

“IT’S REALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO BE SEPARATE FROM EACH OTHER, LET’S DIALOGUE AND FIND SOLUTIONS...”

REIGNITING ITURI?  
TOWARDS A READING  
OF THE 2018 DJUGU  
VIOLENCE

CROIX-ROUGE  
DE LA RDC

## Colophon

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Cover picture: The president of the Red Cross in Djugu, one of the first emergency workers to reach out to the victims of the violence in Djugu.

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<sup>1</sup> The names of the authors are pseudonyms



## Foreword

Starting in December 2017, a wave of brutal attacks in Ituri killed dozens of Congolese and sent tens of thousands of others fleeing their homes. Survivors from the different attacks reported that the perpetrators specifically sought out victims for their ethnic belonging: Lendu targeted Hema, and Hema Lendu. The sudden outbreak was bewildering not only to international observers familiar with the region but also to local inhabitants. All had been convinced that ethnic violence was buried deeply in the past. How come ethnic violence flared up once again?

Much is at stake in pursuing this question as the Hema-Lendu divide, however artificial and historically contingent, was one of the fault lines along which the Ituri War, ending in 2006, resulted in over 50,000 deaths. No organization is better positioned to start addressing the question than PAX, which has worked incessantly with local communities to work to identify and mend some of the issues that kept them apart ever since the war. As PAX found time and again, however, many of the conflict drivers of the past—including questions of unresolved legacies of previous conflict, access to land and resources, inequality and manipulation by elites—remain, and tackling them would require a concerted effort from stakeholders ranging from the local to the national level and spanning the political, religious and social field, in a context where civil society is most notable for its atomized nature.

Whatever it is meant to signal, a key feature of collective violence of the type found in Ituri is that it is orchestrated under a veil of secrecy, making it difficult if not impossible to attribute responsibility if no-one stands up to claim it. Even beginning to answer the question of what drove renewed violence in Ituri requires untangling so many different strands of stakes, grievances and possible interests that intersect in Ituri, and that in a context where the motivating power of beliefs and rumors matter just as much in understanding what drives conflict as the truth value of what actually transpired. In such a context, 'evidence' takes shape in the form of a broad array of accounts of what transpired. This is the first report that systematizes what transpired and untangles some of the possible motivations behind it, assessing each critically. That makes it obligatory reading not only for anyone wishing to understand what happened exactly, but also for those interested in the complexity of violence. I am sure this report will provide a valuable resource to put the relevant stakeholders together and start working towards addressing some of the deeper causes at play.

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# Abbreviations

<b>CENI</b>	Independent National Electoral Commission
<b>CISPE</b>	Consortium for the Integrated Stabilization and Peace in Eastern DRC
<b>CDJP</b>	The Diocesan Commission Justice and Peace
<b>CNDP</b>	National Congress for the Defence of the People
<b>CODECO (ex-CODEZA)</b>	Cooperative for the Economic Development of the Congo (formerly Zaire)
<b>CONADER</b>	National Commission for Demobilization and Reintegration
<b>DCR</b>	Demobilisation and Community Reintegration programme
<b>DRC</b>	Democratic Republic of the Congo
<b>ENTE</b>	Association Culturelle de la Communauté Hema
<b>FAPC</b>	Armed Forces of the Congolese People
<b>FARDC</b>	Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (state army of DRC since 2004)
<b>FOMI</b>	Forum of Mothers of Ituri
<b>FNI</b>	Nationalist and Integrationist Front
<b>FRF</b>	Federal Republican Forces
<b>FRPI</b>	Patriotic Resistance Front of Ituri
<b>ILPs</b>	Local Peace Committee
<b>LORI</b>	Libération de la Race Opprimée en Ituri (Lendu cultural association)
<b>MONUSCO</b>	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
<b>MLC</b>	Movement for the Liberation of the Congo
<b>NPM</b>	Noyaux Pacifistes des Mamans (women's peace groups)
<b>PNC</b>	Congolese National Police
<b>PUSIC</b>	Party for Unity and Safeguarding of the Integrity of Congo
<b>RCD</b>	Rally for Congolese Democracy
<b>RCD-K/ML</b>	Rally for Congolese Democracy-Kisangani/Movement for Liberation
<b>UPC</b>	Union of Congolese Patriots
<b>UPDF</b>	Ugandan Peoples' Defence Force (state army of Uganda)

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## 1. Introduction

Ituri Province is known, at least since the so-called Ituri War from 1998 to 2007 (when it was still a district of the former Orientale Province),<sup>1</sup> as forming part of the more broadly troubled eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, which has experienced generalised insecurity and cyclical armed conflict since the early 1990s. Covering an area of around 66,000 km<sup>2</sup>, Ituri Province is home to an estimated 4.5 million inhabitants who live in five ‘territoires’, i.e. sub-provincial administrative entities: Aru, Mahagi, Djugu, Irumu and Mambasa. Taken together, the five territoires are composed of 45 sub-territoire units called ‘collectivités’, some of which are customarily managed ‘chefferies’ while others are state-administered ‘secteurs’ (see Schouten 2016: 1). Each chefferie or secteur comprises a number of ‘groupements’, which are smaller administrative units. To the east, Ituri stretches along Lake Albert and the neighbouring Republic of Uganda, to the south it has domestic borders with North Kivu Province, to the west and northwest with Tshopo and Haut-Uélé Provinces and to the north with the Republic of South Sudan. Ituri is home to a range of different communities and peoples, including the Alur, Lugbara, Hema, Lendu, Bira and around ten smaller ethnic groups. Thanks to its diverse geography and topography, Ituri counts among the provinces with a rich potential. The main economic activities and sources of revenue are gold mining, cattle herding, subsistence agriculture, fishery, timber and export crops like coffee, in addition to prospective oil exploration and external resources through peacekeeping operations and humanitarian aid.

More than ten years after the end of the Ituri War, the province is experiencing renewed violence that started early 2018, with a spate of mysterious attacks and massacres in the Territoire of Djugu, located at the geographical centre of Ituri. From late 2017, and especially in the first months of 2018, the security situation in and around the Territoire of Djugu deteriorated significantly and a series of violent attacks, massacres and village burnings engulfed the area. The Djugu crisis, as it is termed, forced over 100,000 people out of their homes; they either became internally displaced as they moved to Bunia and Mahagi or became refugees in neighbouring Uganda. Hundreds have been killed.

Understanding this violence is the central aim of this report. Based on extensive fieldwork and data analysis—bringing together a research team composed of two experienced Congolese researchers and an international researcher—this report presents preliminary findings about the violence that struck Djugu in the first half of 2018. It focuses on providing historical background to the conflicts in Ituri (Chapter 2) and summarising the 2018 violence qualitatively (Chapter 3) and quantitatively (Chapter 4) in order to give an initial in-depth assessment as to the rationales, dynamics and instigators of the violence (Chapter 5). It also offers a set of recommendations for stabilisation and peacebuilding efforts (Chapter 6).<sup>2</sup> Drawing from around 250 interviews across all locales of violence, the report argues that multiple factors at different levels (local, provincial, national and regional) and connected to different logics (politics, governance, economics and ethnic issues) have converged to allow a series of violent attacks in both Djugu and Mahagi Territoires. While it does not offer an exhaustive and conclusive investigation of the events that have plunged parts of Ituri back into a tenuous limbo, the report is an initial effort to understand the recent escalation of insecurity in the area and to develop strategies to mitigate the resulting risks for peace and stability in and around the Territoire of Djugu. Therefore this report’s central aim is to identify the causes of violence and assess the potential of peacebuilding efforts to develop and adapt ongoing programming so as to have a positive impact on the currently volatile situation.

<sup>1</sup> There have been debates on how to define the period covered by the Ituri War. This report takes a broad view by including the conflict from 1998 to 2007. According to Fahey, the Ituri War started in June 1999. While the Ugandan occupation started in 1998, violence first flared up between Ituri communities in June 1999. The conflict simmered and was then formalised in 2001 when UPC, FNI and FRPI formed, and it had peaks and lulls.

<sup>2</sup> The authors thank PAX, its Ituri-based partner organisations, three reviewers and nine researchers who participated in the fieldwork.





## 2. Background to the Conflicts in Ituri

In order to understand the recent violence in Ituri Province, which has centred in the Territoire of Djugu (and a lesser extent that of Mahagi), it is helpful to trace the historical contours of the conflict with regard to the key political, economic and social dynamics in the region concerned. This brief dive into the history is essential to dissect ethnic, or ethnically mainstreamed, tensions that were already formed in the past and are frequently reproduced in interviewees' statements about the current wave of violence.

In the absence of detailed historical knowledge of the period preceding the colonial era from 1885 to 1960, this part begins with a brief set of broadly accepted historical events, focusing on the area of Djugu, Mahagi and Irumu. Originally inhabited by the Banyali and Bambuti—pejoratively called ‘pygmies’—this area experienced several waves of migration between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. This includes the arrival of the Lendu in the seventeenth century, most probably from what is now South Sudan, and shortly thereafter of the Hema, who are believed to have migrated from Western Uganda into what is now Ituri Province. Yet these days, unlike in previous cycles of conflict in the region, the term ‘originaires’ is often invoked by the Hema; this is an important bone of contention in the current conflict. As we will outline below, this might be linked to the creation of more centralised chiefdoms on the part of the Hema, resulting in a more favourable positioning in terms of land and governance questions during Leopoldian and Belgian colonial rule.<sup>3</sup> Together with the Alur (mostly in Mahagi) and Lugbara (mostly in Aru), whose history is of peripheral interest to this study, the Hema and the Lendu form the four main communities in Ituri. Based on archival research and drawing from historical scholarship, Pottier describes the Lendu and Hema as follows:

The term Lendu refers to Kilendu-speaking Lendu [also known as ‘Bale’] (mostly from Djugu Territory), while southern Lendu are known as Lendu-Bindi or Ngiti, and speak Kingiti. There are also Kilendu-speaking Northern Hema, called Gegere, and South Hema [also known as ‘Banyoro’], who speak Kihema. The generic term Hema refers mostly to both South Hema and Gegere. (Pottier 2004: 153).

This shows that, while customary organisation has remained rather separate, as today’s political geography of the region shows. Yet, Hema chefferies and Lendu secteurs are geographically entwined, and the two populations appear to be socially and economically much more interwoven than a flat ethnic reading would suggest. Such an ‘interwoven’ reading is further supported by the observation that in Irumu, for instance, the Ngiti gradually turned to a mixed agro-pastoral economic system, effectively “blurring the pastoral/agricultural divide between the Hema and Ngiti” (Fahey 2013: 15). However, despite linguistic and economic rapprochement between parts of the two communities, colonial rule—as elsewhere in the Congo—successfully and forcefully established or re-established hard boundaries between the two communities. This approach was based on three major clusters of policies, through which the colony managed to control Ituri socio-economically and which would have lasting consequences:

First, the colonial enterprise built an infrastructure and political economy in Ituri to support the exploitation of gold, but this required forms of control that strained local relations. Second, the colonial focus on gold created numerous land conflicts, resulting specifically [in] appointing chiefs, re-drawing boundaries, physically separating populations, and issuing concession or plantation rights to white settlers. [...]. Third, colonial agents viewed local populations through a racial lens, resulting in narratives of ethnic superiority (Hema) and inferiority (Lendu). (Fahey 2013: 9)

<sup>3</sup> However, the most significant land deals happened at independence as colonial concessions were divided among Congolese elites, most of them Hema. In colonial times, only smaller plots were acquired, except for the Catholic Church, which owned vast lands.



Taken together, these strategies led to several complementary dynamics, whose impact helped to sow the seeds for protracted tensions and cyclical conflicts: dispossession leading to landless classes behind a smokescreen of ethnic identity, political manipulation through the fixation of identity and categorization into 'upper' and 'lower' segments of the population, and the instrumentalisation of these two factors with a view to implementing colonial divide-and-rule governance. Concomitantly, as Pottier suggests, ethnic difference became inseparably merged with class difference—this combination has helped make conflicts endemic over time (Pottier 2004: 153). Most prominently, these policies are illustrated in the arbitrary naming of chiefs and the artificial delineation of customary entities, giving way to large-scale land-grabbing both by the colonisers and by domestic actors able to jump on the bandwagon. While this did not play out along clearly demarcated Lendu–Hema lines initially, over time colonial policy developed an increasing tendency to subjugate and demean the Lendu, even though this created backlashes such as the Lendu upheaval that resulted in the killing of the Hema chief Bomera in 1911.<sup>4</sup> This stands in contrast to more negotiated politics prior to colonisation and pro-Lendu racism within parts of the colonial administration. However, together with actual and perceived sympathy between the colonisers and the Hema, this contributed to xenophobic invective against so-called 'Nilotics' (pejoratively used for the Hema) invading the space of Bantu populations (Pottier 2009: 50). Because of its population density, Djugu was very strongly affected by colonial dispossession, concomitant violence and the manipulation of pre-colonial polities (Pottier 2004: 154). As previous PAX research highlights, the artificial creation of customary entities was carried out in several waves throughout the existence of Belgian Congo:

Already in 1923, the colonial authorities defined the 'collectivités' Hema, Bindi and Irumu, as well as the 'collectivités' Hema and Lendu in Djugu, with the aim to avoid clashes. [...] In 1957, a new division of 'chefferies' and 'groupements' was made, which is disrupted until today (PAX/RHA 2009:21)

Driven by both a 'civilising mission' and an attempt to make the colony economically viable, these policies were motivated by infrastructural and extractive imperatives associated with Ituri's colonial gold economy. The focus was on making the area socially more legible and economically efficient, and tensions amongst local populations (both intra-community and inter-community) became an acceptable side-effect whose long-term consequences did not matter at the time (Bakonzi 1982: 175; Schouten 2016: 6). Over time, and reinforced by the creation of landless classes, subsequent droughts and the accentuation of existing tensions, colonial policy thus contributed to a situation whereby both Lendu and Hema have significant grievances, many of which have continued to fester from one cycle of conflicts to another since independence.

