

## *Index*

- AFDL (Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Zaïre), 276, 288, 295, 321
- Agnew, John, 21, 82, 87, 318
- ANC (Armée Nationale Congolaise), 261
- APCLS (Alliance des Patriotes pour un Congo Libre et Souverain), 277, 294, 305
- APROSOMA (Association pour la Promotion Sociale de la Masse), 215, 253, 258
- autochthony, concept of, 9, 308 and balkanization discourse in Congo, 273 borders and, 88 colonial land tenure and, 237, 267 colonial migration schemes and, 47, 173, 227, 233, 239 colonial roots of, 40–41, 244–45, 269, 274, 306–7, 319 Congolité and, 302–4 decolonization and, 271 ethnic identities and, 42–43, 249, 262, 306–7 independence and, 40, 267, 321
- Balioko, 89, 93, 196
- balkanization, discourses of, 47, 266 Congolese political culture and, 287–89, 297 Congolese refugee policy and, 291 Congo–Rwanda relations and, 272–73, 286, 307–8 social media images of, 287, 292
- bamotsal/bamotsi*, 191–92, 201
- Banyamulenge, 293 bloodpacts (*kunywana*) and, 222 Congolese citizenship contested, 299, 301–2, 305
- First Congo War and, 275–76, 299, 321 kinship ties of, 70 language of, 2 Nyiginya expansion and, 73, 313 South Kivu settlement of, 250
- Banyarwanda migration scheme, 25, 46, 147, 166–67, 173 anxieties of colonial agents, 47, 197, 232, 243–44 cattle, movement of, 183–84 chiefs' role in, 156, 172 coercion, role of, 172–74, 188–89, 191, 195, 315 colonial economic interests and, 170, 173–74, 197 colonial “ethnic” distinctions used in, 174–75, 179–82 greater Rwanda ideology and Nyiginya support of, 316
- MIB (Mission d'Immigration des Banyarwanda), founding of, 172–73, 228
- MIB and second phase of, 198, 228–29, 233, 235, 237–38, 247 migrants' cross-border connections, 172, 192–94, 196 migrants' motivations, 190–91, 234–35
- MIP (Mouvement d'Immigration de Population) and late phase of, 245–46
- Nyirahuku famine and, 186, 188, 197, 231
- passeports de sortie* used in, 167–68 pressure on land in Rwanda, role of, 195–96
- resistance of Congolese chiefs to, 187–90, 231–33 Rudahigwa's role in, 175–77, 184

- Batetela mutiny/revolt, 94, 96, 134, 196  
 Belgian Congo  
     chieftaincies, administrative, 22, 24, 40, 123–26, 317  
     continuity with CFS, 123  
     labor recruitment policies, 150–52, 158–59, 163–64, 167–68, 170, 228, 238  
     mining/extractive industries, 148, 151, 163, 211  
     native policy (*politique indigène*) of, 122–23, 249  
     rélegation policy, 128, 153  
     resettlement schemes of, 25, 46, 319,  
         *See also* Banyarwanda migration scheme  
     restriction of land and resources, 140–41, 229, 247  
     Rwanda as source of labor for, 148, 164–66  
     surveillance and control of mobility in, 156–58, 197–99, 315–16  
 Belinga, Samuel Eno, 18, 26, 117  
 Berlin Conference (1884–85), 89, 94–96, 100, 285, 300  
 Bernault, Florence, 42  
 Bideri, Joseph, 181  
     appointment as chief of Gishari, 177, 183  
     resignation as chief of Gishari, 185–86  
     return to Rwanda, 186  
*birul/mwiru*, 29, 72, 280–81  
 Bisengimana, Barthélémy, 298–99  
 Bizimungu, Pasteur, 285  
 bloodpacts (*kunywana*), social importance of, 52, 193, 205, 220–22, *See also* cattle borders, 315  
