

Partial and informal translation of ‘*Rapport synthese des violations des droits de l’homme commises par le Mouvement dit M23 dans la Province du Nord-Kivu: Vers la sacralisation des crimes et de l’impunité en R.D. Congo*’

The following is a partial, informal translation by the Women’s Initiatives for Gender Justice of a report authored by Réseau National des ONGs des Droits de l’Homme de la République Démocratique du Congo (the National Network of Human Rights NGOs of the Democratic Republic of the Congo or RENADHOC), entitled “Report Summarizing Human Rights Violations Committed by M23 in North-Kivu: Towards the Sacralization of Crimes and Impunity in D.R. Congo”. The report by RENADHOC (in French) summarises human rights violations committed by the Mouvement du 23 Mars (M23) in North Kivu, in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), between 1 June and 30 November 2012.

The report begins with a brief introduction that summarises the status of the current war in North and South Kivu and is followed by a description of the climate, topography, and hydrography of the province, as well as historical and political factors that currently influence North and South Kivu.

The Women’s Initiatives for Gender Justice has translated the latter half of the report, beginning with a section on the development of the Mouvement du 23 Mars or M23 rebel movement, entitled ‘What about the negative force of M23?’, as well as sections that address the principal human rights violations committed by M23 in North Kivu and RENADHOC’s principal recommendations for reform and conclusions. The full version of the report in French is available [here](#).

III. What about the negative force of M23?

After the arrest of General Laurent Nkunda in January 2009, a peace treaty was concluded on 23 March 2009 between the *Congrès national pour la défense du peuple* (CNDP) and the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The agreement provided for the release of prisoners; the transformation of the CNDP into a political party; the return of refugees from neighbouring countries, from which the majority of the rebels originated; the integration of civilian members of the CNDP into governmental institutions; as well as the integration of CNDP forces into the Congolese army (the FARDC). The agreement was entered into by the Government against the will of the population, who still believe that all CNDP leaders should be in jail.

Former members of the CNDP military were suspected of abusing their position in the army to control the mineral trade, which led the Government of the DRC to transfer these former members of the CNDP to other regions of the DRC. Believing that this violated the agreements of 23 March 2009, they mutinied in April 2012. On 6 May 2012, the mutineers, directed by Colonel Sultani Makenga, created the *Mouvement du 23 Mars* or M23, a reference to the date of the original agreement.

On 17 August 2012, the Congress of M23 appointed Bishop Jean-Marie Runiga Lugerero, former member of the CNDP from the province of South Kivu, as president of the M23 movement. Colonel

Sultani Makenga was appointed head of the Military High Command. Promoted rapidly to Brigadier General, he is the Chief of General Staff of the armed branch of M23, called the Revolutionary Army of the Congo (ARC). On 13 November, the United States placed Makenga on their 'black list' for his responsibility in large-scale horrors perpetrated against civilians.

For the authorities in Kinshasa and certain observers, one of the organizers, if not the real leader of the movement, is General Bosco Ntaganda, known as the 'Terminator', a warlord accused by the International Criminal Court of recruiting child soldiers, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. According to the preliminary report authored by the United Nations Group of Experts on the DRC, M23 arose out of the merger of two groups of mutineers led by General Ntaganda and Colonel Makenga.

The report to the Security Council of the United Nations demonstrated in detail that the M23 benefited from military, financial, and political support from high-level members of the Government of Rwanda, including the Minister of Defense and the Chief of Defense Staff for Rwanda, including:

- The provision of direct assistance with the creation of M23 from Rwandan territory;
- Rwandan Defence Forces engaged in recruitment activities on behalf of M23;
- Rwandan Defence Forces provided logistical support to M23;
- The direct involvement of senior Rwandan officials in mobilising support for M23;
- Rwandan Defence Forces provided direct support to M23 units during operations in the DRC;
- Rwandan officials provided support for M23;
- Rwanda supported armed groups and mutineers linked to M23;
- Rwanda supported persons affected by the sanctions, notably General Bosco Ntaganda.

According to sister NGO Human Rights Watch, members of M23 'are responsible for widespread war crimes, including summary executions, rape, and forcible recruitment'. Some Rwandan authorities could be considered complicit in war crimes due to the military support they are providing to M23.

