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Hegemonic Ethno-Nationalism versus the Instrumentalization of Armed Groups

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Item Type	Book review
Authors	NTANYOMA, Rukumbuzi Delphin
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Download date	2026-11-17 18:24:31
Link to Item	http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12424/166425

'Hegemonic Ethno-nationalism' versus The "Instrumentalization" of Armed Groups: Failure to Grasping the Dynamic Reality of Eastern DRC Conflict?

The Review of Kibiswa's Thesis

Introduction

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) has been undergoing a cycle of violent and armed conflict for nearly three decades. Recently the DRC's conflict has been portrayed as the African mostly devastating war with millions of deaths besides of huge collateral damages as well as the displacement of population. Since 1996, the conflict has been taking different shapes to extent that researchers and scholars are constantly trying to understand its intractability and capture motivations behind these armed confrontations. The eastern part of the Congo (Hereafter eastern Congo) has mostly been affected by the violent conflict. The complexity of the Eastern Congo violent conflict is its multifaceted dimensions originating from different factors and countless actors. Besides the internationalization dimension, the DRC conflict has been generally debated as related to natural resources plundering, triggered by ethnic identity claims as well as land management but largely exploiting the relative deprivation of its local population (Gurr 1970, Murshed 2010, Nathan 2005, Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002, Prunier 2009, Stearns 2011, Turner 2007). During the three decades, the conflict that had involved DRC's neighboring countries keeps breeding countless armed groups whose benchmarks are largely their ethnic identities (Braathen et al 2000, Stearns 2011, Verweijen and Brabant 2017, Weis and Carayannis 2004). Since the colonial period, it is widely agreed that the country has also been administratively—ethnically divided to the extent that ethnic communities do dominate local customary chieftaincies linked the colonial "indirect rule" (Fetter 1969, Vogel 2011, Turner 2007, Young 1965). The socio-cultural landscape influences mostly the composition of armed group's formation. Consequently, the setting and militia landscape can strongly disagree with the viewpoint discussed in Kibiswa's thesis[1] referring to the Banyamulenge/Banyarwanda's ethnonationalism—ethnic loyalty, circumscribing into one causal-effect relationship.

Beyond local militias, the conflict in the DRC has been involving foreign militias as well as their respective armies. These armed groups have been operating within a context of an ethnically divided and fragmented. Consequently, the reliance on ethnicity since the colonial era has facilitated a conducive environment of local armed groups and militias to operate. Though most of scholars have largely been agreeing on key factors fueling the dynamic conflict to perpetuate, the limitations of these researches can widely be understandable within the scope of research limitations. However, the thesis of Kibiswa K. Naupess exhibits some shortfalls that require attention. The present article examines its consistency as an academic work that would have relied on key research principles. The thesis being reviewed is "Ethnonationalism and Conflict Resolution: The Armed Group Bany2 in DR Congo". It has been published in 2015 by Global Ethics as a book, though the thesis is a doctoral one undertaken from the Nova Southeastern University in the United States of America. It presents some drawbacks that need to be deeply discussed in order to counterbalance its dark areas.

The Kibiswa's thesis focuses on an internal aspect of the Eastern DRC's conflict, he chose to label as the ethnonationalism of Banyamulenge/Banyarwanda. His thesis uses the concept "Bany2" to indicate the

[1] Kibiswa, Naupess K. (2015), "Ethnonationalism and Violent Conflict: The Armed group Bany2 in Congo", *Globethics.net Theses 13,* ISBN 978-2-88931-031-9 (online version). Available on internet at http://www.globethics.net/documents/4289936/13403260/GE_Theses_13_web.pdf (accessed on 10th July 2017)

combination of Banyamulenge[2] and Banyarwanda[3] toponyms (ethnonyms). Though hard to scientifically derive that connection, the author support his argument by considering the 'Bany2' as originating from Rwanda in its actual borders. Moreover, he has tried to link up their warlike behaviors as close to that of ancient precolonial Rwanda, specifically the Tutsi kingdom. The contribution of this article bounds on the current conflict in DRC. The review considers that the ancient precolonial Rwanda's behaviors that have characterized the Rwandan Kingdom wouldn't have nothing to do with the contours of the ongoing crises in Eastern Congo. The lengthy period—century of years—separating these two contexts can bring someone to underestimate their direct connections. Additionally, the violent conflict in Eastern Congo involves several ethnic communities whose origins can be traced back from the African Great Lakes region (Kingwengwe-Mupe 1982, Moeller 1936). Therefore, linking one ethnic community to any ancient origin brings a debate of where others have inherited their violence.

Beyond the ambiguity of connecting 'Bany2' to the ancient Rwandan Kingdom , the thesis fails in making a difference of the heterogeneous community composed by the Hutu and Tutsi from Rutshuru and Masisi Counties; those who settled through the colonial "transplantation" program and the Banyamulenge living in South-Kivu[4]. Experience has shown that these differences have led to divergent approaches to deal with the ongoing crises. Since the emergence of violent conflict in 90s, these communities have resorted to differing strategies in front of what they consider as a discrimination from other communities. When the North-Kivu is mixed up with the group of Banyamulenge from South-Kivu, the result would lead to a type of an "alphabet soup" findings. It is clear that an independent observer would argue that these nuances among the heterogeneous group have constituted a basis of "internal" infighting or a source of dispute (Barnes 1999).

On one hand, as stated in Kibiswa (2015:50) his theoretical framework looks as slightly matching with his approach of analyzing the DRC's conflict due to the fact that the thesis combines Galtung's structural violence theory with the human needs theory lent from Burton. These two authors suggest that violence would result from what is relatively discussed as Relative Deprivation (see Gurr 1970 and Murshed 2010). Galtung (1969:168) stipulates that "violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations"; that is, the difference between "what could have been and what is". While Burton cited by Kibiswa (2015:50) postulates that "conflicts and violence are primarily rooted in the denial of people's personal needs for development, social recognition, and identity", an argument closer to the Galtung's definition of the origin of violence.

When combining Galtung and Burton's views of violence and the context being analyzed by Kibiswa, the denial of 'Bany2' citizenship and its contours fit unlikely within the analysis leading to a conclusion that Banyamulenge/Banyarwanda are hegemonistic. Briefly, the use of violence in this case would primarily be explained by how these ethnic groups may have felt unrecognized as citizens. The continuation of armed violence would lie and understood dynamically. Unless the thesis would state that these communities are not Congolese, a plausible and generalized stance; otherwise, claiming someone's rights won't necessarily fit within the angle of trying to become dominant. Though the present paper has not engaged deeply into the debate, it sounds that the analysis might have jumped to strong conclusions.

