



## **REGIONAL PROGRAM OF ACTION FOR PEACE AND SECURITY**

### **SUB-PROGRAM OF ACTION FOR JOINT SECURITY MANAGEMENT OF COMMON BORDERS**

**PROJECT NUMBER 1.1.1**

## **DISARMAMENT AND REPATRIATION OF ALL ARMED GROUPS IN EASTERN DRC**

**Final Version: 21 September 2006**

**ORIGINAL: ENGLISH**

## 1. The political context of Zone 1 and 10: A Situational Analysis

Zones 1 (South-Western Uganda, North-Western Rwanda and Eastern DRC) and 10 (Eastern DRC, North-Western Burundi and South-Western Rwanda) in the Great Lakes Region (GLR) are currently the most volatile. They are characterized by three levels of violent conflicts: State-centric conflicts, State against rebel groups conflicts and rebel against local communities. While the epicenter of the conflicts is currently in the Eastern DRC, this does not preclude rebel attacks directed against neighboring states. It is this latter factor that engenders tensions in zones 1 and 10 of the IC/GLR.

Currently *Interahamwe*, the EX-FAR and rebels of the Lord Resistance Army (LRA) constitute the greatest destabilizing factor in the two zones. Not only are they able to threaten Rwanda's and Uganda's security but that they continue to sow chaos and death in the DRC regions that they occupy. Their presence and activities continue to undermine attempts at pacification of the DRC territory, critical for holding of free and fair elections.

Threats by FDLR/FOCA and other armed groups in the DRC undermine any attempts at establishing a cross border security management system critical for securing common borders as demanded by Article 1 of the tripartite agreement<sup>1</sup>. FDLR for instance is able to mount attacks on the three states that constitute zone 1- DRC, Rwanda<sup>2</sup> and Uganda<sup>3</sup>. In recognition of the threat they posed, Article 3, para. 11 (a) of the Lusaka Agreement, called on the UN to act under chapter V11, to deploy in the DRC and track down all armed groups<sup>4</sup>. Appendix A, chap 8 and 9 of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement set out modalities for tracking down and disarming the Ex-FAR/ *Interahamwe*. Article 3, para. 11(a) called on the UN Security Council to apply chapter VII of the UN charter and in collaboration with the AU, facilitate the deployment of a peace keeping force in the DRC to ease implementation of the Lusaka accord. June 8-2000, Lusaka Political Committee, adopted mechanisms to disarm negative forces by force. A Joint task force was formed to undertake the disarmament. These efforts were not operationalized. The UN instead deployed in the DRC with a limited mandate.

The Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement equally set out a Joint Verification Mechanism between Rwanda and DRC. It was followed by the Pretoria Agreement which equally called for disarmament (Para 8.1 and 8.3), the withdrawal of Rwandan forces and the disarmament of *Interahamwe* by the DRC<sup>5</sup>. The AU through its Peace and Security Council meeting in Libreville in March 2005, committed itself to forcefully disarm the negative forces in the eastern DRC. Such plans have, however not yet materialized and are still under consideration<sup>6</sup>. Other attempts aimed at containing inter-state conflicts have entailed the setting up of the Joint Verification and Monitoring Mechanism between

---

<sup>1</sup> See Tripartite Agreement on Regional Security in the Great Lakes.

<sup>2</sup> In 2004, it launched 11 attacks on civilians and economic units in Rwanda.

<sup>3</sup> Its most devastating attack on Uganda was in the Bwindi National Park killing foreign tourists while equally affecting the sector.

<sup>4</sup> See The Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement.

<sup>5</sup> See Pretoria Agreement; the final report of the third party verification mechanism.

<sup>6</sup> See Report about the 54<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the AU Peace and Security Council in Addis Ababa in Juin 2006.

Uganda and Rwanda. Continuation of tensions in these two Zones underlay the decision by member states of the IC/GLR to consider armed groups as a threat to the entire region thus demanding a collective response geared towards their disarmament. Therefore IC/GLR member states decided during the Regional Interministerial Committee Meeting in Lusaka to embark on a project supporting and strengthening existing initiatives to disarm armed groups in the region.

## **2. Specific problem to be addressed**

The core issue in these two zones is that of how to facilitate stability for the region through the disarmament of the negative forces. This is captured by the question: How can the initial objectives of the Lusaka accords be operationalized to realize disarmament of negative forces?