In chronological order, we recall the following dates:

- **In July 2012**, M23 controlled two cities, Bunagana and Rutshuru. Following talks that were initiated in August by the International Conference on the Great Lakes in Kampala (Uganda), the two sides remained more or less in their respective positions between August to mid-October, respecting an uneasy truce brokered between M23 on the one hand and FARDC or MONUSCO on the other hand. On 9 November the DRC issued an ultimatum for M23 to disarm within 14 days and fighting resumed in the territory of Rutshuru, north of Goma and held by M23.
- **On 17 November 2012**, M23 attacked the FARDC in the areas around Kibumba, about 30 kilometers to the north of Goma, Mboga, and Ruhondo. Despite the use of MONUSCO attack helicopters, M23 seized Kibumba and thus the FARDC retreated and positioned themselves around Goma. The position of the Congolese Government is clear: 'There is no M23, it is Rwanda that is attacking the DRC' said spokesman Lambert Mende. On 18 November, M23 took the city of Goma and affirmed that it was engaged in an offensive against the FARDC and demanded the government to open negotiations. That same day, the UN Security Council

strongly condemned 'the resumption of hostilities by the M23', its advance towards Goma, and the 'grave violations of international human rights law committed by M23'. It deplored the devastating humanitarian consequences arising from the fighting. The UN Security Council also condemned 'attacks by the rebel group M23' and demanded them to stop.

- **On 20 November 2012**, the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 2076 (2012), in which it demanded the 'immediate withdrawal of the M23 from Goma, the cessation of any further advances by the M23 and that its members immediately and permanently disband and lay down their arms'. It expressed an intension to impose further targeted sanctions against the leadership of M23 and those providing external support. The same day, M23 took control of Goma and the Security Council demanded sanctions against the two leaders of M23. The European Union asked M23 to 'immediately stop the military offensive against the city of Goma'. On 21 November the International Criminal Court renewed calls for the arrest of Bosco Ntaganda¹ and Sylvestre Mudacumura.²
- **The same day**, to reestablish peace in this region of the eastern DRC, the president of the DRC, Joseph Kabila, met with his counterparts in Kampala, Rwandan President Paul Kagame and Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni. The three presidents issued a joint statement calling on M23 fighters to withdraw from the city of Goma, conquered that day, which they refused to do before Joseph Kabila agreed to meet with them to discuss a solution to the war.
- **On 22 November 2012**, the town of Sake, west of Goma, fell under the control of Rwandan Special Units, camouflaged as M23.

¹ *Bosco Ntaganda is a general in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, but is of Rwandan nationality. Nicknamed the 'Terminator', he has been integrated into the Congolese army. On 13 July 2012, the International Criminal Court issued an arrest warrant against Ntaganda for crimes against humanity and war crimes. Wanted by the ICC for war crimes, the general Bosco Ntaganda has engaged in a long and bloody career in armed conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Born in Ruhengeri (Rwanda) in 1973 to Rwandan parents, Bosco Ntaganda developed a taste for handling weapons while serving in the Rwandan Patriotic Army (APR). A well informed source indicates that in 1996 he was 'dispatched as part of the APR in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and adhered to the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of the Congo (AFDL) of Laurent- Désiré Kabila' which chased Mobutu to Kinshasa in May 1997. Very quickly, Bosco Ntaganda turned against Laurent- Désiré Kabila by joining the Congolese Rally for Democracy (RCD), a politico-military pro-Rwandan movement in Goma, in the province of North Kivu in the east of Congo, which was at war with the new Congolese president. Supported by Rwanda and Uganda, Bosco Ntaganda was involved in the August 1998 military advance to overthrow Laurent-Désiré Kabila. A fiasco, even though Kabila was assassinated a few years later, in January 2001.*

² *On 13 July 2012, the International Criminal Court issued arrest warrants against the two of the individuals who are mostly responsible for the violence in the Kivus (in the east of the Democratic Republic of the Congo), the mutineering General Bosco Ntaganda and Supreme Commander of the FDLR rebels, Sylvestre Mudacumura. The judges of the ICC issued an arrest warrant against Bosco Ntaganda, 41, for three counts of crimes against humanity, including murder and rape, and four counts of war crimes committed in the Kivus in 2002 to 2003. Ntaganda was already the subject of an arrest warrant for the recruitment of child soldiers, issued in 2006, for the same crimes as the Congolese militia leader Thomas Lubanga, sentenced on Tuesday by the ICC to 14 years in prison.*

The judges also issued an arrest warrant for nine counts of war crimes, including murder, attacks against the civilian population, and pillaging committed between 2009 and 2010, against the Rwandan Sylvestre Mudacumura, 58 years old, supreme commander of the rebel Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR). On the basis of evidence presented by the Office of the Prosecutor, the judges ruled that 'there are reasonable grounds to believe' that the two men are 'responsible' for these crimes, according to an ICC statement released in The Hague.