     artificiality of, 13, 21, 105, 111–12  
     colonial administration of, 19–21, 143, 158, 316–17  
     contested (*territoire contestée*), 96–98  
     extractive economy and, 14, 206  
     frontiers and, 15, 19, 42, 316  
     independence and, 252  
     liminality and, 2, 27, 105, 205, 213, 224, 321  
     nationality determined by, 6  
     postcolonial/national, 269–70  
     territory and identity linked by, 20–21, 318–19  
     trade and mobility across, 210, 214–15  
 Braudel, Fernand, 9–10  
 Bucyanyandi, Wilfried  
     appointment as chief of Gishari, 185–87  
     conflict over Gishari chieftaincy, 231–32, 263  
     removal as chief in Gishari, 246  
 Bugoyi, 211, 259  
     cattle trade and, 139–40, 217  
     colonial reorganization of, 136, 209  
     cross-border migration and, 160, 188, 194, 196–97, 213  
 First World War in, 117–18, 120, 196  
 identities, formation of, 15, 36–37, 62, 65–66, 313  
 Nyiginya kingdom and, 62, 69, 80, 132  
 socio-political organization of, nineteenth-century, 56–57, 61, 83–84, 311  
     uprising in (1897), 80, 92, 313  
 Buhavu, 29, 55, 64, *See also* Idjwi  
 Buhunde, 236, *See also* Gishari;  
     Masisi  
     as colonial *chefferie*, 126–27, 176–77, 180–81, 191, 197–98  
     as “ethnic territory” under colonialism, 55  
     historical sources for, 29  
     Hunde as “ethnic” identity, 40  
     Rwabugiri’s invasions of, 74, 93  
     social identity of, 42, 62  
     sociopolitical organization, nineteenth-century, 71–72, 126  
 Buisseret, Augustin, Minister of Colonies, 234, 243, 265, 273  
 Bukavu, city of  
     as administrative center, 207–8  
     Cyangugu, cross-border connections to, 97, 204, 208–9, 211, 258, 270  
     European plantation economy and, 152, 161  
     European settlement in, 207–8  
     labor opportunities in, 213–15  
     refugees in, 256

- resistance to Congolese invasion (1996), 295
- UNAR activity in, 258, 261
- urban growth and opportunities in, 211–12
- Bukumu, *See also* Kahembe, *mwami*  
as colonial chieftaincy under Kahembe, 132–34, 280
- First World War and *Rumanura* famine in, 119–20
- Kumu identity and Rwanda territorial claims, 311
- political reorganization by Belgians, 132, 142
- tensions with Rwandan chiefs, 114, 139
- Bukunzi kingdom as colonial chieftaincy, 138
- Musinga's rule contested in, 120
- political reorganization by Belgians, 65, 136
- relative autonomy from Nyiginya court, 57, 64, 102
- bula matari*, colonial state as, 25, 27–28, 174, 315
- Burundi, 41, 73, 148, 255, 284, 299
- Belgian control of, 19, 147
- refugees from, 275, 291
- Tutsi refugees to, 254–55
- Bushi, 71
  - bloodpacts (*kunywana*) and, 220–21
  - cattle trade and, 217, 221
  - colonial reorganization of, 127
  - historical sources on, 29
  - labor migration and, 163, 195
  - land tenure system in, 237
  - Niganda family's influence, 79, 161
  - Nyiginya kingdom and, 22, 65
  - refugee crisis and conflicts around independence, 257, 268
  - resistance to Belgian colonialism, 94, 99
  - Rwabugiri's invasion of, 77–78, 80, 93, 281
  - sociopolitical organization, nineteenth-century, 42, 54, 64, 70
- Bushiru, 54, 57, 138, 197
- Bwisha, 305
