

In Uganda, a number of the ethnicities have separate histories and live in discreet territories, however, even some of these groups have only been united under English colonialism or created during the colonial period, ie. **Batoro** and **Buganda**.

In Rwanda and in Burundi, although there are three clearly labelled ethnicities, **Batutsi**, **Bahutu** and **Batwa**, the long history of coexistence, intermarriage and common history makes these categories hard to define. People look very similar and physical distinctions are good identifiers, there are very tall, fair **Hutu**, short, dark **Tutsi** and tall **Batwa**. Regional differences are as important in the recent history of both these countries as ethnicity.

C. The Tutsi and the Banyarwanda in the Great Lakes Region

The Banyarwanda have suffered various forms of discrimination and attacks in the region over the last 40 years. If we include the racist Belgian policies which affected the Hutu in Rwanda and Burundi, this can be seen to have been true for 65 years. From the end of the Belgian period and to the present day, the Tutsi have been subject to punitive legislation and attacks in Uganda, Zaïre and Rwanda.

Beginning in 1959, with the expulsion and massacres of the Tutsi in Rwanda, at various times the Tutsi have been targeted for attacks and have had discriminatory legislation implemented against them. They were targeted for attacks between 1959-1964 and again in the 1970s by the First Republic government of Gregoire Kayibanda and in 1990-1994 by the Second Republic of Juvenal Habyarimana, ending with the genocide of April-July 1994. In the 1980s Habyarimana declared all the Rwandan refugees in other countries stateless, arguing that they had not claim to Rwandan citizenship, helping to precipitate the civil war of the 1990s.

Zaire

In the 1960s, the Tutsi living in the Itombwe region of South Kivu allied with the government troops in the Mulelist uprisings, ending years of peaceful coexistence with their neighbours. Granted citizenship in 1979, all the Banyarwanda (Hutu and Tutsi) saw themselves made second class citizens by the Mobutu government 1981.. This was done expressly to “fix” the regional elections of the following year. In the 1980s Habyarimana declared all the Rwandan refugees or Rwandans born in other countries stateless, arguing that they had not claim to Rwandan citizenship. In 1993, there were killings by the Nande and the Hunde in the Rutshuru and Masisi zones of Rwandan speakers, both Banyarwanda and Banyabwisha. With the arrival of the predominantly Hutu refugees in 1994, these reprisals turned against the Tutsi and the Hutu in the camps and in the Masisi targeted Tutsi for terrorization and killings. In 1995, all the Rwandan speakers in Zaïre lost their rights and any remaining claims to citizenship. At the same time,