

A COMPARISON OF ACTORS IN THE LIBERIA AND THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO SECOND CONFLICTS

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ABSTRACT

The Post-Cold War era brought to the fore a new stream of conflicts in Africa. Studies suggest that little research has been carried out on a Comparison of Liberia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) second conflicts actors. The purpose of this studies reviewed existing literature regarding conflict theory and conflict resolution with empirical evidence in comparison of the actors involve in the Liberia and the DRC second conflicts. The study, therefore, seeks to compare the role of the main actors during the conflict and conflict resolution in the second conflicts of Liberia and the DRC and the implications for conflict resolution initiatives in Africa. The study employed a qualitative research methodology. The qualitative research methodology examines secondary data from publications on the second conflicts of Liberia and the DRC. The identification of Charles Taylor as the main actor in the Liberia second conflict and his extrication from the conflict zone facilitated the resolution process. Nonetheless, in the case of the DRC, it was difficult to identify the main actors to be extricated from the conflict zone which made the resolution process difficult. The studies suggest that main actors in conflict need to be identified and extricate from the conflict zone for sustainable peace to prevail. The actors in conflict resolution need to be firm and committed throughout the process to bring lasting peace in Africa.

KEY WORDS: Actors, Conflict and Conflict Resolution.

INTRODUCTION

The Cold War and Post-Cold War brought to the fore a new stream of conflicts in Africa. The breakdown of the philosophical mind-set and the edifices of the Cold War created ethnic and political tensions(Achankeng, 2013). One of the highest periods of civil wars was 1991 and 1992 when the world experienced seventeen ongoing civil wars(Annan, 2014). In the 1990s, Liberia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo were polarized by civil conflicts, during which human rights abuses, killings, recruitment of children as soldiers and looting was rife. A study seeks to compare the role of the main actors during the conflict resolution in the two conflicts and the implications for conflict resolutions initiatives in Africa (Mlambo & Dliamnin, 2019).

Few studies have attempted to compare the actors in conflict resolution processes among two countries within different sub-regions such as the DRC and Sierra Leone(Demirag, 2014). A comparative examination of conflict resolution in Angola and South Africa(Gounden & Solomon, 2016), Kenya and Zimbabwe(Ikejiaku & Dauda, 2011) has been conducted but not Liberia and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Studies suggest various civil conflicts have occurred in Liberia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)(Bekoe et al., 2017; Louis, 2015; M' Cormack, 2017). However, in the 1990s, the conflict situation, during which human rights abuses, killings, recruitment of children as soldiers and looting was rife, both countries were polarized between factions of the conflicts, forcing citizens to flee from Liberia and the DRC. Civil conflicts in Liberia and the DRC have been characterized by large political and economic interests involving extreme violence against civilians (Mlambo & Dliamnin, 2019). The detrimental effects of such conflicts and the implications for the economies and security of many African states have compelled African leaders to find the best way of resolving conflicts in Africa (Mlambo & Dliamnin, 2019).

The study sought to provide a better understanding of Actors in Conflict in Africa by comparing a country in the West African sub-region and another in Southeast Africa Country in Central Africa. It also sought to examine the main actors in the second conflicts of Liberia and the DRC and the role the actors played towards the success and failure of the conflict and conflict resolution process respectively. Overall, the study sought to examine main Actors in the second conflicts of Liberia and the DRC to make proposals on how to intervene differently in conflicts across different settings in Africa for sustainable peace.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research answers the four questions below:

- What is the historical background of Conflict Resolution?
- What are the roles of the main actors in the second conflicts of Liberia and the DRC?

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

General Objective

The general objective of the study is to examine the role of the main actors employed in the Liberia and the DRC second conflicts to understand the Liberia and the DRC second conflicts, and make recommendations to improve on conflict resolution in Africa.

Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study are:

- To assess the historical background of Conflict Resolution.
- To examine the roles of the main actors in the second conflicts in Liberia and the DRC.
- To make proposals on how to effectively employ the concept of conflict resolution in future for sustainable peace in Africa.

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

Methodology refers to the overall approach to the research procedure (Neuman, 2007). The study employed a qualitative research methodology. Qualitative research is not concerned with numerical representation but a deeper understanding of a problem (Howitt & Cramer, 2008). The objective of the qualitative content methodology is to produce in-depth and illustrative information. The section discusses the research method and design, study area, study population, the method of

data collection and the method of data analysis.

