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Groups in the Great Lakes Region of Central Africa

13 November 1996

Prepared for Interview Program
Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade

by

Villia Jefremovas



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Introduction

The Great Lakes Region of Central Africa, which stretches from Lake Albert (or Lake Mobutu Sese Seko) to Lake Tanganika, spans five countries and encompasses a large number of ethnic groups. This report provides background to these groups and is broken down as follows: Introduction to the region, including nature of economic activities, length of presence in the region and recent political activities /affiliations where this is relevant or possible to ascertain, and a short definition of the important categories which organise local action such as ethnicity, tribe, clan; an inventory of groups by country, with a summary of the interactions between these groups and with the states in the region which have affected their position in the region and the countries of residence, legislation, uprisings, and attacks on local groups by others.

Some of the material in the sections is repetitious, because it is assumed that not all readers will be interested in reading the whole report, but in using it for reference purposes instead.

This report is as accurate as possible and was collected from a variety of sources, but given the wide range of material covered there may be some inaccuracies. All inaccuracies must be considered the fault of the author!

I. An Overview of the Region, Relevant Categories and Terms

For the purposes of discussion, the region can be divided into 3 zones. The zone west of the Great Lakes was characterized by powerful kingdoms with well-entrenched hierarchies and considerable differentiation between lords, commoners, serfs and tenants. The zone east of the Great Lakes, but not including the Nande heartland in the north, can be described as “forest peoples” who have been organised into kingdoms, in which the leaders played a powerful ceremonial role in the precolonial kingdom and a political role in the colonial kingdoms. The Nande region of the north can be described as a “state within a state.” This group is highly centralized and sees itself as separate from the Kivu region.

A. The Zone West of the Great Lakes

Overall, there has been a long history of coexistence of these groups in the region. Most of the population has ties between the separate groups and most are members of clans which transcend the ethnic boundaries to which they have been categorised. Excluding the **Bwisha**, the **Banyamulenge** and the **Banyarwanda**, who have a somewhat different social organization, some general comments on political and economic organization and on kinship can be made about these societies.

Political and Economic Organization

Many of these groups were consolidated into kingdoms in the precolonial past. Some did so relatively recently, i.e. the i.e., of Ijwi. Some did so less recently, i.e., the Buhaya kingdom and Ngweshi kingdom of the Shi. Some were created by the Belgians, i.e., the **Babembe**, the **Bahunde** in South Kivu. The kings in these societies would have played a strong ceremonial role, would have raised armies in response to external threats and played a weak political role in the everyday lives of their subjects. Clans would have been far more important in the everyday lives of the peasantry. Most of these people would have followed a mixed strategy of agricultural production, livestock production and hunting and gathering.

Clans

Throughout these regions people are organised into clans. These can cut across ethnicities, and provide strong horizontal linkages between peoples in various geographic areas. In western social science, clans normally are seen as tracing kinship back to a common ancestor even if all the links are not known. In the

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.

Uganda

Political and Economic Organization

Except for the **Hima**, all the kingdoms of this region practised a mixed strategy of agriculture and pastoralism. The **Hima** were predominantly pastoralist in Uganda and Rwanda. Except for **Rwanda** and **Burundi**, most of these kingdoms have had a system of patron/client ties where the norm has been that commoners from the same clans are tenants on the land of aristocratic kin. However, with colonialism there was a wider spread use of unrelated peoples in straightforward tenancy relationships. The **Banyarwanda** who moved to Uganda during the colonial period were often tenants to the peoples in Southern Uganda. Except in Rwanda, the kingships performed a largely ceremonial function, raised armies in times of warfare, and collected some tribute from associated clans. Land and economic power rested in the hands of clans and lineages, which were the effective political units in the everyday lives of the populations. Within Uganda there are some hunting-gathering peoples, such as the **Baamba** and the **Baswa**, who were never part of a kingdom, but who were incorporated into kingdoms by the English for administrative purposes.

