

Fractured Pasts in Lake Kivu's Borderlands

The Lake Kivu region, which borders Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, has often been defined by scholars in terms of conflict, violence, and separation. In contrast, this innovative study explores histories of continuities and connections across the borderland. Gillian Mathys utilizes an integrated historical perspective to trace long-term processes in the region, starting from the second half of the nineteenth century and reaching to the present day. Fractured Pasts in Lake Kivu's Borderlands powerfully reshapes historical understandings of mobility, conflict, identity formation, and historical narration in and across state and ecological borders. In doing so, Mathys deconstructs reductive historical myths that have continued to underpin justifications for violence in the region. Drawing on cross-border oral history research and a wealth of archival material, Fractured Pasts embraces a new and powerful perspective of the region's history.

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Fractured Pasts in Lake Kivu's Borderlands

Conflicts, Connections, and Mobility in Central Africa

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www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009463058

DOI: 10.1017/9781009463041

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When citing this work, please include a reference to the DOI 10.1017/9781009463041

First published 2025

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Mathys, Gillian, 1981- author.

Title: Fractured pasts in Lake Kivu's borderlands: conflicts, connections and mobility in Central Africa / Gillian Mathys.

Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2024. | Series: African studies series | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2024042968 (print) | LCCN 2024042969 (ebook) | ISBN 9781009463058 (hardback) | ISBN 9781009463072 (paperback) | ISBN 9781009463041 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Ethnology–Kivu, Lake, Region (Congo and Rwanda) | Kivu, Lake, Region (Congo and Rwanda)–History. | Kivu, Lake, Region (Congo and Rwanda)–Social conditions. | Rwanda–Relations–Congo (Democratic Republic) | Congo (Democratic Republic)–Relations–Rwanda.

Classification: LCC DT665.K58 M37 2024 (print) | LCC DT665.K58 (ebook) | DDC 967.51/74–dc23/eng/20241211

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2024042968

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2024042969

ISBN 978-1-009-46305-8 Hardback

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To the late Prof. Alphonse Njangu Canda-Ciri without whom this book would never have existed.

O lera omwana arhafa

To my son Lio, who brings me infinite joy and who causes boundless chaos, and without whom this book would have been ready a lot sooner.



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Preface

As I was correcting the proofs for this book, the security situation in the Lake Kivu region escalated dramatically. On January 28, 2025, M23/AFC (*Mouvement du 23 Mars/Alliance du Fleuve*) – Congo's strongest rebel group, supported by Rwanda as attested to in several UN reports¹ – seized control of Goma after days of intense fighting. Goma is North Kivu's capital city, a bustling urban center with over a million inhabitants. While M23 had been back on the stage since the end of 2021, 2024 was marked by rapid territorial expansion. As this book was by then already in the proof stage, these more recent developments are not part of its analysis. This is especially important when reading Chapter 9.

The recent surge in violence resulted in the displacement of around three million people in 2024 alone. Since the beginning of 2025, 400,000 people were forced to flee their homes.² This has pushed the staggering total of internally displaced individuals in the DRC to over an almost inconceivable seven million. Many of those who fled earlier combats found asylum in or around Goma, although often in extremely dire circumstances. The magnitude of the humanitarian disaster this last episode of violence has unleashed is almost unimaginable, and it will only bring further suffering to a region that has had no reprieve for over thirty years.

The capture of Goma seemed a repetition of 2012, when the same rebel group also took control of Goma. Like their predecessor, the CNDP (Congrès National pour la Défense du Peuple), M23 then and now rallies around grievances firmly rooted in the Congolese context – such as the contested citizenship of and discrimination against Kinyarwanda speakers in the DRC, and the return of Congolese

² WFP, "Flash Report."

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¹ United Nation's Group of Experts (UNGoE), "Midterm Report S/2023/990"; "Final Report S/2024/432."



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Tutsi refugees to the DRC. However, many other Congolese interpret their external backing and the fact that they are mainly constituted of Kinyarwanda speakers within a longer history of Rwandan military involvement in Congo since the First Congo War (1996-97). From this perspective, M23 is not seen as a Congolese movement nor as one genuinely concerned with Congolese dynamics, but rather as yet another example of Rwandan aggression against the DRC and its people – an aggression often attributed to Rwanda's desire for Congo's vast mineral richesses. Given Rwanda's ongoing military involvement in the DRC over the past three decades, albeit with varying intensity, this perception is understandable. Moreover, Rwanda has, at various points, exported significantly larger quantities of minerals like gold and coltan than it could have produced domestically.³

However, the denial of other dimensions in this explanatory model for the ongoing conflict has also caused a self-perpetuating feedback loop. Suspicions that Congolese Tutsi or Kinyarwanda speakers are not really Congolese are continuously "confirmed" by real (and sometimes imagined) backing by Rwanda, as well as by resource extraction for the benefit of Rwanda, often under the cover of these rebellions. This, in turn, makes it impossible to solve the very real grievances that helped forge these links between M23 and their predecessors and Rwanda in the first place.

