

## **Acronyms and abbreviations**

AAP: Aid and Action for Peace

AGR: Revenue Generating Activities.

CNDP: National Congress for the Defense of the People

DGM: Directorate General of Migration

DGRNK: General Directorate of North Kivu Revenue

FARDC: Armed Forces of the Republic of Congo

M23: May 23 Movement

NGOs: Non-governmental organizations

PNC: Congolese National Police

PAR: Participatory Action Research

DRC: Democratic Republic of the Congo

SPR: Solution for Peace and Recovery

<sup>1</sup> Purported quote referenced to Gandhi in an article "The Bankruptcy of the Integration Industry" by Tarik Fraihi, 2000.

Many of the interviews conducted for this report were conducted on condition of anonymity. For all interviewees who asked to remain anonymous, the identifying information in the report is limited to a number associated with a location and date, for example “Interviewee #105, Goma, August 28, 2012”. During our research, accounts of significant and sometimes disputed events were confirmed by multiple sources with direct knowledge of the events in question.

The Usalama research program is based on several questions: what is the history of these armed groups? Who supports and controls them? What relationships do different groups have with the state, neighboring states, business interests and the Congolese armed forces? Why was it so difficult to demobilize some groups, while others disappeared? And are there certain recurring features in the ways groups proliferate, negotiate with the state, and then disappear?

The Project mainly adopts a qualitative approach. It analyzes historical sources and the limited quantitative information available and reviews the origin of armed groups through interviews with politicians, businessmen, representatives of civil society and members of armed groups. The Project is also based on large-scale work carried out in the field by international and Congolese researchers. Among the results are reports on specific armed groups and the major geographical areas of conflict, as well as a series of seminars and workshops in the DRC.

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governance, jealousy, political manipulation, selfish interests, land scarcity, unbridled pursuit of power, community empowerment, nationality or identity and forces of power. 'order. The consequences of conflict are loss of heritage, poverty, exclusion, tribal hatred, xenophobia, fear of others, unfair competition, mutual destruction, fracture between communities, destruction of villages, the killings, underdevelopment, the increase in the number of illiterates, unemployment, banditry, etc.

d) Conflict of inheritance. This conflict is also linked to land. Its actors are the heirs of all the categories concerned by the succession, the legal bodies such as the custodian of the will. Family members, close or distant, are also involved in the inheritance dispute

Another Project Usalama had come, Project Usalama (meaning "peace" or "security" in Swahili) of the Rift Valley Institute was created in response to the ongoing violence in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. Billions of dollars have been spent on conflict resolution to end the prolonged suffering that the people of this region have endured for two decades. Yet international organizations operating in the DRC and even the Congolese government do not fully understand the Congolese armed groups at the heart of the conflict. The Usalama Project examines the roots of violence, with the aim of better understanding all armed groups, including the Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo (FARDC).

The consequences that this entails are enormous: imbalance between farmers and breeders, increase in the rate of illiteracy, forced displacement of populations, slaughter of cows, destruction of the environment, creation of armed groups, burning of houses, hatred and jealousy, destruction intent on cultures, violence on all sides, nameless criminality, glaring poverty, endless inter-ethnic conflicts, illegal possession of weapons by certain ill-off individuals, etc.

b) The conflict of power evokes space and the governed. It is a conflict that is also linked to the land. The actors are customary and public authorities, certain politicians, royal families, ignorance, the unbridled search for power, etc.

Its causes are poor local governance, the weakness of State authority, the entrenchment of impunity, selfish interests, political positioning, non-respect of customary principles and rules, the passivity of the local population and finally the absence of the state and backward customs.

The consequences are socio-economic instability, weak protection of civilian populations, discrimination of women in decision-making and the illegal exploitation of resources.

c) The actors in the ethnic conflict are certain community leaders, the Hunde, Nyanga, Hutu, Tutsi and Tembo, certain politicians and the ethnic communities themselves. The causes of this conflict are poor local

## **Causes, actors and consequences**

To better understand the dynamics of the causes and actors as well as the consequences of the conflicts identified on the previous pages, it is logical to associate each type of conflict with its causes and the consequences that each conflict brings with it. It should also be noted that some causes and consequences have been sufficiently described above in the conflict mapping.

