Mapping interests in conflict areas: Katanga

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Preface

The International Peace Information Service (IPIS), a Belgium based research NGO, is a member of the Fatal Transactions consortium, which carries out the action 'From Fatal to Fair Transactions' with co-funding from the EU. IPIS' contribution to this action is to develop a tool for the analysis of conflict drivers. Making use of GIS (Geographic Information Systems) software, we visualise possible conflict motives on geographical maps and carry out field research to complete the picture with violent incidents, human rights violations and positions of armed groups (rebels and regular army units). Every set of maps is accompanied by a narrative report, which provides details on the conflict dynamics in the area under scrutiny.

A first case study was carried out on the mineral-rich province of Katanga in the southeast of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). It reports on the situation in January-May 2007 and is available online at the IPIS website: http://www.ipisresearch.be/mapping_katanga.php. The Dutch NGO "Nederlands Instituut voor Zuidelijk Afrika" (NIZA) provided additional funding for updating this case study during a year (September 2007 to September 2008). This report is the first in a series of quarterly updates. The information for the updates is drawn from permanent field research carried out by four Katangese NGOs. These NGOs are based in different parts of Katanga and their research activities for this project cover the militarised territories of the province.

During the last decade the world has witnessed how the DRC, a country endowed with an abundance of mineral riches, turned into a battleground where the control over these riches was one of the main rationales behind massive human rights violations, terror tactics of rape and even cannibalism, and the killing of millions of civilians¹. Elections in 2006 have not yet led to stability in the Kivu provinces and the Ituri district. In North-Kivu high-intensity conflict continues to inflict suffering on the local population.

This report shows that, although the level of conflict there is less intense, also the Katanga province is far from stable. Mayi-Mayi rebel groups, local communities, indigenous people and the regular army (Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo, FARDC) compete over the access to sources of income. The dynamics of local "greed" and "survival" motivations are driven by continuous discoveries of new mineral deposits, mainly of coltan, a mineral used in capacitors found in cell phones, personal computers, DVD players and game consoles. It needs to be stressed that the regular army, in terms of human rights violations, is as much a part of the problem as are the 'rebel groups' they contend with.

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¹ In a recent publication of the International Rescue Committee (IRC) it is estimated that 5,4 million people have died because of war-related causes: http://www.theirc.org/special-report/congo-forgotten-crisis.html

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I. The Mayi-Mayi and the DDR process

The new commander of the 6th Military Region, General Padiri Bulenda, has launched an initiative to integrate former Mayi-Mayi warriors into the FARDC. Only the so-called 'lost Mayi-Mayi' are eligible, those groups of Mayi-Mayi that have never entered any DDR programme.

In its initial phase the initiative has resulted in the opposite effect of what was intended. Instead of reducing Mayi-Mayi activity in the province, it has caused a certain revival. Several groups of Mayi-Mayi that were demobilised under another DDR programme and chose not to join the FARDC, suddenly changed their mind and solicited a post within the official army ranks. Officially they claim that they did not dare to join FARDC ranks during the Transition². The 4+1 system produced a vicious struggle for positions and so they feared for their personal security. However, after the general elections of 2006 the situation and their attitude have changed³.

The wish of the demobilised warriors to re-enter military live is problematic. Should they be allowed to do this, the DRR process would lose its credibility and would run the risk of becoming endless.

The PNDDR programme still has not been revived. The World Bank refuses to finance the next phase as long as the DRC has not reimbursed 6,5 million \$ of the previous instalment, which was characterised by massive fraud⁴. In the meantime UNDP continues to finance its own DDR programmes. It seems that in the North and the South of the province finally some progress on reinsertion is being made. In Nyunzu, Kabalo, Pweto and Moba CRK reinsertion projects for a limited number of ex-Mayi-Mayi have started⁵. In the rest of the province the DDR process has not advanced much.

II. The FARDC and the 'brassage' process

There is still not a single integrated army unit active on Katangese soil. At the 'brassage' centre of Kamina some pro-Nkunda Tutsi soldiers are waiting to be integrated⁶.

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² Telephone interview conducted by IPIS with MONUC official, January 2008.

³ Probably, the fact that the new Commander of the 6th Military Region is a former Mayi-Mayi has influenced their behaviour too.

