

Kivu case, the ties are often cross cutting and so could be a strong source of inter-ethnic cohesion. However, whether or not these ties are used depends on the region, for example, it has been argued that the **Babembe** find these ties more important than the claims of kingship. Despite this, it is very unlikely that the kind of clan based rivalry that is seen in Somalia will ever be a powerful factor in Kivu.

The Banyabwisha

The **Banyabwisha** are a group which speak a dialect of Kinyarwanda, who have lived for a long period of time in the Rutshuru region of Kivu, Zaire. They are agriculturalists who keep some livestock. There is a king (*mwami*) of the **Bwisha**, who is largely a ceremonial king. Their social organization is based on clans (usually Bwisha based clans) who control land and social life at the local level. This area was never part of the kingdom or state of Rwanda.

The Banyamulenge

These people are originally **Tutsi** pastoralists who settled in South Kivu to avoid being incorporated into the Rwandan precolonial kingdom. They would also be organised around clans and do not appear to have been a kingdom at any time. They practice a mixed strategy of livestock raising and agriculture in the Itombwe area. Technically these people can be considered **Banyarwanda**, and would not have been either a separate group or a single group before 1960.

The Banyarwanda

There are three groups of **Banyarwanda** in Kivu. First are the **Tutsi** (for the most part) who moved into the Kivu region from Rwanda, fleeing the expansion of the precolonial kingdom of Rwanda, technically the **Banyamulenge**; second, the economic migrants (**Tutsi** and **Hutu**) who have moved into Kivu since the eighteenth century but retain strong ties with Rwanda. A subgroup of economic migrants came as labour for the European plantations in the Masisi zone during the colonial period. Finally, the **Tutsi** refugees who settled in Kivu in 1959-1964.

B. The Zone East of the Great Lakes

Except for the **Hima**, the kingdoms of the zone east of the Great Lakes were much more centralised and hierarchical than those found in the western side of the Great Lakes. However, the degree of centralization varied by group with **Rwanda** forming the extreme example of centralized power.