Forum: Security Council

Issue: The situation in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo

Student Officer: Bao Chau Nguyen

Position: President of the Security Council

Introduction

The situation in the Eastern Region of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is, and has been, a complicated and drawn out conflict since the independence of the country from Belgian rule in 1960. After half a century of brutal dictatorship, conflicts and wars, the political, humanitarian and economic situation in the DRC has deteriorated. The DRC has the lowest GDP per capita in the world at only 600 USD per year. With a country so large yet so poor, there is high untapped economic potential. The arable land in the country is estimated to be able to feed the whole of Africa. However, conflict and policy making continues to make any recovery efforts ineffective.

The West of the DRC has been mostly pacified primarily due to a peace treaty. However, the conflict continues in the East with the provinces of North and South Kivu being the epicentre of such fighting. It is estimated that 90% of the conflict occurs in this region. Rich in mineral resources while bordering Rwanda and Uganda, the provinces have become a playing ground for armed rebel groups to gain resources, wealth and influence in the region. The distance between the capital of Kinshasa and the East of the DRC makes attempts by the government to stabilize the region ineffective, leaving the region extremely volatile.
The conflict is potentially the most complex in Africa as of right now simply due to the number of factions and armed groups involved. Each is fighting for a different cause, which makes fully representing the ideas of each faction in negotiations almost impossible. Sources estimate between 70-100 different armed groups still operate in the region. External influences from the DRC’s neighbours have also made the region more unstable making it an even harder problem to resolve.

Definition of Key Terms

Hutus & Tutsis

The Hutus and Tutsis are ethnic groups in Africa. Their classification stems from former Belgian colonies such as Rwanda and the DRC. Based almost entirely on physical features and occupation, these classifications lay the groundwork for all the genuine ethnic conflict in the region. The Hutus who had fled the 1994 Rwandan genocide threatened the Tutsi minorities in the Kivu provinces. This was one of the reasons for both the First and Second Congolese wars, albeit not the directing factor. However, ethnic tensions in the region are still very high.

Conflict Minerals

Conflict minerals are minerals and resources that are mined and extracted in conflict zones in order to sustain the fighting. Due to the DRC’s abundance in materials, conflict minerals become instrumental in the sustaining of fighting in the region. The three main conflict minerals are cassiterite, coltan, and wolframite, for the tin, tantalum, and tungsten metals extracted from them. Gold is also mined. Conflict minerals in the DRC are also sold and used in consumer goods in Western countries.

Ethnic Cleansing

Ethnic cleansing is the act of targeting a certain ethnicity and removing them from a country, region or province. According to the UN, ethnic cleansing itself is not an independent crime; however, genocide is. Genocide is a form of ethnic cleansing, where perpetrators remove a target group by killing them. With high ethnic tension being the basis for some of these conflicts, most groups seek to destroy and remove their opposing ethnic groups from their respective regions.

Mai Mai Groups

Mai Mai groups refer to any community-based rebels or armed groups in the conflict. These are often smaller armed groups that are led primarily by warlords, tribal leaders and community leaders. There are many active Mai Mai groups in Eastern DRC. Compared to larger groups, they lack the operational capacity or the weapons to do any considerable damage independently.
Background Information

Despite the issue being the situation in the Eastern DRC, it is highly encouraged that the whole of the DRC is to be considered even when discussing this topic and therefore, requires an understanding of the country, its government and most importantly its historical context. The issue and its resolution extends far beyond just containing the conflict in the East but also ensuring the stability of the country as a whole.

Since the country’s independence in the 1960s, decades of dictatorship, foreign intervention, advancing of foreign interests have allowed for discontent and fighting to develop in these regions of the DRC.

Historical Context of the DRC Conflict

1960 saw the departure of Belgium from the Congo, making Congo an independent nation with Joseph Kasavubu as its president and Patrice Lumumba as its prime minister. The country was unstable, as insurgents began rising up for the secession of Katanga, a south-eastern province, from the Congo. While the insurgency was handled, Congo had to face with the emergence of the Cold War. Looking for allies, the US and Europe began interfering in the Congo, going so far as to allegedly assist with the murder of Patrice Lumumba. In 1965, the United States, Belgium and their European allies helped establish Mobutu Sese Seko become ruler of the Congolese nation to have access to the country’s cheap resources. The Congo was renamed Zaire.

