



Mapping interests in conflict areas: Katanga



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Summary

“Mapping interests in conflict areas: Katanga” reports on the presence of (ex-) combatants in the Congolese province of Katanga. It focuses on two broad categories: the ‘Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo’ (FARDC) and the Mayi-Mayi militias. There is no significant presence of other armed groups in the region.

After the surrender of the warlord Gédéon in May 2006, the large majority of the remaining Mayi-Mayi groups have demobilised and disarmed. They have chosen to reintegrate into civilian life but this has proven to be a difficult process.

The FARDC are still represented all over the province although their numbers have been significantly reduced. It is an amalgam of the former government army (‘Forces Armées Congolaises’, FAC) and the different rebel armies that fought during the Congo wars.

The positions of the (ex-) combatants in the region are shown on a first set of maps that accompanies the report. Their possible interests are indicated on a second one. The maps and the report focus on four regions where security problems are persisting into 2007.

In the Northern part of Katanga the situation is particularly interesting in the territory of Nyunzu. Two Mayi-Mayi groups, who have not been disarmed yet, operate in the area. However, the biggest threat to the civilian population in the region are the FARDC, who took a specific interest in the Lunga gold mine at least until March 2007.

In the Copperbelt there has never been a Mayi-Mayi presence, not even throughout the Congo wars. The FARDC on the other hand have always deployed several units in the area. There is no pressing reason for them to be there but the fact that they can pinch some of the money circulating in the mining business.

The Centre is the part of the province that suffered the most from Mayi-Mayi rampages during the last years. Today many of the militias have been demobilised and disarmed but often their reintegration through the ‘Programme National de Désarmement, de Démobilisation et de Réinsertion’ (PNDDR) is not working. Partly because the execution of the PNDDR in Katanga is stalled, but also because they are no longer accepted in their villages of origin. Some of them are regrouping in the Upemba Park, where they can hide and where they know how to survive. An additional problem may arise in case the grieved Mayi-Mayi join forces with other fighters living in the park, who have never surrendered.

The East of Katanga is relatively quiet. An interesting case, however, is the territory of Pweto. There is no significant Mayi-Mayi presence in this territory but it harbours one of the two remaining full FARDC brigades quartered in Katanga. The 62nd brigade has a bad reputation because of its harassment of civilians. It is implicated in the illegal exploitation of natural resources at the Cassiterite mine in Kapulo.

The West of Katanga is not discussed.

From a general perspective the security situation in the Katanga province has improved considerably during the last year. Very few active Mayi-Mayi groups remain, more and more FARDC soldiers are sent for ‘brassage’, the large majority of Internally Displaced People (IDPs) has returned home and the 2006 elections took place without any major incidents. Nevertheless, serious human rights violations by (ex-) combatants, especially FARDC soldiers, are still an everyday practice. There are still a lot of armed men in Katanga who are not always under control.

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Introduction

The following report is the first in a series of at least four inquiries into the motivations of combatants and their leaders. It applies a new methodological approach using cartography as an analytic tool. 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). It is the first time IPIS uses the approach in a public document. Therefore we welcome any remarks or suggestions.

“Mapping interests in conflict areas: Katanga” reports on the presence of (ex-) combatants in the Congolese province of Katanga, in other words, the armed men who participated in the consecutive Congo wars. It tries to answer the questions who they are, where they are quartered, why they are quartered there and what should be done to prevent them from causing security problems.

The link between natural resources and armed conflict is high on the current research agenda and the search for profit is without any doubt an important motivation for several armed groups involved in conflicts around the world. However, a tendency has developed within the press to reduce all (Central African) conflicts into bitter fights driven by the desire for diamonds and gold. The “Mapping interests in conflict areas” reports compare the importance of four different motivations: power, greed, grievance and security/survival. For each of them we have located specific military targets on separate map layers. For example, on the map showing greed targets, we have included mining areas. In this report we will compare the maps indicating the possible interests of the warring parties with a second set of maps representing the deployment of all troops in the region. We will then use the combined maps to explain the presence of armed groups at certain locations.

The maps are not the only source IPIS uses to explain the behaviour of (ex-) combatants. The general insights generated by the maps are complemented with knowledge gathered in the field –two researchers spent a total of 11 weeks in Katanga- and through classic desktop research. At times the information on our maps incited us to dig deeper into a specific situation. Sometimes it worked the other way around.

Reliable (security) information on the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is hard to find. Despite the official end of the war and transition period, the country is still in a state of serious disorganisation. IPIS welcomes any additional information on the security situation, which could be added to our maps at a later stage.

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



Mayi-Mayi combatants of the Gédéon group, May 2006

Part 1: Necessary background

This report will focus on two broad categories of (ex-) combatants in Katanga, the 'Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo' (FARDC) and the Mayi-Mayi militias. There is no significant presence of the 'Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda' (FDLR) or Interahamwe in Katanga and the former rebels of the 'Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie' (RCD) all have officially joined the FARDC.

The Mayi-Mayi and the DDR process

Until the summer of 2006 the Mayi-Mayi militias were considered to be the greatest security threat in Katanga. Without any clear command structure and purpose they had been terrorising the local population for years committing the most horrendous crimes. The most striking feature of these groups was the tendency, among some of them, to eat their victims¹.

In media reports the term Mayi-Mayi is used as a common denominator for the different popular militias that fought against the RCD invasion in Katanga. A

¹ The use of anthropophagy has been well documented in: ASADHO, CDH & CVDHO, *Nord-Katanga. Attaques délibérées contre la population civile*, October 2003, 42 pp.

distinction has to be made between the 'regulated' and the 'non-regulated' movements. The 'Forces d'Auto Protection' (FAP) constituted the regulated popular defence system. They were called into existence by L.D. Kabila and received a (very) limited amount of weapons and training. They were mobilised immediately after the fall of Pweto in December 2000, when the RCD threatened to break through to Lubumbashi and Kamina². It was a hasty operation with a complicated coordination structure³.

The irregular popular defence groups have different names and historical backgrounds. The most important are the 'Force d'Intervention Populaire' (FIP), Simba and Mayi-Mayi movements. Some of them came into existence spontaneously⁴ (as a reaction to 'Forces Armées Congolaises' - FAC or RCD aggression), while many others are in fact derailed and transformed FAP groups. Although many differences exist between the various Mayi-Mayi militias, they have certain characteristics in common, most importantly the use of magic and war chanting⁵.

The Mayi-Mayi of Katanga have gone through 3 phases. Initially they were involved, to a greater or lesser extent, in the resistance against the RCD. Afterwards, with the withdrawal of the Rwandese troops from the DRC territory in October 2002 and the start of the transitional government in June 2003, they were left to their own devices. During the transition they both protected (against the FAC) and terrorised the local population. With the start of the 'Programme National de Désarmement, de Démobilisation et de Réinsertion' (PNDDR) process, they have entered a third phase.

Mayi-Mayi who have surrendered their weapons to the 'Structure Militaire d'Intégration' (SMI) of the FARDC have two options. They can either join the official FARDC military or return to civilian life through continuing the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) process. Since the FARDC soldiers are badly paid or not paid at all, the disarmed Mayi-Mayi massively chose the second alternative. Another convincing factor was the prospect of receiving compensation by one of the bodies organising the DDR process. Officially the government agency 'Commission Nationale de Désarmement, Démobilisation et Réinsertion' (CONADER) is exclusively responsible for executing the PNDDR. Its mission involves developing DDR criteria, proposing reinsertion mechanisms, planning DDR activities and executing them⁶.

However, the functioning of CONADER is characterised by a lack of efficiency and by corruption⁷. Although its work is far from finished in Katanga, its activities have been suspended since June 2006 due to budgetary constraints. It does not seem as if this will change soon, as the World Bank has decided to draw the purse strings of the DDR programme in Katanga⁸. To fill the gap left by the inactive

² K. Y. Yantumbi, *Le Nord-Katanga à feu et à sang. Politique, seigneurs de guerre et violence*, KyamyNetwork Editions, Lubumbashi, February 2007, pp. 122-155.

³ From Lubumbashi the operation was coordinated by Kabongo Ngoy. In Northern Katanga it was organised by General Kambala and a customary chief named Kyombo. There was also a separate coordinator for North-Katanga, Dieudonné Kasongo Kabwa, the half-brother of Mzé Kabila. There were serious conflicts between the different leaders and the execution of the operation was flawed by corruption.

⁴ As early as 1998 spontaneous popular defence (Mayi-Mayi) groups were active in the Tanganyka district of Katanga where they fought against the RCD offensive. They are less (in)famous than their colleagues in the South because they have not been implicated in large scale human rights violations.

⁵ Vermote L., Dissertation, 2004.

⁶ Décret n° 03/042 du 18 décembre 2003 portant création, organisation et fonctionnement de la Commission Nationale Désarmement, Démobilisation et Réinsertion, en sigle CONADER.

⁷ Interviews by IPIS in Kinshasa and Lubumbashi, conducted in March and April 2007.

⁸ Confidential written source from the Mission of the United Nations in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC), 25th of February 2007.

CONADER in Katanga, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) started its own Community Reinsertion for Katanga (CRK) programme. Within CRK, ex-combatants with an SMI disarmament certificate receive a 20\$ travel allowance and the promise to be included in special labour projects. Those UNDP reinsertion through labour projects so far have only been initiated in the territory of Nyunzu. Besides the official Congolese and UN programmes, a private initiative to disarm the Mayi-Mayi was taken by Pastor Mulunda and his New Methodist Church NGO PAREC. In the framework of his bicycles for weapons exchange programme, he organised 6 missions to the Mayi-Mayi areas. The most eye-catching mission was the second, which left in April 2005 for Lubudi, Luena, Bukama, Malemba Nkulu, Mulongo, Kalumbulu, Kamuna Lenge, Muyumbo, Ankoro, Kabalo and Kongolo⁹. The NGO claims it has collected over 3,645 weapons during that campaign¹⁰. PAREC has been criticised by UN officials for disrupting the PNDDR¹¹.

Estimates of Mayi-Mayi numbers vary enormously and most of the time they are exaggerated, because they are based on declarations by Mayi-Mayi leaders who tend to triple or quadruple the number of fighters in their movement. Both UN and FARDC forces seem to agree that throughout the Congo wars at least 6,000 Mayi-Mayi combatants were active in Katanga. Currently more than 4,000 combatants have been disarmed and demobilised by CONADER, more than 1,000 went through the UNDP CRK programme. It is difficult to estimate how many have surrendered their weapons through the 'bicycles for weapons' initiative of the Congolese NGO PAREC. The organisation claims it has demobilised 20,000 fighters¹² but this number is unlikely. Mayi-Mayi child soldiers went through a separate DDR programme organised by UNICEF. Incomplete and contradictory as the numbers may be, one can assume that no more than 1,000 Mayi-Mayi remain to be demobilised. If we take a look at the Mayi-Mayi map showing the known whereabouts of remaining Mayi-Mayi groups, their numbers are even less¹³.

It may be difficult to estimate the number of Mayi-Mayi that went through some sort of DDR programme, but to give a realistic number of the fire arms that were surrendered and those that were not, is nearly impossible. The major problem is that the classic DDR principle of one disarmament certificate for one weapon has not been applied in case of the Mayi-Mayi militias because many of them used bow and arrow, spears or just magic in combat. Often only one weapon was collected for every three or four fighters¹⁴. It is generally assumed by nationals and internationals within Katanga that the different groups have not surrendered all their weapons but kept some in hidden stocks, especially in the Upemba Park¹⁵.

