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Rwanda's Popular Genocide: A Perfect Storm

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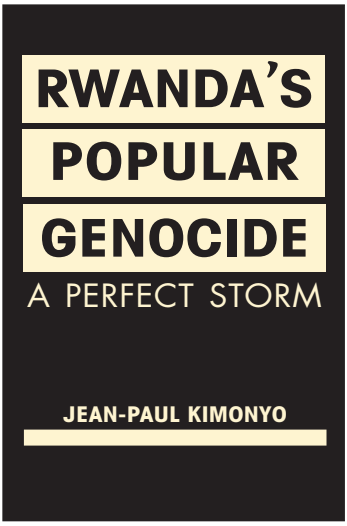

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The Historical Context

The categories of Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa and how they interacted in traditional Rwandan society remain controversial in contemporary debates and among historians.The debates are provoked in part by the contradictions inherent in these identity groups. On the one hand, the Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa are tightly knit into a single cultural entity. They are therefore not ethnic groups in the strict sense of the term. The three groups shared the same language and religious beliefs, coexisted and intermingled within the same territory, belonged to the same clans, and were subject to a single political entity: the Rwandan monarchy. On the other hand, the formation of distinct sociopolitical identities of Hutus and Tutsis from the end of the nineteenth century, and their subsequent polarization, has been well documented.

Granted, the present is not exclusively defined by the past, an idea we must reiterate when it comes to Rwanda. In revisiting the past, however, the key challenge is to identify the continuities and breaking points that could shed light on the broadest contemporary context of mass political and social action.

What are the categories of Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa, and how did they relate to each other historically? Are they social classes, castes, ethnic groups, or even "races," as some have said? For comprehending mass participation in the Rwandan conflict since 1959, it is crucial to understand how the hostility between the Hutu and Tutsi crystallized over time, particularly in relation to the respective roles played by external factors—specifically colonialism—and by internal factors.

The other challenging task in revisiting history is determining the extent of political polarization after the 1959 revolution as well as the extent to which the population was involved in this polarization between the Tutsi and Hutu.

The extensive research on this subject can be divided into three broad schools of thought related to ethnicity in Africa: instrumentalism, essentialism, and constructivism.[1] I situate my study in the constructivist framework given

that I identify the multiple factors leading to the emergence of ethnic antagonism, particularly the political manipulation of ethnic sentiments and the precolonial sociopolitical contradictions that intensified under colonial rule. In other words, my approach is twofold. On the one hand, I examine Hutu and Tutsi as distinct sociopolitical identities since the end of the precolonial period and their polarization under colonialism in the twentieth century. On the other hand, I outline how both the religious and secular arms of the colonial enterprise propelled a vicious antagonism by introducing to the Hutu and Tutsi elites the notion of race.

The Precolonial Period

Population Settlement in the Great Lakes Region

Missionary and colonial historiography depicts a rigid and hierarchical image of settlement in Rwanda by three distinct races arriving at different historical periods.[2] The first inhabitants of Rwanda were said to be the Twa, who were related to Pygmies and were hunters and gatherers living in the forest. According to the Hamitic hypothesis, which traces any "civilization" to an origin outside the African continent, and specifically to Hamites, descendants of the "Caucasian" race, the Twa would have been followed by the Hutu, a Bantu group arriving from Chad and Cameroon. Finally, the Tutsi would have arrived from Ethiopia between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries and used trickery or force to conquer and enslave the Hutu majority and the Twa minority. Based on physical features and the "sophisticated" organization of the kingdoms in the Great Lakes Region, missionary historiography concluded that the Tutsi belonged to the Hamitic race, incorporated each of three social categories as different waves of settlement, and ranked each according to its level of civilization.

Recent research combines a critique of written sources with archaeology, linguistics, and genetics in order to offer a more nuanced perspective. The researchers note the heterogeneity of the populations of the Great Lakes Region but date the encounter and coexistence between different populations to a much earlier era.[3] They hypothesize the prominence of farming communities over a long period of time compared with populations that mainly kept livestock.[4] These studies also situate the factors behind the dominance of the Bantu language communities in the region, from the first millennium to the beginning of the second millennium of this era, in the context of coexistence; intense economic, technical, and cultural exchanges; and integration of the different populations settled in the region starting from the Neolithic age. However, what remains paradoxical is how certain ancient sociocultural distinctions persisted despite this long shared history. According to David

Schoenbrun, the distinctions would have been accentuated at the beginning of the second millennium, foreshadowing the establishment of the kingdoms.[5]

The Emergence of the Rwandan Kingdoms

From 1000 AD, the area that would come to be known as Rwanda experienced significant climatic and social changes that would lead to increased specialization of skills and the rise in power of the pastoral groups.[6] These changes led to the evolution of new kingdoms ruled by pastoralist groups over the next few centuries. Jan Vansina traces the creation of the kingdom of the Nyiginya Dynasty to the seventeenth century.[7] Until the nineteenth century, the population and herd size of this kingdom continued to grow.[8]

Vansina explains that from the seventeenth century onward, the agrarian and pastoral economies in the hills were intertwined but not integrated, which brought about the need for deliberate political coordination between the two groups. Under normal circumstances, the herders needed food crops, but during the frequent famines, their mobility made them less vulnerable than the cultivators. From this time onward, the country would also be densely populated, a development that would become a potential source of conflict between cultivators and pastoralists. The two groups had to use the same fields in rotation, thereby preventing the emergence of land rights tied to permanent partitioning of the land. Similar conflicts would have arisen over the right of passage for cattle in search of pastures and the implied damage to crops, the use of the margins of the low-lying marshes during the dry season, and the intensifying need for land by both groups as a result of the increase in cattle and human populations.[9] Under these circumstances, dialogue would have been necessary for deciding when to begin burning the vegetation to clear the land and for negotiating access to water, the right of free passage for cattle in search of better pastures, and the annual soil rotation. Political issues therefore had strong implications for daily life.

This detailed description of the social conditions of an era dating this far back relies primarily on a 1958 study, a compilation of pastoralist narratives and vocabulary. But the description of a world "filling up" slightly contradicts other sections of the book in which Vansina explains that central Rwanda was contiguous to the large forest and that the pastoralists moved easily from one region to another. He even lists several areas within and on the outskirts of central Rwanda sparsely populated at the time. Does his portrayal of early overcrowding belong more to the nineteenth century?

Central Rwanda in the seventeenth century was administratively divided into several small territories ruled by kings. In the collective imagination, the *mwami* (king) and his royal drum embodied each of these units. The mwami was, above all, a spiritual leader. Through rituals and with the help of lineage priests, the mwami guaranteed rituals celebrating the fertility of the land, the

cattle, and the mwami's subjects. But the mwami was a secular leader as well. According to Vansina, there were two kinds of political entities: the "lineage territory" and the "principality." In the former entity, the mwami's power depended on alliances. He was seen as a descendant of a lineage who arrived first and cleared the land. The other lineages immigrated more recently and were known as *abagererwa* (land-tenure clients); they had received land, sealed marriages, and sometimes made blood pacts that facilitated their assimilation into the founding lineage, otherwise known as *ubukonde*, which was also the foundation of the political organization.[10]

Power in the principalities was held by the herders, ruled by hereditary chiefs called *abatware*, namely, those "not linked by kinship to any of their subjects from the farming community."[11] These chiefs claimed ownership of the land and guaranteed the land tenure of the farmers as well as access to pastures for the herders. Their coercive power relied on the warrior groups composed of young men from the chiefs' own lineages or from Tutsi or Hima families within their chiefdoms, and these groups operated like the herdsmen migrating in search of pastures. Lineage heads accepted the ritualist and military tutelage of the lord-mwami, to whose court they sent one or several sons to be enrolled as "pages" in the king's guard and to be educated. Their families intermarried with that of the mwami, contributed an annual tribute, and sent members for compulsory duty at the court.[12]

Thus we have a general picture that anticipates the well-known situation in the nineteenth century in which the north, ruled by Hutu lineage chiefs who controlled the land within the *ubukonde* system, stood out in contrast to the rest of the country. According to Vansina, Nyiginya Rwanda emerged toward the end of the seventeenth century, at the same time as the other major kingdoms in the subregion. The kingdom's founder was Ruganzu Ndori, who Vansina believes was a Hima pastoralist chief who arrived from the north with a substantial number of cattle.[13] Ndori's wealth would have enabled him to stamp his authority on the smaller pastoral fiefdoms and establish the cattle-clientship system of *ubuhake,* which was more permanent than the previously existing patron and client relationship known as *ubugabire*. The other important institution Mwami Ndori created was the army. He recruited the chiefs' personal guards into his central army with an increasing number of different units. Vansina makes the following observation in this regard:

> The deepest effect of this new military organization was the institutionalization of a glorification of military and martial violence that eventually permeated the whole of Nyiginya culture as the armies became the foundation of the administrative structure of the realm. For the ties forged by Ndori between the army, on the one hand, and the corporations that provided services to the court, managed the herds, and controlled the pastures, on the other, were to flourish during the eighteenth century, so that ultimately all the inhabitants of the realm were incorporated into the military organization.[14]

The oral traditions associated with the royal court recount the history of Ndori as a series of conquests Vansina restricts to the central Rwanda region. From then on, the Rwandan monarchy was apparently given its essential governing institutions: "Ndori succeeded in being recognized as the legitimate king in central Rwanda and created a government that rested on four institutions: the court-capital, the *umurwa* district, the political *ubuhake* clientele, and a true army. The last two of these remained innovations that, from that time on, distinguished the Nyiginya kingdom from all of its neighbors from that time on."[15]

The history of the kingdom is one of gradual expansion in both progress and setbacks, bringing together neighboring autonomous regions and better integrating the remoter regions. Vansina's schema definitely merits further discussion. Above all, it is important to note that the schema generally follows fixist Maquet's "premise" of institutionalized difference, or worse, of social inequality.