The Mobutu regime became known for its cronyism and corruption. State resources were misappropriated and money that was made from the natural resources of the country did not go to the state treasury, but instead went to the pockets of Mobutu and his allies. Moreover, Mobutu had forced European companies out of the country by nationalizing their firms and then failed to reinvite them to the country, leading to a state of economic ruin. After Mobutu’s death, his family retained their wealth while the country bore his 12 billion dollars of debt.

Conflict in the DRC and the Congo Wars

Even though conflicts in the DRC had long been an issue ever since Mobutu took power, the 1994 Rwandan Genocide set up the chain of events that lead to the still ongoing conflict today. After the Rwandan Genocide, primarily Hutu perpetrators of the genocide fled into Zaire to escape persecution. In 1996, the First Congo War began. The Ugandan and Rwandan governments begin an invasion of Eastern Zaire to root out all the perpetrators of the genocide fearing an invasion by the Hutus from the borders of Zaire. A Tutsi force led by Laurent Kabila as well as anti-Mobutu rebels supported by Uganda and Rwanda slowly moved in and took the

In 1998, a year after the installation of Laurent Kabila as president, anti-Kabila rebel forces began to rise up against the government in the East of the DRC. The Banyamulenge, a Tutsi minority, began rebelling in Goma, the largest city in North Kivu, as a response to the government’s ousting of Tutsi Rwandan officials from the capital. Rwanda and Uganda began supporting an armed group, the Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD), against Kabila. Neighbouring countries began getting involved, with 9 African countries fighting on DRC soil. In 1999, 6 major countries signed the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement - a cease-fire committed to de-arming rebel groups in the DRC. The cease-fire ultimately failed despite UN liaisons sent to oversee the ceasefire. Subsequently, Rwanda launched a large offensive against the DRC before being repelled.

Laurent Kabila was assassinated in 2001 and replaced by his son Joseph Kabila. What followed was more years of fighting until 2003, when President Kabila agreed to a transitional government between the warring factions. By then, the majority of rebels had grown tired of fighting but still held power in the provinces. Resources had been siphoned and poured into the conflict. Some factions such as the RCD had fractured into smaller groups. As of 2008, 2.7 million to 5.4 million people were dead. They suffered either directly or indirectly because of the conflict, such as through starvation, disease and malnutrition.

**The Modern Day**

Following the end of Second Congo War, the belligerents refused to surrender their control over to a unified, neutral government. Despite the war having officially come to an end, fighting continued in this now very weakened region between different groups, mainly in the Eastern provinces of Ituri, North and South Kivu, and the Katanga provinces in the South-East. It is estimated that there are now 70-100 independent armed groups operating in the region, fighting over political influence and resources such as tin, diamond and cobalt. In 2019, Felix Tshisekedi replaced Joseph Kabila as president of the DRC after the latter’s term had ended.

**Conflict in the Kivu Provinces**

Most of the Fighting Occurs in the North and South Kivu Provinces. Conflict occurs in this zone is considered to be a part of the Kivu Conflict. The conflict has been raging on since 2004, and is primarily a fight between three factions: the military of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (FARDC), the predominantly-Hutu Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) and the predominantly-Tutsi National Congress for the Defence of the People (CNDP) as well as smaller Mai Mai belligerents. Fighting has been very violent in the region, with the UN accusing
the CNDP and its leader, Laurent Nkunda, of committing war crimes. In 2009, Laurent Nkunda fled to Rwanda but was later arrested by Rwandan officials and still remains there. On March 23rd 2009, the CNDP signed a treaty to leave the conflict and become a political party.

In April 2012, former CNDP troops mutinied against the government, and former CNDP commander Bosco Ntaganda formed the M23 rebellion. In November of that year the rebels took the city of Goma, but left on their own accord in December. On March 18th 2013, Bosco Ntaganda turned himself in to the US embassy in Rwanda and was subsequently tried for war crimes by the International Criminal Court (ICC); he was convicted for war crimes in July 2019. By November 2013, the M23 rebellion was finished with most of the rebels fleeing or surrendering.

In recent years the conflict has become more and more complex. By 2015, fighting started increasing in frequency again, with the UN and FARDC planning an offensive against the FDLR. In 2017, another group, the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) began conducting attacks against a UN base in North Kivu resulting in the deaths of at least 15 UN Peacekeepers. Currently efforts are focused against ADF. Meanwhile, fighting between the many belligerent groups continues in the region.

**Conflict in the Ituri Province**

The Ituri Conflict is primarily a ethnic conflict between the agriculturalist Lendu groups and the pastoralist Lendu groups. The most brutal phase of the conflict occurred from 1998 to 2003 in the Second Congo War. From 2003 to 2006, the UN stepped in with the disarming of several Lendu militias yet somehow, the conflict was recently reignited in December 2017, when Lendu militias began conducting attacks on Hema villages and massacring the Hema population. This caused hundreds of thousands of people to flee their homes into neighbouring Uganda or other provinces of the DRC.