Despite the large number of demobilised combatants, the DDR process is far from complete. Firstly, we have already mentioned that an unknown number of firearms may be hidden. Secondly, the treatment of the different Mayi-Mayi groups has been very unequal. Many have disarmed, some have been paid a considerable sum for disarming, some only a transportation fee, some have received a demobilisation kit and some have not received anything at all. Thirdly, CRK has initiated some limited reintegration¹⁶ projects in the Nyunzu territory, CONADER has set up none. This means that the reintegration aspect of the national DDR

⁹ Mbengu K., PAREC DVD: *Le PAREC dans la pacification du Nord Katanga*, October 2005, 18 minutes.

¹⁰ <http://parec-congo.org/accueil.html>

¹¹ Human Rights Watch, *War Crimes Allegedly Committed by FARDC troops in Katanga*, 21st of July 2006, p. 13.

¹² PAREC, *activity report January 2005-October 2006*.

¹³ The self-defence group of Mutomboki is not taken into account because this group originates from the Maniema province.

¹⁴ Confidential written MONUC source, 25th of August 2006, p. 4.

¹⁵ Interviews by IPIS in Mitwaba and Lubumbashi, conducted in March 2007.

¹⁶ They are officially called 'reinsertion' programmes.

plan has been almost completely neglected. All over Katanga demobilised Mayi-Mayi still expect support from the state to re-enter civilian life. They live with their families in temporary camps on the outskirts of a town or village. Most of them are not employed and not accepted by the local population. If nothing changes in the near future, they will remain marginalised groups. Fourthly, there are some Mayi-Mayi groups in Katanga who have demobilised spontaneously but never entered an official DDR process. The estimated 1,000 warriors of General Makabé are a case in point.

The FARDC and the ‘brassage’ process

The second important group of (ex)-combatants in Katanga are the FARDC. Although their crimes during the transition period in Katanga are less documented than those of the Mayi-Mayi, they have also been involved in committing the worst atrocities, especially in Central Katanga¹⁷.

The FARDC are not a unified actor. The current Congolese army is an amalgam of the former government army (FAC) and the different rebel armies that fought during the Congo wars. Most of the FARDC units on the ground have never been integrated. In other words, the soldiers of one specific army unit mostly have the same military background: ex-RCD, ex-Movement for the Liberation of Congo (MLC) or governmental (GOV). In order to create the necessary unified republican army, soldiers from the different armies are sent to the so-called ‘brassage’ centres, where they go through a transformation process. They arrive as separate army brigades and leave as integrated units (BOX 1). The operation is coordinated by the SMI.

BOX 1: ‘Brassage’ vs. ‘Mixage’

A confusing but important distinction is made between mixed and integrated army units. By the end of 2003 the FARDC were led by a unified military command. Consequently all RCD, MLC and governmental forces suddenly found themselves within the same army. Since then, units from a different background have been quartered in the same place and have been involved in the same operations (for example against hostile bands of Mayi-Mayi). Officially such units have been ‘mixed’, although they come from a totally different background and received a different training. To create a new and integrated army the different units have to undergo the ‘brassage’ process, where they are not only mingled but also acquainted with unified procedures and a common army culture.

In the Katanga province, the 6th military region, the ‘brassage’ centre is located at the regional army base in Kamina. The decision to send army units for ‘brassage’ is taken by the General Staff in Kinshasa. The Staff decides which brigades, battalions and companies have to leave for ‘brassage’ after taking into consideration the advice of the regional command and the force commander¹⁸.

¹⁷ On human rights violations by FARDC soldiers in Central-Katanga has been reported in the following publications:

MONUC, *Final Report of the Special investigation mission into human rights violations and abuses committed in the territory of Mitwaba, Katanga Province*, 13th-19th of February 2006, 15 pp.

Human Rights Watch, *War Crimes Allegedly Committed by FARDC Troops in Katanga*, 21st of July 2006, 16 pp.

¹⁸ The subdivisions of the FARDC are as follows:

Team: 5 to 6 soldiers

Section: 10 to 12 soldiers (2 teams)

Platoon: 40 to 45 soldiers (4 sections)

Currently only the land forces have been involved in the ‘brassage’ process, the air force and the navy are not participating¹⁹.

In Katanga there is not a single integrated brigade. Until recently more than 3000 soldiers were awaiting the ‘brassage’ process in Kamina. FARDC officials claimed they lacked a few hundred to start the ‘brassage’ process and create the first integrated army units in the 6th military region²⁰. The ‘brassage’ process finally took off in May 2007. Every week soldiers desert in Kamina because they are ill-fed, ill-paid and far away from their families.

At the top-levels of the army the different positions have been distributed equally among officers of the former belligerents. The official Commander-in-Chief of the Congolese armed forces is the president Joseph Kabila. The day-to-day command of the army is exercised by the General Staff headed by Lieutenant General Kisempia Sungilanga Lombe. General Kisempia has always fought alongside the Congolese government forces since the Mobutu era. Immediately below the General Staff are the commanders of the three army forces. Navy Chief of Staff is General Major Amuli Bahigwa, who is ex-MLC, Air Force Chief of Staff is General Major John Numbi from the government side and the Land Forces are led by ex-RCD officer General Gabriel Amisi. The proportional distribution of positions continues at the level of the regional commands (BOX 2).

BOX 2: The FARDC military regions and the distribution of positions²¹.

1 st MR	Bandundu	MLC
2 nd MR	Bas-Congo	GOV
3 rd MR	Equateur	GOV
4 th MR	Kasai Oriental	RCD
6 th MR	Katanga	MLC
7 th MR	Maniema	RCD
8 th MR	North Kivu	RCD
9 th MR	Province Orientale	Mayi-Mayi/GOV
10 th MR	South Kivu	GOV

Within the military structure of the different regions, there is often a further distribution of executive powers. In Katanga this has led to a rather complicated picture. In Mitwaba for example ex-FAC soldiers serve under the command of a few ex-RCD officers and the remaining battalion of ex-FAC soldiers in Kongolo is led by the ex-MLC commander Captain Mamadu.

The FARDC have 7 brigades quartered in Katanga. According to their own statistics their numbers are close to 20,000 soldiers. Out of 7 brigades, 5 have left for ‘brassage’, each time leaving only a few companies or a battalion behind. The last two complete brigades, the ones in Pweto and Manono are supposed to make the trip to Kamina soon. When we compare all the figures and data on FARDC deployment the result is puzzling. If we suppose that all the brigades who went to the ‘brassage’ centre left a full battalion of 800 soldiers behind²², there should be more than twice the number of soldiers in Kamina than officially registered. Could this mean that 4,000 soldiers have deserted by now? If they have not, then where

Company: 120 to 150 soldiers (3 to 4 platoons)
Battalion: 750 to 800 soldiers (3 to 5 companies)
Brigade: 2,500 to 4,000 soldiers (3 to 4 battalions)
Division: 12,000 to 15,000 soldiers (3 to 4 brigades)

¹⁹ Interviews by IPIS in Kinshasa and Lubumbashi, conducted in March and April 2007.

²⁰ Interviews with MONUC officials by IPIS in Kinshasa and Lubumbashi, conducted in March and April 2007.

²¹ <http://www.iss.co.za/Af/profiles/DR Congo/Seclnfo.html>

²² According to official data this is an overestimation.

are they? It also seems likely that the deployment statistics and information contain serious errors and consequently should be used with caution.

The difficulties with gathering reliable data on FARDC deployment are linked to the fact that the presence of Congolese soldiers is not limited to their army barracks. The troops receive a low and irregular salary, if any at all. The same goes for their food supply. Therefore they need to find food elsewhere and generate an extra income to sustain themselves and their households. Many abuse their position to get money and in some cases such side activities become the major source of income and even a means of enrichment. The positions that allow to generate such benefits are high in demand, which has led to the famous system of 'rapportage' (BOX 3).

BOX 3: 'Rapportage'

The system of 'rapportage' is not typical for the FARDC but exists within every Congolese public service. Employees are entrusted by their superiors with a position where they can earn some extra money –a classic example is the traffic agent who is sent to a busy intersection where he can fine a lot of drivers- but they are expected to hand over sufficiently to the patron who gave them this opportunity²³. If they do not live up to the expectations of their superiors they will be replaced. Within the FARDC structures this is an everyday practice. Officers receive money from lower ranking soldiers in return for secondment to an area where profit can be made²⁴.

²³ The expression in French is 'faire un rapport' (generate a return).

²⁴ Interviews by IPIS in Kinshasa and Lubumbashi, conducted in March and April 2007.



Aerial view of the town of Pweto, March 2007

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. The different maps can be selected from the drop down menu on the right side of the screen.

In theory the cartographic information should relate to the entire Katangese territory. However, because of content related relevancy, practical feasibility and restraints in terms of time, IPIS has researched and mapped certain areas better than others. Therefore the West of the province has been slightly neglected while the territories of Mitwaba, Malemba Nkulu and Pweto have received so-called preferential treatment.

Besides a few exceptions, the geographic data are not cartographically accurate. Correct cartographic material on the DRC is very rare or even non-existent. The last reliable topographic maps were made by the Belgian colonisers in the 1930s and 1950s. For the purpose of our analysis, however, the level of accuracy is more than sufficient.

Readers consulting the maps on the IPIS website should be aware of some useful features of the viewing program. They can change the level of detail on the maps by zooming in or out. For clarity reasons some map elements are hidden while viewing at a large scale but revealed after zooming in. While zooming, the overview map in the extra window situated at the top left corner of the screen may be useful. Additional information on map elements can be retrieved in a separate table by clicking on the item while using the information function. The maps also feature a geographical search function that locates strings of characters.

The basic map 'Katanga'

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

The Katanga map is the necessary background on which our security information is projected. It contains basic geographical information such as the provincial border, the borders of the different territories, toponyms (the names of villages and towns), the major waterways, the major roads, railways, airstrips, vegetation and land use.

The map is assembled from elements taken from 3 existing sources: the website 'Digital Chart of the World', the collection of the Royal Museum for Central Africa in Tervuren and the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) website²⁵. With respect to the toponyms, IPIS has corrected and completed the existing data for Malemba Nkulu, Mitwaba and Pweto through interviews with local experts, using a fixed interview format.

The dynamic maps

The dynamic maps visualise the presence of armed men in the region. Because combatants move, the information given is only valid for a limited period of time. In this case, it relates to the situation in March-April-May 2007.

**FARDC
Mayi-Mayi
MONUC**

We have drawn 4 dynamic maps on the deployment of troops. There is one for each of the three parties who have been involved in the conflict: the FARDC, MONUC and the remaining Mayi-Mayi²⁶. The maps contain basic information on the numbers and commanders of the units, as well as the exact location where they are quartered. The FARDC map also includes information on the background of the commanding officer and the units' status in the 'brassage' process. All three layers are based on official military communication, complemented and corrected with information from Congolese and international observers collected by IPIS researchers during interviews in the region.

Conflict

A fourth map combines the deployments of the three parties and adds the DDR layer (which is discussed further below). We have named it the 'conflict map'.

Incidents

A different dynamic map indicates the human rights incidents in which (ex-) 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. 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 (ex-) combatants involved. The data of the incident layer are based on the available reports on human rights violations in the region.

