

# Content

Acknowledgements .....	11
Introduction .....	14
<i>Intermediary Rule and International Intervention 16 * Armed Groups and Liberal Statebuilding 19 * Conflict and Intervention in a Local Space: The Case of Ituri 23 * An Approach of Figurational Sociology 27</i>	
I. Refiguration: International Politics and Societies-at-War.....	37
<i>Discourse and Practice of Intervention 38 * Democracy without Demos 42 * The Legitimacy of Violence 48 * The International Community and its Other 50</i>	
II. Intervention and Invention: The Establishment of Indirect Rule.....	53
<i>Only Cattle, Clans and Clients? Ituri's Pre-colonial Past 56 * The Creation of Intermediaries: Colonial Rule 67 * De-Structured Domination: In the Post-colony 82 * Ituri's Trajectory in the 20th Century 102</i>	
III. New Chiefs in the Far West? Armed Groups in Ituri's Civil War.....	105
<i>Armed Groups as Figurations 107 * Ituri's Armed Groups in the Congo Wars 110 * Unwieldy Intermediaries: The UPDF and its Partners 120 * The New Chiefs? Armed Groups' Leadership 125 * Pressures and Choices: Armed Groups' Membership 136 * The Power of Armed Groups 143</i>	

## IV. Figuration of Uncertainty: International Challenge to Local Militias 146

*Intervention Effect: A New Gaze on National Politics 149 \* Basic Legitimacy by Force: Operation Artemis 151 \* The New Hegemon? Monuc in Ituri 155 \* No Gun, No Voice: Ex-Combatants as Civil Society Organisation 163 \* Matryoshka Rebels: Playing Hide and Seek with Monuc 169 \* The Perils of Uncertainty 182*

## V. The Uneasy Community: International Agencies on the Ground.....187

*"Monuc Has No Intelligence" 193 \* Ituri's International Community 199 \* Jumble in the Jungle 203 \* A Society of Organizations 207*

## VI. Statebuilding and Intermediary Rule.....209

*Local Institutions and International Intervention 210 \* The "Unhappy Marriage": Monuc and FARDC 220 \* Indirect Rule and 21st Century Statebuilding 236*

## VII. Conclusion: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly? Intervention, Rebels, and Rulers.....239

*Continuity and Modifications of Indirect Rule in Ituri 240 \* Exception and Rule: Comparing Ituri 249 \* Colonialism Re-invented? 253*

## Appendix.....257

*Maps 259 \* Abbreviations 263 \* Interviews 266 \* Bibliography 269 \* Index 290*