

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

# THE AUTOPSY OF THE CONGOLESE TRAGEDY

**The alliance of vultures**



**ALLIANCE DES PATRIOTES POUR LA REFONDATION DU CONGO**

# **THE AUTOPSY OF THE CONGOLESE TRAGEDY**

**- The alliance of vultures-**

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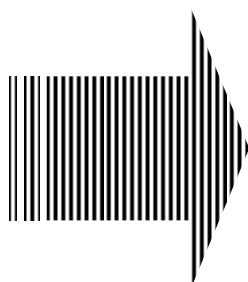
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# THE AUTOPSY OF THE CONGOLESE TRAGEDY

## The alliance of vultures-



### Who are these vultures pecking at the Democratic Republic of Congo and its people?

Since the invasion of Zaire, now known as the Democratic Republic of Congo – DRC, in 1996 followed by the fall of president Mobutu Sese Seko in 1997, and especially since the ascension to the highest office of the land in 2001 by the person who calls himself **Joseph Kabila**, after the assassination of **Laurent Désiré Kabila** in still mysterious circumstances, several reports have been published and several inquiries meticulously carried out in order to denounce the illegal exploitation and systematic plunder of the natural resources and other wealth of the Democratic Republic of Congo. This former Belgian colony is indeed a victim of an international conspiracy involving many countries located in Africa, Europe and America, with the proven support of powerful western political and financial lobbies whose shared interests are henceforth defended within a sort of '*Union Sacrée*', which would be better called the '**alliance of vultures**'. One of the most visible characteristics of this alliance is a blind support of its members to **Joseph Kabila** today, as he is considered by all the members of this alliance as being a strategic pawn, very important for the functioning of the set up system, and for the protection of their interests.

From then on, the real identity of Joseph Kabila, as he is not Congolese and his real name is **Hyppolite Kanambe**, his numerous crimes committed beside **Paul Kagame** and **James Kabarebe** in the massacre of millions of Congolese between 1996 and 1998, the murders of numerous generals and other officers of the Congolese army who

hampered him in the ascent towards the power (see the APARECO document *From the hidden origins of the sphinx to his bloody entry in power*), were carefully covered up by the powerful and influential members of 'The 'alliance of vultures', with the only purpose of keeping their protégé, at the head of the DRC, to the great displeasure the Congolese people!

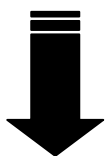
Some experts who have studied this plundering phenomenon in DRC estimated that at least **six million USD a day** for the tons of cobalt (nothing but cobalt) taken out the DRC for the benefit of multinationals all over the world, using it in the nuclear, the chemical, the aeronautics and the defence industries.



**Our purpose here is to highlight the disproportion in the balance of power in an inequitable fight between on one hand, the immense international power of a vast alliance of countries and multinationals with its unlimited tentacles and on the other hand, a young 'Third World' country flattened, knocked out and battered by ten years of war of occupation and exploitation.**

**Our purpose is to stigmatise this international plot to explain to those world leaders who still hold dear the value of love, peace and justice, to confront the International Community in its ambiguous and hypocritical attitude toward the tragedy which is still taking place in the in Democratic Republic of Congo.**

**We believe that it is our purpose to explain to the world, the underlining and fundamental reasons of the Congolese people's resistance that is now becoming wide spread and whose voice we are carrying beyond the national borders. It is important to notify that this patriotic resistance of people is becoming distorted by the powerful and poisonous campaign led by the powerful international media under the control of the members of this 'alliance of vultures' worldwide.**



# I

## WHAT ARE THE REASONS BEHIND THE IMPUNITY WHICH ENJOY THE PREDATORS OF THE DRC ?

To illustrate some striking aspects of these economic crimes and the impunity which enjoy their authors, we listed, as a rough guide only, on some documents and following works:



- The final report of the UN enquiry commission experts team on the plunders and the illegal exploitation of the natural resources of the DRC.
- The report of the Belgian senatorial commission on the plunder of the natural resources of the DRC.
- The report of the Congolese National Assembly special commission, better known under the name of 'Lutundula Commission'.
- The New Congolese Mining Code.
- Honoré Ngbanda Nzambo, « Crimes organisés en Afrique centrale. Révélation sur les réseaux rwandais et occidentaux » (Organised crime in Central Africa. Exposure of the rwandan and the western networks) Duboiris 2004.
- Some newspapers and specialized magazines.
- Keith Harmon Snow et David Barouski' s report (Zmag, 5.03.2006).
- The copies of the leonine contracts signed with multinational companies.

What knocks and what shocks any objective observer of the political situation in RD Congo, **is the inexplicable impotence and this sort of fatalism marked by indifference of the International Community**. And this, despite many condemning reports being published on the crimes committed by this 'alliance of vultures'; the established responsibilities and the identification of their authors and finally, in spite of the relevant recommendations of the experts of the UN and other international bodies!

Indeed, numerous reports of inquiries and studies which many experts published so far, denounced, without ambiguity and with strength, the plunder and the illegal exploitation of the natural resources of the DRC. They formally identified countries, companies, firms, individuals and various groups of interests which are involved in this plunder. The UN experts even formulated recommendations which led the competent organs of the UN to take resolutions to sanction all the main looters.

**But regrettably, all these relevant recommendations and all these good resolutions of the UN have never seen the light of the day in the DRC! Why?**

Besides, people in charge of United Nations and the Belgian Senate, who carried out serious and detailed inquiries on the economic crimes in DRC, curiously refused to communicate important information on certain illegal contracts, under the pretext of confidentiality.

**Why this refusal? And who are these countries, these companies or these individuals placed above the UN and protected by the confidentiality of the reports of their experts?**

Some international organisations categorically refused to bring their assistance to the investigation. Such is the case seen by the experts of the '**Lutundula Commission**'. Why this refusal?

## **The truth is quite simple:**

The political and financial lobbies of the authors of the plunders in DRC are the same ones who spread their vast and powerful tentacles of octopus to block - by mechanisms of pressure, blackmail, diversion and brain washing - the application of any measure which aims at terminating the plunder and the violence in Democratic Republic of Congo. This war which they conceived and planned has in fact for objective to create them an ideal frame to commit these crimes with impunity; with a heavy toll the Congolese people pay to this day!



