continued, the UN removed its entire mission from the Congo, rebellions increased, a new constitution was approved creating a federalist presidential system, the Congo was renamed the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and Belgian and US troops aided Katangan forces during a rebellion.³³ The Cold War greatly increased the involvement of US policies and USSR aggression. More importantly, the Congolese formed a very democratic government; however, great power still resided in President Kasavubu and his constant dismissal of senior officials in

³⁰ Edouard Bustin, Remembrance of Sins Past: Unraveling the Murder of Patrice Lumumba, *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 29, State Failure in the Congo: Perceptions and Realities, Taylor and Francis Ltd. 2002. Many sources will disagree on who actually killed Lumumba on February 13, 1961; however, it is widely believed that Katanga separatists were responsible. In 1999, the Belgian government reopened the case of Lumumba's assassination do to the publishing of Jacques Brassine's doctoral dissertation on his experience with the Katanga separatists. He argues that Belgium and the United States, through the CIA, were responsible for the assassination of Lumumba.

³¹ Guy Arnold 95.

³² David Lea 107.

³³ David Lea 107.

his regime created tension throughout the government system.³⁴ Kasavubu's power would end soon after when in November 1965, Colonel Mobutu, "who was supported by the military claimed full executive powers and announced a 'Second Republic' as the legislature approved his move and granted him such powers for five years do to a 'state of emergency.'³⁵ The Civil War Officially ended and the DRC would soon undergo major changes under Mobutu's regime.

Mobutu's Totalitarian Regime, 1965 – 1997

The vast movements of the 1960s represented a conflicting period in the domestic political sphere of the Congo, and also challenged a UN system increasingly weakened by the Cold War and the European decolonization campaign. By increasingly bipolarizing the international system, the Cold War sparked a new imperialism based on an ideological dichotomy, territorial acquisition and a nuclear arms program on both sides. Yet, the rise of Mobutu's military dictatorship as an undemocratic and politically polarizing system continued without US objections. Rather, Mobutu's dictatorship developed a close-knit relationship with the US and other Western powers, owing to the Cold War proxy agenda and the economic prospects within the Congo. Although political scientists have deemed the Congo a military dictatorship, for the sake of accuracy, the Congo during Mobutu was a totalitarian regime according to Peta Ikambana. Ikambana defines totalitarianism as such:

"Totalitarianism is a philosophical, political, and/or ideological doctrine that confines the totality of national life within a monolithic power style and vision of the world."³⁶

Even within the confines of this definition, *African totalitarianism*, a product of the deep cultural differences from Western society, is defined more generally as a political system that fails to

³⁴ David Lea 107.

³⁵ David Lea 108.

³⁶ Peta Ikambana, Mobutu's Totalitarian Political System: An Afrocentric Analysis (Taylor & Francis Group, New York, NY, 2007) 3.

promote or foster the well-being of the African people.³⁷ However, Mobutu's policies of authenticating the state by changing the 'Westernized' city names and the name of the state to indigenous origins is unique in African politics and exemplifies Mobutu's distaste of Europe's inquisition and influence.³⁸ Several years after taking power and regaining absolute control over the state in 1971 under a single party system known as the *Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution* (MPR), Mobutu renamed the Congo the Republic of Zaire.³⁹ According to Michael Nest, as apparent throughout Zaire's history beginning with Belgian rule, Mobutu's government distributed land and citizenship rights through ethnic selection and their connected communities, and therefore, ethnic conflicts over access to resources continued all throughout Mobutu's regime.⁴⁰ His methods became known as Mobutuism, and would continue to rule Zaire for several years to come, and any deviation from this was considered a constitutional offense.⁴¹ The treachery of Mobutu was his ascendance to an African King Leopold II.

“The creation of a political network based on patrimonialism, which worked by satisfying the private interests of those involved, led to widespread corruption within the state bureaucracy and contributed to economic malaise.”⁴²

Private enterprises, factories and basic capital were seized (nearly 2,000 foreign owned alone), became state owned, and eventually were redistributed to Mobutu's family members, close friends and many others as an insurance on their support of his regime.⁴³ But Mobutu had no worries for the West vehemently supported his regime. This support would continue for decades amidst apparent factionalization of the state. Mobutu was an irrational man filled with greed amidst tens of millions of Congolese citizens, ravaged by poverty and the dark skeletal remains

³⁷ Peta Ikambana 3.

³⁸ David Lea 109.

³⁹ David Lea 109.

⁴⁰ Michael Nest, The Democratic Republic of Congo: Economic Dimensions of War and Peace (International Peace Academy, Inc., Lynn Publishers, United Kingdom, 2006) 13.

⁴¹ Martin Meredith 295.

⁴² Michael Nest ...?

⁴³ Martin Meredith 297.

of Belgium's colonialism. Notwithstanding, a darker period awaited sub-Saharan Africa, putting to test once more the will of the international community.

Transition to Democracy, Genocide in Rwanda and the Continental War

The end of the Cold War and the receding interests of the US eventually beckoned a reluctant and weakening Mobutu to transition Zaire to a democracy. This reluctance was demonstrated in his efforts to stifle student protestors and on May 11th, 1990, 150 students were killed during a protest to end Zaire's totalitarian regime.⁴⁴ Historically, increasingly weakening dictatorships supported by harsh authoritarians rely on their military to quiet any opposition, typically by targeting college youth whose political activism challenges the system. However, the aggressive regime has rarely sustained its governmental system after the violence has occurred, not to mention it has not maintained a weakening dictator. For example, in Argentina between 1976 and 1983, some 10,000 – 30,000 people disappeared as the authoritarian regime struggled to silence any opposition.⁴⁵ Although the process of reconciliation was slow, nonetheless, accountability internationally and within the Argentine state progressed as democratic motivation ensued years later. Zaire, however, was far more complicated as Mobutu's influence was drastically decreasing in the country. However, Mobutu eventually conceded to a democratic transition and in August 1990, thousands of delegates from around the country convened at the Sovereign National Conference (CNS).⁴⁶ Problems with the democratic transition were inevitable as the severely multipolar domestic politics produced hundreds of political parties. Ch. Didier Gondola wrote that within the 200 political parties, long-time

⁴⁴ Ch. Didier Gondola 156.

⁴⁵ Rebecca Lichtenfeld, *Accountability in Argentina: 20 Years Later, Transitional Justice Maintains Momentum*, International Center for Transitional Justice, 2005.

⁴⁶ Ch. Didier Gondola 156.

opponents who often returned to Zaire from exile led several of these.⁴⁷ The next four years ushered in a period of chaos as militarily-equipped factions attacked villages and carried out violent protests throughout Kinshasa.⁴⁸ However, a darker period in international relations would soon conflagrate across the border of Zaire.

Once again, Africa plunged deeper into darkness when in Rwanda in 1994, the government ruled Hutu majority attacked and slaughtered the Tutsi minority. It would seem that the international response would have been immediate given the harsh realities of the Holocaust; however, national interests would once again find its place in humanitarian intervention. The crisis tested the will of the supposed international community; however, a community of the unwilling allowed nearly 800,000 Tutsis to be butchered. This was not a simple case of interstate conflict, keeping only inside the sovereign boundaries of Rwanda, but rather it was a large case of cross-border pandemonium as hundreds of thousands of refugees poured into Zaire, the majority of which were former Hutu genocidaires. According to Adam Lebor, Mobutu allowed the Hutu's to settle in refugee camps in the summer of 1994, after much of the butchery had been done; however, many of the Hutu's kept their weapons.⁴⁹ Eventually, the Hutu's reassembled themselves, took control of the refugee camps welcomed by Mobutu and funded by the international community, and began slaughtering the Congolese Tutsi.⁵⁰ The violence spread quickly as Eastern Zaire was ravaged of its resources and cleansed of any aggressors to the rebel factions.

The impact of the Rwandan genocide conflagrated into a massive refugee movement into Zaire, and eventually lead to the destabilization of central Africa sparking the second Congo war

⁴⁷ Ch. Didier Gondola 156.

⁴⁸ Ch. Didier Gondola 159.

⁴⁹ Adam Lebor, Complicity with Evil: The United Nations in the Age of Modern Genocide (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008) 15.