The Sociopolitical Situation on the Eve of Colonialism

The situation at the end of the nineteenth century was complex given the contradictions inherent in the numerous changes affecting social relationships at various levels. The sociocultural Hutu-Tutsi divide was held up by customs and institutions of convivial coexistence. The most important of these structures were the clans, which were multiethnic in composition and which encouraged solidarity. They were strengthened by rituals affirming mythical common patrilineal ties such as the *ubuse* ritual ties between clans considered *abasangwabutaka* ("the people found on the land," the majority of whom were Hutu) and the *ibimanuka* ("those who descended," the majority of whom were Tutsi). Through *ubuse*, members of *abasangwabutaka* clans could allow people from other clans to settle in their locality. Clan solidarity embodied both reciprocity within the clan and solidarity with other clans, in accordance with the ties of *ubuse*. According to Gamaliel Mbonimana, "This framework of reciprocity excluded reference to what is today called 'ethnic groups' or the 'social categories' of Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa. *Ubuse* played a major role in maintaining a cohesive and integrated Rwandan society."[16]

The traditional worship ceremony of *kubandwa*, which the Tutsi and the Hutu celebrated together, was yet another affirmation of their religious kinship. During the ceremonies, a ceremonial mwami and a queen were chosen independent of their social status in the real world, thereby rendering the class/caste system impotent.[17] Finally, another form of breaking the social barriers was manifest in blood pacts, many times sworn between a Hutu and a Tutsi. A blood pact tied the two individuals closer than brothers, and breaking the pact was considered taboo.[18] Another source of social cohesion was the powerful ideology and culture upholding nationa unity embodied in the monarchy. Lasly, besides the aristocracy, which was Tutsi, most cattle-keeper

and agriculturist lineages and families related to the monarchy in the smae manner and shared the same living conditions.

However, despite these instances of social bonding that cut across hereditary social stratification, the final years of precolonial Rwanda were characterized by a hardening of sociopolitical relations. At the end of the eighteenth century, the increased clearing of land and the growth in the population and herds exacerbated the conflicting interests and needs of the pastoralists and farmers.[19] Within this context the establishment of two institutions greatly contributed to rigidifying social relations: *ibikingi* and *uburetwa*.

Ibikingi was a clientship system in which the mwami granted land for pastoral use to his chiefs or to the people close to him. Everyone, both cultivators and pastoralists, living in a particular *ibikingi* had to pay a tribute to the landholder, who also became their patron. Until around 1880, the *ibikingi* were restricted to vacant land, but after the position of chief of a hill was created, *ibikingi* were imposed on land on which people had already settled, based on their lineage. This new development infringed on ancestral rights and led to the outright dispossession of farmers or small-scale herders by the chief and his cronies.[20] It also led to the emergence of the position of the chief of the pastures, whose duty was to control public pastures not granted as *ibikingi*, whereas the land chief ruled primarily over the agriculturalists. The two chiefs were responsible for collecting, on behalf of the royal court, annual tributes from the populations under their respective jurisdictions, which the chiefs submitted after they had taken their cuts. In the southwest and especially in the northwest, the population experienced *ibikingi* as the plunder of their property by the new administrators, whom they also considered outsiders to the region. Jean-Népomucène Nkurikiyimfura highlights the social impact of this new development as follows:

> Wherever it was implemented, igikingi increased the structures through which the administration authorities oppressed the poor and lower classes. It also helped reinforce feelings of ethnic hatred from the bottom to the top of the social hierarchy. Leaving the proletariat (often Twa and Hutu, and rarely Tutsi) to their own devices, and reckoning that the middle-income groups (which included Hutus and Tutsis) were relatively happy with their fields and pastures, the mwami and his most powerful chiefs figured that any muhutu, mututsi, and mutwa could get integrated into this upper social class, that is, into the Tutsi ethnic group, depending on the individual's talent, property, and ability to form alliances with socially well-situated families. To gain access to the ibikingi, which had become a new source of wealth, one often had to undergo a process of "Tutsification," also referred to by the authors as "ennobling," which blurred the distinction between the few powerful Tutsi lineages with the common Tutsi. . . . Such cases of "ennobling" became more widespread from the time of Rwabugiri [the last mwami of Rwanda, in the second half of the nineteenth century] and the spread of ibikingi. . . . How-

> ever, the fact that "ennobling" was initiated by the royal court or powerful chiefs became an obstacle to the development of a class comprising Bahutu chiefs powerful enough to serve as special intermediaries between the royal court and the greater section of the population.[21]

Climbing the social ladder required one to go through the process of "Tutsification" under the political clientship system of *ubuhake*. Those privileged to attain such social advancement were powerful cattle owners, and they did so at the expense of the majority of the Hutu, as well as of the Tutsi, who may have belonged to the same group as the nobility but who still led a precarious existence. Also, many in the most densely populated areas of central Rwanda lost their cattle and became Hutu after failing to get accepted as the client of a powerful chief.[22]

To have access to fields belonging to *igikingi*, poor agriculturist families that could not provide a certain amount of beans and sorghum as payment were required to perform *uburetwa*. For two out of every five days, a family had to provide manual labor on the lands owned by the chiefs, a new requirement that was particularly unpopular. The *ubuhake* and the *uburetwa* started to spread within central Rwanda only later, around the middle of the nineteenth century, and they varied in nature. It is during the colonial time that these institutions will be generalized and become overtly exploitive. The implementation of *uburetwa* was bound to have devastating consequences: the agriculturalists were bonded and exploited for their labor by the land chiefs in return for not getting evicted from their land. The imposition of *uburetwa* exclusively on the farmers and not on the pastoralists became the straw that broke the camel's back. It quickly precipitated the development of the schism that split Rwandan society, from the top to the bottom, into a hierarchy of two opposing categories that henceforth carried the labels Hutu and Tutsi.

In his historical account of the two categories, Vansina traces the origin of the term *Tutsi* to a period before the establishment of the Nyiginya kingdom. According to him, *Tutsi* designated a segment of the pastoralist population, whereas the word *Hutu* "was a demeaning term that alluded to rural boorishness or loutish behavior used by the elite."[23] As the military institution developed, the labels *Hutu* and *Tutsi* would take on new meanings. The army evolved into three distinct companies, two comprising herders responsible for combat and cattle raids, and the other composed of agriculturalists responsible for military logistics. Subsequently, *Tutsi* became the equivalent of warrior, in contrast with *Hutu*, or the servant. Vansina notes, "As most noncombatants happened to stem from lineages of farmers, the elites began to call all farmers 'Hutu' and to oppose this word to 'Tutsi,' now applied to all herders, whether they were of Tutsi origin or not."[24] According to Vansina, it is in this context that the first institutionalized distinction between Hutu and Tutsi appears:

> The absolute division between Hutu and Tutsi institutionalized by the daily practice of uburetwa rapidly displaced the older social class consciousness, in spite of the fact that this consciousness itself resulted from a political phenomenon rather than from a pure notion of class. Until then, class consciousness had elaborated a very fine social scale in which families were deemed less "good or bad" according to their occupations and their relative well-being, but it also made a rough distinction between the elite (imfura) and the bulk of the people, or between wealthy and poor people.[25]

Therefore, from 1870 onward, the social identification opposing Tutsi herders to Hutu agriculturalists spread throughout Rwanda. After 1885, several spontaneous revolts against the Tutsi authorities broke out in the center and south of the country. The following summary by Vansina provides a fitting conclusion:

> Their first error was to attribute the Tutsi/Hutu opposition to feelings of racial hatred, as Captain Berthe did in 1898 when he spoke of "Rassenhass," which reveals his opinions about race more than it reflects any reality on the ground. Indeed, it became commonplace for Europeans to equate Tutsi with Hamite and to apply to Rwanda the racist theories that Speke's book had introduced in the Great Lakes Region. From there, it was only a small step to imagine that a Hutu was a special racial designation accepted by all those who were so designated. Yet, at that time, the farmers in the country absolutely did not think of themselves as members of a single ethnic group, and they all rejected the insulting epithet that was bestowed on them. They distinguished themselves as the "people" of Bugoyi, Kinyaga, Nduga, Rukiga. . . . Awareness of their common quality was to arise only as the result of their common experience as Hutu subjects of the same colony and by its registration in all manner of census and identity papers of an awareness that then was openly appropriated and further refined during the political struggles of the 1950s.[26]

Researchers have different views of how these social and political tensions were handled by Mwami Rwabugiri at the eve of colonial rule. Vansina describes the mwami's reign as brutal and unpredictable, and he did not spare even the aristocratic lineages.[27] According to Emmanuel Ntezimana, Rwabugiri was prepared to use the common people instead of the privileged classes to reinforce the power of the monarchy:

> Toward the last decade of the nineteenth century, the aristocracy in general and the nobility from the provinces in particular had become unstable. These groups were disoriented and, worse, alienated from the highest levels of power and from the administration of the kingdom. Numerous historical accounts tell of exile and of Rwabugiri forcing the displacement of families and entire lineages to hostile regions that had recently come under occupation. These accounts suggest that ultimately, the beneficiaries of Rwabugiri's administration were initially unknown people from lowly backgrounds, be they abahutu, abatutsi, or abatwa, who in fact came from the newly conquered territories. The monarch drew them from very poor backgrounds and placed them in high positions of responsibility.[28]

The aristocratic lineages did not waste time in taking their revenge. During the Rucunshu coup after Rwabugiri's death in 1895, a section of the aristocracy killed Rwabugiri's legitimate successor and crowned instead a prince they could control. This faction, perceived as having usurped power, relied on the military might of the German and then of the Belgian colonists to reclaim and protect its privileges and power.[29] Under Rwabugiri the use of force had begun to overtake mysticism as the defining link between the people and the monarchy.[30]

The Colonial Period

The Rucunshu Coup and the Installation of the German Protectorate

Rwanda came under German control following the Anglo-German agreement of 1890 on partitioning East Africa. In 1894, the first official contact between the Rwandan monarchy and the German colonial authorities took place when Mwami Kigeli IV Rwabugiri received German emissary Gustav-Adolf von Götzen at the royal court. In 1895, Rwabugiri died after thirty-five years on the throne, leaving behind a kingdom at the height of its power.[31] Rutarindwa, Rwabugiri's designated successor, was killed at Rucunshu by his maternal uncles from the Abega-Abakagara clan. His step-brother Yuhi Musinga took over as mwami.[32] Among those who fiercely resisted this takeover were several Hutu-ruled provinces. In 1912, Ndugutse, a man from the north, organized a multiethnic revolt that included Rukara, a Hutu chief, and Basebya, a Twa chief, as well as Tutsis from regions opposed to the new royal court. The Germans came to Musinga's aid and crushed the rebellion,[33] thereby solidifying a hatred for Tutsi chiefs from central Rwanda.[34]

Throughout Germany's presence in Rwanda (1897–1916) and during the majority of Belgian rule (1916–1931), all kinds of exactions were levied against the people. Despite numerous ups and downs, the collaboration between the colonial administration and the Tutsi aristocracy remained close. The colonial system—which included the church—sought to subdue the population to obtain food and, above all, labor. For the royal court and Tutsi nobility, gaining favor with the colonial invaders became the practical thing to do in the face of the latter's invincible weaponry. The structure of power relations in Rwandan society had fundamentally changed.[35]

World War I only made things worse. In 1916, Belgian troops invaded Rwanda from Belgian Congo, introducing more exactions to meet their need for supplies and porters. Once again, the royal court and the chiefs served as their agents. These events were closely followed in 1917 by an acute famine in the northwest of Rwanda.[36]

The Clash of Cultures and of Powers

From the arrival of the "white fathers" (missionaries) in 1900 to the time Mwami Musinga was deposed in 1931, cohesion within Rwandan society weakened with the disintegration of the unifying philosophy represented by the spiritually revered monarchy. After the colonial administration had proven its superior military might, Rwandans were unable to preserve their cultural unity, even after the colonial administration adopted the policy of indirect rule. Thirty years into colonialism, the internal discord within Rwandan society had provided the space for colonial administrators and the missionaries to redefine Rwandan identity in terms of distinct races.