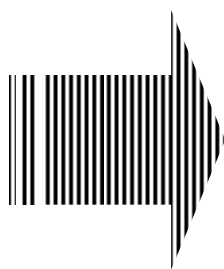
## II

## BRIEF HISTORIC OUTLINE

Trying to bring a clear answer to the questions this enigma raises, it is necessary to make a brief historic outline to explain the context of the political and economic dislocation that occurred in Africa over the last seventeen years.

As soon as the Soviet Empire fell into pieces in the 1990s, a golden opportunity opened to the United States of America on which its political leaders of the time decided to establish a ***new world order***. The planet saw herself entirely sacrificed to the monopoly of the international capitalism, in other words, the western multinationals and their allies in Africa and in the world.

Africa generally and the Zaire of the time in particular were aimed because of the abundance of its natural resources. Indeed, the American companies in need of new mining resources urged multinationals to turn to the African countries, and to Zaire in particular where there is a multitude of virgin or still underexploited fields and deposits. This particularly refers to natural and strategic resources such as: uranium, coltan, cobalt, diamond, gold, petroleum, the forest ecosystem, and drinking water.



And so in 1995, with the signature of the **Africa New Opportunities Act**, the American president **Bill Clinton** gave the departure of the official application of the new strategy of the United States for the conquest of the mining reserves of the Democratic Republic of Congo. This strategy had been already defended in front of the American senate in 1993 by **Georges Moose**, the Parliamentary Undersecretary of State under Bill Clinton, in these terms: ***"We have to insure our access to the immense natural resources of Africa, continent which contains 78 % of world reserves of chromium, 89 % of platinum and 59 % of cobalt."***



So, during the years which followed this decision, the American experts established important groups of interests with tentacular ramifications, with the aim of financing the operations of destabilization of the Republic of Zaire that had been ruled for three decades by **Mobutu Sese Seko**, notoriously known as being the best ally of United States of America and the West during the cold war.

These powerful multinationals which also dispose of important military resources then succeeded in taking up African States, whose powers in place are destabilized by means of rebellions. They thus managed to easily impose their will to fragile puppet governments they had just installed at the head of these colonies by the strength of weapons.

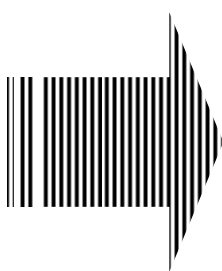
So to widen and protect their market, they imposed the political leaders of their choice at the head of the African countries, depriving the peoples and destabilizing whole regions, before giving pretexts to the UN to intervene through peacemaking powers.

**Today, the DRC is still the perfect illustration of this cynical and macabre scenario, which does not take into account anymore either the will of the African peoples, or their needs, or even less, their dignity.** The role of the UN thus becomes ambiguous and hypocritical towards the peoples from whom it is sensible to defend the superior interests.



# III HERE ARE THE TENTACLES OF THE OCTOPUS !

**What are the main American, Canadian, European and African companies involved in the dismantling of the Democratic Republic of Congo?**



The octopus who imprisons the DRC today is immense and with numerous tentacles. The vultures that peck at the prey which is the DRC came from all horizons. Their number is innumerable and their complex and multiform alliance are like a cobweb! That is why, we shall quote only some of these multinationals, to try to illustrate the variety and the complexity, as well as the vast connection of the various origins of the tragedy Congolese people live, decimated, raped, humbled, exploited and treated as one pleases, in the knowledge of the 'accommodating and indifferent' International Community:

## **I. American Mineral Fields Inc. (AMFI):**

Was created in 1995 with its headquarters in Arkansas, fief of the president **Bill Clinton**.



This multinational which is today called '**ADAstra**' was specially created to concretise and manage the economic ambitions of the United States through the operations of the destabilization of Zaire activated in 1996.

It is also the one who returns fastest to the spirit of the Congolese, and for cause! In April 1997, AMFI (with **Jean-Raymond Boule**, its co-founder), managed to sign three (leonine) agreements with **Laurent Désiré Kabila** and its movement the *Alliance of the Democratic Forces for the*

*Liberation* (AFDL), for a value of **a billion USD**. These agreements concerned the mines of cobalt of Kolwezi and the zinc mines of Kipushi, **and these were signed even before the AFDL officially took power in Kinshasa!**

The AMFI brought a very determining financial, logistic and military support to seven allied armies of the AFDL during the first war of invasion against the Republic of Zaire in 1996 and 1997.

Later, the calling into question by Laurent Désiré Kabila, of leonine contracts signed with the AMFI in favour of a South African company called Anglo American Corporation on one hand, and the denunciation of the contract of privatisation of Gécamines on the other hand, constituted the spark of the second war of which consequences ended in the physical elimination of Laurent Désiré Kabila, and his replacement by the one who calls himself Joseph Kabila.

The objectives and the activities of AMFI (ADASTRA) totally correspond to Paul Kagame's hegemonic aims, namely the partition and the dismemberment of the DRC for the control of its mining resources ... That explains the logistic and military support which Rwanda benefited since the preparations of the project of destabilization of Zaire, and still continues to benefit from AMFI (ADASTRA) and American political personalities connected closely or by far to the interests of this company of multiple ramifications.

Besides **Bill Clinton** himself, AMFI (ADASTRA) maintains privileged contacts with Lazare Kaplan International Inc., which is the biggest broker company of diamond in the United States, and which president is no one but **Maurice Tempelsman**, several times adviser to the Bureau of African Affairs of the successive American governments (democrats and republicans), as well as American honorary consul for the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

**Mr. Tempelsman** accompanied **Bill Clinton** during his African tour of 1988. He is also **member of the international board of the American stock exchange**.

Finally, ADASTRA (AMFI) is member of the *Economic Council of Africa*, in the same way as **Chevron Texaco, Boeing, GE, ...**

Other co-founders of ADASTRA (AMFI) as **Michael McMurrough** and **Robert Friedland** are also very close to **Bill Clinton**.



The ramifications of the AMFI extend to an American aerospace and construction company (branch of the **NASA**) called **BECHTEL** or **NASA / BECHTEL**.

