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Droits de l'Homme
Human Rights

Henry C. Hoeben
**Human Rights
in the DR Congo:
1997 until the
present day.**
The Predicament
of the Churches

missio's Human Rights Office aims at fostering accurate knowledge on the human rights situation in the countries of Africa, Asia and Oceania. In doing so we try to help to improve the human rights situation in these countries. To achieve this aim we have dedicated ourselves to human rights oriented networking and to promoting an exchange of views between our church partners in Africa, Asia and Oceania and the political decisionmakers in the Federal Republic of Germany. In its series 'Human Rights' the Human Rights Office is publishing country reports, case studies and the proceedings of specialised conferences.

The publication **Human Rights in the Congo: 1997 until the present day. The Predicament of the Churches** sets out to delineate the situation in a country which is presently territorially, sociologically, ethnically and culturally so divided and tormented to warrant the question whether it still offers a life of human dignity to its inhabitants. This sorry plight has evolved in consequence of a great many factors, which originate in past history, in vested interests of various types and in political pressure groups. In such a scramble it is easily understood that the common people are to suffer most and that their rights are not readily considered, but rather easily infringed upon. To point out the main perpetrators of such infringements, their interests and the conflictual situation which emanates for the Churches as defendants of Human Rights is the coveted aim of this study.

The complexity and perplexity of the situation are distinctly visible in the reign of terror pervading congolese territory and society. The chance for the Churches to effectively advocate Human Rights may therefore seem to be rather limited, but in as far as such chances are being pursued, they offer signs of hope to a worn-out population.

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Congo, The Democratic Republic of

Area:	2.267.050 sq km (1997)
Official language	French
Population	Congolese; (C. 1997) 46,5 Mio. Inhabitants In all 250 Ethnies: 80% Bantu-Groups (18% Luba, 16% Kongo, 13% Mongo, 10% Rwanda) 18% Sudan-Groups (Ubangi, u.a.) 2% Nilotes 20.000 – 50.000 Pygmies 20.000 Europeans (mostly Belgians)
Population Density	21,27 (1998 per sq km)
Population Growth rate p.a.	3,17% (1998)
Religion	50% Catholics, 20% Protestants, 15% other christ. Faith Communities (incl. 5 Mio. Kimbanguists), 5% Muslims; Adherents Trad. Religion (1996)
Adult Illiteracy	(> 15 Years) in %: 41,06 % (1998)
Birthrate	45,96 (1998 per 1000)
Urban population	29,66 % (1998)
Languages	French; Chiluba, Kikongo, Lingala, Kiswaheli; Luvena, Chokwe, Gbaya, Kituba etc. (in all 400)
Chief Cities	Kinshasa [Capital] (Est. 1994), 4.655.000 Inh. Lubumbashi (Est. 1991), 739.100 Mbuji-Mayi (Est. 1991), 613.000 Kolwezi (Est. 1991), 544.500 Kisangani (Est. 1991), 373.400 Kananga (Est. 1991), 371.900 Likasi (Est. 1991), 279.800 Boma (Est. 1991), 246.200 Bukavu (Est. 1991), 209.600 Kikwit (Est. 1991), 182.850 Matadi (Est. 1991, 172.900 Mbandaka (Est. 1991), 165.600

Sources:

Fischer Weltalmanach 2001; Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, 1993

Human Rights in the Congo: 1997 until the present day. The Predicament of the Churches.

Introduction

"Who does not see for himself that the world is coming to an end? As everything is in decline, the world itself hints at the nearing end. Less rain falls during winter, so that seeds do not sprout. And the sun is so weak in summer that fruits do not ripen. Spring is no longer a delightful season and autumn no longer so bountiful. The quarries are used up, they hardly produce stone or marble. The gold and silver-mines are spent. The fields lie fallow. No bargemen sail the oceans, no soldiers join the armies. Innocence misses her advocate, justice her judge. War, pestilence and hunger bring ruin to the (Roman) realm so noticeable, that any person, pagan or christian, can easily see for himself: 'Marked by total decline, the world rushes to death'."¹

A cursory reading might induce the reader to conclude that this text describes the state of the modern world in a great number of regions and hence also in its whole as seen by a rather pessimistic person. A more attentive eye however will come to the conclusion that the description seems to point to a European view and context. The greater then the surprise when this text is authored by an ancient observer of an African situation in the 3rd century A.D. In these words saint Cyprian (200 – 258 AD), bishop of Carthage in North Africa and the first bishop-martyr of Africa, depicted the sad state of affairs he saw in his beloved continent. And presently, many centuries later, these very words – a few minor changes having been made – may well be used to portray the deplorable situation in which the African population all over the continent has to face its future.

A region where the description seems to fit the sorry plight all out is Central Africa, comprising the states of Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and some adjoined areas of bordering nations. Ever since the 1960s the region has known a successive number of upheavals, some of which were of a politically internal nature or more locally confined, others again defying all boundaries whether politically, ethnically or morally. Yet all together affected the region seriously in that nowhere so far true peace and happiness were granted the population. And even one more incident was enough to embroil the whole region anew in an utter state of desolation.

A Fatal Date: October 1st 1990.

"Refugees have been at the heart of the crisis in central Africa for the entire past decade, beginning on October 1, 1990, when the children of Tutsi refugees who had been forced to flee to Uganda and were not permitted to return re-emerged as the trained soldiers of the RPF and invaded Rwanda. Even those sympathetic to the invaders' cause acknowledge that the attack triggered a series of pivotal consequences that ultimately led, step by step, to the genocide. it is beyond dispute that the invasion ... was the single most important factor in escalating the political polarization of Rwanda"²

A military attack by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (FPR) from Ugandan soil led to a tragic civil war in Rwanda and moreover set fire to the entire region of the Central African Great Lakes. The problem of Rwandese refugees in the region began in the late 50s and early 60s when the majority of Rwandan Hutu overthrew the then ruling Tutsis in a bloody rebellion which saw around 20,000 Tutsis flee into exile. The refugee population had since swollen to an estimated 2m, bringing tremendous pressure to bear on scarce resources in the asylum countries. Uganda alone hosted about 250,000 Rwandese refugees. Living in exile was not easy, but many refugees became well-educated and wealthy. By 1980, they had organised themselves into the Rwanda Alliance for National Unity (RANU), relaunched in December 1987 as the Rwandese Patriotic Front/Army (RPF/A).³ Leading the invasion of 4,000 exiled Rwandans was Major-General Fred Rwigyema, who fled to Uganda as a child in the 1950s. Tall and slim, "Fred", as he was known in Uganda, had gained a reputation as one of the best soldiers in the Ugandan army, helping to end the reign of Idi Amin, the dictator. Eventually, he became deputy defence minister of Uganda, an extraordinary achievement for a foreigner. But he had always intended to return to his native Rwanda.⁴ Many Rwandan emigrants of Tutsi origin living in Uganda had acquired solid military training with the Ugandan Army. If these rebels were mostly Tutsi, it was simply because it was mostly Tutsi who fled persecution in 1959, 1963 and 1973. Now they claimed to be fighting on behalf of all Rwandans to establish democracy and end corruption.⁵ The attack of the RPF on Rwanda threatened to end in a fiasco. From the very beginning there was disagreement between Fred Rwigyema and his second-in-command, Peter Bayingana, over the strategy to be followed. Rebel sources confirmed later that Major Bayingana had opposed General Rwigyema's plan to stage a direct attack on Kigali. He rather favoured to wage a slow guerilla war against the Rwandan government. The row developed into a fight, and Major Bayingana killed the leader of the Rwandan Patriotic Front on October 3rd, only two days after the rebels invaded north-eastern Rwanda. Major Bayingana and other rebel commanders kept General Rwigyema's death a secret,

and the news was not announced by the rebels until after Major Bayingana himself had been killed on October 22nd or 23rd by fellow rebels. But even as late as November 2nd a RPF spokesman in Brussels issued an official statement that Rwigyema had been killed when he stepped on a mine during an attack on the Kagitumba region of north-eastern Rwanda on October 2nd. The situation only changed for the better with the appearance of Major Paul Kagame, former deputy head of Uganda's Military Intelligence, who took over as commander-in-chief of the RPF forces. Major Kagame was on a command course in the US at the outbreak of the rebellion. A close friend of Maj.-Gen. Rwigyema, he spent much of his childhood in one of the settlements for around 100,000 Rwandan refugees living in Uganda, before joining the 1979 Tanzanian war of liberation against Gen. Idi Amin. Like Maj.-Gen. Rwigyema, he was among the first 27 men to join Mr. Yoweri Museveni in the bush, from where they continued to wage a guerrilla war until taking power in Kampala in 1986.⁶

No argument can be convincing enough to surmise that the very core of the RPF-leadership was not conscious of the existence of an "ethical demon" in Rwanda. In opting for a military conflict with Habyarimana that demon would surely be released with force. But there cannot be any longer doubt that the RPF-leadership willingly took the gamble, at the greatest risk to the Tutsi who still lived in Rwanda.⁷