On the other hand, the purpose of the review has unlikely found an interest to discuss the interpretation of independent journalists, international political figures who expressed their own viewpoints of the DRC

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[2] Banyamulenge are mostly described as Tutsi community living in South-Kivu before the colonial period and whose origin being Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania and Uganda. The term is sometimes used to stand for the three communities (Hutu-Tutsi of North-Kivu and Banyamulenge).

[3]Banyarwanda defines the ethnic group comprising Hutu and Tutsi communities of North-Kivu. There are possibly some of them who are of the Rwandan descent though a large share of them might not. Those who are exactly known as Rwandan descent are too categorized into two sub-groups: transplanted migrants during the Colonial period and those who moved after Rwanda independence often due to fleeing political unrest)

[4] For details on how the heterogeneous community, see for instance Prunier (2009, pp. 48-52), Turner 2007, pp. 108-110) and Vlassenroot (2002. pp.502-503) among many scholars.

conflict. Unless otherwise, the article considers that these individuals whose thoughts have been discussed by Kibiswa as reflecting Bany2 conceptions might not be true or it simply confines their views within the researcher's understanding of the unfounded "Tutsi lobbying or cunning models". There are several scholars—researchers, journalists, and political figures from different background who independently have expressed their views on the Congo's crises. It sounds as unfair to assign individual's views pointing out DRC's governance challenges as being Bany2's advocators and qualify them as such might be subjected to debate. It looks also as unconvincing to firmly state that all these researchers, journalists or individual political figures are advocating Bany2's claims. The article believes that most of these individuals cited by Kibiswa are responsible and independent in their views to the extent that there is no need to engage on their behalf.

Therefore, the present article concentrates on highlighting flaws and backdrops of Kibiswa's thesis by appealing to research principles, facts raised by the author as well as the 'Bany2' declarations. Some of these facts discussed into the thesis, if well interpreted, are simply contradicting. Moreover, the review of Kibiswa's thesis resorted to other sources that have been disregarded by the author while they can illuminate the debate so long as other scholars have used them. Apart from the loophole in the theoretical framework, the present paper questions the thesis on coming up with findings that relatively confirm the common narratives[5] as well as the reason of disregarding some sources able to enlighten the debate. Furthermore, the paper considers that some of the culprits were allegedly found while the state, one of the major actors remains untouched.

The article is structured into three main sections. Besides the introduction, the first section discusses the background of violent conflict and the settings in which operate armed groups in Eastern Congo. The second repeals on the narrow lenses on understanding state functions and missions; while the third brings up the loopholes of coming up with findings closely related to "common sense" in the region and discriminatory efforts of the researcher in selecting materials. The paper ends up by presenting the dynamic picture of violent conflict in Eastern Congo and a short conclusion.

Background of Violent Conflict and Armed Groups in Eastern DRC

The history of Belgian Congo currently the DRC has long been characterized by community divided entities to the extent that the Congolese society can easily be depicted as a "fractionalized" society. The colonial administration has resorted to the strategy of "divide and rule" in order to easily governor the large territory which is 80 times wide than Belgium. Consequently, most of its customary chieftaincies (Chefféries) are ethnically administered and controlled. Consequently, the socio-political landscape created by the colonial administration has led to a type of "Nation-state" with multiple ethnic sub-states that have largely inspired the formation of political parties at the eve of the country's independence (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002, Young 1965:298). Beyond armed groups, the ethnicization of politics has widely been exploited by the Mobutu's regime. Moreover, since the colonial era, the country has been characterized by cycles of violence and armed confrontations. The effect of being ethnically divide-country, most of armed militias and armed groups especially in the eastern Congo are ethnically oriented as ethnicity plays a crucial role in mobilizing (Rift Valley Institute 2013, Vlassenroot 2004, Verweijen and Brabant 2017). While claiming to defend the state against the invaders, armed groups in Eastern Congo are broadly described as being challenged by "the remnants of tribal mentality" as well as rites and practices "which are incompatible with a rational and national character of the struggle" (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002:243). The feature can be spotted through the rear bases, warlords, human rights abuses that are ethnically manipulated and it is widespread across the region

[5] The paper borrows the definition of narratives from Autesserre (2012) meaning that is "a story that people create to make sense of their lives and environment". She stresses on the power of narratives in shaping our understanding—perceptions of the social and material world.

covering the Kivus and the Ituri. While disregarding the contextual environment of armed group's practicalities, Kibiswa seems inaccurately claiming that these characteristics belong to 'Bany2' armed groups only.

However, at some point Kibiswa looks as contradicting his findings by giving an example of one the armed group in Burega, called Raia Mutomboki. The Raia Mutomboki is one of the active armed groups operating in Shabunda-Kalehe-Walikale Counties, a region inhabited mostly by Barega/Balega ethnic group. While explaining the alliances between Bosco Ntaganda and other militia groups including the Raia Mutomboki as part of Ubuhake[6]-like, Kibiswa (2015:251) reveals obviously that "Raia Mutomboki is actually a South Kivu armed group from ethnic Warega of Shabunda County" (see the footnotes 90). Nevertheless, Vogel[7] (2014:309) argues that the primarily aim of Raia Mutomboki was to contain the Rwandan Hutu militias who operated freely within the vacuum of state security services[8]. Consequently, the primary mission of Raia Mutomboki displays an area of intersection with Ntaganda's covert mission; that is, fighting the FDLR. Though Raia Mutomboki ended up opposing the so-called Tutsi invasion, it is doubtful to consider the alliance as resulting from Ubuhake-like. Strangely, after chasing the Rwandan Hutu militias, Raia Mutomboki then embarked in human right abuses which are uncovered into the Kibiswa's thesis. Human rights abuses are not ethnically distributed; it is rather partly due to the state failure to fulfill its basic missions, leaving vacuum rooms for many to stand as security providers/entrepreneurs. Therefore, the eastern Congo conflict requires to objectively undertake an assessment that brings up the real picture than wrapping up individual interests.