Burundi

Burundi forms an intermediate type in a continuum from kin-based hierarchies to highly centralised states. Burundi was a precolonial kingdom which occupied more or less the borders of the present day state. There were three ethnic groups which coexisted, **Tutsi**, **Hutu** and **Twa**. The **Twa**, a pygmy group, are seen as socially inferior, but the **Tutsi** and **Hutu** groups are made up of both commoners and aristocrats. They speak the same language, practice the same religions and live in the same areas. The **Tutsi** have held central power in Burundi throughout much of its precolonial, colonial and postcolonial history. In precolonial times and even under the Belgians, relations between Hutu and Tutsi were complex and often complimentary, however, in post colonial times power struggles between various factions of Tutsi have led to an enormous split between **Hutu** and **Tutsi**, as ethnicity has been a pawn in this power struggle. Economically, **Tutsi** and **Hutu** both farmed and kept livestock. The difference was in degree rather than in livelihood. Tutsi emphasised cattle, Hutu emphasised agriculture.

Rwanda

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, 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.

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, Zaire 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 Zaire lost their rights and any remaining claims to citizenship. At the same time,

the Banyamulenge and the Tutsi of the Masisi were singled out for persecution and their property was confiscated. The Tutsi of the Masisi were driven into Rwanda. In September of 1996, the campaign against the Banyamulenge was stepped up, and they were ordered expelled. In October 1996, they launched a rebellion.

Uganda

The **Banyarwanda** in Uganda have also been targeted by various regimes for expulsion and the majority of Banyarwanda in Uganda were Tutsi refugees who had fled Rwanda in 1959. 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. At this time, 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.

II. Ethnic Breakdown by Country

A. ZAIRE - Kivu (by zone North to South)

Note: Leaders in Kivu

There are local leaders, such as "kings" and politicians, but these people often have little real authority or credibility in the eyes of the local population. Nevertheless, local people have organised and groups have emerged to counter the political vacuum that Mobutu has created in the country. The likeliest leaders would be found in local NGOs and church groups. For example, there is a very powerful group of NGOs and social welfare groups associated with the Baptist Church in North Kivu, in the 1980s they formed the only effect infrastructure in the region. It may be necessary to find these groups in order to contact local leaders.

Beni

Wanande (Banande)

This group has been described as a "state within a state." Highly organized agriculturalists, the Nande have long-standing trade links and strong historical ties with Uganda. It is possible in the event of a conflict the Nande would see it in their interest to support Uganda, if Uganda was to enter the conflict. They have been strong opponents of Mobutu and little love for the Zaïrian army.

Baamba (Bamba)

The Baamba are hunting and gathering peoples. In Uganda they have become agriculturalists but it is unclear if this is the case in Zaire. In Uganda the Baamba have united with the Bakonjo to form the Ruwenzururu Peoples movement, hoping to secede from Uganda. This movement has periods of activism and long periods of quiescence.

Lubero

Wanande (Banande)

This group has been described as a "state within a state." Highly organized agriculturalists, the Nande have long-standing trade links and strong historical ties with Uganda. It is possible in the event of a conflict the Nande would see it in their interest to support Uganda, if Uganda was to enter the conflict. They have been strong opponents of Mobutu and little love for the Zaïrian army.

Rutshuru

Eastern Rutshuru:

Banyabwisha (Bahutu)

The Bwisha are Rwandan speaking peoples who have lived in Rutshuru for over 100 years. They would be classified as 'Hutu' agriculturalists and comprise virtually 100% of the population of the Eastern Rutshuru sub-zone. The pre-colonial kingdom of Rwanda under Rwabugiri attempted to conquer this kingdom unsuccessfully, therefore Rwandan claims to this territory would be viewed very suspiciously.

Western Rutshuru:

Banyabwisha (Bahutu)

The Bwisha are Rwandan speaking peoples who have lived in Rutshuru for over 100 years. They would be classified as 'Hutu' agriculturalists and comprise 80% of the population of the Western Rutshuru sub-zone. This group was targeted for attacks in the 1993, and about 5000 people were killed.