RESEARCH METHOD AND DESIGN

An understanding of the circumstances surrounding the successful resolution of the Liberian conflict and the failure of the DRC conflict provides insight on how to avoid similar mistakes in the future. The study employed a case study approach that aims to bring out unique characteristics and interesting differences in the situation under observation. Case study research allows in-depth review of new or unclear phenomena whilst retaining the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events (Creswell, 2007; Neuman, 2007; Silverman, 2004). The study focused solely on past occurrences and events relating to the conflict resolution process which helped to resolve the causes of the conflicts by scrutinizing documents on the period.

STUDY AREA

In research, the study area describes the geographical location and settings where the research is conducted. In other words, the study area refers to sites where data is collected to answer the questions posed in the study. The Conflict Resolution concept has been used in different circumstances for comparative analysis, however, the Conflict Resolution concept has not been used to compare the conflict situation in Liberia and the DRC. The study areas for the study are Liberia and the DRC. The study focused on Liberia and the DRC for comparison to ascertain the reasons the Conflict Resolution Concept for Liberia brought early peace whilst that of the DRC delayed. Liberia, a West African country, lies between 4°20'N and 8° 31'N of the equator. Liberia is bordered to the northwest by Sierra Leone, to the northeast by Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire to the east and the Atlantic Ocean to the southwest (Map1:1). The DRC is in Central Africa and lies between latitudes 4° and 02°S, and longitudes 21° and 45°E of the equator. The DRC is bordered by the Central African Republic and South Sudan to the north, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania to the east, Zambia and Angola to the south and the Republic of the Congo to the west (Map1:2). The study focused on Liberia and the DRC because the Liberia and the DRC conflicts were around the same period and the Conflict Resolution Concept was applied to solve the conflicts.

Map 1:1 Area Map of Liberia showing 3 Border Countries and 15 Counties



Source: <https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/Liberia>.

Map 1:1 Area Map of Democratic Republic of Congo showing 8 Border Countries and 26 Provinces

Source: (WorldAtlas, n.d.) [https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/Democratic Republic of Congo](https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/Democratic%20Republic%20of%20Congo)

METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis is the systematic application of statistical and/or logical techniques to describe and illustrate, condense, recap and evaluate data. Various analytic procedures provide a way of drawing inductive inferences from data and distinguishing the phenomenon of interest from the statistical fluctuations present in the data (Silverman, 2004). Content analysis was used to organize the secondary data. Content analysis is one of the statistical tools widely and successfully used in several research areas including information and health science (Silverman, 2004). One advantage of content analysis is the provision of valuable historical and cultural insights over time through text analysis. Content analysis provides an unobtrusive means of analysis and focuses directly on communication via texts or transcripts and, hence, gets at the central aspect of social interaction (Creswell, 2007). The study adopted content analysis to address the research questions and relied on books, articles, websites and other periodicals published on conflicts and conflict resolution. The data gathered in the documents was grouped into themes based on the objectives of the study. Some of the themes included: root causes of conflicts, main actors in conflicts and the conflict resolution initiatives. Each of the themes was broken down into subthemes based on the theories underpinning the study. The researcher considered poverty, ethnic factor, corruption and bad governance, human rights violation and natural resource factor under root causes of conflicts. Similarly, the themes considered under main actors in conflicts were external and internal actors. Additionally, for conflict resolution initiatives, themes such as negotiation, mediation, arbitration, peacekeeping and peace agreements were considered.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework emphasizes several theories used to describe Conflict Theory and Conflict Resolution Theory (Suleymanov, 2017). The study employed Conflict Theory and Conflict Resolution Theory to explain the actors in the conflict and actors in the conflict resolution in the second conflicts of Liberia and the DRC. Several reasons such as atrocities and escalation of the conflict to other parts of Africa accounted for the intervention by the international community. Conflicts in societies are the result of human structures which lead to unending conflicts (Lumumba-Kasongo, 2019). The causes of conflict are inequality existing between different socioeconomic classes. Rapid growth in the human population, national power struggle, unequal distribution of material resources, struggles between maximizing wealth and

power lead to conflicts. The study of International Relations reveals several major theories explaining the causes of conflicts. Data on the causes of conflicts such as ethnic, human rights violation, poverty, natural resources, bad governance, corruption and actors in conflict helped in reviewing literature for the study of the second conflicts of Liberia and the DRC. The above causes and other causes made the international community intervene to avoid mass atrocities in the two countries.