The migration histories and colonial policies sketched above have also shaped a broader legacy of tension and contention in the post-colonial trajectory of Ituri. They directly helped deepen the rift between Lendu and Hema: First, while the concessionary economy continued to be dominated by foreign settlers until the early 1970s, ethnic stereotyping survived as racial tropes were further cultivated of the simple, labouring Lendu and the treacherous, smart Hema. Second, and adding to colonial myths, the infamous Bakajika Land Law promulgated by Mobutu in 1973—basically nationalising foreign assets in Zaire—contributed to the further dispossession of the Lendu, following various episodes of repression and denial of self-administration (Fahey 2013: 23). Bolstered by past educational and economic advantages, Hema elites achieved a strong position in national politics and benefitted significantly from the nationalisation and redistribution of concessions—unmaking previously fluid land ownership arrangements:

The enactment of [Bakajika Law] provided a powerful instrument for further modifying Ituri's social structure; by rejecting the notion of diffuse property rights, the law provoked the formation of a landless rural class [and the] shift from colonial family-held plantations to a new class of Hema entrepreneurs. (Vlassenroot and Raeymaekers 2004: 390)

Coupled with a national economic downturn since the 1980s, these measures intensified antagonisms between the Hema and the Lendu. During that period, the two communities created their own ethnic associations (similar to what are known as 'mutualités' in the Kivus): LORI for the Lendu and ENTE for the Hema. Throughout the series of conflicts up to today, these associations are known for both engaging in reconciliation and peacebuilding and stirring up dissent—often depending on cyclical politics. Against the backdrop of a crumbling Zairian state, the increasing rift along ethnic lines became ever more

visible. However, despite increased national and regional influence, most disputes remained limited to land questions, primarily in Bahema Nord, Walendu Tatsi, Walendu Pitsi and Walendu Djatsi, and involved Hema and Lendu either arguing amongst themselves or clashing with each other (PAX & RHA 2009: 90–93; Fahey, in Ansoms & Hilhorst 2014).<sup>5</sup> Before the Ituri War, most of these disputes remained localised and focused on land, whether or not they became violent (Pottier 2004: 153; Fahey 2013: 30). In the 1990s, the tide slowly shifted towards conflicts in which land and ethnicity were not necessarily an essential element but were instrumental to elite politics, which found a fertile body of resonance in historically grown cleavages (Vlassenroot & Raeymaekers 2004: 390). This political exploitation of identity justified the continuation of land-grabbing and formed a basis for escalation on a larger scale at the end of the decade. Based on elite networks linking national power to local power, this was further compounded by boundary disputes reflecting historically poorly delineated, or purposefully misdelineated, plots and consequently maps.

While violence remained at comparatively low levels during the so-called 'liberation war' that toppled Mobutu and brought to power Laurent-Désiré Kabila in 1997, the subsequent imbroglio would have much more of an impact on a still fragile Ituri. Kabila's fallout with his erstwhile Rwandan and Ugandan sponsors triggered a fully-fledged invasion by late 1998, bringing the Ugandan army (UPDF) deep into Congolese territory via Ituri. Alongside the new Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD) rebellion, which quickly split into pro-Kampala and pro-Kigali factions, the UPDF mounted a campaign of exploitation in which co-opting key military entrepreneurs and businessmen played a major role. Local disputes that preceded the Ituri War merged with the regional war pitting Kinshasa and loyalist militia against Kampala, Kigali and their respective proxy forces. While these connections remained tenuous and volatile throughout the wars, Uganda's involvement exacerbated local power politics and tipped the balance against the Lendu: while the Hema already controlled most of Djugu's collectivités, the UPDF briefly tried to impose a Hema governor, which boosted Lendu resistance to a perceived double occupation (Pottier 2004: 155; Pottier 2009).

The outbreak of violence in Ituri is the result of the exploitation, by local and regional actors, of a deeply rooted local conflict over access to land, economic opportunity and political power. Today, these actors use war as a means to reorganize the local economic space and control the mobility within and between spaces. The result is a struggle between informal networks that link local warlords and rebel leaders with their external sponsors, and have given rise to [...] new strategies for economic, political and social control. (Vlassenroot & Raeymaekers 2004: 387).

A year into the broader wars, the RCD had split into a Kampala-sponsored RCD–(K)/ML and a Kigali-sponsored RCD-Goma wing. Meanwhile, Jean-Pierre Bemba created the Movement for the Liberation of Congo (MLC), which received Ugandan support too. Most importantly for Ituri, though, was the implosion of the (K)/ML wing, led by Nande strongman Mbusa Nyamwisi, the younger brother of a wealthy businessman with deep ties to Ituri. In a bold tactical move, Mbusa seized power in the RCD–(K)/ML, marginalised his co-leader John Tibasiima of the Hema community and began to reposition himself as a friend to local Lendu politicians and militia. In reaction, Uganda began turning against the (K)/ML, and Hema leaders started mobilising around their own formations. The spread and fragmentation of the armed mobilisation soon triggered a series of tit-for-tat massacres, concentrating on Djugu and Irumu during 1999. Nourished by dissent inside the RCD–K/ML as well as Mbusa's increased ethnical gambling between the Hema and the Lendu and his growing tensions with Uganda, key Hema leaders then defected to create the Union of Congolese Patriots (UPC, 'Union des Patriotes congolais'). Thomas Lubanga, who had until then been unknown beyond Bunia urban politics, became its leader (Tamm 2013a: 8). In a complex conundrum of alliances and betrayal, militia proliferated through a series of events: the UPC split, with Lubanga rallying behind the RCD-Goma, and Rwanda and Chief Kahwa Mandro creating the Party for Unity and Safeguarding of the Integrity of Congo (PUSIC), which remained allied to Kampala—and was briefly allied with the Lendu-based Nationalist and Integrationist Front (FNI, 'Front des Nationalistes et Intégrationnistes') under Floribert Ndjabu in 2001 before re-connecting with Lubanga's branch. These shifting alliances destroyed trust, leading to an intensification of violence as Ugandan forces withdrew from Ituri. With the deployment of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) progressing slowly, the Security Council sent a French-led multinational intervention known as 'Artemis' to temporarily stabilise the situation around Bunia in 2003. Meanwhile, Lubanga's UPC fragmented further with a new

<sup>4</sup> Henry Morton Stanley's accounts helped to build a narrative of the 'superior Hema' (who were allied with him) and 'inferior Lendu'.

<sup>5</sup> There were also significant tensions in Walendu Bindi and Bahema Sud, which is where Bomera (see above) was briefly the chief.

Kisembo wing and the Alur became involved through the Uganda-backed (but short-lived) FAPC. If the conflicts had been focusing on Djugu so far, conflict dynamics now expanded southwards:

As the violence slowly spread across Irumu, Bernard Kakado, a man in his late seventies, started to organize one such self-defence [among] the Ngiti ethnic group. Kakado, who would later be seen as the spiritual father of the FRPI, was managing director of the agricultural enterprise Coopérative de développement économique du Congo (CODECO, Cooperative for the Economic Development of the Congo). He was also widely considered to have the gift of prophecy. According to an FRPI commander, Kakado began to warn his Ngiti community of the imminent danger of extermination, referring to the idea of a Hima-Tutsi empire—a rumour spread during the Congo wars, suggesting that the Rwandan and Ugandan leadership wanted to annex eastern Congo through local allies such as the Hema. (Tamm 2013b: 21)

These different scales of the conflicts are illustrative of how decades of looming tension and the shocks of external intervention combined to create a combustible situation. This involved local conflicts, national politics, regional intervention and international policy with regard to Ituri. While a beefed-up UN presence, a transnational government assembling the major national conflict parties, and a series of peace and demobilisation deals from 2003 onwards have stabilised Ituri again on the surface, underlying problems remain unresolved and simmering, and a situation of local insecurity has continued ever since. Ituri's involvement in the Second Congo War resulted in a steady influx of small arms and light weapons, and thousands of youths had progressed through the ranks of one or another armed group. If the dismantling of groups such as UPC, PUSIC or FNI left demobilised combatants who never successfully went through demobilisation programmes (such as the DCR programme), the continuing persistence of the Front for Patriotic Resistance of Ituri (FRPI, 'Force de résistance patriotique d'Ituri') has remained another constant factor causing insecurity. Like elsewhere in eastern Congo, the politics of army deployment occasionally fuels existing tensions over identity, underlined by a number of rumours, scandals and general scepticism among Iturians. Such dynamics are further exacerbated by a weak justice system. Numerous interlocutors stressed rampant impunity and associated logistical deficiencies, including the lack or poor management of prisons, for example in Djugu, and the inefficiency of the courts, including the peace tribunals (Tribunaux de Paix), as a key problem.

In addition, land conflict remains a major point of contestation in Ituri, most visibly in densely populated areas such as around Djugu (see also PAX & RHA 2009). Both Hema and Lendu interlocutors stressed that the post-war reconciliation efforts only marginally addressed deep-seated questions over access to and ownership of land. As elsewhere, for instance in Masisi in North Kivu, the co-existence of customary and state laws supports a status quo whereby different legal and normative registers can be used to legitimise claims to land. This situation not only helps perpetuate conflict, it exacerbates the tensions since different actors feel empowered by diverging laws, or law-like regulations. In addition, post-war Ituri has seen an economic upsurge thanks to mineral extraction and agricultural production, which has increased the pressure on the land due to new waves of land-grabbing by elites from both within and outside Ituri. While at the local level numerous leasing agreements exist through which Hema subcontract land to Lendu and vice versa, these contracts are increasingly being called into question by overlapping claims to 'autochthonous' land ownership, often invoking myths of migration and historical settlement. Furthermore, corruption has facilitated dispossession—especially in and around former colonial concessions—as wealthy elites used their clout, in particular immediately after independence, to acquire favourable access to state institutions issuing land titles under what could be opaque conditions.

In sum, this section has highlighted some of the key events and dynamics that have shaped conflict and violence in Ituri's recent history. While the latest outbreak of violence has its own contextual factors, past dynamics have played into current ones at least insofar as they have shaped how the affected populations make sense of the 2018 killings. Moreover, Ituri's history has shown how local politics have been influenced by national, regional and international power dynamics. This report has gathered testimony on both local and outside factors. The resulting complexity is in line with previous investigations into violence in eastern Congo, in both Ituri and other places in Congo. More often than not, conflicts are due to a combination of factors that defy monocausal 'ethnic' explanations and fit better with (often multi-scalar) political ones. Based on these observations on what shaped Ituri's uneasy past, the following chapter zooms in on more recent dynamics in the run-up to the violence in 2018 and during that period.

### 3. The Violence in Djugu in Early 2018

This and the following section aim to give a descriptive overview of the latest crisis that has engulfed Ituri Province. While this report suggests that long-standing ethnic tension has flared up again in a string of massacres and burnings, numerous testimonies claim political dynamics behind the mobilisation in early 2018. These dynamics, however, have helped the rehashing of previous, still unresolved crises and mistrust—relating to both colonial influence and post-colonial politics of patronage and intervention. Before analysing the dynamics of the violence as such, this section focuses on the chronology of the attacks, followed by a preliminary and fieldwork-based analysis of the potential causes and reasons. The section starts with the following quotes to set the scene and anticipate the analysis that follows.

#### **Selected interview quotes**

It's neither the Lendu nor the Hema; we don't know the culprits, or the reasons. (#124)

Some say the death of the priest is at the bottom of this conflict. (#166)

In Kafé, there are 83 unburied corpses. All the 1,726 houses were destroyed. (#213)

The authors of the crimes are not held accountable by the law, yet we know them. (#214)

It is the Lendu that have attacked us. They came from Walendu Pitsi; we know their names. (#198)

My husband was killed by Lendu after the death of the priest. (#188)

The problem of our population in Bule lies with the elections—will they go smoothly? (#205)

Much of our land is occupied by our Lendu brothers and they say they haven't enough yet. (#206)

15 out of 33 villages in [our area] were burnt by Lendu that came from Walendu Tatsi area (#191)

In Djugu, there will be another crisis. (#129)

It is calm now; we greet our Hema brothers. Some greet us back, others do not. (#065)

The Lendu told us Djugu is theirs and our place is in Berunda. (#197)

CODECO gives the drugs and the magic to the killers; there is money and manipulation. (#021)

This is about politics. We fear politicians will bring war back to our region in this electoral period. (#006)

The M23 is here and we are afraid they will attack us to delay the elections. (#127)

From late 2017, and in the first few months of 2018 in particular, the security situation in and around the Territoire of Djugu deteriorated significantly and a series of violent attacks, massacres and village burnings shattered the area. The so-called 'Djugu crisis' forced over 100,000 people to leave their homes, either moving to Bunia and Mahagi as internally displaced people or moving into neighbouring Uganda as refugees. Hundreds have been killed. February and March saw the bulk of this violence, followed by a lull but with attacks on the rise again since September. These clear-cut 'boom-and-bust' cycles of violence have led numerous observers to believe the onset and decline of the attacks were neatly coordinated, leading to a wealth of speculations and theories as to who might be behind the escalation. Due to operational similarities, the Ituri violence was soon being compared to the killings in the neighbouring Beni area, for which both the government and armed opposition actors have been accused of responsibility. The events have also triggered debate about the electoral impact of heightened insecurity. Fuelled by statements from the Independent National Electoral Commission (CENI, 'Commission Électorale Nationale Indépendante') and government politicians, certain voices saw Ituri as yet another attempt to create insecurity as an excuse to further delay elections.

Prior to the violence, however, Ituri had registered comparatively high levels of voter enrolment. In the absence of the major regional confrontation that had fuelled the Ituri War between 1998 and 2007, events in early 2018 were characterised by the anonymity of assailants and the absence of a timely response by the national army (FARDC), which only responded timidly due to a lack of clear orders.<sup>6</sup> Like other security services, the army has been accused of putting revenue before performance, notably when it comes to the effective control of borders, populations and territory. Meanwhile, the senior army command has undergone a nationwide reshuffle, and key positions were newly allocated in Ituri as well.<sup>7</sup>

While most armed groups from the Ituri War have ceased operating—with the notable exception of a Simba faction in Mambasa and the FRPI in Irumu, which are far from the epicentre of the 2018 violence—many interlocutors on the ground argued that the failure of demobilisation and reintegration (in the context of the CONADER and DCR programmes between 2004 and 2008) has left a pool of disenfranchised former combatants. While most of them were taken up by Ituri's gold mines, others remained unemployed and easily recruitable. Moreover, in April 2018, the FARDC detained four individuals who claimed to be linked to the former M23 rebellion, an armed insurgency operating in eastern Congo from 2012–2013. While interviewees have picked up this claim, individuals close to the former M23 have denied any activity in Ituri. A further question mark concerns the Development Cooperative of Congo (CODECO, 'Coopérative de Développement au Congo'), an agro-religious formation created in 1978 by influential Lendu as CODEZA (while the country was still called Zaire) in Irumu and which had ties with both FRPI and FNI during the 1998–2003 war. Numerous interlocutors, as discussed below, have accused CODECO of serving as a vehicle to recruit, radicalise and train youths since late 2017.

Most importantly though, the string of attacks has happened against the backdrop of a still tenuous peace among and between communities that harbour long-standing grievances, and multiple instances of political manipulation based on land disputes and ethnic instrumentalisation. Ituri's history of smaller and bigger conflicts offers a rich reservoir of opportunities for such manipulation and in the past too, conflicts have followed cyclical dynamics. While a one-sided ethnic thrust seems to be missing in the massacres, many of the attacks have targeted either the Hema or the Lendu. Violence has also been geographically concentrated in five of the fourteen chiefdoms/secteurs of Djugu: Bahema Nord (with key localities Blukwa, Berunda, Katoto and Kparanganza), Walendu Pitsi (Ladedjo, Dhendo and Dz'na), Walendu Djatsi (Fataki), Walendu Tatsi (Saliboko, Djugu and Pitso) and Bahema Banywagi (Tchomia). Whereas the outbreak of full-blown violence occurred in early February 2018, a couple of events predate the main massacres.