The white fathers played a leading political role. Despite being initially ostracized by the royal court and the populace, they succeeded in receiving a sizable allocation of land, on which they built their missions. They essentially adopted the role of the patron in the Rwandan clientship framework. The catechists were people who had left the familiarity of the chiefs and the royal court to work for the church. One of Rwandans' major motivations for aligning themselves with the church was to avoid tributes and the traditional system of duties.[37]

The arrival of the Belgians in 1916 only strengthened the white fathers' position. The Belgians joined forces with those who had a good knowledge of the country and with whom they shared Catholicism and the French language. The white fathers in turn intervened in the internal politics of the royal court. In 1917, the mwami was forbidden from pronouncing a death sentence without the permission of the head of the Belgian administration, the resident. From 1922 on, he was assisted in the exercise of his judicial duties by a resident's representative. In 1923, he was additionally forbidden to make or revoke appointments of provincial chiefs, and the latter were forbidden to appoint or dismiss their juniors without prior consent from the resident's office.[38]

Upon seeing the mwami's power slip away, a group of aristocrats allied themselves with the Belgian administration and the white fathers. They received the nickname *inshongore*, which loosely translates as the "splendid ones." Since the 1920s, when the king had been forced to accept freedom of worship, the *inshongore* sent their children to catechism class. To preserve the essence of the monarchy, Musinga attempted to appease the Europeans while checking the spread of Christianity.[39] In 1925, the Belgian administration banished the lead ritualist Gashamura to Burundi and banned *ubwiru* (the sacred oral esoteric code that mystically regulated the functions of the monarchy) and the celebration of the harvest feast known as *umunganura*. The Catholic Church dealt this blow to the religious institutions at the foundation of the sacred kingdom as a way of implementing a tabula rasa. Musinga's resistance led to his deposition in 1931 at the request of Vicar Apostolic Léon Classe on grounds of "poor management, passive resistance, obscurantism, and dissoluteness in his private life."[40] Mwami Musinga had not understood that with

a religion as strong as Christianity, the only hope for the monarchy resided in assimilating the religion just as it had done with the cult of Ryangombe.[41] He was replaced by his son Rudahigwa, who went by the dynastic name Mutara. The colonial administration and the vicar apostolic crowned him in a ceremony from which Rwandans were excluded from playing any role. Mutara Rudahigwa was thus perceived as the "mwami of the whites."[42] The demystification of the Rwandan monarchy emptied the institution of its cultural and political substance, which had up to then successfully maintained some measure of national unity.

The triumph of the Catholic Church was witnessed in the years that followed the deposition of Mwami Musinga. Rwandans, especially Tutsis, converted to Catholicism in the thousands, an event referred to as *La Tornade du Saint-Esprit* ("Tornado of the Holy Spirit").[43] Converts were required to renounce their cultural identity and zealously do away with pagan symbols.[44]

The Policy of Ethnic Exclusion

Until World War II, both the religious and administrative arms of colonial rule were profoundly influenced by the racist ideology Gobineau famously articulated in the mid-nineteenth century, which divided humanity into a hierarchy of distinct races. The application of the Hamitic hypothesis in Africa had a great impact on Rwanda, especially on Rwandans who attended colonial schools. According to this myth, Hamites were of "Caucasian" origin, were the agents of "civilization" in black Africa, and were lighter skinned.[45] In Rwanda, the colonialists identified Tutsis as the superior race, born to rule over the Hutu, who in turn were destined to be servants, whereas the Twa were relegated to the less than human.[46] In the middle of the 1920s, this ideological mind-set within the Catholic Church hierarchy combined well with the directives from Rome on the training of African elites to evangelize the natives.[47] After gaining the political support of the Tutsi elite, the next stage of establishing "ethnic" discrimination was founding schools that differentiated Hutu from Tutsi students by reserving for Tutsis the opportunities to advance in education (which included learning French). Initially, the mwami and the aristocracy declined to send their children to school, but they changed their minds when they saw that the graduates of these schools would be appointed to administrative positions. The schools run by Catholic missionaries therefore became an important instrument for actively disseminating the Hamitic myth within Rwandan society.[48] Earlier in 1919, the Belgians sought to appease Mwami Musinga by founding a public school in Nyanza for the sons of chiefs, to which Musinga sent his three eldest sons. The school was replaced in the early 1930s by the Groupe scolaire d'Astrida, whose role was to train clerks and technicians for the colonial administration. Until the 1959 revolution, the school's student body, and the administrative section in particular, were almost entirely Tutsi.[49]

The Restructuring of Rwandan Society

After 1919, the League of Nations granted Belgium the mandate over Rwanda and Burundi. The colonial administration undertook to make uniform the powers of the so-called customary chiefs. A number of provinces, such as Bukunzi and Busozo in the southwest and Ndorwa, Mulera, and Bushiru in the north had retained their autonomy, with Hutu chiefs in charge. Tutsi administrators from central Rwanda were subsequently appointed in their place.[50] The social impact of this move has been highlighted by Alison Des Forges:

> The people of Busozo and Bukunzi, like the Hutu in other areas, had idealized the mwami as their protector against the excessive greed of the notables and later against the centralizing zeal of the Europeans. With the destruction of the special status of Bukunzi and Busozo, the court's ability to protect the weak and those felt to be essential to the welfare of the kingdom suffered a serious blow.[51]

In 1926, Belgian authorities attacked the three-chief system, which consisted of the "chief of the land" in charge of agriculturalists, who was usually Hutu; the "chief of the pastures," who usually managed the pastures; and the "chief of warriors," who managed the cattle assigned to the army. The latter two posts were normally held by Tutsis, and both positions could be held by the same person. At the local level were a sizable number of people—Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa—who were the direct clients of the mwami. All of the leaders were constantly engaged in power struggles, giving the population some flexibility in playing the leaders against each other.[52]

Governor Charles Voisin's reform in 1926 replaced this tripartite system with a single chief and a limited number of subchiefs under him, which removed all Hutus from positions of authority. The reforms also reorganized all the territories so that 1,278 local notables, many of whom were Tutsi, were thereby required to work in the fields.[53] The position of chiefs and subchief were also made increasingly bureaucratic, with the accompanying regulation by strict rules and quantified performance targets. Schooling increasingly became a criterion for appointment.

A fraction of tributes were also converted into monetary payment. In 1927, the colonial administration transformed *uburetwa* into compulsory manual labor of every able-bodied adult male for one out of seven days. Rather than ease the burden of exactions, this modification actually greatly aggravated them because it transferred the *uburetwa* requirement from the household to the individual. In their haste to impose uniformity, the administration extended *uburetwa* to the rest of the country, including regions where until then, the original system was hardly known, if at all. To these customary levies was added unpaid forced labor for "public interest" (*akazi*), especially for road and terrace construction and maintenance.[54] There was also "work imposed by

the European authority in the interest of the workers themselves,"[55] which consisted of compulsory cultivation of food crops such as cassava (to fight against famine) or of cash crops such as coffee. The peasantry was therefore under the pressure of various levies and tributes, both customary and colonial. *Akazi* was by far the heaviest burden by virtue of the difficult work and the number of days one would be away from one's of land, and as if things could get any worse, the official limit of sixty days of duty per year was often not upheld.[56]

Many men were forced to migrate in search of wage employment to pay the taxes they owed the state. After establishing a detailed comparison of the levies and compulsory manual labor before and after the reforms, Filip Reyntjens concurs with René Lemarchand, that he "rightly concludes that under the Belgian administration, the plight of the Hutu population was worse than ever before."[57] The forced migration of workers at the end of the 1920s to the Katanga mines in neighboring Congo, desperate for labor, would complete the Belgian colonial "employment policy" in Rwanda. To implement the policy, the capacity of the chiefs and subchiefs was boosted by hiring *capita* (foremen), police officers, and extra staff to join them at the bottom of the administrative ladder. These new employees frequently resorted to flogging and were nicknamed *abamotsi* ("barkers").[58] The Belgian government's "modernization" project was driven by its determination to make the country financially self-sufficient. The administration had access to labor investment, the only immediately and abundantly available resource, and overused it.[59] Forcing people to work compelled tens of thousands of Rwandans to migrate, either temporarily or permanently, to the British colonies of Uganda and Tanganyika in search of voluntary paid employment. At the end of the 1920s, about fifty thousand Rwandans, roughly one out of every six adult males, were emigrating every year.[60] Rwanda's involvement in the Allied war effort in the 1940s only worsened the situation.[61] Substantial amounts of foodstuffs and numbers of cattle were exacted from the population in Rwanda to feed mineworkers in Congo; the minerals fed the Allied war industry. In light of Rwanda's already precarious food situation and poor climatic conditions, this strain on the country's resources caused an unprecedented famine.

The colonial era in the first half of the twentieth century was divided into two distinct periods. The first period, between 1900 and 1925, was characterized by collaboration between the Tutsi elite and the Europeans, especially in the control of the country's remoter regions.[62] During the second period, from 1926 to 1952, the whole of Rwandan society, rulers and ruled alike, became politically, administratively, and religiously confined within the rigid colonial structure.

In theory, Belgium had decided since 1920 to govern Rwanda by indirect rule. In practice, however, and as Reyntjens notes, the Belgian colonial regime wielded absolute power.[63] The second period stood out as one of totalitarian colonial rule, in which the subordinate native authorities, who had become ex-

clusively Tutsi, were responsible for implementation of the colonial development policies the general population considered oppressive and pervasive. This political and administrative structure, which entrenched ethnic discrimination within the native administration, colluded with the Catholic Church's determination to wipe out the sociocultural practices that united Rwandans. Finally, the missionary-run colonial schools disseminated the idea of the racial superiority of the Tutsi over the Hutu.