Meanwhile, for Rwanda, genocide continues to loom large in Rwandan politics. The FARDC (Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo) has at times collaborated with the FDLR (Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda), a group regarded in Rwanda as the ideological heirs of those responsible for the genocide – an allegation supported by UN reports. At the same time, hate speech against Tutsi remains part of political vernaculars circulating in Congo. Impossible to separate from the political and military context described above, this has often been used by Rwandan cadres as a justification for their active interference in Congo's eastern provinces.

In both instances, it is difficult to separate (historical) anxieties rooted in real, lived experiences of violence and suffering from their political uses – suffering turned to political uses does not mean that the suffering and fear are not real. Underscoring and understanding these

⁴ UNGoE, "Midterm Report S/2023/990."

³ See, amongst others, several rapports of the UNGoE in the bibliography.



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dimensions is not the same as condoning the violence inherent in this situation – there is no justification for Rwanda violating the DRC's sovereignty by sending thousands of Rwandan troops across the border.⁵ Neither can hate speech and/or violence against Kinyarwanda speakers in general, or Tutsi in particular in the DRC be excused. Too much violence has been inflicted on others, invoking self-defence as an alibi, in the Great Lakes region as well as elsewhere.

Within this fraught context, histories of the present have often served political interests. These histories are not only part of this book's analyses but also shaped the context in which the research for this book was conducted. Bringing in the histories of connections, of friendship even, of communities around the lake, and refusing to let this book be decided by "national" frames were choices I made. This was an attempt to escape the presentism that this context of conflict and violence often imposes on analyses of the region, and because I think these other stories also need to be told. Given the context in which this book will be read, however, these choices carry potentially political consequences.

In the context of thirty years of armed conflict and war, such a stance might seem naïve, or failing to "read the room". After all, this is, for many, a question of life and death. I realize how easy it is for me to write about all of this while having the enormous privilege of never having to live through these experiences – analyzing the way people talk about the past, and how they mobilize it; deconstructing people's (his)stories; punching holes in people's narratives. It seems to come easily to academics to treat people's lives as text, as riddles to be solved, stories waiting to be conceptualized. Such meaning-making is very different when it is embodied and it comes from a place of lived experiences. Notwithstanding these caveats, I take responsibility for the choices I made in this book.

⁵ UNGoE, "Final Report S/2024/432"; UNGoE, "Midterm Report S/2024/969."

⁶ See for an expression of this, Xaxa, "I Am Not Your Data."

See, for example, Kalema, "The Mulele 'Rebellion'"; Mwambari and Sibomana, "Bodily Scars."



Acknowledgments

How do I thank people for a book that has been part of my life for fifteen years, with many conflicted feelings attached? It means acknowledgments need to be meaningful and heartfelt, yet not overly emotional. It is not an easy task, especially because I have been deeply moved by the kindness I have been surrounded with during this project. Unfortunately, writing these words also highlights the void left by those who shaped this journey but are no longer with us. I will start with them.

This book is dedicated to Alphonse Njangu Canda-Ciri. When I first arrived in Bukavu in 2009 for my PhD research, he was skeptical about my ability to conduct relevant research. His skepticism stemmed from the fact that I, as a young white Belgian researcher with no prior connections to the region, had resources to do research that he and many Congolese historians often lacked. This taught me much-needed humility. It was also a first-hand lesson about the inherent inequality shaping knowledge production in African Studies and the material foundations on which these inequalities rest. The many conversations I had with him over the years shaped my understanding of historical processes around Lake Kivu in ways the references in this book are not able to reflect appropriately.

Bert Ingelaere was a fellow PhD student, albeit much more experienced, and he was the first to teach me how to navigate research in Rwanda. I wish I had made it clearer how much I appreciated him. I met Luc Nkulula in 2015 when we worked on contemporary land conflicts in Masisi. He was one of the most passionate people I ever met. He would have fought me on this book, but the debate would have been so worth it. I still miss him, and I cannot help but wonder what he would think about Congo's current predicament. Kris Berwouts, so many of us miss you too. Most of the people I interviewed for this book have passed away. I will always be grateful for their time and patience, and I hope I did not do injustice to their stories.