## **3 Objectives**

Broadly stated the project seeks to address the core issue of the continued presence of armed groups in Zones 1 and 10, which continue to be the major factor for instability and violence in the region.

The overall goal of the project is:

IC/GLR and its member states contribute to ongoing efforts to ensure security in Zones 1 and 10 critical to peace in the Great Lakes Region.

In order to reach this goal the following objectives are to be achieved:

- Support to AU/MONUC/FARDC led processes for voluntary and forced disarmament of negative forces.

Targeted groups here are those identified in the Tripartite Plus One Mechanisms among the Governments of the DRC, Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi. These are defined to include four clusters: The first is made up of genocidal forces (*ex-FAR/ Interahamwe/ ALIR/ FDLR/ FOCA* operating from the DRC territory<sup>7</sup>). The second category is made up of Lord Resistance Army (LRA), People's Redemption Army (PRA), Allied Democratic Forces (ADF)/ National Army for the Liberation of Uganda (NALU). The third category is that of any group/ militia that threatens security and stability of any party to the tripartite agreement.. The fourth category is that of local defense militias opposed to central authority and armed dissident groups:

- Logistical capacities of FARDC units in the disarmament process are increased;
- Immediate humanitarian needs arising subsequent to the disarmament exercise are addressed.

---

<sup>7</sup> See Tripartite Agreement on Regional Security in the Great Lakes.

### **3.1 A Review of ongoing Disarmament and Conflict management Initiatives in Zones 1 and 10.**

There exists the Joint Verification Mechanisms between Rwanda and the DRC. The tripartite plus one agreement on regional security in the Great Lakes comprising of DRC, Rwanda, Uganda and since August 2005 Burundi is as comprehensive as any regional mechanism can be. It calls for the strengthening of diplomatic relations among parties concerned; the creation of mechanisms for addressing regional instability; enhancement of efforts that prevent parties to the agreement from using their territory to arm and support negative forces against each other; the support of efforts geared towards integration of Congolese forces and reinsertion of armed groups in Congo into the society; the neutralization of threats existing on common borders and the encouragement of the voluntary return of refugees. Article 11 commits the states to the neutralization of armed groups by supporting efforts of MONUC, AU and other friendly states.

These agreements and initiatives point to a sense of willingness by the four states to address the region's security concerns. There are other regional initiatives that seek to engender security. This includes, the 23 February 2005 Memorandum of Understanding that brings the DRC, Uganda and Rwanda in a bid to establish an Intelligence Fusion, Operations and Analysis Cell. There is also the Joint Security Liaison Office established in June, 2005 in Bundibugyo. This office allows security officers of the two states to verify information either party may raise with regard to security concerns. DRC and Uganda equally have the Joint Verification Mechanism established to verify the presence and activities of Ugandan armed groups in Eastern DRC. The Kampala summit of 10<sup>th</sup> July 2005 set up a team of intelligence officials to investigate allegations of arms supplies.

There are also initiatives within the context of the Luanda Agreement between Uganda and DRC. Further to that, there is the Nanyuki Memorandum of Understanding on the Regional Counter Terrorism Strategy. It brings together Rwanda, Ethiopia, Uganda, Sudan, Burundi, DRC, Tanzania, Egypt, Somaliland, Zambia, Botswana and Kenya. It commits them to several tasks: the reinforcement of border security; sensitization of the public on terrorism; the exchange of information; the enhancement of capacity to fight terrorism and the creation of a regional center for coordinating anti-terrorism activities<sup>8</sup>. Its main weakness lies in its focus on just one issue. It also does not indicate how states with weak institutional capacities will be able to cooperate. Other single issue driven protocols are: the Nairobi Declaration on the Proliferation of Illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons in the GLR (signed in March 2000) and the April 2004 Protocol on the Prevention, Control, and Reduction of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the GLR and the Horn of Africa. Signatories to the latter include: Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, DRC, Sudan, and Kenya. While it addresses the issue of arms supplies, it does not concern itself with the question of disarmament.

---

<sup>8</sup> See Memorandum of Understanding on the Regional Counter Terrorism Strategy signed at Nanyuki/Kenya on 6 August 2004.

