

# Mapping Conflict Motives: Eastern DRC

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# Editorial

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Antwerp 04 March 2008

**Caption photo Front Page:** Refugees fleeing Sake following combats between FARDC and CNDP in December 2007 (Photo: IPIS)



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# Summary

The eastern DRC is still plagued by violent conflict. The centre of the conflict is the 'Petit Nord' region where two large armed groups, a coalition of smaller bands of armed men and the government army are all involved in a persisting battle causing enormous human suffering. In the neighbouring regions of the 'Grand Nord' and northern South-Kivu open warfare no longer takes place, but there is still a considerable presence of armed groups causing security problems.

Currently, Laurent Nkunda and his CNDP are fighting the other three warring parties.

The CNDP has positioned itself in those areas where previously the Congolese Tutsis were living. The CNDP is not only protecting the interests of the Tutsi people in general but also the specific economic interests of some of its members and sympathisers. It controls the grazing lands used by several rich cattle farmers and two mining areas. The army of Laurent Nkunda is infamous for its brutal human rights violations and the presence of child soldiers among its ranks.

The FDLR have adopted a passive stance vis-à-vis the Rwandan State but they continue to carry arms and frequently use them in military operations against the CNDP. They have chosen to live a hidden life on rough terrain. They are involved in different types of illegal business operations such as illegal mining and drug trafficking (hemp). For some of the FDLR it is probably more attractive to continue these business activities than to return to Rwanda. Especially a small group of 'ex-génocidaires' has an interest in maintaining the status quo. The relationship between the FDLR and the Congolese population is often based on fear and characterised by the tendency to dominate.

The Mayi-Mayi coalition of PARECO claims to defend the Congolese people against foreign armed groups. PARECO is clearly vindictive towards the CNDP. It seeks to conquer the lands that it claims are unrightfully occupied by the CNDP/the Tutsi. The Mayi-Mayi want to prevent the creation of a 'Tutsi Land'.

The FARDC are the official protectors of the Congolese state and its population. The majority of their forces in the region have participated in the offensive against the CNDP. However, in the margins of this central conflict military units retain positions in remote areas where their main motive for deployment is to enrich themselves and their superiors. The FARDC is involved in a wide array of illegal trade for example: the trade of tropical timber in Beni, the trade in illegal drugs (hemp) in Lubero, which is a joint business operation with the FDLR, and the coltan trade in Shabunda. Several units have a bad human rights record.

Although there have been a few reports on military confrontations between the FARDC and the FDLR or the FARDC and Mayi-Mayi groups, in general the three 'armies' tend to cooperate in the fight against the forces of Laurent Nkunda.

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# Introduction

The following report is the second in a series of inquiries into the motives of combatants and their leaders. It applies a new methodological approach using cartography as an analytic tool<sup>1</sup>. This text document constitutes only half of the report. At least as important as the written analysis is the cartographic material that comes with it on the IPIS website ([www.ipisresearch.be/mapping\\_kivu.php](http://www.ipisresearch.be/mapping_kivu.php)).

The report: “Mapping Conflict Motives: the Eastern DRC” reports on the presence of armed groups, including the government army, in the Congolese provinces of North-Kivu and South-Kivu (of the South-Kivu province only the northern half is treated)<sup>2</sup>. It tries to answer the questions which groups are active, where they are quartered, why they are quartered there and what could be done to stop them from causing security problems<sup>3</sup>.

In the report IPIS compares the importance of four different motives: power, greed, grievance and security/survival. For each of them, we have located specific geographic targets on separate map layers. For example, on the map showing greed targets we have included mining areas; on the survival maps we have included the best hiding areas; on the power maps the administrative capitals etc. IPIS then compared the maps containing the geographic targets with maps showing the positions of the different warring parties. From this comparison it has drawn its conclusions using arguments such as: “if a rebel group does not control any important mining site, or it has not attacked one either, its war motives cannot be explained by the abundance of natural resources in the area”.

Since the maps are such an important source of the report, references to them have been added in a column to the left of the text. Whenever an argument is based on information from a specific map, the title of this map is written in that column. The reference system should help the reader to navigate between the textual and cartographic parts of the report.

The maps are not the only source IPIS uses to explain the behaviour of combatants. The general insights generated by the maps are complemented with knowledge gathered in the field and through existing sources.

“Mapping Conflict Motives: the Eastern DRC” has a three-part structure. In the first part of the report the different armed groups are introduced. For each group we examine what reasons it puts forward for fighting, how the movement is structured, where its troops are concentrated and why it is a security problem. In a second part the map collection is presented: how and why they were produced, to what extent the information on the map is reliable etc.

The third and last part is the actual conflict analysis. The map of the Kivu provinces was divided in 3 parts. For each of the three regions the presence and the motives of the armed groups are analysed.

Reliable (security) information on the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is hard to find. Therefore the data on our maps are not exhaustive, although they give a clear indication of the situation. IPIS welcomes any additional information or corrections that could be added to our maps ([mapping@ipisresearch.be](mailto:mapping@ipisresearch.be)).

<sup>1</sup> The methodology used to write the analytic part of this report is described in a handbook (draft version) on the IPIS website: <http://www.ipisresearch.be/maps/handbookweboct07.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> Our study area is comprised between longitudes 26°45' and 30°E, and latitudes 1°N and 3°S.

<sup>3</sup> IPIS looks only into the behaviour and motives of ‘warring parties’. This report does not deal with misbehaviour of other state agents carrying arms such as police officers.

The maps are not only intended to provide answers but also to raise important questions. We invite others to use them as a framework for further thinking and action.

The titles in the left column refer to the map that should be consulted while reading the text.

## Part I: The Conflict Actors

### The CNDP

The 'National Congress for the Defence of the People' (CNDP) is a politico-military movement under the presidency of Laurent Nkundabatware, better known as General Nkunda<sup>4</sup>. It is a recent movement that was launched by Nkunda during the 2006 elections. The CNDP started out as a movement claiming to protect the interests of all Rwandophones in the Eastern DRC. Initially many Congolese Hutus joined the CNDP ranks. However, the attempt to forge a Rwandophone coalition failed and in the meantime, the CNDP has stopped presenting itself in this manner. It is now generally recognised that Nkunda and his movement serve the interests of (at least a part of) the Tutsi minority in the Kivus<sup>5</sup>. Nkunda even tries to create a certain paranoia among the Tutsi population in North-Kivu. In his speeches, leaflets and other political communication he constantly refers to past violence against the Tutsi's and the imminence of genocide<sup>6</sup>. In its political manifesto of December 2006<sup>7</sup> the CNDP has formulated 8 principal objectives. The most important are:

- putting an end to the presence of foreign armed groups on Congolese soil (with a strong emphasis on the 'Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda', FDLR)
- the return of the Congolese refugees abroad<sup>8</sup>
- an independent investigation into the war crimes committed on Congolese soil between 1998 and 2004.
- an alternative integration process for the 'Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo' (FARDC) (different from the current 'brassage' process<sup>9</sup>)
- the federalisation of the DRC

Although the CNDP has a political programme and some political structures (with a political bureau, an executive secretariat etc<sup>10</sup>), it is mainly a military organisation and almost all of its members have a military background<sup>11</sup>. The CNDP troops consist of units from the former 81<sup>st</sup> and 83<sup>rd</sup> Brigades with a 'Rassemblement

<sup>4</sup> General Nkunda is a Congolese Tutsi from the territory of Rutshuru. From 1992 until 1994 he fought with the Rwandese Patriotic Army (RPA) of Paul Kagame. In 1994 he returned to Zaire and in 1996 he joined the ranks of Laurent Desiré Kabila's 'Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo' (AFDL). In 1998 Nkunda enrolled in the 'Rally for Congolese Democracy' (RCD) where eventually he would attain the rank of General. Taken from: Barouski D., *Laurent Nkundabatware, His Rwandan Allies, and the Ex-ANC Mutiny: Chronic Barriers to Lasting Peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo*, 1st Edition, February 2007, 457p.

<sup>5</sup> Interview by IPIS with Tutsi politician in Kinshasa, conducted in November 2007.

<sup>6</sup> International Crisis Group, *Congo: Bringing Peace to North-Kivu*, Crisis Group Africa Report, No 133, October 2007, p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Nkunda L., *Condense Cahier de Charges du CNDP*, December 2006, 3p.

<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile it has become clear that the CNDP focuses mainly on the return of around 45.000 Tutsi refugees in camps in Rwanda (Byumba, Cyangugu, Kibuye, Nkamira and Ngarama), Burundi (Gatumba) and Uganda (Nyakivara).

<sup>9</sup> Military units that underwent 'Brassage' are quartered in another province than their province of origin. Nkunda insists on staying in the 'Petit Nord' close to 'his people'.

<sup>10</sup> The most interesting body of the political pillar of the CNDP is the 'Conseil des Honorables'. The members of this council are shrouded in mystery but it is clear they are influential. It is likely that at least some of the following former RCD members who attended CNDP meetings, have a seat in the 'Conseil des Honorables': Emmanuel Kamanzi, Theophile Mpambuka, Alexis Makabuza, Bertain Kirivita and Bizima Karaha. These names were taken from: Confidential unpublished report of regional expert, September 2007, p. 19.

<sup>11</sup> Research commissioned by IPIS, conducted in January 2008 by local researchers.



Congolais pour la Démocratie' (RCD) background, reinforced with demobilised soldiers from the 'Rwandan Defence Forces' (RDF) and other recruits<sup>12</sup>. For a while, the forces of Nkunda were divided among the mixed brigades of the FARDC (This is explained in detail under the FARDC paragraph), but since they were never mixed beyond the Brigade level they easily regrouped under the banner of Nkunda when the 'mixage' process fell apart. A question that has engaged many national and international observers is to what extent Rwanda supports the CNDP<sup>13</sup>. There is without any doubt logistical support<sup>14</sup>. It is no coincidence that Nkunda controls the border area near Bunagana. However, the fact that there are demobilised soldiers from the RDF among the CNDP troops does not prove the direct implication of Rwanda, because these soldiers are not necessarily Rwandese nationals. There have been numerous Congolese Tutsis who have joined the 'Rwandan Patriotic Front' (RPF) in the early 1990's. A lot of circumstantial evidence on Rwandese nationals within the CNDP does circulate, but it is often small-scale and not irrefutable<sup>15</sup>. For example, in a press release of June 2007 Colonel La Fontaine of the 'Coalition of Patriotic Congolese Resistants' (PARECO, see below) announces that his forces took a 'prisoner of war' (POW) and sums up the POW's name, birthday, place of birth, his parents' names, his uncles' names and the names of his children to prove his Rwandese identity<sup>16</sup>. The bulk of the CNDP forces are Rwandophones. Both Hutu and Tutsi are represented in significant numbers but most of the higher cadres are Tutsi. There is also a small percentage of soldiers and officers from other ethnic groups, such as Hunde, Shi and Nande. The most infamous of the non-Rwandophone CNDP members is General Kakolele (BOX 1).

### BOX 1: General Kakolele

Bwambale Kakolele is a Nande from Beni and vice-president of the CNDP. Before he became the S3 officer<sup>17</sup> in the CNDP army, he was a leading commander of the 'Congolese Revolutionary Movement' (MRC), a rebel group in Southern Ituri. Currently, the MRC is a small movement of less than 200 fighters<sup>18</sup>. However, it is reported that the remnants of the MRC and the 'Allied Democratic Forces/National Army for the Liberation of Uganda' (ADF/NALU) have started to cooperate in the border area between North-Kivu and the District of Ituri. The total number of ADF/NALU combatants is estimated to be around 900<sup>19</sup>. Therefore the question remains to what extent Kakolele has retained his contacts within the MRC and, more widely, whether any link can be established between the MRC, ADF/NALU and the CNDP.

## CNDP

The CNDP occupies two zones in the 'Petit Nord' area of North-Kivu: the grazing lands of Eastern Masisi/Western Rutshuru and the hilly region in Eastern

<sup>12</sup> Mostly soldiers (forcefully) recruited in the areas under CNDP control and recruits originating from Tutsi refugee camps in Rwanda.

<sup>13</sup> A telling example is the report: Wolters S., Trouble in Eastern DRC: The Nkunda Factor, ISS Situation Report, 3 September 2007, 11p.

<sup>14</sup> Sources close to Nkunda have declared to IPIS researchers how, on Monday the 10th of December 2007, 3 helicopters of the Rwandan air force carried out 6 flights each to Kiroliwwe delivering reinforcements of men and arms.

<sup>15</sup> An argument that is often heard are the Rwandese uniforms used by CNDP soldiers. However, this is not hard evidence since many different uniforms are circulating in the region. In December 2007 an IPIS researcher witnessed how a sergeant reported to Colonel Bindu, Chief of Staff of the 8<sup>th</sup> Military Region, on a battle that took place near Katale. The soldier reported that he had searched the bodies of fallen CNDP combatants and that he had found Rwandese money.

<sup>16</sup> La Fontaine K. S., *Communiqué de Presse No 001*, PARECO, 1 June 2007.

<sup>17</sup> An S3 officer in a military unit is in charge of operations.

S2: Intelligence officer

S3: Planning, training and operations officer

S4: Supply/logistics officer

S5: Civil affairs officer

<sup>18</sup> Interview by IPIS with MONUC official in Beni, conducted in November 2007.

<sup>19</sup> Confidential written MONUC source, November 2007.

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Rutshuru where the borders of the DRC, Uganda and Rwanda meet. The CNDP headquarters are situated in the former zone in the village of Kitshanga. Within the territory under his control Nkunda has set up a parallel administrative structure. He controls the police force and the intelligence service. In September 2007 close to 1 million people paid taxes to him<sup>20</sup>.