⁵⁰ Adam Lebor 215.

and the eventual continental war that would kill millions of people. Eastern Zaire became the most affected, as nearly 1.2 million refugees (mostly Rwandan Hutu civilians and nearly 50 thousand Hutu genocidaires) poured into the crumbling state.⁵¹ Mobutu's government did nothing to stop the violence in Eastern Zaire and his government continued to collapse as Lawrence Kabila's Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (French acronym AFDL) began to gain momentum.⁵² Astonishingly, after decades of support for Mobutu's totalitarian regime, the US claimed immediate support of Kabila's movement and the international community followed suite, regardless of Kabila's less democratic tendencies.⁵³ Eventually in 1997, Kabila's military power marched into Kinshasa and overtook the government as Mobutu escaped into asylum and eventually died later that year in Morocco.⁵⁴ A new dictatorship was born under Kabila and vast human rights violations would continue in Eastern Zaire (renamed the DRC). Kabila disliked the ethnic Hutu's and eventually, reports that nearly 200,000 Hutu refugees (including innocent civilians and Hutu genocidaires) went missing were denied by his government.⁵⁵

It is alleged that thousands of these refugees were massacred in the refugee camps, others disappeared completely, and many made it onto special airlift operations organized by the UN and repatriated back into Rwanda.⁵⁶ In August 2008, the second Congolese war began owing to Kabila's decision to "expel the Rwandan military officers who had helped him topple Mobutu a year before."⁵⁷ Military mobilization by seven African countries split the DRC into four sections,

⁵¹ Ch. Didier Gondola 158.

⁵² Ch. Didier Gondola 160.

⁵³ Ch. Didier Gondola 160.

⁵⁴ Ch. Didier Gondola 161.

⁵⁵ Ch. Didier Gondola 164.

⁵⁶ Ch. Didier Gondola 165.

⁵⁷ Ch. Didier Gondola 169.

where each section relied on its own resources.⁵⁸ Kabila's government fell and shortly thereafter, he was assassinated.⁵⁹ The continental war was underway and millions of lives would be lost during the violence. Yet, astonishingly, the international community remained ignorant to the violence as international media reported virtually nothing for two years until MONUC was mandated and international aid began to flow in. Importantly, a lot of the political backlash during the Rwandan genocide originated from the thousands of reports and pictures being broadcast to a sensitive western audience. Regardless of an apparent CNN effect in Rwanda, no such effect existed during the DRC crisis, which may have helped fuel a greater international response to the situation. Nonetheless, this begs the question of what the international community means given the DRC case. It is a darkness worth analyzing.

⁵⁸ Ch. Didier Gondola 171.

⁵⁹ Ch. Didier Gondola 171.

Part II

A Dichotomy In International Relations

“I turned to the wilderness...And for a moment it seemed to me as if I also was buried in a vast grave full of unspeakable secrets. I felt an intolerable weight oppressing my breast, the smell of the damp earth, the unseen presence of victorious corruption, the darkness of an impenetrable night.”⁶⁰

-- Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*

Cosmopolitanism vs. Realism and the DRC:

International relations scholarship has primarily focused on two dichotomous archetypes known as liberalism and realism. According to Patrick Hayden, in the past century, liberalism has developed a cosmopolitan answer to global issues, i.e. the formation of the League of Nations system and the modern UN system. Cosmopolitan global politics focuses primarily on the supremacy of human beings absent the national identity of these persons.⁶¹ There are two forms of cosmopolitanism in international relations theory: moral and legal, which both are necessary to give substance to world citizenship (refer to Figure 1.1).⁶² Moral cosmopolitanism assumes a universal foundation that all persons, across international borders, are equal and the fundamental concern in international politics.⁶³ Legal cosmopolitanism maintains that international political order must be constructed to ensure a foundation for the moral universality of persons.⁶⁴ Therefore, moral obligations arise when a person’s rights are violated, and proper enforcement may claim legitimacy in such circumstances, i.e. when a state or group is in direct violation of human rights. Patrick Hayden defines this ‘ongoing’ pursuit as a ‘cosmopolitan

⁶⁰ Joseph Conrad 22.

⁶¹ Patrick Hayden, *Cosmopolitan Global Politics* (England: Ashgate Publishing, 2005) 2.

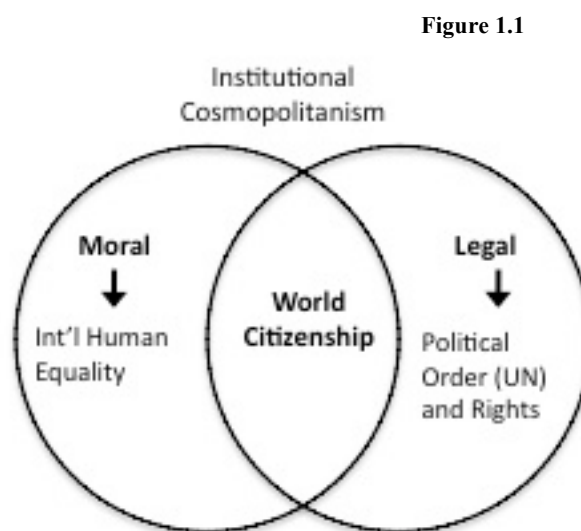
⁶² Patrick Hayden 3.

⁶³ Patrick Hayden 3.

⁶⁴ Patrick Hayden 3.

ethicopolitical' project, and thus, it is appropriate within the confines of this analysis.⁶⁵ Heretofore, a basic level of analysis for cosmopolitanism has been constructed and will remain as such throughout this paper; nevertheless, and begs the question, why is the UN utilized as an example of cosmopolitan ethics given its reliance on state sovereignty?

The conventional idealism harnessed in cosmopolitanism has several weaknesses considering the present state of national identification in the modern international system. Although the theory itself as an agency for a global community is abstract and ambiguous, it establishes an ethical base for how universal human equality should be approached, and at a subliminal level, it is harnessed within international organizations (the UN), and the presence of international legal foundations, such as the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, etc. Additionally, global citizenship has been



harnessed by the “convergence of globalization, global governance and global civil society,” and therefore it has an existing prevalence in theoretical investigations.⁶⁶ The UN is the most affable tool for the human rights regime because of its contract with the global community at large for such normative values. Cosmopolitan substantiation comes directly from the UN system because it interjects its universality through international legal doctrines, and enforces its charter through the Security Council. It therefore becomes contingent for its supranational nature to succumb to

⁶⁵ Patrick Hayden 3.

⁶⁶ Patrick Hayden 7.

state interests, as its charter is limited to state sovereignty. To better explain this general impact on cosmopolitan idealism, an analysis of realism is necessary.

Realism is the most prevalent theoretical bases for analyzing international relations amongst states. International Realism is the theory that states are motivated by competition to increase their sovereign power in a system of anarchy, where no enforceable ‘world government’ exists to check state interests. From Thucydides’ “The Melian Dialogue” to Niccolò Machiavelli’s “The Prince” and to more modern theorists such as Thomas Hobbes in “The State of Nature and the State of War,” and Kenneth Waltz’s neorealist conception of war, realism stands in constant ambiguity (ambiguous according to Robert Crawford who contests the validity of international relations as a practice)⁶⁷ and criticism as it attempts to substantiate itself in a post-Cold War international system. Yet, this tension more notably became tangible in the post-World War I international arena as neoliberalism attempted international order through the League of Nations system. Although realism found consilience and justifiability for its theoretical assumptions during the Cold War balance of power between the United States and the USSR, it has suffered from, what I will call, the post-Cold War revalidation of idealism. Nonetheless, amidst staunch criticism and theoretical adjudication from liberal scholars, how does the DRC support or delineate from realism? Can realism help us understand the DRC case, or is the theory itself disproven through the revalidation of the post-WWII idealism, i.e. liberalism?