A more specific initiative that addresses the issue of disarmament in zones 1 and 10 is the Libreville African Peace and Security Council meeting of 10 January 2005. The meeting expressed serious concerns over the security question in the Eastern DRC, especially the presence of armed negative forces. It called for the forceful disarmament of the Ex-FAR, the *Interahamwe* and other armed groups, the consolidation of the transition process in the DRC as well as regional peace and stability. It also called for the building up of trust among the states in zones 1 and 10. AU expressed its determination to help in the process of forced disarmament<sup>9</sup>. Other suggested measures include the re-establishment of diplomatic relations among the States in the two zones. Rwanda and the DRC agreed to set up a mechanism for surveillance on their common border to avoid incursions by armed groups seeking to destabilize them. This was to be set up under the auspices of the AU and the UN.

The adoption on 30th March 2005 by the UN Security Council of Resolution 1592 (2005), calling for disarmament of foreign armed groups is also notable<sup>10</sup>. There are other ongoing efforts by the AU (which had sent a reconnaissance mission to the region in October 2005). Respective final decision on the part of the AU are, however, still pending. Actions by FARDC and MONUC and declaration of intention to disarm negative forces by AU seemed to have apparently put pressure on FDLR- a fact that saw them declare their intention to disarm through the St. Egidio led process in Rome on the 31<sup>st</sup> of March 2005.

## **3.2 Disarmament Initiatives and Activities**

### **Democratic Republic of Congo initiative**

Core to the disarmament process is the DRC whose forces have continued to bear much of the brunt of engagements with negative forces. DRC is in the process of building the necessary forces for disarmament. Some of the unified brigades are in the process of being deployed in the Eastern part of its territory for disarmament purposes.

Lack of logistical support and financial constraints, however, continue to impinge FARDC 's effectiveness on the ground. Diplomatic efforts of the AU and IC/GLR could help to mobilize contributions from African States and the International Community. Such contributions should be used to equip existing brigades, which with the logistical support of the MONUC could carry out the disarmament.

### **MONUC**

In the run-up of the electoral process in the DRC MONUC successfully increased its efforts in disarming and putting pressures the negative forces. The current strategy of MONUC is to support FARDC to enable her take up this role and to help to secure certain regions particularly in the Eastern DRC.

---

<sup>9</sup> See African Union: Peace and Security Council Twenty third meeting, 10<sup>th</sup> January 2005, Libreville, Gabon. PSC/AHG/COMM.(XXIII).

<sup>10</sup> See. Peace and Security Council, Thirty third meeting, 24 June 2005. PSC/PR/ Com.(XXXIII).

## **AU efforts**

As the follow up to the 23<sup>rd</sup> meeting of the Peace and Security Council held in Libreville, Gabon on the 10<sup>th</sup> of January 2005, the African Union (AU) made a declaration to disarm Ex-FAR/*Interahamwe* and other armed groups. It subsequently sent a preliminary evaluation team from the 7<sup>th</sup> February to the 8<sup>th</sup> of March 2005. AU held a consultative meeting on the disarmament in Addis Abeba on the 16<sup>th</sup> March 2005 (with the participation of DRC, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, the Department of Peacekeeping of the UN, MONUC, UNHCR, EU and the USA).

On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of April 2005, AU held another meeting which involved its military experts and delegations from Rwanda, Burundi, and Uganda. This has helped the parties concerned to arrive at a consensus on the negative forces regarding their political and military support as well as sources of supplies. It equally discussed the modalities of implementing the decision taken by the Peace and Security Council in Libreville including the calendar, size and mandate of the envisaged African force. AU had sent a fact finding mission to the region (the DRC, Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi) in October 2005, final decisions on deployment are, however, still pending<sup>11</sup>. Among its objectives were the examinations of two core issues: the question of collaboration between AU forces and those of MONUC, FARDC and the neighboring states in the disarmament process; and the determination of the force levels needed. Results and recommendations of the mission are still under consideration of the AU organs.

## **4 Project Rationale**

The purpose of this project is to take into cognizance these dynamics and to support and reinforce ongoing AU, FARDC, MONUC and others efforts<sup>12</sup> for voluntary and forced disarmament.