  - chieftaincy of, 126, 131–32, 159, 233, 240
- colonial reorganization of, 80–81, 103, 129–30, 142, 160
- Congolité* of inhabitants, 292, 303
- First World War in, 119–20
- identities, formation of, 36, 67
- language of, 2
- Nyabingi cult in, 69
- Nyiginya kingdom and, 66–69, 83, 313
- sociopolitical organization of, nineteenth-century, 56, 74
- Catholic Church, 121, 253
- missionaries, 256
- cattle, *See also* Tutsi:pastoralists
  - bloodpacts (*kunywana*) and, 220–21
  - borders and, 101, 108, 139, 223, 230, 243
  - colonial control of, 183–84, 205
  - conflicts over, 139–40, 188, 265
  - diseases of, 184
  - raiding of, 93–94
  - social importance of, 36, 73–74, 76, 205, 222
  - trade in, 202–3, 210, 215–19, 216, 222–23, 257, 270
- CEC (Centres Extra Coutumier), 208, 211–12
- chieftaincies, administrative (*chefferies*), 46
  - as administrative streamlining, 125–29
  - authority of chiefs, 122–23, 128, 141–43, 153, 158, 214
  - Belgian native policy (*politique indigène*) and, 122–23, 310, 318
  - Belgian *rélegation* of chiefs, 128
  - borders and, 22, 123, 139, 143, 213–14
  - colonial labor supplied by, 153–56
  - and colonial rule, 24, 40, 115, 123–26, 156, 239
  - in colonial Rwanda, 135–38
  - controlling mobility through, 123, 148, 153–58, 162
  - ethnic identities and, 116–17, 125–26, 318–19
  - resettlement schemes and, 199
- CNDP (Congrès National pour la Défense du Peuple), *See also* M23
- balkanization discourse in Congo and, 288, 292–93

- CNDP (Congrès National pour la Défense du Peuple) (cont.)  
 Congolese Tutsi and, 324  
 cross-border contacts, xi, 277–78,  
 308  
 CNKi (Comité National du Kivu), 151,  
 165, 229–30  
 coffee, cultivation of  
     Kivu region, 150–52, 210  
     Rwanda, 150  
 colonial library, 23, 34, 47, 60, 278  
     autochthony and, 273–74, 300,  
 322  
     borders and, 270  
     critique of, 324  
 Congo Free State (CFS), 81  
     conquest and occupation of Kivu by,  
 88  
     expropriation of land in, 229  
     German empire, border disputes  
         with, 89, 94–98  
     Hecq-Bethe agreement with  
         Germany, 96–98, 110  
     native policy (*politique indigène*) of,  
 122–23  
     resistance against, 94–95, 105,  
         *See also* Batetela mutiny/revolt  
     rubber regime, 94, 98–99, 109–11  
 Congo Wars, 1, 4, 7, 271, 288  
     First (1996–97), 276, 299  
     Rwandan involvement, 41, 273–74  
     Second (1998–2003), 294  
 Congo/Zaire, *See also* Mobutu  
     balkanization discourses in, 273,  
 286–89, 297  
     displaced persons, xi, 1, 309  
     independence of, 40, 173, 248–49,  
 251–52, 259–60, 269–70, 321  
     land tenure, postcolonial, 248  
     nationalisms/*Congolité*, 6, 321, 323  
     plantations, postcolonial  
         nationalization of, 247  
     refugee camps in, 251, 256, 276  
     refugees in, 1–2, 249–51, 257, 261,  
 263, 274–76  
 Cooper, Frederick, 5, 34, 268  
 Costermansville, *See* Bukavu, city of  
 Côte d'Ivoire, 41  
 CSP (Conseil Supérieur Provisoire,  
 Rwanda), 279

- Cyangugu, city of, *See also* Kinyaga  
     as CFS outpost, 97, 100  
 Bukavu, cross-border connections to,  
 204, 208–9, 211, 258, 270  
