"Tell them we are caring for our children." When I asked what message I should take to people in the United States, this simple request by a Congolese pastor crystallized a challenge, a mandate. Aware that most of the world associates the Congo with hopeless violence, this pastor begged for a more balanced picture.

Seventy-five pastors, mostly men and a few women, crowded onto pews and filled half of the sanctuary the largest United Methodist church in Kamina, a city of 100,000 people in the central interior of the Democratic Republic of Congo. No longer a structure with easily-deteriorated mud brick, thatched roof, and dirt floor, this "tall steeple church" sanctuary stands strong with fired bricks, concrete floors, and fresh bright green and beige paint inside and out—the result of Congolese vision, hands, and energy. Worship resounds in this sanctuary at 5:30 am every morning like the song of birds in the dusk before dawn, waking me in the guest house down the road. Then worshippers disperse to the work of the day—drawing water for their homes, farming at the agricultural center, firing bricks for construction, and educating adults and children. Some will cook and serve cassava, beans, rice, and occasionally meat, to the growing number of child refugees at the Center for Abandoned Children. Although persons from the United States and Europe frequent Kamina for short stays, particularly to provide medical care, and although United Methodist rebuilding efforts are largely funded by the North American and European churches, it is Congolese United Methodists themselves who persist in the daily activities of rebuilding the basic functions of their society, day in and day out, far from the gaze of newspaper reporters who report largely from cities along the Congo River. Reporters create the image of the Democratic Republic of Congo for the rest of the world, one that differs from life in Kamina.

If foreign correspondents succeed in getting their articles about Congo accepted by their newspapers, these articles largely report on war-making, political volatility, the absence of government services, the vacuum of leadership, and unemployment. And they should. The complex story of the Congolese war fought from 1998-2001--called "Africa's First World War" because it involved seven African nations and resulted in four million deaths—deserved more attention than it got. In the midst of such a tragedy, negative attention is worse than no attention. But Congo is more than a society of perpetrators and victims. Negative image—true as it is—needs to be balanced by an image of Congolese initiative, leadership, and social and economic rebuilding—an image of Congolese not only as violent war-mongers but also as peacemakers, where and how that is occurring.

Bad news sells newspapers. When the Kansas City Star unveiled its new web page, I was appalled to find that the focal point of the page is Kansas City's crime report. When the Congolese coming to Kansas City form their image of us not by knowing us but by reading the electronic version of our newspaper from afar, we will have to dig the image of Kansas City out of a huge hole. As a practical theologian, however, I am bound by theological claims, not the newspaper market, in the practice of my writing. The Wesleyan heritage teaches that the natural, moral and political image of God in humanity may be distorted and obscured but not obliterated. When the world reports on such
enormity of sin and evil, as important as that is, I consider it my obligation also to write about the image of God in the stranger and the friend. Peacemakers do exist in the Democratic Republic of Congo (and in Kansas City), and bringing Congolese peacemaking efforts to the world's attention warrants the time and energy of Northerners such as myself who can make that image known.


Actually, the United States public can read some surprisingly excellent, if sparse and partial, reporting on Congo. *Newsweek* has published numerous lengthy articles over the last decade, writing each article for an audience that *Newsweek* assumes has not remembered previous articles and knows nothing about Congo.[^5] *Newsweek* articles move deftly from general detail to depth, detailing the illegal trade in diamonds as a launching point to expose the complicity of western lifestyle in perpetuating the war. The story of illegal diamond trade, told by Ron Nordland and Carter Dougherty of *Newsweek*, can be rehearsed for Congo's other mineral wealth—gold, cobalt, coltan—though tracing diamonds represents a savvy choice, as most of *Newsweek*'s readership is sentimentally attached to diamonds.[^6] Furthermore, Tom Masland of *Newsweek* does not mince words when it comes to United States' responsibility. In a few swift sentences he matter-of-factly exposes the bias of United States' government when it initially viewed the war in Congo from the Rwandan government's perspective, probably due to its guilt over doing nothing during the Rwandan massacre.[^7]