On 10 June 2017, Florent Dunji, a Lendu Catholic priest, was found dead in Drodro village. While the alleged, official reason for his death was alcoholism, most Lendu interviewees suspected he was killed, and a series of demonstrations took place after his body was found. Thus far, the Catholic Church has tacitly adhered to the official, medical narrative. However, dozens of interviewees highlighted the central role of the event in heightening tensions and leading to the precursors of the violence that would escalate months later. After the death of Dunji, Lendu and Hema eyewitnesses recalled certain Hema who were having drinks in public places near Drodro and mocking the death through a self-invented chant that pejoratively

addressed both the priest and the broader Lendu community. Furthermore, despite many questioning the theory that Dunji had succumbed to excessive alcohol consumption, no thorough investigation has been carried out to confirm the actual cause of death. An official demand to establish a court case received no response, triggering the anger of Lendu youths at both the Hema and government institutions that were perceived as complicit. Subsequently, a first episode of tit-for-tat violence ensued after Lendu groups from Walendu Tatsi took to attacking Hema villages, the latter riposting with counter-attacks on Lendu villages in the days following Dunji's death. These incidents impacted on the fragile balance of cohabitation around Drodro, Ngakpa and Kapele, and led to segregation: youths from both communities started to erect barricades on roads, and markets and health centres located in the area of one community became less accessible for the other community. Even though both communities, through different leaders, attempted to attenuate these tensions, certain Hema voices complained their community was being victimised for the priest's own irresponsibility while certain Lendu actors regretted that their leaders—the example in question being LORI's vice-president—were reprimanded by state authorities after calling for justice. Dunji's death still remains uninvestigated, while it has put historical mistrust between the communities back on the table and contributed to subsequent agitation.

On 17 December, another key event happened: a young Lendu allegedly stole an AK–47 magazine from a FARDC soldier close to the army post of Uzi near Ladedjo. He was later identified thanks to indications given by Hema women. A day later, two women were attacked by Lendu youths while working in their fields, triggering a violent response by Hema burning down Lendu villages. Lendu youths responded with counter-raids. The following—unverified—account recounts the ensuing tit-for-tat, and echoes numerous other interlocutors describing attacks and counter-attacks along community lines:

Another group of Hema went to Dju village and burnt 89 Lendu houses on 17 December 2017 in the morning hours. On 18 December 2017, again in the morning, 389 Hema houses were burnt in return by Lendu youth chanting incendiary songs referring to the Hema provocation they claimed to react to. In this context, several villages in the Blukwa and Maze areas were burnt, adding to attacks in the wider area. (Interview #225)

Thus far, there has been no complete, public investigation bringing the exact causes of these two incidents to light, and intelligence sources are cursory or difficult to access. However, according to a majority of interlocutors across ethnic lines, both are likely to have been significant factors in increasing tensions ahead of the February and March 2018 massacres. However, a majority of interlocutors have also stressed that this latest string of violence does not resemble the 1998–2007 war. Apart from the remnants of Morgan's Simba rebels and the FRPI, whose areas of operation do not include Djugu, there is no clearly identifiable armed group to which the attacks can be attributed, and no specific actor has claimed responsibility throughout the events. Even though it appears evident that both Lendu- and Hema-based groups have participated in the violence and that unresolved historical tensions have fuelled it, this report finds that both communities have repeatedly engaged in dialogue and trust-building exercises condemning the violence. However, as the above box containing a selection of converging and diverging quotes indicates, the generalised Djugu violence that has followed these initial events remains largely intractable and difficult to attribute to one single factor. The following chapter provides a detailed listing of the main attacks and killings that occurred between January and April 2018.

<sup>6</sup> Since September 2018, however, several killings of high-level FARDC officers have accompanied the second wave of violence.

<sup>7</sup> It is worth noting that between 1998 and 2003, during most of the Ituri War, the national army had no significant presence in Ituri at all.

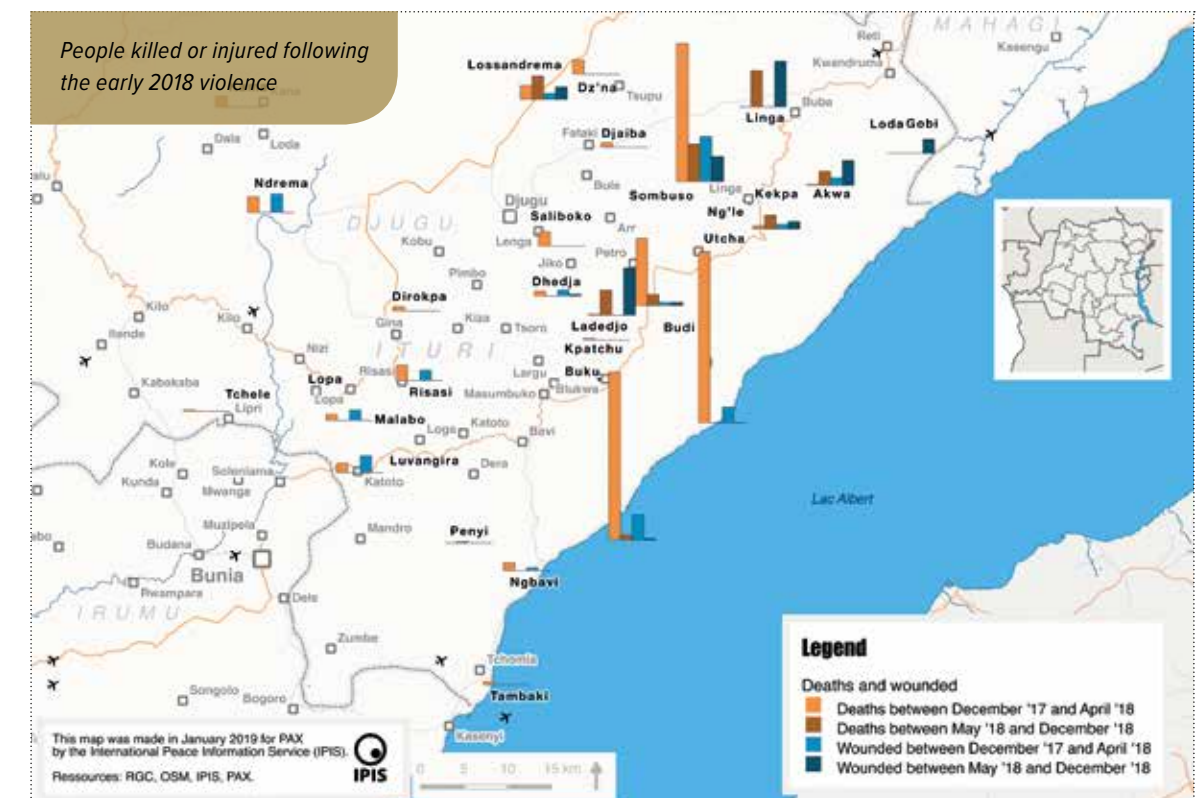




## 4. Mapping the Violence: Ethnic Dynamics in a Non-ethnic War?

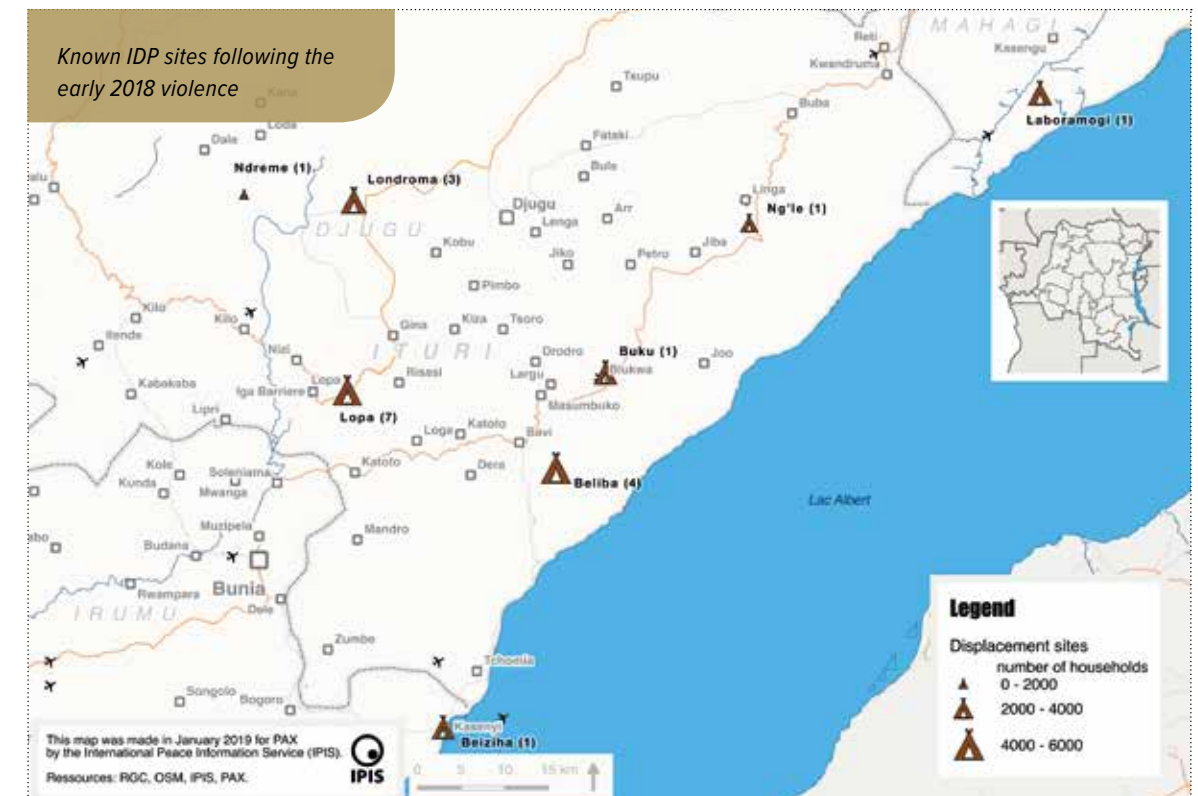
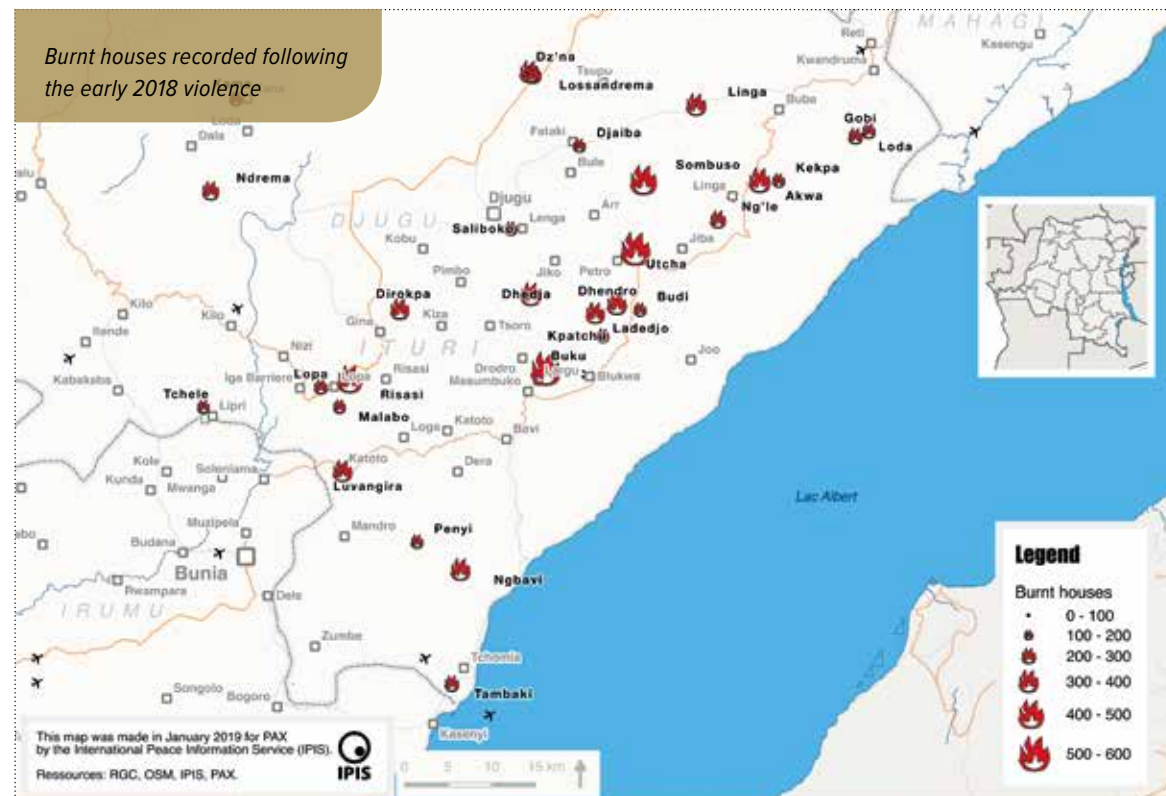
Following sporadic violence—mostly theft and destruction of property—since late December 2017, the beginning of February 2018 marked the starting point for a string of attacks including numerous killings in the Territoire of Djugu and adjacent areas. Beyond local sources, the renewed violence was also ‘announced’ by Uganda-based individuals close to RCD-K/ML (see above), which was instrumental in the making and breaking of alliances during the Ituri War.<sup>8</sup> The following paragraphs retrace the sequence of killings through February and March. While they highlight their subsequent nature, they do not make a case for causation—even though the tit-for-tat logics provide some anecdotal evidence for this.

On 4 February, attackers—recalled by interlocutors to have come from Walendu Tatsi and Walendu Djatsi—took turns in attacking numerous neighbouring villages in Bahema Nord (Djusa, Lera, Lovi, Ngaroli, Ngbagu, Blukwa Collectivité, Blukwa Centre, Katoto and Labo—see list in Annex 1), killing at least 32 people. These events also led to the burning of over 400 houses and large-scale pillage of livestock in various places. On 7 February, attacks continued in Langa, Dz’mbu (Bahema Nord) and Bese (Banyali Kilo) with a total of at least nine people killed while in other villages in Bahema Nord, houses were burnt by assailants. Interlocutors have claimed the attackers came from Liyo in Walendu Tatsi Secteur. A day later, at least 37 people were killed in simultaneous raids in Kparangaza, Kawa, Tche and (with the heaviest toll) in Logo. Eyewitnesses in the area later recounted that the Logo attackers arrived by a road from Saliboko in Walendu Tatsi Secteur.



<sup>8</sup> Personal communication with an expert on Ituri in October 2018. These same sources also highlighted the coincidental timing of Ugandan operations against alleged ADF-Nalu in the neighbouring Beni area in December 2017 and Uganda's close monitoring of eastern Congo.





The following testimony provides a tangible and daunting glimpse of what the situation was like for the affected populations:

The attackers came to our village and burnt our houses. They came from neighbouring villages. The residents of Kawa fled. I stayed because I was drunk the night they attacked, hence I realized the situation too late and could not quickly escape. Some Hema were killed directly. As I was trying to flee or hide somewhere, I saw them from afar with blades and firearms. It were the Lendu from neighbouring villages with whom we used to drink. They killed our people, burnt our houses, pillaged our goods. After four days, I was able to leave towards another Hema village. Before those attacks, Lendu used to come to our village to hang out but ever since they don't even greet anymore. We don't know the reasons, but we lost everything, including some of our people whose remains are eaten by dogs. (Interview #156)

On 10 February, attackers arriving from Dhendo in Walendu Pitsi killed at least nine people in the villages of Tchura, Ulo, Ndjaza and Reta (Bahema Nord). The same day, five lost their lives in Lidja and Kli (Bahema Bajere) as attackers, presumed to hail from Walendu Djatsi Sector, ravaged their villages. Attacks continued to escalate between 11 and 15 February, with Bahema Nord becoming the epicentre of the violence: four were killed in Angolu, one in Talire, one in Dz'ri, two in Blukwa and six in Panduru (marking the first killing in neighbouring Mahagi Territoire). Interviewees from the area attributed the attacks to people who had arrived from Walendu Pitsi and Walendu Djatsi. The deadliest attack happened in Rule (Bahema Nord) where over 60 were reported to be killed after the large-scale burning of houses. While this series of killings appears to have targeted the Hema community, Lendu interlocutors have reported sporadic reprisals against their villages, with houses burnt as well. After this first wave of killings, a relative lull marked the second half of February. However, two events deserve attention: in Tche (Bahema Nord), two FARDC were killed on 20 February and in Bakombe (Walendu Djatsi), a Lendu village chief was killed after a row with presumed Lendu attackers. One civilian was killed on 24 February in Blukwa and four on 27 February in Tchele. While interviewees had a clear idea where the assailants came from for most of the attacks, this in itself does not constitute proof of their collective or individual identity. As for the violence in Beni since 2014, other institutions like MONUSCO or the Catholic Church have also had difficulties in attributing the violence, leaving local civil society as key stakeholders.<sup>9</sup>

Throughout March, the attacks continued with a focus on Bahema Nord. In one of the most violent raids, at least 36 people—certain local sources spoke of 43—were murdered in Groupement Ucha (Bahema Nord) in a simultaneous attack on the villages of Maze and Beliba on 1 March. Most victims were buried in two mass graves near Maze. That same day, one person was killed in Mita (Bahema Banywagi) too. Two days later, attackers killed three—including one soldier—in Chatsikipa, one person in Chele, one in Bbani, two in Vara, one in Gobba, one in Ddeti, one in Nyanda and several people in Gboro (all in Bahema Nord). Again, eyewitnesses have stated the assailants must have hailed from Walendu Tatsi. On 4 March, a total of six people got killed by attackers in Groupement Sala (Bahema Banywagi). These killings were accompanied by heavy looting of over a dozen villages in the nearby area. On 7 March, four FARDC soldiers were killed in Drodro (Bahema Nord). The following day, attacks on different villages in Bahema Nord (Masini, Ndoki and Tsoa) left 12 people dead. On 13 March, at least 27 people were killed in attacks in Jjo, Gbi and Ngazba (Bahema Nord). That same night, the chief of Risasi village (Bahema Baguru) was killed. On 24 March, a FARDC patrol was attacked in Penyi (Walendu Tatsi), leaving one soldier killed and three others wounded. A table in the annex lists all incidents and attacks known at the time of researching and writing this report.

While the violence has ebbed since April, with the exception of sporadic further attacks, the situation has remained tenuous across the Territoire of Djugu ever since. If most of the February and March attacks seem to have specifically targeted Hema villages, interlocutors have also reported several counter-attacks on Lendu villages, such as in Dju following the Maze killings. Other have reported that following the main wave of killings, it has become more difficult for Lendu to travel in the area for they have faced increased scrutiny by security services—which they suspect to be sympathetic to the Hema. The latter, in turn, have responded to the violence by adopting protective measures such as going to their fields only in groups. Many have underlined that while they could not identify the killers individually or by name, they felt confident in claiming the attackers habitually arrived from the Walendu sectors neighbouring the Bahema Nord chiefdom. Even in July and August, numerous roads in the area were still considered no-go zones by either or both communities. In addition to the attacks that resulted in killings, dozens of villages have been burnt or otherwise destroyed in raids. The following table is based on the Djugu Territoire incident monitoring carried out by CJD and FOMI, two partner organisations of PAX. It covers the period from December 2017 to September 2018. As per the methodology used, the counts of incidents give the number of events; hence this table does not provide information on the respective numbers of victims. Consistent with

<sup>9</sup> This chapter presents some of the findings that could be backed up by extensive field research and additional documentation, such as obtained by organisations on the ground. Yet, it is in the nature of such conflicts that data often remains incomplete and subject to errors.



the pattern of attacks described above, the chronology of the violence is strikingly clear, with an extreme spike in killings, wounding, arson and looting in February and March. Reports from Congolese institutions and UN sources converge with local testimony suggesting that this may point to two, not mutually exclusive, reasons for the violence: while it suggests the violence has been carried out in a coherent, hierarchical and organised manner, it could at the same time indicate that some leaders from the area successfully instructed their communities to avoid a tit-for-tat continuation after March 2018.

Month	Killing	Wounding	Arson	Looting	Kidnapping	Rape	Theft	Destruction	Other
December 2017	3	3	3	0	0	0	1	0	1
January 2018	2	2	3	0	0	1	0	0	2
February 2018	37	8	66	18	5	1	1	0	2
March 2018	24	11	61	44	1	1	0	0	0
April 2018	2	1	0	2	1	3	0	0	0
May 2018	6	2	1	0	2	3	0	0	1
June 2018	7	3	3	0	0	4	0	1	0
July 2018	5	2	4	3	0	4	0	0	1
August 2018	1	3	3	0	0	2	0	2	0
September 2018	6	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	2

In general, the following stands out: during the peak in killings, arson attacks and lootings in February and March 2018, a majority of attacks were organised at night and carried out by civilians using such weaponry as blades, arrows, clubs and some firearms. Arson was employed as a tactic to spread terror and ensure that entire villages suffered over and above the trauma of lost family members and neighbours. Coupled with fear and displacement, this helped ensure the violence had a major economic impact, with harvests being lost and subsistence endangered for months if not years to come. Government forces, whether the army, the police or others, have been timid in responding to the violence and have been unable to secure the affected areas through additional deployments. Wherever they actively stepped in, soldiers and policemen eventually became targets themselves. It was not possible to determine beyond reasonable doubt whether this suggests complicity or merely failure to stop the violence. While the vast majority of the testimonies clearly stated that the assailants were hailing from Lendu-inhabited areas—with Hema making up the majority of the victims—they were less clear about whether the assailants were actually Lendu. Numerous testimonies, as outlined below, also pointed to potential connections between the killing squads and key political and economic stakeholders. Yet little clear evidence was provided to back up these suggestions.

## 5. Analysis

In this chapter, we organise the findings from around 250 qualitative interviews in two phases of field research (June–July 2018 and September 2018). We also corroborate them with additional sources, including extensive incident monitoring by CISPE and PAX partners as well as confidential reports by Congolese security forces and other institutions. Based on the data, we elaborate a number of preliminary findings that inform the conclusions and recommendations in this report. The results are indications as to who may or may not have contributed to an escalation of violence, which has been skilfully organised along 'predetermined breaking points' rooted in contestation over land, local politics, ethnicity, previous conflicts and failed peace processes. The chapter is organised around specific individual and collective actors that have consistently surfaced throughout the data collection and review.

While most of the available facts and data about the recent violence in the Territoire of Djugu are fairly uncontested, it is much more difficult to dissect the underlying reasons, motivations and responsibilities for the killings and widespread destruction. One thing seems to be clear, however: the violence was organised and secretive, deepening a crisis of mistrust, unresolved violence from the past and a history of antagonism between communities. In the absence of independent investigations, credible judicial proceedings and claims of responsibility, this makes it difficult to understand who has been carrying out the carnage, who has been instigating it and to what ends. Yet it is important to note that no conclusive evidence for actors' direct responsibility for the killings exists to date and that many of these actors are interlinked. Before analysing each network of actors in more detail, the following statements offer an impression of how testimonies have depicted potentially suspect entities and factors:

It were Lendu youth but also Hema manipulated by politicians. Regional dynamics play into this, since other people not from the area participated in these events. In Mahagi territory, some M23 elements got arrested. There were other infiltrations coming from Lake Albert. The attackers were backed by certain powerful stakeholders. (Interview #004)

The population casts doubts towards the FARDC, since those implicated in the massacres are not pursued. The Hema aren't satisfied by how the conflict suddenly stopped – they believe it will start again. This conflict does not only target Hema and Lendu areas but also Mambisa, Ndookebo and Banyali Kilo. It seems that politicians aim at destabilizing the region to exploit Djugu's riches. (Interview #146)

Commentators were quick in likening the Ituri killings to other conflict zones in the Congo that have recently been affected by large-scale violence, such as Beni or parts of the Kasai provinces. However, a few key differences are noteworthy. Unlike Kasai, little of the violence in Ituri can be clearly attributed to either identifiable armed opposition actors or government security forces. Unlike Beni, the violence has seemingly been following ethnic patterns. Moreover, in contrast to Ituri, killings in Beni were often carried out by uniformed actors and many targeted the FARDC—while attacks against security forces in Ituri were no more than sporadic in February and March, increasing only from August 2018. Finally, unlike both Kasai and Beni, violence has mostly focused on rural areas.



### 5.1 Involvement of Political and Business Elites

Violence in eastern Congo has been interwoven with its broader political and economic context for decades, and Ituri is no exception to that. The research underpinning this report confirms a general trend, with numerous testimonies pointing either specifically or in more diffuse terms to potential links between the killings and their broader political context. In the same vein, interlocutors of all ethnic and social backgrounds have put forward a more political and less sectarian reading of the attacks that occurred in the Territoire of Djugu since early 2018. Some of those statements suggest that long-standing and ethnically tinged tensions over access to land and public life have, in the past couple of years, become a political object of contestation. Among other things, this concerns Lendu grievances over economic marginalisation and the perceived dominance of the Hema in key political and military leadership roles, but also a rejection of the Hema view that their land ownership is justified because they are the 'originaires'.

However, the key argument for numerous claims that the Djugu violence was political (and, surprisingly, neither primarily ethnic nor about resources as is usually suggested by locals and foreigners alike across eastern Congo) lies in the contours of the conflict and its extreme peak in February and March 2018. The ensuing lull from April 2018 onwards, reversed only by a relative rise in violent attacks since August 2018, is invoked by dozens of interlocutors as an indication that the attacks were centrally organised rather than chaotic raids. This provides a sharp contrast to the 1998–2007 wars, which were marked by longer-term, constant violence. The following quotes further illustrate this view of the recent events:

The 2018 conflict is absolutely different from 1999–2003. The difference is visible through the attackers' modus operandi which raises questions as to the extent they are backed by politicians who try to destabilize the area. (Interview #027)

The 1999 conflict was different from the current one, that stopped spontaneously. Our main fear is that those responsible aren't identified. It is a political affairs, hence it starts and ends spontaneously. (Interview #023)

The war that happened in Djugu is a high-level manipulation. The population knows it is no ethnic war. IDPs from both communities fled to Mahagi together, and without problems (Interview #015)

We believe it is politics. There is local youth being used for these acts. (Interview #003)

The displaced Hema and Lendu were fleeing together without any issue. Some of us are the victims of politics.

Some local youth got instrumentalized in this crisis. (Interview #005)

We think this is political manipulation. The provincial authorities have not intervened to stop the violence, with the exception of one sector chief who tried to sensitize the population to stay calm. (Interview #079)

While these quotes are vague, they highlight both a reluctance to focus on ethnic explanations and interviewees' fear of naming specific instigators of violence. When it comes to unveiling the political dynamics shaping violence in Djugu, things are more complex. Similar to other conflict areas, rumour is ripe in Ituri and radio trottoir ('pavement radio', the informal communication network or grapevine) is a powerful force. This made it difficult to find tangible traces leading to the realm of politics and business, sectors traditionally shrouded in secrecy in eastern Congo. As in Beni and Kasai, people hinted at a broader conspiracy to further delay or cancel the scheduled national elections, but little concrete evidence exists to date to underpin this claim. Nonetheless, the interplay between historically grown tensions over land and the volatile reconciliation since the 1998–2007 wars merits attention, for numerous testimonies suggested that elites employed existing tensions to instigate violence.

Different elected and administrative elites have been mentioned by name by interlocutors, including the sector/chiefdom chiefs Longbe Tchabi Linga (Walendu Pitsi and ex-FNI) and Pilo Kamaragi Mulindro (Bahema Nord and ex-UPC). Interviewed himself, Longbe denied allegations by invoking his renunciation of his previous involvement in conflict and he highlighted his efforts to calm down the Lendu.<sup>10</sup> Hadji Ibrahim Ruhigwa Bamaraki, leader of the Hema community, has been suspected on the basis of an earlier incident when firearms were found in his home in 2015. Yet no specific allegations have been made. Several interviewees said local and customary leaders were playing a double role in publicly preaching reconciliation and privately stirring hate, and that some of them were involved in the killings.

On the side of businesspeople, the picture is evenly blurred. Several testimonies have indicated that both Lendu and Hema businesspeople tried to deflate the tensions to prevent negative fallout from violence for their economic activities. However, others may benefit from chaos by using informal economic networks beyond the purview of customs controls. Among the names put forward by Iturian analysts, key Ituri entrepreneurs are mentioned in multiple cases. Yet evidence is scarce and this appears to be a side-story to the violence, linked to alleged smuggling activities in competing economic networks, including Hema smugglers and a competing network close to the Ituri provincial government.

### 5.2 CODECO and Ex-FNI/FRPI Networks

The CODECO is an agro-religious association that was created in 1978 as CODEZA in Walendu Bindi, Irumu. Established by Kakado Tsubina, a local leader, its stated objective is to support agriculture. More discretely, however, CODECO has engaged in mysticism and fetishism, for instance in the context of the FRPI rebellion during the Ituri War. Already before the Ituri War, CODECO had expanded its activities into the Djugu area. During the war, CODECO was believed to produce magical substances—elsewhere referred to as dawa, Swahili for 'medicine'—to sustain the morale of combatants. Kakado was detained in 2009 and found to be a contributor to the FRPI as a healer. He died in prison in 2011. Ever since, the association has mostly operated in the shadows.