     commercial trade and market in, 209  
     UNAR branch in, 258  
 Czakanowski, Jan, Polish  
     anthropologist, 32, 63, 75, 81, 99  
     on borders of Congo Free State,  
 105  
     on Kivu's territorial fluidity, 59–60  
 Democratic Republic of Congo, *See*  
 Congo/Zaire  
 elites  
     African, 32, 42, 113, 117  
     borders and authority of, 315  
     colonial influence of, 25, 35, 128,  
 172, 270, 272  
     Congolese, 262, 273, 288, 307  
     ethnicity and, 33, 249  
     mobility of, 15, 52  
     Nyiginya court's relations with,  
 66–68, 79, 119, 142, 175  
     Rwandan, 13, 30, 39, 275  
 ethnicity  
     alternatives to ethnic belonging, 35,  
 37–38, 60, 323  
     and autochthony, language of,  
 40–43, 262, 267, 319  
     as collective groupwork, 39–40,  
 319–20, 324  
     colonial categories of, 35, 117, 249,  
 314, 321  
     colonial chieftaincies and, 116–17,  
 125–26  
     colonial naming of ethnic territories,  
 55–56  
     constructivist view of, 33–35  
     elites' role in shaping, 249  
     ethnic conflict and land access, 248  
     precolonial fluidity of identity and,  
 34  
     “tribe” concept and, 33–34  
 famine  
     economic policies and, 152–53  
     forced migration and, 63, 158, 188,  
 192, 197

- Nyirahuku/Ruzagayura, in Rwanda, (1943–44), 186, 188, 190, 197, 231, 239
- Rumanura (1916–18), 119–20, 193
- FAR (Forces Armées Rwandaises), 277
- FARDC (Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo), xi, 294
- FDLR (Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda), xi, 277
- First World War, 81, 105, 124, 179, 196, 207
- Belgian incorporation of Rwanda, 113–14, 116, 120–21, 133, 142, 147
- Belgian veterans settle in Kivu, 150
- Belgian-German conflict in African colonies, 107, 117–20, 279
- Rumanura* famine and, 120
- Franck, Louis, Minister of Colonies, 124–25, 135–36
- frontiers
  - concept of, 14, 17
  - fluidity of, 42, 101, 318
  - mobility and, 15–19, 26
  - trade and, 42–43
- genocide against the Tutsi
  - hate speech and, 308
  - Hutu-Tutsi divide and, 35–36, 222, 303
  - refugees and displaced persons, 1, 274–76, 291, 309
  - Rwandan memories of, 7, 324
  - Rwandan politics and, xi, 66, 169, 297
- German East Africa, 51, 98, 110
- Gisenyi, city of
  - cross-border mobility and, 192
  - extractive trade in, 110–11, 134
  - German post at, 97–98
  - Goma, cross-border connections to, 204, 208–9, 211, 258, 269
  - market of, 209–10
  - UNAR branch in, 258–59
- Gishari, *See also* Masisi; Kinyaga
  - Belgians abolish chieftaincy of, 233, 245–47
- chieftaincy of, 177–79, 178, 227, 231–33, *See also* Bucyanyandi, Wilfried; Bideri, Joseph
- colonial expropriation of land in, 229 as “*lieu de refuge*”, 183, 187
- migrants’ perceptions of, 172, 194–95
- migration scheme and, 171, 179–80, 183–84, 199, 227, 229–30, 235
- Nyiginya kingdom and, 72, 74–75, 176–79, 182–87, 280
- Nyirahuku famine and migration to, 187
- Rwandan chiefs force migration to, 188–91
- “Tutsi” pastoralists in, 72–73, 179–82, 184, 230
- Goma Peace Conference (2008), 301, 304
- Goma, city of
  - as transport hub, 207
  - Catholic Mission in, 258
  - Congo independence and, 259–61
