

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, Claudine Vidal, 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 which had previously held lower level positions. The Belgians also increased the hold the **Tutsi** aristocracy had over the peasantry, **Tutsi** and **Hutu**, and made the Nyaginya dynasty even more exploitative and extractive than it had been. The **Tutsi** aristocracy who benefited from this shift in power, by and large, collaborated with this system.

Hima

The **Hima** are a pastoralist peoples who live in Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi. Museveni, the president of Uganda, comes from this group. In Rwanda they are less than 1% of the population and have historically moved back and forth over the border between Uganda and Rwanda. They do not appear to have ever been a kingdom.

In Burundi, the **Tutsi** have been divided into the **Tutsi-banyaruguru** and the **Tutsi-hima**, with the **Banyaruguru** being associated with the monarchy and the **Hima**, who have held power in the postcolonial governments. Much of the power struggle in modern day Burundi has been between these two groups. The **Hutu** have been brutally suppressed under most of the regimes in Burundi and a system of *de facto* exists in Burundi.

Tribes, Clans and Ethnicity

The concept of tribes is generally only of limited usefulness in this region, it is preferable to characterise these groups as ethnic groups. Clans in the sense of Somalia clans as a political and territorial force are not a critical political factor.