

Thesis Abstract	
Title	Political Use of Prolonged Displacement, Encampments, and the Peace Process through Third-Party Intervention —A Case Study of the Democratic Republic of Congo’s Protracted Conflict—
Name	Masako Yonekawa
<p>The main research question of this dissertation is how and why the principal intervener, with the help of third parties, has been able to sustain and prolong conflict by manipulating specifically three protracted variables—displacement (refugees), encampments, and the peace process—which are often facilitated by third-party intervention. This research contributes to the development of Edward E. Azar’s theory of “protracted conflict” (1983, 1990, 1999) by centering on the 27-year-long conflict in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).</p> <p>According to this theory, protracted conflict is caused by the deprivation of “human needs”—including homeland (territory) based on identity—and possesses international linkage. These human needs are related to three protracted variables because displacement implies that people are expelled from their homeland and stay in refugee camps, and human needs are nonnegotiable, thus affects peace process. This dissertation relies on a literature review of scholarly works as well as reports and documents from various organizations, such as the United Nations and human rights organizations. It also employs a qualitative methodology that involves recording undocumented events and conducting interviews mainly with Congolese refugees and some Rwandan refugees.</p> <p>Chapter 1, as the Introduction, offers a substantial introduction to the research topic and the rationale for choosing the research questions. Chapter 2 reviews the characteristics and objectives of the conflict in general, the concept of protracted conflicts and of peace process, as well as factors affecting the duration of conflicts (territorial and natural resources based on ethnicity, and third-party intervention). Chapter 3 assesses the characteristics, objectives, and strategies of displacement and encampment, as well as the US intervention in three protracted variables. Chapter 4 investigates the events that took place in early 1990s, which became steps to the protracted conflict in the DRC: the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)’s recruitment, its invasion of Rwanda, civil war, peacemaking, genocide, and the RPF’s military victory. Chapter 5 elaborates Rwanda’s invasion of the DRC in 1996 which led to military victory by manipulating two refugee groups (Rwandan Hutu and Congolese Tutsi) and their respective refugee camps, and receiving military assistance from external actors. Chapter 6 explores what made the process of the Rwandan government’s reinvasion of the DRC and its prolongation of the conflict possible while extending the peace process. Chapter 7 analyzes how and why Rwanda was able to prolong conflict in the “post-conflict” DRC mainly by intervening in the UN-led peacebuilding/statebuilding program. Based on interviews with refugees, Chapter 8 discusses the RPF’s motive to invade Rwanda and the DRC, characteristics and objectives of the Congolese Tutsi’s movement to Rwanda, and functions of Congolese Tutsi refugee camps. Finally, Chapter 9 summarizes the key findings of the study and responses to the research questions and reveals the scope of future research.</p> <p>This dissertation indicates that conflict actors and global actors regard protracted conflicts as intervention opportunities (i.e., access to natural resources and the implementation of statebuilding), thus intervene in the three protracted variables; as a result, conflicts are lengthened. Furthermore, this research demonstrates that the Rwandan government, since</p>	

its invasion of eastern DRC, has systematically maneuvered the three variables by repeatedly activating and supporting numerous armed groups, both allied groups and apparent enemies; as a consequence, conflicts are prolonged.

This study could be the first to investigate the objective and characteristics of displacement of Congolese Tutsi to Rwanda, conflict tactics that caused their movement, and the non-military activities in the refugee camps, which all have affected prolonging the ethnicity-based territorial conflict.