Galtung (1973) discusses the diverse social environments that generate conflicts and states conflicts result from efforts to reach another goal-state. The theory identifies causes of conflicts such as poverty, natural resources, racial-ethnic groups, governance and human rights violations expressed in violence. The behaviour and attitude of actors affect conflicts and conflict resolution. The colonial powers descending on Africa as actors in conflicts have little knowledge about the root causes of the conflicts (Galtung, 1973:48). The actors have goals and strategies due to colonial relationships in Africa, sometimes without understanding what is happening. Actors in conflict and conflict resolution involve state and non-state participants, certain superpower states actors and international organizations such as the United Nations cannot be ignored in international politics. The both actors in conflict and conflict resolution employed mechanisms through mobilization of time, energy and resources to prolong or to end the conflict.

The relevance of the conflict theory and conflict resolution theories for the study were to help explain why actors such as the UN, AU, ECOWAS, SADC and the international community intervened in the second conflicts in Liberia and the DRC. The conflict theory provided the conditions under which causes and actors in conflicts were identified. It also helped in identifying the appropriate conflict resolution initiatives aimed at preventing the atrocities of conflicts. The Theory of Conflict Resolution helped the study to explain the conflict resolution concept employed during the conflicts in Liberia and the Democratic Republic of Congo second conflicts. The theory sheds light on the reason the UN and regional bodies intervened in the Liberia and DRC conflicts through various initiatives. It explains why the international community intervenes in conflicts to bring sustainable peace to countries.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION

The objective of the study is to compare the main actors in Liberia and the DRC second conflicts. Literature review, therefore, aims at supporting, summarizing and linking ideas other scholars have researched whilst identifying gaps in what has been done (Neuman 2007:69). The literature review employed such sources as books, journals, articles and reports to discuss themes including historical background of conflict resolution (Neuman 2007:69). The concept of conflict resolution was to prevent conflicts and accompanying atrocities dates back to the creation of humanity. Gandhi, after studying law in London in the early 1890s, went to South Africa to experiment with different nonviolent ways to counter the severe discrimination imposed upon Indians. Other non-Marxist cases opposing conflict with conflict resolution included Jane Adams in the United States.

At the end of WWII, the UN Security Council aimed at promoting and implementing recommendations, methods and procedures for peaceful settlement of disputes within the framework of Articles 33-38 of Chapter VI and Articles 11 and 99 of the Charter of the United Nations (United Nations, 1945). Chapter VI of the UN Charter contains various provisions which mandate the Security Council to recommend various conflict resolution processes to conflicting parties to bring sustainable peace. Several governmental and nongovernmental actions prevented future wars by building new transnational institutions and fostering reconciliation between enemies. The Geneva Conventions mandated organizations

to assist people affected by conflict and disaster. The European Coal and Steel Community was formed in 1951 in the EU and emphasized building conflict resolution mechanisms (Neu et al., 2019).

Martin Luther King Jr. played a key role in American civil rights movement from the mid-1950s until 1968 when King was assassinated (Achankeng, 2013). The International Peace Research Institute was established in Oslo, Norway, in 1959. September 11, 2001 attacks carried out by Al-Qaeda against the marked the beginning of a new world system. In June 2018, the UN underwent reforms concerning the organization's development, peace and humanitarian work exploring the various reforms to curb conflict. Conflicts in Africa are among the deadliest conflicts of the 21st century (Oguonu & Ezeibe, 2014). The UN has been trying to end conflicts in Africa. The modern turning point for the notion of conflict resolution came out of the Rwandan experience. The exercise in relation to the humanitarian development of UN system to deliver on the 2030 Agenda (Udezo, 2009). The concept was employed in the second conflicts of Liberia (1999-2003) and the DRC (1998-2003) by looking at the causes of historical background, actors in conflicts and conflict resolution initiatives. The background to the concept of conflicts and conflict resolution provides the grounds for understanding the concept of providing sustainable peace in the future. Therefore, the need arises to study the concept of conflicts and conflict resolution to understand the main purpose for effective application of the concept in the future.

MAIN ACTORS IN THE SECOND CONFLICTS

The main actors in conflicts are associated with the conflicts and the conflict resolution initiatives. The actors are state and non-state actors (Morgenthau, 1948) and internal and external actors (Haász, 2018). Actors enter into exchange relations to gain from the situation whilst others enter due to existing relationship with the internal conflicting actors. Invariably, actors' attitude and behaviour determine the outcome of the conflict resolution process (Galtung, 1973). Several international and local actors, including local and international rebel groups, guerrilla forces, local and international militias, national armies, NGOs and humanitarian workers assisted in the Liberia and the DRC second conflicts and conflict resolution processes.

