

# **THE TEACHING OF HISTORY OF RWANDA**

## **A PARTICIPATORY APPROACH**

**A Resource Book for  
Teachers**

**For Secondary Schools in Rwanda**

**Principal Investigators:**

**Sarah Warshauer Freedman, Harvey M. Weinstein, Timothy Longman**

**Human Rights Center, University of California, Berkeley**

## **Chief Author and Facilitator**

Prof. BYANAFASHE Déo, Dean Faculty of Social Sciences, National University of Rwanda (NUR) / Butare.

## **Rwanda Coordinators**

RUTAYISIRE John, Director, National Curriculum Development Centre / KIGALI  
MUGISHA Innocent, Faculty of Education, National University of Rwanda / BUTARE

## **Specialist in Teaching Methods**

MURPHY, Karen, Facing History and Ourselves

## **International Consultants**

NEWBURY Catherine, Smith College

NEWBURY David, Smith College

PERLSTEIN Daniel, University of California, Berkeley

ZIMMERMAN Jonathan, New York University

## **GROUP I: Pre – Colonial Era from Origins up to 1897**

UWINEZA Peace (IRDP) (Facilitator)  
RUTAYISIRE Paul (CRS) (Writer)

MUSEVENI Steven

TABARO Cyprien

KABANDA Innocent

SEBISOGO Bonaventure

MUKAMA Anastase

KANKINDI Marie (IGE)

NDAZABA Albert

## **GROUP II : Colonial Era 1897-1962**

BARANYIZIGIYE J. d'Arc (Facilitator)  
GAHAMANA Joseph (Writer)

BACUMUWENDA Néhémie (CNDP)  
HITIMANA Pierre  
MUKESHIMANA Marie Madeleine  
NDIKUBWIMANA Callixte +  
RUDAHANGARWA Théophile  
RWAMBONERA François (BNEP)  
SEBASONI Servilien (Société Civile)  
URUJENI Consolée (Etudiante)

### **GROUP III : Postcolonial Era 1962-1990**

BUHIGIRO Jean Léonard (KIE) (Facilitator)  
NDABAGA Eugène (KIE) (Writer)

AYINKAMIYE Emérence  
NYIRAKANYANA Consolée  
GUILLAUME Aloys (SNEC)  
AYINKAMIYE Janvière  
IYAMUREMYE Justus  
BYANAFASHE Déo

## **GROUP IV : Postcolonial Era (1990- 1994)**

JYONI WA KAREGA (NUR) (Facilitator)  
KALIMBA N.P. Célestin (Writer)

MATABARO Jean Berchmans  
BUTERA Gérard  
DUKUZE Bernard  
KARORO Charles  
NAYITURIKI Hélène  
NIYONIZEYE Lidwine  
KAYIGAMBA Gaëtan

**Translated by:** MUHONGWANSEKO Emeritha  
(NCDC) English Department

GENERAL INTRODUCTION .....	5
MODULE I: PRE-COLONIAL RWANDA (1091-1897) .....	6
Theme : Clans.....	6
A. Overview .....	7
B. Sources and Reference Materials .....	9
C. Cross Cutting Themes .....	12
D. Comments and Historical Details for the Teacher .....	12
E. Other Relevant Themes .....	37
F. Lessons .....	37
MODULE II: THE COLONIZATION OF RWANDA (1897-1962) .....	43
Theme : Mortehan Reform .....	43
A. Overview .....	45
B. Sources and Reference Materials .....	46
C. Cross Cutting Themes .....	63
D. Comments and Details for the Teacher .....	63
E. Other Important Relevant Facts .....	115
F. Lessons .....	116
MODULE III : POSTCOLONIAL RWANDA (1962-1990).....	132
Theme : Regional and Ethnic Segregation.....	132
A. Overview .....	133
B. Sources and Reference Materials .....	135
C. Cross – Cutting Themes .....	141
D. Teaching Commentary and Historical Detail for the Teacher .....	141
E. Other Cases that are needed to understand this Period .....	176
F. Lessons .....	177
MODULE IV: RWANDA POST COLONIAL (1990-1994) .....	194
Theme : Education Policy and Genocide Ideology .....	194
A. Overview .....	194
B. Sources and Reference Material .....	199
C. Cross Cutting Themes .....	219
D. Teaching Commentaries.....	219
E. Other Important Themes .....	270
F. Lessons .....	270
CONCLUSION .....	277

## **GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

The study on “teaching Rwandan History through the participatory method of materials, sources and basic sets of themes” is a complex process whether at the level of utilized methodologies, or at the level of the choice of significant historical changes or focal points. The same aspect applies to the utilization of first or second-hand information sources or finally at the level of choosing the examples of illustrations and decision making in the interpretation of data.

In this study, we propose the presentations of historical sources and materials on the Rwandan history rather than simply writing the “history” of Rwanda. We will use the “facing history and ourselves foundation” methodology, which is critical, but 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 real and true facts in order to find their causes and consequences. This is truly a classical historical, but participatory method.

Regarding its exposition, the study fits well in four highly characteristic periods (that we call modules) of the Rwandan history in its evolution that are pre-colonial Rwanda, colonial Rwanda, post-colonial Rwanda (1962-1990) and post colonial Rwanda (1990-1994). This evolution which takes into consideration the system reference of the colonial fact, takes as a priority 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.

In each of these periods, a fact that was found to be very critical for the knowledge of this period has been identified as a proprietary study case and specimen for the other important cases to each period. In this context, during the pre-colonial period, the identified theme is “clans”, for the colonial period it is the Mortehan political administrative reform “la reforme politico-administrative Mortehan”. The policy of ethnic and regional segregation “la politique de segregation ethnique et régionale” for postcolonial up to 1990; and lastly for postcolonial period (1990-1994) it is the policy of education and the ideology of genocide of Tutsi “la politique de l’education et de l’ideologie génocidaire des Tutsi”.

Finally, 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.

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

## **MODULE I: PRE-COLONIAL RWANDA (1091-1897)**

Rwanda existed long before European colonization. It had its political and socio-economic organization, its culture and customs. It was a sovereign nation.

### **Theme:**

#### **Clans**

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

There are multiple reasons why the teaching of the history of Pre-colonial Rwanda should be especially emphasized through the theme of clans “ubwoko” rather than distinguishing ethnic identities Hutu-Tutsi-Twa, which are of a different nature.

Attention should be drawn on the important place given to clans by 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 communities (inzu) and lineages (umuryango) are ancient socio-political structures of this sub-region’s societies.

Clans are not particular to Rwanda. It is a fact that is found in many countries of Africa located in the Great Lakes Region. The Rwandan clans have their own characteristics and common features shared 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 by the colonial and postcolonial bureaucracy, which is in the beginning of the 1930s, clans were being used as identification elements, which were commonly used by the people of Rwanda. Despite these changes, the clan had not lost 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).

In the context where ethnic divisions have acquired a wide emphasis, and in the spirit of finding the basis of the current political speech that insists on unity and solidarity, clans especially with their multi-ethnic aspect, have been perceived by some Rwandans as capable of playing that role.

Finally, historical literature with clans as the centre of interest has the real strategic value in the study of the Rwandan society and the social history of Rwanda since it is linked with several sections 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.

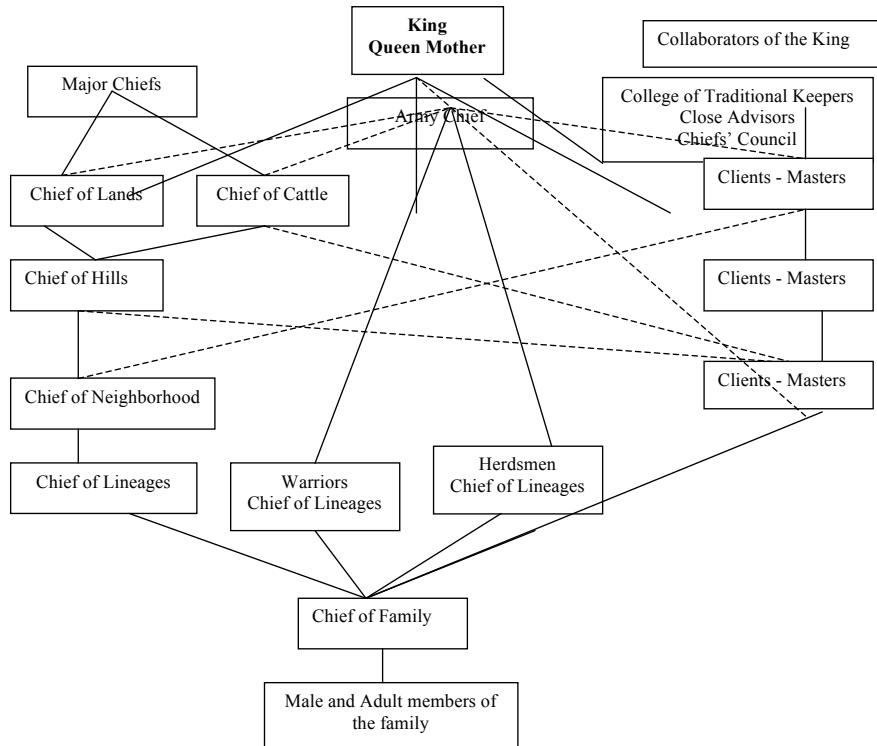
## **A. Overview**

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

Generally, there are 15 to 18 different clans in ancient Rwanda as named by writers. The clan is divided into sub-clans (Amashyanga) and the sub-clan into lineage entities (Umuryango, inzu), which are in turn divided into more or less nucleus families (Ingo) finally making the clan a social identity. Till 1960, every Rwandan interrogated on his/her identity stated his/her clan identity. In Pre-colonial Rwanda, belonging to such a given clan could bear a significant importance regarding the status occupied by the concerned clan in the political, socio-economic or even cultural aspect.

Finally let us indicate, and this is quite important, that the lineage is a 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.

Triple structure of Command in Ancient Rwanda (<sup>1</sup>) :



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.

---

<sup>1</sup> MAQUET J.J., Le système des relations sociales dans le Ruanda ancien, Tervuren, A.R.C.B., 1954, p.163.

## **B. Sources and Reference Materials**

1. (ANONYME), Historique et chronologie, Kabgayi, 1956.
2. AMSELLE J.L. & M'BOKOLO E. (Eds), Au cœur de l'ethnie, Paris, Editions la Découverte, 1985.
3. BOURGEOIS R., Banyarwanda et Barundi, vol.1 : Ethnographie, Bruxelles, ARSC, 1957.
4. CHRETIEN J.P., « Mythes et stratégies autour des origines du Rwanda (XIXe-XXe siècles », in Jean Pierre Chrétien et Jean-Louis Triaud (sous la dir.), Histoire d'Afrique. Les enjeux de mémoire, Paris, Karthala, 1999.
5. CHRETIEN J-P., L'Afrique des Grands Lacs. Deux mille ans d'Histoire, Paris, Aubier, 2000.
6. CODERE H., Powers in Rwanda , In : Anthropologica (Canada), n.s. 4, 1 (1962)
7. CODERE H., the Biography of an African Society: Rwanda 1900-1960, Tervuren, MRAC, 1973.
8. COUPEZ A., et KAMANZI Th., Récits historiques Rwanda, Tervuren, Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1962.
9. CZEKANOWSKI J., Forschungen in Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebiet, Leipzig, Klinkhardt und Biermann, 1917.
10. D'ARIANOFF A., Histoire des Bagesera, souverains du Gisaka, Bruxelles, Institut Royal Colonial Belge, 1952.
11. De HEUSCH L., Le Rwanda et la civilisation interlacustre, Bruxelles, L.B., Institut de Sociologie, 1966.
12. D'HERTEFELT M. et COUPEZ A., La Royauté sacrée de l'ancien Rwanda, Tervuren, M.R.A.C., 1964.
13. D'HERTEFELT M., Les clans du Rwanda ancien, Tervuren, Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1971.
14. DELMAS L., Généalogies de la noblesse (les Batutsi) du Ruanda, Kabgayi, 1950.

15. KAGAME A., *Inganji Kalinga*, 2 vol., Kabgayi, 1943/1947.
16. KAGAME A., *Les organisations socio familiales de l'ancien Rwanda*, Bruxelles, ARSOM, 1954.
17. KAGAME A., *Les organisations socio familiales de l'ancien Rwanda*, Bruxelles, 1954.
18. KAGAME A., *Un Abrégé de l'Ethnohistoire du Rwanda*, vol. 1, Butare, Editions Universitaires du Rwanda, 1972.
19. KAYIHURA M., Composantes et relations sociales au Rwanda précolonial et post-colonial : Hutu, Tutsi, Twa, lignages et clans, In : BYANAFASHE D. (sous la dir. de) *Les Défis de l'historiographie rwandaise I : Les faits controversés*, UNR, CERCOSH, 2004.
20. LOUIPIAS (R.p.), Traditions et légendes des Tutsi sur la création du monde et leur établissement au Ruanda. In: *Anthropos* n°3, p.1908.
21. MEYER H., *Auf neuen Wegen durch Rwanda und Burundi*, Leipzig, 1916.
22. MINEPRISEC, *Histoire du Rwanda*, Tome I, Kigali, DPES, 1987.
23. MUZUNGU B., *Histoire du Rwanda précolonial*, Paris, HARMATTAN, 2003.
24. NEWBURY C., *the Cohesion of oppression: Clientship and Ethnicity in Rwanda, 1860-1960*, New York, 1988.
25. NEWBURY D., *Approaching the past : Methods of historical research in Zaïre*, Institut pour la recherche scientifique en Afrique Centrale (IRSAC), Lwiro-Bukavu, 1973 (Version française : *Vers le passé du Zaïre : Quelques méthodes de recherche historique*).
26. NEWBURY D., « The Clans of Rwanda : an historical hypothesis », in *Africa*, 50, 1980, pp.389-403.
27. NEWBURY D., « Precolonial Burundi and Rwanda : Local loyalties, Regional Royalties », in *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 34, 2001, pp.255-314.
28. NEWBURY D., What role has kingship, In: *Africa-Tervuren*, vol.27 (4), 1981.
29. NEWBURY D., *Kings and Clans*, Madison, the University of Wisconsin Press, 1991.

30. NYAGAHENE A., Histoire et peuplement. Ethnies, clans et lignages dans le Rwanda ancien et contemporain, Thèse de docotorat, Paris, 1997.
31. PAGES A., Un royaume hamite au centre de l'Afrique, Bruxelles, Hayez, 1933.
32. PAUWELS M. (R.P.), Le Bushiru et son muhinza au roitelet Hutu, In: APMME, XXXI, 1967.
33. RENNIE J.K., « The precolonial kingdom of Rwanda : a reinterpretation », in Transafrican Journal of History, 2, 1972, pp.11-53.
34. REYNTJENS F., Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda, Tervuren, MRAC, 1985.
35. SMITH P., Le récit populaire au Rwanda, Paris, A. Colin, 1975.
36. VANSINA J., L'évolution du royaume rwanda des origines à 1900, Bruxelles, Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer, 1962.
37. VANSINA J., Le Rwanda ancien. Le royaume nyiginya, Paris, Karthala, 2001.
38. YOUNG C., Nationalism, Ethnicity and class in Africa : a retrospective. In: Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines, 26,4 (1986).

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

Population diversity  
Identity

### **D. 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 shared by 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). But even if one could change his/her social category, he/she could not change his/her clan.

Seven clans (Kono, Ha, Shiingo, Nyakarama, Siita, Oongera, Eenengwe) do not include the Twa group. All the clans did not form a clanical kingdom except for four (Nyiginya, Singa, Zigaaba, and Gesera) moreover they were important by number (62,19% of the population of Rwanda by 1960).

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

#### **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, internal organization, or procedures that manage business of common benefits. The clan is different from a small lineage "inzu" and from a big lineage "umulyango". The clan is not even a residential grouping; its members are located all over the country.

(M. d'Hertefelt, 1971:3)

For the Banyarwanda, “ubwoko” contains the idea behind a common biological origin in patrilineage descent (Kayihura Michel, 2004). “But in reality the clan is not a descendants 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 XIXth century. These have stayed 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 friend almost from anywhere 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)

## **Clans and Politics**

The perception of Rwandan and that of many other authors was dominated by the criterion of belonging to a clan and not by that of belonging to a particular lineage. But yet, the truth is that politics were linked to lineage.

“Clans did not hold any political function. No single individual had the political status based only upon his belonging to a particular clan; other descriptive criteria were always associated to the nomination of an individual. His belonging to a particular lineage implied his belonging to a particular social class. It is therefore wrong to talk about a royal clan or matridynasty 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 matridynasty clans, but only matridynasty lineages. The four Tutsi lineages were supposed to produce royal spouses from whom one became Queen. These four lineages are called Ibibanda, they belonged to four different clans (Ega, Kono, Ha and Gesera)”

(M. d’Hertefelt, 1971:4)

## **The origin of clans**

It is common to observe a kind of survival in the clans, which could be traced from a more or less early period whereby these clans before being considered through a rough social stratification had a sociologic importance much bigger than the current one.

Following tradition, belonging to certain clans gave by itself precise ritual roles to its members. This concerned the following clans: Abazigaba, Abagesera and Abasinga. Rwandans explained the particular ritual status of these clans by the 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 had to intervene in the construction of a house by fixing the first sticks of residence symbolically Zigaba people played their roles particularly toward Nyiginya, consequently also kings. Gesera people were specialists “abase” from the rest of Rwandans except for Zigaba whom they considered as their kins and the kinship could neutralize the ritual effects. This is why Gesera and Zigaba had to get help from the members of Singa clans; conversely, Singa had to seek help from Gesera. “Abase” could intervene in another context that of purification after a person died, where their participation was required in order to end bereavement and start again daily life activities. (M. d’Hertefelt) Relationship jokes were also entertained between Rwandan and their “abase” and this was called “Guterana ubuse”

## **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 Shyerezo. Shyerezo had then a wife called Gasani. Gasani had herself a female servant called Impamvu. On the other hand Shyerezo had seers who could consult spirits (gods) for him.

These were staging on his behalf 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 him “I have analysed the situation and I have noticed that the “Imana” that the seers have used for consultation has been of good oracle. Therefore help me; let us steal its heart. When we will have taken it, I will tell you what to do with it”. They observed carefully, searching for an opportunity, and when they saw that the seers were busy trying to remove some parts of this favourable “Imana”. They are therefore looking for the way to go and steal the heart. Watching with the eye and spying the seers, they stole the heart of this cow (...) Impamvu says to Nyagasani: “see what we are going to do” look for a clean and big pot, then put the heart of the cow in it ... pour some milk in it ...

close it tightly and put it in a quiet place, a bit far so that nobody might find it, except you and me.

After nine months will have passed, when we will be starting the tenth month, then I will tell you the reason why I told you to steal this heart. But, in any case, every day, pour some milk on it, let milk accumulate on it ... Gasani did that. When the ninth month was ending, at the beginning of the tenth month, Gasani said to Impamvu: "what do I do?" the other one answered: after three days have passed, (...), she tells her: "go and look in the pot, you will find there a baby." When she went there she found a baby. She removed the baby from the pot bathed it. The child cried like all children do. Gasani breastfed it. She sent a messenger to her husband with the news (...) he said: "where did the news come from that Gasani delivered when the whole world knows that she can not give birth and that she has not been pregnant? Shyerezo sent people telling them: "Go and see this baby that they are telling me has been delivered by Gasani and kill it. (...) after learning about the news, Impamvu and Gasani hid it. (...) the men gave up and left. When Shyerezo asked them: "Have you killed that baby?" they answered: "we did not even see it. But, yet, she has delivered, that is what we hear people say" (...) many days later, Shyerezo reached home, and went into his house. It happens that the child had gown, he was smiling, and he was lovely. He had come to look for information in order to kill the baby who was born and whom people talk about.

After a while, the women showed the child to him. When Shyerezo saw him, he was touched by him, he noticed that the child was perfectly noble, he was very handsome, 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 gave him the name 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 quarrelled with Sabizeze ... saying to him: "shut up, you are nothing, a bastard who is not the son of Shyerezo". When the insult reached Shyerezo, the latter confirmed it in these words: "He is really a bastard". This did a lot of pain to Sabizeze (...) Sabizeze discussed it with MuTutsi and told him: "rather than deny my paternal affiliation, I should not stay here. I should leave this place and go elsewhere". He talked to his elder brother and said to him: "come, let us go, let us leave with our sister and go to another country, let us leave the country of Shyerezo." They started their journey immediately with a hen called Semugambira, a cock called Rubika, with two rams, a cow and a bull. There was a fourth type that they took with them in addition to the others. This is the heron, the guardian of bulls. They went and reached the bush in a region called Mumazinga, meaning at Kabeja's, in the place called Umubari. They settled there. They penetrated the bush and established temporary residences while building ... then people at Kabeja turned their eyes towards the bush and saw the smoke going up from the bush (...) Sabizeze and MuTutsi live peacefully in this bush (...). One day, a long time after, they saw that the herons had 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 impregnated 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?" since we brought with us our sister, if we marry her both of us, we'll share her and she will become a wife to both of us?" MuTutsi refuses in these words: "This is not possible, that we both marry our sister? Besides this is never done." Sabizeze decides and says: "I am going to marry her, nothing else can be done". He marries her, they live together, and she becomes his wife. One day, they got a child, a baby boy. After he stopped breastfeeding, she got a baby girl. She continued like this and got many boys and girls. Seeing that MuTutsi was going to stay without getting a wife, Sabizeze told him: "look, I am going to give you a good plan, which will help all of us.

Leave this place, go there opposite of this area and settle there. Then, when you have consolidated your enclosure (...), you will cross the valley and you will come to ask me a fiancé, 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. After having settled and consolidated his enclosure, he came to ask for a fiancé at Sabizeze. Yet the young ladies were his nieces. Sabizeze gave him a fiancé. At the moment he was going to give him a bride, he asked him: "You have to come to ask me a fiancé?". Where do you come from? You come from which across? The name of Umwega fits him (...) his clan is now called Umwega, the descendants of Sabizeze are called Abanyiginya (...) they live together at Kabeja, they stay together, they consider Kabeja as the man who shows them where to establish enclosures. Any Munyiginya who settles, Kabeja gives him where to put up his home; likewise, one who comes from Kabeja's family is also given a site. Kabeja comes to light fire at the site. He brings fire as soon as they start leveling the site; then the owner comes at the site. From that moment on, therefore Abanyiginya made their living with Kabeja were Abazigaba (...) That's why marriages always take place between Abanyiginya and Abazigaba, Abega and Abanyiginya ask each other spouses. This custom was established and then it continues that way, it has never been interrupted up to now" (A. Coupez et Th. Kamanzi, *Récit Historiques Rwanda*, 1962:61-65).

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

### **Hamite thesis**

Stories about the origin of Rwanda are essentially told around two characters: Kigwa and Gihanga. Gihanga had connections with Kigwa. Heros, 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 clanic identities also determined preferential matrimonial alliances. “Half of these entities are represented in the legend telling about the foundation

They 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; Autochthon clans “Abasangwabutaka”: Zigaba, Gesera, Singa.

The ritual role of these clans during welcome ceremonies on new land is therefore justified through legends that tell their descent history.”  
( 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 he was the one to establish the country’s first sacred fire. “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. Chretien mentions fact that: “the myths of origin do only reflect the situation of clans in Rwanda in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in an approximative manner. The most important positions that are reflected in pre-colonial Rwanda do not necessarily correspond to dominant roles that are played in Kigwa and Gihanga legends. These groups can lead us to a question on whether secondary roles were not actually introduced in the course of history while each group wishing to legitimize its presence in the Rwandan society through its representation in the fundamental body to which the collective Rwandan memory refers.”

The clans' names also appear as dynastic references that recall the existence of royal powers which were subjected progressively to Nyiginya dynasty. J.K Renie tried to use these legends joined to clans' traditions which were neglected for too long to promote the central royal court's chronicles in order to rebuild the political situation throughout the area of Rwanda before its unification by Nyiginya dynasty ( Re....) In that case, the story of Kigwa and Gihanga only had the role of collecting these different traditions in order to legitimate their unification.

Lastly, J.P. Chretien 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 an illegal 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, integrated into the legend, but without adding to it an essential role." They seem to be newcomers. Besides, their ancestry involves the only reference to 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 for Tutsi lineages came from this Nyiginya Clan thanks to their matrimonial alliances with kings. Since half of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, all the queens were Abega except for those 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.....)

### **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 pasture. While Basita established themselves in Bunyoro, Bimanuka progressed towards the south and through Nkole and Mpororo, they reached Rwanda in Umutara. ( L.....)

The Hamite thesis is used as an explanation of clans' origins: "the category of ancient Hamites who left in Rwanda the memory of incomparable power, is that of Abarenge, a domination copied from Rurenge, the eponym ancestor of their dynasty. Their civilization was regularly 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, whose initial digging is said through traditions to be situated at the time of Abarenge. Their group has many representatives in our modern society and they are called Basangwabutaka (...), which means those who already occupied the country 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 the Bwiru in the south of Rwanda (...) was ruled by adventitious dynasty from the same group. Abarenge were from Abasinga clan: the victorious. 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 legally a defeated Hamite lineage after the annexing of Gisaka.

(Kagame, 1954; 55-56)

P. Smith questions this thesis on basis of oral traditions (1981-249). 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), without considering the numerous descent legends of clans, defeated dynasties (...). None of them mention any arrival of Batutsi or any direction from which they might have come. They agree only to say that Kigwa and Gihanga originally had their residences in the North-East of the country or at king Kabeja from Bazigaba clan”.

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

Clans attract attention because some clan naming can nowadays be found in oral traditions to design governments and the population of a certain number of territorial entities.

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

“The center of Rwanda of today, in the province of Kigali was the home of the 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 who shared among themselves the area of Rwanda, it does not mean that zigaba or Banda or any other of these antan dynasties constituted clans within the sense of “amoko”, multi-class of today (...) the term “clan” does not appear to us (...) as appropriate term to be referred to as dynasties of these ancient kingdom or its population, as it is also used to indicate the social reality of Rwandan “amoko” of the most recent past ... whose essential feature is its multi class character ... and therefore there exists the risk of projecting a reality into the past while it may have never existed”

(M. d'Hertefelt, 1971 : 25)

### Relationships between clan based kingdoms

In order to explain the relationships between earlier clan entities, many writers developed the “scissiparity” 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 from a royal lineage, which existed before and continues to exist with smaller area after the split. Therefore for Vansina “the first kingdom to be founded was that of Abazigaba at Mubari. Gisaka with Abagesera dynasty got detached from it. Thereafter, Abahondogo family splitted 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:

Abazigaba formed a local grouping established at Mubari which had a chief. According to the myth of Ibimanuka, it was the first local group which contacted ancestors of Nyiginya;

Towards the south in Gisaka a new territorial entity was created with Gesera dynasty, the Zigaba kingdom existed before that of Gisaka and continued to exist after the foundation of this one;

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;

More towards the south, in Bugesera, there was at the same time, a royal lineage of Bahondogo;

From a certain time, Mubari, Gisaka and ancient Rwanda and Bugesera were coexisting.

It has been argued on who was first among Banyiginya, Bagesera or Bahondogo (see the myth of Gihanga descendants) 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 indication 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: “Toponym invites us (...) to see in Bugesera the home of expansion of Gesera clan”. (1966: 102-103). Analyzed data concerning possible kinship between Bagesera and Bahondogo are not sufficient for the establishment of 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 may be risking drawing an argument concerning their historical relationship.

The “scissiparity” 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 Hondogoro, or even between Hondogoro 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 appears effectively as the first kingdom in the area, that Rwanda primitive was formed later on, then Bugesera and lastly Gisaka” (1971:43) the scissiparity pattern is the application of a mechanic scheme that information from traditions cannot confirm.

“The Banyiginya dynasty is not necessarily posterior to all those dynasties from which it had to conquer the countries... 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, 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 Bantuphones, or they might have been eliminated by a Hutu clan of Babanda.

“Without associating ourselves with the simplifying evolutionism which may take us “from clans to empires” we should recognize that the eldest structures of society beyond the limits of enclosures and restricted lineages are those groups that combine kinship, exogamy, symbolic code and solidarity rules that are called clans since the XIXth century.” They have remained durably at the heart of social life. When a peasant from Rwanda, Burundi or Tanzania was asked, during 1930’s or 1960’s “what are you?” the direct answer was the mention of the clan”.

(J.P. Chrétien 2000: 72)

#### The number of clans

The number of clans creates differences between authors who wrote about this topic. Besides, all these authors claim to be of the Rwandan tradition yet they interpret differently. Delmas gives a list of 18 clans (Delmas, 1950: 19, note 1) M. D’herfert (1927:20) records the same number, while Kagame gives only 15names (1954:60) Nyagahene mentions twenty of them.

There are also popular versions on the number of clans. Take the 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: “All the names of clans in Rwanda that were mentioned by authors like Kagame, Maquet, Vansina, De Heusch and Hertefekt, we can retain a dozen of important clans: Abasinga, Abasindi, Abazigaba, Abagesera, Abanyiginya, Abega, Ababanda, Abacyaba, Abatsobe, Abakono, Abanyakarama, Abasita » (MINEPRISEC, 1987 :25).

It should be noticed that for Kagame, Nyiginya are synonyms of Sindi: “Banyiginya denomination 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 the group” [Kagame, 1954: 33, note 31.]

In the royal rituals, the term Nyiginya indicates 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 all Basindi who have kept a certain level of power and wealth.”

(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’herfert reached to this conclusion: “it looks like the two terms (Nyiginya and Sindi) are names of clans” because of their regional distribution and their spreading 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 “at risk of disappearing” [Kagame 1954:60], Sita “low representation” (Kagame.....), statistics confirm these impressions. Other impressions have tempted to evaluate the importance of numbers of certain clans based on political influence that the total Tutsi lineage fractions had at the time authors were writing that’s how Delmas thought that Tsobe clan “is one of the most powerful and biggest in number” the same thing 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, Bshambo, Tsobe, Kono, Ha and Hondogo; the category of Abasangwabutaka or clans which are originally Hutu but from which some tell 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 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’herfert, it was found out that Delmas overestimated by far the demographic dimension of Tutsi fractions of clans in the first group. The reason is probably because Tutsi occupied the majority of politico-administrative positions and he met those ones in his researches. D’Hertefelt brought a lot of corrections on Delmas analysis, the first to research on quantitative data.

## Clans and their totems

The main clans had totems as their recognition sign, in this situation they were from animal species: an animal, a bird, a mammal, batrachians and a reptile.

### Totems that have been 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

The situation is more complex on this point. Indeed there are some clans, even among the most influential ones such as Tsobe, 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 animal symbol of the clan to which they belong. (M. D'Hertefelt, 1971:6)

### **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 came out with first its back rather than the 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).

(Dalmas, 1950, p20)

## **Demographic and ethnic clans' distribution**

Czekanowski (1917:235-236) is the only author who ever 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:

Meyer thinks that explanations must be looked for from unauthorized unions between Hutu and Tutsi (1916: 101).

Czekanowiski (1917:242") gives three possibilities:

"The children of a MuTutsi and a 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."

Delmas puts to use some of these explanations to clarify why there are Tutsi among clans that he finds to be of Hutu origin. "At the beginning they were all Bahutu, but because of Bagaragu (vassalage) which gave them fortune, with cows, some of them managed to marry Batutsi women. Others favored by their bosses who wanted to stick to them were given a girl to marry, sometimes even a disabled one who was refused by other Batutsi. After some generations, their children were considered as Batutsi in clans which originally were purely Hutu. "(1650: 4). In order to explain the presence of Hutu in clans known as "Hamite", Delmas adds to point no. 1 and point no. 2, the adoption:

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

Kagame gave an example of Abenigitore, 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 Benigitore is one of the most important among the clan of Basindi. But it is known that the groups in question whose members are nowadays considered as members of the dynastic clan were initially strangers to it." (1954:44)

Pages add to these explanations a fourth one which is more connected to social mobility which promoted more diffusion. "One should not confuse Banyiginya from Hutu race and Banyiginya from MuTutsi race. It is possible that the first ones started working for the conquerors from the beginning of the Hamite immigration and received in turn for their obedience and submission the permission to bear the name of the winners."

(Pages, 1933: 670) This explanation could be extended to other clans, adding that these clans' assimilation of Hutu is supposed to have taken place in the context of UbuHake" (Kagame 1954:42) Kagame also thinks that it is the only way that 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 are from the same clan, descended from the same ancestor, Tutsi answered no. They explained that situation by 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 identifications were particularly very 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 may 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'Hertefelt does not think so: "At first, it is impossible to explain the subsequent presence of Tutsi, Hutu and Twa within the same clans through assimilation of client to his master, in the case of "UbuHake", unless one finds not only the origin of Tutsi from all the clans, but also the clients' universality or to establish on the contrary that Tutsi were in a systematic manner clients of Hutu". (D'Hertefelt, 1971:50)

Later on, an exclusive emphasis (especially that of Heusch), was put on this clan's assimilation by clients. This theory was taught in secondary schools and higher institutions of education: "At the beginning of the XIXth century, the clan (ubwoko) had lost all its meaning in central Rwanda. From now on, it unites Tutsi and their clients Hutu in a fiction kinship." (De Heusch, 1966: 53)

This is an eventual process, there are examples to support it, but nothing stands to prove that these assimilations were done systematically. This explanation also implies that the Tutsi from the origin of all the Rwandan clans. The explanation on traditional social mobility is not least confirmed: it contrasts with classic anthropologists' vision on social stratification's classic rigidity.

## **Clans' distribution (1970)**

<b>Clan</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>Abahutu</b>	<b>Abatutsi</b>	<b>Abatwa</b>
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. Autres	4,68	4,68	3,51	-

Source: D'Hertefelt, Annexes Tableau 2.

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

Clan identities transcend from clan divisions. «If 18 clans collected by D'Hertefelt are taken into account, five among these considered as most important (Singa, Sindi, Zigaba, Gesera and Nyiginya) form more than the half of the population. Each of them has 85 to 90% of Bahutu, except for Banyiginya where Batutsi account for more than 40%. The later 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 (concubines or alliances for profit), catholic fathers Delmas and Pagès talked about relationships between clients and masters type (ubuhake type) which might have led dependants to adopt the master's clan.

Unfortunately, history, in recent centuries, does not confirm any transfers on basis of clan belonging. Based on the above two cases, the fate of Batwa would not be concerned. These two types of reasoning fetch information through a sort of anachronistic priority given to the « caste » from the « clan ». Yet the clan has represented the fundamental identity, for a long time, on the conscience of the people » (J.P.Chrétien, 2000 :74).

### **The ethnic origin of clans**

Concerning the clan's primitive ethnic foundation, oral traditions tell us practically nothing real 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. Abagesera, Abasinga, Ababanda and Abacyaba are Hutu by origin. (D---) see also p. 1933 45-46, loupias 1908, historique et chronologie 1956, de Lager 1961). According to Delmas “our informers have absolutely agreed to this not only for Abgesera but also Abazigaba and Abasinga” (1950 : 144). This author has particularly consulted areas of the court which did not have any interest of transforming Abazigaba, Abagesera and Abasinga (Renge), Ababanda and Abunguru into Abahutu, but not Abashambo or Abahondoro.

The books of Kagame have systematically modified the views expressed in first writings on this matter and even from the official among oral traditions. One must say that Vansina uses the same theories by considering “as Tutsi the governors of all territorial entities of ancient oriental Rwanda as well as the ancient Bongera, Banda, Singa (with a Renge dynasty), Shambo and Benengwe governors established themselves in the remaining part of Rwanda as it is 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 descendants 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 that they hailed from Gesera clan, that they came from Gisaka and that their genealogy descended from kings Ruregeya or Kimenyi from Gisaka.” (H.D.....) This argument remains and does not go beyond Cyirima Rujugira. It is a matter of prestige or is it about an indication of 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.

### **Regional dimension**

Concerning numbers, the structure of the clan presents contrasting forms in different regions “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 all region. This is a proof of contacts, exchanges and movements that took place for a long time. »  
(J.P.Chrétien, 2000 :73,74).

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

Ndori associated with two groups that he found in the area : a lineage in Bumbogo. He recognized them as ritualists. These were before independent kingdoms, maybe ritualists for a prior local king. Finally, Ndori might have secured a 3<sup>rd</sup> group of ritualists Tege from Kabagari. Kono and Tsobe were each leaders of a structured organization which 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.

If Kono had played the role in the enthronement of Ndori, Tege also might have been influential from the beginning since they proceeded to the validation of Karinga and they were in charge of corporation that were working with royal drums.

During the Ndori era, the biggest part of his kingdom was organized in small chefferies ruled by non ritualist 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 ritualist “king” Tsobe 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 Tsobe chief had an army and his descendants kept its command. Moreover, Tsobe 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 be it 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 Tsobe 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 which was ended by the victory of Ega and apparently the success of tsobe (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 vs Abanyiginya, using the clan categories), was to form 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)

## **A critical approach in the comprehension 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).

«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).

### **The differences in clan systems, in particular the Rwandan clans and foreign clans**

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).

« Clan identities then are seen to have resulted not only from the individual relationship (as implied by descent theory concepts of clan) 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 ascribe descent. Because individuals are ascribed their clan identities at birth, clan 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 classification 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, 2001:50)

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 12<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 phenomena 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).

### ***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 Sing 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 amalgamating 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 Tuutsi who “were pasturing their cattle in his sorghum fields.” He came to Kinyaga and settled on Muganza hill in Busoozo. 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 Mugera 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 Mugera accompanied only by his wife » (C.Nwebury, 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 infact. 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 Abanyiginya 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)

### **Towards the restoration of clans**

« 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 ethnism. The Government would encourage this in 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 have a good solution »

## **E. Other Relevant Themes**

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

Clientelism systems: Ubuhake, Uburetwa, Ubukonde

Economic activities and exchanges

Hunger and epidemics

Migrations

## **F. Lessons**

Lesson Preparation :

Lesson I

Subject : History of pre-colonial Rwanda

Theme: Clans

Sub theme: People's identification

Class : Primary 4

Lesson duration : 50 minutes

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

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

## **Clans Today**

Clans (ubwoko) have not lost their meaning. Even if clans seem to have their meaning among new generations, clanic 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.

## **Definitions**

There are several definitions of the term “clan” (ubwoko).

For example:

M. Kayihura: A social category non residential, often marked by a totem. Ubwoko evoked an idea of biological origin shared in patri-lineage descendancy.

D'Hregefelt 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

### **The clans of Rwandans:**

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

(**Source** : M. D'Hertefelt : 1971

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

Nyagahene says that there are twenty clans

According to A. Kagame there are 15 clans only.

M.D'Hertefelt gives 18 names of clans

Dynastic clans called (Ibibanda) are queens' clans:

Abega  
Abakono  
Abaha  
Abagesera

### **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).

### **Teaching materials:**

A photograph with on it a forest, animals and persons;  
A text of the myth of Ibimanuka;  
A copy of “ibuku” (identity card during colonization);  
A copy of different definitions of clans

### **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

***Books***  
**/Articles :**

1. CHRETIEN J.P., *L'Afrique des Grands Lacs*, Aubier, Paris, 2000, pp. 71-101.
2. COUPEZ A., et KAMANZI Th., *Récits historiques rwanda*, Tervuren, Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1962.
3. D'HERTEFELT M., *Les clans du Rwanda ancien*, Tervuren, Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1971
4. DELMAS Léon, *Généalogies de la noblesse (les Batutsi) du Ruanda*, Kabgayi, 1950.
5. KAGAME A., *Inganji Kalinga*, 2 vol., Kabgayi, 1943/1947.
6. NEWBURY., « The Clans of Rwanda : an historical hypothesis », in *Africa*, 50, 1980, pp.389-403.
7. MUZUNGU B., *Histoire du Rwanda pré-colonial*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2003.
8. NEWBURY C., *The Cohesion of oppression : Client ship and Ethnicity in Rwanda, 1860-1960*, New York, 1988.
9. NYAGAHENE A., *Histoire et peuplement. Ethnies, clans et lignages dans le Rwanda ancien et contemporain*, Paris, 1997.
10. RENNIE J.K., « The precolonial kingdom of Rwanda : a reinterpretation », in *Transafrican Journal of History*, 2, 1972, pp.11-53.
11. VANSINA J., *Le Rwanda ancien. Le royaume nyiginya*, Paris, Karthala, 2001.

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

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.

### **Theme: Mortehan Reform**

Named after the resident of Rwanda in 1926, the reform “Mortehan” 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.

Mortehan reform is an indepth review of all Rwandan institutions that formed the national identity of Rwanda.

### **Political and administrative reform**

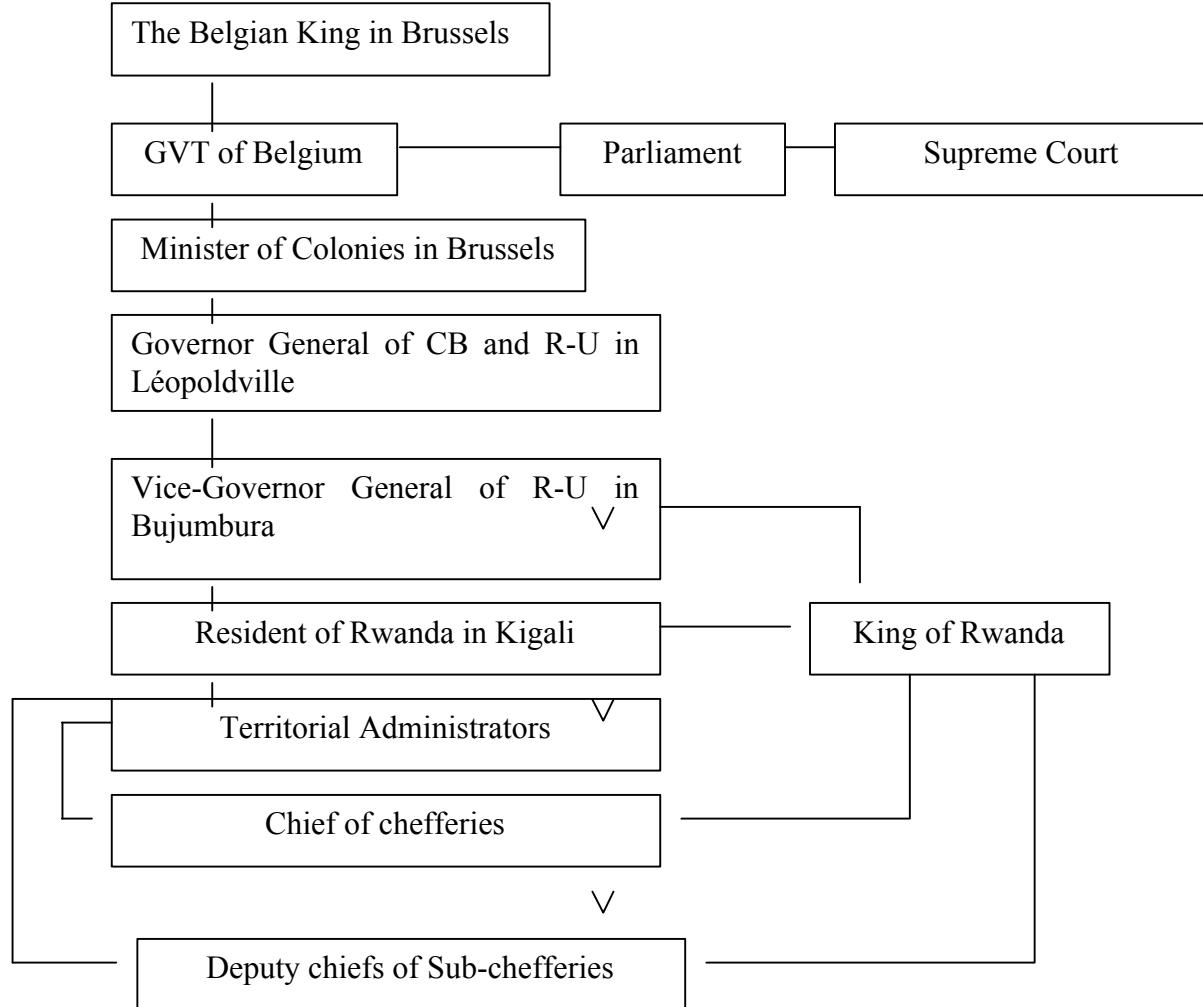
It is the most visible and mentioned but in reality it serves as the base for all other reforms.

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 Mortehan reformed the ethnic power distribution in the new commands by removing average Hutu, Twa and Tutsi and replacing them by people from the major Tutsi lineages (matridynastic or dynastic 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.



### **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.

To end this, let us remember that Mortehan 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

## **A. Overview**

Commonly called “Mortehan reform” the wide reorganization of Rwanda undertaken by Belgians, 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.

## **Georges MORTEHAN**

Georges Mortehan 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 implanted with dedication and full compliance orders given to him by Charles Voisin (vice governor of Rwanda-Urundi) concerning the country’s administrative reorganization until 1929.

## B. Sources and Reference Materials

### Books and articles

1. ADRIANSSENS, J., *Situation politique et sociale du Rwanda*, s.l., 1960
2. ADRIANSSENS, J., *Cours d'organisation politique et administrative du Ruanda-Urundi*, Nyakibanda, Grand Séminaire, 1954 .
3. ADRIANSSENS, J., *Histoire du Ruanda-Urundi*, Burasira, s.d
4. AGERON C.-R. et MICHEL M. (éd.), *L'ère des décolonisations*, Paris, Karthala, 1995.
5. ALCANDRE (J), *Le mandat colonial, Analyse juridique et critique politique*, Paris, 1935
6. ANONYME, Notre mandat sur le Ruanda-Urundi, *Essor colonial et maritime*, 1926, n° 220.
7. ANONYME, Il faut plusieurs politiques indigènes, in : *Essor colonial et maritime*, 1930, n°463
8. ANONYME, Le travail indigène et les sanctions de contrats, in : *Essor colonial et maritime*, 1930, n°479
9. ANONYME, Le Rwanda contemporain in : *Servir*, 1947, n°5, p.41
10. ANONYME, Administration au groupe scolaire d'Astrida, in : *Servir*, 1946, III, pp. 146-148.
11. ASHTON, (E.H), Democracy and Indirect Rule, *Africa*, 1947, vol.XVII.
12. ARNOUX, A *Les Pères Blancs aux sources du Nil*, Namur, Grands Lacs, 1953
13. ATTERBURY, M.C, *Revolution in Rwanda*, Madison, University of Wisconsin, African Studies Program, 1970
14. BELLON, R. et DELFOSSE, P., Devoirs et obligations des autorités indigènes coutumières investies et des agents du cadre indigène, *Servir*, 1947, IV, pp.154-166
15. BERLAGE, J., *Répertoire de la presse au Congo belge (1884-1954) et au Ruanda-Urundi (1920-1954)*, Bruxelles, 1955
16. BRAUSCH, J.E., Le paternalisme : une doctrine belge de politique indigène (1908-1933), *Revue de l'Institut de sociologie*, 1957, II, pp.191-217
17. BHATTACHARYYA, I, *.Belgian administration during the trusteeship period with special reference to the Tutsi-Hutu relationship*, New Delhi, Universty of Delhi, 1967.
18. BIGIRUMWAMI, A, .Les problèmes sociaux et ethniques au Rwanda, in : *témoignage chrétien*, 1958, n° 739.
19. BILSEN, A.A.J.VAN, *Vers l'indépendance du Congo et du Ruanda-Urundi*, Kinshasa-Presse universitaire du Zaïre-CEDAF, 2è éd. 1977.
20. BIROLI, J., *Les institutions traditionnelles du Ruanda-Urundi et l'évolution de la coutume*, Louvain, U.C.L., 1953.

