

Background Guide
Princeton Interactive Crisis Simulation 2005

Democratic Liberation Forces of Rwanda
Forces Democratiques de Liberation du Rwanda
Urugaga Ruharanira demokarasi no Kubohoza u Rwanda

Chair: Leon Skornicki '06

Director: Vincent Yu '07



International Relations Council
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- FDLR -

FORCES DEMOCRATIQUES DE LIBERATION DU RWANDA
 DEMOCRATIC LIBERATION FORCES OF RWANDA
 URUGAGA RUHARANIRA DEMOKARASI NO KUBOHOZA
 U RWANDA



Chers Abacunguzi,
 Chers Compatriots,
 Dear Compatriots,

I have called upon the leadership of the Forces Democratiques de Liberation du Rwanda for one purpose: we must determine how to proceed. The conflict in our beloved Rwanda has escalated to an uncontrollable situation. Politically, our organization has been excluded. It seems that the only action that has elevated us to the radar of existence is our military capabilities. We must strive in the next few days to fight the tyrannical Kagame regime. Fighting must continue until Kigali realizes that we must be included as a legitimate faction in the inter-Rwandese political dialogue.

Since our creation we have taken it upon ourselves to voice the concerns of the subjugated people of Rwanda. We must campaign to raise awareness of the lies that are spread by the current regime ruling our nation. Although we have been allowed to operate in the Democratic Republic of Congo for years, those in the United Nations have compelled the DRC to do away with us. This point must be dealt with in this meeting. We must ensure our operations are safe from the Rwandan government. We must, albeit without support of the DRC, carve our place in the contiguous territories of our beloved nation. We must continue to operate in DRC, but rapidly advance to force Kagame into a political dialogue to stop this heinous situation that has now burdened our nation for decades.

But aside from the very controversial stance that I am advocating in this brief memorandum, a more lighthearted introduction is necessary. Our committee, without a doubt, will be the best. You—the members of PICSim’s FDLR—and us will work together to further the goals of this political organization. Our committee director—Vincent Yu—and I—Leon Skornicki—are delighted to have you.

I am originally from Caracas, Venezuela. I am junior in the Politics department, with a certificate in Political Economy and in Latin American Studies. Until February of this year, I was Vice President of the International Relations Council, the organization that puts on PICSim and represents Princeton in model united nations conferences. Vincent is a sophomore from Hong Kong majoring in Operation Research & Financial Engineering. He is a United World College graduate. He also plays on the varsity squash team, and would “way rather be chasing down balls on court than working my way through the financial data that I work with as an ORFE major.”

Representing the FDLR in the Central African conflict will be interesting, to say the least, but will also prove to be a challenge. A balance between political discussion and military action will need to be set. And aside from the educational aspect of this conference, I’m sure we’ll have a blast.

We hope to see you in a few weeks. Au revoir notre libérateurs,

Leon Skornicki
 President, FDLR
 Committee Chair

Vincent Yu
 President of the High Committee
 Committee Director

Dear Delegate,

The following guide is a brief compilation of basic information on the Democratic Liberation Forces of Rwanda. This should serve as a mere introduction to your pre-conference research. You should read it entirely and then read those documents suggested. The contents of the guide are listed below for your convenience. If you have any questions, comments, concerns or corrections email them to Leon at lskornic@princeton.edu

Moreover, there is no one thing that delegates can do to prepare for this conference. However, aside from reading this background guide—a very brief introduction of the complex situation in Central Africa and the FDLR’s position, capabilities and circumstances—delegates should regularly check on regional news. BBC.co.uk tends to be a good information source, and the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs has an excellent website with the very latest news from Central Africa. You can find it at http://www.irinnews.org/frontpage.asp?SelectRegion=Great_Lakes

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Terms

Delegates must be familiar with these terms; therefore, research what/who they are. Most terms were extracted from the International Crisis Group’s “The Kivus: The Forgotten Crucible of the Congo Conflict” report of January 24, 2003.

