

**AN INVESTIGATION OF THE ROLE PLAYED BY
EDUCATION IN THE HUTU- TUTSI RELATIONS IN
RWANDA, 1916-1959**

By

Isidore Ndikumana

**Thesis presented in partial fulfillment for requirements of the
Master of Arts Degree in the History Department at the
University of The Western Cape**

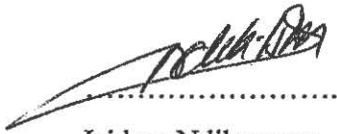
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Supervisor: Dr. Bhekithemba Richard Mngomezulu

Date: December 2005

DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been cited and referenced.



Isidore Ndikumana



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DEDICATION

To my beloved wife Kengayiga Sapience who took care of the family and assumed all responsibilities while I was away. To our son Ninziza Armel, born three months after I left home for my studies and who missed me a lot during those two years that I spent for this MA program. I am very grateful to them for their courage and endurance during my long absence from home.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge and express my sincere gratitude to the following people whose immense support and courage made this thesis possible:

My heartfelt gratitude goes to the Almighty God for granting me the strength and the will to persevere, I am grateful for all the blessings and guidance He gave me from my childhood up to now.

I thank the Government of Rwanda through the Ministry of Education for sponsoring my studies.

I am highly indebted to my supervisor, Dr Bhekithemba Richard Mngomezulu, for the very important role he played in seeing this study into its completion. His encouragement, guidance, patience, constructive remarks and outstanding availability at any time have helped me a lot. Moreover, I appreciate the cordial interaction I had with all lecturers in the History Department and others that I met during these two years. Their insights in the lectures and in the seminars have built me academically.

I am also grateful to the personnel at the Central Library at the National University of Rwanda, the National Museum of Rwanda and at the Library of the Institute of Scientific and Technological Research for their invaluable assistance and accessibility while I was gathering data.

My special thanks go to the Director of the National Museum of Rwanda, Prof. Kanimba Misago Célestin for approving my application for the scholarship and for keeping in touch with me during my two years of stay in South Africa.

I also thank my classmates, my friends from South Africa, and my other fellow Rwandese who made my life socially enjoyable in Cape Town. Furthermore, I thank the leadership and members of Restoration Life Ministry (RLM), especially Senior Pastor Dr Winston Piennar and his wife for being my spiritual parents and helping me to grow up spiritually during my stay in Cape Town, may God bless them.

Special thanks to my family for allowing me to pursue my goals when they needed me most; and above all for their love, patience, encouragement, understanding and support with prayers during my absence. I am very grateful to my wife Sapience, my son Armel, my parents, brothers, sisters, aunts, cousins, nieces, nephews, in-laws, friends, and colleagues from the National Museum of Rwanda for the role each one of them played at one stage or another during my study period.

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O. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The Rwandese society is composed of three ethnic groups: Hutus, Tutsis and Twas who started living together from the 16th century when the kingdom of Rwanda was formed until today.¹

From the early 20th century up to recently in 1994 with Tutsi Genocide, there were different ethnic conflicts between Hutus and Tutsis (Twas constituted only a small percentage of the total Rwandan population thus inevitably becoming an insignificant group in those ethnic conflicts). Over the past few decades, historians, politicians and other commentators have tried to analyze the causal factors of these ethnic conflicts from different angles in an attempt to illuminate our understanding of the Rwandan crisis. Thus, we have two schools of thought:

The first school maintains that before colonization there was conviviality at the base of the Rwandan Nation which made it impossible to categorize Hutus, Tutsis and Twas as ethnic groups. According to this school these groups shared the same language, religion, territory and basic cultural practices as the Nation of *Banyarwanda*.² For this school, the division between Rwandese was created by the colonizers, especially the Belgians who took control of Rwanda following the defeat of Germany by the allies during the First World War.

¹A., Kagame *Un abrégé de l'éthno-histoire du Rwanda*, V1, Butare: Editions Universitaires du Rwanda, 1972, p.48

²J.P. , Kimonyo, "La relation identitaire Hutu/Tutsi" in , *Cahiers du Centre de Gestion des Conflits*, no2, April 2000, pp. 64-65

The second school argues that in fact the Hutu-Tutsi problem already existed before colonization. According to this trajectory Hutus were exploited by the Tutsis who managed all the wealth while Hutus tried in vain to have a share of that wealth.³ Thus, the argument continues, the Belgian government contributed to an already existing volatile situation between these two groups and therefore cannot be held solely accountable for events such as the 1959 civil war.

Although both schools of thought help us problematize the Hutu/Tutsi question, one weakness is that the supporters of each school use a wide range of themes to articulate their views and thus only help the reader have a very broad understanding of some of the factors that were responsible for the creation of tensions and hatred between the Hutu and the Tutsi. There is still a need for a close analysis of a specific theme or causal factor and a demonstration of how that theme contributed to the Hutu-Tutsi tensions and to the Civil War of 1959. Such analysis could provide necessary information that might influence current and future policies in Rwanda.

The purpose of the present study is to fill that lacuna by focusing specifically on education. The thrust of the argument in this study is that education was one of the key factors manipulated by Belgium and the Catholic Church in the creation of division between Hutus and Tutsis. I will argue and demonstrate that divisions in this sector resulted into divisions in other areas such as administration and employment when the Hutus were

³D., Murego, *La révolution rwandaise: 1959-1962*, Louvain: Institut des Sciences Politiques et Sociales, 1975, p.48

excluded at the expense of Tutsis. I will point out the unfortunate consequences of this exclusion of one group of people and demonstrate the role played by Whites to maintain and accelerate hatred, rivalries and conflicts between the two groups of people since the 1920s.

To analyze this topic, I will start by presenting the “traditional society”⁴, showing how it was socially and politically organized, with all groups sharing power and living in harmony. This will help me to emphasize the hypothesis defended by scholars like Kimonyo⁵ that the traditional society of Rwanda was well organized, the divisions between social groups, called ethnic groups started when the colonizers arrived in Rwanda. I will go ahead and analyze the education policy established in Rwanda, showing how it benefited one population group-Tutsis- and excluded Hutus. I will then show how the exclusion of Hutus in education contributed to their unemployment because Colonial powers wanted to employ well qualified people who were the Tutsis. The exclusion of Hutus in education and civil service has been one of the causes of hatred and conflict between the two ethnic groups, definitely with colonial and missionary manipulation as I will show below.

Concerning the limits of this mini-thesis, the year 1916 has been chosen as the starting point because it is the period when Belgians arrived in Rwanda and started to establish their colonial system through which the education policy was formulated. My exit point will be 1959 when rivalries and conflicts between Hutus and Tutsis ended with the civil war, as the

⁴ Wherever I will use the word “traditional society, traditional period”, I mean the pre-colonial period, namely before 1897 when the Germans arrived in Rwanda.

⁵ Kimonyo,J.P. “La relation identitaire....”, pp.64-65

consequence of this manipulation of Rwandese by the colonizer. But in this study, I won't analyze the civil war in detail; this has been done by other scholars. What I will do is to link this colonial education policy and those events which happened in the 1950s as one of the consequences of colonial policies.

Among the sources that I will use are oral traditions recorded by early scholars (missionaries and other researchers) during the colonial period and afterwards. Second, I will use articles, theses and other documents published by scholars from the last decades up to recently concerning this topic. All this historiography has been subdivided into four sets of documents.

The first set is oriented to the analysis of the traditional society in Rwanda, the meaning and relationship between ethnic groups in that society and finally the political system during this period of study. Among the scholars that I will use there is Abbot Kagame⁶. Other descriptions can be found in d'Hertefeldt and Vansina; in their works this topic has been widely analyzed⁷. Other scholars mentioned the unity which was between different social groups: Hutu-Tutsi and Twa. Among them we have: Mbonimana, Muzungu and Chrétien in their works.⁸

⁶ Kagame, A., *Les organisations socio-familiales de l'ancien Rwanda*, Brussels: IRCB, 1954.
Abrégé de l'éthno-histoire du V1, Butare, Editions Universitaires du Rwanda, 1972.
Abrégé de l'histoire du Rwanda, V2, Butare, Editions Universitaires du Rwanda, 1975;

⁷ d'Hertefeldt, M., *Les clans du Rwanda ancien, éléments d'éthno-sociologie et d'éthno-histoire*, Tervuren, 1971
Le "Rwanda", Les anciens royaumes de la zone interlacustre méridionale: Rwanda, Burundi, Buha, Tervuren: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1962; J., Vansina, *L'évolution du royaume du Rwanda, des origines à 1900*, Brussels: Académie Royale des Sciences d' Outre Mer, 1962

The second set concerns the historiography which analyzes Belgian education policy in Rwanda. In different articles and books Erny⁹ shows how education benefited Tutsis. Apart from him many other scholars analyzed this question and showed the consequence of exclusion of Hutus in education, namely their unemployment and destitution in different political organs at the expense of Tutsis. Among those scholars we have: Reyntjens, F. (1985), Ntezimana, E. (1976) and others.¹⁰

Finally, there exists a set of publications which point out the confrontation between Hutu and Tutsi intelligentsia, and show how colonial powers and the Catholic Church played the main role by manipulating the two ethnic groups. This literature includes a number of publications (books and theses) produced by foreigners and Rwandans in the last four decades. Some examples like Nkundabagenzi, F. (1961), Karekezi, T. (1982), Makombe, P. (1978-1979) and others¹¹ are useful for this section.

However, all these different sources are somehow useful for my study. Their empirical analysis will help me to show how education was used by Whites to break the unity which characterized the traditional society (first set), when education benefited one group of people and neglected others. The promotion of Tutsis created problems for Hutus and this will be the cause of tension, hatred and conflict between the two groups (second and third sets).

⁸ G., Mbonimana, "Les institutions traditionnelles constitutives de l'identité nationale" in, *Cahier du Centre de Gestion des Conflicts*, no 2, April 2001; B., Muzungu, "Ethnies et clans" in, *Cahiers Centre Saint- Dominique*, August 1995; J.P., Chrétien, *L' Afrique des Grands Lacs, Deux mille ans d'histoire*, Paris: Aubier, 2000

⁹ See in the Bibliography different articles published by P. , Erny and other works published by scholars on this topic concerning education.

¹⁰ See the bibliography, the number of scholars I quoted in chapters 1 and 2

¹¹ See the bibliography concerning chapter 4.

These sets put together help me to conclude that education has been really a tool used by the colonial power and the Catholic Church to divide the Rwandese society.

This mini-thesis is divided into five chapters. The first chapter will be an overview of pre-colonial Rwanda. It will analyze the socio-political relationship between Hutus and Tutsis. I will start by presenting the familial structures of traditional Rwandese society, namely: the family, the lineage and clan. This structure will help me to argue that the traditional society was basically founded on the above elements, not on the notions of Hutus and Tutsis used under the colonial period. Second, I will analyze Hutu and Tutsi terms in pre-colonial Rwanda, showing how they were interpreted by the society. As stated by Chrétien (2000), in pre-colonial Rwanda the term “Hutu” meant every person (Hutu or Tutsi) who received a cow from a wealthy person who could be a Hutu or a Tutsi. I will show how colonial powers interpreted Hutu and Tutsi notions in order to create and emphasize divisions between them. Third, in administration, I will analyze the political organization, where Hutus and Tutsis shared the power.

Thus, chapter one will provide background information that will enable the reader to follow the rest of discussion in this study. The second chapter analyzes Belgian education policy from 1916 to 1948. When they arrived in Rwanda, Belgians considered the Tutsi as a “civilizing race”¹², and then resolved to establish institutions that would discriminate against the Hutu and

¹² F., Reyntjens, *Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda: droit public et évolution politique, 1916-1973*, Tervuren: Musée Royal de l’Afrique Centrale, 1985, p.116

be in favor of the Tutsi. Two institutions were key to ensuring that Hutus and Tutsis were perceived as separate entities. These were: the school system and local administration.

In this chapter, I will demonstrate how Belgium used education to keep the Hutu and the Tutsi apart. I will analyze Belgium's education policy, when the school was much more for the sons of the Tutsis than Hutus. The chapter also traces the role played by the Catholic Church in this sector, by arguing that Catholic missionaries worked hand in hand with the colonial administration in the implementation of this education policy. I will demonstrate how this bias against the Hutu was reflected in the number of students who attended school. I will conclude the chapter by arguing that this state of affairs created divisions between the Hutu and the Tutsi.

Chapter three will build on chapter two. Its focus will be on the consequences of the unequal chances of access to education by the Hutu and the Tutsi. I will argue that the exclusion of the Hutu from public schools automatically excluded them from certain jobs. Also, I will address the fact that as these Hutu were being denied access to public schools they gradually felt obliged to join seminaries only to find that it was still not easy for them to find jobs after completing their studies because they were not qualified for any profession and also because of their social categorization. I will argue that this exclusion widened tensions between the two groups.

To illuminate this theme, I will simultaneously analyze different administrative reforms initiated by Belgium from the 1920s to the 1950s. I

will argue that Belgium's use of education to exclude the Hutu from certain jobs was in line with the *Tutsification* of the administration, when the majority of state employees were Tutsis who completed either in *Groupe Scolaire Officiel d'Astrida* or *Nyanza School*; the small number of Hutus who completed in seminary was employed in Catholic missionaries with a low salary in comparison to their education level.

Chapter four investigates the attitude displayed by colonial powers in the 1950s when they started to manipulate Hutu intellectuals: Whereas from 1920 Belgium had decided to collaborate with the Tutsis, in the middle of the twentieth century the Belgian government changed sides and favored the Hutu. This chapter will address the question: why was there such a change and how did it play itself out?

I will show that amid the pressures to decolonize that emerged in the 1950s, the United Nations Trusteeship Council accepted the right of self-determination and put pressure on Belgium to democratize its administration in Rwanda.¹³ The Tutsi intellectuals, especially chiefs and sub-chiefs who had been educated in *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida*, in turn began to demand independence.¹⁴ In response to the threat posed by the growing strength of their former collaborators, the Belgian administration reversed their allegiances by promoting Hutu intellectual counter-elite, whose majority had been educated in Seminary.¹⁵

¹³F., Nkundabagenzi,., *Rwanda politique, 1958-1960*, Brussels: CRISP, 1961, pp.65-66

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p.75; F.,Reyntjens, *op. cit.*,p.95

¹⁵ Kimonyo, J.P. "La relation identitaire....", *op.cit.*, pp.20-21

I will show how Belgium manipulated Hutu intellectuals by blaming the Tutsis for all the problems faced by the Hutus. I will further demonstrate how and why the tension between Hutus and Tutsis continued to grow and how this culminated in the outbreak of the civil war of 1959 and the replacement of Tutsis by Hutu intelligentsia.

Finally, chapter five will be the conclusion: In this chapter I will reiterate my argument that education played a pivotal role in widening the gulf between the Tutsi and the Hutu. Although an analysis of education as a factor implies that Belgium is to blame for the sour relations that continue to exist between the Hutu and the Tutsi, I will emphasize that the arguments made by the members of each of the two schools mentioned earlier have been exhausted. I will then re-state my contention that a close analysis of the role played by each factor (such as education) in the schism between the Hutu and the Tutsi is a significant contribution to Rwandan historiography.

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CHAPTER 1: SOCIO-POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN HUTUS AND TUTSIS IN PRE-COLONIAL RWANDA: AN OVERVIEW

Introduction

Among socio-political problems which ravaged the Rwandese society in the 20th century, is the question of the relationship between Hutus and Tutsis. Since the early 20th century when the Europeans arrived in Rwanda, they categorized the society according to different groups called ethnic groups.¹⁶ Many documents have been published by European scholars with the aim to defend this trajectory. Some of the documents affirm that the Hutus, Tutsis and Twas were three separate groups with different origins and history.¹⁷

This chapter provides an overview of the nature of the relations between these groups as a way of foregrounding the discussion on the various issues addressed in the present study. In this overview, I will challenge the colonial theory stated above by analyzing pre-colonial Rwandese society showing how it was politically and socially organized. I will focus on the elements which constituted the Rwandese society, the relationship between different social groups currently called ethnic groups, and finally the distribution of these different groups of Rwandese. To do that, I will point out

¹⁶ Some of the scholars who analyzed this question are: J. P. Kimonyo, "La relation identitaire" *op.cit* pp.61-93; Edith R.Sanders, "The hamitic hypothesis: its origin and functions in time perspective", *Journal of African History*, vol.x, no4, 1969, pp.521-532; J. P. Chrétien, *Le défi de l'Ethnisme. Rwanda et Burundi:1990-1996*, Paris: Karthala, 1997; J. P., Chrétien, *L'Afrique des Grands Lacs, Deux mille ans d'histoire*, Paris: Aubier, 2000

¹⁷ J., Hiernaux, *Les caractères physiques des populations du Rwanda et du Burundi*, Bruxelles: Institut Royal des Sciences Naturelles, 1954; J.J., Maquet, "Le problème de la domination Tutsi" in, *Zaire*, Vol.VI, no10, 1952, pp.1065-1073; D., Murego, *La révolution rwandaise:1959-1962*, Louvain: Institut des Sciences Politiques et Sociales, 1975, pp.654-678

the relationship between the three groups by tracing the foundation of the traditional society which is: the family, lineage and clans, not the ethnic groups as asserted later by colonizers and several scholars. I will end this chapter by analyzing the traditional power and show how all social groups shared political power.

1. 1. Familial structures in pre-colonial Rwanda

The traditional society in Rwanda was based on the nuclear family. Its more high expansions were the clan monarchies. The concept of family covered different meanings in accordance with the social organization of the Rwandese society. To understand the different levels of this organization it is important to analyze some elements which characterized the Rwandese society during the time in question. I will begin by analyzing the meaning and relationships between the words: “*urugo*” (family), “*inzu*” (lineage) and “*ubwoko*” (clan). This analysis will help us understand the organization of the traditional society.

1. 1. a. *Urugo* =The family

As stated above the nuclear family was the most basic family institution. It comprised: the father, the mother and children not yet married. In Rwanda, this family was enlarged by polygamy and adoption.¹⁸

¹⁸ D.,Byanafashe, “La famille comme principe de coherence de la société rwandaise traditionnelle” in, *Cahiers Lumière et Société*, Histoire II, August 1997, p. 7

The phrase nuclear family could be understood in two ways, that is: the strict nuclear family or the enlarged nuclear family. This cell of the society is named in the mother tongue: “*urugo*” (family).¹⁹ All the scholars who analyzed this question of the basic traditional Rwandese society recognize the function of the mother-cell in the society.

Besides the nuclear family was also the enlarged family, namely: father, mother(s), children, adopted children, father or mother of the parents, grandchildren; all of them constitute the enlarged family. I have to mention that among the members of the family, it was common to find different groups because of intermarriages as shall be seen below.



1. 1. b. *Inzu*= Lineage

The first stage of the extension of the nuclear family was the lineage, which means a certain number of families “*Ingo*”²⁰ put together.²¹

The proper characteristics of this familial unity comprised the following: (i) the name, when members of the lineage have the name of the group which refers to an agnatic ancestor. This name is explained in mother tongue by the prefixes, (“*aba*”, “*abene*”) which means “descendants of”. For instance: “*Aba-Hindiro*”, means the descendants of king Gahindiro,²² (ii) the second characteristic was that the members of the lineage depended on the

¹⁹A., Kagame, *Les organisations socio-familiales de l'ancien Rwanda*, Bruxelles, 1954, pp.71-72

²⁰“*Ingo*” is the plural of “*urugo*” which means “family”. A certain number of Ingo putted together constitute a lineage “*inzu*”

²¹A., Kagame, *Les organizations socio-familial.....*, p.52

²²D., Byanafashe, *op. cit.*, p. 8

same chief or chief of the family, called in mother tongue, “*Umutware*”. He assumed the position of the chief of the family at this stage of extension. He represented the group in view of the society in general.²³

Another element of the traditional society was “the clan”, which is more enlarged and complex than the other elements we already mentioned above.

1.1.c. *Ubwoko* =Clan

Chrétien (1983), a French scholar and a specialist in the History of the Great Lakes region mentioned that the oldest structures of the society beyond the compounds and restricted lineages, are those wholes, combined kinship, family members, symbolical code and solidarity rules, which we can call “clans” since 19th century.²⁴ In simple terms, this refers to a certain number of lineages put together. In his study, d’Hertefeldt made an inventory of 18 clans in Rwanda. In his research, he tried to make a comparison between different clans and ethnic groups as shown in the table below.

²³ *Ibid.*, p.9

²⁴ J.P., Chrétien, *L’Afrique des Grands Lacs; deux mille ans.....*, pp. 72-73

Table 1: Comparative table of clans and ethnic groups in Rwandan society

Ethnic groups	Hutus	Tutsis	Twas
1.Singa	86.23	13.62	0.15
2.Siindi	93.04	06.71	0.25
3.Zigaaba	93.64	06.12	0.24
4.Gesera	90.26	09.16	0.58
5.Nyiginya	57.50	42.27	0.23
6.Eega	78.22	21.36	0.42
7.Baanda	95.29	03.92	0.79
8.Cyaaba	85.74	14.14	0.12
9.Uungura	97.78	02.07	0.15
10.Shaambo	63.44	36.34	0.22
11.Tsobe	62.94	36.81	0.25
12.Kono	28.34	71.66	-
13.Ha	41.30	58.70	-
14.Shiingo	26.32	73.68	-
15.Nyakarama	39.85	60.15	-
16.Siita	48.44	51.56	-
17.Oongera	67.33	32.67	-
18.Eenengwe	75.00	25.00	-
Total in %	83.46%	14.750%	0.26%

Source: M., D'Hertefelt, *Les clans du Rwanda ancien, éléments d'ethno-sociologie et d'ethno-histoire*, Tervuren, 1971, p.48

If we analyze this table, we see that there was no demarcation line between what d'Hertefelt calls ethnic groups and clans. In other words, between different ethnic groups, especially between Hutus and Tutsis, there was no difference concerning their clans. Hence, the theory advanced by the colonizers since the early 20th century and various scholars that the Hutus and Tutsis were two different groups from different places was simply not true.

According to Muzungu (1985), the Twa are not represented in seven clans, but this fact does not exclude the hypothesis that any ethnic group has its proper clan²⁵. I have to mention that, the *Kinyarwanda* language doesn't

²⁵B., Muzungu, "Ethnies et clans" in, *Cahiers Centre Saint-Dominique*, 8 August 1995, p.23

have a common term for the three groups: Hutu, Tutsi and Twa. The term “*ubwoko*” generally means “race, species”, whereas in the 1920s-1940s this term meant the three groups without drawing any distinctions among them.