21. BOAHEN, A., (sous la direction du volume), *Histoire Générale de l'Afrique*, Vol. VII, L'Afrique sous la domination coloniale, 1885-1935, Paris, UNESCO / Nouvelles Editions Africaines, 1987, 864 p.
22. BORGERHOFF, R. , *Le Ruanda -Urundi*, Bruxelles, 1928.
23. BOTTE *et alii*, Les relations personnelles de subordination dans les sociétés de l'Afrique centrale, *C.E.A.*, 1969, 35- IX, 3 pp. 350 - 401.
24. BOURGEOIS, R., -Traitement des chefs et des sous-chefs coutumiers du Ruanda-Urundi, rachat des prestations dues précédemment en nature, in : *Servir*, 1951,p. 36-39.
25. BOURGEOIS, R., *Banyarwanda et Barundi. Evolution du contrat de bail à cheptel au Ruanda -Urundi*, Bruxelles, ARSC, 1958.
26. BOURGEOIS, R., Les coutumes au Ruanda et le choix du nouveau Mwami, in : *Centre-Afrique*, 12.8., 16.8., 17.8.1959.
27. BRAUSCH, G., Origines de la politique indigène belge en Afrique (1879- 1908), in : *Revue de l'Institut de Sociologie*, 1955.p. 455-478.
28. BOURGEOIS, R., Le paternalisme : une doctrine belge de politique indigène (1908-1933) » in : *Revue de l'Institut de Sociologie*, 1957.p. 191-217.
29. BRIEY, R. DE, Musinga, in: *Congo*, 1920, p.1-13.
30. BRUNSCHWIG, H., *Le partage de l'Afrique noire*, Paris Flammarion, 1971.
31. BUSHAYIJA.S., Aux origines du problème Bahutu au Ruanda, in : *Revue Nouvelle*, 1958, p.594-597.
32. BUSHAYIJA.S., Le Ruanda en état de révolution. Plaidoyer pour la démocratisation, in : *Revue Nouvelle*, 1960, p.503-513.
33. BYANAFASHE, D., (sous la direction de), *Les Défis de l'Historiographie rwandaise*, Tome 1, Butare, Ed.Université Nationale du Rwanda, Juin, 2004.
34. CAYEN, A., Les Belges dans l'Est Africain Allemand, in *L'Événement illustré*, 12.4.1919, n° 181, p.154-158.
35. CAYEN, A., Avec le commissaire royal Malfeyt à la cour de Musinga, roi du
36. Ruanda, in : *L'Événement illustré*, 19.4.1919, n° 182, p.171-176.
37. CAYEN, A., Le travail forcé devant la conférence internationale, *Essor colonial et maritime*, 1930, n°447.
38. CHARLES, P., *Le problème des Centres Extra-Coutumiers et quelques uns de ses aspects*, Bruxelles, Institut Colonial International, 1936,18p.
39. CHAULEUR, P., Les étapes de l'indépendance du Ruanda-Urundi, in *Etudes*, 1962, p. 225-231.
40. CHEIK ANTA DIOP., *L'Afrique Noire précoloniale. Etudes comparées des systèmes politiques et sociaux de l'Europe et de l'Afrique Noire de l'Antiquité à la formation des Etats modernes*, Paris, Présences africaines, 1960
41. CHRETIEN, J. P., La révolte de Ndungutse (1912). Forces traditionnelles et pression coloniale au Rwanda allemand in : *Revue française d'histoire d'outre - mer*, 1972, 4, p.645-680.
42. CHRETIEN, J. P., Mission, pouvoir colonial at africain. Un exemple au Rwanda sous la colonisation allemande : le meurtre du Père Loupias en 1910,

- in : CARREZ M. et alii, *Christianisme et pouvoirs politiques*, Lille, 1973, pp. 139-155.
43. CHRETIEN, J. P., Echanges et hiérarchie dans les royaumes des grands lacs de l'Est africain, *Annales E.S.C*, n° 6, novembre – décembre, 1974.
  44. CHRETIEN, J. P., Le Rwanda face à la croisée des chemins in : *Croissance des jeunes nations*, Octobre, 1974, n° 152, p. 11-13.
  45. CHRETIEN, J. P., Echanges et hiérarchies dans les royaumes des Grands Lacs de l'Est africain in : *Annales Economies, Société, Civilisations*, 1974, p.1327-1337.
  46. CHRETIEN, J. P., Des sédentaires devenus migrants : les motifs des départs des Burundais et des Rwandais vers l'Uganda (1926-1960), in *Culture et Développement*, 1978, p. 71-101.
  47. CHRETIEN, J. P. Les migrations du 20<sup>e</sup> siècle en Afrique Orientale. Le cas de l'émigration des banyarwanda et des barundi vers l'Uganda, *Les migrations internationales de fin du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours*, UNESCO, CNRS, pp.644-680.
  48. CHRETIEN, J. P., *Roi, Religion, Lignages en Afrique orientale pré coloniale, royaute sans Etat et monarchies absolues*, Paris, PUF, 1986.
  49. CHRETIEN, J. P., *L'invention religieuse en Afrique : Histoire et religion en Afrique noire*, Paris, ACCT, Karthala, 1993, 478p.
  50. CHRETIEN, J. P., *Les médias du génocide*, Paris, Khartala, 1995
  51. CHRETIEN, J. P., *Le défi de l'ethnisme Rwanda et Burundi : 1990-1996*, Khartala, 1997
  52. CHRETIEN, J. P., *Burundi: L'histoire retrouvée, 25 ans de métier en Afrique*, Paris: Karthala, 1999.
  53. CLAEYS-BOUUAERT, A., L'élite et ses devoirs, in : *Servir*, 1953, p.169-170.
  54. CLASSE, L., Pour moderniser le Rwanda. Le problème des Batutsi, *Essor colonial et maritime*, 1930, n° 489, n°490, n°491.
  55. CLASSE, L., Le Ruanda et ses habitants : organisation politique, la religion, la famine, in : *Congo*, 1922, p.677-693.
  56. CLASSE, L., Un triste Sire ! Il faut débarrasser le Ruanda de Musinga, *Essor colonial et maritime*, 1930, n°494
  57. CODERE, H., Power in Ruanda, in: *Antropologica*, 1962, p. 45-85.  
CODERE, H., Revolution in Ruanda-Urundi, in *Africa Today*, 58. Octobre, 1960, p.7-8.
  59. COMHAIRE, J., Evolution générale du Ruanda-Urundi en 1953, in : *Zaire*, 1954, p.1067-1074.
  60. COMHAIRE, J., Le Ruanda-Urundi en 1952, in: *zaire*, 1954, p.55-61.
  61. CONSTANTIN, F. et COULON, C., *Religion et transition démocratique en Afrique*, Paris, Karthala, 1997,
  62. COPANS, J., *La longue marche de la modernité africaine*, Paris, Karthala, 1990.
  63. COQUERY - VIDROVITCH, C., *Afrique noire. Permanences et Ruptures*, Paris, Payot (Ed. Révisée), L'Harmattan, 1952, 450p.

64. COQUERY - VIDROVITCH, C., «La mise en dépendance de l'Afrique noire, 1800-1970 » *Cahier d'études africaines*, 1962, XVI, 1-2(61-62) : 7-58
65. COQUERY - VIDROVITCH, C., « Révoltes et résistances en Afrique noire. Une tradition de résistance paysanne à la colonisation », *Labor, Capital and Society*, 16(1), 1983, p.34-63
66. COQUERY - VIDROVITCH, C., COMHAIRE, J., et MONIOT, H., *l'Afrique noire de 1800 à nos jours*, Paris, PUF (3<sup>e</sup> éd. Révisée 1993).
67. COQUERY - VIDROVITCH, C., *L'Afrique et les africains au 19<sup>ème</sup> siècle. Mutations, Révoltes et Crises*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1999.
68. CORNEVIN, R., *Histoire de l'Afrique*, Paris, 1967, 2 tomes.
69. COUPEZ A. et D'HERTEFELT M., *La royaute de l'ancien Rwanda*, Tervuren, Musée Royal d'Afrique Centrale, 1964.
70. CYIMANA, G., Préalables à l'indépendance du Ruanda-Urundi, in : *Habari*, 1959, n° 5, p.2-13
71. DAMMAN, E., *Les religions en Afrique*, Paris, Payot, 1978, 273p.
72. DAYE, P., *L'empire colonial belge*, Bruxelles, Editions du « Soir »-Berger-Levrault, 1923, 669 p.
73. DAYE, P., *Orientations des belges vers les carrières coloniales, industrielles, commerciales et libérales. Recrutements et préparations*, Bruxelles, 1926.
74. DEHOX, E., *L'Afrique centrale à la croisée des chemins*, Un reportage critique, 2 Tomes, Bruxelles, R. Stops, 1959.
75. DE HEUSCH, (L), *Le Rwanda et la civilisation interlacustre*, Bruxelles, 1966.
76. DE LACGER, L., *Ruanda*, Kabgayi, 1959.
77. DELAFOSSE, M., La politique indigène au point de vue économique, *Essor colonial et maritime*, 1926, n°222
78. DELCOURT, L., L'émigration du Ruanda –Urundi, Astrida, I.R.S.A.C., 1951.
79. DELCOURT, L., Le pouvoir traditionnel et l'autorité administrante au Ruanda-Urundi, in : *Alumni*, 1952, pp. 11-30.
80. DELCOURT, L., L'administration européenne du Ruanda-Urundi, in: *Compte rendu du séminaire d'anthropologie sociale*, Astrida, I.R.S.A.C., 1952, pp.73-74.
81. DEL PERUGIAL, *Les derniers rois mages*, Paris, 1970.
82. DE DERKER, P., *Mutations sociales, politiques et économiques du Rwanda entre les deux Guerres*, (Master's dissertation), 1974, Univ. Paris VII
83. DE SCHREVEL, M., *Les forces politiques de la décolonisation jusqu'à la veille de l'indépendance*, Louvain, Impr. Symons, 1970, 507p.
84. DRESCH, J., Méthodes coloniales au Congo belge et en A.E., *Revue de politique Etrangère*, Paris, 1947, p.7.
85. DUMONT, A., Territoire sous mandat (Ruanda-urundi), in : *Les Nouvelles*, 86. 1936 ,tomeII, p.736-749.
87. DUMONT, R., Décolonisation et développement agricole au centre-est l'Afrique : le Ruanda-Urundi, in : *Revue du Tiers Monde*, 1960, p.421-445.
88. DURIEUX, A., *Institutions politiques, administratives et juridiques du Congo belge et du Ruanda-Urundi*, Bruxelles, 1957.

89. DURIEUX, A., *Institutions politiques, administratives et judiciaires du Congo et du Ruanda Urundi*, Bruxelles, Bielefeld, 2<sup>e</sup> éd., 1955.
90. ENGELS, A., A propos des chefferies indigènes, in : *Congo, 1922*, t. I, n°I, pp.1-10.
91. ENGELS, A., Administration directe ou administration indirecte au Congo, *Congo, 1922*, t. I, n°I, pp.325-336.
92. ERNY, P., *L'école coloniale au Rwanda (1900-1962)*, Paris, 2002
93. ETMAD, A., La possession du monde : poids et mesures de la colonisation, *XVII<sup>e</sup> - XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 2003
94. EVERAERTS, E., *Monographie agricole du Ruanda-Urundi*, Bruxelles, 1947.
95. FALLOON, F., La multiplication pour certaines cultures pour combattre la famine au Ruanda-Urundi, *Bulletin agricole du Congo belge*, 1930, XXI, 3, pp.882-886.
96. FELTZ, G., *Causes et conséquences de la guerre civile du Rwanda*, Aix, Université de Provence, 1969
97. FELTZ, G., Evolution des structures foncières et l'histoire politique du Rwanda (XIX<sup>e</sup> et XX<sup>e</sup> siècles) in : *Etudes d'histoire africaine*, 1975, p.143-154.
98. FORGES, A. DES, *Defeat is the only bad news: Rwanda under Musiinga 1896- 1931*, Yale, Yale University, 1972.
99. FRANCK, L., La politique indigène, le service territorial et les chefferies, in: *Congo, 1921*, p. 189-201.
100. FURAKAKI, P.T., *Les mandats internatioaux de la S.D.N.*, thèse de doctorat Université de Lyon, 1923.
101. GAHAMANA Joseph, *Le Burundi sous l'administration belge*, Karthala, 1983.
102. GILLE, A., La politique indigène du Congo belge et du Ruanda-Urundi, *Encyclopédie du Congo belge*, 1951, t. III, pp.709-748
103. GODDING, R., Territoires coloniaux et territoires sous tutelle, *Zaire*, 1949, III-7, pp.805-817.
104. GOEBEL, C., Mutara Rudahigwa Mwami du Rwanda in : *Revue coloniale belge*, 1949, P. 2976299.
105. GUILLAUME, H., *Note sur l'internationalisation du problème au Ruanda-Urundi*, s.l. 1961.
106. HABARUSHAKA Cl., *Les métamorphoses des structures socio-politiques au Rwanda : de la monarchie à la République*, Louvain, U.L.C., 1973.
107. HABIMANA B., et HARROY J.P., Instauration et abrogation des cultures vivrières obligatoires au Rwanda, in : *Civilisation*, 1980, p. 176-213.
108. HARCOULT, F.D', Au Ruanda-Urundi après les émeutes, in : *L'Afrique à l'heure H*, Paris, Gallimard, 1960.
109. HARROY J.P., *Rwanda, De la féodalité à la démocratie 1955-1962*, Bruxelles, Hayez, Académie des Sciences d'Outre-mer, 1984.
110. HARROY J.P., Ruanda-Urundi ou les dangers d'une réussite, in : *Revue de la société belge d'Etudes et d'Expansion*, 1958, p. 57-60.

111. HEMPTINNE, J. DE, La politique indigène du gouvernement belge, in : *Congo*, 1928, p. 359-374.
112. HERTEFELT, M.D', Les élections communales et le consensus politique au Rwanda, in *Zaire*, 1960, p 403-438.
113. HERTEFELT, M.D', Le Ruanda et le Burundi vers l'indépendance, in : *Archives diplomatiques et consulaires*, 1962, p.372-373.
114. HERTEFELT, M.D', TROUWBORST (A.A.) et SHERER (J.H.), *Les anciens royaumes de la zone interlacustre méridionale : Ruanda, Burundi, Buha*, Tervuren, 1962.
115. HERTEFELT Marcel (D) et DE LAME Danielle, *Société, culture et l'histoire du Rwanda. Encyclopédie bibliographique, 1863-1980/87*, Tervuren, Musée Royal d'Afrique Centrale, 2 vol, 1987,1849 p.
116. HEREMANS, Roger., *Introduction à l'histoire du Rwanda*, Bruxelles: Editions A.De Boeck, 1973
117. HEREMANS, Roger., *L'éducation dans les missions des Pères blancs en Afrique Centrale (1879-1914)* Bruxelles, Nauwelaerts, 1983.
118. HEUSCH HALEWYCK (de), Les voies et moyens de civilisation au Ruanda -Urundi, *Bulletin de la société belge d'étude et d'expansion*, Liège, février, 1928, n°, 64 pp.20-27.
119. HEUSCH HALEWYCK (de), *Les institutions politiques et administratives des Etats africains soumis à l'autorité de la Belgique*, Bruxelles, Bolyn, 1938.
120. HEYSE, T., *Le mandat belge sur le Ruanda-Urundi*, Bruxelles, 1930.  
HEYSE, T., Le pouvoir exécutif au Congo et au Ruanda-Urundi, in : *I.C.B, Buletin des séances*, 1951, p.571. I.C.B., 1951, p.199.
121. HEYSE, T., Index bibliographique colonial du Congo belge et du Ruanda-Urundi, Bruxelles, 1937.
122. HIGIRO JMV., *La décolonisation du Rwanda et le rôle de l'ONU 1946-1962*, Mémoire de Maîtrise, 1975.
123. HITABATUMA, I., Autorités rwandaises et pouvoirs européens. Ex de la mission protestante de Kilinda 1907-1945, UNR, 1978.
124. HONKE, G., Au plus profond de l'Afrique. Le Rwanda et la colonisation allemande 1885-1919, Peter Hammer Verlag, 1990.
125. HOSTELET, L., L'œuvre civilisatrice de la Belgique de1885 à1945, Bruxelles, 1953
126. HUBERT, J.R, *La Tousaint rwandaise et sa répression*, Bruxelles, A.R.S.O.M., 1965.
127. JAMOULE, M., Notre mandat sur le Ruanda-urundi, in : Congo, 1927, P, 477-496
128. JANSSENS, R., *Note de synthèse des débats du conseil supérieur du pays du Ruanda sur le régime foncier*, Usumbura, s ; éd, 1959.
129. JASPAR,H., Le Ruanda-Urundi, pays à disettes chroniques,in : Congo, 1929, II, 1,pp. 1-21

130. JENTGEN, P., *Les frontière du Ruanda-Urundi et le régime international de tutelle*, B ruxelles, A.R.S.C ;, 1957
131. JUNGERS , E., L'agriculture indigène au Ruanda-Urundi,in : *Société de belge d'études et de l'expansion*, Liège, 1946, n° 123, pp. 323-327
132. KAGAMBIRWA, W., *Les autorités rwandaises face aux pouvoirs européens à Nyanza (1900-1946)*, Butare, UNR, 1979.
133. KABWETE Ch., *L'idée de démocratie au Rwanda de 1946-1994*, Mémoire de Licence, Butare, 1997..
134. KAGAME, A., *Organisation politique et juridictions indigènes au Ruanda-Urundi*, Bruxelles, 1943.
135. .KAGAME, A., Le code des institutions politiques du Rwanda précolonial, Bruxelles, I.R.C.B., 1952.
136. KAGAME, A., *Les organisations socio -familiales de l'ancien Rwanda*, Bruxelles, A.R.SB., 1954.
137. KAGAME, A., Le pluralisme ethnique et culturel dans le Ruanda-Urundi, in :
138. *Compte- rendu de la 30è session de l'Incidé*, Bruxelles, 1957, p., 268-293.
139. KAGAME, A., *L'histoire du Rwanda*, Leverville, Bibliothèque de l'Etoile, 1958.
140. KAGAME, A., *L'histoire des armées bovines de l'ancien Rwanda*, Bruxelles, 1961.
141. KAGAME, A., *Les milices du Rwanda précolonial*, Bruxelles, A.R.S.O.M., 1
142. KAGAME, A., *Un abrégé de l'ethno-histoire du Rwanda*, Butare, Editions Universitaires du Rwanda, 1972.
143. KAGAME, A., *Un abrégé de l'histoire du Rwanda de 1853 à 1972*, Butare, Editions universitaires du Rwanda, 1975.
144. KALIBWAMI, J., *Le Rwanda face à son avenir .Etudes socio-politiques*, Paris, 1979.
145. KALIBWAMI, J., Le catholicisme et la société rwandaise 1900-1962, Paris, 1982.
146. KANYAMACUMBI, P., Société, culture et pouvoir politique en Afrique interlacuse, Hutu-Tutsi dans l'ancien Rwanda, éd.Select, 1995.
147. KAYIRAMIRWA, F., L'émigration du Ruanda-Urundi pendant les dis premières année de l'administration belge (1923-1933), Mémoire de LicenceU.C.L., 1976.
148. KAREMANO, Ch., L'Eglise catholique et les changements socio-politiques au Rwanda, 1900-1959, U.C.L., 1979.
149. KAYIHURA, M., L'immense program du Rwanda, in : *Jeune Afrique*, 17.2.1964.
150. KAZINDU, L, Atitude de la Belgique et de l'ONU à l'égard de l'effondrement des institutions féodales au Rwanda 1959-1560, Bruxelles, U.L.B., Mémoire de Licence, 1976.
151. KERKEN, G.VAN DER., *La politique coloniale belge*, Antwerpen, Van Diern, 1943.

152. KERKEN, G.VAN DER., L'évolution de la politique indigène au Congo et au Ruanda-Urundi, in : *Revue de l'Institut de Sociologie*, 1953, p.25-62.
153. KINIGI , F., *Réalisations économiques de la Belgique au Ruanda et au Burundi pendant les vingt premières années de son administration*, Mémoire de Licence, U.C.L., 1971.
154. LEEUW, C.VAN, *L'administration territoriale au Congo et au Ruanda-Urundi.Fondements institutionnels et expérience vécue.1912-1960*, Louvain-la-Neuve, U.C.L., 1981.
155. LECLERE (C), La formation d'un empire colonial belge, Bruxelles, 1932.
156. LEGER, L.T., *Du Tanganyika à l'Atlantique. Impression de voyage sur l'œuvre coloniale belge*, Bruxelles, 1921.
157. LEJEUNE (G), *L'Afrique de 1800 à 1965. Texte et commentaires*, Bujumbura, Université du Burundi, 1977.
158. LEMARCHAND, R., L'influence des systèmes traditionnels sur l'évolution politique du Rwanda et du Burundi, in : *Revue de l'Institut de Sociologie*, 1962, pp. 333-357.
159. LEROY, P. et WESTHOF, J., *Législation du Ruanda-Urundi*, Bruxelles, 1954.
160. LIBION, P., *Nouvelles institutions du Rwanda*, Usumbara, Service des A.P.,1961.
161. LINDEN Ian., *Christianisme et pouvoirs au Rwanda (1900-1990)*, Paris, Karthala, 1999.
162. LINDEN Ian. , *Church and Revolution in Rwanda*, Manchester University Press, 1977.
163. LINDEN, F. VAN DER., *La réorganisation politique du Ruanda-Urundi*, in : Revue coloniale belge, 1952, p.450.
164. LOMBARD, J., *Autorités traditionnelles et pouvoirs européens en Afrique Noire*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1967.
165. LOGIEST, G, *Mission au Rwanda.Un blanc dans la bagarre Tutsi- Hutu*, Bruxelles, Didier Hatier, 1988.
166. LOUIS, W.R., *Ruanda-Urundi, 1884-1919*, Oxford, 1963.
167. LOUWERS, O., *La campagne africaine de la Belgique et ses résultats politiques*, Bruxelles, 1921.
168. LOUWERS, O., La conférence de la Paix et l'attribution des mandats dans l'Est africain, in : *Congo*, 1922, t, I, pp.55-60.
169. LUGAN, B., *Histoire du Rwanda. De la préhistoire à nos jours*, Vitry Bartillat, 1997.
170. LUGAN, B., Causes et effets de la famine « Rumanura » au Rwanda 1916-1918, in: *Revue canadienne des études africaines*, 1976, p.347-356.
171. MAQUET, J.J., *Le système des relations sociales dans le Rwanda ancien*, Tervuren, 1954.
172. MAQUET, J.J., *The Premise of Inequality in Ruanda*, London, Oxford

University Press, 1961.

173. MAQUET, J.J., La participation de la classe paysanne au mouvement de l'indépendance au Rwanda, in *Cahiers Etudes Africaines*, 1964, p.552-568.
174. MAQUET, J.J., Rwanda-Burundi : évolutions divergentes ou parallèles ? in : *Afrique contemporaine*, mai-juin, n°25, p.21-25.
175. MAQUET, J.J et HERTEFELT, M (d') *Elections en société féodale. Une étude sur l'introduction du vote populaire au Ruanda-Urundi*, Bruxelles, 1959. MAQUET, J.J et NAIGIZIKI, S., Les droits fonciers dans le Ruanda ancien, in : Zaïre, 1957, p. 340-359.
176. MAUS, A., LO.N.U. au Ruanda-Urundi, in *Eurafrica*, 1959, n°1, p. 12-14, n°2, p.26-28, n°6, p.13-14.
177. MAUS, A., Le coup d'Etat de Nyanza, (Rwanda), in : *Eurafrica*, septembre 1959, p. 17-21.
178. MAUS, A., Le statut politique du Ruanda-Urundi et la situation des Bahutu, in : *Eurafrica*, octobre 1959, p.125-163.
179. MBONIMANA Gamaliel., Christianisation indirecte et cristallisation des clivages ethniques au Rwanda (1925-1931), in : *Enquêtes et documents d'histoire africaine*, 1978, p.125-163.
180. MBONIMANA Gamaliel., *L'instauration d'un royaume chrétien au Rwanda (1900-1931)*, Louvain-la- Neuve, 1981.
181. MBONIMANA Gamaliel., Le remodelage de la société par l'école missionnaire (1900-1931) in *Cahiers Centre Saint Dominique*, n° 1, Août 1995, p.62.
182. M.D.R.- PARMEHUTU, *Manifeste- Programme, Statuts, Résolutions*, Gitarama Secrétariat exécutif national, s.d.
183. MINEUR, G., *Commentaire de l'Ordonnance législative n°248/A.I.M.O. du 4 octobre 1943 sur les juridictions indigènes du Ruanda-Urundi*, Astrida, 1944
184. MINISTÈRE DE LA DEFENSE NATIONALE, *Les campagnes coloniales belges 1914-1918*, Bruxelles, 1927-1932, 3 tomes.
185. MINISTÈRE DES COLONIES., *Rapports d'administration belge du Ruanda-Urundi pendant les années 1921 à 1958 présentés aux Chambres*.édité par l'office de l'information et des relations publiques pour le Congo Belge et le Ruanda-Urundi, Bruxelles, 1959
186. MINISTÈRE DES COLONIES., *Statut des fonctionnaires et agents de la colonie*, Bruxelles, s.d.
187. MINISTÈRE DES COLONIES., *Législation et règlements du Ruanda-Urundi*, Bruxelles, 1926
188. MINISTÈRE DES COLONIES., *Organisation politique indigène et juridictions au Ruanda-Urundi*, Ordonnance législative n°347/A.I.M.O. du 4 octobre 1943 sur l'organisation politique indigène du Ruanda - Urundi ; Ordonnance législative n°348/A.I.M.O. du 5 octobre 1943 sur les juridictions indigènes du Ruanda-Urundi, Léopoldville, 4-5 octobre 1943 .

189. MINISTÈRE DES COLONIES., Plan décennal de développement économique et social du Ruanda-Urundi, Bruxelles, 1951.
190. MOELLER (A.), *Les finances du Congo et du Ruanda- Urundi*, Bruxelles, 1938.
191. MONEHEIM, F., La révolution rwandaise, in : *Revue générale belge*, décembre, 1959, p.53-60.
192. MONSTELLE, A. DE, *Le Rwanda déchiré*, s. l ., s. éd, s. d.  
*Le mouvement social muHutu devant l'hégémonie muTutsi au Rwanda*, s.l, s.éd., 1959.
193. MPFUBUSA, D., *La conquête du Ruanda et de l'Urundi (1916)*, Bruxelles, U.L.B., mémoire de licence, 1976.
194. MUBASHANKWAYA, M., *Le Rwanda depuis 1959.Evolution politique, économique et sociale*, Aix Université de Provence, 1971.
195. MUGEMANA, M., *Prestation et système fiscal de l'administration belge au Rwanda, 1921-1940*, Mémoire de maîtrise, 1983.
196. MUGESERA, A., A l'origine de la désintégration de la nation Rwandaise, in :*Les Cahiers Lumière et Société : Rwanda*, n° 3, Juin, 1996, pp 21-46.
197. MULENZI, J., *La tutelle internationale et le problème des unions administratives*, Louvain, Nauwelaerts, 1955.
198. MULENZI, J., *Etude sur quelques problèmes du Rwanda*, Bruxelles, Imprimerie tournaise, 1958.
199. MULENZI, J., Le Rwanda moderne.Une esquisse historique et sociologique, in : *Echanges*, Pentecôte, 1956, p.4-9.
200. MULLER, N., Une étape vers la démocratie, in : *Problèmes d'Afrique Centrale*, 1953, p. 117-123.
201. MUNYAMPETA MUNYUZANGABO, C, *L 'internationalisation du conflit Hutu – Tutsi en Afrique interlacustre*, Paris, Ecole des hautes études en science sociales, mémoire de licence, 1976.
202. MUNYANGAJU, A., *L'actualité politique au Rwanda*, s.L. éd., 1959.
203. MUREKAMBAZNE , G., *Les mandats internationaux en Afrique de 1919 à 1930 : gestion et contrôle*, mémoire de licence, Fribourg, 1973.
204. MUREGO, Donat, *La Révolution rwandaise1959-1962. Essai d'interprétation*, thèse de doctorat ,Louvain, 1975.
205. MUSANGWA, S., *La politique sociale et sanitaire belge dans le territoire sous mandat et sous tutelle (Ruanda-Urundi) de 1920-1960*, mémoire de licence, U.B. Bujumbura, 1978.
206. MWOROHA, E., *Institutions, rites et structures étatiques des anciennes civilisations monarchiques des grands lacs est- africains*, Thèse de 3è cycle, Paris, Paris I, 1975.
207. MWOROHA, E., *Peuple et rois de l'Afrique des lacs*, Dakar, NEA., 1977.
208. NAHIMANA Ferdinand, *Rwanda, Emergence d'un Etat*, l'Harmattan, 1993.

209. NAHIMANA, F., *Le blanc est arrivé. Le roi est parti. Une facette de l'histoire du Rwanda contemporain : 1894/1931*, Kigali, Imprimerie Printer Set, 1987.
210. NAHIMANA F. et NTEZIMANA, E., Les institutions politiques des anciens royaumes Hutu du Rwanda : buts et fonctions, in : *Rapport de recyclage national d'histoire*, Butare, 1980, p. 9-10.
211. NDABERI, P., *Les partis politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda de 1959 à 1974*, Bruxelles, U.L.B., mémoire de licence, 1975.
212. NGAYABATERANYA, A., *La Société des nations et les débuts du mandat belge sur le Rwanda – Burundi 1920-1926*, Université de Grenoble II, mémoire de licence, 1977.
213. NGENDANDUMWE, P., *Réorganisation politique indigène au Ruanda – Urundi. Le décret du 14 juillet 1952 et son application*, Louvain, U.C.L., mémoire de licence, 1959.
214. NGIMBUS – NGIMBUS, B., *Dates et documents de la politique de colonisation*, Paris, 1985.
215. NKABUWAKABILI , A., *L'enseignement primaire au Ruanda avant la deuxième guerre mondiale (1900-1939)*, Mémoire de licence, Louvain, U.C.L., , 1971
216. NKABUWAKABILI , A, *Le Rwanda politique (1958-1960)* Bruxelles C.R.I.S.P., 1962.
217. NKUNDABAGENZI, F., L'émancipation politique et sociale du Rwanda, in : *Afrika-Kring*, 1960, p. 53-60.
218. NKUNDABAGENZI, F., *Evolution de la structure politique*, Louvain, mémoire de licence, 1961.
219. NKUNDURWANDA, M, La journée d'un chef, in : *Servir*, 3, 101/105
220. NKURIKIYIMFURA, J.N., Cadres coutumiers et masses rurales du Rwanda au temps du protectorat allemand et du mandat belge (1894/1945), in : *Réactions à la colonisation*, pp.341/356
221. NKURIKIYIMFURA, J.N., *Le gros bétail et la société rwandaise. Evolution politique : dès XII<sup>e</sup> – XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle à 1958*, Paris Harmattan, 1994.
222. NTAKABABAZA, F., *Le Rwanda sous tutelle belge (1945-1962) à travers les trois grands quotidiens d'expression française*, Liège, Univ. De Liège, 1971, Mémoire de Licence en Histoire Moderne.
223. NTEZIMANA Emmanuel., L'arrivée des Européens au Kinyaga et la fin des royaumes Hutu du Bukunzi et du Busozo, in : *Etudes Rwandaises*, Vol. XII, n°3 Juin 1980.pp. 1-29.
224. NTEZIMANA, E., *Institutions et Peuples. L'Eglise catholique et l'évolution politique, sociale et culturelle du Rwanda depuis 1945*, Aix, Université de Provence, Thèse de doctorat de 3<sup>e</sup> cycle, 1976.
225. NTEZIMANA, E., Coutumes et traditions des royaumes du Bukunzi et du Busozo, in : *Etudes rwandaises*, avril 1980, p. 15-39.
226. ORTS, P., Le système de mandats de la Société des Nations, in : *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, 1926-27, p. 494-524.

227. ORTS, P., Le mandat de la Belgique sur le Ruanda-Urundi, compte rendu de la session de la Haye de 1927, *Bibliothèque coloniale internationale*, pp. 385-389.
228. OVERSCHELDE, A. VAN, *Monseigneur Léon Paul Classe*, Kabgayi, Vicariat, 1945.
229. OVERSCHELDE, A. VA, *Un audacieux pacifique. Monseigneur Léon Paul Classe, apôtre du Rwanda*, Namur, Grands Lacs, 1948.
230. PAGES, A., *Un royaume hamite au cœur de l'Afrique*, Bruxelles, Hayez, 1933.
231. PASSELECQ, F., *L'essor économique belge. Expansion coloniale, étude documentaire sur l'armature économique de la colonisation belge au Congo*, Bruxelles, Desmet – Vertenelle, 1932.
232. PATERNOSTRE de la MAIRIEU, *Le Rwanda, son effort de développement*, Ed, A-DEBOECK, Bruxelles, 1983.
233. PAUWELS, M., Le Bushiru et son Muhinza ou roitelet Hutu, in : *Annali Lateranensi*, 1967, p. 205-322
234. PEIGNEUX, F., MARENCREAU, et FREDERICQ, S., *Rapport de la commission d'enquête au Rwanda*, Bruxelles, 26.2.1960.
235. PERRAUDIN, J., L'œuvre civilisatrice de la Belgiqueau Ruanda-Urundi, *Grands lacs*, 15 mai, 1949 no 121, pp.53- 65.
236. PEREZIDENSI Y'A RUPUBULIKA, Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, mbere y'ubukoloni, mu gihe cya Repubulika ya Mbere, Kigali, 1999.
237. PETILLON, L., Le Ruanda – urundi et le conseil de Tutelle, in : *Revue coloniale belge*, 1950. p.151-154.
238. PIRON, M., Les migrations hamitiques, *Servir*; 1948, IX, 6, pp. 280-283.
239. POLLET, M.S.B., *Etat de la question sur l'ethno-histoire du Rwanda*, mémoire , Université de Luvanium, juillet, 1970.
240. POSTIAUX, H., La colonisation du territoire du Ruanda – Urundi, in : *Les cahiers coloniaux*, 1929, p. 332-335.
241. RENAULT, F., *Lavigerie, l'esclavage africain et l'Europe*, t. I,: *L'Afrique centrale*, Paris, 1971
242. REYNTJENS, Filip., *Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda, droit public et évolution politique (1916/1973)*, Tervuren, 1985
243. REYNTJENS, Filip., *L'Afrique des Grands Lacs en crise. Rwanda, Burundi, 1988-1994*, Paris, Khartala, 1994.
244. ROTBERG (Robert) ed., *Imperialism, colonialism and hunger: East and Central Africa*, Lexington/Toronto, D.C.Health, 1983.
245. RUMIYA, Jean., De la résistance à la soumission. Quelques exemples de comportement rwandais vis-à-vis de la corvée à l'époque coloniale, in *Réactions à la colonisation*, pp.463/478.
246. RUMIYA, Jean., *Le Rwanda sous le régime du Mandat belge (1916/1931)*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1992
247. RUMIYA, Jean, *De la royauté au sultanat belge du Rwanda (1916-1931)*, Paris, 1983

248. RUTAYISIRE Paul., *La christianisation du Rwanda (1900-1945)*, Fribourg, 1987.
249. RUTEMBESA Faustin, La réorganisation administrative et ses conséquences au Rwanda entre 1926-1931, in : *Cahiers d'histoire de l'Université du Burundi*, n° 1 Avril, 1984, pp. 211-226.
250. RUTEMBESA Faustin, Les autorités indigènes dans la politique coloniale belge de 1916-1923, in : *Cahiers d'histoire de l'Université du Burundi*, Avril, 1983, p.4.
251. RUTERANA, JMV, *Le groupe scolaire de Butare, 1929-1962*, Ruhengeri, UNR, 1987.
252. RUYTINX, J. Ethique indigène et problème d'acculturation en Afrique central belge, in : *Revue de l'institut de sociologie*, 1958, p. 309-333.
253. RWABUKUMBA, J. et MUDANDAGIZI, V., Les formes historiques de la dépendance personnelle dans l'Etat Rwandais, in : *Cahier d'études africaines*, 1974, p. 6-25.
254. RYCKMANS, Pierre, Le problème politique au Ruanda-Urundi in : *Congo*, 1925, pp. 407/413.
255. RYCKMANS, P., Le problème politique au Rwanda-Urundi, in : *Congo*, 1929, p.819-823
256. RYCKMANS, Pierre, La situation actuelle au Ruanda-Urundi, *Bulletin de la Société belge d'études et d'expansion*, Liège, 1929, n° 70, pp.149-161.
257. RYCKMANS, Pierre, *Dominer pour servir*, Bruxelles, 1931.
258. RYCKMANS, P., La question coloniale à l'O.N.U, in : *Revue générale belge*, 1950, p.525-534.
259. RYCKMANS, P., la politique coloniale, Bruxelles, 1953.
260. SASSERATH, J. S., *Le Ruanda – Urundi : un étrange royaume féodal au cœur de l'Afrique*, Bruxelles, Germinal, 1948.
261. SENAT DE BELGIQUE, *Rapport de la mission sénatoriale au Congo et dans les territoires sous tutelle belge*, Bruxelles, 1947.
262. SHYAKA, A., *Le conflit rwandais : Origines, Développement et Stratégies de sortie*, Commission Nationale pour l'Unité et la Réconciliation, s. d , s. l.
263. SIMONS, E., L'œuvre colinatrice de la Belgique au Ruanda-Urundi, *Revue coliniale belge*, 1946, I, 8, pp.9-11.
264. SINDAYI GAYA, H., Evolution de l'organisation politique et sociale du Ruanda – Urundi (1931-1952), Mémoire de licence, Louvain, U.C.L., , 1973
265. STAMM, A., *L'Afrique de la colonisation à l'indépendance*, Paris, 2003.
266. SURET-CANALE, J., *L'Afrique noire. L'ère coloniale 1900-1945*, Paris, éd. Sociales, 1964, TEMPELS, *La philosophie bantoue*, Présence Africaine, n°7, Paris, 1945.
267. THIBAUT, P., Le Rwanda déchiré, in : *Esprit*, 1964, n°7, p.150-157.
268. VANDERLINDEN, F., La nouvelle organisation politique du Ruanda – Urundi, in : *Belgique d'Outre – mer*, 1960, p. 77-81.
269. VANHOVE, J., Les juridictions indigènes du Ruanda, in : *Congo*,

270. 1939, p.158-172.
271. VAN KOL, H., *Les mandats coloniaux et la S.D.N.*, Paris, 1925.
272. VANSINA, J., *L'évolution du royaume rwanda des origines à 1900*, Bruxelles, A.R.S.O.M., 1962.
273. VANSINA, J., *Les anciens royaumes de la savane .Les Etats des savanes méridionales de l'Afrique centrale des origines à l'occupation coloniale*, Léopoldville, 1965.
274. VANSINA, J., *De la tradition orale. Essai de méthode historique*, Tervuren, M.R.A.C., 1967.
275. VEIRMEULEN, V., *Problèmes coloniaux*, Bruxelles, 1947.
276. VELLUT, J.-L., *La misère rurale dans l'expérience coloniale du Zaïre, du Rwanda et du Burundi. Crise de subsistance et insuffisances alimentaires dans les possessions coloniales de la Belgique, 1900-1960*, African Studies Association, Boston, 1983.
277. VIDAL, C., Colonisation et décolonisation du Rwanda : la question Tutsi – Hutu, in : *R.F.E.P.A*, 1973, n°91, p. 32 - 47.
278. VIDAL, C. Economie de la société féodale rwandaise, in : *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 1974, p. 52-74.
279. VILAIN, E., éd., *Révolution et population. Aspects démographiques des grandes révolutions politiques*, Louvain la neuve, Academia, 1990.
280. WILLAME, J.-C., *Les Belges au Rwanda, le parcours de la honte. Commission Rwanda, quels enseignements ?* Bruxelles, éd. Complexe, 1997.
281. WILLAMS, E., *Capitalisme et esclavage*, Paris, Présence Africaine, 1968,
282. WILDE D'ESTMAEL, X. DE, *La réorganisation politique indigène au Rwanda – Urundi commentaire du décret du 14 juillet 1952*, Astrida, Groupe scolaire, s.d.
283. WILDE D'ESTMAEL, X. DE, La formation des élites, in : *Revue Nouvelle*, 1960, p. 496-503.
284. ZIEGLER, J., *Le pouvoir africain*, Paris, 1979.

## **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)

- Ruanda-urundi : travail forcé.

Dossier AE/II n° 1884 (3839).

- Portage
- Emigration.
- Maladie du sommeil.

Dossier AE/II n° 1940 (3301)

- Recrutement de la main-d'œuvre au Ruanda-Urundi.

Dossier AE/II n°1943 (3301).

- Produit des taxes d'émigration à verser au fonds spécial d'émigration du Ruanda-Urundi.

Dossier AE/II n°1942 (3301).

- Emigration des indigènes du Ruanda-Urundi.

Dossier AE/II n°1848 (3288).

- Le mandat de gestion à exercer dans le Ruanda et l'Urundi.

Dossier AE/II n° 1875 (3292).

- Projet de loi sur le gouvernement du Ruanda-Urundi.
- Organisation des territoires du Ruanda-Urundi.

Dossier AE/II n° 1907 (3297).

- Budget du Ruanda-Urundi

Dossier AE/II n°1905bis (3842)

- La mise en valeur des territoires du Ruanda-Urundi

Dossier AE/II n° 1875 (3292).

- L'organisation judiciaire des territoires à mandat.

Dossier AE/II n° 1849 (3288).

- Politique à suivre dans le Ruanda-Urundi (mémorandum du ministre L.Fanck) ,1920

Dossier AE/II n° 1847 (3288).

- L'organisation politique.

Dossiers A40/n° (25)0-(25b) 10,

- Rapports des missions de visites de l'ONU au Ruanda-Urundi, 1959

Dossiers A40/n° (43)2-(52)10,

- Documents de travail, correspondance et rapports des services, 1959

Dossiers A40/n°(53)1-(60)6,

- Rapports généraux sur la Résidence du Ruanda, 1921-1958

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/Caisse 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 divers : 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

## **Document on the internet**

Parliamentary enquiry by the Belgian Senat

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

Colonial transfer of power and authority  
Conversion to new religions  
Cultures said obligatory

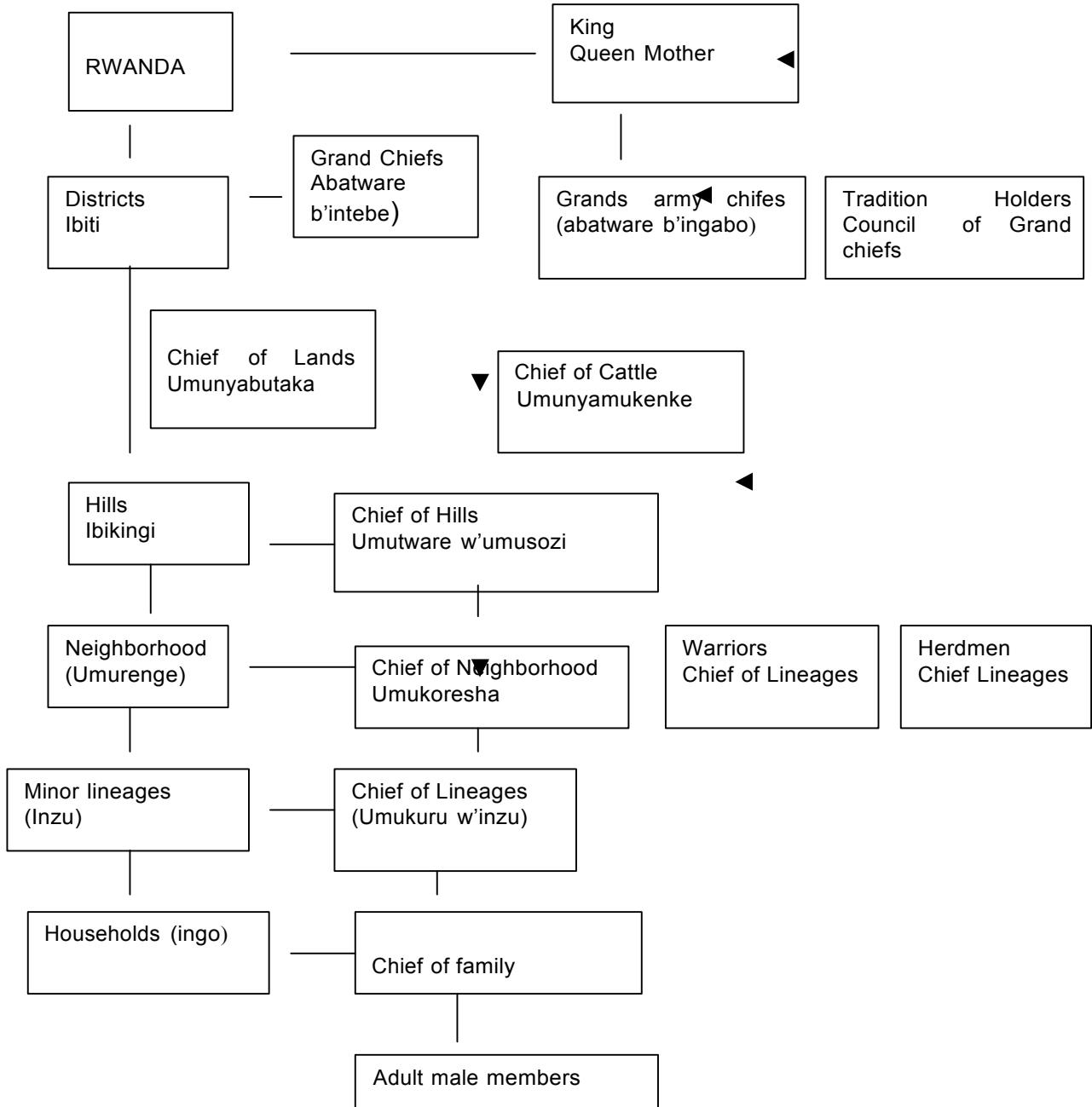
### **D. Comments and Details for the Teacher**

Political and administrative information 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.

## ▼

### Traditional Political Power in Rwanda

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



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

## **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.

### **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, Roger, *Introduction à l’Histoire du Rwanda*, Bruxelles: Editions A. De Boeck, 1973, p.43

### **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 “ingaligali”, or 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 homogenic 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, Alexis, *Un abrégé de l'histoire du Rwanda de 1853 à 1972*, Butare: Editions universitaires du Rwanda, 1975, pp.183/186

“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 awarls 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, individual property was 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)

## **Administrative Reorganization**

### **General politics recommended by the administration**

“Indigenous policy plan”

- 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 autochthonous 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;

Source: Rapport sur l'Administration belge du Ruanda-Urundi (RABRU), 1930. p.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

## **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 inopportunely that the function of the chief of army “umutware 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” (umutware) 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 awarls 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 alot. 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 led 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 vis à vis their subordinates and they have undertaken the rational organisation 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. internerships 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 ethnic 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, Jean, *Le Rwanda sous le régime du Mandat belge (1916/1931)*, Paris: L'Harmattan, 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 fooling the population. This group of some men enjoyed considerable harmful supernatural power in Rwanda.

(RABRU, 1926, p.65)

### **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)

### **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 “feudataires”. 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 “feudataires” 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 loosing 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 civilisation 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 realise 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)

### **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 necessary. With natives, he is accommodating, he listens patiently to their claims and he makes rectifications when he mistakes.

(RABRU, 1935, p.76)

## **The End of Administration Reform**

“The refining work of authority and regroupment of 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)

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

### **In the region of Nyaruguru (the current Giikongoro 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 the region of Mayaga

“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 armour 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 deposed 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

“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 favour off Musinga, will be punished. Musinga did not deserve to be king; he is against the government, against the missions, against any progress, against civilisation as well. Therefore rejoice because the government has given you a king.”

Daire 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 ennemis, 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.

## **Economic Transformations**

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

### **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 favourable 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;
- Planned 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 inlands that are free from factors mentioned above;
- Elimination of male bovid in too big numbers and sterile cows.

## **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 rumours 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, Bambogo 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)

### **Major Economic Reforms**

#### **Agricultural reforms**

From 1926, the Belgium administration had put in place an important programme 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 graduants from the Section of Agriculture of the “Astria 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; autochthonous 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 centres 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. Centres were established at Rubona, Rwerere and Karama for agricultural selection and experimentation. These centres experimented the best way of getting maximum production with minimum expenditure. New crops and species of foods 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 programme to fight against erosion; it was recommended that anti-erosion hedges be planted in levelled curves on endangered slopes.

A programme 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 grass) in order to solve the problem of insufficiency of grass for animals during dry seasons. Beside the programme of selection and upgrading of cattle, porcs were 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 its 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 pottery, 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 Bruxelles 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 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 lieux” 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	
MINETAIN	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
MINETAIN	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

**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 Rumanure 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 pat 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 taught 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

## **Socio-Cultural Reforms**

### **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 pseuo-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 dazzled 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, p.50 et sv.

### **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.”

De LACGER, *Ruanda*, Kabgayi, 1961, p. 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.”

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.”

Colonial administrators and official were obliged to learn Kinyarwanda and Kirundi

“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 eastern cost, it was used very much in central Africa for commercial purposes, but the mass population of the territory under the mandate understands 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 if languages is promoted and so that the result from it is not wasted.”

