



enough

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Bosco's Rebellion and the Battle for Justice in Eastern Congo

May 2012

March 14, 2012: Concluding its first-ever trial, a panel of judges at the International Criminal Court issues a verdict in the case of Thomas Lubanga, finding him guilty of recruiting child soldiers. Lubanga, a Congolese warlord, was found guilty of recruiting, training, and using child soldiers in conflict. His deputy, Bosco Ntaganda, also faces similar charges at the ICC, however, he remains un-apprehended as a general in the Congolese Army, or FARDC.

March 24, 2012: 17 colonels and lieutenant colonels send a memo of discontent to the President Joseph Kabila. The letter lays out their dissatisfaction with unimplemented promises that date back to their integration in 2009 and some basic challenges in the FARDC, including military logistics, salaries, and housing, among other grievances. The letter also includes a list further of issues that has damaged their confidence in the military hierarchy.

March 28, 2012: The Belgian foreign minister visits Kinshasa and makes a public statement calling for Bosco Ntaganda's arrest.

March 23-30, 2012: The Congolese army invites ex-CNDP and other FARDC commanders to attend a seminar at army headquarters in Kinshasa from March 23-30, and the officers arrive back in Goma on April 1st.

March 31, 2012: Several leading army officers close to Bosco Ntaganda defect, including Colonel Bernard Byamungu (ex-CNDP), Colonel Saddam Edmond (ex-PARECO) and Colonel Nsabimana (ex-PARECO), along with approximately 400-600 troops.

Certain military officers in Rutsuru and Masisi begin to defect from the FARDC

April 1, 2012: Ntaganda tells Colonel Felix Mugabo, the deputy commander (and his former chief bodyguard) of the 804th regiment based just north of Goma to reinforce his protection unit in Goma, and to send the rest of his troops north to Katale.

President Kabila dispatches a high profile FARDC delegation composed of hundreds and led by the ground forces commander General Gabriel Amisi Kumbayala in an attempt to prevent the split of Congo's military.

FARDC troops confront several ex-PARECO commanders who are suspected of being close to Bosco Ntaganda.

Close to 300 soldiers from the former rebel group the CNDP desert the Congolese army, spreading panic in the North Kivu province.

Colonel Kifaru, former PARECO and now FARDC 111th regiment commander, is injured while returning from a meeting in Nyabibwe with Colonel Biyoyo.

April 2, 2012: 70 soldiers leave their battalion based at Lemera in Kalehe to join Colonel Biyoyo, former CNDP and now FARDC 103rd regiment commander based in Nyabibwe. Biyoyo reportedly embezzles the FARDC funds that were channeled through him to distribute to his soldier as salary and fled North Kivu to join Bosco Ntaganda.

April 4, 2012: Hundreds of additional FARDC soldiers arrive in Goma to restore calm and prevent war.

500 soldiers abandon their base in Pinga in North Kivu, allowing it to be seized by Rwandan FDLR rebels with their allies of the APCLS Mai-Mai, who then advance within 2 kilometers of Masisi.

Congolese army troops attack both Colonel Burimasu in Lulimba (Fizi territory), who flees the area, and Colonel Kifaru in Kabamba (Kalehe), who is believed to be badly injured.

Fighting broke out between loyal FARDC soldiers and deserters under the command of Colonel Saddam and Colonel Bernard Byamungu in the South Kivu town of Uvira. Colonel Delphin Kahimbi claims 10 deserters are killed in the clash.

Colonel Baudoin, 3rd Sector Commander previously stationed in Mushaki begins his move to Ngungu to gather troops to join Bosco Ntaganda. Baudoin unilaterally promises that all his troops will be given a one grade promotion. Troops in Mushaki come from 803rd Regiment, under command of Colonel Ngabo Alphonse.

April 1-2, 2012: At least 16 deserters are killed in fighting after leaving their posts in North and South Kivu provinces, according to army spokesman Lt. Colonel Sylvain Ekenge. About 15 FARDC soldiers including 9 officers are arrested by the Ugandan army, or UPDF, across the border in Uganda, and “more than 90 percent” of the mutinous soldiers return to their bases.

April 4-5, 2012: The APCLS and FDLR rebel groups expand their territory to control Masisi. The APCLS doubles the area under its control.

April 5, 2012: The head of U.S. Africa Command, or AFRICOM, U.S. General Carter Ham, says that the United States pledged to support the DRC in its efforts to reform the sector safety.

