

**THE REPUBLIC OF RWANDA**



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National Curriculum Development Centre ( NCDC)**

**THE TEACHING OF HISTORY OF RWANDA  
A PARTICIPATORY APPROACH**

**For Secondary Schools in Rwanda**

**A Reference book for the teacher**

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## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. The study on “The teaching of the Rwandan History: the participatory method” presents multifaceted operations whether at the level of used methodology, whether at the level of the choice of significant historical changes or focal points, whether at the level of the use of sources of first or second hand information or finally whether at the level of the choice of examples of illustrations and decision making in the interpretation of data.

2. We propose in this study the presentation of historical sources and materials on the Rwandan history rather than simply writing the “History” of Rwanda and we used the “facing history and ourselves foundation” methodology, which is critical, and at the same time encourages the participation of the researcher or student in the personalized development of interpretation judged as the most appropriate in relationship to the reality and the truth of facts in order to find their causes and consequences. This is well and good a classic and historic, but participatory method.

3. Considering its exposition, the study well confirms with four very characteristic periods (hereby called modules) of the Rwandan history in its evolution. These are pre-colonial Rwanda, colonial Rwanda, post-colonial Rwanda (1962-1990) and post colonial Rwanda (1990-1994). This evolution that takes the colonial fact as reference, proprietarily takes into account the gaps brought about by the colonialists in all aspects of the Rwandan society and which still continue to affect it on a long term basis.

4. In each of these periods, a fact that was found to be very critical for the knowledge of this particular period has been identified as a proprietary study case and specimen for other important cases for each period. In this regard, the theme on “clans” was taken for pre-colonial period, the theme for the colonial period is “Mortehan political administrative reform”, “The policy of ethnic and regional segregation” for postcolonial up to 1990; and lastly for postcolonial period (1990-1994) it is the “Education Policy and Genocide Ideology against Tutsi”.

5. In fact, the different modules are developed on the same model of six points:

An overview for each module

Reference materials and sources of each case

Cross-cutting themes and their interferences

Comments and historical details for the teacher

Other relevant historical themes for the period concerned

Two lessons: lesson I and lesson II.

6. Therefore, this study is globally made of 4 modules, with 6 points each and fully divided in the same manner (ABCDEF).

7. It is through these 6 analysis points that the learner becomes familiar with the participative approach by discovering by him self /herself, different aspects of a shared research.

8. The sixth analysis point is about lessons in their normal running in order to exploit their participative set up which is summarized in 7 sub divisions as follows:

- a. To introduce the study theme and sub theme
- b. To distribute teaching and reference materials
- c. To invite learners for silent and individual reading and interpretation
- d. To ask questions to learners for comprehension
- e. To put different answers to the black board and carry out their critical analysis
- f. To give learners home assignments
- g. To give a summary of the lesson that the learner will copy in his/her exercise book

Finally, this is a type of analysis that constitutes the right participatory method. It is a method which reduces controversy at maximum to enhance historical truth by exercising critical thinking.

## **MODULE I: PRE-COLONIAL RWANDA (Origin-1897)**

### **Introduction**

Rwanda existed long before European colonization. It had its political and socio-economic organization, its culture and customs. It was a sovereign nation. In this organization, clans or clan based structures played an important role because they constituted important links in the commanding chain of that time.

### **Theme: Clans**

The theme on “clans” is undoubtedly hereby considered as of great importance because it marks the starting point of all the social organizations at some level of collectiveness during pre-colonial Rwanda. It is by conquering different clans that the kingdom of Rwanda was formed.

There are many reasons that enhance the teaching of the history of Pre-colonial Rwanda by especially emphasizing the theme clans “ubwoko” which should be differentiated from ethnic identities Hutu-Tutsi-Twa, of a different nature.

It should be noted that clans were given an important place in oral traditions. The socio-political organization, which preceded the Nyiginya Kingdom formation, was composed by clan entities, which compromised with the latter or were conquered by it. This is why one can say that clans that include lineages (umuryango) are ancient socio-political structures of this sub-region’s societies.

Clans are not particular to Rwanda. They are found in many African countries located in the Great Lakes’ Region. The Rwandan clans have their own characteristics and also common features with other clans from neighboring countries. This is how in Rwanda and in Ankole, clans tend to be wide entities that are more structured and less in number more than elsewhere, for example in Bunyoro, Burundi and Karagwe.

This is an indication of Rwanda’s integration in a wider sub-regional context where mutual exchanges and influences have been increased in a long period of time.

Another fascinating aspect of Rwandan clans is their multi ethnic composition. Before the introduction of the new Hutu-Tutsi-Twa identities, which were imposed and circulated by the colonial and postcolonial bureaucracy, at the beginning of the 1930s, clans were being used as identification elements and were commonly used by the people of Rwanda. Despite these changes, the clan did not lose all its importance or its reality. If clan based identification tends to disappear among new generations, clan based appellations remain globally known and practically everybody knows his/her clan (ubwoko).



Some Rwandans think that clans especially with their multi ethnic aspect can play a role in the process of finding the ground to current political speech that insists on unity and solidarity in a context where ethnic divisions have taken a lot of importance.

Finally, historical reading with clans as the centre of interest has the real strategic value in the study of the Rwandan society and social history since it is connected to many sectors of History and ancient society. Themes such as clan entities before the Nyiginya Kingdom, the formation of the Kingdom of Rwanda, its social relations with neighboring countries, internal immigrations, its culture and religion, arts and professions, etc are among themes that are strongly connected with the problem of clans.

## A. Overview

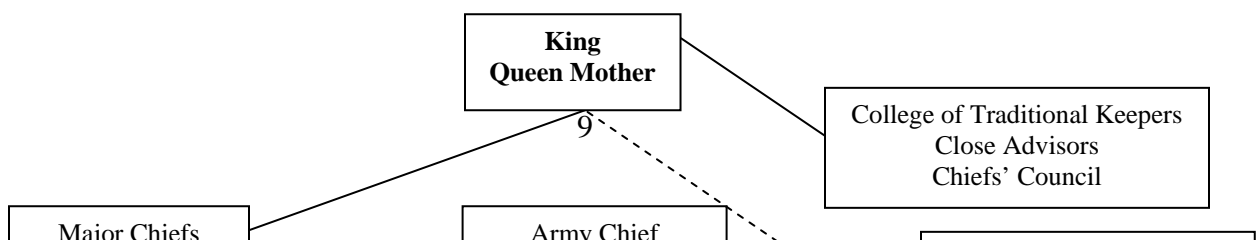
The term “clan” refers to a group of people who hail from the same mythic ancestors. It is a social category which claims to have a totem and is also multi ethnic. Some clans (Abasindi, Abagesera, Abazigaba...) find themselves associated with the myths of origins of primitive Rwanda.

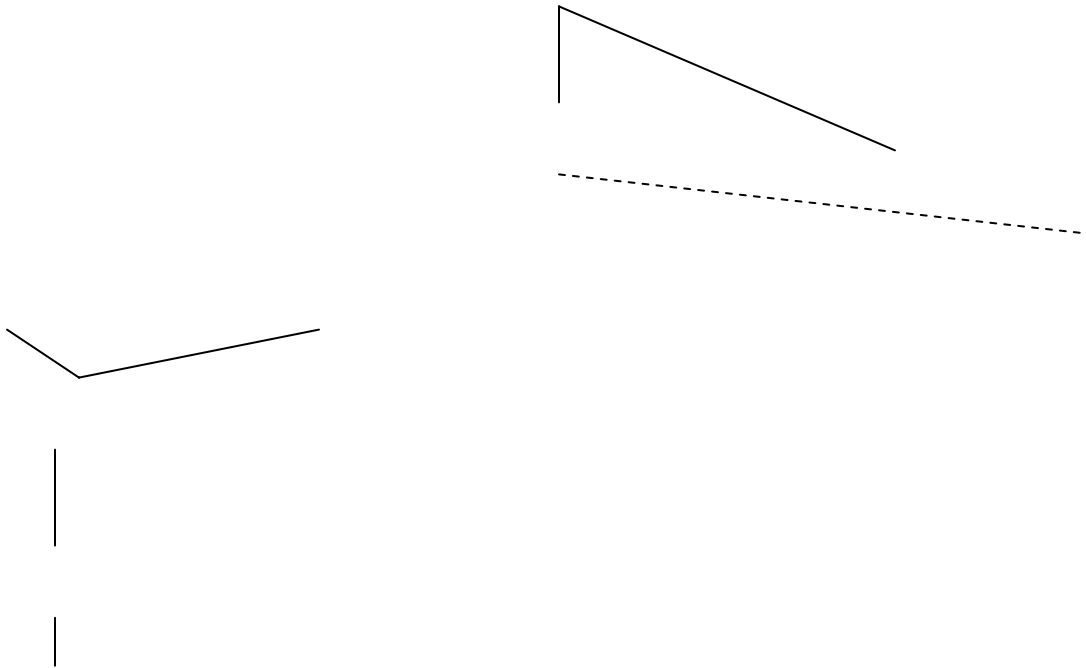
Generally, according to authors, there are 15 to 18 different clans in ancient Rwanda. The clan is divided into sub-clans (Amashanga) and the sub-clan into lineage entities (Umuryango, inzu), which in turn are divided into more or less nucleus families (Ingo). Finally the clan is therefore a social identity and till 1960, every Rwandan interrogated on his/her identity stated his/her clan identity.

During the Pre-colonial period in Rwanda, to belong to a given clan could bear a significant importance with regard to the status of the concerned clan in the political, socio-economic or even cultural scene.

Finally let us indicate, and this is quite important, that the lineage said minor is a lineage unit of a sub-clan in a given clan and this could make an important link of the commanding chain in the triple political-administrative hierarchy established by the central monarchy of ancient Rwanda.

### The Triple structure of Command in Ancient Rwanda (MAQUET, J.J, 1954:163)





The spider-web like table above gives, at first sight, the extreme complexity of interdependence of political, administration, military, social, economic and religion, based on the clan and lineage which appears behind each ruling structure

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## **B. Cross Cutting Themes**

Population diversity  
Identity

## **C. Comments and Historical Details for the Teacher**

Four factors need to be remembered regarding Rwandan clans:

The clan is a group, which is characterized by a biological relationship between members who show mutual solidarity. The clan's totem symbolizes unity among its members.

“The widest clans (at least nine) are represented in the three Rwandan social categories (Hutu, Tutsi, Twa). However, even if one could change his/her social category, he/she could not change his/her clan.

Seven clans (Kono, Ha, Shingo, Nyakarama, Sita, Ongera, and Enengwe) do not include the Twa group. All the clans did not form a clan based kingdom except for four (Nyiginya, Singa, Zigaba, and Gesera) and they represented a big group (by 1960, they formed 62.19 % of the population of Rwanda).

It should however be noted that with colonization, clans ceased to play their role.

### **1. Definition**

“The term “clan” means a group of people who claim a common mythical ancestor. It is a legendary group or a fabulous ascendancy to which a group of people are attached. However, it is not always possible to establish all the genealogic ties between the common ancestor and the entire group. The word “clan” corresponds to the term “ubwoko” and its institution neither has a chief or a particular internal organization”. (MINEPRISEC, 1987: 25)

According to Hertefelt Marcel, the clan implies a social category and not a corporate group. It has no chief, no internal organization, nor procedures that manage business of common benefits. The clan is different from a small lineage “inzu” and different from a big lineage “umulyango”. It is not even a residential grouping; its members are located all over the country.

(M. d'Hertefelt, 1971:3)

For the Banyarwanda, “ubwoko” bears the idea of a common biological origin in patriarchal lineage (Kayihura Michel, 2004). “But in reality the clan is not a descendent group; it is simply a common social denominator to lineages that are separated from each other by social stratification” (M. Hertefelt, 1971:3):

“Without accessing to a simplest evolutionism which would lead us “from clans to empires”, we should recognize that the earliest structures of society, that go beyond the limits of enclosures and small lineages, exist these groups that combine kinship, exogamy, symbolic code and rules of solidarity, that they call clan since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These have remained grounded for a long time at the heart of the life of society. When asked, a peasant whether from Burundi or Rwanda or Tanzania, in the 1930's or the 1960's, “what are you?” the immediate response was the mention of the clan”

(J.P. Chrétien, 2000: 72)

“Concrete ties remain very loose because clan members have dispersed all over the country. It is not therefore about lineages that carry a proper genealogic remembrance and which has kept a minimum residential unity but these are instead social identities of

individual identification in relationship with others, a way to find friends almost everywhere and benefit from their hospitality or their support. These entities also play a role in marriage because in principle (except when there are subdivisions) the exogamy of clans prevails in the choice of the partner”.

(J.P. Chrétien, 2000: 72)

## **2. Clans and Politics**

Rwandans as well as the majority of authors believed mainly in the criterion of belonging to a clan and not to a particular lineage, while in actual fact politics were linked to lineage:

“Clans did not hold any political function. No single individual had the political status based upon his belonging to a particular clan only; other descriptive criteria were always involved in the nomination of an individual, for example his belonging to a particular lineage meaning his belonging to a particular social class. It is therefore wrong to talk about a royal clan or matrilineal royal clans, although these expressions are frequently found in anthropologic literature on Rwanda. There was no royal clan but only a Tutsi royal lineage, which, like other lineages belonged to a defined clan known as Nyiginya clan. Furthermore, there were no matrilineal clans, but only matrilineal lineages. There were four Tutsi lineages which were supposed to produce royal spouses and one of them became Queen. These four lineages are called Ibibanda, they belonged to four different clans (Ega, Kono, Ha and Gesera)”

(M. d’Hertefeldt, 1971:4)

### **3. The origin of clans**

There are common observations suggesting that clans survived for a more or less long period of time when they were not yet regrouped by a rigid social stratification but had much more sociologic importance than today.

According to the tradition, belonging to certain clans gave imparted specific ritual roles to its members. This concerned the following clans: Abazigaba, Abagesera and Abasinga. Rwandans justified the particular ritual status of these clans by their quality of being autochthones “Abasangwabutaka”. This means that they were considered as the descendants of the country’s autochthones that were found there by the first Tutsi Nyiginya. The term “ubuse” indicates the set of ritual roles held by autochthones “abasangwabutaka”. The members of these clans were supposed to be involved symbolically in the construction of a residential house by fixing its first sticks.

Zigaba people had their roles particularly toward Nyiginya, and consequently for kings also. Gesera people were specialists “abase” for most Rwandans except for Zigaba who were taken as their kin because the kinship could neutralize the ritual effects. It is for this reason that Gesera and Zigaba had to get help from the members of Singa clans; conversely, Singa had to address themselves to Gesera or Zigaba. “Abase” could also intervene in another context of purification after a person died, where their participation was required in order to end bereavement and start again daily life activities. (M. d’Hertefeldt) Jokes also entertained relationships between Rwandans and their “abase” and this was called “Guterana ubuse”

### **4. Clans in the myths of origin**

The myth of “Bimanuka” is about Abanyiginya, Abega and Abazigaba clans who played a very important role in the history of Rwanda.

The origin of Abanyiginya was situated at the time of Shyerezo. Shyerezo had a wife called Gasani. Gasani had a female servant called Impamvu. On the other hand Shyerezo had seers who could consult spirits (gods) for him. These staged at the bank of the river and consulted gods (...).One day, Shyerezo went to see his other states. His wife and her servant Impamvu remained in his enclosure. Gasani could not give birth; she had had no child for a long time. One day, Impamvu told her “I have analyzed the situation and I have noticed that “Imana” that the seers have used for consultation has been of good augur. Therefore help me; let us steal his heart and when we will have taken it, I will tell you what to do with it”. They started to observe carefully, trying to find the occasion to steal the heart, and when they saw that the seers were busy trying to remove some parts of this favorable “Imana”, they continued and tried to steal it. They watched, spied the seers, and then stole the heart of this cow (...) Impamvu told Nyagasani: “see what we are going to do, look for a clean and big pot, then put in the pot the heart of the cow, pour some milk in it, close it tightly and put it in a quiet place, a bit far so that nobody may



find it, and nobody should know about it except you and me... Nine months from now, when we will be starting the tenth month, then I will tell you the reason why I told you to steal this heart and, in any case, every day, pour some milk on it, milk should be accumulated on it ...” Gasani did as she was told. When the ninth month was ending, at the beginning of the tenth month, Gasani said to Impamvu: “what do we do?” The other one responded after three days had passed, (...), she told her “go and look in the pot, you will find there a baby.” When she went there she found a baby. She removed it from the pot and bathed it. The child cried like all children do, Gasani breastfed the baby. She sent a messenger to her husband to tell him that she had given birth the previous day (...) when the husband learnt about this situation, he said: “How can it happen that Gasani has delivered a child when the whole world knows that she can not give birth and that she has not been pregnant for a long time? Shyerezo sent people and told them: “Go and see this baby they are talking about and kill it.” (...) after learning about the news, Impamvu and Gasani hid the baby (...) the men gave up and left. When Shyerezo asked them: “Have you killed that baby?” They answered: “we did not even see it. But, people say that she has delivered” (...) Many days later, Shyerezo reached home, and went into his house. The child was there, he had grown and was smiling, and he was lovely. Shyerezo had come to look for information in order to kill the baby he had heard about.

After a while, the women showed the child to him. When Shyerezo saw him, he was touched; he noticed that the child was perfectly noble, he was very handsome, and that God had created him with perfection. Looking at him, he could not dare to kill him and spared his life. The child continued to live peacefully. They named him Sabizeze. He grew up. When he became an adult and after he had acquired some experience, he went to join his elder brother called Mututsi. They lived together and came regularly at their father’s house. One day, some people quarreled with Sabizeze and told him: “shut up, you are nothing but a bastard who is not the son of Shyerezo”. When Shyerezo learnt about this insult, she confirmed it in these words: “He is actually a bastard”. This caused a lot of pain to Sabizeze (...) He discussed it with Mututsi and told him: “I better leave this place and go elsewhere rather than being denied my paternal affiliation”. He talked to his elder brother and told him: “come, let us go to another country with our sister and leave the country of Shyerezo.” They started their journey immediately with a hen called Samugambira, a cock called Rubika, a male ram and a female ram, a cow and a bull. They took with them a forth type of animal which is the heron, the guardian of bulls. They went and reached the bush in a region called Mumazinga, and Kabeja lived there at a place called Umubari. They established their home at Kabeja’s place deep in the bush and build temporary homes while constructing permanent residences ... then people at Kabeja’s homestead turned their eyes and saw the smoke going up from the bush (...) Sabizeze and Mututsi lived peacefully in the bush (...). After they had lived there for a long time, they saw one day that the herons had produced small ones; they saw that the hens had also chickens. They also saw that the sheep had also small ones. They kept them and said: “after all, we brought one cow, it was inseminated by its brother and it gave birth, we brought a hen which was with its sister, it has small ones, but for us, Mututsi, what do we do?” We brought our sister with us, can we marry her both of us, can she be a wife to both of us?”

Mututsi refused in these words: “This is not possible, can we marry our sister? Besides, this can not happen.” Sabizeze decided and said: “I am going to marry her, nothing else can be done”. He married her, they lived together, and she became his wife. One day, they got a child, a baby boy. After she stopped breastfeeding him, she got a baby girl. She continued like this and got many boys and girls. They realized that Mututsi was going to stay without a wife for ever, and Sabizeze told him: “look, I am going to give you a good plan, which will help all of us. Leave this place, go and stay on the other side of this area. Then, when you have consolidated your enclosure (...), you will cross the valley and you will come to ask me for a girl to marry, and you will introduce yourself as Umwega from the other side of the valley” Mututsi accepted, because he could not do otherwise. He went and settled across the valley. After having settled and consolidated his enclosure, he came to ask for a girl to marry at Sabizeze’s place. Yet the young ladies were his nieces. Sabizeze gave him one of his girls to marry. When he was going to give him a bride, he asked him: “You have come to ask me for a girl to marry?” Where do you come from? What is the name of your clan? Mututsi answered: “I am umwega from the other side of the valley” The name of Umwega fitted him (...) his clan was then called Umwega, the descendants of Sabizeze were called Abanyiginya (...) they lived together at Kabeja’s place and stayed together, they chose Kabeja as the man who could tell them where to establish their enclosures. Any Munyiginya who settled, Kabeja showed him where he could build his house; likewise, the people from Kabeja’s family were also given sites and Kabeja was supposed to light fire at the sites. He brought fire as soon as the sites were leveled; then the owners could come at the sites. From that time and on, Abanyiginya were located building sites by Abazigaba (Kabeja’s people were called Abazigaba). (...) It is the reason why marriages always take place between Abanyiginya and Abazigaba, Abega and Abanyiginya ask each other spouses. This custom was established and then it continued that way up to now”  
(A. Coupez et Th. Kamanzi, 1962:61-65)

## **What stories of origins reveal about the past**

### **Hamite thesis**

Stories about the origin of Rwanda are essentially told around two persons: Kigwa and Gihanga. Gihanga had connections with Kigwa. Heroes, their roles and their genealogies take you back to the classic environment of Rwanda whereby clans play a central role; for example the Bazigaba ritual role at the beginning of the settlement of a Nyiginya group on new land. Those clan based identities also determined preferential matrimonial alliances. “Half of these entities are represented in the legend of foundation and display clearly on stage their position in society and in history. There are three distinct groups.