(RABRU, 1933, p.71)

### **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 Kibuye

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

RUSIMBYA Joseph ,77 ans, Camp de réfugié de Kiziba

## **A Poem (*Umuvugo*) : Nyamara Twitwa Abagihanga**

1. Kera Rwanda ikirama mu nka  
Yari ituje izira umivundo  
Abayo bazira iby'intugunda  
Ari umutuzo uzira umutozo
5. Ntawarondaga iby'amoko  
Cyangwa akagari k'inkomoko  
Ngo ahite avusha uwo badahuje.  
Ari uBufundu bwo n'u Buganza
- 10 Ari u Murera wo n'u Buberuka  
Rukoma cyangwa se n'u Busozo  
Hose hari garuka urare  
Umugozi utahirizwaho ari umwe.  
Ku itabaro byari byiza
15. Ingabo zirwanira ijabo<sup>2</sup> ryazo  
Inkwaya<sup>3</sup> zirusha inkuba guhinda  
Naho amakuza<sup>4</sup> avuza ubuhuha<sup>5</sup>  
Hiry hino bavuga imyato<sup>6</sup>  
Amakozere<sup>7</sup> akabona umwanzi
20. Inyungu rukumbi ari “kura Rwanda“.  
Cya gitaramo cy'urumenesha  
Abagabo bicaye ku ntango<sup>8</sup>  
Bavuga ibyivugo by'ubwatwa  
Bavuga intwarane n'intwari
25. Ntawushimirwa iby'amoko  
Ntawutoterezwa aho avuka  
Intero ari imwe ari Kanyarwanda.  
Inkuru y'inkusi<sup>9</sup> ndayibabwira  
Rwanda yacu yari urwego

---

<sup>2</sup> Ijabo : Igitinyiro giturutse ku butwari bw'umuntu

<sup>3</sup> Inkwaya : Imiheto

<sup>4</sup> Amakuza : Imyambi

<sup>5</sup> Ubuuhuha : Indirimbo baririmbisha umwana nta magambo, bahuhisha umunwa nk'umwana

<sup>6</sup> Imyato : Ibyivugo birebire

<sup>7</sup> Amakozere : Ingorane zikomeye utabasha kwivanamo wenyine

<sup>8</sup> Intango : Ikibindi kinini

<sup>9</sup> Inkuru y'inkusi : Inkuru ifite ukuri gusumba ukw'amabwire.

30. Kanyamahanga iyo atayitera  
 Ngo ayitokoze anayitobange  
 Iba yarabaye igitangaza  
 Abayo bererana nk'iraba<sup>10</sup>  
 Ari itabaza<sup>11</sup> ry'abayituye
35. Nyamara rero ntibyabaye  
 Ahubwo byabaye ibitindi Biba  
 amatiku arimwo inkota Nabamwe  
 bahoze ari nk'impanga Ntibatinya  
 ya mipanga
40. Batema ibyico bamena impanga  
 Kanyamahanga ariwe wapanze  
 Agamije impamvu imwe itari nziza  
 Ngirango mpere mu mizi yayo.  
 Baje ari ihubi ry'amarere
45. Bava i Burayi bukuzuzu<sup>12</sup>  
 Afurika bayigaba nk'umuhigo<sup>13</sup>  
 Ibihugu byose barabikwira  
 N'ahari i Rwanda barahataha.  
 Baje intego ari ugusenya
50. Ari uguahura basakuma  
 Basarura basuka iwabo  
 Ari uguhonga bene gihugu  
 Byitwa kubafasha kujijuka.  
 Rwanda basanze idasanzwe
55. Ururimi abayo bavuga ari rumwe  
 Umwami agaje afite abatware  
 Nabo batwara ntagutwama  
 N'ingabo zari kuri gahunda  
 Zizira ihunga ntagihunga
60. Rwanda ari igihugu gihimye.  
 Baje badasa n'abanyarwanda  
 Bityo bahabwa amazina menshi

---

<sup>10</sup> Iraba : Umutako abagore bategaga.

<sup>11</sup> Itabaza : Itara ribonesha ahantu hanini.

<sup>11</sup> Bukuzuzu : Vuba na bwangu.

<sup>12</sup> Umuhigo : Inyamaswa yishwe n'abahigi

- Babona irya BENE MADAMU  
 Bitwa abera baba abasirimu
65. Bafata irya RUTUKU n'ayandi  
 Irya MUZUNGU riba rusange.  
 Nibwo batuzanyemo uruzungu  
 Banywa amabyeri banga inzage  
 Banga Ryangombe ya mama
70. Baca imihango banga intango  
 Ingoro zisimbuzwa alitari  
 Bagira insengero n'amashuri  
 Haza imyambaro n'imihanda  
 Amasaro n'amasabune biraza
75. Haza imyunyu n'amasukari  
 Bagira ibyiza byo kujijisha  
 Nyamara intego ari yayindi.  
 Ubumwe bwakomeje guhinda  
 Abantu banga uburigatirizwa
80. Umwami agarama<sup>14</sup> ibyo guhakirizwa  
 Kanyamahanga arasumbirizwa<sup>15</sup>  
 Arahatariza arakutiriza  
 Abonye byanze atyaza inkota.  
 Yarayityaje imwe yamatiku
85. Acura amatindo ashaka inyundo  
 Ati“Reka nsenye ubu bumwe bwabo  
 Ngire mbakure k'ubunyarwanda  
 Mbashyire k'ubuhanya bw'amoko,  
 Bate gusangira bate isano,
90. Mbone mbatware KANYAMAHANGA“  
 Ibyari byiza abigira izambe  
 Aca amatorero yari imvange  
 Azana amashuri atuvangura  
 Imyanya ifatika mu kuyitanga
- 95 Dore ko yigize rwivanga Nabwo  
 agahera kuri iryo banga Ajugunya  
 Rwanda ku iyo manga.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup>Kugarama : Abyanga akibibona .

<sup>15</sup>Gusumbirizwa : Kubura epfo na ruguru.

Bwagoroba akanyomboka  
 Akagana mu Bahutu b'abatware

100. Ati”VAyo wo gacwa we nkubwire,  
 Reba imyaka ibaye myinshi  
 Utegekwa iwanyu hatava umwami  
 Hatava umwiru nta mutware  
 Nawe n’Imana ubikesha
105. Kandi n’ubu niko biteye  
 Njya guha ishuri umwana wawe  
 Umwami akandeba ikijisho  
 Njyewe iwacu ni mu Burayi
110. Ndakubwiye niko biteye Burya  
 Abatutsi barabishe”. Agasodoka  
 yirya icyara Akagera ibwami  
 nta vunyisha<sup>17</sup>  
 Akavuga yongorera na none
- 115 Ati”Muratewe gaHutu yaje  
 Nahoze numva yitotomba  
 Ngo yararyamiwe kuva kera  
 Ngo yarambiwe arabatera.”  
 Bimara imyaka bikiri muri urwo.
120. Asebanya asenya asopanya hose  
 Asahura asonga asenya u Rwanda  
 Intego shingiro ntiyakunda  
 Gusa atokoza gato umubano.  
 Abonye byanze ati “Sintuza”
125. Akora iyo bwabaga agera hose  
 Uwiswe umuHutu akaba ajijutse  
 Amugira intwaro akora adahwema  
 Amwiziringaho nk’umutanga<sup>18</sup>  
 Ati jye nabonye amaganya yawe
130. Mbona akarengane kakwishe  
 Ndeba akaga kagutegereje

---

<sup>16</sup> Imanga : Impinga icuramye cyane.

<sup>17</sup> Kuvunyisha : Gusuhuriza kure umenyesha oabo mu rugo ko uje kubasura.

<sup>18</sup> Umutanga : Icyatsi cyirandaranda.

Ngira agahinda none urumve:  
Ngizi intwaro senya byose  
Iteka nzahora inyuma yawe

135. Ufate ubutware nawe utunge,  
Urute gaTutsi nawe utware  
Ntiyagutanze no kurutura  
Ibyo bibe ihinduka ry'amatwara  
Gatwa we ntakibazo aguteye
140. Inyuma y'ikoti niho yatuye.”  
Nibwo umugambi ubaye nyawo  
Ibyiswe ihinduka ry'amatwara  
Bigirwa induru no kumenesha  
Barapfa abana hapfa ababyeyi
145. Utishwe ahungira mu mahanga  
Rwanda yibera amatongo.  
Abaruhunze bahezwa hanze  
Igihi kibundikira agahinda  
Amarira atemba agana iyo munda.
150. Abandi babibonamo umutuzo  
Ngo aha Rwanda iratekanye.  
Imyaka yigabye ari mirongo  
Inzigo ikiri aho imitima ibunga  
Ntagusangira bisesuye
155. Reka gushyingirana ari ntabyo  
Naka agenda bacinya ibyara  
Ishuri kuribona ari ubwoko  
Ari akarere atari ubwenge,  
Uvuze agafungirwa ahatarebwa
160. Ubonye asimbutse akajya hanze  
Abiswe impunzi baba uruhuri<sup>19</sup>  
Ikibazo cyabazwa cyo gutaha  
Ngo dore Rwanda ni nk'akabindi  
Gasendereyemo amazi,
165. N'iyo cyaba igitonyanga  
Nticyakwirwa no kurugara.

---

<sup>19</sup> Uruhuri

: Byinshi cyane

Agati muryinyo kaba igisubizo  
Ababazaga ibyo banga ishyanga  
Bafite Sekuruza GIHANGA

170. Bafata intwaro bajya iy'iyishyamaba  
Intego ari iyo kwibohora.  
Ubwo abacengewe n'amatwara  
Kanyamahanga yabibye i Rwanda  
Babona urwaho bafata ifumba
- 175 Bafata ifuni n'amafirimbi Inzira  
karengane ibona irimbi, Ngo ni  
icyitso aragapfa yumva Nyamara  
kandi azira akamama<sup>20</sup>  
K'uko ateye n'iyo avuka.
180. Biba akarande biramenyerwa  
Urwango rwmikwa hano i Rwanda  
Hava urukundo haba urunuka  
Hava ubuvandimwe haba inabi.  
Abaryohewe no gusenya  
Kunyaga barabigize urwenya
185. Ntibahwema bifata umwanya  
Bati"DUhere i muzi dutsembe  
Twadondoje kuva kera  
Bakidutwara ku bwa cyami  
Bakadukanda no mu bukoloni;
- 190 Iherez ryabo ngiri ryaje  
Ibyahishuwe bigeze i Rwanda.  
Ubwo ubunyarwanda bufashwa hasi  
Ahubwo haduka ubunyamaswa  
Itsembabwoko ribona umwanya
- 195 Umwana aricwa umugore aricwa  
Amahiri arimbura ubudasiba  
Ya mipanga yo n'ibisongo  
Biba ibisongabaziranenge  
Uwica yivuga ubunyarwanda
200. Ndetse n'uwigwa avuka u Rwanda

---

<sup>20</sup> Kuzira akamama : Kuzira ubusa.

Kanyamahanga abirebera  
Ahubwo yikora mu biganza.  
Ku bw'amahirwe arimo ubutwari  
Ingabo z'intwarane ku rugamba

205. Ziba zigaruye umutekano  
Ngibyo ngayo se Banyarwanda  
Ngiyo imvano yo kudatuza  
Ngiyo inganzo y'ubudasangira  
Bw'abavandimwe Banyarwanda
210. Ngiyo inganzo y'ubudahuza  
Niwo muhoro uziga urukundo  
Imbere mu bana b'abanyarwanda.  
Nyamara ingamba zifashwe neza  
Inzira z'inzitane<sup>21</sup> zaba nziza
215. Amakimbirane akaba ineza Inzika  
zigaha umwanya ibyiza Inzigo  
ntizongere kuba i Rwanda.  
Nk'ubu uwashikama agatuza  
Akazira kwita ku by'amateshwa<sup>22</sup>
220. Akitegerezza gusa amateka  
Ntiyatinda kubona iteka  
Ryaha inyabutatu kuba indatwa  
Ubumwe mu bwumvane bikaratwa  
Intero yahita iba rukumbi<sup>23</sup>
225. Umucyo ugasimbura umuvumbi  
Amahoro akaza nta rukumbi<sup>24</sup>  
Ugeze aho bwije ukabona icumbi  
Rwanda ikarama ingoma igihumbi.  
Byarabaye si amahimbyo
230. Twarahemukiranye birenze  
Ntitwabanye bupfura rwose  
Kandi twitwa aba Gihanga ?  
Turore icyakorwa ngo duhure  
Ndetse duhuze mu kwiyunga

<sup>21</sup> Inzitane : Intamenwa

<sup>22</sup> Amateshwa : Amagambo n'ibikorwa bidafite agaciro

<sup>23</sup> Rukumbi : Ikintu kimwe gusa

<sup>24</sup> Urukumbi : Umwanda ufashe ku rubuto rw'impeke nk'amasaka

235. Twipakurure Tutsi, twa , Hutu  
 Twitwe twese aba Gihanga  
 Tugire ubwoko bw'ubunyarwanda  
 Intambwe ya mbere tuyitere.  
 Ntitube isambu mbi Banyarwanda
- 240 . Iteka yibyarira rwona !  
 Ibibazo byacu nitwe bireba  
 Dusabe imbabazi tunazihane  
 Dute amahane amahano acike  
 Maze dutere umudendezo.
245. Uzi ko yatoteje uwo baturanye  
 Akamutera akamumenesha  
 Intambwe ya mbere y'umubano  
 Ni uko yakwemera icyaha  
 N'yo byamutera icyasha<sup>25</sup>
250. Umutima uzoroha uzire icyusa  
 Amahoro ahinde bizire icyaho. Tera  
 intambwe ushikame cyane Ugane  
 uwo wiciye nta mpamvu Umusabe  
 imbabazi zituruke i muzi<sup>26</sup>  
 Ndetse n'icyiru ugihe agaciro  
 Ibyo kwiyunga bibe ubufindo<sup>27</sup>.
255. Wowe wahemukiwe gira ibambe  
 Girira Sokuruza GIHANGA  
 Urwa Gasabo rwo rusagambe
260. Ku bw'ineza uha abagusanga  
 Akensi bakugana batakamba  
 Basaba imbabazi z'ibibi byabo,  
 Ni umuganda ukomeye cyane  
 Uzaba uhaye igihugu cyawe
265. Soko y'Ubumwe bw'ubudatana  
 Nkingi –shingiro y'umubano  
 Ntango ikomeye y'ubwiyunge

---

<sup>25</sup> Icyasha : Ubusembwa ku mutima, kwiyumvamwo isura mbi

<sup>26</sup> Kuva imuzi : Kuvuga byose ntanakimwe uhishe

<sup>27</sup> Ubufindo : Ibikorwa by'amayobera bikorwa muburyo bwoshye butavunanye

Bucamanza bw'ubutabera  
Urampe inkunga ku iyo ngingo !

270. Ca izitabera uhane utabera  
Ushakeshake ingeri mu mahano  
Ugane imahanga ubazane hano  
Urwababyaye rubahe igihano  
Uce burundu kubura gihana,
275. Uwahohotewe agire ituze  
Ibyo kwiyunga bibe ubufindo.  
Wowe Muyobozi aho uri hose  
Biba urukundo mu bo washinzwe  
Ute ivangura iyo riva hose
280. Uhuze abumva batahura  
Ababiba itiku ubatahure  
Ibyo kwiyunga bibe ubufindo.  
Mubyeyi ukunda Urwakubyaye  
Biba<sup>28</sup> urukundo mu bo wabyaye
285. Bakure buzuye ubunyarwanda  
Nta kanunu ku by'ubwoko  
U Rwanda rw'ejo turutegure  
Urwanga aziburire inkomoko.  
Barezi birezi bizira icyasha
290. Uburezi bwuzuye muha abana Iyo  
mu mashuri y'ingeri zose Bugire  
intango y'ubumwe nyabwo  
Y'Ubwiyunge buhamye nyabyo  
Iby'ivangura bigirwe nta byo
295. U Rwanda rw'ejo turutegure  
Urwanga aziburire inkomoko.  
Umunsi twageze aho ku byiza  
Rwanda izahinduka ubwiza  
Bw'uruyagirane ruruta ikirezi
300. Isumbe paradizo y'ubumanzi  
Abayo bizihire nk'imanzi  
Tuzahoberana duhure

---

<sup>28</sup> Biba : Gutera imbuto nyinshi icyarimwe

Twiruhutse duhumeke  
Ndetse duhurile ku kirahuri

305. Twese duharanira umutuzo  
Rwanda itengamare butware.  
Nta matiku nta ntugunda  
Nta guhwiwhisa ibihuha  
Ni uguhuriza hamwe twese
310. Umunezero ukaba rusange  
Amahoro azaba indamutso yacu  
Amahore<sup>29</sup> yizihire imibande  
Amahano acike habe umubano  
Inzuri zuzurwe namatungo
315. Rwanda ituze kandi itunge.  
Nyir'inka azazikama adakangwa  
Ibyansi byizihire abarebyi  
Amata abaturanyi bayasangire  
Isabana ribe ikirango.
320. Zizavumera zizira kunyagwa  
Inyana zo zizihire uruhongore<sup>30</sup>  
Ingo zihinde ishya n'ihirwe.  
Wa muhinzi w'Umunyarwanda  
Si uguhinga azasizora<sup>31</sup>
325. Ku bw'umutuzo w'ubwiyunge  
Ku bw'ugutizanya n'umuturanyi  
Bimutera akanyamuneza.  
Azahinga ejo asarure  
Atunde atonde imitiba myinshi
330. Imitima ituze agire agatebo  
Akebuke hepfo ye abone akebo  
Amashaza asanzwe aho ku misambi  
Inkingi z'ibigega zongerwe  
Rwanda isezerre ku bushonji.
335. Impundu zizibera urwunge

---

<sup>29</sup> Amahore : Ubwoko bw'amasaka

<sup>30</sup> Uruhongore : Ikiraro cy'inyana

<sup>31</sup> Gusizora : Gukora iyo bwabaga

Nta kumirwa ku by'urukundo  
Nta we ukundirwa ko ari uyu  
Nta n'uwangirwa ko ari uwo  
Impeta zizambarwa ubudasiba

340. Inzobe zizambike ab'imiyumbu<sup>32</sup>,  
Rukara arusingane na Kazungu  
Umucuzi ntanene umubaji  
Uwo mucuruzi n'umucuranzi  
Umudodamyambaro n'umuhanju<sup>33</sup>
345. Bose intego izaba ari imwe  
Kuzamura igihugu cyabo  
Gucura amatiku atanya abantu  
Bizasimbuzwa imishinga  
Umurimo itaka abe ari yo nshinga
350. Bene u Rwanda bajye ibishanga  
Amashuri yeragaho ubukungu  
Umutima mwiza n'ubutaryana  
Akunde ashibuke ishema riganze.  
Ya miturirwa<sup>34</sup> ikore ku ijuru
355. No mu byanzu hajye imihanda  
Tugere ku ikoranabuhanga  
Ndetse dusumbe ya mahanga  
Tureke gusaba Kanyamahanga  
Umwe waturunduye ku manga.
360. Isura ntindi Rwanda isigwa  
Izazimangatana burundi  
Ushaka ituze ayigane bwangu  
Ushaka imbyeyi aze yihuta  
Ushaka umugeni ashake inkwano
365. Ahunge iwabo atahe iwacu.  
Tuzatuza mba ndoga Rwanda!  
Uzapacapaca mu busambo  
Kuba rupigapiga bimusaze  
Agapapira agamije kwiba

<sup>32</sup> Umuyumbu : Umuntu w'ibara ry'umukara unoze

<sup>33</sup> Umuhanju : Umushorezi w'inka

<sup>34</sup> Imiturirwa : Amazu maremare

370. Impangu twubatse akazipanda  
 N'ubwo azaba afite umupanga  
 Tuzamwumva uwo mupagani  
 Twese tumuvugirize akamo  
 Tumuhe Polisi n'amapingu
375. Yipakurure kuba ruhwiba<sup>35</sup>  
 Agororwe aringanire bupasi  
 Amapata i Rwanda nayo asagambe.  
 Uzacengera ngo adutanye  
 N'ubwo azaba acanye cyane
380. Amacumu yayagine ibihumbi;  
 Tuzaca mu ry'agaca<sup>36</sup> nk'agasazi  
 Rwa runana rw'ubwiyunge Ruhite  
 rumuca integer aserere Aceceke  
 amware acyure umunyu
385. Rwanda irambe mu bumwe bwayo.  
 Rwanda murange wa Sogokuruza  
 Gihugu cyihariye ubumanzi  
 Bwuje ubwiza mpamaburanga  
 Mbyeyi yareze urusobe<sup>37</sup> rwayo
390. Gihugu cyiza cy'Abanyarwanda  
 Cya Gihanga wa Kanyarwanda  
 Abawe twaratandukiriye  
 Ubumwe burambye ntibwakunda  
 Twe twibanda ku by'amoko
395. Turagusenya urwa Gihanga.  
 Nyamara twitwa aba Gihanga  
 Twese twiyemeje umugambi  
 Uzagutera kuba ikirenga  
 Turiyunze abawe bose
400. IJABIRO JAMBO yagize ibanga Uzahajyana  
 IJABO N'IJAMBO.

---

<sup>35</sup> Ruhwiba : Rubebe

<sup>36</sup> Iry'agaca : Ikirere

<sup>37</sup> Urusobe : Uruvangavange

## **Research on Internet**

---

6 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.

---

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 characterised by “treaties” of protectorate negotiated between Germans and the kings (Reyntjens, 1994). The existing political system which was much stronger and more centralised in Rwanda than in Burundi, was going to pose 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 depoliticization, 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 hamites 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 Speke arrived in the kingdom of Buganda (now Uganda) which had a developed political organisation, he attributed such civilisation to an indigenous race of nomad herdsmen related to Galla “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 negres except the coulor 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 negre, in fact it won't be exaggeration if one affirms that this is an European with a black skin"... (Gahama, 1983). This raciste thesis was rejected by many rwitings but it suggests blobally that Batutsi are related to Europeans in the sens 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 voisins's programme in 1926-1931). This was about the regroupment 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 takeover on it.

Concerning what he considered as “hesitations, prosticrastrations” 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 favouring 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 "ethnogenèse" (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 "ethnogenèse", 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 potential conflicts. (Reyntjens, 1994)*

*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)(Nkunabagenzi, 1961). Placing the ethnic problem in the social context, the Bahutu manifesto claimed Bahutu emancipation and the process of democratisation 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 origine, 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'emancipation 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 organised 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 organised 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 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 Belgian 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 in the vacant government and addressee injustice as a result of 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 organisation 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 criticised 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.

The transition between Hutu dominated politics and Tutsi dominated one was marked by legislative elections of 25<sup>th</sup> September 1961 whose results declared a big victory of Hutu parties. ParmeHutu got not less than 78% of votes and was given 35 out of 44 seats, while UNAR (Tutsi dominated party) obtained only 17% of votes and 7 seats. A simultaneous referendum led to a big rejection of monarchy and preferred instead the republican system government. After elections, Grégoire Kayibanda was elected president of the new parliament on 26<sup>th</sup> October 1961. The latter formed a government composed initially by members from ParmeHutu, UNAR and APROSOMA. Eight months later, on 1<sup>st</sup> July 1962, Rwanda and Burundi finally got their independence and became sovereign nations. This independence was approved by the General Assembly with reluctance...

In the course of three decades which followed the 1959 Hutu “jaquerie” and other related events which led to independence in 1962, constituted major reference turning points of political system in Rwanda. These could be positive or negative, depending on the fears or hopes of concerned individuals.

For which reasons did these political developments take the form of violent conflicts between Hutu and Tutsi? C. Newbury gives a new component of the answer: “The emerging fact is that almost those who controlled the state (before 1959), chiefs and deputy chiefs were Tutsi and it is from here that ethnic factors get stronger (...). For Hutu leaders, the call for Hutu solidarity became the most efficient point for cooperation aimed at revolutionary action. Although it was possible for Bahutu to

distinguish, and apparently they did, different types of Batutsi and their attitudes, the fact that chiefs and other African State agents were considered as exploiters and since these were mostly Batutsi, constituted the strength to call for ethnic solidarity, where the call to "all the poor" could be least heard. The colonial politics had many times taken as targets, the inferior cast of Hutu to discrimination status.

Even the poorest Tutsi did not experience the same form of discrimination as the same form of discrimination as the ones inflicted to Bahutu (C. Newbury, 1988).

Three consequences of these crucial events did and continue to determine political development in Rwanda.

### **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 neighbouring 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 Developement) 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)

### 3. Power concentration and increasing authoritarianism

Like in many African countries, after an initial era of multiparty, Rwanda became a monoparty. The opposition was eliminated through the combination of various techniques such as intimidation, arrests, physical violence and sometimes negotiations. PARMEHUTU party had the objective of eliminating other parties whether Hutu or Tutsi. In a speech made at the first commemoration of independence, president Grégoire Kayibanda claimed that he preferred "a party of majority with a crashing majority with to 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 constitutionalised. 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 génocide (commission de droits de l'homme des Nations Unies, 1972). However, it must be recalled that the move aimed at evicting Batutsi originated from power cenacles 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 from where everything had started, they began to direct their attention on ministries and enterprises where they felt they were underestimated or ostracised. When some politicians from the north, the Minister of Defence 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'état" on 5<sup>th</sup> July 1973, without violence. The population welcomed the "coup d'état" (Reyjens, 1994). This date marked the beginning of the second republic with Habyarimana as the president.

After a judiciary procedure, organised 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 speciale" 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 "revolution sociale" of 1959, some of them had disappeared by means of politics, other 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 intention of mobilising 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 modernisation 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 travelling 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’Amenagement 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 “égalisation republic” had evaporated: A quaternary bourgeoisie (from 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 – 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)

---

Source : Sénat de Belgique

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

## **E. Other Important Relevant Facts**

### **Comprehension of 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 centralisation
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 “ethny”
15. Political organisation of indigenous jurisdictions of Rwanda-Urundi since 1943.
16. The question of Rwanda at UN: a commission for inquiry of the council of protection “tutelle”
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**

Lesson plan: 1

Subject: History of Rwanda

Topic: The deposition of Mwami Musinga

Lesson plan by: Rwambonera François

Date: 19 may 2005

Form: First form students

Objective:

- Make 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.
- Helps learners to draw lessons from this short story, to draw also possible reactions and attitudes that different character could have.
- 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

Duration: 50 minutes

Organisation of the class: learners are seated in U form set up and the teacher is situated in the middle of the opening of the U.

Usage: used for a lesson of history about the deposition of Mwami Musinga

Requirements:

- A teacher
- The text of the short story
- Animal drawings on the flip chart as the characters of the short story.
- Questionnaires which must help for reflections in groups
- Flipcharts (or blackboard)
- Cell tape and markers
- A photograph of Musinga Yuhi V
- A summary on the deposition of Musinga.

## **Sequences of the lesson:**

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

Before starting the lesson the teacher put his/her drawings on the walls, as he/she needs them as references whiling narrating his/her short story. 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 to learners. When the teacher has finished to tell the story, he/she asks some questions to get comments from the learners.  
In working groups, the learners make reflections on questions distributed to groups 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 they 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.

**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 they 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 lesson focuses mainly on the role of Belgians in this deposition.

- The methodology which is used based mainly on three techniques (pedagogical tools):
  - The narration of a short story which is told with the support of some drawing or illustrations
  - Visualisation
  - Exploitation, analysis, reflection, exchange of ideas, discussions in groups with questioning, presentation in plenary on flipcharts, the results of groups.
- The reason 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 short story

### 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 organised. A very hardworking population occupied it.



It was well governed and it had a sovereign leader that the population called Mutwale. Mutwale ruled his people, he gave them orders and the people executed his orders and respected them. Everything was run smoothly. Mutwale put interest in the development and the well being of his people. He used to nominate and to dismiss his collaborators without use of any sort of external force and without being submitted to any command. He governed and reigned.

Planche II :

Plate II:

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



One day, the people of Mahanga decided to conquer Mutwale'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 Mutwale's territory. He decided to put into action their plan of conquest. He paid a visit to Mutwale, with the aim of convincing him to adopt the culture and beliefs of Mahanga and from then on to execute only orders from Mahanga's representatives.



Kautindi talked with too much pride, with reference to technological power. Mutwale calmly opposed Kabutindi's arguments and showed an attitude and unique mistrust while refusing categorically to collaborate with Kabutindi. Kabutindi did not want to betray his culture, his own identity and that of his people. That way when they interacted, they spoke the language of a deaf.

Kabutindi got upset and then decided to remove Mutwale from his throne

Planche IV:

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

Under the power and evil from Kabutindi, there was war, Mutwale, always refused 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 abide by it



Planche VI:



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

The story of Mutwale and Kabutindi ends like this!  
Sinjye wahera, hahera Mutwale na Kabutindi.

**Questions relating to 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 Mutwale had an impact? Justify your answer. (Group 1)
- 3) Are there values which were not respectd? If yes, give some examples of these values. (Group 2)
- 4) Was there any other possibility for Mutwale and his people, 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, which are inspired by this story. (Group 1,2,3)

**Questions relating to the narrated story: (distributed by 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 Mutwale 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 relating to the narrated story : (distributed by 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 respectd? 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 relating to the narrated story : (distributed by 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 possibility for Mutwale and his people, instead of his deposition and exile? Justify your answer. (Group 3)

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

### **Summary on the content on 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 through the Treaty of Versailles.
- King Yuhi V Musinga, was attached to his culture and tradition, so he refused to be baptised and to become a Christian as well.
- He also refused to abide to the Belgian colonial administrative orders to prevent any violation of the cultural interdictions of the dynasty.
- The Belgian 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 Belgian administration. They were in good terms with the colonial administration.
- Musinga then put up a peaceful resistance and determined hostility against all the above reform measures which were taking away his privileges and power (his power to nominate chiefs and control them). He then could not remove 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 King among his big "feudataires" 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 Belgian 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 »*

### ***Lesson Preparation: 2***

Topic : Political and administrative transformations

Sub-topic : The introduction of identity cards

Tested : 19 May 2005

Target group : Secondary school students : 5<sup>th</sup> year

Objective :

- To draw the impact of the introduction of identity cards in Rwanda on the socio-administrative aspect during the colonial era.
- To identify information which might have produced some effect on the individual or society

Duration: 100 minutes

Class setting: Learners are seated in U form and the teacher is in the middle of U opening line.

Purpose: This is used for a history lesson on political-administrative transformations.

Requirements: A teacher and students  
An identity card from the colonial era  
A copy of an identity card from the colonial era  
The questionnaire which will guide the group work  
Flipcharts (or blackboard), stickers and markers  
Text on colonial heritage

## **Introduction**

### **n: Pre-Test**

The teacher asks his/her students :

- Give information on yourself that you think people should know
- What is the signification of an identity?
- Which information should appear on an identity card?
- The lesson for the day.

The teacher distributes the photocopies of an identity card from the colonial era and asks students to:

- Discuss in groups the relevance of each information that appears on the card.
- Say if there is information that has been in order to provoke bad consequences on the individual and the Rwandan society, and why?
- What would be the usefulness of an identity card?

Sharing of ideas

- Each group presents the outcome of its discussion.
- Ask the students to tell what was the motive of producing an identity card in that manner?
- The teacher indicates the elements which should appear on an identity card and different form of identification.

General knowledge

Students read the text on colonial heritage and that from the church of missionaries and then make comments on them.

This activity will be done in groups while answering the questions below:

Questions:

- Find sentences, expressions from the text which might have been reasons for the confection of this identity card.
- What are your feelings after reading this text

## Post text

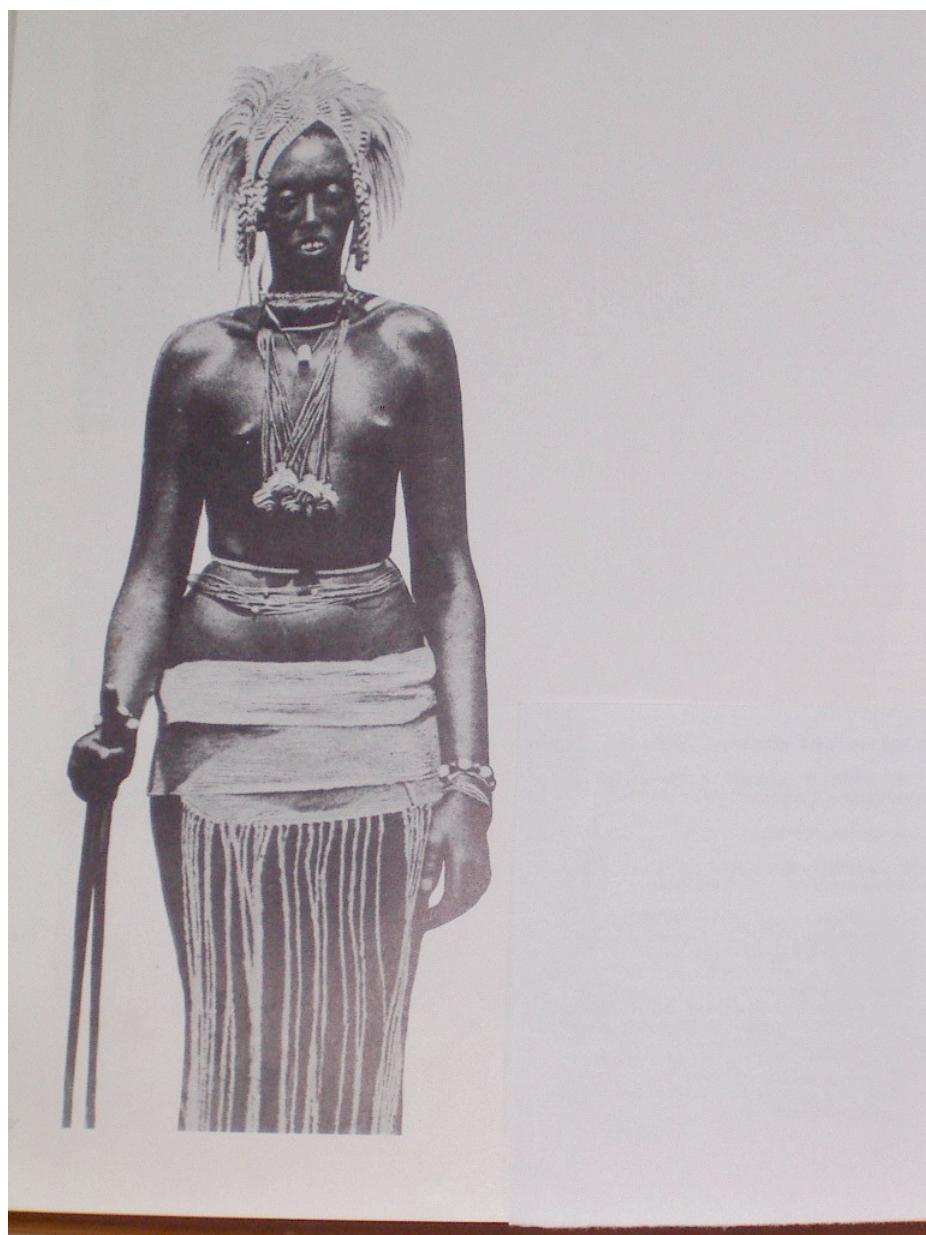
- Each student presents elements which, according to him/her should be put on an identity card.
- What reasons may lead to changing an identity card?
- What advice may be given in order to have on an identity card, information which does not help in discrimination or segregation?

## **Summary**

Before the colonial era until the 1930's, Rwandans were identified by the nationality and their belonging to a clan. Every person belonged to a clan which was well defined and known. In each clan there were three social groups called Tusti, Hutu and Twa. Each person was more attached people belonging to the same clan. With the introduction of an identity card on which there was the mention of "ethnic group", Rwandans felt more separate since they had changed. There were the Hutu who believed they were different from the Tusti and Twa. This went on during the entire colonial era and during the two republics. This introduction of an identity card with ethnic indication, constituted the aspect of difference within the Rwandan society. This is where the political problems that faced our country began from...

## **Yuhi V MUSINGA, the King of Rwanda 1897 - 1931**

*Photograph taken from « Au plus profond de l'Afrique : Le Rwanda et la colonisation Allemande 1885-1919, de Gudrun Honke »*



### **Other suggested lessons:**

- The impact of the introduction of crops for industries?
- Education during the colonial era.
- The consequences of Mortehan Reform in political-administrative domain.

## **MODULE III : POSTCOLONIAL RWANDA (1962-1990)**

Rwanda theoretically regained its independence in July 1962, but this independence was by title, as the country continued to evolve around a certain colonial logic “divide and rule” which compromised the national unity of Rwanda.

### **Theme: Regional and Ethnic Segregation**

The First and Second Republics are known not for their democratic ideals but regional and ethnic discrimination which were institutionalized.

First initiated by the colonial power with Mortehan reform since 1962, discrimination had opened for the Tutsi only, the way to the best schools, government or private posts, most particularly territorial ones.

When in 1950 the Tutsi elite claimed independence, the colonial power used opposition Hutu elites against them. These Hutu elites aspired more for colonial functions which they were denied, rather than the country’s independence in 1962. Indeed, the Hutu elites were the ones to inherit the country from the colonialists.

The first republic had put in action ethnic discrimination against Tutsi in the sectors of public life (schools, army, public service, territorial service, etc).  
The second republic, since 1973, radicalized discrimination against Tutsi and initiated regional discrimination against Hutu from the central and southern part of the country.

These different forms of segregation constituted serious human rights violations and were, somehow preparing the way for the genocide of the 1990’s.

## **A. Overview**

Rwanda became independent on 1 July 1962, under a republican government. According to the Trusteeship agreement between Belgium and the United Nations, the Belgium had the mission to lead Rwanda to autonomy by developing political institutions including more Rwandans in administration. The purpose was to promote the development of political, economical and social sectors by training local citizens to lead themselves.

From then on, different missions of the UN Trusteeship of 1949, 1951, 1954, 1957 and 1960 came to Rwanda. Some Rwandan elites among them colonial auxiliaries accused Belgians of not doing enough to give autonomy to Rwanda. The Tutsi of exalted lineage had been the first to pick up the ideas of racial equality and possible self-government. Thus, through churches, Europeans' control over the population was challenged. This occurred when the early leaders of the Catholic Church in Rwanda were replaced by priests of humbler social origins, particularly Flemish who identified more readily with the Hutu, whom they considered as oppressed. Formerly Belgian administration, pushed by Bishop Class had favored the Tutsi that he considered as chiefs by birth.

Different documents were published claiming on one hand justice and equity but in "ethnic" terms, without pointing out the role of Belgian administration in this situation. There were some disputes, which poisoned political climate. Political parties were created in this atmosphere and most of them got "ethnic" orientations. This tense situation led to violence and the Belgium, which was beginning to lose control of the situation, launched the idea of self-government in the midst of hostility. Some of the Tutsi had been regrouped in camps. Consequently, the colonial government began replacing most of the Tutsi chiefs with new Hutu ones. These organized the persecution of the Tutsi, which started a mass exodus of refugees abroad.

Regardless of this state of insecurity, the colonial authorities organized communal elections. The Hutu party won and their propaganda claimed that Hutus were the only true owners of the country. After the failure of National Reconciliation Conference at Ostend in Belgium (January 1961), Logiest, Special Resident, and Kayibanda to prevent any interference by the UN in the Rwandese situation arranged a legal coup. They called *burgomasters* (mayors) and municipal counselors to an emergency meeting in Gitarama, and banished the monarchy. On September 25, 1961 elections where PARMEHUTU got the majority were organized. The following year, independence was proclaimed while a good number of Rwandans was outside the country, where they had started organizing foreign officers to attack Rwanda.

After independence, when African countries were talking about socialism, revolution and development Rwanda was silent. One of the values that were repeatedly emphasized was the intrinsic worth of being Hutu. As some Tutsi were persecuted some days before independence, they started a mass exodus of refugees abroad to the Belgian Congo, Burundi, Tanganyika and Uganda, where their junior officers began attacking Rwanda. One of the solutions was to exclude Tutsi from administrative and military sectors by means of ethnic and regional quotas. President Kayibanda, who originated from Gitarama in the central region, started favoring people from his region.

Slowly the country became isolated. By mid-1972, the Kayibanda regime was in a state of suspended animation. It tried to exploit the massacre carried out in Burundi. Vigilante committees were organized and they scrutinized the schools, the university, the civil service and even private business to make sure that the ethnic quotas were being respected.

In the midst of these violence and segregation, Major-General Juvenal Habyarimana, from the North of the country, the marginalized region made a “coup d'état” on July 5, 1973. There was a popular relief, even among the Tutsi whose security the new regime immediately promised. During 2-3 years of his regime, the country was stable and peaceful as well. This regime was also tolerant. As a result there was no massacre of Tutsi and harassment ceased. This peaceful period was a proof that Rwandans can live in harmony while not manipulated by their leaders. At the time, Rwanda had a good reputation all over the world.

Unfortunately this peace and harmony did not last. The country continued to use identity card with “ethnic” reference, the system of quotas in administration and education also continued. The Tutsi preferred whenever possible to work in the private sector. In this discriminative process, the members of the army were prohibited from marrying Tutsi women. The Catholic Church in spite being Hutu-dominated remained more open, and a measure of institutional equality existed among the clergy. However, the Muvara affair clearly shows that this institution was not totally neutral.

On regional point of view, the second republic had initially been a northern revenge over the PARMEHUTU southerners. But, once it became clear that cabinet posts, economic opportunities and foreign scholarship would go first to northerners, they began competing among themselves to know who would get more. The following materials show clearly the role of ideology favoring divisionism among.

As illustrated above, discrimination characterized Rwandan society mainly after its independence. From “ethnic” point of view, it became both “ethnic” and regional. This bad policy culminated in the 1990s war and the 1994 genocide. We found very important to know how this big issue of this period evolved to generate those consequences.

## B. Sources and Reference Materials

1. AKAYEZU, C., *L'intégration régionale à travers l'Organisation du Bassin de la Rivière Kagera (1977-2004)*, Mémoire de Licence, Kigali, KIE, 2005.
2. BAGAYE, C., *Evolution de la population rwandaise de 1922 à 1978. Contribution à l'histoire démographique au Rwanda*, Mémoire de Licence, Butare, UNR, 2000.
3. BANGAMWABO F.X., et Al., *Les relations interethniques au Rwanda à la lumière de l'agression d'octobre 1990*, Ruhengeri, E.U.R., 1991.
4. BIGIRUMWAMI A., *Ibitekerezo, Indirimbo, Imbyino, Ibihozo, Inanga, Ibyivugo, Ibigwi...* Nyundo, 1972.
5. BEZY, F., *Rwanda. Bilan socio-économique d'un régime (1962-1989)*, Louvain, Institut d'Etudes des Pays en Développement, Université de Louvain, 1990.
6. *Cahiers Lumière et Société. Dialogue II*, n°17, mars 2000, pp.21-26
7. CHRETIEN, J.P., « Hutu et Tutsi au Rwanda et au Burundi », In : AMSELLE, J.L., M'BOKOLO, E., (Eds). *Au cœur de l'ethnie : ethnie, tribalisme et Etat en Afrique*, Paris, Editions La Découverte, 1986.
8. CROSS, M.F., « Rwanda : la république à trente ans. Une révolution inachevée », *La Libre Belgique*, oct 31-1nov 1989.
9. Idem, « La démocratie n'est pas le multipartisme. Mais nous voulons la démocratie. Interview with President Juvenal Habyarimana, *La Libre Belgique*, May 25, 1989.
10. DECRAENE, P., « Rwanda : L'armée au pouvoir », *Revue Française d'Etudes Politiques Africaines*, Juillet 1973, no 91, pp. 19-20.
11. Idem, “Le ‘coup’ rwandais du 5 juillet et ses suites, *Revue Française d'Etudes Politiques Africaines*, Avril 1974, no 99, pp. 66-86.
12. *Encyclopedia Britannica* 15<sup>th</sup> edition
13. ERNY, P., Rwanda 1994. *Clés pour comprendre le calvaire d'un peuple*, L'Harmattan, 1994.

14. Idem, *De l'éducation traditionnelle à l'enseignement moderne au Rwanda (1900-1975). Un pays d'Afrique noire en recherche pédagogique*, Thèse de doctorat, Université de Lille, 1981.
15. GAHAMANA, J., « CEPGL – Bel exemple de l'échec d'intégration régionale », *Cahiers Lumière et société*, déc 2000, no 20, pp. 54-74.
16. GATERA, F., « Stratégies de développement : Analyse des effets du modèle de développement suivis depuis l'indépendance du Rwanda, RUTEMBESA, F., SEMUJANGA, J., et alii, *Rwanda. Identité et Citoyenneté*. Série no 7 des Cahiers du Centre de Gestion des Conflits, Butare, Editions de l'UNR, 2003, pp. 169-185.
17. GATWA, T., *Rwanda: Eglise, victime ou coupable? (1900-1994)*, Louvain, 1996,
18. GATARAYIHA, A., *L'armée possède-t-elle des moyens nécessaires pour accomplir ses missions?*, Mémoire, Kigali, ESM, 1990.
19. GODDING, J.P., « Foreign Aid as an obstacle to Development : The case of Rwanda's Rural Development », *International Perspectives on Rural Development*, ed. Michael Lipton et al. Lewes : Univesty of Sussex, Institute of Development Studies, 1984.
20. Idem, « Les grands projets de développement rural et le développement des communes », *Les Projets de développement rural : réussites, échecs et stratégies nouvelles*, ed. NKUNDABASHAKA, A., VOSS, J., Butare, UNR, 1987.
21. Idem, « Grands projets et développement communal », *Dialogue*, Mai-Juin 1989, no 134, pp. 3-15.
22. GUICHAOUA, A., *Le problème des réfugiés rwandais et les populations Banyarwanda dans la région des Grands Lacs*, Université de Lille, 1992.
23. HEREMANS R., *Introduction à l'histoire du Rwanda*, 2<sup>ème</sup> Ed, Bruxelles, De Boeck, 1973.
24. Ibarwa y'abagaragu bakuru b'ibwami, *Kinyamateka*, n°22, 15 mars 1958, p2.
25. KABWETE MULINDA, C., *L'idée de démocratie au Rwanda de 1948 à 1994*, Mémoire de Licence, Butare, UNR, 1997.

26. KAGABO, J.H., « La question des réfugiés rwandais, Enjeux nationaux et dynamiques régionales dans l'Afrique des Grands Lacs, » *URA CNRS no 363* « *Tiers Monde/Afrique* », Faculté des Sciences Economiques et Sociales, Université des Sciences et Technologie de Lille.
27. KAGAME, A., *Inganji Karinga*, Kabgayi, 1943.
28. KAWEMA, M.C., *L'émancipation de la femme au Rwanda (1975-1991)*, Mémoire de Licence, Butare, UNR, 2002.
29. KAYIBANDA, B., “La femme rwandaise et son rôle dans l'évolution du Rwanda”, *Dialogue*, mai-juin 1998.
30. KAYIMAHE, V., France-Rwanda. *Les coulisses du génocide. Témoignage d'un rescapé*, Editions Dagorno, 2001.
31. ‘Kwiyuburura kwa MRND kujyane no kwicuza » in *Kinyamateka*, no 1334, pp. 1,7,10.
32. LACGER, L. (de), *Le Ruanda*, Kabgayi, 1959.
33. *Le coopérateur Trafipro '12/11/88*
34. LOGIEST, G., *Mission au Rwanda*. Didier Hatier : Bruxelles, 1988.
35. LUGAN, B., *Histoire du Rwanda. De la préhistoire à nos jours*, Bartillat, 1997.
36. LUGAN B., Sources écrites pouvant servir à l'histoire du Rwanda In : *Etudes Rwandaises*, n° spécial, 5, XIV, 1980.
37. MAHMOOD Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers. Colonialism, Nativism and the Genocide in Rwanda*, Kampala, Fountain Publishers, Cape Town, David Philip, Oxford, David Philip, 2001.
38. MANIRAGABA B. Le mythe des fils de Gihanga ou l'histoire d'une fraternité toujours manquée in BANGAMWABO, FX et alii, *Les relations interethniques au Rwanda à la lumière de l'agression d'octobre 1990. Genèse, soubassements et perspectives*, Ruhengeri, Editions Universitaires du Rwanda, 1991, pp-61-129.
39. MBUGULIZE, E., « Autosuffisance alimentaire : mythe ou réalité ? », *Dialogue*, Juillet-Aout 1986, no 117, pp. 5-15.