As compared to Western part of DRC, the Eastern Congo has specific characteristics of a settlement that had been a source of manipulated discontent. For being closer to Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda; countries that went involved into DRC's internal problems, the socio-political context became tense for nearly the late three decades. While having their individual objectives and motivations, these countries might have been exploiting local grievances while relying on the most vulnerable groups (Nathan 2005, Turner 2007, Rift Valley Institute 2013, Vlassenroot 2002, Vlassenroot 2004, Verweijen and Vlassenroot 2015). With some legitimate security claims at the earlier beginning, these countries went further to wrap up natural resources exploitation by advancing security reasons so long as the Eastern Congo had become a rampant of foreign militias looking to overthrow ruling regimes in their respective countries. One of the local grievances exploited is the dubious citizenship of some communities whose origin is thought to be Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda or Burundi. Among these communities, Banyamulenge[9] and Banyarwanda (Hutu and Tutsi)[10] have encountered the contestation of their citizenship, in a politically manipulated move, by elites from neighboring communities. Regardless of when these communities have settled in what became the DRC, they were subjected to the contestation; one of the feature incompletely discussed in Kibiswa's thesis.

Moreover, the contestation of Banyamulenge and Banyarwanda's citizenship is one of the factors that have been triggering the conflict in the Kivus. Mostly assimilated to autochthonous, those contesting the

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[6] Ubuhake is conceived as a type of relationship between the ruler and their subjects in which the former gives political protection to the latter through a subjugation (Rwabukumba and Mudandagizi 1974, Vidal 1974)

[7] Vogel, Christoph (2014), "Contested Statehood, Security Dilemmas and Militia Politics: The Rise and Transformation of Raïa Mutomboki in Eastern DRC", L'Afrique des Grand Lacs: Annuaire 2013/14. Available at

http://scholar.google.com/citations?view_op=view_citation&hl=de&user=PsLBJMsAAAAJ&citation_for_view=PsLBJMsAAAAJ:u-x6o8ySG0sC (accessed on 11th July 2017)

[8] For details, see also Verweijen and Brabant (2017) and Beswick (2009) how armed groups in the case of Fizi and Itombwe and North_Kivu (case of CNDP of Laurent Nkunda) do exploit the state security vacuum to establish their reign.

[9] Banyamulenge is an ethnic group living mainly the South-Kivu whose origin, as per some sources, is Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania but also Uganda as it tends to appears in different sources (see Viaene and Fernan 1910, and Moeller 1936).

[10] Banyarwanda is a heterogeneous group composed by Tutsi and Hutu in the North-Kivu Province. They live in Masisi and Rutshuru. Their origin of some of them is thought to be Rwanda and Uganda.

nationality of Banyamulenge/Banyarwanda do not count for their settlement before the colonial era as well as the debate overlooks the African migration perspective in which most of these "autochthons" have gone through. Analyzing the 'Bany2' question outside of the scope of African migration is one of the drawbacks of Kibiswa's understanding. As belonging to one of the communities comprising the Kivu, in his thesis, the author states that the common sense of all Kivutians is that Banyamulenge/Banyarwanda are simply Rwandan citizens (Kibiswa, 2015:81). Besides generalizing the Kivutians' impressions, there are scholars who diverge in arguing that the settlement of those portrayed as Banyaruanda or Ruandas, Watuzi, Batutsi[11], in both North-Kivu and South-Kivu, had happened before the colonial period and some of them have migrated from other regions than Rwanda only (Chajmowicz 1996, Hiernaux 1965, Mutambo 1997, Viaene and Bernard 1910, Vlassenroot and Huggins 2004, Weis 1959). Hence, the thesis's stance sounds as being driven by the common beliefs but also it can be interpreted as if it jumped on an opportunity of settling account within the field of research. Would the thesis intend to fill the gap that would have been filled by Djungu-Simba and Kalimbiriro[12] whose work did not get published into the Harmatan or it was designed to revenge his former friend due what happened in the Sovereign National Conference (SNC).

State Functions versus Ethnic Community's Responsibility

Though the Weberian model of state had encountered challenges in Africa and specifically in the former Zaire, its benchmarks are broadly agreed. Fetter (1969:276) stipulates that "The European model of nation-state did not apply to the Congo [DRC], because the sovereign powers of the government were dispersed among a number of institutions". Additionally, Dye (2013:3) discusses the role of governments in regulating, organizing and limiting violence within the society as it gives a clue on who might be held accountable if some state functions are not properly running. The intent of blurring the State's responsibility would possibly aim to finding the culprit of the messes that the Eastern Congo is going through. Unconvincingly, the thesis confuses the reader by stating that 'Bany2' communities would have been involved next to the President Mobutu's in appointing his Cabinet Director/Chief of staffs (Kibiswa, 2015:161) or implicitly expressing that their voice would have been taken into account when the AFDL Army Chief of Staff was appointed (Kibiswa, 2015:192). It is worthwhile to remind the reader that Barthelemy Bisengimana was appointed to the top position as originating from the Idjwi County and in this case, the narrow sense would seeks the culprit from the Bahavu's community (Turner 2007:102) than 'Bany2'. Therefore, it seems that Kibiswa's thesis fails in grasping the misuse of Presidential prerogatives to unjustly appoint these two individuals by allegedly condemning the ethnic group to whom these appointees are erroneously believed to belong to.

Furthermore, during the Laurent Desire Kabila and his AFDL campaign, an informed observer would question the possibility of the AFDL's spokesperson or his entire entourage to bounce in front of the allies' power. However, the fault of appointing a foreigner to the top and 'sensitive' military position needs to be primarily interpreted as a responsibility of the one who had appointed James Kabarebe. Seen as Trojan Horses by Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002:225), Prunier (2009), and Stearns (2011:59), it raises skepticism to conceive that Kabarebe's appointment has sought an approval of the ethnic communities, from which he allegedly stated to belong to. Though "unconceivable" as stated by Kibiswa (2015:190) in different contexts, Kabila and the AFDL structures have to be held accountable of the nomination than appealing to an ordinary citizen who did have nothing to do with the political and military campaign. Though hard to prove,

[11] There is also a possibility that these ethnonyms were too given (reproduced in written documents) without the consent or consultation of the ethnic groups. One would question the fact that these ethnonyms kept changing from Bashwezi, Shwezi, Watuzi, Batutsi, Ruandas, Banyaruanda, Banyakibira, Pasteurs d'Itombwe. Hiernaux seems insinuating such controversy around the Banyamulenge in South-Kivu (see Weis 1959: 150)

[12] The censure of Djungu-Simba and Kalimbiriro work is described in Kibiswa (2015:44). The author considers the work as written by South-Kivu natives and it intended to fill the gap of Congolese natives in the literature of Congo conflict. Though Kibiswa finds the censure as unfounded, the work was censored by *l'Harmattan* for a "single thought framework".

informal sources have been claiming that the appointment of James Kabarebe has displeased more the Banyamulenge specifically than any other ethnic community in DRC (Barnes 1999, Prunier 2009:113, Rift valley Institute 2013:22, Vlassenroot 2002). It is believed that the discontent around the appointment had been reported to Laurent Désiré Kabila's entourage though the room for manoeuvers was too tight to change the course of actions.

There have been some sorts of unsupported strong statements confining state, rebel and armed groups' responsibilities and put them to the shoulders of the ethnic groups discussed in Kibiswa. Building foundations of the national army lies in the hand of the state than ethnic communities whose members are parts of the army. It is quite debatable that Kibiswa (2015:191) affirms that

> "Nowadays, many Rwandans are part of the DRC's army command as if they were Congolese. Many among those who had been incorporated into the FARDC, including Gen. Ntaganda himself during the first and second rebellions, remained in the DRC army ranks. Once they get in the DRC, they present themselves as belonging to the DRC's Bany2 community whose members never reject nor denounce them as foreigners. This makes it quasi impossible to build a DRC national army free from bonds to Rwanda, especially as these Rwandan infiltrated elements usually hold FARDC command positions mostly in the eastern DRC".

On one hand, it remains questionable to believe in claims from a researcher stating that the DRC national army has Rwandans in his command. Secondly, besides the fact that the current army has been formed from the integration of different rebel and insurgent factions, the role of an ethnic community sounds as vague so long as the army has its structures and hierarchy under the state responsibilities. Therefore, it looks like the author mixes the state responsibilities in building the foundations of the national army, the role played by key political figures who hold rebel movements in Congo, informal power within the army and that of ethnic communities to whom some of these figures belong to. Moreover, a well-documented research would possibly raise challenges on how informal networks within the Congolese-Zairean national army have existed since the Mobutu's era and this may originate from politically dominant tribes such Ngbaka, Ngbandi and Katangese tribes.

More strikingly, the thesis fails in evidencing the number of these foreigners who have infiltrated the army or at least providing sources to support such strong statement. The case widely discussed is that of Ntaganda Bosco, who has grown up in Masisi County and then joined later the great lakes region insurgencies. At some point, he has operated in Ituri Province under Thomas Lubanga and then within the CNDP until he plotted in the demise of Laurent Nkunda. The demise of Laurent Nkunda went organized between the DRC and Rwandan government (Beswick 2009, Rift Valley 2012:34, UNSC-GoEs 2012). The role of 'Bany2' communities remains little and the analogy drawn from the reading of Kibiswa's thesis pushes to the assumption that the author confuses Rwandan nationals to those he considers as foreigners; that is, the 'Bany2'. It sounds that the socio-cultural context in the great lakes region outweighs the understanding of the thesis.

Would the same confusion occur to what is called the non-cooperation in denouncing and rejecting the "newcomers" who have crossed the border from Rwanda since 1959 and 1972? Blaming one ethnic community would sound that the management of Hutu refugees that crossed into DRC in 1994 has to be blamed to the Congolese Hutu. Nevertheless, the management of Hutu refugees has been largely discussed as part of the state functions, the United Nations bodies such the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) as well as international relief organizations. Hence, it remains a responsibility of the state to determine who is a Rwandese national and who "Rwandan descent" is and why some have chosen to enroll into the Rwandan struggle or being trained by Rwandan Army. Therefore, the thorough assessment of the loopholes within the army establishment would need to be undertaken within the context of Rwanda

having trained some of the Congolese youth who then fought on the AFDL's account (Rift Valley Institute 2013, Stearns 2011, Vlassenroot 2002); though this would not counter-balance the fact that RPA soldiers have fought and participated within the Congolese forces.

Besides the generalization and narrow lenses of the state responsibility, the thesis being reviewed seems to have an incomplete information on how the Mobutu's regime, during the 32 years of dictatorship, his entourage comprises as many as tribes in Congo. There would be an agreement on the fact that Mobutu has relied on political figures whose stance in terms of promoting citizens' wellbeing remains subjected to debate (Autesserre 2012, Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002, and Turner 2007). Nonetheless, it is misleading to stating that 'Bany2' are only the category of "irresponsive politicians" within the Mobutu's entourage. Having an origin far back in the history, scholars have argued that nepotism in DRC is as huge as it went widespread to the extent of being institutionalized (Autesserre 2012, Fetter 1969). Needless to say that a heterogeneous ethnic community such as 'Banya2' is responsible of all this. Again, the reader would remind that none of these officials within the Mobutu's entourage were mandated by their respective ethnic communities even though they were using the leverage to sustain Mobutu's personal interests. By blaming the 'Bany2' communities for having mismanaged rebel movements would also require to consider the origin of these rebel insurgencies than sticking to few individuals. I would suggest the reader to go through Stearns (2011)[13] for more clarifications of how the 1998 rebel movements were composed by politicians from divergent backgrounds and different ethnic groups. They would have to share that responsibility rather than being mocked as "smoke screens", a king of strategy to alleviate their responsibility.

Furthermore, the reader would question the sense of same Bany2 having supported Lumumba, through the Kivutian's political party CEREA[14] at the same time allying with Mobutu. While CEREA was led by the prominent Anicet Kashamura, the latter might have nothing to do with Banyarwanda immigrants. The drawback may possibly be linked to how Kibiswa needs an information on those who supported Lumumba and later Laurent Kabila in the bush but also what made the reversal decision to not supporting the Simba rebellion (Prunier 2009, Vlassenroot 2002). It is believed that the group of Rwandan *Inyenzi* who crossed in DRC's territory during the social Revolution in Rwanda had sided with the Simba rebellion. The group under Mudandi and Rukeba, the Rwandan Tutsi *Inyenzi* have unsuccessfully tried to rally the Banyamulenge but they failed because of the atrocities that were being committed by the Nationalists Simba-Mulele insurgency (Vlassenroot 2002). More specifically, those Banyamulenge who have joined the Simba started to withdraw in support of their community. The climate went worse to the extent that it created a confrontation move opposing Banyamulenge and Babembe-Bafuliro. The former resorted to Mobutu's army force in order to get a shield so long as their properties were being looted by these insurgents who largely belonged to the latter neighboring communities, Babembe and Bafuliro.

It is widely agreed that Simba-Mulele rebellions have committed atrocities to local population in the Eastern Congo, from Kisangani to the far south of South-Kivu. Besides the looting of individual properties, under Gaston Sumialot and Laurent Kabila, the *Conseil Nationa de Libération/Gbenge* (CNL) did not spare even the lives of those called intellectuals who were allegedly accused of colluding with the imperialists (Nzongola_Ntalaja 2002:133, Vlassenroot 2002**)**. Consequently, most of the local population lost confidence in the Lumumbists who had promised the change and fighting for the benefits of the ordinary people. Hence, there no reason of wrapping up the story by incriminating that 'Bany2' had sided with the putschists

[13] Sterans, Jason K (2011), ""Dancing in the Glory of the Monsters: The Collapse of the Congo & the Great War of Africa), PublicAffairs, New York (see thre last chapters discussing Jean Pierre Bemba Gombo's MLC and Wamba dia Wamba'sm RCD.

[14] CEREA: Centre du Regroupement Africain was founded in 1958 by Anicet kashamura who is from Kalehe/South-Kivu County. In 90s, there has been another attempt to form a political party named CEREA. The attempt was led by the Tutsi community of Masisi during the power competition in Kinshasa. Kibiswa might have confused these two CEREAs. For details, see Nzongola-Ntalaja (2002:96), Turner (2007:121) for that distinction

to combat the elected government. Once again, the thesis fails in dissociating the responsibility of the state of rebel movements to finding the guilt part of his research.

Selection of Materials, Narratives, References & Repetitive use of Scanty Facts

The findings of Kibiswa's thesis are closer to the common beliefs in the region and one wonders the reasons of having resorted to materials that are in line with his common sense understanding. Autesserre (2012:208) argues that narratives in the specific context of Congo's conflict aims to shorten a story of the complex and intractability of the conflict. To some point, the selection of materials sounds as discriminatory in terms of books and journals to be used for the sake of wrapping up its shortfalls. On one hand, the reliance on a literature that has a similar orientation tends to distort the findings as it leads to incomplete description of the researched the context[15] (Bhattacherjee 2012, Carnwell and Daly 2001, Grbich 2013:5). The reader would realize that most of the reference has relied on Willame, Bulambo, and Depelchin. For instance, the thesis has referenced Bulambo as unique source of information 22 times and only once with another source. The same case happens to Depelchin who is cited more than 25 times as the unique source supporting the author's statement. In addition, Depelchin has also been cited for roughly 6 times additional with other sources. Willame is also cited 4 times as a unique source while the debate has been discussed by other scholars.

The question here is not about questioning the scientific basis of these used documents but it is mostly linked to the sensitivity of matters being confirmed while using a single reference to support the argumentation. The researcher would have tried to counterbalance the one way of thinking by consulting diverse resources as they give a clue on what is being discussed. The single referencing sounds that some of these references were used to justify his line of thought. The reader realizes that Kibiswa (2015: 176 & 250) refers to Depelchin as a single source to generally confirm that 'Bany2' living the DRC belonged to the upper class of the ancient Rwanda. By using the same single source, the author intends to confirm that these have been practicing a type "adapted version of *Buhake* to establish their domination". Such plausible statements would require a corroboration of sources to support the researcher's viewpoint. In the same vein, the reader realizes the similar strong statement such as "screen authorities", 'appointing watchdogs, people with mixed blood or entrapped brothers-in-law' were confirmed by using the Bulambo single source (see Kibiswa, 2015:196-200).

Moreover, the repetitive use scant empirical facts bring an idea that these are evidences testifying the existence of 'Bany2' "hegemonism" and ethnonationalism. The thesis uses the same materials to analyze the sub-section 5.3 and 5.4 while the first one discusses 'Bany2' primarily loyalty to their ethnic group and the latter talks about "Bany2's Leaders Motto and decision making…" The repetition can be found also on point 5.8 and 5.9 discussing respectively secessionist's project in the Kivu and advocacy of the secession in the Kivu. Furthermore, the paucity of materials can be revealed when considering what is being discussed on Col Kabundi (175 page) and Rucogoza (page 176) and the way it is repeated respectively on pages 182-187. Therefore, the deep reading of the thesis seems to point out that the same examples are used in different interpretation to the extent it keeps found the culprit within the "Bany2". Hence the combination of similar examples in different sections with the single source would inevitably lead to the same findings lining with the author's considerations. It would have been better to crosscheck what other sources have been arguing on the matter.

[15] Grbich (2013) stresses mostly on the fact of relying on a holistic view and the author suggests to include policies, culture, situation and context impacting the researched topic.

The thesis tends to corroborate with the narratives that an informed reader would expect from the common sense in the Kivus. While some sources depicting the inter-ethnic views have referred to the "aloof" attitude of the Banyamulenge in South-Kivu, uncircumcised or inferior people close to their cattle (Kingwengwe-Mupe 1982, Stearns 2011:63), Kibiswa sees only the hegemonistic calculation among the heterogeneous community ranging from North-Kivu to south-Kivu. While arguing that the settlement history of the Banyamulenge/Banyarwanda differs from the South-Kivu and North-Kivu, Prunier (2009:51) states that "Poor and somewhat aloof from their Bafuliro and Babembe neighbors, they [Banyamulenge] played an almost involuntary political role during the civil war, when the Simba rebels, on the run from Jean Schramm's mercenaries and government soldiers, came up the plateau and started killing their cows to feed themselves". The qualifier of 'Bany2' as hegemonistic and dominant may be subjected to debate and won't be analyzed under the subjective interest of researcher willing to prove the wrongdoers. The research has to demarcate from the common beliefs as it grounds on principles.

The thesis' findings can also bring upfront some contradictions in terms of beliefs, facts and research findings. While Kibiswa (2015:156) stipulates that the "Banyarwanda" portrayed in the Depelchin's thesis as mostly concerned with cattle herding, behaving as foreigners, the notion of Ubuhake won't fit in this context. Defined as a way of exploiting some social classes in order to give them protection, *Ubuhake* uses the power in the hands of the ruler to subjugate their subjects. Reflecting the political and economic relationship, in the specific context of Rwanda, *Guhakwa* (the verb from which the concept *Ubuhake* is derived) was also seen a favor that someone would get from the King or a notorious-Chief (Rwabukumba and Mudandagizi 1974, Vidal 1974:70). In contrary to what can contextually be found in South-Kivu, I questionably try to understand the Depelchin's perceptions of Ubuhake retransmitted into common narratives around the Tutsi's myth in Congo. Therefore, Kibiswa's thesis would have strictly borrowed and questionned the idea of Ubuhake in South-Kivu. In addition to that, one would wonder the reliability of the figure 6,000 from Kajiga estimated in 1896 and the 7,000 estimated by Kinyalolo in 1954 (Kibiswa 2015:156). Besides possible disagreement around these figures within the context lacking completely statistical data collection, the socio-cultural underpinning the local community behaviors in terms of reproduction brings questions on how a community of 6000 would have grown only by 2.8% per decade; that is an annual population growth rate of 0.28%.