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Acknowledgments

ΧV

When doing my PhD, Baz Lecocq was the best supervisor I could have wished for: the perfect mix of encouragement, validation, and at times, a bit of sternness. Stefaan Smis as co-supervisor, together with Johan Pottier and Paul Nugent, were cherished members of my guidance committee. David Newbury became an exceptionally kind, encouraging, and compassionate mentor after I finished my PhD. His many comments on the multiple drafts of this book made it into a much better work than it could ever have been without him.

The lines between friends and colleagues often blur, especially when working with brilliant scholars who are also wonderful people. I do not even know how to start thanking Godefroid Muzalia Kihangu. Bukavu has always felt like home because of his incredible generosity - on so many different levels. In Bukavu I also have to thank the Jafari family for hosting me in the beginning, and Paulin Bishakabalya, and Loochi Muzaliwa for their support. I cannot forget everyone at GEC/SH, CERUKI, and ISP-Bukavu, but especially Chubaka Muderhwa, Francine Mudunga, Irène Bahati, Gentil Kulimishi, and Alice Mugoli, Evariste Murandikire, and Claude Mushagalusa Kabutano need to be mentioned here. I am forever grateful to Martin Kalala, Lambert Bashizi, Elisée Ciruza, Moïse Ribakare Sazi, Oscar Abedi Dunia, and Jeremie Mapatano for the collaboration during interviews in different parts of South Kivu. While with many of them I collaborated on projects after my PhD research, parts of that work were also relevant to this book, hence their inclusion here.

Doing research in Goma, especially during my first visits, would not have been the same without Karen Büscher, who knew far better than I what she was doing. I'll never forget the apartment beneath the self-proclaimed "prince of Congo," where geese and turkeys sometimes kept us hostage inside. Through all our conversations, often with Kristof Titeca, we learned how to navigate academia as young scholars. I will always treasure the friendship that began between the three of us back then. In Goma I need to thank Pole Institute, and especially Aloys Tegera and Onesphore Sematumba, on whom I could always count for lucid analysis. I was lucky to be able to collaborate with Bienfait Muniyi and Chrispin Mvano Bauma on interviews in North Kivu. Jeanne Vuvan was a wonderful host in Goma in 2011, and throughout the years I could always count on friends in Bukavu and Goma, among others Falonne, Justin, Mboni, Richard, Rytha, Vivy, Michel, Alain, and Gerard.



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Acknowledgments

In Rwanda, I need to especially thank Paul Rutayisire for writing a letter of reference for my research permit. There are many more people I need to thank in Rwanda, but I do not want them to be held responsible for the arguments I am making in this book. I am particularly grateful to those I collaborated with for interviews; those who warmly welcomed me into their homes, families, or workplaces; the friends who made my stays so much better; and the fellow academics who gracefully challenged me. I am aware of the significant role you have all played in this book, and I hope to express my gratitude to you in other ways.

I do not know how I would have survived academia so far without Sarah Van Beurden. She might not know, but she kept me from giving up on this book (and my career) twice. Nicole Eggers is a fellow historian, but also dear friend. Many of our digital transcontinental writing sessions and conversations were not only fun, but they have also shaped many insights in this book. I however still think it would have been a nice experiment if we really had written each other's conclusions.

I met Sarah Watkins, another fellow historian and friend, by accident on a bumpy plane ride leaving Kigali. She taught me how to write (better), kept my language dramatically correct (pun intended), even though my prose still often drove her to insanity during the many rounds of copy-editing she did on the multiple versions of what this book finally became. Nick Di Liberto was also a diligent proofreader and gave structural comments on some chapters of the more final versions, he did some last minute editing on the proofs, and he is also the sole reason why this book has a proper index. Miles Irving did all the maps in the book. I also need to thank the team at Cambridge University Press, and in particular Maria Marsh, because of their patience with me.

The FWO-Research Foundation Flanders not only gave me a PhD fellowship, but their travel grants funded many research stays in both DRC and Rwanda during and after the PhD project. Some research included in this book was a by-product of research I conducted as a post-doc in Mathijs van Leeuwen's project *Looking through the Lens of Land*, together with amazing colleagues Lotje Devries and Gemma van der Haar. I am grateful to both *Africa* and *The Journal of African History* for giving me permission to re-use heavily revised versions of my articles "Bringing History Back In: Past, Present, and Conflict in Rwanda and the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo," *The Journal*



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of African History 58, 3 (2017): 465–487 and "Questioning Territories and Identities in the Precolonial (Nineteenth-Century) Lake Kivu Region," Africa 91, 3 (2021): 493–515. Stanislas Bucyalimwe Mararo gave me permission to reproduce a map based on his own.