During this research project, dozens of interlocutors from various backgrounds and including locally posted security forces mentioned CODECO as implicated in the violence. Many alleged that CODECO was instrumental in helping to recruit and organise training for the attackers at least since the death of Florent Dunji (see above) in June 2017, and more openly since the end of that year. Certain interlocutors suggested that the detention of the young Lendu who had stolen a cartridge with bullets from a soldier (see above) was an additional element triggering recruitment: CODECO's mobilisation amplified after Hema youths from Maze went on burning nearby Lendu villages in response to the killing of Hema women who had tipped the FARDC about the thief's identity. Two months later, Maze became the site of one of the deadliest massacres during the violence. According to interviewees, CODECO produces different types of magical substances that are used before and during attacks. The targets of CODECO's campaign efforts were mostly young Lendu, including former FNI combatants who had failed to reintegrate in civilian life after the 1998-2003 wars. The following statements illustrate this:

At CODECO, people are pushed to drink some type of water. But it is magic. The people from Walendu Pitsi recruit among militias and create displacement. There must be manipulators behind. (Interview #114)

The attackers spoke Kilendu and Lingala. We heard that CODECO is providing the fetishes used by the attackers. (Interview #232)

The Catholics are lured into this by extremists. Some of them started praying with CODECO, magico-religious sect since Father Florent from Drodoro died in June 2017. (Interview #228)

The attackers always take their own death with them to avoid their identification. We hear that the CODECO sect is involved in the violence. (Interview #217)

Various interviewees reported that CODECO's mobilisation had been ongoing for months before the killings began and it appears that the Congolese security forces were unable to track their gatherings, most of which supposedly took place in the highlands around Tara. Of similar concern, it has been reported that the recruitment has been marked by mystico-religious pitches with young people being lured away from churches. One testimony spoke of a local radio show in which a Lendu individual talked about the mystico-religious training organised by CODECO. Two local intelligence sources provided more detailed accounts, according to which the recruits had received 25–50 US dollars each to travel to Tara for training, with an additional amount promised upon completion of the training, which involved unspecified narcotic substances. The recruitment took place in a range of different places, including Mbatibbo, Godya, Wele (Berunda), Walendu Watsi (Nioka), Kataka (Jiba) and Mbau (Bambu). The sources claimed that while certain Congolese security circles were aware of this, no action was undertaken. While the initial objective given to the recruits was to attack Hema villages, mostly with arrows and blades, attacks against the military and the police were condoned as well and instructions were given to take their guns. At least some of the recruits are believed to be former combatants. In response to the allegations made, the Governor of Ituri officially suspended CODECO's authorisation but no significant action was taken to effectively disband the organisation. At the same time, regional intelligence sources and analysts reported that during a conflict in Walendu Bindi, several customary leaders sympathetic to one branch of the FRPI teamed up to mobilise support on behalf of CODECO—potentially in opposition to a rumoured upcoming FRPI demobilisation effort.

<sup>10</sup> This is at odds with previous statements in 2009, in which Longbe advocated an ethnically pure Walendu Pitsi sector.



A new wave of attacks started in late August 2018 targeting security forces. Several FARDC and PNC posts suffered attacks, with uniformed personnel killed or wounded. Two high-ranking FARDC officers were killed. While it is unclear if the latter fell prey to inside jobs or plots by actors close to the assailants (see below), two former Lendu FNI members, known as Mukwake Mambo and Lokana Mambo, and their troops, were named by interviewees as involved in these August/September 2018 attacks and as having ties to CODECO and cover from local authorities. Most recently, on 16 September 2018, Mukwake's force attacked FARDC positions in Muvaramu, Songamoya and Tara, killing nine FARDC. On 24 September, the same group attacked Bule, where Mukwake was wounded; he died five days later. While ex-FNI networks seem to be involved in the mobilisation around CODECO, the FRPI—its historical partner in Irumu—has not been mentioned by fieldwork interlocutors. Yet recent violence since August 2018 has put ex-FNI networks at the centre of a group alleged to be organising attacks against the FARDC. While it remains unclear, tentative analysis suggests that CODECO could be the linkage between ex-FNI networks and certain FRPI circles involved indirectly in the violence.<sup>11</sup>

### 5.3 Ex-UPC and Ex-PUSIC Networks

Besides the FRPI and the FNI, two of the main militia operating during the Ituri War were Thomas Lubanga's UPC and Chief Kahwa Mandro's PUSIC. While Lubanga went on trial at the International Criminal Court, like the former leaders of the FRPI and the FNI (respectively Germain Katanga and Mathieu Ngudjolo), and is currently in jail in The Hague, Kahwa managed to avoid major legal consequences for his engagement in the UPC and later as leader of PUSIC. While Kahwa is mentioned in confidential judicial documents being prepared for envisaged trials for the violence in Djugu, his actual involvement is unclear. Three sources have mentioned that groups close to Kahwa, including possible ex-combatants of PUSIC and UPC, were involved in the violence, but there is no further testimony as to the details besides one isolated report of threats issued to the military's naval forces by a group believed close to ex-PUSIC circles.

### 5.4 Ex-M23

Since the infamous M23 rebellion was defeated militarily and pushed into Uganda and Rwanda by joint FARDC/MONUSCO operations in late 2013, the group and its constituents have been haunting Congo both as a spectre through which various types of threats are projected and a catch-all whereby security incidents are attributed to the legacy of Congo's grand rebellions such as the RCD and the CNDP. While the M23 still exists politically (mostly based in Kampala) and militarily (in small numbers and secluded in the Virunga forest around Mount Mikeno), its strength has largely been overstated in the past few years and part of the key military leadership has moved on. Nonetheless, as in Beni, the M23 has taken a central position in speculations about the Djugu violence too. Some of this might be rooted in political spinning as well as the deployment of ex-RCD and ex-CNDP FARDC officers (but not ex-M23 as yet) in Ituri or historical ties between former Iturian and Kivutian war entrepreneurs that frequently spend time in Kampala, the main regional hub connecting Ituri to the rest of Africa and beyond.

Nonetheless, one noticeable event occurred on 1 April 2018 when four individuals were apprehended in checks at the FARDC post of Kadilo, in the Territoire of Mahag. One of them is allegedly a former FARDC officer. They were escorted by Faustin Unencan, a businessman from Ndrele who claims to have received a demand from a high-ranking FARDC based in Goma to pick them up at the Ugandan border, coming from Mont Zeu. Their interception has prompted vivid debates and conspiracy theories, in particular regarding the question of border controls with Uganda<sup>12</sup>—given that many Iturians accuse security forces and customs of focusing more on extortion at the border than effective territorial protection. According to testimonies, the car was on its way to Berunda Forest and transporting firearms. Berunda is a forest area where Hema herders let their cattle graze. As security forces claimed these individuals were linked to ex-M23, various interviewees placed the incident in the context of alleged movements of suspicious people before and after April 2018. One source mentioned the involvement of Jerome—without clarifying whether he was talking about Kakwavu, a former combatant with extensive contacts in Uganda as well as in the Congolese militia.

In January 2018, a similar case occurred involving a person called Kumira Watamu. He was stopped and detained by security forces when he was accompanied by four people carrying firearms on their way to Berunda and Walendu Watsi. In February, locals reported the movement of nearly a dozen cattle herders with firearms near the concession of Kisebo in Walendu Watsi. Given endemic insecurity, however, it is not necessarily clear whether these people were involved in armed insurrection. In North and South Kivu, for instance, it is not unusual for herders to carry firearms to defend themselves against militia raids. More broadly, these and similar reports have been simultaneously inscribed in the polemics about M23 infiltration along with reports of the migration of Rwandan-speaking Hutu populations (often referred to as Banyabwisha from Rutshuru in North Kivu) to Boga in Irumu as well as certain grazing areas in Djugu and Mahagi Territoires. Based on field research, there is little indication of a significant role in the arrival of alleged M23 elements.

### 5.5 The Role of the National Army and Other Security Forces

In other recent conflict areas—Beni and Kasai again stand out—part of the blame has been assigned to the Congolese state security forces, in particular the FARDC. With regard to the violence in and around Djugu, the role of the FARDC, PNC and other security forces is less clear but has been the subject of debate nonetheless. On the one hand, testimonies consistently report that it is unlikely that the army played an active role in the attacks. However, great disappointment was voiced at the government forces' timid and slow response to the events. Finally, FARDC and PNC elements have become targets of attacks and killings themselves; this happened to a limited extent only in the main wave of attacks in February and March 2018 but has increased since late August. This section will discuss all these dynamics.

In general, relations between Iturians and the army are ambivalent. While there is no open and general rejection of the presence of government armed forces, interviews reveal a certain sense of mistrust and specific complaints. The latter centre on the perception of FARDC as a parasitic force that focuses more on small-scale extortion through arbitrary roadblocks than on effective protection of people and territory. Similar opinions exist regarding the police and the intelligence services, especially around Lake Albert and in border areas. On the side of the Lendu, the FARDC are seen as close to the Hema and occasionally pushing their interests in the context of land conflict as well as with regard to deployments protecting Hema villages after the February and March 2018 attacks. This is illustrated in particular by the deployment of the 3202nd regiment under Colonel Makanika, a former commander of the Banyamulenge-led FRF rebellion in the early 2000s in South Kivu. In general, however, and despite delays, testimonies agree that the army has increased its presence in sensitive areas.

While government forces were victims of killings in February and March 2018 too, the renewed violence since August 2018 confirms this trend through targeted killings of senior army members, such as Colonel Bovick in August and Colonel Jaguar in September, as well as more significant attacks, such as the killing of nine FARDC near Tara in September, attributed by several sources to the Mukwake group close to CODECO. Doubt has been cast by interlocutors as to the circumstances under which Bovick and Jaguar lost their lives. Bovick died in an ambush on his car.<sup>13</sup> A former CNDP officer, Colonel Jaguar's recent death remains mysterious. In both cases, the few people willing to discuss these events have categorically rejected any involvement by the Djugu assailants.

<sup>11</sup> Such linkages were also observed in 2012/2013 as an ephemeral armed group coalition under FRPI leadership, named COGAI (Coalition of Armed Groups in Ituri), tried to unite various streams of armed mobilisation in the region.

<sup>12</sup> At certain times during the Ituri War it was Kakwavu's FAPC that controlled the Aru border. When Kakwavu joined the FARDC and was subsequently arrested, the same ex-FAPC commanders became heads of the police in Aru.

<sup>13</sup> However, two sources report that his bodyguards were not even wounded and the car did not show signs of an attack. This suggests either a coincidence or a professional job. The same sources suggest an inside job linked to upcoming promotions or Bovick's past in Jean-Pierre Bemba's MLC. However, no evidence is available as to whether this ambush was politically motivated or linked to internal FARDC tensions.

## Partial list of killed and wounded FARDC and PNC between December 2017 and August 2018

N°	Names	Units	Place and date	Observations
1	AP Botho	S/CIAT PNC Dhendro CIAT Territoire Djugu	Blukwa, 4/2/2018	Beheaded
2	CPT Tshibangu	COM S4 GMI PNC/ITURI	Blukwa, 4/2/2018	Killed by arrows
3	AP Feruzi Focas	PCR/NIZI CIAT PNC DJUGU	Blukwa / Nizi-Ine, 7/2/2018	Kidnapped and killed
4	Bakala Adolphe	PCR/NIZI CIAT DJUGU	Nizi-Ine, 7/2/2018	Killed
5	AP Mandro Tango Shadrac	CIAT LAC S/CIAT MUGANGA	Muganga, 13/2/2018	Beheaded and AK-47 stolen
6	COM ADJ Dinde Windo	GMI/PNC ITURI	Blukwa, 18/2/2018	Severely wounded by arrows
7	AP Kisebo	CIAT PNC MAHAGI	Uzi, 5/22/2018	Beheaded and AK-47 stolen
8	ADJ 1CL Ngomba	Largu COY 3201 Reg FARDC	Marifa / Tshe, 20/02/2018	Beheaded and AK-47 stolen
9	Kasongo	Naval force, Lake Albert	Musekere, 13/02/2018	Beheaded and AK-47 stolen
10	SGT Mambasi Jeremie	Ngbapeni COY 3201 Reg FARDC	Ngbapeni, 13/02/2018	Beheaded, calcined and AK-47 stolen
11	Kisebo Janvier	Naval force	Ngbapeni, 13/02/2018	Beheaded and gun stolen
12	ADJ Chef Elonga	Naval force	Musekere, 13/02/2018	Beheaded and gun stolen
13	1CL Nap Pongo Gonago	Commando COY 3101 Reg FARDC	Marifa / Tshe, 20/02/2018	Killed and gun stolen
14	CPT Angomo	3201 Reg FARDC	Nyapala Dikpa, 3/3/2018	Beheaded and gun stolen
15	SGT Mambuya Maba	Ngbapeni COY 3201 Reg FARDC	Ngbapeni, 13/02/2018	Severely wounded
16	Assani Gabasi	Commando COY 3101 Reg FARDC	Marifa / Tshe, 20/02/2018	Beheaded and gun stolen
17	SGT Ebibabara Mongali	COY SP, OPS ITURI	Nyapala Dikpa, 3/3/2018	Killed and gun stolen
18	CPT Ngenge Lubanga	Cmd Bambu	Baimana Nizi, 7/3/2018	Wounded
19	1 major and 4 soldiers	3101 Reg FARDC	Drodro 7/3/2018	Killed and guns stolen
20	1 soldier	Commando Batt	Nyamamba 23/03/2018	Killed by bullet
21	2 soldiers	Commando Batt	Nyamamba 23/03/2018	Wounded by bullet
22	2 soldiers	1301 Reg FARDC	Nassa 26/08/2018	Killed and guns stolen
23	9 soldiers	N/A	Songamoya / Tara Dates N/A	Killed and weaponry stolen (9 AK-47s, 2 mortars, 2 rocket-propelled grenades and significant ammunition)

In the context of the arrest of alleged M23 elements on their way to Berunda, FARDC elements have complained they did not receive their 'success bonuses'.<sup>14</sup> In addition to these implicit accusations of embezzlement—a phenomenon not untypical within the FARDC—senior military and police figures in Ituri are alleged to be involved in customs fraud and illicit

trade. The most serious allegation, though, is that certain units have been in collusion with armed civilians based around Berunda Forest. While sources within the security apparatus were cautious, they shared information that an internal investigation is ongoing and General Bonane, a former RCD-Goma commander already accused of illicit conduct by the UN Group of Experts back in 2013, is said to be among the implicated individuals. While Bonane is currently serving in Haut-Uélé Province, which borders Ituri, he has been found implicated in the looting of humanitarian facilities when posted in Bunia in 2013 (UN 2013). Following the latest nationwide army reshuffle in August 2018, the FARDC operational sector there is led by Generals Kisebwe and Kasikila, the latter a former Mai-Mai leader from North Kivu. In Ituri, General Rugayi has been replaced by General Kabundi. The 32nd military region in Ituri—representing the structure parallel to the operational sectors—is now led by Generals Luyambi, Maboko and Bindu. General Bindu has been object of subsequent reports by the UN Group of Experts and is considered close to General Amisi (UN 2011). Colonel Rambo commands one of the two regiments based in Ituri; the other was commanded by Jaguar until his death. Generally, the FARDC leadership in Ituri is seen as dominated by 'Rwandophone' ex-RCD officers, both before and after the latest reshuffle.