²⁵ On each map the existing cartographic sources that were used are mentioned at the bottom.

²⁶ The Mayi-Mayi map layer only shows those militias who have not entered any disarmament programme and are consequently labelled as 'active' groups. The Mayi-Mayi who did disarm and demobilise (but still exist as a band) figure solely on the DDR map.

The static maps

The static maps represent our geographical transcription of military motives in the post-conflict environment of Katanga. These motivating factors are less subject to change and therefore they are less dated than the information on the dynamic maps. 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.

Natural resources Valuables

A first war motivation is greed. A greed map should give an overview of all the places in Katanga where armed men can make a profit. We have created two such layers: The 'natural resources' map represents the mineral wealth within the Katangese soil. It includes the type of minerals found and a ranking according to the estimated reserves. The 'valuables' map shows the most convenient places for looting. It consists of those villages where several inhabitants possess stone buildings and motorised vehicles²⁷.

The data of our resource layer mostly comes from existing geological research. With respect to some specific cases we have added a few mining sites that were pinpointed to us by local interviewees. The data on the valuables map has been gathered through interviews with local people.

Elections

A second war motivation IPIS distinguishes is power. A power map reflects those areas where power can be gained or lost. In the DRC there are two parallel power systems which 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. For each of the two types of power we have created a separate map indicating the areas where power is at stake. The 'elections' map gives an overview of the results of the 2006 elections for the national assembly and the second round of the presidential ballot in the province. The election results show us the power base of the political leaders in the different territories of Katanga and consequently also those places where their power is contested.

Chief killings

The 'chief killings' map is a historical layer that indicates the areas where local/traditional chiefs were intentionally and selectively murdered during the conflict years²⁸. Rivalry over traditional power is a widespread phenomenon throughout the whole of Katanga. The deadly incidents are a strong indication of the intensity of the rivalries in question. We have used official CEI (Commission Électorale Indépendante) results tables to draw the elections map. The data on the killings of traditional chiefs was gathered through interviews with local people and experts in Lubumbashi.

A third important motivation that may drive warring parties is grievance. Grievance is a motive that is generally attributed to those who fight the state. Since there have not been any cases of mutiny within the FARDC, our grievance map of Katanga should represent the problems and needs of the (ex-) Mayi-Mayi fighters (the rebels). The translation of grievance motives in geography is a challenging conceptual exercise. Following the guidelines of our 'handbook on mapping conflict motivation'²⁹, we tried to answer the questions: Which injustices do the

²⁷ We have only been able to gather information on the valuable goods within villages of the Mitwaba, Malemba Nkulu and Pweto territories.

²⁸ It is striking that all the killings took place in the same area. To the best of our knowledge no killings took place outside Mitwaba territory.

²⁹ A first draft will be published on the IPIS website (www.ipisresearch.be) in August 2007.

Mayi-Mayi denounce? What are their needs? And what do they want to achieve? As discussed above, the Mayi-Mayi militias went through 3 different phases. At the initial stage the Mayi-Mayi claimed they were protecting their territory against a foreign invader. During the transition they justified their actions as a reaction to FARDC violence against the population. Currently the remaining Mayi-Mayi refuse to disband because they are waiting to be acknowledged and rewarded for their contribution in protecting the Congolese territory. They want to reintegrate into society by taking up civilian life again, which is difficult in some cases because they are no longer accepted in their villages of origin.

DDR To include these grievances in our analysis we have created a ‘DDR map’ which gives an overview of the different Mayi-Mayi groups who are still in the different stages of the DDR process or were until recently. For each group the number of (ex-) combatants is mentioned as well as the organisation that supervised their surrender and the type of compensation they received³⁰. The data on which the DDR map is based comes from MONUC and PAREC. CONADER could not provide the requested information.

Ethnic The most (in)famous example of grievance-motivated wars are ethnic conflicts. To include the factor of ethnicity in our research, we have added 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 a local expert commissioned by IPIS. It is a crude estimation that most likely diverges from the real demographic situation but it is still a useful element.

Food security A fourth and last motivation studied in this report is security/survival. A survival map should represent all geographic features that contribute to the fulfillment of 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 ‘Katanga’ 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. The map is a combination of an existing land use map and a relief map. Areas with dense vegetation are indicated in green³¹. The elevations with a slope steeper than 20% have been highlighted in brown. Where both conditions are fulfilled, the zone is coloured red. We have also added a buffer zone of 20km around every district capital and 10km 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.

³⁰ The information for some groups is incomplete. Missing data on the DDR process (How many combatants? How many firearms?) are an important problem in Katanga. Quite illustrative in this respect are the limited statistics available on the CONADER website. Also the PAREC data are quite obscure and hard to come by.

³¹ The dense vegetation map is a compilation of four categories of dense vegetation drawn from the land use map created by the UCL (Université Catholique de Louvain).

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 the Katanga region as a whole were appended to the capital Lubumbashi.



Artisanal mine in Lunga, February 2007. Picture by courtesy of Ingrid Koeck.

Part 2: Analysis

At the outset of this report, after consultation with experts in Belgium and the DRC, we have selected 4 areas where worrying security problems persisted. For reasons of convenience we gave them the labels: the North, the Copperbelt, the Centre and the East.

The North

The cradle of the Mayi-Mayi movement in Katanga lies in the North of the province. With several Mayi-Mayi groups fleeing South-Kivu towards Katanga and the territory of Kalemie fallen to the RCD in 1998, it was in the neighbouring territory of Nyunzu that the first Katangese Mayi-Mayi groups were created. Soon the Mayi-Mayi phenomenon would spread all over the North, East and centre of the province.

Nyunzu

Katanga

The Nyunzu territory is probably one of the most neglected regions in Katanga. There is little infrastructure worth mentioning, health care is very limited and the access to food and drinking water is sometimes difficult. Especially in the northernmost of the two Nyunzu sectors, North Lukuga,

MONUC

the situation is dramatic. It is noteworthy that no MONUC unit is stationed there and the area is not covered by any team of MONUC military observers because of accessibility problems.

Situation**Mayi-Mayi**

The largest presence of active Mayi-Mayi in the whole of Katanga is in the Northern part of the province. Two groups operate in the territories of Kongolo and Nyunzu. The largest militia, Rahiya Mutomboki, operates from the province of Maniema. Rahiya Mutomboki is not a Mayi-Mayi group in the strict sense of the word. It is a self-defence group that was created by the local population to protect their territory from aggression by FDLR and Mayi-Mayi groups³². It is led by Mr. Simphorian, his assistant is Mulundi Delphin. Estimates about their numbers vary. The Rahiyas regard themselves as pacifiers and are considered as such by the civilian population³³. There are regular contacts between the FARDC and this group and negotiations are ongoing. With a second group, however, communication is a lot more problematic. Although their numbers are rather limited, the Mayi-Mayi of Captain Kafuku Numbi have a very aggressive attitude. It is said that Captain Kafuku, ex-Forces Armées Zaïroises (FAZ), behaves like that because he is not satisfied with the rank of Captain that was given to him after integrating into the FARDC³⁴. We can assume he wants to strike a better deal.

Recent developments

It seems that during the month of May, Kafuku has stopped his renegade activities and his group has disbanded. Rahiya Mutomboki was probably involved³⁵.

Incidents

On our incidents map we find very little evidence of the presumed Mayi-Mayi activity. If there are active Mayi-Mayi groups in the region, they are certainly not involved in many human rights violations³⁶.

DDR

Apart from the active Mayi-Mayi groups operating in Nyunzu territory, there are also a lot of ex-combatants in the area. Most of them, more than 1000, were disarmed either by CONADER or through a CRK programme. The last of them surrendered their weapons in December 2006 and by now the majority is involved in a CRK reinsertion programme. Until recently these ex-Mayi-Mayi were concentrated in the town of Nyunzu, where they lived at the expense of the local population, but now they are dispersed and no longer pose a security threat.

Among the ex-combatants is the group of Major Mundusi, the most important Pygmy Mayi-Mayi leader in the region. The presence of a large group of Pygmies among the Mayi-Mayi in Nyunzu is exceptional when compared to other Mayi-Mayi movements throughout the Congolese territory. There are some ethnic tensions between the Bantu and the Pygmy population in Nyunzu. (BOX 4)

³² Interviews by IPIS in Kalemie, conducted in March 2007.

³³ Interviews commissioned by IPIS, conducted in May 2007 by a local researcher.

³⁴ Confidential written MONUC source, April 2007.

³⁵ Interviews commissioned by IPIS, conducted in May 2007 by a local researcher.

³⁶ All international observers IPIS spoke to during its field visits agree that the overwhelming majority of human rights incidents committed by (ex-)combatants can be attributed to the FARDC.

BOX 4: The Pygmies of North Tanganyika

The Pygmies of North-Tanganyika or Batwa are an indigenous people. They are the original inhabitants of the area but through historic developments they have been marginalised. Within the Pygmy population exists a lot of frustration because they are being discriminated, mocked and looked down on by their Bakalanga and Holoholo 'masters'. There are no reliable figures on the number of Pygmies in the region but one can reasonably assume that they are underrepresented in the local administration³⁷. Their social situation is even worse. The majority of the Batwa are poor and illiterate.

With the different rebellions that passed through Tanganyika some kind of political awakening has happened. The Batwa were among the first to participate in the Mayi-Mayi movement against the RCD occupation³⁸. Being armed, the Pygmies felt they now should be taken seriously. They no longer accepted the authority of the Bakalanga and Holoholo representatives of the Congolese state over the territories that traditionally had been ruled by their forefathers. Their assertive attitude has degenerated into serious human rights violations, such as the rape of Bantu women³⁹.

The end of the Congo wars has left the Pygmies as frustrated as before. Their role in defending the Congolese territory against the RCD rebellion has not been acknowledged. Apart from Major Mundusi, no important military grades were given to any Pygmy ex-combatant. There have even been reports of an incident where CONADER, while registering Mayi-Mayi fighters for the DDR process in Kalemie, replaced Pygmy names by fake Bantu names⁴⁰.

Nevertheless, besides the considerable frustration among the Pygmy community in general and the ex-combatants in particular, the Bantu and Pygmy tribes currently live side by side peacefully the way they did before the war⁴¹.

FARDC

On the FARDC side a single company of the 683rd battalion remains. These troops are stationed in the town of Nyunzu. Until recently (May 2007) a whole battalion was deployed in the area and a company of the 683rd was frequently deployed at a small village called Lunga, more than 150 kilometres North of Nyunzu. The 600 soldiers have tried everything to obstruct their departure for 'brassage'. On the 14th of April 2007 they even disobeyed the orders from the General Staff in Kinshasa to leave for Kamina, ignoring the train that was sent to transport them⁴².

³⁷ Taking the traditional Pygmy stronghold of North-Lukuga as an example, IPIS heard estimates ranging anywhere between 2 and 55% of the population. The wide variation of these figures may be explained by the fact that the Batwa mostly live in remote areas and tend to change the location of their villages from time to time.

³⁸ It is plausible they were even among the initiators of the Tanganyika Mayi-Mayi movement.

³⁹ Interviews by IPIS in Kinshasa and Kalemie, conducted in March 2007.

⁴⁰ A series of such complaints has been delivered to the NGO 'Promotion des Populations Indigènes' (PPI).

⁴¹ Interviews commissioned by IPIS, conducted in May 2007 by a local researcher.