IV. Principal Human Rights Violations Committed by M23 in North Kivu

1. THE CITY OF GOMA

1) 20 November 2012: Towards 11 am, Goma fell to the M23 rebels, resulting in the exchange of gunfire, mortars, and rockets, as well as other heavy weapons, leading to the death of more than nine persons, and wounding 64, including civilians and members of the military. In the neighbourhood of MURARA, we counted four dead and in the neighbourhood of MAJENGO we counted three dead.

2) 20 November 2012: Mr. SEMAJERI of the NGO GRACE was assassinated in his family home by men in uniforms.

3) 20 November 2012 at 17:30: The military suspected a boy by the name of MEDI of belonging to the Mai Mai and shot him. He died on the spot at Ndosho.

4) 21 November 2012: A military wife wanted to enter Camp Katindo to recover some belongings that she had left in her home when she fled. After discussion with a member of M23, who was standing guard, she was assassinated with a bayonet in the full daylight at 11 am at the entrance to Camp Katindo.

5) 22 November 2012: Members of the M23 military directed mob justice against an alleged thief in the Ndosho neighbourhood, who was burnt alive without due process because there is no prison.

6) During the evening between Saturday 24 November and 25 November, 2012: In the neighbourhood of KYESHERO, towards Kituku, members of the M23 military broke into the house of Mr. KAMBALE, a trader, where they stole a large sum of money and personal property. It is by the grace of God that Mr. Kambale escaped with his life.

7) 26 November 2012: Mr. ISSA, a shopkeeper who resides in the neighbourhood of Mabanga, was robbed in his home.

8) 27 November 2012: Mr. Deo, owner of a Nganda, was robbed of everything he had when M23 entered his house. The assailants loaded all of the goods they found in his house into a van, after a great deal of intimidation.

9) 27 November 2012: Mr. UZARIBARA, Baba Rehema, age 34, living on the avenue Miruyi, in the neighbourhood of Kyeshero, next to the JUHUDI School Complex, in front of the Lumoo Clinic, father of six children, was killed at 19:00 in his home by men of M23. After he was shot and killed, they took his jeep to an unknown location. At the same time, 400 meters from there, the Director General of the *l'Institut Supérieur Pédagogique* (ISP Goma) was almost shot but was narrowly saved.

10) 27 November 2012: During the night, in the neighbourhood of Katindo / carmel, members of M23 scaled a fence and then stole a car by requiring the victim to open the fence.

11) From 20 to 27 November 2012: Members of M23 organised the escape of all 1,500 inmates at the central prison of Munzenze, amongst which some prisoners had been sentenced to life in prison and

others had not yet served their sentence. Additionally, they have sanctioned impunity by causing reprisals against judges and an upsurge in insecurity in the city of Goma.

12) From 20 to 27 November 2012 : More or less 1,000 tons of heavy weapons, ammunitions, and tanks, abandoned by FARDC soldiers after clashes, were transported to Rwanda via the Bunagana border, in plain view, and with the knowledge of MONUSCO. At least six trucks were loaded with crates of weapons and ammunitions taken from the storage facilities of the Eighth Military Region.

13) During the night of 27 to 28 November 2012: In the neighbourhood of HIMBI, not far from the local church of the 8th CEPAC ANTIOKIA, in the city of Goma, members of M23 broke into a family home where they took everything of value, including luxury furniture and three cars. All of these goods were transported to Rwanda.

14) On the same night, towards 19:00: In the neighbourhood of KYESHERO, not far from the ATLANTIQUE School Complex, a man was shot dead by members of the M23 military, after they stole his car, which was transported to Rwanda.

15) From 20 to 30 November 2012: All the license plates kept in the premises of the Provincial Directorate of Taxes (DGI / GOMA) were systematically pillaged by members of M23 and transported to Rwanda.

