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# Hospitality at the heart of a misfortune in eastern of the democratic republic of Congo: A socio-cultural analysis of the film “Olukyo lunene lwingirya nde” by Armstrong

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**Abstract:** The war crisis in North and South Kivu has become a war of aggression waged by foreign peoples who have received the hospitality of the natives. The resurgence of rebellions in the east of the country goes back to the history of the genocide and the way refugees were managed. The aim of this paper was to examine how hospitality at the heart of a misfortune by socially and culturally analysing the film "Olukyo Lunene lwingirya nde" by filmmaker Armstrong. Specifically, the paper introduce the film "Olukyo Lunene lwingirya nde" and its structure, analyze hospitality and its consequences as described in the film "Olukyo Lunene lwingirya nde", hospitality and its consequences in the context of the war crisis in Eastern DRC and create awareness-raising messages for the proper management of hospitality in the DRC. This paper used descriptive search models and collected primary data from a structured interview guide with respondents and a focus group with a group of 6 people who experienced the war crisis in Eastern DRC and viewed the film. This study used secondary data from the analysis of the film. The data was triangulated with the primary data in this paper to achieve the above-mentioned objectives and the recommendations.

**Keywords:** Hospitality, misfortune, sociocultural, Hospitality Management, war crisis in Eastern democratic republic of Congo, Shared Responsibility

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Research background

To understand the resurgence of rebellions in the east of the country, one must go back to the history of the genocide and the way refugees were managed. After the Cold War and he genocide in Rwanda in 1994, the International Community requested the then president of Zaire, Mobutu, to open the borders to Rwandan Hutu refugees who were fleeing the genocide in Rwanda. Among them were the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (French: Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda, FDLR) soldiers who entered the democratic republic of Congo (DRC) with arms and ammunition (Caillé, et al., 2019). This event is among the most frequently cited causes of insecurity in eastern DRC, specifically in the provinces of North and South Kivu. This misfortune of DRC is therefore attributed to be caused by her hospitality towards neighbouring countries according to observations by His Excellency Mr. Felix Antoine Tshilombo during the Holy Father, Pope Francis on his apostolic visit to the DRC on 31<sup>st</sup> January 2023 and Cardinal

Ambongo who underlined that the DRC is a welcoming country and that this hospitality brings it trouble.

The same sentiments have been captured in the film entitled 'olukyo Lunene lwingirya nde' produced by North Kivu film artist, Amstrong in 2017. The film symbolically traces, in an eastern DRC context, how a visitor turns into the owner of the house and makes the whole family feel bad.

### 1.2. *Problem statement*

The war crisis in North and South Kivu, which is now leading to the genocide of the indigenous populations, has become a war of aggression waged by foreign peoples who have received the hospitality of the natives (Stearns, 2012). In 1999, Mgr Emmanuel Kataliko, former Archbishop of Bukavu in South Kivu, in a Christmas message, wrote that 'foreign powers, with the collaboration of the peoples we hosted during the Rwandan genocide, are organising wars with the resources of our country (Mbelu, 2009).

The observation of the Assumptionist Father and former president of Kyaghandanda Yira, Vicent Machozi, in 2013 is such that rebellion is an act of disobedience and internal violent resistance against legitimate authority with the aim of radically changing the mode of management or administration of a state or an army. This according to him does not exist in DRC who rightly speak of 'foreign rebels' who are in fact mercenaries, international terrorists, or terrorists without borders. Welcomed people have therefore turned into terrorists to attack the DRC.

Is there a need to review the way we welcome neighbours as this may have the intention of taking over the homes of the host families? What is the responsibility you have in such a case? What do you do to get out of this misfortune? This article 'hospitality at the heart of misfortune' provides the socio-cultural analysis in the context of the DRC and proposes a sharing of responsibility between the visitor and the owner of the house in the misfortune that befalls the family.

### 1.3. *Study objectives*

The aim of this study is to examine how hospitality at the heart of a misfortune by socially and culturally analysing the film "Olukyo Lunene lwingirya nde" by filmmaker Armstrong. Specifically, the study aimed to: (i) introduce the film "Olukyo Lunene lwingirya nde" and its structure, (ii) analyze hospitality and its consequences as described in the film "Olukyo Lunene lwingirya nde", (iii) analyze hospitality and its consequences in the context of the war crisis in Eastern DRC, and (iv) create awareness-raising messages for the proper management of hospitality in the DRC.

## 2. **Literature review**

### 2.1. *Theoretical literature review*

The study is underpinned by the Theory of Structural Functionalism. This theory defines social institutions to be a collective whole necessary to fulfill the various needs of individuals and centers on how these institutions meet their social needs. Structural functionalism says that for societies to survive they have to be stable and cohesive, and this comes from solidarity. Structural functionalism emphasizes more on social order. Structural functionalism believed that an individual is simply an occupant of his social role and are thus, not significant as only themselves but just because of their social roles and status. Structural functionalism believes that social inequality and oppression may be necessary for the stability, integration and functioning of a society. Structural functionalism says that discrimination fits perfectly in a society since it yields positive results (Fararo, 2001).

Structural functionalism says that when a society becomes complex differentiation takes place and integration takes place among the new institutions. Thus, even though changes occur structures inside a society emerge to compensate for the change. These new

integrated structures guarantee the smooth running of our society and thus, it argues that the members are responsible for its stability and order. Therefore, when we reach a point where further growth of society is not possible, crisis takes place, which transforms society. Consequently, change is a continuous process until it reaches crisis point where transformation takes place (Brinkerhoff, 1999).

Structural functionalism intently focuses on equilibrium of a society and says that it consists of mutually dependent parts working together to maintain that equilibrium. It also tries to describe our social institutions mainly by its effects and thus, is unable to explain the reasons for the effects. Structural functionalism believes that society is inclined towards stability and equilibrium at the cost of social change (Hook, 2006).