Although Nkunda and the CNDP claim to bring order and stability to the region, they are a threat to the security of the local population. According to a report by Human Rights Watch, "Nkunda-affiliated units killed, raped, and otherwise injured scores of civilians" in the first half of 2007<sup>21</sup>. The report relates that civilians were killed by CNDP soldiers in several villages of Masisi and especially Rutshuru territory, often because of supposed collaboration with the FDLR. It also gives a lot of attention to sexual violence committed by CNDP troops<sup>22</sup>. The army of Laurent Nkunda is also infamous for the presence of child soldiers among its ranks. There are several accounts of the forced recruitment of minors into the CNDP army. At least 280 students of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> classes of the secondary schools 'Institut Kausa', 'Institut Kanyatsi (Rwanika)', 'Institut Nyakariba', 'Institut Mapinduzi', 'Institut Rushinga', 'Institut Muheto' and 'Institut Burungu' were forcefully gathered and brought to the training camp of Bwiza near Kitshanga<sup>23</sup>.

## The FDLR

Currently the 'Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda' (FDLR) are the largest armed group present in the Kivu provinces. They are a politico-military movement that originates from ex-FAR ('Forces Armées Rwandaises') soldiers, ex-Interahamwe militiamen and Hutu civilians who fled the offensive of the 'Rwandan Patriotic Front' (RPF) in neighbouring Rwanda in 1994. The FDLR are the successor of the 'Armée de Libération du Rwanda' (ALiR), which is in turn the successor of the 'Rassemblement pour le Retour des Réfugiés et la Démocratie au Rwanda' (RDR). The composition of the FDLR today is different from the composition of the RDR initiators in 1995. Whereas a powerful core group of the FDLR movement still consists of Hutus implicated in the 1994 genocide, the large majority is innocent. Many of them are youngsters who were only children at the time of the Rwandese genocide. The exact number of FDLR members with a past of genocide is the subject of some heavy debating (BOX 2).

### BOX 2: The number of genocide suspects among the FDLR

Many different estimations are circulating on the number of 'genocidaires' among the FDLR, a movement of 6000 to 7000 combatants and many more civilians:

In a report from the NGO African Rights, an organisation that is close to the current regime in Kigali, it is claimed there are 'hundreds' within the DRC and 'dozens' abroad.<sup>24</sup>

An elaborate study of researcher Hans Romkema estimates that 200-300 suspects of genocide remain within the FDLR<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> Confidential unpublished report of regional expert, September 2007, p. 18.

<sup>21</sup> Human Rights Watch, Democratic Republic of Congo. Renewed Crisis in North Kivu, October 2007, p. 27.

<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, pp. 34-37.

<sup>23</sup> Research commissioned by IPIS, conducted in January 2008 by local researchers.

<sup>24</sup> African Rights, A Welcome Expression of Intent. The Nairobi Communique and the Ex-FAR/Interahamwe, December 2007, p. 80.

<sup>25</sup> Romkema H., Opportunities and Constraints for the Disarmament & Repatriation Of Foreign Armed Groups in the Democratic Republic of Congo, MDRP commissioned report, June 2007, p. 66.



Alison Desforges of Human Rights Watch has stated that she doubts if any significant number of genocide suspects remain among the FDLR. The FDLR claims there are no more than 3 or 4<sup>26</sup>.

A list circulates within FARDC ranks containing 37 names<sup>27</sup>. The number comes from a reliable source<sup>28</sup>.

A few of names genocide suspects circulate publicly, for example: Major General Sylvestre Mudacamura (Chief of Staff)<sup>29</sup> and Idelphonse Nizeyimana (Deputy to the 2nd Vice-President of the political wing)<sup>30</sup>.

As long as the Rwandan government does not publish a list with genocide suspects among the FDLR the confusion will persist.

In their official communication the FDLR state that they do not seek a military solution for the problems in the region<sup>31</sup>. Their most important demand is the creation of an inter-Rwandan dialogue. The FDLR state they want to return to Rwanda should such a dialogue take place and security conditions be met. Until that time, each combatant can decide individually to repatriate. In reality, most of the rank and file of the FDLR are not aware of the existing repatriation programmes –they are not informed by their superiors- and those who do are too afraid to desert<sup>32</sup>.

Throughout their history the FDLR have known several splinter groups that broke away from the main organisation because of certain disagreements. One of them, the 'Rally for Unity and Development' (RUD), is still active and is large enough to be considered as a serious security hazard (BOX 3).

### **BOX 3: RUD/Urunana**

The RUD is a dissident group of the FDLR headed by Colonel Musare. The military wing of the movement is called Urunana. Its numbers do not exceed 500 combatants<sup>33</sup>. The group has strong ties with Uganda where it recruits and where its political leaders reside<sup>34</sup>. RUD causes security problems in the border area between the Lubero and Walikale territories where they reportedly have committed human rights violations against the local population<sup>35</sup>. The RUD headquarters are situated in Mashuta in the territory of Lubero. The FDLR have tried without success to admit the RUD faction back into their ranks. In January 2008 several confrontations between the two groups have been reported<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> E-mail conversation by IPIS with FDLR representative, February 2007.

<sup>27</sup> Interview by IPIS with FARDC General in Kinshasa, conducted in November 2007.

<sup>28</sup> The number was given to IPIS researchers by a Tutsi General within the FARDC

<sup>29</sup> Romkema H., Opportunities and Constraints for the Disarmament & Repatriation Of Foreign Armed Groups in the Democratic Republic of Congo, MDRP commissioned report, June 2007, p. 45.

<sup>30</sup> Confidential written source, July 2007.

<sup>31</sup> FDLR/FOCA, Les mesures de coercition à l'encontre des forces des FDLR dans *le but de leur désarmement feront-elles fléchir la résistance armée contre le régime de Kigali ?*, 2 December 2007, 8p.

<sup>32</sup> Rafti M., South Kivu: a Sanctuary for the Rebellion of the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda, IOB Discussion Paper, May 2006, p. 19.

<sup>33</sup> Interview by IPIS in Beni with MONUC official, conducted in December 2007.

<sup>34</sup> Centre Résolution Conflits, Root Causes of Conflicts in Grand North, September 2007, 7p.

<sup>35</sup> It is often very difficult to find out whether certain crimes were committed by RUD or the FDLR.

<sup>36</sup> Radio Okapi, Masisi: nouveaux affrontements Maï-Maï contre CNDP, et FDLR contre ses dissidents, 28 January 2008. And Radio Okapi, Katwiguru: combats entre groupes rivaux FDLR, 21 January 2008.

Estimates of the FDLR strength vary but never go below 6000-7000 combatants<sup>37</sup>. Because the FDLR have their origin partially in the former Rwandese army they are structured as a military organisation.

## FDLR

The FDLR army is divided into 3 brigades<sup>38</sup>:

1. The North-Kivu Brigade, composed of 4 battalions, with troop concentrations in Eastern Rutshuru, Western Masisi, Southern Lubero and Eastern Walikale.
2. The South-Kivu Brigade, composed of 4 battalions, with troop concentrations in Fizi, Mwenga and those areas of Shabunda, Walungu and Kabare bordering the Kahuzi-Biega Park.
3. The Reserve Brigade, composed of 3 battalions, with troop concentrations in Kalehe, Southern Masisi and Eastern Walikale.

The Force Commander is General Sylvestre Mudacumura. Until recently, his General Staff and headquarters were situated in Kalonge, in Walikale territory. Because that area was taken by General Nkunda in the autumn of 2007, the HQ has been moved west towards Peti.

Except for the major towns and the territory of Beni in the “Grand Nord”, the influence of the FDLR extends all over the two Kivu provinces. The FDLR military and civilians often live in the same areas as the Congolese population. Some FDLR have married local women and have been integrated in the local community<sup>39</sup>. However, in general, they live rather next to the Congolese than among them. The attitude of the FDLR towards the Congolese population is characterised by the tendency to dominate<sup>40</sup>. The relationship between the Congolese people and the FDLR is often based on fear, which is clearly illustrated by the ‘Story of the Envelope’<sup>41</sup> (BOX 4).

### BOX 4: ‘Story of the Envelope’

The story runs in Zombe (territory of Mwenga), an area under FDLR control. One morning in August 2004, a civilian passes by a tree along the road and finds an envelope beneath it. On the envelope someone has written that “If you want peace in this area you should leave 500 Congolese Francs (the equivalent of 1 dollar) each time you pass this point”. The passer-by decides to put some money in the envelope. The following weeks all villagers passing by the tree pay to the envelope without ever seeing who collects the money.

The FDLR presence in the Kivus is a security problem for two reasons: the FDLR have a history of serious human rights violations and their existence serves as a pretext for Rwanda to interfere in the ongoing conflict on Congolese soil.

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The Human Rights record of the FDLR looks grim. The most reported violations are illegal taxation, extortion, plunder, armed robbery and sexual violence, but also several killings have been reported throughout 2007. With the launch of the mixed Brigades and the consecutive military operations against them, the FDLR troops have abducted at least three local chiefs to deter the local population of

<sup>37</sup> Apart from the ‘real’ combatants who operate within the FDLR army structure, there is also a large number of armed Rwandese Hutu civilians in the area.

<sup>38</sup> The FDLR themselves denominate the North-Kivu and the South-Kivu brigades as divisions. However, bearing in mind that a division usually counts between 10.000 and 15.000 soldiers, this is an enormous exaggeration. Therefore we prefer to speak of brigades, which normally count 3.000 to 5.000 soldiers.

<sup>39</sup> Rafti M., South Kivu: a Sanctuary for the Rebellion of the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda, IOB Discussion Paper, May 2006, pp. 13-14.

<sup>40</sup> Romkema H., Opportunities and Constraints for the Disarmament & Repatriation Of Foreign Armed Groups in the Democratic Republic of Congo, MDRP commissioned report, June 2007, p. 40.

<sup>41</sup> Interview by IPIS in Bukavu with scholar, conducted in November 2007.

collaborating with soldiers of General Nkunda<sup>42</sup>. It is generally assumed that the local chiefs have been killed. Since 2002 the FDLR have been listed by the UN Secretary-General among the armed groups responsible for recruiting child soldiers, sometimes forcefully by abducting them<sup>43</sup>.

Misbehaviour by FDLR units puts the whole movement in an awkward position because it creates serious tensions between them and the community that hosts them. The FDLR rely for their covert existence on the silent tolerance of the Congolese population. From time to time and in certain areas their relationship becomes sour. In the territories of Kabare and Walungu it has reached rock bottom since 2005 with the emergence of the 'Rasta' phenomenon (BOX 5).

### **BOX 5: The 'Rasta'**

In the period May 2005-July 2007, the Nindja and Kaniola areas in South-Kivu were plagued by a series of the most brutal and violent crimes. The night of the 26<sup>th</sup> of May 2007 for example, 17 people were massacred in Kaniola. Those crimes have been attributed to the "Rasta", an armed band of Kinyarwanda speaking men. Random killings, massacres, abductions and sexual violence have become their trademark. Different versions of the composition and background of this group exist. In some of them, the FDLR are mentioned as accomplices of this group or even as the instigators behind it. For instance, the official 'United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo' (MONUC) position until September 2007 ran that there was no difference between the 'Rasta' and the FDLR<sup>44</sup>. However, an in-depth study by the 'Union pour le Développement Intégral' (UPDI) and the 'Life and Peace Institute' (LPI) of December 2007 concludes that they are two distinct groups and that there is little reason to believe the two groups would be cooperating<sup>45</sup>.

The FDLR leadership seemed to be well aware that the 'Rasta' phenomenon is causing them some serious reputational damage among the population, but also within national and international circles. Therefore, they published a press release in March 2007 to distance themselves from this group<sup>46</sup>.

The FDLR problem is inextricably linked with the political situation in Rwanda and therein lies the second reason why they are a security problem. Since 2004, the Hutu militia has stopped carrying out attacks on Rwandese territory. Military analysts agree that they are no match for the Rwandese army and therefore no longer pose a real threat<sup>47</sup>. However, they continue to serve as a pretext for Laurent Nkunda and others to retain a military presence on Congolese soil. On the one hand, the FDLR might lay low for a while and then return to Rwanda as a major force. On the other hand, according to a prominent Tutsi politician in Kinshasa: "the mere fact of their existence, their genocidal past and the racist views of some of their members would be enough reason for any victimised people to seek their disbanding. Europe does not tolerate the continued existence of the Nazi ideology either"<sup>48</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> Human Rights Watch, Democratic Republic of Congo. Renewed Crisis in North Kivu, October 2007, pp. 38-39.

<sup>43</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>44</sup> UPDI & LPI, Violence et insécurité à Nindja/Kaniola. Le phénomène "Rasta", unpublished report, December 2007, pp. 14-15.

<sup>45</sup> Ibidem, pp. 18-21. The study does indicate, though, that other armed groups, such as the FDLR, may blame the 'Rasta' for crimes they committed themselves.

<sup>46</sup> FDLR/FOCA, Les Forces des FDLR ne sont pas des Rastas, 24 May 2007, 4p.

<sup>47</sup> Interviews by IPIS in the DRC, conducted in November/December 2007.

<sup>48</sup> Interview by IPIS with Tutsi politician in Kinshasa, conducted in November 2007.