After Mwami Musinga was deposed in 1931, the elites abandoned any attempt at political and cultural resistance.[64] Nevertheless, the chiefs and subchiefs maintained some leverage within the system through their power to require forced labor from some people or exempt others from it.[65] This prerogative became a tool of social and ethnic favoritism, and the colonial system turned a blind eye to such abuses as long as the native authorities produced results.

Changes Toward the Close of Colonial Rule (1945–1959)

At the end of World War II, the League of Nations was replaced by the UN. The time had come for people to exercise self-determination and to challenge colonial imperialism, and this wind of change had peculiar implications for Ruanda-Urundi, which had come under "trusteeship." Political development was expected to lead to mass participation in institutions of elective representation. This pressure from the newly instituted UN led Belgium to invest heavily in helping its territories try to catch up with the neighboring colonies in terms of development.[66]

The policies were reflected in the "Ten-Year Economic and Social Development Plan for Ruanda-Urundi, 1949–1959," which gave priority to the purchase of equipment, particularly for Usumbura, the colonial capital of Ruanda-Urundi, allocating only 7 percent to agriculture and livestock. The main policy for tackling the population explosion in its initial stages and the accompanying increase in pressure on the land was to organize unused land into small holdings in order to reduce congestion in the most densely populated regions. Health, education, and social services experienced significant improvement. The number of students attending primary school jumped from 30,000 in 1930 to 270,000 in 1960 out of the eligible 1.1 million.[67] Most of the students did not attend school beyond the first or second year. Access to secondary school education remained restricted and subject to systematic discrimination disfavoring the Hutu, which became one of the focal points of the most intense social conflict.

Even though Rwandan society had evolved in an environment of great deprivation, it had also been modernized by 1950, thanks to the cash economy introduced throughout the country, but the structures of ethnic discrimination favoring the Tutsi begun in the 1920s persisted in new forms of discrimination,

especially in education and wage employment.[68] A key obstacle in the country's path to modernization was the discrimination against the Hutu within the school system, under the control of the Catholic Church and the colonial administration. The training of locals to become administrators, chiefs, subchiefs, medical or veterinary assistants, agriculturalists, and magistrates was offered only at the government-owned but church-run Groupe scolaire d'Astrida. Most of the students were Tutsi and formed a special elite regardless of their family background.[69] Even after they had graduated, "Astridian" alumni were expected to distinguish themselves.

Among the peasants, particularly Hutus, the best option for the most intelligent students was to study in the seminaries, where the humanist training did not prepare them for administrative posts, and so they would become teachers or lower-level workers. This social class, which was often found within the church, comprised ambitious and frustrated intellectuals known as *séminaristes*.[70] The *séminaristes* formed a social class that produced the Hutu counterelite.

The conflict at the close of the colonial era was essentially a struggle between the *évolués,* both Astridians and *séminaristes*, to gain access to the lucrative administrative posts within the colonial government and later access to power at independence. In their revolutionary quest, the *séminaristes* drew the support of the rural intelligentsia comprising primary school teachers, lower-level employees, artisans, and peasants who had often worked away from their home regions.[71] These people, who had managed to pull away from the grip of the subchiefs, were increasingly conscious of the injustice inherent in the forced-labor system.[72]

But for the general population there was little difference between Hutu and Tutsi. The great majority of Tutsi shared the same living conditions as their Hutu neighbors as shown by the results of the study conducted in Rwanda's rural areas in the mid-1950s. When excluding the tiny minority of those employed by the colonial state, Hutu and Tutsi families had almost the same level of average annual income, 4.439 Belgian francs for Tutsi and 4.249 for Hutu.[73]

Changes took place alongside the emergence of a new European workforce. From the 1940s onward, the former missionaries, mostly conservative, were replaced by younger Belgian priests who brought with them the socialist sensibilities of European leftist Catholics.[74] These new missionaries took up the cause of the "Hutu majority." The appointment in 1955 of the Swiss André Perraudin as head of the Catholic Church in Rwanda emboldened the Hutu cause.[75]

A comprehensive study by Ian Linden highlights two major events in the triangular relationship between the Europeans, the Tutsi elite, and the Hutu elite. At the beginning of the 1950s, the Rwandan elites formed a united front against the Europeans. A few years later, the Hutu intellectuals, disillusioned

by their distant Tutsi peers, sought the support of the new missionaries, who were only too pleased with this interaction because it conformed to their socialist Catholicism.[76]

Faced with the nationalist cultural movement driven by Tutsi priests and seminarists promoting a social order that favored the Tutsi, members of the Hutu elite also saw their grievances from a "racial" angle.[77] However, Linden questions the motives of the Belgian clergy: Was this a subtle plot by the colonialist church to divide and break up a potentially powerful nationalist movement led by a Tutsi vanguard? Or was it the upwelling of Hutu political consciousness that for the first time saw through the mystification of Tutsi rule? "The young missionaries at the elbow of the counterelite were both in favor of drastic social reform and sympathetic toward independence movements, . . . but conservative Tutsi 'nationalism' disqualified itself by its elitist contempt for the mass population."[78]

In a dynamic well documented, there is little proof of missionaries' supposed sympathy toward African self-determination movements, particularly in Rwanda. Given the loyalties of the main Hutu protagonists to the missionaries up until 1959, one must conclude that the missionaries' support for reform was also nurtured by the desire for power and the desire to defend the status and privileges enjoyed by the Catholic Church in the country.

In retrospect, the 1950s emerge as a prerevolutionary period. Following two missions to Rwanda in 1948 and 1959, the UN Trusteeship Council condemned the slow pace of the country's political transition. The Belgians responded to this criticism with a decree on July 14, 1952, establishing representative councils at different levels of the administrative hierarchy, from the subchiefs and chiefs to the national level. These consultative structures were supposed to usher in democratization; however, the appointments to these representative councils at the first, subchieftaincy, level were made by the subchiefs, which made them the only real voters.[79] In the first "elections" held in 1953, Hutus won 58.38 percent of the seats at the lowes level, but only three Hutus were elected into the Country Supreme Council (CSP), constituting 9.4 percent of the seats. In the subsequent elections in 1956, in which members of the lowest-level electoral colleges were elected by adult male suffrage, the Hutus won 66.7 percent of the seats. However, their representation at the Supreme Council diminished because they garnered only 6 percent of the seats. Some observers have blamed this difference in Hutu representation in the electoral colleges and at the highest level of the Supreme Council on elections conducted by indirect vote and on the feudal mind-set of the Hutus, still mesmerized by the social prestige of the leaders, the "notables."[80]

One can therefore say that the elections of 1953 and 1956 had little impact on the integration of the Hutu into the local political and administrative hierarchy. These two failed attempts at democratization had raised the Hutu leaders' expectations but had also provoked the feeling that the beginning of

the end of the traditional order was in sight.[81] Between 1953 and 1959, Mwami Rudahigwa and the Tutsi elite in the Supreme Council brought about social reforms within the limits of their consultative capacity. The most important of these changes was abolishing the pastoral clientship system of *ubuhake* in 1954 in favor of the equal sharing of cows between clients and patrons. But the preservation of *ibikingi* curtailed the reforms' potential for liberation.[82]

Meanwhile, environmental pressure from the growing population led to compromises made often with the approval of the chiefs and subchiefs. "The cow steps back, and the hoe moves forward," a 1959 report announced.[83] In 1958, Chief Prosper Bwanakweri mentioned the evolution taking place on the hills, where the transfer of portions of *ibikingi* to landless farmers appeared to have become common, which he considered irreversible and even desirable.[84] The CSP, controlled by young chiefs who had graduated from the Astrida school, at first demonstrated a commitment to limited reforms as they sought to retain the essence of the traditional hierarchical order. According to Lemarchand, these young people were deeply aware of the great qualities of their cultural heritage but were also conscious of the need to adapt their institutions to democratic demands, but few had an idea of how that could be carried out.[85]

Between 1956 and 1959, debates on injustices and ways to address them intensified. The debates were roughly guided by these questions: Was there a Hutu-Tutsi problem? Was the problem racial or social? To address these problems, should one begin with independence and have reforms later, or should it be democracy first and independence afterward? The profoundly diverging public positions taken prepared the ideological grounds for what was to become an open conflict.[86]

Rudahigwa's "Unexpected Move" in His Final Days

Following the appointment on April 16, 1959, of a Belgian parliamentary working group to study the political problem in Ruanda-Urundi, the mwami decided to take initiative by drawing up a strategy for the country's democratization before independence within the framework of internal self-rule. The context for this "unexpected move" is provided in a document stamped "strictly confidential," dated April 12, 1959, written by Lazarre Ndazaro, who appears to have been an informer for the colonial administration, and addressed to the resident of Rwanda and to the Ruanda-Urundi vice-governor general.[87] The document contains three main sections: the minutes of the twentieth session of the CSP held on April 11, 1959, the report on a secret meeting at the palace, and an overall conclusion. Ndazaro specifically reported, "A secret meeting had just taken place at the palace on the night of April 11 and 12," attended by the members of the mwami's think tank, such as the priests Janvier

Murenzi and Alexis Kagame as well as Claver Bagilishya, Pierre Mungarulire, Servilien Runuya, and other members of the political commission of the CSP, namely, Jean Chrysostome Rwangombwa, Anasthase Makuza, and Father Deogratias Mbandiwimfura.[88] Absent from the meeting was Michel Kayihura, president of the commission.