  - contemporary political violence in, 277, 304, 311
  - European plantation economy in, 151
  - extractive trade in, 93, 110, 134
  - foundation of, 97–98
  - Gisenyi, cross-border connections to, 204, 208–9, 258, 269
  - Goma-Rutshuru road and colonial border, 101–4, 159
  - M23 capture of, xi, 294
  - migration to, 193, 245
  - refugees in, 256
  - UNAR activity in, 258, 260–61
  - urban development of, 1, 211
- Greater Rwanda, thesis of
  - balkanization discourse in Congo and, 285–87, 308
- in contemporary Rwandan politics, 284
- nationalist historiography and, 11–13, 30, 281–82
- Rwanda-Congo political borders and, 21, 305
- Guyer, Jane, 18, 26, 117
- Habyarimana, Joseph Gitera, 254
- Habyarimana, Juvénal, 36, 169, 274

- Hamitic hypothesis  
 balkanization discourses and, 273  
 hierarchy of African races, 36  
 Hutu-Tutsi divide and, 36–38, 278, 289, 302–3  
 Tutsi citizenship in Congo  
 undermined by, 307  
 Tutsi-as-invaders/outsiders trope  
 and, 244  
 Hunde, *See* Buhunde
- Idjwi, island of, 203, *See also* Buhavu  
 Belgian reorganization of, 127  
 Belgian-German border dispute over,  
 100–2, 106–7  
 Havu kingdom on, 71  
 Nkundiye's role in, 75–77  
 royal family and Nyiginya court,  
 75–76, 80  
 Rwabugiri's attacks on, 75–77, 281,  
 297  
 ivory trade, 74, 93, 109–11, 133–34
- Jomba, *See also* Nshizirungu  
 colonial reorganization of, 160, 175  
 migration to Gishari, 179–80, 187,  
 199  
 Nyiginya kingdom and, 68–69
- Kabila, Joseph, 277, 288, 294  
 Kabila, Laurent-Désiré, 277  
 Kagame, Alexis, 285, 289  
 on Belgian colonialism, 137–38  
 and “greater Rwanda” thesis, 30,  
 281–82  
 on Nyiginya kingdom, history of, 29,  
 66, 78, 323  
 on Rwandan history, 12, 105, 283  
 Kagame, Paul (Rwandan president), 285  
 Kahembe, *mwami*, 99  
 Belgian border policies and, 143, 318  
 as chief of Bukumu, 135, 142, 280  
 cross-border cattle disputes in  
 Bukumu chieftaincy and, 139, 141  
 lack of traditional, customary  
 credentials, 115–16, 132–35, 141  
 Kalinda, André, *mwami*, *See also*  
 Teuwen report (1966)  
 appointment as *grand chef* of all  
 Hunde, 126, 229–30, 318
- Gishari resettlement, resistance to,  
 233–34, 243  
 land rights and, 240, 307, 318  
 treatment of migrants/refugees, 176,  
 197, 231–32  
 on Tutsi and Kanyarwanda wars,  
 265–66, 273  
 Kandt, Richard, Resident (colonial  
 governor) of Rwanda, 73, 98, 102,  
 178–79, 183, 313  
*Kangura* (magazine), 2, 289–91  
 Kanjogera, queen mother, 91  
 Kanyarwanda wars (1963–66), 275,  
 304, *See also* Teuwen report  
*Congolité* of Kinyarwanda speakers  
 contested in, 306, 321  
 ethnic politics of, 262–64  
 identity fetishism in accounts of,  
 251–52, 266  
 local dynamics of, 266, 268–70  
 Tutsi/Rwandan “irredentism”  
 blamed for, 265–66, 273, 287, 289  
 Kayibanda, Grégoire, 36, 169, 253–54,  
 259  
 Keese, Alexander, 34  
 Kinyaga, *See also* Gishari  
 cattle trade and, 215–17  
 chiefs' appropriation of land in,  
 188–89  
 colonial labor coercion in, 169, 189,  
 191, 195–96  
 commercial activity in, 209, 211–12,  
 218, 223  
 cross-border labor migration and,  
 161–63, 192, 213, 215, 223  
 ethnic divisions in, 35–36  