16) From 20 to 30 November 2012: All of the furniture given by the European Union to the Congolese National Police in North Kivu was pillaged by members of M23 and transported to Rwanda.

17) From 20 to 30 November 2012: More than 15 jeep vehicles owned by First Lady Olive Lembe Kabila, and kept in an enclosure at Katindo, close to Lake Kivu, were pillaged by members of M23 and transported to Rwanda.

18) From 20 to 30 November 2012: The office of the public prosecutor in Goma was pillaged by members of M23, who took all of the furnishings and furniture.

19) From 20 to 30 November 2012: The hospital morgue in Camp Katindo was also systematically pillaged by members of M23, who controlled the camp.

20) From 20 to 30 November 2012: Residences of provincial ministers and deputy ministers were pillaged by members of M23 who transported all important effects to Rwanda.

21) From 20 to 30 November 2012: Several houses belonging to senior government officials, military officers, and members of the office of the provincial assembly were pillaged by members of M23, who transported these goods to Rwanda.

22) From 20 to 30 November 2012: The provincial government museum, food shops in Himbi II, and the OFIDA warehouse in Goma were completely pillaged by members of M23 and all vehicles and important goods were transported to Rwanda.

23) From 29 to 30 November 2012: Members of M23 were observed deploying to the outskirts of the city of Kinshasa. This operation unfolded as Goma was being systematically pillaged. Vehicles and other equipment belonging to the Office of Highways, the Office of Roads and Drainage (OVD), and other state departments were taken to Rwanda with the full knowledge of MONUSCO.

24) From 29 to 30 November 2012: It was observed at Goma that many members of M23, instead of withdrawing from the city of Goma, opted to remove their military uniforms and wear clothing to camouflage themselves within the civilian population.

25) From 29 to 30 November 2012: It was observed at Goma that members of M23 removed their military uniforms to wear uniforms of the Congolese National Police in order to remain undetected by the population.

26) From 29 to 30 November 2012: It was observed in the city of Goma that in the morning several hundred members of M23 boarded trucks to withdraw from the city of Goma in the presence of MONUSCO, and that night the same trucks, loaded with members of M23, were observed in the city of Goma!

27) 30 November 2012: Following the military activities in the province of North Kivu, it is estimated that there are more than 130,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the city of Goma and surrounding areas, including 61,200 at Mugunga 1; 31,170 at Lac Vert; 30,000 at Mugunga 3; 6,012 at Don Bosco; 525 at Nazareen Primary School; 400 at Neema Primary School; 375 at Bulengo; 295 at Mont Rocher Church; and 150 at Notre Dame d’Afrique. In most cases, these IDPs are not receiving adequate humanitarian assistance corresponding to their basic and primary needs.

28) 30 November 2012: It was observed that M23 launched a parallel Civil Society in North Kivu to create confusion amongst the Traditional Civil Society.

29) 30 November 2012: It was observed that M23’s decision to withdraw from the city of Goma while maintaining its administration and police force created confusion, obstructed freedom of speech, and constitutes an imminent danger to human rights defenders in North Kivu.

30) 30 November 2012: It was observed that several human rights defenders have deserted their communities, others have adopted a low profile and / or have gone underground, and still others continue to work in a heroic manner in extremely difficult conditions. The hardships faced by human rights defenders include the lack of protection and logistical difficulties (communication, mobility), etc.

31) 30 November 2012: It was observed that several gas stations were pillaged by members of M23 who have taken fuel without paying for it.

32) During the night of 29 to 30 November 2012: members of M23 pillaged refugees and displaced persons living in Mugunga Camp, 3 to 7 kilometers from Goma. The assailants took food, phones, money, and clothing belonging to vulnerable people. Teenagers were abducted to carry the loot. Six cases of rape were also reported in Mugunga Camp III. Mid-November, before the progression of M23

to Goma, the camp was home to 14,000 people. Today, its population is estimated to be between 30,000 and 35,000 vulnerable people.

