Militarized youths in western Côte d'Ivoire: local processes of mobilization, demobilization, and related humanitarian interventions (2002-2007)

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Appendix 1
Chronology of violent events in the west (2002-07)

The aim of this chronology of violent events is to help the reader grasp the general ambiance that prevailed in western Côte d’Ivoire throughout the different phases of the conflict. It has been compiled drawing on several sources: local newspapers (Fraternité Matin, 24 Heures, Notre Voie, L’inter, Le Front, Soir Info), national and international press agencies (Agence Ivoirienne de Presse, Agence France Presse, BBC, PANA Press, Reuters), institutional reports (International Crisis Group, IRINNews, OCHA Bulletins, INGO reports), impartial forces intelligence (as documented in the UN and UNOCHA security bulletins) and some reflections taken from individual weblogs. Far from denying the partiality of certain sources and the politicized nature of some documents (Ivoirian newspapers are well-known for their political engagement), the goal here was to extract the most ‘factual’ information. The documents are therefore treated as valuable primary sources that account for a particularly violent period. A few general events are recalled which are not specific to the west and have been included for a better comprehension of the chain of events. Their dates are underlined in the chronology.

2002

19 September
Strategic positions are attacked in three major Ivoirian towns. At least 400 people are killed in Abidjan, including Minister of Interior Boga Doudou and former head of State General Guéï. Having failed to take Abidjan, rebelling soldiers retreat to Bouaké and announce the creation of an insurgent group, the MPCI. BBC and RFI programmes cease within a week on FM frequencies, eliminating access to independent media coverage of the conflict for most rural residents.

24 September
Rebel forces capture the town of Tiebissou, 50 km north of Yamoussoukro.

26 September
Ivoirian authorities declare Bouaké and Korhogo war zones. Rebel forces take the town of Korhogo, almost without...
Loyalist forces reinforce their troops in Vavoua.

7 October
The French channel TV5 is taken off the air.
The military front moves west with the rebel forces capturing the town of Vavoua, 100 km east of Man.
The following days, in rural areas nearby, and especially on the Duékoué-Kouibli axis (the villages of Blodi, Iruzon, Diahouin, Toazeo, and Kouibli), Guéré youths are mobilized by mayors and local chiefs to protect their villages. Checkpoints are set up in each locality to control entry. Escalating violence against the Burkinabés residing in the area, beginning with extortion and verbal harassment and ending in physical assaults, including murder. By the end of October 2002, most Burkinabés have fled the area.

11-12 October
Moving south from Vavoua, rebel forces attack Daloa, a major urban hub in the Bété area. Daloa borders the Guéré area, and is a key transit point for the cocoa and coffee trade.

14-15 October
Loyalist forces recapture Daloa with Angolan help. ‘Cleansing’ operation follow (opération de ratissage): arbitrary arrests and summary executions of suspected rebels, which include many civilians of northern origin and RDR sympathizers. A blacklist circulates among loyalist troops, with names of people suspected of having links with the rebel forces.

15 October
Regarding the Daloa attack, an article in Notre Voie suggests strong ethnic and political polarization. On rebel forces: ‘The assailants found refuge in the Dioula neighbourhood, the Dioula showed them support. Abandoned guns were collected by young RDR members, who have encouraged these terrorists’ actions since the beginning of the attack in Daloa; rebels are praised as they pass by their neighborhood.’

17 October
A ceasefire is brokered by the Senegalese Minister of Foreign Affairs and accepted by both belligerent sides (MPCI and Ivorian Presidency). The agreement provides that both insurgent and government troops remain in the areas they are controlling. The ceasefire line runs east to west and divides the country in half. The towns of Odienné, Korhogo, Séguéla, Vavoua and Bouaké are controlled by rebel forces, and French forces are asked to supervise the ceasefire until ECOWAS troops take the lead.

23 October
In reaction to the very negatively perceived repressive operations in Daloa, Jules Yao Yao, spokesperson of the loyalist forces, makes a public statement in the local press, 24 Heures. He acknowledges that such operations are taking place, but that they only target individuals who hosted or helped the assailants. Arbitrary arrests and summary executions end immediately afterwards.
31 October  Lomé peace talks. Both belligerents agree to respect the ceasefire and to refrain from having mercenaries and children in their ranks.

3-4 November  Rebel forces attack the local firm Sucrivoire in Borotou-Koro, 150 km north of Man. They take 42 tons of sugar, cash and various equipment.

27 November  Loyalist forces launch an attack on Vavoua, 100 km east of Man, and use helicopters to bomb rebel military bases. Due to their proximity to downtown Man, there are many civilian casualties. The same day, government helicopters fly over the nearby villages of Pélézi, Dania and Monoko-Zohi, in the rebel-controlled area. They drop several bombs and shoot at people. Non-autochthonous neighbourhoods seem to be affected the most.

27-28 November  Armed groups attack the village of Monoko-Zohi, 70 km southwest of Vavoua. They deliberately target civilians.

28 November  Two new rebel groups appear in the west of the country, below the ceasefire line set on 17 October (MPIGO and MJP). The new forces come at quite an opportune time as the MPCI has signed a ceasefire with the government, impeding pursuing further military advances. The opening of a new western front by MJP and MPIGO forces has the advantage of not violating any treaty. A mix of MJP and MPCI forces takes the town of Man, and MPIGO claims the attack of Danané. The town of Danané is bombed by a government helicopter. The same day, rebel forces capture the town of Zouan-Hounien, south of Danané, located next to an important gold mining area.

30 Nov. - 1 Dec.  Loyalist forces recapture Man. ‘Cleansing’ operations follow the next days, similar to what occurred in Daloa (disappearances, arbitrary arrests, summary executions of suspected rebels, many of whom of northern origin and Yacouba background, RDR and UDPCI sympathizers2). A blacklist from Abidjan circulates among loyalist troops, a list of names is also compiled by local authorities and ‘denunciations’ are commonplace.

2 December  MPIGO, quickly moving south along the Liberian border from Danané and Zouan-Hounien, takes Toulepleu.

4 December  Loyalists launch a counter-attack on Toulepleu. The town is bombed by helicopters but remains a rebel-controlled area.

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2 UDPCI used to be led by General Gueï (head of State between December 1999 and October 2000). The General was of Yacouba origin.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 December</td>
<td>French soldiers find a mass grave in Monoko-Zohi. The information is relayed in both local and international press. There is a great deal of controversy on who is to blame, but loyalist forces seem to have been the perpetrators, according to testimonies of people who survived the attack.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6-7 December</td>
<td>Rebel forces move west from the Toulépleu area and take the town of Blolequin (MPIGO).</td>
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<tr>
<td>12 December</td>
<td>Loyalist forces take Blolequin back with the help of Liberian forces and Guéré militia members.</td>
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<tr>
<td>18 December</td>
<td>Mahapleu, 50 km east of Man and in rebel-controlled area, is bombed by a helicopter on market day. The attack is led by loyalist forces. Market stalls and the mosque are among the targets.</td>
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<tr>
<td>19 December</td>
<td>The town of Man is recaptured by rebel forces. Violent retaliation targets civilians who helped loyalist forces during the two-week period they had control of the town (for instance, by fingering suspected rebels). Those involved in neighbourhood vigilantism are particularly at risk of being arrested or killed. The BCEAO bank in town is ripe for the taking.</td>
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<tr>
<td>20 December</td>
<td>Rebel forces take Bagolo and the villages nearby, including those on the Duékoué-Kouibli axis (Blodi, Iruzon, Toazeo, Sibabli and Kouibli). Massive displacement of the Guéré population to the government-controlled area.</td>
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<tr>
<td>21 December</td>
<td>French forces clash with MPIGO rebels in Duékoué.</td>
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<tr>
<td>23-27 December</td>
<td>Mass arrival of civilians in Duékoué (estimated at 24,000). They are mostly of Guéré origin and come from villages located on the Duékoué-Kouibli axis.</td>
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<tr>
<td>end of December</td>
<td>The Ivorian government commits to grounding combat helicopters.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 January</td>
<td>Rebel forces take the village of Zou.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 January</td>
<td>Rebel forces attack French forces in Duékoué. They launch the attack from Fengolo, their most advanced base south, but do not succeed in taking the town. Rebel forces eventually move to CIB the following days, in the sous-préfecture of Blolequin, and pass through the villages of Kahin, Tomepleu and Guezahi.</td>
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<tr>
<td>10-12 January</td>
<td>Loyalist forces retake Toulépleu (and Blolequin?), with the help of Liberian forces and Guéré militia members. Rebel forces, and especially Liberian fighters, ravage several</td>
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villages as they retreat north, looting and killing arbitrarily.

13 January

Ceasefire signed between the government and the two rebel groups MPIGO and MJP. It remains a deal on paper.

15-24 January

Linas-Marcoussis peace talks in France: an agreement is reached to establish a government of national reconciliation with wide executive powers, composed of ministers from the main political parties and rebel groups.

While the talks are being held, fighting continues in the west.

14 January

Ethnic tensions explode in the area of Bagouhou, Nidrou, Yorozon, Blodi, Bahé Sebon, in Guéré territory. Alliances of convenience occur between Burkinabés and rebel forces to fight the autochthonous youths (the first targets are self-defence committee members) and a great deal of violence is used against Guérés. Some accounts describe the rebel forces as having been incited by the Burkinabés.

Massive flight of Guérés to Duékoué.

late January

MPCI leader Tuo Fozié orders the expulsion from Man of the worst of the Liberian and Sierra Leonean fighters.

February

Reports of alleged attacks on Yacoubas in the area of Bangolo.

10 February

Fighting between Ivoirian government and rebel forces takes place in Toulepleu.

25 February

Reports of attacks on Baoulé farmers in the area of Guiglo.

3 March

In Liberia, Liberian government troops retake the town of Toe Town, on the south-eastern border, from Liberian insurgents. They are allegedly backed by the Ivoirian state.

7 March

At least 60 civilians are killed in Bangolo by Liberian fighters. There is controversy on which side perpetrated the violence, but these Liberians seem to have been backed by the government. The Dioula quarter in particular was targeted.

8 March

Rebel forces have decided to close their ‘border’ in order to prevent infiltration of government forces.

22-23 March

The village of Dah, 9 km southwest of Bangolo, is attacked at night. It is locally interpreted as an act of retaliation after the Bangolo killings. There do not seem to be any particular targets. Both autochthonous and non-autochthonous residents flee the area.

The Ivoirian armed forces accuse the rebel forces of having killed 42 civilians. Three days later, AFP states that there was no independent confirmation of the claim, since French forces based in Duékoué report having heard the rumour, but not being able to confirm the attack.
A few weeks later, Human Rights Watch gathers several testimonies documenting the event.

28 March Loyalist forces and Guéré militia members help their Liberian ally to attack the town of Zwedru in Liberia.

1-2 April French positions in Duékoué are attacked.

3 April Rebel forces attack ECOWA troops, south of Vavoua.

4 April Rebel forces attack the French near Dibobli, 40 km east of Duékoué.

6 April Loyalist forces launch a major offensive along the Liberian border and intense fighting starts for the control of the road between Toulepleu and Danané. Despite government committing to grounding combat helicopters in late December, the town of Zouan-Hounien is bombed by an MI-24 on 6 April. Most residents flee the town after the aerial attack. Loyalist forces recapture the town of Zouan-Hounien, with the help of Liberian and Guéré militias, and hold it for a week. Some accounts say that the remaining Guérés were evacuated to safer places during that period. The towns of Zouan-Hounien, Danané and surrounding villages are bombed several times in the following days. Surrounding villages are set ablaze by Liberian fighters.

13-14 April For the second time, rebel forces capture the town of Zouan-Hounien and Bin Houyé. For fear of aerial reprisals, the remaining population takes refuge at the Catholic Mission.

14 April Intense aerial raid on Zouan-Hounien by the loyalist forces. Non-military premises are clearly targeted, including the Catholic Mission and the health centre it hosts.

15 April The towns of Danané, Mahapleu and Vavoua are bombed by helicopters but remain rebel-controlled areas. The aerial attacks are denied by the government.

17 April Press release by Médecins sans Frontières: ‘On Tuesday, April 15, in the afternoon, MSF had to treat about fifty wounded civilians in the hospital of Man. The wounded - among whom 9 children, 13 women, and some elderly persons - reported that they were victims of helicopter attacks in Danané and Mahapleu.’ On the same day, while war is still raging in the west, the reconciliation government composed of pro-government and pro-rebel ministers holds its first full cabinet session in Abidjan. The event is hailed by President Gbagbo as ‘a major step in restoring peace’.
18 April Rebel forces launch an offensive on the town of Toulepleu. The town remains government-controlled area.

22-23 April Loyalist forces attack rebel positions in the towns of Zouan-Hounien and Bin Houyé.

25 April The MPIGO Ivorian leader Felix Doh is killed after Ivorian rebels clash with their Liberian and Sierra Leonean allies.

3 May A ceasefire is signed by the belligerent sides, immediately preceded by a violent scramble on both sides to gain as much territory as possible before it goes into effect. Part of the agreement is that each side will expel its Liberian fighters.

5 May Both loyalist and rebel forces reject the idea of setting up a buffer zone to separate their respective territories.

6 May Despite the ceasefire, loyalist forces attack rebel positions in the town of Zouan-Hounien and retake the town.

4-8 May Reports of ‘Burkinabé rebels’ allegedly killing 223 people of Guéré origin (including children) as they were trying to leave the Bangolo area for Duékoué.

8 May French soldiers are attacked by an unidentified armed group near Guiglo. Two people in the group are killed. Sierra Leonese commander Sam Bockarie, who used to be involved in MPIGO leadership, is reported dead.

10 May The national curfew in place since 19 September is lifted. The government of reconciliation announces the end of the war.

14 May Loyalist forces re-establish curfew in two western cities.

15 May The government denounces the violence against civilians in western Côte d’Ivoire and promises to take measures.

22 May The Préfet of Korhogo is set free by the rebel forces after 8 months of detention. He is handed over to loyalist forces.

23 May Impartial forces are deployed in the west to monitor ceasefire. The west continues to see extreme violence, despite the ceasefire being signed. A buffer zone is instituted in the west, the Zone de Confiance (60 km by 40 km), which separates government and rebel territory with a neutral area, monitored by impartial forces. Only later is the Zone de Confiance extended to the breadth of the country.

27 May Ivorian Prime Minister and other political figures, including rebellion supporters, visit the western region in order to send a strong political signal. French forces and ECOWA troops provide direct support in this security operation.
4 June  | The President is accused by the rebel forces of fueling the Liberian war by supporting the Liberian insurgent movements LURD and MODEL and using some of these Liberians to retake the towns of Man and Danané.

5 June  | Rebel forces officially announce that the West has been ‘cleansed’ of mercenaries. They no longer have such fighters in their ranks.

22 June | Dismantlement of hundreds of checkpoints in Bouaké.

25 June | Impartial forces make a public statement in which they report relative stability in the Zone de Confiance and the western region.

4 July  | Government and rebel Chiefs of Staff officially announce that the war is over. In a ceremony held at the presidential palace, former rebels present President Gbagbo with a rifle, to signal their intent to disarm.

11 July | The Ivoirian government promises emergency food aid in the west.

21 July | Rebel forces hold a meeting with the population in Man and ask them to endorse the new peace plan. They also ask for forgiveness for the acts of war committed.

25 September | The BCEAO bank in Bouaké is robbed. Heavy shooting between rival rebel factions. Checkpoints are reinstalled in town. Five days later, rebel Chief of Staff Colonel Bakayoko and his right hand Commander Cherif Ousmane, are ambushed. This leads to drastic measures in town, and rebels are eventually prohibited by their leadership to bear arms in Bouaké.

15 October | Mass displacement of populations of Dioula, Burkinabé and Malian origin from the western region to the town of Gagnoa. People arrive in successive waves, fleeing the violence in rural areas.

11 November | Non-autochthones continue to be hunted down around Gagnoa.

20 November | Heavy fighting between Guéré and Burkinabé in the village of Zou, in the Zone de Confiance.

23 November | PANA reports the distress of 7,000 Burkinabés, chased from their plantations by young Guérés and living in temporary UN encampments nearby Guiglo.

8 December | The displaced Dioula, Burkinabé and Malian people that had sought refuge in Gagnoa in October return to their plantations.
**2004**

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 January</td>
<td>Young Guérés raid the village of Kahin, in the Zone de Confiance, mainly populated by Baoulés and Burkinabés. Eight people are killed (one of Guéré origin).</td>
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<tr>
<td>18 February</td>
<td>Three Burkinabé farmers are killed in Duékoué, allegedly by Guérés.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 March</td>
<td>Fifteen people are killed, including children, in the village of Broudoumé, in the region of Gagnoa, by unidentified armed men.</td>
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<tr>
<td>18-19 May</td>
<td>A Togolese is found dead in Guiglo, allegedly killed by militia members.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 June</td>
<td>A Dioula taxi driver is found dead in Guiglo, his throat slit.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7 June</td>
<td>French forces attacked by unidentified group in Gotihafla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 September</td>
<td>While it was believed that the BCEAO bank in Man had been completely emptied in December 2002, remnants of cash are robbed by some of the French soldiers posted in the bank to secure the town.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 November</td>
<td>Loyalist forces launch an aerial raid on Bouaké.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 November</td>
<td>Loyalist forces attack the French peacekeeping mission. Anti-French riots erupt in both government and rebel-controlled areas. In Man, several thousand people demonstrate at the French base, asking the French peacekeepers to leave.</td>
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**2005**

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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
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<tr>
<td>28 February</td>
<td>Pro-government militias attack Logoualé, in rebel territory. The UN mission intervenes to re-establish order and monitor the ceasefire.</td>
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<tr>
<td>8 May</td>
<td>The UN representative for Côte d’Ivoire Humanitarian Affairs makes a public statement regretting the violence that happened in Duékoué in late April, leading to many deaths and displaced people.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
13 May  Firmin Mahé, sometimes presented as militia chief, sometimes simply as a bandit ("coupeur de route") is killed in Guchiéblí by French forces in doubtful circumstances near Bangolo, in ZdC.

25 May  Start of the dismantlement of the pro-government militias in Guiglo.

31 May - 1 June  The Guéré villages of Petit-Duékoué and Guitrozon are attacked by unidentified men armed with machetes and hunting guns, leaving 41 dead and more than 60 wounded, all of Guéré origin. Mass displacement of population follows.

6 June  Reprisals immediately follow. Three Dioulas and one Burkinabé are killed by AP-Wê militia members in Duékoué. The same day, four Guéré are attacked by Dioulas.

15-17 June  On a visit to Wê territory, the Ivoirian President encourages the youths to remain mobilized.

18 June  Following rising insecurity near Duékoué, the President decides to set up a military administration in western Côte d’Ivoire.

2006

January  In reaction to the contested terms of UN Resolution 1643, a wave of violent protest against the UN is led by the Young Patriots in Abidjan and by pro-government militias in Duékoué and Guiglo.

17 January  Bangladeshi UN peacekeepers open fire on the crowd in Guiglo, killing 5 demonstrators. Violent reaction of the mob. All UN and INGO offices are looted in Guiglo with the exception of the MSF premises. UN peacekeepers and INGOs retreat from Guiglo for a few months.

5-6 February  Unidentified armed men attack the encampment of Peehapa, part of the village of Mona, 17 km from Guiglo. 12 people are killed, of Guéré and Gnaboua origin. Several Guéré families move to Guiglo.

13 February  When Guéré youths from the villages of Mona and Zouan plot to attack the camp of the displaced Burkinabé in Guiglo, in retaliation for the Peehapa killings, local authorities intervene and contain the youths.

10 April  First day of disappearance of a Baoulé farmer, last seen in an encampment near Petit Guiglo.

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3 The *coupeurs de route* is a French term used to describe groups of armed individuals who attack vehicles and then rob the passengers of money and goods. It typifies lawlessness in western Côte d’Ivoire.
**14-15 April** A Baoulé farmer is shot dead in Basinkro, near the village of Guézon Tahouaké. It is the third time armed men visit the encampment.

**16 April** The UN Police reports that some people have left the village of Petit Guiglo after hearing rumours of retaliation by the Baoulé community.

**17 and 19 April** The UN facilitates reconciliation meetings between the Guéré and Baoulé communities.

**April** Security incidents in the villages of Gohouo Zagna, Béoué, Tahebly Gahé, Bahébly, Diéouzon, Gran Pin, and Douekpé. The MSF assists some of the wounded. Displacement of population. Alleged perpetrators are dozos and ‘coupeurs de route’ (bandits).

The same month, a Burkinabé is attacked near Bangolo by a bandit and Burkinabés attack young Guérés in reprisal. Rebel forces and dozos fight people of Lobi origin in the village of Zoupleu. UN Police notes several similar cases of violence in the southern villages of the Zone de Confiance.

**1 May** Guéré accuse Baoulé and Burkinabé of having set fire to several autochthonous plantations in the village of Gohouo Zagna, east of Bangolo.

**3 May** A Burkinabé is reported missing by the Burkinabe community leader of Gohouo Zagna. He is found dead two days later.

**4 May** Three Guérés are found dumped in a hole, hands tied behind their backs and stabbed to death. Four other Guérés fall into an ambush in the same area but manage to escape and alert the impartial forces.

**20 May** Armed individuals attack a passenger truck in Saada, 20 km of Guiglo, north of Zouan, in the Zone de Confiance.

**29 May** Armed individuals attack two buses and rob passengers between Bangolo and Guehiebly.

**1 June** A Guéré is found dead between Goenle-Tahouaké and Baibly, east of Bangolo.

**24 June** Two Burkinabé children aged 3 and 6 are found dead in Douekpé, east of Bangolo.

**25 June** Four women, one child and one man are reported missing in Georgeskro (an encampment of Fengolo).

**27-28 June** Armed men attack the village of Boho 2, in the sous-préfecture of Zéo, east of Bangolo. French forces discover 7 dead and 15 wounded in the villages of Blédi and Goho 2, next to Douekpé. The attack is locally
perceived as a reaction to the murder of the two Burkinabé children.

27 July Western pro-government militias start to disarm. The modus operandi is centralized in Duékoué.

4 August Because too few weapons are surrendered, the disarmament of the western pro-government militias is suspended.

20 August Two local businessmen, of Guinean and Nigerian origin, are reported missing, last seen on their way back from the market of Bloléquin. It triggers an inter-ethnic conflict four days later, between Guéré and non-autochthones from the village of CIB (in the Zou sous-préfecture).

23 August A Burkinabé is killed in the village of Binao, on the Duékoué-Bangolo road. In response, Burkinabé attack Guéré women in their fields. Many Guéré flee towards Bangolo.

26 August Two minivans are attacked on the Duékoué-Bangolo road, killing a driver and a little girl.

September French forces report that since February 2006, inter-ethnic conflicts have cost the lives of 25 people and wounded 46 in the area east of Bangolo (Baibly/Gohouo axis). Acts of banditry have cost the lives of 16 and wounded 11 on the Bangolo/Duékoué axis and the Daloa-Vavoua road. Near Kouibly, populations living in the rebel-controlled area bordering the Zone de Confiance complain about frequent attacks.

12 September Two Guérés are found dead near Bloléquin; autochthones accuse Burkinabés. In response, armed youths create checkpoints between Glopaoudy and Zouan.

27-28 September Two young Guérés are found dead in Délobly, between Duékoué and Bangolo. Several Burkinabés accuse the autochthones of protecting the criminals and as the incident degenerates, autochthones flee the village to move to villages nearby (e.g. Guéhéibly, 7 km from Délobly).

28 September Pro-government militia members demonstrate in Duékoué, asking for the DDR operations to resume.

10 October Shooting is heard in the village of Banguéhi (Zou), with dozos, in charge of the security of the village, fighting armed thieves, particularly active when coffee and cocoa is being traded. There are allegations that the thieves are of Burkinabé origin.

early November The Burkinabé community leader of Toa Zéo calls on the dozo brotherhood to protect his community. This decision is contested
and leads to an internal clash ending with one dead and several wounded in the Burkinabé community.

19-20 November  Tensions rise when the armed dozos move from Toa Zéo to Blody. AP-Wê militia members become involved, and fighting leads to 6 dead, an allogene encampment being burnt down, and the emptying of the nearby villages of Toa Zéo, Blody and Irozon. Autochtones seek refuge in Duékoué.

4 December  In Téapleu, between Zouan Hounien and Danané, a traffic accident between a bus and a motorcycle dissolves into ethnic conflict between Yacoubas and Dioulas. Several houses are burnt and many people flee the area.

9 December  Unidentified armed men attack the village of Fengolo, killing one person and wounding four. Displacement of population to Duekoue.

24-26 December  The village of Toa Zéo is attacked, and shooting is heard in certain neighbourhoods of the town of Duékoué, where displaced residents of Toa Zéo have temporarily sought shelter. Impartial forces indicate that young Guérés have started the shooting in an attempt to oust the dozos from Toa Zéo.