AFDL	<i>Alliance des forces démocratiques pour la libération du Congo-Zaïre.</i> Kabila senior’s original rebel group.
ALiR	<i>Armée de Libération du Rwanda.</i> A Hutu rebel group, based in the Kivus, made of ex-FAR and Interahamwe who led an insurgency in Northwestern Rwanda in 1997-1998.
ADF	Allied Democratic Forces. Ugandan insurgent movement whose operations out of the Eastern DRC served as a justification for Uganda’s intervention in the war.
Banyamulenge	Ethnic Tutsi pastoralists who have lived on the Highlands of South Kivu since the late 1800s.
Banyarwanda	Congolese Rwandophones of North Kivu, both Hutu and Tutsi.
DDRRR	“DR” for short; voluntary disarmament and demobilization, repatriation, rehabilitation and reintegration (would be the proper acronym, however DR is also used).
Ex-FAR	Former Rwandan Armed Forces which took part in the 1994 genocide.
FAC	<i>Forces Armées Congolaises</i> or Congolese Armed Forces. The military force of the Kinshasa government.

FAP	<i>Forces d'Autodéfense Populaire.</i> The official name of some Mai Mai militias.
FAZ	<i>Forces Armées Zairoises.</i> The Mobutu regime's military.
FDD	<i>Forces de défense de la démocratie.</i> A Burundian Hutu rebel group led by Jean-Pierre Nkurunziza.
FDLR	<i>Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda.</i> A Hutu rebel group created In September 2000 out of the ALiR forces based in the Kivus and other Rwandan Hutu, ex-FAR, Interahamwe, and non- <i>génocidaire</i> refugees integrated in the Congolese army defenses.
FRF	<i>Forces Républicaines Fédéralistes.</i> A Munyamulenge political movement Mobilized against the Rwandan occupation of the Kivus and allied to the anti-Rwandan and anti-RCD insurgency of Comdt Patrick Masunzu.
Interahamwe	An extremist Hutu militia group that committed the bulk of Rwanda's 1994 genocide.
Mai-Mai	Rebel group, not linked to FDLR. (Spelling may vary from source to source)
Mongole/ Ngilima	Hutu militias formed in the early 1990s to defend the interests of the North Kivu Banyarwanda.
MONUC	United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, created in August 1999 and authorized to deploy 5,537 observers and armed troops by the Security Council.
MLC	<i>Mouvement pour la Libération du Congo.</i> Jean-Pierre Bemba's Equateur-based guerrilla group.
CPODR	Permanent Consultation of the Rwandan Democratic Opposition; umbrella organization of all political opposition to the Kagame administration.
RCD	<i>Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie</i> or the Congolese Rally for Democracy
RCD-K/ML	<i>RCD Kisangan / Mouvement de Libération.</i> A faction of the RCD that followed Wamba dia Wamba when he split from the Goma based RCD in March 1999, now led by Mbusa Nyamwisi.
RCD	National A faction of the RCD that split from the RCD K/ML, now led by Roger Lumbala and allied to the MLC.
RCD	Congo A faction of the RCD that split from the Goma based rebel group in June 2002 and is led by Kin-Kiey Mulumba.
R-FDLR	Rally of the Democratic Liberation Forces of Rwanda; organization that separated itself from the FDLR because of claims that the FDLR is corrupt, deceitful and has committed treason to the Rwandan people. ¹
RPA/RDF	Rwanda Patriotic Army, renamed Rwandan Defense Forces in July 2002. The Military force created by the Rwandan Patriotic Front rebel movement in 1990 became the Rwandan army after its victory over the <i>génocidaire régime</i> of the late Juvénal Habyarimana in July 1994.
TPD	<i>Tous pour la Paix et le Développement.</i> North Kivu NGO linked to Rwandan Military intelligence and involved in the repatriation of Hutu and Tutsi refugees.
UPDF	Uganda People's Defense Forces. The army of Uganda.

¹ Message du Ralliement des Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda- R-FDLR, see <http://www.fdlrwanda.org/comm/RFDLRDecl092004French.pdf>. Realignment declaration was issued in Washington, D.C. on December 6, 2004, see <http://www.fdlrwanda.org/comm/DeclarationPresRfdlr06dec2004FrenchTxt.pdf>.

Brief historical background

The Forces Democratiques de Liberation du Rwanda is a group—rebel, solely political or both, depending on the source—created in Rwanda in May 2000. Predominantly composed of Hutus, the organization says it represents Hutu, Tutsi and Twa pigmies that were persecuted or adversely affected by the Rwandan genocide of 1994.