Initially, the small Rwandan army, assisted by a contingent of Zaïrean troops, turned back the FRP some 70 km from Kigali. Internationally, however, the FPR successfully presented itself as a democratic and multi-ethnic movement seeking to depose a corrupt and incompetent regime. The conflict continued throughout 1991 and into 1992, as the FPR made frequent guerilla forays into Rwanda. But also within Rwanda events had taken a new turn and following a series of unsuccessful attempts to negotiate a transitional government, the composition of broadly-based coalition government was announced in April 1992. In May of that year a renewed dialogue was initiated between this new government and FPR representatives, but failed to resolve the outstanding problems, particularly the demand of the FRP for full participation in a transitional government and legislature. The result was again a resurgence of violence. However, efforts to reach an agreement continued and on August 4th, 1993, Habyarimana and Col. Kanyarengwe of the FPR signed a formal peace agreement in Arusha. The process of implementation proved slow and fraught with mutual pitfalls. Political frustration erupted regularly into violent confrontations. In this explosive climate a tragic event triggered the complete collapse of civil order and the resulting "Rwandan genocide". On April 6th, 1994, Habyarimana and Cyprien Ntaryamira, the president of Burundi, returned by presidential plane from a

regional summit meeting in Dar es Salaam. Above Kigali airport the aircraft was fired upon and exploded on landing, killing all passengers. The aftermath was a massacre of government opponents and Tutsi civilians. And the FPR resumed immediately its military operations from its northern stronghold, with the stated intention to relieve its beleaguered battalion in Kigali, which had gone there to protect FPR-representatives for the new legislation and government, and to restore order to the capital and halt the massacre of civilians. For the next few months the situation was utter collapse of law and order, both on the part of the Hutu and the Tutsi. The FPR swiftly secured all major cities and strategic territorial positions, but its forces were seeking violent retribution against the Hutu. An estimated 1m Hutu Rwandans sought refuge in the Zaïrean border town of Goma. In mid-July the FPR announced the composition of a new government of national unity, the majority of the cabinet posts having been entrusted to FPR members, including Paul Kagame as minister of defence and as vice-president, a newly-created post. The FPR victory and the new administration were promptly accepted as a matter of fact by the international community.

One major problem affecting the region adversely was the illegal traffic of weapons, particularly into the border regions of eastern Zaïre which former FAR (Forces armées rwandaises) used as a base to launch cross-border raids into Rwanda. In June 1996 President Mobutu agreed to authorize the deployment of UN monitors in eastern Zaïre to record any violation of the arms embargo, but the general conviction remained that Zaïre would continue to be a major source of weapons for the former FAR. Rwanda and Uganda shared this conviction very strongly.

The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse

Kagame, Paul was born in October 1957 in Gitarama Prefecture, Central Rwanda to Deogratius (sic!) and Asteria Rutagamba. As members of the Tutsi-minority the family fled Rwanda for Uganda in 1960, thus eluding the first major massacre carried out by the Hutu. Here Paul attended primary and secondary school. In 1980 he was among the first 27 men who together with Yoweri Kaguta Museveni launched a five-year liberation war in Uganda. Between 1986-1990 he served as a senior officer with the rank of Major General and Chef of the Ugandan Military Secret Service in the Ugandan army. He gained a reputation for incorruptibility and severity by enforcing a stringent code of behaviour; he earned the nickname Commander Pilate (after Pontius Pilate).⁸ In 1987 Kagame and about 8000 other Ugandan-based Tutsi founded the RPF guerilla army with financial and military support from Museveni. In 1990 Kagame pursued staff and command courses

in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas (USA). On October 1st of that year the RPF invaded Rwanda, but the military venture was endangered by the sudden death of its commander, Fred Rwigyema. Immediately Kagame broke off his studies and took over the command over the ca. 4.000 men strong RPF.⁹ Following the renewed massacres of the Hutu majority on the Tutsi-minority in April 1994, Kagame ordered the RPF to attack Rwanda and after three months the Hutu government was brought down. His support for various groups of rebels opposing the since May 1997 ruling regime of Laurent-Désiré Kabila in the Democratic Republic of Congo led for some time to direct military confrontations with Ugandan troops and to estrangement with his mentor Museveni. From being the "strong man" in the new Rwanda he actually became its leader when on April 17th, 2000 he was elected President of the Republic. He also holds a diploma in Professional Management and Business Studies from the Open University of London, UK.

Museveni, Yoweri Kaguta was born in 1944 as son of Bahima pastoralists in Ankole, Western Uganda. Already as a secondary school student at Ntare, Mbarara, he was politically motivated. In 1967 he entered Dar es Salaam University in Tanzania to study Political Science and Economics, graduating with a B. A. in 1970. This university had a very good intellectual atmosphere, offering young African students of various countries an opportunity to become familiar with pan-African and anti-colonialist ideas. Within this perspective these students formed in 1967 the University Students African Revolutionary Front (USARF) and Museveni was elected its chairman for his stay at the University. USARF was closely identified with African liberation movements, especially the Front For The Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO). Upon completion of his studies Museveni went to recently liberated areas in northern Mozambique and there gained first hand experience in guerilla warfare. During Amin's regime Museveni took refuge in Tanzania, where he was instrumental in the formation of the Front of National Salvation (FROSANA). In April 1979, FROSANA, together with the Tanzania Peoples' Defence Forces, ousted Idi Amin. However, quite early Museveni became disillusioned with the political change and hence founded the National Resistance Movement/Army and launched a campaign to undermine Obote's regime. By 1985 Obote had to flee and in 1986 Museveni became President. Formerly an avowed socialist, since coming to power Museveni has closely adhered to market reforms mandated under Uganda's structural adjustment program.¹⁰ In his foreign policy he has frequently aroused controversy by supporting rebel movements in other countries. Along with his support for L.-D. Kabila, he also supported a former study-mate of Dar-es-Salaam, who was battling the Islamic fundamentalist government of the Sudan. But there were always also personal benefits for doing so.¹¹

John Garang de Mabior was born in June 1945 at Wagkulei, a village near Bor in the Upper Nile region, in a poor but pious Anglican family. Having lost his parents at an early age, he left for Tanzania, where he attended secondary school. Here he also befriended the young Museveni. Having gone to the U.S.A for studies he graduated in 1971 at Grinnel College with a B.Sc. Upon return to Sudan he became adjutant of General Joseph Lagu of Anyanya I. Following the Addis Ababa agreement he entered the Sudan Peoples' Armed Forces in 1972 as captain. In 1974 he was sent for further military training to Fort Benning, U.S.A., and from 1977 to 1981 had the opportunity to pursue a Ph.D.-degree in economics, with speciality in agricultural economy, at Iowa State University. In 1982, as Colonel on active duty, he taught at Khartoum University and military war schools. At the start of the new civil war in May 1983 President Numayri selected him to put down the revolt at Bor, but instead Garang took command of the southern bataillon, which refused to accept the commanded transfer to the North and openly joined the SPLA. The government of Khartoum has constantly charged that Garang is nothing else but a staunch communist rebel. Representatives of the SPLA protest vigorously against this marxist-leninist label. And if one goes by views of less biased sources they may well be right. During the first Reagan administration the various university papers written by the Sudanese student John Garang were meticulously scrutinized in the hope to find possibly germs of anti-americanism or spores of a communist ideology. It proved to be lost time! And former old colleagues in the army are all of one mind, Garang is a "man who rejects the communist model". And German diplomats are of the opinion that Joseph Odahu, the president of the SPLF is "far more to the left than John Garang". However, there can be no doubt, but John Garang is an avowed socialist.¹²

Kabila, Laurent-Désiré, born 1939 in Ankoro, Shaba Province, formerly North Katanga, studied in the mid-1950s political philosophy in France, which led him to be open to Marxist ideas. From there he went later to Dar es Salaam, where he befriended Yoweri Museveni.¹³ Returning in time for Congo's independence (1960) he was a staunch supporter of the first prime minister, Patrice Lumumba. After the latter's murder in 1961 Kabila led a rebel group, financially backed by Russia, China and Cuba. In 1964 he staged an insurrection in the eastern provinces of the Congo. Early 1965 Kabila's rebellion received assistance on the part of Che Guevara, but in frustration with Kabila's leadership the latter left again soon afterwards and late 1965 the rebellion folded. In his 1965 Congo diary Che Guevara described Kabila as a rebellion leader, who pretended he was able to lead his people from a hotel in Dar-es-Salaam but had great fear to put as much as a foot in the battle area on congolese soil. In 1967

Kabila, a convinced anti-mobutist, became cofounder of the People's Revolutionary Party (PRP), a leftist rebel group that launched sporadic attacks against Mobutu and his regime and which supported itself by means of more or less dubious practices, e.g. by exporting gold and ivory. Throughout much of the 1980s Kabila lived in Tanzania. At some time between 1980 – 1988 he developed ties with Museveni and Kagame. From 1988 on Kabila disappeared from view so that many of his associates presumed him dead. But in Oct. 1996, Kagame recruited Kabila to lead the Banyamulenge revolt in South-Kivu against Mobutu's regime, and shortly thereafter Kabila united the Banyamulenge, his own PRP and other guerilla groups into the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo (AFDL).¹⁴

Kabila and the AFDL could claim legitimacy through the fall of Mobutu. Kabila was ultimately proclaimed in May 1997, having taken the capital Kinshasa, as President of the newly regenerated Democratic Republic of Congo. The takeover on the part of Kabila and his allies was the result of a blitzkrieg, which at first was tolerated by the population, thereafter desired. A major part of these armed forces originated in Kivu, the eastern part of the country, many even from the neighbouring states, Rwanda and Uganda. In a secondary phase soldiers from Katanga, who had over a long time lived and fought in Angola, joined the ranks. And without any doubt Kabila's eastern neighbours, Rwanda and Uganda, were giving active support, so as secure their own borders and to forestall hostilities on the part of armed rebel groups, which operated frequently from Zairean territory and were often financed by that side.

Quick military success had forestalled that Kabila and his allies had had time to formulate a political programme as a foundation for a truly new beginning. At the same time Kabila saw the need, originating as he did from the swahili-speaking Eastern region of the Congo, to gain favour with the population in the Western regions. Hence he had no other choice but to confirm a number of Mobutists in their positions or even to appoint some as his personal councillors.