Many questions can be raised about the validity of considering the 1996 '*Lemera accord*' versus the Burundian excerpt of intelligence services (*Annexe sur le Bulletin de Renseignement de l'ANC no. 3, 11 Juin 1965, p. 2*) as scientific sources on which an argument can be drawn that 'Bany2' have been searching to secede the Kivu. The reliance on these information as underlying basis of Kibiswa (2015:159) to stating that "This agreement seems to be at the heart of Bany2 leaders' territorial claims in the DRC" is also questionable. The authority behind these documents are likely to be questioned until other sources would confirm if such attempts to annex the part of the DRC territory to Rwanda have really existed. Furthermore, these common beliefs are replicated into the thesis and Kibiswa (2015:185) singles out 'bany2' militias by stating that their

> "solidarity applies in spite of any misconduct by the person of the ethnic community. It does not matter whether that person is wrong or right in the problem under consideration. What matters first and foremost for any Muny2, is the safeguard of its ethnic community members, and not the safety of the DRC nation".

Though ethnic "solidarity" is widely spread across communities in Congo, especially when coupled by a sentiment of exclusion and discrimination, the statement over solidarity seems to be originating from the author's personal experience and may possibly lack scientific corroboration. It is in this regards that the Kibiswa's thesis borrows from the common beliefs to translate them into stereotyping political views of the

'Bany2'. Subsequently, individual 'Bany2' political activists are regarded as secessionists when advocating for the federal system.

Federal system has been advocated by several political figures in Congo as an appropriate politico-administrative system (Weis and Carayannis 2004, Young 1965). However, Kibiswa's thesis has intentionally interpreted the political views of 'Bany2' regarding the federalism as a willingness to the secession. Despite the misperception and overlapping aspects around federalism, decentralization and centralization of the power, the thesis (Kibiswa 2015:221) cites Akim and Mutebutsi along with Ciribanya and disregards to mention that the latter belongs to the Bashi community. Ciribanya would be among many political figures advocating for the establishment of federal system in DRC whose ethnic belonging differs from that of Akim and Mutebutsi. Though federalism is losing weigh in terms of supporters due to the intractability of wars, Weis and Carayannis (2004:131) argue that it was the more supported by many respondents during the 1998's opinion poll. Therefore, by disregarding the fact that federal system has been suggested and gaining the upper hand during the Luluabourg constitution as well as the 1992 Sovereign National Conference[16] (Cros 2005, Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002:82, Tshibuabua-Kapy'A Kalubi 2006), the interpretation of such an opinion on 'Bany2' as part of the demand for secession looks as misleading. The analysis encompasses a double standard interpretation when analyzing individual political understanding and throws it at the back of an ethnic community. As do other members of different ethnic communities, it has nonetheless to be tolerable if some 'Bany2' individuals can consider secession as an option though the generalization of the stance to a given community requires to think twice. Again, the sense loses meaning when considering that there has been more politicians and armed groups in Katanga, Kasai and also in Equateur who had publicly demanded the secession of their regions.

Beyond narratives, ethnicity and the exclusion of Banyamulenge/Banyarwanda in the Kivus are unlikely linked the toponym "Banyamulenge" as pointed out by Kibiswa (2015:167). There are scholars[17] who disagree with the thesis that the origin of the discontent and ethnic confrontation in the South-Kivu is simply linked to the 'self-designation' toponym/ethnonym of Banyamulenge. In addition, the interpretation of "Banyamulenge" as referring to "'people –better" is full of lying. Instead, the "Banya" in some of the Bantu language means simply "natives of"; hence, the ethnonym means "natives of Mulenge" (Chajmowicz 1996, Mutambo 1997)[18]. Nevertheless, their discrimination can be traced back from the colonial administration overlooking their settlement and the consequent amalgam of the transplanted Banyarwanda but also the influx of 1959 Rwandan refugees. It is also linked to the internal dynamics within the Kivu's political competition exploiting the state weaknesses in Kinshasa and the choice of Simba-Mulele to aligning with Marxist socio-economic system of nationalizing—collectivization of private properties. The exclusion, the softness of local entities to appropriately deliver social services and *ethnicization* of territory and local politics has spurred the Banyamulenge to demand their own controlled county in South-Kivu. Thus, one of the Banyamulenge's grievances is the demand of the County (that is *Territoire* not possibly an independent territory) as reported by Clottey (2010)[19].

More strikingly, none of the toponym/ethnonym of each and every ethnic group in the Eastern Congo has been subjected to an approval and consensus among neighbors. Furthermore, most of ethnonym/toponym

[16] See Cros (2005) for the interview with Prof Baudouin Philipe Biyoya, political analyst enlightens the debate and he individually supports the establishment of a federal system. The interview can be found on the following link: http://www.lalibre.be/actu/international/entre-unitarisme-et-federalisme-51b889a4e4b0de6db9abfef9

[17] See for instance Prunier 2009, Turner 2007, Rift Valley Institute 2013,

[18] For the details on the origin and meaning, see Mutambo (1997:16). It has nothing to do with 'Beterness'.

[19] For clear understanding of what has been reported by Clottey (2010), see for instance Rift Valley (2013) and Vlassenroot (2002), Vlassenroot (2004). The independent territory might have come from the translation of languages. Furthermore, I doubt that Mutambo is the first person to name the High {Plateau of the Itombwe as stated by Kibiswa (2015:219). See Hiernaux (1965) and Hautmann (1949) among others.

of ethnic groups in Congo are more or less fabricated and an invented myth such as the "Balega/Lega". Kibiswa (2015:399-400) states that

> "And from ancestors' names are generally drawn names of ethnic groups' language. For example, the Balega or Warega descend from Lega or Rega, their eponym ancestor; their geographic location is known as Bulega/Urega or Bulega/Burega; and their language—not dialect—is the Kilega or Kirega. This is not the case for the self-named Banyamulenge whose ancestor is not Mulenge."