April 6, 2012: Bosco Ntaganda is rumored to return to Goma to meet with his followers, telling them to return to their FARDC ranks. Later in the night, Bosco flees Goma and is thought to be in Masisi, between Kilolirwe and Mushaki.

April 7, 2012: Two new battalions, one from Kindu/Maniema and another from Kananga are dispatched into Goma to counter Bosco's insurrection

April 8, 2012: Colonel Innocent Kaina (aka India Queen), a close Ntaganda ally, briefly takes control of the border town of Bunagana (located close to the where the borders of Rwanda, Congo, and Uganda meet) before being pushed out by Congolese troops under the command of Colonel Philemon Yav.

President Kabila sends Kalev Mutond, the trusted head of the national intelligence agency, to meet with senior Rwandan officials and army officers. The ongoing discussions focus on the March 2009 peace agreement forged to officially end the rebel CNDP's armed insurrection, which was backed by Rwanda. This agreement integrated the rebels into the army under some strict conditions, including where they would deploy.

Significant numbers of defectors under the command of Colonel Innocent Kaina flee from Bunagana towards Uganda due to clashes between government loyalists and deserters.

April 9, 2012: Kabila's Army Chief of Staff, General Didier Etumba arrives in Goma to put pressure on military leaders of the former rebel group, the CNDP, to return to the military, in line with the 2009 peace agreement that integrated the rebels into the national armed forces.

Roger Meece, head of the UN Mission in DRC, declares that Bosco Ntaganda must answer for his actions in front of the International Criminal Court.

Two policemen and one soldier are killed and three others seriously injured during an attack on the General Staff of the Congolese National Police (PNC) in Butembo in North Kivu by unidentified armed men. The city records four more cases of attack within 24 hours.

The FDC, which has been fighting the FDLR in Masisi/Walikale territory with alleged support of ex-CNDP elements, split into two because of the military defections; one faction supports the defecting ex-CNDP while the other faction supports the loyalists.

The Ugandan army detains 15 Congolese soldiers, including 9 officers, who crossed into the country following recent clashes between FARDC and deserters. The soldiers crossed near the town of Bunagana.

In Uvira, South Kivu, 128 defecting soldiers reportedly return to their base with their commanders. They are all disarmed upon return. In Bunagana, 200 soldiers reportedly turn themselves. The Ugandan army reportedly captures nine mutinous senior officers.

April 10, 2012: President Kabila meets with the military high commander and commanders of all units in North and South Kivu to discuss military situation in the region at the South Kivu Governor's residence. In this meeting, they conclude that each case of defection and return would be studied individually. If the defecting soldier is in violation of the law, he will be tried in military court, and if not, it will be determined what kind of military discipline will be taken on a case by case basis. The Intelligence Office, the Police Chief Inspector, the General Migration Office, and the governor of South Kivu attend the meeting.

More than 90% of the Bunagana population that fled towards Uganda on Sunday returns and market and other activities resume again.

Colonel Bernard Bokindo, commander of the 107th regiment is gunned down while on a parade in Kaziba by a major under his command.

April 11, 2012: President Kabila visits Goma. He calls for the arrest of Bosco Ntaganda. However, Kabila says the military does not need to hand Ntaganda over to the ICC but that he should face a military tribunal in Congo.

The deserters from the Congolese army take Pinga, Kalembe, Bunagana and Nybiondo while the FARDC retreat to Masisi, Mweso Centres and Bwiza.

The FNL rebel group, aware of the current turmoil in Uvira, invade and loot community members in Kiliba. In response, the 104th regiment and Burundi army troops deployed near Rukoko forest launch an attack against the FNL with heavy weapons. 18 FNL rebels are reported dead and 6 Burundian soldiers are injured. The FARDC and Burundian troops pursue the FNL.

April 12, 2012: Kabila leaves Goma for Bukavu.

President Kabila suspends Amani Leo, the main military operation against rebels in North and South Kivu provinces, following a rash of desertions in the army. All military operations will now fall under the command of the government's 8th military region in North Kivu province and the 10th in South Kivu.

April 16, 2012: Bosco Ntaganda is confirmed to be in Masisi and is developing a stronghold with the remaining loyalists. In the immediate term, it is likely that there will be a prolonged standoff between Bosco and the governments of Congo and Rwanda, which are stalling or attempting to deflect calls for arrest or action

The FDLR rebel group takes two IDP camps in Masisi, escalating anticipation for Bosco-FDLR fighting.