## 2.2. Empirical review

Emizet and Ndikumana (2003)'s study analysed the causes of civil wars in the Congo since independence and investigates how the Congo case fits the model of civil war proposed by Collier and Hoeffler. Five conclusions arise from this case study. First, the level and growth rate of national income increased the risk of war by reducing the cost of organizing rebellions and the government's ability to counteract the rebellions. Second, while regional ethnic dominance served as a basis for mobilization of rebellions, ethnic antagonism was also an obstacle to the expansion of civil wars beyond the province of origin. Third, while natural resource dependence was a significant determinant of civil wars in the DRC, it is the geographic concentration of natural resources and their unequal distribution that made the Congo particularly prone to civil war. Fourth, the government's ability to counteract rebellions depended more on external support than on the government's military and economic capacity. Fifth, discriminatory nationality laws, disruptions in the ethnic balance of the eastern region caused by the influx of Rwandan Hutu refugees in 1994, and shared ethnicity between rebels and neighboring regimes variables which are not included in the Collier-Hoeffler model were significant determinants of the outbreak of civil wars in the 1990s.

Karbo and Mutisi (2012)'s study on ethnic conflict in DRC identified several factors as contributing to the negative sentiments between ethnic groups in the DRC, including early political decisions regarding eligibility for citizenship of specific regions. The authors acknowledge the early existence of a shared culture between two of the groups involved in conflict and present perspectives that a mythology of ethnic difference has been created and perpetuated by colonizers, political powers, foreign interests, rebel groups and media.

Alusala (2019) conducted a study on border fragility and the causes of war and conflict in the DRC. The study noted that the occurrence of civil wars in Africa has often involved cross-border characteristics, whether as causes or effects and therefore cannot practically delink the causes of territorial (inter-state) wars from those of intra-state (internal/civil) wars, as even civil wars have the potential of degenerating into inter-state wars. The study proposes that causes of conflict can be viewed in two dimensions. Firstly, as underlying (or core/root) causes and secondly as proximate causes. It explains how external (spatial) proximate events in one country can merge with internal (core) factors of instability in another country to trigger a conflict irrespective of barriers such as physical borders. The study uses the occurrence of the civil war that took place in Zaire (now DRC), to illustrate this thought. It analyses how pre-existing internal structural weaknesses (or root causes), the effects of the Rwandan civil war served as proximate causes (or triggers) to the war in the DRC and transformed it into a regional one.

Seybolt (2000)'s study on the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Observed that since 1998 the armed forces of nine states and at least nine rebel groups have fought in the DRC for control of the DRC Government; control of the governments in Angola, Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda; exploitation of the DRC's mineral wealth; and because of ethnic hatred. The study pointed out that a critical antecedent to the civil war was the presence of hundreds of thousands of Rwandans in the eastern DRC after the 1994

genocide and civil war in Rwanda. The intertwined involvement of governments, insurgents, and refugees from countries in the African Great Lakes region and to the west and south also makes the war in the DRC one of the world's most troubling.

Mamili (2015) carried out study on the Great Lakes Region Conflict Case Study of Democratic Republic of Congo. The study observed that Rwandan-backed M23 armed group continues to perpetrate widespread war crimes, including summary executions, rapes, and forced recruitment of children into their forces. Numerous other armed groups have carried out horrific attacks on civilians in eastern Congo, including in North and South Kivu, Katanga, and Orientale provinces. Fighters from the Nduma Defense of Congo militia group, led by Ntabo Ntaberi Sheka, killed, raped, and mutilated scores of civilians in North Kivu. They include the Raia Mutomboki, the Nyatura, the Mai Mai Kifufua, and the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), a largely Rwandan Hutu armed group, some of whose members participated in the Rwandan genocide in 1994. The conflict revolve around minerals and poor governance. This research paper looks objectively on the causes of conflict, conflict management approaches and the social economic impact of conflict in DRC and the entire Great Lakes region. Greed grievance theory is employed to guide data collection and analysis.

### 3. Methods and materials

This study used descriptive search models. The designs in this study have different applications and characteristics. Cooper and Schindler (2006) show that the key difference between descriptive studies is their objectives. If the research aims to find out who, what, where, when, then the study is descriptive. Descriptive studies are those that aim to describe the phenomena associated with a given population or to estimate the proportions of that population with certain characteristics.

The research has applied qualitative method in its approach to literature review. This study collected primary data from a structured interview guide with respondents and a focus group with a group of 6 people who experienced the war crisis in Eastern DRC and viewed the film. From the film they expressed opinions about the relationship between foreign hospitality and the war crisis in the DRC. This study used secondary data from the analysis of the film. The data was triangulated with the primary data in this paper to achieve the above-mentioned objectives. The target population of this study included the director of the film 'Olukyo Lunene Lwingirya nde' and people who were well informed on the effects of hospitality in the DRC, notably the president of the Civil Society of North Kivu, the journalist Kénédy, an independent political analyst, Mavughu Jurist and Magistrate, Kavotha traditional chief, Armstrong (the author of the film), and 6 people (in a discussion group) who have lived through the war crisis in Eastern DRC and have viewed the film that is the subject of this article.

After analyzing the consequences of hospitality in the DRC in the light of the film "olukyo lunene...", this study proposed recommendations that could help the DRC to emerge from its colonial state.