The FDLR mainly operates in the Kivus region of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). After its creation in the Rwandan territory, the FDLR began operations in territories contiguous to Rwanda. Initially, before the DRC-Rwanda agreement of 30 July 2002, the DRC government allowed the FDLR to operate within its territories. However, on September 24, 2002 Kinshasa declared the FDLR “*persona non grata*, and ordered them to leave the country within 72 hours.”² During this time, the Paul Kagame regime and RCD-Goma heavily criticized the DRC government for not handing FDLR leaders to the International Tribunal for Rwanda, even when the UN Court had declared that none of the FDLR’s leaders were “on the list of those indicted by the tribunal.”³ More than two years later, the FDLR keeps operating in the Kivu region.

The Kivus section of the DRC is divided into two provinces: North Kivu and South Kivu. Both provinces combined stretch from Tanzania to Uganda and border both countries in

between—Rwanda and Burundi. The region is somewhat large for only one group to control; many groups fight or collaborate to have power over the different sections of the Kivus. So “the confusion [as to the exact nature of the conflict in the Great Lakes Region: participants, spheres of controls, etc] results from the lack of clear distinction between” the different groups that operate in North and south Kivu.⁴ In fact, the Kivus “are now better described as the ‘crucible’ of conflict.”⁵

The FDLR primarily operates in South Kivu and in the city of Katanga.⁶ Nevertheless, knowing where they operate has not aided in clarifying who they are and if they cooperate with other rebel groups. Human Rights Watch (HRW) reports that some ALIR combatants claimed that the FLDR is “the public voice of ALIR.”⁷ However, the FLDR vehemently rejects having said ties. Noth only did the Parte-parole of the FDLR tell HRW that “his organization had no links with ALIR,”⁸ but the Rwandan organization published a memoranda to clarify its relation to the ex-FAR, ALIR, Interahamwe. The organizations’ latest communiqué informing of the inexistence of these ties was issued in Brussels, Belgium on 19 August 2004.

The FDLR wrote that it is worried of the misinformation of the media when they confuse the Forces Democratiques de Liberation du Rwanda for ex-Far, Interahamwe or even qualifies the Rwandan organization as

² Secretary General, United Nations. “The Twelfth report of the Secretary General on the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.” Document number: S/2002/1180. (October 12, 2002), par. 13

³ Ibid

⁴ Human Rights Watch. “Rwanda: Observing the Rules of War?” (December 2001) Vol. 13, No 8 (A)

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ HRW “Rwanda: Observing the Rules of War?”

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Ibid

genocidal.⁹ The communiqué goes on to say that the media prefers not to attack the true and real criminals that are predominantly agents of Paul Kagame. The media instead prefers to blame—claims the FDLR—the opposition to the regime in Kigali.

Nevertheless, many organizations, including the United Nations Secretary Generals (see document of footnote 2), claim that the FDLR has been collaborating with some Hutu extremist groups from both Rwanda and Burundi. Moreover, with the FDLR's headquarter(s) in the DRC the Rwandan Army has infiltrated parts of eastern DRC and accused the Kabila government of supporting the rebels, exacerbating tensions between Kigali and Kinshasa. "Rwanda now seems (as of January 2003) less interested in controlling Kinshasa and has resolved to consolidate its long-term influence in the eastern (DR) Congo by making the most out of the Kivus – a policy akin to that on which Uganda embarked several years ago."¹⁰ The FDLR has therefore played an important role in the ongoing conflicts that comprise "Africa's World War."

Ultimately, the main objective of the organization, according to the International Crisis Group and confirmed by a FDLR memoranda,¹¹ is

⁹ FDLR. "Les FDLR ne sont ni des Ex-FAR, ni des Interahamwe, ni des Genocidaires." Communiqué de Presse No 06/PP/08/04. See: http://fdlr.r-online.info/comm/Les_FDLR_ne_sont_pas_des_genocidaires.htm

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ International Crisis Group. "The Kivus: The Forgotten Crucible of the Congo Conflict" (January 24, 2003) And MEMORANDUM PREPARE PAR LES FORCES DEMOCRATIQUES DE LIBERATION DU RWANDA (FDLR). *Objet: ICG Rapport Afrique*

to insure that the opposition to the current regime in Rwanda be included in the intra-Rwandan political dialogue. But there is very little doubt that their ambitions lay in taking control over the Rwandan government. Even when they the FDLR and its *partners* recognize the need to pacifically solve the Rwandan conflict, they have remained militarily active.