⁴ Interview conducted by IPIS with DDR expert in Kinshasa, November 2007.

⁵ E-mail conversation between IPIS and MONUC official, January 2008.

⁶ Confidential written source, September 2007.

III. The North

Presence of armed groups

Incidents
Mayi-Mayi
(The titles in the left column refer to the map that should be consulted while reading the text)

A lot of rumours of (ex-)Mayi-Mayi presence in the Northern territories of Katanga are circulating, but there is little tangible evidence of it. Anyway, there have not been any serious problems with active Mayi-Mayi groups (those Mayi-Mayi fighters who have not yet demobilised) in the region. However, with regard to Mayi-Mayi activity it is noteworthy that several ex-Mayi-Mayi leaders have been gathering in Kalemie. In the framework of the initiative taken by the 6th Military Region to demobilise the remaining Mayi-Mayi throughout the province, former Mayi-Mayi commander Mufu III has been commissioned to meet them and negotiate with them. However, he also met many leaders of those Mayi-Mayi who were already demobilised such as Kameko and Tango IV. It is not clear what the purpose of these meetings was and whether Mufu III made any promises to the demobilised combatants, but it is clear that among the former Mayi-Mayi commanders expectations have been raised in terms of joining the FARDC⁷.

Motives of armed groups

Katanga

The former Mayi-Mayi show themselves in Kalemie because they want to be noticed. If they want to claim a (powerful) position within the FARDC hierarchy, they cannot do it from a remote village.

Presence of FARDC

FARDC

The FARDC positions in the Tanganyika district have remained almost unchanged since June 2007, with companies in Kabalo, Kongolo and Nyunzu and brigades in Pweto and Manono. The companies in Kabalo, Kongolo and Nyunzu have a common operational commander, Captain Mamadou Ndala. The captain's troops are present at several mining sites throughout the area. According to all sources consulted by IPIS the FARDC troops have rather caused more security problems than they have solved.

Motives of FARDC

FARDC Mayi-Mayi

As stated above, there are a lot of unconfirmed rumours of (ex-)Mayi-Mayi presence in the area, rumours often generated by FARDC sources⁸.

Natural resources

The presence of FARDC troops at mining sites and their frequent movements within the area can best be explained by the profits they can make for themselves or their superiors. This is clearly illustrated by the current situation at the Kisengo mine in the Nyunzu territory. The Kisengo coltan mines were only discovered in March 2007. At that time Kisengo was a small village in an area with several settlements of Batwa, the indigenous Pygmy people of the area. Less than a year after its discovery it has grown into a bustling town of 20.000 to 50.000 inhabitants⁹. Within the surrounding area of

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⁷ Telephone interview conducted by IPIS with MONUC official, January 2008.

⁸ A telling example can be found in the OCHA, Situation report. 3-9 November 2007:

[&]quot;Sources close to the FARDC have reported two new operational Mayi-Mayi training camps near Kalemie (information not confirmed by other sources)."

Estimates vary according to the source.

Kisengo normal life has come to a complete standstill. Fields are no longer cultivated, virtually no food is being sold at the markets and many schools are empty because everybody has left for the mines¹⁰. Farmers from the area and their families are not the only newcomers in Kisengo. The discovery of a considerable amount of mineral wealth has also attracted businessmen from other provinces. The arrival of merchants from South Kivu and Maniema has led to serious tensions between them and the local chief¹¹. For a while Kisengo even had a twin town when, as a result of the success of Kisengo, a second village, Antiochia, was erected. However, after a severe cholera epidemic erupted due to the poor infrastructure of the town, it was soon abandoned and burned.

Incidents

FARDC military. The soldiers who control the mines tend to take half of the spoils from the miners. The strongest unit of FARDC soldiers are troops from Nyunzu and Kongolo under the command of Captain Mamadou. Their number is estimated at between 100 and 200 men. Violent incidents have been reported between Mamadou's soldiers and units from Military Justice¹² and the Navy¹³. The FARDC troops are key actors in the illegal mining business in Kisengo and the Tanganyika territories in general. Besides concordant testimonies from multiple sources, there is irrefutable evidence: two tragic incidents have revealed how FARDC soldiers are forcing

'creuseurs' to work for them and how they are digging themselves¹⁴.