On the origins of ethnonyms /eponyms, Moeller (1936:42) seems diverging with the Kibiswa by stating that "*on désigne communément sous le nom de Balega ou Balegga la fraction méridionale des Wallendu, au Sud-Est du lac Albert. Stanley (Dans les Ténèbres de l'Afrique) ne les désigne pas autrement. Stuhlman considère l'appellation de Balega comme s'appliquant collectivement aux tribus habitant les forêts et les vallées* ». That is, Warega as per Stuhlman is collectively applied for tribes living the forests and valleys. The meaning tends to unlikely confirm that Warega are descendants of one single ancestor but also, the ethnic group is spotted not only in Shabunda but also in the Grand-Nord of North-Kivu Province, around the Albert Lac; hence, the territory of Burega/Bulega as Shabunda is socially constructed . The same applies for the Bashi, Babembe, Bahavu, Bafuliru… whose toponyms/ethnonyms are unlikely related to one ancestor as thinks Kibiswa (see Kingwengwe-Mupe 1982, Moeller 1936, pp.45; 126).

I am so skeptical in ascertaining that Turner (2007), Prunier (2009), Reyntjens (2009) have confirmed that "In the Kivus[,] Banyarwandas lived their imported Rwandan lifestyle heavily shaped by their betterness myths and the Buhake covenant" (Kibiswa 2015:157). I tried to crosscheck Turner and Prunier to verify if they have confirmed Ubuhake in the Congo, but I couldn't manage to find these statements out. Therefore, the author would have extrapolated the idea behind Ubuhake in Rwanda to the 'Bany2' as part of the common sense narratives. In case these 3 authors above haven't mentioned Ubuhake exercised by 'Bany2' in DRC, Kibiswa' referencing would be misleading as it tends to support his argument by falsely involving Turner, Prunier and Reyntjens. Thus, the thesis's author would have violated research ethics and principles to the extent it needs to be reviewed.

Though I couldn't access and verifying the Depelchin's statement of superiority of Tutsi versus the Furiiro in South-Kivu, an 'insider' researcher would have consulted other materials to support these types of harsh statements. Additionally, the thesis takes for granted the fact that Furiiro/Bafuliro are considered as the welcoming ethnic groups without questioning what the welcoming means or when the Bafuliro arrived in the region and what was the move around migration. The present article suggests that researchers have to undertake the discussion within the African Migration as it has characterized several ethnic communities in the eastern Congo. For instance, there are works that tend to question the version of "new-comers" and immigrants (see Moeller 1936, Rift Valley Institute 2013, Weis 1959, Viaene and Bernard 1910). Nevertheless, Kibiswa opted to the rejection of some authors on unconvincing bases. It questions the stance of the researcher on his reflexivity and bias following the common sense of all Warega in South-Kivu.

Furthermore, it sounds plausible that almost all authors who have written in English about the Congo crisis went informed by 'Tutsi', playing the role of activism's or simply considered them as 'militants'. As the rejections motives of different authors were explained, there is less evidences to refute Turner's work on the basis that he "continues to rely more on Bany2 leaders and their advocacy groups' writings and claims despite abundant writings in French of Congolese scholarship. He shied away from underlying motivations of the conflict which point to Bany2 leaders' behaviors" (Kibiswa 2015:60). The possibility of the author willing to settle account in the research field tend to stand firm when putting together all these loopholes. Specifically, one of the drawbacks of the Kibiswa's thesis is the narrow understanding the Eastern Congo conflict within the historical perspectives but mostly its dynamic features. The lenses are quite narrow to the extent that the

interpretation of the social events are contained in a single sphere of views. The next section explores the dynamism of armed conflict in DRC.

Conflict Dynamics: Failure to Grasping Violent Conflict in Eastern DRC

Since the earlier beginning of armed violence all over the world, it is agreed that events do evolve. In other words, none of the violent conflict had remained static for decades. Hence, a deep and thorough analysis of violent conflict would require much attention to the fact that armed groups in Eastern Congo have gone through more dynamics leading to alliances and counter-alliances. As matter of fact, Muller Ruhimbika[20] who had played a great role during the AFDL campaign went on falling out with its leadership but also with the Rwandan backed rebel movement, *Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie (RCD)* (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002). When the first Congo's war erupted, Ruhimbika was among the Banyamulenge's university literates who had been running a local NGO. The latter served as a channel of claiming their rights (Vlassenroot 2002). Therefore, being a victim of any campaign aiming to accuse his organization of distributing guns might be an option to not rule out. Failing to capture the dynamics aspect of violent conflict has led the Kibiswa's thesis to drastically divert the context of conflict in South-Kivu but also in North Kivu.

Despite the specific case of Ruhimbika, the failure to grasp the dynamism around armed group can be captured through the way political stance are reported differently if individuals have diverse ethnic background. The thesis rightly discussed the case of Col Ngaruye who defected to joining the M23 while he was replaced by Col Kabundi. An informed reader wouldn't disagree that Kabundi and Ngaruye share the same 'Bany2' community while the former since then is loyal to Kinshasa and is occupying a top position within the *Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo* (FARDC). However, the thesis fails to point out that even though both of them have actively participated within the CNDP rebellion, Kabundi has dynamically switched from those who think that rebellion is the sole path to get to safety. It remains a challenge to well define what has made some of the former comrades to diverge in terms of approaches to be undertaken for their future but the fact is, it has happened. The Kabundi's case is one in many of such sorts.

Even though unclear the way the researcher has come up with the finding that 'Bany2' refused to get deployed outside of the Kivus for the sake of creating their own state, the reluctance of CNDP-M23 and FRF-Gumino is objectively linked to their security. Most of these soldiers have feared their lives due to the past experience where they have been killed in 1996, 1998 and later on after the Sun City agreement (Prunier 2009, Weis and Carayannis 2004). The question is why the author had decided to present one side while the coin has multiple faces. On the other hand, the thesis fails in mentioning that the deputy Commander of South-Kivu military region, Nakabaka who had at some point espouse the idea of M23, belongs to Bafuliro community while Masunzu, his commander belongs to the Banyamulenge community. It is believed that the latter had played a great role in containing the expansion of M23 in the South-Kivu region; but also, he is among those who fought the coalition of RCD-RPA in 2002, an information hardly to find into the thesis being reviewed (Rift Valley Institute 2013: 26-34, Vlassenroot 2002:513, Verweijen and Brabant 2017:17). Whether the leitmotiv of Masunzu to oppose the M23 is linked to his position, it is worthwhile to point out that in 2002 he had fought the Rwandan backed rebel movement[21] and this can explain his commitment to some extent. By failing to incorporate this background into the analysis, the question is a subjective interpretation of facts while linking any action to someone's ethnic appurtenance.