Bahunde

The Hunde see themselves as the original inhabitants of this zone and the Bwisha as in-migrants, however, they pay tribute to and acknowledge the Bwisha *Mwami* (king) as their leader. The Hunde of this region were instrumental in the attacks carried out against Bwisha in 1993, and again in 1995. The pre-colonial kingdom of Rwanda under Rwabugiri attempted to conquer this kingdom unsuccessfully, therefore Rwandan claims to this territory would be viewed very suspiciously.

Banande (Wanande)

The Nande are migrants into this area and have also had tense relations with the Bwisha and the Banyarwanda. (See above)

Masisi

Eastern Masisi:

Bahunde

The Hunde see themselves as the original inhabitants of this zone. There have been major tensions in this region with the Rwandan speaking populations in recent years. This group comprises less than 20% of the population of this region. The Hunde are very closely related to the Nyanga, and are seen as a subgroup by many.

Banyarwandan

Until the expulsion of the Tutsi from the Masisi in 1995, the population of Rwandan speaking peoples in this area was both Tutsi and Hutu. The Banyarwanda in this area forms the majority of the population and arrived there as migrant labour for the Belgian plantations in this area. There continued to be

in-migration from Rwanda to this area until 1994, most of these migrants were **Hutu** from the overpopulated Northwest of Rwanda. These people (both **Hutu** and **Tutsi**) were equally affected by the law of 1981 which made the Banyarwanda of Kivu second class citizens, without reapplication. They would have been equally affected by the 1995 Resolution which did not allow Rwandan and Burundian refugees to become citizens or to hold land or assets. The long term residents were treated as refugees under this law. However, it was the **Tutsi** from this region who were persecuted by the **Hutu** from the camps and by local inhabitants and were forced to leave in 1995.

Banande (Wanande)

The **Nande** are migrants into this area and have also had tense relations with the **Bwisha** and the **Banyarwanda**. (See above)

Western Masisi:

Wanianga (Banianga, Wanyanga, Banyanga)

The **Nyanga** live in Western Masisi and are forest dwellers, that is to say, people who were originally hunters and gatherers who also practised agriculture. Their leadership would have been only a symbolic/ritual leadership, although throughout the region these leaders would have been strengthened by Belgian colonial rule.

Walikale

Wanianga (Banianga, Wanyanga, Banyanga)

The **Nianga (Nyanga)** are forest dwellers, that is to say, people who were originally hunters and gatherers who also practised agriculture. Their leadership would have been only a symbolic/ritual leadership, although throughout the region these leaders would have been strengthened by Belgian colonial rule.

Goma

This was a region which the Belgians designated "extra-coutumier" which meant that many groups lived together and "traditional" laws were not in force. These so-called "modern" Africans were referred to as **Banyamunenge**. The people in Goma are **Bwisha, Rwandan, Hunde, Havu, Nande, Tembo** and **Nianga**.

Kalehe

Buhavu

The **Havu** are an agriculturalist and fishing society. They are also an old population with a kingship dating back to the 18th century which the pre-colonial kingdom of Rwanda under **Rwabugiri** attempted to conquer this kingdom mostly unsuccessfully, therefore Rwandan claims to this territory would be viewed very suspiciously. The kingdom did hold the island of **Ijwi** for a period of time (1885-

1895), but lost control quickly. The Rwandans have had strong superstitions associated with Ijwi, considering it an island of sorcerers and thieves!

Bukavu

Like Goma, Bukavu was a region which the Belgians designated "extra-coutumier" which meant that many groups lived together and "traditional" laws were not in force. In 1959-1964, many of the Tutsi who fled the persecution of the Tutsi in Rwanda settled here. They have been especially targeted by the Hutu militias in the camps from 1994-1996. There is a strong ethnic split in this region between the Shi and the Rega (Lega). Mobutu has strongly fostered this split giving the Rega the top administrative positions in the region. There probably have been killings between these groups under cover of the "rebellion." The archbishop of Bukavu was a Shi. The number of Rwandans in Bukavu with the exodus of Tutsi from Rwanda in 1959, and these people strongly supported the Rwandan Patriotic Front. There is considerable evidence that many returned to Rwanda in July 1994.