40. MINEPRISEC, *Des disparités éthiques et régionales dans l'enseignement secondaire rwandais*, Kigali, 1986.
41. MFIZI, C., *Les lignes de faîtes du Rwanda indépendant*, Kigali, ORINFOR, 1983.
42. MUKANKUBITO, A., *Le rôle politique de l'enseignement catholique au Rwanda de 1959 à 1994*, Mémoire de Licence, Butare, UNR, 1999.
43. MUGARAGU, L., *Le recrutement au sein des Forces Armées Rwandaises*, mémoire, Kigali, ESM, 1990.
44. MUGESERA A, *Imibereho y'Abatutsi mu Rwanda kuri Repubulika ya mbere n'iyakabiri 1959-1990*, Les Editions Rwandaises, 2004..
45. MUGESERA, A., « Echecs et réussites des partis politiques rwandais » in *Cahiers, Lumière et Société. Dialogue II*, no 14 juin 1999, p. 50.
46. MUKANYAMURASA, O., L'évolution du rôle socio-politique de la femme rwandaise de 1975 à 2000 : Education et prise de décision, Mémoire de Licence, Kigali, KIE, 2004.
47. MULISA, S., *L'évolution politique du Rwanda de 1973 à 1994*, Mémoire de Licence, Kigali, KIE, 2004.
48. MUSANGAMFURA, S., *Le parti MDR ParmeHutu : information et propagande. Essai d'analyse de la presse des documents officiels et de témoignages oraux 1959-1994*, Mémoire de Licence, Ruhengeri, UNR, 1987.
49. NDABAGA E. (2004) Unpublished Doctoral Thesis ; The dynamics of Mother tongue policy in Rwandan Primary School Curriculum ; University of Bath-UK.
50. NKUSI L. “Crispation identitaire sous les deux rép.” in RUTEMBESA, F., et alii, *Rwanda. Identité et citoyenneté*, Série no 7 des Cahiers du Centre de Gestion des Conflits, Butare, Editions de l’Université Nationale du Rwanda, 2003.
51. NJOROGE, GK., RUBAGIZA, J., *History of Education. Distance Training for Secondary Schools Teachers. Module 5*. Kigali, KIE, 2003

52. NYAGAHENE A., *Histoire et peuplement . Ethnies, clans et lignages dans le Rwanda ancien et contemporain*, Paris, Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1991.
53. NYIRASAFARI, G., « La situation de la femme rwandaise », *Dialogue*, no 26, mai 1971.
54. Mbiti JS, *African religions and philosophy Heinemann*, London, Nairobi, 1971.
55. OGOT B, *Building On the Indigenous*. Kisumu: Anyange Press, 1998.
56. PATERNOSTRE-DE-LA-MARIEU,B., *Le Rwanda, son effort de développement. Antécédents historiques et conquête de la révolution rwandaise*, Bruxelles, Editions de Boeck, 1972.
57. PRUNIER, G., *The Rwanda Crisis. History of a genocide*, Kampala, Fountain Publishers Ltd, 1995.
58. REYNTJENS, F., *Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda*, Tervuren, MRAC, 1985.
59. Idem, “Cooptation politique à l'envers: les législatives de 1988 au Rwanda”, *Politique Africaine*, 1989, no 34, pp. 121-126.
60. RUHASHYA, E., *Imyaka mirongo itatu isaga mu ngabo z'igihugu*, (manuscript)
61. RUTAYISIRE, P., “Le Tutsi, étranger dans le pays de ses aieux”, *Les Cahiers. Evangile et société. Les Idéologies*, déc 1996, no 4, pp. 42-56.
62. RUTEMBESA F. & Al, Rwanda : Identité et citoyenneté In : *Cahier n°7* du CCM, Burare, UNR, 2003.
63. RWASABAHIZI, M., *La carrière militaire. Cas particulier du Rwanda*, Mémoire de Licence, Kigali, ESM, 1988.
64. SEBAGANDE, FX, *Etudes des Institutions militaires pre-coloniales d'après 1960 au Rwanda*, mémoire, Kigali, ESM, 1988.
65. SEBAGANWA,D., « Ntimukitane bamwana », *Kinyamateka*, no 29, Augusto, 1966, p. 3.

66. SEBARUNDI, E., *Evolution du multipatisme au Rwanda et ses conséquences politiques et sociales 1959-1994*, Mémoire de Licence, Butare, UNR, 1996.
67. SEZIRAHIGA, J.F, *L'enseignement secondaire féminin au Rwanda des origines à 1975*, Mémoire de Licence, Ruhengeri, UNR, 1988.
68. TIKLY, L., MUKABARANGA, B., LOWE, J. 2002. *Globalisation and Skills for development. Rwanda Country Report*. DFID.
69. « Uganda/Rwanda : Picking Up the Pieces », *Africa Confidential 31*, 1990,no 23.
70. UMURAVA KANANURA, E., *La Communauté Economique des Pays des Grands Lacs (CEPGL) et son intégration économique régionale (1976-1996)*, Mémoire de Licence, Butare, UNR,
71. UNITED STATES COMMITTEE FRO-REFUGEES, *Exile from Rwanda : Background to an Invasion*. Issue paper prepared by Catharine Watson, Washington, DC: US. Committee for Refugees, 1991.
72. UVIN, P., *Coopération internationale et violence au Rwanda*, Paris, l'Harmattan, 1999.
73. UWIZEYIMANA, L., “L'équilibre ethnique et régional dans l'emploi”, *Dialogue*, no 146, mai-juin, 1991, pp. 15-31.
74. VAN GRUNDERBEECK, MC, E ROCHE, H DOUTRELEPONT, *Métallurgie ancienne du Rwanda et du Burundi*, *Journées de Paléontologie*, Université de Compiègne, Fév. 1983.
75. VAN NOTEN, F., *Histoire archéologique du Rwanda*, Butare, I.N.R.S., 1983.
76. VIDAL, C., « Situations ethniques au Rwanda ». In : AMSELLE, J.L., M'BOKOLO, E. (Eds) *Au cœur de l'ethnie : etnies, tribalisme et Etat en Afrique*, Paris, La Découverte, 1985.
77. WATSON, C., « Rwanda : Relying on Equilibrium », *Africa Report 34*, January-February 1989,no 1, p.55.

## Interviews

Ruhashya, E., Colonel dans ex-far (retired), interviewé le 20/08, 2004

Anonyme, colonel dans ex-far, interviewé

Kanimba, colonel in RDF and ex-FAR

Sabina Ndashimana, enseignante pour Kinyarwanda, Lycée de Kigali, 24/09/2004.

## Sources on the internet

BEZY, F., Bilan socio-économique d'un régime, 1962-1986, at <http://www.eon.ucl.be/ouvages/BEM/RWANDA>

HTM du 06/09/2004

Note sur l'aspect social du problème indigène au Rwanda (Le Manifeste des Bahutu 24 March 1957) sur <http://www.noublions-jamais-com/reaction-manif.htm>, le 24-10-2004.

## C. Cross – Cutting Themes

Economic growth and crisis (1962-1990)

Rwandan refugee's problems (1962-1990)

Socio-cultural evolution (1962-1990)

## D. Teaching Commentary and Historical Detail for the Teacher

### Part 1: Myths and Divisionism Ideologies in Rwanda

#### Immigrations

Africa is a continent, which experienced many migrations. At the beginning of this era, Bantu people started a long migration. From a starting point called “pré-bantu” near the lake Chad, some families of agriculturalists using iron tools went up to central of Africa and established themselves in the region called Luba-Bembe in Katanga savannah. That first group of cultivators dominated very quickly local population who were living by picking and hunting (...) Between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> century AD, these people arrived in Rwanda, bringing with them agriculture and iron.

**Source:** HEREMANS, R., *Introduction à l'Histoire du Rwanda*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Bruxelles, Ed. De Boeck, 1973, pp. 22-23. (Translated from French)

## **Myth of Gihanga's sons**

### **Version**

#### **1**

Gihanga had three sons equal in courage. He did not know seasons for any growing. By then people cultivated anytime. As a result, crops were sometimes good and others bad. One day, Gihanga sent his sons Gahutu & Gatutsi to Kibariro (the cultivator) to have appropriate information on cultivation.

Before Gahutu and Gatutsi arrived, they came to the place where people were slaughtering a cow. Gahutu told them "let me show you how to do it" he cut up the cow and he was given some meat for the work done. Gahutu put the meat on Gatutsi's head and continued. They arrived to Kibariro who had organized a collective work in his fields.

Those who were cultivating gave Gahutu and Gatutsi some beer. Gatutsi did not want to drink, but Gahutu did so. When Kibariro saw that Gatutsi refused to drink, he called him and gave it to him in a secret place alone.

Gahutu told to Kibariro that they had a message from their father Gihanga. Kibariro told him to give him the information at night. They went to sleep. At night Gahutu started vomiting and because of that, Gatutsi went to sleep in the same room with Kibariro. When Kibariro woke up he asked his wife "why Gihanga's sons did not come to tell him the information from their father?" if they come late, I will tell them nothing or I will lie to them.

Kibariro began telling different seasons of cultivation to his wife. "The first month is September and when it appears they saw beans also in October; in November, fields are prepared for sorghum which is cut and harvested in July and cows come to graze at these places; August is the end of the year.

Thus Gatutsi who were in the same room heard all these and returned to his guesthouse. The following morning, when Gahutu got up, he went to Kibariro but Kabiriro lied to him. Every Gahutu would ask more explanations, Kibariro would tell him that he could not talk to deaf people.

They went back home and when Gihanga saw them; he felt happy and demanded for a report. Gahutu said Kibariro talked too much so that he could understand anything. Gihanga got angry, as his eldest son could not provide answer.

Gatutsi took his father aside and told him all about the seasons and the bad behavior of Gahutu during their trip. Gihanga ordered Gatutsi to kill Gahutu, but he refused. Gihanga told to Gahutu; "You will not be the chief as planned, but Gatutsi will be your master; he will scorn Gahutu."

From then on, GaHutu did not sleep and Gihanga said to him; GaHutu will be night watchman of GaTutsi and his client. Moreover, he will receive milk from GaTutsi but GaHutu will have no cows. For Gatwa, will be the carrier for GaTutsi.

**Source:** BIGIRUMWAMI, A., *Ibitekerezo, Indirimbo, Imbyino, Ibihozo, Inanga, Ibyivugo, Ibigwi, Imyato, Amahamba n'amazina y'Inka, Ibiganiro*, Nyundo 1972, pp-

11-12- quoted by MANIRAGABA B. *Le mythe des fils de Gihanga in L'histoire d'une fraternité toujours manquée in BANGAMWABO, FX et alii, Les relations interethniques au Rwanda à la lumière de l'agression d'octobre 1990. Genèse, soubassements et perspectives, Ruhengeri, Editions Universitaires du Rwanda, 1991, pp-61-129.*

## **Version**

### **2**

**From Wilhem Mensching, a protestant missionary who worked in Kirinda from 1912 to 1916 and gathered interesting texts of oral tradition**

Imana created Hutu, the Tutsi and the Twa and the girl. One day, Imana called the five and poured some milk in four ports and gave one to each one. Imana asked them to keep that milk without sleeping till Imana will come back. They waited but got tired. The foam of GaHutu's milk got out the pot and fell on his hands. He licked it. The Tutsi milk also did the same a bit. The girl's milk foam poured on her breasts. For Gatwa, he waited a long, got annoyed and drank the whole milk to sleep. When Imana came back, he asked questions to everybody to know what happened. Then Imana fixed the destiny of everybody accordingly. To the Hutu who got milk poured on his hands said to him; "work in fields for Tutsi and make baskets and carpets for him". For the girl, Imana said, "your milk is in your breasts". Let you be married by a Hutu and will give you milk". For the Tutsi who kept a part of his milk, Imana said, "if you get ten cows, five will die and you will stay with five. If you have twenty cows, ten will die and you will remain with ten". For the Twa, Imana said, "go and be a porter, damned for the Tutsi so that he gives something, damned for the king so that he gives you something".

## **Version**

### **3**

GaHutu and GaTutsi were walking together and met Imana. He called GaHutu and ordered him to beat the earth, GaHutu who thought about a trip so that he dies, refused and said, "No, my father, I cannot beat the earth with my stick". Imana ordered the same thing to GaTutsi who obeyed and suddenly a flock of cows got out the earth. Then Imana told GaHutu, "You are Hutu, you think much about your life. GaTutsi must be your boss". And the tale concludes that GaHutu regretted what he had done and thus Hutu were dominated by Tutsi because they had not been intelligent.

Source: BIGIRUMWAMI, A., Ibitekerezo, Indirimbo, Imbyino, Ibihozo, Inanga, Ibyivugo, Ibigwi, Imyato, Amahamba n'amazina y'Inka, Ibiganiro, Nyundo 1972, pp-11-12- quoted by MANIRAGABA B. Le mythe des fils de Gihanga in L'histoire d'une fraternité toujours manquée in BANGAMWABO, FX et alii, Les relations interethniques au Rwanda à la lumière de l'agression d'octobre 1990. Genèse, soubassements et perspectives, Ruhengeri, Editions Universitaires du Rwanda, 1991, pp-61-129. (Translated from French)

## **Views of missionaries and colonialists about Rwandan "ethnic groups"**

*The address of Bishop Classe to Mortehan, Belgian Resident to Rwanda, on September 21, 1927 regarding nomination of Bahutu Chief after their conversion on Christianity.*

"If we were to be practical and look for the true interest of the country, we have in the muTutsi youth an incomparable element of progress that everyone who knows Rwanda cannot underestimate. Eager to know and to learn what comes from Europe and to imitate Europeans, entrepreneurs, they take into account that ancient customs have no reason to be, however they conserve ancient political sense and the skills of their race to conduct people, those young men are useful for the good and economical future of the country.

"To ask Bahutu if they want to be led by commoners or nobles, the answer is simple; they prefer Batutsi and for a reason. Chiefs by birth, they have the sense of ruling (...). It is the secret of their installation in the country and their domination upon it."

**Source:** Lacger, L. (de), *Le Ruanda*, Kabgayi, 1959, p. 523.

**In 1930, Bishop Classe addressed again his ideas to colonial administrators**

“The greatest mistake this government could make would be to suppress the MuTutsi caste. Such a revolution would lead the country directly to anarchy and hateful anti-European communism. (...) We will have no better, more active intelligent chiefs than the Batutsi. They are the ones best suited to understand progress and the ones the population likes the best. The government must work mainly with them.”

(LAGER, L. (de), *Le Ruanda*, Kabgayi, 1959, p. 524.)

**R Kandt wrote in  
1905**

“If I can analyze and define honestly my feelings, I can say that they impressed me very much. I have even today the same feelings (...) those people are barbarian with an intellectual level a bit lower than mine.

“The Bahutu have a strange behavior. In presence of their patrons, they are reserved and escape from questions. But when we are alone with them, they tell us almost everything they want to know and even what you do not, because I understand their difficulties and request, when they complain about their oppression and their lack of rights. Most of the time, I told them to use their elbow and told them that, as they were 100 times more than Batutsi who only complain like women.

(LUGAN, B., “Sources écrites pouvant servir à l’histoire du Rwanda”, *Etudes Rwandaises*, no special, 5, XIV, 1980, p.30).

**The Duc Mecklembourg to write  
(1909):**

“The manner in which Batutsi use their language is very distinctive. We have the impression to have another class of people who have nothing in common with “blacks” except the color of their skin.”

(LUGAN, B., “Sources écrites pouvant servir à l’histoire du Rwanda”, *Etudes Rwandaises*, no special, 5, XIV, 1980, p.132).

**In 1931, Ryckmans, a Belgian administrator wrote:**

“The Batutsi were created to reign----nothing is surprising that the courageous Bahutu, less crafty were enslaved by them without revolt.”

LUGAN, B., “Sources écrites pouvant servir à l’histoire du Rwanda”, *Etudes Rwandaises*, no special, 5, XIV, 1980, p. 26.

## **Propaganda and ideology in the 1950s:**

### ***The racial problem***

Some wondered if it is a social conflict or a racial one. We think this is just literature. However, we can say that: the problem is first of all the political monopoly of one race: this political monopoly is becoming economic and social; this political, economical and social monopoly becomes a cultural as a result of discrimination done in education and the Bahutu are desperately condemned to remain inferior manpower... *Ubuhake* was banished but it is replaced by that monopoly which is creating abuses and complaints from the population...

...On political point of view, if we agree that the Tutsi administration participated more and more in the government of country, we must point out that one system want to replace the colonialism of the white to the Black, by another one of a Hamitic to MuHutu. We must predict difficulties, which can come from the Hamitic origin domination on other races, which were established, in the country long time before him. We want that:

1. Laws and customs be codified.
2. The promotion of the Bahutu in public positions be done
3. Mandate be determined for public positions and people can elect someone else after or the present officer be reelected if he gets satisfaction of the population..
4. The chiefs of provinces be withdrawn from “Councils of chiefs” (*conseil de chefferie*)
5. The National High Council (*Conseil Supérieur du Pays*) be composed by the district (*chefferie*) delegates: every *chefferie* will be represented according to the number of its taxpayers, without excluding Europeans who have definitively established their residence in the district...

In order to monitor this monopoly of one race, we are opposing for the time being the suppression in official and private documents the mentions of “Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa”. Their suppression risks to favor again discrimination and to prevent the statistics law to establish the truth of facts. No one even said that it was the ‘word’, which annoys Hutu; it is privileges of one group.

Source: Note sur l'aspect social du problème indigène au Rwanda (Le Manifeste des Bahutu 24 March 1957) sur <http://www.noublions-jamais-com/reaction-manif.htm>, le 24/10/2004.

In order to monitor this monopoly of one race, we are opposing for the time being the suppression in official and private documents the mentions of "Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa". Their suppression risks to favor again discrimination and to prevent the statistics law to establish the truth of facts. No one even said that it was the 'word', which annoys Hutu; it is privileges of one group.

### **Reactions from 12 bagaragu b'ibwami bakuru 17 May 1958**

...What are relations between Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa? Hutu pretend that Tutsi, Hutu, Twa are Kanyarwanda's sons. But with whom did Kanyarwanda beget them, the name of their mother and her family? ... We know that Kigwa was born long time before Kanyarwanda and consequently Kanyarwanda came late after the existence of three races, which he found well constituted. How can Kanyarwanda come late after the existence of those he found alive? Can you get a baby before being?

The Bahutu pretend that Kanyarwanda is our common father. But Kanyarwanda is a son of Gihanga, the son of Kazi, Merano, Randa, Kobo, Kijuru, Kimanuka, Kigwa. Kigwa found Bahutu in Rwanda. How Tutsi can we be brothers of Hutu? The history shows that Ruganza killed many Hutu chiefs (abahinza) and conquered their domains. As our kings killed Bahutu ones how can they pretend to be our brothers?

Source: "Ibaruwa y'abagaragu b'ibwami", Kinyamateka, 15 juillet 1958, no 14, p.2

### **Karake's article published in Kinyamateka**

I woud like to tell you that we are all Rwandans, whether those who originate from Kigwa, or from MuTutsi and Nyampundu, even others who came before the above-mentioned from different areas, we are all brothers and sisters. We should all unite and work together instead of creating divisionism among ourselves-and this is possible. All of us; Tutsi, Hutu and Twa have to find the way of stopping hatred among ourselves that is brought by misinterpretation of ethnic names (...)"

Source: KARAKE, E "Ndasubiza abagaragu bakuru b'ibwami" in Kinyamateka, no 22, 15 Nov 1958, p. 2 (translated from Kinyarwanda).

### **Kayibanda address to a political meeting (1959):**

“Our movement is for Hutu group. It has been offended, humiliated by Tutsi invaders. We have to light the way for the mass. We are there to restitute the country to his owners. It is the country of Bahutu. The little Tutsi came with the rich one. Who has cleared the forest? It is GaHutu? Then?

Source: (ERNY P: 1994, 58).

### **The First Republic**

“During the first Republic, the only values admired were to be Hutu and to belong to an ethnic majority of Hutu”<sup>13</sup>.

Source: Mahmood, Mamdani: When Victims Become Killers, p.

A Hutu’s slogan

“A Hutu knows how to cultivate the land, so Tutsi learn also how to cultivate; Rwanda has got its true owners-the Hutu, so let the Hutu dominate””.

Source : UGIRASHEBUJA O., “Griefs objectifs Hutu Tutsi” quoted by NKUSI L. “Crispation identitaire sous les deux rép.” in RUTEMBESA, F., et alii, Rwanda. Identité et citoyenneté, Série no 7 des Cahiers du Centre de Gestion des Conflits, Butare, Editions de l’Université Nationale du Rwanda, 2003, p.137

An article published in Kinyamateka by Sebaganwa

“In fact, we are fighting for nothing, instead of rejoicing and being satisfied because it is our ethnic group that is in power. Every one should be happy with his or her job rather than burgomasters, ministers, etc to cling and fight for positions. No one seems to be satisfied with his/her job. It is surprising that Bahutu brothers in PARMEHUTU party are the ones fighting for power among them. Tutsis are now ordinary citizens and other parties have no power, and this means that Hutus in power can do whatever they want; then why should you fight among yourselves. It is very sad to see PARMEHUTU members fighting among themselves-a thing that gives our enemies, the Tutsis happiness”

**Source:** SEBAGANWA, D., “Ntimukitane ba mwana” in *Kinyamateka* no 29,Augusto 1966, p. 3.

## **The confusion of being a Mututsi, Muhutu or Mutwa in Rwanda**

### **A reflection from Mugesera (2004)**

Being a MuTutsi is not a tribe, it was a social status that came into being basing on how many cows one had. The same principle applied to a MuHutu. MuHutu is never a tribe. It was a social status that described Rwandans who were involved in cultivation and usually who could make it in life. This is all about social formation (Mugesera, 2004).

Any category of people in a social formation gets a name that describes them according to their social status to clearly show the difference from one category to another. That is why some Rwandans who made it to the high social class due to wealth-in form of cows by then, were called MuTutsi (ibid, 2004).

Being a MuTutsi, MuHutu or Mutwa never depended on the origin as portrayed by the western people because none of the Rwandan people ever knew or thought that they came from different places or times. These issues of originality and immigration were colonial concepts (Interviewee in Kigali ville, on 19/10/2004, at 4:00 pm).

In terms of social formation, once some people have acquired a given status whether lower or upper one, they can easily join another category or class of people. In this case, once a MuHutu could acquire a good number of cows, he could acquire a MuTutsi status commonly called '**kwiHutura**', like wise, if a MuTutsi could become impoverished and begins to cultivate, he could easily be categorized as a MuHutu (Interviewee, Gikondo, on 24/9/2004 at 5:00pm).

The fact is that colonizers found these 'classes' in Rwanda, under the monarchy. Typical of any monarchy, Rwandan monarchy too practiced some kind of oppression based on these classes. But this was not 'tribal or ethnic' based or discrimination as portrayed by colonizers and perpetuated by MRND PARMEHUTU that culminated into many subsequent havoc (ibid, 2004).

## **Part II : Segregation Tendencies in the Rwandan Army**

The first and second Republics were characterized by ethnic and regional discrimination in almost all domains. Like any other sector in Rwanda, this segregation affected also the Rwandan Army. The conditions of admission in the army were supposed to be without discrimination, but this was not the case. Some Rwandans were more favored than others.

The segregation ideology followed by both Republics took its roots in colonial military organization. The launching of Rwandese National Guard in the 1960s was an initiative from the then Belgian military representatives. This first group was almost constituted by one “ethnic group”. Consequently the first and the second Republic adopted this segregation tendency.

Rwanda was conquered by Belgian troops in 1916, as a result, Rwanda stayed under a foreign military occupation for a long period of time. Till 1960 Rwanda was still under Belgian administration and had a force composed of the Public Force (Force Publique) and a group of policemen. During the 40 years of colonial rule, there were no Rwandan soldiers who were recruited. According to the International regulation, no territory under trusteeship was authorized to have an army<sup>1</sup>.

The Public Force was composed of:

- Belgian officers only
- Junior-officers were mainly Belgians and Congolese natives.
- Soldiers who were recruited among Congolese<sup>2</sup>.

When Congo became independent, it was an opportunity to exclude Belgians from the Public Force. Patrick Lumumba, the then Prime Minister gave instructions to Congolese soldiers in Rwanda to leave and return to their own country. For this reason, the Territorial Guard of Rwanda – Burundi was created on the 13<sup>th</sup> June 1960, before elections took place. Few days later a school for junior-officers for both Rwanda and Burundi was created in Usumbura. This pattern of command for both countries initiated a local military training for which the command was extended to those two countries<sup>3</sup>.

According to BEM Guy Logiest, the then Belgian military resident, the Rwandese territorial guard command was given to Major François Vanderstraeten. Many Belgian sub-officers from different ranks were sent to Rwanda to support their present staff<sup>4</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> LOGIEST.G, *Mission au Rwanda*, Bruxelles, Didier-Hatier, 1988, p.15

<sup>2</sup> SEBAGANDE, FX, *Etudes des Institutions militaires pré-coloniales d'après 1960 au Rwanda*, mémoire, Kigali, ESM,1988, p.44 (translated from French)

<sup>3</sup> LOGIEST, G., *Mission au Rwanda*, Bruxelles,Didier-Hatier.,1988, p.159

<sup>4</sup> SEBAGANDE, G., Op Cit.p.45

The Rwandese section of junior officers' school was transferred from Usumbura to Astrida (Butare) in November 1960. Some units equivalent to platoons were created in provinces (provinces). On November 10, 1960 the officers school opened and seven students<sup>5</sup> were registered. Some of the students were; Juvenal Habyarimana, Aloys Nsekaliye, Bonaventure Ubalijoro and six of them were promoted to second lieutenant on December 23, 1961, among them was J. Habyarimana, the President of the second Republic<sup>5</sup>.

December 1962 and 1968 were characterized by different attacks of "Inyenzi", consequently, new units were created and installed on the boarder. In December 1973, the National Guard was called Rwandese Army. In 1978, the National Army was merged by the National Police Force (Gendarmerie) to become the Rwandese Army Force<sup>6</sup>

Because of "Inyenzi" attacks, the FAR had two main objectives:

- The defense of the integrity of Rwandan territory
- To maintain the security of all Rwandans<sup>7</sup>

Those attacks were aimed at eliminating the internal opposition by massacring civilian population and thereafter the beginning of the segregation process or even more to eliminate the opposition associated to Batutsi<sup>8</sup>. The region more affected was Gikongoro. These events were the explosion of segregationist and regional ideology in the Rwandese army.

---

<sup>5</sup> LOGIEST,G., *Op.Cit.*, P.160

<sup>6</sup> SEBAGANDE, FX, Op. cit., p.59

<sup>7</sup> LOGIEST,G., *Op.Cit.*, p.160.

<sup>8</sup> GATWA, T., *Rwanda, Eglises, Victimes ou coupables? 1900-1994*, thèse de doctorat, Louvain, „1996, p.117.

## **The segregation in Rwandan army was a result of colonial attitudes**

### **Testimony from G Logiest**

Since 1960, I was concerned by the departure of the Public Force when Congo became independent. For unknown reasons, the security in Rwanda was in charge of Congolese Force. We have to remember that Rwanda was conquered by colonial troops in 1916. So, naturally, the conquest was followed by a military occupation. What I did not understand is that after 44 years later, the situation was unchanged no Rwandan soldiers were recruited.

That situation was astonishing as in 1960, the colonial power had to be aware that in a near future, Congo and Rwanda would become independent and then each one to have its sovereignty. Did Léopoldville or Brussels hope that foreign troops, be Congolese or Belgian to stay after Rwanda become independent? (...)

Maybe had they dreamt of the creation of a “Belgian Commonwealth” in which the Belgian army will keep peace? It seems that no instruction was given to create a Rwandan force.

I had got an authorization to send some Rwandans in a training camp in Congo, but it was not a good solution (...) The problem became more acute for two reasons: one of them was a union between Ruanda and Urundi which still existed. According to that principle, both countries had to remain united even after independence. This solution, which aimed to avoid a partition, was a UN utopia. As a result this situation complicated the creation of the defense institution, which Rwanda strongly needed.

The second reason was the presence of Belgian troops. Their command was organized on the basis of Ruanda-Urundi. Col BEM Delperdange has established his staff in Usumbura. That command urged to create a local army with one command for both countries. It is Colonel Van Damme, the then battalion commander of police who took it in charge. This new unity took the name of Territorial Guard of Ruanda-Urundi and somehow under the command of Belgian troops.

It was more complicated as Usumbura was far. The problems of Urundi were more concerning than those of Rwanda, especially in military domain. But for me, the solution was easy. I estimated that it was important to create for each of ten territories of Rwanda one mobile and well-equipped platoon as soon as possible. Moreover, it was necessary to create a battalion for reserve to intervene for the whole country. For this purpose, it was urgent to recruit at least 1 200men, to create one school for sub-officers and another for officers and to equip them with necessary materials.

But in Usumbura and in Kitega, the Residence of Urundi was not in a hurry to arm a Rwandan unit which they feared its attitude during independence. The Congolese events had traumatized many people. From then, in that conception of a united Ruanda-Urundi, that lack of trust delayed the creation of Rwandan units.

I went many times to Usumbura to convince them. Finally, the Territorial Guard of Ruanda-Urundi was created on June 13, 1960, before communal elections took place. Thereafter a school for junior-officers for both countries was created in Usumbura (...).

Two events influenced the fate of the problem. The first one was elections in Rwanda and the great success of Hutu political parties. People hoped for a normal and good evolution of events. The second was the Congolese independence. The then Congolese Prime Minister P Lumumba excluded Belgian officers from the Public Force and ordered different units to elect their own chiefs.

The first consequence was that I hurried to put up a local force composed of 14%, Tutsi and 86%, Hutu, but practically almost 100% of Hutu.

The second consequence was the departure of many Belgian sub-officers from ex-Public Force. This allowed Rwanda to have good cadre in the army. This was an advantage for Hutu to have the majority in the national force.

The situation was clear for us. To a Hutu political majority we created accordingly a national force (...). Despite of some reluctance, the Rwanda school of officers was transferred from Usumbura to Astrida. On November 10, 1961, the school of officers was opened with seven students. Six of them were promoted to Lieutenant on December 23, 1961. The brilliant chief of this promotion was Juvenal Habyarimana, the second Rwandan president.

**Source** : LOGIEST, G., *Mission au Rwanda*, Bruxelles, Didier Hatier, 1988, pp. 158-160.

### **Personal experience of a respondent**

"I was among the first three Rwandan officers to join the military career: Juvénal Habyarimana, Aloys Nsekaliye. Later, Sabin Benda, Pierre Nyatanyi, Alexis and Bonaventure Ubajijoro joined us.

Joining military was not easy for me since every time I could sit for an interview, I would be told that I failed. Someone later informed me that I was admitted in the military service on the ground that he knew my father, but later I discovered that I was recommended by the United Nations.

Rwandan military used the “*pignet system*” to eliminate some individuals. It was a system that scrutinized people basing on physical tests. Although Tutsi were allowed to join the military, it was very hard for them to be admitted. Military officers would do whatever they could to fail them.

I did not find many problems in ESM (Ecole Supérieure Militaire) except some accusations put on me that I was always having secret meetings with Ndazaro, Rukeba, and Bwanakweli who were leaders of UNAR. I always appreciated what other officers hated.

e.g.

- I was not happy with the death of Patrick Lumumba and Louis Rwagasore yet other officers were happy.
- When politicians were preparing for Kamarampaka elections, they came to visit students and I felt isolated.
- After Kayibanda’s victory on 26/9/61, during the celebration I was charged with ushering MPs of UNAR and Bishop Bigirumwami, Jean Baptiste Gahamanyi and Joseph Sibomana because we were of the same group while other officers were charged with ushering PARMEHUTU and APROSOMA members.

There was a Whiteman nicknamed Cornichon who told me when Habyarimana became Chief of Staff that I would be appointed minister of defence, If it was UNAR to succeed. Habyarimana did not hide the segregation against Tutsi.

When I was promoted to second lieutenant and sent for studies in Belgium on 23/12/61 my movements were always monitored so that I could not interact with my colleagues in Astrida.

Anytime I was sent on the front line during Inyenzi attacks, I would be told, “go and fight your brothers”. Many accusations were put on me that I was always in contact with Inyenzi. I was surprised when the Chief of Staff during Nshili attack told me not to send to the front Laurent Serubuga, commandant of Cyangugu region, because his wife was pregnant. But, it was him who knew very well that place.

In 1966, during Buyenzi attack, in order to push Inyenzi, the Rwandan Army burnt many houses. It was said that I was taking revenge on the population. There were many accusations on my collaboration with Inyenzi. The reason was that I helped some Tutsi to join the exile. Thus many politicians became unhappy with me.”

**Source:** Interview with Colonel Epimaque Ruhashya on 21/07/2004, at Gitega in Kigali. (Translated from Kinyarwanda).

## **Other experiences**

The admission to the Rwandan military career followed an ethnic belonging (affiliation). Hutu from the northern Rwanda were more favored, because after the “1959 crisis”, the first republic found that to be a Hutu was of a great value. In order to protect the results of the “1959 revolution” the Kayibanda regime favored people from the northern considering them as true Bahutu (not hybrid) capable of protecting the revolution.

**Source:** Colonel Kanimba in a lecture at KIE

Batutsi were excluded from the army. Some Tutsi changed their ethnic group on their Identity cards to be admitted the military schools.

The “pignet” system at times was an opportunity to exclude those who were not needed. And the response was that they did not fulfill requirements.

Another explanation to that northern influence in the Rwandan Army was that Rwandans from the Central and the south occupied the important administrative positions. During the first Republic, these most important positions were given to people from Gitarama province because President Kayibanda was from that region. So, people from the north were worried. Consequently, they found refuge in the army, where they became very important.

The northern influence in the army began at the appointment of the new chief of staff. Consequently young people from the south and the central Rwanda chose to pursue their studies at the National University of Rwanda to have important positions in government administration while young Hutu from the north chose to join their cousins in the army

**Source:** Epimaque Ruhashya, the only senior officer in the Rwandan Army during both republics, interviewed on Aug 8<sup>th</sup>, 2004.<sup>16,”</sup>

When President Habyarimana took power in 1973, he held all the duties of the Minister of Defense, Chief of staff and also dominated intelligence services from the top to the bottom. The command of the military forces belonged only to people from Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, and Byumba and particularly in Bushiru-the native region of President Habyarimana. These positions could not be given to Batutsi or Bahutu from the central

Source: GATWA, T., *Rwanda: Eglise, victime ou coupable? 1900-1994*, Thèse, Louvain, 1996, p.117.<sup>18.</sup>

## **Promotion and marriages in the army**

The promotion in the army and the appointment to important positions in the military hierarchy followed either regional criteria or affinity. It should be noticed that all regions of the country were trying to send their people to the military school (Ecole Supérieure Militaire) in Kigali, but all regions were not well represented. The discrimination according to regions and ethnic group in the military was quite eminent<sup>19</sup>.

I was a military doctor at Kanombe Military Hospital. I underwent some physical tests to qualify as a soldier. But the final decision belonged to Colonel Baransaritse from the north. Although I was admitted, I stayed on the same rank for five years although I had the capacity and experience to head this military hospital. But this did not happen because I was “Umunyenduga”

Source: Ex-Far, officer (anonymous)

The marriage between different ethnic groups was also a problem in the Rwandan army. It was forbidden for a member of the army to marry “A muTutsikazi”. Those who did so lost their ranks and other advantages. For instance, Joachim MURAMUTSA had a Tutsi fiancée. But his passport was confiscated when he was ready to leave for a military training in Belgium.

Source: E. Ruhashya (interviewed on August 8th, 2004).

### **Part III: Regional and Ethnic Segregation in Public and Private Service**

#### **Regional and Ethnic Quota (Balance) in the Rwandan Labor Market**

For many years, Rwandan authorities decided to follow a policy of quota in its labor market while appointing people in different positions. This policy determined quotas according to regions and ethnic groups in the country. Both Hutu and Tutsi, complained about the quota system and compared it to apartheid regime of South Africa

#### **Regional Quota Balance**

The government of Rwanda then claimed that, the objective of this policy was to avoid regional disparities in public sector. All school leavers from secondary and tertiary education institutions were recruited by the central administration. It was not easy to know the population of each region so as to recruit people proportionately. The government did not have even appropriate national census to depend on while carrying out this exercise.

To show these disparities in employment, let us use the results of 1978 census since the proportions did not change considerably, despite some migrations due to the food crisis of 1989-1990.

**Table n°1: Rwandan population by province of birth**

<b>Province</b>	<b>Nº of people</b>	<b>%</b>
Kigali	681,598	14,23
Gitarama	604,481	12,62
Butare	594,294	12,41
Gikongoro	369,288	07,41
Cyangugu	330,476	06,90
Kibuye	336,236	07,02
Gisenyi	467,533	09,76
Ruhengeri	530,820	11,08
Byumba	516,766	10,79
Kibungo	357,077	07,45
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,788,569</b>	<b>554.08</b>

To show the level of importance given to every province in the Public Service Sector, we have used the rating of disparities (indice de disparité), which compares the percentage of any province in central administration and the percentage of the same province for the whole population. The balance is reached when the rating of disparity equals one. There is a disparity when it is different from that value.

**Table n°2: Distribution of Central Administrative Agents by provinces in 1989**

<b>Province</b>	<b>Agents</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Rating of</b>
Kigali	684	9	0,63
Gitarama	1,101	15	1,19
Butare	990	14	1,13
Gikongoro	663	9	1,16
Cyangugu	495	9	1,01
Kibuye	565	8	1,14
Gisenyi	830	11	1,13
Ruhengeri	1,007	14	1,26
Byumba	567	8	0,74
Kibungo	388	5	0,67
<b>Total</b>	<b>7,280</b>		

The table n°2 shows that except Kigali ( $R=0,63$ ), Kibungo ( $R=0,67$ ) and Byumba ( $R=0,74$ ), regional disparities are not very important as the rating is near 1. It is a bit high in Ruhengeri ( $R=1,26$ ) and Gitarama ( $R=1,19$ ).

The low figure shown above in Kigali must not be surprising; the population of this province is overestimated, comprising that of Kigali city from all provinces. But Kibuye and Byumba provinces are underrepresented.

### **The new workers**

That global regional balance disappears when we consider people engaged in 1989. Table n°3 shows that Kigali (21%) and Gitarama (21%) provinces have high numbers.

The disparities are high in; Gitarama 1,96; Kigali 1,47. On the contrary, for Byumba ( $R=0,44$ ) Gikongoro ( $R=0,53$ ), Kibungo ( $R=0,62$ ) are underrepresented, the equilibrium can be noticed in Ruhengeri ( $R=1,1$ ), Cyangugu ( $R=0,97$ ) and Kibuye ( $R=0,94$ ).

**Table n°3: Number of people engaged in 1989 by provinces**

<b>Province</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Rating of</b>
Kigali	490	21	1,47
Gitarama	476	24,8	1,96
Butare	186	8	0,64
Gikongoro	95	4,1	0,53
Cyangugu	156	6,7	0,97
Kibuye	155	6,6	0,94
Gisenyi	186	8	0,82
Ruhengeri	263	11,3	1,1
Byumba	111	4,8	0,44
Kibungo	107	4,6	0,62
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,325</b>	<b>100</b>	

If we consider the hypothesis that most of the job seekers were young and as we know that the Ministry of Labor market was not able to engage all professionals, those disequilibrium are abnormal and had to be changed.

When we compare the number of job seekers and those effectively engaged in Labor market, we notice that the public service recruited is average 42,6% of job seekers. Thus Gisenyi (24,53%) and Cyangugu (34,4%) have a very little % of recruited people. On contrary, Ruhengeri (64%) and Kibungo (61%)-hence were more favored.

**Table n°4: n° of job seekers and people recruited in 1989 by provinces**

<b>Province</b>	<b>Job seekers</b>	<b>Recruited</b>	<b>%</b>
Kigali	1,103	490	44,42
Gitarama	1,207	476	39,43
Butare	389	186	47,81
Gikongoro	354	95	26,86
Cyangugu	453	156	34,43
Kibuye	370	155	41,89
Gisenyi	758	186	24,53
Ruhengeri	411	263	63,99
Byumba	235	111	47,23
Kibungo	176	107	60,79
<b>Total</b>	<b>5,456</b>	<b>2,325</b>	<b>42,60</b>

One may wonder why there was such an inequality amongst job seekers. Table n°5 shows that Gitarama ( $R=1,75$ ), Kigali ( $R=1,42$ ) and Gisenyi ( $R=1,42$ ) are better represented according to their population weight, while Byumba ( $R=0,40$ ), Kibuye ( $R=0,44$ ), Butare ( $R=0,57$ ) and Ruhengeri ( $R=0,68$ ) were less represented.

Does this disparity show an inequality of those who completed their education and also an inequality in admissions? In reality, in 1989 Ruhengeri and Kibungo provinces recruited at least 60% among job seekers, as indicated in table n°5.

**Table n°5 of job seekers in 1989**

<b>Province</b>	<b>Job</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Rating of disparity</b>
Kigali	1,103	20,2	1,42
Gitarama	1,207	22,1	1,75
Butare	389	7,1	0,57
Gikongoro	354	6,5	0,84
Cyangugu	453	8,3	1,20
Kibuye	370	6,8	0,97
Gisenyi	758	13,9	1,42
Ruhengeri	411	7,5	0,68
Byumba	235	4,3	0,40
Kibungo	176	3,3	0,44
<b>Total</b>			

### **Ethnic quota**

It is not easy to know true ethnic proportions in Rwanda. The colonial masters presented false data, which confirmed that Tutsi are 35% of Banyarwanda or even more.

When Richard Kandt, the first Germany resident crossed the country, looking for the source of Nile, was astonished that a 3% of the population managed to dominate the country during many centuries.” Kandt was not talking about all Batutsi, but a minority of them, which had power.

Later, Belgians who replaced Germans estimated that Tutsi were 14% or 15% of the whole population. The 1959 events forced in exile some Tutsi who did not accept the new order. Later, the 1978 census sponsored by FNUAP showed that:

- Tutsi were 9.8%
- Hutu 89.8%
- Twa 0.4%

It is that figure which was rounded to 10% that we used to calculate ethnic quota in labor (job)

**Table 6: № of population by nationality, ethnic group/1978 census**

<b>Ethnic group/nationality</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
Hutu	4,295,275	89,7
Tutsi	467,587	9,77
Twa	22,140	0,46
Naturalized	3,567	0,07
Sub/total	4,788,567	
Expatriate	41,911	0,8
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,830,480</b>	

### **Quota in administration (public service)**

According to the report of the Ministry of Labor, all the staff in Public Service was 7,290; amongst them Hutu were 6,189, 1,100 Tutsi and 3 Batwa. This means 85% of Bahutu, 5% of Batutsi and Batwa were under-represented. The rating of disparity is 0.94 for Hutu and 1.5 for Tutsi, which meant that Tutsi, were over-represented according to their present number.

**Table 7: Distribution of Public Service Agents by Ethnic group in the Ministries**

<b>Ministry</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Bahutu</b>	<b>Batutsi</b>	<b>%</b>
MINISANTE	2,091	1,690	400	19,1
MINIFIN	462	374	88	19
MINICOM	102	84	18	17,6
MINITRANSCO	520	430	90	17,3
MINAGRI	1,265	1,074	190	15
MINIJUST	172	143	29	16,8
MINIFOP	216	187	29	13,4
MININTER	712	633	78	10,9
MINITRAPE	360	315	44	12,2
MINIPLAN	149	116	29	19,4

We also examined the number of job seekers in 1989 and jobs obtained in the same year.

Table n°8 shows that among job seekers, Tutsi were 19.3%

Can we agree with BOURDIEU principle of reproduction, which affirms that children of notables have an easy access to education? As the Batutsi were many who studied in the past, that principle in some way explains the Tutsi over-representation. **In reality to carry out the equilibrium, they had to reduce the Tutsi population in schools.**

**Table 8: Job seekers and people recruited in 1989**

<b>Job seekers</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Ethnic</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>
Hutu	4,240	80,3	Hutu	1,985	85,4
Tutsi	1,022	19,3	Tutsi	332	14,3
Twa	13	0,3	Twa	6	0,2
Natural	4	0,1	Natural	2	0,1
Total	5,279		Total	2,325	

According to the data on 5.279 of job seekers, 2.325 people recruited were =44% and 332 Tutsi out of 1.022 (32.5%), 1985 Hutu out of 4.240 (46.8%) on the national scale, there were 2.27 applications.

## **Quota in other enterprises**

The following data are related to 463 enterprises of state or private sectors according to the Ministry of Labor of June 30,1990. The analysis shows that these 463 enterprises had 23.299 Rwandan workers (20.513 Hutu and 3.299 Tutsi and the percentage of Tutsi is 13.85. thus the rating of disparity is 1.4, this is a lack of balance for Tutsi.

Electrogaz in 1990 had 1.065 national employees with 815 Hutu and 249 Tutsi (23.38%) with a rating of disparity of 2.3; there is also UTEXRWA, a textile factory for Indo-Pakistan, which uses 800 people (613 Hutu and 167 Tutsi) that is 20.8% ( $h=2$ ). Commercial Bank of Rwanda, had 583 Rwandan workers, 518 were Hutu and 63 Tutsi (10.8%). In the same year, out of 551 wage earners in the central Bank 4.96% were Hutu and Tutsi (9.8) that is to say  $R=1$ .

The same lack of balance was noticed in private enterprises using more than 80 workers. 15 enterprises use 3.966 wage earners: (Hutu=3.459, Tutsi=386) with the rating of disparity of 0.97. This lack of balance was high in COLAS ( $R=0.073$ ). RWANTEXCO ( $R=0.7$ ) SULFO-RDA ( $R=0.78$ ) UTEXRWA ( $R=0.83$ ) here the lack of balance is not very high. On contrary, Deutsche Welle ( $R=2.8$ ), ABAY ( $R=2.6$ ), MURRI FRORES ( $R=2.6$ ) and ASTALDI ( $R=1.9$ ) which had an over-representation of Tutsi. Elsewhere, according to the following table, the balance was ok.

It is true that a policy of balance (ethnic and regional) is due to the under-development of our country. It can be justified for a certain period but not used forever. With democracy and development, it will disappear. In a country with sub-groups like Rwanda, the quota had to protect the minority.

SOURCE: UWIZEYIMANA, L., « L'équilibre ethnique et régional dans l'emploi », *Dialogue*, No 146, Mai-juin, 1991, pp.15-31.

## **Institution Directors and their Region of Origin**

<b>INSTITUTION</b>	<b>DIRECTOR</b>	<b>REGION</b>
Crete Zaire Nil	Gallican Hategeka	Gisenyi
BCR	Claver Mvuyekure	Gisenyi
BK	Viateur Mvuyekure	Gisenyi
BACAR	Pasteur Musabe	Gisenyi
SOPROTEL	Martin Ayirwanda	Gisenyi
TRAFIPRO	Ngororabanga	Gisenyi
PNAP	Pierre Tegera	Gisenyi
Chambre de Commerce	Aloys Bizimana	Gisenyi
ISAAR	Léopold Gahamanyi	Gisenyi
Caisse Hypothécaire	Antoine Libanje (replaced Segasayo)	Gisenyi
Musée National	Simon Ntigashira	Gisenyi
OCIR-Thé	Michel Bagaragaza	Gisenyi
ORTPN	Juvenal Uwilingiyimana	Gisenyi
COOPIMAR	Jean Mburanumwe	Gisenyi
GBK	Jean Bagiramenshi	Gisenyi
SORWAL	Mathieu Ngirira	Gisenyi
Usine à Thé Shagasha	Callixte	Gisenyi
Usine à Thé Pfunda	Munyeshuli	Gisenyi
Usine à Thé Murindi	Jaribu	Gisenyi
We do not include international institutions like CEPGL, OBK, IRAZ, EGL, CEEAC and embassies.		
Caisse sociale	J.Damascène Hategekimana	Ruhengeri
Electrogaz	Donat Munyanganizi	Ruhengeri
Ocir-Café	Fabien Neretse	Ruhengeri
BNR	Denis Ntirugirimbabazi	Ruhengeri
Rwandex	Baragahoranye	Ruhengeri
ONAPO	Gaudence Nyirasafari	Ruhengeri
ORINFOR	Ferdinand Nahimana	Ruhengeri
CID	Daniel Rwananiye	Ruhengeri
Laiterie du Rwanda	Callixte Mirasano	Ruhengeri
RAR	Lt Colonel Nyirimanzi	Ruhengeri
Redemi	J.B Bicamumpaka	Ruhengeri
Sodeparal	Michel Bakuzakundi	Ruhengeri
Cimerwa	Callixte	Ruhengeri
Ocir Thé de Rubaya	Juvenal Ndabarinze	Ruhengeri
Ocir-Thé Nshili	Stany Niyibizi	Ruhengeri
Opyrwa	Bizimana Augustin	Byumba

DRB	Laurien Ngirabanzi	Byumba
Somitrap	Laurent Hitimana	Byumba
Bunep	Augustin Ruzindana	Byumba
Soproriz	Elie Nyirimbiyi	Byumba
Ocir-Thé Gisovu	Alfred Musema	Byumba
Imprisco	Stany Sinyibagiwe	Byumba
Croix-Rouge	Claudien Kamirindi	Byumba
Sucrerie	Kagaba	Kigali
Sonarwa	Ngirumpatse	Kigali
Petrorwanda	Désiré Murenzi	Kigali
Magerwa	Claudien Kanyarwanda	Kigali
CER	Juvenal Ndisanze	Kigali
Maiserie de Mukamira	Dirimasi	Kigali
Onatracom	Kabogoza	Gitarama
Ovapam	Nsengiyaremye	Gitarama
IRST	Gasengayire	Gitarama
DPF	Musengarurema	Gitarama
Oprovia	Butare	Butare
BRD	Maharangari	Butare
UNR	Ntahobari	Butare
DGB	Gasarabwe	Butare
INR	Munyangoga	Gikongoro
OVIBAR	Munyangendo	Gikongoro
Tabarwanda	Mucumankiko	Gikongoro
PASP UGZ III	Nzamurambaho	Gikongoro
Ocir-Thé Shagasha	Mubiligi	Gikongoro
Air Rwanda	Karangwa	Cyangugu

**Source:** “Kwiyuburura Kwa MRND kujujane no kwicuza”, in *Kinyamateka*, May 1991, No 1334.

## **Part IV: “Ethnic” and Regional Segregation in Rwandan Educational System and Religious Life**

**A.** We want education to be strictly monitored.

The system should be more realistic and modern by abandoning the selection system whose results are clear in secondary schools. We think that this should be respected (...), if the places are not enough, Identity Cards should be used in order to respect quotas.