 identities, formation of, 15, 65–67, 71  
 migration scheme and, 194–95  
 Nyiginya kingdom and, 63–65  
 perceptions of Gishari, 172  
 sociopolitical organization,  
 nineteenth-century, 84
- Kivu, Lake (region of)  
 colonial reorganization of, 115,  
*See also* chieftaincies,  
 administrative  
 cross-border connections in, 252,  
 269, 309, 315, 323  
 ecological diversity of, 204, 207, 209  
 First World War in, 117–20

- frontier societies in, 11, 14–17, 22, 24, 71  
 geography of, 10–11, 12  
 Great Depression and, 125, 165  
 mineral resources, 8, 150  
 mobility of population, 16–18, 51, 55, 64, 70, 123, 148–49, 172, 201–2, 238, 316  
 plantation economy of white settlers, 150–52, 168  
 regional trade, nineteenth-century, 52, 203, 206–7  
 as *territoire contesté*, 95–98, 110, 150  
 urbanization in, 207, 215  
 Kopytoff, Igor, 14, 17–18
- labor  
 agricultural/plantation, 150–52, 184, 247  
 and colonial taxation, 151, 166  
 colonial control over, 25, 156–58  
 fleeing from, 159–60, 163–64, 168–69, 191–92  
 forced and *corvée*, 148, 153, 159–60, 162–65, 235  
 mobility and migration of, 26, 149, 167–68, 193, 196, *See also* Banyarwanda migration scheme  
*shiku*, 153, 164, 168–69, 191–92, 234  
*transfuges* as source of, 165–66  
*uburetwa*, 153–55, 162–64, 168–69, 234–35, 264  
 wage, 151, 166, 213–14
- land tenure, systems of  
*bukonde* system (Rwanda), 83, 195, 235–36  
 colonial standardization of, 229, 236–37  
 customary, 237–39  
 Hunde areas, 236  
 postcolonial conflicts over, 247–48  
*Le Potentiel*, Kinshasa newspaper, 292  
 League of Nations, 121, 147–48, 252  
 Logiest, Guy, 254–55, 260  
 Lumumba, Patrice, 258–59, 262, 266
- M23 (Mouvement du 23 Mars),  
*See also* CNDP  
 balkanization discourse in Congo and, 284–85, 288, 292–93
- cross-border contacts, xi, 277–78, 304, 308  
 rebellion of 2012–13, 284, 292, 294  
 Mai Mulele rebellion, 261–62, 264–66  
*Mai-Mai* groups, 277, 301  
 Masisi, territory of, 11  
 colonial expropriation of land in, 229, 241  
 contemporary political violence in, 266  
 European plantation economy in, 152, 242  
 extractive trade in, 111  
 Kanyarwanda wars in, 251, 264–65, 269  
 land availability in, 195, 199, 240  
 Mai Mulele rebellion and, 264  
 migration scheme and, 47, 172–73, 176, 197–99, 242, 247, 319  
 refugees in, 257  
 Rwandan immigration to, 166, 171, 202, 227, 242, 315  
 UNAR activity in, 259  
 warfare in (1990s), 275, 291
- Mbembe, Achille, 9, 88  
 MGL (Mine des Grands Lacs Africaines), 150, 163  
 MIB (Mission d'Immigration des Banyarwanda), *See* Banyarwanda migration scheme  
 missionaries, *See also* Catholic Church  
 colonial influence, 13, 23, 108, 112, 115, 141, 221  
 German, 102, 107  
 MNC-L (Mouvement National Congolais-Lumumba), 258–59, 269  
 Mobutu, Joseph Désiré, 243, 261, 298 coup of 1965, 262  
 ethnic politics of, 41, 247, 275, 291, 298–99, 306  
 overthrow of, 276, 288  
 MRNDD (Mouvement Républicain National pour la Démocratie et le Développement), 274  
 Mudimbe, Valentin, 23  
 Mulele, Pierre, 262, *See also* Mai Mulele rebellion

- Musinga, Yuhu, *mwami*, *See also*  
 Rucunshu coup  
 and greater Rwanda thesis, 11, 51,  
 279, 281  