Pangi, Shabuna, Mwenga

Warega (Rega, Lega)

The Rega dominate the politics of South Kivu because Mobutu has strongly supported this group in a "divide and rule" tactic. It appears that the Rega are so strong locally because they took advantage of education systems under the Belgians, and political possibilities under Mobutu, who was looking for a counterweight to the power of the Shi. The Bakano of Walikale, who numbered 3,000 in 1971, so probably do not exceed 10,000 now, are a subgroup of the Rega. The Rega numbered 400,000 in 1982, but must be a substantially larger group now.

Kabare

Bashi

This set of 7 kingdoms were also targeted by the pre-colonial kingdom of Rwanda, again Rwandan claims to this territory would be viewed very suspiciously. There are strong linguistic and ethnic ties between the Shi, Vira (see below) and Havu, although the Havu maintain a distinction, politically and socially.

Uvira

Bavira (Joba)

Classified as a variant of the Shi-Havu language, it is likely that this group was "created" by the Belgians as separate group. Most likely they can be seen as a Shi kingdom which changed identity in this period. In 1989 they numbered 10,000.

Bifulero

This region has considerable intermixture of people (**Bavira, Bifulero, Warega**). The **Bifulero** argue that they welcomed the Rwandans who settled in this region during the precolonial period, as tribute paying clients to the Bifulero kingdom. Other historians argue that this relationship was never in existence or possible, as the **Bifulero** are a very small group (maximum 20-25,000).

Banyamulenge

These Rwandan speaking peoples settled in Itombwe in the Murenge Hills, a high plateau to the west of Uvira, in the mid-18th century, fleeing from the centralization of power by the Nyaginya dynasty of Rwanda. The **Bifulero** welcomed the Rwandans who settled in this region as tribute paying clients to the **Bifulero** kingdom. They lived in relative peace with their neighbours until 1964, when they opposed the Mulele rebellion. However, in 1972 they were given Zaïrian citizenship which was revoked in 1981. Like other Rwandan groups they were ordered expelled in 1995. They were heavily targeted during the last part of 1996.

The number of "Tutsi" who could call themselves **Banyamulenge** increased with the exodus of Tutsi in 1959, and these people strongly supported the Rwandan Patriotic Front. There is considerable evidence that many returned to Rwanda in July 1994. Most experts on the area agree that despite their claims they do not number more than 25-50,000.

Fizi

Banyamulenge

These Rwandan speaking peoples settled in Itombwe in the Murenge Hills, a high plateau to the west of Uvira, in the mid-18th century, fleeing from the centralization of power by the Nyaginya dynasty of Rwanda. They appear to also live in the zone of Fizi. It has been reported that some of the groups which have been harassing the Tutsi in this region have been **Babembe**. (See above).

Babembe

This is a group which also would have had a king during the Belgian period, but have strong clan, social and cultural ties with other groups. They are closely related to the **Rega** (some would even say indistinguishable from the **Rega**). They are the majority inhabitants of this region and claim status and the original peoples in the area.

Babwari

The **Babwari** are essentially peoples peninsula of Bwari, but have been constituted as a people under Belgian rule. Like the Bembe they would be seen as most like the **Rega**.

Notes

Note 1: The Rwandan Patriotic Front in Kivu

A number of my sources note that the Rwandan Patriotic Front trained in the Masisi and in Uvira during the Civil war, so they know the landscape very well.

Note 2: Bangyalima

The Ngylima are not an ethnic group but appear to be a cult which is built around a spirit who manifests itself as a water serpent. They meet the enemy naked or with bare torsos and or dressed in raffia cloth that the bullets will turn to water. It is not clear who they have targeted as their enemy, or how organized this movement is.