2. THE TERRITORY OF NYIRAGONGO

The M23, today named ARC (Revolutionary Army of the Congo) initiated a rebellion in March 2012 in the territory of MASISI. They were fought by the FARDC, who suffered a failure due to resistance in Kitshanga / Masisi. After this failure, they traveled through the bush in the territory of Nyiragongo, to Kibumba, opposite the disaster victims of Kibiriga, next to the two antennas. During the night of 26 April 2012, they followed a route between the localities of KATARE – BURAMBO – HEHUKALANGALA – KIBIRIGA and resisted the village of KASIZI. Others took a third route towards NJERIMA or KINIGI in Rwanda, where they reunited. Afterward, they systematically began to attack the territory of Rutshuru towards RUNYONI and all the corners of the territory of Nyiragongo, which is close to the city of Goma.

We mention the following events which took place during this reporting period:

33) After taking Rutshuru territory, including BWEZA, JOMBA, KISIGARI, BUKOMA, BUSANZA, RUTSHUR CENTRE, KALENGERA, NTAMUGENGA, KIWANJA and RUGARI, they began to forcibly recruit children and rape women, until 24 July 2012.

34) 9 November 2012: at 9:43 pm, Mr. BWIKO MBITSE, aged 38, resident of the village of MUTAHO, in the Kibati group, was abducted by men in uniform.

35) 15 November 2012: Two girls were raped, F.M. aged 22 and a resident of Kiortshe and H.D. aged 20 and a resident of RUTOVU.

36) 15 November 2012: A delegation consisting of members of the Rwandan military and the M23 military attacked all of the corners of Kibumba, including the towns of KASIZI, KIROJE, HEHU, KIBIRIGA, GIKERI in the town of RUTOVU and diagonally from MASHAHI to MWARO in the town of KABINDI and towards the two antennas at KIBUMBA. The mutineers sustained such large losses that they had to stop the war on 16 November 2012.

37) Sunday 18 November 2012: Members of the Rwandan military crossed the bridge and met M23 to penetrate KANJANJA (a city located on the border between Rwanda and the Congo, in the KIBATI group near KILIMANYOKA), which caused survivors who fled from Rutshuru, Kibumba and Buhumba to KANYARUCHINYA and the Mugunga Camp.

38) Monday, 19 November 2012: at 2:45 pm, Rwandan soldiers crossed the border at Munigi.

39) 18 November 2012: Mr. KASSA MULEMA, age 35, resident of BUVIRA and Mrs. SIKUJUWA VALERE, age 28, resident of KANYANJA, were victims of a bomb launched by M23 rebels.

40) 18 November 2012: Mr. MUPENZI Theoneste, age 20, resident of BUHOMBO was assassinated by members of M23.

41) 18 November 2012: At 10:32 pm, two women (Mrs. V, age 32, resident of Buhama of the Kibati group, and Mrs. V.M., age 24, resident of the same neighbourhood) were raped by members of M23.

42) 20 November 2012: Members of M23 were observed systematically looting displaced persons from KIBATI, including Mr. Joseph NYANDWI, 52 years old.

43) 20 November 2012: M23 rebels surrounded the city of Goma from the neighbourhood of Bujovu, KABUTEMO (cemetery), the neighbourhood of Birere, the neighbourhood of Ndosho, and towards 11 the city fell into the hands of rebels who entered Goma from the Rwandan city of Gisenyi, passing through the Grande Barriere (border) with the Democratic Republic of the Congo. During their advance, there were threats, forced recruitment of children, the looting of homes, and sexual violence. The Camp of Kanyaruchinya was emptied on 18 November 2012, and more than 50,000 people had to be relocated to the Mugunga camp.

44) 21 November 2012: Members of M23 began to harass vehicles on the road, by erecting a barrier at Kibati where each truck traveling between Butembo and Goma was required to pay a fee of \$350.

3. THE TERRITORY OF MASISI

At the taking of Goma, on 20 November 2012, members of M23, to take cities and villages in Masisi, wanted to use militia to ensure obedience, including the NYATURA constituted of members of HUTU, MAI-MAI CHEKA, and RAIYA MUTOMBOKI. On the other hand, M23 wanted to take certain villages, including MUSHAKI, KARUBA, NGUNGU, RUBAYA, KIBABI, KINGI, BIHAMBWE, LUSHEBERE and KATALE by having members of the RDF infiltrate the regiments and brigades of the FARDC.