Reference

- FDLR official website.
www.fdlr.org
- Institute for Security Studies. *The Peace process in the DRC*.
<http://www.iss.org.za/AF/profiles/DR Congo/cdreader/peace.html>
- United States Institute of Peace. *Peace Agreements Digital Collection*.
<http://www.usip.org/library/pa.html>
- International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.
<http://www.ictt.org/default.htm>
- UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs.
<http://www.irinnews.org/webspecials/Ihuri/srep2.asp>
- MONUC.
<http://www.monuc.org/>
- "MONUC strongly reacts to Rwanda's threat to attack FDLR in DRC" (26/11/2004).
<http://www.monuc.org/NewsPrint.aspx?NewsID=4428>
- Rwanda information Exchange.
<http://www.rwanda.net/index.htm>

General Organizational Stances

1. We defend our nation and the people threatened by extermination from a tyrannical, oligarchic, unpopular and bellicose FPR that only maintains itself through lies and terror.¹²
2. The current Kigali government has led a campaign of misinformation. Let it be known that since our creation we have declared that we are not ALIR, ex-FAR, nor *Interahamwe*. Furthermore, we have distance ourselves, and therefore have no ties, to the rasta
3. No disarmament and demobilization, repatriation, rehabilitation and reintegration (DR) without true, open and legitimate political negotiations with the Kigali government.
4. The Kagame government considers the FDLR and similar political organizations as “terrorists” and as such will not include us in any inter-Rwandese political dialogue. We must strive to clarify before the international community, other Central African nations and the Kagame regime that we must be included in such talks for there to be peace and fair treatment of all Rwandese nationals in years to come.
5. As phagocytes, the FPR and its president are eating all political organizations and thus ensuring political success in future elections. All political opposition is being silenced and labeled as terrorists and genocidal.
6. The Kagame government should be made to publicly recognise its genocide against the Tutsis, and engage sincerely in the process of reconciliation.

7. Compel the Rwandan government to begin direct discussions with the internal and external political opposition to write a new constitution for the post-transition period.

General Objectives

- Pressure the international community, including the newly formed MONUAC (See *PICSim 2005* website) to compel and oblige the genocidal Kagame regime to include the FDLR and the CPODR in the political negotiations towards regime-transition and repatriation of the exiled Rwandese community.
- As well as spearheading a political strategy, the FDLR must keep enough striking force to shoehorn the Kigali government into negotiations.
- Upon our first meeting, we will be setting more specific long and short term priorities and objectives for the organization.

Accords

(read and bring hard copies to conference)

Please read as many African peace treaties signed by Rwanda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda and Burundi as you can. They can all be found at: <http://www.usip.org/library/pa.html>

1. Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi, 2000
2. Pretoria Peace Agreement, 2002.
3. Lusaka agreement – <http://www.iss.co.za/AF/profiles/DR Congo/cdreader/bin/2lusaka.pdf>

¹² See footnote 1.

Reference Sheet

**To be printed out and used throughout the conference!*

RWANDESE REPUBLIC (RWANDA)

Capital: **Kigali**

President: **Paul KAGAME** (since 22 April 2000)

Political affiliation: Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)

Elected with 95.05% of the vote.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

Capital: **Kinshasa**

President: **Joseph KABILA** (since 26 January 2001)

Political Affiliation: dictatorship; presumably undergoing a transition to representative government

REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

Capital: **Kampala**

President: **Lt. Gen. Yoweri Kaguta MUSEVENI** (since 26 January 1986);

Political Affiliation: The Movement (formerly the NRM); claimed to be a mass organization and not a political party by Museveni; all other parties are constitutionally outlawed.

Elections to be held in 2006.

REPUBLIC OF BURUNDI

Capital: **Bujumbura**

President: **Domitien NDAYIZEYE** (since 30 April 2003)

Political affiliation: NA; of Hutu descent.