Dynastic clans of Gihanga descendants: Nyiginya, Shambo, Hondogo, Tsobe;  
The queen’s clans, originating from Mututsi: Ha, Kono, Ega;  
Autochtone clans “Abasangwabutaka”: Zigaba, Gesera, Singa.

The ritual role of these clans during welcome ceremonies on new land is therefore justified through legends that tell about the history of their origin”  
(J.P. Chrétien, 1999:290)

The three big Biru or “ritual kings” came from each of the three groups: one from Tsobe, one from Kono and one from Singa. There is a link between Gihanga and Kigwa legends with the “Ubwiru”. The three most important families of Abiru were related to Gihanga who installed Rwoga, the first drum of Rwanda; his grave plays an important role in the rites of Ubwiru. It is said that had the role of establishing the first sacred fire of country. “Abiru” worshiped him in the votive hut, in the capital.

This reveals the religious dimension in the functioning of the monarchical institution. Wonders and extraordinary actions ascribed to these two founder heroes are like premonitory leitmotiv of the “Mwami’s” faces: Kigwa, the celestial and magician, and Gihanga the terrestrial and conqueror. These are the manifestations of the same entity, which guarantees prosperity and power, fecundity, fertility and war.

J.P. Chrétien mentions the fact that: “the myths of origin reflect only the situation of clans in Rwanda in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in an approximate manner. The most important positions that we know in pre-colonial Rwanda do not necessarily correspond to dominant roles that are played in Kigwa and Gihanga legends. The few lines on weaknesses bring about the question on whether secondary roles were not actually introduced in the course of history as each group tried to legitimize its presence in the Rwandan society through it’s representation in the fundamental body to which the collective Rwandan memory is referred.”

The clans' names also appear as dynastic references that recall the existence of royal powers which were conquered by Nyiginya dynasty progressively. J. K. Renie tried to use these legends said about the traditions of clans which had been neglected for a long

time to favor the chronicles of the central royal court. This has helped to rebuild the political situation of Rwanda before its unification by Nyiginya dynasty (J.K Renie, 1972:49) In this case, the legends of Kigwa and Gihanga might be a combination of several legends aimed at legitimating this unification.

Finally, J.P. Chrétien shows that the place occupied by Abega in the myth of Kigwa has some intrigue; it combines importance and marginality. Their ancestor Serwega might have originated from the illegitimate alliance between a girl and a step brother of Kigwa." Abega represent therefore (with Abakono and Abaha) a kind of lineage parallel to that of Ibimanuka. It was integrated in the legend, but was not given an important role." They are considered as newcomers. Besides, the involvement of their ancestry is only referred to in the myth of ethnic realities by the name of their ancestor Mututsi. The legend is a reflection of an evident reality of the political history of Rwanda in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century: the rising into power by Tutsi lineages through matrimonial alliances with kings.

Since mid 18<sup>th</sup> Century, all the queens were Abega with the exception of the queen mothers of Kigeri Ndabarasa (end of 18<sup>th</sup> Century) and Kigeri Rwabugiri (End of 19<sup>th</sup> Century). Abega represented a network, which was as powerful as that of Banyiginya during the last Century of Pre-colonial Rwanda. (J.P.Chrétien, 1999: 1298)

## **5. Clans and Hamite thesis**

Bimanuka lived in the same period as Basita, the first Hamite Kings who reigned in Bunyoro around 1000-1100. Bimanuka were not related to Basita, but they were Hamites like them. They managed to escort and follow them, with their cattle with long horns, from the upper Nile towards the centre of Africa in the search for bigger pastures. When Basita settled in Bunyoro, Bimanuka progressed towards the south and through Nkole and Mpororo, they reached Rwanda in Umutara. (L.Delmas, 1950)

The Hamite thesis is used as an explanation on clans' origins: "Abarenge represent the category of ancient Hamites, who left the memory of incomparable power in Rwanda, they formed a domination copied from Rurenge who was the eponym ancestor of their dynasty. Their civilization was usually identified with hoes, hammers and other forged tools.... "These Hamites might have been strongly equipped with tools much more modern than those of Rwandans. They dug wells for their cows in stony places. It is from this sign that the famous wells of Rwanda of today were recognized and traditions attributed their initial digging at the time of Abarenge. Their group has many representatives in our modern society and they are called Basangwabutaka (...), which means those who occupied the country already at the arrival of the dynasty founders "Banyiginya" who came according to their mythological story, from the sky. The Abarenge Empire went far beyond Rwanda of today. Their last legitimate king resided at Gishali, while Bwiru in the south of Rwanda (...) was ruled by adventitious dynasty from

the same group. Abarenge were from the victorious clan of Abasinga: The kite was their totem.”

(A.Kagame, 1972: 27-28)

According to A. Kagame, Bagesera were and still are first class Hamites. Neighboring dynasties recognized their dynastic drum whose esoteric code imposed respect even to our Rwandan monarchs who made sure that they eliminated ceremoniously and legitimately the defeated Hamite lineage when they annexed Gisaka.

(Kagame, 1954; 55-56)

P. Smith questions this thesis on basis of oral traditions. He says: “In Rwanda (...) several authors wrote about Batutsi’s arrival as if local traditions had kept memory of it (...) with published versions (...) collected from all the regions and all social categories, from the myth of Kigwa (the ancestor of the dynasty) as well as the myth of Gihanga (the monarchical institution founder), with the numerous legends on origin of clans from defeated dynasties (...) and none of them mention the arrival of Batutsi or any direction that they might have taken at their arrival. They agree only to say that Kigwa and Gihanga originally had their residences in the North-East of the country or at the place of king Kabeja in the clan of Bazigaba”.

## **6. Clan based kingdoms (before Nyiginya Kingdom)**

Clans attract attention because some of their naming can nowadays be found in oral traditions when mentioning the governments and the population for a certain number of territorial entities.

From oral traditions (Kagame, 1943 : 11, 4-19; 1954: 53-59; Vansina, 1962) the names of these entities and the names of their dynasties are: Bazigaba at Mubari (East.), Bagesera at Gisaka (South-East.), Bahondogo at Bumbogo, Buriza and Bwanacyambwe (at the East of Nyabarongo), Bacyaba at Bugara (around lakes Bulera and Ruhondo, in the North) Basinga (whose Kingdom was called “abarenge”) at Burwi (south East. of the current province of Butare and regions found at the west of Mukungwa and Nyabarongo except for the area that forms the present province of Cyangugu). The political history of Rwanda as presented in oral traditions is mainly the story on the disintegration of its different dynasties to the profit of Nyiginya Kings.

“The center of Rwanda of today, in the province of Kigali was home to Abongera dynasty, while that of Abenengwe governed a vast kingdom across the present provinces of Butare-Gikongoro in Rwanda, and the provinces of Ngozi-Kayanza in Burundi. The province of Gitarama and the North of Butare province, when Abarenge were defeated, formed the Nduga kingdom, home to Ababanda. The Abazigaba dynasty governed

Mubali (...) less important dynasties were established in other regions and each country had a specific name”

(Kagame, 1972: 28)

According to M. D' Hertefelt, nothing shows that early clans corresponded to the clans that we know, "whether the names of clans today are found in the oral traditions as the indication of those who governed early political entities and shared among themselves the area of Rwanda, it does not mean that zigaba or Banda or any other of these dynasties constituted clans in the sense of "amoko", currently called multi-class (...) the term "clan" does not appear to us (...) as the appropriate term that could be referred to as dynasties of these ancient kingdoms or its population, because this term is also used to indicate the social reality of the Rwandan "amoko" of the most recent past ... whose essential feature is its character of multi class ... and therefore there exists the risk of projecting a reality into the past while it may have never existed"

(M. d'Hertefelt, 1971: 25)

## 7. Relationships between clan based kingdoms

In order to explain the relationships between earlier clan entities, many writers developed the “division” pattern (De Heusch, 1966: 106) according to which a new kingdom and a new dynasty are formed by separating themselves from a territorial entity and a royal lineage, which existed before and continues to exist in a smaller space area after the split. Therefore for Vansina “the kingdom of Abazigaba was the first one to be founded at Mubari, and Gisaka with Abagesera dynasty was detached from it. Thereafter, Abahondogo family splinted from Gisaka and founded in the region still called Bugesera, a kingdom of that name” (Vansina, 1962: 61)

Oral traditions state that the following kingdoms were established as follow:

- a) Abazigaba formed a local grouping established at Mubari and it was ruled by a chief. According to the myth of Ibimanuka, it was the first local group which got in touch with the ancestors of Nyiginya;
- b) Towards the South in Gisaka a new territorial entity was created by the Gesera dynasty. The kingdom of Bazigaba existed before that of Gisaka and continued to exist after its foundation.
- c) More towards the West, around Muhazi, there was a territorial entity ruled by Nyiginya: Bwimba got into conflict with Gisaka and was killed by people from Gisaka;
- d) More towards the South, in Bugesera, there was at the same time, a royal lineage of Bahondogo;
- e) From a certain time, Mubari, Gisaka and ancient Rwanda and Bugesera coexisted.

Arguments were carried out on between Banyiginya, Bagesera or Bahondogo, who was first ? (See the myth of Gihanga descendents)

Vansina 1962: 61; Kagame 1954: 42; Delmas, 1950:144).

“Furthermore, it is possible that the Bagesera got this name from Bugesera, as it is possible that Bagesera hailed their name from Bugesera; lastly, it is possible that Bagesera are so called after the name of an “eponym ancestor Mugesera or Kagesera and that the name of the region might have nothing to do with the mention of the governing lineage or Gesera clan”

(M. D’Hertefelt, 1971: 41-42, also see d’Arianoff, 1952: 26, notes 24)

De Heusch in his work developed the idea that: “Toponymy” invites us (...) to see in Bugesera the home for the expansion of Gesera clan”. (DE HEUSCH, L., 1966: 102-103) Analyzed data concerning possible kinship between Bagesera and Bahondogo are not sufficient to justify this kinship between those two lineages. Following tradition critics and confrontation of interpretations from different authors done by M. d’Hertefelt, “the creation of Gisaka seems to be posterior to that of ancient Rwanda” while this same creation “seems to be contemporary to that of Bugesera or slightly posterior to this one” (M. D’hertefelt, 1971: 42)

Explaining the relationship between Bagesera and Bazigaba of Mubari, the tradition states that Bagesera conquered Gisaka from Bazigaba (Vansina 1962: 61) and it also mentions ritual relationship between the two clans in the “Ubuse” context. It is difficult to handle an argument on their historical relationship.

The “division” pattern developed by Vansina, De Heusch, Kagame ... among others) tries to explain the existence of clan based kingdoms and their possible relationships (confirmed by traditions) Vansina states that the Gesera are a branch of Zigaba, Hondogo, a branch of Gesera and Nyiginya (Sindi) a branch of Hondogo. D’Hertefelt is of the opinion that “no kinship can be established either between Zigaba and Gesera, neither between Gesera and Hondogo, or even between Hondogo and Nyiginya”. As regards to the order of succession through which Kingdoms were founded, Vansina suggests that Mubari was first, Gisaka second, Bugesera third and Rwanda primitive was fourth. D’hertefelt thinks that “Mubari might be the first kingdom in the area, that Rwanda primitive was formed later on, then Bugesera and lastly Gisaka” (M. D’HERTEFELT1971:43) the division pattern is the application of a mechanic scheme which can not be confirm by information from traditions.

“The Banyiginya dynasty is not necessary posterior to all other dynasties which it conquered... only Abarenge, Abazigaba and Abenengwe are certainly posterior to them as confirmed by traditions”.

(A. Kagame 1972:28)



Oral traditions from Rwanda and Burundi claim that archeological evidences of the Iron Age belong to the Renge, a group of population which disappeared. What is known of them is that their occupation was not limited only to Rwanda. According to official tradition, some Renge were affiliated to and then absorbed by Gihanga, the mythic founder of Nyiginya dynasty. They probably remained in the history as part of Singa clan (Hiernau, 1956) Bourgeois (1957) gives two versions on their disappearance; they might have either mixed with Singa who might be the first Bantu phones, or they might have been eliminated by a Hutu clan of Babanda.

## **8. The number of clans**

There are differences between authors who wrote about this topic based on the number clans that they give. Yet all these authors claim to be part of the Rwandan tradition while they interpret differently. Delmas gives a list of 18 clans (Delmas, 1950: 19, note 1) M. D'hertefelt (1927:20) records the same number, while Kagame gives only 15 names (1954:60) Nyagahene mentions twenty of them.

There are also popular versions on the number of clans. Take as one example the following version: “

« Amoko y'Abanyarwanda ni aya akurikira: hari abasindi, hari abasinga, hari abagesera hari n'abazigaba. Ayo niyo moko y'abanyarwanda naho ayandi si amoko ahubwo ni inzu z'abo cyangwa igisekuru cyabo. Duhereye kuri Gihanga nawe yari umusindi ariko kuko yari igikomangoma yiswe umunyiginya kuko umunyiginya bisobanura igikomangoma » (Alphonse Gisa, Gahini)

The book written by MINEDUC summarizes researches as follows: “From all the names of clans mentioned in Rwanda by authors like Kagame, Maquet, Vansina, De Heusch and Hertefelt, we can retain a dozen among them: Abasinga, Abasindi, Abazigaba, Abagesera, Abanyiginya, Abega, Ababanda, Abacyaba, Abatsobe, Abakono, Abanyakarama, Abasita » (MINEPRISEC, 1987:25)

It should be indicated that for Kagame, Nyiginya are synonyms of Sindi: “The denomination of Banyiginya which is particular to Rwanda and Bahima of Ankole means: wealth, a connection to very ancient nobleness in the dynasty clan. Other members of the clan..., without fortune are called Abasindi, coming from the name Musindi, the eponym founder of this group” [Kagame, 1954: 33, note 31.]

In the royal rituals, the term Nyiginya is an indication of the members of the only royal lineage “ in principle, Banyiginya are Kings and sons of kings of the Rwandan dynasty (...) practically, not only kings and sons of kings are considered as Banyiginya, but also all Basindi who have kept a certain level of power and wealth held that name.” (D’Arioff, 1951:50, note C)

After a study during which people from all walks of life and regions were asked: what is your clan? M. D’hertefelt reached to this conclusion: “it looks like the two terms (Nyiginya and Sindi) are names of clans” because of their regional distribution and the fact that they are found in the three social classes” (M.D’Hertefelt, 1971, 20).

A part from some scarce details, oral traditions and classic literature do not supply any data on the manner Rwandan people are distributed in clans. For example concerning Bongera are “at risk of disappearing” [Kagame 1954:60], Sita “low representation” (Kagame, 1954:60), statistics confirm these expressions. Other impressions have tempted to evaluate the numeric importance of certain clans based on political influence that the total Tutsi lineage fractions had at the time these authors were writing. For Delmas ,Tsobe clan “is among the most powerful and biggest in number” the same thing for Bashambo who “are many and respected” (Delmas, 1950:107, 92) yet the two clans represent 0.86% and 3.90% respectively of all the population.

Delmas distinguished three big categories of clans: “Hamites” based on Tutsi or Hutu origin of their primitive rulers. These are:

High nobleness (Ibamanuka) who include clans of Tutsi origin, that are Nyiginya, Bega, Bashambo, Tsobe, Kono, Ha and Hondogo; the category of Abasangwabutaka or clans which are originally Hutu but from which some fell into Tutsi fractions within their clans following marriages of small Hutu kings with Tutsi women: Singa, Zigaba and Gesera clans;

The lower nobleness (Abatutsi b’impaga) or clans of a foreign origin who have a small proportion of Tutsi following marriages with Tutsi women, these are Banda, Cyaba, Ungura, Shingo and Ongera clans (Delmas, 1950: 3)

For Dalmas, the first category has the biggest number of people: Hamites. But after inquiries carried out by d’hertefelt, it was found out that Delmas overestimated by far the demographic dimension of Tutsi clan fractions in the first group. The reason is probably because Tutsi occupied the majority of politico-administrative positions that he met in his researches. D’Hertefelt brought a lot of corrections on Delmas analysis; he was the first to research on quantitative data.

## 9. Clans and their totems

Totems were signs by which clans were recognized and they were animal species: a bird, a mammal, batrachians and reptiles.

The following totems were identified:

CLAN	TOTEM	
Abanyiginya	Crested Crane	Umusambi
Abega	Frog	Igikeri
Abazigaba	Leopard	Ingwe
Abagesera	Wagtail	Inyamanza
Abasinga	Eagle(Falcon)	Sakabaka
Abacyaba	Hyena	Impyisi
Ababanda	Crow	Igikona

Source: L.Delmas, 1950:20

Do all clans have totems?

The situation is more complex on this point. Indeed there are some clans, even among the most influential ones such as Tsoke, which do not have their own totems. Furthermore different clans may share the same totem: the crane is the symbol of Nyiginya and Sindi, the leopard is for Zigaba and Benengwe; Hyena is the totem of Bacyaba and Bandaba; Bega; Kono and Baha have the toad as their totem, hyena in central Rwanda, but the crow in other regions; Singa are associated with the kite in central regions but to the leopard in the north-west. Finally, regional sub-clans have different totems that are different from the usual animal that symbolizes the clan to which they belong. (M. D'Hertefeldt, 1971:6)

## 10. Clans and their "Taboo"

Certain clans have taboo

Banyiginya have impwi as their Taboo (a variety of antelopes living in high altitude forests, with short horns and rounded cheeks).

Bega have as taboo Ifuti (a calf which at birth advanced its back instead of its head.).

Bagesera (only Batutsi) have a monkey as taboo

Basinga have taboo such as Inka y'Inyombya (a cow with white and black parts on the skin).

(Delmas, 1950, p20)

## 11. Demographic and ethnic clans' distribution

Czekanowski (1917:235-236) is the only author who tempted to talk about demographic, geographic and ethnic clan distribution in a detailed manner. However, he restricted himself to the observation on the presence of a given clan in a given region (north-east of Rwanda, Gisaka, Nduga, Mutara, Bugoyi and Bwishya). All the clans are represented everywhere. The knowledge of clans' geographical distribution with Tutsi and Hutu fractions, remain an important variable in the process of defining a region's social context with regard to the court.

Explanations provided for simultaneous presence of three social classes. Different possible hypothesis were given:

1) Meyer thinks that this is the result of unauthorized union between Hutu and Tutsi (H. MEYER, 1916: 101)

2) Czekanowski (1917:242") gives three possibilities:

"The children of a Mututsi married to servant (umuja) belonged to the father's clan, but were not considered as Batutsi"; "The rare Hutu who were given political power married Tutsi women and were socially considered as Batutsi."  
(J.CZEKANOWSKI, 1917: 242)

3) Delmas puts to use some of these explanations to clarify why there are Tutsi in clans that he describes as Hutu. "At the beginning they were all Bahutu, but as some Bagaragu (vassalage), were given cows and managed to marry Batutsi women and some bosses could like their servants and gave them their daughters in marriage as a means to keep them, or a disabled girl who was refused by other Batutsi, could be married by a Muhutu man; after some generations, their children were considered as Batutsi in clans which originally were purely Hutu."(L. DELMAS, 1650: 4). In order to explain the presence of Hutu in clans known as "Hamite", Delmas adds adoption to point no. 1 and point no. 2, and says:

"For example, the adoption of a son-in-law by his father-in-law"

Kagame gave an example of Abenegitore, a Sindi lineage (or Nyiginya):"This Gitore died young; leaving no son. Before he died, he adopted all his families and warriors; and as a result, the family of Benegitore is among the most important families in the clan of Basindi. But it is known that the members of the groups mentioned above are nowadays considered as members of the dynastic clan while initially they were strangers to that clan."