2007

2 January  A minivan is shot at, at the village of Petit Logoualé, near Bangolo. Two passengers are killed.

8 January  Several coffee/cocoa plantations located between Duékoué and Blodi are burnt down (UN Pakistani peacekeepers had just left the village of Blodi). The loss is estimated at 64 hectares.

In the encampment of Dobobly in the same area, 21 persons claim that their fields were set ablaze. One of the perpetrators, of Guéré origin, is shot dead during the violent outburst that followed, on the Toa Zéo-Irouzon axis.

14 January  Six young Guérés of the village of Baoubly (between Duékoué and Bangolo) are declared missing after having gone fishing near the Baoulé encampment of Koffikro. Impartial forces conduct the investigations.

18 January  Armed individuals set an empty truck on fire on the Duékoué-Bangolo axis.

19 January  On the same road, armed individuals attack a van and rob passengers.

20 January  Discovery of a corpse, the skull is crushed, on the road between Mona and Demobly, 12 km from Guiglo. The victim is apparently not from the direct area but is alleged to be a ‘displaced’ person from Zou. A minivan is attacked on the road Yabli-Guinglo. One dead, one wounded.
22 January
A group of Burkinabé forbids a vehicle carrying Guérés from entering the village of Blodi.
Five armed individuals attack a bus in Diahouin (between Duékoué and Bangolo) and rob passengers, killing one.

23-24 January
Two persons of Baoulé origin are lynched in the village of Baoubli, between Bangolo and Logoualé.
A Burkinabé is stabbed to death near Baoubli.

25 January
An old man of Guéré origin, about 90 years old, is found dead on his plantation located next to the Baoulé encampment of Jeunessekor. His feet were bound, and he had been beheaded and disembowelled.

5 February
The UN police is impeded by the population in the arrest of the persons suspected to be involved in the disappearance of the Guéré fishermen three weeks earlier.

6 February
Journalists from IRIN/Radio were taken hostage by their interviewee, militia chief Colombo, of the AP-Wê group.

25 February
Armed individuals attack someone of Guéré origin in Glopaoudy, 15 km north of Guiglo. The incident turns into ethnic conflict between autochthonous and allochthonous communities.

28-30 March
Armed confrontation between two rival groups in Bangolo and surrounding villages.

11 April
Signature of a quadripartite agreement to eliminate the buffer zone known as Zone de Confiance by 16 April.

16 April
The Zone de Confiance is officially dismantled.
Medecins sans Frontières continues to report almost daily attacks against civilians in the western part of the Zone de Confiance.

19 May
Western pro-government militias begin again to disarm.

23 May
Dozos kill four thieves in the Zou area, who allegedly had attacked their village next to Danané.

26 June
UN Police reports cases of rapes on the Duékoué-Toa Zéo road. Several women are attacked, allegedly by 8 men, resident of the Toguéhi neighbourhood in Duékoué.
4 Nigerians are robbed by young men, who had convinced them to take a side road on their way out from Duékoué in order to avoid checkpoint harassment.

6-7 July
A 50-year-old Malian from Guiglo is killed at home during a robbery.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23 September</td>
<td>Following militia riots in Duékoué and Guiglo, a curfew is set in Duékoué.</td>
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<tr>
<td>25-26 September</td>
<td>A farmer from Pinhou (sous-préfecture of Zou) is accused by his peers of being a thief and having stolen poultry. He is severely beaten and dies. Impartial forces arrest four suspected criminals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 October</td>
<td>The Prime Minister announces the future introduction of the ‘Service Civique’, an institutional device which will target the Ivorian youth by minimizing the risk that ex-recruits re-enrol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 October</td>
<td>The President officially announces his willingness to ban the ‘carte de sejour’, imposed on foreign nationals living in Côte d’Ivoire since the early 1990s.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>UN reports several attacks on cocoa/coffee buyers on the Zou/Pinhou axis.</td>
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<tr>
<td>18-19 January</td>
<td>Violent altercation between UN peacekeepers and youths in Béoué, between Guiglo and Blolequin.</td>
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<tr>
<td>28 June</td>
<td>The towns of Séguéla and Vavoua are the theatre of heavy fighting between rival rebel factions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 November</td>
<td>Armed men try to take control of the rebel arsenal of Séguéla.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Photograph 13: Small business sponsored by the GTZ-IS project, Guiglo

Photograph 14: Poultry farm sponsored by the GTZ-IS project, Man