a) The land conflict between farmers and herders is ipso facto a land conflict. The actors in this type of conflict are breeders, farmers, state and especially cadastral services, local authorities, deputies, economic operators and major state dignitaries. This conflict is caused by unhealthy asset management (the State is absent), the transformation of arable land into pasture, the unequal distribution of resources, competition between the land law, in this case the Bakajika law promulgated by Lieutenant General Joseph-Désiré Mobutu in 1966, and all its corollaries and the custom that guards the land, the demographic explosion on a static land, ignorance in land matters and above all the granting of real estate titles without prior investigation by the land registry services and the customary chiefs on the vacancy of land, the ideology of punishment (revenge) in the minds of large breeders, mostly Tutsi, the spirit of domination, etc.

tensions between the inhabitants of the highlands and those on the shores of Lake Kivu. To show their dissatisfaction and put an end to this exclusion from water, the population of the highlands deprived of water proceeded with verbal threats and cuts in the pipes that crossed their area.

#### 8) The inheritance conflict

This inheritance conflict is linked to the material or non-material goods that children inherit from their parents when they die. In the target territories of our study, it is most often land (plot, field). When the parents die, the sons deprive the daughters, their sisters, of their inheritance rights. When the father dies, the daughters are driven out of the fields left to them by their father. Moreover, when the parents die without leaving a will, conflicts arise between the children because some, especially those of the first wife if the father was polygamous, seek to appropriate the entire inheritance. If the left parties do not seek jurisdiction, a confrontation takes place. Most often, the family with the greatest number of sons imposes itself on all the other families and seeks by all means to impose the solution that suits it best, even if it is the use of strength. The inheritance conflict is fueled by ignorance of the law of succession and by the non-application of the law by dental professionals. Retrograde habits and customs against women are also one of the major causes.

first escalations proper between the ethnic groups of North Kivu must be located. The so-called indigenous ethnic groups (Hunde, Nyanga, Nande and Tembo) stand up against those called allochtones (Hutu and Tutsi). This conflict experienced a significant resurgence in 1993, when in Ntoto, more than 2,000 Hutu were massacred by the Hunde and Nyanga, quite simply because they were Hutu, that is to say of a different ethnic group than theirs. From this massacre perpetrated on the Hutu, ethnic conflicts steadily increased in intensity until the 21st century. Around this dynamic have developed wars, in particular the so-called war of liberation of Congo-Zaire and recognized under the name of AFDL, that of the RCD, the rebellions of the CNDP and M23 and many other deadly clashes between the sons and daughters from the same land. The weakness of the state or the truncated management of this conflict has caused thousands of victims and significant material damage, including the destruction of the social fabric.

7) The conflict of interest related to drinking water between the inhabitants of the mountainous axis and those of the edge of Lake Kivu

Since 1982, NGOs have undertaken water catchment works in the high plateaus of Runyana and Kashenda to supply drinking water to the inhabitants of the lakeside, in particular the Bweremana, Kashenda and Kirotshu. This project has excluded the inhabitants of the highlands who have often been victims of waterborne diseases, consequences of the lack of drinking water in their communities. This situation has created



wanted to instrumentalize the Pygmies in order to despoil the lands of others by using these Pygmies.

5) The conflict between the population and the State linked to harassment and illegal barriers

The actors in this conflict are law enforcement officers (FARDC, PNC) and state services (DGM, DGRNK, tourism service, etc.) set up against the population on the move. This dynamic is present in all the target groups of our study. Indeed, soldiers not supervised by the State create illegal barriers and force passers-by to pay either a sum of money ranging from 500 Fc to 1000 Fc, or to give agricultural products. The same is true for some people who pose as state agents. This practice is the basis of physical, psychological and economic violence and even murder. These harassments sometimes cause popular uprisings and demonstrations to express exasperation. What is serious is that the authorities are informed and keep silent, but even worse that they are most of the time fully involved.

6) Inter-ethnic conflict

Inter-ethnic conflict dates back to the period of immigration. The first signs are to be located at the time when expatriates began to emancipate themselves from customary authority. Initially, this conflict was latent. It is from the so-called Kanyarwanda war in Masisi that the

Since 1991 and until today, total confusion has been observed between public administration and custom. Some community representatives seek at all costs to see themselves as rulers. In some places there are parallel governments, as is the case in red zones where the fighters set up their own government, while in other places chiefs fight and waste all their time in endless chicanery. . This bad practice in the management of public affairs harms the quality of economic results and hinders development in our villages, which have been very weakened by armed conflict.

