

Mapping Conflict Motives: Katanga

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Editorial

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Caption photo Front Page: Artisanal cassiterite mine near Mitwaba, 2008 (Photo: Partner IPIS)

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Introduction

With the renewed intensification of hostilities in North Kivu, and to a lesser extent in Ituri, security problems in Katanga have stopped figuring in the news. To a certain extent this is of course justified. The humanitarian situation in the Kivus is dramatic and requires all the attention it can get. Human rights violations in Katanga have decreased¹.

However, with MONUC gradually retreating from the province² the international presence diminishes and with it the number of eyes and ears of observers in the field. Nonetheless, for the future several security hazards remain.

For one, the impact of the economic crisis on Katanga is enormous. Virtually all mining companies have significantly reduced or stopped their activities. The social consequences are very serious for a province that economically relies heavily on mining. Secondly, in August a law was promulgated providing for the creation of 25 Congolese provinces instead of the 10 current ones. In this scenario Katanga will be cut into 4 new provinces. Feelings about the issue are mixed. The possible impact is difficult to estimate. Finally, the human rights situation in the North of the province remains disquieting, with persistent violations committed by state agents.

¹ Observation made by ASADHO Katanga, a large human rights organisation with several offices throughout the province.

² Radio Okapi, La Monuc redéploie certains contingents à l'Est, 25 July 2008.

The Mayi-Mayi and the 'DDR' process

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

MAYI-MAYI

The flare-up of warfare in North Kivu has had its repercussions for Katanga. Recently there have been reports of Mayi-Mayi regrouping in the centre of the province and rumours of CNDP agents generating revenues from the mines in Tanganyika³. Even before the resumption of fighting in North Kivu, some Mayi-Mayi movements of Katanga continued to stir from time to time because of discontent with the progress of the existing DDR programmes⁴.

The Mayi-Mayi are not the only stray armed group in Katanga that needs to go through a DDR process. It is important to bring to mind the presence of a limited number of FDLR (Front Démocratique pour la Libération du Rwanda) fighters in the North of the province too. In the territory of Kabalo at least 180 of such ex-combatants remain.⁵

³ Confidential written source.

⁴ OCHA, *Situation Report 16-22 July 2008*.

⁵ Radio Okapi, *Kalemie : des rebelles hutus rwandais signalés à Kabalo*, 15 August 2008.

The North

The coltan rush continues in the north of Katanga. In Kasese, in the territory of Kaniama⁶, food production has dropped dramatically because farmers have left for the mines. Consequently the prices for food products have risen significantly and in many cases even doubled or tripled⁷. In one year a bag of maize went from half a dollar to almost two.

ETHNIC INCIDENTS

Frictions between the Banyamulenge and the other ethnic groups in north-east Katanga continue as well. In Moni, a village near Kalemie, the Banyamulenge community was forced by the traditional chief to move away its herds of cattle after tensions between cattle-breeders and farmers⁸. The latter are mostly Lwende and do not want to live together with the Banyamulenge.

Presence of armed groups

MAYI-MAYI

Reintegration of ex-combatants remains a difficult issue. The 'Border Guard Brigade' is partly operational but in September it was still not decided who would command the unit. In the meantime, a commander ad interim was appointed. Moreover, large groups of ex-Mayi-Mayi have declined to go to Kamina for the *brassage* process preceding their integration in this special brigade⁹. At least 700 ex-Mayi-Mayi did leave the area and made the trip to Kamina.

On top of all other problems, in the month of July, local partners of the UNDP in Kabalo embezzled approximately 36 000 USD intended for reinsertion projects¹⁰. Almost 1500 ex-combatants are participating in the UNDP projects in the territory of Kabalo.

Motives of armed groups

The most important Mayi-Mayi leader that has refused to go to Kamina is Major (or self-declared Colonel) Tango Fort. He is one of the contenders for the command of the 'Border Guard Brigade'. He is unwilling to go to Kamina because he wants his men and himself to go through *brassage* in Kalemie. He also wants to make sure that they will be integrated in the 'Border Guard Brigade' to be posted in the same area¹¹. In the previous mapping update it was already pointed out that Tango Fort and his men have taken an interest in the mining areas of Kalemie and Nyunzu territories.

⁶ The territory of Kaniama lies in the west of Katanga, an area that has never been covered by the IPIS mapping reports so far.

⁷ Radio Okapi, *Kanyama : ruée vers le coltan, hausse générale des prix des produits alimentaires*, 15 August 2008.

⁸ OCHA, *Situation Report 18-24 June 2008*.

⁹ Research report by local partner I, September 2008.