The origins of the conflict in Kivu.

Two military encounters have thoroughly influenced the present-day situation in Kivu: (1) the First Congo War or the campaign of the AFDL, and (2) the Second Congo War or the war against Kabila.

Banyarwanda¹⁵

The conflict originates in the recent population developments in Kivu. The expression "Banyarwanda" (those originating from Rwanda) is in common use in eastern Zaïre, but particularly in North Kivu, since the 1940s and serves to designate all persons who have settled throughout the region and who have common cultural or geographical Rwandan roots and who speak the same Kinyarwanda language as is spoken in Rwanda.¹⁶ They comprise various categories: farmers as well as cattle-breeders, Hutu as well as Tutsi, rich urban businessmen as well as poor farmers, people who had come long ago or recent immigrants.¹⁷ Three main reasons had encouraged these people to come and settle in North and South Kivu: Different periods of famine throughout Rwanda as in 1905-06, 1928-29, 1940-43, 1950-52; the overpopulation within Rwanda; the need for manual labour in the plantations, mines, industry and the roads of Congo.¹⁸ Following the massive immigration of the 1950s the Banyarwanda had numerically become important. After independence the political parties took position on the issue and some even encouraged the Rwandan population to revolt against the local authorities. In 1962, Rwandan rebels attacked Zaïrean soldiers and killed the police commissioner of Kibati. In 1963 and 1964 Rwandans in favour of regional separation on the part of Rutshuru, Masisi, Goma and the province of North Kivu revolted, but the intervention by the national Congolese army put an end to that revolt which was generally attributed to be linked with the mulélist rebellion.¹⁹ In January 1972 –the Banyarwanda took advantage of the fact that B. Bisengimana (Rwandan by origin) was director of the Office of President Mobutu – a law accorded for the first time Zaïrean citizenship " to people of Rwandan-Urundan origin who had settled in the Kivu province before January 1, 1950 and who had ever since resided in the Zaïrean Republic". However on June 29, 1981 (with the departure of B. Bisengimana), that law was revoked and replaced by another, which was more restrictive as it conferred Zaïrean citizenship solely to descendants of persons who had lived on national territory on October 18, 1908, the moment on which the sovereignty over the Congo passed to Belgium.

From 1992 on, the Banyarwanda of North Kivu rebelled in an organised way by way of supporting Magrivi (Mutuelle des Agriculteurs des Virunga), an ethnic structure of peasant mutual aid and self-defense²⁰, which incited the population of Rwandan descent no longer to collaborate with the local administrative structures and which substituted in their place parallel administrative structures. This civil disobedience aggravated tensions greatly and rapidly increased the number of very bloody incidents in the region of Walikale (1992) and of Masisi (1993).

The Banyarwanda had hoped that the question of their nationality would be settled following the victory of the AFDL on May 17, 1997. However the question has remained a tabu. The law of 1981 is still valid, denying them Congolese nationality, and as a result ethnic tensions reign still very strong in North Kivu.

Banyamulenge²¹

The Banyamulenge comprise people also originating from Rwanda, but which came to live in the region of Uvira, South Kivu, well before the time of colonisation and the Berlin Congress. They are said to have arrived at the end of the 18th century as exiles due to an abortive palace revolution. There are a great many indications about them in the region from that time onwards. However, the term "banyamulenge" is seemingly completely unknown in the colonial period. Maps describing the various ethnic groups south of Bukavu refer solely to four "tribes", the Babembe, the Bavira, the Bafulero and the Barundi. And the reason is clear, for the name is not an ethnic name but a mere reference of the people living in Mulenge, a small village on the plateau of Itombe. The name itself has come of use from 1967 onwards, on their own initiative, to distinguish them of Rwandan Tutsi refugees.

They too were victims of the denial of Zaïrean citizenship although they had lived for so many generations in the country. Naturally they had been supportive of the aspirations of the Banyarwanda, but were more lucky than the latter in that the new law of 1981 did not affect their newly acquired citizenship. However, also for the Banyamulenge a new challenge emerged in 1994. The discovery that the mountain-range of Itombwe, South Kivu, where the Banyamulenge live, could possibly bear gold, made the leader of the Bafulero, Ntare Simba, look for means to diminish the influence of the Banyamulenge by denying them the Zaïrean nationality and by using the ZAF, which was present in the region in consequence of the massive influx of Rwandan refugees, to gain control both over the gold production and the animal herds of the Banyamulenge. Such looting seemed quite "natural" to the autochthonous population as, in the covert war in the 1990s between Rwanda and Zaïre, the Banyamulenge were seen as paid spies of the RPA, a kind of fifth column. A large number of Banyamulenge did indeed join and fight within the ranks of the RPF and returned to South Kivu after 1995. They were also the first to be demobilized once the RPF had gained power in Kigali. And the Bafulero had a long memory with regard to the "treason" of the Banyamulenge during the 1964 rebellion, when the latter broke with the rebels, rallied on the side of the ANC and thus wrecked the insurrection. Furthermore, another claim of the Banyamulenge, the creation of a collective Banyamulenge

chieftaincy on the high plateau of Itombwe, encountered strong opposition on the part of the local customary chiefs in South Kivu.

Other Accomplices: All sorts and conditions of men !

The National Resistance Council (CNRD)

This group was a political formation which from the outset in 1993 considered itself the fighting arm of the MNC/Lumumba. The group was at first led by a militant Lumumba follower of the first hour, A. Kisase Ngandu. To the RPF the rebel "Commander Ngandu" was a mzee, an elder statesman of liberation struggles. He emerged once again from the jungle, still burning with the zealotry inspired by his hero Patrice Lumumba. Factually, he was something of an ideological fossil. No longer a Socialist, after having read politics in earlier days in Berlin, he still carried a torch for pan-Africanism, the dream of African unity preached by Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah in the heydays of independence. In 1965 he joined guerillas fighting Mobutu and thereafter took part in several uprisings. They always failed, he said, because of Western backing for his enemy. In 1984, he formed his own anti-Mobutu party, the National Party for Liberation. Basing himself in Zaïre and in neighbouring countries, he was able to make contact with the nascent RPF, which invaded Rwanda from refugee camps in Uganda in 1990. His military force was a hotch-potch of Rwandan soldiers and rebel groups, which however, under Rwandan coaching, was forged into a coherent force dedicated to overthrowing the Mobutu regime. Within the ADFL Kisase Ngandu was taken to be the military commander of the rebellion and he was also the principal proponent to integrate the Mayi Mayi militia of North Kivu in the ADFL. Under mysterious circumstances he was assassinated on January 4, 1997. Rumours had it at the time that there were serious differences within the Alliance between Kabila who came from Shaba and Ngandu, who came from the Kasai. At the outbreak of the war in 1996, L.-D. Kabila was the leader of a rather small group of partisans within the AFDL, but nevertheless he was appointed as their spokesman in view of his many international contacts, his guérillo past and his command of languages (French, English, Swahili, Kinyarwanda and Lingala) before he appointed himself president of the movement after the death of Kisase Ngandu.

The Revolutionary Movement for the Liberation of Zaïre (MRLZ)

This outfit was under the leadership of a young soldier, Masasu Nindaga, and regrouped the greater part of the Kadogo . In November 1997 due to differences of opinion between president Kabila and Nindaga, the latter was forcibly thrown out of the ADFL for reasons of rebellion, escape and the formation of a private militia. He was arrested and condemned to 20 years solitary confinement.

Mayi Mayi

The designation "Mayi Mayi" is a generic indication of groups of young armed Batiri and Katuku in South Kivu and Bangilima (Ngilima) in North Kivu. Factually it is a term which claims total protection against bullets as a result of magical practices, like sprinkling with blessed water. The outcome of such practices depends on the way the initiated follow a series of very stringent rules. Factually, the modern Mayi Mayi have very little but the name in common with traditional opponents to the Zaïrean government. Presently, there are three major groups, which use the name to pursue their own purposes, which can be briefly defined as settling ethnic conflicts between the indigenous population of the region and the Banyarwanda/Banyamulenge population. These groups are 1) the Bangilima (North Kivu); 2) the Mayi Mayi de Padiri (South Kivu) and 3) the Simba (North Katanga). Neither of these groups has a real political objective except for the departure of the Tutsi from the region, or formulated as a slogan "The Congo for the Congolese". They express clearly the anti-tutsi sentiments alive in the east of the Congo, based on the popular conviction that the Tutsi came solely "to steal" the land from the indigenous population.

Hema-Lendu Enmity

All participants in this tragedy have used various strategies to sustain the vicious circle of war and exploitation. The example of Uganda is just one of many. Top UPDF commanders have essentially used the Hema/Lendu conflict". A conflict between the two tribes, Lendu and Hema, in the northeast of the DRC which has been lingering over decades has newly escalated since June 1999 and according to the information of a Christian aid organisation, working in the region, has cost surely the lives of 5.000 civilians. Eversince colonial times the Hema, who number about 150,000 people are cattle-breeders, and the Lendu, some 700,000 resident farmers, have quarrelled over land-rights. In June 1999 the region of Djugu became a scene of very ferocious fighting as an effort to settle

a dispute between the two groups had failed. The situation seemed dramatic enough for the EU to send a delegation of three to the Ugandan government at the end of February 2000 to demand strenuous efforts towards ending the conflict as it occurred in a region which was under Ugandan control. Suliman Baldo, senior researcher at Human Rights Watch warned of the gravity of the situation in Bunia. What makes these attacks so dangerous, is the way the two groups are now identifying with the Hutu-Tutsi categories that figured in the Rwandan genocide. The Lendu are now thinking of themselves as kin to the Hutu, while the Hema are identifying with the Tutsi. The two groups have competed for control of the land for a long time, but these identifications and the connection they have to genocide threaten to transform the struggle into something far more devastating. The two ethnic groups share a similar language and have regularly practiced interethnic-marriage.