**Conflict in the Katanga Provinces**

Fighting in the Katanga Provinces is mostly to contain the Mai Mai Insurgency groups. Katanga has always been a hotspot for conflict ever since the liberation of the DRC from Belgian rule. Mai Mai Katanga insurgency groups continue to push for the secession of Katanga from the DRC. The FDLR have also been engaging in low-level fights with the Mai Mai insurgency and FARDC. Mai Mai insurgency presence in the region has reportedly been on the decline since 2015.

**The United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo**
The United Nations has been intervening in the DRC since 1999, starting with the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC). MONUC has funding from several countries and directly from the UN. The mission has generally been successful as it is able to assist FARDC with its campaigns against rebels and has managed to disarm several Mai Mai groups, overall contributing to the decline of the number of Mai Mai groups in the region.

In May 2010, in accordance with UN Security Council resolution 1925, MONUC was renamed United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO) to reflect the new stage of the mission. MONUSCO is the single largest UN Peacekeeping mission with over 18,000 Peacekeepers as of 2017. MONUSCO has assisted with the pushback of M23 forces and FDLR forces in the past. On March 30, 2019, the Security Council extended MONUSCO’s mandate to 20 December 2019.

**Human Rights and Humanitarian Issues**

There is an estimated 4.5 million people internally displaced inside the DRC, over 856,000 refugees currently being hosted by other countries, 90% of children have died from preventable diseases, 1.5 million women and girls have been victims of rape, and 60% of fighters in the Eastern Congo are children. Disease has also become rampant in the DRC, with over 1500 cases and 1000 deaths due to an Ebola outbreak in 2019. Children are forced to mine for minerals in order to sustain the war effort. So far both the FDLR and FARDC have been accused of raping, mutilating, masscring and killing innocent civilians. This situation needs to be quickly addressed.

![Ebola Statistics in DRC](image)

**Fig. 2 - Ebola Statistics in DRC**

**Untapped Economic Potential**
The DRC’s abundance of natural resources makes its potential for mining and energy extraction very high and thus many armed groups look to mineral mining for wealth. The United Nations estimates the country to have 24 trillion dollars worth of natural minerals used in the production of electronics. The World Bank estimates the country to have enough arable land to feed 1 billion people and has 100,000 MW of hydropower energy potential, more than Sub-Saharan Africa’s whole energy capacity. Yet its people live off less than 1.25 dollars a day and make roughly 400 dollars a year due to the conflict and insecurity. In 2015, 20% or 4.8 billion dollars of the DRC’s budget is from US and European contribution, which leads to a state of dependency. Decades of conflict and corruption has crippled the country’s economy.

Major Countries and Organizations Involved

Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR)

The FDLR is considered a terrorist group by many countries. Mostly comprised of former Hutu perpetrators of the 1994 Rwandan genocide, these staunch believers have the goal of eliminating the Tutsi population from the Congo and Rwanda. They conduct attacks in the Kivu regions where the Banyamungele, the Tutsi-minority, reside. They have been accused many times of rape, terrorist attacks against civilians, war crimes and ethnic cleansing. The nature of their atrocities has caused the ICC to issue warrants for their leader, Sylvestre Mudacumura, for war crimes. Until date he has not been captured. The UN Security Council has also implemented sanctions against several FDLR leaders including asset freezes and travel bans in accordance with its sanctions committee. Although their numbers have recently been on the decline, they are still currently active.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo

The DRC and their army, FARDC, seek to restore order to the DRC and contain the violence in the Eastern regions of the DRC. Working closely with UN peacekeepers and MONUSCO, they attempt to disarm rebel groups instead of destroying them and try to disband groups. The effectiveness of this strategy is generally good, with reports of dwindling numbers of Mai Mai militia groups. Although some troops of FARDC have been involved in allegations of rape and other war crimes, these incidents are much more infrequent compared to the allegations faced by the FDLR.

MONUSCO, and Foreign Allies

Direct foreign intervention in Rwanda has been kept to a minimum with most Western countries opting not to provide arms but rather assist the situation through the deployment of MONUSCO and UN peacekeepers. The majority of UNSC resolutions have been to assist and continue expanding
MONUSCO. MONUSCO has undeniably been a helping force in the region. Its military expertise and equipment has assisted the DRC in its mission to stabilize the region.

