

WIDE ANGLE

# FROM ELECTORAL TO REGIONAL CRISIS – THE CASE OF THE GRAND KASAÏ.



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The following is a “Congolese story” in the truest sense of the word. It tells about violence, angry people, a government that has betrayed, and tells about many young people who lost their lives on clay roads, and not only. Despite the evil, and even though not yet finished, we can already predict the usual ending: men and women gathering to say sorry. Inhabitants of a village who sit together to receive and give forgiveness, well knowing the terrible sufferings caused to each other, and that life is too short to be lived holding a grudge. A life tribute, showing tenacity as a feature and proof of how much Congolese people do care for it.

We shall treat issues related to the Grand Kasaï region, focusing particularly on the events of the cities of Tshimbulu and Kananga, starting from a broad perspective on the national scenery and the difficulties related to the complex electoral situation.

The three strong powers in the country are the main actors, such as the State Power, the Catholic Church and the Power of traditional leaders.

The State Power in the form of the army (FARDC) and the police (PNC), and other forms of representation such as the ANR (Agence Nationale de Renseignement) and the DGM (Direction Générale de la Migration). The Catholic Church is mainly represented by CEN-CO (Conférence Épiscopale Nationale du Congo). The traditional power is in the figures of the Chef coutumier and precisely the Chef de Groupement.

The timeframe runs from 12 August 2016, the day of the killing of Jean-Prince Mpandi, a date in which the beginning of the crisis in Kasaï falls conventionally, until July 2017.

**Keywords:** Democratic Republic of the Congo, Central Kasaï, Kananga, Tshimbulu, Kamwina Nsapu, FARDC, mass graves.

## Table of contents

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| <b>1. Introduction .....</b>                | <b>5</b>  |
| <b>2. Country overview .....</b>            | <b>6</b>  |
| 2.1 The national political background ..... | 6         |
| 2.2 Kasai .....                             | 7         |
| 2.3 The triptych of the powers.....         | 8         |
| <b>3. Kamwina Nsapu.....</b>                | <b>9</b>  |
| <b>4. The disorders .....</b>               | <b>10</b> |
| 4.1 The case of Tshimbulu .....             | 11        |
| 4.2 Kananga theater of clashes .....        | 12        |
| <b>5. Conclusion.....</b>                   | <b>14</b> |
| <b>Endnotes.....</b>                        | <b>16</b> |



## 1. Introduction

*“One day, they decided they did not want to hear the roosters singing in the morning, and this is why they were all killed.”<sup>1</sup>*

The birds are the first to wake up, even before the roosters. The clock is not necessary if you can recognize their different songs. At this time, the fog is still hanging everywhere and keeps everything calm and inviolate, pastels colored, almost non-existing noises.

Man's first appearance starts with the first Bayandas, who resume their journey in the cool morning. They have slept, sometimes in groups, sitting nearby their loads, they have eaten and now they are ready to leave to again. The bicycle wheels crushed under the weight of the load, bricks, fuel, and coal, leaving in the sand along the road a long continuous trail, next to bare footprints and drops of sweat.

Then, the women. They meet each other on the street; their voices still spread undisturbed the clean air. Bearing buckets on their heads, towards the spring, or sitting on the roadside to heat the oil in which they will soon dip the beignet. Like a curtain, the fog rises slowly, leaving room for the show that goes on every day. When the sun is at a 45 degree angle with the ground, the orchestra is complete. Children's voices in white shirts and blue trousers going to school, motorbikes on unmade roads, men and women slowly moving towards the center of the village to sell corn, beans, fruit, games, boxes of tomato sauce and mayonnaise. People who meet, while the red clay soil stands out against the green of the exploding nature, under the smell of wet and fertile land, and the clean air.

Now the sun is high, and the picture is complete. Another day in Kasai has begun, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Too often associated with words like war, malnutrition, poverty, diamonds and diseases, it easy to forget that places like Kasai have their own routine, their intimacy and beauty that, when interrupted by a gash of violence, steals something precious from all of us.



**Tree felling and timber production in Mushenge, Central Kasai.**

*Credit: Morini Martina.*

## 2. Country overview

The day of 12 August 2016 probably began the same way.

Usual fog, usual market, the same roads returning to see the sun.

Kasaï has been holding for some months a malaise, randomly spreading and about to explode brutally after this day. After months of frictions, the two strongest powers in Congo collide, the state power and the traditional one. The head of the Kamwina Nsapu tribe, belonging to the Bajila Kasanga ethnic group, Jean-Prince Mpandi is murdered in his home during a military operation. The body mutilated, as shown in a video recorded by a member of the FARDC (Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo)<sup>2</sup>, and then kidnapped. He is formally accused of challenging central power and creating a militia, which is part of the area of unrecognized military forces. This is the beginning of one of the darkest pages in the history of Kasaï.

The event, almost unnoticed at first, is considered in retrospect as the turning point in the escalation of violence. Just like an overflowing vase, it is not a coincidence but the result of the overlapping of different facts occurring in the previous months and is grafted onto a very complex national political scenario.



**Inhabitants of the village Domiongo, in Central Kasaï.**

*Credit: Morini Martina.*

### 2.1 The national political background

President Joseph Kabila's mandate expires on December 31, 2016. He is in his second term and the possibility of renewal is not constitutionally stated. By mid year, there are still no official electoral lists and the organization of the elections slips inexorably ever further, up to the month in which they should be held. The country falls into chaos.

A few months before the end of the mandate, in July 2016, Etienne Tshisekedi, a great and charismatic politician, coming from Kasai, returns after his retirement from the scene two years earlier. The high hopes placed in him turn into frustration the day after his death in Brussels in February 2017.

The capital Kinshasa is crossed everywhere by demonstrations, parades, angry and disappointed young men, no longer willing to tolerate. Such energy brings an equal and opposite violence to repress and silence them. A dozen lay lifeless, in the streets of Kinshasa. As a script, the demonstrations are forbidden and the work of the media is impeded.

The killing of Jean-Prince Mpandi occurs at the same time of these facts, with still no relevant echo, erroneously and simply considered as a local fact of a distant village, in the “Grand Kasai”, as it once was. The attention focuses in fact on the capital, which is recalled as the real battlefield at that time.

## **2.2 Kasai**

In the following paragraph, Kasai is intended as the “Grand Kasai” – Western and Eastern Kasai – even though no longer existing administratively. As soon as the law on the reorganization of the provinces became effective in 2015, the two regions were divided into five, and that is the reason why Kasai is currently defined “Kasai démembré” (dismembered) with a mixture of irony and bitterness.

The history of government opposition and strong political activism has its roots in this land. It gave birth to Patrice Emery Lumumba<sup>3</sup> and to Etienne Tshisekedi, whose fame has crossed the national borders and marked the political history of the country. It may be thought that the lack of consideration and the little interest always reserved to this territory by the State is a direct consequence of its connection with the political opposition.

In terms of technological progress, infrastructures and the presence of the State, Kasai is among the most underdeveloped regions of the Congo. The wires and pillars of the electricity go through the area without stopping, to provide Katanga with energy.

The SNEL Company supplies electricity. In its most important city, Kananga, which was once a candidate as capital of the country, it is usually available in two time frames, from nine to eleven in the morning and from seven to ten in the evening. In exceptional cases, this may vary. During national matches, for example, electricity is supplied only in conjunction with the event, leaving the rest of the day uncovered. Most activities are linked to the use of generators. Fuel is transported mainly by road and reaches the small centers by bicycle transportation.

The water system, managed by the company REGIDESO, does not reach all parts of the city center and the major supply is provided by women on the roadside selling buckets of about twenty liters up to two hundred CDF.<sup>4</sup>

Public transport is almost non-existent; the most popular means are taxi-motorbikes while most of the cars in circulation belong to international organizations.





**A truck stopped due to bad roads conditions in Central Kasai.**

*Credit: Morini Martina.*

As also stated by the CAID (Cells of Analyses des Indicateurs de Développement), the city “does not produce any goods, even basic necessities, and lives on imports.”<sup>5</sup>

If not in a context, the above is a quite miserable picture, while the splendor and richness in Kasai is in the soil and the subsoil. Mbuji-Mayi is certainly the most famous city for the excavation of diamonds but it is not rare to find them near the waterways throughout the territory. Then, the minerals and fruit, game and the finest woods.

Someone talks about “geological scandal”, someone else, more romantically, one day told me that God, while passing by, had forgotten his bag there, in Congo.

### **2.3 The triptych of the powers**

The State presence in Kasai is bland and distant. It can be seen on the 26th of each month, when the teachers form a long queue to receive their salary, consisting of about 76 dollars. The State is in Kinshasa, while only a distant, corrupt and irrelevant echo comes in Kasai. This void of State management is filled by the traditional power and by the Church. The Catholic Church has a solid, branched and strong presence. Most of the villages are located around the remains of the missions, where cement buildings and wells still can be found. The figure of the priest plays an active role in the community and the Catholic institution is still able to gather entire villages in the church on Sunday mornings.

The traditional power, especially in Kasai, has remained intact since the territory was divided into “kingdoms”, each governed by a king. This type of organization runs in tandem with the state one, and it is strongly effective and homogeneous on the territory. There are the Tshiluba language, the leader, elected by all family members of his lineage, and the territory. Article 207<sup>6</sup> of the Congolese constitution also recognises its value as the historical heritage of the country. In case of robberies, disputes over the cultivation of the fields, or over the boundaries, is it easier to involve the head of the village rather than the police.



The intersection between State and traditional power is a recent history. In 2011 a debate began on the importance for the state to provide a remuneration to the chef coutumier as a representative of traditional power. The discussion in parliament continued until 2015 when, on April 20, the new law was approved<sup>7</sup>. The law consists of 40 articles and confirms the neutrality of traditional power and its importance for the cultural heritage in the country. In reality, such initiative discloses a dark side more than a positive one, not without impacts.

Is maybe the State trying to extend its influence in an area in which its effectiveness is completely lost? Would it be possible to avoid the state interference in the chef's election? In the event of a chef recognized by the state but not by the population, who will be responsible for settling the inconsistencies and how?

### 3. Kamwina Nsapu

It is 2016, and it is almost four years since Jean-Prince Mpandi has become the sixth Chef of the Groupement Kamwina Nsapu, but he still has to spend several days in front of the Central Kasai Governor's office to have his title officially recognized.

Don Jeannot Mandefu, military chaplain of Kananga barracks, reports:

*"Jean-Prince was waiting for the meeting with the governor, as one of the obligations of the state is to protect and solve the problems of the population, when he decided to return to his village after more than a week of waiting in Kananga".<sup>8</sup>*

His figure is rather controversial, little or nothing is known about his past, except for some gossip describing him as a healer in South Africa or somewhere in China, living his current life in a non-silent frustration.

Already in the early months of 2016, while travelling on the road that from Kananga leads to the village of Bunkonde, it was usual to see burned down huts, small abandoned areas and hear that zone whispered as "rouge" ("red zone" referred to the level of danger).

The puzzle was still not complete; there were already talks of fights for the possession of the land as well as underground magmatic movement.

His is also the figure of a charismatic leader, who knows how to speak to his countrymen, who knows the sore points of his people, able to attract, like an iron magnet, masses of unsatisfied, disappointed and angry young people, starting what he himself called the "Kamwina Nsapu phenomenon".

At the beginning of April, his influence begins to raise serious concerns amongst the authorities, who can no longer ignore his presence.

On 3 April, while abroad, the FARDC enters the village Kamwina Nsapu and search in his home, touching the objects of power he used to consider as sacred.

From that moment, the clash with the state becomes official and brazen, and its symbols like the police and the army fall into the crossfire. The tensions continue, with varying intensity, until August 12, 2016, when the army enters the village again, this time to kill him.

## 4. The disorders

At this point of the story, the dust rises, while in the morning the birdsong no longer accompanies the sound of the incoming day. From now on, a people, betrayed and angry, disorganized and too young not to act on impulse, begins what in other contexts we would call a “resistance”.

*“It is not a civil war, there is not one tribe against another; Kamwina Nsapu has been considered as a leader of a group of political pressure, he had enough of the government and wanted to show that sometimes strength does not come from the weapons. We are facing the oppression of a people and a tribal leader who says no. Many young people have considered and followed him as a leader. Many of them had the traditional baptism with him.”<sup>9</sup>*

The struggle of Jean-Prince Mpandi uses the value of tradition as advantage as well as its superiority on the state. The emphasis is all on the most traditional aspects of the history of Kasai, including magic.

A resistance made of potions, which if swallowed in front of a fire makes you insensitive to bullets, made of weapons manufactured from wooden sticks against guns, made of red bands tied on the head to give the feeling of invincibility.

*“The entry into the militia takes place with the rite of initiation through which the chef transmits to the youngsters, even the children, the power to be invulnerable to arms. Incisions are made on the body and then a drink called Tchisava is offered, which contains substances very similar to drugs.”<sup>10</sup>*

A barefoot army, made up of teenagers and very often even younger, dealing with a real army, with weapons, munitions, cars, boots and uniforms. A story with an obvious ending.

This is a militia in the most literal sense of the term, consisting of a non-professional army with a common purpose. They are many and they are mostly all young, in some cases children. They are united by dissatisfaction and being part of the Kamwina Nsapu militia becomes more than a symbol of rebellion. The “contagion” happens quickly. Kilometres



**A child hunting in the forest in Central Kasai.**

*Credit: Morini Martina.*

far away, within the confines of the Great Kasai as once was, the red bands tied around the head, symbol of belonging to the militia, are all around.

One of the first disasters occurred in Tshimbulu, on 8th August 2016, a few days before the death of Jean-Prince Mpandi. The attack took place a few days after the assault to village Ntenda, held by a cousin of Mpandi and considered dangerously close to the power of Kinshasa.

#### 4.1 The case of Tshimbulu

*“The army fired at young people without knowing who was joining the militia and who was not. They killed and hid the bodies in the mass graves. The first ones were found in Tshimbulu. Their families did not report the missing people the most of the time, expecting them to be resurrected soon. The baptism in the militia resulted in this kind of brainwashing.”<sup>11</sup>*

Tshimbulu is until today the bloodiest scene of the clashes. In its neighbourhood, eighteen graves have been found.

In August 2016, some militia members attacked a police station, the Agence Nationale de Renseignements (ANR) offices, the Direction Générale de la Migration (DGM) and the main symbols of the state. A dozen bodies fall and remain on the ground, but that is only the beginning. The following months are a sequence of attacks and their repressions. Why right here in this village?

According to Sonia Rolley<sup>12</sup>, RFI journalist special permanent envoy to Kinshasa, the reasons are clear. There are a number of Congolese generals considered “red” by MONUSCO (Mission of the Organization for the Stabilization in DR Congo), due to the crimes committed against the population, especially during the wars with the east of the country. Over the years they are moved from the areas of the East but never removed from their positions, some of them are even promoted to general.<sup>13</sup>

In the east of the country some of them are Banyamulenge, coming from Rwanda, who, during the Second Congo War<sup>14</sup>, organized themselves into an armed group, the RCD (Rassemblement Congolaise pour la Démocratie) financed by Rwanda. The controversial and bloodthirsty former combatants reintroduced in the Congolese army, as well as their strong Rwandan accent has always raised suspicion and fear among the population that is still mourning the deaths of that war.

In Kitchanga in North Kivu, in 2013, it is reported that the army committed a massacre and left behind two hundred deads, dozens of burned houses and looted villages. A few time later, General François Muhire was declared guilty by the Congolese justice, and also considered as one of those responsible for the massacre. Despite this, he was never prosecuted for his crimes.

From the beginning of 2017, he has led his regiment for military operations in Kasai. Exactly where the mass graves multiply.

In her investigation, Sonia Rolley identifies at least four other generals responsible for the massacres of Kitchanga, who were at Kananga in the same period.



In addition, Jeannot Mandefu, confirms that:

*“Muhire François was in Tshimbulu, and there he killed many people with his hands; now he is in Tshikapa as deputy commander of a brigade. Colonel Bahizire Mungu Bimanga Adrien is still here in Kananga, and there are others, like Colonel Mukoko Binyere Musavuli, under a false name.”<sup>15</sup>*

All these army members were part of Battalion 2201 led by General Muhire during the Second Congo War, and were already charged with force abuse against the population.

## **4.2 Kananga theater of clashes**

In September 2016, the militia attacks the Kananga airport. The official bulletin reports between 28 and 40 dead, including eight who belong to the Congolese military corps.

Only in December, the militia, in one of its peaks of expansion, succeeds in taking control of the city of Kananga, this happens while in Kinshasa negotiations are being prepared between the CENCO (Conférence Épiscopale Nationale du Congo) and the Congolese Government, which will lead to the “New Year’s Eve” agreements.

Until then, the traditional powers of Kamwina Nsapu and the Church had never been in conflict. The tension begins only after the stipulation of the New Year’s Eve agreements. The Church is accused of supporting the power of President Joseph Kabila, and is targeted by the militia Kamwina Nsapu together with the police.

In the first days of December, the militia begins its march from the village towards the city, on foot, with the red bands tied around their heads and with the support of the villages met along the way, which is often due to intimidation.

The number of mass graves found along the way suggests the idea of an army unable to recognize between militia or not, and which breaks down everything that moves.

The militia manages to reach Kananga, and from its arrival, takes control of the city excluding the state power completely, and establishes its headquarters at the municipality of Nganza.

*“The militia prevents the schools from functioning, and if a school works, the headmaster is punished. The militia also prevents the payment of taxes, which are used to enrich the State instead of sustaining the population. The military and police are no longer in uniform, fearing death. Their presence in the city means the failure of the state, having the power at that time all in their hands. We have lived in Kananga for more than two months, under a State not able to manage the daily life of the population even pretending to do so. There were no more courts, and reporting someone would be enough to bring him to the ‘foyer’.”*

The “foyer” becomes the official place for the administration of justice. Under a logic of exaltation of the Congolese tradition and in accordance with the philosophy Kamwina Nsapu, a component of the State (the court) is replaced with a traditional one (the foyer). The place of education and tradition, in which the elderly used to transmit their knowledge to the youngest, turns into the place of judgment and initiation. Even the

wood used for the fire has a symbolic value: the wood of the tree under which the hunters used to meet before hunting, a type of savannah tree and a type of wood that means “next to the river.”

*“He wasn’t the one to put the fire; he used to make his rituals while the fire appeared without ever being extinguished. The foyer were far from the centre, on the fringes of the city edges, (...). I saw people coming back mad from those foyer, even the sick turned to them hoping that their power could heal them.”*

New military contingents are sent to Kananga. As a few months earlier in Tshimbulu, with their arrival, the mass graves multiply. The images of the videos shot by the militias themselves tell much more than words can.

There are children who fall under the fire of bullets, while holding a wooden rifle, there are women with their heads surrounded by a crown of leaves, there are old people who bend under the bullets, protected only by a red band.

The video of the massacre in the village of Mwamba Lonza is the one, which mostly attracts international attention.<sup>16</sup> In March, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights draws the attention to the necessity of an international commission of inquiry. On 13th March, the Congolese government announces the kidnapping of two UN experts: Swedish Zaida Catalan and American Michael J Sharp. Their bodies are found only three weeks later. Both shot dead; beheaded the body of the young researcher.

A few days after the announcement of the disappearance, Emmanuel Ramzani Shadari, Congolese Interior Minister, declares the end of the “Kamwina Nsapu crisis”. He promises the return of the body of Jean Prince Mpandi, detained by the police, the official recognition of the next leader. However, the crisis is far from an end.

Kananga remains a ghost town pervaded by terror. The door-to-door operations perpetrated by the army continue, especially in the municipality of Nganza, considered the stronghold of the militia.

*“The town remained empty; going from home to home, they killed one after another because the headquarters were there. The militia killed, and looking at Ntemba we know that many people died even though they were not buried in mass graves. I am a military officer and next to me there is the military hospital and behind it, the morgue. At a certain point, the military arrived from outside, after the ones already in Kananga had been accused of being partisan in the militia. The only mission they had was to kill. They used to go out during the day and load the bodies on the jeeps. The manslaughter has no evidence in lack of the corpse, and it is not relevant as a crime. The bodies were brought to the barracks, stored in the morgue and then thrown into the mass graves. After they had left, I used to return to give a blessing and pray for those bodies. The discovery of the mass graves answers many questions. It is true that the army had as its mission the killing of youngsters to end the phenomenon Kamwina Nsapu. Many of them died without even knowing what Kamwina Nsapu really meant.”<sup>17</sup>*

## 5. Conclusions

As anticipated, there is not a real ending yet, although it seems there are many smaller but no less important ones. There is one in particular: the inhabitants of a village near Kananga, once the militia had left, could no longer recognize the victim from the executioner, a story that reminds us of one of our own. Someone had entered the militia in order not to die, someone had entered it because truly believing in it, and in the end all of them lost something and someone. Executioner became victim, and in the end, the pain was the same. The men and women of this village then decide to reunite and try to forgive themselves in order to continue to live together, freed from grudge and willing to return to life.



**Waiting for coffee in Nsele, Central Kasai.**

*Credit: Morini Martina.*

All of the above should be emphasized without forgetting the figures concerning one of the biggest humanitarian crises of 2016. MONUSCO has identified eighty mass graves until July 2017, UNHCR reports more than 30,000 refugees who have found shelter outside the country and more than 1,300,000 internally displaced people, who remain inside the country after leaving their place of residence.<sup>18</sup>

The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights has sought consent for an investigation since March 2017, when some African countries, including South Africa, froze the request. As regards this point, the Congolese Government is not willing to accept any compromise and refuses any external attempts to investigate the crimes in Kasai as well as the killing of the two UN experts.