The Campaign of Kabila's AFDL.

During the waning years of the Mobutu regime the population all over Zaïre (and particularly in Kivu), even in the most remote villages, had become sensitized to the democratic ideal. And during the fall of 1996, when the democratic transitional process which president Mobutu had set in motion six years earlier seemed to have been buried in the dungeons of Kinshasa, the alliance formed by Kagame, Museveni and Garang in support of Kabila to oust Mobutu was so successful due to popular support. The vocal utterances on the part of L. D. Kabila – spokesman for the AFDL – to go as far as Gbadolite, caused immediately enthusiasm among a population which had been completely eroded under the Mobutu regime. Rwandan and Ugandan troops gave full support to Kabila's forces. The alliance gained moreover strength by a détente with the Mayi Mayi partisans of North Kivu, the so-called Bangilima. And from January 1997 onward some 2.000 Katangan gendarmes, the Katangan Tigers, arrived via Kampala by plane in Bukavu and Goma to take over the southern flank of the war-front towards the direction of Lubumbashi. They had at their disposal a very important logistical and financial structure which made it possible for them to buy their provisioning rather than requisition it by force, which left a very positive impression of the rebellion on the population of Kivu. On his part, Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, following his own objective, was particularly keen to knock out Bunia airport, which Mobutu had allowed Sudan to use for supplying anti-Museveni forces, such as Juma Oris' West Nile Bank Front, and their garrisons at Morobo, Aruba, Kamisa, Kimba, Sita and Sard in Southern Sudan. Kabila's march towards Kisangani opened up a swathe of eastern Zaire to

Ugandan forces and to Colonel John Garang de Mabior's Sudan People's Liberation Army. And as Bunia was a great stronghold of strategic importance, the loss of Bunia town and airport foiled FAZ attempts to mount a counter offensive against the rebels in Kivu. And with the FAZ effectively pushed out of Eastern Zaïre, Kabila had become a national political figure, instead of the hillbilly rebel he had previously resembled.

In the summer of 1996, it became clear even to the political constellation of the West that Mobutu's death was merely a matter of time, and hence it was necessary to re-examine the situation in the region. It was then decided to bring Laurent Kabila to power in Kinshasa, though he had been for years an officially recognized "enemy" of the USA, but meanwhile a very close ally of both Museveni and Kagame. When this situation was factually realized and Kabila had taken over Kinshasa with the help of Rwandan and Ugandan forces, Kagame felt greatly relieved in the process from the problem of the Rwandan refugees in Eastern Zaïre, which was for him yet a great threat. And even Garang, ally and leader of the Sudanese Liberation Army, was now publicly encouraged not merely to aspire after bringing liberation to the Southern Sudan but rather to try to overthrow the regime in Khartoum. This latter policy was however not in line with that of the Arab allies of the USA, and thus it failed miserably on all fronts. But early 1998 did the relationship between Kabila and his Rwandan and Ugandan sponsors already turn sour. In July 1998, Kabila therefore announced that the military co-operation agreement between Congo and Rwanda had served its purposes and was to end. Rwandan troops were to return to their side of the border as swiftly as possible. They did so, only to re-emerge almost immediately, this time as an enemy army. The Second Congo War had begun.

The Second Congo War

Kabila's break with his former allies had also consequences for other population groups in Congo, particularly the Banyarwanda and the Banyamulenge. Various Congolese political groups, like FLC, MLC, RCD etc., had used Kabila's victory over Kinshasa as a pretext to put forward their political claims. They had readily accepted the political and military support of either Rwanda or Uganda depending mainly on the specific interest of the group's leader. The Banyamulenge in particular felt to have been manipulated by the authorities of Kigali. They now saw clearly that their two main objectives – recognition of the Banyamulenge community as an ethnic part of the Congolese nation, and betterment of their relations with the other population groups of South Kivu – had been exploited by the Tutsi power in Rwanda for its personal purposes. This feeling of discomfort

within the Banyamulenge community brought on great dissension with regard to the RCD and led to violent clashes between the Banyamulenge and soldiers of the RPA. This new "banyamulenge revolution" which started in RD Congo on August 2, 1998 may well lead to become the "first all-out African war". Without precedent on the continent, the conflict holds the great danger that numerous African countries may become involved, willingly or not, militarily or otherwise along with three Congolese rebel movements, various Ugandan, Rwandan, Angolan and Burundian rebel groups, not to mention the many private African and Western interest groups.

Within that complex setting – politically, socially, religiously, economically and humanely – the Church of Congo faces the issue of and concern for Human Rights.

The situation in Kabila's Congo

Religious Freedom

Although in Kabila's DR Congo there was no constitution in effect, the Government respected freedom of religion in practice, provided the worshippers neither disturbed public order or contradicted commonly held morals. And as religious freedom was officially not curtailed, the three major Churches never made an issue of the question. Although government policy continued to require foreign religious groups to obtain the approval of the President through the Minister of Justice. Such was the stipulation of a 1971 law regulating religious organizations and granting civil servants the power to establish and dissolve religious groups. There have been no reports of the Government suspending or dissolving a religious group since 1990, when the Government suspended its recognition of Jehovah's Witnesses; that suspension subsequently was reversed by a court. Although this law continues to restrict the process for official recognition, official recognized religions have been left free to establish places of worship and to train clergy. In practice also religious groups that are not recognized worship freely. A great many recognized churches have external ties, and foreign missionaries have been allowed to continue their work of proselytization. On the whole the Government did not interfere with foreign missionaries. However, that does not mean that foreign missionaries have not been subjected to general human rights abuses by security forces. In 1998 Kabila's government drafted a new constitution, but after its dissemination to the press, many leaders of political parties, NGO's, and religious organizations

critized it as insufficiently democratic and therefore its ratification was not pursued. Consequently, it seems fair to conclude that in matters of religion Kabila and his government took a tolerant attitude, which does not allow for the conclusion that hence no surveillance was exercised. Aubert Mukendi, a former Cabinet Chef of president Kabila, declared openly at a Colloquium of the UN Human Rights Office in Kinshasa, that political activity on the part of clergy or faithful under the cover of religious leadership was not acceptable. In his view moreover politics and religion were totally incompatible. Notwithstanding then this tolerant attitude, abuses did occur also in government-controlled areas as a result of the war. These abuses, usually the ransacking of churches and the pilfering of church property, generally were the result of a lack of discipline among government troops.

Justice

It is reported that, since Kabila took power in 1997, both extrajudicial killings and deaths due to torture and neglect have become common at a secret detention center known as "Alfa", which was run directly by the Office of the President. Detention without charge has been a frequent problem under the Kabila administration. A number of human rights and religious organization leaders continued to indicate that it was increasingly difficult to monitor arrests and detentions or investigate reports of arbitrary arrest and detention due to increases in the number of arrests and detentions, in the number of security agencies involved, and in the number of detention facilities. But this dubious situation should not astonish, as neither during the rule of Mobutu nor during Kabila's period there existed in Congo an independently functioning justice department. A list of a human rights organisation even goes so far as to claim that since the Military Court (COM) was established a total of 272 people have been condemned to death by this court before October 1999. The same information states that 74 of these verdicts have been executed, whereas other sources estimate that the number even exceeds 100. Human rights organisations also report that both in Kinshasa and in the country's interior civilians are being apprehended and treated savagely time and again merely on the accusation of "witchcraft".

Human Rights

Roberto Garretón, the U.N. Human Rights Rapporteur on RD Congo, made very clear in his report to the UN General Assembly, that the human rights situation had deteriorated greatly during the period in-between his two visits and this

observation was true for both the occupied and the unoccupied parts of the country. He commented however positively on the work of the Minister for Human Rights, Léonard She Okitundu, who had taken office on 01.06.1998. Even so, on the whole, the Government's human rights record remained poor, and numerous serious abuses were being committed.

The main domestic human rights organizations operating in the country include "Comité Droits de l'Homme Maintenant", a national network of human rights organizations; "VSV", an active Kinshasa-based organization; "Groupe Jeremie" and "Groupe Amos", two Christian-inspired groups that focus on human rights and democracy problems; "Comités des Observateurs des Droits de l'Homme", a human rights monitoring group; "Toges Noires", an international association of lawyers and judges involved with human rights; and "Association de Defense des Droits de l'Homme". In addition numerous groups are active that are involved with development and with specific problems such as voter education and women's rights.

The organisation ASADHO (ex-AZADHO) paints even a very bleak picture of the situation. In its opinion never in the last ten years of the history of Congo have human rights violations been as rampant as nowadays. Offenses such as 'plotting against the regime' or 'collaborating with foreign powers', which were en vogue during the height of the Mobutu dictatorship in the 1970s, have resurfaced in political trials worthy of stalinist purges. Thus in one year, the Kabila regime imprisoned more journalists and human rights activists than the Mobutu regime did in seven years. Seemingly Kabila and his government had a phobia of human rights organizations.

NGO's

NGO's are required to register with the Minister of Justice and file copies of internal regulations and descriptions of organizational structure. On January 29, 1999 President Kabila promulgated a decree that restricted the activities of NGO's, including religious organizations, by establishing requirements for their activities. However, some existing organizations were exempt, and the decree was not really enforced during the year.