¹⁰ Radio Okapi, *Kalemie : détournement de près de 36,000 USD, des associations locales impliquées*, 20 July 2008.

¹¹ Research report by local partner I, September 2008.

Presence of FARDC

FARDC

In Kalemie, the presence of both regular FARDC soldiers and the ex-Mayi-Mayi elements from the 'Border Guard Brigade' continues to create tensions.

INCIDENTS

Prison breaks are still a recurrent phenomenon in the region. In the beginning of May a violent escape from the central prison of Kalemie resulted in some serious damage to the building. Most strikingly a big hole was left in the front wall. In September the damage was still not repaired. During most of these incidents the FARDC have to intervene to assist the police in containing the crisis. In the central prison of Kalemie, for example, the 6 policemen and one chief that stand guard claim they do 240 hours shifts¹².

NATURAL RESOURCES

The abuses by FARDC soldiers in or near mining sites continue. At some sites reported on in earlier updates, activities dwindle. At the '100 kg' mine near Mayi Baridi, production has decreased by 75%¹³. In Lunga, the gold production has diminished to a negligible quantity. Kisengo, however, remains a very popular spot among miners and soldiers. Soldiers from both Kalemie and Kongolo still frequent the site, being one of the main causes of insecurity. In the meantime, mining operations start at new sites. The new 'place to be' is the coltan mine of Mokimbo. A popular gold mine is Mulunguyi (Butondo). The latter was pillaged twice in May by a band of FARDC soldiers from Kongolo¹⁴.

INCIDENTS

At all mines mentioned serious security incidents persist.

Motives of FARDC

The FARDC soldiers continue to show predatory behaviour towards the mining business. Although there is most certainly a link between mining activity and the presence of army units in the region, it should be noted that human rights violations by Congolese soldiers are not limited to these areas. Extortion (in all its forms) is a widespread phenomenon.

¹² Ibidem.

¹³ Ibidem.

¹⁴ Ibidem.

The Copperbelt

INCIDENTS

There have been no further violent protests of artisanal miners, but one other important violent event occurred in August. During an ethnic feud, members of the Katangese community in Kolwezi attacked members of the Kasai community setting fire to two warehouses and approximately 50 bikes. The row had started as revenge after a member of the Katangese community had been attacked while being caught stealing. All in all, the human costs of the violence have not been very serious, but the importance of the event lies in the memories it calls up of dramatic confrontations between the two groups in the past. The most infamous of them was the hate campaign against the Kasaians in 1991 led by the then governor Kyungu and executed by his militant youth gangs of JUFERI.

Similar fears are raised by two regulations issued by the mayor of Lubumbashi in May, to limit the mobility of people originating from other provinces¹⁵. The regulations include a system of visa for Congolese from any other province that want to travel to Lubumbashi. It is mostly people from the Kasai provinces that will be affected by it. The municipal decision was contested by the national Minister of the Interior but supported by his provincial counterpart. The justifications given by the proponents of the regulations refer to the rising popularity of Lubumbashi as a capital of mining, the resulting influx of new people and the increase of unemployment and of crime¹⁶.

NATURAL RESOURCES

Uranium stays an issue in the region, to which too little attention is paid. Around Kolwezi alone, 8 sites contain minerals with a disturbing level of radiation. Some of these sites are exploited by 'majors', others by 'minors', and three of them are even run by individuals¹⁷.

Presence of FARDC

FARDC

The military presence in the Copperbelt is still limited. Most FARDC soldiers have left for brassage. Those that have been left behind are either guarding military installations or have been transferred to the military police or justice¹⁸.

NATURAL RESOURCES

In the Copperbelt, the phenomenon of soldiers controlling mining sites does not exist like it does in other parts of Katanga and the Eastern DRC in general. However, they do often try to take control of the transport routes from major production centres, under the pretext of making sure that no illegal products leave the area¹⁹.

Motives of FARDC

Because Gecamines (GCM) cannot buy minerals directly from the (artisanal) miners, it deals with traders. The traders work at mining sites that have been assigned to them by GCM. To dig for the minerals they engage artisanal workers who can only sell their products within the limits of the mining site that is owned by GCM. They cannot leave for other markets to try to seek

¹⁵ Research report by local partner, December 2008.

¹⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁷ Research report by local partner I, July 2008.

¹⁸ Research report by local partner II, September 2008.

¹⁹ This is further explained under the next heading.

a better price. Consequently, all products that leave the site before having been sold to a trader are illegal.