The best way to analyze cosmopolitanism and realism in conjunction with events in the DRC is to analyze international legal doctrines, MONUC’s mandate and its implementation, and the economic relationship between the United States and China (the current economic contenders

⁶⁷ Robert M.A. Crawford, *Idealism and Realism in International Relations: Beyond the Discipline*: (Routledge Advances in International Relations and Politics, New York, NY, 2000) Preface.

on the world stage). International legal doctrines thrive from the willingness of states to sign treaties that establish a jurisprudential base for state action. They also provide basic rights across international borders in an ideal attempt to prompt intervention and/or an ethical code of conduct. The UN Charter is the most substantial document in cosmopolitan ethics, as it establishes an order by which states must abide within a global community; however, it is weakened by the Westphalian realism of sovereignty and territorial integrity. There is no proper enforcement of the UN Charter unless states agree to provide such support. However, at the subliminal level, what is the nature of the UN Charter and how does it connect with international ethics?

The UN Charter:

The UN Charter contains a few elements that support an ethical base for international human equality. For example, Article I, Section 2 and 3 state in conjunction with the purposes and principles of the UN:

2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the **principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples**, and to take other appropriate measure to strengthen universal peace;
3. To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or **humanitarian character**, and in **promoting and encouraging respect for human rights** and for **fundamental freedoms for all** without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion...⁶⁸

Immediately however, it is clear that the language used leaves plenty of room for lackadaisical action; that is, by using words such as ‘promote’ and ‘encourage,’ the UN only means to uphold international human rights at a diluted level. This is not the ideal language of a cosmopolitan theorist; however, the language does exist on a basic level and therefore, states should have the

⁶⁸ “The United Nations Charter.” International Human Rights Instruments (R. Lillich 2d ed. 1990) 10.1.

capacity to promote such principles on a heightened level. Importantly, Article 1, Section 2 and 3 provides for arguments in international ethics and what states ought to do in humanitarian situation. According to Jean-Marc Coicaud and Daniel Warner, ethics concerns itself with attaining the highest idea “of what it is to be a human being.”⁶⁹ Fundamentally, this “ethical dimension of responsibility” works with the idea of choice, and because the world’s poor cannot possibly choose or influence the ethical progress of international ethics, powerful person’s and wealthy states can and therefore, must use their power to enhance international ethics for the “powerless.”⁷⁰ The major weakness in the UN Charter comes from Article 2, Section 1 where:

1. The Organization is based on the principle of sovereign equality of all its members.⁷¹

Therefore, this creates a dilemma for humanitarian intervention, especially on the level of the DRC, as a division of duty arises from states that have the right to maximize the safety of their sovereignty before another’s, yet the UN Charter does not hard-line humanitarian intervention. This is based on the reports of the Secretary General to the Security Council. Nonetheless, the UN Charter shortly outlines a base for international ethics and assumes that all persons across borders are fundamentally equal.

The UN Charter does not definitively outline the sovereign rights of human beings at a true cosmopolitan level, but rather a sub-cosmopolitan level. Fundamental human rights must be understood from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which is a non-treaty international human rights instrument based on agreement from states. In regards to the DRC, the UN provides humanitarian aid in the form of peacekeeping, which establishes an ethical base for a collapsed state, but also a basis for international law in other state disputes. Jean-Marc and

⁶⁹ Jean-Marc Coicaud and Daniel Warner, *Ethics and International Affairs: Extent and Limits* (New York: United Nations University P, 2001) 1.

⁷⁰ Jean-Marc Coicaud and Daniel Warner 4.

⁷¹ The United Nations Charter, Article 2, Section 1.

Daniel Warner note that the scope and restrictions of international ethics have to be conceptualized on the “structure of the international realm...[and] a central feature of this structure, lies in the limits of the experience of identification with others and of the extension of the sense of community.”⁷² They also note that ethnicity and religiosity on a national level already pose significant problems, therefore, such differences at an international level present an even greater issue.⁷³ As stated before, many of Africa’s problems extended from the arbitrary and racist division of state borders and territorial claims. Most especially, the DRC suffered from this arbitrariness. However affable the UN is as the subject of cosmopolitan ethics, the weakness of the UN as an agency for the human rights regime extends directly from its enforceable power, which is the Security Council. Nonetheless, examining the Security Council mandate for MONUC before criticizing its weaknesses will provide a greater understanding of its legitimacy.

Examining MONUC:

The best way to understand how the ‘international community’ has responded to the disaster in the DRC and to understand fully where the international system lies, either in a cosmopolitan idealism or a realist conception of national interest, is to briefly analyze the UN’s most effective tool in international disputes of this magnitude: peacekeeping. How tangible is the UN mandate for the vast complexities in the DRC and what have states done to relieve the human suffering? More importantly, what are the implications of events in the DRC for how we think about the UN and the notion of an “international community?” The mandate made clear that the disaster in the DRC constituted a threat to international peace and security in the African region. However, the mandate itself took several years and resolutions to reach a more capable level. At the onset, MONUC only consisted of 5,537 military personnel, including 500

⁷² Jean-Marc Coicaud and Daniel Warner 7.

⁷³ Jean-Marc Coicaud and Daniel Warner 7.

observers.⁷⁴ Today, the total force consists of 20,573 military personnel, the largest UN mission in the world (see Figure 1.2). The UN has been monitoring the disaster in the Congo since 1997, yet the persistent humanitarian disaster has been virtually unchanged. The initial mandate lacked the proper enforcement power, as was made clear in 2002 and 2003 as reports emerged that UN forces sat by as hundreds of civilians were slaughtered outside its bases.⁷⁵ A simple change in the mandate authorizing protective measures of civilians using weapons would have prevented these deaths; however, the UN would have been supporting the human right to life, and not the respect of state sovereignty. The biggest argument about MONUC is the lack of military experts, which many of MONUC's chiefs agreed was necessary to deter the violence early on in the implementation of the mandate.⁷⁶ Nonetheless, MONUC started the mission on a bad foot, as The Economist reported; many of the rebel militias mocked the UN troops, as they believed the blue helmets would do nothing to stop them, which inevitably weakened their presence in the country.⁷⁷

The mandate, having been approved by the UN Security Council, has persistently adapted to the problems in the Congo; however, this adaptation often came too late, as the legitimacy of UN forces could not compete with the unpredictable rebel factions. The most important mission for any peacekeeping operation is to support the transitional government with free and fair democratic elections, supply logistics to the UN military personnel and the allied government, build proper infrastructure (such as schools, roads, water facilities, hospitals, transportation etc.), and to deter human rights violations. Because peacekeeping missions are relative to the areas in

⁷⁴ United Nations Security Council, Resolution 1291 (2000).

⁷⁵ *Is This the World's Least Effective UN Peacekeeping Force? Congo, Rwanda and the UN*, The Economist, 4 December 2004.

⁷⁶ *Is This the World's Least Effective UN Peacekeeping Force? Congo, Rwanda and the UN*, The Economist, 4 December 2004.

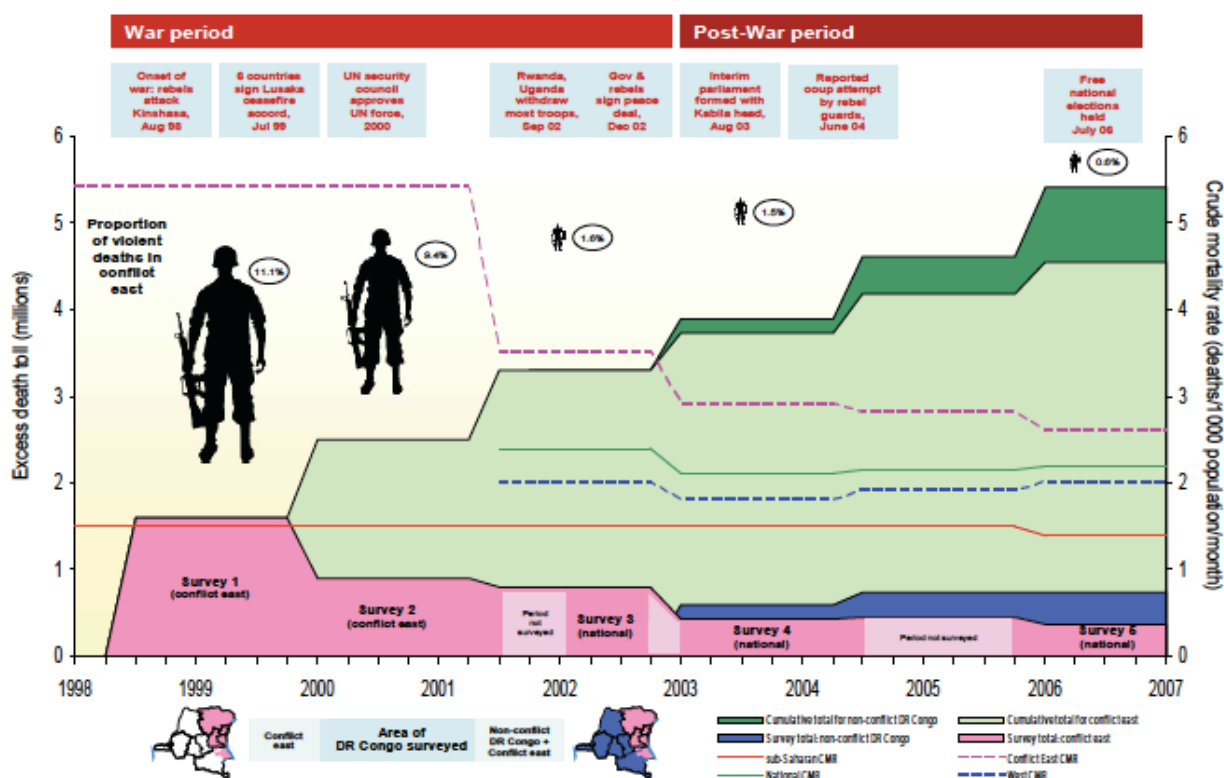
⁷⁷ The Economist, 4 December 2004.