Press

The written media, which are mainly centred and distributed in Kinshasa, enjoy, with some minor restrictions, a fairly appreciable liberty of the press. Particularly the newspapers of the opposition bring into the open human rights violations

committed by the army, the police or the security forces and allot major space to the political and social issues which opposition parties, churches, trade unions and other important groups champion. On the other hand, the pro-government press more frequently print articles critical of religious organizations.

Registered Abuses

The Government was quite sensitive for criticism. Laurent-Désiré Kabila had one major purpose: to make the Catholic Church walk in step, to send her back into the sacristy, and one of the best ways to avoid confrontation was to continue to restrict severely foreign broadcasts. In July 1999 then Information Minister Didier Mumengi ordered privately owned radio and television stations to cease transmitting foreign broadcasts. The order was foremost aimed at Elikya, a Catholic radio station that transmitted Radio Vatican, and at Raga FM, which broadcasted the Voice of America (VOA), the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) world service, and Deutsche Welle. However, Kinshasa still received Radio France Internationale, which is being transmitted from nearby Brazzaville. The target were not religious broadcasts; but rather the relay of foreign programs which might be critical of the Government. For the next year the Catholic radio stations did not longer broadcast foreign radio transmissions. Even so, on January 10, 2000 ANR agents summoned to an unknown location Father Fabien Kenta, director of the private Catholic radio station Radio Elikya. Security agents said that the radio station had broadcast anti-Kabila messages under the guise of human rights information and ordered Kenta not to broadcast anti-Kabila messages. But it were not only Catholic voices which were targeted. There were unconfirmed reports that on the night of June 10, 2000 in the Masina district of Kinshasa soldiers forcibly entered the home of Reverend Placide Tshisumpa Tshiakatumba, president of the International Society for Human Rights (ISHR). Under the pretense of searching for "suspicious" documents, the soldiers allegedly systematically searched Tshisumpa's belongings and stole jewelry, money, and a camera. The soldiers reportedly then blindfolded and bound Tshisumpa, abducted him in their jeep, and drove him around Kinshasa until 3.a.m.

Mob violence results easily in killings, but during the year 2000 the Government did not incite directly lethal mob violence. However, following the sudden death on October 3rd of Emmanuel Kataliko, the Archbishop of Bukavu, who had spent 8 months in rebel-imposed internal exile, due to a heart attack the Kabila Government incited the populace by claiming that Tutsis had poisoned Kataliko. These statements, which quickly were circulated and published by independent newspapers, possibly contributed to demonstrations that broke out

in Bukavu and resulted in a child being killed by rebel gunfire. But at the same time Kabila and his government used intimidation to extreme and regarding the Catholic Church did not hesitate to throw her bishops into prison. Cardinal Frederic Etsou, archbishop of Kinshasa and president of the Bishops' Conference, denounced repeated harassment of Catholics and arbitrary arrests of bishops. . On January 10, 2000 Bishop Cyprien Mbuka, Auxiliary of Boma, was released after 12 days detention in a Kinshasa military prison 'for anti-patriot activity', on a charge of 'being in possession of a mobile phone without a license and nurturing subversive intentions regarding the Kinshasa government'. Over the last two years, three bishops and three priests were arrested on trumped-up charges: Bishop Theophile Kaboy of Kasongo, two missionary priests, Bishop Joseph Kesenge, emeritus of Molegbe, Fr. Fridolin Ambongo, Capuchin Provincial, and Bishop Nestor Ngoy Katahwa, at the moment of his arrest Bishop of Manono and at present Bishop of Kolwezi. Never before did the Church of Congo, from top to bottom, more fittingly merit the description "the voice of the voiceless". As she had done earlier under Mobutu, the Church also under Kabila spoke out in the name of the Congolese people, either in the manner of a group, or by the mediation of one of its emblematical personalities. And Mgr. Monsengwo, Archbishop of Kisangani, did not make use of diplomatic wooden language in giving an interview to an agency in June 2000: Laurent Kabila is not capable of governing the country. His mentality dates back some forty years, to the time of communism and the cold war. He has inflicted a new dictatorship: any person who holds an opinion, which does not concur with his, is arrested. He fears the democratic process. Human rights organizations denounced violations vigorously as it seemingly became the policy to use arrests and threats of arrests as means of repression for leading members of the civil society and the local Church. And the clergy was aware of its needed leadership and used opportunities which were available.

After an ordinary meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Church of Christ in the Congo, held in Kinshasa from September 24th to October 8th, 2000, the Rev. Richard Okoko Luhata and Mgr. Marini Bodho, respectively Moderator and National President of the Church, issued a declaration on behalf of that Committee about the social-political situation in the DR Congo, in which they strongly appealed to all concerned to work for peace, as such an action answered the fervent hope of all people in the country.

In view of the New Year 2001, the catholic bishop of the diocese of Butembo-Beni and the leader of the baptist community in Central Africa did together sent a message of peace to their communities entitled "I have witnessed the affliction of my people Yes, I know well what they are suffering".(Exodus 3,7)

Another major initiative came from Cardinal Etsou. He took the decision to organise on June 10th, 2001, in the city of Kinshasa, in the stadium of the Martyrs, a grand spectacle for peace, with the help of all artists of the country. Within that context Cardinal Etsou requested then all parishes, whether catholic, protestant, kimbanguist or orthodox, as well as all places of muslim worship, to join in making themselves heard by ringing the bells or otherwise for five minutes on the 10th of each month at 10.00 AM. From January 10th, 2001, the bells have been rung. But the official television channels and radios stations have taken care not to broadcast about the event! For also in this instance, the Kinshasa regime did not hesitate to repress freedom of expression. The day, January 10th, 2001, Bishop Mbuka was released, the government denied media coverage to the launching of the Church project for peace, presented by Cardinal Etsou. Congo's Minister of communications, Dominique Sakombi Inongo threatened media companies that they would be closed if they broadcasted about the event.

The Occupied Regions of RD Congo

Mr. Roberto Garreton, the U.N. Human Rights Rapporteur on RD Congo, has pointedly stated that the issue of Human Rights was generally far more critical in the occupied region of the country than in the region controlled by the government. The in-coming Rwandan army had successfully camouflaged their invasion into Eastern Kivu under the name of a Congolese Rebel movement, called RCD, which later split into pro-Rwanda and pro-Uganda factions.

But there were also numerous and widespread unconfirmed reports that armed bands of Rwandan Hutus posing as Interahamwe fighters committed abuses. The Rwandan army allegedly recruited these groups having them operate as an instrument of terror against civilians. The Rwandan authorities themselves reportedly coordinated these attacks on civilian and church targets and then blamed the attacks on the Interahamwe. They pursued this course of action in order ostensibly to demonstrate the need for a continued Rwandan military presence in the areas they controlled. Rebel organizations severely restricted freedom of speech, assembly, association, and religion in areas they held. In particular RCD/Goma and Rwandan units committed mass killings generally in reprisal for Mayi Mayi attacks against RCD or Rwandan forces. Some of the many reports of such killings were credible, particularly attacks, murders, and lootings against members and facilities of the Catholic Church. Astonishingly enough many of these attacks happened under the eyes of the security forces, who however never intervened. Particularly institutions of the Catholic Church seemed to be targeted. Furthermore, at the end of 1999 the Governor of Bukavu

launched a very strong attack against the Church in his speech. But there were also rumours of telephone conversations which had been overheard, during which instructions were given from Rwandan territory to plan a certain attack, which was soon after carried out accordingly. The administration which had been set up in the zone was considered by the people of Bukavu simply as a puppet of the Kigali Government.

In areas of the country under the military occupation of Rwanda, Uganda, and their respective rebel clients, religious freedom deteriorated. Numerous human rights groups reported about significant abuses in these areas by the occupying troops of Rwanda and Uganda, as well as by various rebel factions, which targeted Catholic clergy. Abuses reportedly took the form of attacks on missions, killings of priests, the rape of nuns, and the burning of churches. Credible reports indicate that occupying troops and their rebels allies deliberately targeted Catholic churches as a means of intimidating the local population and in revenge for the Church's perceived role in the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. Also human rights groups and members of political, religious and other non-governmental organizations in the parts of the country held by anti-government forces frequently were harassed and detained on suspicion of helping the Government.

The pattern and the ominous regularity of the attacks seem to suggest that there was a plan to silence the Church. For sure, the Catholic Church was very influential in the area. Even if since the beginning of the rebellion in August 1998 the clergy has more frequently been the target in areas of the RD Congo, which have been dominated by the rebels, it is doubtful whether it is possible to date to speak about intentional repressions against this group of persons on religious grounds. Human Rights Organization as well as the local press have pointed in this connection to the fact that the clergy is solely a targeted group in so far as they addressed themselves in their religious services critically about issues of military operations or about violations of human rights committed by the rebels. "Thus the Archbishop of Bukavu, Mgr. Christophe Munzihirwa, was murdered on October 29, 1996 because of his clairvoyance and his unequivocal stand on the turn of events in the region. Unfortunately, no one had listened to him and the RPF army thus eliminated a witness who had become outspoken." Moreover, the fact that regularly parishes are the only still important economic factors within the region and as such exercise considerable influence over the attitude of the local population is experienced as a limitation of power by the foreign powers or the rebels. Consequently, violent attacks on church institutions were thus seen as an attempt to break that hold and to intimidate and silence church leaders. But the Catholic Church was one of the few institutions that could still speak and particularly the Church of Bukavu has continued to speak out loudly.