Rwanda and Uganda

The diplomacy between the DRC and Rwanda and Uganda has been very unstable since the Second Congo War and continues to be this way. In 2012, the DRC accused Rwanda and Uganda of supporting the M23 rebellion group of which it denies to do. However, UN reports have shown that Rwanda and Uganda have supported rebel groups in the past. Rwanda does have an active military presence in the region, mostly to assist with the containment of the FDLR per an agreement with the DRC to disarm FDLR troops.

Timeline of Events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description of event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 1960</td>
<td>The Congo becomes an independent nation with Patrice Lumumba as its Prime Minister and Joseph Kasevubu as President</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 1961</td>
<td>Patrice Lumumba is murdered with potential involvement by the United States, Belgium and their European allies.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Joseph Mobutu is installed as President of the country. What follows is four decades of corruption, economic mismanagement leading to economic deterioration.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Mobutu then renames the country Zaire and himself Mobutu Sese Seko. The river Congo is then known as the river Zaire.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>The Rwandan genocide occurs. 800,000 Rwandans are killed in the genocide. Hutz perpetrators flee into Zaire.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Tutsi rebels supported by Uganda and Rwanda capture most of Eastern Zaire to root out Hutus from Rwandan Genocide, marking the beginning of the First Congo War.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1997</td>
<td>Tutsi rebels capture Kinshasa and depose President Mobutu, installing Laurent Kabila as president and renaming Zaire to the Democratic Republic of the Congo.</td>
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<tr>
<td>July 1997</td>
<td>Once again due to unrest with the Tutsi minority Banyamulenge, Rwanda and Uganda takes up arms against Kabila’s DRC and starting the Second Congo War, involving nine African nations.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
July 1999
Six African countries sign the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, calling for a cease-fire between the nations and de-arming of rebel groups. Two large rebel groups backed by Uganda and Rwanda also sign.

November 30th, 1999
The UNSC establishes MONUC initially with the purpose of observation.

2000
The UN authorises a 5,500 UN Peacekeeper force to bolster MONUC to monitor the ceasefire; however, fighting between rebels continue.

2001
Laurent Kabila is shot by a bodyguard, his son, Joseph Kabila succeeds him.

2002
The DRC signs treaties with both Rwanda and Uganda for the withdrawal of troops from the DRC given that perpetrators of the 1994 genocide are arrested. Kabila agrees to a coalition government with the rebel groups; however, several rebel groups are unwilling to relinquish power to a central government and thus continues fighting.

June 2003
The DRC adopts a new constitution and flag.

October 2006
Joseph Kabila is elected president after the country’s first free election. International monitors consider the results to be legitimate.

November 2008
The UNSC approves more peacekeeping to be sent into the eastern DRC to accommodate for the conflict.

July 1st, 2010
MONUC is renamed MONUSCO to reflect the new phase of the conflict in accordance with UNSC resolution 1925 (S/RES/1925).

April, 2012
M23 Rebellion is formed by Bosco Ntaganda, a former commander of the CNDP that was disbanded in 2009.

February 2013
11 representatives from African nations sign an agreement to assist the DRC with the ending of conflict. One month later M23 leader, Bosco Ntaganda turns himself in. M23 rebellion is disbanded in November of 2013

Warring continues, FDLR is accused of raping and massacring civilians.

2013-2019
MONUSCO presence is increased, and manages to assist; however, takes casualties of its own.

January 2019
Felix Tshisekeidi becomes the new president of the DRC after reelection.

Relevant UN Treaties and Events

Relevant Previous UNSC Resolutions on the Issues:

* Excluded Resolutions either expanded upon or renewed MONUSCO’s or the Sanction committees’ mandates.

29 March 2019 - S/RES/2463 - MONUSCO mandate extended until 20 December 2019 for a strategic review to determine the future of MONUSCO.

30 October 2018 - S/RES/2439 - Anonymous adaptation of this resolution on Ebola in the DRC.

8 December 2017 - S/RES/2389 - Resolution on the Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the DRC and the region.

20 November 2012 - S/RES/2076 - Condemning M23 rebels and threatens sanctions against leaders and supporters of M23.

28 May 2010 - S/RES/1925 - MONUC is renamed MONUSCO. Authorizes MONUSCO to assist at the behest of the DRC government.

22 December 2008 - S/RES/1857 - Expanding on previously established sanctions outlines.

19 June 2008 - S/RES/1820 - Addressing Sexual Violence in the DRC.

13 March 2008 - S/RES/1804 - Calls for Rwanda to put down arms against the DRC.

31 July 2006 - S/RES/1698 - Extending sanctions to include people who use child slavery and child soldiers.

24 February 2000 - S/RES/1291 - Expands MONUC to 5,537 peacekeepers.

30 November 1999 - S/RES/1279 - Establishes MONUC

6 August 1999 - S/RES/1258 - Sends 90 Liaisons to observe Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement.

Also see Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement for further reading.