# The FARDC

Because of the war situation there is a large FARDC presence in the Kivu provinces. In North-Kivu alone, units of 10 different FARDC Brigades have been deployed. Three different types of Brigades are active in the region:

1. The integrated Brigades are army units composed of soldiers with a different background (ex-RCD, ex-MLC, ex-Mayi-Mayi or government) and coming from different regions. Soldiers from the integrated Brigades have gone through the 'Brassage' process in one of the military centres<sup>49</sup>. None of the army units originally deployed within the North-Kivu province has gone for 'Brassage'.
2. The mixed Brigades have been created as a result of negotiations in Kigali between delegations from the FARDC, headed by the Air Force Chief of Staff John Numbi, and General Nkunda in December 2006. It was agreed that 2 Brigades loyal to General Nkunda (the 81<sup>st</sup> and the 83<sup>rd</sup>) would be mixed with three FARDC Brigades loyal to Kinshasa (the 110<sup>th</sup>, 116<sup>th</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> Reserve Brigade) into 5 –later 6- new Brigades. The 'new' Brigades were named: Alfa, Bravo, Charlie, Delta, Echo and Foxtrot. The 5 Brigades that finally went through the 'mixage' process (the Foxtrot Brigade never became operational) were only mixed at the Battalion level<sup>50</sup>. The fact that those Brigades were never mixed beyond Battalion level means that each individual Battalion still retained its own loyalty. In total, the 6 mixed Brigades would have numbered slightly over 7000 soldiers, making it unusually small units. Both constituting parties were more or less equally represented. Following the FARDC announcement on the 11<sup>th</sup> of August that the military operations against the FDLR were suspended and with the renewed fighting in August 2007 between army units under the control of Laurent Nkunda and the FARDC troops loyal to Kinshasa, the system of 'mixage' fell apart<sup>51</sup>. The different Battalions and Brigade headquarters returned to their old loyalties and fought among each other<sup>52</sup>. Today elements of the former Charlie and Bravo Brigades under the command of Colonel Philemon Yav remain in the area of Katale and Masisi. The remaining units of the Echo and Delta Brigades under the command of Colonel Jonas Padiri still operate in the area around Sake<sup>53</sup>.
3. In the 11 'territoires' and 4 'villes' that constitute our study area two Brigades are still deployed that have neither been mixed nor have they gone through 'brassage': the 85<sup>th</sup> Brigade in Walikale and the "Combat Group" in Kalehe/Kabare.

## FARDC

## INCIDENTS

FARDC soldiers are implicated in a considerable number of human rights violations throughout the region. On our incidents map we find several security incidents with civilian victims where FARDC have been involved. In its latest report on North-Kivu of October 2007 Human Rights Watch states that: "...Congolese army soldiers have committed killings, arbitrary arrests, detention, crimes of sexual violence as well as looted the property of civilians"<sup>54</sup>. The FARDC are especially notorious for their direct and indirect involvement in the illegal traffic of mineral resources and other goods. Concrete cases will be discussed below.

<sup>49</sup> For more detailed information on the 'Brassage' process see: Spittaels S. & Meynen N., Mapping Interests in Conflict Areas: Katanga. IPIS report, June 2007, pp. 8-10.

<sup>50</sup> Interview by IPIS in Kinshasa with MONUC official, conducted in November 2007.

<sup>51</sup> International Crisis Group, Congo: Bringing Peace to North-Kivu, Crisis Group Africa Report, No 133, October 2007, pp. 12-13.

<sup>52</sup> The Delta Brigade in Kichanga and the Bravo Brigade in Rutshuru were controlled by commanders loyal to General Nkunda. Officers loyal to Kinshasa commanded the Charlie and Echo Brigades. The Alpha Brigade was headed by Colonel Jean-Claude Mosala, the former deputy of Mutsebutsi. Confidential written EUSEC sources, August 2007.

<sup>53</sup> Confidential written EUSEC sources, August 2007.

<sup>54</sup> Human Rights Watch, Democratic Republic of Congo. Renewed Crisis in North Kivu, October 2007, p. 43.

## BOX 6: FARDC, FDLR and Mayi-Mayi collaboration

Although there have been a few reports on military confrontations between the FARDC and the FDLR or the FARDC and Mayi-Mayi groups, in general the three 'armies' tend to cooperate in the fight against the forces of Laurent Nkunda. PARECO representatives make little secret of the fact that, during the large-scale FARDC offensive against the CNDP in December 2007, they geared their military operations to the operations planned by the FARDC<sup>55</sup>. The three warring parties have a good understanding and coordinate their efforts but they shroud their cooperation in secrecy. FDLR and PARECO will never attack together with the FARDC but they will execute complementary operations from nearby positions<sup>56</sup>. Especially the cooperation between the FARDC and the FDLR is a sensitive issue both partners will deny in public. However, in private and to people they trust, FDLR representatives will confirm the cooperation<sup>57</sup>. The FDLR receive weapons from the FARDC. In June 2007 FDLR units received at least 4 small deliveries of arms from the 85<sup>th</sup> FARDC Brigade and several small deliveries from FARDC Colonel Rugayi in March, May and June of the same year<sup>58</sup>. Deliveries certainly continued until the offensive of December 2007 because on the 11<sup>th</sup> of December 2007 a shipment of arms was delivered to the FDLR at Nyanzale by FARDC Colonel Akilimali<sup>59</sup>.

## CONFLICT ACTORS

If we take a closer look at our positional maps, it is difficult to imagine that the FARDC, PARECO and the FDLR would not be coordinating their efforts. On our maps we can find several places where PARECO and the FDLR are quartered in the same village. The same goes for the FARDC and the FDLR. If we take the road between Goma and Rutshuru (and beyond) for example, the positions of the FARDC and the FDLR seem to alternate. FARDC soldiers from the 6<sup>th</sup> Brigade hold positions all along the track<sup>60</sup>. However, at the same time, several FDLR officers confirm that they are in control of the same stretch of road<sup>61</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> Interview by IPIS in Mugunga with PARECO representatives, conducted in December 2007.

<sup>56</sup> Ibidem. According to the same sources, the FARDC sometimes have to rely on direct FDLR support because they are the only ones who know how to operate some of their heavy weaponry (the FDLR are commonly called 'the technicians').

<sup>57</sup> Interviews by IPIS in Brussels and Goma with Congolese and Rwandese Hutus, conducted in November and December 2007.

<sup>58</sup> Confidential written source by regional expert, July 2007, 2p.

<sup>59</sup> Interview by IPIS in Mugunga with PARECO representatives, conducted in December 2007.

<sup>60</sup> When IPIS researchers visited the area in December 2007 they came across a series of small FARDC watch posts. In between two of these posts they spotted an FDLR camp less than 100 metres from the side of the road.

<sup>61</sup> Interview by IPIS in Kiwanja with FDLR representatives, conducted in December 2007.



## MAYI-MAYI

### The Mayi-Mayi

The Mayi-Mayi are traditional local defence militias. The term 'Mayi-Mayi'<sup>62</sup> is used as a common denominator for all self-defence groups that operate in the Kivus and beyond<sup>63</sup>. The bulk of the Mayi-Mayi groups in the Kivus are active in North-Kivu. Besides some smaller groups, the main Mayi-Mayi force in the area is the Coalition of Patriotic Congolese Resistants. PARECO is an alliance of several Mayi-Mayi groups. The leadership of the coalition is in the hands of the ill-reputed Colonel La Fontaine of the Nande ethnicity. The other chiefs who have joined PARECO are Colonel Mugabo of the Hutu ethnicity, Colonel Ntasibanga of the Hunde, Colonel Blaise of the Nyanga, and Colonel Kirikicho of the Tembo. Recently also Mayi-Mayi chief Chomachoma of the Havu ethnicity has joined PARECO<sup>64</sup>. The coalition was brought together at the beginning of 2007 (the political memorandum of association dates from the 14<sup>th</sup> of March 2007). PARECO claims it fights to defend the marginalised Congolese people who suffer from the enduring warfare between the Nkunda elements and the FDLR<sup>65</sup>. It denounces first and foremost the creation of the mixed Brigades because it believes this will lead to the foundation of a 'Tutsi-Land'. PARECO vehemently opposes the return of the Tutsi refugees to the territories of Masisi and Rutshuru<sup>66</sup>.

Since its inception PARECO has grown rapidly into a significant force. According to their own sources, their numbers amount to approximately 3500 fighters<sup>67</sup> but this seems unlikely. Their armed forces are organised in 4 sectors. In those areas where they are military weak they cooperate with the FDLR. They have a good working relationship and together they have launched several military operations against Nkunda. PARECO generates an income from mining and other commercial activities. They buy weapons from the FARDC.

In the 'Grand Nord' smaller bands of Mayi-Mayi fighters are still active and cause security problems to the local population. The most severe problems are caused by Mayi-Mayi of the Baraka group. Baraka is the son of the deceased Mayi-Mayi chief Lolwako, from whom he inherited his movement. The child is rumoured to be only 7 years old<sup>68</sup>. The child Baraka is the centre of the group and gives it its identity but he is not the one who makes the decisions. The true leadership of his group is divided among several commanders: Mutsunga, Mbilika, 'Sarayevo', 'Ngamba Dola'<sup>69</sup> and 'Wamwanya'<sup>70</sup>. Each of them commands a unit of 6 to 12 fighters. The different units of the Baraka group sometimes fight among each other.

In the past many more Mayi-Mayi groups were active in the North-Kivu province. Most of them have either joined PARECO or went for 'brassage'<sup>71</sup>. However, new groups may come up at any time when old patrons stir (BOX 7).

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<sup>62</sup> Mayi literally means 'water' in Swahili, which refers to the importance of water during their most important magic ritual, which grants them immunity against bullets.

<sup>63</sup> Also in the province of Katanga, during the Congo wars and transition, a lot of Mayi-Mayi groups were active. A detailed account of the current status of this phenomenon can be found in: Spittaels S. & Meynen N., Mapping Interests in Conflict Areas: Katanga. IPIS report, June 2007, 44p. and the consecutive updates at: <http://www.ipisresearch.be/updates-katanga.php>.

<sup>64</sup> Interview by IPIS in Mugunga with PARECO representatives, conducted in December 2007.

<sup>65</sup> PARECO, Déclaration Politique de la Coalition des Résistants Patriotes Congolais, 14 March 2007, 3p.

<sup>66</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>67</sup> Interview conducted by IPIS in Mugunga with PARECO delegation, conducted in December 2007.

<sup>68</sup> Research commissioned by IPIS, conducted in January 2008 by local researchers.

<sup>69</sup> Literally: 'I need Dollars'.

<sup>70</sup> Interview by IPIS in Beni with MONUC official, conducted in December 2007.

<sup>71</sup> The Mayi-Mayi Commanders Jackson (Lubero) and Kasereka (Rutshuru) both went for 'brassage', which was a blessing for the people in the region. Warfare between Mayi-Mayi Commanders Jackson and La Fontaine in the past had caused a refugee flow of over 50 000 people.



### **BOX 7: The Mayi-Mayi 'patron' phenomenon**

Modohu Fabien Kukuma is a textbook example of a Mayi-Mayi patron. He is an ex-Senator who sustained a group of Mayi-Mayi fighters called 'Handule' for several years. The majority of his old band, among which the leading figures Kasero Surambaya and General Munzenze, went for 'brassage'.

According to several sources, however, the old patron has started to recruit new men to revive the movement<sup>72</sup>. He has organised meetings at his residence to engage new combatants. The new recruits remain at their respective houses but they can be called upon when the need arises<sup>73</sup>.

## **INCIDENTS**

The behaviour of the scattered groups of Mayi-Mayi in the 'Grand Nord' resembles the behaviour of ordinary bandits. On the 29<sup>th</sup> of October Mayi-Mayi of the Baraka group attacked two villages in the territory of Beni<sup>74</sup>. They pillaged the settlements and killed at least one civilian.

PARECO is a recent movement. So far little human rights violations have been attributed to them. However, currently they are one of the major threats to the peace process initiated in Goma on the 6<sup>th</sup> of January 2008 because throughout the months of January and February several military confrontations between the CNDP and PARECO have been reported in the 'Petit Nord'. For some of these incidents it is assumed that PARECO instigated them.

<sup>72</sup> Interviews by IPIS in Beni and Butembo, conducted in December 2007.

<sup>73</sup> Research commissioned by IPIS, conducted in January 2008 by local researchers.

<sup>74</sup> Radio Okapi, Kivira: un mort, 3 blessés et un adolescent enlevé lors d'une attaque, 30 October 2007.

## Part 2: Presentation of the map collection

Below we discuss the different maps which are an integrated and essential part of this analysis. They can be consulted on the IPIS website:

[www.ipisresearch.be/mapping\\_kivu.php](http://www.ipisresearch.be/mapping_kivu.php)

### Cartographic sources

Accurate, complete and up-to-date cartographic material on the Democratic Republic of Congo is very rare. The main cartographic source for our maps are the vector data of the so-called “**Référentiel Géographique Commun**” (RGC), a project in progress<sup>75</sup>. For a part of our study area, namely northern South-Kivu and southwestern North-Kivu, we could also use the ‘Spacemaps of Kivu’, created in 2003 by the Department of Geography of the University of Ghent on behalf of the Royal Museum for Central Africa in Tervuren, Belgium (RMCA)<sup>76</sup>. The Kivu Spacemaps are generally more accurate than the RGC and they also show data on mining areas, but since they do not cover our whole research area we used the RGC as a basis. Unfortunately, when these two sources are combined, the difference in precision between them produces a shift in the position of the map features, most notably the mining areas: the location of these areas is correct (based on Spacemaps), but the ‘background’ of the map (villages, roads, rivers, ...) is not (based on RGC).

But the main problem for anyone trying to map events and positions in the DRC is to locate them, since many villages and even towns are completely missing on the existing maps. What is more, different reports mentioning the same village often contradict each other as to its location (or its spelling). In some cases, local people could give an approximate location of certain places, in others, we placed the information on certain events in the capital of the territory where they took place (see below).

Other, more specific sources will be mentioned below in the discussion of the separate maps.