### 5.6 The 'Banyabwisha' Thread

In addition to the rumours about people close to the ex-M23, another strand of suspicions repeatedly surfaced in several testimonies regarding the Djugu violence and the general situation in Ituri. For many years, the migration of Hutu, collectively considered 'Banyabwisha' (a toponym for populations from Rutshuru Territoire in North Kivu), has been evoking a mixture of fear and xenophobia amongst Iturians.<sup>15</sup> Within broader rumours pointing at 'Rwandan infiltration' and which probably also include scepticism about Rwandan-speaking FARDC units and alleged M23 movements, the aforementioned Hutu migrants from North Kivu have been implicated in the violence in Djugu. Unconfirmed reports exist according to which individuals based in Boga/Tchabi in Irumu had moved further northwards to Djugu. The same alleged movements were considered by others to have the aim of reaching Berunda, suggesting that interlocutors believe in the not necessarily obvious link with the unconfirmed M23 suspicions analysed above.

Refuting the idea of an ethnic conflict, interlocutors—including security forces—stressed that, after the arrival of General Rugayi at the helm of the FARDC in Ituri in early 2016, population movements were observed from Boga (where the 'Banyabwisha' allegedly arrived prior to 2016) towards Berunda and Kadilo in search of farming and grazing land. While this is not a clear indication of a link, other reports have deepened the suspicion. Three security sector sources stressed that the Djugu attackers were using radios on which different languages were intercepted, but they could not provide documentary or eyewitness evidence. Besides Kilendu, those languages were Kinyarwanda and 'Swahili with a Rwando-Ugandan' accent. They further mention that several Rwandan-speaking individuals have been arrested by the police and brought to Bunia because of their alleged involvement after they had paraded with blade weapons in Djugu. While, if confirmed, this represents an important lead to investigate further, it has to be noted that blaming Rwandan speakers is common in eastern Congo, and arrests have been made arbitrarily in the past in similar circumstances.

In sum, however, migration and mobility are a constant feature of life in the area, whether or not there is conflict. While local sources have been confirming the Hutu migration wave in the Boga/Tchabi area, other sources also point to movement along the corridor linking Irumu to the Beni area, bringing in other non-Kilendu-speaking actors. Pursuing the Banyabwisha thread therefore requires also determining whether or not older links to Ituri and Beni conflict dynamics are being reactivated under a smokescreen. This research was not able to put this concern into sharper focus and therefore remains cautious in its conclusions.

<sup>14</sup> Base salaries being insignificant, the Congolese army mostly operates through systems of operational and command bonuses. Consequently, military units and commanders have a genuine interest in launching operations wherever they are posted (see also Vogel & Stearns 2018).

<sup>15</sup> The 'Banyabwisha' hypothesis is intriguing given that Nande influence has been a longstanding feature, including during the Ituri War (RCD-K/ML alliances with Ituri armed groups), and continues to this day (Nande members of Parliament were elected in Ituri).





## 6. Conclusions

In summary, this report shows that no conclusive evidence exists to date as to who exactly tasked, coordinated, supervised and carried out the spate of attacks. This uncertainty also applies to the question of why the violence occurred in specific times (the first half of 2018) and places (across Djugu). Most explanations provided by interviewees remain tentative or invoke ‘classic’ narratives (such as the reference to M23/Rwanda, ethnic clichés, resource grabbing, etc.). In that sense, the Djugu violence seems to be inspired rather by events in Beni than any other previous conflicts in Ituri or across Congo. Nonetheless, anecdotal evidence provides some hints as to the underlying dynamics, and the preceding sections stress how populations and elites have been trying to make sense of the attacks, their characteristics and their spatio-temporal dynamics:

There are some youth in the area who became engaged in the attacks. The FARDC deployed right away, but there was nothing. We also heard of Chief Kawa Mandro coming back from Uganfa. He was escorted by his former PUSIC combatants. He wanted the Hema to take up arms in defence. CODECO is regularly mentioned for providing fetishes and magics to the attackers. (Interview #226)

The 16 September 2018 attacks were conducted by Mambo Mukwake, a former FNI officer. After the death of Father Florent, several Catholics began rallying CODECO. Moreover, the presence of armed herders who collaborate with M23 elements scares us here in Berunda. (Interview #224)

As the quotes summarise, it is impossible to provide a clear explanation for the 2018 Djugu violence at this point—both for the February/March events and for the insecurity flaring up again later in 2018. As the conflict seems to slowly be regaining traction since August 2018, recent FARDC killings add further question marks as to the perpetrators and motives for the violence. It is clear that gaps and failures in post-conflict resolution since 2003 along with historically grown cleavages play a role, either because they motivate protagonists directly or because they serve as a vehicle for mobilisation. However, poverty and—according to some interlocutors—the use of drugs including cheap imported alcohol are aggravating social problems in the densely populated areas in and around Djugu Territoire.<sup>16</sup> While the displaced are reported to be slowly returning, new violence puts this trend in peril and many are afraid to return to their destroyed villages:

I am from Za’a, but we prefer to stay in Ndrele after having returned from Uganfa, because we are afraid that in Djugu the Lendu will continue to do horrible things. (Interview #133)

Moreover, the economic impact of the destruction might—in the long run—weigh heavily on the populations whose agricultural output tends to hover around subsistence levels. While many rationales, alleged perpetrators and accounts of the course of the violence remain contested and unconfirmed, four observations stand out as being unchallenged and agreed upon: first, and following earlier sources of tension including the colonial era, the Bakajika Law under Mobutu and the Ituri War, is the continued importance of land. Both proponents of an ethnic explanation for the violence and those supporting the idea of political manipulation agree that the trajectory of dispossession, overlapping legal frameworks and hundreds of small-scale and larger-scale land conflicts provide the foundation for escalation and the most powerful narratives for mobilising violence (see PAX / RHA 2009).

Secondly, even in openly ethnic sentiments, such as mutual stereotyping and mistrust, land questions usually appeared whenever the deeper causes were addressed. Many but not all of those relate to one of the following three phases: a) Belgian colonial policies of redrawing boundaries and divide-and-rule through forced assignment and dispossession mechanisms; b) a major land-grabbing wave in the slipstream of the Bakajika Law and the opportunities it provided for well-placed families and individuals to acquire swathes of land regardless of previous or competing claims rooted in customary

<sup>16</sup> While featuring prominently in interviews, this appears to have always been the case in Ituri, especially in mining contexts.



regulation; and c) the appropriation of land during and after the Ituri War as displacement and flight provided opportunities for profiteers. It appears that ethnic sentiment is mobilised through historical grievances and current political manipulation. Hence, while ethnic invective figures prominently in testimonies, it seems to be a consequence rather than a cause of violence. Even though it seems evident that both Lendu-based and Hema-based groups have participated in the violence and that unsolved historical tensions have fuelled it, this report finds that both communities have repeatedly engaged in dialogue and trust-building exercises condemning the violence. This also fits with the widespread astonishment at the rather spontaneous outbreak of violence in February and its abrupt end in April 2018:

Fears remain as to the spontaneous end of the conflict and the lack of explanations for the violence. Nobody has been demobilized and arms continue circulating, so things can heat up again anytime in Djugu. (Interview #022)

The third observation relates to weak governance broadly, and demobilisation and impunity more specifically. Numerous interlocutors stressed that former combatants have been poorly reintegrated, are frequently victims of drug abuse and unemployment and, hence, are easy targets for mobilisation through minor monetary or other incentives as well as ethnic scapegoating. While the FRPI remains operational in Ituri, all other short-lived or longer-lived armed groups (FNI, the various UPC factions, FAPC, PUSIC, FAPC and their breakaway or successor factions) left a reservoir of youths specialised in the 'metier of the gun' (see Debos 2016). Meanwhile, militia leaders were integrated into the national army with lucrative posts, triggering further resentment among the rank-and-file rebels.

Fourth, the broader and deteriorating political and security situation appears to have been conducive to renewed armed mobilisation entrenched along ethnic lines. While tensions between the Hema and Lendu have certainly been aggravated historically, and more recently through impunity and bad governance, this alone hardly explains the level of organisation behind some of the massacres. Moreover, Hema and Lendu communities themselves suffer from internal divisions in addition to potential inter-ethnic fault lines. While not conclusive, several testimonies point to attempts to revive past dynamics of local mobilisation (possibly ex-FNI and residual FRPI alongside CODECO) and tie these to national and regional dynamics, in particular government co-option from Kinshasa and Ugandan positioning with respect to north-eastern Congo more broadly, and in addition to the ongoing conflict in the Beni area.

Finally, a number of questions remain unanswered. Despite numerous interviews and research into the 2018 Ituri violence, it is unclear to what extent national politics have revived simmering tensions in Ituri, and to what extent violence may have been used to manipulate communities. In summary, this leads to an analysis that posits the deadly attacks that have affected Djugu since early 2018 as the result of multiple converging factors, which neither excludes a dedicated plan to stir violence nor pinpoints this as the sole cause. While this violence should not be seen as a continuation of the 1998–2007 wars, it builds on various fault lines that have survived faulty post-war reconstruction as well as deeper historical rifts. Key pointers to understanding the precise nature of the violence, the identity of the perpetrators and the underlying (political) motives are likely to lie in the role of CODECO and its networks among former Ituri militia, customary and political leaders on all ethnic sides and the positioning and interests of government security forces and certain key business elites.

## 7. Recommendations

Given the complexity and the protracted nature of the violence in Ituri, and Djugu in 2018 in particular, it is difficult to provide tailor-made recommendations to the Pamoja Inawezekana project as well as in a broader sense regarding peacebuilding and stabilisation in Ituri. Nonetheless, the following tentative observations/recommendations can be made based on this study:

- i. While local peacebuilding structures are key actors in promoting reconciliation, their impact in the face of ongoing violence and conflict is limited. Moreover, the elites partaking in the conflict are likely to exploit such structures for political ends.<sup>17</sup> ILPs (Local Peace Committees) and NPMs (Noyaux Pacifistes des Mamans – women's peace groups) in Ituri should therefore continue focusing on the general and long-term work and see their main mission as cultivating a culture of non-violence amongst the broader population at the grassroots level. It is recommended that the Consortium for the Integrated Stabilization and Peace of Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (CISPE) programme maintains a focus on closely collaborating with and empowering these structures, as well as its parallel work with the Police, Local Security Committees and Justice.
- ii. As in Beni, the recent Ituri violence is marked by a significant degree of secrecy and lack of clarity as to the perpetrators. It is therefore important for peacebuilding actors to put a particular emphasis on fact-finding, neutrality and impartiality, given that rumours and uncertainty heighten suspicions, especially in conflict areas where a majority of the population has only limited access to verified information and general education.
- iii. In a situation where the authors of violence have no strategic interest in making themselves known, this is a fact that in itself merits deep analysis and dedicated investigation. Therefore, if peacebuilding actors wish to engage in such problems, one key task lies in long-term trust-building with local populations to eventually lower the threshold for open conversation.
- iv. From the perspective of international peacebuilding and policy-making, and in view of upcoming national events (e.g. elections) and other high-priority issues (e.g. Ebola), it is recommended that CISPE, PAX and partners maintain high-level advocacy in addition to grassroots peacebuilding efforts in order to keep the situation in Ituri on the agenda of diplomats and international actors.
- v. Moreover, international stakeholders should pursue an agenda that puts the historical trajectories of Ituri in focus. As in many other contexts, international policy-making often favours a reading of conflict zones that require 'stabilisation' and the 'restoration of authority' based on an imagined pre-conflict order that does not account for the temporal path dependencies of war.
- vi. With its unusual rhythm of sharp peaks and lulls in violence, as well as the changing character and direction of the conflict since August 2018, it is important to remain attentive to the contours of the violence. The example of Beni highlights how difficult it is to catch up with the entangled dynamics of violence if peacebuilders, local associations, researchers and international interveners do not emphasise a thorough understanding of a conflict. This requires continuous research in collaboration with local stakeholders, including CISPE partners and Congolese universities.
- vii. For many domestic and international actors, the global political situation in Congo does not help in establishing a clear focus on the Djugu crisis. Feelings of abandonment may quickly lead to a deterioration in access. Therefore, it is important to maintain intensive and dedicated interaction with local partners and populations, in particular in view of possible disengagement.