- FDLR -

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Urugaga ruharanira demokarasi no kubohoza
Urwanda



Command Structure

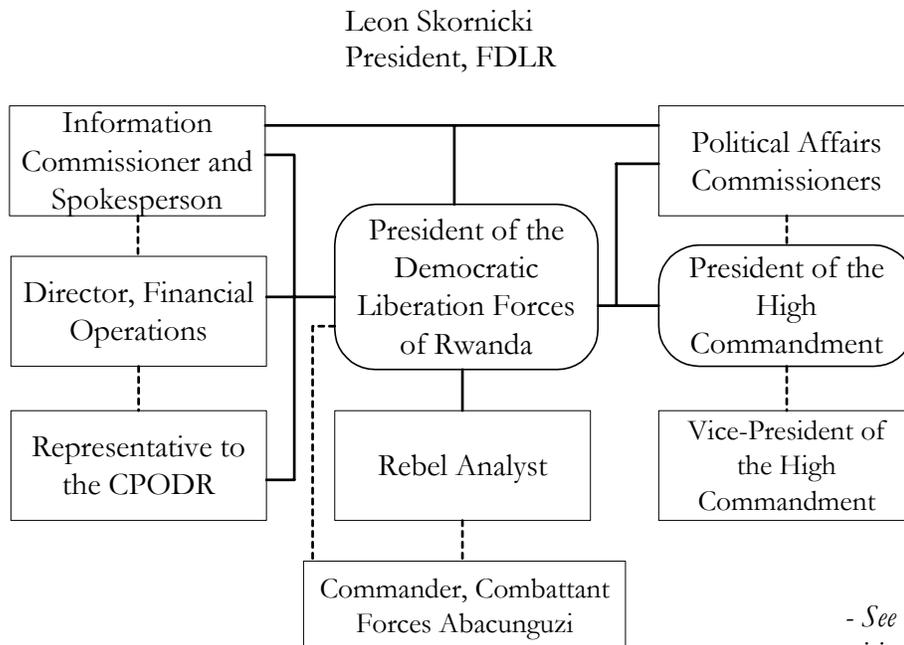
Last year, the Princeton Interactive Crisis Simulation emulated ministerial cabinets of different countries and leadership councils of some non-governmental organizations. In keeping with the structure of last year’s conference, you—the conference participants—will be asked to assume one of the following personalities in the FDLR committee.

In order to maintain realism, the delegates will assume the names of the actual leaders of the organization. In some instances, however, these names were not available on the internet or other written sources. Therefore, delegates will be merely called by their position. (Inventing fictitious names will only complicate the situation. Delegates already have enough real names to memorize. Moreover, it would be counterproductive to the educational and informative nature of the conference).

As your chair, I—Leon Skornicki—will take on the role of the president of the organization. Vincent Yu, your committee director, will assume the post of President of the High Commandment. Your roles vary accordingly, but you will lobby the committee chair and director to pursue a certain course of action.

I apologize for what might seem as an overly authoritarian attitude, but in the hopes of simulating this group the decisions will not necessarily be based on majority consensus. I urge each of you to research topics crucial to your position. I understand, however, that documents and FDLR-specific information are scarce.

With that in mind, fellow liberators, I will see you in a few weeks,



- See next page for positions descriptions -

Positions

- President (*Assumed by the Committee Chair*), Dr. Ignace Murwanashyaka
- President of the High Commandment (*Assumed by the Committee Director*), Paul Rwarakabije
- 1. Vice-President of the High Commandment, Sylvestre Mudacumura
- 2. Information Commissioner and Spokesperson, Augustin Dukuze, Ph.D.
- Political Affairs Commissioners for
- 3. Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda.
- 4. Democratic Republic of Congo, Republic of Congo and South Africa.
- 5. Director, Financial Operations
- 6. Representative to the Consultation of the Rwandan Democratic Opposition (CPODR)
- 7. Rebel Analyst
- 8. Commander, Combattant Forces Abacunguzi (Force Combattantes Abacunguzi, FOCA)

Descriptions

***NOTE:** If you have been selected to partake in this committee, please read the description of ALL members. Committee members will be expected to work as a team, as such they will be cooperating with information flow, knowledge of the political arena and the military field. This will be essential for our committee/organization's success. Delegates that refuse to work as part of the FDLR team will be...er...will be penalized(?)*

Vice-President of the High Commandment: The president of the High Command is in charge of crafting the general guidelines of organizational operations. The Vice-President will directly assist the President of the High Command. This person will also be tasked with initiating contact with Rwandese and foreign political organizations that do not form part of the Democratic Opposition to President Kagame. Moreover, this officer will closely work with the political affairs Commissioner. In normal circumstances, the VP or the High Council accompanied by the Political Affairs Commissioner will assist any intra-Rwandese talks and most international negotiations.