### The basic map ‘Eastern DRC’

#### EASTERN DRC

The Eastern DRC map is the necessary background on which our security information is projected. It contains basic geographical information such as the borders of provinces and territories, villages and towns, roads, rivers and streams, lakes, parks, airstrips, vegetation and land use. Sources are the RGC and, for land cover and relief, data of the Royal Museum for Central Africa (Tervuren).

### The ‘dynamic’ maps

The dynamic maps visualise the presence of armed groups in the region (including the regular army). Because combatants move, the information given is only valid for a limited period of time. In this case, it relates to the situation from September 2007 until January 2008. We have drawn 4 dynamic maps on the deployment of troops. There is one for each of the four parties that have been involved in violent

<sup>75</sup> The project was initiated in the beginning of 2006 by the United Nations Joint Logistics Center (UNJLC), taken up in December 2006 by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) for 6 months and now, since July 2007, coordinated by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

<sup>76</sup> The area that overlaps our research area is comprised between longitudes 26°45’ and 29°E, and latitudes 1° and 3°S.

**FARDC  
CNDP  
FDLR  
MAYI-MAYI**

conflict: the FARDC, the CNDP, the FDLR and the Mayi-Mayi. The maps contain basic information on the strength and the commanders of the units, as well as the exact location where they are quartered. All four layers are based on input from international military observers, complemented and corrected with information from international aid workers and Congolese civilians working in the field. The input was collected by IPIS researchers through interviews in the region. A fifth map combines the deployments of the four parties and of the smaller groups 'Rasta' and ADF/NALU. We have named it 'Conflict actors'.

**CONFLICT  
ACTORS  
INCIDENTS**

A different dynamic map indicates the human rights incidents in which combatants have been involved. The incidents are represented on the maps by different symbols according to the type of violation and the perpetrator. For each event additional information is given on the exact date, place and the parties involved. Where it was impossible to locate the place of a specific event, we have placed the information on that event in the capital of the territory where it took place. The incident layer serves a double purpose. On the one hand, it shows where armed elements have been active, on the other hand, it gives us the opportunity to examine some specific events that may give an indication of the motivation of the combatants involved. The events included in the incident layer are based on data from MONUC and the available reports on human rights violations in the region.

### **The 'static' maps**

The static maps represent our geographical transcription of military motives in the conflict environment of the Eastern DRC. These motivating factors are less subject to change. Many military motivations can even be translated into permanent geographic features. We distinguish between four types of war motivations. For each of these we have created specific maps.

A first war motivation is greed. A greed map should give an overview of all the places in the Eastern DRC where armed men can make a profit. We have created two such layers.

**NATURAL  
RESOURCES**

The 'natural resources' map represents the mineral wealth in the region. It shows all types of minerals found at mining sites throughout the region. The resources map is based mainly on the "Mineral occurrences database and GIS map of the Democratic Republic of Congo", published in 2004 by the Royal Museum for Central Africa in Tervuren & GF Consult. Unfortunately, the location of the different mineral occurrences is not always precise, because based chiefly on data from Belgian colonial archives. Another source, more up-to-date but covering only a part of our study area, are the 'Spacemaps of Kivu' (see above). With respect to some specific cases we have added mining sites that were pinpointed to us by local interviewees.

**TRADE ROUTES**

In a second edition of the maps a 'trade routes' map will be added. This map explains how minerals and agricultural products are transported from the production centres to the markets, cities and border crossings. These routes are of great economic importance because whoever controls them can levy considerable taxes in a relatively lawless area such as the Kivu provinces. The data on the trade routes has been gathered through interviews with local people and taken from existing reports on trade.

A second war motivation IPIS distinguishes is grievance. Grievance is a motive that is generally attributed to those who fight the state. Our grievance maps of the Eastern DRC should represent the problems and needs of the CNDP, FDLR and Mayi-Mayi fighters. The translation of grievance motives in geography is a chal-

## TUTSI REFUGEES

lenging conceptual exercise. Following the guidelines of our handbook 'Mapping Conflict Motives in War Areas'<sup>77</sup>, we have tried to answer the questions: Which injustices do they denounce? What are their needs? And what do they want to achieve?

The five major objectives of the CNDP were discussed above<sup>78</sup>. We can verify three of them geographically. On our 'Tutsi refugees' map we have indicated the villages where, previously to the successive Congo wars, there was a significant number of Tutsi inhabitants. If the CNDP wants to ensure the safe return of the Tutsi refugees, it will attempt to control these settlements. The FDLR map serves a double purpose because we can also use it to check whether the expulsion/eradication of the FDLR is a military target for the CNDP. The CNDP grievance of 'federalism' can be checked on any of our maps because anyone who wants to make a serious case for federalism has to control one (or several) of the provincial capitals. The objectives of army integration and restorative justice cannot be verified geographically.

The one major grievance of the FDLR, the return to Rwanda, does not need a specific map either. If they want to obtain their return by force, they need to position themselves in strategic areas that allow them to launch operations on Rwandese soil. This is something we can check on our 'strategic map' (see below).

Mayi-Mayi movements claim that their primary reason of existence is to protect the local population from violence or oppression. Mayi-Mayi driven by such grievances will engage the forces causing the security problem. We can compare the Mayi-Mayi positions with the FDLR, CNDP and FARDC maps without having to produce a separate map.

## ETHNIC

A much discussed type of grievance-motivated wars are ethnic conflicts. To include the factor of ethnicity in our research, in the second edition of the maps we will add an 'ethnic map' that shows the most important ethnic groups at the level of the different sectors and chiefdoms. For this purpose we had to draw additional administrative boundaries on our maps, based on a CEPAS (Centre d'Etudes Pour l'Action Sociale) atlas of the administrative organisation of the DRC. The data on the division of the different ethnic groups was gathered by local experts commissioned by IPIS. It is a crude estimate that most likely diverges from the real demographic situation but is still a useful element.

## STRATEGIC

A third important motivation that may drive warring parties is power. A power map shows those areas where power can be gained or lost. In the DRC there are two parallel power systems that have been integrated to a certain extent. On the one hand, there is the official state system involving positions that represent a certain level of power. On the other hand, a traditional system of customary power exists. The power centres of the official state system are located in the provincial capitals and the 'chef lieux'<sup>79</sup> of the different sectors. The traditional power centres are situated in the 'chef lieux' of the chiefdoms. All these towns are indicated on our basic 'Eastern DRC map'. In the second edition a separate map layer will be added to show the most important military power centres in the region. The 'strategic' map highlights those geographic features that possess a certain power potential. The map was produced with the help of international military observers in the DRC.

A fourth and last motivation examined in this report is security/survival. A survival map should represent all geographic features that contribute to the fulfilment of

<sup>77</sup> <http://www.ipisresearch.be/maps/handbookweboct07.pdf>

<sup>78</sup> Nkunda L., Condense Cahier de Charges du CNDP, December 2006, 3p.

<sup>79</sup> French for the principal place/capital.

## **FOOD SECURITY**

the basic physiological needs of human beings, as well as those areas where they can hide when their physical security is under threat. We have created two separate layers. The first layer, 'food security', shows the major access areas to food, housing and water, such as rivers, farmland, fishing grounds, hunting grounds and urban areas. It is an enhanced version of the basic 'Eastern DRC' map, on which we have highlighted the relevant areas.

## **HIDEOUT**

The 'hideout map', our second security layer, marks the most important jungle and mountain areas, because this is where combatants seeking refuge are likely to move to. Areas with dense vegetation are indicated in green. We have also added a buffer zone of 20 km around every district capital and 10 km around every road, because we can assume these areas are regularly patrolled by the FARDC or the police. This is a general criterion postulated by IPIS, which does not take into account the specificity of certain situations and is open to refinement and discussion.

### **The report map**

## **REPORT**

The report map functions as the cartographic version of a column 'further reading/further reference'. It comprises a single layer displaying a number of hyperlinks. The links are connected to specific locations and redirect the user to reports, analyses, articles and other written material on that particular area. Hyperlinks to documents on security related issues within North-Kivu and South-Kivu as a whole were attached to their respective capitals Goma and Bukavu.

# Analysis

## The 'Grand Nord'

When people write or talk about North-Kivu they often refer to the Southern part of the province as the 'Petit Nord' and to the Northern part as the 'Grand Nord'. Although legally the two regions are not distinctive administrative units, in practice there is a clear distinction between them because of historical and ethnic reasons.

### EASTERN DRC

The 'Grand Nord' comprises the territories of Lubero and Beni and two 'villes': Beni and Butembo. The large majority of the population belongs to the Nande ethnicity, the same group that lives across the Ugandan border. Whereas Beni is the administrative capital of the area, Butembo is the commercial heart. During the war years, the 'Grand Nord' was occupied by a splinter group of the RCD, the 'RCD-Liberation Movement' (RCD-KML)<sup>80</sup>. The area is known for its fast recovery from the war period. Business is thriving and especially in Butembo new buildings are being erected all over the town.

### Presence of FDLR

### FDLR

FDLR presence is limited to the Southern part of the territory of Lubero, near the border with Rutshuru and Walikale. The 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion of the North-Kivu Division under the command of Lt. Colonel Damas holds several positions in this area. The Battalion controls the whole border area of the three territories except for the larger town centres. There are a few liaison posts of the FDLR further up north but they are of minor importance. Due to the reduced presence of the FARDC at the end of 2007 (see below) for a while the FDLR had the tendency to publicly exert control over several towns. This situation has ended.

Apart from the FDLR, its dissident movement RUD holds positions in the area, their headquarters being in Mashuta village. In the past there have been violent clashes between the two groups. In late January 2008 there has been a new flare-up of such hostilities.

### Motives of FDLR

### STRATEGIC

There does not seem to be much in the area that could motivate the FDLR to retain its positions: the FDLR units in southern Lubero are quite a distance from the Rwandan border. Consequently, they cannot launch operations on Rwandese soil from these positions. The FDLR only occupy rural areas. Administratively and politically they have little or no power in the 'Grand Nord'. Historically there has never been a Tutsi presence in the area and the CNDP is too far away from them to participate in combats against Nkunda. The 'Unde' mine lies in the territory they control but, apart from that, there are few natural resources.

### NATURAL RESOURCES

### FOOD SECURITY TRADE ROUTES

There are two possible explanations. From a strategic viewpoint, the area is the backyard of the General FDLR Headquarters and the headquarters of the North-Kivu division. Therefore it needs a military presence for protection. On the other hand, FDLR troops have been stationed in the area since a long time. They have families and they have found ways to make a profit. Southern Lubero might be poor in terms of mineral resources but it has a fertile soil and it lies in the middle of the major route that leads to the Ugandan and Rwandan border crossings. FDLR

<sup>80</sup> The leader of the RCD-KML, Mbusa Nyamwisi, is the current Minister of Foreign Affairs but politically still very influential in the region. He is originally from Butembo.



combatants have used these favourable conditions to organise a lucrative drug traffic. They run the business together with FARDC soldiers (BOX 8).

## EASTERN DRC

## FARDC

### BOX 8: The traffic of hemp ('chanvre')

In the border area of Lubero, Walikale and Rutshuru, enormous amounts of 'chanvre' –the local variety of cannabis<sup>81</sup>– are cultivated. The FDLR control most of the production. The most important fields are situated in the villages of Ikobo, Rusamambu, Bukumbirwa, Buleusa, Miriki, Luofu, Lusogha, Kanandavuko, Lueshe, Mirangi and Kateku. The drugs are cultivated by the local population and the FDLR, who control most of the production. Every harvest period approximately 10 tons of hemp are being produced<sup>82</sup>.

The biggest trade centre is located in Miriki on the border of the Lubero and Walikale territories. The principal buyers are wives of FARDC officers<sup>83</sup>. The 9<sup>th</sup> Brigade controls the route to Goma via Rutshuru. The officers' wives are the 'négociants' (traders) who buy the drugs; their husbands facilitate the transport. Also the 2<sup>nd</sup> Brigade, which previously had a Company deployed in the area, has been involved in the drugs traffic for a long time<sup>84</sup>.

The transport is organised during the night. Youngsters, escorted by FDLR elements, carry bags of 60 kilos of hemp on their backs from the villages to the road. The drugs are loaded on trucks and hidden beneath a layer of manioc bags. The trucks leave from the towns of Kayna, Kanyabayonga or Kirumba<sup>85</sup>. A part of the hemp is consumed locally. There is a significant demand in Goma<sup>86</sup>. The hemp that is not meant for local consumption is 'exported' to Rwanda and Uganda. It crosses the border in Kasindi and Bunagana for Uganda, and in Goma and Bunagana for Rwanda.

The traffic is very profitable. A 60kg bag of harvested hemp costs 30\$ in the villages where the plants are being cultivated<sup>87</sup>. In Kayna and Kanyabayonga it is sold for 60 or 70\$. In Goma the hemp is treated and cut. In Gisenyi (Rwanda) a kilo of the final product is worth 90 to 100\$.

The most important FDLR officers involved in the drugs traffic are the commanders Kanyarugano, Bruce, Nsengiyunva and Mushale. On the FARDC side, Captain Maimuna, Commander Justin and Captain Kabengele of the 2<sup>nd</sup> FARDC Brigade, previously deployed in the area, received earnings from the ongoing traffic<sup>88</sup>. Reportedly also the new soldiers (and their wives) currently deployed in Kayna/Kanyabayonga are taking a keen interest in the hemp traffic<sup>89</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> <http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/chanvre>

<sup>82</sup> Research commissioned by IPIS, conducted in January 2008 by local researchers.

<sup>83</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>84</sup> Interview by IPIS in Butembo with people from local NGO, conducted in December 2007.

Before they were moved to the 'Grand Nord', the 2nd Brigade controlled the export axis to Kasindi via Beni.

<sup>85</sup> Research commissioned by IPIS, conducted in January 2008 by local researchers.

<sup>86</sup> Camp Katindo is a popular place for buying 'chanvre'.

<sup>87</sup> The price of a goat is also 30\$, the same price as a 60kg bag of hemp. This has led to the phenomenon of 'a goat for hemp': goats are traded for bags of 'chanvre'. Because of this practice goats have become a popular object of theft and pillaging by both FDLR and FARDC. Source: Interview by IPIS in Butembo with people from local NGO, conducted in December 2007.

<sup>88</sup> Research commissioned by IPIS, conducted in January 2008 by local researchers.

<sup>89</sup> Interview by IPIS in Goma with people from local NGO, conducted in December 2007.

To a lesser extent also a Mayi-Mayi unit of PARECO, under the command of Major Kafwenye and deployed in the production centres of Kateku and Buleusa, profits from the drug trade.

### Presence of Mayi-Mayi

## MAYI-MAYI

Most of the military units of PARECO are deployed in the region of the 'Petit Nord' but the headquarters of its leader, Colonel Kakule Sikula La Fontaine, are situated in the town of Bonyatenge in the territory of Lubero. Together with La Fontaine approximately 1000 Nande Mayi-Mayi fighters live in the area.

Further to the north, different units of the child Baraka operate within the triangle Vurondo-Kahamba-Mbilinga. This group has no fixed headquarters<sup>90</sup>. The Mayi-Mayi of the Barake group commit serious human rights violations against the local population. They are infamous for their brutal acts of pillage, extortion and rape.

### Motives of Mayi-Mayi

Bonyatenge, the fief of Colonel La Fontaine, is the only PARECO position far from the war front with the CNDP. There does not seem to be any need for him to retain a substantial armed force in this area, which is relatively secure. That a large contingent of troops is protecting La Fontaine's headquarters is probably due to the fact that he only recently won the struggle for Mayi-Mayi leadership against his main opponent Commander 'Jackson'<sup>91</sup>. Several Mayi-Mayi leaders in the region have been killed the past years<sup>92</sup>. La Fontaine, who has become the only significant Mayi-Mayi leader among the Nande, needs to consolidate his position.

## INCIDENTS

The Mayi-Mayi of the Baraka group roam in a scarcely populated area. There are no armed groups nearby against whom the local population needs to be protected. On the contrary, our incidents map indicates that they themselves are the biggest security problem in the area. The Baraka Mayi-Mayi have no reason left to keep carrying arms except to use them for mere acts of banditry. They sustain themselves by regularly pillaging neighbouring villages and by digging for gold in several mines close to their positions<sup>93</sup>. The area is clearly very well suited to hide and survive. Several of the Mayi-Mayi probably fear prosecution for the crimes they have committed and are therefore not eager to surrender.

## HIDEOUT

### Presence of FARDC

## FARDC

The FARDC deployment in the 'Grand Nord' has changed several times in 2007. At first, two complete integrated Brigades, the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 9<sup>th</sup>, controlled the area. Later, because of the military operations against Nkunda, the complete 2<sup>nd</sup> and half of the 9<sup>th</sup> Brigade left for the 'Petit Nord'. The reduction of the FARDC strength by 75% in an area where Ugandan rebels and uncontrolled Mayi-Mayi militias were still roaming worried both the local population and the international observers<sup>94</sup>. Therefore a Battalion of the 13<sup>th</sup> Brigade and a Company of the 4<sup>th</sup> Brigade were sent from Ituri to be deployed in the territory of Beni. The 15<sup>th</sup> Brigade was withdrawn from the offensive against Nkunda and currently holds positions in the city of Butembo and the Lubero territory.

<sup>90</sup> Research commissioned by IPIS, conducted in January 2008 by local researchers.

<sup>91</sup> Jackson entered the 'brassage' process in October 2007. In November 2007 a last group of 300 of his Mayi-Mayi fighters followed his example.

<sup>92</sup> La Fontaine himself has killed the Mayi-Mayi leader Delemba who had supported Jackson.

<sup>93</sup> Interview by IPIS in Beni with people from local NGO, conducted in December 2007.

<sup>94</sup> Interview by IPIS in Beni with MONUC official, conducted in December 2007.

## Motives of FARDC

### CONFLICT ACTORS

The reinforcements that were sent to the 'Grand Nord' were meant to rectify a temporary security vacuum that existed when the whole area was protected by only half a Brigade. The deployment of the soldiers of the 13<sup>th</sup> Brigade in the area of Oicha and Eringeti is logical in view of the nearby presence of rebels of the 'Allied Democratic Forces/National Army for the Liberation of Uganda' (ADF/NALU)<sup>95</sup>. The local population is happy with their presence. It considers them as disciplined and decent soldiers and believes they are there to protect them instead of harassing them the way the 9<sup>th</sup> Brigade did<sup>96</sup>. The contingents of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> Brigade in Beni, Butembo and Manguredjipa are needed to tackle the problem of the Baraka Mayi-Mayi and the slumbering Mudohu group. The commander of the 15<sup>th</sup> Brigade, Colonel Mungura, has led successful operations against rebel groups in Ituri and North-Kivu in the past.

### FDLR

The question remains why a part of the 9<sup>th</sup> Brigade is still present in southern Lubero, close to positions taken by the 15<sup>th</sup> Brigade. A partial explanation might be that the FDLR and RUD are present in the area. However, the 9<sup>th</sup> Brigade has not had any armed confrontation with them lately and, as we have seen, they even seem to cooperate well with the Hutu rebels. Another explanation is the fact that the Brigades that were previously deployed in the 'Grand Nord' were involved in all kinds of traffic. The traffic of hemp has been discussed above, but they were also active in the illegal trade of tropical timber and coffee. FARDC units are stationed at the border crossings of Kasindi and 'Kasindi Vieux'<sup>97</sup>. Their position at border crossings gives the FARDC a lucrative asset in conducting business. Less than 100 metres across the Ugandan border at Kasindi, a large timber market is located. It is the centre of illegal timber export from the territory of Beni (BOX 9).

### TRADE ROUTES

#### BOX 9: The timber trade in Beni

Although the territory of Lubero also contains several forests that could be exploited for timber production, logging in the 'Grand Nord' is currently limited to the northern part of Beni. The most important logging centres are in the Mabalako forest and near Oicha and Eringeti. The total amount of wood that was cut in the territory of Beni in 2006 is 2,865 m<sup>3</sup><sup>98</sup>. Most of the wood is cut in an artisanal way. The trees are sawn into planks within the forest, after which they are brought to the road where they are sold and loaded onto trucks. Many teams of loggers are financed and equipped by Ugandan businessmen who organise the logging through Congolese intermediaries<sup>99</sup>. The trucks drive the timber to the border crossing at Kasindi. On the Ugandan side of the border (Mpondwe) there is a trade zone where foreigners can do business without needing to go through any border formalities. It is in this area that the timber market is located. Ugandan nationals control the market and Ugandans sell the wood to third parties. Consequently, the Ugandans who organise the logging and control the export market make bigger profits from the trade than the Congolese. Apart from the

<sup>95</sup> The ADF/NALU rebels are not discussed in this report. Suffice it to say that the ADF and the NALU are two movements with a distinct past but currently they have formed an alliance. They are both groups of Ugandan rebels that used to fight the Ugandan regime in Kampala (with the aim of overthrowing it) using the Congolese territory as a base of operations. As opposed to the NALU, the ADF have a tendency towards Islamic extremism. The numbers of the coalition have been reduced drastically after military operations by the FARDC in 2005. Currently it is estimated there are no more than 900 fighters in their ranks. Half of them are Congolese.

<sup>96</sup> Interview by IPIS in Eringeti with local chief and other people, conducted in December 2007.

<sup>97</sup> The latter is difficult to access and surrounded by several coffee plantations. All of the harvest is exported to Uganda. According to interviewees in Beni and Butembo, the trade is under the complete control of FARDC troops.

<sup>98</sup> Forests Monitor, The Timber Trade and Poverty Alleviation. Upper Great Lakes Region. June 2007, p. 18.

<sup>99</sup> Interviews by IPIS in Beni and Eringeti, conducted in December 2007.

production of the Belgian company ENRA, which owns processing facilities, all the timber leaves the DRC as 'raw material'<sup>100</sup>.

The involvement of the FARDC soldiers in the profitable illegal trade lies in facilitating the transport of the timber and organising transports for their own account<sup>101</sup>. Trucks commissioned by FARDC officers can pass the border without any customs or migration official daring to stop them<sup>102</sup>. The soldiers also use intimidation throughout the other stages of the timber production process, for example to get access to rare species of timber<sup>103</sup>.

It is not unthinkable that the newly deployed FARDC units too will get involved in this kind of transactions in the future, unless a solution is found for the underpayment and the general lack of discipline within the FARDC.

## The 'Petit Nord'

### EASTERN DRC

The 'Petit Nord' is the battleground of the current armed conflict in the Eastern DRC. The area has witnessed uninterrupted violence for 15 years in a row. It comprises the territories of Walikale, Masisi, Rutshuru, Nyiragongo and the city of Goma. A lot of ethnic groups live in the region, including many Rwandophones. Because of the abundant deposits of cassiterite and coltan in the territory of Walikale, geologically the 'Petit Nord' can be considered the richest region studied in this report.

### ETHNIC

### Presence of CNDP

### CNDP

The CNDP occupies two zones in the 'Petit Nord' area of North-Kivu: a western zone situated in the grazing lands of Eastern Masisi/Western Rutshuru and an eastern zone in the hilly region in eastern Rutshuru where the borders of the DRC, Uganda and Rwanda meet. Until recently the general CNDP headquarters were situated in the village of Kitchanga in the western CNDP zone. However, since the renewed hostilities of late 2007 and the FARDC offensive in December, Nkunda has transferred his headquarters to Kiroliwwe<sup>104</sup>. The area of Kiroliwwe and Gandjo is further from the frontline and thus safer. The headquarters of the eastern zone are located in Runyoni. Other CNDP strongholds are Mushaki and Tongo<sup>105</sup>.

### Motives of CNDP

### NATURAL RESOURCES

As opposed to popular belief, Nkunda and his movement receive rather limited profits from mining activities. There are only a few mining sites within the territory controlled by the CNDP<sup>106</sup>. The most important one (in terms of revenues for the CNDP) is the 'Bibatama' mine on the right bank of the Bibatama river near

<sup>100</sup> Interview by IPIS in Beni with ENRA, conducted in December 2007.

<sup>101</sup> Interview by IPIS in Eringeti with timber trader, conducted in December 2007.

<sup>102</sup> Interview by IPIS in Kasindi with official of the migration service (DGM), conducted in December 2007.

<sup>103</sup> Forests Monitor, The Timber Trade and Poverty Alleviation. Upper Great Lakes Region. June 2007, p. 60.

<sup>104</sup> At the same time the CNDP training camp in Bwiza was abandoned. New recruits are currently trained in the forest near Gandjo.

<sup>105</sup> Confidential written EUSEC source, August 2007.

<sup>106</sup> It has to be noted that, during the December offensive of the FARDC, heavy fighting took place near the mine of Lueshe. Lueshe is one of the two unique mining areas in the DRC with pyrochlore deposits. From pyrochlore niobium can be extracted. Niobium is becoming increasingly attractive as a material in technological devices (taken from: Johnson D. & Tegera A., Digging Deeper: How the DR Congo's mining policy is failing the country, Pole Institute Report, December 2005, p. 40). Currently the mine has no importance in the direct financing of the CNDP because it is not operated, due to legal and infrastructural problems. In 2006 8,6 tons of the mineral were sold on the market but this was an old stock (taken from: Division provinciale des mines du Nord-Kivu, Rapport Annuel 2006, March 2007 p. 10). However, the potential value of the Lueshe mine is enormous. The mine is controlled by Modeste Makabuza, a Tutsi businessman from Goma and the brother of Alexis Makabuza, who, according to several local sources, is an important financier of the CNDP.

Rubaya<sup>107</sup>. At Bibatama there are three important 'carrés' (D1, D2 and D3) with deposits of cassiterite, coltan and to a lesser extent wolframite. One of the sites, D2, is owned by the Senator Mwangachuchu. His company, Mwangachuchu Hizi International (MHI), is the only one that has an exploitation permit<sup>108</sup>. In each of the mining areas 200 to 300 'creuseurs' are working, which means a total of 600 to 900. Soldiers of the CNDP are present at each of the sites to 'secure' the area. They levy taxes from the diggers -1 dollar for each kilo of minerals- and some of them mine themselves for the account of their superiors<sup>109</sup>.

## TRADE ROUTES

Another source of income for the CNDP are the taxes it collects at barriers on the transports of minerals, timber and other goods. A first important barrier is situated on the road from Walikale to Goma at the level of Mushaki. It is estimated by the local people that Nkunda receives about 10,000 \$ each week from taxing vehicles passing the barrier<sup>110</sup>. A second is in Kitchanga on the road linking Peti to Sake/Goma. On average, a truck of timber has to pay 150 dollar to pass Kitchanga<sup>111</sup>. Often vehicles also have to give a certain amount of petrol to the rebels. The income from taxes and mining is considerable. It certainly helps the CNDP to sustain its administrative structures and to continue its war effort. It is, however, far too limited to conclude that Nkunda and his army are enriching themselves.

## COMBATS

At least a certain degree of truth rests in the CNDP assertion that it fights against the FDLR. It is not shown on our maps because the period predates the time scope of this report but in early 2007, shortly after the mixed Brigades were created, military units loyal to Laurent Nkunda launched a series of violent operations against FDLR camps<sup>112</sup>. Fighting between the CNDP and the FDLR continued during the second half of 2007, when the FDLR teamed up with the FARDC during their offensive. In the beginning of 2008, even after the ceasefire that was proclaimed at the Goma Peace Conference, several violent clashes between the CNDP and the FDLR have been reported<sup>113</sup>. Moreover, throughout the whole period the CNDP has arrested, tortured and killed civilians under the charge of collaboration with the FDLR.

## TUTSI REFUGEES

When the CNDP claims it is fighting for the return of the 45.000 Tutsi refugees in camps across the Congolese border, there may also be some truth in it. The areas under the control of Nkunda are those areas where most of the refugees originate from. The battles that took place during the last 6 months were often concentrated around villages of Tutsi refugees. However, Nkunda can hardly be acknowledged as the protector of his people who seeks nothing but their freedom and welfare. The presence of CNDP soldiers is a serious security liability for the inhabitants of the occupied territories. They are not allowed to leave the area, even though they risk suffering 'collateral damage' from the attacks on the CNDP<sup>114</sup>. There are several reports of people that had to get off their vehicles when they tried to leave Kitchanga<sup>115</sup>. Moreover, the people in the CNDP zones suffer directly from the presence of the rebels through forced labour, forced recruitment and other violence.

<sup>107</sup> The Bibatama mine is not be confused with the Bibatama hill and village at the border of the Virunga Park near Kiroliwwe.

<sup>108</sup> D1 is owned by Mr. Turikunkiko and D3 by Mr. Hitimana and Mr. Bazinga. Taken from: research commissioned by IPIS, conducted in February 2008 by local researchers.

<sup>109</sup> Research commissioned by IPIS, conducted in February 2008 by local researchers.

<sup>110</sup> Interview by IPIS in Goma, conducted in December 2007.

<sup>111</sup> Research commissioned by IPIS, conducted in February 2008 by local researchers.

<sup>112</sup> The fighting resulted in a massive displacement of the local population and great suffering. The operations were not very successful.

<sup>113</sup> It is difficult to verify which party started these fights because they both blame each other, but we can reasonably assume that the CNDP has started at least a few of them.

<sup>114</sup> According to several MONUC sources in Goma, Laurent Nkunda has used his people during the FARDC offensive of December 2007 as a human shield.

<sup>115</sup> Research commissioned by IPIS, conducted in January 2008 by local researchers.



## FOOD SECURITY

The fact that Nkunda seems to care more about the Tutsi territory than the Tutsi people sustains the argument, advanced by several observers, that Nkunda defends the interests of some powerful businessmen with properties in the area. Reportedly several of these businessmen make financial contributions to the CNDP. Apart from the important mining sites of Lueshe and Bibatama that were discussed above, some of Nkunda's supporters have significant interests in cattle raising. The area of Masisi is characterised by hilly grazing lands, which has earned it its nickname of 'African Switzerland'. There are some big cattle farms situated among these grazing lands where the famous 'cows without borders' are being raised (BOX 10).

### BOX 10: Cows without borders

The 'cows without borders' originate from Rwanda where fresh milk is much more popular than in the DRC<sup>116</sup>. Because of the lack of grazing land in Rwanda, cows are herded across the border inside the DRC to areas around Goma and Masisi. Young cows of little value are brought up in the DRC and then returned to Rwanda where they are sold for a high price.

A full grown cow is worth 600 dollar in Rwanda. Nkunda himself owns several hundred head of cattle. Several other members of the CNDP own large herds of cows<sup>117</sup>.

During the violent year 2007, many cows were looted or killed. Consequently, many herds have been returned to Rwanda to protect them<sup>118</sup>.

In the region the rumour goes that Nkunda tries to create a separate republic. It is true that he has created parallel administrative structures in the areas under his control and that at a certain time he proclaimed his own 'République des Volcans'. It is, however, unlikely that it is real power he seeks. He has never seriously tried to defy MONUC and attack the provincial capital of Goma. Moreover, when the system of the mixed Brigades fell apart, the Bravo Brigade, which was under his control, spontaneously retreated from the territorial capital of Rutshuru. Nkunda does not control the territorial capital of Masisi either, although he could have attempted to take it on the 12th of December, when the town was virtually emptied of civilians and soldiers.

## COMBATS

### Presence of FDLR

## FDLR

The 'Petit Nord' is the region with the most concentrated presence of FDLR troops in the DRC. The region holds as many military units as the whole of South-Kivu. The general headquarters of the movement are located in Kalonge, in the territory of Walikale. Besides the two zones occupied by the troops of Nkunda, the city of Goma and the western part of Walikale territory, the FDLR are deployed all over the area.

### Motives of the FDLR

The FDLR are close enough to the Rwandan border to easily launch operations on Rwandese soil. However, their capacity to do this is limited. Whereas the majority of their forces are concentrated in southern Masisi and in Walikale, there is only a single Battalion with positions in eastern Rutshuru<sup>119</sup>. Moreover, there have

<sup>116</sup> Among the Tutsi.

<sup>117</sup> For example: Kibonge Kasemari, Ndungutse Emmanuel and Ngarambe Bizimana.

<sup>118</sup> Research commissioned by IPIS, conducted in February 2008 by local researchers.

<sup>119</sup> Not taking into account the elite unit in Nyamilima and further north.



## COMBATS

not been any FDLR incursions into Rwanda in the last 3 years. The FDLR positions show a defensive stance towards the Rwandan border. It does not seem their intent to challenge the regime in Kigali militarily any time soon. The FDLR is not waging a war against the Congolese Tutsis either. They are in a confrontational position with the CNDP in several areas but the 'Combats' map indicates that more often the FARDC and PARECO take the initiative in fighting Nkunda.

The FDLR is an important military power factor in the 'Petit Nord' but it has a limited political influence. Although they effectively control much of the daily lives in the majority of the rural areas outside the two CNDP zones, they do not control any of the major towns. Clearly they do not seek to obtain a political power position in the area.

## FDLR

The FDLR have positioned themselves in jungle areas with important troop concentrations at the border of the Virunga Park, in the South Masisi Reserve, at the southern edge of the Tayna Natural Reserve and in eastern Walikale. They do not seem to fear the proximity of major roads, but their positions in the forest indicate anyway that they intend to continue their quasi-hidden existence.

## HIDE-OUT

## NATURAL RESOURCES

Income from mining activities remains an important motivating factor for the FDLR. Several cassiterite and coltan deposits are located within the areas they control. They do not, however, occupy any major mining site and they never waged a war to conquer one.

The main motivation of the FDLR is survival. Some are waiting for political change in Kigali that could lead to a direct dialogue. Others have little incentive to change the current situation because it makes them rich (they can buy themselves a way out of the Congolese jungle). Finally, there are those who fear prosecution in Rwanda. They regard a quasi-hidden existence in the Congolese jungle as the better option.

### Presence of Mayi-Mayi

## MAYI-MAYI

Except for the headquarters of their supreme commander, Colonel La Fontaine, all the PARECO troops are deployed in the 'Petit Nord'. The Hunde Mayi-Mayi under the command of Colonel Ntasibanga operate in the northern part of Masisi and eastern Walikale. The Hutu fighters of Colonel Mugabo hold positions in the southern part of Masisi. The Mugabo militia has the largest number of combatants within PARECO. Many soldiers of Mugabo previously fought with Nkunda but deserted<sup>120</sup>. They left the CNDP when it became apparent that its assertion that it was a movement for all Rwandophones was merely a pose. The troops of both Mugabo and Ntasibanga are stationed in the same areas where the FDLR have important positions.

Besides the PARECO coalition, there are no other significant Mayi-Mayi groups in the 'Petit Nord'. Before November 2007, Colonel Kasereka and his 'Forces Armées Populaires pour la Libération' (FAPL) were active in northwestern Rutshuru, perpetrating serious human rights violations. In a positive development, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of October, Kasereka and 30 of his combatants surrendered themselves.

### Motives of Mayi-Mayi

## COMBATS

During the December 2007 offensive against the CNDP, PARECO has shown itself as a motivated combatant. In MONUC communication on the armed confrontations at the beginning of 2008, PARECO is mentioned most often as the warring

<sup>120</sup> International Crisis Group, Congo: Bringing Peace to North-Kivu, Africa Report N° 133, 31 October 2007, p. 11.

## CONFLICT ACTORS

party opposing the CNDP<sup>121</sup>. The 'Conflict actors' map shows that PARECO has positioned itself at almost all the fronts against the CNDP. It is therefore beyond any doubt that it is really the coalition's intention to fight the CNDP or at least to halt them.

PARECO may be firm in attacking the Tutsi forces and in their armed opposition to the return of the Congolese Tutsi refugees, but it clearly fails to protect the Kivu population from the FDLR. On the contrary, as we have discussed above, there is a clear cooperation between PARECO and the FDLR<sup>122</sup>. It is therefore not very convincing when PARECO claims it has been created to end the suffering of the Congolese population.

As all of the other armed groups in the East of the DRC, PARECO has a stake in the mining business. When studying their positions, it is clear, though, that mining zones are certainly not more than a secondary target for them. They do not control large mining areas and do not fight for them either.

The Mayi-Mayi of PARECO do not fight to gain political power. Their actions are not directed against the Congolese government and they do not engage the FARDC.

The issue of survival is probably of great importance to them. Their persisting military operations against CNDP positions indicate that they want to gain territory from Nkunda. Due to the Virunga Park, the available space in the territories of Masisi and Rutshuru is limited. The area has a history of conflict between ethnic groups over the issue of land distribution. (BOX 11)

## FOOD SECURITY

### BOX 11: Land conflicts in Masisi/Rutshuru

At the heart of the conflict over the fertile lands lie the opposing claims on land ownership and the customary rights of land distribution. The principal dividing line runs between the Rwandophones of North-Kivu (of which many were relocated from Rwanda to the DRC by the Belgian colonisers) and the 'original' Hunde inhabitants. At different times in history, both groups had their own chiefdoms with their own traditional rulers who decided on land issues. The constant changes of the administrative organisation of the Kivus, combined with different land laws and the seemingly endless issue of Congolese citizenship for the Rwandophone population, has resulted in confusion over the shifting and overlapping land claims<sup>123</sup>. The massive influx of Rwandophone people since the Rwandan genocide has further disturbed the uneasy balance between the two population groups in Masisi and Rutshuru. Other dividing lines, for example between the Hutu and the Tutsi, make the issue even more complex.

<sup>121</sup> It has to be noted, however, that it has become difficult to distinguish PARECO from FDLR operations. It is possible that the FDLR at several occasions hid their involvement behind a PARECO facade because the latter movement is a bit more accepted (and politically correct) both locally and internationally.

<sup>122</sup> Moreover, both Mugabo and La Fontaine are reputed to have an excellent relationship with the FDLR. Whereas La Fontaine helped the FDLR in fighting the RUD in Lubero (taken from: interview by IPIS in Beni with MONUC official, conducted in December 2007), Mugabo is depicted by several observers as a Hutu extremist.

<sup>123</sup> Barouski D., Laurent Nkundabatware, His Rwandan Allies, and the Ex-ANC Mutiny: Chronic Barriers to Lasting Peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 1st Edition, February 2007, p. 424.

## Presence of the FARDC

### FARDC

The bulk of the FARDC forces in the Eastern DRC are deployed in the 'Petit Nord'. Soldiers from 8 different army Brigades are currently quartered in the region. The FARDC troops are concentrated in the town centres and along the major roads. 7 Brigades operate in the territories of Masisi and Rutshuru, the areas contested by the CNDP of Laurent Nkunda. In the vast territory of Walikale a single FARDC Brigade, the 85<sup>th</sup> is deployed. The 85<sup>th</sup> Brigade is the only FARDC unit in North-Kivu that has not gone through 'brassage' nor 'mixage'. The Brigade is commanded by Colonel Samy Matumo and controls the town of Walikale, the airstrip and several surrounding villages.

## Motives of the FARDC

### COMBATS

In general, the FARDC Brigades in the territories of Rutshuru and Masisi are there for operational reasons. Most of the FARDC units deployed in the 'Petit Nord' have taken part in the offensive against the CNDP in early December 2007. Some of the Brigades sustained heavy losses during these confrontations. The FARDC troops are concentrated in areas that are relatively unattractive in terms of opportunities for enrichment. Their positions are clearly linked to the military offensive. Taking a closer look at the fronts of the December 2007 military operations, it is obvious the FARDC have tried to conquer and retain several strategic areas: for example the Mushaki corridor to Goma, the strategic height of Katale and the lake access at Minova. As we have mentioned above, there has also been an intensive battle for the mining site of Lueshe.

### STRATEGIC

### INCIDENTS

Although the FARDC are deployed in the area to defend the country and provide security, they are also a security hazard themselves. They are known perpetrators of extortion and sexual violence. Moreover, they are selective in their protective measures because they try to tackle the CNDP problem but they mostly leave the FDLR alone. Even their stance towards the CNDP is not clear-cut. At the higher command levels there are contradictory positions on the military actions against Nkunda, who still has friends (or at least good contacts) among high-ranking FARDC officers<sup>124</sup>.

### FARDC

Besides the general picture, there is a specific FARDC position in Rutshuru that is certainly worth taking a closer look at. Vitshumbi is a town on the shores of Lake Edward. Currently the 15<sup>th</sup> Brigade is deployed in Vitshumbi but previously it was the 9<sup>th</sup> Brigade. Reportedly FARDC units in Vitshumbi of both the Navy and the Land Forces have participated in the massive illegal fishing business that is going on in the area<sup>125</sup>.

### NATURAL RESOURCES

### TRADE ROUTES

The motivation of the 85<sup>th</sup> Brigade is a whole different story. The territory of Walikale is extremely rich in cassiterite. 70% of the cassiterite that arrives at the trading houses of Goma originates from the westernmost territory of North-Kivu<sup>126</sup>. Most of the cassiterite arriving in Goma is being flown in from the airstrip of Walikale. The FARDC soldiers retain their positions in this area to make serious profits.