### 4. Results and discussion

#### 4.1. Presentation and structure of the film "Olukyo lunene lwingirya nde"

Sindani Armstrong born in 1979, is a filmmaker who works in the Grand Nord-Kivu in the East of the Democratic Republic of Congo, more precisely in the town of Butembo. He produces films on education and the resolution of family and land conflicts. He has more than 13 years in this profession. He is originally from Luveve-Masereka where he shot most of his films (interview with Armstrong). He has a film experience without sponsorship. The films he has produced include: Kitaka Kyaluire; Obwera Bwerighula; Okwavya Kwetu Kwavere Kwavene; Olukyo Lunene Lwingirya Ndee I And II (2016);

Ovuhanya Sivuliya Eyo; Parton Musenzi; Oyukakuronda Koluwanza Syaliluvulaa; Olu-  
limi Ni Mbundu; Bonde Katwa Kokighuma Ngalabha; and Wema Ni Kumanyoko.

The film "Olukyo lunene lwingirya nde: Akanyama kabalya Mundu kakasa ngalubundu" tells the story of a family that has great possessions, including a sheepfold. In this sheepfold there are cows, goats, sheep, and other livestock. One day this family needed a shepherd who could faithfully guard the animals for the whole family. The man and woman went in search of a shepherd. They met two young boys who spent their time playing a game of checkers. They recruit one of them who confirms that he is an experienced shepherd. It should be noted here that this recruitment is motivated by the woman who is already attracted to the future shepherd.

The recruited shepherd is called Armstrong (the main actor of the film). He is adopted into the family of his boss and very quickly the woman falls in love with him. The woman and Armstrong, the new shepherd, plot how to make the boss disappear to inherit all his wealth. The woman begins to show more attachment to the young shepherd than to her husband. She gives the larger share of food (fire-roasted potatoes) to the shepherd and the smaller share to her husband. Despite the husband's complaints that his wife is denigrating him, she manages to get her husband to promise all his wealth to Armstrong if he fulfils his duty well. Urged on by his wife, the man eventually told Armstrong that he would become the heir to his wealth, even after his death (Amstrong, 2016).

Armstrong seeks out a group of young people to help him herd the animals. They spend time with them playing traditional music and dancing. The boss caught Armstrong several times dancing instead of herding cattle. He tried to dismiss him from the job, but his wife pleaded for Armstrong, who was always her favourite and model shepherd. One day, the opportunity arose to make the boss disappear. He fell ill and Armstrong became his caregiver. Instead of treating him, he injected him with a poison that caused his immediate death. Armstrong and Nyamudundo (the boss's wife) decided to leave the boss's lifeless body in the hut and enjoy the inherited (Amstrong, 2016).

A village pastor, on a pastoral walk, discovered the lifeless body in one of the huts of the owner's house. He alerted the neighbours to see the tragedy but also to bury the body because the wife was not present. In the meantime, Armstrong and the boss's wife (Nyamudundo) are happy about the boss's death because they will finally inherit all the property. Some of Armstrong's friends try to sympathise with Armstrong, but Armstrong asks them not to cry because he will finally inherit the property of the boss and his wife.

The boss's two sons had also gone into other businesses. Their father dies and is buried in their absence. They come to share the inheritance. They are told that there is nothing for them and that everything belongs to the shepherd. They try to convince their mother, but she points out that the boss had already said that all the property would belong to Armstrong including herself.

One fact triggers Armstrong's arrest. Since he was already a reputed sorcerer in the village, Armstrong took the liberty of burning down the houses of the people living on the land he had inherited. This criminal offence attracts the rigour of the state, represented here by the police. The police arrests him and put him in prison, despite some attempts to bribe the police by Armstrong. The plot ends when Armstrong is put in prison.

The film has seven parts: The search for the Shepherd, directing him to the sheepfold and promising him to be the heir as long as he fulfilled his duties (00:39-9:14); The shepherd keeps the flock, some moments of dancing with his co-shepherds, he receives (9:15 - 10:18); Armstrong is given an exceptional place in the home and conflict arises in the home because of the shepherd (10:19-19:25); The jealousy of Armstrong's former friend (19:26 - 19:51); from the boss's short illness to his funeral and death (19:20 - 36:48); Armstrong takes possession of the boss's property, the boss's sons claim it, those living on the

inherited land are evicted and their houses are burnt (36:49 - 58:53); Arrest and imprisonment of Armstrong for the criminal offence of burning the houses (58:54 - 1, 12:30).

Hospitality is the main theme of this film. This theme is presented in its negative dimension and has negative consequences. The other themes in the film are as follows: animal husbandry; idleness and leisure; family conflicts; delinquency; jealousy; and prudence.

#### 4.2. *The theme of the film*

The author of the film chose two proverbs from the Yira culture to express his filmic ideas. These are 'Olukyo lunene lwingirya nde' and 'Akanyama kabalya Mundu kakasa ngalubundu'. This choice is motivated by the war situation he himself experienced. He says he lived through the first wave of Rwandan refugees who entered the DRC in 1994. At the time he was 15 years old and lived in Kipese in Lubero territory (Amstrong, 2016)

"These refugees came as vulnerable people and we even bought their goods: a goat for only \$7 and a cow for \$20. We had the impression that they were docile, simple people who needed help and protection. It was two years later that we were surprised to see them in the ranks of the military that liberated Congo with Kabila the father," says Armstrong in an interview. After taking refuge in Masereka, during the time of the Mayi Mayi Kanga, between 1996 and 1997, he escaped several killings organised by the Mayimayi. All these experiences led him to find a way to raise awareness of the war crisis through films. For Armstrong, the population must rid itself of war by remaining attentive and vigilant in the practice of its hospitality (Amstrong, 2016).

In the first proverb, Amstrong (2016) states that 'nde' (cow) also has a negative connotation in Yira culture. It has an evil spirit called 'akalisha' and village sorcerers can use it when they move to harm people. In some traditional Yira villages, one can listen to the cries of a night while everyone is in bed (focus Group Discussion with some leaders of Yira culture in Butembo) Thus, for him, 'olukyo lunene lwingirya nde' (the big door brings in the cow), he simply means that man's imprudence is a door for misfortune. Also, for the author, when a cow is brought into a house, it is difficult to bring it out walking backwards. This is understood in the context of village houses which are generally less spacious. In such a context, to get the cow out, one is obliged to destroy it to get it out (Amstrong, 2016).

In the second proverb, 'akanyama kabalya mundu kakasa nga lubundu', Armstrong attests that 'olubundu' (the cat) is a docile animal that guards even other small household livestock in the village. However, it has sharp claws and teeth. It can, from one moment to the next, turn against the livestock it is guarding. Here, the author's experience of the war crisis means that the Rwandan refugees welcomed in 1994 behaved like docile people. However, when the time came, they showed their claws by massacring the indigenous population. Armstrong uses both expressions in the context of war conflicts but also in the context of land conflicts that prevail in his locality of Masereka. For him, the frequency of land conflict cases started in 1992 and has already torn many families apart (Amstrong, 2016).

The author therefore wants to give through his film a lesson on hospitality and land management and the awareness of the situation of war conflicts to refine solutions to get rid of them. It reminds us through the film of the responsibility of everyone. The state for example, in the film, has the responsibility to punish the thugs to maintain order in the country. That's why he ends his film with the main actor going to prison.

In this study, olukyo lunene luinginrya nde refers to a gateway for good and evil and capable of passing everything through is a great risk because it fails to filter; censor; analyse. In other words, an exaggerated hospitality makes the Enemy enter with all its consequences. Ex: without going further, the people who were welcomed in Rutsuru before

1960 want to dethrone the landowners. This proverb is an appeal to open one's eyes so as not to pay after the negative effects of one's hospitality. Other similar proverbs are Omusoki syangalenga okomukama (the vassal does not overtake his king), 'erikokya omugheni simusesera' (welcoming a visitor is not synonymous with leaving him the bridal room).

"Kakasa ngalubundu": that comes like a cat, or a fox refers to the fox which is characterized by its cunning and opportunistic behaviour. His approach is not too loud. It can also refer to the fact that an issue or problem that could escalate starts as a joke or an adventure. A person who will cause you harm enters your home quietly like a cat on a velvet paw; by the time he or she gets his or her claws out to hurt you, it will be too late, knowing already your inadequacies.

Hospitality and its unfortunate consequences as depicted in the film "olukyo Lunene lwingirya nde". In the film, we can speak of a hospitality search. The Boss's couple decides to look for a shepherd who will be able to look after their rapidly multiplying animals. The intention is initially good. However, the choice is not a good one, because he will find a destroyer of his home and a plunderer of his property. The idea of giving a person a job is great because it combats the idleness and unemployment that already characterises the DRC. The image of the young people who spend time playing for fun illustrates the life of unemployment that can be seen in many young people in the DRC and even in those who have finished their studies.

The film shows that the choice is already oriented and premeditated. Among the two young people playing the lady's game, the boss's wife directs the choice towards Armstrong without giving enough time to discern the skills of the two young people. The lady herself does not have time to interview the candidate to find out if he has the ability to do the job. This behaviour of the woman is already an indication that she is attracted to young Armstrong. The rest of the plot is based on this particular relationship between Armstrong and the Boss's wife (Amstrong, 2016).

#### 4.3. Hospitality management

The contexts of hospitality in the Yira culture are multiple. Sometimes a person is adopted into a family out of compassion for him or her, depending on the circumstances. If it is a child who has been adopted, he or she grows up in the house and becomes the child of the house. In the ancient Yira culture, this type of adoption is very common (Amstrong, 2016). The problem only arises when this adopted child starts to show predatory behaviour. When predators started to multiply in families, the proverb was born as an advice to people to be careful when welcoming a stranger (focus Group Discussion with some leaders of Yira culture in Butembo)

On the other hand, in the Yira culture, the question of caution, especially in matters of hospitality, was of low intensity. Strangers had a special place in traditional Yira villages. Indeed, in the centre of the village, there was a veranda where the men of the village met every evening to discuss current affairs and to solve their problems. The visitor had a place in these discussions. Some Yira proverbs even explain that during the palaver, a stranger or a passer-by can settle the matter. E.g.: 'vikatwa valabi' (matters are decided by passers-by). This is why, even in the libation rite, the passer-by's share is always reserved. The passer-by or visitor is also the one who gives the information from where he comes. In this way he helps the villagers to prepare themselves against eventualities.

The Yira, who had such high regard abroad, would reserve ripe bananas or other food in the veranda so that a passer-by would find food in that village even if everyone else was absent from the village for one activity or another. In the course of history, other people have abused this hospitality and started to do wrong to the people of the village. The contact of Yira themselves with other cultures started to develop complicity against

their brothers. This is why the call for caution was imposed and gave rise to the proverb 'olukyo lunene lwingira nzoghu'.

This hospitality was often at the root of problems in the culture and strategies to solve them were often late in coming. Proverbs such as 'kakivukiraw'amenge kaghulukya' (it is after the misfortune that one knows the strategy to take), eribulir'amakala w'eluhutsa' (to realise when it is already late) and 'o'mundu syalibhan'e'nzoka awithy'oko muthi' (The day someone forgets to take a stick with him, that is when he will find a poisonous snake), are very telling. Indeed, by the time you look for a stick to save yourself, the snake will have already defended itself by biting you and running away.

The last expression has already been developed by Waswandi (2019). For him, this Yira proverb laments that there are not many happy circumstances in life. When the day of misfortune comes, it surprises you alone. That is why you must never lose your vigilance; it is essential to organise yourself accordingly. In other words, when someone is overwhelmed by misfortune, friends are often absent. Life is a continuous struggle; everyone must try to be forward-looking by relying first on themselves and not on others alone, otherwise you will be caught off guard. This is also what the Belgians like to say to the Congolese: "Friends are umbrellas, you can never find them when you need them".

Friends are not bad, they are not of bad will. If they were present, moved by your need, they would come to your aid. But the unfortunate thing is that nature arranges things differently. So you need vigilance in self-defence. What is important in these three expressions is that at least the strategy is taken even if it is late. We must therefore be careful and above all vigilant to prevent such a situation from happening. It is in this context that the expressions 'olukyo lunene lwingirya nde' and 'akantama kavalya mundu kakasa nga ludu' call for awareness and vigilance to ensure that such a situation does not repeat itself, as in the proverb 'Ekikalya wambene kyo kikanalya wambuli' (the harm that happens to your neighbour can happen to you) (focus Group Discussion with some leaders of Yira culture in Butembo).

For his part, the author of the film states that in the Yira culture, people are very welcoming. For him, if you are looking for a wife, you have to choose a good family for fear of making a pact with a predatory family. For this reason, the child who is still in the direction of his mother was married because of the trust that exists between the two families. Despite this restriction, hospitality has always created problems.

'Olukyo lunene lwingirya nzoghu' (A big door brings in an elephant). The proverb in its original meaning calls for caution. Indeed, if your house has a large door, and is always wide open, it should be guarded against predators. In the Nande culture, this proverb is used in circumstances where a bad person has already entered the house and there is no way of getting rid of him. This ill-intentioned person has already taken the family hostage to the point of suffocating all those who can claim their right. In most cases, it is in the context of family inheritance that such people appear.

The current context of war makes this proverb rebound because it is possible that hospitality has been mismanaged by bringing criminals into the culture. The crisis of interminable conflicts in the Great North Kivu knows the participation of foreign predators, which means that the door has already been widely opened for them and internal predators that we call here "accomplices". These accomplices further complicate these crises because they work against the backdrop of the aggressor or predator. These predators, who have received the hospitality of the Congolese, have multiple intentions. For some authors, they are aggressors (De Villers, 2005), for others, they are land occupiers, for still others they come for economic interests, etc.

If the artists return to this proverb by sensitising the population to be cautious, it is because it is a reality that insecurity also prevails because of poorly organised and managed hospitality. In a group discussion after viewing this film, participants were



unanimous that there are two ways of managing hospitality. On the one hand, you can welcome a foreign visitor with the goodwill to help. On the other hand, the latter may turn his back on you and become an enemy soon after. The latter can be quickly brought under control by the community, which puts things in order. On the other hand, a person may welcome a bandit into his house and use him against his neighbours. This is hospitality of complicity. In either case, the call for vigilance is the responsibility of everyone in the DRC.

Akanyama kabalya Mundu kakasa ngalubundu proverb shows that in the Yira culture, people were always confronted with threats. Vice President Edgar cites Kanyarwanda, and other types of war that the Yira culture went through. To guard the door against predators, the elders asked young boys not to marry a woman from an unknown culture for fear of exposing a whole family. Even at the time of the rites, only the initiated participate. Those who violated these precepts were at the root of proverbs such as 'valyana nzighu' (he who eats with the enemy), or 'sekera vithi' (he who laughs or has fun with the killers).

This Yira proverb means 'the animal that will hurt you comes to you in a docile way'. In other words, it is not the one that comes to you that necessarily has good intentions towards you. This proverb warns against the hypocrisy hidden in docility. There is a paradox between evil and docility. A person can be apparently docile but still carries evil. This is the real lack of honesty. When a person is completely honest, he has peace of mind, and he maintains self-respect. Honesty is about respect, integrity, and self-awareness. It is the basis of trust and social relationships. It gives us hope, confidence, compassion and improves our decision making (Descarpentries, 2019).

The proverb brings us face to face with a person with a character that hides their true personality and affects, most often out of self-interest, opinions, feelings, or qualities that they do not possess. Generally, hypocrites respect others out of self-interest. Hypocrisy always goes with lying (Pharo, 2006). To have a hypocritical attitude is to behave in a cowardly and dishonest way.

The proverb 'Akanyama kabalya Mundu kakasa ngalubundu' is an expression of a hypocrite and his attitude. In the Yira culture, this proverb is often used for people who have been taken in by families, grown up in them, even been exemplary children and in the end they eliminate the rightful owners to get the inheritance. In most cases, the context of land inheritance is the most characteristic of this proverb.

'Olukyo lunene lwingirya nde' and 'Akanyama kabalya Mundu kakasa ngalubundu' are two closely related proverbs. They teach caution against hypocrites and predators. Other proverbs from the same culture support this virtue of prudence in the context of hospitality. These include 'Omuthim' avisa' (the heart hides many things).

Waswandi (2019) states that in Yira anthropology, man is a being endowed with consciousness and reason who thinks about what he is and what he will share as knowledge with another human being; in this sense of communication, man is a speaking being. In the intellectual psychological sense, it represents the consciousness which is a knowledge, an intuition or a feeling (more or less clear, more or less distinct) that a human being has of himself, of his acts, of his states, of his characters; in the moral sense, the omuthima heart designates the consciousness understood as a capacity to make or formulate moral appreciations, ethical judgements on good and evil: it is then synonymous with the mind and the soul.

Before what the omuthima heart says becomes knowledge shared with another human being in sincerity, its content exceeds what the mouth of this subject can say or communicate: it is this passage to the act of saying or doing what the heart has said and done, which constitutes one of the great mysteries of man. It is here that we see how man is capable of hypocrisy. His intentions being an enigma to others, man is capable of living

the opposite of what he really is. The two preceding proverbs are in line with this perspective, so they invite us not to have blind trust. A spirit of discernment is needed in the context of hospitality. For if everything a human being does were to be made known to the public, judges would never do their job: thieves would already be caught by the time they had their heart set on robbing. The bandits, the criminals who make diabolical plans unannounced, would be ashamed once their plans were known.

#### *4.4. The consequences of hospitality in the context of the war crisis in Eastern DRC*

The Honourable Jules, president of the Yira Kyaghandanda cultural association, reaffirms that the DRC is a victim of its hospitality. He explains that the war crisis in the DRC has its origins in the migration of Rwandan populations. These migrations were always assisted and supported by the international community. In 1959, the international community obliged the DRC to accept Rwandan refugees. They occupied South Kivu and in the course of history they sometimes turned into armed groups demanding to be recognised as Congolese citizens. This led to a collective nationality that made them Congolese. For Jules, they took the name of Banyamulenge because they occupied the hill of 'Mulenge' in South Kivu.

Edgar Mateso, vice-president of the civil society of North Kivu, adds that in 1986, when Yoweri Kaguta Museveni took power in Uganda, he chased away the national army for the liberation of Uganda (NALU) and the ADF. They fled into the Semuliki forests in eastern DRC. Out of hospitality, the DRC welcomed them and let them, and their weapons go free. Today, the phenomenon is costing the DRC more than 10 million people their lives (Onana, 2023).

In 1994, during the Rwandan genocide, the international community forced the DRC government to take in Rwandan refugees fleeing the genocide. They entered with arms and ammunition to provide Rwanda with a pretext to come to Congo to fight the FDLR. All the insecurity and war crisis that the DRC is experiencing comes from the fact that it obeyed the international community, while it thought it was respecting international law, which required it to welcome the Rwandan refugees," says Jules. This is what the Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Christophe Lutundula, had already argued that the DRC is paying a heavy price for its hospitality since the genocide perpetrated in Rwanda in 1994, during his intervention in May 2022 at the summit of heads of state and government of the African Union held in Malabo, Equatorial Guinea (Onana, 2023).

In 1996, the Congolese, in their blind hospitality, accepted the liberation of their country by foreigners, the Rwandans and Ugandans. These foreigners entered the DRC and, with the blessing of the people, took power, occupied strategic government posts and decided to kneel the DRC for more than three decades for the benefit of foreigners: neighbouring countries and the international community, says Edgar Mateso.

According to the head of Congolese diplomacy, this heavy toll is characterised in particular by massive human rights violations; the rape of women; the systematic plundering of natural resources; the destruction of the ecological fabric and infrastructure, but also the repeated massacres of the populations of the East of the country by national and foreign armed groups, allied to international terrorism. "All these economic crimes and crimes against humanity, and all these atrocities have been plunging our country into mourning for the past 28 years", the Deputy Prime Minister deplored, before adding: "We are aware of the suffering of refugees and displaced persons, and above all the financial and economic cost of human crimes on our continent".

"In the DRC, we have the experience and an acute awareness of this, which is why the Congolese delegation to the meeting tabled six amendments to the draft declaration of this humanitarian summit. These amendments relate to humanitarian challenges in Africa, including terrorism, reconstruction and post-conflict development," concluded

Christophe Lutundula. The deputy prime minister said that at present, the DRC is experiencing a worrying increase in the number of displaced persons as a result of deadly attacks by armed groups, including the March 23 Movement (M23), a movement defeated in 2013 by the MONUSCO intervention brigade, and resurrected more than 10 years later by neighbouring countries that support it with heavy armaments and men against the positions of the Armed Forces of the DRC (FARDC) in the province of North Kivu, in the east of the country.

#### *4.5. The context of responsibilities*

Responsibility for the crisis of war conflicts arising from hospitality is shared between the DRC, the international community, and neighbouring countries. The Honourable Jules, in our interview with him, argues that the great responsibility for the conflict crisis lies with the Congolese government, which is characterised by disorganisation, corruption, absence of national sovereignty, lethargy and *laissez faire*. These characteristics are the wide-open door that lets in any kind of beast. The Congolese state has welcomed refugees without thinking about the mechanisms for monitoring them. For Jules, there are no measures to regulate the movement of foreigners in the DRC. In his opinion, this is the best way to run a government that works on behalf of foreigners. We should not expect more than that from him.

However, during the Mobutu era, Zaire, which was a sovereign state, was not obliged to welcome foreigners on its soil, especially as they were armed in all the cases we have mentioned. Magistrate Mavughu (interview), in the same vein, states that in international law, the sovereignty of the country is respected. Egar Mateso attests that Zaire at the time had to disarm the allied democratic forces (ADF) in 1986 and the AFDLR in 1994 and control them to limit the dangers associated with them. These indications show that the government of the time was also irresponsible. Its preoccupation was elsewhere instead of looking after its people. No country in the world can one accept to receive armed foreigners, one first disarms and controls them (Hugon, 2006).

Now that foreigners have been welcomed with their weapons, they will demand the same rights as nationals. During the enrolment, for example, they enrolled as Congolese citizens while they are used by neighbouring countries. This behaviour has created enemies within the country. These enemies have gained access to strategic positions in national institutions, in the security services and in intelligence. This is what has allowed the international community together with neighbouring countries to bring the DRC to its knees until today (focus Group Discussion with some leaders of Yira culture in Butembo). In other words, until recently, when people talked about the Congolese government and its responsibility, they seemed to ignore the fact that it was foreigners who occupied strategic positions. They, instead of serving the DRC, have refined strategies to infiltrate the DRC even in its intimacy so that if the DRC would like to recover and rebuild itself, it has a difficult job to do. This explains the endless insecurity in eastern DRC (Kavota, interview).

Magistrate Mavughu goes so far as to give an example of Article 217 of the DRC constitution, which, composed in favour of the predators, stipulates the following: "The Democratic Republic of Congo may conclude treaties or agreements of association or community involving a partial surrender of sovereignty with a view to promoting African unity. In other words, the DRC can concede or abandon part of its territory for the causes of African unity. Hon. Jules explains how the DRC has concluded many agreements and unnatural alliances in favour of foreigners. It is these agreements that complicate the peace process in the DRC to this day. The real Congolese were in distraction and selfishness state. The Congolese who were manipulated were preoccupied with personal interests

and others did not understand the Machiavellian plan of the international community which uses the neighbouring countries (Focus Group Discussion).

The other responsibility, the most recent one, is intermingled with naivety. For Mr Edgar, the solution to the DRC's problem will never come from outside the country. The DRC government itself has called on foreigners to make life difficult for it. Or at least if it is not the DRC that calls them, then it falls into the trap of its enemy. MONUSCO in the DRC is the work of the Congolese government. The renewal of its contract with MONUSCO without evaluation of its mission is the work of the Congolese government. In the discussion (focus Group Discussion with some leaders of youth in Butembo) it emerged that Monusco's mandate has never been peacekeeping and the protection of civilians. Moreover, many of them report cases where massacres are carried out under their eyes, near their camps. They are even caught in situations where they give weapons and food to the enemy. This is complicity rather than a mission of peace (Focus Group Discussion).

The pooling of forces in the hunt for the ADF is the work of the government. The same applies to the regional force. The DRC, which always has good intentions of wanting to end the war in collaboration with its neighbours, always falls into the trap of forgetting that the causes of the DRC's insecurity are at the same time the desire of its neighbours to have its minerals (focus Group Discussion with some students in Butembo). Honorable Jules explains this by the Burundian president's recent adage of two children fighting over a maize and itching for someone else to come and decide who fights. Since he himself needs it, he will do anything to get it back (interview). While for Jules, the Congolese state is weak at all levels, it is incapable of fulfilling its duties towards its people; it should be pointed out that this is mainly because those who assume great responsibilities work for the international Machiavellian plan in collaboration with neighbouring countries.

It is therefore not possible for them to concentrate on the major problems of their country. On the contrary, the state facilitates everything that is organised against the republic. For example, the soldiers who give war plans to foreigners in order to have localities taken by the M23 rebels are still in their command posts from the brewing. They cannot be revealed. This is an indication that the state favours what is against itself. It is a fragile state (focus Group Discussion with some leaders of Yira culture in Butembo). Wema Kenedy, in the same perspective, maintains that the Congolese government, in order to justify its incapacities, tells the Congolese public that it is the neighbouring countries that are responsible for the misfortune of his country without saying why they do not protect themselves against their neighbours, since they know their enemies (interview). The few patriotic leaders who are concerned about the security of the people are quickly blocked by the infiltration of those who work for foreigners. (focus Group Discussion with some leaders of Yira culture in Butembo).

The other responsibility identified in the discussion group is that of population which is primarily responsible for the crisis of war conflicts in the DRC. In all the main cases, there is the conscious or unconscious participation and complicity of the population. In 1996, for Edgar, it was the population that supported the war of liberation in great ignorance of selling its fate. The population welcomed with joy and commitment the foreigners who were fighting to dethrone the Mobutu regime. The first responsibility of the population in the misfortune of the DRC thus lies in its naivety (focus Group Discussion with some leaders of Yira culture in Butembo) The film we have analysed returns to the theme of the boss's naivety in blindly accepting that a stranger should keep the family property. He thus ended up having his life snatched away. The Congolese people behave exactly like this scenario.

The second responsibility of the population lies in its complicity with the enemy. By getting used to the insecurity in the East of the DRC, some people find the moment to seek

benefits at the expense of the community. The armed groups, used as crutches of the enemies, have their origin in the population itself. But they choose, because of the financial benefits, to make the population suffer (Interview with a KAVOTA traditional chief). In the same perspective, Salu (an old wise man in the town of Butembo and catechist) maintains that the complicity of the people is starting to become a culture for the population. The sense of patriotism and of the common good is disappearing, and the population can accept to collaborate with the enemies bringing them material goods such as food, clothes to facilitate the carnage of the population in Beni town and territory. Also, the population is, by complicity, unable to denounce the traitors who are by them. In Beni, the military spokesperson of the Sokola operation one said that the war against the ADF was asymmetric because the enemy is in the forest and in the town living among the population at the same time.

Through its hypocrisy, the international community participates indirectly in the destabilisation of African countries. In 1994, for Edgar, it was the international community that forced the Congolese government, which is a member of the UN, to take in Rwandan FDLR refugees with arms and ammunition. This hypocrisy can be seen when foreign states appear to be sympathetic while they are pacting with the enemy of peace in the DRC. They come under the guise of supporting human rights and peace, but their hidden agenda is to bring the DRC to its knees. The non-government organisations (NGOs) are also part of the same perspective (focus Group Discussion with some leaders of Yira culture in Butembo).

#### *4.6. Approaches to shared responsibility*

The irresponsibility of the Congolese government is the big door that lets the beast in. According to Jules, it is even better to talk about 'kisoro' (leopard) than 'nde' (cow). We would say 'Olukyo lunene lwingirya kisoro'. Hospitable generosity is one good intention at the outset, respecting international law to welcome those who suffer by protecting them is another. However, due to internal disorganisation, this hospitality has brought evil into the country so that it demands to leave. It is the cunning that characterises them, says magistrate Mavughu. For Edgar, the fundamental cases of major migrations in the DRC, notably in 1954 with the Banyamulenge, in 1986 with the ADF and NALU, in 1994 with the FDLR and in 1996 with the war of liberation, the DRC has shown itself to be the big door through which anyone can enter without being checked. The consequences suffered from these entries into the DRC are the result of leaving the gate wide open without a protective mechanism.

The big door is also identified by what is inside the house. It is not the door that attracts, if not all large doors would attract strangers. It is rather the potential or wealth that is inside the house. Today we see aggression almost on some of the borders of the DRC. In the East with the Rwandans (M23) and the Ugandans (ADF), in the North with the Mbororo (CAR), etc. The DRC remains the big door because it allows foreigners to enter its soil.