Information Commissioner and Spokesperson: The Porte-parole of the organization is tasked with communicating the official position of the FDLR to the international community, the Central African community and all other relevant persons and organizations. This officer will maintain the other leaders up-to-date on media information. He/She will be in charge of monitoring all publications (e.g. newspapers, NGO publications, UN documents and resolutions) to ensure that they accurately portray the FDLR. The spokesperson will also be in charge of the public image of the organization. This last role entails ridding the Central African countries and the international community at large of the lies and propaganda of the Kagame regime.

Political Affairs Commissioners: FDLR members responsible for adapting the political stance of the organization to the ongoing situation and the current events (and crises) at hand. This

people will not be the public voice of the FDLR, but are internal councilors. The Commissioners will ensure that all the FDLR leaders are up to speed on the fine details of the Central African and intra-Rwandese conflict. They will provide political advice to the President of the FDLR, and to the President and Vice-President of the High Council. Ultimately, these officers are the voice of sanity and reason; the providers of knowledge; the topmost political advisers. (These people must be outspoken – it's part of the job description!)

Aside from each having these general responsibilities, they will divide their areas of knowledge and expertise into:

Political Affairs Commissioner for Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda: expert of the situation related and unrelated to the FDLR, of these countries. He/she must know current situation of these countries. Must know how to use these nations strengths and weaknesses to our advantage.

Political Affairs Commissioner for Democratic Republic of Congo, Republic of Congo and South Africa: expert of the situation related and unrelated to the FDLR, of these countries. He/she must know current situation of these countries. Must know how to use these nations strengths and weaknesses to our advantage.

Director, Financial Operations: This person will serve as a Chief Financial Officer of sorts. Because of the nature of the FDLR, a CFO is too formal of a term and too optimistic of a role. The FDLR does not have many economic resources at its disposal. This director will have a twofold responsibility: (1) closely work with the FOCA commander to determine needs and availability of economic resources to conduct regular operations; and (2) fundraise money for the organization.

Rebel Analyst: This person will be in charge of analyzing all other rebel forces movements, positions and attacks. He will closely work with the Information Commissioner and Spokesman when the FDLR is blamed for attacks we did not commit. Moreover, he/she will closely cooperate and share knowledge with the FOCA Commander; this relationship will be symbiotic: the Rebel analyst will provide FOCA with location and information regarding other groups, whereas FOCA will maintain the Rebel Analyst informed at all times and costs

Representative to the Consultation of the Rwandan Democratic Opposition (CPODR): The representative or ambassador of the FDLR to the Consultation of the Rwandan Democratic Opposition. This person will be in charge of communicating FDLR's position to the CPODR; more so, he/she will report back to the FDLR the official position of the rest of the Rwandan opposition community. This person is directly appointed by the President of the FDLR and therefore has always been a close friend and trusted ally of Mr. Murwanashyaka. Coordinating efforts with the CPODR is essential if the Kagame regime is to recognize his political opposition as a part of the intra-Rwandan socio-political dialogue.

Commander, Combattant Forces Abacunguzi (FOCA): Plausible deniability is of great importance to this person. Although it is widely known that the FDLR has many combatants under its wing and leadership, it is not always known—let us keep it that way—which rebel group strikes where and when. The commander will coordinate all attacks—anywhere that the

President and pertinent leaders consider appropriate. He/she will be crucial to the success of the FDLR (in PICSim 2005). Although the organization has pressure to voluntarily disarm and reintegrate into Rwandan society, soon after our initial meeting on January 17, 2005 we must determine the fate of the FOCA. The commander has a super knowledge of our strengths and weaknesses; our man power; our weapons; our transportation systems, etc. [For this, the commander will have to come very, very well prepared. Organizational facts and figures should be this person's forte]