<sup>124</sup> This was illustrated during the December 2007 offensive, when during the second week of the operations the FARDC lost all the territory it had taken from the CNDP (and more) the week before. The truth of what happened has yet to be revealed but it is clear that the sudden appearance of the Commander of the Land Forces General Amisi on the 11th of December was the key event that caused the turnabout of the situation at the front line. Amisi held a meeting in Mushaki with the regional command and the present Brigade commanders. Different versions of what was decided at the meeting exist but it resulted in the loss of many lives and a chaotic retreat of FARDC soldiers from several positions in southern Masisi. IPIS researchers contacted several of the commanders present at the meeting but did not manage to reconstruct what has really happened. The FARDC have organised an internal investigation.

<sup>125</sup> Interview by IPIS in Kinshasa with security agent, conducted in November 2007. Due to practical restrictions IPIS was not able to obtain concrete elements on the situation in Vitshumbi.

<sup>126</sup> Garret N., The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) and Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining (ASM), Draft, October 2007, p. 24.

At two days of walking distance from Walikale, Bisiye, the busiest mining site of North-Kivu, is situated. Bisiye is controlled by soldiers of the 85<sup>th</sup> FARDC Brigade (BOX 12).

## BOX 12: Bisiye

Bisiye is named after the river that runs at the foot of the mine. The area comprises 57 pits with more than 1,000 miners working below the ground. Besides enormous amounts of cassiterite, the site contains deposits of diamonds, coltan and bauxite. There is ample conflict at Bisiye. The ownership of the mining concession, for example, is heavily disputed between two firms, 'Mining Processing Congo' (MPC) and 'Groupe Minier Bangandula' (GMB)<sup>127</sup>. It is interesting to note that one of the key people behind GMB is Alexis Makabuza who is allegedly one of the important financiers of the CNDP. The case of Bisiye is complex and requires more than a few paragraphs to explain. However, Bisiye has been studied intensively by the UN Group of Experts and it has been the subject of many research reports<sup>128</sup>. People who want to read more can find a series of links on the 'Reports' map.

In the framework of this analysis it suffices to pay attention to the role of the FARDC at the mining site. The 85<sup>th</sup> FARDC Brigade, commanded by Colonel Samy Matumo and composed of ex-Mayi-Mayi fighters, controls the access to the mine and a large part of the mining activities. Soldiers of the 85<sup>th</sup> Brigade steal from other miners, they levy illegal taxes, they rape, torture and force people to work for them<sup>129</sup>. Colonel Matumo organises the exploitation of several pits himself and is known for his wealth. The income for the 85<sup>th</sup> Brigade is far beyond what is needed for their survival and their involvement in the mining business runs deep. In August 2006, the administrator of the Walikale territory, Dieudonné Tshishiku Mutoka, signed a deal with the GMB company. In exchange of 10% of their weekly production and several other benefits the administrator would provide for the security of GMB<sup>130</sup>. However, the only group capable of guaranteeing security at Bisiye are the FARDC.

That the mine is really important to the soldiers is further illustrated by the fact that in the past different factions within the 85<sup>th</sup> Brigade have even fought among each other for the control of the site.

<sup>127</sup> Division provinciale des mines du Nord-Kivu, Rapport Annuel 2006, March 2007 p. 10

<sup>128</sup> Some of the most important are:

- Miller J., Tin soldiers, Channel 4 report, June 2005.
- FinnWatch, Connecting Components, Dividing Communities, Tin production for consumer electronics in the DR Congo and Indonesia, December 2007, 59p.
- Global Witness, Under-Mining Peace. Tin: The Explosive Trade in Cassiterite in Eastern DRC, June 2005.
- Tegera A. & Johnson D., Rules for Sale: Formal and Informal Crossborder Trade in Eastern DRC, Pole Institute Report, May 2007.
- Garret N., The Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) and Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining (ASM), Draft, October 2007, 47 p.

<sup>129</sup> FinnWatch, Connecting Components Dividing Communities, December 2007, pp. 27-28.

<sup>130</sup> UN Security Council, Final Report of the Group of Experts on the Democratic Republic of the Congo, pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1698, 18 July 2007, p. 19.

## Northern South-Kivu

### EASTERN DRC

The southern boundary of our conflict maps is defined by the parallel of latitude 3° South. Our maps and report analyse the security issues within the territories of Kalehe, Kabare, Walungu, Idjwi, the northern half of Shabunda and the city of Bukavu. The area has known a violent past during the consecutive Congo wars. Currently only the FARDC and the FDLR retain a significant presence of armed men in the area.

### Presence of FDLR

### FDLR

3 Battalions of the FDLR have positions in this region. As in North-Kivu they control large chunks of the area but they stay away from the larger towns. The FDLR are present on the margins of the Kahuzi-Biega Park. Within the park Rwandese Hutus have founded a settlement where more than 5000 civilians live<sup>131</sup>. In the Makutano village (a.k.a. Kigali II), the FDLR reportedly have constructed schools and health centres<sup>132</sup>. Noteworthy is that the FDLR control almost the entire border zone between South and North-Kivu.

### Motives of FDLR

The FDLR presence in northern Shabunda and Kalehe is partly due to strategic reasons. The FDLR know their way well in the Kahuzi-Biega Park that stretches across the border with North-Kivu. They also control border crossings outside the park, the most important being Hombo<sup>133</sup>. Through the forested area they can move material or personnel from their South-Kivu Division to the North (or the other way around) without being noticed. This is an important advantage for a military movement that regularly moves its units and uses guerrilla tactics in combat.

### HIDE-OUT

The same pattern witnessed in North-Kivu returns on the South-Kivu maps. The FDLR prefer to remain in zones with a limited accessibility and avoid the larger town centres and the densely populated areas. Generally speaking, they seek the best hideout spots for their positions. To further ensure their survival they protect the supply lines through which they receive their provisions and by which they transport their agricultural and mineral products to the market.

However, the FDLR control over secondary roads also serves another purpose. They profit from their positions to demand taxes to everybody who passes. An (in) famous example is the stretch of road of 'the 6 barriers' (BOX 13).

#### BOX 13: The '6 barriers' road

There is one major road linking Bukavu to Shabunda. It splits off from the main road to Mwenga and passes through the territory of Walungu. The road follows the southern boundary of the Kahuzi-Biega Park for more than 100 km. This stretch of road is under the complete control of the FDLR. Between the market of Nzibira and the fork in the road at the village of Kigulube, the FDLR have erected 6 consecutive barriers and at each of them they demand taxes<sup>134</sup>. To pass a roadblock one has to pay on average 1\$/person and 2\$/cow<sup>135</sup>. Everybody who passes the roadblock and pays is escorted to the next roadblock and so on.

<sup>131</sup> Interview by IPIS in Bukavu with a park conservationist, conducted in December 2007.

<sup>132</sup> Confidential written MONUC source, November 2007.

<sup>133</sup> Interviews by IPIS in Bukavu, conducted in December 2007.

<sup>134</sup> Interviews by IPIS in Bukavu, conducted in December 2007.

<sup>135</sup> Confidential written MONUC source, November 2007.



## NATURAL RESOURCES

FDLR positions are clearly linked to the presence of natural resources too. FDLR combatants in Shabunda and Walungu exploit a number of mining sites. They tax the mining activities, organise them or sometimes dig themselves<sup>136</sup>. However, no major mine, i.e. with a size comparable to those of Bisiye or Kamituga (Mwenga territory), lies within their territory.

In comparison with earlier times there are very few violent incidents in the area. This may be explained by the fact that the FDLR have managed to install a stable system of income for themselves. They have a steady supply of food and other goods<sup>137</sup>. Therefore they do not longer need to resort to acts of pillage, robbery and theft.

### Presence of Mayi-Mayi

## MAYI-MAYI

There are no active Mayi-Mayi groups in northern South-Kivu, except for a few mining areas in Kalehe and Shabunda.

### Motives of Mayi-Mayi

## NATURAL RESOURCES

The few Mayi-Mayi groups that remain in the area are not there to defend the population. Their only interest is the profit they can make from the mines. In Shabunda some scattered Mayi-Mayi elements remain, who claim they still serve under General Padiri<sup>138</sup>. In the very North of Kalehe also PARECO has deployed units. They have established a considerable presence at the Numbi site, a place where every armed actor in the Kivus seems to have an interest (BOX 14).

### BOX 14: Numbi: everybody is involved

The mine of Numbi was an important source of income for the RCD during the Congo wars<sup>139</sup>. The most important minerals extracted at the site and in its surrounding area are cassiterite, coltan, manganese and tourmaline. It is most likely that all of the warring parties discussed in this report receive direct or indirect funding from the mining activities in Numbi.

The town centre of Numbi is under the control of soldiers of Colonel Rugayi's 14<sup>th</sup> integrated Brigade. Military units of PARECO and the FDLR are stationed nearby in the villages of Lusirandaka (10km north of Numbi village) and Nyawarongo (20 km south)<sup>140</sup>. All three groups frequent the mining sites. They all make considerable profits through taxation and exploitation. They do not confront each other because they claim they are all fighting the same enemy<sup>141</sup>.

However, it is likely that income generated by the mine also finds its way to Nkunda and the CNDP. The ownership of the mine is for the major part in the hands of Tutsi farmers<sup>142</sup>. There are 4 principal pits owned by: Mr. Kamari, Mr. Karoko, Mr. Bikamiro and Mr. Nibizi<sup>143</sup>. The first three are Congolese Tutsis; the fourth is a Congolese Hutu. More

<sup>136</sup> Interviews by IPIS in Bukavu, conducted in December 2007.

<sup>137</sup> Interviews by IPIS in Bukavu, conducted in December 2007.

<sup>138</sup> Research commissioned by IPIS, conducted in December 2007 by local researchers.

<sup>139</sup> It is interesting to note that in 2001 a UN Panel of Experts was informed that the occupying forces of the 'Rwanda Patriotic Army' (RPA) imported 1,500 prisoners, some of whom former refugees, to dig coltan in the Numbi area: UN Security Council, Report of the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 12 April 2001, p. 12.

<sup>140</sup> Research commissioned by IPIS, conducted in February 2007 by local researchers.

<sup>141</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>142</sup> Mutabazi A. & Sanganyi Y., Etat de l'industrie miniere en RDC, Osisa Report, August 2007, p. 6.

<sup>143</sup> Research commissioned by IPIS, conducted in December 2007 by local researchers.



importantly, one of the most important operators of the mine is Edouard Mwangachuchu, the same businessman who runs the Bibatama D2 mine in Masisi<sup>144</sup>.

### Presence of the FARDC

## FARDC

Before a series of troop movements towards North-Kivu to support the military operations against the CNDP, 4 FARDC Brigades were deployed in the area. One Brigade, the 14<sup>th</sup>, has left completely for Masisi. Of another, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Brigade, one Battalion has been sent north. The only two complete units remaining are the 11<sup>th</sup> Integrated Brigade in Shabunda and the 'Combat Group' in Kalehe and Kabare. Noteworthy is a small presence of FARDC soldiers on the peaceful island of Idjwi<sup>145</sup>.

### Motives of the FARDC

## INCIDENTS

The security situation in Shabunda is calm. Compared to most of the other territories in North and South-Kivu there are very few security incidents. There is a considerable presence of FDLR combatants in the northern and eastern parts of the territory but these troops are disciplined and they make a good living from mining, taxation and agricultural activities. It is therefore surprising that a whole integrated Brigade is deployed in this territory. Surely, most units of the 11<sup>th</sup> Brigade are stationed in the north of Shabunda, the same area as the FDLR, but it seems they have neatly divided the territory between them. The FARDC and FDLR do not engage each other in this area, they coexist<sup>146</sup>. The local population, interviewed by MONUC officials, claims that the FARDC operate in those areas where no security problems exist and evade the areas where they do<sup>147</sup>.

## CONFLICT ACTORS

## NATURAL RESOURCES

The FARDC presence in this area can be explained by the same motives that attract the FDLR to it, its mineral wealth. In Shabunda several abandoned concessions of the "Société Minière et Industrielle du Kivu" (Sominki) are located<sup>148</sup>. The 11<sup>th</sup> Brigade has an important stake in the mineral trade in the territory. They run the trade in the town of Shabunda –the most important trading centre of the area- and the transport from Tshonka, the airstrip from which most of the minerals are flown to Bukavu (BOX 15).

### BOX 15: A list of examples of FARDC involvement in the mineral trade in the Shabunda territory

In Shabunda:

- Lieutenant Colonel Nyamusheba Aroni, the commander of the 11<sup>th</sup> Brigade, decides on the prices of minerals through civilian intermediaries, namely: Gérard Sanduku and a certain 'Vital'. They buy minerals and sell beer on his behalf<sup>149</sup>.
- The 11<sup>th</sup> Brigade levies a tax on air cargos leaving for Bukavu<sup>150</sup>. Traders have to pay 0,3\$ for each kg of coltan or cassiterite<sup>151</sup>.
- In the mines in the vicinity of Shabunda FARDC soldiers levy illegal

<sup>144</sup> Research commissioned by IPIS, conducted in February 2007 by local researchers.

<sup>145</sup> IPIS researchers could not find out to which unit they belong.

<sup>146</sup> Confidential written MONUC source, November 2007.

<sup>147</sup> Confidential written MONUC source, March 2007.

<sup>148</sup> Because of this reason Shabunda was a heavily disputed territory among the warring parties during the Congo wars and the transition period.

<sup>149</sup> Research commissioned by IPIS, conducted in December 2007 and January 2008 by local researchers.