#### 4) The conflict between Pygmies and customary chiefs

This conflict pits the Pygmy family against the three traditional families. In 1994, with the inter-ethnic war, the Pygmies had occupied a field that belonged to a landowner in Kaloba in the Kibabi group, while it was displaced by war. During the same period, the Pygmies denounced the spoliation of their Muho land by two other families. In reality, one of the families had bought his field, part from the population and another part from the Pygmies of Muho. According to the family, the Pygmies had encroached on the boundaries of the fields, so they dragged them to court, and some of them were imprisoned. Indeed, the Pygmies were in the process of becoming sedentary. For lack of a framework mechanism for these Pygmies in their process of changing their way of life, a land conflict has arisen. This conflict was exacerbated by certain leaders who

services, especially in the fields of the person who grants land to cultivate. The conflict arises when the operator exceeds the deadline set for the payment of this fee or when it is unable to pay this fee. This conflict is linked to land and dates back to 1993, at the time of major bloody clashes in Masisi territory. Indeed, repeated wars have caused mass displacement of populations, including customary chiefs. These population movements are among the causes of this type of conflict in Masisi. The regulation of this royalty dynamic, characterized by a policy of double standards, is one of the aggravating reasons for this type of conflict. The measures applied to punish the recalcitrant were unfair and biased depending on whether they were Hunde or Hutu and Tutsi. If it was a small Hutu farmer who failed in his duties to pay the royalty to the large landowner Hunde, the fault was qualified as a very serious breach, a rebellion against the power in place.

On the other hand, a small Hunde farmer who could not pay this royalty to the big Hutu landowner had a thousand and one excusable reasons. The so-called allochthonous communities did not support this partial power and organized insurrections and civil disobedience against the power in place. This is the very origin of the Masisi war often called "Magrivi" and which is today an inter-ethnic conflict.

3) The conflict linked to bad governance

Then, when the villages resulting from the regrouping became macro-centres around the 2000s, the land disputes took on a more worrying aspect. Today, as pressure on the land has increased, and with even stronger than usual population growth, migratory movements, the discovery of minerals and above all the frantic search for wide open spaces for ranches, land disputes have become haunting situations. It should be noted that previously, land disputes only opposed individuals, and that the resolution was done more peacefully by the elders of the village. Today, violence, even the use of arms, tends to impose itself on all other forms of conflict regulation of this kind. With the blessing of certain customary chiefs and their clientelist management of the land, the big concessionaires despoiled land formerly occupied by settlers through odious practices such as double donation or double cession of land, poor distribution of land, leading to serious conflicts and other dynamics (armed groups, young militiamen, slaughtering of cows) linked to land.

## 2) The land dispute linked to customary royalties

The land dispute related to royalties is a conflict between on the one hand the big landowners, in this case the Hunde customary chiefs and sometimes certain Hutu who have received large tracts of land from the hands of the customary chiefs, and on the other part of the small farmers using the land who are required to pay a fee. This fee varies according to the case, the leader and the environment. Sometimes it means paying for a goat accompanied by a pitcher of local drink or whole days of

With the exception of a few conflicts that are specific, such as the conflict related to water between the inhabitants of the high plateaux and the residents of Lake Kivu, the conflict between fishermen and sailors in the Muvunyi Shanga group, the conflict over customary power reported in the groups of Biiri and Muvunyi Shanga as well as the conflict between the Pygmies and third parties encountered only in the Biiri and Kibabi groups, and finally the conflict of family abandonment caused by mining activities in Kibabi, all the other conflicts are common to the three groups and have as their basis access to land.

#### 1) The land conflict between farmers and herders

Land conflict is a land-related conflict. In the Kibabi groupement, this conflict is the most recurrent and the thorniest. It ruins the economy of poor peasants who, instead of having their capital multiplied by IGAs, squander it in endless lawsuits before the courts and thus create a perpetual cycle of poverty within the communities. By dint of wanting to recover a small plot of land, the consequent cost of the lawsuit obliges the plaintiff to sell even a large plot of land that he held. This conflict has existed since 1960 when the plantations, which once belonged to the settlers, were handed over to the big concessionaires who immediately evicted all the workers who lived there with their families. This conflict was subsequently exacerbated by the phenomenon of regrouping of villages around 1972.

police and the judicial system”. Therefore, continues the aforesaid resolution: “there is an urgent need to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations”.