to disease and lack of infrastructure in tandem with the destructive capacity of decades of war (see Figure 1.3).⁷⁹ Yet, amidst the disastrous humanitarian plight, the credibility of MONUC is at disastrous levels as reports by the *Forces Democratiques de Liberation du Rwanda* (FDLR) in 2008 claimed that MONUC forces were selling back weapons seized by the UN disarmament period.⁸⁰ Although the legitimacy of these claims may have ulterior motives for the FDLR, the implication of these accusations further dilutes the effectiveness of MONUC's operation.

Figure 1.3

Source: International Rescue Committee 2007

Crude Mortality Survey of the DRC



BBC Worldwide Monitoring reported similar accusations claiming that the Democratic Republic of Congo Armed Forces (FARDC) came to MONUC to assist in Rwandan repatriation,

⁷⁹ Nicholas D. Kristof, "The World Capital of Killing," *The New York Times on the Web* 6 Feb 2010, 10 May 2010 <<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/07/opinion/07kristof.html>>

⁸⁰ *Congo-Kinshasha: MONUC Arms FDLR, Say Ex-Combatants*, The New York Times, 10 July 2008.

but were instead sent to Kisangani and tortured by the Senegalese commander of MONUC.⁸¹ Not to mention that both of these reports had linkage to minerals being used in the negotiation process, demonstrating the sheer demand for these commodities on an aggregate level, and their effectiveness in negotiations with aggressors. Although the groups that alleged them may have fabricated these reports, the impact is enormous as MONUC attempts to calm tensions between rebels and the transitional government. MONUC became a less objective bystander to the local population, damaging MONUC's credibility. It is clear that the MONUC's mission was compromised from the beginning, yet years after the start of its mandate, the UN mission has failed to reiterate its legitimacy, and therefore will continue to grapple with sustaining a country ravaged by imperialism, Mobutuism and a civil war trapped within a continental war. The biggest success of MONUC has been its support during the April 2006 elections, where Joseph Kabila was pronounced president in the first multiparty elections in more than 45 years, yet the increase in Congolese refugees has created further troubles for MONUC (see Figure 1.4).⁸² Notwithstanding, the persistent attacks by the Ugandan Lord's Resistance Army, the most notorious rebel group in Africa, have continued but with increased measures by MONUC to rid them from Congo. The Lord's Resistance Army is responsible for massacring thousands of Congolese, not to mention the systematic rape of women.⁸³ As recent as March 2010, massive rape, murders and kidnapping occurred in northern villages in the DRC as a US backed Ugandan army has been remotely successful in weeding them out of the DRC.⁸⁴

⁸¹ "UN Peacekeepers in DR Congo Reportedly Arming Rwandan Hutu Rebels," BBC Worldwide Monitoring: 10 July 2008.

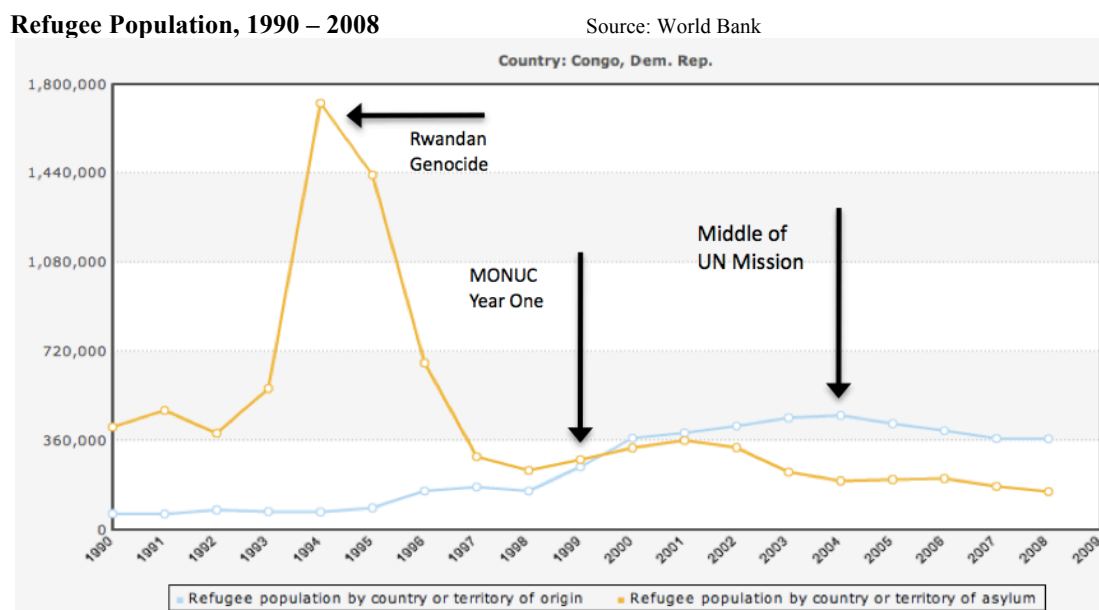
⁸² "UN Steps Up Peace Efforts in Congo Ahead of April Vote," Christian Science Monitor: 30 January 2006.

⁸³ "Rebels Kill at Least 620 in Congo, Group Says," The Associated Press: 18 January 2009.

⁸⁴ Jeffrey Gettleman, "Fleeing Rebels Kill Hundreds of Congolese," The New York Times Online: 27 March 2010 <<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/28/world/africa/28congo.html>>

Conclusively, the violence has continued regardless of MONUC's mission, amidst international efforts to cleanse the DRC of rebel groups that have pillaged minerals, raped hundreds of thousands, and murdered countless innocent Congolese for broken agendas. MONUC has thus far been a failure for the DRC, not to say its presence has done nothing positive. From the onset of the mission, MONUC's mandate lacked legitimacy and the tools necessary for such an aggravated situation, not to mention a UN Charter bogged down by the incendiary interests of states. Amidst the violence, what are the DRC's relations with China and the US and what more can these relations tell us about international ethics and the DRC?

Figure 1.4



The UN Security Council: A Weakness or an Imperative?

The legitimacy of the Security Council comes from the veto power of its five permanent members, China, the US, Great Britain, France and Russia. Fundamentally, states have the right to pursue their own interests and self-determine through foreign policy objectives, i.e. to respond to possible threats, declare war, practice diplomacy etc; Joseph Nye defines the national interest

as “the set of shared priorities regarding relations with the rest of the world.”⁸⁵ However, the post-WWII international system was meant to be less Westphalian, where states rely on hard-power diplomacy, and more cosmopolitan, where states rely on economic and cultural integration, and also where an international assembly of peaceful discourse (the UN) provides such a space for this objective. Yet, the ascendance of genocide in the 1990s and the DRC case after the Cold War has greatly challenged this cosmopolitan ideal, and offered a far more Westphalian state centrism in explaining the weakness of the human rights regime. The great power unanimity, or the veto power, of the Security Council invariably interjects the national interests of the permanent members into the so-called ‘democratic’ voting process. For instance, it becomes inevitable for states, which hold greater power than rotating members, to cost-benefit analysis or weigh their national interests with peace efforts.