We wish:

- That current social ranks do not influence admission to schools.
- The award of scholarships (a good part comes from taxes due to population. Bahutu should not be victims of Tutsi monopoly to keep Bahutu eternally in an unsupportable social and political inferiority.
- For tertiary education, we think that establishment in Belgian Congo are enough, but must receive many students without opposing to the fact that the most brilliant continue their studies to Europe (metropolis).

**Source:** Manifeste des Bahutu: Note sur l'aspect social du problème racial indigène au Rwanda, 24 mars 1957 sur <http://www.mdrw.org/manifeste.htm>, le 30/10/2004.

## **B. Speech of the President of the Republic**

Rwandans,

On behalf of the Republic of Rwanda, I the President of the Republic, in order

- To save completely the people of Rwanda and give a true democracy to our country;
- To bring peace among citizens and allow them to collaborate in order to safeguard justice and respect for everybody in the new republic, in order - to protect everybody from the colonization and clientele (*ubuhake*) (...)

in conjunction with the whole population of Rwanda, represented by distinguished persons in this congress held on our wish here in Gitarama on January 28 of New Year 1961.

We proclaim this law creating the Republic of Rwanda (...). All Rwandans are equal in rights without considering “ethnic groups”, family, color or religion. All Rwandans have rights according to the bill of human rights, with the exception of some according to the law.

Every Rwandan can go to school. Schools that will not follow directives regarding

quotas according to the number of every ethnic group will be closed or given to other owners.

The separation between legislative, executive and judiciary powers are in this law (itegeko ry'iremezo). Firstly, the Republic of Rwanda accepts provisionally the Belgian UN trusteeship and the contract between Belgium and the UN. Secondly, Rwanda accepts the bill of human rights and will follow it starting now.

**Source :** Mbonyumutwa Dominique, "Disikuru ya Prezida wa Republika on 28/1/1961" In *Kinyamateka* (Translated from Kinyarwanda)

**C. The Speech of General Major Juvenal Habyarimana, President of the Republic and Founder President of MRND at the opening of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Congress of MRND**

I take this opportunity to remind you that the aim of our Movement is to constitute the link for all Rwandans. According to the 1959 Revolution, our Movement rejected separatism, the superiority of one race, one family on others. It succeeded to gather all Rwandans for peace, unity, democracy, and necessary elements to boost national development...

**Source:** Ijambo rya Nyakubahwa Militant Habyarimana Yuvenali, Prezida Fondateri WA Mouvement Revolutionnaire iharanira amajyambere y'u Rwanda, Prezida wa Repubulika atangiza kandi asoza imilimo y'inama ya Kongre ya gatanu isanzwe ya MRND kuwa 20 Ukuboza no kuwa 23 Ukuboza 1985, p. 89.

**D. Speech by Juvenal Habyarimana, Founder President of MRND and President of Republic during the opening and the closing of the third Congress of MRND, on December 20 and December 23, 1985**

Active members,

(...)In this fifth Congress, we were happy that we agreed upon our educational policy, mainly in respect to sharing places in schools. But I again request responsible ministries, to find out urgently the figures (quotas) to follow in order to correct inequalities in this matter...

**Source:** Ijambo rya Nyakubahwa Militant Habyarimana Yuvenali, Prezida Fondateri wa Mouvement Revolutionnaire iharanira amajyambere y'u Rwanda, Prezida wa Repubulika atangiza kandi asoza imilimo y'inama ya Kongre ya gatanu isanzwe ya MRND kuwa 20 Ukuboza no kuwa 23 Ukuboza 1985, p. 89.

## **E. Instructions regarding admissions in Rwandan schools**

Criteria to be admitted in secondary education must be carefully respected, as places in secondary schools are very few. Moreover, due to the fact that our country lacks competent workers in all domains, the equilibrium must favor the most intelligent students (...). The way the student follows and his marks are the two main criteria to be admitted in secondary schools.

The MRND and its founder presidential policy in education requires the respect of ethnic quota according to the number of every “ethnic group” out of the whole population. This must be respected for every option of secondary education.

Every *province* (province) must get students according to the size of its population. This must always respect the students’ marks during official examinations.

If possible, in every province this quota system should be respected on communal level (districts) (...). The admission for secondary schools must be done according to the number of if possible to the proportion of males and females out of the whole population.

The Minister of Education had the privilege to award 5% secondary school placement to correct where the quotas were not properly respected according to criteria stated above. (...)

Regarding scholarship for tertiary education in Rwanda and abroad, the above criteria of quota for “ethnic group”, regions, sex and within options must be respected without unbalance according to places in schools...

Source: “Ingingo shingiro mu kwemererwa mu nzego z’amashuri yo mu Rwanda”, in MRND, Amatwara y’u Rwanda mu y’Uburezi, Umuco n’ubushakashatsi. Politique de l’éducation, de la culture, de la recherché scientifique et technique au Rwanda no1, octobre, 1984, pp. 32-35.

## **F. A Story from Anonymous Author**

I was born in January 1968 during one of the most suicidal attacks of Inyenzi in Nshili. I am very sure of this. My mother told me this twice. She remembered it very well, because when she was coming from her antenatal consultation, she met a military lorry carrying dead bodies and wounded soldiers. At that time, she wanted to know what was on the lorry, the driver stopped and asked her why she was curious, she ran away leaving her baby behind. It was probably 10 years after the 1959 revolution.

I began primary school at my parish. It was there that I learnt that Tutsi had oppressed Hutu for centuries and they had to pay for it. I also learnt that I was a son of a Tutsi from Ethiopia. While the Hutu near me in class, were sons of poor Hutu who lived by doing hard labor. So justice had to be done for Hutu sons and daughters. I grew up with that shame of being one of the oppressors –the Tutsi. My social surroundings identified me as a “Tutsi”.

When I wanted to go to secondary school, this identification of being a Tutsi prevented me from joining the public schools. It was easier to be admitted in the seminary to become a priest. Thus I was admitted at Karubanda seminary in Butare diocese. This was also possible because of my uncle who was a priest who helped me by talking to the bishop of Butare.

In the secondary education, I was constantly made aware that I was a Tutsi. This awareness was due to the ethnic check up done on regular basis in the classroom to remind us that we belonged to an “outcast group”

During these checks up, Hutu were proud to raise their hands, but for us, we could raise ours hesitantly and some could hide behind desks. We preferred to be Twa who had no traumatizing experience. Unfortunately, it was impossible to change to Twa. It was impossible to cheat in that way. We were obliged to live the fate of our group.

After the seminary, I joined the University- Nyakinama Campus. During my three years there, I was unique in my classroom. I was at least, the only student without a Hutu identity card.

In Nyakinama, things were serious since it was the birthplace of MRND-CDR. Among the teaching staff there were people like Léon Mugesera, Ferdinand Nahimana and two priests, Roger Heremans (ex-white Father) and, Maniragaba Baributsa (ex-dominican). These two latter had manipulated the bible into the Hutu manifesto.

However, there were some intellectuals like professor Emmanuel Ntezimana, who tried to convince his colleagues not to be against Tutsi students for he had realized the political confusion, which was going on in that Institute. But he paid for his good will later by dying in unknown conditions (sickness) but probably poisoned.

At the beginning, regionalism saved us, for we were considered children of the region more than Hutu from other regions. Nyakinama campus was not ready to welcome or integrate Abanyenduga, from any ethnic groups whether Hutu or Tutsi. According to Nyakinama area, no Hutu from other regions had pure blood of Hutu. They were supposed to be put in the same basket as Tutsi.

Source : *Dialogue IV*, Dec 1999, n°16, pp.33-38

According to Mugesera (2004) 1981/2 academic years, the law of balance against Tutsi from secondary to high schools is clearly highlighted:

<b>Province</b>	<b>Commune</b>	<b>No. of Tutsi</b>	<b>No. admitted</b>
Butare	Nyabisindu	9	1
Butare	Huye	21	1
Butare	Nyaruhengeri	9	1
Butare	Ntyazo	14	3
Butare	Ruhasha	37	7
Gikongoro	Rusasira	24	10
Gikongoro	Maraba	28	15
Gikongoro	Karama	44	6

In 1983/3 academic year, there was a total number of 424 students in Butare University; and out of these there were only 28 Tutsi (ibid, 2004).

According to the newspaper '**Le coopérateur Trafipro' 12/11/88**', the minister of Education by then Mr. Nsekaliye categorically stated that:

“If a commune like Kigoma had 30 intelligent Batwa students and all pass their examinations and their list is put up, and a commune like Nyamabuye had only a list of Tutsi who passed and their list is up; do you think this kind of list will stay on even a night before it is scrapped off? Even schools where these lists are posted can be burnt. That is why the law of balance is necessary”.

In the same newspaper, the same minister said:

“Children of Burgomaster should have privileges in schools since their fathers sacrifice a lot for the nation more than others”.

**THE NUMBERS AND REGIONS OF STUDENTS ON FOREIGN SCHOLARSHIP**

<b>YEAR</b>	<b>1981-82</b>	<b>1982-83</b>	<b>1983-84</b>	<b>1984-85</b>	<b>1985-86</b>	<b>1986-87</b>	<b>1987-88</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
<b>REGION</b>								
Butare	18	11	15	18	23	13	11	109
Byumba	13	14	17	19	16	21	23	123
Cyangugu	9	11	10	13	8	9	12	72
Gikongoro	11	9	7	10	10	10	7	84
Gisenyi	18	26	40	46	49	44	84	297
Gitarama	15	23	10	17	25	28	14	130
Kibungo	4	5	11	9	11	8	14	62
Kibuye	7	6	6	11	12	7	13	62
Kigali	18	13	17	20	26	16	28	138
Ruhengeri	27	27	22	27	31	33	38	205

**SOURCE: "Kwiyuburura Kwa MRND kujyane no kwicuza, in  
Kinamatetka, No 1334, p .8.**

#### **G. Colonial Education in Rwanda**

The Roman Catholic Church first introduced formal education in Rwanda at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The main purpose of education at this time was to:

- Train catechists to spread Catholicism to the local population.
- Train auxiliaries to assist the colonial masters in local administration, agricultural production of cash crops for export and enforcement of labor. Thus labor was forced on peasants, resulting in the first exodus of the Rwandans into neighboring Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya in the 1930s and 1940s.

During the colonial period the whole education system was entrusted to the catholic missionaries who enjoyed support from the colonial government to establish schools, using 'Funds for the Welfare of the Indigenous People' (Fonds du Bien-Etre Indigene). The White fathers and nuns established two types of schools:

- The rural schools in villages offered a two-year literacy education to the people in the villages. The local instructors for these schools were trained by the missionaries. They taught reading, writing, elementary arithmetic and hygiene.
- The central schools were built at the mission and managed by missionaries. These schools admitted the best candidates from the rural schools. They offered a five-year primary education to boys only, since girls were not allowed to go to school at that time.

Apart from formal basic education, missionaries established catechism schools run by local catechists whose responsibility was to prepare believers for baptism. By 1935, the Catholic missionaries had established 338 primary schools with 22,645 pupils and a working force of 553 teachers. At that time, there was one special secondary school, established in 1929 by Brothers of Charity in Butare, southern Rwanda. This school had a special mission to train auxiliaries who would assist the colonial government officials in local administration. In 1936 some seminaries were established, specializing in the study of religion, philosophy and languages. Graduates of these seminaries were later to become some of the political leaders of Rwanda after independence

Later, in the 1950s, the colonial government established some secondary schools to train mainly primary school teachers. It was also in the 1950s that a few girls were first admitted to secondary schools to train as nurses and midwives. Before that time girls were trained in ‘écoles menagères’ established with the sole purpose of training good housewives. In these, girls were taught reading, writing, knitting, cookery, and hygiene and home management.

Thus colonial education through missionaries played an important role in developing basic education and vocational skills among Rwandans. However, it has been noted that the way formal education was introduced in Rwanda had some negative effects on the future development of the country. For example, education was used as early as the 1920s to divide Rwandans:

1. Children in schools were put in distinct categories of **Hutu (commons)** or **Tutsi (royals)**
2. Children of **Tutsi** chiefs were favored and admitted to ‘Astrida Secondary School’ to prepare them for service in the colonial administration.

The colonialists used the divide and rule strategy by grooming the **Tutsi** for leadership and excluding the **Hutu** children, who mainly received education from the seminaries. This was a contributing factor to the upheavals in the late 1950s and subsequent conflicts in Rwanda. Colonial education also provided Rwandans with only the basic skills to occupy assistant positions to the colonialists. Rwandans were not given the chance to develop skills of leadership, decision-making and creativity, neither were they given professional and technical training in fields like medicine, agriculture,

engineering and veterinary medicine which would have benefited the country. It has been noted that this type of training was later to entrench a culture of lack of self-confidence, dependence and passive submissiveness among Rwandans.

## **H. Post Colonial Education in Rwanda**

After Rwanda's independence in 1962, the government concentrated on expanding access at primary level. Primary schooling was declared free and obligatory, starting at age six. Opening a number of secondary schools also expanded secondary education and higher education was established by opening the National University of Rwanda in 1963. It has been noted that by 1975, school enrolment had increased from 250,000 pupils at the time of independence to 386,000 pupils at primary level whereas at secondary school level, there were 64 schools with a student population of 11,227 students. The National University of Rwanda had six faculties, in medicine, agriculture, law, social sciences, natural sciences and arts. It had a student enrolment of 619.

Other than expanded access, however, education in Rwanda remained discriminatory after independence, this time in favor of the **Hutu (commons)**, against the **Tutsi (royals)** and **Twa (pigmies)**. In 1978, for example, reforms to localize education were made but rather than correcting the errors of the colonial legacy, it was during this time that quotas were introduced for each ethnic group.

Thus students were no longer admitted to secondary schools on the basis of merit, but on the policy of "balance". Article 60 of the law on public instruction stated that transition from primary to secondary school should respect the following criteria: national exam results; student's progressive performance; regional, ethnic and sex balance. This was the policy of 'social justice' (**Iringaniza**) that left out many **Tutsi** children.

## **I. Some Educational Changes after Independence**

According to the national curriculum report the structure and content of primary education in Rwanda developed in three phases after independence. These are **before** the school reform of 1978/79, **the school reform** of 1978/79, and **the readjustment** of school reform (1991). In this respect, each phase had a linguistic concern in its curriculum.

Before the school reform of 1978/79, that is phase one of the development of primary education, there are two important legal texts that can be retrieved: the law of 27 August 1966 on National Education in the Republic of Rwanda, and the Presidential Decree N°.175/03 of 28 April 1967, which set the general regulations of Rwanda's education.

Based on these two texts, the language of instruction from primary one to primary three was Kinyarwanda, while French became a medium of instruction from primary four to primary six. The former was taught as a subject from primary four to primary six, while the latter became a subject and not a medium of instruction in primary one to four.

During the 1978/1979 reforms, the whole system of primary education was revised. The duration changed from six to eight years of primary and Kinyarwanda became a medium of instruction for all the subjects (apart from languages) throughout the eight years of primary school, while French became a subject to be taught from primary four to primary eight. This education reform faced a lot of problems such as lack of instructional materials, teachers who were not trained in the new fields in the syllabus, and lack of proper methods with which to evaluate the reform.

It was these, among other reasons, that prompted the revision of the reform in 1991. Here, primary education went back to six years. Immediately after the revision of the reform, war broke out in some parts of the country, which culminated in the 1994 genocide and massacres. Therefore, not much of what was revised had time to be implemented (Ndabaga E, 2004).

### **J. Muvara “Affair”; A Plot Against Bishop Muvara**

The Muvara affair is well known in Rwanda. He had been just appointed as an auxiliary Bishop of Butare in 1988 before he was forced to resign. Reverend Félicien Muvara a Tutsi priest was forced to resign some months just before his consecration because of President Habyarimana's circles and many other priests.

This scandal divided many Rwandans. Amongst the big network of those who pushed Reverend Félicien Muvara to resign were the following:

- Mrs. Josephine, spouse of colonel Nsekalije, the then Minister of primary and secondary schools had a grudge against Muvara.

She got into contact with Reverend Charles Bizumuremyi who had just been appointed Director of Catholic Education. Bizimungu was an extremist Hutu and a friend to the family of President Habyarimana and more with the Minister of Education. Bizimungu himself did not like Muvara. Bizimungu forged information that Muvara had a kid with a lady called Veronique yet how can he be appointed a bishop. He gave this information to Josephine who spread it to the circle of high authorities in the government.

- Reverend Andre Sibomana too was very active in the group against Muvara. He knew Muvara very well since they came from the same parish. The Ex-Director of Kinyamateka journal visited the President of Bishops conference- Bishop Ruzindana from Byumba, and convinced him the truth of Muvara's adultery and having a child. Bishop Perraudin also was informed through Sibomana's friends.

Bishop Joseph Ruzindana, the president of the Bishops Conference also did not like Félicien Muvara. He was unhappy with Muvara's promotion. He informed his cousin, Colonel Bagosora. The objective was to sabotage Father Muvara completely

- Colonel Bagosora informed the President who did not immediately agree with the information regarding Muvara. President Habyarimana continued hesitating. Meanwhile, the Director of Intelligence arrived in the office of the President and confirmed the information to him by saying; "the whole Kigali is now talking about it", he said; but, the President wanted more details and then decided to meet the Archbishop of Kigali, Vincent Nsengiyumva and Bishop Joseph Ruzindana, the president of the "bishops conference". By meeting these people, President Habyarimana was influenced and hence convinced about Muvara's affair.

The decision was then taken that Father Félicien Muvara would go to Rome to present his resignation to the Pope and the apostolic nuncio was informed.

At the same time, President Habyarimana ordered Jacques Maniraguha (Member of Parliament) to follow up this affair. Maniraguha met a Belgian businessman, nicknamed "Jef" who would convince and influence an influential Belgian priest called father Vanderborgh about the guilt of Muvara since they were friends. While "Jef" was informing pro-Hutu circles in Belgium about that "scandal" Father Vanderborgh influenced a group of priests in Butare.

Amongst those priests were: Sylvio Sindambiwe (Director of Kinyamateka) Charles Bizumuremyi, Fidèle Nyaminani, Denis Sekamana, Venuste Linguyeneza and Ladislas Habimana, a friend to father Vanderborgh to whom he gave the results of their investigation.

With those results, father Vanderborgh the superior of white fathers by then and father Joseph Vleugels informed the apostolic nuncio that they had the proof of Muvara's guilt. Meanwhile, the Burundian ambassador in Rwanda tried to intervene but the Vatican diplomats argued that the ambassador's information was wrong. Few days later, on March 24, 1989 at 10h30, on a holy Friday Muvara presented his resignation to the Pope having been forced by the President of the Republic and the Bishops Conference.

Thereafter, Muvara wrote a confidential letter to the bishops describing his unhappiness because of their silence during his times of trials. He told them that he would reveal nothing regarding their part in this affair just to safeguard the church's honor.

Few days latter, it discovered that the Veronique Nyirandegeya story was an imaginary lady just to sabotage Muvara not to become a bishop on ethnic grounds. Véronique Nyirandegeya herself agreed that the father of her child was not Muvara, but a Burundian doctor, Batungwanayo.

However, on May 10, 1989, Bishop Perraudin, Vice-President of the Bishop Conference went on and wrote a letter to Pope John II to affirm Muvara's guilty convincing the Pope that it was not an ethnic issue as some people claimed.

**Source :** TERRAS C., Rwanda, L'honneur perdu de l'Eglise, Lyon, Ed. Golias, 1999.

#### **E. Other Cases that are needed to understand this Period**

- The elimination of opposition by PARMEHUTU (1962-1973)
- The socio-economic development under the first and second republics (schools, electricity, roads, water, telephone, health, etc)
- The Inyenzi attacks
- The refugee problem
- Rwanda and international community (relations between Rwanda and Belgium, Rwanda and France, Rwanda and other African countries, with French speaking countries, with neighboring countries (Uganda, Burundi, Congo, Tanzania, etc), Rwanda and economic communities (CEPGL, KBO, etc)
- The 1973 coup and MRND domination
- The role and organization of *Umuganda*
- The 1978 education reform and its aftermath
- The 1980 attempt coup
- The good years of Habyarimana regime: auto-reliance and the fall of economy in the 1980s
- The demographic problem
- Religions and the influence of the Catholic Church
- Political assassinations
- The women emancipation

## **F. Lessons**

General objective:

- To assess and evaluate the ethnic and regional discriminations in Rwandan society between 1962 and 1989.

Specific objectives:

At the end of this lesson, students should be able to:

- Understand the dynamics of ethnic and regional discrimination tendencies in Rwandan society
- Explain how Rwanda used education as a tool to discriminate some individuals
- Describe different educational reforms that took place in Rwanda
- Identify the values of education

### **Topic 1: Discriminations in Rwandan Schools**

#### **Suggested activities**

Through the case of discrimination in schools, students will explore the theme of discrimination, bias, hatred, and how in Rwanda ethnicity represented one of the worst tendencies in the society.

#### **Suggested reading and activity 1:**

Preparatory study of discrimination: Read the story “two cows” Ask students to write a response to the story in their journals then, have students pair up with the person sitting next to them to share their reaction. Finally, bring the whole group together for a discussion of the story. (This approach is called “think, pair, share,” and it is an effective way to engage all students in the discussion. Everyone has the chance to share his or her ideas with at least one other person. In addition, students, who do not like to speak out in class, have an opportunity to share in a small group, and all students have the chance to “test” their ideas before they share them with the entire class. Teachers can also use the pairing as a way to listen in on students’ discussion to learn how students and respond to the material.

## **Two Cows**

In this story, two cows, one with horns and another without horns, were going to the other side of lake to fetch some grass. In the middle of their journey, they quarreled until they fought. Kungu, the cow without horns, was accusing Nyambo because his ancestors knocked off Kungu's ancestors' horns, which made their descendants be born without horns. So far Kungu, it was time to revenge that act. When the two cows were still fighting for no good reason, after a discussion with the crocodiles, the cow saw sense and decided to reconcile and live together peacefully. As a way of thanking the crocodiles, the cows invited them threw a big party for them.

- a. Let each student go back to his/her seat and read ‘ a story from an anonymous victim’. Then, let them choose words and phrase that they are willing to share and say why they should have chosen them.
- b. Have student’s pair and share these phrases and words.
- c. As a group, have a discussion about the story. What does it reveal? Was it difficult to believe it? What aspects of Rwanda are included? What is left out?

## **Suggested activity 2**

- a. Understanding the substance of the curriculum: In a journal, write what you know about discrimination in Rwandan schools, what you do not know about it, and what you want to know about it.
- b. Individually, study the statistics of Rwandan students in schools both local and international and see how they correspond with stories you read.
- c. In groups, consult the tables (statistics) that show the number of ethnic students in Rwandan society and discuss with the whole class what students now understand.
- d. Let the teacher ask students to pose their remaining questions about these statistics on note cards. These cards can be posted on the wall of the classroom or in some common public space.

Be sure that students and teachers continue to check and respond to the posted question.

**Suggested Activity 3: Reading the substance of the Curriculum  
in with education in Rwanda between 1962  
and 1989:**

- a. Break the class into teams. Each team will interview an elder in the community (a teacher, a relative, another adult).
- b. Each group should first generate a set of interview questions that ask the adult whether he/she went to school and what he or she knows about the education in Rwanda (1962-1989).
- c. If the interviewee did not go to school, find out what the interviewee knows about the value of in general. After conducting the interview teams might consider how and what the adult knows about education in Rwanda. Teams will share their knowledge with the class in general and discuss what are values of education are and how one would feel if denied education

**Lesson II: Discrimination in the Rwandan Army  
(1962-1989)**

General Objective:

To be capable to describe divisionism tendencies (regional and ethnic) in the Rwandan society (1962-1989)

Specific Objectives:

At the end of the lesson, students will be able to :

Describe the role of the army in general

Explain the historical evolution of the Rwandan army (1962-1989)

Explain the way the army has been used in the exclusion of certain individuals

Taking one case of discrimination (of one's choice from those listed below), students will be able to exploit the theme on discrimination, hatred and how "ethnic" segregation has occupied an important place in the Rwandan society.

Activity 1 :

Read the story "a particular meeting"

Ask the students to write some points on this story in their exercise books. Tell students to go into groups of two in order to share their views (reactions). Bring the groups together in order to discuss the story (think- pair- share).

Ask students to choose key words and phrases that they want to share between them.

Let groups in pairs share ideas on key words and phrases.

All the groups discuss the story, what it reveals to the reader, aspects presented in the story, in relationship with the Rwandan society.

Activity 2 :

### **Personal experience of a respondent**

"I was among the first three Rwandan officers to join the military career: Juvénal Habyarimana, Aloys Nsekaliye. Sabin Benda, Pierre Nyatanyi, Alexis and Bonaventure Ubarijoro joined us.

Joining military was not easy for me since every time I could sit for an interview, I would be told that I failed. Someone later informed me that I was admitted in the military service on the ground that he knew my father, but later I discovered that I was recommended by the United Nations.

Rwandan military used the "*pignet system*" to eliminate some individuals. It was a system that scrutinized people basing on physical tests. Although Tutsi were allowed to join the military, it was very hard for them to be admitted. Military officers would do whatever they could to fail them.

I did not find many problems in ESM (Ecole Supérieure Militaire) except some accusations put on me that I was always having secret meetings with Ndazaro, Rukeba, and Bwanakweli who were leaders of UNAR. I always appreciated what other officers hated.

e.g.

- I was not happy with the death of Patrick Lumumba and Louis Rwagasore yet other officers were happy.
- When politicians were preparing for Kamarampaka elections, they came to visit students and I felt isolated.
- After Kayibanda's victory on 26/9/61, during the celebration I was charged with ushering MPs of UNAR and Bishop Bigirumwami, Jean Baptiste Gahamanyi and Joseph Sibomana because we were of the same group while other officers were charged with ushering PARMEHUTU and APROSOMA members.

There was a Whiteman nicknamed Cornichon who told me when Habyarimana became Chief of Staff that I would be appointed Minister of Defense, If it was UNAR to succeed. Habyarimana did not hide the segregation against Tutsi.

When I was promoted to second lieutenant and sent for studies in Belgium on 23/12/61 my movements were always monitored so that I could not interact with my colleagues in Astrida.

Anytime I was sent on the front line during Inyenzi attacks, I would be told, “go and fight your brothers”. Many accusations were put on me that I was always in contact with Inyenzi. I was surprised when the Chief of Staff during Nshili attack told me not to send to the front Laurent Serubuga, commandant of Cyangugu region, because his wife was pregnant. But, it was him who knew very well that place.

In 1966, during Buyenzi attack, in order to push Inyenzi, the Rwandan Army burnt many houses. It was said that I was taking revenge on the population. There were many accusations on my collaboration with Inyenzi. The reason was that I helped some Tutsi to join the exile. Thus many politicians became unhappy with me.”

### **Other experiences**

The admission to the Rwandan military career followed an ethnic belonging (filiation). Hutu from the northern Rwanda were more favored, because after the “1959 crisis”, the first republic found that to be a Hutu was of a great value. In order to protect the results of the “1959 revolution” the Kayibanda regime favored people from the northern considering them as true Bahutu (not hybrid) capable of protecting the revolution.

**Source:** Colonel Kanimba in a lecture at  
KIE

Batutsi were excluded from the army. Some Tutsi changed their ethnic group on their Identity cards to be admitted the military schools.

The “pignet” system at times was an opportunity to exclude those who were not needed. And the response was that they did not fulfill requirements.

Another explanation to that northern influence in the Rwandan Army was that Rwandans from the Central and the south occupied the important administrative positions. During the first Republic, these most important positions were given to people from Gitarama province because President Kayibanda was from that region. So, people from the north were worried. Consequently, they found refuge in the army, where they became very important.

The northern influence in the army began at the appointment of the new chief of staff. Consequently young people from the south and the central Rwanda chose to pursue their studies at the National University of Rwanda to have important positions in government administration while young Hutu from the north chose to join their cousins in the army

**Source:** Epimaque Ruhashya, the only senior officer in the Rwandan Army during both republics, interviewed on Aug 8<sup>th</sup>, 2004.<sup>16”</sup>

When President Habyarimana took power in 1973, he held all the duties of the Minister of Defense, Chief of staff and also dominated intelligence services from the top to the bottom. The command of the military forces belonged only to people from Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, and Byumba and particularly in Bushiru-the native region of President Habyarimana. These positions could not be given to Batutsi or Bahutu from the central

Source: GATWA, T., *Rwanda: Eglise, victime ou coupable? 1900-1994*, Thèse, Louvain, 1996, p.117.<sup>18</sup>.

### **Promotion and marriages in the army**

The promotion in the army and the appointment to important positions in the military hierarchy followed either regional criteria or affinity. It should be noticed that all regions of the country were trying to send their people to the military school (Ecole Supérieure Militaire) in Kigali, but all regions were not well represented. The discrimination according to regions and ethnic group in the military was quite eminent<sup>19</sup>.

I was a military doctor at Kanombe Military Hospital. I underwent some physical tests to qualify as a soldier. But the final decision belonged to Colonel Baransaritse from the north. Although I was admitted, I stayed on the same rank for five years although I had the capacity and experience to head this military hospital. But this did not happen because I was “Umunyenduga”

**Source:** Ex-Far, officer  
(anonymous)

The marriage between different ethnic groups was also a problem in the Rwandan army. It was forbidden for a member of the army to marry “A muTutsikazi”. Those who did so lost their ranks and other advantages. For instance, Joachim MURAMUTSA had a Tutsi fiancée. But his passport was confiscated when he was ready to leave for a military training in Belgium.

**Source:** E. Ruhashya (interviewed on August 8th, 2004).

## **A special meeting**

Mukama sent one member of his family to prevent his son from marrying the sister to Haguma who killed his aunt. When people held a meeting, some of them supported Mukama's idea, but others rejected it. Mukama saw that the majority encouraged Mageza to marry the girl that he loved. He changed his mind and told his son to marry the girl of his choice.

Activity 3 :

Homework

Students will ask their parents or neighbors other activities that were carried out by the Rwandan army between 1962-1989.

They will also collect information from an army person or any person who has information on the role played by the army in general.

## **Topic III: Myth and Divisionism in Rwandan Society**

### **Activity 1**

In groups of five or six, let students share/narrate to each other any myth each knows. Let them try to find out:

- The rationale of each myth they have shared
- The implications of that/those myths

### **Activity 2**

- Let each student read and compare the versions of Gihanga's myth individually.
- Let each student note down any word, phrase, and sentence that s/he needs to share with his/her colleagues or needs clarification.

#### **- Let the class discuss:**

Who might have told this myth  
The possible rationale of the myth

- **Let them go back to their groups and**  
compare and contrast the three versions of the myth

- **Let the students as a class find out:**

Why different versions?  
Why are the possible reasons for creating these myths?  
Why still narrated in modern times?  
Do they hold any relevance today?  
What role did they play in ethnic identity?  
Any version that is more important than another?

**NB:**

**Having helped students to understand these myths, let the teacher introduce the myth of immigrations using the same participatory approach.**

Using ideas from the interpretation of the myth let the students be guided in other ethnic discriminations in Rwandan history using the following critical questions:

- Why did Rwandans change the understanding of their own identity?
- Why did they accept and internalize the colonial interpretations?
- Why did the movement become anti-Tutsi rather than anti-Belgians since Belgians were at the real root of the inequality?
- How could it have been possible to oppose inequality without using racist language?

### **Other Lessons from this Topic**

- Myths and divisionism ideologies in Rwandan society
- Segregation in religious life
- Segregation in public and private service

## Historical details for the teacher

### Details on Myths

Etymologically, the word myth comes from a Greek word “mythos” which refers to anything delivered by word of mouth, a speech, a tale, a conversation or a story as opposed to “*Ergon*” which refers to a deed, work or an action.

Gradually however, the term myth became restricted to poetic and legendary tales or fables about gods and super human beings. As such it was more opposed to “*logos*” as this sense, myth refer to narratives of events and personages so far outside of the ordinary range of experience as to be unverified and therefore such tales are usually authoritatively affirmed. “*Logos*” on the other hand is used for word or statements, the truth of which can be empirically and/or logically demonstrated.

Myth can, however, be defined as a complex set of signs both verbal and gestures which aim at accounting for some of the fundamental problems of life and existence and thus providing man with a sense of security, a vaguely summarized eternal destiny and an explanation of the meaning of his existence in the natural and social milieu in which he lives.

Therefore a distinction can be made between the many myths, which are specifically concerned with a multitude of issues. (Fundamental questions)

### M. CATEGORIES OF MYTH

Eschatological myth: This is concerned with life after death. They often take form of stories of an eventual personage or act saving man kind from its present imperfect conditions and transferring it into a better world. This better world is often conceived as an idealized mirror-image of our present way of life, sometimes limited in time to a fairly long but not infinite time span.

Myth of providence and destiny: This accounts for mystery of evil by opposing to it an essentially optimistic conviction that there exists a supreme God or force, which will eventually make everything come right. This is often combined with an explanation of the origin of evil and especially death on earth.

Myth of rebirth and renewal: An alternative to the eschatological myth combined with the myth of providence: every man will be reborn over and over again until he has achieved a kind of ideal moral perfection which eventually enables him or her be integrated in the society.

Myth of supernatural beings, gods and founders of society. These are more typically euhemeric myths. The world is controlled by a hierarchy of superior beings which account for all those forces over which man has no noticeable direct control: floods, earthquakes, storms, sickness, death, birth, abundance of crops etc.

### **Myth of Memory and Forgetting**

This attempts to account for the mysteries of man's mental activities, thoughts, emotions, dreams, intuitions etc. and is the mythical counterparts of the science of Psychology.

### **Myth of Transformation**

Usually, it is associated with rites of passage. It explains the main stages in the development of human beings: from childhood to adulthood. From commoners to Kings, from active members of the society to wise elders, from ordinary mortals to members of some secret society.

Perhaps the most distinguishing characteristics of mythical consciousness is its all embracing and totalitarian aim. Man's first mode of universal knowledge consists of incorporating in one totality of explanation of the whole universe of his awareness.

### **Functions of Myth**

The functions of the myths are therefore summarized into:

- a) Explanatory or ethological: It attempts to explain why a thing is what it is or how it is.
- b) Justification: Myth gives a reason or reasons for a variety of cultic celebrations.
- c) Descriptive: It authoritatively presents facts and events (eg. The creation of the world) as having taken place in a given way.
- d) Effective: Myth controls the world; for example, narrating the story of creation. It re-enacts the power of creation and represents its full force in the present. The spoken word is endowed with tremendous magical powers having a quasi-sacramental efficacy.

## **Myth in the Rwandan Context**

Rwandan myths go hand in hand with the culture, for instance, there are a lot of myths, which portray Rwandan traditional culture of rearing animals and other myths are related to people's origin, clans and ethnicity.

In the Rwandan context myths played the following roles:

- Myths were used as a tool for unity for an instance in Rwandan myths tried to show that clans originated from one same person and therefore this gives Rwandans some kind of relationship.
- Myths also in Rwanda identity to the Rwandese people, they try to show the founders of the dynasty, for instance there is a myth that Gihanga created cows of Rwanda and the drum.
- Myths also show the origin of the people, for instance the myth of Kimanuka, which pre-supposes that the father of the 3 ethnic groups fell from heaven.
- Myths in Rwanda also try to explain the origin of certain things and practices, which give fundamental questions in society. Therefore myths try to give answers to these fundamental questions.

Sources:

- . African religions and philosophy by J.S. Mbiti Heinemann, London, Nairobi, 1991
- . Encyclopedia Britannica 15<sup>th</sup> edition
- . Rwandese stories as told by Kinyarwanda teacher

## Immigrations

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, explorers, ethnographers and missionaries wrote that Rwanda was occupied by different groups. Abatwa was the first population group in Rwanda.

The second group was Abahutu, cultivators and their origin was first of all located in Australia (LAGER, L. (de), *Le Ruanda*, Kabgayi, 1959 :48-49). But when archaeology suggested that the origin of humanity was not in Asia, but in Africa, the Australian origin for Rwandese population was shifted. Then population movements and theorists based their explanations on Bantu migration (NYAGAHENE A., *Histoire et peuplement . Ethnies, clans et lignages dans le Rwanda ancien et contemporain*, Paris, Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1991 : 74) that Abahutu arrived in Rwanda from near lake Chad between the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Some of theorists claim that Abahutu and Abatwa were the true natives of Rwanda.

---

Accordingly, Hamites may have come from the Nile region, between Lake Albert and the Bahr-el-ghazal and went to the south. Since the 1950s, some politicians used these theories with no scientific proof to explain the primacy of their ethnic group to the national “properties”. The 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> republics of Rwanda did not manage to escape from these ideologies. Instead, they institutionalized the exclusion from such ideas.

### Observations

Influenced by evolutionist ideas of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, early authors showed that Rwanda was occupied by different vague of its population (Twa, Hutu, Tutsi). However, there is no evidence on the language spoken by Abatwa or Abatutsi during those times. Moreover, recent research on lineages has shown that many of them entered Rwanda from the West, or the East, the North, or South of Rwanda from the Great Lakes region neither Ethiopia nor Chad.

Moreover, these authors confirm that on one hand, agriculture and iron were brought by Abahutu, and on the other Abatutsi brought cattle keeping. But, archaeological findings have proved that some teeth of cattle were found in Gisagara (Butare) and dated up to  $220 \pm 30$  AD. Other research has also found the presence of agriculture before the installation of Abahutu and Abatutsi, around the 10<sup>th</sup> century BP. Other findings also located different Acheulean industries in Rwanda (500 000 –100 000 BP).

See:

- VAN GRUNDERBEECK, MC, E ROCHE, H DOUTRELEPONT, *Métallurgie ancienne du Rwanda et du Burundi, Journées de Paléontologie*, Université de Campiègne, Fév. 1983.
- VAN NOTEN, F., *Histoire archéologique du Rwanda*, Butare, Tervuren, 1983.

The Europeans in developing those myths were influenced by racist ideology which considered black people as someone who is inferior, who could create nothing positive. As they have found well organized kingdoms in the Great Lakes region, they thought that the Tutsi who were leading Rwanda had relations with Ethiopians. The latter were also considered as descendant of people in Asia (the son of Noah). This myth helped Europeans to divide Rwandans in order to lead them easily as Tutsi were no longer considered as Bantu population.

## **Manifestoes and Hatred propaganda in the 1950s**

“The publication of “*La mise au point*” and “*Le Manifeste des Bahutu*” divided Rwandan intellectuals: one group talked about the inequality between blacks and whites; another group focused on inequality between Hutu and Tutsi. Two different groups were born. In a way, the problems raised by each group were true, but not complete and partial”<sup>6</sup>

In 1957, a group of four Bahutu from Astrida wrote a booklet “*Un exposé des représentants des Bahutu*”. J. Gitera et Nizeyimana et A.Munyangaju were among who signed it.

The following year, another group of six Bahutu made a declaration known as “une déclaration des Bahutu du Marangara” which denounced imposed labors, the Tutsi monopoly in educational sector in land system. They claimed to be fathers of democracy, freedom of opinion, association and the representation of professional groups in the national high council and finally the independence of judiciary.

The same year, Bahutu who called themselves “ children of GaHutu and Kanyarwanda” claimed the end of Tutsi oppression. Thereafter, 12 King’s chief servants known as **‘bagaragu b’ibwami bakuru’** answered by presenting a document, which negated the fraternity between Hutu and Tutsi.<sup>7</sup>

The launching of political parties did not decrease this hatred propaganda. Moreover, their beginning in this atmosphere favored ethnically based parties.

At this stage and after independence Tutsi were considered as invaders. Hence, they could only participate in social and economic life of the country but not in political power. As an ethnic group under both the first and second Republic, Tutsi were allowed to participate in any other sphere but barred from the political and military sphere. The Tutsi were therefore considered as an insignificant minority. During this period, there were divisions even among Hutes who were in power.

---

<sup>6</sup> MUGESERA A. “Eches et réussites des partis politiques rwandais” in *Cahiers, Lumière et Société Dialogue II*, n°14 juin 1999, p.50

<sup>7</sup> “Ibarwa y’abagaragu bakuru b’ibwami in *Kinyamateka*, n°22 15 mars 1958, p.2.

## **Details on Education**

In line with Rubagiza and Njoroge (2003) after Rwanda's independence in 1962, the government concentrated on expanding access at primary level. Primary schooling was declared free and obligatory starting at the age of 6. A number of secondary schools were established and higher education started of 1963 with the creation of the national university in Rwanda.

By 1975 school enrolment had increased from 250,000 pupils to 386,000 pupils at primary level whereas at secondary school level, there were 64 schools with a student population of 11,227. The national university of Rwanda had six faculties: medicine, social sciences, arts, agriculture, and natural sciences. It had a student enrolment of 619 (Tikly et al. 2002).

Despite the efforts to establish many schools, Education in Rwanda remained discriminatory: Unlike colonial times that favored Tutsi against Hutu and Twa, Post-colonial education system favored Hutu against Tutsi and Twa (*ibid*). The government took the teachings of missionaries on the ground that Hutu suffered under Tutsi colonizers. It was taught in schools that Tutsi are bad people: do not let them come back. Tutsi were second class citizens- no Tutsi was a burgomaster and very few held a job in government or army and they could be no more than 10% in schools (anonymous respondent, 23-7-04)

By incorporating ethnic divisions in schools, Habyalimana wanted to continue the values of the social revolution but the only value of that revolution was that Tutsi were not indigenous citizens of Rwanda. Having been deprived of education and social benefits, Tutsi were no longer a threat instead Hutu were concerned with regionalism. Therefore, there was internal division in Rwanda among the Hutu themselves; there were the 'Banyanduga' from the south and the 'Bakiga' from the north. The northern Hutu were considered by Hutu from the south to be just as bad as Tutsi (Mugesera, 1999).

Post-colonial education in Rwanda was characterized by ethnic and regional discrimination. The curriculum and related programs emphasized ethnic differences. In subjects like history and civic education there were distortions while some of the teachings carried messages of hatred and social divisions. The education system has also been criticized for neglecting the teaching of sciences subjects a situation that we continue to experience today as an after affect of the past and therefore warrants revision of the history curriculum. One of the major issues relating to education in Rwanda is that of access to schooling for the majority of Rwandan children. With the mounting regional and ethnic discrimination, enrolment ratios stagnated at the primary level and were low at the secondary and tertiary levels (word bank report. 1982, Ndabaga E. 2004)

The politics of balance or *iringaniza* actually did not start with Habyalimana in 1978/9. In fact, the first document to claim *iringaniza-quotas balance* was produced in 1957 and Kayibanda's Instructions no. 01-38-7102 of 28-2-71 emphasized it. Kayibanda himself instructed the minister of Education to follow the politics of balance. On 28/1/61 president Mbonyumutwa in his speech emphasized that any school that would not follow the politics of balance, would be closed. In 1972 MDR PARMEHUTU seminar in Kigali, president Kayibanda categorically stated that, in all schools, Bahutu should be 85%, Batutsi 14% and Batwa 1% (Mugesera, 2004).

The enrollment at the primary level had not increased much since 1978, going from 49.3% in 1978/79 to 58.6% in 1986/87 (ibid). Part of this was linked with the government's goal of **balance/iringaniza**. A part from the northern region in many regions of the country the rate of growth of primary enrollment had also declined drastically. Passing from 17.8% and 16% in 1979/80 and 1980/81 respectively to an average annual rate of about 4.26% between 1981/82 and 1986/87(ibid). The only minimal increase was visible in the northern region (Ndabaga E. 2004).

The discrimination in schools was not only done to Tutsi but also to Hutu from the south. The conflicts of north vs south was a major problem that was overstepped by the Hutu vs Tutsi conflict in 1991. In fact, the Abakiga (Hutu) from the north were more violent against the Tutsi than the ordinary Hutu. The Abakiga had always been excluded from power by Kayibanda regime. So they violently took power in 1973. This gave birth to the problem between the north vs south (respondent. July. 2004).

In 1978 for example reforms to indigenise education were made. Instead of correcting the errors of the colonial legacy, the system of quota was introduced for each ethnic group. Students were no longer admitted to secondary schools on the basis of merit but on the policy of BALANCE. The article 60 of the law on public instruction (1985) stated that transition from primary to secondary school should respect the following criteria: National examination results: student's progressive performance: regional. Ethnic and sex balance. This was the policy **iringaniza** that left out many Rwandan children especially TUTSI.

According to Tikly et al (2003) by 1994 the National University of Rwanda had produced only 1.000 graduates, 30 years after its creation in 1964. Most of its graduates specialized in Arts, languages and social sciences. No wonder that mainly cadres with only a secondary education staffed Rwanda's political, social and economic sector. Note that from 1995 to 2003, the same university has produced more graduates than in the previous 30 years.

There were different means of denying Tutsi education, but the most common ones were by Prefet, regional MDR secretariat and intelligence departments. However, even some poor Hutu could be denied education. The only difference between this category

of Hutu and Tutsi was that, Tutsi were denied education based on three grounds: they were denied education due to the province they came from, district and on ethnicity.

### **Details on the Role of Rwandan Army**

In general, the army has three main missions: tactical, develop the country and humanitarian mission.

On tactical point of view, the army has the mission to defend the territory. This mission comprises two components. Firstly, the internal defence which aims at guaranteeing internal order by preventing any sabotage, subversion or internal disorder. Secondly, the external security which aims at defending national territorial integrity. This is to defend national border against every external element willing to introduce in the country and occupy it by force. The national defense requires expensive means, which are not easy to be found for a poor country like ours. This is why before using arms, the noble policy of good neighboring is very important for preventing any external aggression. Peace and security based on this policy if they are respected, allow a country to limit military expenses and consecrate saved money to other domains.

However, these good relations between countries must not prevent a country to have even a small army. This can stop any aggression before envisaging other means of preventing the aggression.

Regarding this tactical mission, Rwandan army pushed many attacks of exiled Tutsi during the 1960s.

About the second mission of developing the country, the members of the Rwandan army participated in *Umuganda* and cultural activities. For instance in 1987, when MRND organized a cultural competition throughout the whole country, the army cells became winners (eg: ESO got the first place in Butare, Gitarama camp were the 2<sup>nd</sup> and Ruhengeri got the 3<sup>rd</sup> place.) The members of the Rwandan army participated in *Umuganda* every Saturday like other civil servants. Before the 1991 constitution, they participated in political activities. After the 1973 “coup d'état” they were at the top of provinces and key ministries. Their cells even elected in favor of the president in 1988 by 100%.

For humanitarian mission, the army assisted people during catastrophes. For instance, in 1982, the Rwandan army intervened to help refugees from Uganda in Mutara and those who came from Burundi who were installed in Kibayi and Kigembe after the tragedy of Ntega and Marangara. When the province of Kibuye, Gikongoro, Gisenyi, Gitarama and Ruhengeri were affected by rains, erosion and fall, the Rwandan army gave means of transport to carry food for those affected regions.

What is more, the Army intervened during fire, especially in Kigali city. It also evacuated civilians and military people during accidents by means of car or airplane. Thus the army has the means to intervene and help people in danger.

Adding to these main missions, the Rwandan army made some activities, normally designed for communal police and gendarmerie, when the latter were unable to accomplish them. This happened in 1989, when the Rwandan army destructed fields of drugs in Nyungwe. This was a national and international danger which would have compromised the future of our society if an end was not put to it. Moreover, the Rwandan army played the role of police by maintaining order in provinces where the gendarmerie was absent (Gitarama, Kibuye, Byumba).

*Source:* GATARAYIHA, A., *L'armée possède-t-elle des moyens nécessaires pour accomplir ses missions?*, Mémoire, Kigali, ESM, 1990, pp. 3-7.

---

---

## **MODULE IV: RWANDA POST COLONIAL (1990-1994)**

From 1990, Rwanda was facing challenges of contradictions that were fully institutionalized: war by refugees, the frond of political parties, which all together led the second republic into horrible shame.

The role of ethnic and regional quota policy in education as a preliminary to the 1994 genocide was testified: in 1992, the then Minister of Secondary Education opposed discrimination against Tutsi in schools. She was immediately cautioned by the regime and discriminatory quotas were radicalized.

At the same time, the militia was created for ruling political parties (CDR and MRND). These parties taught young Hutu how to kill Tutsi and moderate Hutu. Extremist media supportive of the regime of MRND were already infecting hatred in indoctrinated minds.

Finally, INTEERAHAMWE (those who attack together) were the incarnation of the discriminatory educational policy with genocide characteristic. Indeed they were the same people who prepared and executed the genocide of April-July 1994.

### **Theme : Education Policy and Genocide Ideology**

#### **A. Overview**

Rwanda was facing many problems in the mid 1980's. In the sector of economy, from 1986, coffee, tea and pewter the three major sources of foreign revenue for the country and wealth for power holders, collapsed. Thereafter, the mines of pewter were closed. The remaining fourth one was the collection of international aid, called "specialized source". This constituted a source of competition and jealousy; only those involved in the restricted circle of power called "Akazu" had access to it. The country was faced with the problems of budget deficit and a growing debt as indicated in the table below:

## Public Funds and Debt

	<b>1982</b>	<b>1983</b>	<b>1984</b>	<b>1985</b>	<b>1986</b>	<b>1987</b>	<b>1988</b>	<b>1989</b>	<b>1990</b>
Budget deficit in millions (RWF)	-4.136	-4.885	-3.692	-5.986	-5.651	-11.842	-7.795	-7.331	-10.1
Deficit as a % of GDP	-3.2	-3.4	-2.3	-3.4	-3.3	-6.9	-4.4	-4.2	-6.0
External debt (billions of RWF)	18.7	21.7	26.6	31.7	36.2	44.6	50.3	48.3	51.8
Internal debt (billions of RWF) and as % of GDP	7.16 6.1	11.6 8.2	13.5 8.5	14.3 8.3	16.5 9.7	20.7 12.1	24.3 13.6	28.9 16.6	34.2 20.1
Total Public debt of GDP in £	20.4	23.4	25.4	26.5	31.0	38.1	41.9	44.4	56.7
Service of external debt as a % of exports	5.9	5.6	5.7	6.6	7.2	14.8	14.9	16.5	18.3
Service of total public debt as a % des budget revenue	11.0	17.4	12.5	13.2	12.9	20.4	26.5	30.6	32.2
Internal net credit to gov't (millions of RWF)	779	3.231	3.035	3.001	2.744	6.804	8.481	10.551	16.484
Annual National Budget : 1 <sup>st</sup> January – 31 December									

Source : MINISTÈRE DU PLAN ( Prévisions du Ministère du Plan, antérieures aux événements d'octobre 1990)

The drought in 1988-1989 caused famine in Gikongoro, Butare and Kibuye Provinces. This caused the death of about 300 people and many others left for neighboring Tanzania.

On the social aspect, the country had the problem of unemployment which was aggravated by the program of structural adjustment, the abandonment of agricultural activities because of its unproductiveness, and the continuous dispersion of rural agricultural property. In order to address this situation, the government took coercive measures and an “edifying and hypocrite” behavior (<sup>38</sup>)by organizing a round-up of all prostitutes, a fight against abortion the destruction of condoms, sending the urban unemployed to rehabilitation centers and the destruction of slums under the pretext that they housed criminals. It was a “Social Revolution” undertaken in order to hide a critical and explosive situation.

Politically, apart from the events of 1980 in relation with the conspiracy and tentative of a “coup d'état” by Théoneste LIZINDE, nothing had weakened the political alliance of people from the north with Hutu ideology.

However, the assassination of Colonel MAYUYA, a man from the north, who was however to be the president's successor, divided people from the north and hardened the “AKAZU”. Other assassinations of government critics or opponents were carried out, for example in August 1989, Félicita Nyiramutarambirwa a member of CND, the father of Silvio Sindambiwe, journalists and many others were murdered, the private

<sup>38</sup> PRUNIER, G., Rwanda. Le génocide, Paris, Dogorno, p.112.

media was censured while a pro-government fraction became harsh and extremists on ethnic and regional aspects.

Concerning international politics, from 1987, RPF pressured the Rwandan government to accept the return of refugees, reform operations and democracy instauration. Its uncompromising stand caused the October 1990 attack; the then Rwandan government reacted with brutality by simulating attacks in the night of 4<sup>th</sup> October 1990 and began massive arrests of about 8,000 people called “ibyitso” in Kigali, Butare and elsewhere.

It is by intervention of the international community, embassies and non governmental organizations such as Human Right International Federation (HRIF) and “Association Rwandaise pour la Defense des Droits de la Personne et des libertés Publiques” (A.D.L.) that the survivors of the massive arrests were released without trial.

From the democratization of eastern countries and the Soviet Union’s crisis, democracy requirements for African countries by President F. Mitterrand <sup>(2)</sup>, by USA and Bretton Woods’ institutions and other international organizations, African countries had to adopt multiparty in order to receive assistance. Therefore MRND government was forced to accept multiparty. But meanwhile, it became more radical and it prepared Genocide. After Ruhengeri was attacked on 23.01.1991 by RPF, Bagogwe people were massacred in the district of Mukingo, on 25.01.1991, Kinigi, 27.01.1991 around 3 p.m., Gaseke and Giciye, 02.02.1991 and in Gisenyi province more precisely at Bigogwe in the night of 03 to 04.02.1991.

Immediately after multiparty was declared, on 13<sup>th</sup> November 1990, Rwandans hurried to create political parties with a non exhaustive number of 23, among which, majority were created under the auspices of the region which wanted to be more effective by having more supporters who feelings are close to those of MRND<sup>(D)</sup>. See the list of political parties in annex.

While MRND<sup>(D)</sup> pretended to adopt political openness, the other main political parties (MDR, PSD, and PL) were engaged in the struggle to form a new government, to organize elections, to hold a national sovereign conference and to start negotiations aimed at ending war. Political life became bipolar and tense and the government in its instability changed prime minister four time between 13.10.1991 and 17.07.1993. The presidential tenure hardened its position and maintained a climate of insecurity via “Reseau zero”, Interahamwe militia, CDR, the extremist and right hand of MRND<sup>(D)</sup> and a harsh, extremist and ethnic media including Kangura newspaper, Radio RTLM (first broadcast on 08.08.1993). In four years 72 newspapers were created among which 22 were openly Hutu extremist or “Hutu power”. The list of newspapers can be found in Table 25.

The long and hard Arusha negotiations, despite problems and blockages caused by the head of delegation and its mandate, led to the signing of a peace accord on 4<sup>th</sup> August 1993. It included six agreements and protocols in relation to the cease fire, law enforcement, the repatriation of refugees and displaced people, military integration and other business and final clauses.

The political situation remained troubled under the government because of A.UWIRINGIYIMANA on one hand, extremists from MRND were against the president accusing him of giving a lot of importance to the opposition and on the other hand, opposition political parties divided themselves into rival factions with the creation of "Power" tendency in October 1993. New blockages also came in to put in practice the Arusha peace accord concerning especially the transitional government.

Security conditions tensioned in the city, with demonstrations against demonstrations - the increase in the number of displaced persons - and extremists with from political parties with the "Power" tendency, INTERAHAMWE and CDR all calling for the unity of Hutu in order to fight against one enemy "Tutsi" from inside and outside. It was then that the presidential aircraft was shot down on the 6<sup>th</sup> April 1994 and that the Genocide which was prepared since 1990, with the killing of Bagowge, Kibilira, Nasho, Murambi and Bugesera, was started.

This death machine was the outcome of an education policy supportive of Genocide ideology.

Divisionism, ethnic and exclusionism politics in Rwanda, dated since colonialism and applied in the exercise of power and administration and in education - as well schools for the children of chiefs, strict selection etc. The first two republics inherited this, especially the second republic which institutionalized it from 1981 by calling it "ethnic and regional equilibrium" or "quota system". This policy was applied in all the sectors of the society (employment, army, administration, diplomacy etc.) and this was the root cause of Genocide in 1994.

Having been aware of certain failures and harassed from all parts, MRND, the only party was forced to share power with other opposition political parties (MDR, PSD, and PL).

The Ministry of Education was given to MDR which named late A.UWIRINGIYIMANA as Minister of Education. She introduced change progressively in favor of regions which had been neglected; this was confirmed by people such as her own advisor on political and administration matters (who was also from the

opposition), the different internal meetings of the political opposition which denounced the policy of equilibrium which excluded talented children under the pretext of ethnic/ and or region.

Their meeting resolutions were confirmed by KINYAMATEKA newspaper n° 1378, September 1992, p.5: in a press conference of 24.09.1992, Minister UWIRINGIYIMANA Agathe explained that regional equilibrium should be replaced by the sharing of places by districts. This meant that it was fair to consider also marks at districts level rather than considering them only on national level, by taking the best pupils taking into consideration the number of pupils of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> forms (in each district.)

According to her, it was best to compare a pupil to his/her colleague from the class or district, with whom he/she studied with in the same conditions, considering that some regions had better teaching materials and more qualified teachers. For more transparency, Minister UWIRINGIYIMANA published all examination results from 1992.

After the identification of those who scored 50% and above, they proceeded to the selection of the best pupils per district. If Genocide had not taken place, parents with bright children were encouraged to send their children to school, before 1992 many of them were too disappointed in the education system to do so.

We should also indicate that even if ethnic equilibrium was abolished, the Ministry of Education favored Batwa, by increasing their number on published lists when only 2 of them had done well in national examinations, more opportunities were given to girls as well.

In short, in 1992, there was a reform because Ms Agathe Uwiringiyimana with all moderate members of opposition really wanted to free education from political interference, which certainly did not please the extremists in power.

## **B. B. Sources and Reference Material**

### **Articles from newspapers, books and reports**

1. ADELMAN, Howard, and Astrid SUHRKE, Early Warning and Conflict Management. Vol. 2 of *the International Response to Conflict and Genocide. Lessons from the Rwanda Experience*. Copenhagen: DANIDA, 1996.
2. AFRICAN RIGHTS, *Rwanda : death, despair and defiance*, London, African Rights, 1994
3. AFRICAN RIGHTS, *Rwanda : La preuve assassinée. Meurtres, attaques, arrestations et intimidations des survivants et témoins*, Londres, African Rights, 1996, 120p.
4. AFRICAN RIGHTS, *Rwanda : Not so Innocent: When Women Become Killers*, London, African Rights, 1995, 284p.
5. AFRICAN RIGHTS, *Rwanda : Who is killing, who is dying, what is to be done?* London, African Rights, 1994.
6. AGIR ICI et SURVIE, *L'Afrique à Biarritz. Mise en examen de la politique française. Rencontres de Biarritz, 8 et 9 novembre 1994*, Paris, Karthala, 1995.
7. AGIR ICI et SURVIE, *Rwanda : la France choisit le camp du génocide, volume 1-5. Dossiers Noirs de la politique africaine de la France*, Paris, HARMATTAN, 1996.
8. AGIR ICI et SURVIE, *Rwanda. Depuis le 7 avril 1994, la France choisit le camp du génocide*, déc. 1994.
9. ALKKI, Lisa H., *Purity and Exile : Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
10. AMBROSETTI David, *La France au Rwanda. Un discours de justification morale*, Paris, Karthala, 2001.
11. André, Catherine, and Jean-Philippe Plateau, *Land Tenure under Unendurable Stress: Rwanda Caught in the Malthusian Trap*. Namur, Belgium: University of

- Namur, Centre de Recherche en Economie du Développement, Faculty of Economics, 1995.
12. ASSEMBLEE NATIONALE, *Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise (1990-1994)*, *Rapport de la mission d'information*, Rapport n° 1271, 4 Tomes Paris, déc. 1998.
  13. BA Mehdi, Rwanda, *Un génocide français*, Paris, *L'esprit frappeur*, 1997, 111p.
  14. BAECKMAN, Colette, 1997. Le retrait qui tue. Commission Rwanda : C'est le sprint final. *Le Soir* (December 6).
  15. BARNETT Michael, *Eyewitness to a genocide : the United Nations and Rwanda*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002.
  16. BARRIÈRE, Bernard, Juan SCHOEMAKER, and others, *Enquête Démographique et de Santé, Rwanda 1992*, Kigali, Rwanda: Office National de la Population and Demographic and Health Surveys Macro International Inc., 1992.
  17. BART, François, *Montagnes d'Afrique, terres paysannes. Le cas du Rwanda*. Bordeaux, France : Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 1993.
  18. BAR-TAL, Daniel, Causes and Consequences of Delegitimization : Models of Conflict and Ethnocentrism. *Journal of Social Issues* 46, n° 1:65-81, 1990.
  19. BAYART, Jean-François, Civil Society in Africa. In Political Domination in Africa: *Reflections on the Limits of State Power*, edited by P. Chabal, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986.
  20. BAYART, Jean-François, La problématique de la démocratie en Afrique noire. « La Baule, et puis après ? » *Politique Africaine* 43 (October) : 5-20, 1991.
  21. BERNSTEIN, Jérôme, The Psychology of Genocide, In *Workshop on Rwanda. Final Report*, Leuven, Belgium: CIDSE/CARITAS, 1995.
  22. BIENEN, Henry, Leaders, Violence and Absence of Change in Africa, *Political Science Quarterly* 108, n°2 (summer): 271-82, 1993.

23. BIZIMANA Jean Damascène, *L'Eglise et le génocide au Rwanda : les Pères blancs et le négationnisme*, Paris, HARMATTAN, 2001.
24. BIZIMUNGU, Télésphore, Octavien BISA-SAMALI, Emmanuel BUGINGO, and Charles NTAMPAKA, *Politique et priorités de la coopération technique au Rwanda*, Kigali, Rwanda: PNUD, 1991.
25. BONNEUX, Luc, Rwanda : A Case of Demographic Entrapment, *Lancet 344*, n°17(December 17) : 1689-90, 1994.
26. BOUCHET-SAULNIER Françoise et LAFFONT Frédéric, *Maudits soient les yeux fermés*, Paris, J.C. Lattès/ARTE, 1995
27. Boutros-Ghali, Boutros, Introduction, In *The United Nations and Rwanda 1993-1996*. New York: United Nations Department of Public Information., 1996.
28. BRADOL Jean-Hervé, « *Rwanda, avril-mai 1994, limites et ambiguïtés de l'action humanitaire* », Les Temps modernes, 583, juillet 1995.
29. BRAECKMAN Colette et Human Rights Watch, *Qui a armé le Rwanda ? Chronique d'une tragédie annoncée*, *Les dossiers du GRIP, Institut européen de recherche et d'information sur la paix et la sécurité*, n°188, 4/94, Bruxelles, 78p.
30. BRAECKMAN Colette, *Rwanda, histoire d'un génocide*, Paris, Fayard, 1994
31. BRAECKMAN Colette, *Terreur africaine. Burundi, Rwanda, Zaïre, les racines de la violence*. Paris, Fayard, 1996.
32. BRAECKMAN, Collette, Autopsie d'un génocide planifié au Rwanda. *Le Monde Diplomatique* (March) : 8-9, 1995.
33. BRAUMAN Rony, *Devant le mal-Rwanda-un génocide en direct*, Arléa, 1994.
34. BRUSTEN, Robert, and Nelson BINDARIYE, *Les Politiques des ONG Belges Au Rwanda de 1969 à 1994*. Brussels : ATOL/South Research, étude commanditée par le NCOS, 1997.
35. BUGINGO, Emmanuel & Charles NTAMPAKA, *Document-Synthèse des études préparatoires au séminaire sur la coopération technique au Rwanda*. Kigali, Rwanda : United Nations Development Programme, 1991.

36. BUGINGO, Emmanuel, GAHUNGI, Emmanuel and others. *Etude sur la commune du Rwanda*, Kigali, 1992.
37. CAMBREZY, L., *Le surpeuplement en question : Organisation spatiale et écologie des migrations au Rwanda*. Paris : ORSTOM Coll. Travaux et Documents vol. 182, 1984.
38. CAMPBELL, David J., *Environmental Stress in Rwanda*. Preliminary Analysis n°1, Rwanda Society-Environment Project Working Paper 4. East Lansing: Michigan State University, Department of Geography and the Center for Advanced Study of International Development, 1994.
39. CASTONGUAY Jacques, *Les casques bleus au Rwanda*. Paris, HARMATTAN, 1998.
40. CAVIEZEL, Lothard, and Pascal FOUGA, *L'ajustement structurel, l'emploi et la pauvreté au Burundi*. Bujumbura, Burundi : Bureau International du Travail, 1989.
41. Centre Nord-Sud, *Le Rwanda dans son Contexte Régional : Droits de la personne, réconciliation et réhabilitation. Document de synthèse préparé pour la conférence de La Haye*, The Hague : Centre Nord-Sud, Centre Européen pour l'Interdépendance et la Solidarité Mondiales, Conseil de l'Europe, NCOS. 1994, 16-17 Sept. 1994.
42. CEPED, *La démographie de 30 Etats de l'Afrique et de l'Océan Indien*, Paris : Centre Français sur la Population et le Développement, 1994.
43. CHAMBERS, Robert, *Rural Development : Putting the Last First*. Essex : Longman, 1995.
44. CHODUSSOVSKY M et MOSER F, « *Rwanda : Comment le Nord a financé le génocide* », Télé Moustique, n°9/3708, 19 février 1997.
45. CHOSSUDOVSKY, Michel, Les fruits empoisonnés de l'ajustement structurel. *Le Monde Diplomatique* (Novembre), 1994.

46. CHRETIEN Jean-Pierre (dir.), DUPAQUIER Jean-François, KABANDA Marcel et NGARAMBE Joseph, Rwanda : *Les médias du génocide*, Paris, Karthala, 1995.
47. CHRETIEN Jean-Pierre, *Le défi de l'ethnisme : Rwanda et Burundi*, 1990-1996, Paris, Karthala, 1997.
48. CHRETIEN, J.P., « Hutu, Tutsi au Rwanda-Burundi », in *AMSELLE J.L. et ELIKIA M'BOKOLO* (sous la direction de ), *Au cœur de l'ethnie, ethnies, tribalisme et état en Afrique*, Paris, Ed. De la découverte, 1995.
49. CHRETIEN, J.P., « Pluralisme politique et équilibre ethnique au Rwanda et au Burundi », in *Politique Africaine* 42 (June) : 109-200, 1991.
50. CHRETIEN, Jean-Pierre, Presse Libre et propagande raciste au Rwanda. In : *Marchés Tropicaux* 20-24, 1993.
51. CHRETIEN, Jean-Pierre, Le Rwanda et la France : La démocratie ou les ethnies ? *Journal* (March-April) : 190-20, 1993.
52. CHRETIEN, Jean-Pierre, Tournant historique au Burundi et au Rwanda, In : *Marchés Tropicaux* 20-24, 1993.
53. CLADHO-KANYARWANDA, Commission d'enquête, *Rapport de l'enquête sur les violations massives des Droits de l'Homme commises au Rwanda à partir du 6 avril 1994, Première phase*, Kigali, 10 décembre 1994, 39p.
54. CLAY, Daniel C., François BYIRINGIRO, Jaakko KANGASNIEMI, and others, Promoting food Security in Rwanda through Sustainable Agricultural Productivity: Meeting the Challenges of Population Pressure, Land degradation, and Poverty. *Staff paper* vol. 95-08, East Lansing: Miching State university, Department of Agricultural Economics, 1995.
55. COURTEMANCHE Gil, *Un dimanche à la piscine à Kigali*, Boréal, 2000, 284p.
56. CREPEAU Pierre, *Rwanda, le kidnapping médiatique*, Nantes, Vents d'Ouest, 1995.
57. DALLAIRE Roméo (Lieutenant-général), *J'ai serré la main du diable. La faillite de l'humanité au Rwanda*, Libre expression, 2003, 685p.

58. DAVID Eric, KLEIN Pierre et LA ROSA Anne-Marie (Ed.), *Tribunal pénal international pour le Rwanda/International criminal tribunal for Rwanda*, Bruxelles, Bruylant, 2000.
59. De HEUSCH, Luc, Anthropologie d'un génocide : le Rwanda. *Les Temps Modernes* 49, n°579 (december) : 1-19, 1994.
60. De LA MASSELIERE, CHARLERY Bernard, Du versant terroir aux territoires fragmentés. Organisation, dynamique et crise de l'espace agraire au Rwanda. *Cahiers Sciences Humaines* 29 :661-94, 1993.
61. De la MASSELIERE, CHARLEY Bernard, Le resserrement de l'espace agraire au Rwanda, les paysans dans la crise. *Etudes Rurales* 125-126 : 99-115, 1992.
62. DEBRE Bernard, *L'illusion humanitaire*, Paris, Plon, 1997.
63. DERRIER, Jean-François,. Public works programmes in Rwanda : Conditions for popular participation. *International Labor Review* 124, n5 :611-21, 1985
64. DES FORGES Alison, *Aucun témoin ne doit survivre. Le génocide au Rwanda*. Human Rights Watch/FIDH, Karthala, 1999.
65. DESTEXHE Alain et FORET Michel, *Justice internationale. De Nuremberg à la Haye et Arusha*, Bruxelles, Bruylant, 1997, 144p.
66. DESTEXHE Alain, *Qui a tué nos paras au Rwanda ?* Bruxelles, Luc Pire, 1995.
67. DESTEXHE Alain, *Rwanda : essai sur le génocide*, Bruxelles-Editions Complexe, 1994.
68. DIOP Boubacar Boris, *Murambi, le livre des ossements*, Paris, Stock, 2000.
69. DJEDANOUM Nocky, *Nyamirambo*, Le Figuier-Fest-Africa, 2000. 51p.
70. Du Preez, Wilhelmus Petrus, *Genocide. The Psychology of Mass Murder*. London : Boyars/Bowerdean, 1994.
71. DUPAQUIER Jean-François (dir.) et Association Memorial International. *La justice internationale face au drame rwandais*, Paris, Karthala, 1996, 227p.
72. EHRLICH, Paul R., and Anne H. Ehrlich, *The Population Explosion*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990.

73. ELIAS, M., and HELBIG, D., Deux mille collines pour les petits et les grands. Radioscopie des stéréotypes Hutu et Tutsi au Rwanda et au Burundi, *Politique Africaine* 42 :65-73, 1991.
74. EPLM, Organisation des cours à l'EPLM, 17/10/1996
75. ERIKSSON, Johanan, and others, *Synthesis Report. Vol.5 of The International Response to Conflict and Genocide: Lessons from the Rwanda Experience*, Copenhagen: DANIDA, 1996.
76. ERNY, Pierre, Catégories spatiales et structures mentales au Rwanda. *Cahiers de Sociologie Economique et Culturelle* 24 (December) : 87-94, 1994.
77. FAO, Aperçu Nutritionnel : Rwanda, Rome : FAO, 1990.
78. FAURE Annie, *Blessures d'humanitaire*, Paris, Balland, 1995, 141p
79. FELTZ, Gaetan, Ethnicité, Etat-nation et Démocratisation au Rwanda et au Burundi. In *Démocratie et développement. Mirrage ou espoir raisonnable*. Edited by M. Esoavelomandroso and Gaetan Feltz, Paris: Karthala, 1995.
80. FIAU, *Colloque International. Les principales crises de gouvernance au Rwanda et leurs déboires ethniques : fondements, pratiques et perspectives*. N.P. : Fondation Internationale Agathe Uwilingiyimana, 1996.
81. FORD, Robert E., The Rwanda Tragedy: A Personal Reflection. *Hunger Notes* 21, n°4 (fall): 12-14, 1996.
82. FRANCHE Dominique, *Rwanda. Généalogie d'un génocide*, Les petits livres, 1997, 95p.
83. FRANCHE, Dominique, Généalogie du génocide rwandais. Hutu et Tutsi : Gaulois et Francs ? *Les Temps Modernes* 582 : 169-226, 1995.
84. FRISHNA, Kumar (team leader), *Rebuilding Post-war Rwanda*, vol.4 of The International Response to Conflict and Genocide: Lessons from the Rwanda Experience, Copenhagen: DANIDA, 1996.
85. FUNGA, F., « A la recherche de la démocratie », in *Dialogue*, n°161, Déc. 1992.

86. FUNGA, François, Pouvoir, ethnies et régions, *Dialogue* 149 (November-December) : 21-35, 1991.
87. GAHIGI, G., « Impact des médias privés et opinion publique rwandaise », in *Dialogue*, n°175, Avril-Mai 1994.
88. GALTUNG, Johan, Cultural Violence. *Journal of Peace Research* 27, n°3 : 291-305, 1990.
89. GAUD, Michel, La tragédie du Rwanda. *Problèmes Politiques et Sociaux* 752 (July 28) : 1-5, 1995.
90. GOUREVITCH Philip, *Nous avons le plaisir de vous informer que, demain, nous serons tués avec nos familles*. Chroniques rwandaises Denoël, 1999, 398p.
91. GILLET Eric, « *Le génocide devant la justice* », *Les Temps modernes*, n°583, juillet 1995.
92. GODARD Marie-Odile, *Rêves et traumatismes ou la longue nuit des rescapés*, Erès, 2003, 2003, 238p.
93. GODDING, Jean-Pierre, Quand l'aide extérieure bloque le développement. *Dialogue* 99 (June) : 65-87, 1983.
94. GOUREVITCH, Philip, After the Genocide. *New Yorker* (December 18): 79-94, 1995.
95. GOUREVITCH, Philip, *After Genocide. A Conversation with Paul Kagame*, *Transition* 72 : 162-94, 1997.
96. GOUTEUX Jean-Paul, *La nuit rwandaise. L'implication française dans le dernier génocide du siècle*, L'esprit frappeur, 2002, 637p.
97. GOUTEUX Jean-Paul, Le Monde, *un contre pouvoir ? Désinformation et manipulation sur le génocide rwandais*. L'esprit frappeur, 1999, 202p.
98. GOUTEUX Jean-Paul, *Un génocide sans importance : la Françafrique au Rwanda*, Lyon, Tahin Party, 2001.
99. GOUTEUX Jean-Paul, *Un génocide secret d'Etat. La France et le Rwanda, 1990-1997*, Editions sociales, 1998.

100. GREEN, Donald P., Janelle Wong, and Dara Strolovitch, *The Effects of demographic Change on hate Crime*. Working Paper vol. 96-06.1. New haven, Conn.: Yale University, Institution for Social and Policy Studies, 1996.
101. GROSSE, Scott., *The Roots of Conflict and State Failure in Rwanda: the Political Exacerbation of Social Cleavages in a Context of Growing Resource*.
102. Groupe d'Ecoute et réconciliation dans l'Afrique des Grands Lacs, 1995. *Pour en terminer avec la « culture de l'impunité » au Rwanda et Burundi*. Geneva : Institut Universitaire d'Etudes du Développement, 1994.
103. GUICHAOUA André (dir.), *Les crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda (1993-1994)*, Lille, USTL, Karthala, 1995, 790p.
104. GUICHAOUA, André, Rwanda : de l'omniprésence des aides au désengagement international. *L'Afrique Politique* (1995) : 12-27, 1995.
105. HALLORAN Patrick, « *Humanitarian intervention and the genocide in Rwanda* », *Conflict studies*, numéro spécial, Londres, Research institute for the study of conflicts and terrorism, 1995.
106. HANCOCK, Graham, *Lords of Poverty: The Power, Prestige, and Corruption of the International Aid Business*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1989.
107. HANSSEN, Alain, *Le désenchantement de la coopération. Enquête au pays des milles coopérants*. Paris : L'Harmattan, 1989.
108. HARFF, Barbara, *The Etiology of Genocides. In Genocide and the Modern Age. Etiology and Case Studies of Mass Death*, edited by I. Wallmann and M.N. Dobkowski, New York: Greenwood Press, 1987.
109. HATZFELD Jean, *Dans le nu de la vie. Récits des marais rwandais*, Seuil, 2002, 235p.
110. HATZFELD Jean, *Une saison de machettes*. Seuil, 2003, 312p.

111. HAYTER, Teresa, and C. Watson, *Aid Rhetoric and Reality*. London: Pluto Press, 1985.
112. HILBOLD Albert, *Puissiez-vous dormir avec des puces*. Journal de l'après-génocide au Rwanda, Homnisphères, 2003, 93p.
113. HOBEN, Susan J., *School. Work and Equity, Educational Reform in Rwanda*. African Research Studies vol. 16. Boston: Boston University, African Studies Center, 1989.
114. HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, Arming Rwanda: arms Trade and Human Rights Abuses in the Rwanda War. *Human Rights Watch Africa* 6, n°1 (January), 1994.
115. HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, Genocide in Rwanda, April-May 1994. *Human Rights Watch Africa* 6, n°4 (May), 1994.
116. HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, *Slaughter among Neighbors. The Political Origins of Communal Violence*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995.
117. ICHIRDD, *Pour un système de justice au Rwanda*. Montréal : International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development and Centre International des Droits de la Personne et du Développement Démocratique, 1995.
118. Idem, 1984/85, Kigali, Avril 1987.
119. Idem, 1985/86, Kigali, Août 1988.
120. Idem, 1986/87, Kigali, Mars 1984.
121. IFRCRCS, Under the Volcanoes : Special Focus on the Rwandan Refugee Crisis. In *World Disasters Report*. Amsterdam: Martinus Nijhoff for the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 1994.
122. ILBOUDO Monique, *Murekatete*, Lefiguier-Fest-Africa, 2000, 75p.
123. INADES, *Les ONG au Rwanda*. Kigali, Rwanda : INADES/Banque Mondiale, 1987.

124. IWACU, Bilan de la pauvreté au Rwanda. In *Rapport du séminaire des agences du système des Nations Unies sur la lutte contre la pauvreté*, Kigali, Rwanda : United Nations, 1991.
125. JONES John R.W.D., *The practice of the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda*, New York, Transnational Publishers, 2000.
126. KABIRIGI, Lindiro, *Génocide au Rwanda : Honte pour l'humanité, Réflexions d'un responsable d'une ONG sous-régionale*. Kigali, Rwanda : Programme Régional de Formation et d'Echanges pour le Développement (PREFED), 1994.
127. KAGABO, Jean and Claude Vidal, L'extermination des Rwandais Tutsi, *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 34, n°4 : 537-47, 1994.
128. KARORO, C., *Facing History and ourselves project. Mini-theme: Language Policy in the 1999's as beyond*, s.d.
129. KAYIMAHE Venuste, *France-Rwanda: les coulisses du génocide. Témoignage d'un rescapé*, Dagorno-L'esprit frappeur, 2002, 329p.
130. KIMONYO Jean Paul, *Revue critique des interprétations du conflit rwandais*, Butare, UNR, 2000, 89p.
131. KROP Pascal, *Le génocide franco-africain*, Paris, J.C. Lattès, 1994., 162p.
132. KUPERMAN Alan, *The limits of humanitarian intervention : genocide in Rwanda*, New York, Brookings Institution Press, 2001.
133. LAMKO Koulsy, *La Phalène des collines*, Butare, Kuljaama, 2000, 157p.
134. LEFORT François, *On ne piétine pas les étoiles. Chronique d'une mission humanitaire*, Paris, Fayard, 1999.
135. LEMARCHAND, René, *The World Bank in Rwanda. The Case of the Office de Valorisation Agricole et Pastorale de Mutara (OVAPAM)*, Bloomington: University of Indiana, African Studies Program, 1982.
136. LEMARCHAND, René, Uncivil State and Civil Societies: How Illusion Became Reality. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 30, n°2 : 177-91, 1992.

137. LINDEN Jan & LINDEN Jan, *Christianisme et pouvoirs au Rwanda, 1900-1990*, Paris, Karthala, 1999.
138. LINDEN Jan & LINDEN Jan, *Church and revolution in Rwanda*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1977.
139. LINGUYENEZA, Vénuste, Les divisions dans l'Eglise du Rwanda. *Dialogue 189*: 3-14, 1996.
140. LONGMAN, timothy p., *Christianity and Crisis in Rwanda: Religion, Civil Society, Democratization and Decline*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995a.
141. LONGMAN, timothy p., Genocide and Socio-political Change: Massacres in Two Rwandan Villages. *Issues 23*, n°2 : 18-21, 1995b.
142. LOUVEL, Roland, *Quelle Afrique pour quelle coopération? Mythologie de l'aide française*. Paris : L'Harmattan, 1994..
143. M'BOKOLO Elikia et AMSELLE Jean-Loup (Eds), *Au cœur de l'ethnie. Ethnie, tribalisme et Etat en Afrique*, Paris, La Découverte, 1999.
144. Mac CULLUM Hugh, *Dieu était-il au Rwanda ? La faillite des Eglises*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1996.
145. MAGNARELLA Paul, *Justice in Africa. Rwanda's genocide, its courts, and the UN Criminal Tribunal*, Burlington, Ashgate Publishing, 2000.
146. MARYSSE, Stefaan, T. De Herdt, and E. NDAYAMBAJE, *Rwanda: Appauvrissement et ajustement structurel*. Brussels and Paris : Institut Africain-CEDAF, L'Harmattan, 1995.
147. MARYSSE, Stefaan, T. De Herdt, and E. NDAYAMBAJE, *Appauvrissement de la population rurale et ajustement structurel: causalité ou coïncidence? Le cas de Kirarambogo (Rwanda)*. Antwerp : University of Antwerp, Centre for Development Studies, 1993.
148. MAS Monique, *Paris Kigali 1990-1994, Lunettes noires, politique du sabre et onction humanitaire. Pour un génocide en Afrique*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1999, 527p.

149. MATON, Jef, *Développement économique et social au Rwanda entre 1980 et 1993. Le dixième décile en face de l'Apocalypse*. Ghent : State University of Ghent, Faculty of Economics, United for Development Research and Teaching, 1994.
150. MAY, John, Policies on Population, Land Use, and Environment in Rwanda. *Population and Environment* 16, n°4 : 321-34, 1995.
151. MACCULLEN, H. The Angels Have Left US. *The Rwanda Tragedy and the Churches*. Risk Book Series n°66. Ferney, Switzerland: Word Council of Churches Publishers, 1995.
152. MEGRET Frédéric, *Le Tribunal pénal international pour le Rwanda*, Paris, Pédone, 2002.
153. MERVERN Linda R., *A people betrayed. The role of the West in the Rwanda's genocide*, London, Zed Books, 2000.
154. MINEAR, Larry, and Philippe GUILLOT, *Soldiers to the Rescue: Humanitarian Lessons from Rwanda*. Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1996.
155. MINEPRISEC, *Des disparités ethniques et régionales dans l'enseignement secondaire rwandais : des années 1960 à 1980*, Kigali, 1986.
156. MINISTÈRE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPERIEUR ET DE LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE, *Annuaire Statistique de l'Enseignement Supérieur au Rwanda*, 1983/84, Kigali, Nov. 1985
157. MINISTÈRE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPERIEUR, DE LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE ET DE LA CULTURE, *Séminaire national sur l'utilisation des langues au Rwanda*, s.d.n.l.
158. MINISTÈRE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPERIEUR, DE LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE ET DE LA CULTURE *Questionnaire d'enquête sur le bilinguisme*, s.d.n.,

159. MINISTÈRE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPERIEUR, DE LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE ET DE LA CULTURE *Compte rendu de la réunion préparatoire du Séminaire sur le Multilinguisme au Rwanda, 23/10/1996*
160. MINISTÈRE DU PLAN, *Evolution de la situation économique du Rwanda 1988-91 et tendances 92*. Kigali : République Rwandaise, Direction de la Politique Economique, 1993.
161. MINISTÈRE DU PLAN, *La situation économique du Rwanda en 1987*, Kigali : Ministère du Plan, 1989.
162. MINISTÈRE DU PLAN, *La situation économique du Rwanda en 1988*, Kigali : Ministère du Plan, 1989.
163. MONENENBO Tierno, *L'aîné des orphelins*, Paris, Seuil, 2000, 157p.
164. MOORE Jonathan (Dir.), *Hard choices moral dilemmas in humanitarian intervention*. Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield, 1998.
165. MORRIS Virginia et SCHARF Michael P. (Ed.), *An insider's guide to the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda*, Irvington-on Hudson, Transnational Publishers, 1998.
166. MUGESERA A., *Imibereho y'Abatutsi kuri Repubulika ya mbere n'iya kabiri (1959-1990)*, Ed. Rwandaises, Kigali, 2004.
167. MUKAGASANA Yolande et KAZINIERAKIS Alain, *Les blessures du silence. Témoignages du génocide au Rwanda*, Arles/Paris, Actes Sud/Médecins sans frontières, 2001.
168. MUKAGASANA Yolande et MAY Patrick, *La mort ne veut pas de moi*. Document. Paris, Fixot, 1997, 276p.
169. MUKAGASANA Yolande et MAY Patrick, *N'aie pas peur de savoir. Rwanda : un million de morts. Une rescapée raconte*, Paris, Robert Laffont, 1999.
170. MULIGANDE, C., *Notes sur l'enseignement des Langues*, 2/04/1997.
171. MUNYAKAZI, L. La question ethnique : un problème mal-posé. *Dialogue* 170(September-October) : 9-11, 1993.

172. MUNYAKAZI, L., « La question ethnique : Un problème mal posé », in : *Dialogue*, n°170 ; Septembre-Octobre 1993.
173. NDAHIMANA, J., « Pour un débat de fond entre Rwandais », in : *Rwanda Points de vue*, n°2, Nov.-Déc. 1991.
174. NGABONZIZA, D., « Les armes secrètes du président Rwandais », in : *Rwanda Points de vue*, n°2 , Nove-Déc. 1991.
175. NGANGO, F., « Pour une renaissance de la nation rwandaise », in : *Dialogue*, n°170, Sept.-Oct. 1993.
176. NGIJOL Gilbert, *Autopsie des génocides rwandais, burundais et l'ONU : la problématique de la stabilité dans les pays de la région des Grands Lacs*, Paris, Présence africaine, 1998.
177. NKUBITO, Alphonse-Marie, Rwanda : Violations des droits de l'homme, *Dialogue 152*(March) : 20-23, 1992.
178. NKUNZUMWAMI Emmanuel, *La Tragédie rwandaise*, Paris L'Harmattan, 1996.
179. NSENGIYUMVA François, *Ingoma y'Amaraso*, Kigali, Cladho, 1995, 222p.
180. NSHIMIYUMUREMYI, Benoît, *Le développement rural au Rwanda : bilan de l'intégration et perspectives pour l'auto-promotion régionale*. Geneva : Institut Universitaire d'Etudes du Developpement, 1993.
181. NTARIBI KAMANZI Charles, *Imizi y'Icyaha*, Kigali, Edition Rebero, 1995, 176p.
182. NTARIBI KAMANZI Charles, *Rwanda. Du génocide à la défaite*, Kigali, Edition Rebero, 1997, 198p.
183. NYAGAHENE, A, et alii, *Les relations interethniques au Rwanda à la lumière de l'agression d'octobre 1990*, Ruhengeri, Ed. Univ., 1991.
184. OLSON, Jennifer M., Behind the Recent Tragedy in Rwanda. *Geo-Journal* 35, n°2 : 217-22, 1995.

185. PABANEL, J-P., Bilan de la deuxième République rwandaise : du modèle de développement à la violence générale. *Politique Africaine* 57 (March) : 112-23, 1995.
186. PATTERSON, J., *Rwanda Refugees*. Nature 373 :185, 1995.
187. PERCIVAL, Valerie and Thomas Homer-Dixon, *Environment Scarcity and Violent Conflict : The Case of Rwanda*. Toronto: University of Toronto, Environment, Population and Security Project, 1995.
188. PLUNIER, G., « La dimension politique du génocide au Rwanda », in : *Hérodote*, n°72-73, Sept. 1994.
189. Procès-verbal de la réunion du 20/011996.
190. Procès-verbal de la réunion sur le Multilinguisme au niveau national
191. PRUNIER Gérard, *Rwanda : Le génocide*, Paris, Dagoma, 1997.
192. REYNTJENS, F., *Afrique des Grands Lacs en crise, Rwanda, Burundi : 1988-1994*, Paris, Karthala, 1994.
193. REYNTJENS, F., *Pouvoir et Droit. Droit public et évolution politique, 1916-973*, Tervuren, M.R.A.C., 1985
194. RICHARD Pierre-Olivier, *Casques bleus, sang noir. Rwanda 1994-Zaire 1996, un génocide en spectacle*, Bruxelles : EPO, 1997.
195. ROBINS, Edward, The Lesson of Rwanda's Agricultural Crisis: Increase Productivity, Not Food aid. In *African Food Systems in Crisis*. Part Two: Contending with change, edited by Rebecca Huss-Ashmore and Salomon H. Katz, New York : Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1990.
196. ROBRECHT Renard, , and REYNTJENS Filip, *Aid and Conditionality: The Case of Belgium, with Particular Reference to Policy vis-à-vis Burundi, Rwanda, and Zaire*. Paper presented at the EADI Workshop, Berlin, 1993.
197. RONAYNE Peter, *Never again ? The United States and the prevention and punishment of genocide since the Holocaust*, Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001.

198. RURANGWA Jean-Marie Vianney, *Le génocide des Tutsi expliqué à un étranger*, Le Figuier-Fest'Africa, 2000, 85p.
199. RUTEMBESA Faustin, KAREGEYE Jean-Pierre et RUTAYISIRE Paul, *Rwanda. L'Eglise catholique à l'épreuve du génocide*, Les Editions Africaines, Québec, 2000.
200. RUTEMBESA, F., « Les autorités indigènes dans la Politique Coloniale Belge au Rwanda de 1916 à 1925 », in : *Cahiers d'histoire de l'Université du Burundi*, n°1, 1983.
201. SAUR Léon, « *L'Internationale démocrate-chrétienne au Rwanda* », *Influences parallèles*, Bruxelles, Luc Pire, 1998.
202. SCHOEPF Brooke G., *Genocide and Gendered Violence in Rwanda, 1994*. Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Washington, D.C., 1995.
203. SEHENE Benjamin, *Le piège ethnique*, Paris, Dagorno, 1999.
204. SEMUJANGA, J., *Récits fondateurs du drame rwandais. Discours social, idéologies et stéréotypes*, Paris, l'Harmattan, 1998.
205. SENAT DE Belgique (Commission d'Enquête parlementaire Rwanda), *Rapport I et II, III, IV et V concernant les événements du Rwanda*, Bruxelles, décembre 1998.
206. SERUVUMBA, Anastase, *Les ONG et les initiatives locales: quel appui? Cas du Rwanda*. Genève : Institut Universitaire d'Etudes du Développement, 1992.
207. SERUVUMBA, Anastase, *L'Ambigument des ONG d'appui du sud, entre l'autonomie et les objectifs sociaux de promotion*. Genève : Institut Universitaire d'Etudes du Développement, 1992-93.
208. STASSEN Jean-Philippe, Déogratias (BD), *Aire libre*, 2000, 80p.
209. STASSEN Jean-Philippe, Pawa (BD)
210. STAUB, Ervin, *The Roots of Evil : The Origins of Genocide and Other Group Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

211. STAUB, Ervin, Moral Exclusion, Personal Goal theory and Extreme Destructiveness, *Journal of Social Issues* 46, n°1 : 47-64, 1990.
212. STAVENHAGE, Rodolfo, Ethnic Conflict and Human Rights. Their Inter-relationship. In *Ethnic Conflict and Human Rights*, edited by Kumar Rupesinghe. Tokyo: United Nations University and Norwegian University Press, 1988.
213. STAVENHAGE, Rodolfo, *The Ethnic Question. Conflicts, Development, and Human Rights*. Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 1990.
214. TADJO Véronique : *L'ombre d'Imana. Voyage jusqu'à bout du Rwanda*, Actes Sud, 2000.
215. TERRAS Christian (Dir.) et BA Mehdi, *Rwanda, l'honneur perdu de l'Eglise*, Les Dossiers de Golias, Villeurbanne, Golias, 1999, 260p.
216. THEUNIS, Guy, Rwanda: Eglise du silence? *Dialogue 171* (November-December): 17-31, 1993.
217. TOMASERVSKI, Katarina, *Development Aid and Human rights, a Study for the Danish Center of Human Rights*. New York, St. Martin's Press, 1989.
218. UGIRASHEBUJA, Octave, Causes et facteurs du déchaînement génocidaire au Rwanda. *Dialogue 190* (April-May) : 33-38, 1996.
219. UNITED NATIONS, *Rapport du séminaire des agences du système des Nations Unies sur la lutte contre la pauvreté*. Kigali, Nations Unies, 1991.
220. UNITED NATIONS, *The United Nations and Rwanda 1993-1996*. New York: Department of Public Information, 1996.
221. UVIN Peter, *L'aide complice ? Coopération internationale et violence au Rwanda*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1999.
222. UVIN, Peter, Tragedy in Rwanda: The Political Ecology of Conflict. *Environment 38*, n°3 (April): 6-15, 29, 1996.
223. UVIN, Peter, *Violence, Aid, and Conflict. Reflections from the Case of Rwanda*. Helsinki: United Nations University and World Institute of Development Economics Research, 1996.

224. UVIN, Peter, Forthcoming. Ethnicity and Power in Burundi and Rwanda: Different Paths to Mass Violence. *Comparative Politics*.
225. UWIZEYIMANA, L. et alii, Les relations interethnique au Rwanda à la lumière de l'agression d'octobre 1990. Genèse, soubassements et perspectives, E.U.R., Ruhengeri 1992.
226. UWIZEYIMANA, L., *Octobre et Novembre 1990, le Front Patriotique Rwandais l'assaut du Mutara*, Ed. Univ. Du Rwanda, Ruhengeri, Septembre 1992.
227. UWIZEYIMANA, Laurien, *Crise du café, faillite de l'Etat et explosion sociale au Rwanda*. GEODOC n°42. Toulouse, France : Université de Toulouse-Le Miral, documents de recherche de l'UFR Géographie et Aménagement, 1996.
228. VERSCHAVE François-Xavier, *Complicité de génocide ? La politique de la France au Rwanda*, Paris, La Découverte, 1994, 175p.
229. VERSCHAVE, François-Xavier, Connivences françaises au Rwanda. *Le Monde Diplomatique* (March 10) : 10, 1995.
230. VIDAL, C., *Sociologie des passions, (Côte d'Ivoire, Rwanda)*, Paris, Karthala, 1991
231. WABERI Abdourahman Ali, *Terminus. Textes pour le Rwanda. Moisson de crânes, Le serpent à plumes*, 2000.
232. WAINTRATER Régine, *Sortir du génocide, témoigner pour réapprendre à vivre*, Paris, Payot, 2003.
233. WATSON, Catherine, *Exile from Rwanda. Washington*, D.C.: U.S. Committee for Refugees, 1991.
234. WILLAME Jean-Claude, *Aux sources de l'hécatombe rwandaise*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1995, 174p.
235. WILLAME Jean-Claude, *L'ONU au Rwanda (1993-1995) : la communauté internationale à l'épreuve*, Paris, Maisonneuve et Larose, 1996.

236. WILLAME Jean-Claude, *Les Belges au Rwanda : le parcours de la honte, Les Dossiers du GRIP*, Numéro spécial, Bruxelles, Complexe, 1997.
237. WOODWARD, David, The IMF, the World Bank and Economic Policy in *Rwanda: Economic, Social and Political Implications*. Oxford: Oxfam, 1996.
238. WORLD Bank, *Rwanda Economic Memorandum. Recent Economic Development and Current Policy Issues*. Washington, D.C.: Country Programs II, Eastern and Southern Africa, 1986.
239. WORLD BANK, *Rwanda Family Health Project. Staff Appraisal Report*, Washington, D.C.: Population, Health and Nutrition Department, 1986.
240. WORLD BANK, *Rwanda. The role of the Communes in Socio-Economic Development*. Washington, D.C.: South, central and Indian Ocean Department, 1987.

- **interviews**

## **C. Cross Cutting Themes**

- Job discrimination
- Educational discrimination
- Discrimination in the media
- Illiteracy and ignorance
- Exaggerated unemployment
- Wealth monopoly and the creation of a rich oligarchy
- Political exclusion and one party system
- Youth disappointment because of exclusion and injustice.
- The coming up of private education sector

## **D. Teaching Commentaries**

The origin of political segregation in schools and the practice of “Regional and ethnic equilibrium”

This was made official by G. KAYIBANDA in the document instruction n°01/38/7102 of 28/02/1971” and in the resolutions of “seminaire de formation du MDR, ParmeHutu” held in Kigali in 1972, G. KAYIBANDA said at that occasion that in schools the Bahutu should have 85% of places, Abatutsi 14% and Abatwa 1%”.<sup>(4)</sup> J.HABYARIMANA institutionalized segregation saying “equilibrium” in his speech “discours- programme” of 01/08/1973 and in the fourth “MRND congress” of 29/06/1973 with a decree rules to be followed and gave to the ministry of education authority to give out 5% of places to pupils admitted each year.

### **The definition of political segregation**

“Ethnic equilibrium should be in a way that the proportion of school population reflects that of the whole population of the country. This principle should be respected at the level of each section.