INCIDENTS

Different state services patrol the area of the Kapata, Musonoi and Luilu mining sites (Kolwezi) to apprehend possible transgressors. However, apart from the 'Industrial Guard' ran by GCM itself, the other police and military services (a.o. military justice, military police and ANR) set up checkpoints for personal gain. They often have little scruples about allowing through illegal minerals when the right price is paid²⁰. The last reported armed incident at one of such checkpoints dates from the end of April 2008.

INCIDENTS

Sometimes FARDC soldiers even figure in bands of highway bandits. The problem of armed bandits roaming the roads is quite small in the region compared to other African countries, but nonetheless it exists. In July, a lieutenant and a corporal of the FARDC were arrested for banditry on the axis Kolwezi-Likasi-Luambo-Mwadingusha²¹.

²⁰ Research report by local partner II, September 2008.

²¹ Research report by local partner, December 2008.

The Centre

Presence of armed groups

In general, the situation in the former 'triangle of death' is quite stable. Small groups of ex-combatants remain but they are disorganised. Recently, however, beyond the time scope of this update report, reportedly a regrouping is taking place.

As noted in the initial IPIS mapping report on Katanga of June 2007, the impact of the DDR process in Malemba-Nkulu was very limited, raising suspicions that considerable amounts of weapons from armed groups have remained in the area. In May 2008, a shipment of arms was intercepted by MONUC security in Bukama. The arms originated from Malemba Nkulu and were on their way to Lubumbashi²². The incident seems to confirm the assumption about the circulation of arms in the area.

INCIDENTS

Motives of armed groups

MAYI-MAYI

The remaining ex-Mayi-Mayi continue to live off the land. They farm, fish, poach and exploit small amounts of natural resources. Some of them have even organised their own small businesses. For some of them, especially those who are not accepted by their traumatised 'host population', integration is a difficult process²³.

Regarding possible power motives for the remaining groups of (ex-)Mayi-Mayi, an important event occurred in the middle of July. In the presence of the Commissioner of the Haut-Katanga District, new traditional chiefs were appointed to replace the old ones that were killed by Mayi-Mayi militias between 2003 and 2007. The appointment of new chiefs for the village communities (*groupements*) of Katolo, Kintya, Musabila and Sambwe was successfully concluded, but the selection of a Chief for the Chiefdom of Kiona-Ngoie caused serious tensions and the process was suspended²⁴. Importantly, there was no interference from any Mayi-Mayi group during the procedure. So it seems that, currently, the Mayi-Mayi are no longer used as leverage (or worse) in the existing power struggles in the area.

Presence of FARDC

FARDC

The FARDC is present at different mining sites. Officially their task is to identify any arms bearers at the sites and to check the movements of both miners and merchants. The former are often ex-combatants, the latter mostly residents of South Kivu.

Motives of FARDC

NATURAL RESOURCES

Mines remain a motivating factor for the deployment of several elements of the Congolese security services. Soldiers posted in mining areas can profit from the economic activity, often through extortion. The FARDC in

²² OCHA, *Situation Report 7-13 May 2008*.

²³ Research report by local partner II, July 2008.

²⁴ Research report by local partner I, September 2008.

INCIDENTS

the mining areas of Central Katanga are regularly responsible for human rights violations but it seems the main burden to the local population is the police. In several mines the police have erected temporary prisons where they illegally detain, maltreat and extort civilians²⁵.

The eagerness to profit from mining continues to produce violent confrontations between armed representatives of the state. In July, two policemen were shot at the artisanal mining site of Kabundi by a unit of park rangers. The policemen, sent by the administrator of the Lubudi territory to open up an office, had only just arrived. Their presence was clearly not wanted by the park rangers who had been receiving an income, through taxation, from the mining activities²⁶.

²⁵ Research report by local partner, December 2008. According to the same report, because of the appalling situation, the FARDC Brigade commander in Mitwaba threatened to close down the police station if the chief commissioner did not resolve the situation.

²⁶ Radio Okapi, *Lubudi : des gardes parc tuent un policier et blessent un autredans la réserve de Nkando*, 30 July 2008.

The East

Presence of armed groups

MAYI-MAYI

The ex-Mayi-Mayi in the Pweto area cause little trouble. They have denounced on several occasions the fact that they have not received the bicycles promised to them in the framework of a UNDP DDR programme, but they have not resorted to violence²⁷.

Presence of FARDC

FARDC INCIDENTS

FARDC units are scattered throughout the Pweto and Moba territories. Wherever present they tend to commit human rights violations²⁸. Mostly they are implicated in forced labour, arbitrary arrests or illegal taxation at barriers²⁹.