The SPR project was part of this dynamic through the development of the capacities of local actors and leaders through participatory analyses. Rather than thinking and deciding for communities, SPR wants to act as a catalyst by encouraging local actors to identify needs and determine priorities, to seek solutions and to make decisions. In this logic, our giant with feet of clay will be able to face upsurges in almost eternal conflicts that raise more questions than attention in people's minds.

### **Typology of conflicts that have disrupted the peace**

On the other hand, the history of the territory of Masisi is dotted with several conflicts that interfere with each other. A cross-sectional analysis of these conflicts in the Biiri, Kibabi and Muvunyi Shanga groups reveals 8 large-scale conflicts, a map of which we would like to present on the following pages. These conflicts had been identified and validated by the communities with the support of Aide et Action pour la Paix (AAP) in 2018, as part of the implementation of component 1 of the Amani kwa Maendeleo project, in French Solution pour la Peace and Recovery (SPR).

However, although sustaining peace initiatives must be in the hands of the latter, they must of course benefit from national anchoring and international support. Otherwise they would just be a flash in the pan. These initiatives should aim to strengthen institutions in how to manage national heritage, but also to empower citizens at the bottom, with particular attention to strengthening the social and economic factors that make communities more resilient to various conflicts they face without resorting to violence. For SPR, in its Participatory Action Research PAR approach, the art of peace must be a common task and a shared responsibility requiring the cooperation of many actors. Peace must also be inclusive, without discrimination, involving gender and IGA Income Generating Activities.

To do this, it is imperative to work to create spaces open to the participation and initiative of all, in particular women and other marginalized groups. With this in mind, United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on women in relation to peace and security recommends in its very strongest terms "to take into account the special needs of women and girls when repatriation and resettlement and for post-conflict recovery, reintegration and reconstruction; adopt measures that support peace initiatives by local women's groups and local dispute resolution processes, and involve women in all mechanisms for the implementation of peace agreements; to adopt measures guaranteeing the protection and respect of the fundamental rights of women and girls, in particular in the fields of the constitution, the electoral system, the

between the multiple armed groups and their allies, the contradictions and the versatility of each other have made it difficult to draw up and apply the various peace agreements. peace.

Finally, the vicious circle of conflicts in which the people are trapped tends to become a fate. The observation is that at the institutional level, the alliances and misalliances between the Congolese political leaders, sometimes unstable and contradictory, only produce a jagged peace. Indeed, the governance expressed by the will of Congolese politicians at all levels most often favors private and selfish interests to the satisfaction of the general interest of the communities, because they find in politics a shortcut to get rich easily on the backs of the people. Moreover, the solutions to conflicts have always been the product of a tiny elite which, moreover, ignores in whole or in part or ignores the fundamental needs and aspirations of the vast majority at the base. “Whatever you do for me without me, you do against me,” said Gandhi.<sup>1</sup>

While at the institutional level, the steps for peace portend a bad omen, at the local level, many initiatives in terms of peacebuilding – the wicks of which still smoke today – have borne significant fruit. Unfortunately, for lack of support at the institutional level, they most of the time lack tone. For better performance, notes the **Solution for Peace and Recovery SPR** project, it is necessary to ensure that the methods and solutions to problems and/or conflicts are in the hands of local actors.



## **SUMMARY ON THE TERRITORY OF MASISI IN GENERAL AND THE CITY OF SAKE IN PARTICULAR.**

By Jacques Muhindo

For half a century already, the territory of Masisi has been subjected to an infernal cycle of violence which has become commonplace, even a fatality. Indeed, protean and inextricable conflicts sparing no vital area. Women are raped, tortured, mutilated, murdered and made widows. Many children remained orphans. To survive, some of them are forced to enlist in rebel armed groups of all stripes. Many of the little girls are reduced to sexual slavery and have unwanted pregnancies. Huge costs at the macroeconomic and sectoral level are the source of great intra- and inter-community asymmetries, very cynical living conditions as well as massive movements of populations in search of security and well-being.

Moreover, history teaches us that on many occasions and at different levels, draft solutions, both at local and national level, to stem this terrible phenomenon have been multiplied. Unfortunately, the large number of actors, the rivalries and above all the dynamics of the confrontations