Chrétien (1983) argues that “In the 1930s, in Rwanda and Burundi²⁶, when you asked somebody the question ‘who are you’? The answer was to mention his clan not to say his ethnic group as it was the case in the 1960s”.²⁷ Briefly, people in precolonial Rwanda identified each other in terms of clans not in ethnic groups.

1. 2. Ethnic groups in Rwandan society

1. 2. a. The meaning

Since 1959 when the civil war started in Rwanda, the term “ethnic group” seems to have a clear meaning: a social group with physical characteristics which distinguish it from other social groups. Apparently, each Rwandan has a desire to know his or her belonging in those three groups currently called ethnic groups. The patrilineal descent system used in Rwanda seems to help this ethnic identification: you belong to the father’s ethnic group. In this system, the mother who, sometimes could belong to an ethnic group different to her husband is ignored. In some cases, a woman could have three children belonging to three different ethnic groups²⁸. This helps us to

²⁶ In this work, I shall use either “Ruanda and Urundi”, names used under colonial period to mean the two countries, or “Rwanda and Burundi”, used after their independence.

²⁷ J.P., Chrétien, L’ Afrique des Grands Lacs, Deux mille ans, p. 68

²⁸ A woman could legally marry to a Hutu and have children who would be classified as Hutus. However, in certain instances the same woman could also have illegitimate children with either a Tutsi or Twa man in which case those children would be Tutsis or Twas respectively.

conclude that the categorization of people as Hutu, Tutsi or Twa was a complex one. This also helps us to emphasize the hypothesis that Hutus and Tutsis lived together in harmony.

The term “ethnic group” as it has been understood recently is different from its meaning in the pre-colonial period. Chrétien argued that:

Local peoples defined themselves, not by their ethnic groups, but according to their clans. The references Tutsis, Hutus and Twas appeared in Rwandan society much more at the end of 18th century. In that period, social rationality was founded on clientship ‘*ubuhake*’.²⁹

In this system of “*ubuhake*”, a kind of relationship was established between a person of lower socio-economic status called client “*umugaragu*” and another higher than him called patron “*shebuja*”. The client hoped to get one or many cows from his patron. Most often, the person seeking clientship was presented to the richer person by an intermediate person called “*umusohoza*”. When the richer person realized that the candidate was able to perform the duties of clients, he then awarded him one or several cows. That act of awarding cow(s) established the richer person as the patron “*shebuja*” and the poorer one as the client “*umugaragu*”. Henceforth, the client enjoyed the usufruct of that cow (s), which meant that he owned the milk, the male increase of the cattle, the meat and the skin of a cow which had died. However, the female increase of the cattle remained the property of the patron; the client only enjoyed its usufruct, just as the first cow granted for clientship. In return, the client performed a number of duties, and gave some goods to the patron. In this system of client-ship, people who received the

²⁹J.P. Chrétien, *ibid.*, p.66

cow were called “Hutus” even if they could belong to Tutsi ethnic group and the person who gave the cow was called a “Tutsi” even if he belonged to the Hutu ethnic group.³⁰

This is the main meaning that the notions of “Hutu-Tutsis” had in pre-colonial Rwanda. Because of the meaning and understanding of those notions by the society, there was no rivalry and civil wars between these groups as was the case in the 1950s under Belgian colonization and in subsequent years.

1. 2. b. The Confusion of race and ethnic groups

For many white scholars who have been interested in Rwandan history, the phrase “ethnic group” is the synonym of “race”. If we analyze the definition of each one of the two words, we can understand that they are really different.

Thus, “ethnic group” as it is defined by Larousse dictionary is “a human grouping with familial structure, economic and social homogeneous and through which the unity is founded on the community of language and culture.” As for “race” the same dictionary talks about “each one of the three main subdivisions of human kinds in Yellows, Blacks and Whites”. It adds that, “human diversity caused racial classification on the criteria most apparent.”³¹ This definition cannot be used on Rwandan society. Ethnologists

³⁰Ch., Kabwete Mulinda, *The dynamic aspect of some traditional institutions in precolonial Rwanda*, MA Thesis, U.W.C.,2002, pp. 47-48, J.J., Maquet, *The Premise of Inequality in Rwanda*, London: Oxford University Press, p. 129; J.N., Nkurikiyimfura , *Le gros bétail et la société rwandaise. Evolution historique du XIIème-XIVème siècle à 1958*, Paris: Harmattan, pp. 21-22

³¹ La Rousse (Dictionary), Paris: Collin, 2000

like d'Hertefelt (1971), indicated the characteristics which differentiate the three groups by using the height: Tutsis should measure more or less 1,78m; Hutus: 1,67m and Twas: 1,55m.³²

None of these elements is adequate to enable the reader to better understand the Rwandan society. In Rwanda, all people lived together and spoke the same language, which is "*kinyarwanda*". They were also involved in the same economic activities which are, in general, agriculture and cattle breeding. Concerning their skin or physical appearance, there is no distinction between them.

1. 2. c. Cohabitation between social groups in traditional Rwanda

I have to mention that the three social groups lived together and in harmony long time ago. That is why the mixing between them took place. Two factors were key in the origins of this symbiosis: marriage and economy.³³

Inter-marriages constituted the main factor in this mixing of social groups in traditional Rwanda. As has been confirmed by some scholars, there were inter-marriages between Hutus, Tutsis and Twas.³⁴ But, Kagame (1952) argued that sometimes Twa women got children with Hutu and Tutsi men beyond official matrimonial relationship. He stated:

There were isolated cases of crossing in extra-matrimonial relationship

³² M.,d'Hertefelt, *Les clans du Rwanda ancien, elements....*, p.76

³³ Chretien, J.P.,L' Afrique des Grands Lacs....., pp. 68-69; Muzungu, B., "Ethnies et clans", p.35

³⁴ J.,Vansina, *L'évolution du royaume du Rwanda, des origines à 1900*, Brussels: Académie Royale des Siences d'Outre Mer, 1962.; J.N., Nkurikiyimfura, *op.cit*, p.124

between Tutsi or Hutu men and ceramists (Twas), especially the group which was staying for a long time at the palace.....There was no possibility of regular marriage except when the king decided to ennoble a family of ceramists. In this case, the ceramist family moved from Twa ethnic group to Tutsi ethnic group.³⁵

The second factor which facilitated the cohesion between social groups is the economic one. As mentioned above, by clientship "*ubuhake*" a relationship was created between the richer (patron) and poor (client) persons. The poor person obtained a cow and enjoyed its usufruct. In return, he performed a number of duties and gave his patron some goods. Henceforth, a relationship was created between those two families³⁶.

These two examples emphasize the hypothesis that the social groups generally called ethnic groups lived together in harmony and shared the wealth. The intermarriages between people from different social groups were common. As shall be seen below, this cohabitation can also be seen in the political domain where there was no exclusion of one group of people by another from political power.

1. 3. Social groups and traditional power

Pre-colonial Rwanda created a mechanism to develop the Rwandan society; it was an instrument of social cohesion. On this point, I will show briefly how political power was organized and how different groups participated in power sharing.

³⁵ A., Kagame, *Le Code des institutions politiques du Rwanda pré-colonial*, Bruxelles, 1952, p.58

³⁶ Ch.,Kabwete, Mulinda, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49

1. 3. a. Accession to political power

Under the old monarchic regime, political power was founded on two factors: inheritance and favor.³⁷

-Inheritance: In this case, there was biological heredity. Parents had the duty to give to their children what they needed during their growth. This included political power for high families which were in power. So, the king and the chiefs had their children as natural successors.

-Favor: Traditionally, it was understandable that the father bequeaths his political power to his sons. By assimilation, his children were also all persons who were close to his family by kinship, service or by friendship. All those considerations, except biological kinship were put together in the category of favor.

Thanks to this phenomenon of favor, some people (Hutus and Tutsis) took over power without necessarily belonging to high families. Instead, the King promoted them on the grounds of their competence or due to the good relationships between them and the King or the high chief.³⁸ In the next few pages I will present a synopsis of the organization of traditional power.

1. 3. b. Organization of traditional power

In pre-colonial Rwanda, the king was the supreme commander; he was considered as a superman and unified all Rwandese. The political ideology elevated him to the top of the social structure; he was neither Tutsi,

³⁷B., Muzungu, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40; A., Kagame, *Les Organization socio-familiales...*, pp. 67

³⁸ Kagame. A., *ibid.*, pp. 67-68

Hutu nor Twa. Concerning his attribution, he was the priest, judge and warrior. In practice however, his attribution focused on three areas: the war, peace and abundance. The conquest ideology had to guide the king. At the same time he had to maintain peace. The war, peace and prosperity constituted a kind of motto imposed to each king.³⁹

There was interdependence and complementarity between the king and his people, this was explained by some Rwandan words like: "*Rubanda rw'umwami*" (king's people), "*umwami agirwa n'abagabo*" (The King is living thanks to warriors and taxpayers). They were also saying: "*umwami wa rubanda*" (The King of the people).⁴⁰

The above examples help us to argue that the king was the superchief but didn't belong to any social group, on the contrary he was the father of all Rwandese from different ethnic groups and social conditions. During his reign, the King might collaborate with his people. On this point Sebasoni argues:

The king was an important person but his importance was measured according to his social utility: he contributed to maintain the cohesion between all Rwandese. After his investiture, the king was no longer belonging to any ethnic groups; on the contrary he became the king of all Rwandese. In the palace, all Rwandese from different ethnic and social groups who wanted to talk to the King had access to him. It was strictly prohibited to prevent someone to have access to the palace or to talk to the King.⁴¹

³⁹ M.,d'Hertefelt, "*Le Rwanda*". *Les anciens royaumes de la zone interlacustre méridionale: Rwanda, Burundi, Buha*, Tervuren: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1962, p.59 ; G., Mbonimana "Les institutions traditionnelles....", p.19

⁴⁰ G.,Mbonimana, *Ibid*, pp. 24-25

⁴¹ S.M.,Sebasoni, *Les origines du Rwanda*, Paris: L' Harmattan, 2000, p.36 ; G., Mbonimana, "Les institutions traditionnelles....", p. 25

Royal palaces mobilized a big number of permanent staff and all social groups participated in different activities. For the people, doing activities in the palace was a kind of honor that the families hereditarily accomplished by sending their sons and daughters not yet married.

The activities done in the palace were diversified: some people were managers of storehouses, cooks, responsible for the beer, others, especially ladies, prepared clothes, jewels or were responsible for the upkeep of the palace, plaits, containers used to conserve and drink the milk, and pots used to prepare and eat the food. As the king had many cattle, there were also people who might keep those cattle and milk them.

Among the more humble duties which were done in the palace, there were: watchmen, water carriers, etc. Those activities were done by all social groups but some activities were peculiar to one group. For instance: only Tutsis could milk the king's cattle and only Hutus were responsible for lofts and cooking.⁴²

During his reign, the king had understood that he had to collaborate with other Rwandese. Thus, on the organization chart, under the king we have different chiefs who were placed throughout the country and who represented the king in different districts called "*ibiti*"= plural of "*igiti*". Each district had as the capital the royal residence. We have to mention that the King had several residences throughout the kingdom; Chrétien mentioned one hundred

⁴²J.P., Chrétien, L'Afrique des Grands Lacs....., pp. 143-144

royal palaces. The district covered a large zone which measured more or less 200sq km.⁴³

As has been argued by Kagame and others, under the district there were “*ibikingi*” plural of “*igikingi*”. The concept “*igikingi*” embodied two realities: it first meant a land property used in herding, as pasturage by a pastoralist. It was also possible to find both pasturage and a land for cultivation in that pastoral, “*igikingi*”. But the main activity was livestock farming. That was an economic meaning. “*Igikingi*” was also an administrative circumscription, where the owner, here the chief, was the first to get the above rights of pasturage and besides he acquired authority over people who lived in that land.⁴⁴

The “*igikingi*” was divided into three posts namely the chief of grass or pasturage “*umutware w’umukenke*” or “*umunyamukenke*”; the chief of the land “*umutware w’ubutaka*”; finally there was the chief of warriors “*umutware w’ingabo*”. The king had many warriors throughout the country and they were recruited among young men from different social groups. Thus, as a strategy to control them, he appointed as chiefs of warriors, people in whom he had confidence. In general, the chief of pasturage was Tutsi, the chief of land was Hutu, whereas the chief of warrior could be chosen among Hutus or Tutsis.⁴⁵

J., Rumiya, *Le Rwanda sous le régime du mandat Belge: 1916-1931*, Paris: L’ Harmattan, 1989, pp. 217-218; J.P., Chrétien, *L’ Afrique des Grands Lacs.....*, p.145

⁴⁴A.,Kagame, *Le Code des institutions.....*, p.95Ch., Kabwete Mulinda, *op.cit.*, pp. 89-90; Rumiya, J., *op.cit.* pp. 218-219

⁴⁵A. Kagame, *Le Code des institutions.....*, p.117; Ch., Kabwete Mulinda, *op.cit.*, p. 90

Among the main institutions in traditional Rwanda we also have “*Ubwiru*”. The members of these institutions were named “*Abiru*” (plural) and “*umwiru*” (singular).

By order, the “*ubwiru*” was the most important among institutions which symbolized the monarchy. As has been defined by Kagame,⁴⁶ “*umwiru*” meant close servant of the dynasty. The function of “*Abiru*” was hereditary, but only fulfilled by males presented by their fathers and appointed by the King. The “*ubwiru*” was an esoteric institution, especially politics, and its role was to preserve, adapt, present and glorify sacred kingship under the form of monarchy, dynasty which necessarily might belong to the “*Abanyiginya*” clan. The nature of “*ubwiru*” was manifested by its content.⁴⁷ Mbonimana added that the “*ubwiru*” institution “contained both the fundamental rule concerning the monarchy, acts and rules and also proper rituals using to assure the fertility of fields, the fecundity of people and cattle, the annexation and domination of others kingdoms by Rwanda.”⁴⁸

Briefly, this example of the functioning of “*ubwiru*” institution shows that the traditional power was well organized and shared. I showed that this important institution functioned hand in hand with the King and was held by the Nyiginya clan. As I said when I discussed the comparison between clans and “ethnic groups”, there was not a clan which was proper to one “ethnic group”. Thus, because the “*Abiru*” belonged to Nyiginya clan and within it

⁴⁶ Kagame, A., *Le Code des institutions....*, 117

⁴⁷ A., Kagame, “Le Code ésotérique de la dynastie du Rwanda” in, *Zaire*, April 1947, pp. 363-373; G., Mbonimana, “Les institutions traditionnelles...”, p.27

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.28

there were Hutus and Tutsis, this helps me to argue that among “Abiru” there were both Hutus and Tutsis.

Conclusion

This chapter has been an overview of the pre-colonial Rwandese society. I started by analyzing the foundation of the traditional society namely: the family, lineage and clans. In those structures, I argued that we could find Hutus, Tutsi and Twas. For instance, by a comparative study between clans and social groups called “ethnic groups” under the colonial period, we saw that, two or three “ethnic groups” were found in one clan. This example challenges the colonial hypothesis which argued that the three “ethnic groups” were different from one another physically, had different origins, and lived as rivalries a long time ago.

In analyzing the pre-colonial Rwandan society, another issue that I pointed out is the notion of “ethnic groups”, I argued that its meaning changed according to the period. In the traditional society, the notion of Hutu and Tutsi referred to as “ubuhake institution” was used when a kind of relationship was established between someone of lower socio-economic status called client and another who had a lot of cattle called patron. The rich person gave the cow to the poor and became his Hutu and the patron was called a Tutsi.

To continue to challenge the above colonial hypothesis I gave other examples when I showed that the society was united and people lived in

harmony. Among the examples given, I showed how power was shared between all social groups: First, the king was the father of all Rwandese; after his investiture, he no longer belonged to any social group but became the king of Rwanda and was respected by all people. As for chiefs, I argued that there were Hutu and Tutsi chiefs. Concerning the most important institution which was “ubwiru”, I stated that the members of this main institution could be both Hutus and Tutsis.

I can conclude by saying that the cleavage and rivalries between Hutus and Tutsis were brought by the colonizers with the aim to easily dominate the society. To do that, they used several strategies; among them, they educated and promoted the Tutsi in Administration and neglected the Hutu as we shall see in the next chapter.

The logo of the University of the Western Cape, featuring a classical building facade with columns and a pediment.

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CHAPTER 2: BELGIAN EDUCATION IN RWANDA, 1916-1948

Introduction

The Rwandese traditional society which was socially and politically well organized was dislocated in the early 20th with the arrival of Belgian colonizers. The unity which had existed between social groups was broken a few years later. The missionaries and other explorers had constructed the migration theory, making the Twas the first inhabitants of Rwanda, the Hutus the second, coming from West or central Africa, and the third the Tutsis who allegedly came from Ethiopia or Egypt.⁴⁹

To maintain those arguments, many books were published by missionary Fathers, like Pagès, De Lacger.⁵⁰ Those and others spread the “hamitic hypothesis” in Rwandan history calling the Tutsis the “*hamites*” and the Hutus the “*Bantus*”, and giving all positive values of Rwandan culture solely to the Tutsi. According to this hamitic hypothesis, civilization was introduced to Africa by the black people called Hamites, close to the Caucasian people.⁵¹ This means that, civilization was introduced in Rwanda by the Tutsis.

All the colonizers, first the Germans and second the Belgians, ruled the Rwandan colony using this hamitic theory which promoted the Tutsi and neglected other social groups. For European administrators and missionaries,

⁴⁹ J.P, Chrétien,, *L'Afrique des Grands Lacs....*, p.246

⁵⁰ A., Pagès, *Un royaume hamite au centre de l'Afrique*, Brussels: Institut Royal du Congo Belge, 1933; L.,De Lacger, , *Ruanda*, Namur, 1939.

⁵¹This question has been analyzed in detail by many scholars, among them we have: J.P., Chrétien, *L'Afrique des Grands Lacs....*, pp. 246-248 and M.,Mamdani, , *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001, pp. 76-102; J.P. Kimonyo, “La relation identitaire....”, pp.61-91

“the hypothesis that the Tutsis were the ‘*Hamites*’ gave them the right to rule the Bantu peoples.”⁵² During Belgian colonization, from 1916 up to the Second World War, they put down a policy which promoted the Tutsi. The Tutsis became auxiliaries of Belgian colonizers and they were promoted through education. That is why different schools were created throughout the country where the sons of the Tutsis could study.

In this chapter, I will analyze Belgium’s education policy, showing how it was organized and what its impact was on the Rwandan society. I will highlight the role played by the missionaries in this education policy, to show how they worked hand in hand with the political administration.

2. 1. Belgian Colonial system in Rwanda in 1916

The Belgians occupied Rwanda in 1916 without facing any major resistance from Rwandese. At the beginning they pursued a German policy of indirect rule until 1922 when there was mandate from the League of Nations starting that Rwanda should be placed under the system of mandated territories.⁵³

In theory, the Belgians adopted the system of indirect rule to colonize Rwanda as was the case with the Germans. But in practice it was not true because, the Belgians intervened directly in the ruling of the colony. Contrary to the Germans who passed by the king when they wanted to give the orders concerning the execution of different duties, the Belgians always intervened

⁵² F., Reyntjens, *op.cit.*, pp.103-104

P., Erny, “L’*école au Rwanda durant la période allemande*” in, *Dialogue*, no 53, March-April 1976, p. 24

in different domains. This permanent intrusion would be intensified when at the same time the number of colonial agents increased. The Belgians didn't only give orders, they also controlled their execution. The administrator walked throughout his territory, he arrived unexpectedly on a hill, punished or congratulated chiefs or sub-chiefs. At the same time, he informed himself on everything, like the institutions and peoples.⁵⁴

The administrative reform which started in 1926 is one of the examples to illustrate this Belgian direct rule as we shall see in the next chapter. The Administrator of Nyanza territory argued:

It is direct rule; the more "direct" that we could imagine. Surely, the previous reports contain so much illusion concerning this policy of 'indirect rule' and which we were supposed to follow some years ago....Actually, the Administrator must control even the small detail concerning execution.⁵⁵

This quotation proves the argument that in reality European staff controlled the smallest detail concerning Rwandese politics, starting by "Nyanza palace". But officially, the Belgians still argued that they adopted the system of indirect rule as has been argued by Rumiya: "In the official literature, they maintained the expression 'indirect rule' which had the advantage to please Permanent Commission of Mandate even if, in practice, it was the direct rule system."⁵⁶

To facilitate the execution of his orders, the administrator brought under his control the indigenous cadre. His apparition caused terror for chiefs

⁵⁴ J., Rumiya, *op.cit.*, pp. 227-231

⁵⁵ R/R.U.no7(89), *Nyanza territory*, 1930 annual report

⁵⁶ J., Rumiya, *op.cit.*, pp.,229-230

and sub-chiefs who dreaded all kinds of sanctions like: destitution, fines, beatings, etc. But, if the Administrator was in contact with indigenous cadres, it was not the case with the rest of Rwandese because of the linguistic barrier. Hence, the colonizer opted to educate people that he chose as auxiliaries.

Contrary to Germans who, at the beginning of their colonization in Rwanda had recruited foreign interpreters who spoke Swahili language, the Belgians decided to train intermediate staff between Europeans and indigenous chiefs. Sustaining what had started during German occupation, the Belgians emphasized the policy of educating the Tutsi because it was among them that they chose the auxiliaries as shall be seen below. Then, the colonial administration in collaboration with the missionaries played the main role to promote the Tutsi ethnic group through education to the detriment of the Hutu ethnic group who were marginalized up to the end of the II World War in 1945.

To decide to collaborate with the Tutsis, the Belgians were guided by the "*Hamitic theory*" referred to above and considered them as a supreme "race" compared to Hutus and Twas. In the next sub-section I am going to analyze Belgium's education policy in Rwanda.

2. 2. Belgian colonial education policy in Rwanda

In general, Belgian education policy focused on the utilitarian and religious orientation, what was called "Belgian paternalism". The Belgians

were not interested in studies which didn't lead directly to the growth of productivity and the metropolis' economic needs.⁵⁷

In 1925 the education policy was established and the accent was put on basic schooling. The main idea in this policy was to raise the standard of life of the population and pass it to the next generation.