Practically, each ethnic group will have a quota in accordance with its importance in number within the population.”<sup>(5)</sup>

## **The justification of politics called “ethnic and regional equilibrium” Written sources**

Text 1:

“At the onset of the second republic, the president, Major General HABYARIMANA Juvenal declared the general orientations of the ethnic and regional equilibrium in the following terms: “... On the other hand, it is understandable that enrolment in different schools will take into consideration social, ethnic and regional composition of the Rwandan society”.<sup>(6)</sup>

Text 2:

Archbishops in Rwanda supported political equilibrium in their letter addressed to Christians on 28.02.1990 in these words: “ethnic equilibrium for employment and in schools has the goal of correcting ethnic segregation which favored some and neglected others”

“... Let us not forget that its our duty to distribute job opportunities and places in schools”.<sup>(7)</sup>

Text 3:

The Minister of Education NSEKARIJE Aloys justified equilibrium as follows:

“I am going to tell you the truth, because all Rwandans are intelligent. Telling lies is not good. If for example the district of Kigoma has 30 intelligent Batwa pupils who all pass exams and then the ministry of education put up the list at the district. On the other side, let say in Nyamabuye District, there is a list of Tutsi only, their list is put up on the district. Elsewhere only Hutu pupils pass exams. Would that list of Tutsi remain there? Let us speak the truth. This list will be burnt and the schools where they will go to learn will be burnt too. This is why there should be equilibrium.”

“Burgomasters” children should school placement first because their fathers have served the nation more than peasants”.<sup>(8)</sup>

**The practice of ethnic and regional segregation in education**

**Table n°1 : Ethnic Segregation in Secondary Education 1960 - 1980**

**The number of students in secondary schools 1960 - 1980<sup>(39)</sup>**

<b>Academic year</b>	<b>Abahutu (%)</b>	<b>Abatutsi (%)</b>
1962/63	62	36
1963/64	66	33
1964/65	69	30
1965/66	71.0	28
1966/67	71.0	28
1967/68	76	23
1968/69	79.0	20
1969/70	81.6	18.2
1970/71	83.0	16
1971/72	84.7	13.8
1972/73	87.2	11
1973/74	89.7	8
1974/75	88	9
1975/76	87	10.7
1976/77	87.4	10.3
1977/78	87.4	11.2
1978/79	87.5	11.3
1979/80	86.4	12
1980/81	86	12.4

<sup>39</sup> Ministère de l'Enseignement Primaire et Secondaire : Des disparités éthniques et régionales dans l'enseignement secondaire rwandais, des années 1960 à 1980, Kigali, Février 1986, cité par MUGESERA, A. op.cit., pp. 312-313.

**Table n°2 : Enrollment in government secondary schools,  
per Province, September 1989**

<b>Provinces</b>	<b>Vacancies accordance with demographical</b>	<b>Vacancies</b>	<b>Difference</b>
Butare	836	696	-140
Byumba	722	662	-60
Cyangugu	461	443	-18
Gikongoro	514	466	-48
Gisenyi	649	1045	+396
Gitarama	836	792	-44
Kibungo	501	425	-76
Kibuye	468	412	-56
Kigali	970	1005	+35
Ruhengeri	736	747	+11
<b>Total</b>	<b>6693</b>	<b>6693</b>	<b>442-442=0</b>

**Source :** UWILINGIYIMANA, L., Octobre et Novembre. Le Front Patriistique Rwandais et l'assaut du Rwanda, Editions Universitaires du Rwanda, 1992, p.83.

**N.B. :**

The Provinces of Gisenyi (The President's Province of origin), Kigali (The headquarters of the country's high authorities) and Ruhengeri (the province which is an allied to Gisenyi) gained more places than others.

**Table n° 3 : The segregation against Tutsi : Secondary education:  
1981/1982**

<b>Province</b>	<b>Commune</b>	<b>Passes (70-60%)</b>	<b>Admissions</b>
Butare	Nyabisindu	9	1
	Huye	21	0
	Nyaruhengeri	9	1
	Ntyazo	14	3
	All	267	103 (=77%)
<b>Province</b>	<b>Commune</b>		<b>Refused</b>
Cyangugu	All		16
Gikongoro	All		56
Gisenyi	All		11
Gitarama	All		72
Kibungo	All		24
Kibuye	All		53
Kigali	All		86

**Source** : MUGESERA, A., op.cit., p.317.

**Table n° 4 : the segregation against girls secondary education  
1981/1982**

<b>Province</b>	<b>Commune</b>	<b>passes (70-60%)</b>	<b>Admissions</b>
Butare	Ntyazo	14	0
	Gishamvu	36	14
	Muyira	23	4
	Muganza	10	1
	Ndora	16	1
Gikongoro	Karama	23	3
Gisenyi	Rwerere	25	14

**Source :** MUGESERA, A. op.cit., p.317

After a focused observation of the tables 1, 2,3, et 4, answer the following questions :

1. From table 1, the segregation against Tutsi followed which curve ?  
At which moment did get stronger and why ?
2. From table 2, the official policy of regional equilibrium was it respected ?  
Why did Gisenyi, Kigali and Ruhengeri get an additional number of students when compared to what had been planed ? What will be the consequence of this situation in the field of employment?
3. From tables 3 and 4 what are the feelings of Tutsi and girls who passed but were not admitted ? The feelings of Hutu who got less than 60% or 70% but were admitted ?

## **Registration Form at Nur**

### **Section A: Personal Details**

1. Name : .....
2. Surname: .....
3. Address during vacation .....
4. Permanent Address : .....
5. Place of birth (Sector) : .....
6. Date of birth .....
7. Province .....
8. Country .....
9. Residence (sector).....
10. Commune .....
11. Province.....
12. Country.....
13. Nationality.....
14. Ethnic group .....
15. Sex .....
16. Mother tongue .....
17. Religion .....
18. Marital status .....
19. Number of children.....
20. Spouse's name and surname .....
21. Spouse's address .....

**Table 5 : Ethnic segregation at N U R  
(1981-1983)**

<b>Academic year</b>	<b>Hutu</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Tutsi</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Twa</b>	<b>%</b>
1981/82	974	85.14	168	14.69	2	0.17483
1982/83	1112	27.08	164	12.8426	1	0.07831
1983/84	1189	89.3	142	10.7	1	0.08
1984/85	1360	88,484	177	11.51	0	0
1985/86	1340	87,638	189	12.361	0	0
1986/87	1250	86,266	198	13.664	1	0,0690
<b>Total</b>	<b>6325</b>	<b>85,85</b>	<b>1037</b>	<b>14.07</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0,067</b>

**Source :** République Rwandaise, Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieure et de la Recherche Scientifique, Direction Etudes et Evaluation, Annuaire Statistique de l'Enseignement Supérieur au Rwanda, 1986-1987, Kigali, Mars 1989 , p.49

After reading carefully the texts 1, 2, and 3, respond to the following questions :

1. Since when did the segregation policy begin in schools ?
2. Who designed it ?
3. Which category of Rwandans were victims of this segregation ?
4. Was this segregation policy accepted by Rwandans ? Give an example.

**Table 6 : Ethnic and regional segregation at Higher level of education**

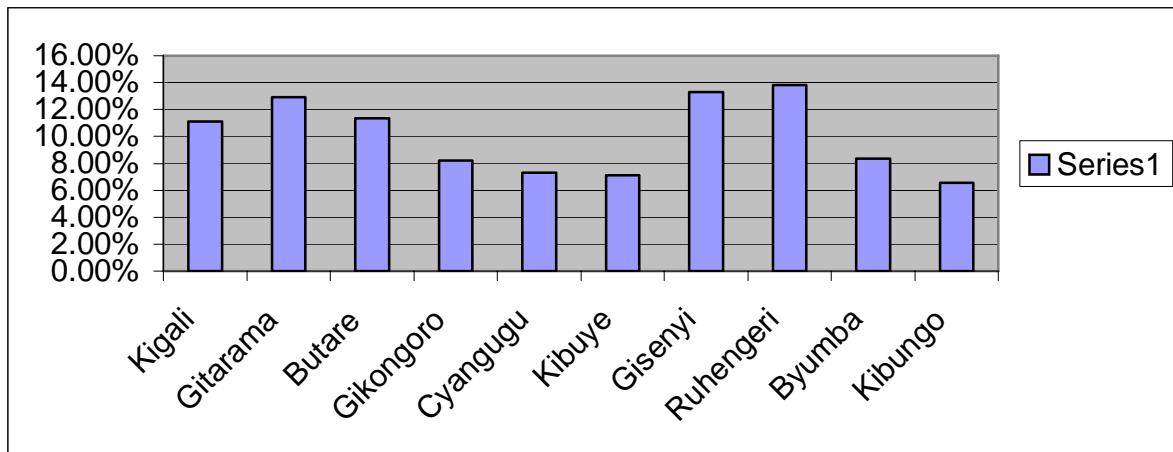
**A. At NUR**

**A.1. Academic year 1983-1984**

Province Ethnic group	Kigali	Gitarama	Butare	Gikongoro	Cyangugu	Kibuye	Gisenyi	Ruhengeri	Byumba	Kibungo	<b>Total</b>	<b>%</b>
Hutu	117	153	119	98	88	84	170	183	103	74	<b>1189</b>	<b>89,33</b>
Tutsi	31	19	31	11	9	11	7	1	8	13	<b>141</b>	<b>10,6</b>
Twa			1								<b>1</b>	<b>0,07</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>172</b>	<b>151</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>184</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>1331</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>11,12</b>	<b>12,92</b>	<b>11,34</b>	<b>8,2</b>	<b>7,3</b>	<b>7,13</b>	<b>13,3</b>	<b>13,82</b>	<b>8,34</b>	<b>6,53</b>	<b>100</b>	

**Source** : République Rwandaise, MESRS, Annuaire, 1983-1984, Kigali, Novembre 1985, p.10

**Diagram 1**



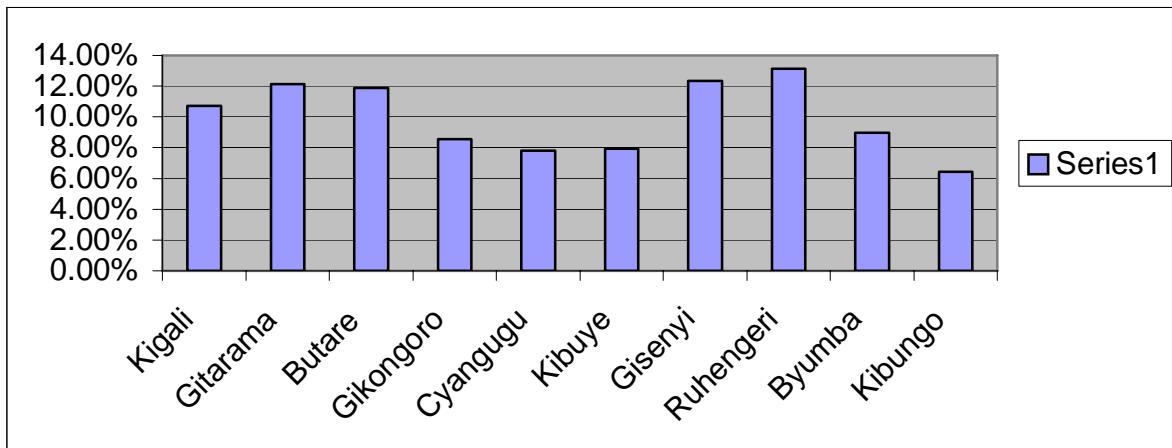
**Table 7: Ethnic and regional segregation at Higher level of Education**

**A.2. Academic year 1984-1985**

Ethnic group	Province	Butare	Byumba	Cyangugu	Gikongoro	Gisenyi	Gitarama	Kibungo	Kibuye	Kigali	Ruhengeri	Total	%
Hutu		143	123	109	112	186	168	77	105	136	201	1360	86.37
Tutsi		39	15	11	20	4	19	22	17	29	1	177	11.50
Nationalized												1	0.06
N.D.											1	1	0.06
<b>Total</b>		<b>183</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>190</b>	<b>187</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>202</b>	<b>1539</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>%</b>		<b>11.89</b>	<b>8.97</b>	<b>7.80</b>	<b>8.58</b>	<b>12.35</b>	<b>12.15</b>	<b>6.43</b>	<b>7.93</b>	<b>10.72</b>	<b>13.13</b>	<b>0.06</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: République Rwandaise, MESRS, Annuaire, 1984-1985, Kigali, Avril 1987, p.14.

**Diagram 2**



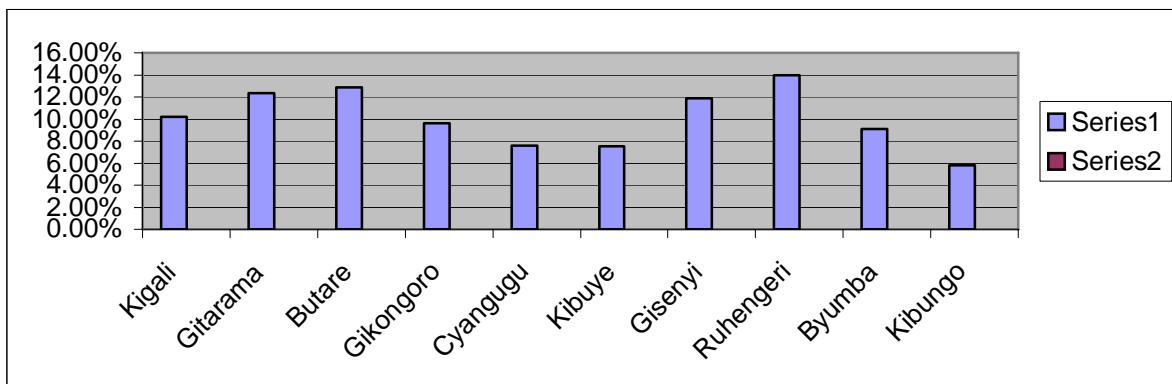
**Table 8: Ethnic and regional segregation at Higher level of Education**

**A.3. Academic year 1985-1986**

Ethnic group	Préfecture	Butare	Byumba	Cyangugu	Gikongoro	Gisenyi	Gitarama	Kibungo	Kibuye	Kigali	Ruhengeri	Total	%
Hutu	147	127	105	107	175	169	71	99	130	210	1340	87.64	
Tutsi	50	12	11	25	7	20	18	16	26	4	189	12.36	
<b>Total</b>	<b>197</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>182</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>214</b>	<b>1529</b>	<b>100</b>	
<b>%</b>	<b>12.88</b>	<b>9.9</b>	<b>7.59</b>	<b>8.63</b>	<b>11.90</b>	<b>12..36</b>	<b>5.82</b>	<b>7..52</b>	<b>10.20</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100</b>		

Source: République Rwandaise, MESRS, Annuaire, 1985-1986, Kigali, Août 1988, p.15

**Diagram 3**



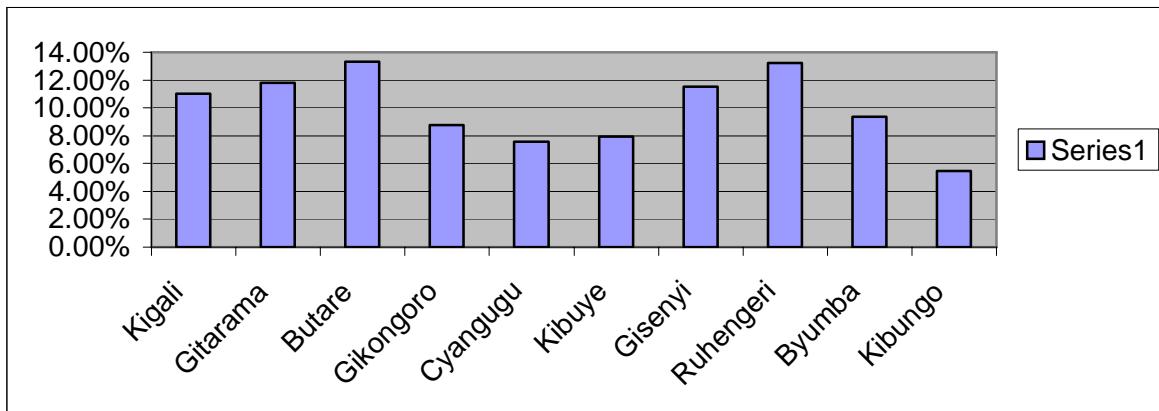
**Table 9 Ethnic and regional segregation at Higher level of Education**

**A.4. Academic year 1986-1987**

Ethnic group	Province	Butare	Byumba	Cyangu.	Gikongoro	Gisenyi	Gitarama	Kibungo	Kibuye	Kigali	Ruhengeri	Total	%
Hutu		142	124	99	105	159	149	62	98	126	186	1250	86.21
Tutsi		51	12	11	22	8	21	17	17	33	6	198	13.65
Twa							1					1	0.07
Nationalised										1		1	0.07
<b>Total</b>		<b>193</b>	<b>136</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>127</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>171</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>192</b>	<b>1450</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>%</b>		<b>13.31</b>	<b>9.38</b>	<b>7.59</b>	<b>8.76</b>	<b>11.52</b>	<b>11.79</b>	<b>5.45</b>	<b>7.93</b>	<b>11.03</b>	<b>13.24</b>	<b>110</b>	

Source: République Rwandaise, MESRS, Annuaire, 1986-1987, Kigali, Mars 1989; p.17

**Diagram 4**



**Table 10: Ethnic and regional segregation at NUR**

Year and ethnic group	1983-1984		1984-1985		1985-1986		1986-1987		Total
	Hutu	Tutsi	Hutu	Tutsi	Hutu	Tutsi	Hutu	Tutsi	
Préfecture									
Kigali	117	31	136	29	130	26	126	33	<b>411</b>
Gitarama	153	19	168	19	169	20	149	21	<b>682</b>
Butare	119	31	143	39	147	50	142	51	<b>636</b>
Gikongoro	98	11	112	20	107	25	105	22	<b>500</b>
Cyangugu	88	9	109	11	105	11	99	11	<b>443</b>
Kibuye	84	11	105	17	99	16	98	17	<b>437</b>
Gisenyi	170	7	186	4	175	7	159	8	<b>716</b>
Ruhengeri	183	1	201	1	210	4	186	6	<b>792</b>
Byumba	103	8	123	15	127	12	124	12	<b>424</b>
Kibungo	74	13	77	22	71	18	62	17	<b>284</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>1189</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>1360</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>1340</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>1250</b>	<b>198</b>	<b>4584</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>89.33</b>	<b>10.60</b>	<b>86.37</b>	<b>11.50</b>	<b>87.64</b>	<b>12.36</b>	<b>86.21</b>	<b>13.65</b>	

**Table 11 : Ethnic and segregation at NUR (1981-1987)**

<b>Academic year</b>	<b>Hutu</b>	<b>Tutsi</b>	<b>Twa</b>	<b>Total</b>
1981/82	974	168	2	<b>1144</b>
1982/83	1112	164	1	<b>2277</b>
1983/84	1189	142	1	<b>1331</b>
1984/85	1360	177	0	<b>1537</b>
1985/86	1340	189	0	<b>1529</b>
1986/87	1250	198	1	<b>1448</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>6325</b>	<b>1037</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7367</b>

**Source :** République Rwandaise, Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique, Direction Etudes et Evaluation, Annuaire Statistique de l'Enseignement Supérieur au Rwanda, 1986-1987, Kigali, Mars 1989, p.49.

**Tableau 12 : Ethnic and regional segregation at higher levell of education**

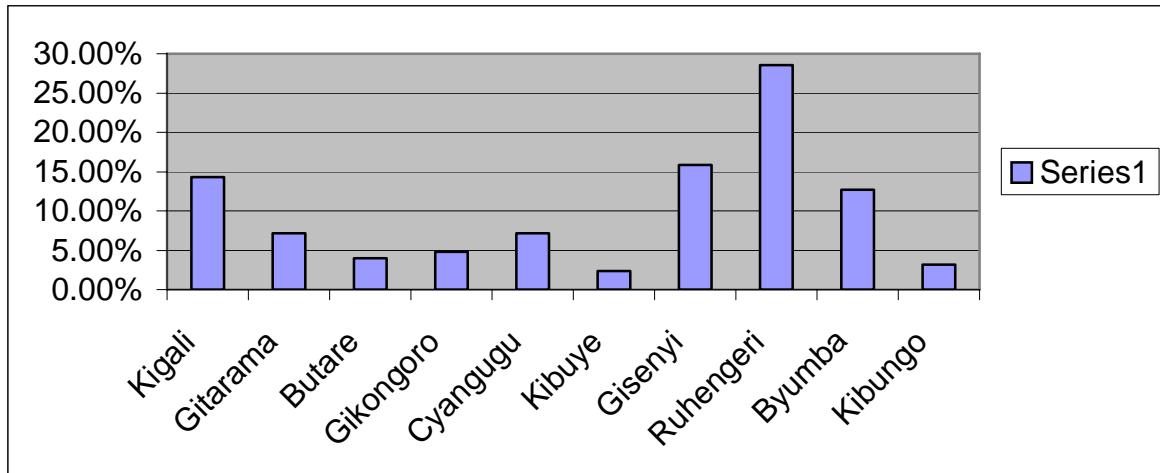
### B. E.S.M.

#### B.1. Academic year 1983-1984

Ethnie	Prefecture	Kigali	Gitarama	Butare	Gikongoro	Cyangugu	Kibuye	Gisenyi	Ruhengeri	Byumba	Kibungo	Total	%
Hutu	18	7	5	6	9	3	20	35	16	4	<b>124</b>	<b>98,41</b>	
Tutsi		1						1			<b>2</b>	<b>1,59</b>	
Twa													
<b>Total</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>100</b>	
<b>%</b>	<b>14,30</b>	<b>7,14</b>	<b>3,97</b>	<b>4,76</b>	<b>7,14</b>	<b>2,38</b>	<b>15,87</b>	<b>28,57</b>	<b>12,70</b>	<b>3,17</b>	<b>100</b>		

**Source :** République Rwandaise, MESRS, Annuaire, 1983-1984, Kigali, Novembre 1985, p.11

**Diagram 5**



**Table 13:** Students' distribution at ESM (Military School) per rank and per ethnic group : 1983/84

Rank Ethnic group	Corporal	Sergeant	Officer	Total	%
Hutu	41	34	49	124	98.41
Tutsi	-	1	1	2	1.59
Twa	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 14: Student distribution at IAMSEA per Province and per ethnic group**

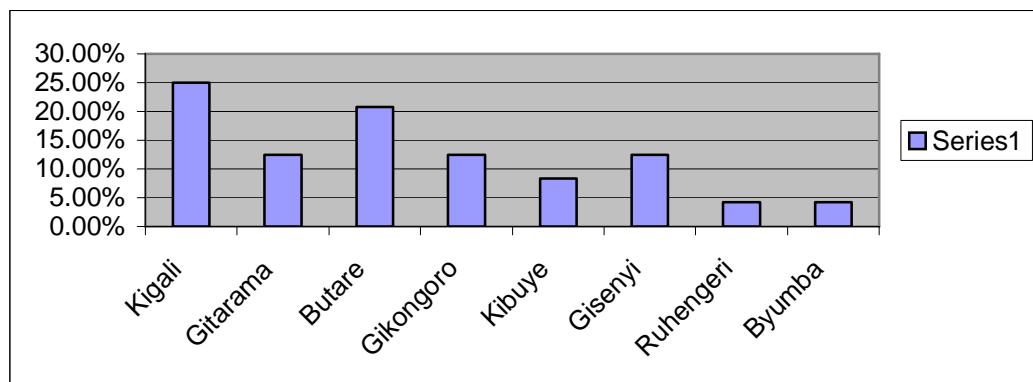
Year and ethnicity Province	1983-1984		1984-1985		1985-1986		1986-1987		Total
	Hutu	Tutsi	Hutu	Tutsi	Hutu	Tutsi	Hutu	Tutsi	
Kigali	3	3	4	1	2	2	4	3	22
Gitarama	2	1	3	2	3*	1	2	2	16
Butare	2	3	2	4	-	2	-	2	15
Gikongoro	1	2	1	1	-	3	3	2	13
Cyangugu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kibuye	2	-	4	1	3	1	5	1	17
Gisenyi	3	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	7
Ruhengeri	1	-	4	-	4	1	4	-	14
Byumba	1	-	1	-	1	1**	-	1	5
Kibungo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>105</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>62.5</b>	<b>37.5</b>	<b>70.0</b>	<b>30.0</b>	<b>56.0</b>	<b>44.0</b>	<b>63.33</b>	<b>36.67</b>	

**Source:** République Rwandaise, MESRS, Annuaire 1983/84, 1984/85, 1985/86 et 1986/87, pp. 11 et 12, 18, 29, 35.

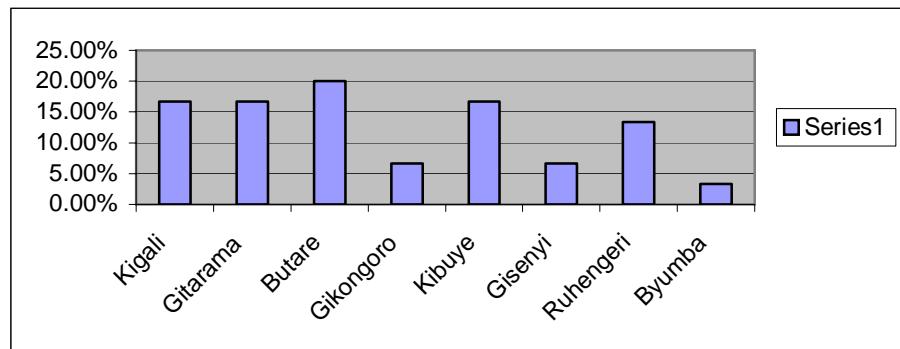
N.B.:

- 1) In 1983/84, one Hutukazi student from Gitarama
  - 2) No Mutwa at IAMSEA for four years
  - 3) Nobody from Cyangugu nor Kibungo for four years
- \* One female student  
\*\* Female student

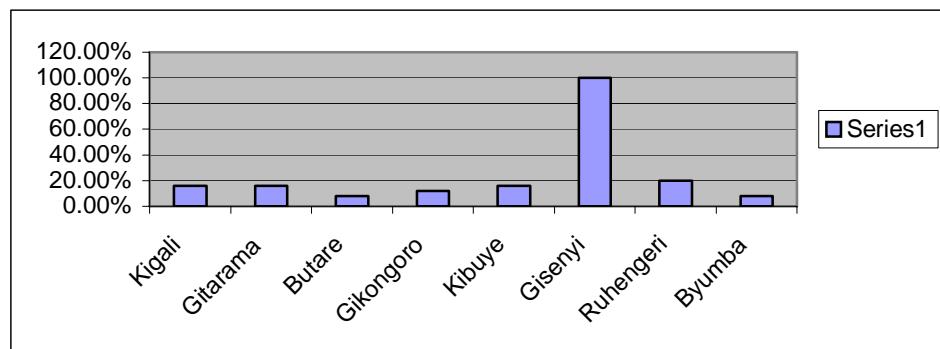
**Diagram n° 6: National students at IAMSEA per province : 1983/84**



**Diagram n°7: National students at IAMSEA per province: 1984/85**

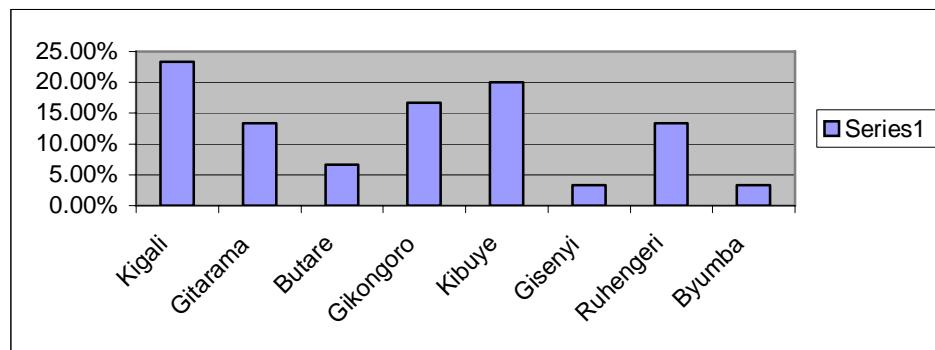


**Diagram n°8: National students at IAMSEA per province : 1985/86**

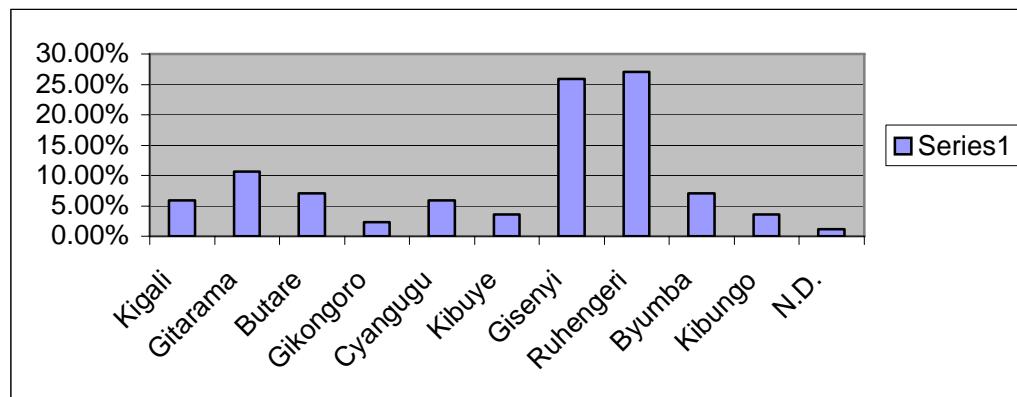


N.B The provinces of Cyangugu and Kibungo are not represented at I.M.S.E.A. in the course of the academic year 1985/86.

**Diagram n°9: National students at IAMSEA per province: 1986/87**



**Diagram n° 10: National students at “Institut Saint Fidèle” per province : 1986/87**



Source: République Rwandaise, MESRS, Annuaire 1986/1987; p.40.

N.B. Ruhengeri and Gisenyi alone had a total of 52.94 %.

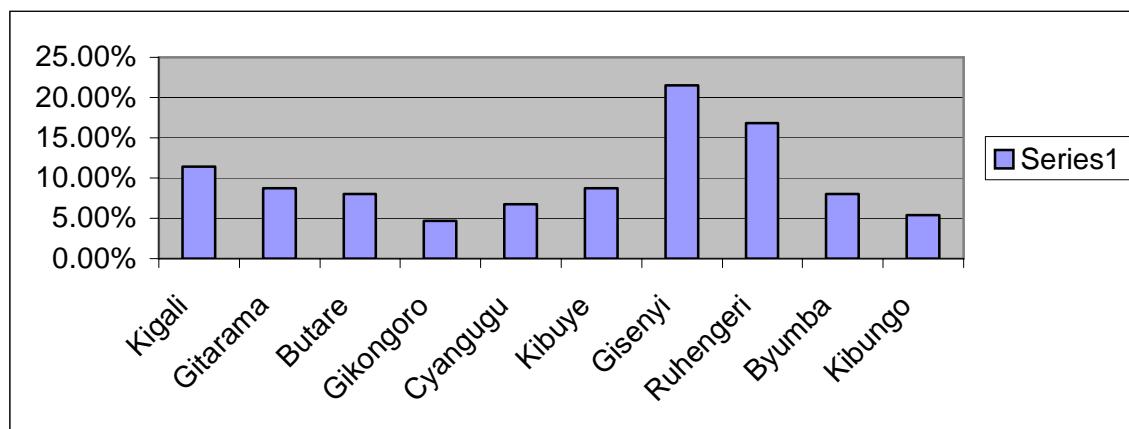
**Table n° 15 : National students abroad per province 1983/84**

Region	Province	Kigali	Gitarama	Butare	Gikongoro	Cyangugu	Kibuye	Gisenyi	Ruhenger	Byumba	Kibungo	Total	%
Africa	18	10	8	6	9	7	27	21	14	4	<b>124</b>	<b>10,59</b>	
Europe											<b>256</b>	<b>40,44</b>	
Rest of the world	24	21	27	18	20	12	49	38	28	16	<b>253</b>	<b>39,97</b>	
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>633</b>	<b>100</b>	

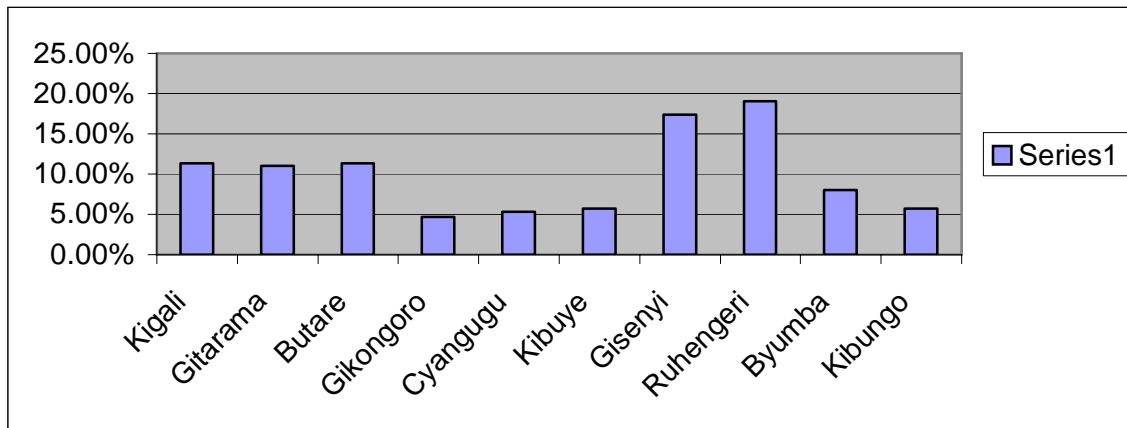
**Table n° 16 : National students abroad per province: 1984/85**

Region	Province	Kigali	Gitarama	Butare	Gikongo r o	Cyangugu	Kibuye	Gisenyi	Ruhenger	Byumba	Kibungo	Total	%
Africa	14	11	9	6	11	9	33	21	12	5	<b>135</b>	<b>19,07</b>	
Europe											<b>265</b>	<b>37,43</b>	
Rest of the world	33	28	33	17	26	12	49	61	29	19	<b>308</b>	<b>43,50</b>	
<b>Total</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>708</b>	<b>100</b>	

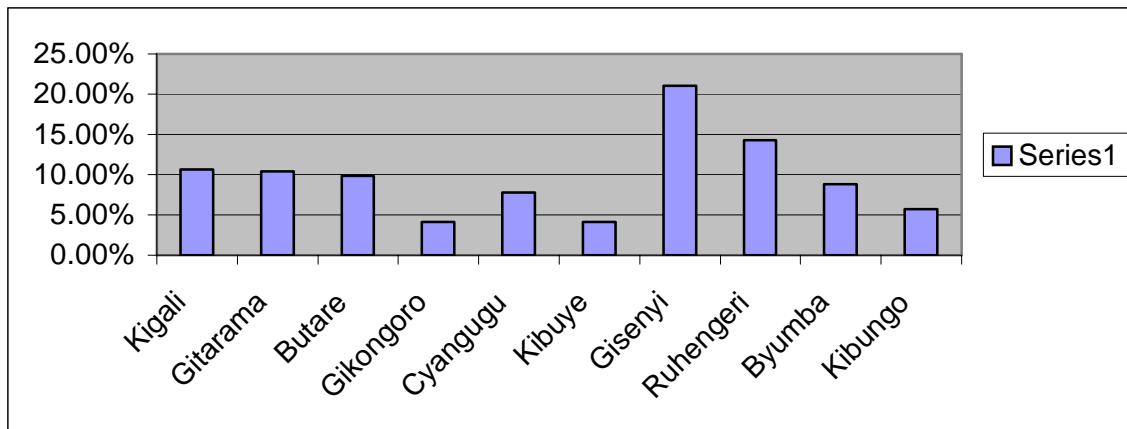
**Diagram n° 12: National students in Africa per Province : 1985/86**



**Diagram n° 13:** National students in Europe per province : 1985/86



**Diagram n° 14:** National students in the “Rest of the world”: 1985/86

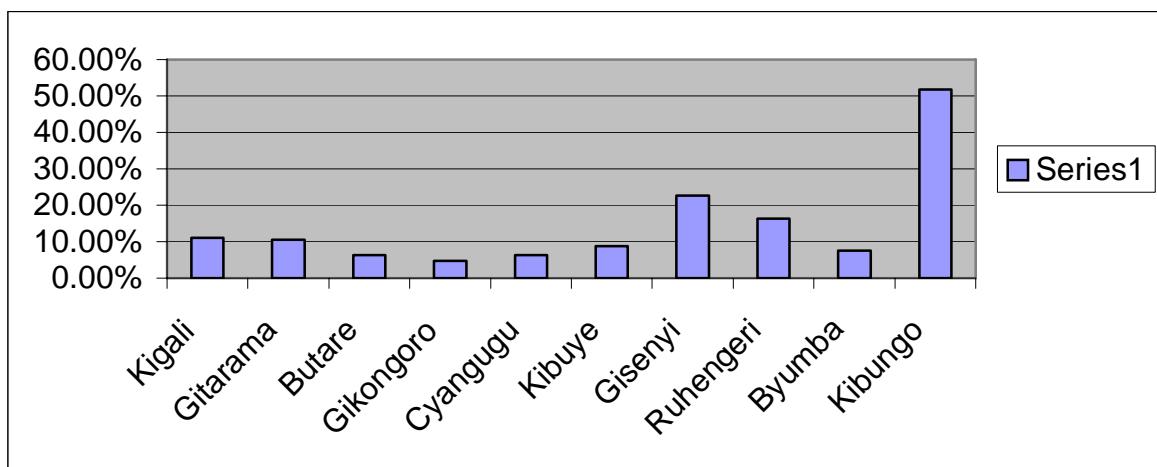


**Table n° 17: National students abroad per province : 1986/87**

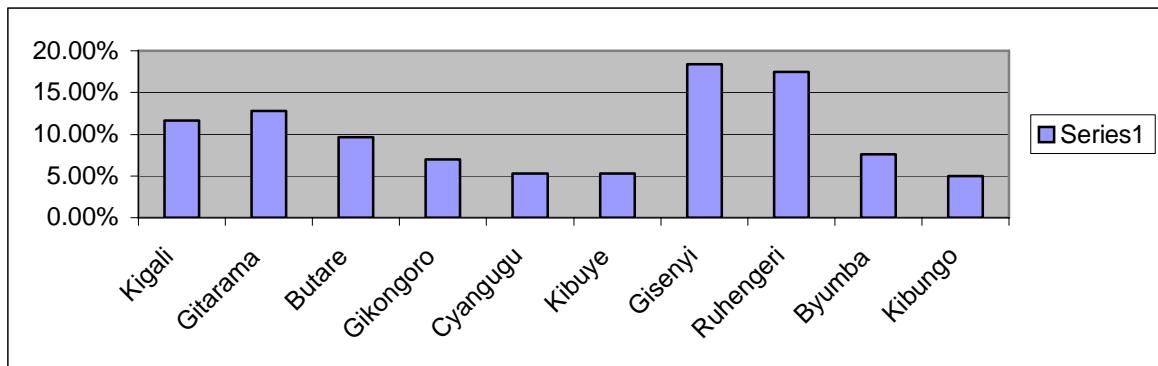
Region	Province	Kigali	Gitarama	Butare	Gikongoro	Cyangugu	Kibuye	Gisenyi	Ruhengeri	Byumba	Kibungo	N.D.	Total	%
Africa		19	18	11	8	11	15	39	28	12	10		172	18.20
Europe		40	44	33	24	18	18	63	60	33	17		343	36.30
Rest of the world		52	46	39	20	33	14	95	68	29	24	3	430	45.50
<b>Total</b>		<b>111</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>194</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>945</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>%</b>		<b>11.75</b>	<b>11.43</b>	<b>8.78</b>	<b>5.50</b>	<b>6.56</b>	<b>4.97</b>	<b>20.53</b>	<b>16.51</b>	<b>16.45</b>	<b>5.40</b>	<b>0.32</b>	<b>100</b>	

Source: République Rwandaise, MESRS, Annuaire 1986/87, p.45

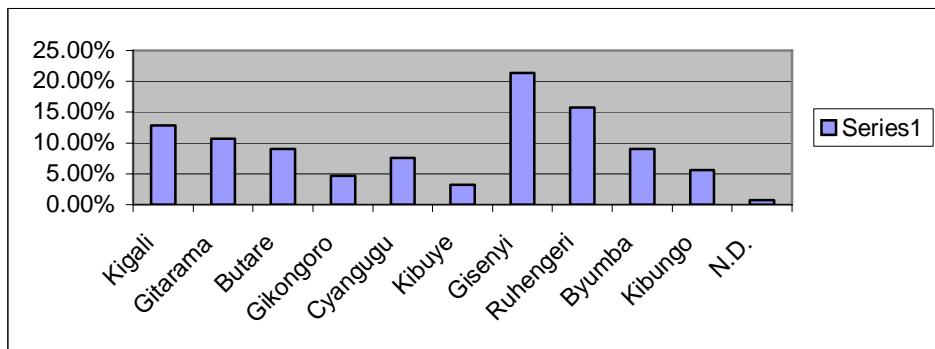
**Diagram n°15: National students in Africa per province: 1986/87**



**Diagram n° 16:** National students in Europe per province: 1986/87



**Diagram n° 17:** National students in the “Rest of the World” per province: 1986/87



Having observed tables n°6 → 17 :

1. Classify the Provinces based on the number of students.
2. Explain this order of classification.
3. Why do the two top provinces have a small number of Tutsi?
4. What are the feelings of inhabitants of provinces which have a small number of students and the feelings of those who have a big number of students ?
5. What is the impact of this situation in employment ?

#### **11.4. The practice of ethnic and regional segregation in employment sector**

**Table 19: The number of employees in banks and insurance companies based on ethnicity**

<b>Banks and Insuranc e</b>	<b>Total No.</b>	<b>Bahutu</b>	<b>Batutsi</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Rate of disparity</b>
B.C.R.	583	518	63	10,8	1,1
B.R.D.	107	93	14	13,1	1,3
BACAR	105	93	11	10,5	1
B.N.R.	551	496	54	9,8	0,98
Caisse hypothécaire	45	34	11	24,4	2,4
Banques Populaires	168	146	22	13,1	1,3
SONARWA	302	272	31	10,2	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1.861</b>	<b>1.652</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>1,1</b>

The same global equilibrium is done in private enterprises with more than 80 employees. Indeed, 15 private enterprises had a total number of regular 3,966 workers including 3,458 Hutu and 538 Tutsis, which represents disparity indication of 0,97. This disparity is very high at Colas ( $I=0.073$ ), this lack of equilibrium is probably in relationship with operation zones of this company at that time, it was operating in Ruhengeri province. Then Rwantexco can be picked out ( $I=0.7$ ), Sulfo Rwanda ( $I=0.78$ ) and UTEXRWA ( $I=0.83$ ) where the lack of equilibrium is less noticed. To the contrary, Deutsce Welle ( $I=2.6$ ), Murri freres ( $I=2.6$ ) and Astaldi ( $I=1.9$ ) with over represented of Tutsi; in other enterprises, disparity varies with equilibrium as shown in table 12.<sup>(14)</sup>

**Table n°20: Wage earners in the private sector per ethnic group**

<b>Enterprise</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>Bahutu</b>	<b>Batutsi</b>	<b>% de Batutsi</b>	<b>Rate of disparity</b>
Sulfo Rwanda	447	412	35	7,8	0,78
Colas	821	815	6	0,73	0,073
B.C.R.	583	518	63	10,8	1,1
UTEXTWA	800	631	67	8,3	0,83
SORWAL	100	85	15	15	1,5
Hôtel Umubano	93	82	11	11,8	1,2
NAHAV-Rwanda	134	116	18	13,4	1,3
MURRI-Frères	103	76	27	26,2	2,6
ABAY	114	70	30	26,3	2,6
EKAGLAHYCO	105	89	15	14,3	1,4
ASTALDI	142	114	28	19,7	1,9
Deutsche Welle	89	64	25	28	2,8
Rwantexco	171	159	12	7	0,7
Briqueterie uliba	148	128	18	12,1	1,2
Rwandex Chilington	116	100	15	12,9	1,3
<b>Total</b>	<b>3.966</b>	<b>3.459</b>	<b>385</b>	<b>9,7</b>	<b>0,97</b>

N.B.: Out of 62 directors of enterprises, 19 originate from Gisenyi, 15 from Ruhengeri, 8 from Byumba, 6 from Kigali, 6 from Gikongoro, 4 from Gitarama and Butare, none from Cyangugu, Kibungo and Kibuye!

And to think that it is a policy of regional equilibrium!

**Table n°21: Number of central administration personnel based on ethnic group in some ministries**

MINISTRY	TOTAL	%	BAHUTU	%	BATUTSI	%
MINISANTE	2091	32,9	1690	80,9	400	19,1
MINIFIN	462	7,6	374	81	88	19
MINICOM	102	1,6	84	82,4	18	17,6
MINITANSCO	520	8,6	430	82,7	90	17,3
MINAGRI	1265	20,9	1074	85	190	15
MINIJUST	172	2,8	143	83,2	29	16,8
MINIFOP	216	3,5	187	80,6	29	13,4
MININTER	712	11,6	633	89,1	78	10,9
MINITRAPEE	360	5,9	315	87,8	44	12,2
MINIPLAN	149	2,4	116	80,6	29	19,4

**Source :** UWIZEYIMANA, L., « La politique de l'équilibre ethnique et régional dans l'emploi », in Les relations interethniques au Rwanda à la lumière de l'agression d'octobre 1990. Genèse, soubassements et perspectives, EUR, Ruhengeri, 1991, p.316.

**Table n°22: Job seekers per ethnic group in 1989**

Ethnic	No.	%
Bahutu	4.240	80,3
Batutsi	1.022	19,3
Batwa	13	0,3
Nationalized	4	0,1
<b>Total</b>	<b>5.279</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source :** UWIZEYIMANA, L., « La politique de l'équilibre ethnique et régional dans l'emploi », in Les relations interethniques au Rwanda à la lumière de l'agression d'octobre 1990. Genèse, soubassements et perspectives, EUR, Ruhengeri, 1991, p.

**Table 23: Workers in the 12 most important government organizations**

<b>MINISTRIES</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>BAHUTU</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>BATUTSI</b>	<b>%</b>
BGM	209	3,8	156	74,4	53	25,3
OPROVIA	354	6,6	313	88,5	41	11,5
MAGERWA	471	8,8	433	92,1	38	7,9
BNR	550	10,2	496	90,2	54	9,8
DRB	278	5,1	264	95	14	5
OCIR/Thé Shagasha	341	6,3	244	71,6	97	28,4
ONATRACOM	645	11,9	566	87,7	79	12,3
Projet Crête Zaïre Nil	258	4,7	216	83,7	42	16,3
OCIR/Café	662	12,2	627	94,8	35	5,2
SONARWA	303	5,5	272	89,8	31	10,2
ELECTROGAZ	1064	19,7	815	76,6	249	23,4
ONAPO	252	4,7	245	97,3	7	2,7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5.387</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>4646</b>	<b>86,3</b>	<b>740</b>	<b>13,7</b>

Source : UWIZEYIMANA, L., « La politique de l'équilibre ethnique et régional dans l'emploi », in Les relations interethniques au Rwanda à la lumière de l'agression d'octobre 1990. Genèse, soubassements et perspectives, EUR, Ruhengeri, 1991, p.319.