⁴² Radio Okapi, *Nyunzu : 600 militaires refusent d'aller au brassage*, 17th of April 2007.

Motives

Hideout Food Security

The Kafuku Mayi-Mayi operate from the border area between Kongolo and Nyunzu. Studying the area on our dynamic maps, it is striking that the area combines the ideal characteristics of a hideout with proximity to food supplies. If Kafuku wanted his band of warriors to stay out of trouble, he chose the best spot in the area, because his headquarters is situated between steep slopes, densely covered and away from the major roads and villages. However, as much as the area is suited for survival, as little opportunities it offers for making profit. Therefore it is very unlikely that the group's main objective was to enrich themselves. The area is devoid of any important sites where natural resources can be extracted. Further East the soil contains many more treasures. Earlier on we pointed out that the alleged motivation of Kafuku for founding his rogue movement was grievance about his rank. If this was true, we would expect him to try and cause as much upheaval as possible in order to be heard. So far we cannot find any evidence supporting this assumption on our incidents map.

Natural resources

Incidents

DDR

For some of his fighters, grievance may have been an important reason to join his Mayi-Mayi movement. Kafuku arrived in the area in February 2007 accompanied by ten other men. After some additional recruitment their numbers may have increased to as much as 300, holding approximately 50 AK 47s⁴³. It is assumed that among his recruits there were several disgruntled demobilised Mayi-Mayi⁴⁴. This may seem surprising, because Nyunzu is the only territory in Katanga where reinsertion programmes of ex-combatants are currently running. However, these programmes only started in March 2007, a month after the arrival of Kafuku, which may explain why the ex-Mayi-Mayi joined his group and maybe also why after 4 months Rahiya Mutumboki managed to disband them again.

The FARDC units in Nuynzu have always claimed their presence was required to protect the people against remaining Mayi-Mayi elements. However, when they were ordered to deal with the Kafuku problem in the North, they refused to act before they were paid certain arrears⁴⁵. There is not much logic in justifying your deployment by security problems and then refusing to handle them. Although protecting the local population may not be the real motivation for the FARDC presence in the area, the arrival of the Kafuku militia provided them with a credible pretext.

⁴³ Interview by IPIS in Lubumbashi, conducted in April 2007.

⁴⁴ Confidential written MONUC source, 3rd of April 2007.

⁴⁵ Ibidem.

Elections

There are some elements supporting the hypothesis that the FARDC are in Nyunzu because of a power issue. Within MONUC it is asserted that units of the FARDC and the 'Police Nationale Congolaise' (PNC) loyal to Kabila chased many Pygmies from their houses and villages on the eve of the 2006 elections, because the Pygmies in Nyunzu are known to vote for the 'Patriotes Résistants Mai-Mai' (PRM), the Mayi-Mayi political party⁴⁶. On the other hand, the whole territory is worth only one parliamentary seat and during the presidential elections many Pygmies did register and they voted massively for Joseph Kabila⁴⁷.

Food security Natural resources

Recalling the permanent deployment of FARDC troops at Lunga and the surrounding area, the most important explanation for the continuing army presence becomes clear. Looking at our maps, we find that the Kamuna and Mubimbe village groups offer little in terms of agriculture but they are rich in gold. The presence of this natural resource in the area has been known for a long time. The considerable potential for gold mining in Lunga, however, was only discovered in April 2002⁴⁸. Very soon the place became a sort of Eldorado. At first it was mostly the people of traditional chief Mubimbe who profited from the gold extraction. It did not take long, though, for others to arrive. A wide array of administrative and military actors has tried to benefit from the gold found in Lunga, mostly through exploiting the diggers. Militarily, between 2002 and 2007 the mine was consecutively controlled by Mayi-Mayi soldiers under the command of 'Tango 4', FARDC soldiers of the Kalemie brigade, FARDC soldiers of the Kongolo brigade and FARDC soldiers of the Nyunzu battalion. In October/November 2006 soldiers of the last two even confronted each other for control over the site⁴⁹. It is not clear whether any shots were ever fired but for more than a month the Lunga site was divided into two zones, one under the control of the FARDC Nyunzu commanded by Major Boulot (ex-government) and one under the control of the FARDC Kongolo commanded by Captain Mamadou (ex-MLC)⁵⁰. Both army units, weapons drawn, did not want to give ground and awaited orders from the regional headquarters in Lubumbashi. In the meantime, the civilian population, scared because of the enduring tension, massively fled in the jungle or elsewhere⁵¹. Finally, after the orders came from Lubumbashi, Captain Mamadou and his soldiers left the area to return to Kongolo. Major Boulot stayed together with his 60 soldiers from a mixed background. They have been involved in serious human rights violations including pillaging, illegal arrests, extortion and assault⁵². Many of these crimes are linked to the mining activity in the area.

⁴⁶ Electronic correspondence with an NGO that campaigns for Pygmy rights, May 2007.

⁴⁷ Interviews commissioned by IPIS, conducted in May 2007 by a local researcher.

⁴⁸ Interview by IPIS in Kalemie, conducted in April 2007.

⁴⁹ A short explanation of how it is possible that two units of the same army end up in the same area to confront each other: Nyunzu is one of the territories that was occupied by the RCD during the Congo wars. Under RCD rule, the military command structure of the area was changed. There were 2 military zones in Katanga. The first comprised Kalemie, Moba and Manono and fell under the control of the Kalemie brigade. Kongolo, Kabalo and Nyunzu formed the second and were occupied by the Kongolo brigade. When the Kalemie and Kongolo brigades left for 'brassage', the RCD structures were abandoned and all the Katangese territories fell under the command of the regional headquarters in Lubumbashi. Captain Mamadou and his unit were a remnant of the RCD system, Major Boulot was his replacement of the 'new system'.

⁵⁰ Interviews commissioned by IPIS, conducted in May 2007 by a local researcher.

⁵¹ In addition, it was not only the armed officials who fought over the gold mine area; the different political and administrative authorities were also involved in a bitter conflict. Both the Nyunzu territory administrator and the Mubimbe traditional chief claimed the right to levy taxes on mining activities, leading to double taxation. The fiscal fight got physical when allies of Chief Mubimbe assaulted the territory administrator who spent a lot of time in Lunga. Chief Mubimbe was convicted for the assault and currently resides in Kalemie on probation.

⁵² Confidential written MONUC source, February 2007.

Recent developments

Currently the situation has calmed down. The 60 soldiers who patrolled and controlled the Lunga area have left. Coincidence or not, the rumour is that less gold is being found. It is the PNC (Police Nationale Congolaise) who now have the responsibility to secure Lunga and the other mining sites. The problems of the local population, however, are far from being solved. The civilian population of Lunga continues to live in fear of the authorities. The military is gone but also the PNC are armed with machine guns⁵³. Even though their relationship with the local community is better, new cases of human rights violations have been reported⁵⁴.

⁵³ It is interesting to note that the PNC suffer from the same internal divisions as the FARDC. The PNC in the Tanganyika district is made up of Governmental and ex-RCD agents. They have been mixed but they do not function as a unified force.

⁵⁴ Interviews commissioned by IPIS, conducted in May 2007 by a local researcher.



Industrial ruins at Shinkolobwe, May 2007

The Copperbelt

The Copperbelt comprises the axis Lubumbashi-Likasi-Kolwezi. Since the offensive of the 'Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo' (AFDL) towards Kinshasa in '96-'97, the territory has always remained in the hands of the Congolese government in Kinshasa.

Situation

Mayi-Mayi
MONUC
FARDC

The presence of (ex-) combatants in the Copperbelt region is limited. The notorious warlord Gedeon, who is held in Lubumbashi after his surrender, is probably the only relevant Mayi-Mayi in the area. The regional headquarters of MONUC are in Lubumbashi too, but that is their only base in the whole of the Copperbelt. The FARDC, on the contrary, are represented in several parts. The 64th brigade of Lubumbashi and the 65th of Kolwezi were both sent for 'brassage' to Kamina but in both cases a battalion remained behind. Besides the two battalions, units of the Presidential Guard and Military Justice are also present on the ground. In addition, throughout the area small groups of armed (ex-) combatants are scattered. It is difficult to know the exact location and number of soldiers in

the Copperbelt because of several reasons. A first problem is that many FARDC elements wear civilian clothing, even when they are on duty. Second, not every armed and uniformed official is a FARDC soldier. Congolese state agents carrying weapons include the FARDC, the 'Garde Spécial pour la Sécurité Présidentielle' (GSSP), the 'Agence Nationale de Renseignements' (ANR), the 'Police Nationale', the 'Police Militaire', the 'Police Criminelle' (Bureau 2) and the 'Police des Mines'. A third important reason is that not only state officials hold weapons. Private security agents are one example, but there are also FARDC deserters who have not handed over their weapons.

Motives

Food security

Although the bulk of the FARDC troops have left the Copperbelt for 'brassage', small units and individual soldiers are still spotted at mining areas. There are no compelling security reasons for them to be there, so we need to look for other factors that could explain their presence. Our survival map shows that the Copperbelt is a region with considerable agricultural activity. Although food may not be easily available at mining sites, it is never far away. Without any doubt the average Congolese soldier and his commander prefer patrolling the fertile soil of the Copperbelt to deployment in a poor area like Mitwaba. Clearly the enormous mineral deposits in the region, once the driving force behind the Zairian state economy, are an important draw too. The region is by far the richest in the province and arguably also of the DRC as a whole. A smart soldier can make a profit in the Copperbelt.

Natural resources

Elections

There may be a third explanation for the FARDC deployments in the area. In recent history the relationship between the Northern and Southern Katangese has been repeatedly antagonistic. Despite a long stay abroad, father and son Kabila are both considered as Luba Northerners. Consequently the popularity of the president is less in the South of the province and, according to the results of the 2nd round of the presidential elections, particularly in the Copperbelt. In this respect the FARDC presence may have a power function by demonstrating state authority.

Below we discuss the presence of some FARDC and GSSP units at several mines throughout the Copperbelt. We can only elaborate on some specific cases. Naturally there may be differences in the security situation at every individual mining site, but still the following examples should give a clear view of the role of (ex-) combatants in such places.

Shinkolobwe

The Shinkolobwe mine is situated at 30 km from Likasi and Kambove. It is one of the most notorious places in the DRC. Not only because the heterogenite found in Shinkolobwe contains a high percentage of cobalt, but chiefly because it also contains a significant amount of uranium. Because of its dangerous contents, in 1960 Belgian authorities filled the main shafts of the Shinkolobwe mine with concrete. It did not stop others from digging in Shinko and from 1997 till August 2004 some 6,000 artisanal

miners lived and worked in the area⁵⁵. In January 2004 access to the site was banned by presidential decree. However, only after a serious collapse in July 2004, it was finally abandoned.

Access to the site is not easy due to the poor condition of the entrance road that branches off from the road Likasi-Kambove. For this reason in the rainy seasons mostly bikes and motorcycles are used for transport. Not a single village is located along this track.

At the back of the mining site another track leads to the Likasi-Kambove road. As opposed to the first one, a number of villages are situated along this road, 4 in total. Starting from Shinkolobwe it passes: Kimpese, Mukumbi, Sandra and Lumba. Near the Kimpese village a small mine is located at 7 km from Shinkolobwe. Because of this mine, groups of 'creuseurs' (artisan miners) came to the village and consequently the population of Kimpese has grown in the last few years.