45) 24 and 25 November 2012: Youth were deployed to infest the city of Masisi and to cause problems to prepare for the entry of M23. Thirteen people were injured by gunfire, including a woman and a child who were taken to the hospital in Masisi for appropriate care, and five were killed, including a woman shot by the Nyatura (allies of M23).

46) 24 to 26 November 2012: Members of the CHEKA, RAIYA MUTOMBOKI and NYATURA, all allied with and mobilised by M23, to bring down certain villages by engaging in pillage and murder and by committing arson. Shops and houses within a 2 kilometer radius of the village of Mutiri were looted and two houses in the town of Masisi were set on fire.

47) 24 to 26 November 2012: The pro-M23 Nyatura burned villages, including the village of RONA situated 4 km from the city of Masisi in the group of BIIRI; the villages of BUOYE and BULOTO, situation in the group of BUNYUNGU; the villages of BONDE and LUSHEBERE / WASHI, situated in the group of BAPFUNA. It should be noted that these villages belonged for the most part to the Hunde and were burned by the Nyatura, led by Mr. MUNYAMARIBA, chief of MIANJA and former of the RCD and the CNDP.

48) 25 November 2012: The village of KALEMBE, in the group of BASHALI MOTO, was attacked and occupied by members of the CHEKA on behalf of M23. Direct consequences include the massive

displacement of the population in the bush and panic within the population of Kichanga, located 40 km away. CHEKA, RAIYA MUTOMBOKI, and NYATURA are allied with M23.

IV. TERRITORY OF RUTSHURU

49) Immediately after M23 took control of Rutshuru territory, it opened siege on CENI and took away all the electoral kits. Opinions are divided on the meaning of this act. For the M23, it is part of the overall goal to gain advantage, but some analysts say that it will facilitate the fraudulent enrolment of Rwandans for a particular political purpose.

50) Individual and mass killings have been reported across the territories of Rutshuru and North Kivu:

- Mass killings were recorded during clashes at Mbuzi, Ntamugenga, Jomba, Bunagana, Kiwanja, Vitshumbi, Nyamilima...The number of people killed in these massacres is not yet known, but requires a specific survey of the affected sites.
- Sexual violence against women;
- Several local leaders have received verbal and telephone threats of imprisonment or death;
- Proliferation of illegal taxes;
- Hundreds of civilian victims have been wounded or killed by gun shots, both at home and on the road. We are not able to calculate total numbers of victims, because victims are afraid to leave their homes to obtain medical service at the hospital in Rutshuru.

VI. TERRITORIES OF LUBERO AND BENI

In the far north, M23 is characterised by defections from the National Congolese Army and armed groups in certain places:

51) Early June 2012: Colonel KHASHA of the 808th Regiment of the FARDC, based in Eringethi and deputy to Colonel Mboneza, defected to join **the Fontaine**, who was confined to Bunyatenge in the south of Lubero with his armed group, the Mai-Mai PARECO.

52) 16 June 2012: Colonel Mboneza of the 808th regiment based in Eringethi, of the FARDC and ex-CNDP, defected with ten soldiers, who traveled to KASUGHO to join the group Mai-Mai La Fontaine.

53) 22 June 2012: 30 ex-CNDP members of the military, based in Lubero, defected and travelled to Kasugho.

54) 13 July 2012: The Lieutenant Colonel THAHANGANYOLO (alias NYORO) of the FARDC and former influential member of the RCD / K-ML also defected and travelled to Graben Park, close to KARURUMA, on the road to the Kasini border with Uganda.

55) End of July and beginning of August 2012: Major PALUKU KOMBI Hiller of the FARDC and former member of the RCD / K-ML also defected and joined his colleague THAHANGANYOLO. They proceeded

to recruit young people in their cantonment. Once he had defected, Major Hiller PALUKU was called General. All of these defections occurred in close collaboration with M23.

56) 8 July 2012: The group La Fontaine and Kahasha abducted the administrator of the territory of Lubero as well as the Chief of the city of Kirumba. They were released after a week of being detained in horrible conditions.

57) 19 October 2012: Three catholic priests were abducted in the Catholic Parish of Mbau in the territory of Beni, and have not yet been found.

58) 20 October 2012: The rebel movement *Union Rehabilitation de la Democratie au Congo* (URDC) was formed in Ruenzori and commanded by Colonel THAHANGANYOLO RCD / K-ML, allied with M23.