In their report (Zmag, in 5.03.2006) **Keith Harmon Snow** and **David Barouski** clarify that **BECHTEL** supplied satellite maps and recognition photos of the movements of the troops of the FAZ (Zairean Army Forces) to the AFDL during the war of invasion of Zaire by the armies of Rwanda and Uganda in 1996.

**BECHTEL** besides created infrared maps of important mineral deposits of the Democratic Republic of Congo to direct American companies to the 'useful zones', in the process of occupation and partitioning of the Congolese territory.

Even more serious, both investigative journalists indicate that the Rwandan Patriotic Front (FPR) chaired by Paul Kagame, (a graduate of the American military academy of Strong Leavenworth) used satellite maps supplied by the NASA / BECHTEL to locate the Rwandan Hutu refugees' camps in the east of Zaire, which number was estimated at 800.000. It is to be noted that these Rwandan Hutu refugees were later chased through the Zairean forests and exterminated with their children in abject conditions, under the command of the Rwandan General James Kabarebe and his right hand, Major Hypo, alias Joseph Kabila!



Among the 'friends' of BECHTEL in the high spheres of the American power are:

- George SCHULTZ, former American Secretary of State, **who is a board member of BECHTEL** ;
- Caspar WEINBERGER, former Defence Secretary of State, and is also a **board member of BECHTEL**;
- Jack SHEELAN, (vice-president of BECHTEL), he is a retired General, **board member of the Defence Policy to the Pentagon**.

Only of the high society!

## 2. Barrick Gold Corporation (BGC):



A Canadian company and has now become 2nd in production of the gold worldwide.

Among the directors of BGC, we find the following personalities:

- Brian MULRONEY, former Canadian Prime Minister;
- Edwards NEYS, former American ambassador in Canada and CEO of Burston-Marsteller (a company of public relations);
- Howard BAKER, former American senator;
- J. Trevor EYTON, he is member of the Canadian senate;
- Vernon JORDAN, one of Bill Clinton's lawyers.

BARRICK GOLD is a long-time client of **Andrew YOUNG's** lobbying company called '**Good Works International**'. Andrew YOUNG is a former mayor of Atlanta, who was chosen by the president **Clinton** in 1994 to steer the ***Enterprise and Development of Southern Africa Funds***. He is also a key character within the '**US – Uganda Friendship Council**'.

His lobbying company '**Good Works International**' has multinational companies such as **Coke** (Coca-cola), **Chevron Texaco**, **Mosanto**, as well as the governments of **Nigeria** and **Angola** as clients or partners.

Let us indicate finally that **BARRICK GOLD** is a mining partner of ... **ADASTRA (AMFI)** and that it deals in business with **CALEB INTERNATIONAL**, company steered by **Salim SALEH**, who is no one but **the brother of the Ugandan president Yoweri Museveni**.

The blue-ribbon panel of the UN experts on the illegal exploitation of the natural resources of the DRC recommended that **Salim Saleh** be forbidden to travel abroad and that his assets be frozen, but this recommendation was never implemented. We can easily understand why !

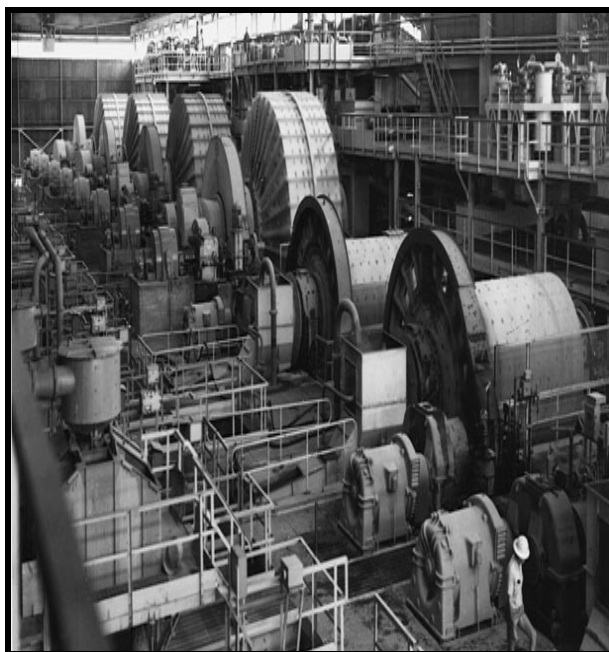


In the same order of ideas, the blue-ribbon panel of the UN experts also pinned a big American company specialised in the treatment of coltan, called **CABOT**, which is based in New England. It was denounced for its activities of contraband of ores in Democratic Republic of Congo. **Here also, the recommendation went unheeded.**

It is important to clarify that one of CABOT board members, **John McArthur**, is main adviser of ... **Paul Wolfowitz**, president of the **World Bank**; and that the current deputy director of the department of the **American Treasury**, **Samuel Bodman**, was **CEO and chairman of CABOT** board of directors from 1997 till 2001. This explains that!



### 3. The plundering of GECAMINES :



GECAMINES

Under the pretext to be paid off the 'war efforts', the President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, appealed to a constellation of multinational companies to dismember Gécamines which constitutes the lung of the economy of the DRC. This work was entrusted to his right-hand man and specialist in the domain, **Billy Rotenbach**.



#### **3a. RIDGEPOINT OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENTS**

Signed a partnership agreement with **Gécamines** to base a new association called **CENTRAL MINING GROUP (CMG)** in short) which had to manage the mines and the most profitable factories of Gécamines for its own account, leaving to the latter all the liabilities and the least viable factories!





### **3b. KABABANCOLA MINING COMPANY**

In 2001, to the insistent demand of Mugabe, **LD Kabila** authorizes **John Bredenkamp** and his **TREMALT LTD** company to establish a joint venture with Gécamines: the **KABABANCOLA MINING COMPANY (KMC)**, who saw itself awarded **the richest deposits of Gécamines for a period of twenty five years**.



### **3c. THE FORREST GROUP**

Mr. **George Arthur Forrest**, Belgian subject of New Zealander origin occupies a place of choice in the scandalous plunder of the natural resources of the DRC.

He was indeed the main artificer and the big beneficiary of the strategy of dismemberment of the GECAMINES.