When the Belgian colonizers arrived in Rwanda for the first time and introduced their educational system, they were unanimous regarding the necessity of educating a big number of indigenous people and the increase of schools, but according to elementary curriculum which was composed by reading and writing in mother tongue, the four elementary operations of mathematics and the notions on weight, measures and currency, Christian religions, manual works adapted to region's needs. In this curriculum, could also be added some elementary notions of geography.⁵⁸

One of the Colonial reports mentioned that:

It is a big error to say that to teach black children an education that is more developed and more advanced could reduce the number of educated people. On the contrary, if education is limited to a rudimentary curriculum, it could be spread quicker in all villages. In these conditions, education has to be measured, not only at the black's intellectual capacity, but also and above all, at his moral capacity.⁵⁹

The education dispensed to black people was always measured that is why Father Maus emphasized this policy and said:

Yesterday young blacks didn't come to school because they were savage. Today, they want to study because they are pushed by the fatality. And

⁵⁷ K., Le Thanh, *L'Enseignement en Afrique Tropical*, Paris: PUF, 1971, p. 19

⁵⁸ D., Murego, *op.cit.*, p.622

⁵⁹ *Rapport de l'administration du Congo Belge et du Ruanda-Urundi*, 1925, pp. 98-99

when they are at school, it is better to maintain them a part of their savagery; thus an African will always need Europeans to civilize him. Any disposition doesn't be neglected in the aim to maintain the Black on his place. This education policy must avoid developing literature study for black people beyond poor curriculum. A high education disorients the Black, pushes him to neglect his old origin and helps him claiming appointments in administration. That is why indigenous student might know that he is educated for his milieu not for his later emancipation when he will already access to a high education. He might be convinced that, after two or three years of training, he will go back to the village, well equipped and trained to live there in good conditions. He has to know that, his masters will categorically oppose against any kind of ascent or changes which are not proposed by the colonizer.⁶⁰

According to this quotation, we clearly understand the spirit which guided the Belgians when they created the first schools for indigenous people in Rwanda. They wanted to get auxiliaries who had a minimum of skills and who could help them in Administration and colonial enterprises. This colonial education policy excluded any kind of higher education which could later cause them some problems when those indigenous people could start to claim their rights.

Thus, the education system in Belgian territories during the colonial era was characterized by its elementary level, its extreme prudence in the training of intelligentsia and its pragmatism. To emphasize this idea, Ndayambaje (1988) quoted colonial Government reports and wrote: "In Belgium, the school has the mission of education; in Congo and Ruanda- Urundi it will specially raise. The teacher's main objective is to improve indigenous' morals: this is more important than the science."⁶¹

⁶⁰ *Rapport missionnaire du Congo Belge et du Ruanda-Urundi*, 1917, pp. 118-119

⁶¹ J.D., Ndayambaje, *Rapport entre l'Education et l'Emploi en Afrique noire, rôle et*

This philosophy concerning the subordination of education to the moralization, explains the worry of Belgian colonial policy makers to create a school without any intellectual pretension, but determined to teach a big number of Africans good behavior. The colonizers wanted to train auxiliaries in different domains; they were also trained on the moral behavior.

The general policy was that in its colonies, Belgium bequeathed the education domain to missionaries of different religious congregations as shall be seen below. The Belgian colonial government decided to do this because it had seen some advantages in this policy. For example:

- they permitted the extension of schools without expending a lot of money for the Government;
- they emphasized on moral education which was very necessary for indigenous people;
- they permitted missionaries to replace traditional beliefs by Christianity.⁶²

The colonial government maintained the right concerning the choice and establishment of education policy, but the management and teaching was assigned to the churches. The education given during this period had been conceived by colonial powers for the colonized who were expected to accept it unequivocally.

responsabilités d'une politique éducative adéquate et fonctionnelle, Doctoral Thesis, Université de Fribourg, 1983, p.90

⁶² *Revue des Grands Lacs*, "Au Congo belge: une ère nouvelle", Namur: Grands Lacs, no 175, September 1954, p. 38

If we accept that the school was during colonial period an institution destined especially to train auxiliaries of Administration and the Church, we can also mention that there was no other way to promote them, without letting them pass through the colonial school. People who attended the school got jobs which helped them to be financially and materially different from the rest of the population. In the next sub-section I will show how this Belgian education policy was implemented in Rwanda during Belgian occupation.

2. 2. a. The Creation of first schools

(i) White Fathers

In Rwanda, the White Fathers played the main role in education. They were the first to introduce the first schools under German occupation and they would continue to dominate this domain even under Belgian colonization. In this section we shall see how they introduced and developed the school, and which policy guided them while performing their educational duties in Rwanda.

The White Fathers were founded by Bishop Charles Lavigerie in 1868. They arrived in Rwanda in the 1900s before Muslims and Protestants arrived. To get many Christians, the White Fathers focused their activities in the education of Rwandese youth and to succeed in this activity they were supported by colonial authorities. "The policy pursued by the White Fathers

in education had a double objective: to give a serious religious education and to preserve the youth by maintaining them around the church”⁶³

(ii) Importance of Christian education

The first objective of the White Fathers was to give Christian education to Rwandese youth. For them, the school was essential primarily to communicate and conserve Christian faith; and to train priests’ auxiliaries. In this case, Bishop Hirth⁶⁴ sent a circular to his colleagues in 1912 and explained:

A solid education to our youth in religious science becomes necessary for two reasons: without this kind of education we won’t have a solid Christendom and prosper, and without them, Protestants will soon have all influence around us at the expense of Catholicism.⁶⁵

Thus, with the aim to educate the clergy’s auxiliaries and to block the way to Protestants, the White Fathers, since their arrival, created different schools with their own budget. In each mission they built a school and gathered the youth and taught them the Christian religion, secular subjects which helped afterward when they were posted to do different jobs in the mission.⁶⁶

In their conception, the White Fathers didn’t want to give high education to Rwandese. They were afraid to train the “relegated

⁶³J.M.V., Ruterana, *Le Groupe Scolaire de Butare*, Mémoire de Licence, Université Nationale du Rwanda, 1987, p. 24

⁶⁴Hirth was the first Bishop and responsible of Catholic Church in Rwanda when it was introduced in the 1900s.

⁶⁵R., Heremans, *L’Education dans les missions des Pères Blancs en Afrique Centrale (1879-1914): Objectifs et réalisations*, Bruxelles: Editions Nauwelaerts, 1983, p. 445

⁶⁶F., Nahimana, “Les Missions Catholiques et l’enseignement au Rwanda de 1917 à 1931” in, *Dialogue*, no 74, May-June 1974, p. 30

intellectuals”; their education was elementary, “they preached to the Rwandese youth the submission to divine and human laws, they also trained them in the way of liking their work.”⁶⁷It is in this philosophy that the Belgian colonial government established the system of granted private schools in collaboration with mission societies. Thanks to this system which involved much interest for the Catholic Church in the country, the White Fathers established a serious organization in the education domain founded on government curriculum. Thus, Bishop Leon Classe always invited his colleagues to organize seriously and very well the education they were giving as a complementary activity alongside pastoral ministry.⁶⁸

In the aim to organize very well the education in Rwanda, the White Fathers invited other Catholic Congregations which, in their activities were interested in the education domain, to help them in this activity. In spite of government curriculum imposed, Christian education conserved its importance in schools during the colonial period.

⁶⁷ Father Raux Modeste quoted by R., Heremans, *op.cit.*, p. 253

⁶⁸ A.G.S.: *Lettre de Monseigneur Classe à ses collègues concernant la question de l'enseignement*, Kabgayi, 13th November 1931

2. 2. b. Opposition against missionary school by traditional powers.

The introduction of the Catholic Church and the school was not something easy for the White Fathers because the king and his collaborators had neglected and combated the new religion when it was introduced for the first time. Thus when they arrived, the missionaries started to educate children from a humble background and step-by-step, they created good relationships with King Musinga of Rwanda.

Though it was not easy at first, finally in 1905 the White Fathers constructed a school at Nyanza not far away from the Palace where they started recruiting children from high families. A few years later, Father Léon Classe started the education policy of collaboration with the German colonial government. At the same time he tried to keep good relationships with Tutsi leaders. In this collaboration, he envisaged an education of the Tutsi in order to have auxiliaries educated. Bishop Classe explained why it was imperative to educate the Tutsis thus:

To encourage Tutsi movement to the mission, it is the future of the Catholic religion. Those young Tutsis are the future chiefs; we have to create good relationships with them. Even if some of them don't like to go to school and to be baptized, their good relationship with us will help to be more stable in our activities. The chiefs will be our main force against protestant projects. The people will have also the more confidence for the future in us. Hence, to develop Tutsi School will be a way to keep this youth under our influence, if the government realized its projects concerning secular schools in all provinces.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Newsletter published by Rulindo Mission quoted by J., Gahama, *Le Burundi sous l'administration belge*, Paris: Karthala, 1983, p. 257

As mentioned above, at the beginning this education policy established by the missionaries for the Tutsis didn't succeed well because many chiefs refused to send their children to missionary schools; they continued to boycott colonial schools. Because of this attitude that traditional powers displayed on the education policy, Belgian colonial powers were obliged to use their influence and forced the king to embrace the colonial education policy. Des Forges analyzes the reaction of colonial powers to the traditional power's attitude concerning colonial school as follows:

When the Administration discovered this attitude of traditional power against colonial education policy, the Resident⁷⁰ of Belgium in Rwanda Major De Clerck in collaboration with Whites Fathers gave a last warning to King Musinga, they wrote him a letter through which they asked him either to participate in colonial education or to be destitute and finally pass the power to the Hutu ethnic group.⁷¹

King Musinga understood that the time had changed. He sent a letter to General Malfeyt, General Commissioner, and said: "I am not against colonial school but in contrary I am against what is taught in school to our children by catholic missionaries."⁷² After "negotiation" with King Musinga, colonial powers decided to create at Nyanza not far away from Musinga's palace a government school for sons of chiefs in the aim to encourage the King and his collaborators to send their sons to school as shall be seen later in order to educate future auxiliaries chosen among Tutsis' high families.

⁷⁰ Resident was the title of the representative of the Belgian king in Rwanda. In Burundi there was also another Resident and there was also a Vice-Governor who controlled Rwanda and Burundi and at the same time there was another Vice-Governor in Congo. Finally, at the top there was Governor who controlled both Congo and Ruanda-Urundi.

⁷¹ A. Des Forges, quoted by, F., Rentjens, *op. cit.*, p. 108

⁷² Letter written on 23rd June 1918 by King Musinga to Royal Commissioner Malfeyt, quoted by F., Reyntjens, *ibid.* pp. 108-109

Briefly, because of the energy used by Belgian colonizers and the Catholic Church by forcing Tutsi in general, high families in particular, to send their children at school, step by step the Tutsis developed interest in education and later in the 1950s, the majority of educated people among Rwandese were Tutsis.

Alongside missionary schools started under German occupation, the Belgians created government schools when they arrived in Rwanda. In the next sub-section we shall see how those schools operated.

2. 2. c. The beginning of government schools

In 1916, colonial administration started the execution of the German project of creating four government schools in Rwanda alongside missionary schools. Those schools were created at *Shangugu, Ruhengeri, Gatsiro and Rukira*. They counted 265 students in 1925 and 677 in 1929. Those schools trained young children in different handcrafts like: Shoe-repairing, basketwork, sawmills, transformation of tobacco, etc.⁷³

At Nyanza royal palace, as I mentioned above, in 1919 a school for the sons of chiefs was also opened by colonial powers to replace the old one which had been created in 1905 by the White Fathers and closed in 1915 because of the First World War. This school had the following objectives:

⁷³P., Erny, "L' enseignement au Rwanda 1916-1948" in, *Dialogue*, no55, March-April, 1976, pp., 24-25

-education and the bringing up of the sons of Tutsi chiefs in order to prepare them for future appointments and to make them 'very clever' auxiliaries of administration;

-training the monitors for public schools, training the Tutsis whose fathers were not chiefs or sub-chiefs with the aim to prepare them to be clerics.⁷⁴

In 1923 the school was headed by a European teacher helped by three Black monitors. Education was given in *swahili* and took three years, afterwards the students had one year of internship in an administrative post. In 1929, the education in *swahili* was abandoned because the colonizer said that it encouraged the penetration of Islam.

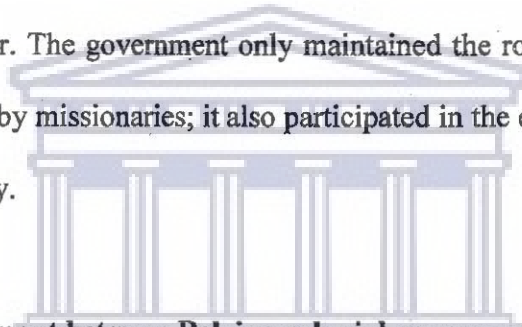
The missionaries were not happy to see the Government intervening directly in education. For the Catholic Church, especially Bishop Leon Classe, the public schools constituted a place where religious education was not developed. Even if those schools were led by Religious leaders, because the curriculum and the criteria of admission were decided by the colonial power without any consultation with missionaries, those schools neglected religious teaching. Another cause of rivalry between Bishop Classe and the colonial administration is that, sometimes in those public schools, especially Nyanza school, they accepted children from the Hutu group whereas the school was supposed to be attended by children from the Tutsi group in general, and sons of chiefs and sub-chiefs in particular.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 25

⁷⁵ P., Erny, *ibid.*, p. 26 ; P., Erny, "Réflexion sur l'enseignement au Rwanda" in, *Dialogue*, no 42, January-February 1974, pp. 36-38

The Catholic Church wanted to have monopoly in the education domain. The role of the colonial administration was limited to the financing and establishment of education curriculum. The rivalries between the Catholic Church and the colonial administration continued until the period when the two partners signed an accord concerning the management of education.

As we shall show in the next sub-section, this accord awarded to missionaries and catholic missionaries in particular the right to manage the education sector. The government only maintained the role of supervisor on what was done by missionaries; it also participated in the establishment of the education policy.



2. 3. Agreement between Belgian colonial powers and missionaries

With so many responsibilities concerning administration and development of the colony, the colonial power officially handed the education responsibility to missionaries; the agreement was signed in 1925.⁷⁶ The Belgian colonial government explained why it decided to pass the education sector to missionaries:

Religious missions are better qualified and better equipped than all other institutions to educate people. Missionaries got a special pedagogical education. With apostolate as the main activity, missionaries have also specialized in the study of indigenous languages and mentality. By staying a long time in one place with indigenous people, they are the best instructors. They have long experience in the

⁷⁶ P.,Erny, "L'enseignement au Rwanda 1916....", *op.cit.*, p. 33; F., Nahimana, "Les missions Catholiques et l'enseignement....", *op.cit.*, p. 39

education of auxiliaries: indigenous clergy, many catechists and the training of various indigenous crafts.⁷⁷

In this agreement, the Government resolved to support the missions financially with the aim to improve their education equipment and to develop the school curriculum. Previously, the Government sometimes awarded grants to the missionary schools but after this agreement, it regularly supported missionaries which had schools by financial grants voted every year on the annual budget. The 1926 report mentions practical dispositions taken concerning this agreement.

From this accord the missionaries⁷⁸ started by training the teachers, improving the curriculum, the quality of education and the buildings. They built in each mission a complete primary school led by a European. Throughout the country primary schools were built and equipped. With this large program of education, the government increased its financial grant provided to missionary schools. The break-down of the funds granted to mission schools in Ruanda-Urundi provided in the 1925 report is as follows:

a. Catholic missions

- Maintenance of schools: 100. 000Frans
- Dispensaries : 10.000 Frs
- Training of the clerks affected in various services in Administration:
20. 000Frans

⁷⁷ *Rapport annuel de l'Administration Belge au Ruanda- Urundi en 1925*, pp. 89-91

⁷⁸ When I say missionaries here, I especially focus on Catholic missionaries because it was them who had been much more supported and worked hand in hand with Belgian colonial administration than other missionaries. Thus, more than 90% of schools belonged to Catholic missionaries.

- Creation of Seminary in Urundi: 15.000 Frs
- b. Protestant missions : 25.000 Frs
- c. Professional schools for “*Soeurs Blanches d’Afrique*”: 5.000 Frs
- d. Schools for Coloreds : 5.000 Frs
- e. Curacy of Rwanda for printing French- Kinyarwanda dictionary:
7.605 Frs
- f. Kabgayi mission in the occasion of 25th birthday: 1.000 Frs
- g. For 5 dispensaries belonging to missions under form of medicine:
36.000Frs

Total: 220.905Frs⁷⁹

This Belgian colonial education policy already started in Congo, implied a preliminary understanding and contractual agreements with religious missions named “nationals” mainly represented by Catholic missions. The agreement gave advantage to Catholic missionaries in comparison to other religions because they had necessary human resources and material to realize the education project.⁸⁰

The favors awarded to Catholic missionaries can be understood in the accords that the colonial government concluded with catholic religious congregations. For instance, the accord signed in 1929 between the Belgian Government and Brothers of Charity concerning the creation of professional

⁷⁹ *Rapport annuel de l’Administration Belge au Ruanda –Urundi en 1925*, pp. 39-40

⁸⁰ F., Nahimana, “Les missions catholiques et l’enseignement au Rwanda...”, p. 41

school in *Astrida* (actual Butare province) will be discussed in detail in chapter three.⁸¹

Finally, the Government itself kept low more or less the contribution of other religious missions established in Rwanda. This helps us to understand how catholic missions played the main role in education in comparison to other missions as shown in the table below.



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⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 41

Table2: Comparison table showing education by religions in Rwanda in the 1930s

Item	Catholic missions	Protestant missions
Director	20	-
Europeans	15	-
Rwandese	5	-
Teachers	25	5
Europeans	16	5
Rwandese	9	-
Rwandan instructors	340	71
Number of central schools	20	3
Males	15	-
Females	5	-
Students for central schools	7.926	-
Males	5.541	-
Females	2.385	-
Number of rural schools (mixed)	171	42
Students from rural schools (mixed)	6.802	-
Total number of schools	192	45
Total number of students	14.728	2.804

Source: *Rapport annuel de l'Administration Belge au Ruanda-Urundi en 1930*, pp.76-78

This table emphasizes the hypothesis that the Catholic Church dominated the education domain in Rwanda; more than 90% of schools were controlled by Catholics. This control of education was the aim of

missionaries as it was always repeated by Bishop Leon Classe to his collaborators that: “Who will dominate the education, will get the youth and as consequence, will dominate all the country.”⁸² This strategy would help them to play the main role during political events which would follow afterward in the 1940s-1950s as shall be analyzed in the next two chapters.

The agreement between Belgian Colonial powers and missionaries also changed the structure of education in Rwanda as demonstrated in the next section.

2. 4. The structure and general orientation of education after the agreement between the colonial power and the missionaries

In 1925, when the colonial government signed the accord with the missionaries concerning the management of education domain, the structure and the orientation of education changed: Before this change, education was organized in the way that the colonial government and missions wanted, each one had his own schools, without real collaboration; this would change later.

After the reform initiated in 1924, three kinds of schools emerged:

- Government schools led by congregations: these were schools that were totally dependent on the Belgian colonial government financially. Concerning the management, they were under the control of catholic congregations.

⁸² *Rapport annuel des Pères Blancs (1923-1924)*, no 19, p. 370

- Granted private schools: Those schools were managed by national missions⁸³ and got 50% of the grant from the Colonial government. This grant was used especially to build the new schools and to pay staff's salary.
- Non granted private schools: These were schools which belonged to Christian missions but not Belgian-ones. Those schools didn't get any grant from the colonial government but had to follow education national policy when they established their curriculum.⁸⁴

Concerning pedagogic organization, two categories of schools existed: primary schools and special schools:⁸⁵

2. 4. a. Primary schools

There were two kinds of primary schools in this category:

-Primary school of first degree, also called rural schools: Those schools had a program of two years and were established in the countryside. They were confined to local teachers who were controlled by missionaries.

-Primary school of second degree, also called central or urban schools: Those schools had a program of three years and were headed by European missionaries. They were reserved for children who lived in "towns" or business centers throughout the country.

⁸³ By national missions, we have to understand those which were based in Belgium and headed by Belgians and which the majority of the members were also Belgians.

⁸⁴ J.M.V., Ruterana, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19

⁸⁵ *Rapport produit en 1929 concernant l'organisation de l'enseignement privé au Congo Belge et au Ruanda-Urundi*, p. 1

2. 4. b. Special schools or post-primaries

These were the schools which trained auxiliaries of colonial administration by learning various professions as shall be seen later in chapter three.

Concerning the duration of studies, it depended on the field chosen by the students to pursue. It is in this program that the ethnic selection was strict, with a little chance for the Hutus to pursue their studies.⁸⁶

Up to 1948, the first preoccupation for the colonial administration was the development of primary schools. From 1948 the stage of education in secondary schools started. Before this period, there were only two secondary schools namely: "*Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida*" in Southern Rwanda and "*Kabgayi junior Seminary*" in central Rwanda and one senior seminar, situated at Kabgayi once again.

Access to secondary school was something which was not easy. There were many criteria used in admitting students such that, only a little number of youth had the chance to continue their studies. Among the criteria of selection was ethnicity, which was the main one. It was just after the Second World War that Belgium and the Catholic Church started to reduce the criteria of accessing students who wanted to go to secondary school. From there, the number of Hutus who entered in secondary school increased.

⁸⁶W., Permentier, "L'enseignement libre subsidié" in, *Grands Lacs*, no 135, 15th September 1950, p. 67

2. 5. Ethnic segregation in school

In collaboration with the colonial administration, Bishop Leon Classe who was responsible for running the affairs of the Catholic Church in Rwanda imposed discrimination in schools from 1922. Even if this segregation had started early in 1905 when the first schools were introduced in Rwanda, it is under the Belgian period that this policy was accentuated. In this period, the Catholic Church forced its missionaries to create separated classes for Hutu and Tutsi.⁸⁷

The missions where discrimination in schools was more pronounced were: *Save, Kansi, Rwamagana, Zaza and Mibirizi*. In Kigali mission, the reporter underlined that, Hutu children were completely excluded in education; the colonial report presented the numbers of Hutus and Tutsis registered in schools namely: 15 Hutus against 205 Tutsis.⁸⁸

To understand this segregation established in education, let's give some examples:

For instance, each primary school class was divided in sections: one section for Tutsi children and another one for Hutu children. When children from one ethnic group were too many to study in one class, they created another class for them because they avoided mixing students who didn't belong to the same

⁸⁷G., Mbonimana, "Ethnies et Eglise catholique" in, *Cahiers Centre Saint-Dominique: Ethnies au Rwanda*, 8th August 1995, p. 62; A., Mugesera, "Le racisme colonial ou l'aliénation du peuple rwandais" in, *Cahiers Lumière et société: Histoire III*, October 1997, p.65

⁸⁸L., Deprimoz, *Rapport sur les ecoles du Vicariat du Rwanda. Année scolaire 1927- 1928: Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangere*, quoted by G., Mbonimana, "Ethnies et Eglise ...", *op. cit.*, p. 6

ethnic group. Another alternative was to create a class for Tutsi children in the morning and another one in the afternoon for Hutus.⁸⁹

This segregation in education was seen in all the missions where there were schools. To emphasize this education policy, we can give another example: when students who belonged to the same class didn't have the same curriculum. For instance, alongside the ordinary courses, Tutsi children learnt French which was not learnt by Hutu children.⁹⁰ This segregation was also seen in government schools created after 1919. As shown above, the sons of chiefs and sub-chiefs were trained with a special curriculum which prepared them, either to be auxiliaries of colonial administrators, or to replace their father chiefs.

This segregation policy meted in education was founded on the *hamitic ideology* developed by missionaries and colonial powers in Rwanda. This ideology established a link between the physical and mental characteristics of each group. Then in the 1920s, some Europeans like missionaries exalted the intellectual capacity of Tutsis and Hutus were considered as less clever than Tutsis. In this case, Bishop Classe explained why they decided to favor the Tutsis more than the Hutus and said:

With Tutsi youths we have an incomparable element of progress that all those who know Rwanda recognize, I think (...). Better than the Hutu, the Tutsi will always have more influence on his compatriot Hutus and Tutsis; his authority will be quickly and well accepted by all Tutsis and Hutus. Ask Hutus if they prefer to be ruled by Hutus or by Tutsis: the answer is not uncertain, their preference will go straight to Tutsis and that is true! (...) As for us, we are in charge of the religious domain.

⁸⁹ A., Mugesera, *op.cit.*, p. 66

⁹⁰ A., Mugesera, *ibid.*, p. 67; G., Mbonimana, "Ethnies et Eglise...." in, *Cahiers Centre Saint-Dominique: Ethnies au Rwanda*, 8th August 1995, p. 63

We think that..... Tutsi element is for us the best, the more active, the more convinced, the most able to play in the society the ferment role and who can exercise the influence on the rest of the population.⁹¹

According to Bishop Classe, young Tutsis might be educated in order to replace their father chiefs and sub-chiefs, and also to be employed in the colonial administration, whereas the Hutus had to be trained in order to work in the mines and factories.

If in 1959, the Tutsis had political and administrative monopoly, economic and cultural domination, it is because of the policy established by colonial powers and the Catholic Church which promoted the Tutsi ethnic group, when they got the chance of studying and to be employed in Administration and in the mission.

We have to remember that in 1929, 5 public primary schools: *Nyanza, Ruhengeri, Rukira, Shangugu, and Gatsibo* existed and registered 969 Tutsi students destined to be auxiliaries of Government as teachers, secretaries, interpreters, chiefs and sub-chiefs.⁹² Also, as demonstrated below, it was in 1929 that the agreement was signed between the colonial administration and the *Brothers of Charity of Gand* from Belgium concerning the creation of a secondary school in charge of training Tutsi auxiliaries for administration.

In the next chapter, I analyze the role played by this school by training auxiliaries for Administration and by creating inequality between Rwandese. Because of this education policy, the chances of individual promotion later

⁹¹ Letter sent by Bishop Léon Classe to Resident Morteau in 12th September 1927 quoted by G., Mbonimana "Ethnies et Eglise", *op.cit.* p. 64

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 65

became more limited to educated people who generally belonged to the Tutsi aristocracy. I have to mention that not all Tutsis were in this class of aristocracy as has been argued by many scholars⁹³; the power was managed by just a small group of Tutsis.

In general, the Catholic Church led by the White Fathers played the main role in this education policy in Rwanda, it trained the majority of leaders during the colonial period – even after. The church also played the main role in this policy of division initiated in education as mentioned above.



Conclusion

In this chapter I showed how education was organized and how it developed under Belgian colonization in Rwanda. Since 1905 when Germans introduced education in Rwanda, it was characterized by ethnic segregation when the Tutsis were favored at the expense of Hutus. During the Belgian colonial period, the Government, in collaboration with missionaries, reinforced this segregation policy when the Tutsis continued to be educated and Hutus neglected. In 1924 the Government and the Catholic Church signed an agreement in terms of which the government accorded to the Catholic Church the responsibilities to manage education while the Government still had the right concerning the elaboration of education policy. From there catholic missionaries made a clear distinction between Hutus and Tutsis when they created schools for each ethnic group. They went beyond

⁹³ See G.,Kayibanda, “Les conditions essentielles”, in *L’Ami*, Kabgayi, no 55, June 1949 and D., Murego, *La révolution rwandaise...*, 1975

that and in collaboration with the Belgian government put down the curriculum according to ethnic groups when in Tutsi schools they learnt French whereas Hutus learnt *Kinyarwanda* (mother tongue).

This promotion of the Tutsi ethnic group would later create inequality between Hutus and Tutsis because the colonial power would employ in Administration Tutsis who were educated whereas the minority of Hutus who got the chance to go to school were sent either to the mines or were left without employment.

Briefly, the Belgian Colonial Administration in collaboration with missionaries, especially Catholics, educated Tutsis and neglected Hutus and this caused inequality, division and rivalries between the two groups. This point is developed in the next chapter which establishes the relationship between education and employment, when the educated Tutsi were automatically employed by colonial administration with many advantages, whereas the small number of educated Hutus had problems when trying to find jobs.

CHAPTER 3: EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT IN COLONIAL RWANDA

Introduction

In the second chapter, I discussed Belgian education policy in Rwanda. Looking at the organization of primary schools, I showed how this education was focused on one ethnic group, namely Tutsi while ignoring the Hutu. To demonstrate this bias, I used the example of *Nyanza primary school* which had been created with the aim of educating children from high families, especially the King and chiefs' sons. In the present chapter, I shall continue to analyze this utilitarian function of education by looking at how the biased provision of education extended to the administration domain.

This chapter will focus on two secondary schools created by the colonial and missionary authorities with different objectives and politics. These are: *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida* and *Kabgayi Seminary*. The first one was created to train Tutsi auxiliaries to serve in administration while the second one aimed at training auxiliaries of the Catholic Church. As hinted above, these two schools were characterized by ethnic segregation. For example, the majority of students registered in *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida* were Tutsis, whereas the Hutu constituted the majority at the seminary. In this chapter, I shall analyze the problem of employment, which was done along ethnic lines. For example, Tutsis who completed in *Nyanza School* and *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida* were automatically employed by the Colonial Administration. On the other hand, Hutus who completed at the Seminary and

were not ordained as priests met serious problems when trying to find a job, the small number of these Hutus was employed by the Catholic Church, others were posted in the mines. This created the divisions, hatred and tension between the two groups.

3. 1. The establishment of *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida*

Whereas the colonial administration and the missionaries continued to train their auxiliaries in different primary schools spread throughout the country, they saw the need of increasing the knowledge and number of their auxiliaries, hence on 11th July 1929 Belgian colonial authorities signed an accord with a religious congregation named, Brothers of Charity which had its headquarters at *Gand* in Belgium. The accord concerned the creation of *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida* in Southern Rwanda (*Astrida* territory). The idea was that once completed, this school would later replace Nyanza primary school as an educational institution. I have to mention that step-by-step, the number of students registered at Nyanza School decreased and finally in 1935, the school closed because students who were supposed to study there were transferred in *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida* . Construction of the school took three years and the school officially opened in January 1932. The school played a significant role in the training of auxiliaries for the Belgian colonial administration in Ruanda-Urundi from the 1940s when the first group of students got their degrees up to 1959 when the civil war started in Rwanda. Each academic year, the school received 50% of students from Rwanda and

50% from Burundi as had been decided in the convention signed in 1931 between the Belgian government and Brothers of Charity before the opening of this school.

3. 1. a. Objectives of the school

As argued by Ruterana, the school was created as a special institution and was organized like European schools. It had the following objectives:

1. To organize higher education by gathering and training clever students from Rwanda and Burundi missionary schools, so that they could assist Whites to administer the two countries. Thus, the school wanted to:

* Increase and ensure an appropriate education to chiefs' sons who were supposed to replace their fathers as chiefs of provinces, or who would be employed as civil servants in different sectors.

* Collaborate with the Government in the program of the training of nurses, assistant-agronomists and veterinarians;

* Collaborate with the Catholic Church in the training of instructors destined to schools in White Fathers' missions.

2. To educate colored children from Ruanda-Urundi who fulfilled the admission criteria to this new secondary school.⁹⁴

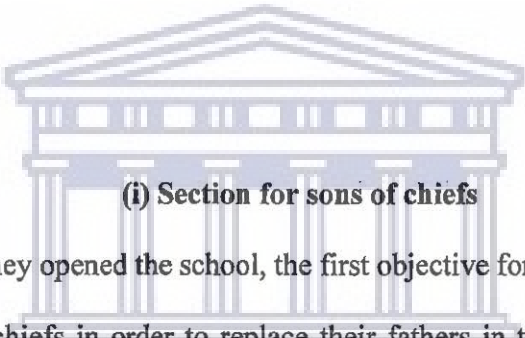
According to those accords and to ensure the success of this project of the creation of the school, the colonial government accepted in return to support the school financially. Then, the buildings and all the equipment were

⁹⁴J.M.V., Ruteran, *op.cit.*, pp. 52-53

on the government's charges, whereas the Brothers of Charity furnished the necessary staff, books and other material used in education.⁹⁵

3. 1. b. The first Enrolment

In accordance with the report from the directorship in 1932, "*Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida* started with the following groups (i) sons of Chiefs, (ii) civil servants candidates and (iii) teachers"⁹⁶. It is with these three groups of people that the school started working, others followed at a later stage.



(i) Section for sons of chiefs

When they opened the school, the first objective for the Brothers was to train sons of chiefs in order to replace their fathers in the future, hence the opening of the section. This section started on 20th January 1932 with 34 sons of Chiefs and 6 coloreds. Those coloreds came from Rwanda and Burundi, and had the same social consideration like sons of chiefs. The 1932 report of this school stated:

The objective of this section was to train for eight years, sons of chiefs in the aim that one day they should be invited to replace their fathers. Thus, according to the accord signed between Brothers and the Colonial Government, it was prohibited to recruit in this section other children except sons of chiefs and adopted children with one child per chief. The nieces of chiefs and sons of sub-chiefs were not allowed to join this section; they could join other sections except this one.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Conrad, (Brother), *Historique du Groupe Scolaire Officiel de Butare*, 1979, pp. 517-518

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 518

⁹⁷ *Rapport annuel de la Direction du Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida*, 1932, p. 2

The school fee was paid by parents and the colonial administrator had the responsibility of gathering all school fees in his territory and sent them to the school before the beginning of each school year. When the chief died, his child who studied in this section maintained the title of “son of chief”. As for his school fee, it was paid either by the substitute of his father or by the King’s Fund, depending on the Resident’s decision. The sons of former chiefs of districts could enjoy the same advantages if the Resident agreed.

In the provinces where the chiefs hadn’t yet understood the advantage of education, they refused to send their children to school; in this case colonial Administrators used force in order to push those chiefs to send their children to school. After two years of working, the section stopped and transformed later in chefs-candidate section as we shall see below.

(ii) Section for Civil-servants

This section opened on 1st August 1932. It was the great hope for the colonial government because the candidates who completed their studies in this section after three years of training were automatically employed in Administration. The objective of the Brothers for creating this course was to train auxiliaries who were posted in provinces as assistants for White people. As mentioned in the colonial report in 1933:

To study in this section, the children might be cleverer than the previous section that is why the students were selected by a competitive entry examination among the best missionaries and Government schools in Rwanda and Burundi. The students were recruited by provinces and after their training; they were sent back to the

provinces where they came from.⁹⁸

The school fee for all students was paid by the colonial Government. For this reason, the students were morally committed to work for the colonial government, not for traditional power elites. The curriculum was conceived according to the government's thinking. The main aim of the trainers was to teach more French during the first two years because the students were expected to work with White people when they completed their studies.

Ruterana writes:

All courses were given in French and many discussions were organized in classrooms in order to help students to improve their knowledge. The third year was used for practices and this was indispensable for students in their future appointments. They learnt: dictation, typewriting, how to write administrative letters, and classification of official documents. They also spent few hours per week learning the new systems of agriculture and gardening.⁹⁹

The section of civil-servants didn't operate for a long period. After training just one group of students, it was transformed into section of chefs-candidates or administrative course (the two appellations were used). I have to mention that students who completed this section were all appointed by the colonial administration.

(iii) Section for Teachers-candidates

The Brothers of Charity had raised the issue concerning the absence of qualified teachers in primary school throughout the country. In order to

⁹⁸ *Rapport annuel de l'administration Belge au Ruanda-Urundi*, 1933, pp. 23-26

⁹⁹ J.M.V., Ruterana, *op.cit.*, pp. 59-61

receive good students in *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida* they felt that it was better to train teachers who would be appointed in different primary schools throughout the country. To resolve this problem, the Brothers opened the section of teachers-candidates.

During their training, the students learnt more French and calligraphy; and special courses, namely: class preparation and assisted where they taught in primary school everyday from 9h30 to 10h30. Sometimes, they gave some classes in primary school where they were assisted by their teachers. The school fees for students were paid by the colonial government which expected to use those young people to train other Rwandans and Burundians.

Only 25 teachers completed this section and after that, it closed down because it was financially less supported by the Government, hence the Brothers decided to close it. The section resumed its work in 1952 under a new program where the Brothers of Charity trained teachers with a high level of education: teachers were trained for a period of six years whereas before they were trained for only three years.

All those three sections didn't succeed; they promoted one group of auxiliaries for the colonial administration and then closed down. They were later transformed into new sections with a new curriculum as shall be seen below.

3. 1. c. The Creation of new sections

After two years of trial and error in 1933, Brothers and the colonial government decided to change the educational system in *Groupe Scolaire Officiel d'Astrida*. This new system wanted to improve the quality of education by dividing high education in two levels: ordinary level and the advanced level divided in different sections namely: Nursing, Agriculture, Administration, Veterinary, Educational, Secretariat and Scientific sections

(i) Ordinary level

This level opened in January 1934. It was a prerequisite for students before starting the advanced level. It took four years and the Brothers executed Government curriculum by emphasizing on Natural Sciences because those sciences were basic when students reached the advanced level. After four years of training, students chose the section within which they wished to study at the advanced level. I have to mention that except sons of chiefs, other students were not allowed to choose or to be oriented in the Administration section.

(ii) Advanced level

This level was created with the aim to have auxiliaries well qualified in different domains. Now, let's see which sections were created, and how they were organized.

- Nursing section

The creation of this section raised much discussion concerning its management. The Brothers of Charity had the following to say:

the Government wanted to control the section whereas we didn't understand how to separate one section from the rest of the school. After a long discussion over this question, the Government finally accorded us the authorization of management of the section.¹⁰⁰

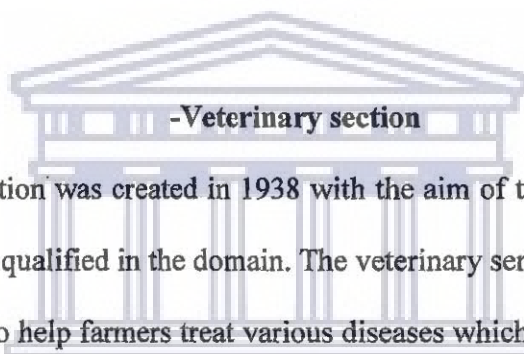
The section opened in January 1937 in order to train medical auxiliaries to be able to run the great health centers in Ruanda-Urundi or by assisting medical doctors in the hospitals. After completing the ordinary level, the students did six years at the advanced level where they were given practical training in medicine. The first stage took four years and focused on theory courses; and the second stage took two years of internship in Government hospitals under the supervision of White medicine doctors. After two years of internship, students went back to school for three months before they could pursue their theory training and prepare for the last exam which ended their training.

After this training, the nurses were posted in different health centers and hospitals throughout the country where they became either assistant-doctors in the hospitals or responsible for health centers where they treated the patients, decided who to transfer to the hospital, made vaccination, and ensured administrative responsibility of the health center. Depending on the importance of the health center, the nurse was assisted by one or two help-nurses who had also graduated. The nurse in charge of the centre received

¹⁰⁰ *Rapport annuel des Frères de la Charité*, 1935, p. 25

monthly visits by the medical inspector who checked how the new nurse was working.

The school organized an annual exam for the old nursing students in order to see if they maintained the skills they had received in *Groupe Scolaire Officiel d'Astrida*. When the nurse passed five exams, he was permanently promoted to become the nurse and was given the responsibility of running the health center. The nurse would retain the same responsibilities as before but have his grade and his salary increased.



This section was created in 1938 with the aim of training the staff that would be well qualified in the domain. The veterinary service had needed this staff in order to help farmers treat various diseases which regularly destroyed their cattle.

The period of training was six years divided into two stages: the first one took four years and was only theory training, the second one took two years when the student found somewhere to do an internship. Three months before the end of the internship, the student went back to school for the preparation of the last exam of his training.

After their studies, the veterinaries were posted in different regions throughout the country where they were appointed as chief veterinary authorities in clinics where they could take any decision without any

opposition from traditional power with the aim to improve the cattle's condition.

- Agriculture section

The section was created in 1938 because the colonial administration found it very urgent to train auxiliaries more competent in order to help European technicians to supervise peasants. All Rwandese continued to cultivate by using archaic methods and the colonizers wanted to improve those methods but, because of the problem of the staff, it was not possible to execute this policy, hence Belgian administration opted for, the training of those agronomist-technicians.

The training extended over five years: the first stage extended over four years when students learnt exclusively theoretical courses. The last stage was used for internship in different government services dealing with agriculture and experimental stations.

After this internship, the students went back to school, preparing and doing the last exam before being posted in different regions as agronomists, where they were supposed to supervise farmers in order to increase the production and to fight against some natural calamities which affected the agricultural sector.

- Section of chefs-candidates or administrative section

This section responded to the main objective which pushed Brothers of Charity and Belgian colonial powers to create the *Groupe Scolaire of Butare* namely, the training of people who were supposed to replace old chiefs and facilitate the changes initiated by Belgium in Ruanda-Urundi.¹⁰¹

The section was created in 1938 in order to directly prepare chiefs of districts and civil-servants. The training took four years: three years for course-work and one year for internship. After their studies, the sons of chiefs were invited to work with farmers, hence among the courses that they learned, alongside administrative courses there were also some courses in agriculture and veterinary science.

When the course-work was over at the end of the third year, students started the internship as was the case with the other sections. Students from the administrative section did their internship in the administration domain. Each student was confined for nine months to the territorial administrator who became his tutor. During the internship, he participated in different activities like: agricultural and food-producing propaganda, reforestation, collection of tax, secretariat in the administrator's office and census' activity. As it was for other sections, after the internship, the students went back to school to prepare for their last exam, after that they were appointed in administration. Each Administrator of the territory might supervise and assess the candidate posted in his circumscription. As argued by some scholars, the appointment of the candidate depended on his assessment:

¹⁰¹ J.M.V., Ruterana, *op.cit.*, p., 110

At the end of the year, the Administrator was invited to present his assessment-report concerning the candidate to the Resident who decided in which field he could place the candidate, based on the report. When he was well assessed, the candidate could be promoted chief of the district and if there was no district with a vacant position, the candidate could temporarily be placed in domains like Administrator's secretary. And when the candidate got a bad assessment, he was appointed in Agriculture as an agronomist.¹⁰²

Because there was a small number of chiefdoms in comparison to the sons of chiefs who completed their studies in the Administrative section and who would like to be promoted chiefs, the criteria to be appointed chief was that:

The colonial administrator selected candidates who were more clever and whose fathers were very influential in the region where they would like to place them. Some chiefs were more popular and appreciated by the people than others. Thus, their sons had more chances to be promoted chiefs; it is in this way that some families became more powerful than others.¹⁰³

I have to mention that this section was created with the aim to replace step by step the old chiefs who were not educated and who hardly understood the changes which were being introduced by the colonizer. Belgians decided to train their own students who might obey them and easily execute the orders given by the colonizer. Some of the sections which were created in this period but which didn't play a great role in the training of auxiliaries are: sections of the secretariat, educational and scientific sections. The Brothers didn't develop those sections and the number of people who finished in those sections was still very small. That is why, when we talk about auxiliaries who

¹⁰² Conrad (Brother), *Historique du Groupe Scolaire...*, pp. 524-525

¹⁰³ C., Bagilishya, "Le Rôle des Frères de la Charité dans les changements socio-politiques du Rwanda", in *Servir*, no3, 1954, p. 129-131

completed in *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida*, we mainly mean the four sections I already discussed above.

If in the previous sub-section I developed the operation and the curriculum for each section in training of auxiliaries, I would just help readers to understand which education level colonial auxiliaries and later Rwandese politicians had; it was those old students of this school that were considered as the highly educated people alongside seminarians. However, if *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida* played the main role in the training of Rwandese intelligentsia, this education generally benefited one group (Tutsi) at the expense of the other (hutu). The school was characterized by ethnic segregation as demonstrated in the next sub-section.

3. 1. d. *Groupe Scolaire Officiel d'Astrida*: A school of ethnic segregation

Nkundabagenzi argues in his work:

Since its creation, *Groupe Scolaire de Butare* has been jealously considered as a school which privileged the Tutsi aristocratic class on power in Ruanda-Urundi before independence. The question was even presented to the National High Council¹⁰⁴ by a group of Hutu intellectuals, when they deplored an ethnic segregation used by Brothers of Charity in the recruitment of students in this school.¹⁰⁵

To evaluate the role played by this school in the training of the Tutsi ethnic group in comparison to other groups, I used statistical figures showing students who studied in the school from 1932 when the school opened up to 1961. Those statistics are presented in the board where I tried to show the

¹⁰⁴ It was the high organ in the kingdom which voted the laws. The King was president of this organ.

¹⁰⁵ F., Nkundabagenzi, *op.cit.*, pp. 13-14

repartition of students each school year and per ethnic group and per territory. Those figures have been arrived at by going through the registers in which all students who attended this school were registered. Of the 2264 students registered from 1932 to 1961, I highlighted their ethnic group and regional origin.



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Table 3: Distribution of Students registered in *Groupe Scolaire* by school year and by ethnic group: 1932-1961

Country Years	RWANDA				BURUNDI					Annual Total
	Tutsi	Hutus	E.n.i.	Total	Tutsis	Hutus	Ganwa	E.n.i.	Total	
1932	28	1	0	29	1	8	16	1	26	54
1933	11	0	0	11	0	0	9	0	9	20
1934	16	6	0	22	7	7	3	1	17	39
1935	8	0	27	35	3	4	0	9	16	51
1936	14	2	0	16	3	8	1	1	13	29
1937	17	3	0	20	8	3	3	0	14	34
1938	19	6	0	25	6	6	2	0	14	39
1939	29	11	0	31	3	5	6	1	15	46
1940	25	6	1	32	9	3	2	5	19	51
1941	15	10	0	25	6	12	5	0	23	48
1942	21	2	1	24	11	8	6	2	27	51
1943	23	3	0	26	12	4	2	1	19	45
1944	25	4	1	30	13	6	1	2	22	52
1945	29	2	0	31	10	6	3	0	19	50
1946	27	1	0	28	12	9	4	3	28	56
1947	26	4	0	30	19	10	2	0	31	61
1948	43	3	0	46	30	11	3	0	44	90
1949	43	6	0	49	39	9	3	0	51	100
1950	35	9	0	44	29	12	2	0	43	87
1951	52	18	15	85	46	9	-	3	58	143
1952	33	7	0	40	24	13	-	0	37	77
1953	40	8	1	49	25	13	-	1	39	88
1954	37	10	0	47	23	13	-	0	36	83
1955	50	26	0	76	12	17	-	0	29	105
1956	40	17	0	57	25	22	-	0	47	104
1957	42	12	2	56	36	12	-	2	50	106
1958	26	18	19	63	1	1	-	43	45	108
1959	13	5	33	51	13	5	-	33	51	102
1960	14	30	19	63	21	17	-	5	43	106
1961	58	65	1	124	13	24	-	0	37	161
TOTAL	830	295	120	1265	460	277	73	112	922	2264
%	38.7	14.0	6.3	59	21.5	12.3	3.2	4.0	41.0	100

Source: Students' registers in *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida*, 1932-1961

Legend: E.n.i. : Ethnic group not identified

Analyzing the table we see that, alongside Hutu and Tutsi groups that existed in Ruanda-Urundi, there was another group named “*Ganwa*” in Burundi which Mworoha considered as “dynastic aristocratic class different to the Hutus and Tutsis, the ‘*Ganwas*’ were ‘princes of blood’, term used to designate sons of King, princes and other chiefs of chiefdoms but from royal blood.”¹⁰⁶

Since 1932 when the *Groupe Scolaire d’Astrida* opened, whereas in Rwanda they sent a bigger number of Tutsis than Hutus, in Burundi they sent both “*Ganwas*” and Tutsis almost at the same proportion.

In the table, there is another category of people called “ethnic group not identified” both in Rwanda and Burundi. This happened in cases where the registers consulted didn’t show students’ ethnic group, they mentioned just his clan. On the other hand, the registers indicated the name of each student, his mission, the hill and territory where he came from. Such details help us know if a student is a Rwandese or Burundian.

If we try to compare the number of Hutus and Tutsis who completed their studies in this school, both in Rwanda and Burundi, we find that there is a big difference between the two “ethnic groups”, the Tutsis dominated the Hutus but in the 1950s the number of Hutus who attended this school increased because in that period the Colonial power had started to educate Hutus almost in the same proportions as Tutsis. This helps us to confirm that, the *Groupe Scolaire d’Astrida* was a segregationist school created by Belgian

¹⁰⁶ E., Mworoha, *Peuples et rois de l’Afrique des Lacs. Le Burundi et les royaumes voisins aux XIXe siècle*, Dakar-Abidjan: Les Nouvelles Editions Africaines, , 1977, p., 132

colonizers in collaboration with The Brothers of Charity to train the Tutsis, in order to have auxiliaries educated because they had decided to collaborate with this group. It is people who completed in *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida* or in Nyanza School who would be generally employed by the colonial administration as shall be seen later.

Whereas Hutu children were excluded from *Groupe Scolaire*, they had the chance to pursue their studies in Seminaries where they could complete their secondary or graduate studies.

3. 2. The Creation of junior and senior seminaries of *Kabgayi and Nyakibanda*

As mentioned above, education was among the main activities of the missionaries. Whereas missionaries continued to train the auxiliaries of administration since 1905, they saw that it was better to train their auxiliaries, hence the creation of those two seminaries. Contrary to *Groupe Scolaire Officiel d'Astrida*, the majority of students who studied in those two seminaries were Hutu.

3. 2. a. Objectives pursued in the creation of the two seminaries

When the White Fathers arrived in Rwanda in 1900, their first mission was to evangelize people who didn't know Christian religion yet. One of the problems they met in this large program was to find Rwandese auxiliaries who could play the role of interpreters and also who could help in the evangelization mission. That is why they created the first primary schools

throughout the country through which they recruited auxiliaries. Few years later, they saw that it was better to train indigenous priests who could be well received by their Rwandese brothers and sisters, than the catholic religion could reach all Rwandese within a short period. Hence, the creation of *Kabgayi* junior seminary in 1913 and *Nyakibanda* senior seminary in 1937; situated respectively at the Center and South of Rwanda. Erny writes:

When it was created for the first time *Nyakibanda* senior seminary was built next to junior seminary at *Kabwayi*. It was in 1936 that the Catholic Church decided to transfer the seminary to *Nyakibanda*. From there, it became a regional seminary which received students from Rwanda, Burundi and Congo.¹⁰⁷

3. 2. b. The Curriculum pursued in the Seminaries

As mentioned above, there were two seminaries: one junior and one senior. Concerning the junior seminary, it received students who completed six years of primary school. When they arrived there, they spent seven years more to complete their secondary school. As stated by de Lacger, the curriculum pursued in the Seminary was more improved than in *Groupe Scolaire d' Astrida*, especially in Literature. He said:

In Kabgayi seminary basic education was in French and Latin, it was prohibited to use an indigenous language at school. They organized more grammar exercises in the aim to help students to familiarize and to improve their knowledge of French. Alongside the literature, students also learnt the Sciences namely: Mathematics, Biology, Chemistry, and Physics. On this curriculum we add: History, Geography, Music, Philosophy and Theology.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ P., Erny, "L'enseignement au Rwanda de 1916 à 1948", *op.cit.*, pp. 38-39

¹⁰⁸ L., de Lacger, *op.cit.*, p., 61

Briefly, the missionaries had elaborated a strong curriculum with the aim of training students well; it was from among those students that a significant number pursued senior seminary, later becoming priests.

After junior seminary, students chose either to pursue senior seminary or to stop there and go to look for a job. The senior seminary was divided into two cycles: the first one took four years and during this period, Philosophy was studied as the core course in comparison to other modules. After that, they pursued the second cycle which also took four years and in this program, even if they learnt different sciences, Theology was the core course in order to prepare the future priests. During the last year, the candidates were posted in different missions throughout the country for an internship where they were supervised by the leader of the mission. After this long training which took nine years, including seven years for junior seminary, candidates were ordained as priests.

We have to mention that not all students who started the senior seminary completed it: a big number of students stopped before the accomplishment of the highest qualification. This was due to different reasons: either they failed, or they decided to stop because they didn't like to be priests. Hence, only a small number of students managed to pursue their studies and were ordained as priests. Among priests also, some of them decided to resign few years later because they wanted to marry and get children, and the Catholic Church could not reject their resigning.

It was not easy for those former seminarians to get a job in colonial administration as I will show later. This was one of the causes of the conflict between Hutus and Tutsis.

3. 2. c. Seminaries: a way of “Hutu ethnic group” to pursue studies

Whereas the Hutus were not easily accepted in *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida* as the only secondary school that existed in Rwanda up to 1948 except Seminaries, they sent their children at *Kabgayi* and later *Nyakibanda seminaries*. It was those two institutions that trained Hutu intelligentsia. For instance until the 1960s, we don't have even one University in Rwanda, except the senior seminary of *Nyakibanda*. Thus, we shall see that the first group of Rwandese who got a University degree came from the “Hutu ethnic group”. Erny, in his article published in 1976, argued:

Up to 1926, the majority of students who attended seminaries were Hutus. That is why the first generation of Rwandese priests was mainly Hutus. The seminaries didn't train only priests, they helped Hutus to access higher education and universities, something which was not easy before.¹⁰⁹

Everyone can ask himself this question: why did the missionaries establish and defend the segregation education policy when the Hutus were excluded in schools, and at the same time they accepted to recruit them in seminaries? This was a kind of strategy used by missionaries, especially the White Fathers: they wanted to appear to Hutus as their defenders and protectors but this was a lie because the education policy was established by

¹⁰⁹ P., Erny, “L'enseignement au Rwanda de 1916 à 1948”, *op.cit.*, p. 39

the Catholic Church headed by White Fathers, in collaboration with the colonial administration. This means that, the exclusion policy used in education had been established by both the Catholic Church and the Belgian colonial power. The missionaries were hidden behind the seminaries by recruiting Hutus, but if Hutus have been real victims of “ethnic segregation” in education and later in administration, the main proponent of this policy was the Catholic Church run by Bishop Leon Classe as discussed in chapter two.

The missionaries avoided implementing this ethnic segregation policy in seminaries which were directly run by them, whereas in other schools controlled by catholic congregations, there was always government’s intervention. Thus, on the one hand the Hutus saw White Fathers as their protectors and seminaries as their refuge to pursue their studies, on the other hand the colonial government was seen by the same Hutus as the protectors of Tutsis. This was an illusion because there was no separation between missionaries and colonial powers; they worked hand in hand, especially in a sensible domain like education.

In short, the seminaries were schools where Hutus could easily pursue post- primary studies. The seminaries didn’t consider social stratification when they registered students. This helped Hutus to get a big number of people educated. It is this group of Hutu intelligentsia that would later be used by the colonizer to oppose traditional power.

In the next section we shall see how Hutu and Tutsi intelligentsia was employed by the colonial administration and the Catholic Church, which group was much more favored than another and why was there this promotion of one group of Rwandese? We shall try to answer all those questions.

3.3. The Employment of indigenous people under Belgian colonization in Rwanda

As discussed above, when Belgian colonial administration in collaboration with missionaries created schools throughout the country, the main objective was to train indigenous auxiliaries who would be used in different sectors.

In this section, we shall see how this policy concerning indigenous people's employment was implemented in Rwanda. As shown below, the Tutsis were promoted at the expense of Hutus. To develop this point, we shall make a comparison between: on one hand, the old seminarians whose majority was Hutus, on another hand, the old "*astridiens*"¹¹⁰ and old students of Nyanza School, whose majority were Tutsis. We shall see how those two groups of people were employed by the Belgian colonial administration and by the Catholic Church.

¹¹⁰ "*Astridiens*" is from the word "*Astrida*" which is the name given to actual Butare province under Belgian occupation in Rwanda. Then, "*astridiens*" they referred to *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida* to name students who frequented the School.

This analysis will help us to point out again the “ethnic segregation” policy used by the colonizer in ruling Rwanda by promoting one group at the expense of the other.

3. 3. a. Employment of old students of Nyanza School

As stated in chapter two, the Belgian colonial power reopened Nyanza primary school in 1919 with a clear objective: to educate sons of Tutsis from high families. This was the colonial administration’s worry concerning the education of auxiliaries who were supposed to replace traditional chiefs. According to Reyntjens: “Colonial administration would like gradually trained candidates penetrated of European conceptions among them was chosen the future leaders.”¹¹¹

This policy of training auxiliaries was followed by the destitution of traditional chiefs. As discussed in chapter one, we have to remember that in each hill throughout the country there were three chiefs who worked together but every one worked independently: the chief of cattle, chief of the earth and the chief of the army. We also have to remember that, in this traditional organization, we could find both Hutus and Tutsis in administration, when usually the chief of the earth was a Hutu and the chief of cattle was a Tutsi, the chief of the army could either be a Tutsi or a Hutu.

When the first group of 25 sons of chiefs completed Nyanza School, they were promoted as secretaries of the colonizers or chiefs to replace the

¹¹¹F., Reyntjens, *op.cit.*, p., 124

old chiefs. Now let's see how those administrative changes were made and what their consequences were on Hutu-Tutsi relationships.

**(i) Destitution of traditional chiefs and the promotion of young princes
who completed at Nyanza School**

This topic has been analyzed by many scholars¹¹². In this study I will specifically establish the link between destitution of traditional chiefs and the employment of sons of chiefs who completed at Nyanza School and other government schools created by the colonial administration throughout the country in the 1920s.

The starting point is 1925 when the Resident of Rwanda, Major Morte-ham, decided to abolish the traditional system of administration when three chiefs ruled on the same hill. Belgium criticized this system and accused it for complexity and incapacity¹¹³. By changing this traditional system of administration, he reduced the number of chiefs throughout the country by nominating in each hill only one chief who might collaborate with both the King and Belgian administration. This decision taken by Belgium was not well received by King Musinga of Rwanda that is why he tried to oppose it. As has been argued by Reyntjens:

The political organization like: the unification of triple hierarchy of chiefs which ended in 1926 encountered passive resistance from King Musinga, conservator chiefs and sub-chiefs. This resistance pushed

¹¹² See: A., Kagame, *Les Organisations socio-familiales....*, 1954; A., Kagame, *Un abrégé de l'éthno-histoire....*(V2), 1975; F., Reyntjens, *Pouvoir et Droit....*, 1985 and J., Rumiya, *Le Rwanda sous le régime....*, 1989

¹¹³ Reyntjens, F., *op.cit.* p. 154; Rumiya, J., *op.cit.*, p. 58

colonial powers to make a radical reform in 1927-1928 by dethroning all chiefs who were against colonial changes.¹¹⁴

This policy initiated by Belgium concerning the destitution of old chiefs and nomination of young princes who completed at government primary schools in general, Nyanza School in particular took time: started in 1925 and continued up to the 1930s. The climax of this political reform was the destitution of King Musinga in 1931. He was forced by Belgian powers to go into exile in Congo. At the same time, they crowned prince Rudahigwa as the new king. He had been educated at Nyanza School and baptized in the Catholic Church. In short, he was a new King who had been raised by colonial powers and missionaries who could facilitate those colonial changes. This destitution of Musinga has been analyzed by many scholars¹¹⁵ that is why I won't develop this point in the current study.

The majority of old chiefs, except the small number who agreed to follow the colonizer, were systematically removed from their positions and replaced by the princes who completed at Nyanza School. We have to mention that, this policy of promoting educated Tutsi youths had bad consequences on the Hutus: among the old chiefs who were removed from positions there was a significant number of Hutus. And as shall be seen below, the objective of colonial powers was to remove the power of all Hutu chiefs and replace them by Tutsis.

¹¹⁴F., Reyntjens, *op.cit.*, p. 104

¹¹⁵ See J., Kalibwami, *Le Catholicisme et la société rwandaise....*, 1991; F., Reyntjens, *Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda....*, 1985

(ii) Destitution of Hutu chiefs and the promotion of Tutsi educated people

The process concerning the destitution of Hutu traditional chiefs and the employment of educated Tutsis was accompanied by the “*Tutsification*” policy initiated by Belgium from the 1920s to the 1940s, when they wanted to eliminate all Hutus who had any political responsibility and to promote only Tutsi high families. This policy was founded on the Hamitic theory mentioned in the first chapter and developed by many scholars, which glorified Tutsis as clever people born to rule the inferior and less clever Hutus. Recymans writes: “Hutus are conscious to be the inferior class and less clever in comparison to the Tutsis. That is why they have to accept to be ruled by this genius Tutsi class.”¹¹⁶

It is on those stereotypes that the policy regarding the destitution of Hutu chiefs was founded. The aim was to purify the administration by promoting the educated youth. In those changes, all Tutsi young people who completed at Nyanza School were appointed as chiefs, sub-chiefs or secretaries in the colonial administration.

To emphasize this segregation policy, I have to mention that, among students who had completed at *Nyanza School* there was a small number of Hutus, but instead of appointing them (thanks to their education level), the colonial administration preferred to temporarily maintain the old Tutsi chiefs in the period that they were training young Tutsis.

¹¹⁶ P. Reyckmans, “*Administration of Ruanda-Urundi*” quoted by Reyntjens, F., *op. cit.*, p., 249

In short, the policy of the creation of Nyanza School was accompanied by the training of educated Tutsi people who replaced illiterate Tutsi chiefs and the policy of “*Tutsification*” administrative system by destitution all Hutu chiefs. As one of the consequences, in the 1940s all the chiefs and sub-chiefs were almost Tutsis, the Hutus had been excluded and replaced by Tutsis who completed at Nyanza School or Groupe Scolaire d’Astrida as will be developed below. In this program, even educated Hutu chiefs faced the same fate. In cases where there was not enough number of educated people, they preferred to remove the Hutu chiefs from power and replace them by non- educated Tutsi chiefs, because of the *Tutsification* policy mentioned above. In the next sub-section we shall see how the old seminarians were employed by the Administration.

3. 3. b. Employment of old seminarians

As stated above, contrary to “*Groupe Scolaire d’Astrida*” which received Tutsi students, the majority of students who attended the seminary were Hutus. That is why later in the 1940s-1950s, the number of Hutus who studied or completed in seminary was larger than Tutsis. The sectors in which the seminarians were employed and the difficulties they faced when executing their duties will be addressed below.

(i) Non professional qualification for seminarians

When the missionaries created seminaries, the first objective was to train indigenous priests and other auxiliaries who might assist White Fathers in evangelization ministry. That is why their curriculum focused in that field, not to train professional technicians.

We have to remember also that, all students who attended seminaries were not ordained priests: some of them abandoned before completing junior seminary, others stopped after completing junior seminary and getting their certificates, others started senior seminary and didn't complete it. Finally, there were some priests who resigned after working for a short time. All those old seminarians suffered as a result of social and economic integration in the society. They were highly educated in comparison to the rest of Rwandese but they didn't have any professional qualification. Hence they didn't have a job and this pushed them to go back to their villages, living with illiterate people.¹¹⁷

And we know also that, from the 1920s to the 1950s the main employers were the colonial administration and the Catholic Church. Thus, those old seminarians could not be employed by Belgian administration because "*Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida*" furnished the good auxiliaries with a professional qualification that they needed.

The only place where they could be employed was in the Catholic Church and there also it was not automatic: they constituted a big number and the Catholic Church could only employ a few of them while others remained

¹¹⁷ G., Kayibanda, "Les conditions essentielles" in, *L'Ami*, Kabgayi, no55, July, pp. 12-13

without jobs. Even the group which had been employed, got jobs which were not proportional to their education level. For instance they were employed as teachers in primary school after spending more than eight years in senior seminary, others were employed as book-sellers or secretariat in missions with a little salary. They always claimed to be treated like people who completed in "*Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida*" but the Administration responded by saying that they were not qualified in any profession. Some scholars like Rukundo named them as "failed intellectuals"¹¹⁸

This is one of the reasons which prevented the seminarians to get a job but this is not the major one. The main one is their ethnic background; the majority were Hutus whereas Belgians wanted to promote the Tutsi ethnic group.

(ii) Ethnic belonging as handicap to get a job.

As discussed earlier, the majority of students who completed in seminary were Hutus. The "Hamitic theory" which elevated the Tutsi ethnic group and neglected Hutus was in fashion in the 1940s-1950s. Thus through this circumstance, colonial powers excluded in administration all Hutu old seminarians.

To emphasize this ethnic segregation we can mention an example given by Rukundo¹¹⁹ when he states that in some provinces, colonial administration easily employed old seminarians from Tutsi ethnic groups as secretaries with

¹¹⁸ E., Rukundo, *op.cit.*, p. 58

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 48

the same salary as people who completed at "*Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida*", whereas their Hutu counterparts did not have this chance. Another example is that given by Murego when he argued:

Belgian colonizers had always excluded Hutus in administration. The typical example is Makuza Anastase's case: after completing Kagbayi Seminary he pursued his graduate studies in Congo at Kisantu Institute where he got a degree in Political Sciences in 1957. When he came back in Rwanda, it was not easy for him to find a job, in spite of his high qualification, as the first Rwandan who obtained a university degree. He applied in administration but his application was not accepted. After a long period of unemployment, he was finally employed as secretary in Kibuye territory.¹²⁰

This example shows how the old Hutu seminarians were neglected by the colonial administration. Someone who had the highest certificate in Rwanda like Makuza, was employed as secretary whereas among all chiefs there was not even one who had a university degree. As discussed later, among the list of chiefs in Rwanda in the 1950s there was only one seminarian and we know that that was the highest appointment after the King.

Thus, old seminarians in general and Hutus in particular, in spite of their high education met serious problems when trying to find a job because of their non qualification and their ethnic background. Contrary to old seminarians, we shall see in the next sub-section how people who completed in "*Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida*", the majority of whom were Tutsis were appointed after completing their studies.

¹²⁰ D., Murego, *op.cit.*, pp., 615-616

3. 3. c. Employment of *Astridiens*

As demonstrated above, *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida* was created by Brothers of Charity from Gand in Belgium on the request of Belgian colonial administration in order to train their auxiliaries. We should also remember that the majority of students who were registered in this school came from the Tutsi group because Belgium wanted to promote Tutsis only. People who completed in this school were automatically appointed in different sectors where they worked as: chiefs, sub-chiefs, agronomists, veterinarians, nurses, secretaries in territories or in districts. A little number of them could be employed in education, as teachers.

Now, let's see how the *Astridiens* were employed by Belgian administration and which advantages they had for obtaining jobs. But before doing that, I would like to address the classification of employment. This will help the reader to understand on which level the *Astridiens* were classified.

(i) Classification of employment in colonial administration in Rwanda

When the Belgians arrived in Rwanda and started to train indigenous people who would help them in different domains, at the same time they established the system of modern administration. Thus, the indigenous auxiliaries were classified by categories according to their education or appointment. According to Ruterana, Belgium distinguished four categories of employments in Rwanda in the 1950s:

- “a” category : we find secretaries, clerks, teachers and all others people who executed small jobs, like orderly, book-sellers, people who worked in the mines, etc.
- “b” category: we found only sub-chiefs;
- “c” category: there was agents who had a intermediate professional qualification and agents who completed professional high school;
- “d” category: we had chiefs.¹²¹

The agents belonging to “a” and “b” categories were qualified as junior executive; included in this category were all people who completed the primary school, people who studied secondary school but who didn’t complete it and people who didn’t have a professional qualification, even if they completed secondary school like old seminarians.

People belonging to “c” and “d” categories were qualified as senior executive. All people who had a high professional qualification were classified in this category. And we know that in this period, only *Astridiens* had this education level. This means that, except some chiefs who were not educated but who were classified in this category because of their appointment, only *Astridiens* were in this category of “senior executive”.

¹²¹ J.M.V., Ruterana, *op.cit.*, p. 204

(ii) Advantages awarded to *Astridiens*

After their studies, the *Astridiens* were appointed in different territories to work with colonial administrators. The colonizers and Brothers of Charity tried to favor those new civil servants by awarding some advantages. Thus, alongside the highest salary awarded to the *Astridiens*, they had other material benefits such as: housing and granting loans.

- Housing

Brothers of Charity estimated that, people who completed in "*Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida*" might be appointed in the highest posts in Administration. Because of this social consideration, Brother Secundier, the headmaster of this school asked Belgian powers to find an appropriate accommodation for those new auxiliaries. In this way, the school was in charge of distribution of indispensable equipment that used to equip the houses for all *Astridiens* who started working. Ndazaro argued:

After discussion between Brothers and colonial authoritoes, it was concluded in 1939 that, students who completed in '*Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida*', when they started working, they might live together in different quarters built throughout the country called "*quarters for Astridiens*"¹²²

The main question is why Brothers and colonial administration decided to separate *Astridiens* from the rest of the people by building those quarters where they were supposed to live together? To answer this question we refer to what was written by Brothers of Charity themselves in their annual reports. In 1954 they explained why they created those quarters:

¹²² L., Ndazaro, "Les conditions de vie des Astridiens" in, *Servir*, Astrida, no 6, 1953, p.210

We have to maintain the policy of creating quarters of "*Astridiens*" because when they live together, they maintain European culture that they learnt at school, and also they are still in contact with us by regular visits in those quarters.¹²³

Alongside the above reason, we could add two more which pushed

Brothers and colonial power to create those quarters:

- To live in the same quarter all *Astridiens* facilitated colonial administration to control what was done after the work. The Colonial power was aware of the indigenous intelligentsia's revolt that is why all activities done in the quarters were controlled by the administrator of the territory who regularly visited them and presented the report to the Resident.

- To build houses and occupy them was a kind of moral corruption when the *Astridiens* lived in good conditions in comparison to the rest of Rwandese. Thus, all those material advantages could blind them so that they didn't think of revolting against colonizers, whereas it was them who were more educated and who were supposed to guide the rest of Rwandese.

Among the advantages awarded to *Astridiens*, there were also some loans which helped them to develop themselves.

- Granting loans

In 1940 the Brothers of Charity created a cooperative in order to support their old students to develop themselves by granting some loans. The cooperative operated wherever there was a significant number of *Astridiens* in Rwanda and Burundi. All of them were members of this cooperative and

¹²³ Les Frères de la Charité, *rapport annuel 1954*, p. 52

regularly paid their monthly subscription. The Brothers largely supported the cooperative by payment of an important sum of money whenever there was a need. The cooperative succeeded and helped his members to develop themselves by granting loans. With those loans, *Astridiens* built their own houses; others bought their own cars, etc.

Thus all those advantages awarded to *Astridiens* increased their social and economic conditions. They were economically and socially distinguishable from the rest of Rwandese; some of them considered themselves like “small Whites”. They lived comfortably whereas their counterpart seminarians who were more educated didn’t have jobs; some of them had to go back to the countryside because they did not have opportunities where they were.

In the next sub-section I shall try to make a comparative study regarding the representation of Hutus and Tutsis in different organs during Belgium’s occupation. This will help me to emphasize this ethnic exclusion policy adopted by Belgium in Ruanda.

3. 3. d. Participation of Hutu and Tutsi intelligentsia in different organs in the 1950s

Among the most important posts in Belgian colonial administration, to be appointed chief was the highest. Alongside the monthly salary that Belgium paid them, the chief had other advantages like services given by people under his control, different gifts given by his people, etc. As we shall

see below, all seminarians were excluded from this appointment and we know that the majority of those seminarians were Hutus; this means that it was Hutus who were excluded. By using tables, we shall see the background of the people who were appointed. This will help us to point out how the Hutus were excluded from the main organs of the country.

Table 4: List of chiefs in Rwanda in 1954

Territory	Chiefdoms	Chiefs' names	School Attended
Astrida	Mvejuru	Francois Rusagara	Groupe Scolaire
	Bashumba-Nyakare	Elie Gitambaro	" " " "
	Ndora	Justin Gashugi	Save School
	Busanza-South	Francois Nzaramba	Nyanza School
	Bufundu	Michel Rutaremara	Groupe Scolaire
	Nyaruguru	Hommisdas Mbanda	" " " "
	Buyenzi	Louis Rwibibagura	?
Nyanza	Kabagali	Prosper Bwanakweli	Groupe Scolaire
	Busanza-North	Christophe Ruhara	" " " "
	Mayaga	Ubald Kimonyo	Groupe Scolaire
	Marangara	Ladislav Haguma	Kigali School
	Nduga	Athanase Kanimba	Nyanza School
	Rukoma	Alphonse Mfizi	" " " "
	Ndiza	Alexandre Kayumba	Groupe Scolaire
Bunyambiliri	Leonard Birasa	Nyanza School	
Kigali	Bwanacyambwe	Stefano Gitefano	Nyanza School
	Bugesera	Gerard Ruhorahoza	" " " "
	Rukaryi	Godefroid Butare	" " " "
	Buganza-South	Rwubusisi	None educated
	Buliza	Rwubusisi	" " " "
	Bumbogo	Edouard Rwampungu	Nyanza School
	Buganza North	Medard Munyaneza	Nyanza School
Kibungo	Gihunya	Faustin Gacinya	Nyanza School
	Migongo	Antoine Kanyangira	?

	Buganza- South	Modeste egikwiye	Nyanza School
	Buganza-North	Stanislas Kalisa	“ “ “ “
	Buganza -East	Berchmas Gashikazi	“ “ “ “
Byumba	Rukiga	Etienne Rwigemera	“ “ “ “
	Buyaga	Ildephonse	
		Namucenshera	“ “ “ “
	Mutara	Gervais Ryumugabe	“ “ “ “
	Ndorwa	Pierre Mungalurire	Groupe Scolaire
	Buberuka	Thomas Karyabite	Nyanza School
Ruhengeri	Mulera	Grispin Kamari	Seminary
	Bugarura	J.Berch. Rwabukamba	Nyanza School
	Kibali-Buberuka	Epaphrodite Kalima	“ “ “ “
	Buhoma- Rwankeli	Nepomuscene	“ “ “ “
	Bukonya	Rwaburindi Canisius Bisalinkumi	“ “ “ “
Gisenyi	Bugoyi	Michel Kayihura	Groupe Scolaire
	Bushiru	Francois Nyangezi	None educated
	Kingogo	Willbrord Rwamunigi	Nyanza School
	Kanage	Denis Mbaraga	Nyanza School
Kibuye	Bwishaza	Nepomucene	Groupe Scolaire
		Seruvumba	
	Budaha	Charles Rubayiza	Nyanza School
	Nyantango	Deogratias	“ “ “ “
	Rusenyi- Itabire	Muterahejuru Projet Fundi	“ “ “ “
Cyangugu	Impara	Joseph Bideri	Nyanza School
	Icyesha	Ambroise Gakoko	“ “ “ “
	Biru	Leonidas Biniga	Nyanza School
	Busozo- Bukunzi	Michel Rwiyamirira	Groupe Scolaire

Source: J.M.V., Ruterana, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-226

Legend: ? : No information available.

If we analyze the list of chiefs, the majority of them had completed either at Nyanza School or *Groupe Scolaire* because colonial powers had

created those two schools with a specific objective: to train their auxiliaries such as the chiefs of chiefdoms as developed previously.

Up to 1954, the majority of chiefs had completed at Nyanza School because when Belgium created *Groupe Scolaire* with the aim to replace the old chiefs, they chose to make progressive changes, not to do that promptly. This program started in 1940 and in 1954 when this list of chiefs of chiefdoms was elaborated, the program was not over. That is why in the above table we still have a big number of chiefs who completed at Nyanza School. But in 1959 when the civil war started, 90% of chiefs were *Astridiens*; unfortunately I didn't find the list of all chiefs in that period, this is mentioned only in different publications like Murego (1975) and Nkundabagenzi (1961).

By counting the number of seminarians among chiefs namely, one chief over the list of 39 chiefs, this example helps us to conclude that, the seminarians were totally excluded from that institution of chiefs of chiefdoms in 1954.

When we analyze this table, we can't see how many Hutus or Tutsis were chiefs, we see only the schools attended. This is not enough to conclude on the number of Hutus and Tutsis appointed as chiefs of chiefdoms. That is why; I would like to present another table which completes the first one. Here, we shall see how the two groups were represented in main organs in Rwanda in 1956.

Table 5: Representation of Hutus and Tutsis in different organs of power in 1956 in Ruanda- Urundi

Organs of government	Number and percent of Tutsis represented		Number and percent of Hutus represented	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Chefs of chiefdoms	81	98.8	1	1.2
Sub-chiefs	1050	95.5	50	4.5
General Consul of Ruanda-Urundi	12	85.8	2	14.2
High Consul of Ruanda	31	94.0	2	6.0
High Consul of Urundi	30	91.0	3	9.0
Ruanda Territory Consul	125	80.7	30	19.3
Urundi Territory Consul	112	81.2	26	18.8
Auxiliaries of Administration	284	67.0	122	33
TOTAL	1725	88.0	236	12.0

Source: E., Ntezimana, *Institutions et Peuples: L'Eglise Catholique et l'Evolution politique, sociale et culturelle du Rwanda depuis 1945* (Doctoral thesis), Aix-en Provence, 1976, p.100

This table shows the representation of Hutus and Tutsis in the main organs that existed in Ruanda - Urundi in the 1950s. In this research I didn't get a chance to find exclusive figures for Rwanda but even if I keep the above example and we suppose that each country has half of the candidates in each organ, we still have the idea of how the two ethnic groups were represented in different organs.

However, both in Ruanda and Urundi, Belgium used the same political system when the Tutsis were chosen as collaborators at the expense of Hutus. Educated Belgians were strategically placed in those new organs created in

order to “collaborate” with the indigenous. By educated people we have to understand Tutsis who had completed first at Nyanza School and later *Groupe Scolaire d’Astrida*.

When we analyze the proportion of ethnic representation, the Tutsis were largely the majority in different organs (88%), compared to (12%) for Hutus. This means that, the seminarians were excluded and *Astridiens* were promoted and later this would be one of the causes of rivalries, hatred and the civil war of 1959.

However, it’s better to raise this ambiguity: when we say that the Tutsis were the majority in different organs, we have to know that it was just the small number of Tutsis who had the power; the majority of Tutsis were in the same economic and social conditions as their Hutu counterparts. This has been emphasized by Ntezimana (1976) when he argued:

If political power was monopolized by Tutsis, not all Tutsis Shared the power. Among them, only the high families managed...the politics. Those families represented 0.5% of all Rwandese. For instance, over 45 chiefs, 31 (68.9%) were coming from *Nyiginya clan* and 5 (11.2%) were *Bega clans*. This means that, 80% of chiefs were coming from royal family on power.¹²⁴

It is very important to remove this ambiguity because when Hutu intelligentsia started to claim their right in 1957-1959 they attacked all Tutsis. They forgot that, even the Tutsis who were in power were Belgium’s instruments. It was the Belgians who set up the policy, followed up its implementation and Tutsis were used as instruments. This point will be further developed in the next chapter.

¹²⁴ E., Ntezimana, *op.cit.*, p. 100

Conclusion

In this chapter I showed how the Belgian colonizers used education and employment to create and sustain divisions between Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda. I focused on colonial schools in order to demonstrate this point. The schools like *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida* and *Nyanza School* played the main role to train Tutsis who were supposed to work in different sectors as auxiliaries of colonial administration.

We saw how those two schools were characterized by an ethnic exclusion, when the majority of students who were registered were Tutsis. This ethnic segregation responded to the objective of Brothers of Charity and Belgian powers when they signed in 11th July 1929 the accord regarding the creation of *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida*. The accord specified that the school might recruit and train sons of Tutsis who would be used as auxiliaries of administration.

By analyzing the curriculum pursued in *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida*, I showed which qualification the *Astridiens* had and in which sectors they were posted. After their studies, they were automatically appointed in different sectors according to their qualification with many advantages like: housing and awarding of loans.

On the other hand, I showed how the Hutus, who were excluded in *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida* were registered in Seminary where they pursued their secondary and graduate studies. I pointed out the problems they faced during their education: all of them were not ordained priests; the majority of

them resigned and became lay people. In this new life, they met a problem of unemployment; they looked for employment without any qualification, contrary to *Astridiens* who completed secondary school with a professional qualification.

Another cause of unemployment was their ethnic background: the majority of them were Hutus, whereas the Belgian powers had adopted the policy of *tutsification* of all institutions. It is in this way that the old seminarians Tutsis easily got jobs when their Hutu counterparts did not. I have to mention that the small number of those old Hutu seminarians was employed by the Catholic Church, where they were employed in inferior jobs with a small salary which helped them just to survive. This means that the big number of old seminarians went back to the countryside to cultivate, others got temporal employment as teachers in missionary schools near their villages, where at times they practiced agriculture; others were posted in the mines where they might work very hard with a low salary.

By using some figures found in the archives, I showed how Hutu intelligentsia was completely excluded in key organs of the country, where more than 80% of the members of those organs were Tutsis. This exclusion of the Hutu intelligentsia in different sectors was later exploited by the same colonizers to divide Rwandese as I will show in the next chapter.

**CHAPTER 4: THE MANIPULATION OF HUTU INTELLIGENTSIA
BY BELGIAN COLONIZERS AND BY THE CATHOLIC CHURCH
IN THE 1950s**

Introduction

In the second and third chapters I demonstrated how the Belgian administration and the Catholic Church promoted the Tutsi ethnic group by educating and later employing them while excluding Hutus. From the 1920s up to the 1950s those two institutions worked hand in hand to implement this ethnic segregation policy by promoting mainly Tutsis.

To control the intelligentsia in order to avoid the birth of a nationalist movement which had already started in Eastern Africa, Belgians and the Catholic Church gathered Rwandan intelligentsia in different associations and circles as shall be discussed in this chapter. In spite of this strategy taken by colonial authorities, Tutsi intelligentsia managed to move out and started to criticize colonialism and claim their freedom.

From the 1950s, the Catholic Church and Belgian colonizers decided to change their political partners by turning to the Hutu side, whereas in the past the same Hutus had been neglected. In this chapter, I will show how the colonizers used and supported Hutu intelligentsia to oppose and to combat Tutsi traditional power.

In presenting this chapter, I will show how the Whites used the education and administrative exclusion policy that Hutus had been victims of for a long time as a tool to create and accelerate their hatred toward Tutsis. I

have to mention that, I will not discuss in detail the civil war which started in 1959 because several scholars have already produced vast literature on this topic.¹²⁵ The chapter shows how and why Belgian colonizers abandoned their old friends, the Tutsi, and chose to collaborate with Hutus and their seminarians and the socio-political consequences of this collaboration.

4. 1. The Creation of circles and associations of Rwandan intelligentsia.

In an attempt to control what was done by the intelligentsia, Belgian authorities and the Catholic Church created those circles and associations which were spread throughout the country. All old students were or could be members of one of those associations or circles. These Belgians started with the circles and later they saw that they were not effective, and thus changed those circles into associations where the intelligentsia was gathered according to their old schools.

4. 1. a. The Creation of different circles of Rwandan intelligentsia

As defined by Karekezi, the circles of the intelligentsia were the centers of cultural activities and mutual aid, framing places of indigenous intelligentsia in the aim to help them to continue the collaboration with colonial power.¹²⁶

¹²⁵See D. Murego, *La révolution rwandaise...*; M. Mamdani, *When the victims become killers...*; Th. Karekezi, *Les partis politiques politiques au Rwanda ou l'accélération du processus de décolonisation: 1959-1962, Mémoire, Université du Burundi, 1982*; F. Reyntjens, *Pouvoir et Droit au Rwanda. Droit public....*; etc.

¹²⁶ Th. Karekezi, *op.cit.*, p.29

In the 1950s the number of intelligentsia had increased in Rwanda. That is why Belgian colonial administration, in collaboration with the Catholic Church, decided to create those circles in the aim to frame the intelligentsia morally and intellectually. Each circle was independent in its activities and members gathered either in the mission or in commercial or administrative centers which attracted a big number of intellectuals. Thus, the circles of intelligentsia were created throughout the country as shown in the table below.



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Table 6: List of circles of intellectuals in Rwanda in 1954

Name of the Circle	Location of the circle	Territory
Circle Bigirumwami	Kigali	Kigali
“ “ Pie XII	Rwankuba	Kigali
“ “ Leopard II	Kisenyi	Kisenyi
“ “ Kiragutse	Biumba	Biumba
“ “ Resident Burgeois	Shangugu	Shangugu
“ “ of “évolués”	Rwinkwavu	Kibungu
“ “ of Studies	Nyambuye	Kibungu
“ “ Resident Dessaint	Kibungu	Kibungu
“ “ Pie X.	Rwaza	Ruhengeri
“ “ Social	Ruhengeri	Ruhengeri
“ “ “ Abasaveri	Runaba	Ruhengeri
“ “ “ Ababimburashy aka	Mubuga	Kibuye
“ “ King Rudahigwa	Nyanza	Nyanza
“ “ Holly Paul	Nyakibanda	Astrida
“ “ “ Secundier	Astrida	Astrida
“ “ Albert Ier	Gitarama	Gitarama
“ “ Leon Classe	Kabgayi	Gitarama
“ “ Charles Lavigerie	Kabgayi	Gitarama

Source: Anonymous, “Cercles et Associations des intellectuels au Congo Belge et au Ruanda-Urundi” in, *Temps Nouveaux d’Afrique*, Usumbura, 15th January 1956

When we analyze this table, we see that the circles of intellectuals were spread throughout the country. Some of them were under the control of the Catholic Church. Among these were: Circles Pie XII of Rwinkwavu, Pie X of

Rwaza, Abasaveri of Runaba. The members of those circles were militant Catholics, generally old seminarians, under the supervision of ecclesiastic authority. They had the task of helping the Church in its apostolic ministry.

Alongside the circles which were under Catholic control, there were circles which were supervised by Belgian colonial administration. All circles were situated in commercial and administrative centers. To belong to those circles, the members had to be educated; religious affiliation was not one of the requirements. The main aim for those circles was to improve the moral and intellectual education of the members. Also, social and economic problems were discussed in their meetings: increase of socio-economic conditions for the members, problems of employment, education for their children, etc.

Why the circles of intellectuals in the 1950s? The answer to this question is simple when we try to understand the period in which those circles were created. During the Second World War, the Africans had been mobilized to go fighting alongside their colonizers. In the aftermath of the War, these Africans started to claim the improvement of their conditions as recompense to this support, claims which might lead to definitive independence.

In this context Belgium, to avoid this kind of "revolt" in her colonies, tried to canalize intellectuals' ideas who were supposed to be the promoters of those "revolts", by creating circles and associations for intellectuals, which were strictly controlled.

Nevertheless, when we analyze the claims made by Rwandan intellectuals in the beginning, we find that they claimed a special status; they looked to themselves instead of defending national interest. But gradually, among intellectuals, especially some Tutsis who had completed in *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida*, started to attack the colonial power by their articles published in different newspapers. According to their claims, what was important was not to promote only educated people but to improve the conditions of all Rwandese and to first reach the autonomy, independence next and all of that as soon as possible.¹²⁷

Because of this new attitude displayed by indigenous people in the 1950s, the colonizers and missionaries started to worry about this intelligentsia movement. Hence, they thought how to stop it. The solution to this problem was the gathering of intelligentsia in different associations according to the schools where they studied; those associations were well controlled as shall be seen in the next section.

4. 1. b. Associations of old students

The idea of gathering all intelligentsia in different associations was brought by the missionaries in the 1950s when they wanted to control all old students by putting them in one association. Thus, the members might be the old Seminararians, *Astridiens*, old students of Normal School of Zaza, or

¹²⁷ Th. Karekezi, *op.cit.*, p. 50

former Brothers candidates. The main objective was to ensure the control of all intelligentsia trained by the Catholic Church.¹²⁸

But the big project of gathering all Catholic Church's old students in one association didn't succeed because the members didn't have the same aims; the aim of the old *Astridiens* who were economically in good condition in comparison to their seminarians and old students of Normal School counterparts, was to have more freedom and to get their administrative independence and to control Rwandan economy. For the rest of old students, their main aim was to get a job in colonial administration in order to improve their socio-economic conditions. This is the reason why the project didn't succeed, and finally the missionaries decided to gather the old students by the schools where they came from. I have to mention that in the 1950s, many associations were created, but only the main ones that played a key role in socio-political changes during this period are discussed in this study.

(i) Association of old students of *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida* (ASSADA).

This association was created by Brothers of Charity in November 1951. By creating this association, their objective was to perfect scientific and deontological education for the old students of *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida* spread throughout the two countries: Rwanda and Burundi.¹²⁹

The association had the responsibility of dealing with all members' problems. Among them were: housing, increase of their salary, education of

¹²⁸ D. Murego, *op.cit.* pp. 679-680

¹²⁹ P.Bwanakweli, "L'ASSADA" in, *Temps Nouveaux d'Afrique*, 5th December 1954, p.3

their children, etc. Also, the members discussed political and social problems like, the question concerning laic schools as I will show later in this chapter.¹³⁰

I have to mention that the association met serious problems; it was divided into two groups: the first one was characterized by nationalist ideas. The members of this group had chosen to collaborate with traditional power elites and at the same time they proposed the transformation of traditional institutions according to democratic requirements. The second group advocated the collaboration with the colonial power and at the same time against traditional power elites, the leader of this group was chief Bwanakweli and he had behind him a number of *Astridiens*.¹³¹

The mode of operation of the colonial power and the Catholic Church was to help in the analysis of this attitude displayed by the first group of *Astridiens* the majority of whom were Tutsis close to the King. To stop this movement, Belgian authorities and missionaries used Hutu intelligentsia who had been victims of injustice for a long time; injustice caused by the same colonizers but was attributed to Tutsi traditional power elite. They mobilized old Hutu seminarians and old students of Zaza and Byimana Normal Schools (situated in Eastern and Central Rwanda respectively), which were unhappy about their socio-economic condition. In the next sections we shall see how those associations were created and what their aims were, before showing

¹³⁰ Ibid. p.4

¹³¹ Th. Karekezi, *op.cit.*, p.61

how colonial and catholic powers used the same associations to stop the nationalist movement.

(ii) Association of Old Seminarians (A.A.S.)

The association was created on 31st January 1954 under the initiative of Superior Father of “Kabgayi Junior Seminary”. Its objective was to perfect and to maintain the education received in the Seminary by Christian life and conscientious professional activities.¹³²

As was the case with ASSADA, the Association of Old Seminarians was created with the aim to supervise the old junior and senior seminarians. But I have to mention that this association was more active than ASSADA. The members analyzed their own problems and at the same time they spent a long time discussing socio-political problems of the moment. Nevertheless, the old seminarians had a serious problem concerning unemployment and low salaries for the group who already worked, as discussed in chapter 3. They argued that the salary was not proportional to their education; this was the consequence of non qualification. There was also a big number of seminarians who were still looking for a job and who didn't find it. Thus, the association continued to claim the rights of its members from the Belgian colonial power.

Because of those repetitive claims made by the association, the Belgian colonial power agreed to improve the conditions for old seminarians by

¹³² *Missionnaires d'Afrique (Pères Blancs), Rapports annuels: 1954-1955, Alger, 1956, p. 634*

approving their certificates after passing an exam as argued by Governor of Ruanda-Urundi, M. Harroy when he said:

The Government has been conscious of old seminarians' problem that is why it authorized them to pass the final exam which is organized for students before completing their secondary school.¹³³

The old seminarians were partially satisfied because only people who had completed six years of junior seminary had the chance to pass this exam in order to get their certificate, but the big number of seminarians who didn't complete still had the problem of having no qualification. That is why the association continued with its claims. Cor Um wrote:

The old seminarians who follow in full metropolitan curriculum must be accepted in other secondary schools. The seminary is not inferior to government schools; to exclude the seminarians in those schools is an injustice.¹³⁴

We have to remember that in those claims made by old seminarians on the colonial power, the Catholic Church played the main role by inspiring its old students. The missionaries said that the reason for this injustice against Hutus was the creation of laic schools by the colonial power.¹³⁵ They said that even though they had been the first to deny the Hutus the right to go to school. This question concerning laic schools was one of the causes of rivalry and separation between the Catholic Church and traditional powers as I shall show in the next sub-sections.

In the beginning the Association of Old Seminarians gathered both Hutus and Tutsis who had completed in Seminary and in their meetings they

¹³³ *Cor Um*, (Newspaper of Rwandan Teachers Association), Kabgayi, no1, 1958, pp.4-5

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.,6

¹³⁵ D. Murego, *La révolution rwandaise....*, p. 613

discussed the question concerning the improvement of conditions for the members. Later, there was separation between Hutu and Tutsi members of the same association. From there, there were official meetings when different socio-political questions were discussed, and after those meetings the Hutus organized unofficial meetings where they discussed the question concerning the injustice that they were suffering. Thus, supported by the Catholic Church, this group started to publish different articles in missionary press as shown later in this chapter. The consequence of this was that the members of the association were divided into ethnic groups: the Hutus who attacked traditional powers and claimed the rights for Hutu group only, and the group constituted by Tutsis who claimed the rights for all old seminarians and the common people in general.

In short, the Catholic Church through its press and Belgian administration contributed a lot to the radicalization of this Hutu movement. I will develop this point in the next sections after showing what happened in the last association.

(iii) Rwandan Teachers Association (A.M.R.)

This association was created in September 1951 under the initiative of the White Fathers. Its main objective was to defend teachers' interest, promote solidarity between members, establish good relationships between teachers and parents within children' interest.¹³⁶

¹³⁶ D. Murego, *La révolution rwandaise...*, p. 682

Thus, the association was a corporation where we could find all Blacks who exercised the educational profession; constituted mainly by old students of Normal School, old seminarians, in which we could add all people who completed primary school and who exercised the profession of teaching. All teachers were supposed to be members of this association which gathered in total 3102 members in 1958 spread throughout the country.¹³⁷

As argued by Murego, political education took first place in the meetings organized by the members of this association, he said: "We think that 'Rwandan Teachers Association' played the main role to heighten teachers and to make them more conscientious concerning the problems they had".¹³⁸

The element which helped Murego to argue like this was that he referred to the fact that the majority of the members of this association played a great role in the propaganda of political parties in 1958-1961. They had been members of Hutu Social Movement, transformed later into "Parmehutu" (Movement Party for Hutu Emancipation) which was used by the Colonial power and the Catholic Church to fight against traditional authority.

As was the case with the previous association of old seminarians, in official meetings the members discussed the question concerning their job, namely: the problem of a low salary and wanted to pursue their education in order to get a high qualification and as a result, the increase of their salaries.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 674

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 688-689

Alongside those official meetings the members, especially Hutus, organized unofficial meetings where they discussed political problems. Those meetings reinforced the relationships between all Hutus who were in the teaching profession.

In a nutshell, the members of different circles and associations discussed above participated actively in socio-political changes in Rwanda in the 1950s. It was through those meetings that old students were divided according to their “ethnic groups” and those divisions were maintained and emphasized by Belgian authorities and by the Catholic Church in their politics of indirect rule. It should be remembered that the Tutsis were for a long time used by the colonizer to rule the country, but in the 1950s the same colonizer changed sides and finally decided to rule with or through the Hutu. The next section looks at the reasons why Belgium and the Catholic Church switched from using the Tutsi as collaborators to using the Hutu intelligentsia.

4. 2. Disagreement between traditional power elite and Belgian colonial authorities and the Catholic Church

As mentioned in the previous chapters, since 1900 when the Catholic Church arrived in Rwanda, and later in the 1920s the Belgian colonial power, they decided to work with the Tutsis. That is why education and later employment were focused on the Tutsis. They continued to enjoy those advantages up to the 1950s when the disagreements started to arise. In this

section I will trace the origin and the consequences of these disagreements between the afore-mentioned constituencies.

4. 2.a. The genesis of the disagreement between traditional power elites and the Catholic Church

Since the 1900s when the White Fathers arrived in Rwanda, the Catholic Church became very influential in Rwandan politics; they worked hand in hand with colonial powers, especially during the Belgian occupation. In this collaboration, the missionaries were more active in the education domain. From the 1920s up to the 1950s the majority of the schools were controlled by them. Thus, through education, the Catholic Church, Belgian colonizers and traditional power elites collaborated in the aim to train indigenous auxiliaries.

This collaboration between the three powers was broken in 1954 when colonial power elites decided to introduce laic schools in his colonies. The Catholic Church, which had the monopoly in education, didn't welcome this decision taken by Belgian authorities. The question brought hot discussion and tension between the two institutions. This section will not discuss the question of rivalry between the Church and the colonial power in detail; it will focus on the position taken by traditional power elites and its consequence in the relationship between the Catholic Church and the same traditional power structure.

In 1954 the Ministry of the Colony established a project on the introduction of laic schools in Rwanda, which were supposed to work

alongside Catholic schools. Bishop Deprimoz who was the head of the Catholic Church in Rwanda didn't delay in reacting against this project. The Catholic Church wanted to maintain the monopoly in the education sector. Thus, in a pastoral letter written in November 1954 by Bishop Deprimoz to all Catholic Christians, he informed them about the project and the danger of the introduction of laic schools in Rwanda; hence he invited them to oppose the project. To succeed in his struggle, he passed by the High Consul (High organ in Rwanda under the monarchy), which had a number of priests and old students of missionary schools.¹³⁹

Thus, on 25th October 1954, the members of the Supreme Consul sent a letter to Mr Buisseret, the Minister of the Colony, stating their position against laic schools. In that letter, they said:

... We invite you Minister to push away our children from atheistic education. In the hierarchy of valor, we place the moral and religious education of our children above all. That is why; we preferred Catholic schools instead of laic government schools. In a Catholic country like Rwanda, the only official education we need is Catholic...¹⁴⁰

The content of this letter shows how the members of the Supreme Consul were against laic schools. But as has been argued by many scholars like Ntezimana, members of the Catholic hierarchy who were members of the High Consul used their influence to incite their colleagues to protest against the project, whereas among them there was a group which supported

¹³⁹ E.Ntezimana, *L'Eglise Catholique et l'évolution politique...*, pp.83-84

¹⁴⁰ "Lettre écrite au Conseil Supérieur du Pays", quoted by E.Ntezimana, *Ibid.*, p.85

Buisseret's project of the introduction of laic school, starting by King Rudahigwa who was at the same time the President of the High Consul.¹⁴¹

Thus, education divided the High Consul into two groups: the group which was against the project, led by King Rudahigwa and the group which supported the project, led by Lazar Ndazaro who was at the same time the President of ASSADA the association mentioned above. I have to mention that, the Catholic Church used some members of this association and old Seminarians members of the High Consul to oppose the King's group. In this rivalry between Belgian colonial authorities and the Catholic Church, King Rudahigwa and his collaborators decided to support Belgium.

The Minister of colonies responded to the letter from the High Consul by justifying why the introduction of laic schools in Rwanda was important and said:

...Those schools are more tolerant because they receive not only Catholics but also children from other religious beliefs. That is why the majority of inhabitants supported this education policy concerning the introduction of atheist schools.¹⁴²

From 1954 to 1956, the Catholic Church used the old seminarians, especially Hutus through the newspaper called *Temps Nouveaux d'Afrique* and some of the old *Astridiens* through the newspaper *Servir* to oppose the project.

¹⁴¹E., Ntezimana, *L'Eglise Catholique et l'évolution politique...*, p. 86

¹⁴² "Discours de J.P. Harroy's" in, *Temps Nouveaux d'Afrique*, Usumbura, no5, 16th January 1955, p.2

The Catholic Church wanted to control the education sector in Rwanda as I mentioned above, that is why it used all the energy to combat the project. Thus, through the letter published in *Temps Nouveau d'Afrique*, the missionaries showed how this project was not good for a country like Rwanda and said:

The Minister of Colonies seems to forget that we are not in Europe where all the civilization is founded on Christianity. Here, we are almost coming from paganism; to put an end to basic Christianity, this means coming back to the old paganism. Does the Minister want to promote the paganism to the detriment of Christianity? ¹⁴³

After a long debate between the Catholic Church and the colonial powers, the conclusion was that the laic schools were reserved for Europeans and some children from the aristocratic class who were able to pay school-fees. I have to mention that in Rwanda, there were only two primary schools which had a status of "laic schools"; it was in Burundi that a laic secondary school was established.

This conflict between the Catholic Church and Belgian colonial powers ended, but this had disastrous consequences in the relationship between missionaries and traditional power elites. As I mentioned earlier, the King and his collaborators had supported Belgian authorities in the project of the introduction of laic schools. The Catholic Church which had supported the traditional power elites since the early 20th century through the education program and employment was disappointed to see that its old students didn't

¹⁴³ Missionnaires rwandais, "Question concernant les écoles laïcs au Rwanda" in, *Temps Nouveaux d'Afrique*, Usumbura, no5, 16 Janvier 1955, p.3

support it. From there, the Catholic Church in general, the White Fathers in particular was no more in good relations with “Tutsi power”. They started, to attack them step-by-step through different articles published in Catholic newspapers by using Hutu intelligentsia. At the same time, the same White Fathers started to create “good relationship” with Hutu educated elites when they showed them that they were their defenders whereas, previously it was them who excluded the same Hutus in education and incited Belgian authorities to exclude them in public service.

In brief, because of the position taken by traditional power elites on the question concerning laic schools, the King and his collaborators were no longer in good terms with the White Fathers. Later, they used their influence on Belgian authorities to disempower traditional power elites and replace them by Hutus. In the next sub-section we shall see how the relationships between Belgian colonizers and traditional power elites were broken off.

4. 2. b. The Breaking off of the relationships between Belgian colonizers and traditional power elites

As had been the case in the relationship with the Catholic Church, traditional power elites collaborated with Belgian colonizers since their occupation in 1916 up to the 1950s. The Belgians had promoted Tutsis by appointing them in administration and other various domains. This good relationship didn't survive for long as demonstrated below.

In the 1950s, among indigenous authorities, there was a group of intellectual progressives. The members of this group no longer wanted to be manipulated by the colonizer and tried to find a way towards the country's independence. However, it was not easy for them to reach this goal because the colonizer opposed resistance.

However from the 1950s, many chiefs and sub-chiefs started to display a spirit of liberty and freedom against Belgian colonizers. The Belgians prepared a counter-offensive: they manipulated a group of Tutsi intelligentsia who had completed in *Groupe Scolaire Officiel d'Astrida* and Hutus from old seminarians; it is this group of Rwandese that Belgians used to combat nationalist traditional leaders.

The first sign of rupture between Belgians and traditional power elites was the resigning in 1955 of three members of the High Consul, namely: Abbot Bushayija, Mrs Bwanakweli and Ndazaro who presented their resignation without giving the reasons for doing so. The president of the High Consul (King Rudahigwa) was obliged to accept their resignation because he knew that, they were manipulated by colonial authorities and the Catholic Church to sabotage traditional power elites. The King and his collaborators denounced the Belgian colonial system which was creating division between Rwandese. From there the tension and rupture between Belgian and traditional authorities was created and it would never stop.¹⁴⁴

Henceforth, the progressives decided to use all their force in order to stop Belgian colonial power. The question is: were they able to resist against

¹⁴⁴ Th. Karekezi, *op.cit.*, pp. 71-72

Belgian colonizers who were more powerful and organized than traditional power elites? We shall try to answer this question in the next section.

The only arm that the colonial power and the Catholic Church used to combat Tutsi was to support Hutu elites and helped them to destitute Tutsi traditional power elite. In the next sub-section, we shall see this rivalry between White power and traditional power elites called Tutsi.

4. 3. Destitution of Tutsis and the promotion of Hutus

The decade 1950-1960 was characterized by great socio-political changes in Rwandan history. Belgium and the Catholic Church had decided to end Tutsi collaboration and pass the power to the Hutu ethnic group. To reach this aim, they manipulated Hutu intelligentsia who had been excluded in education, administration and other sectors from the past and who finally hoped to get to power through this collaboration with White peoples. In this section, I won't discuss all the changes made in this decade because many works have already been published in this area¹⁴⁵. I will focus on the transfer of power from Tutsi to Hutu intelligentsia and point out the role played by Belgian colonizers and Catholic missionaries.

4. 3. a. The birth of Hutu toughening movement

Two events characterized the birth of this movement: the creation of *Mouvement Social Muhutu* (Hutu Social Movement) and the publication of a document named *Manifeste des Bahutu* (Hutu Manifesto).

¹⁴⁵ A. Kagame, *Un abrégé de l'ethno-histoire....*, 1975; F. Reyntjens, *Pouvoir et Droit au Rwanda....*, 1985

The “Hutu Social Movement” was born in central Rwanda, specifically in Kabgayi mission where almost all the founders of this movement were employed. Its origin dates back to June 1956 and according to its status published in the missionary newspaper called *Temps Nouveaux d’Afrique*, the movement had four objectives:

To try to find concrete solutions to economic, social and moral problems for Hutu families; to orient customs’ evolution and customary institutions towards democratic conception; to help memberships to reach their stability in employ or enterprise, ease and social elevation for their families and the place where they come from; to help Hutu youth to find solution to social problems¹⁴⁶

The same report adds that the leader of this movement was an old seminarian, a Hutu named Kayibanda who was posted in *Kinyamateka*¹⁴⁷. As argued by Karekezi, Kayibanda was the coordinator of this newspaper although he doesn’t appear on the list of signatories. Indeed, the signatories were:

- President : Maximilien Niyonzima
- Vice-President: Joseph Habyarimana
- Secretary : Calliope Mulindahabi
- Treasurer : Joseph Sibomana¹⁴⁸

All those signatories were old seminarians and worked either as teachers in missionary schools, or had other small jobs in the mission. This

¹⁴⁶ Le Mouvement Social Muhutu, “La réunion des membres fondateurs du Mouvement Social Muhutu” in, *Temps Nouveaux d’Afrique*, Usumbura, no du 9 novembre 1958, p. 8

¹⁴⁷ *Kinyamateka* was the most important catholic newspaper published in mother tongue (Kinyarwanda) and read by many people.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 3

helps us to argue that, the Catholic Church influenced its old students to create this movement.

The "Hutu Social Movement" was still weak because it had its members only in Kabgayi mission and surrounding regions. The Catholic Church remedied this problem by awarding this movement the control of the local press. The movement also got the possibility to use the periodic newspaper called *Temps Nouveaux d'Afrique* published in French by *Presse Lavigerie* in Bujumbura. Access to the national press helped the movement to be known by both European people and Hutu intelligentsia spread throughout the country.

Another event that I have to mention and which played the main role in the toughening of Hutu intelligentsia is the publication in March 1957 of the document called *Manifeste des Bahutu*.

The document pointed out the injustices. It stated that the Hutus had been victims for centuries on issues like: unemployment, limited access to education and exclusion in administration, etc. According to the document, the Rwandan problem was, political, economic, social and cultural monopoly of Tutsis at the expense of Hutus and this had to be stopped. It is the same document that was presented by the same group of Hutu intelligentsia to the United Nations Commission when it visited Rwanda in 1957.

The majority of signatories of the document called *Manifeste des Bahutus* were old seminarians and were at the same time members of the *Mouvement Social Hutu*. This is the list of the signatories: Maximilien

Niyonzima, Gregoire Kayibanda, Claver Ndahayo, Isidore Niyonzima, Calliope Mulindahabi, Godefroid Sentama, Sylvestre Munyambonera, Joseph Sibomana et Joseph Habyarimana.¹⁴⁹

The document got large publicity, thanks to the missionary press: it was published in mother tongue in *Kinyamateka* and became a topic for discussion in different hills throughout the country. The Manifesto marked an important stage in political conflict between Hutu and Tutsi intelligentsia. From that period, the hostilities became open between the two ethnic groups.

However, few months after the publication of the Manifesto, the group of Hutus who had signed the document went to Nyanza (Royal Capital) where they met the High Consul in plenary meeting. Joseph Gitera who was in the group of signatories and who visited the Consul mentioned in the newspaper *Temps Nouveaux d'Afrique* what they discussed with the members of the High Consul. He wrote:

The discussions were about how the Hutus could participate in the power. Another question was to analyze the origin of this Hutu exclusion in politics: the Tutsi members of Consul argued that, the White peoples were the cause of this situation, whereas for us we were convinced that, Tutsi traditional power was the genesis of this politics of Hutu exclusion.¹⁵⁰

This toughening of the Hutu movement increased day-by-day up to 1959 when political parties started to operate in Rwanda. In this period, the Hutus gathered in two main political parties: *Aprosoma* (Association for

¹⁴⁹ F. Nkundabagenzi, *op.cit.*, p.29

¹⁵⁰ "Les propos de Joseph Gitera" in, *Temps Nouveaux d'Afrique*, Usumbura, 27th April 1958, p.21

Social Masse Promotion) and *Parmehutu* (Movement Party for Hutus Emancipation).

Before proceeding with this analysis, it is better to remind the reader that in this section I won't analyze the creation and operation of political parties in Rwanda in the 1950s, this doesn't concern my topic. I want to point out the rivalries between the two main political parties through which Hutus and Tutsis were organized: *Parmehutu* that I mentioned above and *Unar* (Rwandan National Union). I am looking for the confrontation of these two main political parties, how they competed for power.

The toughening of *Parmehutu* is presented in different ways: First of all, from October 1959 when the party was officially created, it excluded people who were not Hutus according to its appellation. The priority of *Parmehutu* was the suppression of what it called "colonization of Hutus by Tutsis".¹⁵¹ It was anti-Tutsi as well in its appellation as in its method of struggle. According to this party, the only way to resolve the Hutu-Tutsi problem was to substitute the Hutu regime with a Tutsi one.¹⁵²

When the journalist of *Temps Nouveau d'Afrique* asked Joseph Gitera if there were real reasons to accuse traditional power elites instead of attacking Belgian colonizers who ruled the country, he responded by saying that they were right because the Belgians came to emphasize a socio-political system which was already operational.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ "Parmehutu's Manifesto -program", in F. Nkundabagenzi, pp. 113-123

¹⁵² P. Makombe, *op.cit.* pp. 58-59

¹⁵³ "Les propos de Joseph Gitera" in, *Temps Nouveaux d'Afrique*, *op.cit.* p. 21

Parmehutu got financial and moral support from the colonial administration and the Catholic Church in order to rival with traditional authority. Thus the leaders of this party, whose majority was educated in missionary schools, especially seminary and Normal School, became more extremists and were no more afraid to say what they thought concerning traditional power because they had support from white people.¹⁵⁴

In brief, for Hutu leaders the language was clear; Tutsi power had to be destroyed and replaced by Hutu power. In this collaboration between Belgian colonizers and Hutu intelligentsia, each one calculated its own interest: the Hutus wanted to get power and Belgians wanted to prolong their stay in Rwanda.

Alongside colonial administration, *Parmehutu* had support from the Catholic Church as mentioned above: The leaders of this party had the facilities to use missionary press, through which they attacked the Tutsi ethnic group in general, traditional power elites in particular. On the other side, the missionaries defended the Hutu cause by accusing Tutsis as the cause of different injustices.

However, traditional power elites were attacked and combated in different ways by the three forces. In the next sub-section, I will show how traditional power elites, namely: the King and his collaborators organized a counter-offensive on those attacks.

¹⁵⁴ P. Makombe, *op.cit.* pp. 62-64

4. 3. b. The group constituted by indigenous authority

Faced with *Parmehutu*'s toughening, indigenous authorities opposed another toughening through *Unar* created in May 1959 and officially authorized as a political party on 3 September 1959.¹⁵⁵

The collaboration between "Tutsi traditional power" and Belgian colonizers had failed; national unity was shaken by the Hutu movement supported by colonial forces; hence the founders of *Unar* party launched a struggle against the eventual nation's desegregation.¹⁵⁶

Tutsi intelligentsia, members of *Unar*, qualified by some scholars as progressives, started to play the nationalism card because they thought that as long as the person responsible for divisions, namely the colonizer, was still there, it was not possible to establish unity between Rwandese. It is in this way that the document named *Mise au Point* (Putting point) was published. The document was published by the National High Consul, but many scholars argued that it was written by the progressive group of the Consul, whose majority were the old students of *Groupe Scolaire Officiel d'Astrida* or old students of Nyanza School.