The Catholic Church of Goma on the other hand had traditionally played a very important role in settling immigrants and refugees from which she derived the greater part of its followers. Moreover, the clergy had always supported the Rwandans and facilitated their integration in the local milieu, but this aspect brought with it that the local parishes were largely controlled and led by the Rwandan population. Thus e.g., in a number of zones of Kivu (Goma, Masisi and Rutshuru), the missionary educational system had almost totally gone over in the hands of the Banyarwanda. And again it resulted in permanent tension which existed between the catholic communities and the local populations as a result of the Church taking possession of rather large areas of landed property in some regions as was the case in Mokoto. The diocesan farm of Lushebere, regularly under heavy gun-fire during the various political frontier conflicts (1993 and 1996), is such a case. And as religious foundations were understood churches and other missionary and religious institutions. They were among the first foreign institutions to have been established in Kivu. Their locations had been given by the local chief and the National Committee of Kivu, on which they were to erect churches, prayer houses, schools and hospitals for the community. In most cases it were however mission houses and parishes.

Specific Instances of Harassment

On November 4, 1999 the catholic News Agency M.I.S.N.A. reported about a massacre among the civil population in the province of South Kivu, which is occupied by rebels of the RCD/Goma and Rwandan troops.

On January 24, 2000 ANR agents arrested four missionaries, Jean Denis Lokulo, Jean Robert Bompanda, Henri Bofala, and Jean Andiswa, from Equateur Province, and detained them at the Lemera holding facility on the suspicion that they were rebel informants. The missionaries were released on February 22, 2000.

In the eastern portion of the country, rebel forces prevented travel and harassed travelers. On February 11, 2000 RCD/Goma rebel forces operating in those areas of the country prevented the Archbishop of Bukavu, Emmanuel Kataliko, from returning to his diocese. The rebels alleged that the Archbishop's Christmas message urged harassment of Tutsis in the East. A number of sources in the occupied territories indicate that the decision to exile Kataliko in the town of Bunia was made by officials of the Government of Rwanda. RCD/Goma officials allowed Archbishop Kaliko to return to Bukavu in September, following visits and direct appeals to them by high level foreign government and Catholic Church officials; however, the Archbishop died of a heart attack while in Rome, less than 3 weeks later, on October 3rd. Following the news of the Archbishop's

death RCD/Goma security forces used gunfire to disperse a demonstration on October 4 in Bukavu. RCD soldiers reportedly killed a child in the shooting.

On February 16, 2000 a Banyamulenge militia attacked a Catholic mission in the Kilibu area of South Kivu Province. Two priests fled, but militiamen captured a third priest, Father Pepin Beta, whom they forced to kneel, and then shot and killed.

There were many reported arbitrary arrests by anti-government forces in the occupied territories, and anti-government forces reportedly detained persons repeatedly. Many of those whom anti-government forces detained reportedly were Hutus. In March rebel security agents harassed a number of religious and civil society leaders who traveled to Kinshasa to take part in the National Consultations. Over 40 delegates from the occupied territories, many of them associated with human rights NGO's, were subjected to harassment, delays, and detention.

On June 19, 2000 approximately 50 unidentified soldiers attacked and pillaged a Catholic Church and convent, a hospital, and homes in the town of Kabare, South Kivu Province; 3 civilians were killed. The RCD blamed the attack on the Interahamwe, but local humanitarian groups disputed this claim because of the number of RPA soldiers in the area.

Terror reigned among the seminarians at Murhesa, near Bukavu, when the Major Seminary was attacked in June 2000. This was not by any means the first nor the last attack on institutions of the Catholic Church in the territories under control of RCD/Goma, particularly in the archdiocese of Bukavu. There seems to have been an ominous regularity and a pattern in such attacks on parishes, convents and seminaries over the last two years. During the period September 1999 to February 2000 the following Church institutions have been attacked: 14th September 1999: the parish of Murhesa; 22nd November 1999: Kalonge Parish; 3rd December 1999: Mugogo parish; 3rd January 2000: Ciherano parish; 10th January 2000: Buhimba Major Seminary. More recently another four parishes, Bugobe, Kabare, Luhwinja and Kaniola, suffered the same fate.

On October 9, 2000 RCD rebels reportedly dispersed a meeting of a human rights umbrella group in Bukavu and publicly beat, arrested, and detained 13 human rights activists who attended the meeting at Camp Saio in Bukavu. The rebels also looted the offices of Groupe Jeremie where the meeting occurred.

Reportedly persons whom Rwandan, Ugandan or rebel forces allegedly detained, were sometimes transferred to Rwanda or Uganda. Thus a number of persons reported missing in 1998, including 22 Franciscan friars from Sola in Katanga Province and 3 university professors from Bukavu in South Kivu Province, still were unaccounted for at the end of the year 2000.

MI.S.N.A. reported on 9th August, 2001 that an arrest warrant was issued against Majaliwa Kananzi, president of the NGO Committee of Action for Integral Development (CADI) in Uvira, Kivu. His organisation provided a list of 108 names of people killed in Uvira between January and July 2001 by the soldiers of the RCD. That list was published in the May-June 2001 edition of the "Amani" magazine, an association dedicated to sensitizing, informing and coordinating peace and justice projects.

On Friday 10th August, 2001 security forces of the RDC/Goma arrested in Kisangani Fr. Claude Olenga, chairman of the commission Justice and Peace of the Archdiocese of Kisangani. Fr. Olenga is a strong advocate, with support from the population, of establishing an International Penal Court for the Congo to administer justice in relation to war crimes as well as to the reconstruction of Kisangani city by Rwanda and Uganda, the two countries who are the aggressors.

A Common Tragedy: the Use of Child Soldiers.

There were credible reports that government forces used forced conscription, and that many of those forced to enlist were children. On June 9, President Kabila issued a decree to reduce the Government's use of child soldiers and curtail forcible conscription of children during the year; however, the decree was not implemented by year's end. There was no general demobilization of child soldiers during the year, and many children already in the armed forces continued to serve in them. In addition government military commanders allegedly used child soldiers to inflate the ranks of troops under their command in order to acquire additional food and pay, which the commanders would confiscate. Commanders reportedly often concealed child soldiers during visits by human rights NGO's and other monitoring groups. There were credible reports that the ZAF forcibly conscripted homeless boys.

Children as young as 10 years of age have been allowed to enlist as soldiers in the ZAF. While many child soldiers continued to serve in the armed forces, during the year the Government recruited fewer children in the armed forces; however, the Government continued to encourage the enlistment of children in paramilitary organizations. Unlike in the previous year, there were no reports that unemployed youth in Katanga Province were recruited for military service.

Rebel forces reportedly continued to use child soldiers already in service, but greatly reduced recruitment of them during the year. Credible reports have indicated that rebel forces have conscripted forcibly boys as young as age 10, and there were reports that this practice continued during the year. However, it should not be forgotten that along with the will to put an end to the Mobutu regime

there was the prestige of wearing a uniform and of the right to carry a gun. And on top of that there was also the myth of the child soldier who smokes and drinks, who is protected by his superior officer to whom alone he owes allegiance, a myth which is even more glorified in the media. All of these factors have goaded thousands of such children to accept voluntarily this service. To them the army provided them suddenly with more power than their low level of education could comprehend, and moreover it offered an opportunity to escape completely from economic and social living conditions in Zaïre at the time when they could under no circumstances dream about a better future.

The armed forces of the DR Congo will have to demobilise all child-soldiers and stop recruiting minors. Such is the authoritative utterance of the young Congolese President, Joseph Kabila. He also acknowledged the role played by child-soldiers in the successive wars. But will his word bring an end to the situation?

Is Hope possible?

For sure, hope is alive in all of Congo, but it will only bring about the peace the population looks forward to if all facts are clearly and honestly put on the table, on the table of dialogue and readiness to live in harmony. And some of these facts may well be difficult to accept for the parties concerned:

It seems difficult to deny that the ruling Rwandan Patriotic Front regime still feels antagonism towards the Catholic Church, and that this feeling has become part of its policy. The basis of antagonism is likely the fear the state had and has for the institution "church" in and outside Rwanda. It was the president of Rwanda who declared after the arrestation of Mgr. Misago, bishop of Gikongoro, "we have no fear of him", thus implying that the government was well aware of and ready to take account of the moral weight the Catholic Church in Rwanda carried. In a somewhat devious way popular opinion was manipulated so as to turn against the bishop. Among the main accusations which were to substantiate his process was the allegation that he had organised a march in 1990 at the occasion of Fred Rwigema's death. It is not immediately clear from the accusation why this activity was politically pernicious, but at the occasion of National Heroes' Day, celebrated at Kagitumba on October 1st, 2000, the newspaper Ingabo published a number of articles relating to the day's importance. The last of these articles was written by Ndoze Rurinda, who drew a very distinct comparison between Fred Rwigema and Jesus. 'Both, so was his argument, had died to liberate the oppressed'. And he therefore called on his Rwandan compatriots to pay equal tribute to heroes like Rwigema, Rukararwa Bishingwe

and Rwendeye, as is done to Jesus! On the basis of prejudice then the RCD/Rwanda authorities in occupied Eastern Congo may well have carried out their policy, whereby the Church came to bear the brunt of the war. Ever since its beginning, 58 priests and other religious had either been killed or wounded. Moreover, they repeatedly silenced protest by human-rights monitors and observers, as well as church and other civil society institutions in the region. They took high-handed measures against senior church leaders such as the 7 month relegation of late Archbishop Emmanuel Kataliko of Bukavu, and specifically targeted church social institutions and human rights groups for intimidation, attacks and lootings. With the complicity of the RCD, the invaders are moreover terrorizing local traditional rulers and chiefs, forcing them to go underground in the countryside. In certain cases, Catholic priests and Protestant pastors have suffered the same treatment. This behavior displays the political intention to decapitate a people by suppressing its traditional leadership.