Liberia's second conflict in 1999 had both internal and external actors including regular security forces, civil society, religious groups, ethnic groups, rebel groups, governmental agents, the military, militias and dissident Liberian organizations in West African countries (Mpangala, 2004) participating in the conflict and conflict resolution. The main actors in the conflict were Charles Taylor and the National Patriotic Front of Liberia which battled Prince Johnson's Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (Kotia, 2015). The dissident actors under the banner of the Organization of Displaced Liberians invaded Liberia from Guinea, Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire. By July 2000, various dissident groups such as the LURD led by Sekou Conneh emerged. The dissidents were thought to be of Mandinka and Krah roots. The development made the Liberia conflict emerge from three complex ways: within Liberia, from Sierra Leone and from the Guinea Republic. Individual internal actors including Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and Leymah Ghowee emerged to help work for peace. Leymah Gbowee formed the Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace. Liberian Christian and Muslim organizations emerged to play significant roles in the conflict resolution process.

External actors in the Liberia conflict resolution process included African countries, UN, USA and Britain, ECOWAS, individuals and regional and international organizations. Individual actors' eager to bring peace to Liberia included former President Abdulsalami Abubakat of Nigeria and former presidents Jerry John Rawlings and John Agyekum Kufuor of Ghana. Furthermore, virtually all ECOWAS countries and countries that provided rebels to fight the Liberia Government were ready to support the conflict resolution process (Haász, 2018). The International Contact Group

including ECOWAS, UN, AU, EU, Britain, and France, US, Ghana, Morocco, Nigeria, Senegal, and NGOs agreed on ceasefire to end the conflict in July 2003. The belligerents in the conflict later joined mediators and negotiators to find a lasting solution to the conflict. In Liberia, the internal actors are classified into two main belligerent parties directly participating in the conflict. The regular security forces sided with government and two rebel groups. In 2000, the LURD was to help bring peace to Liberia, especially to the implementation of the Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement on 18 August 2003 (Kotia, 2015). The Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement was successful in bringing peace to Liberia when all actors in the conflict negotiated implementation. Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire and Libya provided military assistance to Charles Taylor's forces in Liberia (Stedman, 1999). The indictment of Charles Taylor to vacate the presidency and leave Liberia aided the conflict resolution process (Haász, 2018:14). Charles Taylor handed over power to Vice-President Blah (Chissano, 2003).

The second DRC conflict involves various actors (Bjarnadóttir, 2017). Thus makes the conflict complex with a vast array of actors, interests and issues (Koko, 2016). Internal actors in the second DRC conflict including President Joseph Kabila, Vice-President Jean Piere Bemba, belligerents and supporters causing the conflict and various mediators and peacekeepers were engaged in various mediation strategies to find a lasting solution to the conflict (Ogechi, 2008). External individual actors and mediators included former President Sir Ketumile Masire of Botswana and President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa (Apuuli, 2004). External actors included Rwanda, Uganda and other AU countries in the Sub-region, UN, EU, USA, international and regional organizations and the MONUC, Kimia II and Amani Leo. The actors contradicted in attitude and behaviour during the conflict and conflict resolution process (Rufanges & Aspa, 2016; Stedman, 1999). Despite the withdrawal of foreign countries including Rwanda from the DRC based on the Luanda Accord, local rebel groups continued to control part of the country with widespread crime (United Nation, 2015). The AU provided for the Comprehensive and All-Inclusive Agreement adopted in Pretoria, South Africa, on 17 December, 2002, and endorsed by the Parties to the Inter-Congolese Dialogue in Sun City, South Africa, on 2 April, 2003, involving all civil society organizations in the dialogue (Ogechi, 2008). The civil society organizations were directly involved in both the peace process and the subsequent transitional dispensation designed to resolve the conflict and provided popular legitimacy to the processes clearly dominated by politico-military forces (Koko, 2016). The AU, UN and the EU working with the Embassies of France, Belgium and Spain and the UNDP visited Bunia at the end of February 2004. The delegation met with the leaders of the armed groups and pledged to resume dialogue with the Government to find a solution to the conflict. In July 2003 the UN Security Council agreed to strengthen MONUC by increasing the number of peacekeepers to support the conflict resolution process (Ogechi, 2008).

The second DRC conflict involved various proxies fighting for and against Kabila and the government. The Mai-Mai fought against the rebels and for the Congolese government. The international forces siding with Kabila were Rwanda, Burundi, Angola, Zimbabwe, Chad, Namibia, Zambia and Sudan. In total, nine African states took part in the second conflict along with countless international actors making up the MONUC mission and played a role in the peace talks. The Second Congo Conflict was a relative jumble of states scrambling for power over populations or resources and others searching for a peaceful resolution to the seemingly ceaseless conflict (Bjarnadóttir, 2017). Apart from rebel groups and countries, influential individuals including Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, Paul Kagame of Rwanda and Laurent-Désiré Kabila and son Joseph Kabila of the DRC were involved in the second conflict for selfish interests (Oguonu et al., 2016). The main international organizations acting in the conflict of the DRC were the UN, AU, USA, EU and nine surrounding African countries. The foregoing discussions support the views of scholars on the role the

UN, EU, AU, USA, ECOWAS and SADC played in bringing peace to Rwanda, Angola, Namibia, Mozambique, Kenya and Tanzania (Pratama, 2017; Stedman, 1999; Whitfield, 2010).

However, the main actors in the Liberia conflict included Charles Taylor, Liberia Defence Force, LURD, Movement for Democracy in Liberia, Inter-Religious Council of Liberia, ECOWAS, AU, UN, and USA. Certain ECOWAS countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire, Gambia, Sierra Leone, and individuals such as Presidents Abdulsalami Abubakat, Jerry John Rawlings and John Agyekum Kufuor all helped in the conflict resolution process. Charles Taylor's indictment and exile from Liberia helped to facilitate the conflict resolution process with the various actors committed to implementing the Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement (Haász, 2018). On the other hand, the DRC second conflict was characterized by many actors. Some joined the war in support of Kabila, whereas others joined to seek to overthrow Kabila (Ahere, 2012). On one side were Angola, Chad, the DRC, Namibia, Sudan, Zimbabwe and the Mai-Mai and Hutu-aligned forces and on the other side were Burundi, Uganda, Rwanda and the Movement for the Liberation of the Congo, the Congolese Rally for Democracy and Tutsi-aligned forces. Others included Jean Piere Bemba, the DRC Defence Forces, the civil society, UN, AU, USA, EU, and other African countries. President Sir Ketumile Masire of Botswana and President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa played significant roles in the conflict and the conflict resolution process with the challenge of power-sharing among the various leaders and factions in the conflict (Ahere, 2012). The lessons from the Liberia and the DRC main actors suggest regional conflict actors involve both internal and external actors in the conflict resolution process.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The study is a comparison of the Main Actors of Liberia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo Second Conflicts. The analysis revealed proper identification of the actors in the conflict and the significant role played in Liberia and the DRC conflicts. The evidence available in the study indicated that the actors in the second conflict in Liberia was involved in high levels of corruption and high human rights violations leading to mass poverty perpetuated mainly by the Taylor administration that exploited the Liberian iron ore and the Sierra Leone's diamond trade (Aboagye, 1999; Kotia, 2015). Furthermore, the study indicated tribes affiliated to the indigenous Liberians felt marginalized by the tribes affiliated to the Americo-Liberians, to which Taylor belonged and, therefore, enjoyed the Liberian wealth (Abdul-Mumuni, 2007). Although the study identified actors in the second DRC conflict, the situation was more complex and volatile in the DRC. In the DRC, high levels of corruption and human rights violations leading to mass poverty amid great wealth was perpetrated mainly by a network of the DRC government officials, governments from neighbouring countries such as Uganda and Rwanda, and rebels from surrounding countries and tribes marginalized in the share of the minerals' revenue. Such groups were directly involved in the exploitation of the multiple minerals in the DRC and were interested in destabilizing the country to continue exploiting the mineral wealth. Further, such tribes in the DRC as the Rwandan Hutus targeted for cleansing felt marginalized when asked to flee the DRC and allied with both the Rwandan government and rebels to fight the Congolese government in the second conflict (Essays, 2018; Karbo & Mutisi, 2012).

Additionally, the study recognized various actors were involved in both Liberia and the DRC second conflicts. In the second conflicts, both state and non-state actors played a significant role in the conflict and conflict resolution process. The identification of the main actors in the conflicts helped to define the direction of the Liberia conflict. The mediators in the Liberia conflict identified Charles Taylor as the main actor in the Liberia second conflict and asked Charles Taylor to leave the country to help facilitate the conflict resolution process to bring sustainable peace in Liberia. Actors such as

ECOWAS, AU and the UN were committed to bringing peace to Liberia (Haász, 2018). However, in the case of the second DRC conflict, actors included state and non-state actors and internal and external actors which made the conflict resolution process difficult (Rufanges & Aspa, 2016). The commitment of local, regional and international actors aided the conflict resolution process which Africa needs in resolving future conflict.

Moreover, the study revealed regional bodies actors were proactive in intervening in conflicts in Africa through peacekeeping operations to ensure conflicts did not escalate to other parts of the continent (Lipman, 2010). However, in both Liberia and the DRC conflicts, AU relied on the UN for support due to financial constraints. Africa had the initiative to intervene through peacekeeping but lacked the resources to sustain the mission and, therefore, the support of the international community to bring sustainable peace in Africa.

The study further found the Actor in Liberia conflict abided by the Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement instrumental in bringing sustainable peace to Liberia. However, the DRC second conflict depended on various Peace Agreements from the Luanda Agreement to the Sun City II Peace Agreement yet the conflict persisted within parts of the DRC due to Actors failure to abide by the various agreement. Nevertheless, during the drafting of the various peace agreements, all actors in the conflict were involved to help in the implementation of the peace agreements (Demirag, 2014; Herbert, 2014).

Therefore, the findings of the study support the main argument of the conflict theory which suggests conflict is built into the particular ways societies are structured and organized such as injustice, poverty, bad governance, ethno-religious crisis, inequality, greedy individuals and exploitation of all forms. Additionally, the study agrees with the proposition that resolution of African inter- and intra-state conflicts has often taken one or a combination of such initiatives as negotiation, mediation, peacekeeping and peace agreements (Herbert, 2014). However, although the causes of the conflicts and the conflict resolution initiatives employed in both conflicts are relatively similar, the main actors in the conflicts and the situations surrounding the causes of the conflict and the resolution were complex and complicated in the DRC conflict.

CONCLUSIONS

The condition which attracted the international community's intervention in the Liberia and the DRC conflicts was the desire to protect lives. The study aimed at exploring the conflict resolution initiatives during the second conflicts. The study provided brief information on conflict resolution in Africa, conflict resolution in the Liberia second conflict, and conflict resolution and the DRC conflict. The study suggested the root causes of the second conflicts in both countries were ethnic marginalization, natural resources, bad governance and corruption, human rights violations and poverty. In Liberia, bad governance, corruption, human rights violations, exploitation of natural resources, amassing wealth and tribal marginalization perpetuated by Charles Taylor and allies led to the second conflict whilst in the DRC, the root causes of the second conflict were perpetuated by networks of powerful individuals of Congolese descent and other nationals.

Liberia stands as a successful example of regional-body intervention in humanitarian crisis to avert atrocities with the support of the international community and the model needs to be replicated in futures crises. Nevertheless, in future conflicts, main actors such as Charles Taylor and allies need to be identified and extricated from the conflict zone to facilitate the resolution process. Nonetheless, in the case of the DRC, the involvement of many actors made the resolution process difficult to identify and extricate the main actors from the conflict zone.

Furthermore, Liberia and the DRC conflict resolution suggests future initiatives in Africa requires the involvement of both state and non-state actors. The mediation processes in Liberia and the DRC suggest parties in conflicts are allowed to choose preferred mediators to ensure success in the negotiation process. The negotiation process employed in the Liberia and the DRC conflict resolution engaged all actors including civil society, a model Africa needs to emulate in future conflict resolution. The inclusion of all parties made the parties committed to the peacekeeping mission and the implementation of the peace agreements for sustainable peace.

The study identified conflict resolution initiatives needed to be based on appropriate information on the causes of conflicts and identifying main actors in the conflict for appropriate conflict resolution. When wrong causes and actors are identified, wrong resolution initiatives are applied, humanitarian suffering worsens, the conflict escalates and defeats the conflict resolution initiatives. The overall contribution of the theme to the chapter is to help make recommendations for implementation of future conflict resolution initiatives.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are made to guide future conflicts and conflict resolution:

- Main actors in conflicts should be identified to be dealt with to serve as a warning to other actors in conflicts. The actors in conflict resolution need to be firm and committed throughout the process to bring lasting peace to the conflict zone.
- Africa Union and other regional bodies such as ECOWAS and SADC should find resources to sustain conflict resolution initiatives in Africa and not depend too much on the international community for aid during conflicts resolution.
- Future peace agreements should factor in power-sharing by main actors in the conflict to avoid a second conflicts. The peace agreement therefore needs to be specific on the issue of power-sharing and regime change to prevent struggle among conflict actors.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The following recommendations are made for future research:

- Future research should emphasis on how the conflict have affected Liberia and the DRC economy.

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