The one that we call in certain circles nowadays ***viceroys of Congo*** is now **the first mining industrial group of the Katanga to the detriment of Gécamines**.

The one who at first had no expertise in the mining domain, **succeeded to corner and monopolize the best deposits and mines belonging to Gécamines thanks to the support of the Belgian financial political lobbies** on one hand and **to the destruction of the structures of the Congolese State on the other hand**, as far as to **deprive it completely of its profitable sectors for the benefit of his Group and of his Belgian allies among whom some played a leading role in the progress of the current tragedy in DRC**.

And so the **Group Forrest seized the mine of Shinkolobwe, very rich in cobalt and in uranium, before snapping up the metallurgical refuse from the treatment of copper and cobalt of Kolwezi**. Moves Mr.' Forrest had tempted unsuccessfully many time with the President Mobutu!

All the leonine contracts between **KINROSS-FORREST** and the **GECAMINES** concluded furtively and in blatant violation of the Congolese Mining Code, **obey no economic logic and were confirmed without taking into account recommendations of the experts of the World Bank and the 'Lutundula Commission'**.



**FORREST operates shamelessly through a screen of offshore companies which evades the Congolese treasury. In return, he generously finances Joseph Kabila's political activities.**

So, in the activities of exploitation of scorias rich in cobalt of Gécamines, Forrest uses the **GTL / STL company (Groupement Traitement Terril / Company for the Treatment of the Slag Heap of Lubumbashi)** based in Jersey, and the **GROUP FORREST**, based in the tax haven of Luxemburg.

In the **KAMOTO** project (**Kamoto Copper Company**) however, Mr. Forrest acts via **KINROSS FORREST LIMITED** based in Virgos British Islands ...!

**Heard by the senatorial Belgian Commission assigned to investigate into his involvement (nevertheless demonstrated) in the plunder of the natural resources of the Congo, FORREST, supported by a powerful battery of lawyers to assure his defence, will be cleared contrary to all expectations by ... the aforementioned commission of inquiry! Nothing surprising !**

**The selling off of the Congolese national patrimony and the Gécamines in particular is helped along by the active complicity of a mafia at the top of the Congolese State.** The great majority of political actors in the power in Kinshasa are involved in this shameless practice. **Several official documents give evidence** of it, to the point that this day, according to the Belgian born former CEO of Gécamines Mr. **Robert CREM's** condemning report; **a part of the Congolese holdings of a value of 300 billion US dollars is disposed without any profit for the State and Congolese people!**

It is **Laurent Désiré Kabila**, who began the dismantling of Gécamines after his coming to office in 1997, by offering the most beautiful pieces to **Robert Mugabe** of **Zimbabwe** for 'returned military services'.

His successor Joseph Kabila accelerated the death of Gécamines by entrusting tens of mines of the public group to gluttonous foreign firms (who financed his election campaign), in such a way that today **29 nebulous companies**, arisen from the joint-venture between Gécamines

and the French company **SOFRECO** are now sharing the remains of the Congolese economic giant!

**In this killing of Gécamines, the most striking case, because the cruellest, is that of the TENKE FUNGURUME, who according to the experts, represents the most important virgin reserve to the world with 7 million tons of copper of proved reserve, and its 1,5 million tons of cobalt of proved reserve. Giving it a potential valued in 90 billion US dollars!**

**How can one understand that Joseph Kabila and his regime was able to give up 83 % of the mineral rights of this national treasure to the Americans of PHELPS DODGE against a transfer of ... 15 millions of US dollars?**



### **3d. URANIUM TRAFFIC**



Uranium

The mine of Shinkolobwe, known for its 15000 tons of uranium supplied to the United States by Belgium and which were used for the sad bombardment of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, had been officially closed by Belgium after the second world war. **But since his access to power in 1997, Laurent Désiré KABILA reactivated a home-made exploitation of this mine. This activity was pursued by his successor Joseph KABILA.**

**LD KABILA had indeed offered in 1998, an important concession of uranium to North Korea in exchange for its assistance within the framework of an**

important military cooperation to Kinshasa. After the murder of LD KABILA, Washington exercised a strong pressure on his successor Joseph KABILA **to close the Military academy opened by the North Korean military experts in N'Sele, based 60 KM of Kinshasa. In exchange, Joseph KABILA benefited from the diplomatic support of the United States.**

On 17/08/2006, the journalist **Erik BRUYLAND** of the Flemish Belgian magazine ***Trends-Tendances***, relieving the revelations of ***The Sunday Times*** announces the results of his inquiries on **the seizure, on October 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2005, of uranium 238 in the services of the Tanzanian customs. Several condemning documents were produced by Erik BRUYLAND giving evidence of the uranium traffic between Joseph KABILA, through the Laurent Désiré KABILA Foundation steered by his twin sister on one hand, and the Iranian company SAMAN CHESHEMEN MINES OF IRAN and WIELAND LUFTECHNIK GMBH DE ERLAND (in Germany) on the other hand.**

The responsibility of the Congolese political and military officials in this traffic was clearly established through reports and official correspondences among which:

- i. The letter of July 04th, 2005 of interior minister **Théophile Mbemba Fundu** sent to the **President Moses Kumbi** to Lubumbashi, and in whom he speaks clearly about the deposit of **'Radio Active Material'** to Kinshasa ;
- ii. The official report drawn up in Lubumbashi on August 12<sup>th</sup>, 2006 by the urban director Kisulua Ngoy to the interior minister Théophile Mbemba Fundu, and whose title is eloquent enough: **"Fight led by the provincial authorities against the exploitation and the export of the radioactive products"**.

In this report, the urban director denounces and regrets the interference of 'the high hierarchy in Kinshasa', which hinders the efforts of the provincial authorities to eradicate the dangerous traffic of uranium.