Paul Salopek's brilliant coverage of the war for the *Chicago Tribune* demonstrates his deep knowledge of what three reports produced for the United Nations Security Council called the interlocking "triangle of guns, natural resources, and war."[^8] The United Nations reports, whose authors sought witness protection and in some cases changed identities, document the way corporations, organized crime, and nations in Africa, the Middle East, Europe and North America perpetuated the war.[^9] They disclose the names of both cooperative corporations and countries, who voluntarily supplied records and under United Nations guidance or pressure changed their activities, and disingenuous ones, who obstructed the investigation and persist in their ways to this day.

Salopek recounts this story with creative images in words that rivets me to the story and takes my breath away. (He, rather than John LeCarre, author of the spy novel of the Congolese War, *The Mission Song*, communicates the intrigue genuinely present.)[^10] He early on reported the connection between Congo's mineral riches and the war.[^11] With undaunted personal courage in investigative reporting, he sought interviews with leaders of the various militias at the height of the fighting.[^12] He portrays Congo as a "dumping ground" for legal and illegal guns from countries of the former Soviet Union and China in the post-Cold War era. Western guns do not appear as frequently, as they are too expensive.[^13] He, like Tom Masland, reports U.S. accountability: he links current patterns of gun smuggling with the tradition begun by the CIA and KGB, and he holds the United States accountable for the failure of a United Nations conference designed to reduce the flow of guns.[^14] He could have made more of the way the armies of Rwanda and Uganda funded the war with profits from mining, a theme particularly explicit in three United Nations Security Council reports—but perhaps he hoped to outlive the publication of his articles. In one particularly stunning article, he told the story of a gun now in the hands of
a poor Congolese militia fighter, ironically named Grace, that was made by the hands of a poor, unemployed Romanian whose previously robust community had bustled with munitions manufacture. For his reporting Salopek won a well-deserved 2001 Pulitzer Prize and, it seems, a transfer from Kinshasa to Johannesburg, out of Congo, a country where he had "spent more time than I've cared to" and where he found it "hard to love a place that wants to kill you."16

A different picture of Congo emerges from the keyboard of Emily Wax, a thirty-year-old award winning journalist for The Washington Post. She believes that stories about African women are "the story of the century." The empathy for Africans that she communicates in her reporting has garnered the attention of editors and landed her stories on the front page of The Washington Post. While covering Congo she balanced stories of Congo's political and military precipice with stories of the resilience of ordinary people who carried on with their daily activities in the midst of uncertainty--students and professors, a postmaster, and a fan reliving the fight of Muhammed Ali.20 Although The Washington Post continues to report the political and military dynamics of the region, reporters have followed Wax's lead, tailoring stories of small business entrepreneurs. Furthermore, occasional headlines of articles in The Washington Post are unusual. Congo is actually credited with being peaceful: "Congo Practices a Wary Peace," "In Congo, Love Born in Wartime Grows in Peace," "Final Stage of Election in Congo Holds Hopes for Many of Peace," "Historic Vote in Congo is Peaceful."21

So where are the lacunae in this coverage, and are there consequences from that vacuum?

"Where's the peace to keep in Congo?"22

Reading with the benefits of knowing the outcome ten years later, I found interesting trends in the coverage of this dramatic story. Activities in the interior of the country went unreported by the national press. The interior of the Democratic Republic of Congo is hugged in the question mark-shaped outline of the Congo River. This vast territory of the DRC compares in size to Argentina, the whole of Western Europe, the United States east of the Mississippi, or 2/3 the size of India. Most news reports originate from towns on the northern portion of the river, from either Kinshasa, the capital of Congo and the scene of the Mobutu Sese Seko's deposing in 1996 and two years later, the assassination of his successor Laurent Kabila, or the Great Lakes region, which borders Rwanda, Uganda, and Burundi. Salopek leaves the impression that the war is a "river war," largely following the course of the river, and that the interior of the country might be empty, as people fled from the jungle to the cities. Away from the eyes of the national press, the United Methodist Church knew that the interior Congo had its own story to tell.