The interests of Third Parties have to be taken for what they really are. "The real objective of this war can be traced to the " African Growth and Opportunity Act," a bill introduced in the American Congress in October 1997 by a group of American multinationals. This bill defines the new economic policy of the US in Africa. It recommends the elimination of taxes on most African products, the privatization of all the sectors of economy in Africa, the reduction of taxes imposed on multinationals, the elimination of all restrictions regarding investing in Africa, a revision of laws on the protection of the environment, as well as a project to create a free trade zone between the United States and Africa." But also others have become interested in the region. "What is delaying a quick solution is mainly the various political and economic interests of the groups involved. There are those who want to have their political and cultural influence over the entire region, and in order to do this they need money..... The miserable situation of the country is due to its wealth and this is one of the reasons why the warlords do not want to put an end to the war... But one of the biggest problems in our zone is the easy flow of firearms.... An arms embargo should be implemented and solving problems with arms should be discouraged". And the Panel of Experts admitted: "The conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has become mainly about access, control and trade of five key mineral resources: coltan, diamonds, copper, cobalt and gold. The wealth of the country is appealing and hard to resist in the context of lawlessness and the weakness of the central authority.....Because of its lucrative nature, it has created a 'win-win' situation for all belligerents. Adversaries and enemies are at times partners in business, prisoners of Hutu origin are mine workers of RPA, enemies get

weapons from the same dealers and use the same intermediaries. Business has superseded security concerns. The only loser in this huge business venture is the Congolese people". Hence, the Panel concluded very strongly: "...The President (of Rwanda) has admitted in the past that the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo was self-financing. All these elements combined suggest the President's knowledge of the situation, his implicit approval of the continuation of the illegal exploitation of the resources of the Democratic Republic of Congo and somehow his complicity as well as his political and moral responsibility..... Presidents Kagame and Museveni are on the verge of becoming the godfathers of the illegal exploitation of natural resources and the continuation of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. They have indirectly given criminal cartels a unique opportunity to organize and operate in this fragile and sensitive region." These observations however seem to be callous, to be mere political rhetoric, if one remembers that "Mgr. Kataliko was exiled from his diocese precisely for pointing out this exploitation that is on going and has recently been thoroughly attested to by the UN's Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of the DRC's Natural Resources". And what to think of the endorsement of this Report by the chairperson of this very Panel when she, when commenting to the press, made the statement: "We were very surprised by what we learned not only by the scale of the exploitation, but the speed in which it is taking place". Would she be able to understand and concur with the reaction of a missionary, who has worked for 36 years in ex Zaïre and has lived since the 2nd August 1998 in areas controlled by the RCD? He declared: "With my own eyes I saw the foreign troops plundering the nation's natural resources, particularly Rwandans and Ugandans.....What planet does this man (sic!) come from? It has been years that the Congolese civil society has been denouncing the unprecedented plundering committed by the so-called 'liberators'; it has been years that magazines such as 'Missione Oggi, Mondo e Missione and Nigrizia' have been writing about this unpardonable theft. The diplomats sitting around the table of the UN Security Council....they know everything, also because they are all involved..... Please, lets stop this farce! Lets stop wasting time. In Congo there are people that are dying, people being exploited, people imploring solidarity, real solidarity! Stop with the reports, with useless promises. It is time to pass from words to action! Excuse my harsh words, but enough is enough!"

"There is one further development that must be added to the list of complications frustrating any serious settlement in the Great Lakes and surrounding region. Political rivalries and ethnic distinctions are becoming intertwined, with the result that an ugly new ethnic polarization threatens to engulf a huge swath of Africa.

It is the notion of a pan-Tutsi, or Tutsi-Hima, conspiracy to conquer the so-called Bantu peoples of large swaths of Africa. The basis of this situation is the reality that in certain parts of the continent, especially the east-centre, there is a tendency to divide people into two main ethnic groups, almost two races, Bantu and Nilotic, each a regional extension of Hutu and Tutsi. Sometime the latter are called Tutsi-Hima or Hamites. In Uganda, Kenya and Burundi and of course Rwanda itself, this division has long been recognized and has often been a source of friction. Now, and "ominously the notion of a pan-Hamite brotherhood bent on dominance of the honest Bantu peoples of Africa has become part of a new racialized ideological language in central and eastern Africa". "Recent accounts of events in the region indicate that the RCD-Goma is using the same strategy in a bid to create antagonism between the two main tribes of South Kivu, the Bashi and the Warega. Thus, a policy of "divide and rule" is gaining ground.....and the official discourse espouses democracy, peace, equality and prosperity, whereas in the field we live the reverse: the unbridled dictatorship of an ethnic minority in Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi and currently in the East of the DRC....There is an effort on the way to place the international community before a fait accompli: the presence of Rwandan settlers is in rapid expansion in eastern DRC, through a war that has all the characteristics of an act of conquest. The exploitation that has ensued extends presently to up to a thousand kilometers (about 575 miles) beyond the borders of the aggressors, Rwanda and Uganda.... The Banyamulenge question is a question that can only be resolved by an administration of a peaceful Congo, in conformity with the Constitution of the country. Moreover, the wiser among the Banyamulenge have long come to the realization that those in power in Kigali are simply manipulating the Banyamulenge's legitimate concerns for their own objectives in DR Congo; these Banyamulenge groups have thus began searching for ways to peace."

An International Symposium on Peace in Africa was held, despite the fact that it was banned in Bukavu, in Butembo, in the east of RD Congo, from February 27th to March 1st, 2001. Organised by the civilian population of South Kivu, the Catholic Church, the Church of Christ in the Congo, the Italian organisation Beati costruttori di pace, and with the support of Secours catholique the meeting brought together more than 700 people from across Europe, North America, and other African countries around one single motto: Peace Now! In the opening ceremony Mgr. Sikuli, the bishop of Beni-Butembo, made the following analysis: "People have been asked to participate wholeheartedly in this feast of peace. Their spontaneous engagement is a loud clamouring: Surely, the Congolese people look forward towards peace intensely. It is ready to take upon itself all sacrifices if only

the demon of war will be conquered." And the women present were particularly outspoken. Josephine, the provincial coordination representative of NGO and women organisations in South Kivu within the Regional Women Consultation of the Great Lakes, expressed the resentments of the women quite forcefully and openly. "Women were the major victims in a war. They lost their children who were drafted by force in the army. They lost their husbands. They themselves were systematically raped. They were subjected to sexual maltreatment. They have been buried alive in Mwenga. They are now aid-victims." For three days all the inhabitants of Butembo had their attention focused on the symposium, which was a concrete manifestation of our commitment to non-violence and peaceful cohabitation. They experienced the great surprise to see a representative of the Banyamulenge come forward to testify that, notwithstanding the accusations levelled against them that they colluded with the occupying Rwandan forces, they too suffered from the war. They too wanted peace. They too felt themselves to be Congolese. And he demanded that all foreign troops should retreat from the national territory. And in like manner the Mayi Mayi came forward to express themselves. In several messages they recalled their continuous strong opposition to any presence of foreign armed forces on the soil of the DR Congo. These combatants profit from the support of the population which "caught between two evils, chooses the least". The symposium's final declaration contained the following main resolutions: "(1) To disarm our minds and recognize that all Congolese and all men and women concerned about peace are our brothers and sisters; (2) To take human rights as our starting point in building peace; (3) To break away from apathy, the corruption of lies and the search for personal interest in political life; (4) To refuse to resort to violence, revenge and hatred in order to advance resolutely along the path of non-violence. Non-violence is the power of truth"

Even so, it must be acknowledged that a local Church is a reflection of the local society and therefore is likely to mirror existing differences and difficulties. And regrettably the Church in the east of Congo "could not always respond as a homogenous body because the bishops themselves embodied the ethnic and political divisions of the conflict. Mgr. Gapangwa in Uvira and Mgr. Ngabu in Goma were both Tutsi and were suspected of sympathies for the Rwandese. Mgr. Kataliko in Bukavu and to a lesser degree Mgr. Mambe in Kindu and Mgr. Kaboy in Kasongo were expected to stand up for the rights of the autochthonous tribes who complained of persecution at the hands of the foreign armies and of their local allies". And it is therefore understandable that it is even difficult for concerned leaders to give that kind of moral guidance that outsiders readily expect from them.

Although the government of Joseph Kabila has lifted obstacles previously created by his predecessor, there is a clear impression that the belligerents want to keep the status quo in effect, so that the DR Congo remains a country invaded and occupied by three neighbouring states.

The Churches in Congo are committed to work to achieve justice, respect of human dignity and human rights, truth, brotherhood, and understanding in the sub-region. And it is a God-given commitment, for the Congolese people, who want peace and nothing but peace, have a right thereof.