## **5. Strategy**

The idea and philosophy behind a collective initiative of IC/GLR is to send a political signal to negative forces that times have changed and that states in zones 1 and 10 have a mutual interest in dealing with the menace they constitute. A two-pronged strategy made up of diplomatic and political efforts at one level and demonstration of actual military intent, could promote voluntary disarmament and repatriation.

Where this fails, direct military actions will be initiated to effect disarmament in these two zones. Two parallel but mutually reinforcing efforts are envisaged:

- ◆ In the first category are the disarmament efforts to be carried out by FARDC, MONUC and the AU;

---

<sup>11</sup> See Report about the 54<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the AU Peace and Security Council in Addis Ababa in Juin 2006

<sup>12</sup> This includes existing efforts, which are already supported through the International Community such as the Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program (MDRP), but also new initiatives e.g. proposed support of the European Union (EU) to assist the return of ex-combatants as recently proposed during the meeting of the Contact Group in Washington and the Tripartite meeting both held in September 2005.

- ◆ The second consists of three components, which the IC/GLR can provide to promote disarmament and stability. These are: diplomatic and political support to disarmament process, immediate disarmament related logistical support for the FARDC, preparation and lobbying for immediate humanitarian response actions.

### **5.1 Diplomatic and political efforts through the IC/GLR**

At the shortest time possible the IC/GLR should:

- Launch diplomatic offensive among African states, African Union, EU, USA and regional states to converge on the same strategy to convince negative forces on their seriousness to disarm them.
- Encourage states concerned to consider amnesty except for genocidal forces.
- Urge States (in Africa and EU) hosting refugees to encourage their return and the arrest of leaders of the negative forces residing in their states etc.
- Encourage information dissemination campaigns geared towards informing these groups that they are unwelcome wherever they are based.
- Undertake initiatives that target political leaders of negative forces with measures such as freeze of their assets and travel bans.
- Encourage the expulsion (to their states of origin) and arrest of their leaders where applicable and appropriate.
- Encourage contacts at various levels (military, security, official ministerial levels) through out the IC/GLR for purposes of exchanging information with respect to leaders of these groups.
- Encourage intelligence sharing on the leaders of these groups.

### **5.2. Support to military efforts**

The IC/GLR should be utilized as a forum to lobby for and promote the following measures among Member States and other stakeholders:

- To review the Mandate of the MONUC with an objective of placing it under chapter 7 for purposes facilitating disarmament of armed groups in Eastern DRC.
- To request the UN Security Council to provide MONUC with adequate logistical resources to allow it to fulfill its mandate in the DRC.
- To request Heads of State and Government in the IC/GLR process to commit forces to the AU disarmament process.
- To mobilize financial and logistical support for DRC Units critical to the operations of disarmament.
- To mobilize financial and logistical support for African Union Force that will operate on the ground.
- To support efforts of the Contact Group involved in the Security Sector Reform in DRC.

### **5.3 Humanitarian support actions**

IC/GLR should help to mobilize humanitarian organizations such as the UNHCR, UNICEF and others to prepare, coordinate and implement appropriate assistance measures with the help of states in zones 1 and 10. These actions can be initiated as soon as the order for disarmament is given. They are in this sense directly related to the core actions of disarmament.

## **6. Challenges to and Opportunities for Disarmament**

- ◆ A core challenge is the slow security sector reform process in the DRC and the on-going demobilization of thousands of ex-combatants without credible reinsertion programs.
- ◆ There exists a constant threat of new negative forces emerging and others that operate elsewhere moving into these zones thus complicating the situation.
- ◆ In addition, some of the groups already disarmed run the risk of re-arming due to the lack of alternative means of earning a living.

The greatest opportunity in resolving the crisis lies in the fact that at zonal, regional and continental level there is an acknowledged feeling that the negative forces constitute a threat to security. The need to cooperate in their disarmament has become mutual. This fact should generate conditions within which they will realize the need to lay down arms. Increased cooperation will also stem flow of arms a factor likely to weaken the operational ability of these forces thus making their resistance to disarmament less intense and by inference easy to contain.

## **7. Valued Added**

The value of this project to disarmament lies in the fact that it utilizes the concerted diplomatic power and strength of the IC/GLR as a process which has received international attention and support. Thereby will serve as an example how the Member States through the very existence of the IC/GLR as a process can jointly and successfully deal with existing and impending conflict and crisis in the region. Thereby is also generates support and complements efforts of AU, UN and others already involved in the process.