The objective of this overnight meeting was to draw up a broad outline of proposals the political commission would include in the report it would present to the Belgian parliamentary working group about to arrive. The main issues discussed were the inevitability of democracy, the establishment of internal self-rule, the formation of a government headed by the mwami, and the conversion of subchieftaincies into communes. In his general conclusion, Ndazaro provides analysis of the political situation prevailing in Nyanza, which in turn sheds light on the evolution in Mwami Rudahigwa's political thinking three months before his death. However, Ndazaro also paints a general picture of the different orientations that emerged from the CSP debate: conservatives clung to their positions under threat; progressive democrats made up about a third of the younger members close to the colonial administration; and finally opportunists formed the majority. The report's general conclusion merits closer attention because it reveals the complex situation on the eve of independence, often obscured by the reduction of issues to "ethnicity":

> The regime has been forced to retreat from open confrontation because of internal public disapproval. This option has given way to a practice of blackmail, even more widely spread among the évolués and gullible Batutsi than among the working classes. In this propagandistic blackmail the colonial administration, the church missions, and the Hutu elites are being accused of sowing discord among Rwandans by maintaining the public attention on the social and racial discrimination inherent in the feudal regime and supported by the former ruling class.
>
> This blackmail is coupled with a deliberate policy to rally all the smartest and well-educated Rwandans to support the crown. Those who stand to gain the most are the current members of the opposition, whose bold persistence has shown them to be more useful than the usual sycophants who will make an about-face at the slightest challenge.
>
> They have devised three ways to win over the antifeudalists: appeal to family influence, avoid contradicting what the antifeudalists stand for, avoid upsetting them in public or appearing less "sympathetic" than Europeans toward them, and dangling before them personal benefits to be gained from self-rule, such as high-profile and coveted positions, all on the condition that antifeudalists support and collaborate in achieving the monarchy's political objectives. The administration, bound by its respect for the law and "equal status," can never offer the same privileges.[89] The intended result is that the colonial administration will find itself isolated and will have no choice but to give in and recommend the end of the trusteeship. . . .
>
> This is the smartest ever political move from the native administration. It uses convincing arguments based on its apparent respect for freedom of expression, nationalist fervor, and immediate material gain. Under

> normal circumstances, and as long as it is well implemented and does not meet an equally strong opposition, this approach cannot fail.*[90]

This document shows that Rudahigwa had abandoned his policy of confrontation with the leaders of the Hutu cause. His strategy seems to have consisted of winning over these leaders, and in so doing, isolating the colonial administration. We also witness here the dynamics of political scheming: the mwami was seeking to attract the Hutu leaders, and Ndazaro, the author of the document, was proposing that the colonial administration hit back by employing the carrot-and-stick approach with Tutsi "opportunists" within the CSP.

In April 1959, the CSP submitted to the Belgian working group a report proposing the democratization of the country before independence within the framework of self-rule. It envisioned the transformation of the subchieftaincies into communes and the election of commune councilors by direct universal suffrage as well as the election of the burgomaster by the commune council. At a higher level would be territories whose councils comprised two delegates per commune.[91] A new supreme council of the country would comprise a delegate from each commune, the presidents of the provincial councils, and a number of coopted members. By including a majority made up of delegates from the communes, the CSP in this new draft would allow more direct representation. During a meeting of the customary authorities held from April 20 to 24, 1959, the mwami managed to convince forty-three of the forty-four chiefs to accept the principle of a collective resignation.[92] The CSP seems to have pulled the rug out from under the feet of the mwami's critics.

At the end of three years of political debate from 1956 to 1959, distinct ideological trends had emerged. The first was that of the mwami and the CSP, who saw the protests of the Hutu counterelite as instigated by Western colonialism. The social reform of the CSP, cut short by the death of Mwami Rudahigwa, was accompanied for a long time by an obstinate blindness to the political reality based on overestimation of the historically central role played by the monarchy and the aristocracy. In reality, the monarchy's roots had already been profoundly undermined by colonial rule and the collaboration between the Rwandan nobility and the colonial administration in oppressing people. After the mwami and some of his chiefs had cut ties with Western colonialists, they adopted a confrontational approach, ignoring the unequal power relations and counting almost entirely on both the faraway UN to neutralize the Belgian trusteeship authority and on their influence on the population. These Tutsi neotraditional leaders had refused to recognize the symbolic power of the Hutu leaders for too long because they considered the latter as instruments of the colonial administration and the church. Mwami Rudahigwa's

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*Quotes from sources originally in French are translated by Wandia Njoya.

action now was late.[93] At a broader level, Rwanda's underdeveloped modern political culture and its isolation from the rest of the world, both encouraged by the near monopoly of the education system under the white fathers as well as by the obscurantist Belgian tutelage, prevented more Rwandans from understanding sooner the extent to which the native political regime had lost touch with unfolding realities.[94]

However, even if the mwami seems to have realized belatedly the political danger facing the monarchy as well as the unity of Rwandans, he did want to act decisively. It is interesting to note that a few months before his death, some of his political adversaries thought him close to victory were it not for the decisive actions designed to oppose him.

The other remarkable feature of this period was an ideological division among the Hutu revolutionaries powerful enough to cause a schism within the Hutu Social Movement (Mouvement Social Muhutu) soon after the release of the Hutu manifesto.[95] One faction analyzed the political conflict in terms of race, whereas the other saw it more in terms of social class. The option of "racial" confrontation offered by the PARMEHUTU planted the seed that would tear Rwanda's social fabric apart.[96] The Catholic Church, under the leadership of Bishop Perraudin, gave moral support to the PARMEHUTU alternative and access to a wider audience through the control of the Kinyarwanda-language newspapers as well as to the entire network of Catholic orders and associations all around the country.[97]

The Path to Revolution (1959–1961)

The different stages in the social revolution are as follows.

The death of Mwami Rudahigwa. On July 25, 1959, Mwami Rudahigwa died in Bujumbura at the hands of his Belgian personal physician after having an allergic reaction to a shot of penicillin. The debate over whether his death was accidental or criminal persists given the absence of an autopsy and the king's agenda of political reform. According to a witness at the time, Rudahigwa's death left the impression that a threshold had now been breached: "Enemies and friends alike got the impression that from now on, anything—from the best to the worst—was possible in Rwanda."[98]

The crowning of Kigeri V Ndahindurwa. During Mwami Rudahigwa's funeral, the members of the king's court insisted that the mwami could not be buried before his successor was named. Ndahindurwa, Rudahigwa's young brother, was proclaimed mwami. Though taken by surprise, Resident-General Jean-Paul Harroy accepted the enthronement on the condition that the new king rule as a constitutional monarch. The traditionalists had won a first round.[99]

The creation of political parties. Three major Rwandan political parties were created in the months of September and October 1959 in addition to the Association for the Social Welfare of the Masses (APROSOMA), founded a few months earlier. The Rwandan National Union (UNAR) was formed on September 3, 1959, with objectives of immediate *independence* and the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. Among its officials were Kigali businessman François Rukeba, who served as president, and three prominent chiefs.[100] The party was also supported by the Swahili people living in the urban centers. In a confidential circular, Bishop Perraudin attacked the party's "national socialism," its anticlericalism, and its communist and Islamic tendencies."[101]

The Rwandan Democratic Union (RADER), created with the support of the Belgian administration and the Kabgayi Diocese, led by Father Arthur Dejemeppe, attempted to bring together progressive Tutsis (Astridians) and Hutus within a democratic party sympathetic to Belgian interests.[102] Made up of intellectually brilliant personalities such as its president, Chief Bwanakweri, RADER attracted mainly urban intellectuals and failed to build a support base among the grassroots.

On September 26, 1959, Grégoire Kayibanda transformed the Hutu Social Movement (MSM) into the PARMEHUTU with the blessing of Canon Eugene Ernotte and Father Réginald Endriatis. Its foundation was explicitly "racial"; it was fighting against the "hegemony of the invading Tutsi race." At a joint meeting with APROSOMA at Astrida, Kayibanda articulated his new party's ideology as follows:

> Our movement is targeted at the Hutu, who have been despised, humiliated, and regarded with contempt by the Tutsi. If we want to help the Hutu, let's not confuse them by playing with words. . . . Many wonder what APROSOMA means. They are told that APROSOMA are the "enemies of the mwami" and "monsters who want to devour the Batutsi." . . . We need to enlighten the people that we are here to restore the country to its real owners, as this is the country of the Bahutu. The small Mututsi came together with the noble ones. Who cleared the forest? There you have it![103]

The PARMEHUTU slogan was "democracy first, independence later." Kayibanda was the principal leader and was to become the future president of the republic. The party was organized into cells modeled on the Legion of Maria, a Catholic order, and had a propagandist on every hill. However, it was unequally spread and centered mainly in Gitarama and Ruhengeri Prefectures.

APROSOMA, formed in November 1957, broke away from the MSM of Kayibanda because Joseph Gitera opposed ethnic confrontation, advocating instead a sociopolitical critique. Later APROSOMA became a political party in February 1959. The party members were largely drawn from Hutus from

Astrida, such as its president, Gitera; its vice president, Aloys Munyangaju; and their close associates, Isidore Nzeyimana and Germain Gasingwa. Gitera's virulent opposition to the monarchy made him, at the beginning of the revolution, the principal enemy of the monarchy's supporters.[104]

The activities of the political parties, especially the mass rallies, created a confrontational environment bound to explode into violence. The conflict between UNAR and the Belgian administration became open starting September 12, 1959, when UNAR held its first rally. Among those who spoke were three UNAR chiefs who issued veiled criticisms against the Belgian administration, and others were more violent and unequivocal in their speeches. The Belgian trustee authority sanctioned the three chiefs through disciplinary transfers; instead the sanctioned chiefs tendered their resignations. The mwami openly took sides with UNAR and intervened on its behalf. Demonstrations were held in the areas under the chiefs' jurisdiction as well as in Kigali. Clashes between the police and the demonstrators left one person dead and four people injured. The tension had reached its peak, and every day UNAR published tracts attacking the trustee authorities, Bishop Perraudin, and RADER leaders Bwanakweri and Ndazaro. The trustee administration called in troop reinforcements from Congo.

The jacquerie *(rebellion) of 1959.* The "spark which ignited the powder keg"[105] was the slapping of Dominique Mbonyumutwa, a Hutu subchief and a key PARMEHUTU figure, by members of the UNAR youth wing in Gitarama. Soon after, a rumor spread that Mbonyumutwa had succumbed to injuries that he never had. On November 3, 1959, in the north in what was to become Gitarama Prefecture and in the Ndiza chiefdoms, where Mbonyumutwa's subchiefdom was located, a group of protestors who had come to express their anger grabbed Nkusi, a Tutsi subchief, and cut him down with machetes. Within one day, a revolt driven by complex motives swept across a large part of the country. The violence began in Ndiza and Bumbogo regions and spread to Ruhengeri and Gisenyi Prefectures, where traditional clan autonomy was strong and where communities grappled with acute land shortage, and then engulfed the rest of the country.[106] Lemarchand observes that people "burned and pillaged because they had been told to do so and because the operation did not seem to involve great risks and enabled them to seize the loot in the victim's hut."[107] Often, the peasant arsonists were told by PARMEHUTU activists they were acting on the orders of Kigeri, and during the mwami's subsequent peace tour of the country, some asked to be remunerated. The primary target of attack was the chiefs, subchiefs, and other Tutsi notables.[108]

On November 6, the monarchist circles organized a retaliatory attack targeted at the leaders of the APROSOMA and PARMEHUTU parties, reviving the traditional armies. Groups of Twa killers murdered several Hutu leaders in the Gitarama Prefecture and the surrounding areas of Nyanza. On November

13, in the face of a vigorous Tutsi counterattack, Kayibanda sent a telegram to the UN requesting the division of the country into separate Tutsi and Hutu zones,[109] and the telegram was read on the radio.[110] On November 10, the Belgian trustee administration had called in troops from Congo and declared a state of emergency that placed the country under the military command of Colonel Guy Logiest, appointed the "special resident" of Rwanda. The Belgian military intervention ended the repression by the monarchy threatening to have the upper hand in the revolt.[111] The events of November were essentially a peasant revolt against the leaders, hence the use of the term "*jacquerie*" in scholarship on these events.