April 19, 2012: 119 recent defectors return to South Kivu. They had been looking to join forces with Ntaganda but were intercepted by the FARDC near Masisi. Colonel Dephin Kahimbi captures the defectors and tells Enough that he is taking them to Kinshasa for prosecution.

Mai-Mai Sheka and FARDC forces clash in Luvungi and cause the deaths of 12 FARDC and 15 Sheka fighters. These clashes were the result of allegations that Sheka is collaborating with elements of the FDC and ex-CNDP against FARDC loyalists.

April 22, 2012: Government soldiers, including Walikale sector commander Colonel Chuma and Colonel Pilipili are killed in an ambush by a coalition of Sheka fighters, a local defense group, and ex-CNDP deserters in Bunyampuli village as they returned from the Kashebere battlefield.

April 23, 2012: Colonel Innocent Kabundi, a government loyalist who is replacing Ntaganda ally Colonel Baudouin, arrives in the CNDP stronghold of Mushaki, Masisi.

Colonel Baudouin goes to Kitchanga in Masisi with his men to join Bosco Ntaganda rather than reporting to South Kivu. With him he brings a stockpile of the army's ammunition.

Colonel Butoni, a defecting commander from Ngungu, reportedly moves with his more than 400 men to Kitchanga.

Several airplanes transporting government troops arrive in Goma.

April 24, 2012: Fighting between ex-CNDP and government FARDC breaks out in the Rubaya, Bunyole, and Nyakajanga.

1,000 ex-CNDP troops from the 811th regiment formerly led by Ntaganda loyalist Colonel Innocent Zimulinda in Mweso/Masisi agree to deploy away from eastern Congo to Kananga in Kasai Occidental.

Ex-CNDP former 811th regiment commander Colonel Innocent Zimulinda defects after having been stuck in Goma. One battalion commander, Colonel Kashawara, is under arrest and another, Colonel Mutoni, joins Ntaganda with some troops.

Colonel Sultani Makenga former deputy commander for South Kivu operations is believed to return to Goma after having traded insults with his commanding officer Colonel Delphin Kahimbi.

April 25, 2012: Colonel Innocent Zimulinda is in Kichanga and anticipated to be Ntaganda's chief of staff for a new rebellion.

April 26, 2012: Colonel Simeon, a government loyalist officer from 103rd regiment, reveals that his troops killed two defectors and injured one. One loyalist dies in the clash.

April 27, 2012: Colonel Mukendi, the Chairman of the South Kivu military court, confirms that the main leaders of the defection in late March will start being judged early next week. A group of 14 officers who defected are currently under arrest and will be taken to their former duty stations where they defected from the FARDC to be judged. Defectors to be judged include Colonel Biyoyo Josue, former commander of 103rd regiment in Nyabibwe, Colonel Bernard Byamungu, former commander of the 4th sector in Uvira, and Colonel Nsabimana Samuel.

More Ex-CNDP troops from the 106th regiment based in Bunyakiri defect and are on the move to Masisi to join Bosco Ntaganda.

150 troops from the 102nd regiment based in Kalonge defect. En route to join Bosco, the defectors pass through Bushengeshenge and kill a civilian before reaching the mountainous area of Kalehe.

April 29, 2012: In Sake, 30 kilometers west of Goma, fighting occurs between Ntaganda's troops and government forces causing thousands of people to flee the area. FARDC soldiers are pushed out of the Mushake and Karuba.

FARDC deserters attack a Congolese unit in the town of Mweso. Six ex-CNDP soldiers are killed while a dozen government troops are injured.

April 29, 2012: Fighting between ex-CNDP and government FARDC spreads to Mweso, Mushaki, Ngungu, and Kichanga.

April 30, 2012: Defected Ex-CNDP soldiers are said to be in Lumbishi, 4 kilometers north of Numbi, preparing to start another frontline in South Kivu.

FARDC troops head towards Numbi to resist Ntaganda's attempts to control the area and blockade the road from Bukavu to Nyabibwe. The blockage would prevent FARDC troops from the South Kivu military regions from advancing to North Kivu.

May 1, 2012: Violent clashes occur between FARDC and defectors in a town north of Ngungu in Masisi territory kill at least three women, possibly more.

May 2, 2012: The United Nations refugee agency reports that 5,000 people have been displaced by the fighting in the North Kivu province. The agency counted 2,000 internally displaced Congolese and 2,700 Congolese refugees that have cross into Rwanda. Other sources, including local administrators, speak of up to 50,000 displaced people.