Nor was politics "stillborn," as Paul Salopek charged in 2001. In the United States an early optimism after Laurent Kabila's successful coup plummeted almost immediately into a persistent pessimism over his and others' willingness to engage the peace process. This skepticism creates shadows over stories about the hoped-for orderly transfer of power after L. Kabila's death in 2001 and after the 2006 elections. The distrust at the Chicago Tribune led the editors in 2001 to oppose the deployment of a United Nations Peacekeeping force, arguing that there was no "peace to keep in Congo." The
Chicago Tribune did offer a positive view of Joseph Kabila's leadership, noting that Colin Powell found Joseph Kabila's inaugural speech "interesting and impressive." Newsweek also noted a change in attitude from Laurent to Joseph Kabila, calling J. Kabila's trip to Washington and willingness to meet with Colin Powell and Rwandan Paul Kagame a "campaign for legitimacy" that his father never sought. By the time of the 2006 elections, however, a discouraging tone cast many articles. Yet the United Methodist Church processes offered a different view of Congo's skeletal politics.

The activities of the church, a regular part of Congolese life, are underreported relative to their importance. They appear as an occasional part of the commentary—specific names of churches or denominations are notably absent. In only four of a hundred and thirty-five articles that I reviewed did specifics emerge. The Nykansanza Roman Catholic congregation's choir was decimated when guns replaced machetes as the arm of choice. The Roman Catholic Church, deemed to have gained the population's respect in and around Kinshasa, threatened a boycott of the election and then relented when its concerns were met. The writings of William Branham, a Kentucky evangelist, were pulled from the pocket of Grace Ikombé, along with bullets. The Kimbanguist Church and other "cults" grew during the war, while "imported Christianity" supposedly "withered." Yet during this time the United Methodist Church grew in Congo, in numbers, participation, activities, reputation, and presence. In fact, it resituated itself to become a major player in the peacemaking, peacekeeping process. What does the United Methodist Church know about peace in Congo that the Chicago Tribune and The Washington Post do not?

Peacemaking Practices in Kamina

Since 2003 the United Methodist Bishop Ntambo Ntanda Nkulu and I have talked about writing a book about "Rebuilding Kamina." That book is next on my writing agenda. We spent a day planning the book in a conversation at the Indianapolis airport on May 9, in anticipation of my visit to Kamina for the month of January, 2008. I began the conversation by saying,

"I want to write about Kamina as a center of peacemaking practices, contrasted against the violence portrayed in Congo."

"It is," he agreed.

In 2000 when the Chicago Tribune thought there was no peace to keep in Congo, Kamina, a city in the interior Congo, was struggling to keep that peace. Peacemaking practices in Kamina began with the practice of resilience, the unwillingness to give in to terror, as Emily Wax writes about—the students and professors who study, even if there seems to be no immediate prospect of a career, the postmaster who opens his office, even if there is no mail, the fan of Muhammed Ali who remembers a glory moment with excitement, anticipating more sporting events to come. In Kamina it began with bricks and mortar, constructing houses and schools, even if they could be destroyed the next day.

In 1999 the war crawled within 20 kilometers of Kamina. Kamina's fragile peace was protected by the Zimbabwean army, which reinforced the Congolese government at Kamina's military base, and the local population, who never abandoned the city. Neither could have held Kamina alone.
The townspeople will tell you the story: building gave them hope. Bishop Ntambo had encouraged the townspeople in building efforts, even after the war broke out. When the militias sent word they were coming and tried to scare the residents into vacating the town, those persons fleeing the city met trucks laden with building supplies coming into Kamina. The residents returned to Kamina and continued building. Building, in a strange way, became a practice of peacekeeping, a sign of stability. The army and the continued presence of the local population discouraged the militias from trying to capture the town.