Lemarchand underscores the importance of the Belgian role with regard to these conflicts: "The decisive factor was that the Belgian authorities reacted to these 'objective' conditions in such a way as to make the success of the revolution a foregone conclusion. After the Belgian administrators had decided on the spot that the peasant uprisings of November 1959 were a revolution (which they were obviously not), the real revolution could no longer be averted."[112]

At the end of November, there was a semblance of calm in the country also grappling with a massive exodus of Tutsi refugees who could no longer return to their hills. The visiting mission of the UN estimated the number of deaths as at least 200.[113] By the end of the revolt, 21 Tutsi chiefs and 332 subchiefs, constituting more than half of the officials, had lost their positions.[114] The extent of the violence and the support of the administration led to a radical change, a point of no return for the Hutu movement. The abolition of the monarchy, unimaginable up to this point, became the main agenda, and the liquidation of the Tutsi elite in particular became a legitimate goal. By transferring power to the Hutu, Colonel Logiest has been the most important architect of this revolution.

Appointment of interim authorities. Colonel Logiest replaced the Tutsi authorities ousted by the Hutu members or PARMEHUTU sympathizers. He also did everything within his power to get rid of chiefs and subchiefs not expelled by their respective populations.[115] The new interim authorities behaved like activists harassing the Tutsi, and the administration did not intervene to restrain these excesses.[116] This provoked a fresh wave of refugees, some of whom settled in the camps for the displaced at Nyamata. Others chose exile in the neighboring countries. The number of refugees leaped from 7,000 at the end of November 1959 to 22,000 by April 1960.[117] In 1960, the PARMEHUTU, now bearing the name MDR-PARMEHUTU, sent out the "Earnest Appeal from Ruanda to All the Anticolonialists of the World," in which it stated, "Tell the Tutsi who are in Dar es-Salaam [*sic*] that they can either continue their journey toward Abyssinia and resettle in the land of their ancestors or resolve to accept democracy and humbly return to Rwanda."[118]

The commune elections. The special resident organized communal elections for June 1960. UNAR, which had lost a large portion of its political base through the massive displacement of Tutsis and several Hutus faithful to the monarchy, decided to boycott the elections, leading to what Alexis Kagame called "political suicide."[119] The Belgian authorities banned all campaign material supporting the boycott. Colonel Logiest campaigned for the PARMEHUTU by cautioning the voters against UNAR.[120] The elections were marred by numerous incidents of violence committed by both sides. The most affected areas this time were the south and the west of the country, particularly in Gikongoro and Kibuye Prefectures.

About 80 percent of the population of voting age was registered to vote; 21.8 percent of them boycotted the elections in response to the call by UNAR, and the PARMEHUTU won 70 percent of the vote. But according to d'Hertefeld, the national average of those who did not vote had little significant impact. More interesting is a comparison between an A zone (158 communes; 330,506 registered voters; that is, 68.6 percent of the total registered voters) where abstention was at 5.2 percent, and a B zone (71 communes; 152,234 registered voters; that is, 31.5 percent of the registered voters) where abstention stood at 57.7 percent. This B zone was relatively homogeneous and stretched across all the east and part of the central and southern regions of the country as well as a strip in the extreme west.[121] One appreciates the magnitude of UNAR's political suicide when one considers that the party had rejected an opportunity to make itself a major actor in the new political arena.

In many regions, the new Hutu burgomasters found it difficult to find acceptance among the people. Some ambiguity in the framework establishing and regulating their positions, as well as the complicity of the Belgian authorities, enabled many burgomasters to use intimidation and clientism to rule their communes with a strong hand. No matter what abuses they committed, the burgomasters could count on the support of the Belgian administration.[122] They inevitably encountered the discontent and resistance of their constituents, most of them Hutu. The fear of mass dissatisfaction, the threat of incursions from across the border by Tutsi exiles, and the fear of the UN withdrawal of Belgium's trustee status prompted Hutu leaders to seek to complete the revolution.

The January 1961 coup of Gitarama. Having secured control at the local level, the revolutionaries set about to capture the central power. However, Hutu leaders feared that the program of national reconciliation (a conference bringing together all the political parties, a law of amnesty, and the repatriation of refugees), which the UN Trusteeship Council had set as a precondition for parliamentary elections, would provide a reprieve for UNAR that the latter would exploit to snatch back the reins of power.[123] The Hutu leaders therefore decided, with the complicity of Colonel Logiest, to present the UN and the vice-governor general a fait accompli. On January 28, 1961, 3,126 communal coun-

cilors and their burgomasters converged at Gitarama, where they proclaimed the dissolution of the monarchy, the establishment of the republic under President Mbonyumutwa, and the formation of a government led by Kayibanda as prime minister.[124] In its reaction to the coup, the UN Commission for Ruanda-Urundi observed, "A racial dictatorship of one party has been set up in Rwanda, and the developments of the last eighteen months have consisted in the transitions from one type of oppressive regime to another. Extremism is rewarded, and there is a danger that the [Tutsi] minority may find itself defenseless in the face of abuse."[125] Parliamentary elections and a referendum on the monarchy were finally set for September 25, and these essentially legalized the coup at Gitarama. For the PARMEHUTU burgomasters, the electoral campaign provided cover for the serious violence targeted not only at the political parties considered Tutsi, such as UNAR and RADER, but also at APROSOMA, which had broken ties with the PARMEHUTU. Colonel Logiest openly campaigned for the PARMEHUTU, and the movement won the elections with 77.7 percent of the vote. The monarchy was rejected by 75 percent of the voters.[126] On July 1, 1962, Rwanda gained independence.

Years later, the two main Belgian actors of this period would acknowledge the critical role played by the colonial administration in the revolutionary process. In his book published in 1984, the former resident-general, Harroy, talks of "an assisted revolution,"[127] and in Colonel Logiest's memoirs, he acknowledges his personal involvement and the integral role he and his Congolese troops played in the expulsion of the Tutsi aristocracy and the abolition of monarchy.[128]

The First Republic

The MDR-PARMEHUTU Dictatorship

A few months before Rwandan independence, the UN had instituted a number of measures toward reconciliation, contained in the New York accords signed on February 28, 1962. According to the agreement, UNAR would receive two ministerial posts, two posts of secretary of state, two prefect and subprefect posts, and one important post in the Refugee Commission. In the parliamentary elections, UNAR had won seven out of the forty-four seats in the national assembly. It also had an office in Kigali and published a periodical that relentlessly criticized the government.[129] These elements gave the impression that the new regime had genuinely accepted democratic practice, whereas in fact the opposite was true. In Butare Prefecture, Amandin Rugira, the PARMEHUTU regional secretary, systematically intimidated APROSOMA burgomasters and their constituents to the advantage of the PARMEHUTU to the extent that APROSOMA lost the Butare seat in the 1963 communal elections and practically ceased to exist.[130] The persecution of UNAR in 1962 and 1963 became more brutal: party members were subjected to permanent threats, arbi-

trary arrest, and violence. The PARMEHUTU imposed compulsory party membership. This oppression was followed by the execution of UNAR and RADER political representatives as part of the government's policy of terror following the attack by the *inyenzi* ("cockroaches," as the officials had nicknamed the rebels) in December 1963.

Refugees, Inyenzi, *and Massacres*

From November 1959 to September 1961, killings and insecurity forced tens of thousands of Tutsis, as well as a number of Hutus, to take refuge outside the country or to move into new settlement areas inside the country. During the proclamation of independence, the refugees numbered about 300,000. Of these, 120,000 were outside the country. After the 1963–1964 wave of violence, 300,000 refugees were registered with the UN High Commission for Refugees in Uganda, Burundi, Congo, and Tanzania.[131] Most of the refugees were peasants who had left their country with the hope of returning soon. Most of the UNAR leaders were wanted by the authorities and had fled the country from the start of "pacification." Abroad, and with the help of progressive governments, the refugees had organized a diplomatic offensive, especially at the UN headquarters, but their success was hampered by failure to enact the resolutions.

The most radical of these leaders joined the armed struggle and led refugees from the camps in neighboring countries in carrying out a number of attacks on Rwanda. Between March 1963 and November 1966, about a dozen significant attacks took place, with raids targeted at government officials and security personnel in the border regions. Each of the attacks acted as a signal for more or less widespread persecution of the Tutsi population within the country.

The December 1963 attack marked a turning point in the scale of repression, particularly with the genocidal massacres in Gikongoro.[132] On December 21, 1963, a few hundred *inyenzi* entered from Burundi armed with spears and arrows and some guns and managed to overrun the Gako military camp in Bugesera region. They proceeded to the internal refugee camp in Nyamata, where they increased their ranks to a thousand men and then headed for Kigali. They were stopped about twenty kilometers from the capital by the national guard, which was well armed and under the command of Belgian officers. The attackers suffered heavy losses, and the survivors returned to Burundi.[133] According to interviews Reyntjens carried out among Belgian and Rwandan security officers, they knew beforehand the site and time of attack, meaning the *inyenzi* had essentially walked into a trap.[134] One can therefore argue that President Kayibanda took advantage of the attack in order to unleash anti-Tutsi terror. About twenty UNAR and RADER leaders were arrested and executed. The president dispatched a minister to each of ten prefectures to supervise the organization of "self-defense" by the population, which led to a number of

killings. The largest massacres took place in the Gikongoro prefecture and were supervised by Prefect André Nkeramugaba and Agriculture Minister Damien Nkezabera. The massacres began on December 23 before spreading to the other regions. The Hutu population, armed with machetes and spears, set about massacring Tutsis of the region, including women and children, in a systematic fashion. Lemarchand describes the situation as follows:

> In some places the prefects and the PARMEHUTU propagandists saw in the reprisals a golden opportunity to solidify their bases of support among the local Hutu populations. Realizing that a massive elimination of Tutsi would make their land "available" to Hutu, the politicians saw distinct political advantages in encouraging the liquidation of the local Tutsi population. Thus one can better understand why the prefect of Gikongoro, André Nkeramugaba, after he decided to present his candidacy to the National Assembly, in 1965, was elected by an overwhelming majority of votes in the prefecture of Gikongoro.[135]