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Footnotes

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- 16 Ibid., p. 22.
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- 20 Prunier, Gérard, "The Catholic Church and the Kivu Conflict", *Journal of Religion in Africa*, XXXI, 2 (2001), p. 149.
- 21 Mathieu, Paul, p. 125ff.
- 22 Helmut Strizek, KONGO/ZAÏRE-RUANDA-BURUNDI, p. 172 strongly favours an interpretation given by a Belgian White Father, claiming that the Banyamulenge are Rwandan immigrants, living not such a very long time on Congolese territory, if one does not want to falsify history. All in all they number between 10.000 to 20.000 in his region. No serious argument will ever state that there ever existed an ethnic population by that name. The name was first used by a member of parliament, named Gisare, using it in the 1970s with the intention to lay possessory claims on the plateau. Further proof, so the White Father, derives from the fact that the name Mulenge is Fuliru, meaning Mountain, and not Kinyarwanda. It is true that ethnic groups moved around during the colonial period, but in this region it did not happen too frequently. Though both explanations differ in a number of details, there is at the same time a good number of remarkable parallels.
- 23 Prunier, p. 151, "Mgr. Gapangwa, Bishop of Uvira and himself a Munyamulenge, once said that he did not know whether his fellow tribesmen had joined the war in Rwanda 'out of search for security, as opportunism, to serve as mercenaries or even perhaps to find a solution to their questions about nationality and identity'."
- 24 Africa Research Bulletin, November 1st-30th, 1996, 12473.
- 25 "The rebels have their own problems. Their military commander Andre Ngandu Kissasse was reportedly killed in an ambush, probably shot by Mai-Mai fighters His death may herald a shift in military strategy. In recent weeks he had introduced a more cautious approach, insisting on his forces consolidating their control over the areas they had occupied and flushing out Hutu militia forces hiding in forests. The alliance leader, Laurent Kabila, favoured continuing to press the offensive toward Kisangani"; also Rupert Neudeck, "Afrika ist schlecht gestartet", *Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung AI 1/01*, pp.95-96, is not convinced by this report. He claims that the Committee Cap Anamur was urgently requested by Kigali to prepare a place for General Kisase Ngandu, who was very seriously wounded, in Kampala's Makerere Hospital. To him it is a clear sign that at the time the Kigali propaganda-machinery was not well-tuned.
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- 28 Report of the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, April 2000, p. 36, henceforth cited as Panel Report, <http://www.un.org/News/dh/latest/drcongo.htm>; United Nations Press Release, 26 January 2001, <http://www.unhchr.ch/hurricane/hurricane.nsf/view01>
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- 31 Rupert Neudeck, "Wo gibt es noch Rebellen? Die verspätete Rebellenbewegung 'Allianz der Demokratischen Kräfte zur Befreiung des Kongo-Zaire' ", *Orientierung* 61 (1997), p. 63: "An inhabitant from Kivu said, 'Kabila has never worked with any government that had anything to do with Mobutu. We are really behind him!'"
- 32 Masire Report, Ch. 20, p. 7.
- 33 Father Jean-Bosco Bahala, Diocesan Media Director, Archdiocese of Bukavu, "Suffering and Despair: Humanitarian Crisis in the Congo", Testimony Presented to the International Operations And Human Rights Subcommittee Congress of the United States, Washington D.C. Committee on International Relations, May 19, 2001, polycopied, p.5 "...this largely externally engineered rebellion was made to appear as a (Congolese) civil war with a slogan of campaigning for 'national liberation'".
- 34 This danger has been recognized by many, and consequently the United Nations, the O.A.U. and other organisations have used their influence and offices to search for a settlement. The interventions by the International Panel of Eminent Personalities (IPEP), Special Report to Investigate the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda and the Surrounding Events, Addis Abeba: Organisation of African Unity, 7 July 2000, and Report of the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, April 2000, as well as the intermediary efforts of African statesmen points to this concern.
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- 38 Ibid., p. 24.
- 39 Ibid., p. 3.
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- 57 *Fides*, 17/01/2001.
- 58 Déclaration du Comité Exécutif National sur la Situation Socio-Politique en République Démocratique du Congo, <http://ecc.faihtweb.com/cen.htm>
- 59 Mgr. Melchisédech Paluku Sikuli, évêque de Butembo-Beni, et le révérend Mauka Mathe Bulalo, représentant légal de la communauté baptiste au centre de l'Afrique, "Message de paix pour le Nouvel An 2001 à leurs communautés respectives", *D.I.A. –Bulletin d'Information*, 05.01.2001.
- 60 Title of the project: "Le Cri du Congo (The Cry of the Congo)"; Adresse de son Eminence Frédéric Cardinal Etsou Nzabi Bamungwabi, Archevêque de Kinshasa et Président de la Conférence Episcopale Nationale du Congo, à l'intention des Artistes Musiciens et Comédiens, Saint Joseph/Matonge, le mercredi 20 décembre 2000, polycopié.
- 61 Journaliste en danger (JED), Kinshasa, January 11, 2001, <http://www.ifex.org>, "The Grand Hotel of Kinshasa (formerly Hotel Intercontinental), which was initially to be the place for this manifestation, had closed its doors under the pretext that there was an electricity failure, although let out to the archdiocese of Kinshasa. The manifestation then took place in the Cathedral Our Lady of the Congo in Kinshasa/Gombe"; Adresse de son Eminence Le Cardinal Frédéric Etsou, Archevêque de Kinshasa et Président de la Conférence Episcopale Nationale du Congo, à la Cérémonie d'Ouverture Officielle du Projet "Le Cri du Congo", Salon Congo du Grand Hôtel de Kinshasa, le 10 janvier 2001.
- 62 Ibid.; *Fides*, 17/01/2001; Bruno Chenu, "L'Église au temps de Kabila", *La Croix* 20.02.2001, p. 22; U.S. Department of State, p. 23.
- 63 Bahala, p. 5; *New People*, pp. 4-5.
- 64 U.S. Department of State, p. 2.
- 65 Ibid., p. 4; Bahala, p. 3, "With such incidents of increasing insecurity, the local population has tended to seek refuge in Church Parishes. The attackers have therefore turned to systematically attacking and destroying property belonging to the Churches. Churches and rectories have been burnt and priests and other clergy killed. Even hospitals and medical centers belonging to the church have been burnt. These attacks, often carried out in city centers, are routinely and without investigation, blamed on militias whereas by all accounts they are carried out by the occupying armies".

- ⁶⁶ New People, pp. 4-5.
- ⁶⁷ U.S. Department of State, p. 24.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 27.
- ⁶⁹ Bahala, p. 5.
- ⁷⁰ "In the last couple of years and because of our commitment to peace and human dignity, the Catholic Church of Bukavu has lost through violent or precipitated deaths, her pastors, Monsigneur MUNZIHIRWA Christophe, assassinated on October 29, 1996 and Monsigneur Emmanuel KATALIKO who recently died in Rome on October 4, 2000, after seven months in exile imposed by the RCD (Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie) rebels. This, because he dared to speak of peace, express outrage against attacks on a defenseless civilian population, and articulate the concerns of the population entrusted to his care". Bahala, p. 3. Cf. also New People, pp. 4-5.
- ⁷¹ Mathieu, Paul, p. 45.
- ⁷² Ibid., p. 43.
- ⁷³ U.S. Department of State, p. 11.
- ⁷⁴ U.S. Department of State, p. 24.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 23.
- ⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 24.
- ⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 14.
- ⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 6.
- ⁷⁹ New People, pp. 4-5.
- ⁸⁰ U.S. Department of State, p. 28.
- ⁸¹ Ibid., p. 7.
- ⁸² M.L.S.N.A.09.08.2001, <http://www.misna.org/eng/notizia.asp?id=48832>.
- ⁸³ Un SOS en faveur du Pasteur Claude Olenga de Kisangani arrêté et torturé par le RCD/GOMA, D.I.A. – Bulletin d'Information, 15.08.2001.
- ⁸⁴ U.S. Department of State, p. 17.
- ⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 29.
- ⁸⁶ Ibid.
- ⁸⁷ Human Rights Watch, "Reluctant Recruits: Children and Adults forcibly recruited for Military Service in North Kivu", May 29, 2001, http://www.hrw.org/press/2001/05/congo_soldiers0529.htm
- ⁸⁸ M.L.S.N.A., 15 June 2001, <http://www.misna.org/eng/notizia.asp?id=46215>.
- ⁸⁹ The Tablet, 16 June, 2001, p. 859; Dialogue Nr. 217, Juillet-Août 2000, p. 93.
- ⁹⁰ Dialogue Nr. 218, pp. 92-93, quoting Ingabo, nr. 64, 7 septembre 2000, p. 9.
- ⁹¹ Bahala, pp. 10-11.
- ⁹² Ibid., p. 9.
- ⁹³ Archbishop Laurent Monsengwo, "Breaking Silence on Peace, in the DRC and the Great Lakes", Leadership December 2000, pp. 22-23.
- ⁹⁴ Panel Report, p. 40.
- ⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 39.
- ⁹⁶ Bahala, p. 9.
- ⁹⁷ M.L.S.N.A., 18 April 2001, "Open Letter of a missionary: Stop the Hypocrisy!", <http://www.misna.org/eng/notizia.asp?id=43213>
- ⁹⁸ Masire Report, ch. 20, p. 12.
- ⁹⁹ Bahala, pp. 13-15.
- ¹⁰⁰ Stéphane Fernandez, "Un frère espoir en RD Congo", La Croix, 5 avril 2001, p. 27; Bahala, p. 4.
- ¹⁰¹ Prunier, p. 157.

Abbreviations

AFDL	Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire
FDD	Forces to defend democracy
FLC	Front for the Liberation of Congo
IPEP	International Panel of Eminent Personalities
MLC	Congolese Liberation Movement; Leader: Jean-Pierre Bemba, supported by Uganda
OAU	Organization for African Unity
RCD	Rally for Congolese Democracy
RCD/Goma	Rally for Congolese Democracy/Goma; Leader: Emile Ilunga, supported by Rwanda
RCD/Kisangani	Rally for Congolese Democracy/Kisangani, later Bunia Leader: Ernest Wamba dia Wamba, supported by Uganda
RCD/ML	RCD/Kisangani
RCD/National	Rally for Congolese National Democracy/Bafwasende
RPA	Rwandan Patriotic Army
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
ZDF	Zimbabwe Defence Forces
UPDF	Ugandan People's Defence Forces
SPLA	Sudanese People's Liberation Army
SPLF	Sudanese People's Liberation Front
ZAF	Zairean Armed Forces