The effective control of the town and the mines is in the hands of the

Ethnic

Similar to the Lunga case discussed in the initial mapping report¹⁵, a sad side-effect of the situation in Kisengo is the further marginalisation of the Pygmy people in the area. These Batwa claim they have discovered the coltan deposits near Kisengo but that they are not allowed to mine themselves¹⁶. Consequently, they cannot profit from the mineral wealth in the area, which might help them to resolve their precarious socio-economic position.

All over the DRC new mineral deposits are discovered every week. Even in the Katanga province, where prospecting by the Belgian colonisers was relatively thorough, such discoveries are frequent. The ownership of these mines is often contested, which results in a de facto lawlessness. It is likely similar events will continue to happen in the Nyunzu territory and the Tanganyika district in general. Recently, also near Kilunga at 10km from Kisengo, considerable coltan deposits have been discovered¹⁷. The same scenario one can witness today in Kisengo may very well unfold there in the near future.



¹⁰ Telephone interview conducted by IPIS with MONUC official, January 2008. Telephone interview conducted by IPIS with local NGO worker, January 2008.

¹² OCHA, Situation report. 3-9 November 2007.

¹³ Rawlence B., Congo's coltan rush. In: *Prospect Magazine*, issue 141, December 2007.

¹⁴ In OCHA, Situation report. 24-30 November 2007, it is described how two miners forced to work for the FARDC in Kisengo have died during a cave-in.

In Radio Okapi, Mayibaridi : 7 morts après un éboulement dans une mine de coltan, 10 December 2007, a similar incident is reported in Mayibaridi. Among the 7 casualties there are three FARDC soldiers, while two others were saved from the debris.

Spittaels S. & Meynen N., Mapping Interests in Conflict areas: Katanga. IPIS report, June 2007, p. 18.

¹⁶ Rawlence B., Congo's coltan rush. In: *Prospect Magazine*, issue 141, December 2007.

In the same article the "chef de mines" is cited, saying: "Pygmies are simply below the rest of us. ... They need

Telephone interview conducted by IPIS with local NGO worker, January 2008.

IV. The Copperbelt

Presence of FARDC

FARDC

The FARDC positions have remained unchanged. Although their total strength has been reduced, there is still a considerable presence of FARDC soldiers. The complicity of Congolese soldiers in two striking incidents is worth taking a closer look at.

Incidents

A first incident that has caused quite a lot of commotion in Katanga is the attempted prison break from Buluo near Likasi. In the late morning of the 15th of October 2007 a riot erupted because the PNC (Police Nationale Congolaise), which had not received any rations from its hierarchy for more than a week, had claimed and taken the food of the prisoners. During the turmoil, the prisoners manage to grab 6 automatic weapons and attempt to fight their way to the exit. Initially, the Military Police outside the prison stalls the escape attempt. Afterwards, reinforcements arrive from the FARDC base in Likasi with heavy weaponry¹⁸. The next morning there is an exchange of fire but later that day a team of several authorities arrives and a negotiated solution is found. During the troubles 5 people are killed and 11 wounded¹⁹. The event is shrouded in mystery²⁰. One of the prisoners, Patrick Chiringwi Bada, who reportedly had escaped, turns up dead in a morgue with clear signs of torture²¹.

A second incident worth mentioning is the interception of an illegal FARDC transport of 8 tonnes of copper on the road between Kolwezi and Lubumbashi on the 7th of September 2007. The commander of the 65th Brigade was one of the soldiers accompanying the transport but he managed to flee²².

Motives of FARDC

Natural resources

The intercepted transport indicates that the motives of the FARDC soldiers have remained unchanged. The Copperbelt with its countless mining pits is a region where one can make a lot of money. There does not seem to be any other reason to maintain army units in this area. Army units are not suited for guarding the security at a prison.

² MONUC Division des droits de l'Homme, *Rapport Mensuel – Septembre 2007*, 9 November 2007.



¹⁸ Asadho/Katanga, *Prison de Buluo: exécution sommaire et extra judiciare d'un détenu*, October 2007, 12p.

¹⁹ Radio Okapi, *Likasi : prison de Buluo, 5 morts, 11 blessés, 1 évadé,* 17 October 2007.