In fact, Nkeramugaba's election slogan in 1965 was "If I am not elected, you may be prosecuted, but if I am elected, I will do my best to prevent any investigation." The prefecture had a large Tutsi population and was the heart of the political opposition to the regime. Conservative estimates put the number of deaths at around ten thousand. The news solicited strong reactions, but these were few given the suppression of information by the Rwandan and Belgian governments. Some newspapers talked of "genocide." Philosopher Bertrand Russell called the killings the "most horrible and systematic massacres we have witnessed since that of the Jews by the Nazis." Similar remarks came from Jean-Paul Sartre and Vatican Radio.[136] In response to these accusations, President Kayibanda made a "public address to the Rwandan emigrants or refugees abroad in the name of 'brotherly greetings'!" The statement read,

> The human lives that have been lost to terrorism despite our vigilance do not gain anything from the deafening noise of your lies. Who is acting genocidal? Ask yourselves this question honestly and answer it with your conscience. Are the Tutsis who have remained in the country and who live in fear of the popular anger provoked by your attacks, happy with your actions? . . . In the unlikely event that you capture Kigali, what will you say of the chaos of which you will be the primary victims? You say it among yourselves: "It would be the complete and rapid elimination of the Tutsi race." Who is for genocide?[137]

The Racist Anti-Tutsi Ideology

Until independence, the racist anti-Tutsi ideology the PARMEHUTU sought to popularize was primarily the work of party officials, leaders, and propagan-

dists.[138] With independence, the PARMEHUTU widened the spectrum of those responsible for spreading its propaganda to include the state institutions, radio and print media, and schools. An intense and pervasive propaganda permeated leaders' speeches, radio waves, popular songs, and classrooms. According to the propaganda, the Tutsi was a foreigner who had conquered and oppressed the Hutu for four centuries, and the revolution and the republic were the expression of the Hutu majority's victory over the Tutsi minority. A troupe of professional singers had composed an entire repertoire of songs with these themes, and the songs were endlessly played on the radio, some becoming popular hits. A number of songs were in the form of a lament about the long servitude of the Hutu, and others were celebrations of the victory by the popular majority.[139]

However, the population also confronted the difficulties of everyday life. A commission of inquiry appointed by the Rwanda National Assembly in July 1968 noted,

> Unity, harmony, helping one another, trust, collaboration, and patriotism have lost their meaning and no longer exist. They have been replaced by denigration, hatred, selfishness, hostility, dishonesty, ill-feeling, and regionalism. The popular masses complain that the leaders misled them by telling them that their revolution of 1959 would liberate the people from injustice. The people now realize that it was a way for the leaders to carve out positions for themselves, which was followed by injustice worse than before. The people are not afraid to say that they long for the former system of rule through chiefs, as opposed to the current electoral system, because within the latter, those who deserve to be elected are alienated while those who do not deserve to be elected are picked as candidates.[140]

It is therefore important to understand the nuances of the popularity of the PARMEHUTU as well as the effects of its propaganda.

The Rise in Regionalism

After the political leaders of the Tutsi-dominated parties, UNAR and RADER, were eliminated at the beginning of 1964, the hegemony of the PARMEHUTU swallowed up APROSOMA and led to the establishment of a single-party state. In the absence of an external enemy or a political opponent to unite the regime, the PARMEHUTU splintered into different factions, rapidly weakening its social base. Now prominent party members from Butare were marginalized by members from Gitarama, the birthplace of President Kayibanda.[141]

The party was polarized between the leaders from Gitarama (in central Rwanda) and those from Ruhengeri (in the north). Within the group from the north, a conflict broke out following the National Assembly decision to redistribute the "feudal" landholdings. Many northern leaders hailed from Hutu

abakonde families, that is, families of land patrons whose control had been usurped by Tutsi chiefs at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. The representatives of the former Hutu clients of the Tutsi chiefs also demanded the abolition of the client relationship with the ancient Hutu patrons and by extension the redistribution of the land. In the end, the *abakonde* prevailed, thereby posing a challenge to the ideals of the revolution, and no law on land distribution was passed.[142] This victory put the *abakonde* faction from the north in direct conflict with the Gitarama group. Through regionalist nepotism, the latter managed to marginalize and politically isolate its northern rivals.

Economic and Social Stagnation

July 1, 1962, marked the end of Belgian trusteeship, the elimination of the Tutsi aristocracy, and the political and later economic split of Ruanda-Urundi. The separation cost Rwanda dearly given that the capital of the former territory, the major infrastructure (international airport, port, major highways, telecommunications network), and the headquarters of major companies were located in Bujumbura. Rwanda had no capital city worthy of the name. The end of the trusteeship had brought with it a significant reduction in financial aid, and the elimination of the former aristocracy had also denied the country some of its administrative skills. The messy situation caused by political insecurity has increased the poverty of the country. Between 1964 and 1966, Rwandans on average received only 73 percent of the minimum required calories; globally only the people of Papua New Guinea were more hungry with 72 percent.[143]

By contrast, the peasants closest to the regime experienced, albeit temporarily, a significant improvement in their living conditions, a direct result of the revolutionary process. In 1966, the president issued a decree expropriating the land owned by Tutsis killed or in exile, and even in resettlement areas within the country. The decree only legalized a situation already in place and already exploited by PARMEHUTU supporters. In any case, many instances of "revolutionary" violence, such as the massacres in Gikongoro, were strongly motivated by taking the victims' land. The changes were further facilitated by the shift in priority from livestock to agriculture. The peasants embarked on seizing new land in less densely populated areas in the east as well as within the rural areas, draining the marshland previously reserved for pastures, and distributing the former *ibikingi* among themselves. These measures implemented from 1962 to 1969 increased cultivable land by 50 percent.[144]

In spite of this increase in land under cultivation, the output remained stagnant because of poor management and underinvestment in agriculture. The effects of this situation particularly were felt in the cash economy for crops such as coffee, the country's main foreign exchange earner, of which export

volumes had increased only slightly. During this period, Rwanda never managed to attain its internationally set coffee quotas, a shortfall that meant a major loss of revenue for the state.

These difficult economic conditions at the beginning of the 1970s profoundly frustrated young intellectuals, mostly secondary and high school leavers, particularly those who were the lower-ranking employees, teachers, and students in high schools and the university.[145] These groups complained about their living conditions and the ceiling on their prospects of social advancement. The generation of the revolution had taken all the prestigious positions, and the economic stagnation offered no new opportunities. The young intellectuals thought of themselves as more qualified than the older generations and criticized the latter for their corrupt practices. The "Gitaramists" found themselves isolated at social and political levels as well as at the international level, where they remained confined to privileged relations within religious movements. Claudine Vidal, who was in Rwanda in 1973, paints a general picture of the situation prevailing at the time:

> Slowly the country turned into an island. The government feared its whole environment: it was horrified by the Congolese rebellions, reserved toward Tanzania, hostile to the Tutsi regime in Burundi, and dependent on the Ugandan roads for its imports. The inhabitants were inward looking and bore the country's slow shrinkage in silence. There were several forms of censorship: from a triumphant Catholic Church and from the government, which was afraid both of possible communist social movements and of the traditional manifestations that could be a reminder of the Tutsi imprint, which it considered with something like phobia. To the generalized lack of trust, rumor, secrecy, lack of breathing space: on top of material deprivation—the country was one of the poorest in the world and lacked almost everything—was added something like mental paralysis.[146]

The Events of 1973 and the Fall of the First Republic

Against the backdrop of the tension with neighboring Burundi, where the mainly Tutsi army had, in May and June 1972, conducted genocidal massacres against the Burundian Hutu, Kayibanda inspired a movement among high school and university students to reduce or eliminate the presence of Tutsis in the educational and private sectors. Tutsis had been criticized for being dominant in these two areas.[147] The relatively strong presence of Tutsis in secondary schools and universities was not only the legacy of the past discrimination in their favor but also the result of their determination to survive the hostile political and social environment. The private sector had also become a haven strongly sought by Tutsis given that quotas excluded them from the civil service. "Committees for public safety" emerged in schools and the university in order to beat and expel Tutsi teachers and students, who had be-

come the scapegoat for social problems. Tens of thousands of Tutsis, this time almost exclusively the youth, took the path of exile.

In the private sector, lists of Tutsi names were posted at the entrances of offices to turn Tutsis away. Foreign employers who wanted to defy the firing order were expelled on various pretexts. A month later the movement, initially dominant in the towns, began to spread to the rural areas, where it became a repeat of 1959: huts were burned down, Tutsi peasants were chased away, and many—possibly hundreds—were killed. The assailants also took the opportunity to settle scores not just with Tutsis but also with rich Hutus. Hutus originally from the north attacked Hutus from the central and the southern regions; in Kigali, names of government ministers appeared on the lists.

What was now happening went beyond the original plan of an ethnic conflict and was turning into an openly regional conflict between the north and the center-south. It would even seem that the political elite from the north secretly manipulated the crisis to destabilize the Kayibanda regime.[148] On March 22, 1973, after one month of watching the situation deteriorate, the Kayibanda government made a speech calling for pacification, and a ministerial commission toured the educational institutions to restore peace.[149] Intended to restore unity among Hutus behind Kayibanda's rule, the events had therefore achieved the opposite goal of isolating President Kayibanda further and rendering him more vulnerable. Within this context of tension and resumption of mistrust, two months later, on July 5, 1973, Major General Juvénal Habyarimana, minister of defense and army commander, seized power in the name of peace and reconciliation without meeting any resistance.[150]

Notes

1. See Young, ed., *Rising Tide of Cultural Pluralism*, 1993.

2. For a study of the missionary and colonial historiography, see Chrétien, "Hutu et Tutsi au Rwanda et au Burundi," 1985. One of the major thinkers of this school was Maquet, *Premises of Inequality in Ruanda*, 1961.

3. See Vansina, *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda*, 2004, pp. 31, 38.

4. Schoenbrun, *A Green Place, a Good Place*, 1998. Schoenbrun shows the ancient presence in the region including in present day Rwanda of Cushitic, Sudanic, Sahelian, and Bantu speaking communities ; Cox and Elliott, "Primary Adult Lactose Intolerance in the Kivu Lake Area," 1974; Sutton, "Antecedents of the Interlacustrine Kingdoms," 1993.

5. Schoenbrun, *A Green Place, a Good Place*, p. 230.

6. Ibid.; Reid, "Role of Cattle in the Later Iron Age Communities of Southern Uganda," 1991.

7. Vansina, *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda*, pp. 196–203.

8. Christian Thibon confirms this in a more systematic manner for precolonial Rwanda and Burundi. He also discusses the influence of this demographic pressure on the political and social evolution. Thibon, "Croissance et régimes démographiques," 1992.