*bagaragu* (clients) of, 65  
 Belgian native policy and, 122, 138,  
 169  
 deposed by Belgians, 92, 120–22,  
 183  
 Germany, alliance with, 91, 114,  
 119, 279  
 loss of Bukumu territory, 132–33  
 loss of Gisaka, 121  
 territorial claims of, 51, 54, 114,  
 129–30  
 Tutsi elites, relationship with, 121
- Nahimana, Ferdinand, 282  
 Ndhahindurwa, Kigeri, *mwami*, 254–55,  
 259–60, 289  
 Ndeze, *mwami*, 99  
 Belgian border policies and, 143, 318  
 cross-border cattle disputes in Bwisha  
 and, 139–40  
 lack of traditional, customary  
 credentials, 115–16, 131–32, 135,  
 142  
 as *mwami* of Bwisha, 131–32, 142  
 resistance to resettlement schemes,  
 232  
 Rutshuru chieftaincy and, 128, 301  
 Newbury, Catharine, 30, 39, 188  
 Newbury, David, 13, 18–19, 30, 78  
 NGOs, 4, 272  
 Ngyiko, Hunde prince (raids of), 93,  
 111, 177  
 Niganda family  
 Bega clan and, 78  
 colonial period, 161  
 Nyiginya court and, 78–80  
 Rwanabugiri and, 77–78, 83  
 Njangu Canda-Ciri, Alphonse, 42  
 Nkunda, Laurent, 130, 277, 286, 292,  
 305  
 Nshizirungu, chief of Jomba, 119,  
 129–30  
 Ntezimana, Emmanuel, 13, 18, 283–84,  
 311  
 Ntumwa, Shi chief, 65, 160, 163,  
 256–57
- Nyabingi cult, 69, 119  
 Nyalukemba, *See* Bukavu  
 Nyamnjoh, Francis, 18, 20, 205  
 Nyiginya kingdom, 13, *See also* names  
 of kings  
 abolition of, 253, 255  
 court histories of, 11, 30, *See also*  
 Kagame, Alexis  
 court ideology, 57, 280, *See also* biru/  
 mwiru  
 court politics, 62, 91–92, 121, 182,  
 314  
 frontier societies' relations with,  
 14–16, 51, 54–55, 58–60  
 historical sources on, 28–31  
 Hutu-Tutsi distinctions, 35–36,  
 314–15  
 limits to authority, 13, 83–84, 91, 312  
 military influence, 16–17, 31, 57–58,  
 281  
 political authority, 14, 21, 24, 57–58  
 population of, 16  
 ruling elite of, 39, 57, 91  
 taxation system, 53, 67, 83  
 Nyiramuhanda, 72, 75, 205
- Parc National Albert (PNA), 140, 151,  
 187, 229  
 PARMEHUTU (Parti du Mouvement  
 de l'Emancipation Hutu), 253,  
 255–56, 259
- RADER (Rassemblement  
 Démocratique Rwandais), 253  
 Ranger, Terence, 30  
 RCD (Rassemblement Congolais pour  
 la Démocratie), 277–78, 288, 292  
 RPA (Rwandan Patriotic Army), 276,  
 285, 289  
 RPF (Rwandan Patriotic Front),  
 274–76, 282, 289–90, 299, 302,  
 321  
 Ruanda-Urundi, Belgian mandate of,  
 19, 121, 150, 157  
 colonial reorganization of, 135–38  
 economic policies, 152  
 as labor reserve for Belgian Congo,  
 147, 158, 167–68  
 native policy (*politique indigène*) of,  
 136

- rubber trade, 93, 109–11, 133, *See also* Congo Free State:rubber regime
- Rucunshu coup (1896)  
 and Bugoyi uprising, 92, 196  
 and Gishari, impact on, 182–83, 316  
 Musinga's victory in, 91, 181–82  
 Nyiginya kingdom, political instability of, 84, 88, 91, 174, 177
- Rudahigwa, *mwami*  
 Belgian appointment of, 121  
 death of, 254  
 greater Rwanda thesis and, 185, 280–81  
 migration scheme, role in, 175–77, 184  
 resistance to in Gishari, 179–80, 182–83, 185–87, 246
- Rujugira, *mwami*, 62
- Ratalindwa, Mibambwe, *mwami*, 91, 96
- Rutshuru, territory of, 11  
 Batetela mutiny/revolt in, 94  