The international response to the increasing genocidal violence in Rwanda in 1994, the stalled response to Bosnia-Herzegovina and the DRC case represent an increasingly familiar dilemma for the Security Council. Additionally, the most pungent and modern example of state interests interceding in peace efforts arose in 2002. The United States vetoed an extension to the Bosnia peacekeeping mission because the International Criminal Court denied the United States’ demand that American peacekeepers be exempt from its jurisprudence.⁸⁶ This exemplified the intransigent nature of power politics and its influence on the UN’s abilities to continue peace efforts. Fundamentally, the violence in Bosnia at the time was claiming human lives, yet the United States once again put its national interests above peace. The Security Council failed because of the weakness of MONUC’s mandate not because it failed to pass anything. However,

⁸⁵ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., Redefining the National Interest, Foreign Affairs, July/August 1999, 23.

⁸⁶ Warren Hoge, “Bosnia Veto By the U.S. is Condemned By Britain,” The New York Times 2 July 2002: <<http://www.nytimes.com/2002/07/02/world/bosnia-veto-by-the-us-is-condemned-by-britain.html?pagewanted=1>>

other international political forces have been at work in the DRC. The US and China have played extremely important roles in African restructuring; however, one economic giant has been less helpful than the other in the political and economic restructuring of the DRC. The Security Council has been more of a weakness than an imperative in international peace and security.

The United States and China:

The rise of China as an economic power has been quite recent on the world stage, yet the state has done a lot to ensure it prospers in the future, most notoriously its economic relations with African states. Lydia Polgreen writes in the New York Times that China's risky investment in Africa has filled a void left by Western companies unwilling to risk investment in the fragile states of Africa.⁸⁷ At a subliminal level, Chinese investment in the risky continent offers a "complete economic and political alternative to the heavily conditioned aid and economic restructuring that Western countries and international aid agencies pressed on Africa for years."⁸⁸ This paradigm seems ideal considering the West's recurring attempts to restructure the political atmosphere of African states; however, a more realist motive behind China's investments are clear.

It was in 2007 that China made a deal with the DRC to offer \$9 billion for developing important infrastructure (nearly nine times the MONUC's monetary budget for 2010) in exchange for access to its vast mineral wealth such as cobalt, copper, tin and gold.⁸⁹ However ideal this agreement seems, Polgreen notes that the mineral exchange is a mere loan to China against future revenues, and all of this was happening as the International Monetary Fund

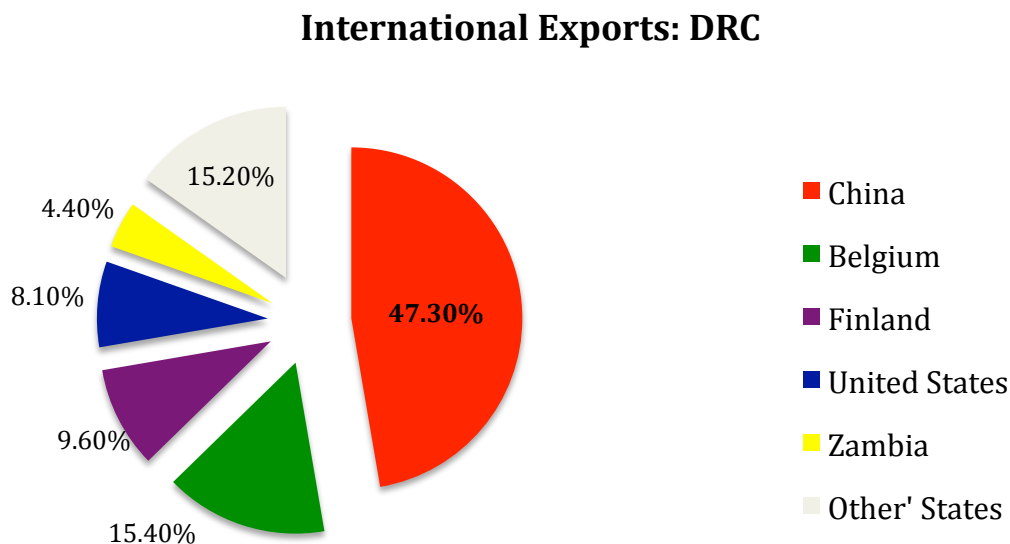
⁸⁷ Lydia Polgreen, "African Hopes Sink as an Investment Partner, China, Grows More Cautious," The New York Times: 26 March 2009.

⁸⁸ Lydia Polgreen.

⁸⁹ Lydia Polgreen.

decided to write-off the DRC's vast debt.⁹⁰ Invariably, the DRC is being forgiven of one debt, but accruing another. It is clear that China is ensuring their national economic interest while crippling the DRC's hopes for a prosperous future. International exports from the DRC as of 2008 offer a greater understanding of China's relations compared with other states (see Figure 1.5). Additionally, amidst the increasingly desperate conditions in the DRC, China's exports have increased dramatically (see Figure 1.6). It is clear that China's interest in the DRC have not contributed to the economic and political stability in Africa; however, the interests of China are met at an increasing rate. Polgreen writes that the Congo remains in shambles politically and economically, yet the current demands of production from China to meet its resource deal with the DRC are far behind.⁹¹

Source: CIA World Fact Book Figure 1.5



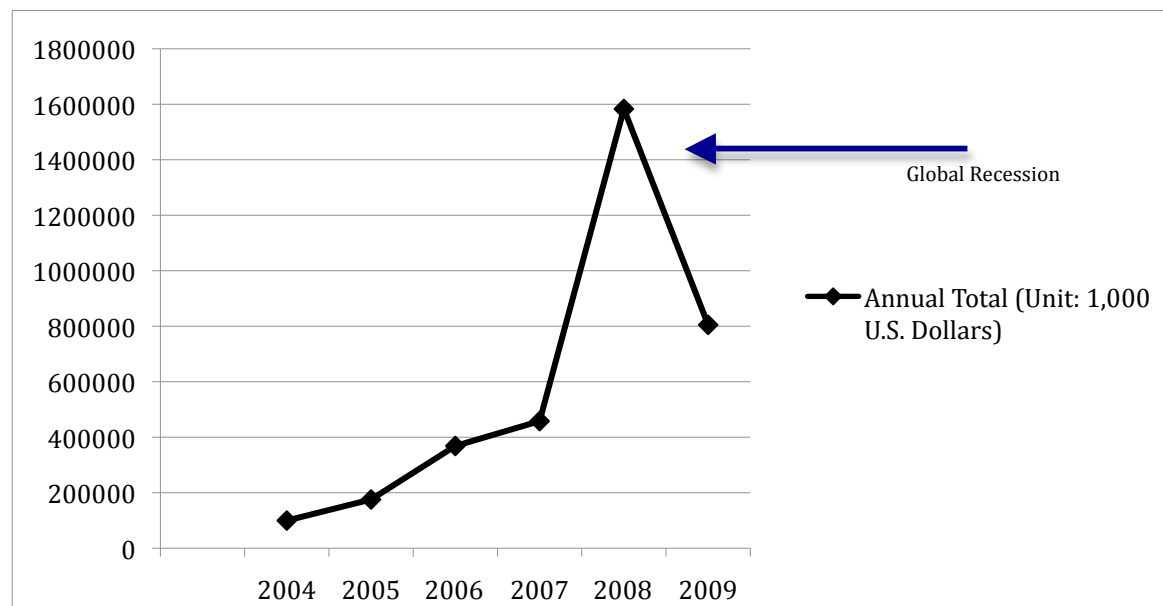
⁹⁰ Lydia Polgreen.

⁹¹ Lydia Polgreen.