9. Vansina, *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda*, p. 28.
10. Ibid., p. 40.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., p. 41.
13. Vansina insists on the fact that Ruganzu Ndori was Hima and not Tutsi. According to him, all the pastoralists in the subregion would have had to be Hima. In Rwanda, Burundi, Karagwe, and Buha, the label "Tutsi" designated the elite within the pastoralist community. In northern Rwanda, but above all in Tanzania and Uganda, the label "Tutsi" was unknown. Ibid., p. 46.
14. Ibid., 61–62.
15. Ibid., 65.
16. Mbonimana, "Les institutions traditionnelles constitutives de l'identité nationale," 2001, p. 29.
17. Berger, *Religion and Resistance,*1981, p. 81.
18. Republic of Rwanda, Office of the President, *Ubumwe*, 1998.
19. Nkurikiyimfura, *Le gros bétail et la société rwandaise,*1994, p. 88.
20. Ibid., p. 97.
21. Ibid., p. 96.
22. Vansina, *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda*, p.132.
23. Ibid., p. 134.
24. Ibid., p. 135.
25. Ibid., p. 136.
26. Ibid., pp. 138–139.
27. Ibid., p. 164.
28. Ntezimana, "Le Rwanda social, administratif, et politique à la fin du dix-neuvième siècle," 1990, p. 77.
29. Rumiya, *Le Rwanda sous le régime du mandat belge, 1916–1931,*1992, p.12; Newbury, *Cohesion of Oppression*, 1988, p. 60.
30. Vansina, *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda*, pp. 147–148.
31. Ntezimana, "Le Rwanda social," p. 78.
32. Des Forges, *Defeat Is the Only Bad News*, 2011, pp. 17–19; Rumiya, *Rwanda*, pp. 11–13.
33. Chrétien, "La révolte de Ndugutse, 1912," 1972.
34. Rumiya, *Rwanda*, p. 13.
35. For instance, Bukunzi, which had managed to remain autonomous, was subdued by a combined force of Tutsi notables and Belgian military forces (Newbury, *Cohesion of Oppression*, p. 63).
36. Ibid., 129.
37. Linden and Linden, *Church and Revolution in Rwanda*, 1977, pp. 59, 62.
38. De Lacger, quoted in Reyntjens, *Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda, droit public et evolution politique, 1916–1973*, 1985, p. 80.
39. Des Forges, *Defeat Is the Only Bad News*, pp. 183–193, 211, 214.
40. Reyntjens, *Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda*, p. 89.
41. Linden and Linden, *Church and Revolution*, p. 173.
42. Des Forges, *Defeat Is the Only Bad News*, p. 241.
43. Linden and Linden, *Church and Revolution*, p. 172.
44. Rutayisire, "Le remodelage de l'espace culturel rwandais par l'Église et la colonisation," 2001, p. 42.
45. Sanders, "Hamitic Hypothesis," 1969.
46. Chrétien, "Hutu et Tutsi au Rwanda et au Burundi," p. 39.
47. Linden and Linden, *Church and Revolution*, p. 162.

48. Ibid., 164–165.
49. Pierre Mungarulire, interview with author, June 25, 1998, Kigali.
50. Reyntjens, *Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda*, p. 98.
51. Des Forges, *Defeat Is the Only Bad News*, p. 203.
52. Newbury, *Cohesion of Oppression*, p. 45.
53. D'Hertefelt, in Reyntjens, *Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda*, p. 122.
54. Ibid., pp. 133, 138.
55. Guichaoua, *T. 1 de Destins paysanset politiques agraires en Afrique central*, 1989.
56. Reyntjens, *Pouvoiret droitau Rwanda*, p. 133.
57. Ibid., p. 142, referring to Lemarchand, "Coup in Rwanda," in Rotberg and Mazrui, eds., *Protest and Power in Black Africa*, 1970, p. 889.
58. Former chiefs testify that flogging with the *chicotte* was an integral part of the administrative policy at the time, whereas Newbury suggests that flogging in the 1940s was an abuse of power by colonial chiefs rather than a regular component of colonial administration. Republic of Rwanda, Office of the President, *Ubumwe*; Newbury, *Cohesion of Oppression*, p. 281, note 78. Rwandans saw these foremen as "barking dogs" (*aboyeur*s in French), but only the concept of barking was retained. The nickname almost became official, for even the administration referred to the foremen as *abamotsi*.
59. Gichaoua, *T. 1 de Destins paysans et politiques agraires en Afrique central*, p. 25.
60. Des Forges, *Defeat Is the Only Bad News*, p. 228. See also Chrétien, "Des sédentaires devenus migrants," 1978.
61. Gichaoua, *T. 1 de Destins paysans et politiques agraires en Afrique central*, p. 27.
62. We are using the term *colonization* to mean a tool of control and force in contrast to simple annexation.
63. Reyntjens, *Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda*, pp. 64, 167.
64. The population from the lower classes continued to practice traditional religion in secret. See Rutayisire, "Le remodelage de l'espace culturel rwandais par l'Église et la colonisation," p. 46.
65. Newbury, *Cohesion of Oppression*, p. 179.
66. Reyntjens, *Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda*, p. 210.
67. Guichaoua, *T. 1 de Destins paysans et politiques agraires en Afrique central*, pp. 28, 80.
68. Newbury, *Cohesion of Oppression*, p. 147.
69. Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*, 1970, p. 134.
70. Ibid., pp. 136, 140.
71. Ibid., p. 141.
72. Newbury, *Cohesion of Oppression*, p. 178.
73. Leurquin, *Le niveau de vie des populations rurales du Ruanda-Urundi*, p. 203.
74. Linden and Linden, *Church and Revolution*, p. 222.
75. Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*, p. 148.
76. Linden and Linden, *Church and Revolution*, p. 250.
77. Ibid., p. 91.
78. Ibid., pp. 250–251.
79. Reyntjens, *Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda*, pp. 186–188.
80. Maquet and d'Hertefelt, *Elections en société féodale*, 1959.
81. Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*, p. 149.
82. Reyntjens, *Pouvoiret droitau Rwanda*, p. 207; Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*, p. 130.

83. Belgian Ministry of the Colonies, *Rapport soumis par le Gouvernement belge à l'Assemblée générale des Nations unies au sujet de l'administration du Rwanda-Urundi pendant l'année 1959* (Brussels, 1960), p. 106.

84. Conseil supérieur du Pays (CSP), "Procès-verbal de la 15e session," in Nkurikiyimfura, *Le gros bétail et la société rwandaise*, p. 263.

85. Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*, p. 153. This was confirmed by Michel Kayihura, a former chief who was among the young Astridians. Kayihura, interview with author, May 27, 1998, Kigali.

86. Reyntjens, *Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda*, p. 236.

87. Ndazaro, "Situation politique à Nyanza," April 12, 1959, in *Rapport annuel 1959*, Archives africaines, RU 9 (11), Brussels.

88. Anastase Makuza was a Hutu coopted into the CSP, later to become one of the main leaders of Parmehutu.

89. "Equal status" (*statut unique*) was one of the political reforms made in Belgian territories on the path to independence. It offered equal pay and terms of service to both African and European civil servants.

90. Ndazaro, "Situation politique à Nyanza."

91. Nkundabagenzi, *Le Rwanda politique (1958–1960)*, 1961, pp.76–84.

92. Pierre Mungarulire, a former chief, interview with author, June 25, 1998, Kigali.

93. From this perspective, a comparison between his rule and that of his grandfather Rwabugiri is enlightening.

94. The white fathers were considered among the most retrogressive Catholic missionary orders.

95. At least this is the way René Lemarchand explains the split within the MSM. Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*, p. 151. Although the other leaders of APROSOMA were more consistent in their politically moderate position, Gitera, the head of the party, developed a radical rhetoric condemning the symbols of "Tutsi domination" such as the Kalinga drum. However, during the commune elections in 1960, Gitera caused a split within the party by creating, with a Tutsi called Rwubusisi, another party called APROSOMA-Rwanda-Union in order to distance himself from Hutu sectarianism. Reyntjens, *Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda*, p. 303, note 61.

96. Not all the members of the PARMEHUTU shared the same convictions about "race." For instance, Anastase Makuza, who came from Butare province, initially joined RADER and later asked to be a member of APROSOMA, a request turned down by Gitera because Makuza's wife was Tutsi. Reyntjens, *Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda*, p. 242, note 64.

97. Linden and Linden, *Church and Revolution*, p. 267.

98. Sebasoni, *Origines du Rwanda*, 2000, p. 135.

99. Reyntjens, *Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda*, pp. 156–157. The Belgian administration authorities held meetings attended by Bishop Perraudin, who came up with the idea of installing a regent (p. 248).

100. Both Hutus and Tutsis were among the most active members, including a cousin of Grégoire Kayibanda. Reyntjens, *Pouvoir et droi tau Rwanda*, p. 251.

101. Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*, p. 161.

102. Reyntjens, *Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda*, p. 252.

103. Musangamfura, "Le parti MDR-Parmehutu," 1987, p. 70.

104. Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*, p. 151.

105. Prunier, *Rwanda Crisis*, 1997, p. 48.

106. Linden and Linden, *Church and Revolution*, p. 267.

107. Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*, p. 163.

108. Ibid., p. 164.
109. "Télégramme envoyé à l'ONU par un leader hutu du Ruanda," telegram no. 426 from Ruanda-Urundi, November 13, 1959.
110. Sebasoni, *Origines du Rwanda*, p. 139.
111. Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*, p. 165.
112. Ibid., pp. 145–146.
113. Ibid., p. 147.
114. Linden and Linden, *Church and Revolution*, p. 269.
115. Reyntjens, *Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda*, p. 268.
116. Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*, pp. 173–177.
117. Ibid., p. 172.
118. Nkundabagenzi, *Le Rwanda politique*, pp. 247–248.
119. Kagame, *Un abrégé de l'histoire du Rwanda*, 1975, p. 187.
120. Reyntjens, *Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda*, p. 279.
121. d'Hertefelt, "Les élections communales," pp. 184, 427.
122. Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*, p. 184.
123. Ibid., p. 190.
124. Logiest, *Mission au Rwanda,*1988, p. 61; Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*, pp. 192–193.
125. *Interim report of the UN Commission for Ruanda-Urundi* (1961), cited by Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*, pp. 194–195.
126. Reyntjens, *Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda*, pp. 299, 303.
127. Harroy, *Rwanda: De la féodalité à la démocratie*, 1984.
128. Logiest, *Missionau Rwanda*.
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