 colonial reorganization of, 108, 124–26, 128–29, *See also* Ndeze  
 cross-border mobility in, 179, 192, 210  
 extractive economy in, 98–99  
 extractive trade in, 110–11  
 First World War in, 119–20  
 Goma-Rutshuru road and colonial border, 100–4, 159  
 migration scheme and, 173, 187, 231–33  
 Nyiginya kingdom, relations with, 66, 81, 114  
 plantation economy of white settlers in, 151  
 Rwandan labor, forced resettlement of, 164–66
- Rwabugiri, Kigeri, *mwami*  
 in Buhunde, 74, 93  
 in Bushi, 76–78, 80, 91, 93, 161  
 centralization of Nyiginya kingdom, 17, 67, 82, 114  
 death of, 80, 83, 91–92, 102, 281  
 ethnic divisions and, 36  
 historical memory of in contemporary politics, 290–91, 294–97, 307  
 in Idjwi, 75–77, 297  
 limits to political authority of, 312–13
- military campaigns of, 70, 83, 91, 143, 203, 281  
 Nyiginya expansion under, 57–58, 62–63, 101  
 political violence of, 182, 196  
 trade under, 52, 58, 109  
 tribute and taxation system under, 68–69, 84, 312  
 warrior poems (*icyivugo*) for, 280, 296
- Rwanda, *See also* Greater Rwanda thesis; Nyiginya kingdom  
 genocide against Tutsi and, xi, 1, 169, 182, 291  
 Hutu elite in, 253, 275  
 Hutu-Tutsi divide, 33, 35–39  
 independence of, 13, 249, 255  
 national identity, 12–14  
 nationalist historiography of, 281–82, *See also* Kagame, Alexis  
 political parties in, 253  
 Second World War and, 252  
 UN trusteeship of, 252
- Schoenbrun, David, 33, 53  
 Scott, James C., 17, 63  
 Second World War, 139, 228, 231, 252, 257  
*shiku*, *See* labor:*shiku*  
 slave trade, 52, 93, 109, 111, 177, 189  
 Spear, Thomas, 42, 318  
 Stanley, Henry Morton, 25, 58
- Tanganyika, Lake, 9–10, 96–97, 100, 150
- Tanzania, 254–56, 284
- Teuwen report (1966), 240, 264–65, 270, *See also* Kanyarwanda wars
- Tutsi  
 colonial ethnic labelling and, 181–82  
 elites in colonial Rwanda, 135–36, 138, 187, 254, 258  
 genocide against, 1, 7, 36, 182, 222, 257, 274–76, 291, 297, 303, 308, 324  
 Hamitic hypothesis and, 38, 244  
 hate speech against in Congo, xii, 278, 308  
 as invaders/"irredentism" of, 243, 245, 265–66, 273, 289, 294, 309

- Tutsi (cont.)  
  pastoralists, 36, 179–82, 184, 230, 243  
  as refugees in Congo, 249–51, 255, 263
- uburetwa*, *See* labor:*uburetwa*
- Uganda, 8, 66, 129  
  British colony of, 96, 119, 166, 316  
  competition for wage labor, 148, 166–67, 228  
Congo Wars and, 288, 292  
Rwandan immigration to, 148, 158–59, 164, 170, 185, 194, 246  
Rwandan territorial claims and, 51, 284–85  
Tutsi refugees to, 254–55
- UNAR (Union Nationale Rwandaise)  
  Belgian anxieties over political connections in Congo, 258–61, 269
- Hutu-Tutsi political violence, 254
- Lumumba alliance with, 266  
Tutsi leadership of, 253, 258  
Tutsi refugees and, 255–56, 269
- United Nations, xi–xii, 290  
  Refugee Agency (UNHCR), 1, 305  
Trusteeship Council, 200, 211, 252–53
- Vangu report (1994), 42  
  balkanization discourses used in, 291  
Banyamulenge citizenship contested in, 299  
borders and mobility in, 2–3, 309–10  
Congolese identity/*Congolité* and, 321  
Tutsi irredentism depicted in, 294
- Vansina, Jan, 78, 92
- Victoria, Lake, 10
- Young, Crawford, 25
- Zaire, *See* Congo/Zaire