Note 3: The Tutsi and Kivu

Various observers of the area are concerned that the local hostilities will increase, because the actions of the Mulenge and the fears of Rwandan involvement feed into local fears that this action is part of a larger "Tutsi-Hima" plot to dominate the region. This was also a major plank of the extremist propaganda campaign by the extremists between 1990-1994 and is still voiced by various leaders so there is a danger that the current crisis is being interpreted in this way by Zairian and by leaders in the refugee population.

Note 4: Ethnic Clusters in Kivu

If we look at South Kivu, we can see that the **Shi, Havu, Bifulero** and **Bavira** closely related groups which formed a group of small kingdoms on the western and southern shores of Lake Kivu and the Northwestern shores of Lake Tanganika. Belgian colonial rule created new kingdoms and new groups in this area, but they have intertwined and interrelated histories. The **Babware, Babembe, Bakano**(who numbered 3,000 in 1971, so probably do not exceed 10,000 now) and the **Barega** are similarly related. The **Hunde** seem to be **Nyanga** who have gained an independent identity under the Belgians, who appointed a "King of all the **Bahunde**" implying that until that time there was no single king (or no king at all?).

B. Uganda (by area North to South)

Toro district

Bundibugyo (South of Lake Albert)

Baamba (Bamba)

The **Baamba** are hunting and gathering peoples. In Uganda they have become agriculturalists but it is unclear if this is the case in Zaire. In Uganda the **Baamba** have united with the **Bakonjo** to form the Ruwenzururu Peoples movement, hoping to secede from Toro. This movement has periods of activism and long periods of quiescence. These people seem to either be related to the **Baswa** or identical to the **Baswa**. Between the Zairian populations and the Ugandan these people numbered about 9,000 in 1991.

Bakonjo

The **Bakonjo** are an agriculturalist people living in this area. They joined with the Ruwenzururu peoples to secede from Toro. The population in Uganda numbered 250,000 in 1986.

Fort Portal

Batoro (Batooro)

The **Batoro** are a subgroup of the **Bunyoro**, who gained power under the English. These people are primarily pastoralists, but they are also fishers, and agriculturalists. This is a kingdom which has claimed regions around Fort Portal. The Ruwenzururu peoples movement has been targeted against this group. The **Nyoro** group of which **Toro** are considered a subgroup numbered about 1.4 million in 1991. The **Toro** had a politically hostile relation with the **Banyarwanda**, seeing them as either interlopers or migrant labourers.

Bairu

Classified as a sub group of **Ankole** (see below), these peoples are predominantly agriculturalists and speak a language closely related to **Toro**.

Kasese

Kasese is a major trading town and the site for the **Kilembe** mines. This area can be quite tense, because it is a meeting place of many ethnicities many in direct competition with each other for economic resources. The Ruwenzururu peoples' movement (**Bakonjo** and **Baamba**) has claimed this area.

Bakonjo

(See above).

Batoro

The **Toro** are the most powerful political and economic group in this region.
(See above)

Bakongo

The **Kongo** are Zairians who work in this region.

Katwe

Bakonjo (Ruwendzuru)

The **Bakonjo** are an agriculturalist people living in this area. They joined with the Ruwendzururu peoples to secede from Toro. The population in Uganda numbered 250,000 in 1986.

Ankole district

The **Nyankole** numbered 1.5 million in Uganda in 1990. These people have two subgroups **Bairu** (agriculturalists) and the **Bahima** (pastoralists). Linguistically their language is very closely related to the **Toro** (see above) and the **Chiga** (see below). The **Banyarwanda** who fled to Uganda in the 1930s to escape the Rwandan Lords and Belgian colonial exactions often worked as tenants on the land of the **Nyankole**. Politically these groups opposed the degree of power which these **Banyarwanda** held under Museveni, the Ugandan president, in the early days of his rule. Most of the **Banyarwanda** in this region appear to have gone to Rwanda after July 1994.

Bahima

This group straddles the Uganda and Rwanda border. They may well be the only true pastoralists in the region. Museveni is a **Hima** with a **Rwandan** mother, and a major plank of his opposition has argued that this makes him a **Rwandan**, who has taken power illegitimately.

Kigezi district

Bachiga (Kiga)

Technically related to the **Banyankole** this group is seen as **Rwandan** speaking by other ethnic groups in the neighbouring regions. The **Chiga** are an agricultural people. This is a very populated region of Uganda, with population densities to rival neighbouring Rwanda. The large Tutsi refugee camps were in this area of Uganda, so there was considerable friction between the **Chiga** and the **Banyarwanda**.

Bahima

(See above)

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

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.

There are regional differences in concentration of **Hutu** and **Tutsi**. The provinces of Gisenyi and Ruhengeri were virtually 100% Hutu, given that they were the region of Rwanda which Rwabugiri had conquered before German colonialism. Until the 1920s the majority of aristocrats in the area were **Hutu** and not **Tutsi**. Belgian reorganization replaced these lords with **Tutsi** lords. In the Central and Southern provinces of Giterama and Butare, the core of the ancient kingdom, **Tutsi** formed 25% of the population. The Eastern areas, which were in migration areas, had a high population of **Tutsi**, many of whom settled during the turbulent years of 1959-1964. The 1980s saw the in-migration of landless **Hutu** from the overpopulated Northwest, the resulting tensions were fanned in the 1990s by the racist politics the extremists in the Habyarimana regime.

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.

Batwa

The **Twa** are considered to be a pygmy group, but as mentioned above, it is often hard to tell the **Twa** from the general population. Some are hunter-gathers, some are potters and some are in other mainstream professions. Under the precolonial state the **Twa** associated with the court were seen as either buffoons or spies. This stereotype, whether true or not, have increased the stigmatization of this group.

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.

D. Burundi

Batutsi, Bahutu and Batwa

There are three ethnic groups, **Tutsi**, **Hutu** and **Twa**, living in Burundi, which have coexisted in the ancient kingdom in Burundi for many hundreds of years.

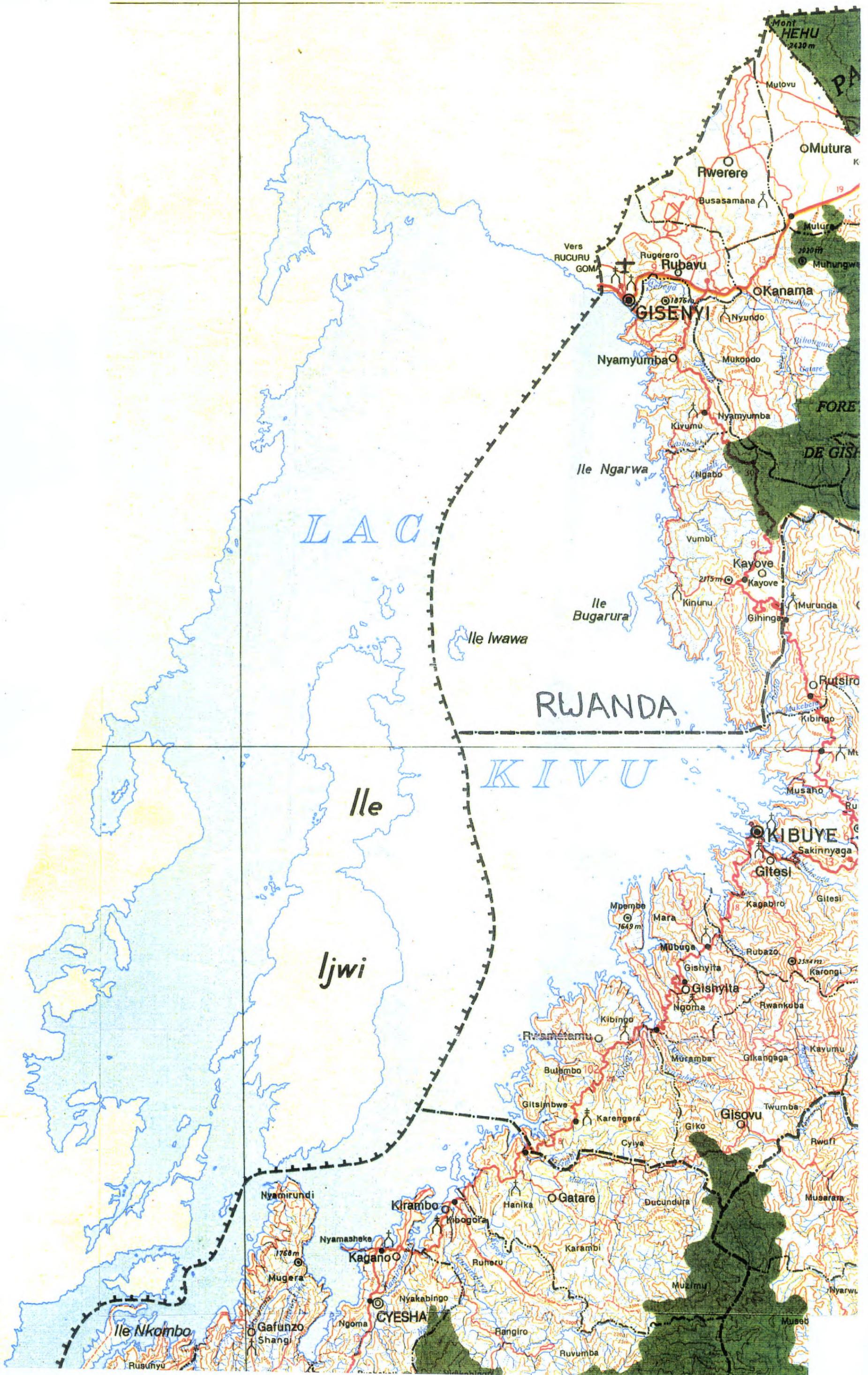
The **Twa**, a pygmy group, are seen as socially inferior, but the **Tutsi** and **Hutu** groups are made up of both commoners and aristocrats. *The majority of these two groups are commoners.* They speak the same language, practice the same religions and live in the same areas. The **Tutsi** have held central power in Burundi throughout much of its precolonial, colonial and postcolonial history. In precolonial times and even under the Belgians, relations between Hutu and Tutsi were complex, sometimes antagonistic and often complimentary. However, in post colonial times power struggles between various factions of **Tutsi** have led to an enormous split between **Hutu** and **Tutsi**, as ethnicity has become a pawn in this power struggle. 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. Economically, **Tutsi** and **Hutu** both farmed and kept livestock. The difference was in degree rather than in livelihood. **Tutsi** emphasised cattle, **Hutu** emphasised agriculture.