59) At the taking of the city of Goma by the M23 on Monday, 19 November 2012, THAHANGANYOLO and Hiller PALUKU and their troops traveled to Goma with M23. This signals that the former RCD-KML is allied with M23.

V. Principal Recommendations³

1. WITH RESPECT TO THE SECURITY SITUATION OF THE CONGOLESE POPULATION

1) We call on the Government of the Republic to take all of the required steps to stop foreign armed groups, who have forced the Congolese to abandon their villages and their possessions for the illegal exploitation of national riches, from occupying all buffer zones in the country, including the large bands of forest in the east of the country, until Lubero in the South, Shabunda in the East, Walikale in the East, and the highlands of Masisi, Kalehe, Kabare, Mwenga, and Fizi.

2) We call on the Government of the Republic to take all necessary steps to fulfill its leadership role within the region by insisting on the urgency and necessity of an Inter-Rwandan dialogue, the only way to end the presence of FDLR Rwandan militants in the east of the country.

3) We call on the Government of the Republic to take all steps to fulfill its leadership role within the region by insisting on the urgency and necessity of an Inter-Ugandan dialogue, the only way to end the presence of ADF/NALU and the LRA in the east of the country.

4) We call on the Government of the Republic to speed up changes to the Congolese National Police, the Armed Forces of the R.D. Congo, the Military Detection of anti-National Activities (DEMIAP), Military Intelligence Service (SMR), the National Intelligence Agency (ANR), the Committee of State Security

³ *The Government of the Republic has the primary responsibility to promote human rights in all locations, at all times, and in all circumstances, over the whole of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It has the duty to implement and enforce the Constitution, the laws of the Republic, and other regional justice instruments and international human rights instruments ratified by the DRC. Congolese NGO's and bilateral and multilateral partners have only a supplementary role to play.*

(CSE), the Directorate of General Information and Special Services of the Congolese National Police (DRGS).

5) We call upon the Government of the Republic to proceed with the vetting / cleansing of the Armed Forces of the DRC, the Congolese National Police, and all security and information services in the D.R. Congo, by eradicating all alleged perpetrators of international of human rights and humanitarian law violations.

6) We call upon the Government of the Republic to periodically evaluate the implementation of the National Program of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reinsertion (PN-DDR) and the National Strategy for the Integration of the Armed Forces.

7) We call on the Government of the Republic to make every effort to provide the country with a loyal, patriotic, and republication National Police.

8) We call on the Government of the Republic to end the sub-groups that exist within the army and use its resources to serve the interests of Rwanda, Uganda, and multinational corporations.

9) We call on the Government of the Republic to end discrimination within the armed forces. Ensure that military officers integrated from the CNDP and the RCD/Goma no longer have any responsibilities linked to military intelligence, operational logistics, nor the management of military regions, military bases and brigades in North Kivu, South Kivu, Maniema, and Province Orientale.

10) We call on the Government of the Republic to take all necessary steps to end the massive movement of refugees and internally displaced peoples. The forced uprooting of large communities has resulted in an increase in targeted violence, acts of repression, food shortages, diseases, the lack of potable drinking water, competition for arable land, and problems that can cause humanitarian distress and security problems, both within the country and between countries in the sub-region.

11) We call on the Government of the Republic to take all steps to end the cycle of community and grassroots violence, based on recent or past injustices, without forgetting crimes perpetrated against Congolese communities and groups that have gone unpunished since 1996.

12) We call on the Government of the Republic to take all necessary steps to stop foreign military intervention in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, including by military or paramilitary armies, states, groups or entities, which can upset the balance of local forces and prevent the resolution of conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

13) We call on the Government of the Republic to take all necessary steps to stop the perpetuation of humanitarian action, including the dependence of the Democratic Republic of the Congo on external aid and United Nations peacekeeping missions. It is unacceptable that, in the name of peace, we observe that insecurity and instability are entrenched in the east of the country. Equally, we observe on the part of the Government, a deficit crying out for coordinated interventions on behalf of humanitarian NGOs and other international NGOs permitted to work in the DRC: the state does not know who is doing

what? Where? How? With whom? For whom? For how long? It can be said that we are in a humanitarian jungle in the absence of a suitable map and without mid-term evaluations of all these interventions. When humanitarian action becomes entrenched, it loses coherency and blocks any surge of endogenous development!