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[20] Muller Ruhimbika is among the founders of the *Forces Républicianes et Fédéralistes* (FRF), a political organization (it became later on military) that was created in order to find an alternative on the challenging burden of allying with Rwandan Patriotic Army (see Barnes 1999:130, Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002:230, Rift Valley Institute 2013:22-24, Vlassenroot 2002:511-512)

[21] In 2002, Masunzu and his group have fought the Rwandan backed rebel movement called *Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie (RCD)*

Commander Nakabaka was linked to Rusagara, the warlord in the Ruzizi plain who had actively worked as the bridge of the M23-Rwandan attempting to expand to South-Kivu. The latter warlord who is a member of the Bafuliro community has for years been operating in the Ruzizi plain and suspected of having looted properties on ethnic basis (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002, Turner 2007, UNSC-GoEs 2012), but also he colluded with the ALEC of Muhoza Akim. Their collusion has nothing to do with Ubuhake but it falls largely within the dynamic interests of each party to advance their political, economic and personal interest while resorting on the manipulation and willingness to plunder resources. Additionally, the dynamics around the Eastern Congo conflict can be captured by objectively assessing what happened when former CNDP officials were called to join the M23. It was partly a small percentage that had willingly decided to respond to the call. If Rucogoza Francois resigned from the Provincial Ministry of Justice, there is a large percentage of those who have remained and loyal to Kinshasa. Therefore, the departure of Rucogoza does not mean all have decided to join the M23.

Even though some have decided to join the M23, an objective assessment would try to understand what have made others not join. The same goes on the military commanders in Bukavu who have been approached during the preparation of M23, but have desisted to joining. One of these cases is the General Masunzu who served, in 2012, as the Regional Military Commanding Officer in South-Kivu. The reader reminds that the Colonel sultan Makenga who served as the military Chief of the M23 defected from that Province but none of these military officers within the high command joined the insurrection. Instead of generalizing that 'Bany2' military officers have rallied to the 'Ntaganda's cause', a thesis complying with sound scholarly principles would nuance such dynamics around the conflict, the refusal of abiding to new episode by not joining the M23[22]. The alliances and counter-alliances in a context of a dynamic conflict wouldn't be an unexpected step and that can widely explain what makes X, Y armed groups to choose a path today and another one next week or next year. Informed observers have come across and would expect that many armed groups in Walikale, Masisi, Rutshuru, Lubero… espoused the Ntaganda cause for they were possibly expecting to see the latter winning the war UNSC-GoEs (2012a, 24).

Conclusion

As stated in previous sections, the Kibiswa thesis requires much attention in terms essentialism approach (Figgou 2013, Mahalingam 2007, Sin 2014,) and the stereotyping it encompasses. It narrows a violent conflict within a static move that links a heterogeneous ethnic groups to an ancient exotic ancestors as it intends to find a culprit. As states Figgou (2013:687) "Fundamental in the 'subjective essentialism' theory is an approach to stereotypes as essentialist beliefs which link observable group features to deep inherent characteristics, common to all group members". The thesis may divert attention to other factors (Autesserre 2012) by conceiving violent conflict as mono-causal event in which a heterogeneous group portrayed as 'Bany2' behave in similar way from the least young to last old. Moreover and specifically, the thesis links such heterogeneous group to what is thought to be their origins while disregarding that it shares the same origin with different ethnic groups in the Eastern Congo.

The thesis has failed also to grasp the dynamic reality of violent conflict disregarded in a manner that can be interpreted as linked to the researcher's bias. The bias sounds as falling within the researcher's soft ability of being reflexive but also it raises questions of the research integrity[23]. Despites the "legitimate interests and biases" stated by Kibiswa (2015:80), it remains less convincing to fit these drawbacks and pitfalls into that

[22] For details, the reader can consult UNSC-GoEs (2012:21) to see the unsuccessfully attempts of M23 to expand in South-Kivu.

[23] See Guillemin and Gillam (2004:276) on **Reflexity** reminding researchers to look back and check what she knows and how. Snape and Spencer (2003:4) on methodological stance associated with qualitative research but also the link between **validity—trustworthiness** versus **generalization** (Lewis and Ritchie, 2003:263-275).

scope. The thesis has largely been confirming the common sense narratives which can be heard everywhere in the Eastern Congo region. Therefore, the interpretation of Kibiswa's findings seems to corroborate the fact that he has actively played a role of an activism. Particularly, the stereotyping of the 'Bany2' as similarly likened to "Fascists, Nazis,…"[24] tends to suspect his role in maneuvering the denial of 'Bany2' nationality . Even though there are scholars ascertaining that Banyamulenge and Banyarwanda (Hutu-Tutsi communities in North-Kivu) have settled before the colonial period, the author keeps considering them as strangers. To some extent, this may be linked to the acknowledgement that he had received a mandate to represent the CADDHOM within the Sovereign National Conference.

The present article values the Stearns (2011:4-5) stance stating that

> "The Congo wars are not stories that can be explained through such stereotypes. They are the products of a deep history, often unknown to outside observers. The principal actors are far from just savages, mindlessly killing and being killed, but thinking, breathing Homo sapiens, whose actions, however abhorrent, are underpinned by political rationales and motives". He continually argues that "No Mussolini, Hitler nor Stalin… Instead, it is a war of ordinary person, with many combatants unknown and unnamed, who fight for complex reasons that are difficult to distill in few sentences…"

Therefore, narrowing a complex violent setting around one cause and incriminating one heterogeneous group sounds as misleading or at least making the analysis as much as incomplete and missing the key points.

It is worthwhile to note that research is not about settling account but also it does not necessarily require an 'insider' to come up with relevant findings. Additionally, research has less to do with languages, either English or French but it mostly focuses on meeting guidelines of research principles for producing knowledge. The limitations may exist, but the selection of materials has to do with objective motivations. Moreover, it is important to see that distorted researches would negatively contribute to solving the inner causes of conflict in the region contrary to what it intends for. Rather than questioning the validity of the thesis, the aim of the present article suggests that content analysis used in Kibiswa's thesis would have considered to address the requirements suggested in Grbich (2013:190); particularly the inclusion of sufficient and reliable documents able to back the generalization; but also the "balancing act" discussed in Graneheim and Lundman (2003:111). The intent of this paper is therefore to fill the vacuum that would be associated to the reading of the Kibiswa's thesis.

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[24]See Kibiswa (2015:235-236) comparison of the Fascism, Nazis Nazis, the fascists, and the militarists respectively in Germany, Italy, and imperial Japan who led their respective nations to horrible wars, especially World War II and the 'Bany2' ethnonationalism-hegemonism

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