(A. KAGAME, 1954:44)

4) Pagès adds a fourth explanation which is more connected to social mobility. This one was more circulated and it stated that "One should not confuse Banyiginya from Hutu race and Banyiginya from Mututsi race. It is possible that the first group started working for the conquerors from the beginning of the Hamite immigration and received in turn for their obedience and submission permission to bear the name of the winners." (Pages, 1933: 670)

This explanation could be extended to other clans, adding that the clans of Batutsi assimilated Hutu ones in the context of Ubuhake" (Kagame 1954:42) Kagame also thinks that this is the only way one can explain the presence of Twa in the same clans as Batutsi and Bahutu. Contrary to inzu, the clan (Umuryango, ubwoko) could include among its members both Hutu and Tutsi. There was no pure clan with only Hutu or Tutsi. When asked whether this meant that Hutu and Tutsi who are in the same clan descended from the same ancestor, Tutsi answered no. They explained that this happened as a result of the relationship, which linked Hutu and Tutsi as clients and servants. After a long time Hutu identified themselves to the group of their masters. Such identification was particularly easy. Tutsi usually emigrated from one region to another in Rwanda escorted by their clients and servants Hutu.

On the other hand, certain Hutu said that since Gatutsi, Gahutu and Gatwa ... were brothers; it is not impossible that Hutu and Tutsi of the same clan might have a common ancestor. In any case, clan members who belonged to different racial, social groups did not demonstrate any solidarity; they treated each other as pure strangers”

(A. Kagame, 1954:61-62)

D’herterfelt does not think so, he said “At first, in the case of “Ubuhake”, the idea of assimilation between a client and his master can not help in the explanation of the subsequent presence of Tutsi, Hutu and Twa within the same clan unless one demonstrates that all the clans had a Tutsi origin but also prove the “clientele” universality or establish on the contrary whether Batutsi were systematically the clients of Hutu”.

(D’Hertefelt, 1971:50)

Later on, an exclusive emphasis (especially that of Heusch), was put on this process of clan based assimilation through “clientele” relationship (ubuhake). This theory was taught in secondary schools and higher institutions of education: “At the beginning of the 20<sup>TH</sup> century, the clan (ubwoko) will have lost all its meaning in central Rwanda. From now on, it will unite Tutsi and their Hutu clients in a fiction kinship.” (De Heusch, 1966: 53)

This is possible, there are examples to support this but nothing can prove that these assimilations were done systematically. This explanation also implies that all Rwandan clans were Tutsi originally. The explanation on traditional social mobility is not least confirmed: it contrasts with classic vision of anthropologists on the rigidity of social stratification.

## Ethnic distribution of Clans in 1970

Clan	Population/%	Abahutu/%	Abatutsi/%	Abatwa/%
1. Abasinga	14.60	15.08	12.49	6.30
2. Abanyiginya	10.90	7.51	28.96	6.30
3. Abagesera	11.04	11.94	6.36	24.79
4. Abashambo	3.94	2.99	9.00	3.36
5. Abazigaba	11.46	12.86	4.41	9.24
6. Abatsobe	0.86	0.65	1.99	0.42
7. Abasindi	13.33	14.86	5.63	8.82
8. Abega	8.00	7.49	10.74	11.76
9. Abacyaba	6.46	6.64	5.74	2.52
10. Ababanda	6.69	7.64	1.65	18.48
11. Abongera	0.11	0.09	0.22	-
12. Abanyakarama	0.28	0.13	1.04	-
13. Abaha	0.55	0.27	2.01	-
14. Abashingo	0.43	0.14	1.99	-
15. Abasita	0.14	0.08	0.45	-
16. Abungura	5.84	6.84	0.76	3.36
17. Abakono	0.68	0.23	3.05	-
18. Abenengwe	0.004	0.003	0.01	-
19. Other	4.68	4.68	3.51	-

Source: D'Hertefelt, 1971: Annexes Tableau 2.

The question on the initial foundation of Rwandan clans and explication on variable proportions of Hutu, Tutsi and Twa in different clans has retained the attention of commentators.

Clan identity, transcendent clan divisions. «If 18 clans that were collected by D'Hertefelt are taken into account, one can see that five most important clans (Singa, Sindi, Zigaba, Gesera and Nyiginya) account for more than half of the population. Each of them has 85 to 90% of Bahutu, except for Banyiginya where Batutsi account for more than 40%. They also have the same or almost these figures in seven other small clans. Two suggestions have been made in order to clarify this integration: Jean Czekanowski thought of mixed individuals from Batutsi and Bahutu (born from concubines or alliances for profit), catholic fathers Delmas and Pagès talked about the relationships between clients and masters (ubuhake) which might have caused the adoption of the clan of the masters by the clients.

Unfortunately, history, in recent centuries, does not attest any transfers from clan to clan on this basis of "ubuhake". And the suggestions that were made above do not explain the fate of Batwa. These two types of reasoning use a sort of anachronistic priority given to the « caste » above the « clan ». Yet, for a long time, the clan has represented the fundamental identity in the conscience of the people » (J.P.Chrétien, 2000:74).

## 12. The ethnic origin of clans

Concerning clan's primitive ethnic foundation, oral traditions tell us practically nothing before the beginning of political expansion of Nyiginya chiefs. The question will remain unanswered if no other new information is given by archeologists or anthropologists.

Many writers gave a Hutu foundation to most small pre-Nyiginya states. Delmas gives more explications by using official traditions. According to him, Abagesera, Abasinga, Ababanda and Abacyaba are Hutu by origin. (Delmas 1950: see also Pagès, 1933: 45-46, loupias 1908, historique et chronologie 1956, de Lacger 1961). Delmas said “our informers have absolutely agreed to this not only for Abagesera but also Abazigaba and Abasinga” (L. DELMAS, 1950: 144) this author has particularly consulted the court's areas which did not have interest in transforming Abazigaba, Abagesera and Abasinga (Renge), Ababanda and Abungura into Abahutu, and not Abashambo or Abahondogoro.

In his books, Kagame has systematically modified the views expressed in first writings even in the most official oral traditions on this matter. One must say that Vansina uses the same theories by considering “as Tutsi all the governors of all territorial entities of ancient oriental Rwanda as well as the ancient governors of Bongera, Banda, Singa (with a Renge dynasty), the Shambo and Benengwe governors who established themselves in the remaining part of Rwanda of today” (Vansina, 1962: 76, 81, 84) the opinion on the ethnic origin for all Tutsi from mini-Kingdoms of ancient Rwanda is a simple assumption but not an elaborate hypothesis.

De Heusch also gives Tutsi ethnic origin to all the clans that he lists in his book except for Singa, Banda, Shambo, and Gesera. According to him, the Singa came from Renge: this is confusing because the term Renge indicates not “the population to which Singa belonged but simply the Singa royal family” (M. D’Herteflt, 1971:45)

According to De Heusch, Banda people “formed a powerful Hutu state” in the Nduga region (1966: 82, 144). Based on the traditions of neighboring countries (Mporopo, Buhaya), he shows that “despite their close relation with the Gihanga descendents in official sources of Rwanda. “Originally, Shambo constituted a purely Hima clan”. (De Heusch, 1966:41, 80-81) His argument is less convincing on the case of Bagesera: the Gisaka dynasty chronology is shorter than that of Rwanda. Another component to be part of the debate: oral traditions of “toparchies” Hutu from Busozo and Bushiru who belonged to the Bagesera clan and who had governed their domains up to the 1920’s. “All these traditions agree to say that these small kings were Hutu who hailed from Gesera clan, and came from Gisaka. Their genealogy descended from kings Ruregeya or Kimenyi from Gisaka.” (H.D’ Helfelt, 1971: 47). One issue point is unclear: the ancienty of Hutu ‘toparchies’, Gesera small kings and the situation regarding genealogical knowledge can not be traced beyond Cyirima Rujugira. It is a matter of prestige or is it an indication on the origin of small kings from Gisaka. Delmas (1950: 144) put the emigration of Hutu Gesera from Gisaka between 1600 and 1700 and Pauwels (1967:279) thinks that it is still much older. Deeper research is required in Busozo, Bushiru and Gisaka.

A. Kagame argues about Tutsi ethnic origin for all Rwandan's clans; not only for the Nyiginya and those who descend from them or have kinship with them (Abega, Abakono, Abaha, Abashambo, Abatsobe, Abashingo and Abahondogo) but yet all the others including those who derive from the first kingdom's population, Abasita (Kagame, 1943:11, 1-25; 1954:39-60) Kagame's books have had a lot of influence (especially on authors like Vansina, Arianoff and Heusch). The least that can be said, according to the official tradition, is that these clans were not Tutsi. Even if pre-Nyiginya kingdoms included Tutsi and Hutu, their relationships should not be imagined necessary based on the model of a society with hierarchy social classes, as it is known.

### **13. Regional dimension**

Regarding statistics, the structure of the clan presents contrasting forms in different countries of the region "Buganda presents a separate system marked by a division of groups: 40 clans (Ebika) each named after an animal protector. These clans are subdivided into sub-clans (Masiga). These are in term divided into major lineages (Mituba) and then into minor lineages (Enyiriri). A hierarchy of older lineages and youngest lineages characterizes each subdivision. On plateaus situated first in Bunyoro (East Lake Albert) in Haya land and Nziza (west of Lake Victoria) as well as in Burundi, at Buha and communities living west of lake Kivu. The number of clans is very big, reaching at more than two hundred of them in case of Burundi. On the other hand, Rwanda and Nkore present more structured situations whereby twenty clans for the first case and four clans for the second case they are in turn subdivided into sub-clans (Mashanga), which regroup lineage units. (J. Chrétien, 2000:72-73).

« The social and historical dimension of these formations can be seen particularly in the limitations of their segmentation which could not have resulted from mere coincidence, but happened as the action of an integrating formation. »  
(J.Chrétien, 2000:73)

« ... From Lake Kivu to Lake Victoria and from Lake Albert to Malagarazi, one finds identical names of clans (or sub clans) almost in the whole region. This is a proof of contacts, exchanges and movements that took place for a long time. »  
(J.P.Chrétien, 2000:73, 74)

### **14. Clans in the construction of the kingdom of Rwanda**

The clans have played a big role in this development and this is confirmed in Vansina's large extracts 'Ndori joined two groups that he found in the area: a Kono lineage of Buriza and a tsobe lineage of Bumbogo that he recognized as ritualistic. These considered themselves as independent ritualistic kingdoms belonging to former local king. Finally, Ndori might have secured a 3<sup>rd</sup> group of ritualistic performers. Tege from Kabagari Kono and Tsobe were each leaders of a structured organization that included sub groups with



corporations in the service of implementing the main rituals and to do that, they possessed free territories meaning that there were no interferences by the king or his agents' (J.Vansina, 2001:76)

'If Kono played an important the role in the enthronement of Ndori, Tege also might have been influential from the beginning since they were in charge of the validation of Karinga and corporations that were working with royal drums (J.Vansina, 2001:77)

During the Ndori era, the biggest part of his kingdom was organized in small 'Chefferies' ruled by non ritualistic allies who had received him in the country. All these chiefs were probably connected to the king by the contract of ubuhake because this contract constituted their act of submission and alliance (J. Vansina, 2001:87). Besides these chiefs, the main ritualistic processed territories fully franc...the ritualistic "king" ruled the south of Buliza and south Bumbogo, the ritualistic "king" Tsohe of the lands in Rukoma in areas near Kamonyi and a big part of Bumbogo ... All these ritualistic' lands were exempted from any royal authority in exchange of ritual obligations wanted by chiefs (J. Vansina, 2001:87)

Rujugira, a Tsohe chief had an army and his descendents kept its command. Moreover, Tsohe of his lineage and those from related lineages started increasing slowly by slowly their area of Bumbogo by annexing hills at the north and at the east. In short they became rich and towards 1900, they had become the third biggest political family after Ega and Nyiginya lineages only. Kono, instead, seem to have lost their influence almost continually despite the fact that beside their big role as a ritualistic one of their lineages had provided queens. (J. Vansina, 2001:87)

Originally, the clan as alliance of "imiryango" referred to cooperation aimed at ensuring mutual security whether at the level of defense including the level of land property or at the level of relationships between cattle keepers and agriculturists.

Originally, the clan as alliance of "imiryango" referred to cooperation which aimed at ensuring mutual security be it at the level of defense including the level of land property or at the level of relationships between cattle keeps and agriculturists. But in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and in central Rwanda, monarchist political institutions took this role. (J. Vansina, 2001:50).

In central Rwanda, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, clans already existed with a small dimension. Some clans were absorbed by other clans. Singa were probably considered as the eldest autochthon clan but the other two recognized ones in this region, Zigaba and Gesera, were ruling without doubt, on one or the other smaller clans. (J.Vansina, 2001:50).

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, several big groups that went beyond groups on kinship composed the central Rwandan society. Several "imiryango" grouped themselves in a much bigger social group, the clan. The later was a group of kinship only on appearance. It was actually a kind of alliance between "imiryango" which were equal and this is important as contrary to lineages, the names of most of clans were unknown names.

During King Rwabugiri's ruling, internal conflicts were very many at the level of kinship groups, these conflicts which were between lineages were wrongly attributed to all clans. "The most powerful lineages disaggregated. It is in this situation that Nzirumbanje, a Kono conspired actively for the fall of his sister Murorunkwere... A highly ranked ritualistic Tsoke condemned not only his relative Seruganya but also one of his close relatives who were ritualistic, Mugabwambere and provoked his death. Among Ega ... Rwakagara killed his sister with his own hand. His daughter Kanjogera was accused for having provoked the death of her own brother, Giharamagara ... Shortly after they took power at Rucunshu, Kabare and Ruhimankiko, both brothers to Kanjogera, collided and she ended up pushing away both of them.

(J. Vansina, 2001:241).

December 1896 marked the direct confrontation between King Rutarindwa and the lineage Ega of Kanjogera. This was called Rucunshu and ended by the victory of Ega and apparently the success of Tsoke

(J.Vansina, 2001:216)

"In the aftermath of the Rucunshu coup, Kanjogera undertook a purge of Rutarindwa's brothers, uncles and more distant cousins, thinning the ranks of the royal Abahindiro lineage. The struggle between the Abakagara and Abahindiro lineages (often described as Abega against Abanyiginya, using the clan categories), was to form the theme of political competition over the next five decades... Consequently, the role and importance of Abega (in Kinyaga and elsewhere in Rwanda) increased substantially, as did the status of those who were linked to Abega patrons (particularly members of the Abakagara lineage). And the Abega seized on European occupation as an opportunity to augment their power."

(D.Newbury, 1980, p.59)

## 15. A critical approach in the comprehension of clans

### a) The origin of clans

« Lineages in Rwanda are ground into clans (ubwoko) on the basis of putative descent from an anonymous ancestor. However, unlike lineages, clans are more of a social category than a corporate descent group. Members of a clan cannot normally trace their descent links to each other and clans as such have no leader, no political roles, and no functions apart social identity »

(C.Newbury, 1988:96)

### b) Clan structure and universality in Rwanda and in the sub region

«The present clan structure in Rwanda has been assumed to be of great historical time depth. One reason for this assumption is the presumed lack of clan function within the present Rwandan system... By this reasoning the present clans must therefore necessarily be 'the survival' of an earlier period. The universality of clan structures throughout the area, and throughout Africa ....Looked at in terms of geographical spread (...), clans were thought to be very old institutions indeed ; the historical problem of 'clan' then became that of tracing their spread through migration, and their relation to political structures, especially dynasties »

(D.Newbury, 1980:391)

### c) Differences between clan systems

« The Differences between clan systems particularly between the Rwandan system and other clan systems (...) In Rwanda and Nkore, for example, clans tended to be much larger units, but at the same time much less numerous than clans in other **Lacustrine** areas such as Bunyoro, Karagwe (Buhaya), and Burundi »

(D.Newbury, 1980:391)

### d) Clan based identities

« Clan identities then are seen to have resulted not only from the individual relationship (as implied by clan descent theory concepts) but indeed even the clan structure itself resulted from the classification of groups within the larger structure of society, and therefore clan identity reflects the relationship of the individual to that larger structure. From this perspective, the clan structure within society is not seen as the sum of various local-level elements (such as lineage structures) writ large, but as the pattern formed by the conception of society itself. Over the long term, it is this changing pattern of perceptions which determines, as well as results from, clan identities »

(D.Newbury, 1980:391)

« ... Clan changes were not simply a result of individuals moving from one clan to another, or members of one clan dispersing over the land, but a result of changes in the very conceptual categories from which clan identities derived »  
(D.Newbury, 1980:390)

« From d’Hertefelt’s analysis it is apparent that students of Rwandan society view clans within a conceptual model of the lineage, a corporate group with membership ascribed descent. Because individuals are ascribed their clan identities at birth, clans are also seen as descent groups, and clan concepts tend to become simply the extension of the lineage concept. The false understanding of clan thus derives from a transposition of the conceptual framework from a focus on individual recruitment (by birth) to the larger concept of the clan as a descent group.... The model by which clans are portrayed in most writings, then, differs from both the empirical reality and linguistic indication that the clan concept is essentially an identity, not a corporate group » (D.Newbury, 1980 :392).

« In Rwanda..... The strength of the central court paradigms and the enormous influence which the central court traditions have exerted on our past understanding of Rwanda »  
(D.Newbury, 1980:392)

« If the present clan structures are the result of the extension of central court influence (and power), indeed if the extension (or reinforcement) of ethnic identities occurred partly from the extension of central court power, then multi-ethnic character of clans is also a product of this new context... Rather than concentrating on individual mechanisms (which link a Hutu client to a Tutsi patron, or which link children from a Hutu-Tutsi union to the clan of one parent and the ethnic group of the other), we need to explore the structural changes and changes in conceptualization at the levels of social classification... These classifications became predominant not by the movement and spread of individuals but by the alterations in the very conception of clan structures. It was necessary that such transformation results from contact with individual clan members but rather than from contact with a new political or social context » (D.Newbury, 1980: 399)

According to Vansina, clans were alliances and not descendant groups. They were dynamic and the leader of each “umuryango” always could abandon his name and the interdiction of his clan and integrate another clan. This explains why traditions of any kind use names of clans to indicate what used to be in fact “imiryango” and even particular “inzu” with a big political influence. The size of clan nowadays and the distribution of units which are claiming their existence, reflect only the result of this historical movement.