14) We call on the Government of the Republic to take all necessary measure to ensure that the central government stops being so weak and ineffective that it can but exert marginal control over the national territory.

2. WITH RESPECT TO THE SECURITY FIGHT AGAINST IMPUNITY

15) We call on the Government of the Republic to take all necessary steps to ensure that the central government stops being so weak and ineffective that it can but exert marginal control over the national territory.

16) We call on the Government of the Republic to make every effort to provide the Democratic Republic of the Congo with transitional justice mechanisms, including a new National Truth and Reconciliation Commission, as the transitional period has finished its mandate of three years without establishing a single truth about the past.

17) We call on the Government of the Republic to support the implementation of a justice mechanism in the DRC to end the discrimination against victims of grave crimes and the temporary inability of the International Criminal Court (ICC) to act. There has been a failure to obtain an International Criminal Tribunal for the Democratic Republic of the Congo (TPI/RDC) and a failure to obtain a temporal and geographic expansion of the mandate of the International Criminal Tribunal in the DRC. A specialised institution in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is indispensable.

18) We call on the Government of the Republic to make every effort to ensure that the Congolese Parliament adopts and implements, on a priority basis, the Rome Statute and for the Head of State to quickly adopt the law implementing the National Commission on Human Rights.

3. WITH RESPECT TO PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE AFRICAN GREAT LAKES REGION

19) We call on the United Nations Security Council to completely and fully fulfill its mandate protect the Congolese civilian population and prevent human tragedies stemming from military activities engaged in by the FDLR and the M23 on Congolese soil.

20) We call on the United Nations Security Council to immediately lift the embargo on the purchase of weapons in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and impose this embargo on the totalitarian institutions and states in Rwanda and Uganda.

21) Calls on all development partners, namely the United Nations, the European Union, and the African Union, to make every effort to ensure that Rwanda becomes a democratic, multicultural, multiethnic

state that is respectful of human rights. As long as General Paul Kagame is the head of Rwanda, there will not be peace or stability in the African Great Lakes region.

22) We call on the International Criminal Court (ICC) to expedite and intensify its investigations in North Kivu and South Kivu, so that all the principal criminal leaders of the RCD/GOMA, RCD/K-ML, CNDP and M23 are held accountable for their ignominious crimes committed against the civilian population and the defenseless provinces in the Kivus. It is inconceivable that an entire people has been taken hostage and sacrificed for two decades due to the Mafia-type interests of the dominant powers.

23) We call on the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo not to engage in unconstitutional dialogue with negative forces such as M23 or the FDLR and to privilege direct negotiations with Rwanda, who is our actual aggressor, under the name of M23, and in sight and with the knowledge of MONUSCO and the international community. The city of Kampala cannot in any case be the site of political negotiations given that Uganda is also an aggressor.

24) We call upon the Government of Rwanda to immediately return all goods, vehicles, weapons, and military effects that were pillaged from Goma, Rumangabo, and Kiwandja and taken to Rwanda by the negative elements of M23.

25) We call upon the Congolese population to remain vigilant and heroically resist and categorically oppose this latest of a series of assaults, and for the population of North Kivu to commit acts of civil disobedience until Rwanda completely and fully leaves from all the nooks and crannies of the province of North Kivu.

V. General Conclusions

The National Network of Human Rights NGOs of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (RENADHOC) remains convinced that the implementation of all recommendations outlined above would contribute greatly to the consolidation of peace and good governance in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The information collected and compiled in the province of North Kivu has demonstrated that M23 is a veritable exogenous negative force commanded by General Paul KAGAME, president of Rwanda, and the principal author of international human rights and humanitarian violations committed in the Democratic Republic of the Congo from 1994 to present.

The United Nations Organisation Stabilisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) is called to draw all the consequences arising from its incapacity and tacit complicity to protect civilians and prevent foreign invasions and other acts of pillage in Rwanda.

Western powers that support violence in the Great Lakes region are called to humanism and other democratic values to protect the African Great Lakes region from undesirable wars and cycles of conflict.

RENADHOC launches a solemn appeal to the Government of the Republic, the Congolese Parliament, and all development partners to internalise and implement the recommendations so that the

Democratic Republic of the Congo becomes an oasis of peace in the heart of Central Africa, the African Great Lakes, and Southern Africa.