A lot of extortions by the FARDC from fishermen in the Kiona-Nzini chiefdom have been reported³⁰.

Motives of FARDC

The crimes committed by FARDC units in the region illustrate that also outside the mining areas FARDC abuse their power to earn some profit. These profits are often not enormous. No soldier will get rich by illegally taxing a *piroguier* (canoeist) for 10 dollar cents. This shows that the predatory behaviour of soldiers is not necessarily always motivated by the prospect of profit. Irregular pay and provisioning can lead to the use of violence for reasons of survival.

INCIDENTS

One other incident, not regarding the FARDC but the issue of ethnic tensions, needs mentioning. In August, a group of approximately 100 Pygmies fled the town of Kaswete (territory of Pweto) into the bush. The Pygmies had been targeted previously by attacks from the Bantu population and now they had been forced by the traditional chief to leave the area³¹.

²⁷ OCHA, *Situation Report 28 May-3 June 2008*.

²⁸ OCHA, *Situation Report 25 June-1 July 2008*.

²⁹ Report by local NGOs, July 2008.

³⁰ Research report by local partner, December 2008.

³¹ Mgr. F. Muteba, *Il faut sauver les pygmées du territoire de Pweto au Katanga*, 13 September 2008.

Conclusions and recommendations

In three out of the four regions of Katanga that were discussed in this report there are only limited security problems. The fourth, northern Katanga, remains a problematic area with many human rights violations and in several places a virtually total absence of the state of law.

The insecurity caused in this region by ex-combatants and most importantly by the FARDC is to be explained by their interest in profiting from the mining business. The area does not necessarily have the best and biggest mines, but because of their remoteness they are well suited to loot without catching too much attention.

Despite the current calmness of the province, one has to remain watchful of political and security developments in the rest of the country that may have an impact on the province, especially the war in North Kivu and the implementation of the *découpage* law.

Because of the fact that the overall security situation is largely stationary, IPIS retains most of the recommendations it has made in the previous update published in June 2008.

Recommendations:

With respect to the FARDC motives

- A sharp curb has to be put on some FARDC units, especially in the north of the province.
- Arrests and prosecution are needed to show to misbehaving FARDC units that there is no more impunity. In this respect, secure detention facilities are a prerequisite.
- There can be no FARDC discipline without regular payment of salaries.
- A new positioning of the different FARDC units throughout the whole province should be determined with the aim of keeping the units away from mines and mineral trade.
- The most ill-reputed units (the Kongolo Brigade!) should be sent for brassage immediately and replaced by integrated forces.

With respect to the motives of the ex-Mayi-Mayi combatants

- The Border Guard Brigade should be completed as soon as possible. The leadership question should be resolved.
- The Border Guard Brigade should not operate in the vicinity of Kilunga, Kisengo or any other mines in the area.
- When the recruitment process of the Border Guard Brigade is closed, a deadline should be set for the remaining (ex-)Mayi-Mayi that have not disarmed. Those who fail to disarm before this deadline should be outlawed and actively hunted down by a specialised FARDC unit (possibly composed of former Mayi-Mayi, similarly to the unit used in the South Kivu province to attack the 'Rastas').
- National and international efforts should be concentrated on reintegration projects.

New maps

IPIS has published an updated version of the FARDC and Mayi-Mayi maps.

Because of the preponderant role of natural resources as a motivating factor for the armed groups and the FARDC, we have produced a web map combining the maps 'Conflict actors' and 'Natural resources'. Recently discovered mining areas that have become a security issue have been added to the 'Natural resources' map.

The completely new Incidents map shows the important security incidents involving armed groups or FARDC for the period May to September 2008.

Our information on positions and incidents in the Mitwaba territory is more detailed than that regarding the other Katangese territories.

Due to the lack of reliable and complete cartographical data, the location of the following places is approximate: Kisengo ('Natural resources' and 'Incidents'), Kilunga and Mulunguyi ('Natural resources'), Kintya ('Mayi-Mayi'), Wimbi ('Mayi-Mayi' and 'Incidents'). Information regarding other places that could not be located was attached to the capital of the territory, or to a known place close-by.

Annexe: List of abbreviations

ANR	Agence Nationale de Renseignements
ASADHO	Association Africaine de défense des Droits de l'Homme
CNDP	Congrès National pour la Défense du Peuple
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
DGM	Direction Générale de Migration
FARDC	Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo
FDLR	Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda
GCM	Gécamines
IPIS	International Peace Information Service
JUFERI	Jeunes de l'Union des Fédéralistes et Républicains Indépendants
MONUC	United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
PNC	Police Nationale Congolaise
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme