Contents

Abbreviations		6
Map of North Kivu Province		8
Acknowledgments		9
Introduction		11
1.	**The Ambivalence of State Power in Africa**	21
1.1.	Comparative Perspectives on the State	23
1.2.	African Statehood	30
1.3.	State-Building in Africa	35
1.4.	Patterns of Rule and Authority in the Postcolony	41
1.5.	The Analytical Framework	46
1.6.	A Note on Methodology and Fieldwork	54
2.	**The Pre-War Period: Kivu under Mobutu**	58
2.1.	The Projection of State Power to Kivu	58
2.2.	The State in Zaire	64
2.2.1.	The Territorial Administration	66
2.2.2.	Administrative Problems	69
2.3.	State-Society Relations in North Kivu	71
2.3.1.	Intermediary Rule	72
2.3.2.	The Politics of Patronage	81
2.3.3.	Economies of Plunder	86
3.	**The Politics of Insurgency in the DR Congo**	94
3.1.	Debating African Insurgencies	95
3.2.	A Typology of Armed Non-State Actors	97
3.3.	The Case of the Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie (RCD)	105
3.3.1.	The Genesis of the RCD	109
3.3.2.	The RCD Leadership	111
3.3.3.	International Relations: The Quest for Recognition	117
4.	**The Rebel Para-State**	127
4.1.	The Local Administration of the RCD Para-State	129
4.2.	Encounters with the Para-State: Patronage Politics and the Struggle of Societal Actors	142
4.2.1.	Traditional Authorities and Intermediary Rule	142
4.2.2.	Traditional Succession Struggles and Patronage Politics	145
4.2.3.	At Arm's Length: Fending Off the Para-State	150
4.2.4.	Civil Society	153

5.	**Militarized Politics, Violent Conflict and Resources**	160
5.1.	Intertwined Conflicts and Intertwined Logics	162
5.2.	The Economy of Extraction in the Para-State	164
5.2.1.	A Short History of Mineral Exploitation in the Kivus	167
5.2.2.	Mineral Resources and the Para-State	170
5.2.3.	Methods, Scale and Scope	175
5.3.	Fortifying Patronage Networks	178
5.3.1.	The Making of a Strongman	179
5.3.2.	Conflict, Resources and Identity: Immediate Implications	184
5.4.	Political Fragmentation and Violent Coping Strategies	188
6.	**Managing Disorder: Coping Strategies and the Limits of State Substitution**	203
6.1.	Education and Health Services	205
6.1.1.	Education	205
6.1.2.	Health Services	209
6.2.	Conflict Resolution and Peace-Building by Non-State Actors	213
6.2.1.	Multi-Ethnic Organizations	215
6.2.2.	Local NGOs	217
6.2.3.	The Churches	219
6.3.	Coping Strategies in Political Context	221
6.4.	Civil Society: Pitfalls, Fault Lines and Strategies	227
6.4.1.	Ethnic Divisions	227
6.4.2.	Resource Scarcity and Extraversion	231
6.5.	The Churches	235
6.5.1.	Religious and Spiritual Aspects	236
6.5.2.	Factionalism and the Politics of the Belly: The Case of CEBCE	241
6.5.3.	Power Struggles, Extraversion and External Actors	245
7.	**The Reconfiguration of Political Order**	256
7.1.	Actors, Processes and Variable Outcomes	257
7.2.	The Politics of Representation	267
7.2.1.	The Local Politics of Representation	267
7.2.2.	Representation, External Actors and Local Outcomes	270

7.3.	Patterns of Postcolonial Rule Reconsidered	276
7.3.1.	Economies of Plunder and Coercion	277
7.3.2.	Archipelago Formation and Discharge	280
7.3.3.	Intermediary Rule	282
7.3.4.	Strategies of Extraversion	285
7.4.	Political (Dis)Continuities in a New Era	286
7.5.	The Question of Statehood	292
Conclusion		302
Bibliography		313
Abstract		340
The Author		342