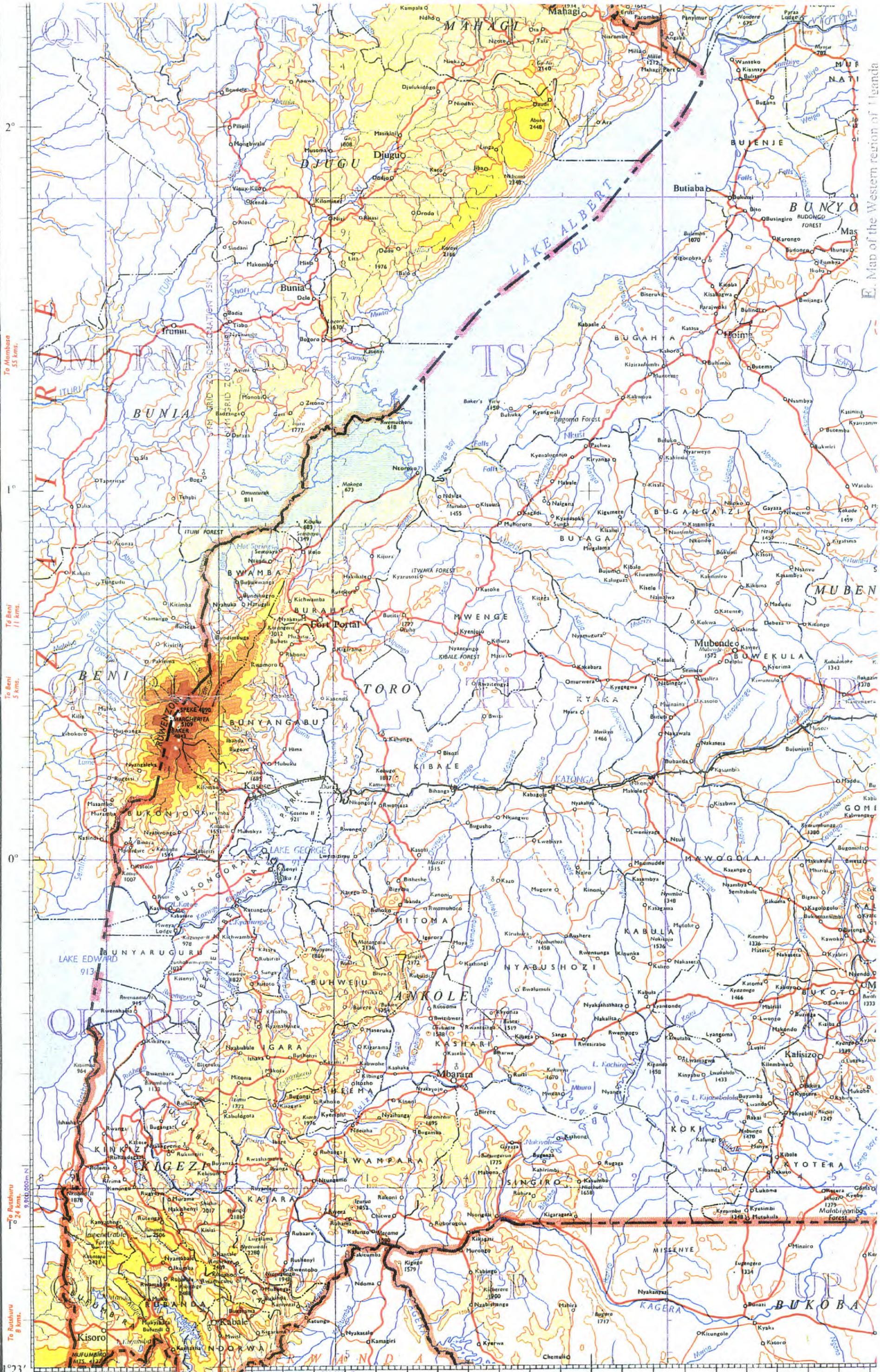
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III. Maps

- A. Map of Zaire and the Great Lakes Region
- B. Map of the Great Lakes Region
- C. Ethnographic Map of Kivu, Zaire
- D. Map of Rwanda - Lake Kivu
- E. Map of the Western region of Uganda
- F. Ethnographic Map of the Western region of Uganda





Vertical text on the left side of the map indicating distances to neighboring regions: To Mombasa 55 kms., To Beni 11 kms., To Beni 5 kms., To Rukungiri 24 kms., To Rukungiri 8 kms., To Rukungiri 26 kms., To Gatsibu, To Gatsibu, To Gabiro, To Kyamutaga, To Kishoyu, To Kabirizi, To Mulu.

Toro district

- Bundibugyo
- Baamba
- Bakonjo
- Fort Portal
- Batoro (Batooro)
- Bairu
- Kasese
- Bakonjo
- Batoro
- Bakongo
- Katwe
- Bakonjo (Ruwendzuru)

Ankole district

- Nyankole
- Bairu
- Bahima

Gigezi district

- Bachiga (Kiga)
- Bahima
- Banyarwanda (Tutsi and Hufu)

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