Previous Attempts to solve the Issue

The United Nations and MONUSCO

By far the most successful approach to dealing with the conflict in the DRC, the support of the United Nations Security Council has assisted with the disarming of several militia groups, catalyzing negotiations of peace and providing expertise and equipment to assist with any government campaigns. Expanding or changing the mandate of MONUSCO would be a great way to increase the benefit of this solution. Currently MONUSCO has more than 18,000 active peacekeepers in the region.

On the other hand, the effectiveness of UN Security Council resolutions have been questionable. Despite already laying a framework for peace and requested the crackdown on sexual violence in conflict zones, the applicability of these resolutions are questionable. While the measures are in place, it is unclear whether or not these solutions are actually being implemented by the parties of the conflict. Much to the same effect, sanctions seem to have not made any discernible effect on the conflict.
Nonprofit Organizations and NGOs

To assist with the humanitarian issue, several NGOs have stepped in to provide aid to the country. Mercy Corps, Doctors without Borders (MSF) and the Red Cross are examples of organizations that have been able to assist with the situation in the DRC. MSF and the Red Cross have been combating the massive Ebola outbreak in recent years while Mercy Corps have been assisting people with the general issues in the country. While this is a temporary solution, it will not last forever, and thus more permanent solutions are required.

Local Diplomacy

Local Diplomacy between countries in the region have been occurring. In fact, in the past it is local diplomacy that resolved the Second Congo War. However, in the long term diplomacy has failed countless times. The DRC has signed several agreements with Rwanda and Uganda that have effectively reduced to even terminated these countries’ involvement in the war. However, some involvement still occurs. Discussions between rebel groups and the DRC government have also quickly deteriorated as no side actually wanted to honour their end of the deal. The Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement failed because countries and groups began accusing each other of violating the ceasefire.

Possible Solutions

The solution to this issue is very complex, but the first step needs to be to disarm the Mai Mai groups and prevent new ones from rising in their place. Due to the number of factions and groups involved, creating an opportunity for negotiations is almost impossible. Whether this would be through expanding MONUSCO’s mandate or establishing new methods of communication with the Mai Mai troops to understand their concerns, the number of groups need to be reduced. The larger group needs to be negotiated with and the issue of human rights violations of FDLR needs to be addressed during these negotiations.

There also needs to be a stronger stance against sexual violence, and crimes against humanity. Future resolutions need to include more actionable clauses where either UN peacekeepers or the DRC government can take direct action against such actions. Whether it would be authorizing the arrest of individuals and soldiers who are suspected of sexual violence by UN peacekeepers, encouraging the DRC government to prioritize operations to hunt down these individuals, or establishing an entirely separate task force for the purpose, this issue needs to addressed.

For the humanitarian and economic issues, aid packages need to be delivered to afflicted regions as well, and there needs to be a method for delivery. Assistance from government organizations should
be utilized to help deliver the aid to the regions in need. However, due to the history of corruption in the region, aid should not be handed directly to the government of their respective countries. Once fighting seems to have been reduced, a contingency clause in the resolution could encourage foreign investors to invest in the mineral business or energy business, providing jobs for impoverished people. The UN also needs to work strictly with and encourage the government of the DRC to improve living conditions for people.

**Bibliography**


"MONUC - United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo."


**Appendix or Appendices**

**Appendix I - Documents and Treaties for Reading**

Further reading on all UNSC resolutions regarding the DRC:


Links to specific resolution is included in the link.

The Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement can also be accessed through this link:


**Appendix II - Map Regarding Active Groups in the DRC**
MAP OF NON-STATE ARMED ACTORS IN NORTH & SOUTH KIVU
(DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO)

KIVU SECURITY TRACKER

www.kivusecurity.org
www.suluhu.org

1 - ADF
2 - APUIS
3 - CMDP
4 - FDC
5 - Invalid
6 - FDPS
7 - Bunambala group
8 - FEDEC
9 - FDLR
10 - FNLA - Ndzarabama
11 - M23 - Nord Kivu
12 - M23 - Sud Kivu
13 - M23 - Luvungi
14 - M23 - Litoko
15 - M23 - Kigoma
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