70 Years of Fighting for Justice and Reparations!

Mobilizations by "Métis" People from the Great Lakes Abducted by the Belgian Colonial Administration





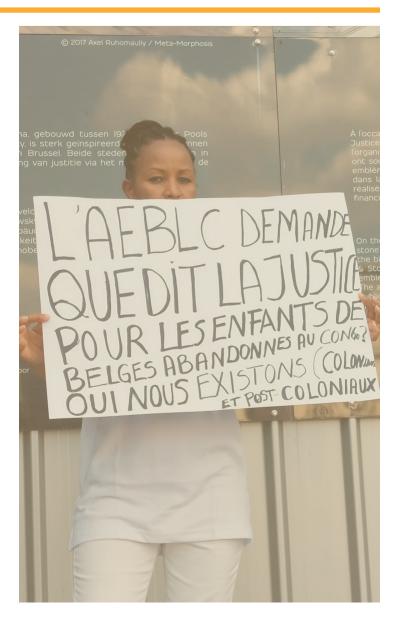
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Executive summary

The report aims to analyse the actions taken by the Métis abducted by Belgium's colonial administration and their families to obtain justice and reparation. It focuses on the struggles waged in the Great Lakes region of Africa and in Belgium since 1950, and sheds light on the achievements in recent years of those seeking justice.

In this report, we show that Belgium's response obscures the transnational nature of the Métis question. The crimes were perpetrated against African mothers living in the Great Lakes region and their Métis children, some of whom were forcibly displaced to Belgium. These crimes are therefore transnational, as the people affected by them are located in both Belgium and the Great Lakes, and their demands for justice and reparation have been expressed in both these territories. This report also shows that the various measures adopted by the Belgian state, such as the project to identify family origins, involve a number of obstacles and limitations for both the Métis who remained in the Great Lakes region and those who were displaced to Belgium



Introduction

Over the past ten years, the issue of the so-called "Métis" children¹ abducted by Belgium's colonial administration has gained prominence in public debates on Belgium's colonial crimes. This growing prominence is due in part to the fact that the "Métis question," as it is typically called by Belgian authorities, illustrates a central issue in the Belgium's racial strategy in its colonies. Indeed, the Belgian state considered that children born of an African mother and a European father represented a threat to the ideology of white supremacy, and consequently proceeded with various measures of abduction, placement in religious institutions, and forced displacement from the Great Lakes region to Belgium during the colonial period and at the time of Burundi, DRC, and Rwanda's independence. While the exact number of people subjected to these criminal acts remains imprecise,² sources establish that by the end of the 1950s, around 16,000 Métis had been abducted, 15,000 of whom remained in the Great Lakes region.3

The aim of this report is to analyze the actions taken by the *Métis* and their families, victims of this colonial policy, to obtain justice and reparation. The aim is not to revisit their lives and experiences, as there is already a great deal written on this subject. Rather, the aim of this report is to analyze the struggles waged in the Great Lakes region of Africa and in Belgium since 1950, and to shed light on the the achievements in recent years of those seeking justice.

In this report, we show that while the *Métis* have been fighting for justice for over seventy years, the Belgian state's response has yet to honor their demands. Moreover,

the state's response obscures the transnational nature of the *Métis* question. The crimes were perpetrated against African mothers living in the Great Lakes and their *Métis* children, some of whom were forcibly displaced to Belgium. These crimes are therefore transnational, as the people affected by them are located in both Belgium and the Great Lakes, and their demands for justice and reparation have been expressed in both these territories.⁴ This report also shows that the various measures adopted by the Belgian state, such as the project to identify family origins, involve a number of obstacles and limitations for both the *Métis* who remained in the Great Lakes region and those who were displaced to Belgium.

To analyze these various mobilizations by *Métis* people, this report relies on written sources: press articles, scientific articles, reports, and archives of *Métis* associations. To round out this rich and varied written material, we conducted just under a dozen semi-structured interviews, many of which were with members of associations based in Belgium and the Great Lakes region. It is important to point out that a limitation of this report is the lack of information concerning the situation of *Métis* people of Belgian colonial origins who have remained in Rwanda; we were unable to conduct interviews with *Métis* associations or people living in this country.

To present our results, we will first retrace mobilizations by *Métis* associations in Belgium and the Great Lakes prior to 2015, when the Belgian state officially took up the issue. In the second part of the report, after presenting measures adopted by the Belgian government to address the "Métis question," we show how these measures are being contested by *Métis* associations and individuals, both in the Great Lakes and in Belgium.



Archives on the Metis people in Belgium.

Mobilizing for the Métis cause in Belgium and the Great Lakes region prior to 2015

Numerous studies have shown that Belgium's administration of its colonies was based on a racist ideology that legitimized the exploitation and repression of colonized populations in the territories of Congo and Ruanda-Urundi.5 Racial dichotomies such as "white/black" or "European/ indigenous" were at the heart of the legislative provisions underpinning colonization, such as the 1908 Colonial Charter.⁶ From the start of the colonial period, this racial ideology led to the establishment of specific rules for children born to a European parent and a Congolese, Burundian, or Rwandan parent.7 These children's existence was perceived as a threat to the ideological foundations of colonial domination, which was based on the "natural" supremacy of the European race.8 Furthermore, their presence as individuals who belonged to neither of the two possible racial categories was a 'source of complication in the day-to-day management of the colonial administration', whose operations were based on the binary categorization of populations.9

To deal with the presence of biracial children (who were at the time not yet known as *Métis*), the Belgian colonial administration introduced abduction and racial segregation. As early as 1890, a decree created colonies scolaires, institutions which *in principle* took in abandoned children.¹⁰ Even when biracial children were not abandoned, however, colonial authorities removed them from their families and placed them in these religious missions, where they were to receive "suitable instruction and education."¹¹ Despite the lack of evidence that the children were living in poor conditions with their African mothers, colonial authorities maintained that they necessarily were, due to their dual racial identity, and, as such, were in need of rescue.¹²

After removal from their families, the children were placed under state guardianship, known as "social paternity," and religious congregations and missions were financed by the state to receive them.¹³ A 1892 decree authorized religious congregations to take in the children, and to give them a "European" education.¹⁴ Several of these specialized institutions were created in the Great Lakes region during the Belgian colonial period, and biracial children were placed in them after being taken away from their African families.

On the eve of independence, between 1959 and 1962,

three hundred children from the Institut des mulâtres¹⁵ (Institute for "mulattoes") in Save (Rwanda) along with others from neighboring institutions were once again displaced and sent to Belgium by the Belgian colonial administration.16 After the children arrived in Belgium, a ministerial circular published on October 6, 1960, withdrew Belgian nationality from the children who had been brought to Belgium. Deeming most of the children illegitimate, the circular did not recognize them as Belgian.¹⁷ Instead, they were issued a yellow identity card.¹⁸ The Association pour la protection et la promotion des mulâtres (Association for the Protection and the Promotion of Mulattoes), founded by a former colonial minister and subsidized by the Belgian government, took charge of a large portion of these children. 19 At independence, when Belgian colonial authorities withdrew from formerly colonized territories, they abandoned most of the children - the precise number remains unknown - in the institutions where they had been placed.

Mobilizations have been organized in both Belgium and in the Great Lakes region in response to this injustice against the children and their families. Below, we present and analyze the main axes of these mobilizations before 2015.

Mobilizations by displaced *Métis* people in Belgium

Although the *Métis* cause has only become visible in the European public arena in recent years, it is important to note that political mobilization by this population began at the end of the colonial period. In fact, associations of biracial people were created as early as the 1950s. These associations included the *L'Amicale des Mulâtres de Belgique* ("Mulattoes" Association of Belgium) which was founded in Brussels in the 1950s and was in contact with associations of biracial people in territories colonized by Belgium, as well as the *Groupe Mulâtres Communautaires* (Group of Communitarian "Mulattoes", GMC), which was created in the 1970s. ²⁰

From the 1980s onwards, a group of biracial people from the Great Lakes region who had been abducted and placed in religious institutions met every year in Belgium.²¹ This group brought together people who had been placed at the *Institut de Save* in Rwanda, a boarding school for biracial children from Ruanda-Urundi and present-day DRC. As mentioned above, these children, who came to be known as the "Save children", were moved to Belgium and placed with foster families at the time of the countries' independence.

From 1984 to 2000, these biracial people, who formed an informal group called *Les Anciens de Save* (Save Alumni), organized meetings in Belgium that were open to all biracial people born in the colonies, whether or not they had been at the Institut de Save.²² In 1994, this group set up an association called *Racines Africaines pour le Développement* (African Roots for Development, RAD),

with the aim of organizing academic conferences and supporting small development projects in Africa.²³

The formal and informal groupings initiated in the independence and post-independence period were primarily concerned with building a common memory and identity among their members, and much less with considering Belgium's responsibility for their circumstances. The needs that the associations' members expressed in this context were: mutual support, the desire to know their history and identity, and the will to rebuild their lives.

During the first years of mobilization, the actions of biracial people from the colonies and those supporting their cause were concentrated in the cultural arena, and raised awareness among the general public and the Métis, as they came to be known, themselves. In 1973, for example, the Belgische Radio en Televisie television program Panorama, which was filmed by Georges Kamanayo, was devoted to the *Métis* affair. A few years later, in 1999, Kamanayo released Kazungu le métis, an autobiographical documentary. One of our interviewees stated that she became aware of the situation of the Métis from the Great Lakes thanks to this documentary: "It's only with Georges Kamanayo's report that I said to myself, 'But I'm not alone! I'm apparently part of a group whose children have been taken away from their mothers."24 It is this awareness that led her to start participating in Métis association meetings.

From 2010 onwards, several players on the cultural scene published books, documentaries, and plays to raise awareness of the plight of the Great Lakes *Métis*. Here are just a few examples of the works published during this period: *Les enfants mulâtres de Save* by Aline Wavrille (2010); *De Bastaards van onze kolonie* by Katthleen Ghequière and Sibo Kanobana (2010); *Bons baisers de la colonie* by Nathalie Borgers (2012),²⁵ the play "Khwaheri"²⁶ (2012), and *Noirs, Blancs, Métis - La Belgique et la segregation des Métis du Congo belge et du Ruanda-Urundi* by Assumani Budagwa (2014). These publications illustrate how involvement in the cultural arena helped to make the *Métis* cause better known and more visible.

Up until the turn of the 2000s, however, these associations and cultural players were less concerned with demanding rights, justice, and reparations, and more with building a common identity and memory. As a member of one of the associations put it: "At the beginning, it was really a question of: Who are we, and how do we go about it? It wasn't juridical yet. It was, who are we?"²⁷ Nevertheless, cultural production on the subject of the Métis was also often the starting point for the creation of associations. For example, the "MiXed" exhibition organized during the Fêtes de Gand (A festival in a town in Flanders) in 2008 gave rise to the Mixed/2010 association project.²⁸

At the turn of the 2010s, in parallel with these mobilizations in the Belgian cultural arena, various associations began dialogues with the Flemish Parliament. The Flemish community (A Flemish parliementary Authority)



Metis Children at an airport when they were displaced.

subsequently began to recognize that, in the words of one of our interviewees, "It wasn't right, that there was something that needed to be fixed for the Métis. The idea was to recognize the history and allow access to the birth parents."²⁹

At the Belgian federal level, it was the involvement of members of *Métis* associations in state entities such as UNIA, a public anti-discrimination service, and MYRIA, a federal migration center, that helped move the *Métis* cause into political institutions. And so, in the mid-2010s, a number of *Métis* people began political advocacy work in Belgium. As a *Métis* interviewee recalls, a conference organized by the Belgian Senate on Belgian nationality "[was] when we saw that there was the possibility of making progress at other levels (...) There was the king, the queen (...)."30 The Association des Métis de Belgique (AMB) was created in the wake of this event, in 2015, following in the footsteps of the *Anciens de Save* associations, with the aim of taking action at parliamentary, national, and regional levels

Mobilizations by *Métis* people abandoned in the Great Lakes

The associations we met in the two Great Lakes countries (DRC and Burundi) began mobilizing in the 2000s. Very quickly, we observed a significant difference between their efforts and the mobilizations taking place in Belgium. Indeed, given the different political, economic, and administrative contexts, Great Lakes associations are more oriented towards demanding rights, justice, and reparation, and less towards the search for a common identity. It is also important to emphasize that, while there are similarities between the situations of *Métis* people in the three countries, there are also dimensions specific to each

context, as one respondent from Burundi recalled: "The Métis in each country don't have the same problems. In the Congo, for example, dual nationality is not accepted, but it is accepted here, and it is also accepted in Rwanda."³¹

Differing political and socio-economic contexts also mean that the experiences and trajectories of the *Métis* in each country vary.

In Burundi, the *Métis des Grands Lacs* association fights for the rights of Métis children born during and after the colonial period.³² The association brings together children taken from their Burundian mothers in the 1950s, as well as those abandoned by their European fathers in the 1960s and 1970s.

One of the founders of the association described how he has had to deal with several requests from mothers whose children were taken away:

"Back in 2007-2006 (...) I used to see grandmothers, grannies who came into the office crying in front of me with rosaries, with baptism cards, who cried all the time in the office, asking me: 'Listen (...), can you help us get the traces of our children who were snatched away by the colonizers in the 1950s?"³³

Further, according to the interviewee, if many *Métis* are marginalized in Burundian society, it is due to administrative and legal problems inherited from colonization.

"For the Métis of the Great Lakes Association, they're in a really complicated situation. They have very down-to-earth, very concrete problems. Their problem isn't the search for their origins. Their problem is survival. So it's really something else too."

The association has had to deal, and continues to deal, with Burundian mothers' demands for justice, as well as with requests for support from the *Métis* of Belgian origin who have remained in Burundi, both those from the colonial era and those born afterwards. All have been abandoned by their Belgian fathers, and all live in economic and social precariousness.

In the DRC, there are several associations, including the Association des enfants des belges laissés au Congo (Association of Belgian Children Left in Congo, AEBLC), created in 2009, and the Association des Métis du Congo (ASMECO). The former is made up of Métis children taken from their Congolese mothers by the Belgian colonial administration and then left behind in the Congo at independence, as well as Métis children abandoned by their Belgian parents after the colonial period, right up to the present day. The association also includes children and grandchildren of Métis, who are angry about how their parents and grandparents suffered and are seeking justice on their behalf.

From the outset, these associations' demands have called out the Belgian state and demanded justice and reparation for the *Métis* themselves, as well as for their children. Their demands include:

- Recognition of Belgian nationality for all Métis (those abandoned both during and after the colonial period) and their descendants;
- Reparation for colonial crimes (abduction, discrimination, abandonment) through financial compensation and provision of medical care.

The AEBLC also denounces and demands the following, in the words of a member of the group:

- "No to the politics of the grave, in other words, Belgium waiting for the Métis of colonial origins to die so they can file this case away in a dusty drawer with no further action."
- No to the extermination of Belgian Métis people abandoned in the Congo"
- "We're calling for a law of exception."35

By "law of exception", the association means the adoption of specific measures to facilitate access to Belgian nationality both for *Métis* people born of Belgian colonization whose fathers can be identified, and for those whose fathers remain unknown.³⁶

Delivering justice is all the more urgent that the Métis born during Belgian colonization are now of advanced age. This is one of the reasons why the AEBLC uses the term "extermination."

As a representative of the association put it:

"A large proportion of the abducted Métis and Congolese mothers find themselves in a situation of total abandonment and precariousness. You have to see the misery in which these people live. We bury our dead. The mother who died the other day, we, the association, took out the money to bury her, do you think that's normal?"³⁷

As in Burundi, the demands of certain Congolese associations tend to highlight the socio-economic realities facing both Congolese mothers and *Métis* people.

The second association, ASMECO, plays an important role in mobilization in the DRC. It supports its members in the search for their origins and, along with AEBLC, takes part in dialogues with Belgian authorities in the DRC on this issue.

An analysis of these two contexts shows how the socio-political situation influences the type of actions and demands for justice undertaken by associations of *Métis* people. While the struggle of *Métis* people who were abducted from their African families and taken to Belgium at the time of independence is primarily centered on the desire to reunite with their families of origin, to support each other, and to make their history more visible, in the case of the DRC and Burundi, the focus is more on claiming rights from the Belgian state and demanding justice and reparations.

Limited and contested response from the Belgian State

In 2015, Belgian political bodies in both the Flemishand French-speaking regions began to issue apologies to *Métis* people. Apologies were presented by the Flemish Parliament in 2015, followed by the Senate, the French Community Parliament, and the French-speaking Brussels Parliament in 2017. These bodies recognized the segregation and discrimination suffered by the *Métis* during the colonial period. In the religious sphere, the Belgian Catholic Church apologized in 2017. Two years later, on April 4, 2019, Belgian Prime Minister Charles Michel officially apologized to *Métis* children born during colonization to a Belgian father and an African mother, and who were victims of discrimination and segregation during and after the colonial period in the following terms:

"The emotional abandonment experienced during childhood, uprooting, administrative difficulties and the need to assume a dual identity without knowing one's origins, have undoubtedly been a daily challenge and a real source of suffering.

(...) I acknowledge the targeted segregation to which the Métis were subjected under the administration of the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi until 1962 and following decolonization, as well as the related policy of forced removals. On behalf of the Federal Government, I apologize to the Métis people of Belgian colonial origins and their families for the injustices and suffering they have endured."38

The "Métis Resolution on the segregation suffered by *Métis* people since Belgian colonization in Africa"³⁹ was adopted on March 29, 2018, by the House of Representatives of the Belgian Federal Parliament. This resolution, which is a non-binding text, consists of eleven measures requested from the federal government. They include, among others:

- Access to archives;
- Recognition of Belgian nationality;
- Collaboration on the part of Belgian embassies and diplomatic posts to ensure that *Métis* people of Belgian colonial origins are able to identify their biological parents;
- Inclusion in history textbooks of the colonial crimes against Métis people during Belgian colonization;
- construction of a monument.



Girls in an institution

The resolution recognized *Métis* children as victims of colonization and called on the government to open an inquiry to repair past injustices through moral and administrative means. The *Association Résolution Métis* (AMR) was created after the resolution was issued.⁴⁰

In particular, the Résolution Métis provides for access to the State archives, as well as to the archives of the Tervuren Museum, a process that was initiated in 2019.41 Access to the archives is gradually being made possible by the research project resulting from the Résolution Métis at the Belgian State Archives. This project is divided into two phases. The first phase, scheduled to last four years, started on September 1, 2019, and consists of building a database of the trajectories of the children, and of other available information on them. *Métis* people, their children, and grandchildren can request access to information about their family history. To date, 320 requests have been submitted by Métis people of Belgian colonial origins, their children, and grandchildren. The second phase of the project, also scheduled to run for four years starting in February 1, 2022, is a historical study of the responsibilities of the Belgian state and of religious authorities in the fate of the Métis children.

In addition to this initiative, the Special Parliamentary Commission on Belgium's Colonial Past was set up between 2020 and 2022. While this issue did not figure prominently in the Commission's debates, it did enable some *Métis* people who remained in the Great Lakes region to be heard at public hearings in the summer of 2022. It should be noted, however, that the recommendations proposed by the Commission were not adopted by the Belgian Federal Parliament, due to a disagreement between the majority parties on the question of apologies.

These measures have not dampened the anger of many *Métis* associations and individuals, who are multiplying actions in Belgium and in the Great Lakes to demand justice and reparation. One of the major problems they note with the measures taken thus far by Belgian authorities is the lack of consideration given to *Métis* people who

remained in the Great Lakes. They also note the many limitations in the implementation of the *Résolution Métis*. We discuss both of these points in the following section.

Indifference to the plight of the Great Lakes *Métis*: Requests ignored by the Belgian State and its embassies

While the Belgian government has taken a number of steps to respond to demands for justice from *Métis* people who were displaced to Belgium, its indifference to those who were left behind in the former colonies has led to numerous protests from associations based in the Great Lakes region.

In the DRC, the AEBLC strongly denounces the lack of action on the part of the Belgian government. Since 2010, the association has corresponded and met with representatives of the Belgian government multiple times, namely with ministers and members of the Federal Parliament. The association has also submitted several memos and organized numerous protests, without any concrete changes being made.

It is worth discussing some of these unsuccessful mobilizations at greater length. Take, for example, the protest in front of the Institute of Arts in Kinshasa in 2010, organized during the visit of King Albert II.⁴⁴ Numerous Belgian journalists came to report on the event, interviewing and filming the *Métis* members of the association, but no articles were written in the Belgian press on the subject. This was also the case for a report undertaken by the current Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, who, as a journalist had traveled to the Congo to write on the subject of the *Métis*. That report was never published either. A member of the AEBLC recalls:

"The Minister of Foreign Affairs, when she was a journalist, came to Congo in April 2021. As a journalist, she did the report, we stayed all day, testifying and all that. She had promised to put these images on TV, and it never happened."45

The AEBLC also met several times with members of the Belgian government, including a delegation of three deputies from the Chamber of Representatives of the Belgian Federal Parliament in November 2021, and Prime Minister Alexander De Croo in June 2022. In September 2022, another meeting took place between AEBLC and a delegation from the Special Commission on the Colonial Past. Several meetings took place between André Flahaut, former Minister of State and Federal Deputy for the Socialist Party, and AEBLC, in 2020, as well as in June 2022, and again in October of the same year, at his office in Brussels and during a family visit to Kinshasa a few days later. The AEBLC denounced these meetings; while they resulted in promises made by Belgium, they did not result in any action being taken for the Métis victims of Belgian colonization who were abandoned in the DRC.46

The association also wrote to the Belgian Embassy in

Congo in 2022, requesting a hearing on Belgium's refusal to grant visas, birth certificates, and nationality to *Métis* victims of colonial crimes who were abandoned in the Belgian Congo:

"We had correspondence, we wrote to Parliament, but at some point we got discouraged. (...) Others who thought it wasn't going anywhere, withdrew (...)."47

In July 2023, the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs announced the extension of the Résolution *Métis* research project until January 31, 2026.⁴⁸ The AEBLC disagreed with this extension, as the process of accessing archives already contained numerous obstacles and the people to whom the process pertains are already very advanced in age.⁴⁹ The association protested against the extension at the Belgian Embassy in Congo Kinshasa on May 30, 2023, and filed a memo with the embassy afterwards. They have yet to obtain a response.⁵⁰ The AEBLC expresses clear demands and dissatisfactions with the *Résolution Métis* research project:

"Can a child who has been abducted at the age of two or three and placed in an orphanage know the name of his or her parent? What can we expect from the archives? Most of our members are still unable to find any traces, archivists have more information on the fathers who were working for the Belgian colonial administration in the administration, but for private individuals there are no traces! Also, our abducted relatives, placed in orphanages, especially our mothers don't know their names, like the lady who died last year. She told us that Mr Mekisi was called 'Congo', perhaps a nickname."51

In an interview with the Belgian newspaper *Moustique*, a member of the AEBLC reiterates:

"The apologies made by Charles Michel when he was Prime Minister are not enough. We want recognition. We want to obtain Belgian nationality and pass it on to alleviate the harm we have suffered. We want laws of exception."52



There is regular contact between the AEBLC and representatives of the Belgian government. Despite this, as one AEBLC member explains, "All the negotiations we've had have come to nothing." 53

Another Congolese association, ASMECO, has also formulated clear demands for reparations, to no avail. ASMECO organized a protest in 2019, in front of the Belgian Embassy in Congo, in Gombe,⁵⁴ to demand reparations and a tripartite dialogue between themselves, Belgium and the Congolese State. Following its demonstration, ASMECO submitted a memo to the Belgian Embassy in Kinshasa in July 2019. This memo has, according to an article in the news publication *Radio France International (RFI) Afrique*, "been forwarded for examination in Brussels, where the authorities assure us that this 'sensitive' subject is taken seriously." ⁵⁵

The *Métis* from the DRC deplore the lack of results for their actions. The original injustice of kidnapping children from their African families is compounded by the current silence and indifference of the Belgian state.

Similar criticism is leveled at Belgian embassies in Burundi: "The embassies don't make it easy for us at all; it's as if they're there to block us (...) We're not welcome. (...)."56

The Great Lakes Métis Association expresses its dissatisfaction with a process in which the association feels left out:

"We've been told that Belgium has already taken responsibility, and is in the process of carrying out research (...) to see how to correct the mistakes made by the Belgian colonizers. But why doesn't it come and collaborate with the associations, the NGOs that already exist here? The associations are in the best position, because among us, there are those who lived through the years 1950-60-80. There are those who lived during the colonial era, who are here. (...) In the nineteen years we've been in existence, Belgium has done nothing for the association of Métis in Burundi, for Belgian Métis (...). We've never had any funding from Belgium. (...) We organize ourselves. (...) All the projects we submit to the embassy, they don't accept."57

The Association des Métis du Burundi, for example, states that it was not consulted during the hearings organized by the Commission on Belgium's Colonial Past, despite their outreach to the Embassy:

"Unfortunately, last year a group of Belgian senators came to see how to correct the mistakes made by Belgian colonizers during the colonial era. We thought we were in the best position, as an association, to talk to them and exchange views. But we wrote the letter to the Embassy three weeks, one month before the senators were due to visit Burundi. We didn't get the chance, even though we had prepared everything to show the Belgian government (...) But the embassy blocked us, we didn't get the chance."58

One of the Belgian MPs interviewed, who took part in the Special Commission on Belgium's Colonial Past, confirms that the *Métis* left behind in the former colonies were indeed sidelined:

"(...) And so, these people explained to us, that in fact they didn't have access to the whole program, because they don't have access to the archives, because they stayed here. (...) The question of visas is complicated, they're not given visas (...) they continue to be sidelined, and they don't fit into the framework of the 2018 Resolution at all, hardly at all, they're barely mentioned (...) And so these people, we don't know how many there are (...) there's a section that has completely disappeared (...)."59

Incomplete legislative provisions

The mechanisms put in place to address the crimes committed against the *Métis* of colonial origins reflect the Belgian state's disregard for the Métis who remained in the Great Lakes region.

A first example given by our respondents concerns the psychosocial support that, in the *Résolution Métis*, is meant to follow the research phase, where information on Métis individuals' origins is sought. No such measures have been envisaged for the *Métis* living in the Great Lakes. The bodies and structures⁶⁰ meant to provide this psychosocial support are located solely in Belgium, with no consideration for those who live in the Great Lakes.

Another exclusion can be seen in the system for tracing origins. This involves DNA testing to enable *Métis* people to identify their family members.⁶¹ This procedure can only be carried out in two hospitals⁶²: the Erasme hospital in Brussels, or the Leuven hospital in Flanders, and the tests must be carried out in the same hospital for all family members, otherwise the results will not be valid. This situation *de facto* excludes *Métis* people living outside of Belgium who are unable to travel to Belgium for these tests.

Access to visas also seems to be a thorny issue: no measures have been put in place to facilitate the procedure for *Métis* people from the Great Lakes.⁶³ As various interviewees have pointed out, the same blockages persist. For example, one of our interviewees explained the steps taken several years ago to bring her sister, a *Métis* woman living in the DRC, to stay in Belgium permanently:

"We wanted to bring her to Belgium, so she could meet the other half of her family. And in fact it never worked; we started in 2011, and every time we were refused a visa."64

This refusal to grant visas also has consequences for the rest of the procedure, because the two hospitals where DNA tests can be carried out are located in Belgium. This incongruity in the procedures is denounced by the families:

"A DNA test is required, and you can only do it in Belgium. But to do it in Belgium, the person has to be able to be here."65

A report published in July 2023 on the implementation of the *Résolution Métis*⁶⁶ states that the office of the Secretary of State for Asylum and Migration,⁶⁷ in cooperation with the FPS (Federal Public Service) Foreign Affairs⁶⁸, has set up a procedure to facilitate the reuniting of *Métis* people with their African families via the granting of regular visas. The report states that "No exceptions are created, but there is some flexibility in the issuance of regular visas." However, the information gathered during our interviews points to the opposite, namely enduring blockages in the granting of visas.

What's more, carrying out these administrative procedures entails a financial cost for *Métis* people and their families. As a member of one of the Métis associations put it:

"These are also concrete things we're saying; so, if you don't want to give money, at least give money for a visa, at least give money so that the person can get out of their village, go to the capital, at least that, and take the necessary steps. You don't need decrees or laws for that."

These laborious and financially costly administrative procedures place a heavy burden on the people who undertake them, as one interviewee put it:

"It's so complicated and not everyone has the resources to pay lawyers. (...) That's what bothers me most. They make us wait without giving any news, and that's very stressful (...) Especially as we're all elderly."71

This person underlines the feeling of injustice that ensues:

"In fact, in all the steps we take, it's a bit as if we were crooks, as if we were claiming something to which we weren't entitled. And that's very hard to accept. (...) And for me, the thing that angers me the most is that some people say yes, things are going very well, we're working very well with the embassy, and that's not true, it's not true at all"⁷²

Other difficulties have been observed, for example, in the implementation of the Résolution *Métis* research project's origins identification system. The tracing procedure is said to be more complicated for people with no or very few birth documents (some *Métis* people have only their baptismal card, for example). A researcher involved in the project explains:

"There are also regions that are less well documented, and in fact there's nothing we can do about it.(...) That's because once people have been displaced, they must have been adopted in Belgium, so there's a file in their name. And that, of course, doesn't exist for those who contact us but



who stayed behind. (...) for people who have stayed behind, we're much less likely to find an individual file (...) But obviously, when it comes to people who don't live in Belgium at all, and not on the continent, well, we can't meet them. So that makes a difference too."73

Our interviews suggest that the various measures of the *Résolution Métis* are practically impossible to implement for the *Métis* who have remained in the Great Lakes region. However, as we see below, some displaced *Métis* people living in Belgium also express dissatisfaction with the measures laid out in the Resolution.

Dissatisfaction of displaced *Métis* people in Belgium with the Belgian State's measures

For several interviewees, the *Résolution Métis* passed by the Belgian Federal Parliament in 2018 includes various measures that are difficult to implement. The slow pace of certain procedures, in particular for the process of obtaining access to birth certificates, is one of the problems they denounce. One of our interviewees, for example, states:

"It's only this year that the Minister of Justice has found a solution so that people can have birth certificates; officially it's granted, it's possible. But in practice, communal administrations don't really know how to go about it."⁷⁴

Some of the *Métis* people interviewed also point out that far too few human resources have been deployed to implement the two phases of the Resolution *Métis* research project, namely the development of a database collecting information on the *Métis*, and a historical study of the State's and religious authorities' responsibility in the fate of the *Métis*.

Other problems in the Belgian state's response to the Résolution Métis that were denounced by Métis people living in Belgium that we interviewed included constraints on DNA testing, the high cost of certain procedures, and psychological support for Métis people undertaking research into their family origins through the Belgian State archives.

In theory, the project team at the Belgian State archives collaborates "closely with institutions that are in a position to offer psychosocial support or to assist in making contact with third parties identified as relatives." It should be pointed out, however, that in Flanders, funding for psychosocial support is not provided by the state, even though psychological support is one of the forms of reparation sought by some of the *Métis* people we interviewed. In the French-speaking part of the country, French-speaking psychosocial support structures are not operational.

This inequality in psychosocial support between *Métis* people residing in Flemish-speaking regions and those residing in French-speaking regions is confirmed by the report published in July 2023 on the state of implementation of the *Résolution Métis*. But as the report points out, this inequality can also be observed in other places: nine judgments were handed down in favor of birth certificate applications from *Métis* people living in Flanders, compared with none in the Walloon (French-speaking) region.⁷⁶

In June 2020, five mixed-race women living in Belgium took legal action⁷⁷ in Civil Court, demanding that the Belgian State pay reparations for the crimes they suffered, which they described as crimes against humanity. They also

called out the fact that the 2018 Resolution and the Prime Minister's 2019 apology completely ignored the issue of compensation for victims; it was this failure to address the issue of compensation that led them to take legal action. However, the Brussels Civil Court ruled that the events that took place between 1948 and 1961 were not recognized as crimes against humanity by the community of states at the time when they happened, and, on that basis, the court rejected the women's request for reparations. The women have decided to appeal, and the new trial will take place in 2024.



Metis Women at the hearing in the Brussels Civil court, October 2021.

Conclusions and recommendations

The quest for justice and reparations for *Métis* people of Belgian colonial origins has taken various forms over the past seventy years, and is all the more urgent, given the advanced age of those seeking justice. This quest stems from a history shared by all *Métis* people victims of colonial crimes perpetrated by the Belgian colonial administration on racial grounds. For over seventy years, the cause of *Métis* people of Belgian colonial origins has been supported by numerous cultural, academic, and legal initiatives. These mobilizations have helped give visibility to the history of these crimes. Our research report provides an overview of the associative, cultural, and political landscape surrounding the *Métis* cause in Belgium and in the Great Lakes region, as well as the advances that have been made, and those that are yet to happen.

Although administrative measures have been taken via the Résolution Métis, our research shows the many limits of this mechanism.

One of the greatest limitations of the measures taken by the Belgian state is the total lack of consideration for the Congolese, Burundian, and Rwandan mothers from whom the children were taken. Their fate is completely ignored, as if they do not deserve justice and reparation.

Another major limitation concerns the sidelining of *Métis* people who were not displaced to Belgium at independence, and who remained in the Great Lakes region. Our interviewees denounce the political eviction of this population by the Belgian State, despite the formulation of clear demands for reparations, and numerous mobilizations to challenge the government.

The demands of the *Métis* living in the Great Lakes vary. For some, they include financial reparations from Belgium and the granting of Belgian nationality, while others, in DRC, for instance, are calling for a tripartite dialogue between the Belgian government, the Congolese government, and civil society. In Burundi, *Métis* associations have called for collaboration with the Belgian State and Belgian organizations in order to provide for the various needs of *Métis* people who face a lack of access to education, as well as administrative and legal marginalization within Burundian society. In both the DRC and Burundi, the economic precariousness of the *Métis* population is very much in evidence, and is denounced by *Métis* associations.

The cause of *Métis* people of Belgian colonial origins is complex, both in terms of the different trajectories of the *Métis* displaced in Belgium and those abandoned in the Great Lakes region. The positions these associations and individuals have taken on possible forms of reparation vary

according to their experiences and political orientations, but also according to the processes underway and their priority needs. For some, the priority is access to visas and/or access to their origins; for others, it is access to medical and/or psychological care; while for others still, it is easier access to education and employment, which they lack in their African country. These various demands, which relate to the Métis people's daily lives, stem from the current consequences of the crimes committed in the Great Lakes during the period of Belgian colonization.

Main recommendations To the Belgian State:

- Consider the demands for justice voiced by the african mothers and all the Metis people living in the Great Lakes region (DRC, Burundi and Rwanda) as well as those in Belgium.
- Facilitate access to Belgian nationality for all Métis descendants of Belgian colonists and their descendants, both in Belgium and in the Great Lakes region.
- Facilitate access to visas (including humanitarian visas, for those who need them) for Métis people of Belgian colonial origins living in the Great Lakes region who wish to travel to Belgium, as well as for those living in Belgium who wish to travel to Rwanda, the DRC, or Burundi
- Strengthen access to DNA testing for Métis people of Belgian colonial origins living in the Great Lakes region and for those living in Belgium.
- Provide support and access to health care (physical and mental health) for all Métis people of Belgian colonial descent, whether in Belgium or in the Great Lakes region.
- Provide support and access to health care (physical and mental health) for all *Métis* people of Belgian colonial descent, whether in Belgium or in the Great Lakes region.
- Provide financial compensation for all victims:
 compensate the African mothers (from the DRC,
 Burundi, and Rwanda) from whom children
 were taken, as well as all Métis people born of
 Belgian colonization. The amount should be
 "commensurate" with the damage suffered, and
 determined in consultation with the affected
 people.
- Teach the history of the Métis descendants of Belgian colonisation in Belgium and finance public education and remembrance policies in the three countries of the Great Lakes region.

Endnotes

- 1 The term "Métis" is widely employed in the Frenchspeaking world to refer to biracial people. Emmanuelle Saada, in her book Les enfants de la colonie, explains that the term métis was first used in the 17th century, when "(...) a lexicon was developed that borrowed from the theme of animal cross-breeding to describe the products of the meeting of populations in the New World: the most commonly used terms, 'métis', 'mulâtres' and 'sangmêlé', are all constructed from this analogy." (page 23) In other words, the origins of the term métis, which was used during the colonial period, are racist. However, the term is commonly used and accepted in today's society, and moreover, it is how the individuals and organizations involved in the struggle we discuss in this report refer to themselves. For this reason, we use the term throughout this report, italicized to not lose sight of its contested nature. Outside of instances where individuals, groups, or institutions use the term to self-identify or to identify a person or persons born of mixed Black-white parentage, we use the term "biracial."
- 2 This was explained by one of our interviewees, a researcher with the Resolution *Métis* research project at the Belgian State Archives. According to her, we can establish that we're talking about several thousand people, but not hundreds of thousands.
- 3 According to one of the *Métis* people involved, interviewed informally.
- 4 There is also a form of collaboration between associations based on the two continents: meetings are held between associations of mixed-race descendants of Belgian colonization located in Belgium and those located in the Great Lakes region. One example is the meetings between the Association des Meetis de Belgique (AMB) and the Association des Enfants de Belges Laissés au Congo (Association of children of Belgians left in the Congo, AEBLC), which have taken place several times over the past five years, as reported by interviewees who are members of the organizations. Exchanges have also taken place between the Great Lakes Métis Association and the AMB, as mentioned by a member of the Great Lakes Métis Association, thus demonstrating the presence of links within the struggle between Métis people in Belgium and those in the Great Lakes region.
- 5 Gossiaux A., 2020, L'Éducation permanente en lutte contre le racisme et la colonialité en Belgique francophone ? Perspectives autour de la persistance de la propagande coloniale et du racisme systémique en Belgique francophone: des enjeux et outils de décolonisation issus de secteurs socio-culturels et d'éducation permanente., FUCID, page 5.

6 Heynssens S., 2012, Entre deux mondes, Revue d'histoire de l'enfance irrégulière, OpenEditionsJournals

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8 ibid

9 ibid

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- 11 Ministère des Colonies (dir.), RUFAST, p. 372, cited in Heynseens, 2014
- 12 Heynssens, 2012
- 13 ibid
- 14 Virtual exhibition on the Belgian State Archives website, Chronologie | Expo-Virtuelle (arch.be), accessed on July 4th 2023
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- 16 Chronology | Expo-Virtuelle (arch.be), accessed on July 4th 2023
- 17 Resolution on the Metis abducted by the Belgian colonisation in Africa, a text voted in plenary session of the Belgian House of Representatives, 2018 54K29yel52007. indd (lachambre.be), accessed on June 22nd 2023 page 4
- 18 This yellow identity card is a "foreigner's card" that only allows travel within the Benelux countries.", according to the Resolution on the Metis abducted by the Belgian colonisation in Africa, a text voted in plenary session of the Belgian House of Representatives. 2018 54K29yel52007. indd (lachambre.be), accessed on June 22nd 2023 page 4
- 19 Heynssens, 2012
- 20 According to a *métis* AMB member interviewed informally

21 ibid

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25 Article from Cinenews, Bons baisers de la colonie | film 2012 | Nathalie Borgers - Cinenews.be Article from Rtbf, 2011, Prix de journalisme du parlement de la Fédération à Aline Wavreille et Xavier Willot - rtbf.be Article from Rtbf, 2012, Nathalie Borgers - rtbf.be

26 Article de la Rtbf, 2013, Kwaheri, 'Au revoir', beauté et douleur du métissage. - rtbf.be

27 According to a métis AMB member interviewed

28 MiXed/2010, which later became MiXed/2020 and a de facto association of mestizos from Belgian colonization in Ghent, Flanders, was created in the first decade of the 2000s.

29 According to a *métis* AMB member interviewed 30 ibid

31 According to a member of the Great Lakes Métis Association

32 ibid

33 ibid

34 One interviewee, a researcher at the Belgian State Archives for the Resolution Métis research project, echoed these observations, which she was able to observe during a research mission to Bujumbura.

35 According to the AEBLC member interviewed

36 ibid

37 ibid

38 Article from Rtbf, 2019, Charles Michel: 'Je présente mes excuses aux métis issus de la colonisation belge' - rtbf.be

39 Résolution relative à la ségrégation subie par les métis issus de la colonisation belge en Afrique, accessed on June 22nd 2023

40 It is a de facto association focused on a single goal: obtaining final settlement by the Federal Government of the 11 demands included in the "Métis Resolution". The association undertakes consultations with the government, political parties, parliamentarians and Belgian citizens.

41 According to a member of the AMB, the collective transfer of the personal files of Métis of colonial origins previously held at the AfricaMuseum in Tervuren to the Belgian State's General Archives took place on March 12,

2019. The transfer was carried out under the authority of the Service Public de Programmation (SPP) Politique Scientifique. These files were thus transformed from collection items belonging to the museum into personal documents, with better privacy protection and easier access for Métis people born of Belgian colonization and their families. This transfer was made possible by a working group of AMB and AMR members.

42 The creation of this commission took place in a particular international context: In the spring of 2020, following the murder by a police officer of Georges Floyd in the United States, the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement launched a wave of denunciations against racism and police violence on an international scale. Against this backdrop, the question of Belgium's colonial past resurfaced that same year and sparked numerous social debates. It was largely thanks to the role played (protests, pressure on political bodies, awareness-raising, etc.) by Afro-diasporic civil society associations for decades prior to this moment, that the special parliamentary commission on Belgium's colonial past came into being in Belgium in 2020. The Commission published a report was published on October 26, 2021. It can be accessed here

43 As the MP interviewed who took part in this Commission explains.

44 According to information gathered in an interview with an AEBLC member.

45 ibid

46 ibid

47 According to information gathered in an interview with an AEBLC member.

48 With regard to this extension, the Resolution Métis project researcher interviewed explained that "(...) a request for an extension has been submitted and it's still in progress. Mainly because the demand is there, I mean, we receive an enormous number of requests, and if we want to respond to the missions that have been assigned to us, well, we must have the means to do so".

49 According to information gathered in an interview with an AEBLC member.

50 ibid

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56 According to information gathered in an interview with a member of the Great Lakes Métis association.

57 ibid

58 ibid

59 According to the Belgian MPs interviewed, who took part in the Special Commission on Belgium's Colonial Past.

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61 According to an AMB member

62 According to one Métis interviewed, it is also possible to have kinship recognized via another organization: one case received recognition in court via DNA tests from the My Heritage organization, via commercial databases.

63 Opinions shared by an AMB member and an AEBLC member

64 According to an AMB member

65 According to an AMB member

66 État de la mise en œuvre de la résolution relative à la ségrégation subie par les métis issus de la colonisation belge en Afrique, rapport de la Chambre des représentants de Belgique, 2023, Voorstel (arch.be), accessed on June 21st 2023

67 It should be noted that, according to the Métis people interviewed, this Aslyum and Migration structure lacks transparency.

68 Equivalent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs

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70 According to an AMB member

71 ibid

72 ibid

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Acknowledgements

Main author: Shaany N'sondé, MA

Co-author: Liliane Umubyeyi, PhD

Editor: Amah Edoh PhD

Design and Layout: Tejumola Bayowa

Image credit:

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Published by African Futures Lab with the support of Open Society-Africa.