So many more colleagues were generous with their comments on one of the many guises of this book. Just listing their names here seems to do little justice to their contributions and the ways they shaped my work, but there is so little space here. Aymar Nyenyezi Bisoka never stopped challenging the foundations of my thinking (and of the historical discipline in general). Others read and gave insightful comments on parts of one of the multiple versions of this book. In this respect I need to thank the late Jan Vansina, Catharine Newbury, Judith Verweijen, Marie-Eve Desrosiers, Richard Sigwalt, Jason Stearns, and the marvelous Margot Luyckfasseel. Samuël Coghe, who became a valued colleague recently, kicked me in gear for rewriting what was a lackluster introduction before he kindly tore it apart. I am also very lucky to have found many compagnons de route who share a professional interest in the Great Lakes Region (and whom I have not yet thanked). Thank you Esther Marijnen, Peer Schouten, Mich Thill, David Mwambari, Erin Jessee, Jeroen Cuvelier, Koen Bostoen, Fred Bauma, Josaphat Musamba Busy, Sara Geenen, Kasper Hoffman, Henri Médard, Charlotte Mertens, Christoph Vogel, Bossissi Nkuba, Christian Lukenge, Yves Makwambala, Brune Mercier, Hanne Michiels, Diane Bihannic, Geert Castryck, Yangu Kiakwama, Annabelle Giudice, Donatella Rostagno, Vicky van Bockhaven, Wendy Bashi, Joshua Walker, Koen Vlassenroot, Sam Kniknie, Janosch Küllenberg, Aidan Russell, Emery Mudinga, Alexis Bouvy, Olivier Ndoole, Solange Fontana, Nancy Rose Hunt, Lys Alcayna-Stevens, Timo Müller, Jolien Tegenbos, Maria Martin de Almagro Iniesta, Miles Larmer, An Ansoms, Maarten Hendriks, Baudouin Mena Sebu, Innocent Mwumvikano, Pedro Monaville, Hugh Lamarque, Raeymaekers, and the people of the WhatsApp-group Baraza ya Nchi I have not yet mentioned. ABORNE, the African Borderlands Research Network, has been an important scholarly community, especially for a younger researcher, and in particular people such as Camille Lefebvre, Gregor Dobler, and Anthony Asiwaju. In a later stage, the Congo Basin team for the Regions 2050 project, led by Achille Mbembe, was another important community of peers.



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Acknowledgments

I also would like to thank Alain Gerard, Pierre Dandoy, and particularly Raf Storms at the archives of the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Bérengère Piret and Marie van Eeckenroode at the Belgian State Archives can also not be forgotten here. The History Department at Ghent University was a good working environment, not in the least because of people such as Eva Willems, Hanne Cottyn, Petra Vervust, Tessa Boeykens, Frederik Buylaert, Eric Vanhaute, Bas Deroo, Berber Bevernage, Robrecht Declercq, all the people at the corner office of the third floor in the UFo-building, and more recent colleagues such as Eline Mestdagh, Enid Guene, Igor Matonda, and Marie-Gabrielle Verbergt. I am also grateful for the many friends who were never part of this project, but by whom I always felt supported. Thank you Lotje, Mien, Sarah, Jonas, Eva, Evita, Eveline, Elke, Joris, Veva, Tine, Katrijn, Thomas, Sara, Hannes, Esther, Jef, Lieselotte, Julie, Matthias, Boris, Bouke, and the rest of the bunch.

I would never have been able to finish this book without people shouldering and sharing the care for my son with me. Many of them I have already listed above; I was not exaggerating when I said so many of my colleagues are wonderful people and friends. But I would like to especially thank my parents and brother, my aunt and uncle Katrien and Philippe, the personnel from daycare *De Rockertjes* in Forest, the teachers and caring personnel from de *Parkschool* in Forest and *Drakena* in Gent, and Najat Talbi. I could have never finished this book (nor have done any of my other work) without them. Lio, there are no lies whatsoever when I say that this book would have been here sooner if not for you. Being your parent has been one of the wildest and most beautiful adventures, and I would not have missed it for the world.

Even if this book was the result of a very collaborative process in ways these acknowledgments will never be able to convey, I take responsibility for all the arguments made in this book, and no one else can be made accountable for them.