²⁰ In the recommendations of its report: *Prison de Buluo: exécution sommaire et extra judiciare d'un détenu*, the Katangese human rights NGO Asadho/Katanga calls on the Minister of Justice, the provincial parliament and the general population to uncover the truth about this incident.

Asadho/Katanga, *Prison de Buluo: exécution sommaire et extra judiciare d'un détenu*, October 2007, p. 5 (Exécution sommaire du détenu Patrick Chiringwi Bada).

V. The Centre

Presence of armed groups

Mayi-Mayi

Many of the ex-Mayi-Mayi of the Mitwaba area no longer appear in public. They have returned to a life of clandestinity²³. At the end of October, park rangers spotted a whole column of ex-Mayi-Mayi combatants while they were re-entering the Upemba Park²⁴. Several bands of Mayi-Mayi who were never demobilised remain within the park and its surrounding area²⁵. Makabe and his group remain in Kisao.

Motives of armed groups

Hideout

Military operations threaten the security of the ex-Mayi-Mayi. With the trial before the court of Kipushi against their former leader Gédéon the situation is tense. Because they know the park and because it is difficult to access it, the best option for them is to hide themselves there.

The 'lost Mayi-Mayi' are still comfortable in those areas where they can hide and mine.

Presence of FARDC

FARDC

Little has changed in the positions of the FARDC in the territory except for one important military operation launched in September 2007. Units from the 62nd and the 63rd Brigade jointly swept the Kisele axis in the North-East of the territory in search of hidden stocks of weapons and ex-Mayi-Mayi war criminals²⁶. The presence of FARDC troops in the area has led to an important increase in reported cases of extortion, harassment and rape²⁷.

Incidents

Motives of FARDC

Incidents

The FARDC operation coincides with the start of the trial against the former Mayi-Mayi leader Gédéon Kyungu Mutanga and the widespread rumours of Mayi-Mayi preparations for a new offensive. Several of the incidents in the Mitwaba area involving the FARDC indicate that their actions are indeed directed against the ex-Mayi-Mayi. For example, several cases of arrests of ex-Mayi-Mayi have been reported²⁸. As was discussed above, this has led to the withdrawal of a number of ex-Mayi-Mayi towards the park.

However, no hidden arms stocks seem to have been found so far and the operation was marred by a number of serious human rights violations.



 $^{^{23}}$ Report commissioned by IPIS, drafted in November 2007 by a local NGO.

²⁴ In OCHA, Situation report. 27 October-2 November 2007.

²⁵ Confidential written source, September 2007.

²⁶ In the initial report we pointed out that Gédéon corresponds with his former combatants through letters. In these letters the existence of an 'ark' is mentioned, a large cave in the neighbourhood of Kisele where heavy weaponry could be stored (Confidential written source, September 2007).

²⁷ In OCHA, Situation report. 27 October-2 November 2007.

²⁸ Report commissioned by IPIS, drafted in December 2007 by a local NGO.

Report commissioned by IPIS, drafted in November 2007 by a local NGO.

It is noteworthy that several traditional chiefs of the area, especially chief Mazunda, are worried about the exploitation of cassiterite and coltan by soldiers and ex-combatants, which might lead one day to renewed violence²⁹.

VI. The East

Presence of armed groups

Mayi-Mayi

In the territory of Pweto no Mayi-Mayi activities were reported³⁰. Many of the ex-combatants in Pweto work as artisanal miners. Because the Kapulo mine is now operated by Anvil Mining, many artisanal miners have left the area and started working in a newly discovered coltan mine near Kasama³¹.

In the territory of Moba several bands of armed Mayi-Mayi operate overtly. The most (in)famous groups belong to the Chérif and Zolwe Zolwe factions³².

Motives of armed groups

Natural resources

Taking a closer look at the positions of the Mayi-Mayi groups, further research is required to check whether the Mayi-Mayi concentration in Moba is linked to the serious ethnic tension following the announcement of the return of Banyamulenge refugees at Vyura the 1st of August 2007³³.

Besides ethnic motives, there are several interesting mining sites in the area.

Presence of FARDC

FARDC

The 62nd Brigade remains in Pweto but after the replacement of Major Massamba the situation has calmed down³⁴. For the period September-November, only one minor incident with soldiers of the 62nd Brigade has been reported by a local human rights organisation³⁵. Zambian troops are still reported in Kapingu³⁶.