The site is guarded by armed men who seldom wear uniforms. Previously it was a mixed team of GSSP, Bureau 2 and Military Justice that patrolled the site, but now it is the sole responsibility of FARDC soldiers of Military Justice. These guards are stationed at the front entrance of the mining site, at 200 meters from the first mining pit and +/- 1 km from the major mine. They frequently patrol the entire mining area. In theory there is a rotation system for these guards but at least one of them, a so called 'Alpha', has been there since the closure of the mine⁵⁶.

Artisanal mining is still a daily business in Shinkolobwe. A first group of miners enters the mine from the Kimpese side⁵⁷. Because they have been working in the uranium mines before the closure, they know the area very well. They operate secretly in small teams and without the consent of the patrolling guards. A second group enters via the main access road. The diggers negotiate an entrance fee with the commander of the sentry post and a soldier accompanies them to the 'best' pits⁵⁸. The cost to enter varies but in general the 'creuseurs' have to hand over half of their yields⁵⁹. The diggers leave their bikes at the entrance of the mine. A last group enters the mine on the authority of a high-ranking officer of the FARDC military court. Whatever minerals they gather belong to the FARDC officer, the workers receive a fixed pay. More than one magistrate is implicated and even a Judge Advocate General⁶⁰. The activities described above continue during day or night. The transport of the minerals to Likasi mostly takes place during the night.

⁵⁵ The artisan workers were completely exposed to the radiation. They lived in small huts in the vicinity of the mining site. They did not have access to drinking water because all water resources in the area were polluted with heavy metals and even radioactive. Because of this they face a high risk of developing certain types of cancer.

⁵⁶ Interviews commissioned by IPIS, conducted in April and May 2007 by a local researcher.

⁵⁷ Ibidem.

⁵⁸ Ibidem.

⁵⁹ When the mixed GSSP, Brigade 2 and Military Justice unit guarded the site, the cost to enter varied according to the capabilities of the digger and the mood of the soldiers on duty. It never exceeded 100\$/person though, so the diggers, receiving approximately 50\$ for every bag of 25kg of heterogenite from Shinkolobwe they sold, needed to fill at least three bags to make profit.

⁶⁰ Interviews commissioned by IPIS, conducted in April and May 2007 by a local researcher.

Luisha

Luisha is a small mining village on the road from Lubumbashi to Likasi. Several mines are located in the near vicinity of the town: the Hewa Bora site, the Mbola site, the Luisha site and the Kateketa site. Some of them are exploited by major mining operators such as CMSK (Compagnie minière de Sud Katanga) which has a concession to extract minerals at the Hewa Bora mine. Other sites are operated by smaller players often from Lebanese or Chinese origin.

Armed personnel from an array of state services is stationed in Luisha village or in the surrounding mining areas. Most of them are from the PNC or the mining police. Soldiers also frequent the area. From time to time and irregularly, FARDC elements are seen around Luisha. The GSSP, by contrast, is constantly and prominently present⁶¹. Officially it patrols the sites to control workers and buyers on their compliance with the existing procedures. They are mostly spotted at the Kateketa mine where they seem to have a special interest. GSSP soldiers stationed there demand a fee that varies between 700 and 1000\$ for every truck loaded with minerals that wants to leave the site. Under the authority of General Kifwa the GSSP soldiers assure the drivers they can leave the mine and drive straight to Lubumbashi without anybody (or any other service) bothering them⁶².

⁶¹ Interviews by IPIS In Lubumbashi, conducted in March and April 2007.

⁶² Ibidem.



*Ex-Governor Mukena meets Mayi-Mayi leader Mvwende
Picture by courtesy of the Royal Museum of Central Africa in Tervuren*

The Centre

Whenever we use the term 'Central Katanga' in this report, we are referring to the Mitwaba, Malemba Nkulu and Bukama territories. Although the war against the RCD never really reached as far as Central Katanga⁶³, the area went through a very difficult and bloody transition period. It was situated directly behind the front line. Therefore, during the war, popular defence groups were organised in case the RCD would continue their advance. Later the FAPs turned into Mayi-Mayi groups who became a menace and even a terror for the local population. The fief of several notorious Mayi-Mayi leaders, such as Kabale, Makabe and Gédéon, lies within this area. The killings and other human rights violations in Katanga led to the delineation of two triangles of death, of which the larger part falls within the Central Katanga territories.

Malemba Nkulu

Katanga

At the heart of Katanga, Malemba Nkulu is far away from the major roads or railway lines and is therefore a bit isolated. The territory is divided by the Congo River. Its most striking feature is the Upemba Lake, which is used for fishing. The soil surrounding the lake, especially the right bank of the Congo River, is very fertile and important for the food production in the

⁶³ Apart from the North East.

region. Although it cannot be compared to the Copperbelt region with its enormous mineral wealth, the territory of Malemba Nkulu is relatively rich in terms of natural resources.

Situation

Mayi-Mayi

On the West bank the Mayi-Mayi violence stopped in the course of 2005. At that time the territory was controlled by Makabe, the 'godfather' of the Katangese Mayi-Mayi movement. Until today he continues to exert an important influence over the area. Makabe gave up the life of a militia leader and withdrew to a village called Musao. According to MONUC and FARDC estimates approximately 1000 ex-combatants and their families followed him. After their demobilisation the former Mayi-Mayi warriors have taken up farming, but it is rumoured they may be re-activated at any moment, especially since they still dispose of firearms. By August 2005 a number of Makabe's militia men had surrendered their weapons through the 'bicycles for weapons' programme of the Congolese NGO PAREC. The execution of the programme was a partial success but PAREC clearly did not succeed in disarming all the Makabe Mayi-Mayi. It is not known how many firearms were kept and MONUC is hesitant to discuss the issue of further disarmament with the group in fear of creating disruptive turmoil. The matter is more than a simple rumour. The group was particularly worrying during the 2006 elections, when it was feared they would cause problems in case Joseph Kabila had not been elected. The ties between Makabe and some powerful Luba figures are generally known (BOX 5). In October 2006, during the second round of the presidential elections, election observers have seen some of his men walking around while carrying arms.

BOX 5: Makabe and his patrons

After the ousting of Mobutu in 1997, with the appointment of Governor Gaëtan Kakudji, the traditional power system in Katanga was seriously compromised. On several occasions provincial authorities in Malemba Nkulu appointed their trustees in powerful positions, defying local traditions by sidelining traditional chiefs. One of them was Makabe, who was appointed as chief of the Mayi-Mayi and who officially received the grade of general in 2000⁶⁴. Makabe's powerful family members, his nephew General John Numbi and his uncle Governor Ngoy Mukena, gave him the necessary financial, moral and political support to lead a large paramilitary organisation operating throughout Malemba and parts of the neighbouring territories Bukama and Kabongo. Governor Mukena appointed Makabe as the responsible for the security in Malemba Nkulu and at the same time General Numbi ordered the FARDC to leave Malemba Nkulu⁶⁵.

On several occasions the three of them met in Musao, Makabe's hometown and headquarters, where Makabe was provided with a motorbike, bicycles, money and other goods⁶⁶.

Several people have testified on paper and tape on the close relationship between Makabe, Numbi and Mukena⁶⁷. The testimonies indicate that

⁶⁴ Another famous example is Mvwende, a Mayi-Mayi leader entitled by governor Mukena to become the village chief of Kabumbule, Mukena's birthplace. ASADHO, CDH & CVDHO, *Nord-Katanga. Attaques délibérées contre la population civile*, October 2003, 42 pp.

⁶⁵ MONUC, *Mission to Malemba Nkulu*, 24/09/03, 10 pp.

⁶⁶ Confidential sources, Malemba Nkulu.

Mukena and Numbi knew about the serious human rights violations committed by Makabe and his Mayi-Mayi, but refrained from undertaking any action against him. That Governor Mukena was well aware of the Mayi-Mayi crimes can even be deduced from some of his press statements⁶⁸. Makabe's connections with powerful Baluba figures, who can be held responsible for the horrendous crimes he committed, may explain why his group has been left unbothered until today, although the authorities are well aware he has not surrendered all of his weapons.

On the East Bank, controlled by Gédéon, the Mayi-Mayi attacks against civilians persisted beyond 2005. Currently, most security problems in this area have been solved. During a large scale operation in the area, the FARDC swept aside the Mayi-Mayi, who fled into the Upemba Park. By now almost all refugees in Eastern Malemba Nkulu have returned to their homes but many of them are still in need of assistance and the region will need time to recover from the considerable social and economic destruction.

FARDC

Within the current military structure of the 6th military region, the Malemba Nkulu territory falls under the authority of the 67th brigade in Manono. A single battalion, the 673rd, is quartered in Malemba 'cité' where it tends to stay most of the time. Generally speaking the 673rd battalion is less reputable than the army units in Mitwaba or other places.

Recent developments

It is noteworthy that, the 4th of June 2007, the administrator of Malemba went to Musao in an effort to negotiate on a serious dispute between Makabe and a trader from Kamina. According to OCHA the administrator will also discuss the further demobilisation of Makabe and his group⁶⁹.

Motives

Natural resources Hideout Food security

When Makabe retreated to Musao, he did not go there to get rich. Compared to the rest of the territory it is probably the poorest area in terms of natural resources. He became the virtual leader of Musao and the surrounding area probably because it is a suitable hideout. Exactly at the heart of the Luba territory, it is situated far away from the major roads, between the few steep elevations on the West Bank of the Congo River and it has plenty of farmland. Makabe currently holds a local power position but above we have already explained that he may still have the ambition (or others for him) to play a more important role.

Chief killings

Primitive and folkloristic as they may be, the Mayi-Mayi are an important factor of power in Central Katanga.

⁶⁷ Ibidem.

⁶⁸ IRIN, *Soupçonnés de cannibalisme, 8 000 miliciens Mai Mai sont désarmés au Sud Katanga (RDC)*.12/02/03

⁶⁹ OCHA, *Situation report*. 26-2nd of February 2007.

Throughout their existence the Mayi-Mayi fighters have been used by local chiefs to settle power disputes by force. On several occasions the militias came to a specific village 'at the invitation of' the incumbent traditional chief or his challenger, to tilt the power balance in their favour. Our power map shows that the specific targeting of traditional chiefs by the Mayi-Mayi is characteristic for the Central Katanga region. Quite illustrative in this respect is the table below which gives an overview of the traditional chiefs specifically targeted and killed by Mayi-Mayi in the Chiefdom of Kyona Ngoy (North Mitwaba) alone.

Name	Chief of	Date	Mayi-Mayi perpetrators
Léopold Kazadi Mukutwa	Kyona Ngoy	11-Nov-03	Tortured and killed by Kambezenge and Sukuma
André Ntamba Kabango	Katolo	11-Nov-03	Tortured and killed by Kambezenge and Sukuma
Kapeta Ngoy	Musomali	25-May-04	Killed by Pulalele
Ngoy Kashindi	Mwele	25-May-04	Killed by James Bokande
Kalenga Kijuki	Mubidi	08-Apr-05	Tortured and killed in Kwiyoungongo
Kitwanga	Kileba	01-Dec-05	Killed by Manongo and Nkole
Bruno Kingombe	Kingombe	Jun-05	Killed by Demete, Bavon and Kalobwa
Kiyombo	Kapanda	Apr-05	Killed by Samwilwa
Ngoy Maluki	Kawama	26-Mar-04	Killed by Ntamba
Kasengo	Dilenge	26-Mar-04	Killed by Kalolo
Sente Kyalwe Manike	Ntambo	Mar-05	Killed by Katema
Matembo Musajya	Nkuswa	May-06	Tortured and killed by Kalolo, Kabambe and Nkwala

The practice of using the Mayi-Mayi in a power struggle persists until today. When Great Chief Kayumba came to Lubumbashi in early 2007 for health reasons, his opponent Kyata seized the opportunity to allow a number of Mayi-Mayi to return to the Upemba Park⁷⁰. Their presence is threatening for Kayumba and complicates his return to his Chiefdom.