#### 4. The plundering of MIBA :



MIBA logo

Always under the pretext to be paid off the 'war efforts', Robert Mugabe appealed to a crew of international vultures to dismember the **MINING COMPANY OF BAKWANGA (MIBA** in abbreviation):

- a) **SENGASENGA MINING COMPANY** was created to exploit the richest diamond deposit of the MIBA. According to the report of inquiry ran by the UN experts "**this concession of twenty five years represents manifestly the richest deposits of the holdings of the MIBA, with a potential production value estimated at several billion dollars**"!
- b) This company had a partnership link with another company **OSLEG (OPERATION SOVEREIGN LEGITIMACY)** which is controlled by the Zimbabwean Forces of Defence.
- c) It had another partnership link with another Congolese company **COMIEX-CONGO** in which we find the barons of the AFDL of Laurent Désiré Kabila as shareholders.
- d) Both aforesaid companies (OSLEG and COMIEX-CONGO), not disposing of either a capital or skills to exploit the immense potential of the concession which was granted to them, resort to a third company: **ORYX NATURAL RESOURCES, an Anglo -**

**Omanese company**, steered by an Omanese entrepreneur, but registered in the **Caiman Islands!** The three of them have constituted a new company called **COSLEG**.

- e) **DE BEERS** has just lastly resumed the exploitation of almost all of the important deposits of the MIBA for next to nothing, through leonine contracts which clauses supply condemning evidence!

## 5. The plundering of OKIMO :



OKIMO mine

The Congolese gold has not escaped the claws of the vultures, the **GOLD OFFICE OF KILOMOTO (OKIMO** in abbreviation) was given up for a very low price to '**ANGLO - ASHANTI GOLD**', based in **South Africa**.

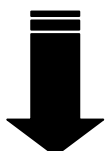


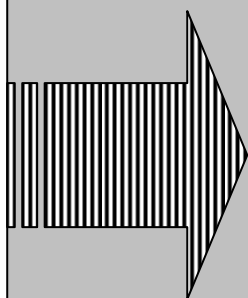
## 6. The plundering of wood :



SOCEBO exploitation site

**COSLEG** did not limit itself to the exploitation of the Congolese diamond, it spread its tentacles to the field of the exploitation of the Congolese wood. For that purpose, it constituted a wooden subsidiary called **CONGOLESE COMPANY OF EXPLOITATION OF WOOD** (**SOCEBO** in abbreviation). **Four concessions, representing a surface of total of 33 million hectares were awarded to this new company. These concessions represent 15 % of the national territory, while we can consider the DRC as the reserve of the humanity because it contains 47 % of the forest reserve of all Africa!**





## In conclusion

The brief display of the partial list of the multinational companies which are sharing the wealth of the DRC thanks to the active complicity of **Joseph Kabila** and **Paul Kagame** explains, if need was still there, the 'irrational' behaviours and the proponent and accommodating attitude of the International Community towards the Congolese people and towards its poverty.

**The complicity of the MONUC, the United States and of certain central and southern African countries as well as the European Union is self explained by the variety and the convergence of their colossal economic interests bound to the anarchy and deceitful exploitation of the mining resources of the DRC, with the obvious complicity of Joseph Kabila who is utilised as political guarantor to this vast 'alliance of vultures'.**

**The foreign companies which snapped up the Congolese patrimony and behind whom, in fact, hide major powers of this world, maintain, for the most part of them, partnership relationships through considerable interests.** Consequently, thanks to the games of alliances, they eventually weaved a real cobweb around the Democratic Republic of Congo, where they behave as of real vultures that rip a dying prey. Each of them rejoice in the cutting up of the Congolese national treasure with no one in the world daring to raise its little finger!

**It is this only situation which justifies the arbitrary and amoral choice of the influential members of the International Community to maintain, against any ethics, the political status quo in DRC by imposing to the Congolese people, through an electoral masquerade, Joseph Kabila, a foreigner even involved in the massacre of several million Congolese.** And all this not to alter the balances built these last years thanks to the mining concessions acquired through leonine contracts to the detriment of the superior interests of the Congolese people.

**It is here thus that lays, to our opinion, the only valid explanation on the guilty, collusive and accommodating attitude of the International Community in the tragedy which is taking place in the Democratic Republic of Congo.**

**It is here that lays the answer to the question about the at least 'bizarre' behaviour, on the silence and the sudden indifference of the great defenders of democracy and justice in the world towards the abuses and the blatant injustice of which the Congolese people are victim.**

**Only this 'alliance of vultures' explains why the International Community closed its eyes on Joseph Kabila's failure to realize, during the three years of the transition, five prerequisites that had to lead to the organization of credible and transparent elections to establish the third Republic in the conditions of peace, agreement and stability, namely:**

- **bring peace to the country**
- **reunite the national territory**
- **restore the authority of the State on all the territory**
- **form a restructured and integrated national army**
- **reconcile the nation**

**Only this 'alliance of vultures' explains why the UN and the CIAT closed eyes on the blatant sabotage by Joseph Kabila and his transition regime, of the process of the implementation of a Congolese and republican national army, an indispensable condition to guarantee the birth of a new Republic in durable peace and stability!** *(See the confidential report of the European Union drafted by CARLO DE FILLIPI in appendix).* However today, having neglected these indispensable prerequisites, immediately after the elections, we record through all the country, armed conflicts and growing tensions between the various armed militias, elements of the badly brewed Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo (FARDC) and the Rwandan troops operating in the east of the DRC. All these events reveal in broad daylight the Machiavellian character of the tactic of the International Community and destroy, beforehand, all chances of survival of this 'stillborn' third Republic!



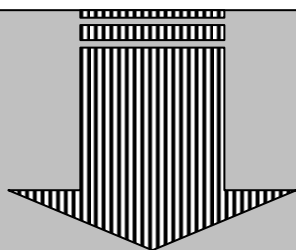
Only this 'alliance of vultures' explains **why the UN and the CIAT botched, even pushed aside the 'inventory' and 'identification' operations in DRC, however considered fundamental operations in any electoral process; while in Ivory Coast for example, the same International Community have been spreading, since two years, all their efforts for the organization of these two operations which constitute the indispensable steps prior to the organization of credible ballots. Moreover as the fundamental pretext which gave place to the launching of the wars in DRC is actually an identity conflict at the east of the country!**

Only this 'alliance of vultures' explains **why the International Community prevented, during the election campaign in DRC, the debate on Joseph Kabila's Rwandan roots and false identity, tagging this debate of 'xenophobia' and of 'speech of the hatred', while in the texts of the Congolese Constitution elaborated in Liège (in Belgium) and not in Kinshasa, it is clearly stipulated that the candidate for the highest office "must be born from Congolese father and mother".**

Since a serious doubt glides over the roots and over the real identity of a candidate, **why should the International Community intervene to crack down on a wide majority of Congolese people who demands evidence of the identity of the candidate Joseph Kabila through the a DNA test?** Because the International Community wanted to impose a candidate of their own choice to the Congolese people, they gave birth to a President who avoids the people that he claims to have elected him and who resorts to a foreign army to assure his security!