There are some signs suggesting that the crisis is far from being resolved. On 7 July 2017 the president of the CENI (Commission Électorale Nationale Indépendante), the institutional body responsible for ensuring the proper conduct of the elections in the



country, declared the impossibility of holding elections before the end of the year due to the condition of insecurity in Kasai. On 5 November 2017, the CENI publishes the new calendar that fixes the next elections at the end of 2018, postponing effectively the end of the president's mandate for the period of two years.

In view of this epilogue, it seems that the thousands of dead inside the mass graves in Kasai, added to the hundreds of people dead for the crisis recently erupted in the east of the country, are one of the prices that the Government has decided to pay to shift international attention and extend its undisturbed permanency.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Extract from the interview given by Don Jeannot Mandefu to the author on 1 September 2017.

<sup>2</sup> RFI English, “A deadly attack against chef Kamwina Nsapu”, in [https://www.youtube.com/watch?time\\_continue=6&v=EH3UkZ2JKI4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=6&v=EH3UkZ2JKI4) (consulted 28 September 2017)

<sup>3</sup> Patrice Émery Lumumba was born in Onalua in 1925. His figure is still remembered for the anti-colonial, anti-imperialist and pro-communist struggle undertaken. His career began in the journalism sector and he joined politics in 1958, when he founded the Congolese National Movement. In 1960, he was the first prime minister to be democratically elected in the first elections after independence. In December of the same year, the General Mobutu, completing his coup, had him arrested near the Sankuru River and executed the following month. Following this event, it will be 40 years before another democratic election is held.

<sup>4</sup> An American dollar is changed on average by 930 CDF, 200 FC corresponds to 0.21 dollars.

<sup>5</sup> CAID, “Particularités et richesses de la ville”, in <https://www.caid.cd/index.php/donnees-par-villes/ville-de-kananga/?Domaine=fiche> (consulted 29 September 2017).

<sup>6</sup> “L'autorité coutumière est reconnue. Elle est dévolue conformément à la coutume locale, pour autant que celle-ci ne soit pas contraire à la Constitution, à la loi, à l'ordre public et aux bonnes mœurs. Tout chef coutumier désireux d'exercer un mandat public électif doit se soumettre à l'élection, sauf application des dispositions de l'article 197 alinéa 3 de la présente Constitution. L'autorité coutumière a le devoir de promouvoir l'unité et la cohésion nationales. Une loi fixe le statut des chefs coutumiers.”

<sup>7</sup> Loi fixant le statut des chefs coutumiers, in [http://www.droitcongolais.info/files/1.11.1.-Loi-du-25-aout-2015\\_Statut-des-chefs-coutumiers.pdf](http://www.droitcongolais.info/files/1.11.1.-Loi-du-25-aout-2015_Statut-des-chefs-coutumiers.pdf) (consulted on 1 october 2017).

<sup>8</sup> Extract from the interview given by Don Jeannot Mandefu to the author on 1 September 2017.

<sup>9</sup> Extract from the interview given by Don Jeannot Mandefu to the author on 1 September 2017.

<sup>10</sup> Extract from the interview given by Don Jeannot Mandefu to the author on 1 September 2017.

<sup>11</sup> Therein.

<sup>12</sup> Sonia Rolley, “Violence au Kasai”, <http://webdoc.rfi.fr/rdc-Kasai-violences-crimes-kamuina-nsapu/> (consulted il 2 ottobre 2017).

<sup>13</sup> This is the case, for example, of General Eric Ruhorimbere, promoted to general in 2014 and former member of the CDMP Congrès National pour la Défense du Peuple, founded in the Kivu region in which he was fighting against the Congolese armed forces.

(14) Fought between 1998-2003, it is one of the bloodiest wars in African contemporary history, so much that it was renamed even before the first African world war. It starts after

the departure from Kinshasa decided by President Kabila of some Rwandan figures, who during the first war helped him consolidate his power. Soon it turns into a massacre, fought especially in the east of the country and on an ethnic basis. The peace treaty with Rwanda was signed in Pretoria in July 2002 after the death of President Laurent Kabila, who was succeeded by his son Joseph Kabila.

<sup>15</sup> Extract from the phone interview given by Don Jeannot Mandefu to the author on 2 October 2017.

<sup>16</sup> Vidéo de massacre au Kasai, le gouvernement reconnaît des “excès”, in <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F9ck2UaZYf8> (consulted on 22 September 2017)

<sup>17</sup> Extract from the interview given by Don Jeannot Mandefu to the author on 1 September 2017.

<sup>18</sup> United Nations Human Rights, Office of the High Commissioner, <http://www.ohchr.org/en/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=21937&LangID=E> (consulted on 22 September 2017).





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