Peacekeeping, the Bible suggests in many ways, depends on making sure people have something to eat. As the war began to recede from Kamina between 1999 and 2001, Kamina's numbers swelled with internally displaced people. What the United Methodist Church knows is that Kamina, located not on the river but on the railway line, housed a flood of refugees. Children separated from their parents began to congregate around the railway station, and families and parts of families picked their way through the jungle to Kamina from up to a thousand miles away. Internally displaced families built mud huts at the edge of town, and orphaned children camped wherever they could. In early 2003 the last of the displaced United Methodist pastors, who had been hiding in the bush for a year and were assumed to be dead, appeared in Kamina. They came because they sought the care of their bishop, the closest they had to a Biblical good king or good shepherd.

From the time when refugees began to appear until they began to return to their homes in 2004, it was up to the church to feed them — up to the Congolese of the North Katanga conference to organize the growing and harvesting of food and to the United Methodist Committee on Relief, the United Methodist General Board of Global Ministries, and local congregations in North America and Europe to fund agricultural production. In 2003 I asked to speak with some "displaced persons," and on four hours' notice, the sanctuary of the church filled to standing room only with people ready to tell their stories. For two hours they told stories of flight and desperation. Perhaps a fourth of the refugees were present. Others would have come, one speaker said, but they had no clothes.  

In addition to caring for refugees, the church in Kamina supported the native population. Once a thriving city with manufacturing and retail businesses, Kamina's economy collapsed in the mid-1990s under the pressure of political and social volatility. The church in Kamina went about the business of opening construction sites; building churches and parsonages; reconstructing, supplying, and staffing schools; and rehabilitating an old Belgian farm as an agricultural center for training. For all this, the bishop had to raise funds from North Atlantic churches, recruit local leadership, and teach basic theology — especially a theology of non-violence according to Martin Luther King, Jr. Following King's theology the bishop and district superintendents also engaged directly with enemy combatants, persuading them to put aside their arms, when and where it became necessary.

The big news in Congo in 2006 was the long-awaited presidential election. Peacekeeping, in the last year, depended on whether the candidates and the population would accept the results. The United States press reported the overwhelming task of holding elections in Congo. The ballot ran six pages with pictures of the 33 candidates. The 1800 tons of paper were airlifted, trucked, canoed, and bicycled to 46,000 remote poling places. First time voters had to be taught how to mark a ballot. In the first round of voting some ballots were disqualified when people wrote notes about the candidates by
their pictures: "You fool!" or "You are my savior, I love you so much." The United States press repeatedly anticipated violence after the run-off vote between Joseph Kabila and Jean-Pierre Bemba, a vice-president in the interim government who during the war had held most of the eastern Congo over against the government. Concerned about instability, Bishop Ntambo sent Americans in Kamina home. To the surprise of many and living up to the hopes of most, Bemba accepted his loss and the peace held.

A significant number of Congolese United Methodists already understood voting. By 2003 the Congolese United Methodist Annual Conferences had swelled in numbers. The Congolese were eligible to elect 50 delegates to the 2004 United Methodist General Conference in Pittsburgh—5% of the total of 994. Yet the United States consul would not allow the Congolese to execute the results of the election.

When the delegates from the interior who had never traveled to the United States applied for visa from the consul in Kinshasa, the consul was unimpressed. The applicants could not show bank records or titles to other economic assets to assure their reason to return to Congo. She was not persuaded by the reason they wanted to enter the United States, their references, or their leadership position in the Annual Conference. They were asked to wait a few days while she thought about it. Meanwhile, Bishop Ough of Ohio phoned the consul to explain the delegates' responsibility and to guarantee their return. In the end, the consul denied the visas. So much for accepting the results of a democratic election.

"We are teaching democracy," Bishop Ntambo of North Katanga mused ironically. "One woman walked for two weeks to appear in person at the Kinshasa consulate. That poor woman," he said, shaking his head.

Risking Peace of Kamina for the Sake of a Greater Peace

Although peacemaking in Kamina began with small practices of resilience and developed with recognizable practices of democracy, Kamina's reputation for peace called it to risk its peace for a greater peace. The Mai-Mai Peace Conference in Kamina blends the Biblical images of "loving one's enemy," "laying down one's life for one's friend," and "loaves and fishes" into one integrated conflict resolution.