**Why did the same International Community which brandished threats against any debate of nationality during presidential elections did not raise the little finger when Joseph Kabila's political family raised the same problem of nationality for two candidates of the Union for the Nation for governor's posts in both Kasai, agreeing even to put back the ballot to allow the examination of their files? While the criterion of nationality is more important at the post of President of the Republic than for that of governor!**

Unless being blind or of notorious bad faith, **the picture of the political, social, economic and security situation of the DRC is more than ever precarious and catastrophic.** Because one wanted to build a new Republic on grounds of fraud, lies, corruption and swindle. **Such a mound has no future before the will of humiliated, bruised, deprived people, and determined to take on to recover its fundamental rights.**



That is why, the Alliance of the Patriots for the Refoundation of the Congo (APARECO) considers that **it is not too late to repair the errors committed in the Democratic Republic of Congo.**

The APARECO considers that **all the economic partners of the DRC can indeed benefit from immense resources in which she abounds, but it has to be done through an honest partnership with a really democratic government, and through contracts guaranteeing their interests as well as those of the Congolese people, the legal owner of the resources and first legitimate beneficiary of their exploitations.**

That is why; the **APARECO launches a solemn worldwide appeal to all political, economic, cultural and religious personalities involved in peace and justice to understand and support their struggle, and come to aid of the Congolese people, to help them laying the real and solid foundations of sovereignty, reconciliation, stability, justice and democracy.** Because only these values will guarantee, on short, medium and long-term, the mutual interests of the Congolese people, their African neighbours and all their partners worldwide.

**Such is the deep purpose of the fight led by the Alliance of the Patriots for the Refoundation of the Congo (APARECO) which main objective consists of helping the Congolese people to take responsible actions in this nebula of the globalisation, where every people will convey their own intrinsic identity at first, be confident and assertive, before integrating the world environment and harmonizing the centrifugal and centripetal interests of their partners.**

**Honoré NGBANDA NZAMBO KO ATUMBA  
National President of the APARECO**

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RAPPORT POLITIQUE SUR LA REPUBLIQUE DEMOCRATIQUE DU CONGO  
5 MAI 2006

1. La date des élections législatives et présidentielles vient d'être fixée au 30 juillet 2006.

a) Comme prévu il n'a pas été possible de respecter l'échéance du 30 juin 2006 fixée par l'Accord Global et Inclusif.

- Depuis le début de la Transition, la Communauté internationale n'a pas su ou pas voulu s'opposer aux manœuvres dilatoires des dirigeants congolais.  
De ce point de vue l'installation au pouvoir, suite à Sun City, des anciens belligérants s'est révélée être une erreur tant elle a favorisé, sur fond de méfiance réciproque :

- ° et les pratiques de corruption et de mauvaise gouvernance ;
- ° et les manœuvres dilatoires et leur volonté de rester au pouvoir coûte que coûte.

Si la Communauté internationale, à travers le CIAT a paru, fin novembre 2005, vouloir enfin changer de ton vis-à-vis des dirigeants congolais, les choses ont malheureusement rapidement évolué suite au référendum constitutionnel du 18 décembre 2005. Alors que le risque de non respect de l'échéance du 30 juin 2006 se posait déjà, la Communauté internationale, soudée en façade mais largement divisée en profondeur, a préféré agir en ordre dispersé dans la dénonciation des manœuvres dilatoires des dirigeants congolais :

- ° qu'il s'agisse de la promulgation de la Constitution et de la loi électorale ;
- ° ou de l'intégration de l'armée et des discussions sur la gouvernance.

Les dirigeants congolais depuis janvier 2006 ne prennent d'ailleurs plus de gants pour refuser tout dialogue avec la Communauté internationale : de fait les réunions avec l'espace présidentiel et celles des commissions mixtes sont devenues rarissimes et le CIAT préfère diffuser des communiqués relativement complaisants sur les problèmes de la Transition congolaise.

- Or depuis la promulgation de la Constitution de la III<sup>ème</sup> République, le non respect de l'échéance du 30 juin 2006 constitue surtout un problème politique :

- ° sur un plan juridique l'article 222 de la nouvelle Constitution permet en effet d'assurer la continuité des institutions de la Transition au-delà du 30 juin 2006 ;
- ° toutefois la marginalisation volontaire de l'UDPS, semble-t-il appuyée aujourd'hui par une partie de la hiérarchie catholique (Monsieur MONSENGWO), pourrait contribuer à compliquer cette nouvelle prolongation de la Transition.

Dans un contexte d'extrême fragilité du processus de Transition, marquée entre autres par l'insécurité croissante à l'Est de la RDC<sup>1</sup>, notamment en ITUKI où le regain des milices cache mal les ingérences croissantes de l'Ouganda, par les atteintes répétées aux Droits de l'Homme perpétrées surtout par l'armée congolaise, qu'elle soit intégrée ou pas, par la

<sup>1</sup> Qui risque d'affecter le déroulement du processus électoral.

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méfiance croissante des membres de l'espace présidentiel qui se présentent, presque tous, à l'élection présidentielle, la moindre déstabilisation pourrait entraîner une cascade d'événements non souhaitables et difficilement contrôlables. Par exemple Jean-Pierre BEMBA se plaint ouvertement que les troupes de Joseph KABILA, essentiellement la GSSP, n'ont pas été brassées, contrairement à la plupart de ses soldats. De plus International Crisis Group souligne que le RCD, un des déçus probables du processus électoral en cours, pourrait être tenté de déstabiliser l'Est du pays.

b) Il convient en outre d'être conscient que la date du 30 juillet 2006 risque encore d'être difficile à respecter compte tenu du fait qu'elle repose sur un enchaînement presque parfait des différentes étapes devant conduire aux élections.