<sup>150</sup> The soldiers and the transport companies work together to organise the transports. The FARDC can load 100kg for free on each flight coming from or going to Bukavu.

<sup>151</sup> Ibidem.

taxes on the 'creuseurs'. The income of these taxes is destined for the military hierarchy in Bukavu.

In Matili (30 km from Shabunda):

- The gold price is fixed by the military commander Major Kagizi. He participates in meetings of the 'Fédération des Entreprises du Congo' (FEC).

In Tshonka

- The FARDC military appoint (and fire) the personnel working for Agefreco and Congocom.
- The 11<sup>th</sup> Brigade levies a tax on every air cargo that leaves for Bukavu<sup>152</sup>.
- Soldiers dig for cassiterite on the airstrip, damaging the runway.

In Lulingu

- The FDLR and the FARDC have divided the mining areas near Lulingu. The FARDC run the mining pits as far as the river Ezeza (east from Lulingu). From that point on, the mining activities are controlled by the FDLR. The two do not engage each other.

Each month at least 70 tons of cassiterite originating from Shabunda arrive in Bukavu. The large majority (60 tons) is being flown in from the Tshonka airstrip, most of the rest (7-10 tons) arrives from Shabunda town<sup>153</sup>.

Recently more and more diamonds are being found in the western part of Shabunda. This will make the area only more attractive for the 11<sup>th</sup> Brigade. One of these newly discovered mines is Shindano, near Minoro. Among the 'creuseurs' in this mine there are many demobilised Mayi-Mayi. The small 'négociants' who buy the precious stones work for a trader based in Lulingu and who is reportedly the sister of Region Commander General Tshikweji.

The soldiers on the Idjwi island have little reason to be there. The island has little strategic value and it has never been at stake in any of the Congo wars. There are no Rwandan rebels nor any other armed group causing insecurity. At least at 4 mining sites on Idjwi there is an army presence<sup>154</sup>. At some mines the relationship between the FARDC soldiers and those who work in the exploitation is good. In such cases the soldiers were often recruited from among the local population and receive extra money from the operators in exchange for securing the mine<sup>155</sup>. However, at other sites, the relationship is less harmonious. In Kamole, for example, the FARDC soldiers are considered a security problem. Kamole is a wolframite mine, situated at the north side of the island, where more than 1000 'creuseurs' are active. Approximately 50 soldiers are present in the mine. At night they engage youngsters to dig up minerals for them out of pits of the local population<sup>156</sup>. They steal from the miners and extort them<sup>157</sup>. It has to be noted that the prices of wolframite at the world market have risen enormously<sup>158</sup>. Whereas two years before wolframite was sold at 60\$ per sales unit, in February 2008 it was worth 260\$<sup>159</sup>. The high prices make the wolframite mines more attractive to armed men.

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<sup>152</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>153</sup> Confidential written MONUC source, November 2007.

<sup>154</sup> Kihumba, Kamole and Cigoma on the northern side of the island and Nyabarongo on the south side.

<sup>155</sup> Research commissioned by IPIS, conducted in December 2007 by local researcher.

<sup>156</sup> Research commissioned by IPIS, conducted in February 2008 by local researcher.

<sup>157</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>158</sup> Division des Mines du Province du Nord-Kivu, Note technique n° Divimines-geo/354/7.0/010/2007., November 2007, 9p.

<sup>159</sup> <http://www.playfairmining.com/s/AboutTungsten.asp>

# Conclusion

The eastern DRC is still plagued by violent conflict. The centre of the conflict is the 'Petit Nord' region where two large armed groups, a coalition of smaller bands of armed men and the government army are all involved in a persisting battle causing enormous human suffering. In the neighbouring regions of the 'Grand Nord' and northern South-Kivu open warfare no longer takes pace, but there is still a considerable presence of armed groups causing security problems.

In this report we have tried to uncover the principal drivers of the conflicts by analysing the positions and behaviour of the armed groups that are involved.

Currently, Laurent Nkunda and his CNDP are fighting the other three warring parties. It does not seem as if the CNDP wants to break away from the Congolese state because it does not control any administrative capital, neither has it seriously tried to take one since its inception.

Based on its grievances, the CNDP has drafted a list of principal objectives that constitute its reason of existence. Taking a closer look at the objectives and the rest of the CNDP discourse it is clear Nkunda considers himself the protector of the Tutsi population in the DRC. To a certain extent reality matches the discourse. The CNDP has positioned itself in those areas where previously the Congolese Tutsis were living. Moreover, it is actively fighting the FDLR whom it considers to be a serious threat for its people. The CNDP acts according to its grievances but in its fight against the FDLR it commits a considerable number of very serious human rights violations. Besides, the wellbeing of its people is apparently not always of primary importance. In December 2007, Nkunda seriously endangered their lives when he used his own population as a human shield.

The CNDP is not only protecting the interests of the Tutsi people in general but also the specific economic interests of some of its members and sympathisers. It controls the grazing lands used by several rich cattle farmers and two mining areas.

Many FDLR members have been living in the DRC for 14 years. They claim their fight is not with the DRC Government but with Rwanda. It is true they have never used their military power to try to gain political control in the Congo. Since 2005, they have stopped carrying out armed attacks on Rwandese soil. They claim they seek a peaceful solution through an inter-Rwandese dialogue when security conditions in their home country are met. The FDLR grievances seem a plausible explanation for their behaviour in the field. They have taken a defensive stance and they are hiding themselves instead of launching operations against Rwanda.

However, the fact remains that the FDLR carry arms and frequently use them in military operations against the CNDP, in abuses against civilians and as leverage to make a profit. They may have chosen to live a hidden life on rough terrain but they are also involved in different types of illegal business such as illegal mining and the drug traffic. For some of the FDLR it is probably more attractive to continue this business than to return to Rwanda. Especially the small group of 'ex-génocidaires' has an interest in maintaining the status quo.

The Mayi-Mayi coalition of PARECO pretends to defend the Congolese people against foreign armed groups. PARECO is mild in its judgement on the FDLR and clearly vindictive towards the CNDP. It seeks to conquer the lands that it claims are unrightfully occupied by the CNDP/the Tutsi. The Mayi-Mayi want to prevent

the creation of a 'Tutsi Land'. PARECO is an offensive force and it acts according to its grievances.

The other small band of active Mayi-Mayi, the group of the child Baraka, seems to have lost any sensible motive. The Baraka Mayi-Mayi dwell in scarcely populated areas but since they are also responsible for several violent attacks on larger villages (even Butembo), it is difficult to argue that they are hiding themselves or that they are trying to survive. In fact they have become mere bandits.

The FARDC are the official protectors of the Congolese state and its population. They have to implement the military policy of their government and ensure the security of their population. In December 2007, the FARDC were involved in military operations against the CNDP in the territories of Rutshuru and Masisi. The majority of their forces in the region are deployed in this area and participated in the offensive. However, in the margins of this central conflict military units retain positions in remote areas where their main motive for deployment is to enrich themselves and their superiors.

As opposed to the Nairobi agreement of the 9<sup>th</sup> of November 2007, the Congolese army is rather cooperating with the FDLR instead of fighting them<sup>160</sup>.

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<sup>160</sup> The Nairobi agreement was signed by the Congolese and Rwandese governments. In the agreement the government of the RDC pledged to tackle the problem of the FDLR (militarily).

# Recommendations

The following recommendations are suggestions on:

- How the motives of the armed groups could be removed.
- How the FARDC could be brought to retain the single motive it should have, protecting the country and its people.

## With respect to the CNDP motives

- The FDLR should retreat from the front lines with the CNDP.
- The FDLR should retreat from Rutshuru and Masisi.
- The government of Rwanda should publish the long awaited list of members of the FDLR that are suspected of genocide.
- The FDLR should distance themselves from their members who are under suspicion of genocide and expel them from their movement.
- PARECO should stop allying itself with the FDLR.
- PARECO should change its racist discourse.
- PARECO should retreat from the front lines with the CNDP.
- The issues of land distribution and refugee return in the 'Petit Nord' have to be addressed in consultation with representatives of all communities. This cannot be done without international support.
- The FARDC should distance itself from PARECO and the FDLR and should not allow their presence at the front lines. Consequently, the FARDC should position itself between the CNDP and FDLR/PARECO.

## With respect to the FDLR

- The CNDP should retreat from the border areas of Rutshuru and Masisi.
- Military negotiations on the introduction of CNDP troops into the 'brassage' process should be continued.
- Diplomatic pressure should be exerted on Rwanda (and the DRC) to start negotiations with the FDLR cleansed of the remaining genocidal elements.
- Demobilised FDLR should be offered the possibility to resettle within the DRC but away from FDLR-controlled areas.
- The FARDC should not start large-scale military operations against the FDLR before the diplomatic solutions have been exhausted.
- The suspension of mining activities in Walikale should be extended to other areas with an FDLR presence. It is impossible to control all production sites, but the transports could be suspended.

## With respect to the Mayi-Mayi

- The CNDP should retreat from the border areas of Rutshuru and Masisi.
- Military negotiations on the introduction of CNDP troops into the 'brassage' process should be continued.
- The Congolese government should look for a political interlocutor among the Tutsi community, other than the CNDP.
- The Congolese Tutsis need to organise themselves around a political movement that is not as ill-reputed as the CNDP and its military leaders. A delegation of moderate CNDP members could be included. This movement should come forward with a credible list of grievances and abstain from provocative measures such as declaring a 'République des Volcans'.

- The CNDP should abstain from further political negotiations.
- Diplomatic pressure should be exerted on Rwanda to stop its logistical support of the CNDP.
- The CNDP should retreat from the Rwandan and Ugandan borders. The border area with Rwanda and Uganda should be patrolled continuously by FARDC and MONUC. MONUC/FARDC should also find a way to secure, or at least monitor, the Congolese airspace near the border region.
- The issues of land distribution and refugee return in the 'Petit Nord' have to be addressed in consultation with representatives of all communities. This cannot be done without international support.
- The group of the Baraka child should be given an ultimatum to surrender. If the ultimatum is ignored, a military operation should be launched.

### **With respect to the FARDC**

- The FARDC urgently needs further reform at all levels to improve discipline and morale. Additional international support might be required. Regular and sufficient payment is a prerequisite.
- A nationwide policy has to be adopted towards FARDC units involved in illegal (mining) activities. Clear examples have to be set among Commanders as well as rank and foot soldiers.



# Annex 1: List of abbreviations

ADF/NALU	Allied Democratic Forces/National Army for the Liberation of Uganda
ANC	Armée Nationale Congolaise
ALiR	Armée de Libération du Rwanda
ASM	Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining
CNDP	Congrès National pour la Défense du Peuple
DGM	Direction Générale de Migration
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EITI	Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
ENRA	Enzyme Refiners Association
EUSEC	European Communications Security & Evaluation Agency of the Military Committee
FAPL	Forces Armées Populaires pour la Libération
FAR	Forces Armées Rwandaises
FARDC	Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo
FDLR	Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda
FEC	Fédération des Entreprises du Congo
GMB	Groupe Minier Bangandula
IPIS	International Peace Information Service
IOB	Institute of Development Policy and Management
ISS	Institute for Security Studies
LPI	Life and Peace Institute
MDRP	Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program
MHI	Mwangachuchu Hizi International
MLC	Mouvement pour la Libération du Congo
MONUC	United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
MPC	Mining Processing Congo
MRC	Mouvement des Révolutionnaires Congolais
PARECO	Coalition de Patriotes Résistants Congolais
POW	Prisoner of war
RCD	Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie
RCD-KML	RCD-Kisangani Mouvement de Libération
RDF	Rwanda Defence Forces
RDR	Rassemblement pour le Retour des Réfugiés et la Démocratie au Rwanda
RGC	Référentiel Géographique Commun
RMCA	Royal Museum for Central Africa, Tervuren
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
RUD	Rally for Unity and Democracy – Ralliement pour l'Unité et la Démocratie
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNJLC	United Nations Joint Logistics Center
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UPDI	Union Paysanne pour le Développement Intégral

## Annexe 2: How to use the web maps

- Select a map from the drop down menu on the right side of the screen (initially, 'Reports' appears in the menu, the last map of the list, but the map you actually see is the general Eastern DRC map)
- You can change the level of detail on the maps by zooming in or out. The maps are available at three different scales: 1:3,000,000 (initial view), 1:1,500,000 and 1:500,000. To zoom in or out, move the scroll slide (in the bottom left corner) up or down, or just move the mouse wheel up or down. For clarity reasons some map elements are hidden while viewing at a large scale but revealed after zooming in.
- You can easily navigate through the map by dragging it with the mouse pointer. After a double click, the clicked-on position is displayed in the centre of the map.
- The maps feature an advanced geographical search function that locates strings of characters.
- When clicking the 'Overview' button a useful overview map appears in an extra window at the top left corner of the screen.
- A legend is provided for each map.
- You can search thematically for data by clicking the 'Lists' button. The map will centre on the requested map element and automatically a table will appear with additional information on the map feature.
- The same additional information on map features can be retrieved by clicking on the item directly on the map itself (the mouse pointer should change in a hand first).

Please note the following:

- 'Incidents' map (HR violations and Combats): when clicking on an 'Incident' symbol directly on the map, only one table will appear for that specific place, i.e. a table with information on only one incident, while in some cases in one place more than one incident took place. You can retrieve the complete information on all the incidents in a specific place by choosing the 'Lists' function on the screen below.
- 'Reports' map: when clicking on a blue 'info' symbol on the map, a window with only one report regarding that specific place will open up, while usually more than one report is available. You will find links to all the relevant reports by choosing the 'Lists' function on the screen below.
- When clicking on a symbol in a specific map, it may happen that an information table from another map shows up. In that case, click on your browser's 'Refresh' button, go back to the chosen map and try again.