By 2004 the Congolese government noticed the activity, the influx of American money, and the conflict resolution abilities of Bishop Ntambo and the church leaders he was mentoring. The 1999 Lusaka peace accords, brokered by South Africa brought the first possibility of peace to Congo. In 2004 a flaw became apparent in the Lusaka accords and the reconciliation efforts that followed. Though four of the parties with significant followers received a role in the interim government with its four vice-president structure, the Mai-Mai militia had been ignored. The Mai-Mai, a militia that terrorized the countryside and was accused of cannibalism, needed to be brought into the peace negotiations.

The Kabila government with the governor of Katanga Province agreed that a peace conference should be held. The governor approached Bishop Ntambo with the request that he host a peace conference in Kamina.

"It is my dream and my hope," Bishop replied. "Who will be coming?"
"The government, the soldiers, all the leaders from Katanga, and the Mai-Mai, about 120 in all. And we need you to feed them, to lodge them, to transport them," the governor told the bishop.

Initially, the bishop was challenged by the logistical feat, but "I enjoyed it. We were doing reconciliation." And then, the participants began to arrive. A portion of the story is best told in his own words:

"The whole town was under terrors," the bishop says, "because the Mai-Mai came with all their guns. The soldiers, the side of government, came very well armed. And all of them threatening to fight. And the man who they were waiting for was on his way. And when he arrived at ten kilometers, he sent a message. The governor said, I'm not going to host him. Take him to Bishop Ntambo. Because the governor was so afraid of his coming. . .

"This was a Mai-Mai chief, Chinga Chinga. He was taken to my house. When he arrived, just before he entered in my house, he said, Grandpa, I want you to pray for me. He knelt. I prayed for him. He said, we are not going to get peace unless you people get involved. I said, Amen. And he said, I believe in that. I'm not fighting for human beings, I'm fighting for justice. For dignity. I'm defending Kabila. Kabila has brought peace to us. The people are destroyed. . .I'm going to defend Kabila, to protect our own people.

"And instead of being 130 people we had three hundred people. . ."

"How did you feed them?" I asked.

"When I was told I called UMCOR. They sent $10,000 so I was able to buy food in Lubumbashi….cows, fish. (The participants) pretended to be dignitarities. I had to buy food to welcome them. . .besides cows and fish, I had to buy goats and chicken for the key leaders.

"What they found was, beside my position, I was their servant. Humble, understanding, appreciation. Not condemning them. When they're divided we use all wisdom to bring them together. They were enemies, not friends, they were enemies, ready to eat one another. With guns and bullets. . .

"We have all kinds of rituals, all kinds of rules. The chiefs don't eat with anybody, you have to find food for them, personally. And a place to eat separately. And the Mai-Mai were the key people in that conference. You need to treat them as kings. You have to be like slaves to them. I used all the skills of, what is it, diplomacy. All the skills of diplomacy."

Skills of diplomacy, guided by the New Testament.

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1 I would like to express my appreciation to John Oyler, Public Services librarian at the Dana Dawson Library at Saint Paul School of Theology for his assistance with this paper.
Steve Johnson, "Series on the Congo shows why we need to get out more," Chicago Tribune, September 6, 2001. Johnson reports that Ted Koppel apologized on Nightline to the Congolese for failing to cover the war in a distant, hard to access land. Johnson writes, "Globalization," the phenomenon of international interdependence, may be on the rise, but the network nightly newscasts used only one-third as much material from foreign bureaus in 2000 as they did in 1990, according to The Tyndall Report, which monitors the newscasts. Network coverage of international affairs was down by about half over that same period, while the news time devoted to American foreign policy, while more variable, has also been on an overall downward slide.

For this paper I reviewed articles from two national newspapers, the Chicago Tribune and the Washington Post, and from two news magazines, Newsweek and Time. These were chosen from a longer list as the full text of articles is available for free through ebscohost, a library search service. The details reported in Time were inaccurate (the story of Laurent Kabila's assassination was not carefully verified and the Congolese Rally for Democracy was labeled a Ugandan, rather than Rwandan, backed party.) After finding those inaccuracies early in my reading I decided Time would not serve the purposes of this paper.