<sup>17</sup> For instance, see Longbe's role in a previous UN Habitat project on land issues





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A school restarted after the crisis in a church building: a class in each corner



## 9. Annexes

### Annex 1: List of attacks and killings

Chefferie/secteur	Groupement	Village	Date	Deaths, wounded, burnt houses		
WALENDU DJATSI	PIMBO	UZI	16/12/2017	2 FARDC chargers stolen by two young people and recovered after being tortured		
BAHEMA NORD	UTCHA	MAZE	17/12/2017	2 women seriously injured		
			19/2/2017	217 houses burnt		
			29/2/2018	41 dead		
			4/2/2018	61 houses burnt		
					34 dead (mass grave)	
					24 burnt houses	
					Several houses burnt	
				OLO	9/2/2018	13 dead ; 94 houses burnt
				UTCHA	19/2/2018	6 morts, 34 burnt houses
					6/3/2018	4 dead, 3 wounded, 14 houses burnt
		SARUTI	19/2/2018	4 dead, 9 houses burnt		
			6/3/2018	3 dead, 5 wounded, 23 houses burnt		
		BELIBA	3/3/2018	3 civilians wounded, 1 soldier FARDC dead, 47 houses burnt		
BAHEMA NORD	BUKU	BLUKWA CENTRE	17/12/2017	143 houses burnt,		
			17/1/2018	3 civilians beheaded		
			4/2/2018	300 goats stolen ; Property looted; 7 beheaded civilians, captain Commander GMI TCHIBANGU killed, 19 dead		
				NDJACHULU	11/1/2018	2 people beheaded
					20/3/2018	11 people beheaded
					27/11/2018	2 dead ; 61 goats stolen
				RETA	9/2/2018	9 dead, 139 houses burnt
				TCHUSA	12/1/2018	21 dead;
					19/3/2018	112 houses burnt 10 civilians killed, 15 wounded, 106 houses burnt, looting of livestock and other property
				NDOGBE	26/1/2018	8 dead several houses burnt
		NGBAGO	26/1/2018	6 dead several houses burnt		
		JISSA	26/1/2018	9 dead several houses burnt		
		TSUKI	1/12/2018	1 dead 16 goats abducted		



Chefferie/secteur	Groupement	Village	Date	Deaths, wounded, burnt houses
		TCHUNGA	31/1/2018	1 military FARDC killed 1 civilian wounded, Cattle looted
		GISA	17/2/2018	7 houses burnt
		TSUKI	6/12/2018	1 wounded 13 houses burnt
BAHEMA NORD	DHENDRO	DHENDRO	16/1/2018	1 Civilian beheaded 1 civilian wounded
		TCHENDJI	9/2/2018	7 dead, 52 houses burnt
		YALI	23/4/2018	5 dead several houses burnt
		KPAWI	23/4/2018	4 dead several houses burnt
		DHEGRI	23/4/2018	5 dead several houses burnt
		WADRI	23/3/2018	4 dead several houses burnt
		TCHENDJI	23/3/2018	6 dead several houses burnt
		SANDJOWA	19/9/2018	2 FARDC killed, 2 FARDC wounded, 7 AK47 stolen, 5 attackers killed 3 attackers captured
BAHEMA NORD	SOMBUSO	LIRI	11/2/2018	7 dead several houses burnt
		UCHUKPA	11/2/2018	7 dead 136 houses burnt
		DUVIRE	11/2/2018	19 dead several houses burnt
		CHENA	10/2/2018	7 dead 78 houses burnt
		SAOKPA	10/2/2018	4 dead several houses burnt
		MUSEKERE	29/5/2018	3 heavily wounded, 13 houses burnt
		TSIDA	23/3/2018	4 dead 53 houses burnt 21 wounded
		RETS'	23/3/2018	3 dead 92 houses burnt 7 heavily wounded
		DYEVI	26/6/2018	3 dead
		SUMBO	28/4/2018	2 civilians abducted and killed afterwards 1 wounded
		KAA	13/2/2018	5 dead, 1 cow and several chicken stolen
		DUVILE	11/2/2018	Several houses burnt
		UTUKPA	11/2/2018	Several houses burnt
		WILI	11/2/2018	5 dead several houses burnt
		NGADI	11/2/2018	3 dead several houses burnt
		DJUTCHA	11/2/2018	2 dead several houses burnt

Chefferie/secteur	Groupement	Village	Date	Deaths, wounded, burnt houses
		RULE	11/2/2018	4 dead several houses burnt
		BAPU	11/2/2018	2 dead several houses burnt
		LINI	11/2/2018	6 dead several houses burnt
		SUMBU	11/2/2018	5 dead several houses burnt
		KATO	11/2/2018	3 dead several houses burnt
		MUGAGA	3/11/2018	9 military FARDC killed (Adj EMIKA, BISIMWA, MUKUBMWA, MUMBERE, Sgt LUBANGA BARUTI, BENDERA) DJEMBI, BOZO, AMISI ; 13 FARDC wounded, 2 civilians killed, 9AK7 et 3PKM stolen
		NZONZO	28/11/2018	6 mariners killed, 6AK 47 stolen, 6 fishermen killed
BAHEMA NORD	LOSSANDREMA	MBOGI	24/3/2018	1 military FARDC killed, 4 FARDC wounded, 16 houses burnt
		KAFE	24/3/2018	13 houses burnt
		MASINI II	17/1/2018	9 houses burnt
		MUVARAMU	6/2/2018	Several houses burnt, VODACOM network ransacked, 24 solar panels carried away 9 military (8 seamen and 1 Lieutenant T2 Sector OPS killed), 9AK47 2 mortars 60, 11 bombs, 2 rocket launchers, 2PKM, 2 boxes of 350 bullet cartridges, 2RPJ7, and 2 ammunition AK47 carried away, 6 dead civilians, 8 wounded, 4 FARDC huts burnt some Congolese fishermen dead
		JOO	22/3/2018	8 dead
BAHEMA NORD	NDREMA	KAWA	27/3/2018	4 dead, 3 wounded 14 houses burnt
		CHEE	27/3/2018	3 dead, 17 houses burnt
		LOGO	24/4/2018	3 dead, 9 houses burnt, 13 houses burnt
BAHEMA NORD	LUVANGIRA	BANI	4/3/2018	13 maisons brûlées
		TSUNDE	4/3/2018	4 dead, 9 heavily wounded, 34 houses burnt
		VARA	4/3/2018	1 dead, 2 wounded 19 houses burnt
BAHEMA NORD	RISASI	BIDJU	4/3/2018	1 dead, 39 houses burnt
		GINA	17/2/2018	7 dead, 214 houses burnt
		TCHATSIKPA	3/3/2018	3 dead, 7 wounded 63 houses burnt
BAHEMA NORD	DIROKPA	BUY	6/3/2018	Several houses burnt
		KARAMBA	6/3/2018	Several houses burnt
		KPASHA	6/3/2018	Several houses burnt



Chefferie/secteur	Groupement	Village	Date	Deaths, wounded, burnt houses
		GAY	6/3/2018	Several houses burnt
		NYAPALA	4/3/2018	3 dead, 91 houses burnt
BAHEMA NORD	MALABO	KONGO	4/3/2018	4 dead, 7 heavily wounded Several houses burnt
BAHEMA NORD	KPATCHU	KASIDI	20/3/2018	1 dead
		BUTCHU	5/2/2018	Several houses burnt
		MBUTCHU	4/2/2018	N/A
WALENDU PITSI	DHENDRO	GOLO	7/1/2018 29/10/2018	1 civilian heavily wounded 49 houses burnt
		AGU	16/1/2018	1 civilian beheaded
		KANGO	17/11/2018	N/A
		UKUMU	6/2/2018	2 dead, 15 houses burnt
		GOBU	7/2/2018	1 military FARDC (seaman) killed, 7 civilians dead
WALENDU PITSI	LAUDJO	SONGA	6/2/2018	Looting of goods several houses burnt
		LAUDJO	9/11/2018 18/11/2018	2 dead among attackers, 3 civilians wounded 2 FARDC killed, 4 FARDC wounded
WALENDU PITSI	LADEDJO	DJU	17/12/2017	88 houses burnt
		WASSA	26/8/2018	2 military FARDC beheaded (Sgt MUKASHA et SGT KAMANDA), 2 AK47 stolen
		BLUKWA MBI	17/1/2018	4 houses burnt
		LADEDJO	9/11/2018	8 military FARDC killed, 23 FARDC wounded taken to Bunia hospital by helicopter, 2 attackers dead and several wounded
		DIADA	20/3/2018	Village chief beheaded, Mr MPITSO
WALENDU PITSI	DZ'NA	KAADEMA	11/2/2018	9 dead, 117 houses burnt
WALENDU PITSI	MALALI	MALALI	28/9/2018	3 civilians dead, 1 military FARDC dead
WALENDU PITSI	LINGA	ALINGA	28/9/2018	23 dead, 29 wounded 17 houses burnt
		LINGA	30/9/2018	N/A
WALENDU PITSI	GOBI	DJITSI	18/9/2018	4 huts FARD burnt
MAMBISA	LODA	CENTRE DE NEGOCE NOUVEAU	10/6/2018	12 houses burnt 9 wounded
MAMBISA	KEKPA	BAIMANI	12/1/2018	10 houses burnt, 5 civilians wounded, 1 civilian beheaded
		KEKPA	6/9/2018	9 morts, 16 Blessés graves, 167 maisons brûlées
BAHEMA BADJERE	DHEDJA	LIDA	14/2/2018 15/12/2018	3 morts, 113 maisons brûlées, 4 blessés 13 maisons brûlées, 1 mort
		LIDHA	15/12/2018	1 wounded, 16 houses burnt

Chefferie/secteur	Groupement	Village	Date	Deaths, wounded, burnt houses
BAHEMA BADJERE	DJAIBA	MBAA	11/2/2018	3 dead
BAHEMA BADJERE	NG'LE	LENGE	9/2/2018	2 dead 17 houses burnt
		LUTSIKO	11/1/2018	3 people wounded 10 houses burnt, 3 cows stolen
		RHO/BULE	24/9/2018	5 Civilians dead, 5 wounded, 3 military FARDC dead, 3 AK47 carried away, MUKPAKE MAMBO military seriously wounded died on 29/9/2018
BAHEMA BANYWAGI	TAMBAKI	MBECHI	15/3/2018	2 dead, 9 houses burnt, 33 cows and 457 goats stolen
BAHEMA BANYWAGI	NGBAVI	NYAMAMBA	15/3/2018 24/3/2018	5 dead, 2 wounded 67 houses burnt 5 houses burnt
WALENDU TATSI	PENYI	NYARE	7/9/2018	Village chief Mr BANGA NYARE killed
WALENDU TATSI	SALIBOKO	NDALE	23/4/2018	3 dead
		LIDYO	23/4/2018	6 dead
WALENDU TATSI	GOBI	TARA	6/2/2018 16/9/2018	Several houses burnt
BAHEMA BAGURU	BUDI	BUDI	7/2/2018	Several houses burnt
BAHEMA BAGURU	KOLI	KOLI	7/2/2018	Several houses burnt
BAHEMA BAGURU	TOLO	TOLO	7/2/2018	1 FARDC captain killed 7 civilians killed, Several houses burnt
BAHEMA BAGURU	JAKO NDAORA	LIKO	22/3/2018	1 dead, 1 wounded several houses burnt
		KANYO	22/3/2018	N/A
BAHEMA BAGURU	JAKO NDAHURA	NUNUA	7/2/2018	Looting of goods, 3 houses burnt
BAHEMA BAGURU	LOPA	PADOLE	9/2/2018	3 houses burnt
NDO-OKEBO	TCHELE	TCHELE	16/3/2018	Market burnt and looting of merchandise
		GOIPA	16/3/2018	Looting of goods and village chief beheaded.
NDO-OKEBO	AKWA	NZEKU	12/2/2018	N/A
		ALWI	12/2/2018	Several houses burnt looting of goods
BANYALI KILO	KAMA	BESSE	7/2/2018	7 dead

### Annex 2: List of IDP camps after the Djugu violence

Lieu	Nombre	Groupement Commune	Ville, Secteur Chefferie	Territoire	Date
ISP	1686 ménages soit 5989 personnes	SHARI	BUNIA	IRUMU	20/12/2018
HGR	N/A	SHARI	BUNIA	IRUMU	N/A
BEMBEI	139 ménages soit 475 personnes	SHARI	BUNIA	IRUMU	20/12/2018
KASENYI	677 ménages soit 2277 personnes	BEIZIHA	BAHEMA SUD	IRUMU	N/A
KPAGBA	300 ménages soit 1010 personnes	BELIBA	BAHEMA BAGURU	DJUGU	N/A
EP TUUNGANE	936 ménages soit 4680 personnes	BELIBA	BAHEMA BAGURU	DJUGU	30/05/2018
CECA 20		BELIBA	BAHEMA BAGURU	DJUGU	
INSTITUT IGA BARRIERE		BELIBA	BAHEMA BAGURU	DJUGU	
LINDJI	2873 ménages soit 14869 personnes	LOPA	BAHEMA BAGURU	DJUGU	30/05/2018
VENYO	503 ménages soit 2012 personnes	LOPA	BAHEMA BAGURU	DJUGU	20/12/2018
GODO I	1003 ménages soit 5013 personnes	LOPA	BAHEMA BAGURU	DJUGU	30/05/2018
GODO II		LOPA	BAHEMA BAGURU	DJUGU	
TSE	N/A	LOPA	BAHEMA BAGURU	DJUGU	N/A
KID'A	N/A	LOPA	BAHEMA BAGURU	DJUGU	N/A
MULABO	N/A	LOPA	BAHEMA BAGURU	DJUGU	N/A
REG. DRODRO	776 ménages soit 3125 personnes	BUKU	BAHEMA NORD	DJUGU	20/12/2018
REG. BULE	61 ménages soit 189 personnes	NG'LE	BAHEMA BADERE	DJUGU	20/12/2018
TCHE	N/A	NDREME	BAHEMA NORD	DJUGU	N/A
RAMOGI	978 ménages soit 4890 personnes	LABORAMOGI	MOKAMBO	MAHAGI	20/11/2018

### Annex 3: Selected Testimonies

In this annex, three longer testimonies provide further insights as to the local readings of the 2018 Djugu violence. While they represent snapshots, they illustrate the entirety of dynamics relevant to the conflict.

#### Testimony one

Le debut était au mois de decembre 2017 à la position FARDC de Uzi. Uzi est un marché qui se situe entre trois collectivités : Walendu Djatsi, Walendu Tatsi et Bahema Nord. C'est donc un marché fréquenté par les populations de ces trois collectivités. Un jeune garçon du groupement Ladedjo en secteur de Walendu Pitsi fut arrêté par un militaire à Uzi. Le militaire avait perdu son chargeur. Ce jeune avait fui avec ce chargeur. Il avait été battu par des taximen de Maze du groupement Aucha Ndaura. Le conflit vient d'engager quatre chefferies. Ce garçon Lendu est allé raconté à sa famille que les Lendu l'ont battu.

Le 17 decembre, trois femmes Hema de Maze qui partaient récolter les haricots à Ladedjo, où elles louent les champs Lendu, vont croiser les frères Lendu et se font decapiter par vengeance à cause du jeune Lendu tabassé par les taximen

Hema. Maze alerté, ces femmes ont été amenés à l'hôpital de Drodoro pour les soins. Les Hema ont directement incendié plusieurs maisons Lendu. En repressaille, les Lendu vont ensuite incendier plusieurs maisons Hema à Blukwa, Maze et Ladedjo. Ce meme jour, un problème de sorcellerie intra-Hema avait occasionné l'incendie d'une maison à Bule dans la chefferie Bahema Bajere.

Le 18 decembre 2017, un autre fait s'est passé dans le groupement Sesele. Un orpailleur avait été tué par un Lendu de Djatsi avec un fusil. Les jeunes Hema avaient pris directement la route afin d'assassiner le chef de Sesele. Cela a alerté la population qui pensait que c'est la meme situation d'incendie de maisons qui s'est passée à Blukwa. Les FARDC avaient reçu l'ordre de leur hiérarchie de ne pas attaquer les assaillants. C'est lorsqu'on avait commencé à attaquer les FARDC qu'ils ont commencer à agir. Les assaillants arrêtés, on a attendu beaucoup de mois pour l'ouverture de leur procès. Certains politiciens en profitent pour faire leur propagande. Il y a de la manipulation des tireurs de fisselles qui se trouvent à Kinshasa et Kampala. Au debut on pensait que c'était la guerre intercommunautaire. On est arrivé à attaquer les positions FARDC et on recupère les armes.