**Table 24: Government institutions and directors' province of origin**

<b>INSTITUTION</b>	<b>DIRECTOR</b>	<b>REGION</b>
Crête-Zaïre Nil	Gallican Hategeka	<i>Gisenyi</i>
BCR	Claver Mvuyekure	Gisenyi
BK	Viateur Mvuyekure	Gisenyi
BACAAR	Pasteur Musabe	Gisenyi
SOPROTEL	Martin Ayirwanda	Gisenyi
TRAFIPRO	Ngororabanga	Gisenyi
PNAP	Pierre Tegera	Gisenyi
Chambre de Commerce	Aloys Bizimana	Gisenyi
ISAAR	Léopold Gahamanyi	Gisenyi
Caisse Hypothécaire	Antoine Libanje (replaced Segasayo)	Gisenyi
Musée national	Simon Ntigashira	Gisenyi
OCIR-Thé	Michel Bagaragaza	Gisenyi
ORTPN	Juvénal Uwilingiyimana	Gisenyi
COOPIMAR	Jean Mburanumwe	Gisenyi
GBK	Jean Bagiramenshi	Gisenyi
SORWAL	Mathieu Ngirira	Gisenyi

Usine à Thé Shagasha	Callixt	Gisenyi
Usine à The Pfunda	Munyeshuri	Gisenyi
Usine à Thé Murindi	Jaribu	Gisenyi
Les institutions internationales comme CEPGL, OBK, IRAZ, EGL, CEEAC et les ambassades ne sont pas incluses		
Caisse sociale	J.Damascène Hategekimana	<i>Ruhengeri</i>
Electrogaz	Donat Munyanganizi	Ruhengeri
Ocir-Café	Fabien Neretse	Ruhengeri
BNR	Denis Ntirugirimbabazi	Ruhengeri
Rwandex	Baragaahoranye	Ruhengeri
ONAPO	Gaudence Nyirasafari	Ruhengeri
ORINFOR	Ferdinand Nahimana	Ruhengeri
CID	Daniel Rwananiye	Ruhengeri
Laiterie du Rwanda	Callixte Mirasano	Ruhengeri
RAR	Lt Colonel Nyirmanzi	Ruhengeri
Redemi	J.B. Bicamumpaka	Ruhengeri
Sodeparal	Michel Bakuzakundi	Ruhengeri
Cimerwa	Callixte	Ruhengeri
Ocir-Thé de Rubaya	Juvénal Ndabarinze	Ruhengeri

Ocir-Thé Nshili	Stany Niyibizi	Ruhengeri
Opyrwa	Bizimana	Byumba
DRB	Laurien Ngirabanzi	<i>Byumba</i>
Somitrap	Laurent Hitimana	<i>Byumba</i>
Bunep	Augustin Ruzindana	Byumba
Soproniz	Elie Nyirimbi	Byumba
Ocir-Thé Gisovu	Alfred Musema	Byumba
Imprisco	Stany Siniyibagiwe	Byumba
Croix-Rouge	Claudien Kamirindi	Byumba
Sucrerie	Kagaba	<i>Kigali</i>
Sonarwa	Ngirumpatse	Kigali
Petrorwanda	Désiré Murenzi	Kigali
Magerwa	Claudien Kanyarwanda	Kigali
CER	Juvénal Ndisanze	Kigali
Maiserie de Mukamira	Dirimasi	Kigali
Onatrocom	Kabogoza	Gitarama
Ovapam	Nsengiyaremye	Gitarama
IRST	Gasengayire	Gitarama
DPF	Musengarurema	Gitarama

Oprovia	Butare	Butare
BRD	Maharangari	Butare
UNR	Ntahobari	Butare
DGB	Gasarabwe	Butare
INR	Munyangoga	Gikongoro
OVIBAR	Munyangendo	Gikongoro
Tabarwanda	Mucumankiko	Gikongoro
PASP UGZ III	Nzamurambaho	Gikongoro
Ocir-Thé Shagasha	Mubiligi	Gikongoro
<i>Air Rwanda</i>	<i>Karangwa</i>	Gikongoro

*Source:* "Kwiyuburura kwa MRND kujyane no kwicuza", in kinyamateka, May 1991, n°1334.

## N.B

.

Out of 62 Directors of enterprises, 19 came from Gisenyi, 15 from Ruhengeri, 8 from Byumba, 6 from Kigali, 6 from Gikongoro, 4 from Gitarama and Butare ; none of directors came from Cyangugu, Kibungo and Kibuye !

And to think that this was a policy of regional equilibrium !

## **Ethnic segregation in the media: Kangura Newspaper**

### **Text**

#### **1:**

“... Hutu, be united like Tutsi who are one... don’t you believe that it is when Hutu unite that they will be able to fight the Tutsi. But if we are divided, we will continue being instruments in the hands of Tutsi who will make us turn in one direction at their will until monarchy is restored”.

**Source :** BARANYERETSE, M., « De la franchise de Kangura », in *Kangura*, n°21, Août 1991, pp.6-7.

### **Text**

#### **2:**

“TO ALL HUTU OF THE WORLD”

“Discover again our ethnic group because Tutsi have taught you to forget it. You belong to an important ethnic Bantu group whose number is more than 15,000,000 inhabitants in Central and Southern Africa (...)

The Tutsi who plan the eradication of the ethnic group have a “français-comonique” code, which allows them to recognize each other. Before becoming Belgian, the Flemish is Flemish and Walloon is Walloon. The nation is more important than ethnic groups but it is made of them. The nation is artificial but the ethnic group is natural...”

Source: Kangura, 1992

### **Text**

#### **3:**

“Every Hutu should consider another Hutu as a brother. He should know that if tomorrow one of the volcanoes erupted, Hutu from Rukiga would be brought to stay in Nduga and will become Munyanduga to that effect. He should know that if there is famine in Nduga, a Hutu from Nduga will become a Mukiga. No matter what he does, a Hutu cannot become a Tutsi and conversely...”

**Source :** HATEGEKIMANA , J.B., « L’espérance des Bahutu est dans l’unité  
250

des régions », in Kangura, n°13, Avril 1991, p.12.

## **Text**

### **4:**

Since MRND has liberated Hutu from the claims of Feudalism, Tutsi are ashamed when they are called Tutsi because they have failed. They have turned their back to the truth, they have ground their teeth and sworn that they will be called Tutsi again only when King Kigeli V return to Rwanda. They have changed their ethnic identity they call themselves Hutu on identity cards because they fear the truth. This means that the first leaders of PARMEHUTU did not respect the truth because they allowed Tutsi to change their ethnic group yet the truth imposes to each person to accept his/her ethnic group even if the latter is not in power. These authorities have encouraged liars because either Tutsi gave to them cows or a girl to marry. Others were allowed to be called Hutu simply because they were to increase the number of PARMEHUTU members. Under the second republic, lying became a law, even if it was not voted by members of parliament, and I am asking myself a question on this. Our M.Ps. always repeat that we are in a country where there is respect of law. But isn't it the violation of law when one changes his/her ethnic group? But how many have been punished for that action?

A state which does not punish people who dare to confirm that black is white, is it itself in the right ?

On cannot understand that a Tutsi presents himself for legislative elections changing himself into Hutu and becomes Minister for Public Service, thanks to this lie. In the context of ethnic equilibrium, which we in the right mind support so long it is effectively implemented, doesn't he take the place of Hutu in order to use it with his brothers Tutsi, in the fight for the restoration of monarchy and Tutsi identity? MRND party which accepts to write his name on the lists of elections in Rwanda, with confirmation that he is Hutu when he is a Tutsi, can we say that it respects the law? I hope that in the process of reform, the question of supporting its members' lies will also be considered.

Listen to me carefully, I don't say that a Tutsi should be marginalized because he/she is a Tutsi, but he/she should have the place that she/he deserves but not stealing that of a Hutu or that of a Twa while keeping his/her own for his/her brother. You, Tutsi who made yourself a Hutu, listen to me carefully, it is no use to hide your ethnic group, and the current regime loves Tutsi as if they poisoned it..."

**Source :** *Kangura*, n°17, Avril 1991 ; « La vérité et le fondement de la démocratie ».

## **Text**

### **5**

In our program, the expression “rubanda nyamwinshi” is repeated very often. This is surprising! In Rwanda, the terms such as “rubanda nyamwinshi” and also “imbaga nyamwinshi” mean Hutu. How have we decided to defend the interest of Hutu? Have Tutsi became “rubandanyamwinshi” without our knowledge? But this is not possible. The last population census showed that the Rwanda population approximated to 7,000,000, 90% of them were Hutu. Things did not change. Tutsi who live in foreign countries are not more than 1,000,000. Is it “rubanda nyamwinshi” which have called for help? Since when we, Hutu, would we need you, to liberate us, if we really need to be liberated?

**Source :** BARAHINYURA, J. « Je voudrais poser quelques questions aux Batutsi », in  
*Kangura*,  
n°33, Mars 1992, p.12.

## **Text**

### **6**

“Since the 1959 revolution, efforts have been made here and there in order to secure the interests of the Hutu majority although they are still neglected. Of course when different fields are analyzed, you find that the members of the majority were allocated key posts. But if you look into other areas, the ethnic quota surely provides alarming information.... the Tutsi minority puts at risk the ethnic and regional quota system. People of mixed races present another aspect of the problem. This is known as something that shadows the local structures. Besides, those who falsify their identity cards are many already since 1959. There are a variety of examples. Suppose that statistics at all levels of education, for secondary and tertiary are precisely and strictly counted, unfortunately everyone will be surprised to see Tutsi in all fields. One may ask if the ethnic and regional quota system was a simple slogan or a mere issue. At the National University of Rwanda, more precisely in the Faculty of Law, there are facts which speak for themselves; there is no need of insisting. In higher institutions, only those who live there know the actual situation. Ethnic proportions are unbalanced and they are alarming. In public and private businesses, the power is in their hands. The minority has managed to seduce the Rwandan society and the latter seems to have been, since long ago, infiltrated by it. Certain activities are particular to the Tutsi ethnic group, these are among others the Rwandan clergy, etc. The members of the ethnic group always stick together wherever they are. They are faithful companions on the road forming networks to take over power.”

Source : *Kangura-Magazinie*, n°10, Mai 1992., pp.3-4, « Rwanda. Pourquoi l’union de la majorité doit-elle provoquer des insomnies ? ».

## **Text N° 7: 10 Commandments of Hutu Extremists**

1. Every Hutu should know that umuTutsikazi wherever she is works to the benefit for her ethnic Tutsi group. Consequently, any muHutu is a traitor:
  - Who marries a muTutsikazi
  - Who has a muTutsikazi girlfriend
  - Who has a muTutsikazi secretary or girlfriend.
2. Every Hutu should know that our girls Bahutukazi have more dignity and consciousness in their roles as women, wives and mothers. Aren't they pretty, good secretaries and more honest?
3. Bahutukazi be cautious and bring back your husbands, your brothers and your sons back home.
4. Every Hutu should be aware that every muTutsi is dishonest in business. He only targets his ethnic group's supremacy.

### RIZABARA UWARIRAYE!

Consequently is a traitor every Hutu:

- Who has connections with Batutsi in his business;
  - Who invests his money or government's money in an enterprise of a Mututsi;
  - Who borrows or lends money to a Mututsi;
  - Who gives favors to Batutsi in business (giving license for import, bank loans, land for construction, government market, ...)
5. Strategic posts like political, administrative, military and security ones must be confined to Bahutu;
  6. The education sector (pupils, students and teachers) must be majority Hutu.
  7. The Rwandan army must be exclusively Hutu. The experience from the beginning of the war in October 1990 has taught us a lesson. No army personnel is allowed to marry a Mututsikazi.
  8. Hutu should stop feeling sorry for Batutsi.
  9. Hutu wherever they are should be united, show solidarity and cautiousness about the fate of their Bahutu brothers. Hutu living inside and outside Rwanda must look constantly for friends and allies for the Hutu cause, starting with the Bantu brothers.
    - They should constantly halt Tutsi propaganda.
    - Hutus should be firm and watchful against their common Mututsi.
  10. The social revolution of 1959, 1961-referendum and Hutu ideology must be taught to every Hutu and at all levels.

All Hutu must circulate widely this ideology. Any Hutu who will persecute his fellow Hutu brother because he has read, circulated and taught this ideology, will be a traitor".  
(Kangura, December 1990)

**Source :** LUGAN, B., *Histoire du Rwanda*, Vitry, Bartillat, 1997, pp.482-83

**Table n° 25 : Extremist Newspapers**

Name	1 <sup>st</sup> Edition	Actual Periodicity	Director	Political tendency
IJAMBO	January 1991	Unknown	?	Branch of RPF
IMBAGA	March 1991	Monthly	ASBL Imbaga	Moderate Pro-Hutu
LA Victoire TURATSINZE	April 1991	Monthly	Ministre Défense	Journal of Rwandan Army Forces
DUSINA SANE IMITIMA TUDAHUSHUN	April 1991	Short-lived	H.B. Habyarimana	Hutu Power
ECHO DES MILLE COLLINES	June 1991	Monthly	T. Kabonabake	Hutu extremism
LA MEDAILLE NYIRAMACIBIRI	July 1991	Monthly	F. Rwabutogo L. Musekuru Kwitonda	Hutu extremism
JYAMBERE	August 1991	Monthly-short-lived	T. Hahozayezu	Hutu extremism
KANGURA INT.	October 1991	Monthly	Mensuelle Issa Nyabyenda	Hutu extremism
INTERAHAMWE	Jan. 92 to Sept. 93	Bi-monthly Short-lived	R. Kajuga Tatien hahozayezu	Hutu extremism
IKINANI	June 1992	One censured edition	P. Simbikangwa	Hutu extremism
VERITES D'AFRIQUE IMPAMO	August 1992	Bi-monthly	Epa Habimana	Tendency « Power » of MDR Party
PAIX ET DEMOCRATIE	April 1993	Irregular	E. Gapyisi	Moderate then « Power »
LE COURRIER DU PEUPLE	1993	Short-lived	?	MRD « Hutu Power »
POWER-PAWA	Nov. 1993	Monthly	Froduald Karamira	Extremism of « Hutu Power »
INTERA	Dec. 1989	Bi-monthly	S. Rwabukumba A. Nkurunziza	Hutu extremism
UMURANGA MAGAZINE	January 1990	Monthly or bi-monthly	Félicien Semusambi	Independent and then Hutu power
KANGURA	May 1990	Monthly	Hassan Ngeze	Extremist
IJAMBO	August 1990	Monthly or bi-monthly	François Xavier Hangimana	Moderate then « Hutu power »
IJISHO RYA RUBANDA	Dec. 1990	Irregular	T.N. Mbarute	Libertarian then « Hutu Power »

**Source :** CHRETIEN, J-P. et alii, Rwanda. Les médias du génocide, Paris, Karthala, 1995.

## **Oral sources (Interviews)**

1. Kayitesi Beltilde, born July 1964 at Nyaruguru in Gikongoro province, finished primary 6 in 1979 with 47% and repeated her class. During that year, from 6 primary schools (Ruramba, Gorwe, Rwamiko, Giseke, Rubona and Ngado, only 14 pupils were admitted to secondary schools among these 12 were Hutu and 2 Tutsi. In 1980, when Kayitesi B. finished primary 6, no Tutsi was admitted to secondary education that is why she went to study in Zaire. She passed National Examinations with 51%, but she was denied University studies at the National University of Rwanda (NUR). She needed the equivalent of her certificate while her Hutu colleagues who finished in Zaire with 50% were admitted at the NUR. This is why she started working first as a teacher and later on as assistant mayor; she never did her University studies.
2. X. was born in 1973 at Nyakizu in Butare province. She finished primary 6 in 1987 at Cyahinda, Nyakizu educational sector. She got 82%. Since she could not be admitted to a government school for secondary education, she joined a private school self sponsored. At the end of secondary, she got 70,7% in 1993. Because of the above-mentioned system, she could not enroll at NUR. It is for this reason that she was employed as social assistant in private secondary school. She is currently pursuing university studies at the NUR, third year.
3. BAKUNDUKIZE Redempta: "I was born 11<sup>th</sup> march 1970, in MARABA district, Butare province. I did primary education at Maraba 1977/1978 to 1985/1986, and I was always first in my class. Despite that when we did national examination in order to join secondary education, 5 pupils who were always behind me in class passed and I was mysteriously failed. On the lists, there were only names without marks because of the bad system of ethnic and regional disequilibrium, which was practiced in schools. I repeated primary 8 and when I sat for national exams for the second time, I was sent to "ecole normale primaire de SHANGI", in Cyangugu province. I did 6 years 1986/1987 to 1991/1992. I graduated with satisfaction (65%). After secondary education I wrote an application letter requesting for access to NUR, my letter was filed, I never got a reply. I became a teacher. After the genocide of 1994, I did not manage to continue my studies; I had to ensure my survival and that of my family's orphans as well. I found the answer through evening studies. I have finished "Bac II" in Sociology."

## **Partial Bibliography I**

1. MUGESERA, A. Imibereho y'Abatutsi kuri Repubulika ya mbere n'ya kabiri (1959-1990). Ed. rwandaises, Kigali, 2004, p. 309
2. MUNYANTWALI, E., « La politique d'équilibre ethnique dans l'enseignement ». Les relations interethniques au Rwanda à la lumière de l'agression d'Octobre 1990. Genèse, soubassements et perspectives, E.U.R., Ruhengeri, 1991.
3. Ministère de l'Enseignement Primaire et Secondaire, Des disparités ethniques et régionales dans l'enseignement secondaire rwandais : des années 1960 à 1980, Kigali, Février 1986.
4. Le coopérateur-Trafipro, Nov-Déc. 1988.
5. UWIZEYIMANA, L., « La politique d'équilibre ethnique et régional dans l'emploi », in Les relations interethniques au Rwanda à la lumière de l'agression d'octobre 1990. Genèse, soubassements et perspectives, E.U.R., Ruhengeri, 1991.
6. République Rwandaise, Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieure et de la Recherche Scientifique, Direction Etudes et Evaluation, Annuaire Statistique de l'Enseignement Supérieur au Rwanda, 1986-1987, Kigali, Mars 1989 , p.49
7. République Rwandaise, MESRS, Annuaire, 1983-1984, Kigali, Novembre 1985.
8. République Rwandaise, MESRS, Annuaire, 1984-1985, Kigali, Avril 1987.
9. République Rwandaise, MESRS, Annuaire, 1985-1986, Kigali, Août 1988.
10. République Rwandaise, MESRS, Annuaire, 1986-1987, Kigali, Mars 1989
11. "Kwiyuburura kwa MRND kujyane no kwicuza", in Kinyamateka, May 1991 n° 133

## **Language Policy in the 1990s and Beyond**

### **Introduction**

Language policy simply means that a given society or community (usually in a state or nation context) chooses certain languages to be used and decides upon the roles those languages are going to play in the development of that society or community. In most language policy contexts, there is a lot of politics involved, so language policy occupies a crucial position in the lives of the people in question. It has the potential to either avert conflict or lead to it. This is because the language people use for certain functions affects their livelihood in a very big way. Consider language use as a medium of communication in schools or at work. If you don't know a language that plays such a role you would most likely have no access to both education and employment, or your life would be miserable. Also, if a language of a certain people (say, a majority or a minority in a country) is imposed on the people who are not native speakers of that language, it may be seen as oppressive domination by the native speakers of the language, and this may lead to conflict.

This mini-theme is part of the larger theme about government policies in the period 1990s and beyond, and it aims at empowering secondary school students to explore and critically the policies about language use in Rwanda during the period under review.

The teaching and learning methodology on which these materials are based is *active learning* or *learning by doing*, and sources of the materials include written documents such as textbooks and archival resources, as well as oral sources such as interviews.

Some key questions that would stimulate the discussion of more specific questions may be as follows:

What has been the language policy like in Rwanda from the 1990s to the present?

1. Which factors have influenced the language policies of the 1990s and beyond?
2. What would have happened in the society if the language policy was not the way it has been since the 1990s?
3. What is the link or relationship between language policy and language education (formal, informal and non-formal)?
4. What does it mean to be 'bilingual' in the Rwandan context, and what place does this 'bilingualism' have in the lives of Rwandans?

5. How is the language policy in Rwanda being implemented, and how does this affect members of the society?
  
6. Who have been the key players in the formulation and implementation of language policy? (This would potentially raise the issue of stake holder involvement level in decision making, hence popular or unpopular endorsement of the policy).

## **Content**

### **Activity 1: Definition of key concepts and terms**

It is advisable that the teacher does some research in dictionaries and other relevant sources to find out the meanings of the words in the list below (see box) before he comes to class.

Once in class, the teacher asks students to brainstorm about and discuss in small groups the meanings of these words. Thereafter, in a plenary session, let the whole class try to define those words.

<b>Policy</b>	<b>Language education policy</b>
Language policy	Medium of instruction
Language implementation policy	School or curriculum subject
Bilingualism	Core subject
Examinable subject	Mainstream subject

### **Other Activities:**

Read the following materials and exploit them for classroom tasks/activities and homework.

## **A brief history of language policy in Rwanda**

### ***Up to 1994***

Languages are normally dynamic in the sense that they evolve and change in the history of the society. Language policy in Africa has to a large extent been influenced by its colonial history. In Rwanda language policy can be traced back to the advent of colonial administration when such a policy was clearly documented and institutionalized.

Kinyarwanda was maintained as the national language of Rwandan people, but in time French was adopted as a Second Language. To be able to effectively develop French, the language was institutionalized in the education system both as a curriculum subject and medium of instruction (Bourgeois 1991). It was also legislated as an official language to be used in public institutions, the place of work, the media, etc. Educational reforms of the mid-1980s emphasized the teaching of French to develop it further.

### ***After 1994***

The fall of the Second Republic regime ushered in the transitional Government of National Unity and Reconciliation, which sought to implement at least some parts of the earlier signed Arusha Peace Accord. One of the issues the protocol had provided for was a new language policy in Rwanda that would strategically avoid the marginalization of Rwandans who would return from exile in English-speaking countries. The main logic behind this strategy was not that Rwandans needed these foreign languages to be able to communicate. Rather, by the dictates of the linguistic situation left behind as a colonial legacy, French was the official language mostly used in schools, places of work, the media, etc. Therefore, not knowing French on the part of the so-called Anglophone Rwandan returnees meant marginalization in terms of access especially to education and employment. To forestall this phenomenon, the Government legislated English as another Second Language besides French (1995/96). That is, it was going to play the roles of: (i) official language in government institutions and the workplace (ii) core curriculum subject in primary and secondary schools (iii) medium of instruction from Standard 4 of primary school to tertiary level and (iv) language of the media. Rwandans who know only one of the two foreign languages (French and English) are now finding themselves at a disadvantage in the education system and employment. So they have to learn the other language. This phenomenon has come to be popularly known in Rwanda as ‘bilingualism’ or ‘being bilingual’. The related phenomenon of using French and English side by side as media of instruction and as means of social communication and interaction in educational institutions is known as ‘bilingual education’. However, sometimes Rwandans contend that true bilingualism in education, in government institutions, at the workplace and so forth, should include Kinyarwanda.

Today it is mandatory to know both foreign languages on entering Higher Education. The criterion of bilingual competence is also increasingly becoming critical in recruitment for employment both in the public and private sectors.

One of the ways the bilingual policy is being implemented is the increased teaching and learning especially of English, since probably over 80% of literate Rwandans have a French speaking background. But French courses are also offered to Rwandans with an English speaking background. All primary and secondary schools are running French and English language programs on equal footing, and at tertiary level, both in public and private institutions, language support programs are offered. Furthermore, there has been a proliferation of private language schools that are open to the general public, and the media (e.g. newspapers, TV, radio, cinema, the Internet, etc) in both French and English is active in the country.

**Source:** Muhirwe 2003:1-2

### **Educational Reforms in the late 1980s**

#### *Recommendation from the National University of Rwanda (1988)*

The National University of Rwanda recommended that Kinyarwanda be used as a medium of instruction, and French be taught as a curriculum subject as from standard 3 in primary schools.

(Translated from Kinyarwanda; source: MRND [1991:12])

#### *Recommendations from the Political Commission of the Revolutionary Movement for National Development [MRND] (1988)*

The Political Commission of the RMND recommended that Kinyarwanda be used as a medium of instruction during the primary cycle, and French be taught as a curriculum subject from standard 3 in primary schools.

(Translated from Kinyarwanda; source: MRND [1991:13])

***Recommendations from the Ministry of Planning (1989)***

Experts from the Ministry of Planning recommended (in the meeting of 1989) that French be taught as a curriculum subject from standard 1 of primary schools, and that some school subjects be taught using French as a medium of instruction.

(Translated from Kinyarwanda; source: MRND [1991:17])

***Recommendations from the Expertise Commission of the Revolutionary Movement for National Development [MRND] (1989)***

The Expertise Commission of the Revolutionary Movement for National Development (RMND) supported the idea of maintaining Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction in the primary cycle. The goal of using Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction in the secondary cycle should be promoted, but while this goal has not been achieved some school subjects such as geography, history, religious education, civics/civic education, etc, may be taught using Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction from the first year (form 1) of the secondary cycle.

(Translated from Kinyarwanda; source: MRND [1991:18])

***Recommendations from the Provincial/Prefectural Congresses of the Revolutionary Movement for National Development [MRND] (1990)***

The Executive Committee of the ruling party, MRND/RMND, sent its delegates to all the MRDN Prefectural Congresses all over the country in April 1990 so that the delegated could present to the congresses the issue of educational reform in Rwanda...

The Prefectural Congresses supported the idea that students entering the secondary cycle should be proficient in French enough to use it as a medium of learning at that level and beyond. Therefore, it is desirable that French be taught as a school subject as from the third year (standard 1) of the primary cycle, and be used as a medium of instruction in some school subjects from standard 5.

The congresses unanimously supported the idea of using Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction in the entire primary cycle and as a curriculum subject in both secondary and higher education...

Besides Kinyarwanda and French, the congresses unanimously recommended that English and Kiswahili be taught in all secondary schools in such a way that students graduating from this cycle will speak and write both languages fluently. Regarding using Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction at secondary level, the congresses demonstrated that implementing such a policy required prior thorough research leading

to the creation of technical Kinyarwanda that was needed (e.g. in writing essential course books and other textbooks) in the various domains at that level. Also, a big percentage of teachers at that level needed special training to prepare them to teach using Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction.

(Translated from Kinyarwanda; source: MRND [1991:20-22])

***Recommendations from the Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Movement for National Development [MRND] (1991)***

**Promotion of language and culture**

The thought that using Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction reduces learning/teaching efficiency or effectiveness must be dismissed. Experience has shown that pupils learn better when they learn using a language like mother tongue which they understand well...

In order to promote the status of Kinyarwanda as a national language, it demands that the language be taught as a curriculum subject and be used as a medium of instruction at all levels of education that constitute the Rwandan system of education. Nevertheless, we should not overlook the current difficulties of implementing such a language policy or language education policy. The principal difficulties are: limited research about how the policy could be smoothly implemented; lack of teaching/learning materials like textbooks written in Kinyarwanda; and inability by many teachers to teach the various technical domains in Kinyarwanda especially at secondary and higher levels of education.

Besides, promoting Kinyarwanda as a national language as well as the Rwandan culture should not preclude the need for Rwandans to know and use foreign languages such as French, English and Kiswahili with a view to communicating with the external world and accessing non-indigenous knowledge and information.

Furthermore, promoting national language and culture should not be the concern of the Ministry of Education exclusively. It is also the business of other levels and structures in the country like government institutions and other various places of work, and it is high time the Government streamlined how Kinyarwanda and French are to be used in those places of work and human interaction...

## **The teaching of Languages at Primary School Level**

With a view to efficiently supporting teaching and learning, it is ideal that Kinyarwanda be used a medium of instruction in all curriculum subjects except French. However, considering that curriculum subjects at secondary level are still taught in French, pupils in primary schools need to be sufficiently taught French as a curriculum, and if need be, to be trained in learning some curriculum subjects using French as a medium, particularly in standards 5 and 6, so that pupils entering the secondary cycle are able to use French as medium of learning.

## **The teaching of Languages in Post-Primary Vocational Institutions**

It is a fact that French is taught in post-primary vocational institutions. Due to the fact that there is popular demand that English and Kiswahili as well be taught in these institutions, the Executive Committee thinks that these languages be taught in the institutions wherever it is possible; where it is not possible, students should learn the languages in other educational institutions [e.g. language schools] as well as at work.

## **The teaching of Languages at Secondary School Level**

Regarding the use of Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction at secondary level, efforts to achieve that goal should be stepped up by increasing research into how that can be done – particularly creation of technical Kinyarwanda in the writing of teaching materials like course books and other textbooks, as well as training teachers to use Kinyarwanda in their lessons. In the meantime, the secondary school syllabuses currently being taught in Kinyarwanda should continue pending the results of the research solicited above...

As recommended by the Prefectural Congresses, the MRND Executive Committee supports the idea that English and Kiswahili be taught in all secondary schools in the country. The Committee favors the teaching of these languages for academic and other specific purposes within different academic and professional orientations.

(Translated from Kinyarwanda; source: MRND [1991:28-35])

***Decisions of the MRND Executive Committee regarding Reform in Language Education (1991)***

**Reform in Primary Language Education**

**Decision No. 6**

The MRND Executive Committee has decided that French will be taught from the third year of primary school (standard 3), but gradually French should be taught from standard 1. Considering that most curriculum subjects at secondary level are taught in French, it is necessary that pupils entering secondary education be fluent in French in order for them to be able to follow their lessons in through French as a medium of instruction. Therefore, French ought to be used as a medium of instruction in some curriculum subject during the last two years of primary school (i.e. standard 5 and standard 6).

(Translated from Kinyarwanda; source: MRND [1991:46])

**Reform in Post-Primary Vocational Language Education**

**Decision No.  
10**

The MRND Executive Committee has decided that in post-secondary vocational training schools Kinyarwanda will be used as a medium of instruction in all curriculum subjects, except French. The Committee urges the Government to look into ways and means of French for Specific Purposes (i.e. technical French corresponding with the respective vocational orientation) can be taught in those institutions. Also, the French language curriculum in those institutions should be updated in order to enable trainees to be fluent in French and to use the language as a medium of learning whenever necessary.

**Decision No.  
11**

The MRND Committee supports the idea that English and Kiswahili be taught in post-secondary vocational training institutions, but it should be noted that there are difficulties in getting relevant teachers and materials to run these language programs. The Committee urges the Government to update the language education program in these institutions in order to integrate English and Kiswahili wherever it is possible. But in institutions where it is difficult to teach English and Kiswahili students should make their own arrangements to learn them in other institutions [e.g. language schools] and at the place of work.

(Translated from Kinyarwanda; source: MRND [1991:47-48])

## Reform in Secondary Language Education

### **Decision No. 17**

The MRND Executive Committee urges the Government to streamline the plans for using Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction at secondary and even higher education levels. The policy should be based on sound research, with a view to being able to use Kinyarwanda as a medium of instruction in all curriculum subjects, writing teaching/learning materials like textbooks in Kinyarwanda, training mainstream teachers in teaching their disciplines in Kinyarwanda, as well as using both Kinyarwanda and French as media of communication in government institutions and at the place of work. The curriculum subjects currently being taught in Kinyarwanda may continue being taught so.

### **Decision No. 18**

It has been noted that some students in secondary schools fail because they have limited knowledge and skills in French which is used as a medium of instruction in most of their mainstream subjects. The MRND Executive Committee is urging that ways and means be found so that teachers in secondary schools, especially those teaching in the first two years of the secondary cycle, can support their pupils with French for Specific Purposes [i.e. technical French with domain specific orientation].

### **Decision No. 19**

Considering that we are now in the age of globalization and international cooperation/collaboration, it is necessary to learn more foreign languages. Therefore, the MRND Executive Committee calls for the teaching of both English and Kiswahili in all secondary schools in the country.

(Translated from Kinyarwanda; source: MRND [1991:49])

## **Political and Policy Changes after the 1994 Genocide**

### **General Educational Policy**

Neglect of education by the colonial and post-colonial administrations has left Rwanda with one of the lowest skilled populations in the sub-region. In addition to this, an ethnic quota system for entry into schools and the university existed, making access to education limited for [some] sections of the population.

On entering office, the government of national unity immediately instituted meritocracy in the education system and put measures in place to address the country's manpower incapacity...

The Government of National Unity aims to create a highly skilled and productive workforce that will drive Rwanda towards industrialization and development in the years to come.

**Source:** <http://www.gov.rw>, accessed  
24/09/2004

**Situational analysis in Rwanda of the period between the 1980's up to 1994 by European researchers:**

1. Pierre Erny, Rwanda 1994, l'harmattan, Paris, 1994

A. Inside the country:

**People are unhappy**

“A kind of wild racketing had developed among the best leaders. The population had noticed with unhappiness how land had been misappropriated by those privileged by the region and the formation of big pastoral fields comparable to those of rich Tutsi in old days. There was a general collapse of prices causing a 40% reduction of government resources and established regionalism in the opposite direction of that of KAYIBANDA. Shocking social disparities had appeared and showed openly. Succession of torrential rains and drought brought again in some regions...famine”.

**Dissension between Hutu from the north and those from the south**

“September 1990, four newsmen of former KINYAMATEKA whose director was Father SIBOMANA, had been highly charged because they tried to discredit the authorities by denouncing a certain number of cases of injustice, misappropriation of funds, human rights irregularities and violation.

With numbers to support this, the authors had demonstrated that Rwandans from the north were clearly favored concerning access to secondary and higher education and posts in government institutions as well...

During interrogations, the person in charge of security had intimidated Father SIBOMANA Saying:

“Do you forget that you come from GITARAMA and that people from that province are enemy number one of the second republic? If you continue to disturb this government's meetings by your writings, we will inflict you the same fate (death) as we did to the authorities of the first republic. We have all material and technical means to do it.” (Dialogue 143).

## **The deterioration of human rights and security conditions as well**

“Hutu personalities were targeted the same way as Tutsi. Arbitrary arrests and imprisonment were carried out in big numbers for contacts with external opponents or articles in the media which accused government of corruption, violence by police or discrimination (more than 8,000 cases were made official between October 1990 and February 1991, without counting others); newsmen were hunted, suspicious trials were made; torture was done frequently.

Political assassinations were committed in big numbers... the army began intimidation openly...

## **Genocide tried**

To make it worse, while nothing predicted the deterioration of relations between Tutsi and Hutu and high tensions, troubles and ethnic confrontations, very serious ones erupted:

- At Kibirira, in the North-west, in October 1990
- In the region occupied by Bagogwe, a sub group of pastoral Batutsi in the north, with no doubt one thousand victims in January 1991, at Kanzenze, near Kigali in October 1991
- In march 1992 in Bugesera, at Nyamata and Ruhuha
- At Kibuye.

... Five hundred machine guns were distributed to district authorities, and groups of killers called “escadrons de la mort” were running all over the country looking for Tutsi, stealing cattle, destroying houses and crops... they were also talking of sinister “réseaux zero”.

## **Outside the country: the question of refugees' return**

“On the side of those in exile, one of the strongest claims made was the inability to go back to their homeland, a legal requirement... Extremist Hutu were opposed to the return of refugees by principle. The government in Kigali had demonstrated its refusal, once again, with no doubt, as it was the case with quotas, they feared overpopulation. They therefore put a lot of emphasis on the point of view which was purely technocratic and was not taking into account human problems and international reactions and opinion, saying that the country was seriously already overpopulated, that there was no more land to give and that it was utopic to plan such a return.

As stated by H. Rossel, this statement and attitude constituted a serious psychological impact because when refugees are refused any possibility to return to their country, they are pushed practically to despair and this created in them the desire of revenge.”

**Claudine Vidal, sociologie des passions Karthala,  
Paris, 1991.**

“Ethnic segregation”

“How, in what conditions, do ethnic divisions become a reason of criminal confrontations”?

“When ethnic speeches talk of “national identities”, they have the modalities of being quite different in accordance with social divisions suitable to national groups.”

“The call for historical images was particularly intensive in Rwanda. These images aimed at explaining the division into diverse groups of ethnic entities with difference based on language, on geographic location, on religion, on traditional culture. But this historical development on ethnicity did not happen on the spot, there is a history which began in the first years of colonization, also very diverse social actors rallied and contributed to the protection in the past of ethnic figures which existed only in the present.

Such retrospectives, which were practiced by Europeans first, were taken over by Rwandans, and were taught, internalized until they formed a set of beliefs, which gave a historical destiny to European forms of social inequality but also made a foundation of privileged access to European life styles. When the first open conflicts erupted in 1959, oppositions turned into total hatred and even ethnic racism.”

**Forged stories, no witness...said J.P. Chrétien and Al. the media of Genocide**

While affirming that Tutsi were preparing the genocide of Hutu, several publications seemed to have followed closely the propaganda tactic of “accusation en miroir”. Many newspapers attributed to Tutsi words that Hutu were finally going to order the call for a Tutsi genocide. This is how in September 1991, “la médaille Nyiramacibiri” claimed that Tutsi wanted to clear Rwanda [...] by throwing Hutu in Nyabarongo, this sentence became famous one year later when Mugesera spoke of throwing Tutsi in the river. Kangura attributed to RPF soldiers who were captured by government troops that they had come to clear Hutu dirt from Rwanda [...]<sup>39</sup>. During genocide, Hutu were talking often of cleaning their communities from Tutsi dirt. In April 1992, Jyambere newspaper accused opposition parties of distributing arms to their younger members, revealing exactly by these “accusations en miroir” what the Habyarimana army was actually doing at that time.<sup>40</sup>

**Bernard Lugan. Histoire du Rwanda, 1997 pp  
516-517**

**Reflection on  
genocide**

“Between 500,000 and 1,000,000 dead for a population of about 8 million before massacres, the Rwandan killings had the form of proper “populicide” when victims were moderate or liberal Hutu, killed for their political thoughts and Genocide when the Tutsi died because of their “ethnic-racial” belonging. These events can be put into the following major categories:

**Political  
assassinations**

The lists of people to be killed, Hutu and Tutsi had been established. It was for Hutu extremists to eliminate in the shortest time possible most of the politicians who belonged to opposition parties.

These were majority Hutu than Tutsi. The militia and presidential guards had lists; it was systematic and not random when they began their campaign of extermination. This operation had been prepared, planned and organized long before. The death of the president was a pretext of its start. It began some hours after his death was announced, as if those who gave the order were waiting for it. As if they had prepared it.

- Massacres of Tutsi began some hours or days after the death of president Habyarimana was announced, but the most important phase of Genocide took place once the political Hutu class was physically eliminated. It was as if those who planned the killings, the elimination of all the Tutsi population of Rwanda, the action “ethnic-racial” fight was of less “urgency” and proprietary than that of Hutu officials from opposition parties. Then when killers started attacking Tutsi, they did it systematically. They did not need lists because all Tutsi were to die. (Chrétien and Al. (1995) pp 160, 1976.

The silent Genocide probably caused more deaths. It took place in rural areas, everywhere, Tutsi were murdered by their neighbors. It was a movement of madness in which thousands of Hutu peasants were involved. In this campaign of Tutsi “eradication”, “genie assassin” of those who started genocide was to involve the whole population in the killing. From now on, Hutu union had been sealed in the shared sacrifice that they had offered to “bantuité”

CHRETIEN and AL. (1995: 255)

A new social pact, a new union had been enhanced by blood and screaming of victims who were dying. People had become mad, with no knowledge nor respect of any moral or religious values. They were fulfilling their genocidal “duty” with obstinate application that these uneducated peasants put in whatever they undertook.

### **The Catholic Church and Genocide**

Before the 1994 Genocide, the catholic clergy was made of 9 archbishops and 6 priests. Among these 250 foreigners (French, Belgians, Canadians, polish, Italians, Spanish, Dutch, etc.)

During Genocide, at least 120 priests were massacred. These were mainly Tutsi. A sixth of the clergy was physically eliminated therefore. Considering the percentage of national priests, it is a third of the clergy which was massacred.

On 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1994, at Kabgayi, the historical place of the Rwandan Catholicism and from where began the inspiration of Hutu revolution of 1959; Tutsi soldiers assassinated three archbishops. Two of these archbishops were closely connected to Habyarimana regime.

Mgr Nsengiyumva was an archbishop ethnically engaged. He was 58 years old, Hutu from the north. His nomination was very political in 1976. For 10 years, 1975-1985, he was a member of MRND central committee. A strong partisan of Habyarimana, he was hated by Tutsis who accused him of having “covered” the massacres of their brothers by his silence.

Mgr Thadée Nsengiyumva, was since 1989 the successor of Mgr Perraudin, as the head of the cathedral of Kabgayi. He was the president of the Episcopal conference of Rwanda. In his pastoral letter of April 1994, he clearly supported president Habyarimana when he was still alive. For Tutsi, the bishop of Kabgayi clearly engaged the Catholic Church in favor of the oppressors”

(LUGAN B., 1997:511)

## **E. Other Important Themes**

1. Economic, social, cultural and political crisis;
2. The refugee problem;
3. The October 1990 attack of RPF;
4. The establishment of the Rwandan government (imprisonment of accomplices “ibyitso” and international community);
5. The formation of opposition parties and the return to multiparty
6. War extension and the problem of displaced people
7. The different negotiations before Arusha agreement (Nsele, Gbadolité)
8. Political instability: the transitional governments;
9. Political tensions, internal insecurity and massacres, preludes to genocide: Bigogwe, Kinigi, Murambi, Bugesera etc.
10. The role of media (newspapers, radio) during violence and call for massacres;
11. The role of the church
12. Arusha accords and negotiations
13. The role of Africa and that of international community in Arusha accords;
14. Blockages of Arusha accords and the role of MINUAR;
15. The crash of the presidential aircraft and the beginning of Genocide;
16. Genocide chronology;

## **F. Lessons**

### **1. Lesson preparation form N°1**

#### **Administrative details**

Name of school : LNDC

Name of teacher : MATABARO Jean Berchmans

Topic : History of Rwanda

**Topic of the day:** Ethnic and regional discrimination in secondary education

Class : Senior One (lower level of secondary education)

Date : 06/06/2005

#### **Objective :**

At the end of this lesson, students will :

- know problems caused by ethnic and regional discrimination in education
- know the current educational policy

<b>Subject development in phases</b>	<b>Duration</b>	<b>The activities of the teacher</b>	<b>The activities of the learner</b>	<b>Accessories : Teaching materials &amp; references</b>
<p><b>Phase 1</b></p> <p><b>A. Introduction</b></p> <p>• The reading of the text “unimaginable injustice”.</p> <p>Questions to enhance the comprehension of the topic of the day.</p>		<p>Who are the characters of this text ?</p> <p>If you were to choose among the characters, whom would you like to be and whom wouldn't you like to be?</p>	<p>The characters are : Nyirahirwa, the father of Nyirahirwa, Mrs. Bantu and Mr. X.</p> <p>I would choose to become Mrs. Bantu because she is fair ; I would not choose to be Mr. X because is unfair.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Chalk</li> <li>- Blackboard</li> <li>- Duster</li> </ul>
<p><b>B. Motivation &amp; Announcing the topic : Phase II</b></p> <p><b>Short recaps :</b> I ask short questions aimed at helping children to understand the situation which prevailed before the genocide.</p>		<p>According to the text, what were the conditions to be admitted in a government school by then?</p> <p>What were the consequences this discrimination?</p> <p>- Which region was disadvantaged and which one was favored? - Why ?</p> <p>- What were the consequences of this favoritism ?</p>	<p>Before the genocide, access to secondary education for children who came from certain regions, did not take into consideration their intellectual capacity.</p> <p>This discrimination had consequences such as :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- intellectual poverty of citizens from disadvantaged regions.</li> <li>- Material poverty (money, assets,...)</li> </ul> <p>The region in the North of the country (Gisenyi &amp; Ruhengeri) was favored because it was the birthplace of highly placed employees in the government.</p> <p>The remaining part of the country was not considered because it did not have strong political figures in the government. The</p>	<p><b>Reference :</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- KINYAMATEKA N° 1538 p.5</li> <li>- KINYAMATEKA N° 1372 p.5</li> <li>- KINYAMATEKA N° 1369 p.5</li> </ul>

			country faced intellectual and material based poverty.	
Phase III: <b><u>Reform initiative</u></b>  I ask questions which help us to deal with the topic.		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Have you heard people talking about the October 1990 war?</li> <li>- Who was it opposing?</li> <li>- What were the causes of that war ?</li> <li>- Who was the president of the Republic at the time ?</li>   <li>- Have you heard people talking about political parties formed in the country?</li> <li>- Which are they?</li> <li>- Why were they formed ?</li>   <li>- What are the consequences of the formation of these parties?</li>   <li>- Who was the Prime Minister of this government and who was the Minister of Education ?</li> </ul>	<p>The October 1990 war was between the RPF and the government of Rwanda. The president was Juvénal Habyarimana. The causes of that war were :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The violation of human rights in the country.</li> <li>- The existence of only one political party in the country.</li> <li>- Rwanda refugees who were not allowed to return to their motherland.</li> </ul> <p>In the country, different parties were formed : MDR, PSD, PL, PCD.. These parties were formed because of pressure from the international community which was put on President Habyarimana.</p> <p>The formation of parties had as a consequence, the establishment of wider government (with several parties).</p> <p>The Prime Minister was NSENGIYAREMYE Dismas (M.D.R.) and the Minister of Education (MINEPRISEC) was called Mrs. UWIRINGIYIMANA Agathe who, at the end of the 1992 National Examinations, did not</p>	

		<p>Did the broader government change something in the education system?</p> <p>What was the objective of the minister of education by then?</p> <p>Was this objective achieved ? Why ?</p>	<p>implement the policy of ethnic and regional equilibrium!</p> <p>The reason for her actions was because schools from disadvantaged regions had been neglected (the lack of teaching material, lack of qualified teachers,...). She found it necessary to promote students from these regions, with lower percentages of marks compared to those from favored regions. This was aimed at improving the conditions of teaching in order to balance the conditions of access to secondary schools.</p> <p>This objective was not achieved because of the 1994 genocide in our country.</p>	
--	--	--	---	--

<p><b><u>Phase IV</u></b></p> <p>I ask questions to help us to talk about the current educational policy.</p>	<p>- What are the current conditions to be admitted in the first year of secondary education (lower level of secondary education) in public schools?</p> <p>What is the present Education Policy ?</p>	<p>One must :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- have done the National Examination at the end of primary level of education.</li> <li>- have the required marks in accordance with the available places in public schools.</li> </ul> <p>The current government has set for itself the following objectives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To educate all the citizens including illiterate adults.</li> </ul>	
---	--	--	--

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To banish all sorts of discrimination in schools.</li> <li>- To give equal opportunities to all in accessing education and employment.</li> </ul>	
--	--	--	--	--

<p><b><u>Phase V:</u></b>  <b>C. Conclusion :</b></p> <p>Evaluation and summary:  Evaluation:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Can one say that before genocide, education was for all? Explain.</li> <li>- Before 1994, was objective of setting conditions that are identical for access to secondary education achieved? Why ?</li> </ul>	<p>Before genocide, education was not for all because :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- All the citizens were not educated.</li> <li>- There was ethnic and regional discrimination.</li> <li>- Citizens did not have equal opportunities.</li> </ul> <p>The objective was not achieved because of the 1994 genocide.</p>	
---	--	--	--

### 3. Lesson preparation form N° 2

**Theme** : Education and the ideology of the Genocide

**S/Theme** : Schools and the ideology og the Genocide

**Lesson** : Ethnic and regional discrimination in higher education

**Class** : Senior III of Secondary School

**Timing** : 50 minutes

#### **Reasons for choosing the topic of this lesson:**

1. To show how Rwandans were divided.
2. To show how a group of Rwandans had monopolized the knowledge in order to control wealth, employment and power.
3. To show the role of discrimination in genocide and political massacres.

In short, to show the reality of the discrimination in that period and to create awareness on its negative consequences in order to fight it.

## **Objective of the lesson:**

At the end of the lesson, learners will be able to describe the ethnic and regional discrimination policy and its negative consequences with the aim of eradicating all divisionism ideology forever.

### **The sequence of the day's lesson**

<b>Topic</b>	<b>Student activiti</b>	<b>Teacher's activity</b>	<b>Teachin g</b>
1. <b>Introduction</b> : Reminder of important concepts : - Discrimination = division = exclusion - Ethnic group = human group with the same history, a common culture and a common territory. - Higher education = post – secondary = university, Institution or school.  1. <b>Ethnic discrimination at :</b> - NUR - IAMSEA - ESM	To respond to the questions of the teacher.  To observe and answer questions.  Idem	To ask questions  To show the map and ask questions  To show tables, drawings, statistics and ask questions, and make a summary of the answers.  Idem  Answer the questions of the teacher.	The map of Rwanda  Tables, graphics and statistics.  Idem  Ask questions and make a summary of the answers.
3. Regional <b>discrimination at :</b>  - NUR - IAMSEA - ESM			
<b>4. Consequences of discrimination:</b> - Job discrimination and monopoly of employment. - The superiority complex of those who are privileged and used as instruments.  - Inferiority complex of those excluded, resigned and passive.			

### **Summary**

- Show the important elements of the subject
- Make a summary of the lessons to be drawn from discrimination, for future reference.

## **VI. The list of other proposed lessons**

1. The support of the Catholic Church for the regime of the second republic.
2. The support of international community (institutions of Bretton Woods and states). Assistance to the second republic;
3. The problem of refugees and its consequences
4. The Rwandan Patriotic Front: origin, organization and objectives;
5. The role of media in regional and ethnic discrimination.
6. Return to multiparty: motivations and claims.
7. Social, economic crisis
8. The problem of displaced people because of war
9. The reaction of international community concerning Genocide
10. The role of political parties in Genocide.

## **CONCLUSIO N**

The methodology innovation proposed by this study is to involve the learner on the use of the sources, documentation materials and interpretation in order to get his/her participation in the most possible objective interpretation of facts. This is not an easy task, but it presents the enormous advantages of being participatory by allowing the learner to reach the right level to make choices and to take concerted decisions.

The first from the requirements consists of providing the sources and teaching materials on the theme to be studied. We managed to do it but with difficulties: our schools do not have textbooks for all the subjects and their libraries are not updated.

The second among the requirements consists of giving indications to the learner on the paths to work that he/she may explore at liberty before receiving historical commentaries and notes widely explored but it requires a long experience and a “certain” maturity that our learners must acquire as soon as possible. It has been remarked that the size of the subject is rather small.

The third one consists of the interactive aspect of contact between the teacher and the learner who must be participative although some habits still resist change.