Motives of FARDC

The 62nd Brigade may still be involved in mining activities, but with the continuing presence of Zambian troops, the armed Mayi-Mayi bands in Moba and the rumours of an arrest warrant issued for Fidel Ntumbi³⁷, the most important ex-Mayi-Mayi commander in the region, there are also some strong security arguments for them to hold their positions.

³² Confidential written source, September 2007.

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³⁰ Report commissioned by IPIS, drafted in December 2007 by a local NGO.

³¹ Telephone interview conducted by IPIS with MONUC official, January 2008.

VII. Conclusion and recommendations

The overall situation is calm but the region remains heavily militarised and there are some considerable underlying tensions. Considering the enormous progress made in 2006, the further pacification at the end of 2007 is disappointing.

The main concern of most of the former and current Mayi-Mayi is still survival. They have not undertaken any offensive operations in the past months. Still, they might become an important power factor in the near future. The pace with which the DDR process is advancing, is too slow. The social and economic reintegration of ex-combatants is far from complete and weapons still circulate. Bearing in mind that local elections will be organised during the next year and that the start of the decentralisation process is coming closer, old or new patrons may start using them again for their own purposes.

Many FARDC units in Katanga continue to profit illegally from the mineral wealth. In some cases they do not even try to hide their implication. In the meantime, they continue to perpetrate considerable human rights violations.

Considering the status quo of the security situation, which has not deteriorated but not improved significantly either, IPIS maintains and repeats the recommendations made in the initial June 2007 report³⁸.

Recommendations:

- The pace of the DDR process needs to be increased.
- The Upemba Park needs to be restored.
- Makabe and his men have to be disbanded and disarmed.
- The 'brassage' process should not be jeopardised through further delays.
- Examples need to be set to prove that impunity belongs to the past.
- A sharp curb has to be put on some FARDC units³⁹.
- False rumours of insecurity need to be countered.
- The human rights record of the integrated brigades has to be recorded from the start.

³⁸ Spittaels S. & Meynen N., *Mapping Interests in Conflict areas: Katanga*. IPIS report, June 2007, pp. 41-42. Especially the Northern companies under the command of Captain Mamadou.



³³ The first week of August 2007 was characterised by violent protests of the local population, especially directed against MONUC. The traditional chiefs of the Moba area refuse to accept the return of the "Tutsi" refugees who have fled to Tanzania because "they never integrated", "they have supported Rwanda during the Congo wars" and "they have a complete disrespect for the traditional rulers and even committed serious crimes against them". Le Révélateur, Moba, des choix difficiles. 7 August 2007:

http://www.lerevelateur.net/suite.php?newsid=898

34 For a detailed description of the previous problems with the 62nd Brigade, see: Spittaels S. & Meynen N., Mapping Interests in Conflict areas: Katanga. IPIS report, June 2007, pp. 34-37.

Report commissioned by IPIS, drafted in December 2007 by a local NGO.

³⁶ For a detailed description of the Kapingu border situation, see: Spittaels S. & Meynen N., *Mapping Interests* in Conflict areas: Katanga. IPIS report, June 2007, p. 36.

In OCHA, Situation report. 29 September-2 October 2007.

VIII. New maps

IPIS has published an updated version of the FARDC, Mayi-Mayi, DDR and 'Conflict actors' (previously 'Conflict') maps. The new Incidents map is completely different from the previous one and shows the important security incidents involving armed groups or FARDC for the period September-November 2007. Recently discovered mining areas that have become a security issue have been added to the 'Natural resources' map⁴⁰. Some new publications have been added as hyperlinks to the Reports map.

Annex: List of abbreviations

ASADHO Association Africaine des Droits de l'Homme

CRK Community Reinsertion for Katanga

DDR Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration

DRC Democratic Republic of Congo

FARDC Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo

IPIS International Peace Information Service

MONUC Mission of the United Nations in the Democratic Republic of Congo

NGO Non-Governmental Organisation

OCHA Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

PNC Police Nationale Congolaise

PNDDR Programme Nationale de Désarmement de Démobilisation et de Réinsertion

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

 $^{^{40}}$ Due to the lack of reliable and complete cartographic data, the location of Kisengo and Kilunga is approximate, as is that of Kapingu ('Conflict actors') and Bulongo ('Incidents').



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