On several occasions Mayi-Mayi leaders got involved in a power struggle on their own account instead of being invited. They chased or killed the local leaders hoping they could become a traditional chief themselves. Some leaders even managed to climb to such a position, as in the case of the former war chief Mvwende who rules over the village group of Kabumbulu after chasing chief Mushikonke.

Natural resources Food security

After the territory of Kayumba was cleansed of Gédéon elements, the 673rd battalion has remained mostly in Malemba 'cité'. Apart from the Makabe problem – which is the prime responsibility of the SMI, CONADER and MONUC – there are no pressing security reasons for it to stay. Given their profits from illegal tin mining⁷¹ and the abundance of food in the area the 673rd is reluctant to leave for 'brassage'.

⁷⁰ Newsletter of the NGO Kanyundu, February 2007.

⁷¹ Interviews by IPIS in Mitwaba, conducted in March 2007.

The Upemba Park

'Parc Upemba' comprises parts of three Katangese territories: Malemba Nkulu, Mitwaba and Bukama. In colonial times, it used to be a popular tourist area frequented by the Belgians living in the province. At that time it was abundant with birds and wildlife. During the Congo wars and certainly after the subsequent transition, the quiet and beautiful park became the scenery of some horrendous crimes. What little was left of the park infrastructure has now been destroyed completely and because of widespread poaching the population of wild animals has decreased dramatically⁷².

Situation

Mayi-Mayi

Even today small pockets of uncontrolled Mayi-Mayi remain within the Parc. At least 150 Mayi-Mayi are living in a cave system inside the park, popularly known as 'La Caserne' (the barracks). These Mayi-Mayi are led by a Commander named Kisao. They never left the park and consequently have never been involved in any DDR programme. They are armed with automatic weapons and bows and arrows. The men of Kisao are not the only group of (ex)-combatants in the park region. Recently park rangers have reported that other bands have returned to their former whereabouts⁷³. Often they are Mayi-Mayi that reported themselves to enter a CONADER DDR programme but who preferred to return to their lives in the park. Some of them have not been accepted in their villages of origin, others grew tired of waiting for the start of a doubtful reinsertion programme. Returning ex-combatants have been spotted in Kadimudilo, Kaluba, Kyezya and Mbwe⁷⁴. There has been at least one exchange of fire with the park rangers and one civilian hunter has been killed while trying to pass through the Mayi-Mayi encampments⁷⁵.

FARDC

No army units are stationed within the park. It is the 'garde de chasse', a parc ranger unit, that patrols and secures the area. However, three FARDC units are located in the near vicinity: the 673rd battalion in Malemba 'cité', the 631st battalion in Mitwaba and elements of the 2nd combat group in Bukama.

MONUC

MONUC has no military presence in the park. Up till now they have not sent a reconnaissance mission to the area to check on the recent developments.

Motives

Hideout Natural resources

If the Mayi-Mayi who stayed in the Upemba Park or returned to it, wanted to hide themselves to be never found again, they could not have chosen a better place in the whole of Katanga. There does not seem to be any other reason besides mere survival for the (ex-) combatants to go there. There are no natural resources worth mentioning. They can poach what little wildlife is left in the Park and hide on the forested elevations but that is

⁷² A sad and telling example are the elephants of the park. The remaining herds have fled to some small islands in the middle of the Upemba lake where they cannot be followed by those who try to hunt them down.

⁷³ Newsletter of the NGO Kanyundu, February 2007.

⁷⁴ The last three villages are close to the 'Caserne' caves, which may indicate that the dispersed Mayi-Mayi elements are regrouping.

⁷⁵ Newsletter of the NGO Kanyundu, February 2007.

basically it. Maybe some of them think their involvement in the Mayi-Mayi movement may yield them a local power position but so far none of them has come forward with such ambitions. If they were not a threat to the people and animals in the Park, they would be forgotten by now.

Mitwaba

If Malemba Nkulu is a remote territory, Mitwaba is the back of beyond. There is no railway, no major road nor any other transport axis within the territorial borders. During the rainy season the road condition deteriorates severely and Mitwaba is only accessible by bike or air transport. Many parts are hilly and forested, with national parks covering half the territory. Since 2003, as a consequence of a violent transition period, a humanitarian crisis has emerged, worsened and persisted in most of the territory. Improvement only began after the surrender of the warlord Gédéon in May 2006.

Whereas previously Mitwaba was considered the most important crisis area in Katanga, attention has now shifted to other areas. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Food Programme (WFP) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) have left Mitwaba. From the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) a single employee remains. 'Médecins Sans Frontières' (MSF) - Belgium and 'Action Contre la Faim' (ACF) are still treating people, but their programmes will finish soon as well.

Situation

DDR

Gédéon and his wife surrendered themselves to MONUC on the 12th of May 2006⁷⁶. The remaining Mayi-Mayi in the area soon followed their example. The impact was so enormous that by October 2006, 49,199 out of 52,048 Internally Displaced People (IDPs) in Mitwaba had returned to their villages and the wave of violent incidents had stopped. In June 2006 CONADER started a DDR programme in Mitwaba and processed a caseload of 615 Mayi-Mayi. After a considerable test of their patience and a vehement demonstration at the CONADER office, the disarmed ex-combatants received a one-time allowance of 300\$ each in December 2006⁷⁷. When FARDC elements allegedly stole the 300\$ from 2 or 3 Mayi-Mayi, the situation became very tense. On the 23th of December the CONADER building was set on fire and MONUC had to intervene to resolve the situation. Soon after that CONADER left Mitwaba.

Despite the progress made, the situation in Mitwaba remains volatile. More than 200 Mayi-Mayi and their families have pitched camp near the town and do not want to go back to their places of origin. Among them are the father of Gédéon and several other of his family members. Small incidents regularly degenerate into open conflict. On 1st of March 2007, for example, some of the Mayi-Mayi went hunting and fishing in the Upemba Park. On their hunting trip they allegedly stole the weapon of a park ranger before their return to Kasungeshi. The Kasungeshi police, informed by the ranger, arrested two of the Mayi-Mayi using force. The 211 Mayi-Mayi in Mitwaba

⁷⁶ Misunga M., Le fameux Gédéon Kyungu s'est finalement rendu à la MONUC après avoir brûlé dernièrement 10 villages à Mitwaba. In : *Mukuba*, Edition N° 352 du 26 mai au 1^{er} juin 2006, p. 2.

⁷⁷ Interview by IPIS in Mitwaba, conducted in March 2007.

reacted furiously to the arrests, attacking the Kasungehsi police and organising a violent protest in Mitwaba. The Mitwaba police opened fire and the situation might have escalated completely if MONUC had not intervened⁷⁸.

Mayi-Mayi

A consequence of the stalled, if not failing, reintegration process is that several small bands of ex-combatants are regrouping. For example in Kibula, just south of Bisonso, former Mayi-Mayi have been gathering since February 2007. The same goes for Muvule, where Mayi-Mayi have been regrouping since the end of March under the leadership of a certain Diseleti⁷⁹. It is a small group consisting of about 20 to 30 fighters plus their families.

Despite his detention in Lubumbashi Gédéon remains a key player with respect to the security situation in Mitwaba. The Mayi-Mayi who have remained in the territory receive letters from him on a regular basis and still seem to be loyal to the warlord⁸⁰. They claim the letters contain his orders, which would mean that, in spite of his situation, he actually even controls them.

A year after his surrender and arrest, more and more voices are being raised about the fact that the Congolese justice has not been eager to prosecute Gédéon⁸¹. It is a widespread public belief that a lawsuit against Gédéon might put some people within the military hierarchy in a very awkward position, because in the course of the proceedings their role in arms deliveries and illegal trade in natural resources might be revealed (Box 6).

BOX 6: Arms for resources?

There are indications that during the transition the Mayi-Mayi in Mitwaba collaborated with the FARDC in exploiting natural resources in exchange for weapons⁸². While the Mayi-Mayi did most of the digging, the army bought the minerals and transported them to the market⁸³. The cooperation became strained after 17th of March 2005, when the Mayi-Mayi attacked the army in Nkonga. But weapon deliveries to the Mayi-Mayi probably persisted in 2006. During an interrogation of Mayi-Mayi warriors of the Bavon group by the 673rd battalion of Malemba Nkulu in January 2006, a Mayi-Mayi confessed that his group in 'Parc Upemba' received arms and munitions from a 'green, black and blue plane' (helicopter) landing in Lusinga⁸⁴. It is noteworthy that, besides the MONUC aircraft, only 4 helicopters flew in the Katangese airspace during that period⁸⁵. Two of them belong to the FARDC Air Force, the other two are privately owned by Air Force Commander John Numbi. Other Mayi-Mayi, originating from the Bukama territory, interrogated by

⁷⁸ Interviews by IPIS in Mitwaba, conducted in March 2007.

⁷⁹ It is rumoured that Diseleti wants to become the village chief of Muvule.

⁸⁰ Interviews by IPIS in Mitwaba, conducted in March 2007.

⁸¹ Asadho/Katanga, for example, in its press release 004/2007 of the 15th of May 2007, denounces preferential treatment of Gedeon in the Officers' mess in Lubumbashi and presents it as an example of the government's attitude towards the former Mayi-Mayi leaders in Katanga in general.

⁸² MONUC, *Mission Report Mitwaba*, 25th of April-2nd of May 2006, p. 4.

⁸³ Interviews by IPIS in Mitwaba, conducted in March 2007.

⁸⁴ Transcription of the interrogation in an FARDC report.

⁸⁵ Interview by IPIS in Kinshasa, conducted in March 2007.

⁸⁶ Confidential source, summary of the ANR reports.

the ANR in October 2006, stated that General Mbuza Maba from the army base in Kamina and Joseph Tanga from the ANR in Kamina supplied them with weapons⁸⁶. They claimed the weapons were exchanged for gold, gems and other valuables.

FARDC

At present a single FARDC battalion, the 631st, remains at the outskirts of Mitwaba town. The rest of the 63rd Brigade, which is notorious for its human rights violations, left to Kamina for 'brassage'⁸⁷. Even in 2007 abuses against the local population took place. According to OCHA, the military forced civilians to exploit natural resources in the north of Mitwaba⁸⁸.

Motives

DDR Food Security

The Mayi-Mayi of Gédéon remain in their temporary encampment in Mitwaba because they expect to participate in a reinsertion programme. They are waiting to receive some land to cultivate or a job, so they can feel respected and live a normal civilian life⁸⁹. Their behaviour is a bit surprising because the large majority received a considerable compensation (300\$) from CONADER. However, their grievances may be sincere because there is little else in the area that might be of interest to them. They are no longer involved in the illegal exploitation of natural resources and they have a hard time to survive in Mitwaba because of the lack of food. The grievances of the Mayi-Mayi of Gédéon are not imaginary. Their reintegration is very difficult. On the 26th of January 2007, 15 Mayi-Mayi who had returned to their village of origin reappeared in Mitwaba. They had not been accepted by their fellow-villagers and had nowhere else to go. Another striking example is the village of Mwema which was rebuilt by both IDPs and demobilised Mayi-Mayi. With its mixed population it was a symbolic example of successful reintegration for a while, until insurmountable problems arose and the local villagers withdrew to build a new village for their own.