9 I attempted to find reference to John Holt, the US expert on the five-person panel, on the Internet. I found him on one university program discussing the UN report. His picture, unlike the other participants in the program, was omitted from the publicity. I could find no other news article, bibliography, or biography for John Holt.


13 Today, Russia and China are the leading arms suppliers to Africa. They are followed by cash-strapped Eastern European nations whose aging arsenals are being hawked to the highest bidder—governments, rebels or criminal warlords. Western nations contribute relatively few of their expensive guns to this burgeoning African weapons trade. Still, all give permanent members of the UN Security Council—China, Russia, France, Britain, and the United States—collectively bank hundreds of millions of dollars a year in weapons sales to an impoverished continent that frequently must be rescued by UN peacekeeping missions. Paul Salopek, "Africa Bleeds with the World's Unwanted Guns," Chicago Tribune, December 28, 2001; See also, ---, "Shadowy men run guns, feed fires of war," Chicago Tribune, December 28, 2001.

14 "Alarmed by the suffering that gun smugglers leave in their wake, the United Nations called an unprecedented summit in July to try to curb an estimated $1 billion in illegal small arms deals made every year. By all accounts, that conference was a washout. The U.S. delegation, whose support was vital to reaching a global consensus, opposed any accord that limited its ability to arm friendly rebels. Sensitive to the U.S. gun lobby, Washington's diplomats also blocked any language that impinged on Americans' right to bear arms. "The U.S. should be ashamed of themselves," said South Africa's irate delegate, Jean Du Preez. "We are very disappointed."" Paul Salopek, "Shadowy men run guns, feed fires of war," Chicago Tribune, December 28, 2001.

15 Salopek, "African Bleeds."


17 A summary of Emily Wax's interests and the respect she has garnered among editors at the Washington Post can be found at http://www.womensenews.org/article.cfm/dyn/aid/1893/context/archive

18 http://www.womensenews.org/article.cfm/dyn/aid/1893/context/archive


The actual length and volume of rivers is disputed, depending upon whether estimates begin with the source waters and include tributaries that are not named as part of the river. In some estimates the Congo River is the ninth longest river in the world, following the Nile, Amazon, Langtze, and Yangtze; but it is second in volume (producing 41,800 cubic meters per second) only to the Amazon (producing 219,000 cubic meters per second). Other powerful rivers include the Langtze (31,900) and Mississippi (16,2000).


Democratic Republic of Congo: 2,345,410 square km; Argentina: 2,766,890; European Union: 4,324780; India, 3,287,590; United States including Alaska, 9826630. Source: CIA Factbook.

"Congo's war is to some extent a river war; the Congo River's 7,000 miles of navigable tributaries often define the route of an army's advance. To follow its bent course, then, is to follow the flow of the conflict itself—from the mineral-rich headwaters in Katanga, to the steamy jungles controlled by rebels, to the mighty waterway's final dash for the sea near Congo's forsaken river capital, Kinshasa." Salopek, "Kinshasa's Five Million," January 9, 2001.

When the International Rescue Committee estimated the deaths from the Congo War in 2001, Salopek quoted a Thomas Nziratimana, a spokesperson for the Rwandan-backed Congolese Rally for Democracy, who challenged the statistics, claiming that they were largely gathered only from the Great Lakes region of the country. "Nziratimana said that remote jungles that the group says are full of dying people are in fact largely empty. He said thousands of villages had crowded into eastern Congo's few functioning cities to tide out the war's turmoil. Many Western aid workers disagree. They say that health conditions in the government-controlled half of Congo, while terrible, are not nearly as dire as in the rebel-held east." Salopek, "Death Toll."

Salopek, "Dark Heart."


Paul Salopek, "Africa Bleeds."

Paul Salopek, "Torrents of Civil War Pound Ravaged Congo."