Figure 1.6

China's Imports from Democratic Republic of Congo from 2004 to October 2009

Released by the General Administration of Customs: Dow Jones



China's interests in the DRC exemplify a realist approach to its international affairs, as it pays no attention to the economic and political consequences in the DRC, but rather, the expansion of its own interests.⁹² Jonathan Fenby notes that as China lends to Africa, "Chinese banks pay no heed to the Equator Principles backed by the World Bank, under which countries undertake to respect human rights and environmental standards in return for loans."⁹³ Figure 1.5 demonstrates the dominance of China in the DRC and the US' miniscule influence, as the US puts far more funding into aid and political restructuring rather than resource extraction. Relations between the US and the DRC are complicated but positive. According to the US Department of State, the US claims a strong role in the peace process in the DRC and validates

⁹² Jonathan Fenby, "China's New Silk Roads: Many lead to Africa, Where Chinese Money and Power Have Never Been Stronger, While Western Influence Weakens," *The Business*: 1 November 2006. –Fenby asserts that China is using old-style power politics based on a crude pursuit of its national interest, which the West finds hard to compete.

⁹³ Jonathan Fenby.

these claims by playing a huge role in the UN's efforts to create a "Joint Verification mechanism to monitor the border between the DRC and Rwanda" (where most of the violence continues).⁹⁴ Most importantly, in 2008, the US created the United States Africa Command (AFRICOM), which "in concert with other US Agencies and international partners, conducts sustained security engagement through military-to-military programs" and activities to promote African security in tandem with US foreign policy.⁹⁵ In the DRC, AFRICOM has begun training light infantry Battalions to help shape the future Congolese military.⁹⁶

Conclusively, US relations with the DRC remain humanitarian with a large support for international efforts to reconcile the war-torn state. Although it may seem that China is completely self-interested, the economic giant provides peacekeeping troops to MONUC in a step to allure the international community into believing it seeks reconciliation in the world's murder capitol. Nonetheless, amidst the scholarship in international relations and the concept of an international community, the most pressing question yet to be answered is what is the most tangible state of international relations by examining the DRC case? It is clear that power politics still exist in the international community, yet is there a semblance of cosmopolitan idealism? Western states persistently invoke humanitarian law, which states are expected to adhere to; however, when states violate these principles for economic gain (as seen by China), it seems the international community can do very little to stop the violence from reaching the levels seen in the DRC. The paradox in the DRC is its vast mineral wealth, yet the country remains in shambles. The DRC must claim ownership over their resources, whether it be through state owned enterprises backed by hard military power, or through increased efforts by

⁹⁴ The US Department of State Online: <<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2823.htm>>

⁹⁵ U.S. Africa Command Online: <<http://www.africom.mil/getArticle.asp?art=1644>>

⁹⁶ Nicole Dalrymple, "US and DRC in Partnership to Train Model Congolese Battalion," U.S. Africa Command Online: 18 Feb. 2010 <<http://www.africom.mil/getArticle.asp?art=4032&lang=0>>

international corporations doing business in the DRC to take greater measures in ensuring transparency. The United States and the UN are major political actors in restructuring the DRC, yet China remains strictly an economic actor that rejects interference in Congolese politics.

Part III

The Heart of Darkness

“Conflicts of interest between man and man are resolved, in principle, by the recourse to violence. It is the same in the animal kingdom, from which man cannot claim exclusion...”⁹⁷

--Sigmund Freud, *Why War?*

Conclusions:

What has been presented thus far in this analysis is a more clear conception of cosmopolitanism and realism in international relations. Equivalently, the UN Charter, MONUC, and US and China relations with the DRC have also been reported. However, questions remain unanswered and therefore, a conclusive analysis is appropriate. As stated before, legal cosmopolitanism maintains that international political order must be constructed to ensure a foundation for the moral universality of persons.⁹⁸ This conception cannot be supported by the DRC case for a few reasons. Firstly, there exists an ideational realm where human value is based on the sovereigns gain and a manifested superiority abounds in nationalist identity, that is, the citizen of one state will feel more morally just than a citizen from another state. At a fundamental level, this explains the persistent lack of media coverage and an international acknowledgement of the continental war.

Secondly, the current international law doctrines, such as the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, cannot possibly retain legitimacy in a UN system whose greatest tool for international peace, peacekeeping, has failed in the DRC case. These doctrines rely on state support without any tangible hard power intervention in the face of humanitarian law violations. States can simply ignore the situation by supporting MONUC's mandate and

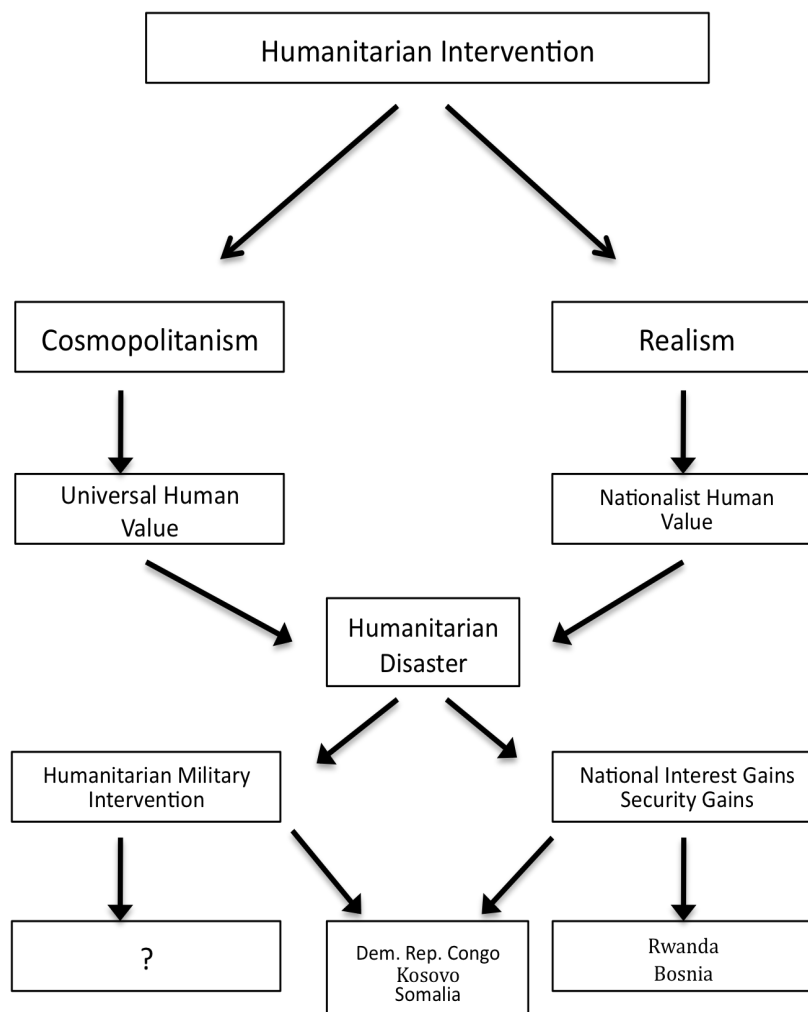
⁹⁷ Sigmund Freud, Conflict After the Cold War: Arguments on Causes of War and Peace, (anthological citation)

⁹⁸ Patrick Hayden 3.

providing condemning language. Thirdly, the increasing death rate in the DRC amidst an already condemnable 5.4 to 7.8 million dead in tandem with China's increasingly power hungry relations with the country (demonstrated in Figures 1.3, 1.5 and 1.6), substantiate a realist undertaking in international politics. Although China's relations are realist in nature, the efforts from the US, such as AFRICOM and billions of dollars in aid, offer a less realist and more liberal approach to rebuilding the DRC. Nonetheless, the international community was virtually quiet during the initial breakdown of central Africa, supporting the idea that the international system remains in a realist construction. The political backlash in the US was apparent during the Rwandan genocide, which triggered the continental war years later; however, this backlash was not severe enough to cost President Clinton his presidency. Samantha Power's notes that this has shaped US foreign policy in humanitarian disasters (such as genocide) as US president's use positive language to stop genocide's recurrence, nonetheless, in the face of its recurrence and US abstention, American political leaders are rarely effected enough to cost them their electoral pursuits.⁹⁹ The dichotomous relationship between cosmopolitanism and realism remains clear (see Figure 1.7).