Edgar argues that the expression 'Akanyama Kavalya Mundu Kakasa ngalubundu' can be applied to all predators who pretend to be positive people in the DRC, while they serve the misfortune of the Congolese. As an illustration, Edgar recalls that in 1996, foreigners presented themselves in the DRC as liberators, yet there is nothing liberating about them. On the contrary, they came to subjugate the DRC. They are the prototype of the apparently docile but predatory animal against the inhabitants of the house. The liberators will be welcomed and integrated into the institutions, the army, the security of the DRC to the point of even taking over the country (focus Group Discussion with some leaders of Yira culture in Butembo).

The same people who liberated, in 1996, when they realise that those who work for them are tired and ask to be replaced, they organise a rebellion to seek easy and docile integration into the institutions by mixing and/or mingling. For Edgar, one only has to look at the frequency of rebellions (1996-1998; 2007; 2013, etc.) to see that it corresponds to the moment when the previous entries are tired and can be replaced. Honorable Jules believes that this expression is to be situated at the international and regional level. Indeed, UNMISCO, on behalf of the international community, has been in the DRC for more than 22 years to maintain peace in the country. For 22 years, the DRC has never been at peace. On the contrary, several reports show the complicity of this MONUSCO with armed groups and rebels to destabilise the region, while it was expected to accomplish its mission.

It embodies the expression 'Akanyama Kavalya Mundu Kakasa ngalubundu', which means 'the animal that will bite you comes obediently'. It is here, for Jules, that Monusco shows its hypocrisy when it no longer knows how to justify the reasons for which it is in the DRC. The second animal is the Ugandan force that has joined forces with the FRDC in the far north against the ADF. The massacres of the population by the ADF continue while this mutualisation is in operation. The regional force, for Jules, is another animal that is failing in its official mission. All these forces are initially considered as rescue forces that come to save the Congolese people. The Congolese government has ignored the intentions of those who come to its aid.

In bilateral relations, this expression can be extended to countries that claim to be friends of the DRC, when in reality they are sympathetic to the enemy. Kenya, for example, during the time of President Uhuru, was friendly to the DRC. It witnessed several agreements and even facilitated dialogue between the armed groups. It opened up opportunities for them to open banks in the DRC for business. But his behaviour in the regional forces, that of being an observer and not a defender with the FARDC, shows that the DRC has made the wrong friend. In opinion, they are sympathetic, but in reality they favour the enemy. For Jules, all these countries are hypocrites and the DRC should understand that in the current state of affairs it does not have its true friend.

## 5. Conclusions and recommendations

In a context where the leaders are foreigners and others work on behalf of foreigners, it is difficult to establish a plan to get out of this grip. In any case, the population is the only victim of this plot. It is all very well to ask the leaders to play their role in protecting their people, ensuring their development and thinking of a better future. These leaders rather protect their co-foreigners, the neighbouring countries, ensuring their development by means of (sometimes secret) agreements. To the population, the paper recommends that they come out of their distraction. The population must be vigilant. In the film, the pastor's appeal is appealing. He stresses that we must be cautious and vigilant and above all know how to listen to the advice of others. This means finding out about the person you are hosting. The pastor says he warned the boss that Armstrong was not worthy of keeping his property.

The people must understand that they have put their destiny into the hands of predators and that they must get it back. They must stop whining, looking for scapegoats for their misfortune, but become aware of this misfortune and make a popular revolution. This popular revolution requires honest and truthful people. But it could be that the population is complicit in its own misfortune by refraining from denouncing the traitors. It is in the population that the traitors are most likely to be found and in the leaders. The population is a platform for people who know each other. You know your neighbours and what they do. You can know that they are collaborating with the enemy, and you cannot denounce them for the common cause.

The population must deprave fear and develop determination to impose peace and security. From all the above, the people must understand that security is not the property of corrupt and foreign leaders because they do not care about the people. From the perspective of hospitality, in order to avoid infiltration into the population, which makes the war more complicated and asymmetric, the system of 10 houses that is already working well elsewhere is urgently needed in eastern DRC. It consists of decentralising the security system to 10 houses. The head of the 10 families or houses knows his subjects and visitors who arrive are presented to him for registration. The exit of his visitors is also declared. The population has to wake up from its sleep to think of a new patriotic political class. It must discover the honest patriotic leaders who really fight for the general cause and those who indulge in buying votes with ephemeral small gifts. The population must develop a vision of the future.

The intellectual cream of the DRC, who look on helplessly at a country that is engulfed, is called upon to educate the population in all areas of life. The director of the film that inspired this article said that he does not have the capacity to physically go to war. His only way to raise awareness for peace is to produce films. For Edgar Mateso, education is needed for a population that has been crouched in misery for over 22 years. It must start with awareness of its own history, its issues, and finally show strategies to get out of it. The population must be educated about everything we said in the previous point. Education, Edgar Mateso adds, has the role of giving future generations confidence and awareness of their history. It is awareness that will help us to take precautions to develop mechanisms so that mistakes are not repeated.

The state must organise itself as a matter of urgency. This is what can provide the solution to all the DRC's problems. The army, the intelligence service and the civil services must be well organised. This organisation implies honesty and patriotism. As long as the Congolese state does not take back its power in hand, there will be no peace in the DRC. This therefore require de-infiltration of the institutions; electing legitimate and patriotic leaders; the institutions supporting democracy (Independent Electoral Commission of DRC), courts and tribunals must be impartial and independent; the potential in human resources, materials, to carry weight at the international level. The DRC always negotiates from a position of weakness, which is why we manage to get back on our feet; review the constitution; do not accept everything that comes from outside, or know how to say no to the international community, only ratify what is in the country's interest; and like in the film, punish the thugs.

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