Les recentes attaques des positions Muvaramu, Songamoya, Tara et Jiro sont attribuées à Mukwake Mambo, un démobilisé ex-FNI. Nous apprenons qu'il se prépare à revendiquer les attaques et souhaite se rendre pour obtenir des grades comme Ndugjolo ou Peter Karim et que le Gouvernement puisse l'amnistier. Je me reserve de vous citer les noms des tireurs de fisselles à Kampala et Kinshasa car il y en a ceux qui avaient trahi leurs frères à la CPI. Moi je ne peux pas livrer mes frères. Enfin, la CODECO, dont le feu Kakado en était l'initiateur, est une coopérative de développement avec un arrêté ministeriel l'autorisant. Outre leurs activités de developpement, ils s'occupent du domaine religieux. Chaque jeudi est une journée férié consacrée à prier Dieu. CODECO s'occupe des fetishes des assaillants, raison pour laquelle le Gouverneur les avait suspendus. (Interview #229)

#### Testimony two

Je pense que vous aviez appris que c'est moi Longbe qui serait entrain d'encadrer la milice qui est en train de tuer et incendier en Territoire de Djugu. Certains de mes collègues des chefferies de Bahema Nord, Bahema Baderere, Mambisa m'avaient accusé auprès du Gouverneur. C'était en date du 17 decembre 2017 à la position FARDC du marché de Uzi que la guerre de février 2018 a été declenchée. J'étais la seule personne qui avait tout fait pour que Peter Karim des FNI quitte la brousse. On dit que c'est Mukwake Mambo, un ancien du FNI qui est en train de faire les attaques. Il fut garde du corps de l'officier FNI Koliba, qui avait été arrêté durant la guerre de 1999–2003. C'est juste après cette mort que la reumeur de CODECO avait aussi circulé. Je ne connais pas CODECO. A Berunda, il y a des fermes appartenant à des officiers FARDC mais gardées par des élèves qui detiennent illégalement des armes. Parmi ces officiers, je connais le Général FARDC Bonane. (Interview #227)

#### Testimony three

Au sujet de la guerre de 2018, il y a ceux qui disent que les Lendu étaient mécontent de la mort du pretre Florent en juin 2017. Ils pensent que ce sont les pretres Hema qui sont auteurs de sa mort. Les pretres arrêtés par le parquet de Bunia avaient été relachés après 2 semaines. Les Lendu ne sont pas satisfait. Je me rappelle qu'au mois d'aout 2017, nous avions perdu le coordonnateur des secouristes de Gety. Une personne avait pris la parole et déclaré : « Vous les représentants de l'église catholique, du CCA20, vous parlez mal de notre église CODECO. Nous vous faisons une mise en garde. Sinon nous allons préparer une guerre ».

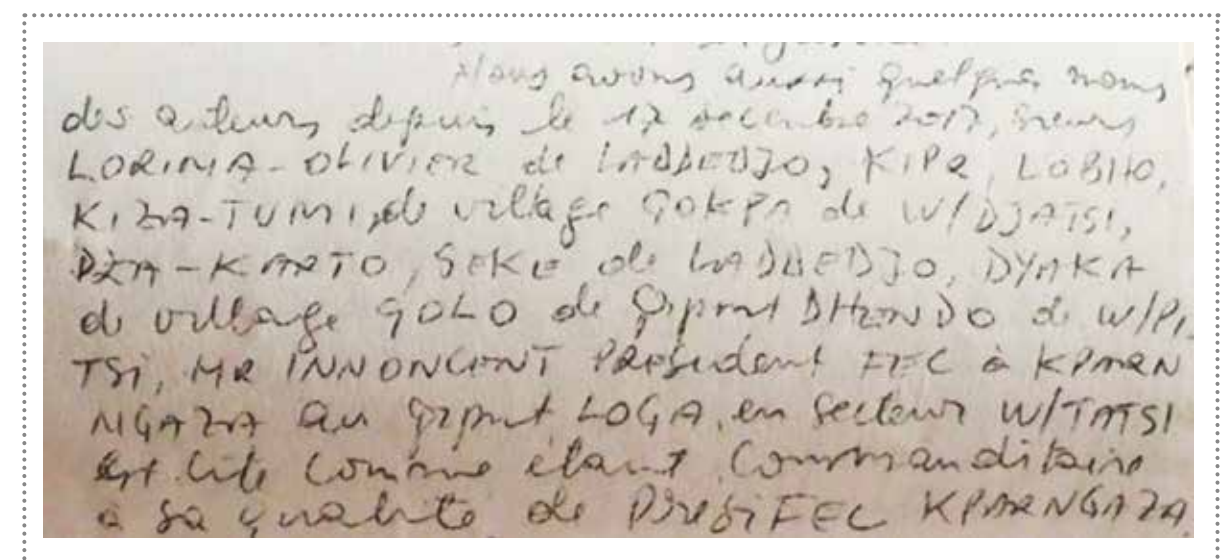
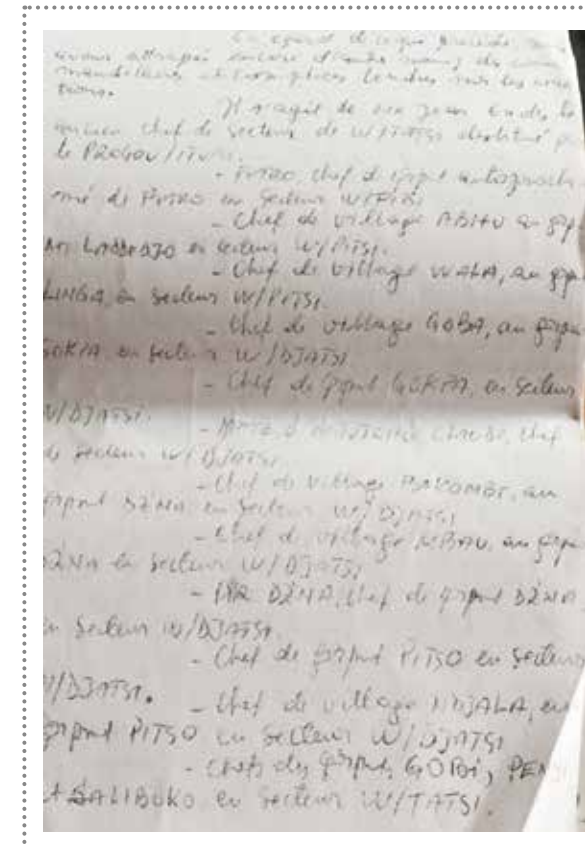
Le debut de cette guerre était en decembre 2017 au marché de Uzi. Un jeune de la communauté Lendu avait ravi l'arme d'un militaire. Les jeunes de la communauté Hema avaient poursuivi ce jeune afin de récupérer cette arme. Ils avaient tabassé le Lendu. Ce dernier va raconter à son village que les Hema l'ont battu. Lorsque trois femmes Hema partaient au champ, le jeune tabassé avec d'autres jeunes Lendu tentent de tuer ces trois femmes. Deux bléssées et une morte. Lorsque les Hema de Maze apprirent cette nouvelle, ils vont incendier les maisons Lendu du village Tete. En repressaille, les Lendu vont descendre et bruler les maisons des Hema à Maze, Blukwa, Audjulu, Adedja, Dendro, Sumbusu, Techle, Kparanganza et Liyo.



Nous avons constaté que les corps des assaillants avaient des amulettes de type « grigri ». Il y avait aussi des personnes qui ressemblent les Lendu, et d'autres très élancés qui ne ressemblent ni aux Hema ni aux Lendu. Les assaillants se promenaient avec des sacs vides pour y mettre les corps des assaillants qui sont mort dans ces violences. Nous avons constaté aussi que les militaires FARDC pouvaient ouvrir le couloir aux assaillants. Lorsque les assaillants finissaient à bruler les cases et tuer les gens, les FARDC venaient tirer à l'air. D'après nos informations, il y avait parmi les assaillants des comptables chargés de compter les maisons brûlées. Une maison brûlée équivalait 10.000 CDF. Lorsque la convention de recevoir 10.000 CDF n'était plus respectée, les assaillants avaient commencé à tuer les militaires. Les assaillants avaient aussi des cartes d'électeurs peut être pour compter les victimes. La réputation des FARDC n'est pas bonne parce que la plupart avaient appartenu aux groupes armés et sont rwandophones. Les tracasseries des militaires sont aussi à la base de cette mauvaise réputation.

Au mois de février 2018, les responsables ANR et DEMIAP de Bule et Djugu étaient venus nous contactés et nous demander de quitter Bule car la guerre sera terrible. Nous avons pensé qu'ils ne voulaient pas que la croix rouge soit témoin geant de ce qui va se passer. Durant la guerre, il y avait des zones qui devaient être laissées à la population pour fuir et d'autres qu'on ne devait pas fréquenter (Bule-Fataki, Fataki-Bunia, Bule-Djugu, Bunia-Mahagi). Nous avons aussi appris que Kawa Mandro était parmi les leaders derrière cette guerre. Nous avons entendu qu'il avait même traversé le lac au niveau de Mandro vers le mois de février. Nous n'avons pas de preuves de son implication dans ces violences. (Interview #231)

**Annex 4: Excerpts of an intelligence report showing potential suspects**



Annex 5: Red cross documentation gathered from fieldwork



2. PARCOURS		
NO	Jours et dates	Activités réalisées
01	Samedi 03 mars	- Achat des intrants et équipements de protection à Bunia. - Transfert des kits et intrants de Bunia à BULE par le Président OHEKANA Ernest et son CC Nicolas BUSHA.
02	Lundi 05 mars	- Sensibilisation et briefing de 28 volontaires à BULE, organisés et structurés en 4 équipes de 7 volontaires chacune, sur la nature de la mission et les objectifs à atteindre. - Les kits de protection et les intrants de désinfection leur sont fournis par équipe.
03	Mardi 06 mars	- De 8 hrs à 17 hrs, 28 volontaires ont travaillé pour inhumer : - 4 corps au village BENGU, - 5 corps au village LIRI, - 7 corps au village DEMA-KAA, - 6 corps au village RACHO soit 22 corps au total.
04	Mercredi 07 mars	- De 7 hrs à 17 hrs, les volontaires ont travaillé pour inhumer : - 16 corps au village GOKPA, - 7 corps au village DUVIRE et - 4 corps au village MBAA soit 27 corps au total.
05	Jeudi 08 mars	- De 7 hrs à 17 hrs, les volontaires ont procédé à l'inhumation de : - 6 corps au village SOMBO ; - 9 corps au village NYALI ; - 9 corps au village UCHUKPA et - 5 corps au village SAKIPA soit un total de 29 corps.

L'inhumation

6. ACTIVITES REALISEES ET RESULTATS ATTEINTS

a. Une coordination au niveau provincial était constituée et composée du PROSEC et du CD GC et au niveau territorial par l'AT de territoire de Djugu assisté par le président territorial de la CRRDC et son Chef de bureau Gestion des catastrophes.

b. 91 dépouilles ont été découvertes durant l'activité dont 37 nouveaux cas.

c. 78 corps sur 91 dépouilles ont été récupérés puis inhumés au lieu de 54 corps initialement prévus soit 144 % de réalisation. Parmi les 78 corps enterrés, 19 corps légèrement décomposés soit 24,36 % ont été récupérés par leurs proches après leur identification et les 59 autres soit 75,64 % mis en terre par les 28 volontaires assistés en moyenne par une quarantaine de jeunes locaux par village et ayant servi surtout comme des fossoyeurs volontaires.

7. DIFFICULTES MAJEURES RENCONTREES

- 13 cadavres n'ont pu être inhumés non seulement suite au manque de couvertures ou de sacs mortuaires mais surtout à leur découverte dans une zone non couverte par l'autorisation de déplacement accordée par l'A.T. de DJUGU (cf autorisation ci-haut citée).

- Tous les corps mis en terre par les volontaires ont été placés dans des tombes individuelles juste à côté des endroits où ils étaient découverts ; du fait de leur état de décomposition avancée, ce qui rendu leurs creusements très pénibles.



Enfin, le cas des cadavres mutilés et fosses qui déignent sont une source de frustration pour les survivants et les proches pour les victimes en attente.

Aussi, les gens craignent et ont évité de parler de ce qui s'est passé car ils ont peur de représailles de la part des auteurs. Ces gens sont réfugiés par les milices à Bunia, et sont soutenus par une présence politique importante par ces ex-ILS.

Il ressort que la réhabilitation morale des terres rurales dévastées est une priorité, car elle permet de restaurer et rétablir les efforts psychologiques des survivants et des populations vulnérables. Également, il est important d'être bien pour les familles qui ont des personnes affectées par les dépouilles non récupérées d'une manière rapide et dans le respect, afin de pouvoir avoir des sépultures et accéder à leurs proches en tant que 3 jours après, à l'attention du Président territorial de la CRRDC, sous la forme de Djugu, de manière à ce que les victimes soient et aident pour ce faire.

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Le mardi 23 Avril 2018  
De 8h00 à 12h00, 49 volontaires ont travaillé  
pour inhumer  
1 corps au village TCHENOST  
1 corps au village WADLI  
2 corps au village KPAWI  
3 corps au village DHEGRI  
groupelement au village STALI tous en  
groupelement DHEGRI au chef-lieu B/Nord  
2 corps au village MAZE  
6 corps au village OCHA  
4 corps au village SHUTI tous en  
groupelement OCHA au chef-lieu B/Nord  
6 corps au village LIDTO  
3 corps au village NDRALE tous en  
groupelement SALBEKO au secteur W/TATS  
3 corps au village LOFO  
3 corps au village CHEE  
4 corps au village KAWA tous en  
groupelement NDRETH au chef-lieu B/Nord  
  
Village  
2 corps au village BOI  
2 corps au village KARAMB  
4 corps au village KASHA tous en  
groupelement DHEGRI au chef B/Nord

-6-  
33 corps sur 116 dépouilles ont été récupérés  
puis inhumes initialement au lieu  
de 73 corps prévus. Parmi les 73 corps prévus,  
9 corps légèrement décomposés ont été  
récupérés par leurs proches après leur  
identification et les 84 autres mis en terre  
par 49 volontaires recrutés localement en  
majorité par une quarantaine de jeunes  
locaux par village et ayant servi surtout  
comme fossoyeurs volontaires.

Le mercredi 24 Avril 2018  
De 08h00 à 12h00  
groupelement SALA  
- Village LONDO = 2 corps  
- " SALA = 3 corps  
- " DHELI = 4 corps  
groupelement LONDO  
- Village BISTE = 2 corps  
- " BUNDE = 4 " "  
- " NABA = 4 " "  
- " KASPE = 6 " "  
3. Groupelement BUKU  
- Village JISSA = 2 corps  
- " NDEDE = 3 corps  
4. Groupelement SENGO  
- Village TALI = 3 corps  
- " CHAU = 3 corps  
  
Le jeudi 25 Avril 2018  
De 08h00 à 12h00  
1. Groupelement SORIBU  
- Village RETS = 3 corps  
- " SIDA = 4 " "  
2. Groupelement DENA  
- Village SANOUKU = 3 corps  
Total = 33 corps inhumes.