What can be said of international law and ethics in the DRC case? The DRC exemplifies an ideological dilemma stemming from European inquisition, where African's were subhuman. In today's realm, this subhuman categorization maintains some of these elements, that is, western societies see individualism as a self-help system where persons make his or her own future. In other words, individuals who contract with a sovereign have an innate responsibility to persons within that state only (a Hobbesian understanding). This can explain the persistence in international aid as a colloquial alternative to hard-power military intervention, which in the DRC, would have prevented several million deaths as the rebel factions were often ill-equipped.

⁹⁹ Samantha Power, A Problem From Hell: America in an Age of Modern Genocide (Basic Books, New York, NY, 2003).



Regardless, human rights law has a much weaker foundation, given the DRC case. The institutionalized human rights regime cannot stop states, such as China, from seeking economic relationships during humanitarian disasters, even if this relationship undermines humanitarian efforts and economic restructuring. Jack Goldsmith notes in his book “The Limits of International Law” that in considering US patterns in human rights enforcement, the US has done “relatively little in the face of human rights abuses in Africa, where it lacks a strong strategic interest.”¹⁰⁰ International human rights law cannot expect reasonable enforcement and respect from powerful states unless a national interest is present. Yet, how does this explain

¹⁰⁰ Jack L. Goldsmith and Eric A. Posner, *The Limits of International Law* (Oxford Press, New York, 2005) 117.

positive US initiatives in the DRC? The US understands China's ascendants in the DRC and believes a Western human rights alternative to bad economic agreements will offer greater support to the local population. In this regard, the US is correct in its assumptions.

Until recently, with the formation of the ICC, there was no organized institution in the international system to enforce a legalism based on agreement. Nonetheless, the UN fails to do this, most persistently in the DRC case. The UN attempts a jurisprudential norm setting agenda, yet post-WWII history validates the impotence of this system. This cosmopolitanism attempts to harmonize the aggravated nature of human beings as equivocating norm setters who seek peace as a means to an end across national boundaries. The staunch reality of the DRC case is this: the UN is a weak system in defending the human rights regime. The reality in the international system, however, is much darker. Although the foundations are there, the documents lack the courage to act during large-scale humanitarian strife, as these documents are limited to state sovereignty. The UN cannot substantiate universal human value, as state interests persist above all else (Article 2, Section 1 of the UN Charter substantiates sovereign equality).

Despite the DRC case and the UN's juridical weakness, there is a positive movement in providing a legal structure for justice in the DRC. First, the International Criminal Court (ICC), as established by the Rome Statute, is a significant move towards universal human rights law at a larger level. However, despite this move towards a utopianism in international human rights law, the ICC suffers from the same pitfalls as the UN Security Council in that it relies on states to sign and ratify its statutes. However, Marlies Glasius notes that it is a significant move towards a global civil society, or as discussed earlier, a cosmopolitan ideal of the international system.¹⁰¹ Nonetheless, Glasius notes several problems and successes with ICC jurisdiction in the DRC. In

¹⁰¹ Marlies Glasius, What is Global Justice and who Decides? Civil Society and Victim Responses to the International Criminal Court's First Investigations: *Human Rights Quarterly* (Johns Hopkins University Press 2009) 497.

2003, President Joseph Kabila granted the ICC jurisdiction in all areas deemed a matter of urgent attention in human rights abuses.¹⁰² Immediately, with the help of the transitional government of the DRC, an arrest was made for the leader of a major political movement known as the Union of Congolese Patriots where he was transferred from Kinshasa to The Hague.¹⁰³ Although arrests were made of several important political leaders who had committed crimes such as “murder, inhumane acts, sexual slavery, using child soldiers, intentionally attacking civilians, and pillaging resources,” institutional problems in the ICC have since kept criminal sentencing from progressing.¹⁰⁴ Additionally, the ICC has run into several problems with connecting its shabby offices in limited cities in the DRC to the local population, which has suffered from a non-existent judicial system that at one time gave amnesty to several warlords.¹⁰⁵ Regardless, it was found that most Congolese believed the ICC was not damaging nor interrupting the fragile peace process and that large percentages of the population supported its arrests of warlords.¹⁰⁶

The major concern of the ICC has been its lack of outreach to the local populations, which has damaged its legitimacy; however, it is sufficient to conclude that the ICC’s attempts to usher in human rights law in a place where no judicial system exists nor a strong enough government to enforce any arrests is a positive feat.¹⁰⁷ The ICC must be reformed so that prosecutions can be more rapid. An increase in international funding can provide greater outreach and an increase in office construction throughout the DRC. Additionally, the US must sign once again the statute of the ICC and without Congressional reform that leaves the US away from its power. The ICC cannot expect to reform its prosecutorial capacity nor its legitimacy

¹⁰² Marlies Glasius 498.

¹⁰³ Marlies Glasius 498.

¹⁰⁴ Marlies Glasius 499.

¹⁰⁵ Marlies Glasius 508.

¹⁰⁶ Marlies Glasius 509.

¹⁰⁷ Marlies Glasius 509.

internationally without the backing of the most powerful democracy in the world. Nonetheless, the ICC is a tremendously important move in universal legalism and is continuing to help the fragile transitional government in the DRC.

Conclusively, the international system is slowly progressing towards universal legalism. Amidst the plethora of human rights doctrines, which theoretically establish a universal structure for international law, when these documents are violated and cannot be enforced, as is the case with the DRC, it is fair to conclude that the international legal doctrines under the UN and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights cannot adequately stem violence as seen in the DRC. Although the ICC cannot stop the violence in the DRC, it can provide a powerful message for future aggressors that human rights violations will result in the juridical interference at an international level for such crimes. Yet, this positive movement has come too late for the DRC, which continues to suffer from a 10-year war; however, it will help deter future aggressions in the country. When Kurtz realized at his final moment “The Horror! The Horror!” this was not the nightmare of his pillaging and murder of innocent Congolese, but an international system that permitted the horrors in the Congo to continue at the hands of Belgium’s greedy imperialism.¹⁰⁸ At its essence, these words have spoken truth throughout all of Congo’s modern history. The hypocrisy of a post-WWII order is the center of an international system unable to stop the increasing death in the DRC. It is the silence in the international system to these happenings that is the quintessential darkness of an impenetrable night.

¹⁰⁸ Joseph Conrad 68.

ADDENDUM

Reassessing the Central Arguments: An Evolution in UN Peacekeeping?

The conclusions to my central arguments against or for the emergence of a cosmopolitan conception of human worth in a post-WWII international system have several weaknesses and challenges. I concluded that the international system has moved progressively towards universal legalism, yet I asserted that regardless of these changes, the DRC case cannot support the ongoing efforts of the UN to unify states towards an enforceable human rights regime. Additionally, my argument limited its focus to domestic turbulence in the DRC to explain the condition of the international system. Domestic relations cannot necessarily provide an explanation for the entire international system. It is necessary then to provide a cross-cutting analysis to redeem the aforementioned research from its circular assumptions. One aspect of my thesis evaluated MONUC's peacekeeping mission to offer a more realistic analysis of the UN's ability to defend the human rights regime and thus, I concluded that UN peacekeeping is a defunct agency in global society. However, such a conclusion based on one of many UN missions cannot possibly provide an overarching explanation of the modern international system as it disregards any possible presentation of other UN missions and therefore, it cannot be tested adequately. Thus, the following text will focus on UN peacekeeping in two different cases: UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM I) from 1992 to 1994 with special emphasis on the US' role, and the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) from 1993 to the months following the genocide. These UN missions will be compared with the current and largest UN mission in the world, MONUC. These analyses aim to be short and concise, conveying important information on their original mandate and future mandates.

Cosmopolitanism and realism, as stated previously, are contending conceptions in international relations theory. By examining previous peacekeeping cases, I will attempt to offer a more solid and conclusive conception of the international community. When it comes to cosmopolitanism and its substantiation, on a smaller level, it can be seen from any UN peacekeeping operation given the nature of such missions: to provide universal equality regardless of nationality, and to secure international peace as well as security and the rights of those individuals regardless of national interest gains. Realism would contend that UN peacekeeping is a defunct and overly idealistic system that can only be achieved if states feel a national interest is present and attainable. Therefore, I am presenting two cases in UN peacekeeping, along with the critical information provided by MONUC's operations, to give a less circular reasoning in my analysis. Evidence of each view will be presented in each case to support such claims. Importantly, the history of peacekeeping has demonstrated several missions that have either been deemed a failure or a success, depending largely on the willingness of the international community to contribute to these missions. Additionally, peacekeeping is challenged by the improbability of having universal implementation methods as cases differ do to culture and geography. The first UN peacekeeping mission was the United Nations Emergency Force – I (UNEF I), in response to Israeli, French, and British hostilities on the Egyptian border.¹⁰⁹ At this point in time, peacekeeping was limited in its military capabilities, and the peacekeeping mission was strictly neutral, and non-coercive.¹¹⁰ Yet, these methods have proven complicated and often impossible during the many intrastate wars of the 1990s.