- De fait la CEI a fixé une date sans s'accorder de marge de manœuvre au cas où des difficultés se produiraient dans la réalisation de certaines étapes. Du coup on peut considérer que la date du 30 juillet 2006 n'est pas trop décalée par rapport à une Transition qui a duré 3 ans, voire beaucoup plus si on ajoute les années de négociation qui ont conduit à la signature de l'Accord Global et Inclusif.

En fait le choix du 30 juillet 2006 offre le grand avantage de faire démarrer les campagnes législatives et présidentielles avant le 30 juin 2006, le 29 juin exactement, ce qui est psychologiquement très important.

À signaler en outre que la date d'un éventuel deuxième tour de l'élection présidentielle ainsi que des élections provinciales ne sera annoncée qu'après la publication des listes définitives des candidats aux élections provinciales dont l'enregistrement vient de commencer. Selon certaines sources, cette date ne pourrait pas intervenir avant la mi-octobre au plus tôt ce qui risque de renvoyer vers la fin de l'année 2006 la mise en place des nouvelles institutions congolaises.

- Le principal risque réside dans le fait que cette date repose sur un enchaînement extrêmement serré des différentes étapes devant conduire aux élections. Le respect de ce nouveau calendrier (la date du 18 juin 2006 avait initialement été choisie) dépendra notamment en effet :

° non seulement du comportement des dirigeants de la Transition dont on peut toujours craindre le pire, alors que l'échéance est proche. A cet égard certains, surtout ceux dont les chances électorales sont très réduites, pourraient être tentés de répondre favorablement à l'appel de Mgr MONSENGWO en faveur d'un "consensus" réunissant "les forces vives de la nation" en vue de franchir l'échéance du 30 juin 2006: une telle hypothèse reviendrait à ouvrir la boîte de Pandore et il est probable que les élections ne pourraient pas avoir lieu cette année ;

° mais aussi de la capacité de l'Afrique du Sud à imprimer, assembler et livrer, en 32 jours, tous les bulletins de vote vers 14 "Hubs" régionaux en RDC<sup>2</sup> ; or qu'il s'agisse du recensement de la Fonction Publique ou de celui de l'armée, les performances sud-africaines en RDC ont été plutôt mitigées... On a d'ailleurs le sentiment qu'à travers cette

<sup>2</sup> Sans oublier la MONUC (logistique) et la CEI pour l'acheminement des bulletins de vote dans environ 10 000 centres de votes. Concernant la CEI il serait également souhaitable que les nombreuses anomalies constatées lors de l'enregistrement des électeurs (écarts importants entre résultats officiels et supports informatiques permettant de vérifier leur fiabilité) soient corrigées rapidement.

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opération, l'Afrique du Sud qui a parrainé les accords de SUN CITY, a voulu se réinsérer dans un processus qui était jusqu'ici largement européenisé. Cette réinsertion, qui est souhaitable, ne doit pas cependant conduire à ralentir encore le processus.

2. Le nombre, sans doute trop important, des candidats qui se présentent soit aux présidentielles, soit aux législatives, devrait paradoxalement avantager Joseph KABILA.

a) C'est le seul qui se dégage vraiment de la liste des 33 candidats aux présidentielles

- Avec beaucoup d'habileté, il est en train de feussir plusieurs choses :

° apparaître comme un candidat "indépendant" seul contre tous, transcendant les clivages ethniques et politiques ; sa séparation, de façade, avec le PPRD constitue une bonne opération politique de même que les rumeurs sur son futur mariage, en juin prochain, qui serait béni par le Cardinal ETSOU ;

° accélérer la décomposition du MLC ;

° donner l'impression de venir en aide au RCD sur la question de Minembwe sans pour autant s'exposer publiquement à l'impopularité qu'une telle décision entraînerait ;

° favoriser un grand nombre de candidatures de complaisance qui se rallieront à lui, juste avant le premier tour des présidentielles, afin de provoquer un grand rassemblement, soit avant le deuxième tour, si un deuxième tour est nécessaire.

- De fait il existe une forte chance que Joseph KABILA soit élu au premier tour :

° non seulement ses partisans en sont convaincus, certains faisant même courir le bruit qu'il y aurait un risque à organiser un deuxième tour des présidentielles ;

° mais surtout lui-même, par son côté "force tranquille", donne l'impression que son élection constituera une simple formalité.

En outre l'attitude d'une partie de la Communauté internationale accentue cette tendance en donnant l'impression qu'elle soutient Joseph KABILA. Ce comportement est extrêmement dangereux car l'opinion publique en RDC finit par en être convaincue ce qui risque de dénaturer un processus démocratique en offrant une fausse liberté de choix. De fait certains acteurs bilatéraux membres du CIAT qui étaient jusqu'ici plutôt neutres par rapport au processus électoral, semblent maintenant vouloir changer d'attitude pour appartenir au "camp des vainqueurs"...A l'opposé l'actuel Président de l'Union Africaine, Denis SASSOU NGUESSO, ferait tout pour compliquer la tâche de Joseph KABILA en incitant l'UDPS à participer au processus et en soutenant Jean-Pierre BEMBA.

b) S'agissant des législatives, la multitude des candidatures retenues par la CEI (9632) risqué, sans grands partis vraiment structurés, d'accoucher d'un Parlement atomisé, donc faible et, sans doute, à la botte de Joseph KABILA.

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- 213 partis et plateformes sont en lice, dont 12 présentent des candidats dans toutes les provinces du pays. Un grand nombre soutiennent ouvertement Joseph KABILA et présentent 1126 candidats soit près de 13% de l'ensemble des candidatures (PPRD, MSR de SAMBA KAPUTO et PANU de FUTA, sans oublier l'UNAFEC de KISIMBA NGOY qui n'est présente que dans 6 provinces). D'autres sont là pour marquer les vrais adversaires de Joseph KABILA, en particulier les Forces du Renouveau d'Olivier KAMITATU et MBUSA NYAMWISI qui visent surtout à prendre des voix au CODECO de PAY PAY à l'Est ainsi qu'au RCD d'Azarias RUBERWA, sans oublier le MLC de Jean-Pierre BEMBA à l'Ouest.

