

### **Banyarwanda (Tutsi and Hutu)**

The **Banyarwanda** in this area are descendants of the Rwandans who fled the Belgian and Rwandan aristocratic exactions of the 1930. These migrants were both **Hutu** and **Tutsi** and were predominantly commoners from both groups. In 1959, many **Tutsi**, primarily from aristocratic families or their dependents, fled the expulsions and killings in Rwanda. The presence of this group was manipulated by Idi Amin, who targeted the **Banyarwanda** in his campaign of terror. Because of their vulnerable position many of the young men flocked to Museveni's National Liberation Army. Museveni promised them citizenship in return for their help. The origins of this group was then used to try to discredit Museveni, and he was forced to back down on his public promise of citizenship in 1986.

## **C. Rwanda**

### **Batutsi and Bahutu**

The most centralized precolonial state in the region, Rwanda was the only state in which there was a virtually complete centralization of land, labour and power into the hands of a tiny elite. Originally resembling the Burundian state, the Rwandan state began a radical transformation in the mid 17th century. The period from the mid-seventeenth century until independence saw erosion of the power of the relatively autonomous corporate kin groups which had formed the centre of political and economic life. This was transformed into a system of vertical, dyadic clientage relationships which controlled access to land and power. It was the king (*mwami*) Rwabugiri (1865-1895), who consolidated the system of clientage and smashed the power of the lineages and clans. Rwabugiri's expansion of his kingdom through conquest was accompanied by the extermination or incorporation of a previously independent lineage-based elite and the systematic appropriation of lineage, community and fallow lands. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the majority of the population was part of a dependent peasantry. At best, this peasantry was able to gain access to land through various direct personal relations with patrons. At worst, peasants were reduced to selling their labour to make ends meet and to fulfil their obligations. Clientage always included some form of service and often required that the client provide two days of labour for the patron out of every five. For the peasant, clientage was often the best option out of a number of possibilities. A major writer on the area contends that clientage was not as extensive as wage labour. In certain regions of Rwanda, she argues, as much as 50% of the peasantry was forced to sell its labour on a regular basis. In addition to these changes, under Rwabugiri ethnicity for access to the highest positions of power was restricted to a small group of aristocrats who were all **Tutsi** from certain clans. The Belgians took this incipient ethnic differentiation and gave it a crude and racist form, restricting access to education and power to the **Tutsi** and excluding the **Hutu** nobility