(J. Vansina, 2001:49)

«First of all a clan is not an immutable entity which has always so existed. That is how the clan nyiginya developed from the group of Ndori’s parents late in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Genealogies so far known show how during this era all sorts of descent groups joined in mass the lineage on throne. This example and the presence of autochthonous clans make one suspect that these groups far from being very ancient and might have survived from

all changes and in meantime had been deprived of their fractions, they are actually phenomenon derived from political arena. »  
(J.Vansina, 2001:49)

The twenty clans known nowadays on the Rwandan territory are found mixed up in a situation which resulted from a political evolution. In recent past the clan did not have a leader, nor did it practice endogamy and imiryango which made it never acted cooperatively. The clan played a role of providing occasions of meetings between individuals no relationship whatsoever, a situation which happened particularly at a royal court, for example the case of travelers or carriers. If the two individuals met and happened to bear the same name of the clan, they were supposed to behave like relatives and provide each other mutual help and protection.  
(J.Vansina, 2001:48)

e) The case of Kinyaga

« While the Mbiriri on Ijwi identify specifically as Singa in Rwanda, the Ishaza deny they are Singa; but they, in turn, admit to being descendants of Ijeni, a figure apparently since absorbed into the Singa clan category in Rwandan conceptions. From an historical perspective, therefore, the present differences between the Mbiriri and Ishaza traditions on Ijwi attest to localized identities of an earlier period in the area directly east of Lake Kivu, what is today 'western Rwanda'... By identifying the Mbiriri as 'different' from the Ishaza, this relationship between the two clans on Ijwi serves to maintain social distinction which may well have existed east of the lake in the late nineteenth century and before... It is interesting that both Mbiriri and Ishaza identities are represented (as intermediary identities) in Kinyaga and both are considered to be sub-groups of the Singa clan... It seems more likely that such intermediate identities in Kinyaga resulted from the diffusion of the larger Singa classificatory identity and the subsequent incorporation of localized identities within this larger category... Therefore, rather than breaking down clan groups, centralized state penetration in the Rwandan case appears to have encouraged, maintained, and perhaps extended broader identities. Such a process would help explain the presence of both Tutsi and Hutu within a single clan... Likewise it would explain the separate identities on Ijwi of two 'clans' joined in the Rwandan context, since what appears as an anomaly in the Rwandan data may well relate to a period prior to the Singa expansion (or colonization) into the far reaches of the west.. The argument advanced here, therefore, suggests that in relatively recent times the Singa clan category has absorbed certain groups which were previously autonomous. This process of amalgam localized identities within the wider 'supra-clan' identities, those associated with the Rwandan political context, may have been relatively common in the area »  
(D.Newbury, 1980:395,396,398)

« ... in the areas of most recent and least intensive Rwandan central court penetration, these very small clans claim a much higher proportion of the population than is true the areas of the country with the greatest assimilation to court norms... Consequently there is clearly a process at work by which the population in such areas of central court influence is progressively included into these eighteen basic social categories. Rather than resulting

from the fragmentation of large clan units, therefore, these smaller units seem to be precursors to such formations. At the very least it can be concluded that the presence of Rwandan state forms inhibited the fragmentation process which occurred in areas outside strong state »

(D.Newbury, 1980: 397)

#### **- *Abagesera in Kinyaga***

“Kagamba, ancestor of the Abagamba lineage (Abagesera, Abazigaba clan) left Gisaka after a fight with Tutsi who “were pasturing their cattle in his sorghum fields.” He came to Kinyaga and settled on Muganza hill in Busozo. According to the lineage genealogy, Kagamba was the fourth ancestor of a man who was a small boy able to herd goats when Rwabugiri died in 1895”

(C.Newbury, 1988:29)

« Rwambika, a member of the Abazirankende lineage (Abagesera clan) living at Ibanda hill, said that his ancestor, Kibuzi left Gisaka because of conflicts with neighbors; there was a war in Gisaka. Kibuzi, Mwiko, and Kigogo came at the same time. They cleared the forest first at Mubumbano; then members of the lineage later moved to the Ibanda. »

(C.Newbury 1988:29)

« Rurangwa, a man at Mugeru hill who is a member of the Abaganda lineage (Abagesera clan) recounted that his ancestor Bijeli left Gisaka “to escape the King there at the time, Kimenyi.” Bijeli, a hunter, came to Mugeru accompanied only by his wife » (C.Newbury, 1988:29).

#### **- *Abashambo in Kinyaga***

“The ancestor of Abarari, Abahima lineage (Abashambo clan) was driven from Ndorwa by King Kigeri Ndabarasa. Murari came to Kinyaga bringing many cattle, his wives and children, and many relatives”

(C.Newbury, 1988:28)

«The Abarindi lineage (Abashambo clan) of Rukunguri hill was founded by Mirindi, first member of the lineage to come to Kinyaga. Mirindi’s father, Gahuliro, left Ndorwa as a small child at the time when the Rwandan King defeated Ndorwa. Mirindi himself immigrated to Kinyaga and settled at Gashonga hill, the major center of the lineage until this century, when members moved to Rukunguri » (C.Newbury, 1988:28).

«There is a general belief among Kinyagans that “most of the population came from Ndorwa and Gisaka”. Though exaggerated, this claim does have some basis in fact. Statistics on clan distribution in Kinyaga show that the Abagesera clan which was the former ruling clan in Gisaka, constituted 11.36% of the Kinyaga population in 1960, ranking third behind the Abasinga and the Abanyiginya. This figure approximates the percentage of Abagesera in the population of Rwanda as a whole (11.4%). The Abashambo figure is more revealing in 1960, more than one of every ten Kinyagans

(11.2%) claimed membership in the Abashambo, making the Abashambo the fourth largest clan in Kinyaga. But the percentage of Abashambo in Rwanda as a whole was much smaller (3.94%). More over, the percentage of Abashambo closely approximated the percentage of that clan in Kibungo province (11.41%); Kibungo includes Gisaka and part of Ndorwa, the region from which the Abashambo are said to have come » (C.Newbury, 1988:27)

“The size of a clan, however, does not in itself indicate length of residence in Kinyaga. The clan names of many autochthones could have disappeared, being assimilated into the identity group patterns that evolved later. This appears to have occurred for the Abahande, who some Kinyagans claim were among the earliest inhabitants of the region. Today where the name Abahande is found in Rwanda it is used to refer to a “lineage” of the Banyiginya clan. In non-Rwandan areas to the west, the Abahande are known as a royal clan from which the present ruling dynasty in Bukavu is said to descend » (C.Newbury, 1988:26-27)

“It is interesting that many of those who claimed a Kinyagan origin for their lineage and cited very long genealogies also claimed membership in the Abasinga clan. Most of these informants live in the mountains of northwestern Kinyaga, not far from Bunyambiriri (a region known to an early center of Abasinga). In 1960 the Abasinga comprised 20.60% of Kinyaga’s population, making this the largest clan in the region; moreover the percentage of Kinyagans who Abasinga was significantly higher than the percentage of Abasinga among the Rwandan population as a whole in 1960, (14.60%). These factors suggest that Abasinga were among the earliest and perhaps the largest group of early inhabitants in the region”. (C.Newbury, 1988:26)

## **16. Clans’ restoration?**

« Among positive traditional values, clan solidarity was fundamental. The clan was an entity involving elements from Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa social classes. The clan had its totem and patriarch in charge of ruling efficiently their clan members. In spite of extension war or national territory defense wars, there were neither orphans nor widows because they were automatically taken care of by the clan. Is it possible to have the same cases today if the clan were restored? Rwandan should think of those eventually in order to find an even lasting solution to serious problem of widows and orphans and of ethnics. The Government would encourage this by asking for clans’ restoration... Another very important advantage of clans’ restoration is efficient care to all the members. Thus, conflict created by the colonial authority between Tutsi and Hutu would be solved ». (A document received from a member of the group that worked on clans)

## **D. Other Relevant Themes**

Migrations

Population of Rwanda

Political organization of ancient Rwanda:

Political entity (Kingdoms of Gisaka, Busozo, Bukunzi, etc...)

Formation and development of Nyiginya Kingdom

The Rwandan culture

Traditional religion

The role of women in the Rwandan society

Socio-economic aspects

Clientele systems: Ubuhake, Uburetwa, Ubukonde

Economic activities and exchanges

Hunger and epidemics

## **E. Lessons**

Lesson Preparation:

### 1. Lesson prerequisites

a) Subject: History of pre-colonial Rwanda

Theme: Clans

Sub theme: People's identification

Class: Primary 4

Lesson duration: 50 minutes

b) Teaching materials: - A photograph with forest, animals and people  
- A text on the myth of ibimanuka  
- A copy of identity card during colonial era (ibuku)  
- Various texts on the definitions of a clan

### 2. Objectives:

a) General objective



At the end of the lesson, the learner will be able to discover that persons' identification is a normal practice in any society.

b) Specific objective

At the end of the lesson, the learner will be able to recognize the Rwandan clans that were used to identify Rwandans till 1960.

3. Lesson sequences

Duration	Subject development in phases	Learner's activities	Teacher's activities	Teaching materials	Evaluation/Summary
10 min	a) Identification is universal	-to observe images and illustrations  - answer the questions ;  - draw differences	-To distribute images and to give instructions(3 groups) ;  - To ask questions (in plenary). Examples : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What do you see from images?</li> <li>• What makes the difference between the components of each image?</li> </ul>	1) Images of : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• animals</li> <li>• a forest</li> <li>• persons</li> </ul> 2) paper to be used in groups	To verify if differences are identified properly  Questions asked to learners on the basis of differences ( nature)  To see certain people's identification criteria (second phase).
15 min.	b)Clans as a form of identification	- to answer questions	-To ask questions, for example : What are the different elements of a person's identification? Or what makes the difference between people?  Put answers on the blackboard	3) Ancient identification book (ibuku) during colonial era)	
25 min.	c)Clans in Rwanda	- To read texts;  - To give some names of clans.	-To give the definitions of the term « clan » taken from the ones given by different authors ; -To explain key words;  -To define the words «minor lineage » (inzu) et « major lineage » (umuryango) ;  -To give the list of	Texts or passages that contain the definitions of different authors (see written materials on clans).	- To underline important words in each definition ; - To list the clans of Rwandans (without explications) ; -To present to the learners the version which supports the existence of 4 clans only  « Abasindi, Abasinga, Abagesera, Abazigaba » (by Alphonse Gisa, from

			Rwandan clans as they were collected by certain authors.		Gahini).
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4. Explanations

a) Clans Today

Clans (ubwoko) have not lost their meaning. Even if clans seem to have their meaning among new generations, clan appellations are globally well known and almost every Rwandan knows hi/her clan (ubwoko). This is, despite changes that were brought by colonization and political changes that took place since 1959. Research that aims at the clans of Rwanda has a sure strategic value in the study of Rwandan society and history, because this research has connections with aspects of life.

**b) The definitions of the clan**

- D’Hretefelt M.: Social category and not a corporative group which does not have neither a chief, neither internal organization nor procedures of managing businesses of common interest.
- MINEPRISEC (1987, p. 21): A group of people who claim a common mythical, legendary or fabulous ancientness
- M. Kayihura: A social category non residential, often marked by a totem. Ubwoko evoked an idea of biological origin shared by patriarchal lineage descendents.

**c) The clans of Rwandans:**

ABASINGA  
ABANYIGINYA  
ABAGESERA  
ABASHAMBO  
ABAZIGABA  
ABATSOBE  
ABASINDI  
ABEGA  
ABACYABA  
ABABANDA  
ABONGERA  
ABANYAKARAMA  
ABAHA  
ABASHINGO  
ABASITA  
ABUNGURA  
ABAKONO  
ABENENGWE

Ayandi moko (M. D'Hertefeldt: 1971: table 2 in annex)

- From Alphonse Gisa's point of view, there were only 4 main clans: Abasindi, Abasinga, and Abazigaba.

- According to A. Kagame there are 15 clans only.

- M.D'Hertefeldt gives 18 names of clans among these there are dynastic clans called (Ibibanda) which are the queen mothers' clans:

Abega  
Abakono  
Abaha  
Abagesera

**d) Clans in the sub-region:**

“Buganda presents a separate system marked by a division of groups: 40 clans (Ebika) each named after an animal protector. These clans are subdivided into sub-clans (Masiga). These are in turn divided into major lineages (Mituba) and then into minor lineages (Enyiriri). A hierarchy of older lineages and youngest lineages characterizes each subdivision. On plateaus situated, first in Bunyoro (east Lake Albert) in Haya land and Nziza (west of Lake Victoria) as well as in Burundi, at Buha and communities living west of Lake Kivu. The number of clans is very big, reaching at more than two hundred of them in the case of Burundi. On the other hand, Rwanda and Nkore present more structured situations whereby twenty clans for the first case and four clans for the second case they are in turn subdivided into sub-clans (Mashanga), which regroup lineage units. (J. Chrétien, 2000:72-73)

**e) Other suggested lessons**

Clans' origins (the myth of ibimanuka)  
Clans and Hamite thesis  
Clans and politics  
Clan based kingdoms  
Relationships between clan based kingdoms  
Clans' totems and taboos  
Clans in the establishment of Rwandan kingdom  
The critical approach in clans' comprehension

f) The summary of the content of the theme or the sub- theme. This is about the general review of the lesson's sub- theme.

The learner notes down this final summary in his/her exercise book.

**g) Homework:**

The learners back home carry out an enquiry and ask their parents what they know about clans.

## **MODULE II: THE COLONIZATION OF RWANDA (1897-1962)**

### **Introduction**

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Rwanda became a colony first to the Germans and then to the Belgians, serious and irreversible changes affected leadership, economy, society and last but not least culture.

Until 1962, changes succeeded one another to create a new colonial Rwanda with the success of imperialism exploitation. However it should be noticed that all these changes were not improvised. They followed a pre established policy of reforms. This is the Morteihan reform which, it seems, had initiated all other reforms that unfolded.

### **Theme: Morteihan Reform**

#### **A. Overview**

Named after the resident of Rwanda in 1962, the reform “Morteihan” is a colonial type of revolution.

Looking into the changes that were introduced by this reform, one is even allowed to think that it was firmly a revolution. Indeed Rwanda was transformed inside out on political, administrative, social and culture levels.

Morteihan reform is an in depth review of all Rwandan institutions that formed the national identity of Rwanda.

#### **1. Political and administrative reform**

It is the most visible and mentioned but in reality it serves as the base for all other reforms.

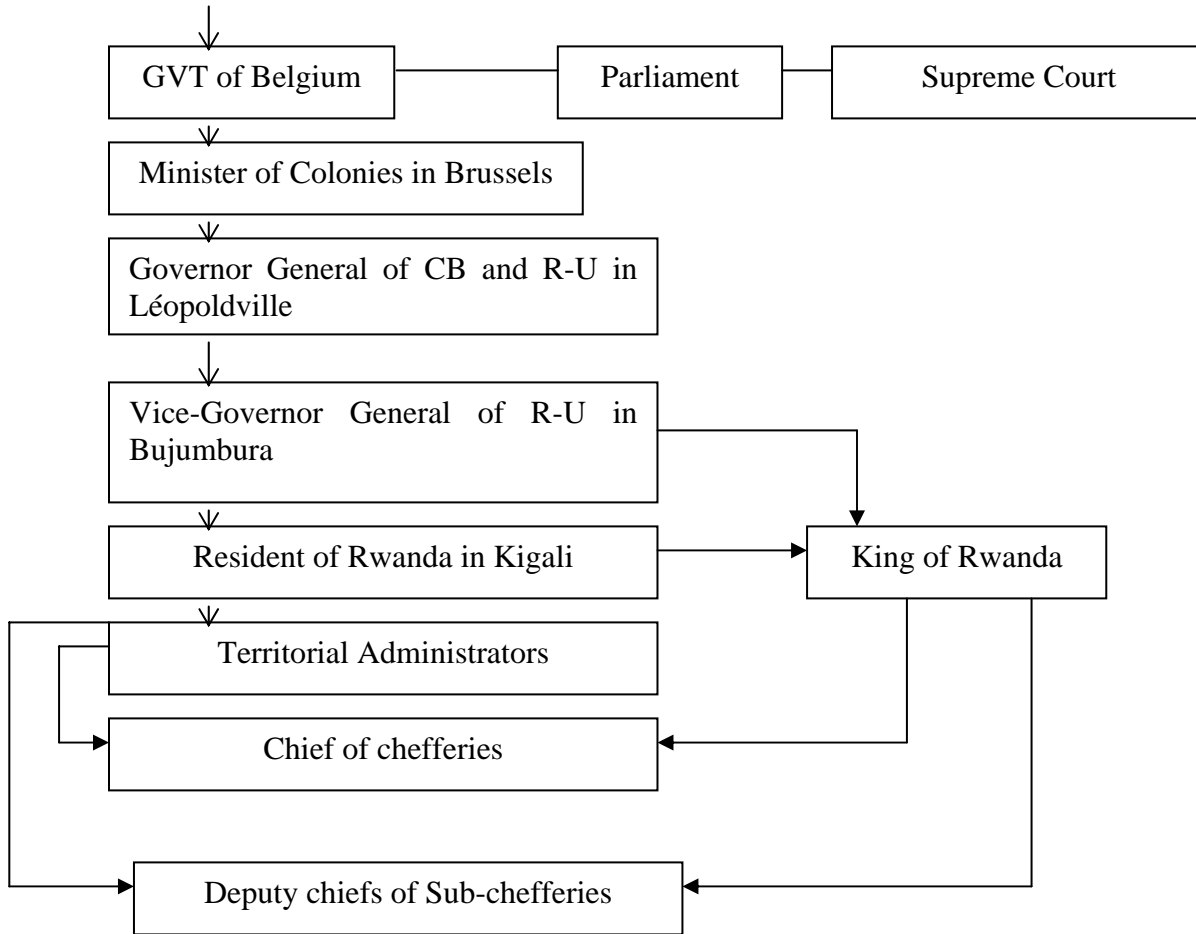
It institutionalized “chefferies” and “sous-chefferies” by regrouping ancient royal political - administrative entities but removed the chiefs of the land, the chiefs of pastures and the chiefs of the army.

In the same occasion, the Morteihan reformed the ethnic power distribution in the new commands by removing average Hutu, Twa and Tutsi and replaced them by people from the major Tutsi lineages (matrimonial dynasties or and princes).

Also the king could no longer choose his chiefs and he could not dismiss them. His power was weakened while that of the colonizer was reinforced.

Let us look into the structure below, see how hierarchies are presented in the new colonial power from the reform.

The Belgian King in Brussels
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## **Georges MORTEHAN**

Georges Morteihan was an engineer in agronomy. He was among the first Belgians who managed to come to Rwanda in 1919. He got the opportunity to travel through all the country, explaining agricultural techniques such as drainage, irrigation, the fight against erosion, animal keeping and types of plants cultivated with traditional methods. He gave more time on the introduction of new plants for export.

His observations are recorded in one article called: “L’Agriculture au Rwanda-Urundi, notes techniques” published in the famous “Bulletin Agricole du Congo Belge” in 1921. From 1920 to 1923, he became “Résident” and close collaborator of M. Coubeau nicknamed by Rwandans as Gasage. After a short period, he came back and took back his post. He gained celebrity because he implemented with dedicate and full compliance orders given to him by Charles Voisin (vice governor of Rwanda-Urundi) for the country’s administrative reorganization until 1929.

### **2. Economic reform**

The political administrative reform mainly aims at economic changes that must be introduced in the colony in the field of agriculture and husbandry: obligatory food crops, crops for export, new agricultural techniques. All these are summarized in a succinct formula “Economic development” of the colony not to mention the exploitation of the colony for the benefit of the metropolis using forced labor if necessary.

### **3. Religious socio-cultural reform**

Cardinal Lavigeri’s emissaries imposed Christianity to Rwandans. This religion transmits other forms of social values different from Rwandan religious practices. To the new religion implied submission to colonial power and the rejection of traditional religion and authority.

Massive conversions in 1930’s (ilivuze umwami) are the concrete expression of this evolution towards an increased cultural integration rejecting ancestral cultural identity.

In brief, “Morteihan reform” was commonly called the wide reorganization of Rwanda which was undertaken by Belgians and occupied the period starting around 1926 up to 1933. It brought in-depth transformation in the country on political, administrative, economic, social and cultural levels.

It particularly gave Rwanda new administrative structures conferred to custom authorities that were devoted to colonization; it did not hesitate to destitute king Yuhi V

Musinga and replace him with his son, Mutara II Rudahigwa.

In terms of economy, this was the period during which the general mobilization took place and it was marked by the introduction and the spreading of plants for export and

new food producing plants. There was also construction of administrative posts and missions, and reforestation as well etc.

On social and culture aspects, Rwanda fully adopted Christianity, following the example of the king who later on consecrated country to Christ the King.

At the same time, the Belgium administration undertook the policy of ethnic manipulation, which privileged Tutsi elites against Hutu. This was done on recommendation of Apostolic Vicar Bishop Léon.

The germs of divisions among Rwandans started producing their fruits thus hatred penetrated deep into society and caused the Tutsi genocide, which started in 1959 and reached its climax in 1994.

To end this, let us remember that Morthan reform continued throughout the colonial period and that it led to the liquidation of the Rwandan traditional and its institutions as well. But new reforms that were established destroyed Rwanda up to its full disappearance in 1994



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## **2. Interviews:**

- KAYIJUKA Charles (75 years old), NKURANYABAHIZI (76 years old), RWAMAHINA (80 years old)
- KARUHIJE Paul (76 years old), KAYUMBA (78 years old), MPABUKA (80 years old)
- SEBAHUTU Paul (79 years old), GASORE (70 years old), GASHUMBA (68 years old)
- KABAGABO (74 years old), RUCAMUBYUMA (78 years old), MAHIRYORI (72 years old)
- MUGEMANDASIRO (78 years old), NDAGIJIMANA (78 years old), SEMBWA (76 years old), RUCYAHANA (80 years old)
- NYIRAMPUMUJE Esther (95 years old)
- KAMONYO Bénéjirida (83 years old)
- RUSIMBYA Joseph (77 years old)

## **3. Research on Internet: Parliamentary inquiry from Belgum Senate**

- The German protectorat (1916)
- The Belgian mandate and tutelage (1916-1962)
- The transition to Independance (1959- 1961)
- The 1959-62 events
- The first Republic (1962-1973)
- The second Republic (1973- 1999)

## **4. African Archives in Brussels (on Rwanda-Burundi)**

Dossier AE/II n° 1859(3290)

- Originaux des déclarations des principaux chefs indigènes de l'Urundi et du-Ruanda désireux de rester soumis au protectorat du Ruanda (sic !)

Dossier AE/II n° 1920(3298)

- Les missions religieuses et les dispositions de l'acte de berlin, de la convention De Saint-Germain-en-Laye et du Mandat : interprétation.

Dossier AE/II n° 1939(3301)

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-Organisation des territoires du Ruanda-Urundi.

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- La mise en valeur des territoires du Ruanda-Urundi

Dossier AE/II n° 1875 (3292).

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Dossiers A40/n°(61)7-(62)1 ; (63)12 ; (61)12,

- Rapports annuels des services administratifs, 1921-1958

Dossiers A40/n°(64)1-(105)31,

- Rapports annuels des territoires du Ruanda- Urundi, 1921-1957



(RABRU 1926, 1926, 1930, 1931, 1933, 1935, 1955 notamment)

Dossiers A40/n° (156)1-(156)9,

- Caisses de provinces/Caisses du pays/ centre administratif indigène du pays, 1949

Dossiers AI/n°(1418),

-Rapport du Gouverneur Général, 1921, 1936

Dossiers RWA/ n°73-79,

- Election,  
- Partis politiques,  
- Services centraux, 1959

Dossiers RWA/ n°27, de 1920 à 1960

- Immigration: caution, législation, permis de séjours, immatriculation,...etc, 1920-1931 ;  
- Permis de séjours, permis de circuler, instructions, 1934 ;  
Immigration: permis de résider, cautionnement des immigrés immigration des israélites, protestants, sujets allemands ...etc, 1932-1949 ; immigration, 1952-1960 ;  
- Examens médicaux des émigrants;  
- Contrôle des émigrants temporaires, cautionnement, demande de renseignements,...; 1928-1934, 1942 ;

Dossiers AI/n°(1384)I, E, 1,

- Statistiques diverses : Colonie; Population européenne 1929-1939  
- Population indigène des centres urbains 1933 Ind.A/VII/1c.

Dossiers AI/n°(1385), II, A, 13,

- Les missions religieuses et la politique 1918 ; 1923 ; 1926

Dossiers AI/n°(4370), Bis 6-79,

- Administration indigène, surtout, 6bis-19, Généralité :  
- Politique indigène en territoires occupés, 1920(1), 1 liasse :  
- Attitude de l'administration belge à l'égard de l'UNAR, 1960,1 liasse ;  
- Questions d'ordre économique, 1922-2932, 5 liasses ;  
- L'enseignement au Ruanda-Urundi, Cultes (1950), 1 liasse ;  
- Statuts des habitants non européens du Ruanda- Urundi non soumis au régime des chefferies, 1950, 1 liasse ;

Dossier AI n°1371/INFO AIMO, Boîte n°171:

- Le mariage coutumier au Ruanda-Urundi et le mariage en droit islamique par BOURGEOIS, R., 1957

Dossier AI/II n°1263, Boîte n°3216:

- Conférence de l'Est africain Unification Fédération

- Politique britannique dans les territoires, 1958

### **C. Cross Cutting Themes**

1. Colonial transfer of power and authority
2. Conversion to new religions
3. Cultures said obligatory

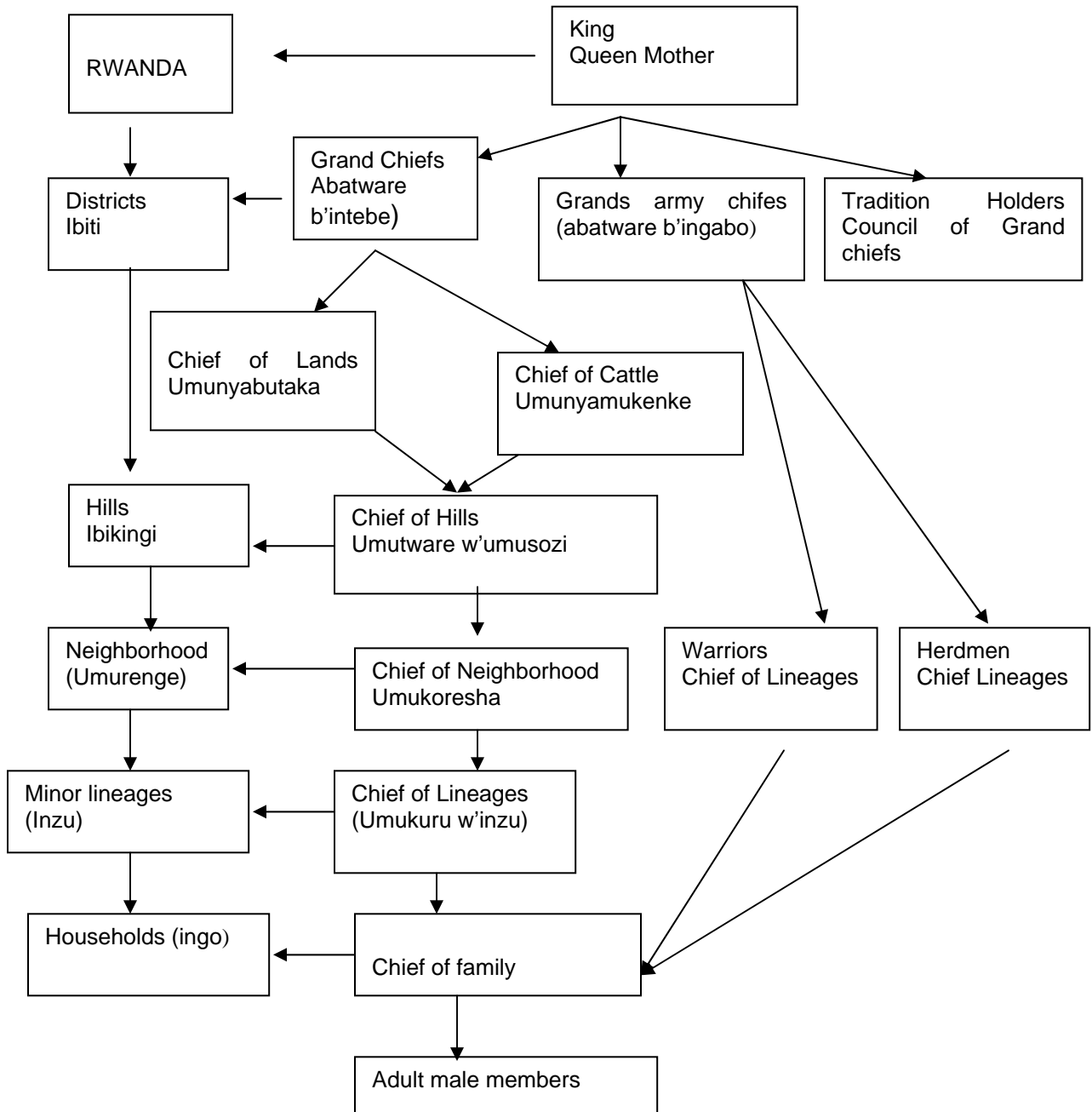
### **D. Comments and Historical Details for the Teacher**

#### Political and Administrative Transformations

When Belgians settled in Rwanda after chasing the Germans at the end of World War I, the country had not gone through big serious political and administrative transformations. Big reforms were undertaken at the beginning of mid 1920's.

# 1. Traditional Political Power in Rwanda

## Political, Administrative and Military Organization of Pre-colonial Rwanda



Source : MAQUET, J.J, *Le système des relations sociales dans le Rwanda ancien*, Tervuren, 1954, p. 163

### b) Administration

“The country was divided into districts: “ibiti” (singular: igiti) ... Each district .... The name of the district was given by the region’s chief. Before the inter-colonial delimitations, Rwanda had a total of 24 districts.

Some of the districts were classified as “ingaligali” meaning personal reserves. These were reserves. These were reserved for the king’s income that he managed directly at will. Other in the contrary, income constituted queen’s privileges they collected income from them. Whether the districts were taken as “ingaligali” or whether they were privileges for the wives of the king, the latter nominated two agents to head them. “Umutware w’umukenke”, the chief in charge of pastures and “umutware w’ubutaka” the chief in charge of land.

The first one was a Mututsi and had authority over the owners of cattle; they had to supply milk and other products from cows. The second one was a Muhutu who had authority over peasants who did not have cows. These were supposed to supply taxes in form of food (ikoro). These were supplied during the harvest of beans and sorghum, plus two-day work in the context of our traditional week of 5 days. The king could nominate only one chief who would take two titles, which later on the king could break into two as he pleased.

How was the district subdivided? The only administrative grass-root level was “igikingi” (plural: ibikingi). It could be a hill or an area that covered several hills. These “bikingi” were similar to “sous chefferies” at the colonial era. There were two categories of them: Ibikingi which depended directly to the court, were headed by “igisonga” (plural: ibisonga) (deputy administrator) nominated by the king.

Ibikingi were under the militia, the army chief nominated deputy chiefs to head them.

Law concerning ibikingi was effective only in areas where cattle keeping were deported. Regarding hilly regions, Inkiga, where cattle keeping were not introduced, Ibikingi were not known. In these regions, the grass root administrative level was instead the family group which resided on a homogeny territory, with limits defined following the initial occupation by an eponym ancestor who cleared it.

In order to receive the rental charges, the chief whether in charge of pastures of land, dealt with the deputy chief or the patriarchal chief of each locality and imposed him the amount proportional to the number of inhabitants either cattle owners or simple agriculturalists. Once the deputy chief had supplied the required number, he retained the remaining for his own care. This was taken in the context of collection: “umusogongero” always best in quality compared to what was imposed by the chief of land. Concerning the chief of pastures, indeed, the collection of milk could have been a shame as if the deputy chief was a poor man to the point of lacking the required amount of milk for his family.”

(KAGAME, A. lexis, 1975, pp.183/186)

### **c) The Structure of the Army**

#### **The composition of the army**

“At the beginning of each new rule, a new army was formed. Therefore, the king ordered his Batutsi clients to bring their sons who had not yet joined the existent army. Between two hundred and two hundred and fifty, young men constituted one company; four or five other companies were recruited in the same way, during the reign. An army established that way had the name of first company.”  
(HEREMANS, R.1973, p.43)

### **Recruitment and military training**

“Those recruited were called “intore” and underwent prolonged sport and military training. They developed the art of dance, the art of speaking, controversy (debate), declamation and composition. They were encouraged to acquire moral values taken as ideal: military courage, considered as a very important quality in a society of conquerors; the value of being a man “umugabo” this includes being faithful to ones’ promises, generosity with friend, liberal towards the poor, moral courage to accept one’s responsibilities... Self control: to loose self control, it was shameful to manifest violent emotions. Anger in particular could not be expressed with violence.”  
(HEREMANS, R.1973, p.43)

#### **d) Administrative Reorganization**

##### **The General Policy known as “Politique indigène” recommended by the administration**

- Respect and reinforcement of autochthon authority so long it is executed in accordance with civilized directives;
- Close monitoring to prevent abuses in terms of customary benefits and forced labor;
- Dismissing and replacement of inefficient chiefs by candidates who were chosen with Mwami’s accord;
- Regrouping of “chefferies” with the aim of eradicating scattered fiefs in order to have a more relaxed and efficient administration;
- Follow the principle which believes that without the collaboration of autochthones authorities, the occupation power would find itself incapable and would face anarchy;
- In order to rule and ensure the administration of local populations, one must gain their confidence and prove to them that you deserve it;  
(R.A.B.R.U., 1930:5)

##### **\* Highly divided political units**

“The large number of chiefs and deputy chiefs who shared political authority in several regions of the colonies is bad and dangerous. “Chefferies” are too small, many chiefs lack authority. The means they used in the past to impose authority on their subjects, have disappeared. It is not before long that, if we are not careful, authority will disappear completely in many regions; Judiciary anarchy corresponds to administrative divisions.”  
(GILLE, André, La politique indigène du Congo belge et du Ruanda-Urundi, Bruxelles, 1927)

##### **\* The ongoing reform Abolition of Ibikingi**

“When Mortehan approved the Rwandan command reform, the Belgian agent only saw clearly the double structure of Ibikingi and districts. The territory replaced the district while Ibikingi were transformed into: “sous-chefferies”, which were finally, regrouped progressively making 565 of them at the end of the reign of Mutara III. But between the two traditional levels of authority, another one unknown until then, was placed and was called “chefferie”. The territory was therefore divided into “chefferies”, each of them was also divided into “sous-chefferies”. These “chefferies” were too many at first and they were regrouped to make 45 of them at the end of the reign; the number of territories was 9 in number.

By the reform mentioned above, the functions of the deputy administrator were transformed and revalorized as well, while the functions of the chief of land and those of

the chief of pasture were actually abolished. They were partly distributed to the administrator of the territory and also partly to the chief of the “chefferie”. However by the same decision, the “resident” decided inopportunistically that the function of the chief of army “umutare w’ingabo” was also abolished. It was therefore evident that the latter was targeted in the same context of Ibikingi, he lost in the process the power to nominate the deputy chief and to supervise the Ibikingi command as well, which by the way no longer existed.

Another circumstance came to disguise completely the problem: the chiefs of army at that initial phase of 1926 were the only ones to be promoted to head “chefferies” which was newly established. But it should be mentioned that the title “chief” (umutare) stood for chief of army traditionally.

KAGAME, Alexis, *Un abrégé de l’histoire du Rwanda de 1853 à 1972*, Butare: Editions universitaires du Rwanda, 1975, pp.187/188

“Ibikingi” represented a small part of the country; it was most of the time a spur of hills occupied by some Hutu inhabitants, two to fifteen of them at most. Ibikingi were distributed in big numbers when ordered by the king or by the initiative of chiefs and deputy chiefs. They usually represented awards for servants, concubines and courtiers. Their numbers were increasing more and more as they represented little interest for big chiefs.

Not only this exaggerated division of the “chefferie” provoked complications on political point of view, but also it had especially the serious inconvenience of increasing too much the taxes which were too heavy for the citizen. Indeed, the owners of a gikingi provided the owner with the right to collect taxes and labor and none of the chiefs at all levels of hierarchy has given up on his share of customary taxes.

The interdiction measure on the creation of new Ibikingi was completed by the decision to join all vacant Ibikingi to the hill after the death of one who occupied it or otherwise. (RABRU, 1926, p.67)

“Information given concerning Ibikingi as the last sage of indigenous political divisions was wrong. In reality, it does not correspond to a traditional law; it was a simple privilege, which gave to the beneficiary, no administrative power but provided him with a certain number of enslaved laborers and taxpayers. Ibikingi were multiplied in infinite number and distributed anyhow to generally individuals who were not worth it such minor servants, witches, and favorites for one day these Ibikingi constituted obstacles to the improvement of peoples’ fate.”

“The loss of political command and even that of privilege presented by ibikingi did not cause the ruin of those concerned by them. Contrary to the custom, which prevailed long time ago, individuals properties were not confiscated. May be, some years ago, peasants have dared and reported to the European authority, representative actions and exactions of their chiefs.”

But sanctions and restitutions as a consequence to these could be effective only for relatively recent facts. Generally dismissed chiefs and those who owned Ibikingi kept

resources sufficient enough to preserve their well-being and conservation of a privileged situation among peasants.

(RABRU, 1931, p.57)

### **The dismissal of chiefs**

“In Bugoyi province, the situation was not good following the passive resistance of the chief to orders from superior authority, because of his inability to cooperate for economic development of his region and his lack of authority over his notables and chiefs of clans.

In order to solve the problem, the chief was dismissed and replaced by one of his brothers. The latter was probably not given full authority.

(RABRU, 1930, p.58)

### **The disappearance of ancient independent Central Rwanda**

“The sudden death of Buhuga, the king of Busozo, last august has helped the administration a lot. The mother of the deceased has decided for the population a mourning period of three months with interdiction of cultivating during this lap of time. This was for the region starvation within a short time. When the delegate learnt about this, he went to the area and proposed to the mother of the king to either reduce the mourning period to six days or to be banished and Busozo be occupied immediately.

The day after, peasants started their work, the mother of the king, given that choice, had given up. With her agreement, the chief Kisazi, who hales from neighboring hills and was already in relationship with Basozo, was nominated for temporary administration of the region pending for definitive organization, which was not going to take long any longer.

(RABRU, 1926, p.67)

### **Major reasons that let to the depositions according to colonial power**

The revocation of chiefs has actually been rare. It has never been pronounced without an in depth enquiry, following numerous warnings with no effect. It has always been motivated either by crimes of common rights, or by serious and recurring exactions or by systematic hostility against European action and lastly either by unquestionable incompetence or absolute lack of authority.” “(...) On the other hand, serious events, food shortages and famines, reforms of customary forced labor, have helped to test and appreciate their competence of command. Lastly, time has come when substitutions become easier. In the two residences and especially in Rwanda, schools for the sons of chiefs have provided for residences an increasing number of educated candidates who are fortunately enlightened.”

(RABRU, 1931, p.57)



## **The search for Chiefs and Deputy Chiefs Willing to collaborate with the Colonial System**

“The nomination of liberate Batutsi to the command of provinces or hills has produced results wherever it has been done ; young people who have been promoted to the rank of chief have decided to show more understanding of human rights towards their subordinates and they have undertaken the rational organization of the “chefferies”. The conflicts between tutors and “pupils” have been many and have been solved based on the principles of customary law which has been enacted. Internships in administration by former Batutsi students at Nyanza secondary school have been excellent and they have facilitated the establishment of a nursery of future chiefs with an improved mentality and will make for our administration the most precious auxiliaries.”  
(RABRU, 1926, p.67)

“Administrative reforms of 1926 and 1929 have fulfilled the decentralization of the country. The “sous-chefferie” represented the last part of a chain, which reached the administrator who worked under the supervision of the “resident”. The presence of a national personnel educated and trained in different schools of chiefs and notables, was undoubtedly the promoter of this organization in exchange of work done, chiefs and deputy chiefs were given political power which increased economic advantages while waiting to receive salaries after 1933.

The big transformations were accompanied by real transformations of ethic behavior and social relations as well. In the name of economic progress, arbitrations took place on the hills. Wealthier chiefs got rid of all their opponents who sustained the so called equilibrium between the class on power and the rest of the population.”  
(RUMIYA, 1992: p.236)

## **The king has less power**

“The power for the king to choose chiefs has to be controlled on itself. Instability in the functions of chiefs cannot become the rule of the day. Kings can no longer, as in the past, do whatever they want with “chefferies”, giving them out as rewards to a good cook, taking them away from a notable who performed poorly while dancing or a favorite who did not manage to master long discussions. Chiefs should feel protected against fishy intrigues.”  
(RYCKMANS, Pierre, “Le problème politique au Ruanda-Urundi”, *Congo*, 1925, pp 407/413)

“In Rwanda, since 1923, a kind of modification was brought to the principle of absolute power of the king in terms of “chefferies” policy: the king no longer was authorized to dismiss chiefs without the consent of the administration. In 1924, the latter, having noticed that the new rule did not allow preventing abuses, took an active role in the country’s political rule. Despite its will to associate the local authority to the management of affairs, it was decided in certain occasions, to overlook its consent in order to impose measures that were required for public interest”. The 1925 report confirmed, in a more specific manner, concerning the whole territory under the mandate that the principles of

indigenous politics; particularly, the intervention of kings was required in order to give legitimacy to newly nominated chiefs.  
(RABRU, 1931, p.56)

### **Reforms accepted by the population**

“Reforms that were introduced in 1924 and were confirmed in 1925 may be considered currently as established and accepted forever not only by the Hutu population for whose interest these have been especially enacted, but the big majority of chiefs as well. These reforms decreased chiefs’ prerogatives but the later found instead sufficient compensation in more stability and security of their function to that effect.

It could be daring to confirm that all without creating here and there discontent accepted modifications brought in this manner. It is true that almost all the population, Hutu and Tutsi alike realized that in the end the result of these reforms would bring benefit for everyone. But it is not questionable, on the other hand that a group of some old draft evaders, “Abiru and Abapfumu” (counselors and sorcerers) would hardly accept such reforms which abruptly take away their endless faculty of cheating the population. This group of some men enjoyed considerable harmful supernatural power in Rwanda.  
(RABRU, 1926, p.65)

### **e) The Deposition of Yuhi V Musinga and Mutara III Rudahigwa’s Nomination**

#### **Nyanza court opposition to colonial administration**

“[In the territory of Nyanza], the situation may be considered as satisfactory in this territory where however, the administration finds more problems than elsewhere. The causes of these difficulties are the deceitfully hostile maneuvers of Mwami and the intrigues of Batutsi chiefs of the old school who have turned the headquarters of the court into their predilection residence.

In order to find a remedy to this, it has been decided that chiefs will be required to ensure the administration of their “chefferies” individually and that from now on, they will be allowed to stay in the local capital for a limited time. Another reason which supports this decision, is the lack of authority on the part of the majority of representative delegates who replace the chiefs when they are absent from their provinces. These delegates are always chosen in a way that their personal prestige does not threaten the chiefs who fear to be replaced in case things go wrong.

The majority of substitute chiefs therefore have no real power and their forced prevents the general interests of the “chefferie” and the implementation of reform as well, which were decided by the European administration.”  
(RABRU, 1931, P.58)

## **d) The Deposition of Yuhi V Musinga and Mutara III Rudahigwa's Nomination**

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The majority of substitute chiefs therefore have no real power and their forced passivity presents obstacles to the general interests of the “chefferie” and the implementation of reform as well, which were decided by the European administration.”

(RABRU, 1931, P.58)

### **The Deposition of Yuhi V Musinga**

“Two important events dominate all political actions of the year in Rwanda. On the 12<sup>th</sup> November 1931, Musinga has been declared dethroned. On the 16<sup>th</sup> of the same month, his first-born son, RUDAHIGWA took the name of MUTARA and was declared sultan of Rwanda in the presence and acclamations of the most important “feudatories”. Musinga had been taken to Kamembe since the 14<sup>th</sup> where his residence was fixed by relegation decree. His mother, his children still minors and many servants followed him there.

The act of authority of the mandatory government, which ended Musinga's political career has been a result of an in-depth analysis of the situation which had become more and more complicated to the point that it had become unbearable , which came about because of bad leadership, the passive resistance and hostility of the ancient Mwami.

Through repeated manifestations of this cruel selfishness and the heavy oppression, which he did not stop putting heavily on his subordinates, by his hidden resistance to any social and moral progress of the population and of any economic development as well, by the arbitration of his measures and his revolting partiality in the settlement of disagreements between natives, Musinga had lost irreparably all his prestige and influence on all his “feudatories” while all the Hutu population showed no other than complete indifference towards him. His lack of interest for the nation, his private life's

unsettling, his hidden but persistent hostility to the improvement of the situation of the inferior social class, jeopardized more and more, each day, the dynasty's authority which is the foundation of the political indigenous organization of Rwanda.

The mandatory power had to choose, it had to decide whether to maintain Musinga n power, with the consequence of watching the fall of the principle of dynastic authority within a short time or it had to put aside the man who was to ruin it and hence save it.

This last solution ended up imposing itself. Day after day, it became certain that the institution of the kingdom, which is very important for the implementation of indirect administration methods, was losing its reason of being on the eyes of natives and this was happening as fast as the evolution of their mentality was accelerating.

On the other hand, Musinga's indifference for whatever touched to the development of the country, his known opposition to the relief from heavy taxes and customary labor. His hostility regarding the work of civilization carried out by missionaries all these constituted obstacles to the accomplishment of duties prescribed by various spoliations of the title of the mandate.

After lengthy years of patience and useless efforts, the government managed to realize that it was useless to wait any longer for change in the king's tendencies and manner of acting. The deposition was inevitable."

RABRU, 1931, p.58

#### **f) Mutara III Rudahigwa's Nomination**

The new sultan has been nominated. The eldest son of Musinga was selected. He is twenty-one years old, with an open mind, literate and numerate, with the desire to improve his knowledge, enjoying personal prestige among other social classes of the population won by ideas introduced by Europeans, Mutara is the man capable of strengthening his ancestral prerogatives of the kingdom and with the collaboration with the mandatory power, to lead Banyarwanda, in his subordinated in the process of social, moral and economic progress."

(RABRU, 1931, p.58)

"Mutara III Rudahigwa has continued to deserve trust and praise from the government which, regards the king with a lot of consideration, but without causing him any pride. In his relationships, the king demonstrates a lot of common sense and pronounces opinions that are inspired by equity and supported by a good knowledge of local customs. In his relationships with the chiefs, he knows how to listen and understand, taken account of their requests or suggestions when they can be justified, but he knows also how to impose respect when is necessary. With natives, he is accommodating, he listens patiently to their claims and he makes rectifications when he mistakes.

(RABRU, 1935, p.76)

#### **g) The End of Administration Reform**

“The refining work of authority and regrouping communities started in the interest of the country’s development and which had been continued in 1931 and 1932, did not bring modifications in 1933 as big as in the past years, because it was ending. Concerning especially chiefs, if changes that occurred as the result of death or voluntary resignation because of age or handicap were omitted, only twenty-four transfers were recorded in the course of all the year 1933. This was the consequence of the dismissal of two chiefs of province and 22 deputy chiefs. In Burundi, transfers had been more in the course of the exercise being reviewed; the reorganization had been slower and more retarded and difficult as well in this country.

The general policy followed by the mandatory power is currently understood and accepted. This can be confirmed, not only by the ruling class of Batutsi, but by the entire population.”

(RABRU, 1933, p.71)

“The old Mwami Musinga continues to stay at Kamembe where he is living his most complete retirement without causing any trouble. He is paid a monthly allowance of 2000 francs through his son.”

(RABRU, 1935, p.76)

## **7. The Reactions of the Population on Musinga’s Deposition**

### **In Nyaruguru region in Gikongoro province**

“In the Rwandan mentality, Umwami was much regarded as an incomparable being, a center around which the country’s existence was rotating and coordinated all the activities of the country. The deposition of the king was something which never occurred before in the history of Rwanda. We could not do much. We almost took refuge in Burundi but we feared white people in Burundi because they could finish us on the spot. We remained in fear and sorrow only, tears in our eyes. We remained in discontent without the hope of getting another king.”

{The words of: Kayijuka Charles (75 years old), Nkoranyabahizi (76 years old)  
And Rwamahina (80 years old)}

### **In Mayaga region**

“After we heard this information, we called for help for Musinga. Everybody took arms; we were armed up to the teeth. Trouble would have fallen to the white man who dared pass directly in front of us, we would cut his head, we would torture him before killing him; but we lacked a leader, courage and armor as well, because of the military superiority of the Belgians.

Since we wanted our king so much, yet killed by white men (for them the king was not deposited but killed), we took our arms and went to Nyanza to revenge our king. Unfortunately Musinga was already gone to Kamembe where the white men had taken

him for torture (fore arms) we kept quiet. We gave up revolution but remained resigned to death in our hearts and souls.”

The words of: Paul Kaluhije (76 years old), Kayumba (78 years old) and Marcel Mpabuka (80 years old).

### **In Bugesera**

“The reaction from the population of Bugesera has been marred by minor revolts which can lead to nothing. Like other people, they are afraid of Belgians authority that can at anytime put an end to these revolts. In Bugesera region the general reaction has been moral degradation as other people are afraid of the Belgium military superiority.”

The words of: Paul Sebahutu (79 years old), Gasore (70 years old) et Gashumba (68 years old)

### **In the North and North West regions**

“Like elsewhere in the country, the reaction is marked by sorrow, because they can’t do much against the decision which was already taken.”

The words of: Kabagabo (74 years old), Rucamubyuma (78 years old) et Mahiryori (72 years old)

## **In Buganza**

“After the deposition of Musinga, the population thought of revolting against every white man. They did not understand what was happening; they thought that all were liars. In that period of desperation and discontent, we tried to attack the administration office of Rukira to kill at least one white man but all was a waste of time.”

The words of: Claver Mugemandasiro (78 years old), Ndagijimana (78 years old), Sembwa (76 years old), Rucyahana (80 years old).

## **Reaction from Missionaries**

“Don’t talk of Musinga, he is no more. Your king is Rudahigwa; don’t listen to what pagans and the witches may say: “Musinga will come back”. He will not come back. The person, who will act or speak in favor off Musinga, will be punished. Musinga did not deserve to be king; he is against the government, against the missions, against any progress, against civilization as well. Therefore rejoice because the government has given you a king.”

Diaire de Rwamagana, 14 novembre 1931 cité par RUMIYA. J., *Le Rwanda sous le régime du mandat belge (1916-1931)*, Paris, l’Harmattan, 1992 p. 185

From this moment, no uprising has been manifested in fear of being badly seen by administrative authorities. The reactions of the population are not alike for all Rwandans. For his enemies, who are mainly chiefs (we can name among them Chief Rwagataraka from Kinyaga, the chief Kayondo from Gisaka), who have established good relationships with the colonialists and missionaries, especially the Catholic missionaries, and others who were not satisfied with Musinga’s regime. They are happy with the dethronement, because for them, Musinga was not grateful to the white men for all the good things done in the country. He therefore deserves to be dethroned.

The reaction of the population has been characterized generally by:

- Sorrow, fear and desperation for the future of Rwanda which was uncertain and also the idea of living without a king “impehe nsa”, especially for his friends and relatives and also all the other people who had privileges;
- Discontent, anger and worry;
- Insults, lack of the means to revenge the king;
- The will, to take arms;
- Happiness of Musinga’s opponents.

## **2. Economic Transformations**

The customary authorities from Morthan reform had the duty of supervising their administrative districts but received very specific orders in terms of population’s mobilization on economic plan.

### **1) Belgium’s colonial policy in the economic field**

“Finding remedy to natives’ malnutrition, and to famine and periodic food shortages means:

- Intensification of traditional farming by drainage of available land in valleys favorable land as well;
- Continuous propaganda by European and native authorities;
- Dismissal of chiefs and deputy chiefs who are incompetent; penal sanctions provided by laws on food farming; perfection of agricultural tools; stability regarding occupation;
- Award for each producer in accordance with the fruit of his work, customary taxes to be reduced to their right measure. Try experimental forms in order to improve production and supply of selected seed destruction of insects, which damage plants;
- Imposition to any native adult and normal who is not exempted of cultivating and maintaining in agriculture, a sufficient farm of cassava;
- Regular campaigns concerning payable distributions of cassava cuttings until its definite implantation;
- Planed sanctions for the rule mentioned above, if necessary defined fines should be collected from responsible chiefs;
- It is necessary that everyone be aware of this reality: changing rain falls which expose agriculture to drought and excess of water. Cassava presents a solution to this country, it is the only plant nowadays which can help to keep reserves inland that are free from factors mentioned above;
- Elimination of male bovid in too big numbers and sterile cows.

### **2) The consequences of imposing cassava: a revolt in Bumbogo**



“There has not been any other major incident except one which took place in November 1930 in the province of Bumbogo. While 2500 men were preparing to go to Kigali where they were called for the transportation of cassava cuttings towards eastern regions, some malicious people still unknown spread rumors that the group was going to be taken to Katanga: two old government employees had been killed at Elizabethville by Banyarwanda and the government had decided to revenge and give as sacrifices to the souls of victims, Bumbogo who had just been recruited. The improbable legend taken for the truth by the population of the region whose mentality is particularly unpolished, were afraid, they took arms to defend their lives, which they thought were in danger.

When the delegate in Kigali was informed of the situation, he went to the spot in the company of a well known missionary to the natives to whom he had preached for a long time.

He managed to bring back order quickly and proceeded to the arresting of some ring leaders who were convinced to have maintained agitation with the aim in mind to take the place of Tutsi chiefs. This intervention produced effect without delay, after a period of one week; three thousand men came to Kigali to pledge their services to evacuate cassava cuttings. Meanwhile, an official from the “residence”, escorted by Rwigemera, the second son of Musinga, continued to travel through the region and contributed to calm peoples’ minds;  
(RABRU, 1930, p.57)

### **3. Major Economic Reforms**

#### **•Agricultural reforms**

From 1926, the Belgium administration had put in place an important program of agriculture in order to prevent famines like those, which took place before, such as Gashogoro in 1904, Kimwaramwara in 1906, Kazuba in 1910, Rumanura in 1917-1918, Gakwege in 1924-1925. For this program to succeed, ten expatriate agronomists were located throughout the country. They were assisted by Rwandan supporting staff trained locally and graduates from the Section of Agriculture of the “Astrida Groupe Scolaire”. It was necessary to help the indigenous to improve their mentality: the old concept of cattle rearing being more important than farming, the direct consequence being the reduction of arable land in favor of more pastures. The change of agricultural and working methods followed; autochthones agriculturalists did not know until then how to manage land with a rational plan of practicing shifting cultivation and fallowing land. They practiced extensive farming without balancing. Concerning agricultural tools, they remained archaic in Rwanda. Hoes were used for digging, machetes for pruning and the axe for cutting down trees.

Concerning the action of cutting down big trees, machines and draught animals remained the monopoly of research centers and some foreign settlers.

After the “Ruzagayura” famine (1943-1944), the agricultural service enhanced the importation and increase of tuber plants and especially that of cassava which proved resistant to prolonged drought and heavy rains as well.

In order to reinforce the rural economy, they undertook the selection of food crops and spread them. Centers were established at Rubona, Rwerere and Karama for agricultural selection and experimentation. These centers experimented the best way of getting maximum production with minimum expenditure. New crops and species of food crops, which are more productive, were experimented there before being distributed throughout the country. In order to improve the national economy industrial crops were introduced and these were: pyrethrum, tea, cotton, and coffee.

In order to protect the soil against erosion as a result of excess use of land for agriculture and overgrazing as well, the agricultural service undertook a wide program to fight against erosion; it was recommended that anti-erosion hedges be planted in leveled curves on endangered slopes.

A program of re-forestation was established. The establishment of agro-pastoral “paysannats” helped to build and establish people in regions with few inhabitants. The plan for swamps’ drainage was implemented and this helped to gain more land for cultivation.

#### **•Pastoral reforms**

In order to exploit better cattle keeping, colonial authorities proposed the progressive elimination of less valuable cattle. But autochthones were opposed to this decision. Then the administration decided to intensify the means to improve local races and methods of cattle keeping. Farms for selection were created at Songa, Cyeru and Nyagatare. A similarity service was put in place and a network of rural veterinary clinics was established.

New fodder plants were introduced such as ‘Pennisetum’ ‘Clandestinum’ {(kikuyu (Kenyan) grass)} in order to solve the problem of insufficiency of grass for animals during dry seasons. Beside the program of selection and upgrading of cattle, pork was introduced for the first time.

#### **•The Exploitation of Underground minerals**

The extraction of minerals started in 1926 and the right to research was given in 1972. Major minerals exploited by mining companies and settlers were ‘Cassiterite’, ‘Colombo-Tetalite’, gold, wolfram and mixed minerals. The exploitation of minerals was in the hands of four major companies: ‘Minetain’, ‘Somuki’, ‘Georwanda’ and ‘Corem’.

Despite the fact that Rwanda did not have a lot of mineral resources, however these constituted an important source of income for the country and opportunity for public achievements. In 1955 already, mines constituted the second source of customs’ taking and the important employment sector as well. The presence of a mine in a region often

entailed it economic development. Besides the provision of jobs for the local population and its salaries, mining companies organized a valuable social and medical action for their staff and neighboring regions as well. Schools were opened and health centers and hospitals were built. In order to allow the transport of minerals, several roads were established and local agricultural products gained more value.

However, mineral exportation was followed by land sterilization because no appropriate measure was taken in order to help damaged land to recover. Nowadays, one can still see big areas of naked land. There are shocking examples of these in the mining regions of Rutongo, Gatumba and Rwinkwavu.

### •Art craft reforms

Traditional art craft has always been based on the fabrication of utilitarian objects. Craftsmen did poetry, basketwork, woodwork, metalwork, and weaving. Art craft's production was generally meant for exchange. Art craft was therefore a source of wealth for those who exercised the profession and a good market of provisions for the users of these products.

In order to prevent the disappearance of certain professional careers which were at the verge of being neglected or being challenged by objects from Europe, the colonial administration built schools for art craft. On the other hand, several trading posts for art craft objects were opened in many centers of the country; at Astrida, Kabgayi, and Gisenyi. Production centers were also established and teachers of art craft were teaching their techniques of work based on the technique of wood, iron, fur dressing, poetry and basketwork.

A competition took place at Nyanza with many awards, during a festival for Mutara Rudahigwa jubilee and the best art craftsmen were rewarded to encourage this movement of art craft's renovation. But the best stimulation to art craft production was the Shaw, which took place in Brussels in 1958.

### •Reforms in Business

Long before the arrival of Europeans, trading was known by Rwandans. They practiced barter trade, a system of the direct exchange of goods for other goods. Towards 1930, the country launched an economic monetary system. There was at that time a new class of wage earners. These were mainly administration employees and workers in coffee plantations. Besides this local manpower, there were temporary Rwandan emigrants who worked in neighboring countries and came regularly with their savings. All these regular workers were paying in cash all the services they needed and henceforth contributed to the circulation of money.

The country had some minor rural markets where one could find mostly agricultural animal and traditional art craft products.

The use of money was the only accepted means of exchange. When the colonial administration established "chef lieu" of territory, professional commerce was started. It

was put in hands of foreigners (Swahili, Arabs, or Indians) who were capable of fulfilling the required conditions to open a licensed professional business. To that effect, one had to be in possession of a shop or the means to rent one built with durable materials. In addition, the businessman was supposed to have a certain amount of money and prove that he had experience in the practice of business.

At the end of the colonial era, there were a big number of rural markets, the establishment and the consolidation of several commercial centers however, nationals were limited in the retail business and especially as hawkers. As nationals' participation grew more and more big in the retail business, this was promoted by the increase of the number of trading centers.

Concerning external business, exchanges existed between Rwanda, Burundi and Congo-Belge. The establishment of roads for transport facilitated these. In addition to these neighbors, Rwanda entertained commercial relationships with Europe, Africa, America and Asia.

**Table 1: The number of workers in mining companies in 1955 in Ruanda-Urundi**

Companies	Local manpower	Expatriates
COREM	639	
SOMUKI	3.493	
MINETAÏN	3.890	
GEORWANDA	2.207	
COLONS	3.289	
TOTAL	13.518	130

Source: RABRU 1955, p.404

**Table 2: Production from major mining exploitations in 1958 in Kgs**

Enterprises	Cassitérite	Mixed “Tentale and colombite”	Wolfram	Fine gold	Beryl	Amblygonite	Bastnaésite
MINETAÏN	697,000	66,000	51,000	110	-	12,300	10,000
SOMUKI	652,000	-	-	-	-	-	-
GEORWANDA	469,000	-	-	-	-	-	-
COREM	169,000	120	-	-	-	-	-

Source: Office de l’information et des relations publiques pour le Congo Belge et le Ruanda-Urundi, p.201

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Source: Office de l'information et des relations publiques pour le Congo Belge et le Ruanda-Urundi, p.201

**Table 3: Firms and institutions in Rwanda in 1955**

Town	Firm (industrial or commercial enterprises )	Institutions (Buildings with industrial or commercial activities)
Astrida	42	47
Kigali	30	32
Gisenyi	41	54
Cyangugu	2	2

## **Testimonies on Social Economic Reforms**

“The famine called Rumanura was caused by the fact that Rwandans worked less because they were running away from white men. Initially Rwandans were afraid of them because they considered them invaders”

(NYIRAMPUMUJE Esther, age 95, Kibuye)

“White people told Rudahigwa to send some people to Congo where there is enough space in order to reduce the risk of famines in Rwanda which is overpopulated.”

“Rwandans used to divide their harvest into two. One part was sent to the king house and another for eating. With the introduction of money, the harvest was sold and money conserved this has reduced the number of lots which were usually kept around the house”

The white men have thought lazy people how to work. Agronomists gave each person a piece of land to cultivate; people were forced to work or else they were punished. There are even some Tutsi who had cows but they did forced labor”

(KAMONYO Benejiride, age 83, Kiziba Refugee Camp)

## **III. Socio-Cultural Reforms**

### **a) The Three Rwandan Races**

It is convenient to add to the Bahutu, Batutsi and Batwa, some thousands of Bahima and Banyambo who originated from Ankole and Karagwe and established themselves at the eastern boarder of Rwanda a certain number of years ago, and about 7,000 Swahili who established themselves near Bugarama posts in the valley of Ruzizi after European occupation.

Batutsi represent about 4%-5% and Bahutu a minimum of 95% of the total population of the country, while Batwa have just some thousands of people. Physical differences between Batutsi from the two countries, Rwanda and Burundi, are clear; the Munyarwanda has more imposing bearing, neatness and elegance than a Murundi.

A Mututsi of good background always had to behave with kindness without difficult and impose himself naturally to a Muhutu until this one is blinded by his indisputable qualities, will close his eyes on the faults which make him the opposite: the arbitrary, ruthless, the love of intrigue and the spirit of absolute domination”.

(RABRU, 1926: 50)

## **b) The selection of auxiliaries among Batutsi**

“If we want to be practical and if we look out for the real interests of the country, we have an incomparable element of progress in the Mututsi youth. Born with leadership qualities, Batutsi have a sense of command. It is the secret of their establishment in the country and their takeover of it.”

(LACGER L. de, 1961: 523)

“The biggest mistake that the government may make toward itself and the country would be to suppress the Mututsi caste. A revolution of that type would lead the country into anarchy and to anti-European communism. Instead of bringing progress, it will ruin the government’s actions, depriving it of its auxiliaries who are born capable of understanding and following general rules, we will not have chiefs; better, intelligent, more capable of comprehending progress and even more accepted by the population than Batutsi.”

## **c. The obligation to learn Kinyarwanda and Kirundi for colonial administrators and officials**

“In a new country, it is necessary for leaders who are in permanent contact with natives, to have the knowledge which is as much complete as possible, of regional languages so that the action of civilization is done with much more fruit. Until the end 1632, the employees and agents of Rwanda-Urundi used very much Kiswahili when they were in contact with natives. Germans imported Kiswahili from the Eastern coast, it was used very much in central Africa for commercial purposes, but the mass population of the territory under the mandate understood imperfectly. This is why the government has given specific and strict instructions for the administration members of staff to learn in a serious manner, languages that are especially spoken by autochthones, meaning Kinyarwanda and Kirundi.

The “resident” of Rwanda and those of Burundi have been instructed to make sure that instructions are followed. It has been decided that employees and agents would no longer be transferred from a residence to another or even from a territory to another unless there is an emergency, so that the study of languages is promoted and so that the result from it is not wasted.

(RABRU, 1933, p.71)



#### **d) Testimonies collected on socio cultural transformations**

“The white men asked Rwandans to adopt the religion of Jesus, they were ordered to pray to God and not a human like them. They started by converting chiefs. This way, Rwandans joined Christianity by obedience to their chiefs. For example our chief Serukenyinkware used to punish those who worked on Sunday. The white men gave clothes and other European objects to attract Rwandans.”

(NYIRAMPUMUJE Esther, 95 years old)

“Rwandans prayed to the God of the white men in the daylight while in the night they prayed to Ryangombe.”

(RUSIMBYA Joseph, 77 years old, Kiziba refugee Camp)

#### **Research on Internet**

December, 1997 - Rapport de la Commission d'enquête parlementaire du Sénat de Belgique sur les événements du Rwanda

Extract from joint evaluation of emergency Assistance to Rwanda: colonial era and independence.

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In 1916, Belgium occupied Rwanda-Urundi following its campaign in east Africa against Germany during the First World War; both kingdoms Rwanda and Burundi had only a marginal administration through Berlin since 1899. In 1914, there were only six German officials in Burundi and five of them in Rwanda, to make eleven officials all together for the administration of a territory twice the size of Belgium. Germans decided to promote the politics of indirect rule certainly because of lack of sufficient colonial personnel since they had been aware of the situation of the two kingdoms, which existed and fully functioned as nations before the Europeans arrival. This occupation was characterized by “treaties” of protectorate negotiated between Germans and the kings (Reyntjens, 1994). The existing political system was much stronger and more centralized in Rwanda than in Burundi, and posed more problems (Louis, 1963).

Belgium applied the following policy:

On 6<sup>th</sup> April 1917, a decree stated, “Under the authority of the Resident Commission, kings have their political and judiciary power as long as they agreed with the indigenous customs and the commission’s royal instructions (Rumiya, 1992).

After the First World War, Belgium was given Rwanda by the United Nations mandate and in 1946; this country became Belgian territory under the United Nations protection. During Belgium’s administration for 40 years, like it is the practice in most of colonial regimes, there was disintegration, distortion or corruption of indigenous socio-political structures with all their consequences. For example, while the indigenous/colonial relationship, master/dependent was flexible and had the important element of reciprocity,

the Belgian colonialist actually hardened the system by removing mutual obligations. By “enhancing” the Rwandan institution, the colonialist by then introduced forced labor and hence reinforced socio-economic divisions between Tutsi and Hutu. Similar examples may be given on power abuse in other pre-colonial institutions. Balandier described this phenomenon as follows:

The fall of traditional political entities into disuse, consecutive general deterioration to the removal of local politics, the breaking of traditional systems of power control, the incapability between the system of power and authority and finally power abuses... (Baladier, 1978)

What is interesting here is to what extent these developments affected ethnic interrelations in Rwanda.

The Hamite thesis is generally believed among European and missionaries who were active in the region of great lakes at the beginning of the century. According to this thesis “what ever value that existed in Africa was brought by hamates, a branch that is supposed to be a Caucasian race.” (Sanders, 1969) When the well-known British explorer John Speck arrived in the kingdom of Buganda (now Uganda) which had a developed political organization, he attributed such civilization to an indigenous race of nomad herdsmen related to Gala “Hamites” (Ethiopians).

What attracted Europeans in this supposition relies in the fact that it could help to establish the link between physical characteristics and mental capacities: “Hamites” were supposed to have inborn leadership qualities and had in principles the right to a history and a future which are almost as noble as those of their European “cousins” (Linden, 1977).

“In Rwanda, Hamites do not resemble negroes except the color of their skin ” (Jamouille, 1927) ; “ Before turning black, they had a tanned complexion ” (de Lacger, 1961) ; “ His stature is almost like that of a white rather than that of a black, in fact it won’t be exaggeration if one affirms that this is an European with a black skin”... (Gahama, 1983) This racist thesis was rejected by many writings but it suggests globally that Batutsi are related to Europeans in the sense that they could work with them. This thesis was therefore used also by the colonial politics of divide and rule... (Adekanye, 1995)

*Towards the 1920’s, the Hamite thesis was used in a way that was going to modify systematically relationships between ethnic groups in Rwanda. It was decided that Tutsi could be given preferential considerations in the course of the recruitment of political local authorities in the context of administrative reform process (whose apogee was marked by Voisin’s program in 1926-1931). This was about the regrouping and expansion of chiefs’ territory, (in the new system there were only 40 chiefs left out of a former 200). It seemed that the final position adopted by Monseigneur Léon-Paul Classe, the Apostolic Vicar of Rwanda, on this issue, had a lot of influence. In a letter dated 21<sup>st</sup> September 1927, he wrote to Georges Mortehan, the Belgian Resident Commission, in these words:*

“If we want to be practical and if we look for the real interest of the country, we have an incomparable element of progress in the Mututsi youth. Born with leadership qualities, Batuti have the sense of command. It is the secret of their establishment in the country and their hold over it.

Concerning what he considered as “hesitations, procrastinations” of colonial administration on Tutsi traditional hegemony of “noble Batutsi”, Monseigneur Classe presented a serious warning in 1930, written in the following terms:

“The biggest mistake that the government may do to itself and the country would be to suppress the Mututsi caste. The revolution of that type would lead the country into anarchy and to anti-European communism. Instead of bringing progress, it will ruin the government’s action, by depriving it of its auxiliaries who are born capable of understanding and follow. In general rules, we will not have chiefs; better, intelligent, more capable of comprehending progress and even more accepted by the population than Batutsi.”

*The message from the Apostolic Vicar was understood in principle as a fervent advocacy which promoted a Tutsi monopoly. His intervention ended administrative “hesitations” and “procrastinations”. Hutu chiefs and deputy chiefs were dismissed from their posts and replaced by Tutsis. Furthermore, the regime carried out strong politics that protected and enhanced Tutsi hegemony. By this, although Hutu and even Twa traditionally held some political positions, at least at inferior levels, the “Tutsification” in the 1930’s gave Tutsi the political and administrative monopoly of power. Combined with the removal of the triple hierarchy of chiefs (army chief, cattle chief and the chief of land), this policy had as a consequence, ethnic divisions. (Reyntjens, 1985)*

*Finally, Hutu’s opportunities were limited once more by the introduction of discrimination in Catholic schools which represented the most important educational system during the colonial era. Tutsi who refused to be converted were admitted in much bigger numbers in schools that belonged to Catholic Missions. In order to adapt and further encourage this process, the church adjusted this educational policy by favoring Tutsi openly and discriminating the Hutu. On some exceptions, Hutu were given the required teaching only for employment in mines and factories. (C. Newbury, 1988)*

*In short, power monopoly which was in the hands of the Tutsi constituted an important and unquestionable factor in the establishment of ethnic divisions. This colonial intervention transformed groups into distinct political categories. In one way, we are dealing with the case of “ethnogeny” (Roosens, 1989) that in the case of Rwanda, was going to bring about, with no doubt, a reaction on the part of Hutu excluded from power. The speech of Tutsi drew exaggerated conclusions on allegations of “ethnogeny”, saying that before Europeans’ arrival, people in Rwanda (and those of Burundi) were quite homogenous and that by their divide and rule politics colonial authorities had deliberately introduced ethnic divisions. Yet, ethnic groups existed before colonization. The colonial politics started on a foundation which already contained the germs of From*

*the mid 1950's, political orders were formulated using ethnic terms in Rwanda. Opposition thesis were expressed in a stereotype manner in three major documents: on one hand the Bahutu Manifesto on the 24<sup>th</sup> March 1957 and, on the other hand, two letters written by big Tutsi Chiefs (Abagaragu b'ibwami bakuru)(Nkundabagenzi, 1961). Placing the ethnic problem in the social context, the Bahutu manifesto claimed Bahutu emancipation and the process of democratization as well.*

*Based on the colonial thesis which stated that Tutsi were foreigners and claimed that Hutu (the majority) were the true citizens of Rwanda and were therefore the legitimate leaders of the country, this manifesto was an important statement for the 1959 social revolution and ethnic division as well. This important document which was first published under the title of "Notes sur l'aspect social et le problème racial indigène au Rwanda" and which had the aim of influencing the United Nations mission visit to Rwanda had been written by nine Hutu intellectuals. Among the signatories, there was Grégoire Kayibanda who became president. This manifesto was against the entire concept of Belgian Administration and supported that the fundamental problem of Rwanda was a conflict between the Hutu and Tutsi from Hamite origin, hence foreign (Dorsey, 1994; Prunier, 1995). Two letters written by the big chiefs (and which did not necessarily express the views of all Tutsi intellectuals) rejected Hutu participation "because our kings had conquered the country from Bahutu, had killed their small kings and hence the Bahutu submitted; then how can they pretend to be our brothers?" (Reyntjens, 1994)*

*When political parties were formed towards the end of the 1950's, political structures were already established based on ethnic divisions: PARMEHUTU (Parti du mouvement de l'émancipation des Bahutu) and APROSOMA (Association pour la promotion sociale des masses) were mainly Hutu while UNAR (Union Nationale Rwandaise) and RADER (Rassemblement Démocratique Rwandais) were essentially Tutsi. During legislative elections in September 1961, this division was confirmed:*

Hutu parties scored about 83% of votes, which corresponded almost to the Hutu proportion among the population. In other words, a political majority was added to a demographic majority. From 1965, Rwanda became in fact a state ruled by a unique party made of one ethnic group (Hutu) after the elimination of opposition (partly physical elimination and partly through political means) Heyntjens, 1983)

From the time of King Rwabugiri until monarchy abolition in 1961, the kingdom of Rwanda had been a highly organized and stratified state. Communal reforms during the colonial era only reinforced that situation. The last communal reform that took place in 1960, once again confirmed the Rwandan state highly organized structure. The country was divided into 10 provinces, which were subdivided each into a certain number of communes. These formed a total number of 143 communes. They constituted the basis

The country was divided into 10 provinces, which were subdivided each into a certain

number of communes. These formed a total number of 143 communes. They constituted the basis for development. There were also "cells" (10 per sector). These were inspired by the Tanzanian style where the cell represented the final unit of 10 homes with 80 persons. There are few African countries which are so well organised and capable of utilising their structures as intensively as Rwanda (*Reyntjens, 1985*).

### **The Transition towards Independence**

The 1959-1961 revolution supported by the Belgium administration (Harroy 1984, Logiest 1988), led to the monarchy abolition and all Tutsi political administrative structures on which Belgium had founded, for many decades, its policy of indirect administration. The revolt of Hutu peasants was widely provoked by the intransigence, of both a conservative party and an administrative elite, who flatly refused any democratization even so claimed by an emerging Hutu elite and by an opposing Tutsi elite which was clearly more progressive than the one in power (Heyntjens 1994). Although the number of victims had remained quite limited, tentative from the traditional Tutsi elite, which was on power and tried to maintain an authoritarian reign, led to violent shocks. Belgians supported the revolt. The abolition of the monarchy and the emerging of Hutu elite became final in September 1961 when 80% of voters were in favour of a republic during a referendum. The results of legislative elections also showed clearly that Hutu dominated parties were big winners in the elections.

### **1959-1962 Events: - The Situation of the Overthrow and Confrontation**

The majority of observers have agreed to say that the revolutionary transition from monarchy towards the republic ruled by the Hutu, which started from November 1959 and went on to September 1961, and which reached its apogee on 1<sup>st</sup> July 1962 with the declaration of independence, constituted a crucial period explaining the country's ethnic divisions which followed (Reytjen 1985, Lema 1993, C.Newbury 1988). This short period of history that started with the chaos of 1959 led to the revision of roles. Under the pressure of democratic change flowing in Africa, Belgian authorities ended their support to the Tutsi aristocracy and gave it to the Hutu majority. They withdrew their support to the king and abandoned their policy of indirect administration and quickly led Rwanda (and Burundi) to independence. Lindens (1995) remarked: " This process marks the beginning of a cycle of power excitement in which the capture of the Rwandan State in the hands of political opponents has been a violent white game in which the winner takes everything. The struggle for power in a situation whereby colonial power has abandoned the traditional monarchy, its former ally, explains the exacerbation of ethnic tensions. While the Tutsi considered themselves already as a group by their dominant position in the colonial society, the emerging Hutu elite found it necessary to incite Hutu awareness of the underprivileged in order to succeed to destroy the local administration and take over the vacant government and then address injustice caused by history.

Towards the 1950's, the Belgian authorities abruptly became interested by the situation

of the majority made of Hutu peasants. The catholic church made a radical change as confirmed by the pastoral letter written by Archbishop André Perrodin towards the 1980's, in which he adopted a pro-Hutu attitude, confirming that social discrimination which Hutu were suffering from no longer was compatible with a neat organization of the Rwandan society (Reyntjens, 1994).

On 1<sup>st</sup> November 1959, ethnic violence began after Tutsi young men molested the leader of ParmeHutu party. Trouble which started then and there led to a widespread revolt by Hutu and hundreds of Tutsi lost their lives. The Belgian government reacted by sending its soldiers who did not attempt to halt the Hutu revolt but instead adopted pro-Hutu politics in deeds by establishing a military administration and nominated more Hutu to take over from Tutsi who were overthrown, killed or escaped since the rebellion erupted (C. Newbury, 1988; Prunier, 1995). Soon after, in May 1960, the Belgian authorities confirmed their new politics by creating an indigenous territory military guard including 650 men based on ethnic quota, 85% Hutu and 15% Tutsi.

As said earlier, the roles were inverted. This change was again confirmed by local elections held in June-July 1960. During these elections, political parties predominately Tutsi were credited with only 16% of votes, hence a big victory for Hutu. After elections, out of 229 burgomasters, 211 were Hutu (C. Newbury, 1988). In this situation in a context of continued ethnic shocks, the King Kigeli V decided to leave the country on June 29<sup>th</sup> 1960. It was an official trip to Congo for its independence commemoration. He never returned to Rwanda.

The Belgian politics in Rwanda was criticized by the General Assembly of the United Nations which, in December 1960 to June 1962, several times called for reconciliation with the king and Tutsi representations, altogether put pressure on Belgium asking it to preserve unity between Rwanda and Burundi, but all in vain. On the contrary, Belgian authorities reinforced the process of Rwandan independence by giving Rwanda internal autonomy under the transitional government headed by the founder of ParmeHutu, Grégoire Kayibanda, Hutu leader from the region of Gitarama, in central Rwanda. During this period, confrontation between Hutu and Tutsi continued but turned into death, expulsions or exile, especially of Tutsis.

### **1. The Exile of Batutsi in big numbers**

The exact number of refugees provoked a lot debates and was used for propaganda motives. This was the case especially during the October 1990 crisis which followed the RPF (Rwandese Patriotic Front) attack from Uganda.

Indeed, Tutsi refugees left Rwanda following successive crisis, more specifically in 1959 - 1961, 1963-1964 and in 1973. Beginning 1990's, their number had reached at about 600,000 including the descendants of the first refugees (Guichaoua, 1992). This number

was refuted by several persons. Prunier confirms, however, this number was the best estimation that existed (Prunier, 1995).

“The number is surprising because it corresponds to 9% of the estimated total population of the country, meaning a half of the Tutsi population. They constitute an element of structural insecurity, so much that Tutsi refugees have never accepted exile as a final resort. On the contrary, they have always claimed their belonging and their right to return to Rwanda. Even before Independence, Tutsi refugee groups began to attack trying to regain their former position. These attacks were easy to perform because the majority of refugees lived in four neighboring countries. These activities carried out by Tutsi refugee groups, called Inyenzi (cockroaches), ended only in 1967”.  
(Reyntjens, 1994)

The official attitude of Rwandan governments in relation to this problem changed considerably over the years. In the beginning of the 1960's, the transitional government expressed its concern by creating a government secretariat for refugees. Under the first Republic (1962-1973), the refugees had been invited many times to return to Rwanda. However, this objective was never achieved. On one hand the Tutsi refugees did not trust the sincerity in government's behavioral changes. On the other hand, Inyenzi carried out attacks at regular intervals. By the end of 1963, and beginning of 1964, a new wave of refugees left Rwanda.

Under the second republic (since 1973), the situation had changed as it followed ethnic pacification policy. But the regime in place set up a new obstacle of claiming that the country was overpopulated and that it was unable to reintegrate a big number of refugees. Massive repatriations were therefore excluded. This proposition was supported by a statement made by the central committee of MRND (Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement) on the 26<sup>th</sup> July 1986. Besides, individual return of refugees was submitted under certain conditions with multiple interpretations. It was for example planned that the candidates for repatriation had to show evidence that at their return to the country; they would be able to take charge of themselves.  
(Ndagijimana, 1990)

This stand which became the “final” position brought in for the first time the issue of holding an International Conference by refugees in Washington, August 1988. The government's stand was rejected and the full right to return home was confirmed. At this phase, there was an imminent confrontation without realizing it. The crisis of refugees with root causes in the 1959-1962 events was reinforced by political developments which followed in Rwanda and neighboring countries as well, more particularly in Uganda.

## **2. Virtual exclusion of all Tutsi from public life. The exclusion had two origins:**

- 1) Tutsi's parties had the same fate as other opposition parties (see below) and
- 2) Tutsi citizens became the victims of abuses of all kinds; in fact, the revolt of November 1959 was only the beginning of a series of violent actions directed

against Tutsi.

The 1959 events caused several hundreds of victims and this number did not stop increasing progressively during a continuous series of killings, which followed each other. The first victims were former Tutsi political chiefs and deputy chiefs. Some 21 out of 43 Tutsi chiefs and 314 out of 549 deputies were eliminated through murder, expulsion or exile beginning December 1959. Hutu authorities on temporary basis replaced them and six months after the revolt, they occupied almost half of the posts. At the municipal elections of June-July 1960, Tutsi parties got 289 municipal counselors out of a total of 3,125, meaning about 9% of seats. It is important to note that UNAR had called its members for a boycott of those elections, which might have influenced results in favor of Hutu parties.