The regrouping Mayi-Mayi are probably trying to facilitate their survival. Diseleti is clearly power-motivated too. Muvule is a farming area with several wealthy villages. It would be a rewarding position for him to become its local leader.

The territory of Mitwaba was one of the last to be pacified. Even now uncontrolled Mayi-Mayi roam in the Upemba Park, just a stone's throw from Mitwaba town. Although there is no acute security problem, it is therefore logic to retain a certain FARDC presence in the area, in this case the 631st battalion.

⁸⁷ In the long list of violations recorded by Human Rights Watch we find a.o. execution in arrest, rape, torturing, and extortion. Cases of execution in arrest of both Mayi-Mayi and civilians have been reported in Mitwaba, Sampwe and Kasungushi.

⁸⁸ OCHA, *Situation Report*, 26-2nd of February 2007.

⁸⁹ Interviews by IPIS in Mitwaba, conducted in March 2007.



The 'harbour' of Pweto

The East

Pweto

The territory of Pweto has been the setting of several combats throughout the Congo wars. The RCD/FAC front line cut the North of Pweto off from the rest of the territory.

Situation

DDR

There is only a very small Mayi-Mayi presence in the Pweto area. If we exclude the mysterious (and unconfirmed) Dema group, approximately 300 adult (ex-)Mayi-Mayi remain within the borders of the territory, none of them active. A little more than 200 disarmament certificates were distributed. Most ex-combatants of the Ntumbi group and some of the Kafindo group possessing a disarmament certificate received a 20\$ transportation fee. No major incidents involving (ex-) Mayi-Mayi occurred in the last 6 months. Local sources and reports from observers confirm that the situation is very quiet and that the local militias have returned to their villages and started farming. The only problem that still persists in the region are small bands of men presenting themselves as former Mayi-Mayi who complain that they have not received the 20\$ distributed by the CRK programme nor any 'compensation kit'.

Mayi-Mayi

Not far from Kasama, a small group of less than 100 Mayi-Mayi 'child soldiers' lives in the forest. They are still active in the sense that they have never really surrendered. They possess no real arms, however, and negotiations are ongoing⁹⁰.

FARDC

As opposed to the relatively quiet Mayi-Mayi situation, the Pweto territory is currently one of the areas with the largest FARDC presence. Pweto town is the headquarters of the 1200-1800 men strong 62nd Brigade under the command of Major Massamba, who is better known by his nickname 'Kagame'. Together with the 67th brigade of Manono and the 2nd Combat Group they are the only army units in Katanga of which not a single soldier has been sent to Kamina for the 'brassage' process.

The 62nd brigade has a notorious past. It was involved in several human rights incidents during the transition, among which the infamous Kilwa revolt in October 2004. As a consequence, its former commander, Colonel Ilunga Ademars, has been arrested and replaced.

Even though the leadership of the Pweto brigade changed several times (Major Massamba took over the command of the 62nd brigade in October 2006, after a period of temporary commanders), it is still involved in crime and several human rights violations. Cases mentioned by interviewees or in reports by observers include extortion, illegal taxation, forced labour, theft, torture and humiliation⁹¹. Besides these specific security incidents, the FARDC troops create a general feeling of insecurity. They tend to drive overtly around in residential areas, in the back of pick-ups, machine guns and rocket launchers in hand. Because of their protracted presence and military power they have a significant amount of control over the political, economic and social life in Pweto.

Motives

Hideout Food Security

The Mayi-Mayi child soldiers east of Kasama are a sad example of the social problem the (ex-) combatants have become. It is a remote area which has nothing to offer to them besides a hiding place for an illegal 'armed' group. For an individual child the place has nothing to offer at all.

The most important question about the security situation in Pweto that needs answering is why the 62nd brigade is still there, in full numbers and omnipresent.

There are clear indications that Major Massamba and his troops are eager to stay where they are. Firstly, the 62nd brigade actively creates reasons to justify its presence in the area. A point in case is the border incident with Zambian troops in March 2007 in Kapingu, Moba (see Box 7).

⁹⁰ Interviews by IPIS in Pweto, conducted in March 2007.

⁹¹ Ibidem.

BOX 7: *Zambian soldiers in Kapingu*

Kapingu is a small village situated at the Northern end of Lake Moero Wantipa, near the Zambian border, in the territory of Moba. The Moba territory previously fell under the authority of an independent company which left for 'brassage' early 2007. Since then the 62nd brigade of Pweto took over control over the adjunct territory of Moba.

The presence of Zambian soldiers in the village of Kapingu is not a new phenomenon. Throughout the Congolese wars Zambian soldiers often trespassed on the area because it was a convenient alternative to their normal patrol route through the muddy lake Wantipa. Because the village was mostly deserted, Zambian soldiers even took control of the town for a while. Until the arrival of the 62nd brigade the situation was never considered as an urgent problem⁹².

A similar tactic is the FARDC tendency to launch fake or at least unconfirmed security rumours. In February 2007, for example, they claimed that an attack on Pweto by Mayi-Mayi coming from the North (Manono and Moba) was imminent. A company was sent to Mwenge to intercept the Mayi-Mayi but they never encountered a single fighter⁹³.

Secondly, the 62nd brigade withstood the official SMI mission from Kinshasa that came to Pweto to send the unit for 'brassage' to Kamina. According to several sources, key townspeople accepted bribes to give testimonies in favour of the 62nd brigade. Even Colonel Jeannot, the leader of the visiting SMI mission, was bought off in order to prevent the 62nd from leaving for Kamina⁹⁴. Moreover, it is clear that Major Massamba is able to remain where here is thanks to his good relationship with some of his superiors. The visiting SMI mission was not the only one who recommended to the General Staff that the 62nd remain in Pweto. Both the regional command in Lubumbashi and the land force command in Kinshasa formulated a similar advice⁹⁵. Massamba seems to be a textbook example of the system of 'rapportage' we described earlier. Through monthly payments he takes good care of his patrons in Lubumbashi and Kinshasa, who consequently assure that he remains where he is stationed. It is difficult to track where the Major sends his money to. It is however noteworthy that for a while Massamba (ex-RCD) was the bodyguard of the land force chief of staff General Gabriel Amisi (ex-RCD) and that together with Colonel Tshibumb (ex-GOV), the 2nd in command of the 6th military region, he conducted the military operation against Gédéon⁹⁶.

If we take a look at our motivational maps, we can identify several reasons for the FARDC units to remain in Pweto.

**Food security
Natural
resources**

The Pweto territory is rich in terms of agriculture and fishing. For underpaid soldiers it is an ideal spot for survival. Besides survival, one can even make some money because there are some interesting mining sites in the area. The only industrial site is the Dikulushi mine near Kilwa, which is being operated by the Australian corporation Anvil Mining. At the mining site, FARDC soldiers of the 62nd brigade acting as security officers can earn a decent living. Besides Dikulushi, all other sites in Pweto are occupied by artisanal miners. The FARDC may have an interest in several of these sites, but especially one case is worth taking a closer look at. The Kapulo

⁹² Ibidem.

⁹³ Ibidem.

⁹⁴ Ibidem.

⁹⁵ Interview by IPIS in Lubumbashi, conducted in March 2007.

⁹⁶ Interviews by IPIS in Pweto and Lubumbashi, conducted in March 2007.

mine is situated on the road Pweto-Moba, alongside the Zambian border. Anvil Mining holds a concession for Kapulo but so far it has not started to exploit the site. It has however signed a contract with Mining Company Katanga (MCK) to secure the site after a collapse caused the death of several artisanal miners.

In the village of Kapulo, uniformed FARDC soldiers are stationed for security reasons. At the mining site, other soldiers dressed as civilians work as 'creuseurs'. Ordinary soldiers work in the cassiterite pits on their own account. The officers have people working for them. These workers often have no choice but to work for their 'clients' because they have been charged by the military with a certain 'crime'. On several occasions FARDC soldiers have collected illegal taxes among diggers and buyers⁹⁷.

FARDC elements of the 62nd brigade are also involved in trafficking of cassiterite. Benjamin Mwila, the former Zambian Minister of defence, has been spotted in Pweto on several occasions while staying at the house of Major Massamba. Together, they organise cross border transports of cassiterite that originates from Kapulo at Musosa, a small village in Moba territory⁹⁸. As opposed to Pweto, there is no Customs and Excise Office ('Office des Douanes et Accises', OFIDA) at the Musosa border crossing. The minerals pass from the DRC to Zambia without a single dollar of taxes being paid⁹⁹. Since the independent company of Moba left for 'brassage', it obviously did not take long for the 62nd brigade to take advantage of its extended area of control. It remains to be seen whether sooner or later Pweto soldiers will turn up in the goldmine of Ntoya too.

Recent developments

The third week of May 2007 a new attempt was made to send the 62nd brigade for 'brassage'. Governor Katumbi, who had been informed of the discontent of the population, has ordered General Kinkela, Commander of the 6th FARDC military region, to go to Pweto personally to pick up Major Massamba. The latter, however, ignored the orders of his superior and stayed. General Kinkela took the plane back to Lubumbashi without accomplishing his mission. To illustrate his resolve, Massamba ordered his soldiers to empty the heavy weapons depots and to position pieces of artillery around his residence.

At the beginning of June, Massamba finally gave in and returned to Lubumbashi. Immediately after his arrival in Lubumbashi he took a plane to Kinshasa¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁷ The 2nd of August 2006 a road block was erected at Sombosisi. Under the command of Sublieutenant Wasido, the soldiers manning the road block demanded 1000\$ per buyer who wanted to pass. The 2nd of October 2006 a 'money collection' was organised by the FARDC among the 'maisons d'achat' at the Kapulo site. Again the tax was 1000\$. The 14th of January 2007 a military squad led by Lieutenant Raphael Kayumba robbed the minerals of several workers at the mining site. According to the victims 7 tons were taken by force.

⁹⁸ Interview by IPIS in Lubumbashi, conducted in April 2007.

⁹⁹ Mwila makes no secret of his thriving business and claims that his 'brother' Moise Chapwe Katumbi is aware of his activities.

¹⁰⁰ OCHA, *Situation Report*, 7-13th of June 2007.



A Mayi-Mayi fighter registering after he surrendered his weapons

Conclusion

From a general perspective, the security situation in the Katanga province has improved considerably during the last year. Very few active Mayi-Mayi groups remain, more and more FARDC soldiers are sent for 'brassage', the large majority of IDPs has returned home and the 2006 elections took place without any major incidents.

Nevertheless, serious human rights violations by (ex-) combatants, especially FARDC soldiers, are still an everyday practice. There are still a lot of armed men in Katanga who are not always under control. Consequently they should be monitored.

Our geographic analysis indicates that the 4 motivations we have postulated may play a role in driving the behaviour of armed groups, although the evidence on grievance and particularly power motives is quite thin.