¹⁰⁹ Completed Peacekeeping Operations, UNEF I,
<http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unefi.htm>

¹¹⁰ Robert C. DiPrizio, Armed Humanitarians: U.S. Interventions from Northern Iraq to Kosovo (Johns Hopkins U Press, 2002) 44.

Therefore, the following cases may provide a better understanding of the evolution of peacekeeping and further explain the contention between cosmopolitanism and realism.

Somalia: One of Many in a New World Order

It is no question that all UN peacekeeping operations responded to severe and devastating humanitarian strife, collateral damage, and relentless warring factions aimed at securing power over the state. Somalia was no exception as the civil war that began in 1991 killed an estimated 50,000 “non-combatants” and destroyed any remnants of a functioning society.¹¹¹ The original mandate lacked sufficient stipulations to aid an increasingly volatile situation, mostly based off reports from the Secretary General. The mandate was concise and persistent in its calls for an international humanitarian response. It called for increased airlift operations to deliver humanitarian aid to an isolated Mogadishu. Additionally, it established four zonal headquarters for the operation, urged logistical support and reiterated the need for an international recognition of the humanitarian situation.¹¹² Eventually, after several humanitarian aid efforts on behalf of the US (Operation Provide Relief, which airlifted 28,000 tons of aid) and other states, UN peacekeeping took a coercive shift in the approval of Security Council Resolution 794 in December 2003, and granted the deployment of all necessary means to establish security and humanitarian relief operations.¹¹³ The US created and led the United Task Force (UNITAF), which was supported by nearly 28,000 American troops and 10,000 from other states.¹¹⁴

Although Operation Restore Hope was a wake-up call to uneasy Americans that had witnessed a dead American soldier being dragged through the streets of Mogadishu after the

¹¹¹ Robert C. DiPrizio 44.

¹¹² United Nations Security Council, Resolution 775, 28 Aug 1992, <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N92/410/10/IMG/N9241010.pdf?OpenElement>

¹¹³ Robert DiPrizio 46.

¹¹⁴ Robert DiPrizio 46.

infamous Black Hawk Down incident, the mission itself was successful. Robert DiPrizio wrote that the operation commanded five months and achieved all of the four phases laid out (the fourth stage being the handover of operations to the UN) and the UNITAF's casualties were low, at 27 total (18 Americans). The mission's success prompted the UN to strengthen the original mandate to ensure that a recurrence of violence did not happen. Nonetheless, given the Somalia case, it is clear that a militarily robust UN mission, although paradoxical, can achieve quick results. UN peacekeeping operations had progressed substantially in the post-Cold War international system, yet with the remaining decade ahead, more tests of the capacity of UN peacekeeping to end violence would arise and question the effectiveness of its operation. Notwithstanding, it was apparent that US intervention was necessary and what is the perfect example of cosmopolitan ethics. However, the realism existed in the withdrawal of most US troops after the Black Hawk Down incident, which may have been a product of US domestic reaction to the 18 American lives lost in the battle. Despite the fact that hundreds of Somalis died in the fighting, and several more innocent lives had already been lost before and during the UN's mission, the United States ended its support after recognizing the mission was a failure and also to appease US Congressional backlash at the mission. Sadly, this abstention would continue through the 1990s, even in the face of genocide.

The Genocide in Rwanda: Back to Square One

The Rwanda case reveals a troubling and dark period in post-WWII history. The reuse of genocide as a form of war was something the UN was created to prevent. However, UNAMIR witnessed the worst nonintervention in the international community, stemming directly from great power abstention and appeals to withdraw the UN mission in Rwanda. UNAMIR's mandate was severely inefficient before the genocide. The mandate was first meant to facilitate

the signing of the Arusha Peace Agreement between the rebel Tutsi and Hutus, to monitor the ceasefire between the warring parties, and to assist in humanitarian aid.¹¹⁵ In April 1994, the Security Council passed a resolution to give the mission intermediary power and continue aid efforts that had been cut off as the genocide was underway. Essentially, the mandate emulated the weak peacekeeping methods evident during the UNEF I operation, and had no semblance of a robust mandate as seen in the Somali case. Samantha Power notes that US “intelligence analysts were keenly aware of Rwanda’s history and the possibility that atrocity would occur [and]... a CIA study found that some four million tons of small arms had been transferred from Poland to Rwanda, via Belgium,” clearly as tools for the genocide.¹¹⁶ The warning signs were there, but what kept the United States from intervening on a scale witnessed in Somalia? Furthermore, why did the United States and other Security Council members deny UNAMIR more troops and instead reduced it from almost 5,000 before the genocide to nearly 300 during the genocide?

During the genocide, in which the Hutu majority was butchering the “cockroach” Tutsi minority, UN officials reported that within days of its start, 50,000 Tutsis had been butchered in the streets, churches, schools and government agencies, and within a few months, nearly 800,000 were dead.¹¹⁷ As stated before, Rwanda witnessed the worst in the international community, the United Nations and the free world. US and UN bureaucracy cost nearly one million lives. What does this mean for cosmopolitan ethics and realism? Firstly, US abstention from intervention in Rwanda may stem from the negative political impact of the 18 dead US troops in Somalia. It would appear that although the US expressed humanitarianism during the Somalia case and basked in its superpower leadership in the ‘New World Order,’ political backlash during the

¹¹⁵ United Nations Website, UNAMIR, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unamirM.htm>

¹¹⁶ Samantha Power 338.

¹¹⁷ Samantha Power 350.

Somalia case caused the United States to rethink its foreign policy in humanitarian interventions. UN peacekeeping could not enjoy the willingness of states to stop violence as seen in Somalia, and state interests would once more impede on progress in the human rights regime.

Conclusions:

What do these two cases in UN peacekeeping mean for MONUC? MONUC at first was a substantially weak mission, severely undermined by the Secretary-General at the time and the mandate took years to reach an adequate level. Although MONUC still lacks enforcement power, UN forces have been aiding the transitional government in purging the DRC of rebel factions crossing national borders to pillage resources, rape women, destroy villages, and steal children to enhance their campaigns. The UN Security Council has never failed the DRC because it has persistently adapted the several issues hampering the mandates proper implementation and the success of the transitional government. However, it is not the actions of the UN that should be condoned, but rather, the lack of timing in passing and implementing these changes. It is no mistake that the majority of people, regardless of nationality, do not know of how severe the situation in the DRC has been for more than 10 years. Yet, realistically, amidst the emergence of coercive peacekeeping in the Somalia case or “armed humanitarians” according to Robert DiPrizio, and what was later seen in Kosovo, there has been a positive cosmopolitan movement in peacekeeping.

The phenomenon of UN peacekeeping, as evidenced by Somalia, Rwanda and the DRC, has had several weaknesses. Rwanda was a failure and the genocide occurred because there was an international community of the unwilling, yet when willing international actors are involved, most importantly the United States, UN peacekeeping is at its strongest and missions are more likely to succeed. The DRC case is interesting because although it receives more than \$1 billion

in international aid and the largest UN peacekeeping force in the world, the darkness of the situation there is the absence of international awareness. Nonetheless, the DRC case, although a failure in many respects, substantiates a cosmopolitan shift in international politics because it utilized the evolutionary peacekeeping seen in Somalia i.e. a shift in mandate strength. The human rights regime has provided a viable alternative to collective security, which was mostly a failure in the League of Nations system. The darkness does not lie in the international community as a whole, but within abstention from intervention. The DRC is the beneficiary of US efforts (AFRICOM), UN efforts, and efforts by international organizations, but not of a wide-scale military operation as seen in Somalia. I will say lastly that the darkness lies also in ignorance, a contagious reality for the DRC.