The physical elimination was frequent especially during the periods of political tension before and during municipal elections of 1960 and the legislative elections of September 1961. But the deathblow was in 1963. Attacks by Inyenzi in Bugesera caused a new explosion of violence. The number of Tutsi killed was estimated at between 5,000 and 8,000 in Gikongoro province only. It was 20% of the Tutsi population in that province. The majority of Tutsi leaders who remained in the country were eliminated. 15 main leaders were executed on the spot without any form of legal proceedings. This marked the end of Two Tutsi parties: UNAR and RADER, and the end of any Tutsi participation in public service. Crises, which were less serious continued to affect the ethnic minority. The last among these, was before 1990, it took place at the beginning of 1973. (Reyntjens, 1994)

## 2. Power concentration and increasing authority

Like in many African countries, after an initial era of multiparty, Rwanda adopted the system of one party government. The opposition was eliminated through the combined techniques such as intimidation, arrests, physical violence and sometimes negotiations. PARMEHUTU party had the objective of eliminating other parties be it Hutu or Tutsi. In a speech made at the first commemoration of independence, President Grégoire Kayibanda claimed that he preferred “a party of a huge majority against a minor opposition.” He affirmed that the proliferation of political parties represented the distraction of people, incoherence for the country's progress and stagnation for the nation. (Chronique de politique étrangère, 1963)

Consequence: In 1965, MDR ParmeHutu was the only party which presented its candidates for legislative and presidential elections. This party gave itself the name "National Party" before it was even fully institutionalized. After eliminating the opposition, the focus on power within the party began to increase. It was in the beginning of 1968 that several conflicts or divisions within the government pushed the regime to keep isolating itself even more. In 1972, power encroachment by a small group of politicians from Gitarama, the birthplace of President Grégoire Kayibanda, was ended.

## **The Second Republic**



Faced with unhappiness especially expressed by politicians and the military from the North, the government of Grégoire Kayibanda ended up using "ethnic" tactics. In 1973, a move of violence, initially with the aspect of ethnicity, erupted in schools, in the administration and enterprises. Psychologically, these developments had been influenced (and facilitated) by the bloody events of 1972 in Burundi, where Bahutu were victims of genocide (UN Human Right Commission, 1972). However, it must be recalled that the move aimed at evicting Batutsi originated from power cénacles that tried to divert attention to other problems. However, politicians from Gitarama lost sight of the dynamics that such politics could bring a situation, which could be hardly controlled. So the population started to blame the rich (not only Tutsi). Hutu from the North began to chase Hutu from the central of the country; politicians in the north turned away their attention from schools where everything had started, they began to direct their attention on ministries and enterprises where they felt they were underestimated or ostracized. When some politicians from the North, the Minister of Defense Major General Habyarimana in particular, sensed the risk of physical elimination, he decided to attack with arms, since the national army was mainly made of people from the North, the Kayibanda regime was overthrown by a "coup d'Etat" on 5<sup>th</sup> July 1973, without violence. The population welcomed the "coup d'Etat" (Reyntjens, 1994). This date marked the beginning of the second republic with Habyarimana as the President.

After a judiciary procedure, organized in much secrecy, a marshal court declared in June 1974, the death penalty against the former president Grégoire Kayibanda with seven other officials of the former regime. Others were sentenced to long-term imprisonment.

The leniency shown in certain cases had only symbolic significance. In fact, during the 1970's, too many officials of the 1<sup>st</sup> republic perished in the sadly known as "section spéciale" of the Ruhengeri prison while Grégoire Kayibanda who was under house arrest at Kavumu, died in 1976 after he had been refused medical care. After the "revolution morale" of 1973, the militants of the "social revolution" of 1959, some of them had disappeared by political mean, others by physical means. The second republic's regime declared itself different from the former regime: mindful to safeguard the benefits of the social revolution of 1959, MRND had the intension of mobilizing the whole population under the umbrella of peace and national harmony by restoring the climate of trust among the sons and daughters of the nation (MRND, 1985). However, the split from the first republic was clear.

The second republic contrasted strongly from the former one in many ways. First of all we witnessed a period of strong modernization which was manifested by the degree of openness to the outside world, urban development, investments and businesses. While the first republic regime worked in isolation, the second one adopted the policy of openness for the country. The number of Rwandan diplomatic posts increased suddenly in foreign countries and the number foreign diplomatic posts increased in Kigali.

President Habyarimana started traveling very often. In 1979, Kigali hosted the 6<sup>th</sup> Franco-African conference. Rwanda became the founder of "La Communauté Economique des

Pays des Grands Lacs” (CPEGL) in 1976 and “Organisation pour l’Aménagement et le Développement de la Rivière Akagera” (OBK) In 1977 important investments were approved for infrastructure (roads and telecommunication). Kigali became a metropolis with 250,000 residents when in 1965; it had a population of only 15,000 people. At the beginning of the 1990’s a number of small centers were progressively urbanized with the extension of electric power network. However, mobility development related to the improvement of investments, communications and training as well, was not always the vector of the ambition of social control, the assurance of order and “morality” or the fight against rural exodus (Reyntjens, 1994).

Concerning the business world, austerity that was particular to the first republic, was replaced by a different ethic. For example, all government employees were allowed to participate in private enterprises without restriction.

Privately rented habitats, the acquisition of hired vehicles and getting interests from mixed commercial economic enterprises were also authorized (presidential instruction n°C556101 of 11<sup>th</sup> June 1975). This phenomenon was less affected in Rwanda compared to elsewhere, but the fact that Rwanda was not so different brought about change in the image that others had about the country since the mid-1980s.

“The myth of an “equalization republic” had evaporated: A quaternary bourgeoisie (form the military, administration, business and technocracy) embezzled the major part of national revenue for personal interest” (Bezy, 1990)

Progressively, the link between urban and rural areas (which had always constituted an important element of balance and cohesion) started breaking. A person who was interviewed by Hanssens described the situation in these words:

“Although the current leaders are not intellectual, their children live a superficial lifestyle and when they become leaders, they will have lost all contact with our reality. Hence, there is a phenomenon of “Zairianisation” taking place in Rwanda with elites who are bound to neglect social infrastructures so as to develop their own well being.”(Hanssens, 1989)

The enlargement of the economic gap between an urban minority and rural majority was well underway during the 1980’s. Newbury observed that economic changes in the 1980’s had as result put a big gap between the rich and the poor, but also the enhancement of the interest of the class, which was in power (C. Newbury, 1991).

Finally, it can be observed that some particular regional groups of the country, especially those of provinces of Gisenyi and Ruhengeri in the North, had access to power and knowledge. This concentration started in some years and focused on two provinces at the end of the 1980’s. Although this can be seen at all levels, we will focus on three examples only. Around the mid 1980’s, the province of Gisenyi took upon itself a third of 85 posts, the most important in the republic and the exclusively complete leadership of the army and security services. According to the study carried out in the early 1990's, out of 68 public institutions, 38 were headed by people originating from Gisenyi (19 posts) and Ruhengeri (14 posts). Between 1979 and 1986, the rate of disparity concerning scholarships abroad, were at 1.44% in favour of Ruhengeri. (Kibungo was the most regulated province, situated in the east, at a rate of 0.67). In 1990, ethnic conflict was

covered and even transformed into a regional conflict by antagonists at low levels and even in Gisenyi, the leading province. For example, there was a strong conflict between Gisenyi and Ruhengeri in the North, while in Gisenyi itself, Bashiru, homeland to Habyarimana, were involved in a merciless competition with Bagoyi. (Reyntjens, 1994)

Despite all the difficulties that encountered under the second republic, a series of positive developments were achieved. By only considering the increase of GDP per capita, the Rwandan economic performance was rather good based on its inherent handicaps (landlocked country, demographic pressure, lack of raw materials and certainly, in comparison to its neighboring countries).

Source : Banque mondiale, Rapport sur le développement mondial, dans Reyntjens (1994)

In 15 years, Rwanda has therefore improved its position by moving from the last position to the first rank while Burundi remained stationary and other countries became poorer, and for some others the conditions were too much. In other words, Rwanda has moved from the position of being the worst of the five poorest countries in 1976, to the position of the least poor nation in 1990. In other fields, for example, infrastructure, recorded progress is as well important, with a road network which can be considered as one of the best in Africa, reliable postal communication and telecommunication network, the extension of electrical network, etc.

In the 1980's, Rwanda was considered by the world bank and other organizations as a prosperous African economy with a moderate debt in comparison with that of other countries on the continent, at least up to the second half of the decade (in 1987, the debt of Rwanda was at 28% of GDP, one of the lowest percentages in Africa). It was a balanced economy with a quite stable currency in as much as it was the strongest in the region.

Although, it was by far unacceptable, the situation as far as human rights were concerned, showed some improvements. For example, the number of political prisoners had decreased and efforts were made for limiting and controlling the abusive and excessive use of rules to prevent detention and the restriction of the freedom of movement. Furthermore, it is convenient to observe that between the times Habyarimana took over leadership and the beginning of war in October 1990, the country was not victim of any major ethnic violence. People tend to forget today that president Habyarimana was popular among Batutsi inside the country and even that certain Hutu accused him that he gave privileges to Batutsi.

(Chrétien, 1993)

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Source : Rapport de la commission d' enquête parlementaire du Sénat de Belgique sur les évènements du 6 décembre 1962

**Website: [www.reseauvoltaire.net/article8193.html](http://www.reseauvoltaire.net/article8193.html)**

### **E. Other Important Facts relevant to the colonial era**

1. The weakening and limitation of the power of the king and the chiefs as well.
2. Massive conversion to Christianity and establishment of missions everywhere in the country.
3. The elimination of certain national institutions such as Ubwiru, Umuganura, Ubuhake, ...
4. The elimination of traditional Educational institutions “amatorero, ibitaramo”
5. Formal Education, the construction of schools
6. Reinforcement of national centralization
7. Close collaboration between Belgium colonial authorities and missionaries
8. The introduction of new crops: cassava ...
9. The introduction of forced labor
10. Voluntary shifting of Rwandans to Uganda and forced shifting to Congo Belge (Katanga)
11. Famines

12. Indirect or direct administration
13. Power monopoly given to Tutsi
14. The introduction of identity cards with mention of “ethnic belonging”
15. Political organization of indigenous jurisdictions of Rwanda-Urundi since 1943.
16. The question of Rwanda at UN: a tutelage commission council.
17. The introduction of the first signs of democracy by decree of 14 July 1952, public election in 1956
18. The beginning of political parties
19. The revolution of Rwanda and troubles of 1959
20. Elections in 1961 and the referendum
21. Independence 1<sup>st</sup> July 1962

## **F. Lessons**

### 1) Preliminaries:

Lesson plan: 1

a)

Subject: History of Rwanda

Topic: The deposition of Mwami Musinga

Form: First form students

Lesson's period: 50 minutes

### b) Teaching materials

- The text of the short story
- The representation of animal drawings on the flip chart from the short story.
- Questionnaires which to be reflected on in groups
- Flipcharts (or blackboard)
- Cell tape and markers
- A photograph of Musinga Yuhi V
- A summary on the deposition of Musinga.

### 3. Objectives:

#### a) General objectives:

- Get learners to feel a situation whereby force is applied on a weaker power by a stronger power through the narration or the reading of a short story with images.
- Help learners to draw lessons from this short story, to draw also possible reactions and attitudes which different characters could have.

#### b) Specific objectives

- From this short story, help learners to give practical and actual examples in the history of our country.
- After the lesson, the learners have synthetic information on the deposition of Mwami Yuhi V Musinga

### **Lesson Sequences:**

#### 1<sup>st</sup> Variant

Before starting the lesson the teacher put the drawings on the walls, when he/she needs them as references during the short story's narration. Before narrating the short story, the teacher (facilitator) cites the following formulation in Kinyarwanda as it is the usage for this subject: "Harabaye, ntihakabe; habaye inka n'ingoma, haba ababyeyi n'abageni, haba intore n'abatabazi, haba mutware na kabutindi".

- 1) The teacher narrates the story for learners. When the teacher has finished telling the story, he/she asks some questions to get comments from the learners.  
In working groups, the learners make reflections on questions distributed to them by the teacher.
- 2) After group work, learners present their results on flip charts during the plenary session. Other learners ask questions for clarification to the group which has just presented or give their comments.
- 3) Learners with the teacher together do a synthesis using the results presented by the different groups :
  - Together they examine the titles which were given to the story by working groups for better understanding of the teaching.
  - Together they take examples given during team work.

- 4) Find out if there are groups which might have cited the case of King Musinga's deposition and take this case in order to highlight it and thereafter give a summary of some historical elements about it.  
If none of the groups cited that case, then it is up to the teacher to mention it and give its important historical aspects.
- 5) Finally, the teacher distributes handouts containing the summary on the deposition of Musinga including his photograph.

Variant II:

1. The teacher puts learners in working groups.  
Working groups are given the document containing the short story (a text with animals' pictures).  
He/she gives instructions on work to be done "each group reads the story and answers questions that are given, on a flip chart".  
The teacher distributes questions to the groups.
2. Learners (participants), after reflection in groups, present their results on flipcharts during plenary. The other learners ask questions for clarification to the group which has finished its presentation or give their comments.
3. Learners with the teacher together do a synthesis using the results presented by the different groups :
  - Together they examine the titles which were given to the story by working groups for better understanding of the teaching.
  - Together they draw examples given during team work.
4. Find out if there are groups which might have cited the case of King Musinga's deposition and draw this case in order to highlight it and thereafter give a summary of some historical elements about it. If none of the groups cited that case, then it is up to the teacher to mention it and give its important historical aspects.
5. Finally, the teacher distributes handouts containing the summary on the deposition of Musinga including his photograph.

## **The deposition of Mwami Musinga explanation**

The focus on the lesson is mainly on the role of Belgium in this deposition.

- The methodology which is used is based mainly on three techniques (pedagogical tools):
  - The narration of a short story which is told with the support of some drawings or illustrations
  - Visualization
  - Exploitation, analysis, reflection, exchange of ideas, discussions in groups with questioning, presentation in plenary on flipcharts, the results of work in groups.
  
- The lesson is taught in four main sequences
  - The narration of a short story
  - Presentation of results on flip charts
  - The summary is elaborated with the participation of learners, using the results from groups.

### **a) And b) A short story with visualization**

Plate I

Once upon a time, there was a territory called Turibo. This territory was very fertile. It had an economy and an administration which were well organized. A very hardworking population lived on it.





It was well governed and it had a sovereign leader called Mutware by its inhabitants. He ruled them and gave them orders which the people executed and respected. Everything was run smoothly. Mutware's priority was the development and the well being of his people. He used to nominate and to dismiss his collaborators without the use of any sort of external force and without being submitted to any command. He governed and reigned.

Plate II:

There was, very far, another territory called Mahanga. There lived a population, which was not known by the Mutware's people. It had a different culture and social life.



One day, the people of Mahanga decided to conquer Mutware's territory, Turibo. So it sent a team of conquerors headed by a man called Kabutindi to go and conquer effectively Turibo's territory and people.

Plate III

Kabutindi escorted by his teammates, arrived in Mutware's territory. He decided to implement their plan which was to conquer the Mutware territory. He paid Mutware a visit aimed at convincing him to adopt the culture and beliefs of Mahanga, and from then on, he would execute only orders from Mahanga's representatives.



Kabutindi talked with too much pride and referred to technological power. Mutware opposed Kabutindi's arguments with calm and showed an attitude and a glance of mistrust and refused categorically to collaborate with Kabutindi. He did not want to betray his culture, his own identity and that of his people. In that sense while interacting, they spoke the language of a deaf.

Kabutindi was upset and then decided to remove Mutware from his throne.

Plate IV:

Kabutindi put in action his decision. Using the power and the strength of his people and authority given to him by his people, Kabutindi undertook a plan of reorganizing the administration of the Turibo territory. This plan destabilized Mutwale's power on his hierarchy collaborators and therefore, he ended up chasing him effectively to destination which was unknown to his people at the border of Turibo territory.

Despite Kabutindi's power and evil, Mutware kept on refusing to submit to foreign culture and authority. He was bound to stay in exile and left his throne vacant.



Plate V

Under the high command, complicity and watchful eye of Kabutindi, Turibo people put on throne another king named Yego.

This new king accepted the culture of Mahanga's country and abided by it



Plate VI:



Under Kabutindi's authority, Mutware was in exile confined in an isolated residence where he lived away from his people, without contact with people around him.

And this is how the story of Mutware and Kabutindi ends!

“Sinjye wahera, hahera Mutware na Kabutindi!”

**c) Questions on the narrated story:**

*(Give answers on a flipchart in order to present them during plenary)*

- 1) Which title would you give to the story? Justify your choice of title. (Groups 1, 2, 3)
- 2) Is it right to say that the role of Kabutindi in the deposition of Mutware had an impact? Justify your answer. (Group 1)
- 3) Are there values which were not respected? If yes, give some examples of these values. (Group 2)
- 4) Was there any other way Mutware and his people could be treated instead of his deposition and exile? Justify your answer. (Group 3)
- 5) Give some concrete examples drawn from real situations of the history of Rwanda by the inspiration of this story. (Group 1,2,3)

**Questions on the narrated story: (distributed per group)**

*(Give answers on a flipchart in order to present them during plenary)*

Group I:

Which title would you give to the story? Justify your choice of title. (Groups 1, 2, 3)

Is it right to say that the role of Kabutindi in the deposition of Mutware had an impact? Justify your answer. (Group 1)

Give some concrete examples drawn from real situations of the history of Rwanda, which are inspired by this story. (Group 1,2,3)

Questions on the narrated story: (distributed per group)

*(Give answers on a flipchart in order to present them during plenary)*

Group II:

Which title would you give to the story? Justify your choice of title. (Groups 1, 2, 3)

Are there values which were not respected? If yes, give some examples of these values. (Group 2)

Give some concrete examples drawn from real situations of the history of Rwanda, which are inspired by this story. (Group 1, 2, 3)

Questions on the narrated story: (distributed per group)  
(Give answers on a flipchart in order to present them during plenary)

Group III:

Which title would you give to the story? Justify your choice of title. (Groups 1, 2, 3)

Was there any other way Mutware and his people could be treated instead of his deposition and exile? Justify your answer. (Group 3)

Give some concrete examples drawn from real situations of the history of Rwanda by the inspiration of this story. (Group 1, 2, 3)

**d) A Summary on the dethronement of King Yuhi V Musinga:**

- Musinga, the son of Kigeri IV Rwabugiri is crowned King of Rwanda in 1897.
- He reigned under the dynastic name of Yuhi V from 1897 to 1931.
- During his reign, our country Rwanda was ruled by the German colonial authority and thereafter by Belgian colonialists in 1919 by the Treaty of Versailles.
- King Yuhi V Musinga was attached to his culture and tradition, so he refused to be baptized and become a Christian.
- He also refused to abide to the Belgian colonial administrative orders to prevent any violation of the cultural interdictions of the dynasty.
- The Belgium administration undertook a series of political and administrative reforms which ended up weakening the king's authority.
- Also in the country, there was an increasing indifference towards the king from the population and some chiefs and deputy chiefs were given their posts by the Belgium administration. They were in good terms with the colonial administration.
- With determination, Musinga then put up a peaceful resistance and hostility against all the above reform measures which were taking away his privileges and power (his power to nominate chiefs and control them. After that he could not dismiss a chief without the consent of the "Resident").
- In this process, King Musinga lost, day after day, his power, his prestige and his authority as the King among his big "feudatories" who were put in power by the colonial administration.



- On the 14<sup>th</sup> November 1931, the “Resident » declared the deposition of Yuhi V Musinga and forced him into exile at Kamembe where he was immediately sent.
- Under the order of the Belgium colonial administration through its representative “the Resident”, on 16<sup>th</sup> November 1931, his son Rudahigwa is crowned King of Rwanda under the name Mutara III.

*Photo taken from « Au plus profond de l’Afrique: Le Rwanda et la colonisation allemande 1885-1919, de Gudrun Honke »*

*Information taken from Dr Gahama’s notes who is the writer working on the colonial era.*