Elections

The hypothesis of a struggle for official political power can be ruled out completely. During the legislative elections, the majority of the province voted for Joseph Kabila's 'Partie du Peuple pour le Reconstruction et la Démocratie' (PPRD). Consequently, there has been no need for the FARDC to be deployed in certain areas to put pressure on the population

or to prevent possible uprisings. Even in those territories where other parties gained parliamentary seats, there has not been any strengthening of the FARDC deployments after the elections.

Chief killings

Our map 'chief killings' shows that the struggle for traditional power has been an important explanation for Mayi-Mayi behaviour during the past conflicts in Katanga, especially in the Upemba region. As the case of Chief Kayumba proves, the remaining Mayi-Mayi in the area continue to intervene in the power struggles of traditional chiefs. Their impact however is much less because their numbers are smaller, most of them surrendered their weapons and impunity no longer reigns.

Ethnic

Grievance does not seem to be an important motivation for the (ex-) combatants in Katanga either. Although our ethnic map shows that Katanga is a patchwork of different ethnic groups, no major conflicts exist between them. The Baluba, Babemba, Ruund, Bahemba and Tshokwe, the most important of the 43 ethnic groups in Katanga, peacefully coexist¹⁰¹. The relationship between the Bantu peoples and the Pygmies in North Katanga is also pacific. However, within the Pygmy community, serious grievances clearly exist. During the past Congo wars, some Pygmy Mayi-Mayi demonstrated a rather vindictive attitude towards the Bantu population. A Pygmy Mayi-Mayi unit no longer exists in Northern Katanga, but their awareness has been raised.

DDR

The flaws in the DDR process and the delay in its execution have created serious tensions among several groups of Mayi-Mayi throughout the Katangese territory. Grievances have emerged, especially in the East and the Centre of the province. After their disarmament, Mayi-Mayi are waiting for a compensation and those who cannot return to their place of origin expect assistance from the government or MONUC to settle somewhere else. There is, however, no clear link between the amount of assistance received by the Mayi-Mayi and the vehemence of their behaviour. The 20\$ CRK Mayi-Mayi of Fidèle Ntumbi in Pweto, for instance, seem to accept their fate, whereas the 300\$ CONADER Mayi-Mayi of Gédéon in Mitwaba use every opportunity to denounce it. Apparently, the Mayi-Mayi we would suspect of having the worst grievances, the least endowed, are not necessarily the most recalcitrant ones. Although grievance does not seem to be the main factor driving current Mayi-Mayi actions, it should not be overlooked that discontent with the DDR process is very real. The (ex-) combatants grow tired of waiting and it is not to be excluded they might become hostile if the current situation persists.

Hideout

The most important motivation behind the current Mayi-Mayi behaviour is survival. Some of the (ex-) combatants roam around in poor and homeless bands of alienated men and women who have become an important social problem of Katangese society. In the East and the North of the province, most of the former warriors have managed to return to their places of origin or they have been accepted (to a lesser or greater extent) as new settlers within other villages. The prospects of their reintegration are hopeful. In Central Katanga the situation is much more problematic. Small bands of maladjusted (ex-) combatants are returning to the Upemba Park, where some of them are regrouping. The Mayi-Mayi take refuge in the Park

¹⁰¹ As opposed to the military situation, Katangese politics is characterised by ethnic rivalry. The most important fault line runs between the North and the South of the province and opposes the Baluba and Bahemba communities against the Balunda and Babemba.

because they are familiar with the area and know how to survive there. Within the Park they find food and shelter, which is more than they can expect from living on the outskirts of villages where they are not accepted.

Food security

For un(der)paid FARDC soldiers survival is an important issue too. Their situation is less critical, though, because they can live from what they receive or take from civilians in the area. Kamina is not the most popular destination for FARDC soldiers. Because of the large number of soldiers at the army base, food is harder to come by.

Besides survival, the positions of the different FARDC units are also related to the security situation in the province. The bulk of the soldiers who have not left for 'brassage' are quartered in those places where insecurity reigned far into 2006. It is logical that the Kolwezi and Lubumbashi brigades went to Kamina earlier than the Kongolo and Mitwaba brigades. Currently, however, the presence of FARDC soldiers throughout Katanga can no longer be explained in terms of protecting the local population. The Pweto and Manono territories have been safe for quite some time now and the few incidents that took place certainly do not justify the presence of 6000 soldiers. The only area where civilians may need the Congolese army to protect them is Mitwaba and the Upemba Park, but even there it seems that the few security problems with rogue Mayi-Mayi elements can be solved by the police alone.

Natural resources

The current deployment of FARDC units is certainly to be understood in the light of greed motivations too. In some cases, the implication of foot soldiers in the illegal exploitation of natural resources may be interpreted as a way of earning a living and surviving, but the income they generate for their superiors clearly exceeds this purpose. Unfortunately we did not manage to research the activities of the 67th brigade in Manono. However, bearing in mind what we know about the 62nd brigade, the Nyunzu battalion and several other FARDC units throughout the Katangese territory, we can assume it has developed a material interest in the area under its control. The illegal activities of such army units are a threat to the security and stability of the region. They terrorise the civilians they are supposed to protect while jeopardising the economic development of the country. Moreover, to prolong their deployment, they invent false or misleading stories on security threats, leading to groundless fears among the local population.

The general picture that remains after examining our maps features two former warring parties. On the one side, there are loose Mayi-Mayi elements looking for a way to survive within the current situation, where they have no reason of existence and where some of them cannot return to the lives they lived before the war. On the other side, there is still a massive presence of ill-paid and ill-disciplined FARDC soldiers whose commanders try to postpone their departure for 'brassage', so they can continue to make a profit in the mining sector.

Recommendations

To the Congolese and Katangese policymakers,

To MONUC and the UN agencies,
To the other international stakeholders:

The pace of the DDR process needs to be increased. Especially the reinsertion part, which is virtually lacking, should be tackled. If the reintegration of ex-Mayi-Mayi would fail, it could very well sow the seeds for future security problems. Ideally CONADER should take the initiative again. However, this would require new funding from the World Bank or other donors. If no additional money is made available for the execution of the PNDDR in Katanga, the CRK programme should be continued and reinforced. Even if it was never intended to replace the PNDDR and even if UNDP resources are limited, both financially and in terms of personnel, it is the only valid alternative available. A clear division of labour is needed, because PAREC is organising its own reintegration programmes, which may interfere with the official efforts. PAREC hampered the official disarmament by CONADER, it should be avoided that the same would happen during the reinsertion phase.

Each month new groups of Mayi-Mayi pop up in Katanga proclaiming they participated in the Congo wars and seeking compensation. As long as the disarmament phase of the DDR process is not officially closed and this is clearly communicated, the phenomenon will persist. Firearms still circulate in Katanga, even among civilians. Therefore the disarmament phase needs to be concluded, especially in those territories where previously elaborate decommissioning actions were undertaken.

To the Congolese and Katangese policymakers,

To MONUC and the UN agencies:

The Upemba Park needs to be restored as a peaceful area and a safe haven for the depleted wildlife instead of serving as a hideout for (ex-) combatants. Therefore the surrender of the remaining Mayi-Mayi in the park should be negotiated. A specific DDR mission to the area needs to be organised. It should be made clear that after the mission has left the park all remaining Mayi-Mayi will be considered as outlaws and risk prosecution by the police.

To the Congolese and Katangese policymakers,
To MONUC and the UN agencies:

Makabe and his men have to be disbanded and disarmed. Although it is not clear how many weapons Makabe has retained, his group should be considered as a private militia. Their potential for destabilisation became clear during the elections, when Makabe and his ex-Mayi-Mayi were one of the most worrying factors in the province. They are a considerable security hazard and scare the traumatised population.

To the Congolese and Katangese policymakers:

The 'brassage' process should not be jeopardised through further delays. At the Kamina army base the formation of two integrated brigades has finally begun. They should be ready for deployment in Katanga within a few months. It took two years to start the process. Many soldiers

got tired of waiting and deserted. Because the integrated brigades are needed to replace problematic FARDC units in several Katangese territories, the process must be conducted smoothly and be completed in time.

To the Congolese and Katangese policymakers:

Examples need to be set to prove that impunity belongs in the past. Only few Mayi-Mayi war criminals have ever been arrested, let alone prosecuted. Criminal FARDC officers are almost never brought to justice. The impunity of such individuals will not discourage others to follow in their tracks. To restore the security climate in the province, it has to be made clear that abuses by armed men cannot be tolerated. Recently two symbolic judicial processes have started that may serve as an example. In Kipushi the Mayi-Mayi leader Gédéon stands trial. In Lubumbashi Colonel Ademard, a former commander of the 62nd FARDC brigade, has to answer to the judge for the Kilwa incident.

To the Congolese and Katangese policymakers

A strong curb has to be put on some FARDC units, especially in the North and the East of the province. Although their enduring harassment of the civilian population cannot be justified, it is not surprising that underpaid and malnourished soldiers start to cause problems. Ideally the soldiers should get a regular and decent salary. If that is not possible for the near future, a creative solution has to be found.

High ranking officers who turn a blind eye to their soldiers' illegal income from mining related activities or who make a profit themselves through the system of 'rapportage' contribute to the insecurity in the province. Those patrons of criminal army units should be prosecuted.

To MONUC and the UN agencies:

False rumours of insecurity need to be countered. Half of the Katangese insecurity is a direct result of rumours, not facts. The persistent reports on the return of Mayi-Mayi bands in the area of Pweto, for example, should be stopped. Radio Okapi seems to be the proper medium for this task. They could even make special broadcasts about it.

To the Congolese and international NGO's:

The human rights performance of the integrated brigades has to be recorded from the start. The 'brassage' process should be followed with great care and the behaviour of the integrated units that will be redeployed throughout the province needs to be reported on. The North and Centre of the province should receive as much attention as the Copperbelt.

Annex: List of abbreviations

ACF	Action Contre la Faim
AFDL	Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo
ANR	Agence Nationale de Renseignements
ASADHO	Association Africaine des Droits de l'Homme
CDH	Centre des Droits de l'Homme et du droit humanitaire
CEI	Commission Électorale Indépendante
CMSK	Compagnie Minière de Sud Katanga
CONADER	Commission Nationale de Désarmement, Démobilisation et Réinsertion
CRK	Community Reinsertion for Katanga
CVDHO	Commission de Vulgarisation des Droits de l'Homme et du Développement
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DSA	Defence Security Africa
FAC	Forces Armées Congolaises
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FAP	Forces d'Auto Protection
FARDC	Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo
FAZ	Forces Armées Zaïroises
FDLR	Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda
FIP	Force d'Intervention Populaire
GSSP	Garde Spécial pour la Sécurité Présidentielle
IDP	Internally Displaced People
IPIS	International Peace Information Service
MCK	Mining Company Katanga
MLC	Movement for the Liberation of Congo
MONUC	Mission of the United Nations in the Democratic Republic of Congo
MSF	Médecins Sans Frontières
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OFIDA	Office des Douanes et Accises
	Programme Oecuménique de Paix, Transformation des Conflits et Réconciliation
PAREC	
PNC	Police Nationale Congolaise
PNDDR	Programme Nationale de Désarmement de Démobilisation et de Réinsertion
PPRD	Partie du Peuple pour la Reconstruction et la Démocratie
PRM	Patriotes Résistants Maï-Maï
RCD	Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie
SMI	Structure Militaire d'Intégration
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WFP	World Food Programme

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