## **8 Budget Issues**

The negative forces continue to constitute the main source of instability and lack of security in DRC in particular and in the entire region of the Great Lakes in general. Therefore Member States and the international community should be ready and prepared to provide the necessary support in terms of financial and material resources to make this effort a success for peace, stability and development return to the region. A tentative budget for this project is outlined in the result matrix in the Annex.



## List of Abbreviations:

ADF	Allied Democratic Forces
AU	African Union
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EU	European Union
EX-FAR	Rwandese Armed Forces (Forces armees rwandaïses)
FARDC	Armed Forces of the DRC
FDLR/FOCA	Democratic Liberation Forces of Rwanda
GLR	Great Lakes Region
IC/GLR	International Conference on the Great Lakes Region
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
MDRP	Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program
MONUC	United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo
NALU	National Army for the Liberation of Uganda
PRA	People's Redemption Army
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
PRA	People's Redemption Army
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SRSG	Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for the Great Lakes Region
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	UNHCR
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USA	United States of America

## V. Result Framework, Work plan and Budget (Version, 21 September 2006)

<b>Project Title:</b> Disarmament and Repatriation of all armed groups in Eastern DRC														
<b>Overall Objective:</b> IC/GLR and its member states contribute to ensure security in Zones 1 and 10, critical to peace in the GLR.														
<b>Intended Outcome :</b> Disarmament of negative forces, reduced tensions in Zone 1 and 10.														
<b>Outcome indicator:</b> Neutralization of negative forces, increased operational capacity of FARDC against negative forces. Good and stable relation among states in the region.														
<b>Partnership Strategy:</b> The project will support existing FARDC, MONUC and AU efforts for disarming negative forces.														
	Expected results	Indicative Activities	Calendar								Resp. Partner	Foreseen Budget (Total 60'629'250)		
			2007				2008					Financ. Res.	Description of Budget	Amount
			Q 1	Q 2	Q 3	Q 4	Q 1	Q 2	Q 3	Q 4				
<b>Objective 1: Support to AU/MONUC/FARDC led process for voluntary and forced disarmament of negative forces</b>														
1.1.1	<b>Negative forces disarmed and repatriated, hence reduced insecurity and tensions</b> <u>Benchmark indicators :</u> # of troops contributing to disarmament operations # of information leaflets and missions	AU and UN Leadership undertake diplomatic and lobby missions to stakeholders e.g. EU, USA and others to agree on and ensure the implementation of a common strategy for action									AU, UN		15 missions, travel expenses, accommodation, communication	79'500
1.1.2	# of arms collected and ex-combatants repatriated	Establish contact with leadership of negative forces									AU, UN		Travel expenses, communication	15'000
1.1.3		Implement an information and dissemination campaign towards armed groups									MONUC , NGOs		Contract, production of leaflets, messengers	15'000
<b>Objective 2: Logistical capacities of FARDC units in the disarmament process are increased</b>														
2.1.1	Increased operational capacity of FARDC to secure the eastern border <u>Benchmark indicators :</u>	Provision of training for FARDC units									Bilateral	Bilateral	Military instructors	n/a

2.1.2	<b># of staff trained and deployed</b> <b># of days needed to succeed in forceful disarmament</b>	Provision of material and financial resources to FARDC and AU contingents based on report of the AU evaluation mission											Figures reflect financial requirements for DRC military operations. AU still has not made budget available nor has it made final decision on such a deployment.	55'008'000		
<b>Objective 3: Immediate humanitarian needs arising subsequent to the disarmament exercise are addressed</b>																
3.1.1	Return and resettlement of Congolese refugees and IDPs in newly secured zones <b>Benchmark indicators :</b>	Mission to assess humanitarian needs by responsible actors: UNHCR, OCHA											UNHCR , OCHA	UNHCR , OCHA	n/a	
3.1.2	<b># of assisted returnees</b> <b># of food relief distributed</b> <b># of returnees medically attended</b>	Humanitarian agencies provide assistance to populations in need.											Hum. Agencies	Hum. Agencies	Relief operations	n/a
														<b>Subtotal.....55'117,500</b>		
														<b>10 % of unforeseen.....5'511,750</b>		
														<b>OVERALL TOTAL.....60'629'250</b>		

**Detailed budget:**

Click on this icon