La promesse de postes de haut niveau peut également favoriser les ralliements, Olivier KAMITATU étant de plus en plus convaincu d'être choisi par Joseph KABILA pour diriger le futur gouvernement issu des élections...

- Cette recomposition du paysage politique congolais "à la gabonaise" pourrait permettre d'aboutir à un certain consensus politique après les joutes électorales. Elle risque toutefois de donner l'impression à l'électeur congolais que son vote a été détourné d'où l'appel récent de Mgr MONSENGWO à une certaine transparence dans le processus électoral, "le peuple et l'opinion nationale autant qu'internationale" ayant "le droit de savoir s'il y a des "candidats alimentaires", qui sont de simples figurants ou prête-noms et dont la candidature ne sert qu'à induire l'électeur dans l'erreur".

Cette approche risque également de rompre l'équilibre qui avait été voulu par les auteurs de la Constitution de la III<sup>ème</sup> République en faisant du Parlement une simple chambre d'enregistrement, les décisions essentielles se prenant à la Présidence.

3. Devant le risque d'avoir un système démocratique dévié de ses objectifs, la Communauté internationale, et surtout l'Union Européenne, doit rester très vigilante.

a) Tout d'abord en s'assurant que le processus électoral en cours soit au minimum crédible, c'est-à-dire en faisant tout pour que ce processus évite essentiellement de « légitimer par avance » Joseph KABILA.

Dans ce contexte il conviendrait pour la Communauté internationale :

- de veiller au strict respect du calendrier fixé ;

- d'afficher une stricte neutralité vis-à-vis des candidats aux législatives ainsi qu'aux présidentielles. Cette attitude sera difficile à observer vis-à-vis de certains candidats appartenant à l'espace présidentiel et qui sont incontournables si on veut maintenir un minimum de dialogue avec les dirigeants de la RDC. Elle sera encore plus difficile à observer de la part des Etats qui ont déjà publiquement manifesté leur préférence au point d'induire l'opinion publique congolaise en erreur ;

- d'empêcher toute tentative de découplage entre législatives et présidentielles, risque toujours possible si on finit par se rendre compte qu'il sera peut être difficile d'organiser les élections législatives pour le 30 juillet 2006 ; l'entourage de Joseph KABILA est naturellement très favorable à ce découplage faisant même courir le bruit que si les élections n'ont pas lieu avant le 30 juin 2006, il risque d'y avoir des troubles à Kinshasa... ;

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- de veiller au respect d'une certaine déontologie, en exigeant en particulier l'adhésion de tous les candidats à un code de bonne conduite lorsque les différentes campagnes électorales démarreront ;

- de permettre à l'HAM de jouer son rôle en matière d'égalité d'accès aux médias, de transparence et de respect absolu de la liberté d'expression ;

~~de poursuivre, sans compromissions, l'objectif d'inclusivité du processus par exemple en essayant de convaincre l'UDPS à participer aux élections provinciales qui serviront à la désignation des Sénateurs et des Gouverneurs ;~~

- d'assumer une observation des élections qui soit performante ;

- d'accélérer l'arrivée de la force européenne qui devrait constituer une assurance contre toute tentation de dérapage, d'où qu'elle vienne.

b) Mais aussi, après les élections, en étant conscient que ces élections très coûteuses ne constitueront pas la panacée et ne permettront pas forcément de tourner la page de la guerre civile, des abus et de la corruption.

- Ceci suppose d'instaurer un véritable dialogue avec les autorités congolaises issues des élections.

Ce dialogue doit porter notamment sur les thèmes qui n'ont pas pu être abordés sérieusement durant la Transition et qui risquent d'affecter la stabilité du pays même après les élections : intégration de l'armée et création d'une armée républicaine, création d'une nouvelle police, gouvernance etc.)

Il devrait également aborder les questions relatives à la reconstruction du pays et qui relèvent d'une coopération plus classique.

La question est de savoir si les nouvelles autorités congolaises, légitimées par un corps électoral de 25 Millions d'électeurs et sans doute à nouveau courtisées par un grand nombre d'Etats dont la Chine et les Etats-Unis, peu enclins à faire porter le dialogue sur la gouvernance<sup>3</sup>, accepteront ce véritable dialogue alors qu'elles l'ont refusé de facto pendant toute la Transition.

- Ceci exige surtout une coordination au sein de la Communauté internationale et notamment au sein de l'Union Européenne, conformément aux conclusions de la stratégie pour l'Afrique.

Dans cet exercice, les Nations Unies, avec un succès mitigé (*"Action Plan"*), ont avancé leurs pions. S'il apparaît impensable de ne pas se coordonner avec les Nations Unies dans un pays post-conflit comme la RDC, il convient toutefois de le faire en bon ordre pour l'Union Européenne, premier partenaire et de loin de la RDC. Dans les institutions post Transition, l'Union Européenne, si elle veut être efficace, devra parler d'une seule voix. Sera-t-elle capable de le faire facilement sur un plan local lorsque l'on observe le comportement de certains représentants de nos Etats membres actuellement membres du CIAT qui éprouveront des difficultés à jouer franchement le jeu de la coordination et qui

<sup>3</sup> Et plutôt intéressés à avoir un accès privilégié aux ressources naturelles du pays.

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considèrent qu'après la Transition, la Commission doit se concentrer totalement sur les questions relatives à la coopération ('1<sup>er</sup> pilier') pour laisser aux Etats membres l'exclusivité du dialogue politique ?

C'est pourquoi il importe d'examiner, sans tarder, la manière dont les recommandations contenues dans l'*"examen global et unifié de l'action extérieure de l'Union Européenne en RDC"* pourraient être mises en œuvre. Sans attendre la fin du processus électoral, il pourrait être opportun d'envisager une réunion entre le Haut Représentant pour la PESD et le Commissaire en charge du Développement et de l'action humanitaire.

  
Carlo DE FILIPPI  
Chef de Délégation

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**APARECO - 4 RUE DES COSMONAUTES - 94600 CHOISY LE ROI – FRANCE**  
**Website: [www.aparecordc.org](http://www.aparecordc.org)**  
**Email: [apareco@aparecordc.org](mailto:apareco@aparecordc.org)**