Presented to the United Nations Commission when it visited Rwanda in February 1957, the document broke the silence which had characterized Rwandan politics previously. Among the claims mentioned by the Supreme Consul in the document, they invited Belgium to take different measures of changes like increasing and improving the education quality in order to train

¹⁵⁵ F. Nkundabagenzi, *op. cit.* p. 104

¹⁵⁶ P. Makombe, *op. cit.*, p. 69

Rwandese who should be technically able to rule the country later when the Whites were no longer in Rwanda. The signatories claimed an autonomy as soon as possible, hence the training of Rwandese who might replace White people.¹⁵⁷

In this period of rivalries between different politicians gathered by ethnic belonging, the King of Rwanda who incarnated national unity, didn't like to go along with any side, but many scholars argue that he was supporting nationalists who were members of *Unar* party; that is why Belgians later accused him of being anti-Whites.

In short, *Unar* party attacked Belgian colonial authorities by accusing them as the main organizers of those divisions between different ethnic groups in Rwanda, hence it claimed the end of Belgian occupation in Rwanda.¹⁵⁸ I have to mention that, although the majority of Tutsis were members of *Unar*, this doesn't mean that the party was exclusively Tutsi; there were Hutus, Tutsis and Twas in that party. The president of the party, Mr Rukeba was a Hutu and among the leaders there were Hutus in different organs. If this party qualified to be called an extremist, it was a strategy used by Belgians and missionaries to demonize it in the aim to incite all Hutu intelligentsia to gather in one party, which is *Parmehutu* in order to be more powerful and to combat the Tutsis in the aim to take power.

The rivalry between *Unar* and the colonizers increased, the climax of the tension was the sudden death of King Rudahigwa on 25th July 1959 at

¹⁵⁷ *Rapport de la mission de visite de l' ONU (1960)*, 26ème session, p. 8

¹⁵⁸ Th. Karekezi, *op.cit.*, pp. 82-84

Bujumbura (Burundi). After this death, the rumor circulated that he had been poisoned by Whites.¹⁵⁹ From there, missionaries and Belgian colonizers became afraid of those accusations and the tension increased much more. After this death, the events went so fast and the rivalries between the Hutu and the Tutsi were no more hidden. These events were a prelude to the destruction of Tutsi power. The Tutsi elites were no more afraid to attack the colonial power in different meetings; as for the colonizers, they wanted to finish with Tutsi power as soon as possible

4. 3. c. The stage of passing political power to Hutu intelligentsia

As stated above, the process towards rupture between Belgian colonial administration and traditional power elites had commenced early in the 1950s and worsened after that.

However, colonial administrators promoted and supported political parties which advanced their political agenda. Among them, the more important ones were: *Aprosoma*, *Parmehutu*, constituted by Hutus and *Rader* constituted by a small number of *Astridiens* Tutsis who were against the King. Those parties denounced the abuse of indigenous administration and claimed the preservation of colonial administration in the aim to assure the democratization of different institutions. On 30th April 1960, those parties constituted a common front against *Unar* and supported Belgian colonizers who had started the process of undermining traditional leaders and passing

¹⁵⁹ F. Nkundabagenzi, *op.cit* pp. 151-152

the power to the Hutu intelligentsia.¹⁶⁰ To point out this coalition between the three forces mentioned above, it would be useful to give an example concerning their position. Traditional power elites accused the Catholic Church, especially Bishop Perraudin as the main person who was creating and maintaining the divisions between Rwandese. For that reason, traditional power elites and the *Unar* party wrote a letter to the Pope and requested him to recall the Bishop. The three parties reacted to the letter and said:

We energetically protest against defamatory campaign opened against His Excellence Bishop Perraudin and all clergy by the totalitarian party named *Unar*. The congress of three parties solemnly declares that this eminent prelate is only victim of his sense of social justice.¹⁶¹

In the letter written to the Minister of Colonies, the leaders of the three parties denounced the formation of political parties, created and supported by Tutsi authorities. The signatories of the letter labeled those Tutsi parties as totalitarians, anti-democratic, anti-Whites and reactionaries.¹⁶² They deplored Tutsi ingratitude, who had been favored by Belgian administration for 40 years and who, at the end, accused the same Belgians for divisionism.¹⁶³

From September, colonial authorities entered into real conflict with Tutsi traditional power elites: the starting point was the meeting organized by *Unar* party on 13th September 1959. After this meeting, on 12th October 1959 Belgian authorities took administrative sanctions against three chiefs of districts and members of *Unar*, namely: Mrs Kayihura, Mungarulire and

¹⁶⁰ Th. Karekezi, *op.cit.*, pp. 86-87

¹⁶¹ F. Nkundabagenzi, *op.cit.*, p. 138

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 138-139

¹⁶³ Th. Karekezi, *op.cit.*, p. 64

Rwangombwa by transferring them to other chiefdoms without consulting the King. Those chiefs were accused of attending a meeting through which inadmissible attacks were leveled against Belgian administration. The fact that they attended the meeting without reacting against those attacks was incompatible with their responsibilities, hence those disciplinary transfers.¹⁶⁴ Indeed, chiefs, sub-chiefs and all other indigenous administrative staff were supposed to transmit Belgian orders throughout the colonies.

King Kigeli who, until then hadn't taken any position, reacted against disciplinary measures imposed on the three chiefs. In the letter written to General Vice-Governor, the King took defense of chiefs muted and denounced the abuses of Resident of Rwanda and his collaborators. He said:

The Belgian colonizer uses his power to reinforce his side and to destroy traditional power. This is an abuse of power, inadmissible and illegal...Everybody knows that, to attack Chief Kayihura, is almost the same as attacking myself considering the role he played since the death of King Mutara III Rudahigwa, and more particularly the circumstance which surround my accession to power. Regarding his two companions, they are considered as interlocutors of the people. As King, I must react when the opinion of my people is aggravated.¹⁶⁵

After this letter, *Parmehutu* and other Hutu small parties which were in the same front reinforced their radicalism and the collaboration with Belgian colonial authorities was no more hidden; the colonizers and missionaries brought their support to those Hutu political parties.¹⁶⁶ Both *Unar* and

¹⁶⁴ P. Makombe, *op.cit.*, p. 54; F. Nkundabagenzi, *op.cit.*, pp. 153-154

¹⁶⁵ King Kigeli V' s letter to Mr Vice- General Governor , Nyanza, 16th October 1959, in F. Nkundabagenzi, *op.cit.* pp. 103-104

¹⁶⁶ P. Makombe, *op.cit.*, p. 75

Parmehutu wanted the changes but in different ways: *Unar* fought against Belgian colonization, whereas *Parmehutu* fought against what it called “Tutsi regime”.

The tension and rivalries between *Parmehutu* and *Unar* increased and ended with the first civil war between Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups in November 1959. All of that was master-minded by the colonial administration and the Catholic Church which wanted to break *Unar* and pass the power to *Parmehutu*; the party which supported Belgian presence in Rwanda. Vast literature already exists on this civil war and therefore I will not dwell much on it in this study.

The civil war had long-lasting consequences on political and administrative structures. The majority of chiefs, sub-chiefs and members of the High Consul, whose majority were Tutsis, were obliged to go into exile in order to escape Belgian soldiers' repression which focused on *Unar* members accused of establishing terrorism throughout the country by Belgian power. They also avoided *Parmehutu*' members who burned houses and killed Tutsi people especially the intelligentsia and indigenous authorities.¹⁶⁷ As a result among 45 chiefs and 520 sub-chiefs who were in office before the civil war, 23 and 232 were sacked at the end of November 1959. The Resident, Colonel Logiest had ordered the arrest of all regional and national leaders of *Unar*. Thus, all chiefs and sub-chiefs' posts were declared vacant because people who occupied them had either been killed or went into exile; those posts were

¹⁶⁷ Th. Karekezi, *op.cit.*, pp. 68-70

set aside for *Parmehutu*' leaders.¹⁶⁸ The demolition and disintegration of *Unar* party was assumed to have succeeded as it was wished by many Belgian politicians and missionaries.

Meanwhile, the *Unar* party was systematically excluded from the politics. In this process, Belgian authorities abolished the National High Consul in the edict no 221/29 published on 12th January 1960.¹⁶⁹ The majority of members of this Consul were Tutsis from *Unar* party. This edict was accompanied by the creation of a temporary High Consul constituted in the majority by Hutus from *Parmehutu* political party. Among its responsibilities, the new Consul might control and limit the King's power. Thus, in the new system of administration, the King could no more take decisions without the approbation of the temporary High Consul.

The process of ripping the Tutsis of their power was ongoing. Meanwhile, Belgian colonial powers organized communal elections whereas the leaders of *Unar* were, either in exile or in prison. This party boycotted those elections and proposed the organization of a conference through which all national political parties, colonial powers, and the United Nations might attend in the aim to reconcile the two ethnic groups (Hutus and Tutsis) before the elections. *Unar*'s proposal was rejected by Belgium and the elections took place on 26th June 1960. When the results were released, *Parmehutu* won 2390 of the 3125 seats; against 56 seats for *Unar* which agreed to participate in the elections in spite of the call made by the leaders of the party who were

¹⁶⁸ P. Makombe, *op.cit.*, pp.81-83

¹⁶⁹ F. Nkundabagenzi, *op.cit.*, p. 152

abroad to boycott it, the leaders who remained inside didn't respond to this invitation.¹⁷⁰ Among the reasons for this low score, was lack of understanding between the leaders of *Unar* party. Other small parties shared the rest of the seats.

The events followed one after another and everything happened so fast. Thus, on 18th October 1960, the General Resident who represented Belgium in Rwanda published edict no 221/275, which created a Consul of 48 members nominated after consultation with different political parties, excluding *Unar*; this consul replaced the old provisional Special Consul. The same edict nominated a provisional cabinet constituted by the Prime Minister, Ministers and Deputy Ministers. At the same time, edict no 221/276 published on 20th October nominated Gregoire Kayibanda, as the Prime Minister of the new cabinet.¹⁷¹

Finally on 28th January 1961, the leaders of the two main Hutu political parties at different levels, namely *Parmehutu* and *Aprosoma* organized an extraordinary meeting which took place at Gitarama (Central Rwanda). They invited in this meeting: all members of the provisional cabinet and Consul, all burgomasters and communal advisors and members of those two parties. During this meeting, Joseph Gitera, President of National Consul, took the platform and declared: "*Kalinga*¹⁷² is abolished and the monarchy is over."¹⁷³ After his speech he presented the new flag which became the symbol of new

¹⁷⁰ Th.Karekezi, *op.cit.*, pp. 102-107; F.Nkundabagenzi, *op.cit.*, pp. 155-161

¹⁷¹ F.Nkundabagenzi, *op.cit.*, pp. 135-139

¹⁷² *Kalinga* was the drum which symbolized King's power in Rwanda

¹⁷³ A.Kagame, *Un abrege de l'histoire.....*, Tom II,*op.cit.*, p. 293

Rwanda. He concluded his speech by declaring that, henceforth Rwanda would become a republic.

After his speech, they elected the president of the new republic: Mr Dominique Mbonyumutwa from *Parmehutu* got 2391 votes (83%) against 433 (15%) for Mr Habyarimana Gitera from *Aprosoma*. They pursued by electing the members of the Legislative Assembly. After counting the votes, *Parmehutu* got 40 seats of deputies and *Aprosoma* got 4 seats. The members of parliament voted the speaker and deputy-speaker of the parliament. Mr Joseph Habyarimana Gitera was elected as the speaker and Mr Lazare Mpakaniye from *Parmehutu* as deputy-speaker. The president of the new Republic appointed Gregoire Kayibanda as the Prime Minister and gave him the responsibility to form the new cabinet.

This is the result of the long process of systematical destruction of traditional authorities named "Tutsi" that the colonial power and the Catholic Church had started in the 1950s. This process ended with the creation of new institutions led by Hutu extremists. Thus, Belgian colonial administration sacrificed national reconciliation and national independence preached by *Unar* party in favor of *Parmehutu* party which neglected this national unity and preached the promotion of Hutus. This widened the gulf between Hutus and Tutsis.

Conclusion

In the 1950s, Belgian colonizers and missionaries started worrying about nationalist movements established in Africa and thought how to avoid

the arrival of this movement in Rwanda; hence they decided to gather Rwandan intelligentsia in different circles and associations in order to control what they were doing. The circles and associations were created and spread throughout the country when people gathered either according to their jobs or their old schools. In this way, colonial powers and the Catholic Church hoped to maintain strict control and discipline on their old students.

Those circles and associations created in the 1950s were characterized by ethnic divisions: the Hutus who were still excluded in education and administration didn't want to work with the Tutsis; they considered them as the cause of the injustice they had been subjected to for a long time. In the same association or circle, there was an official meeting attended by all the members, Hutus and Tutsis. There were also unofficial meetings when Tutsis were excluded and Hutus analyzed socio-political problems of the moment, especially how they could also have access to power. One of the strategies used was to create good relations with the colonizers and missionaries who had the real power.

In this chapter, we saw why colonizers and missionaries decided to change the collaborator from Tutsi to Hutu intelligentsia. In spite of the strict control imposed on the indigenous intelligentsia, the associations and circles dominated by Tutsis started to criticize colonizers for their bad politics and started agitating for socio-political changes which might end with the achievement of independence by Rwandan people. Because of this reaction against colonizers displayed by Tutsi elites, the Whites decided to end their

Tutsi collaboration and prepared how to pass political power to Hutu intelligentsia.

The discriminatory education policy that Hutus were victims of was attributed to Tutsis in order to manipulate and accelerate old seminarians' hatred against Tutsi elites, old seminarians who had been the first victims of this politics. The collaboration between Hutus and Whites was founded on interests of each side: the Hutu intelligentsia wanted to get the power and Whites wanted to sustain their presence in Rwanda.

The process of the destitution of Tutsis went so fast and as I showed above, the missionary and Belgian colonizers played the main role: The Tutsis old students of *Groupe Scolaire Officiel d'Astrida*" and *Nyanza School* who were mainly gathered in *Unar party* were sacked from 1959 to 1962 and were replaced by Hutus. This destitution was punishment imposed by Belgian authorities on the old students who wanted to chase out their old masters whereas it was the same masters (Belgian colonizers and missionaries) who had trained and promoted them.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The aim of the present study was to prove that education was the tool used by Belgian colonizers and the Catholic Church to create divisions between Hutus and Tutsis. In an effort to demonstrate this assumption, this study analyzed socio-political relationships between Hutus and Tutsis in pre-colonial Rwanda, looking whether or not these two groups were socially and politically united, or if they had always been enemies.

I demonstrated that the traditional society was much more founded on three notions, namely: the family, lineage and clans. The Rwandese distinguished each other through those three notions than in ethnic terms. I found that in each stage of those notions, there were both Hutus and Tutsis: from the family, lineage to the clan, we could easily find both Hutus and Tutsis because of intermarriage and complexity of traditional Rwandan society. This helped me to challenge the colonial theory developed by some scholars who said that the Hutus and Tutsis are completely different. The same authors argued that the conflicts and divisions between those two ethnic groups started before colonization.¹⁷⁴ Thus, this work challenged this previous hypothesis.

Afterwards, I analyzed how political power was shared between the two groups of people. I found that in different organs of traditional administration, there were both Hutus and Tutsis who performed various duties. People were not promoted because of their ethnic origin, but because of their competence and good relationship with the King or chiefs.

¹⁷⁴ See those authors in the general introduction

However, the unity of this traditional society of Hutus and Tutsis who lived together in harmony, helped each other and shared the power, was broken by colonizers first by Germans, but worsened under the Belgians.

The Europeans arrived in Rwanda with divisionism politics constructed on the migration, *hamitic* and *bantu* theories when the Hutus were identified as *Bantus* and Tutsis as *Hamites*. These two groups of people were said to have arrived in Rwanda in different periods and from different regions. The Tutsis were considered as clever and superior to other groups. Hence, the Belgians chose to give all privileges to Tutsis. Among the sectors through which this exclusion policy was implemented, was education.

In this work, I showed how under Belgian occupation in Rwanda, the colonizers and Catholic missionaries put down and implemented the education policy in the aim to get more qualified auxiliaries among the Tutsis. From there, different schools were established throughout the country. The majority of students were Tutsis. The small number of Hutus who got the chance to go to school didn't have the same curriculum with Tutsis. Whereas the Hutus learnt *Swahili* and *Kinyarwanda*, to know just how to read and to write; Tutsis added French to this curriculum because they were preparing to be auxiliaries of colonial administration and the Catholic Church. This discriminatory education policy was implemented in different schools throughout the country, especially in Nyanza School created in 1919 by Belgians to train sons of Tutsi chiefs to replace their fathers or to work as auxiliaries of Belgian administration.

I analyzed this colonial education policy, demonstrating how it increased the gap between Hutus and Tutsis, especially in the 1930s-1940s when the curriculum and the program of education were improved. Here, I underlined the collaboration between the Catholic Church and Belgian powers in education policy. It is in this period that the Catholic Church was much more involved in education through the agreement signed in 1925 with the Belgian government. The agreement awarded the missionaries the full responsibilities to manage and to control the education sector. It is also in this period that the program of high school education was introduced.

With the establishment of the curriculum for high schools, the result was the creation for the first time of the secondary schools. Alongside Kabgayi Seminary created in 1913, the *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida* opened in 1931. Those two schools had different objectives: the first one was created to train missionaries' auxiliaries, whereas the second one was created to train auxiliaries of colonial administration. The exclusion policy adopted by the colonizers and the catholic missionaries was implemented in those schools. As was the case in Nyanza School, the *Groupe Scolaire* was a school for Tutsis, whereas the majority of Hutus attended the Seminary. After their studies, students who completed in those schools were appointed in different sectors according to their qualification. It was at this point that real inequalities between Hutus and Tutsis became evident and increased the divisions between the two groups.

Tutsis who completed at *Nyanza School* and *Groupe Scolaire* were all appointed in different sectors: chiefs or sub-chiefs of chiefdoms and sub-chiefdoms, secretaries of colonial administration, agronomists, veterinarians, nurses, etc. Those new civil servants of colonial administration had many privileges, like: a good salary compared to the rest of Rwandese, free housing, granting of loans, etc.

Regarding the seminarians, I showed that they were divided into two groups: the first group was constituted by people who completed the junior and senior seminaries and were ordained as priests. The second group was constituted by people who chose to be laics. It is this last group that we discussed and found that they had many problems. Some of them had certificates but others did not; but all of them were not qualified in any profession compared to old students of *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida*. Another issue is that, the majority of them were Hutus whereas the colonial administration had decided to collaborate with Tutsis. Those two elements put together were the cause of Hutus to be unemployed by the colonial administration. Rejected by the colonial power, the majority of Hutus old seminarians still without jobs preferred to go back to the countryside to cultivate in spite of their education, whereas a small number of them had jobs in different Catholic missions throughout the country with a low salary.

Nevertheless, in spite of their high education, the life standing of old seminarians was still low compared to the old students of *Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida* whose majority were Tutsi. This injustice towards Hutus had

started early in the 1920s when Belgians decided to remove all old Hutu chiefs and replace them by Tutsis who had completed at Nyanza school. From that period to the 1950s, the Hutus continued to be excluded in colonial administration and civil service in general. Thus in the 1950s, the majority of chiefs, sub-chiefs and other civil servants of colonial administration were Tutsi. Also, the majority of different consuls from High Consul to sub-chieftom consul, the members were Tutsis. The Hutus were sidelined.

This was social, political and economic injustice. Meanwhile, the Belgians and missionaries made Hutus understand that it was Tutsi power which was the initiator of this exclusion policy towards Hutus. This pushed Hutu intelligentsia to develop jealousy and hatred towards their Tutsi counterparts. Instead of attacking the colonial power and the Catholic Church who were the initiators of this politics, they turned against their Tutsi brothers. It was really the Catholic Church and Belgian power elites who were running the country, Tutsi elites were their instruments.

Faced with this Hutu attitude, Tutsi intelligentsia understood that Hutu elites were manipulated by the Catholic Church and the Belgian power who wanted to divide Rwandese. Hence, King Rudahigwa and his collaborators developed nationalism politics by attacking the colonizers and missionaries who were dividing Rwandese people. Through different meetings and articles published in newspapers, those Tutsi elites gathered in Unar political party denounced this colonial divisionism policy, and claimed, first the autonomy and finally the independence for Rwandese people.

Colonial and Catholic powers which had gathered their old students in different circles and associations in order to continue to manipulate them and to control what they were doing, were “disappointed” in the 1950s by Tutsi traditional power elite’s reaction. They could not understand how the Tutsis that they favored and promoted since early 20th century could react like that. It is in this way that the Catholic Church and Belgian authorities decided to change the collaborators when they chose to work with Hutus.

I discussed this period of changing political partner by Belgian colonizers and Catholic missionaries. I showed how they manipulated Hutu intelligentsia by accusing traditional power elites of all the injustice that Hutus had been subjected to: exclusion in education, which resulted into exclusion in administration. Hutu intelligentsia took advantage of this crisis between Tutsi elites and Whites, and decided to collaborate with colonizers and missionaries in order to take power. It is in this way that the Hutu intelligentsia accepted and supported the accusations leveled against Tutsis by the colonizers and missionaries.

I showed how after the separation with Tutsi elites the colonizers and missionaries had worked hand in hand with Hutu intelligentsia in order to help them to get political power. I showed how radical Hutu intelligentsia were gathered mainly in *Parmehutu* political party. This party got material, financial and moral support from the Catholic Church and Belgian power elites. This support helped Hutu elites to be politically and materially more powerful than Tutsis gathered in *Unar* party. The tension, rivalry and ethnic

hatred which characterized Hutu and Tutsi intelligentsia under this period of competing for the power culminated in the 1959 first civil war between Hutus and Tutsis.

I argued that the events went so fast afterwards and this was preparing the complete destruction of Tutsis' power and the elevation of Hutu intelligentsia. This was followed by the elections which resulted into the destitution of King Musinga, his collaborators and Tutsi elite in general. In all those events, the Hutus were actively supported by Belgium and the Catholic Church.

In nutshell, the Belgians and missionaries used education to promote Tutsi ethnic group and neglected Hutus. Educated Tutsi were promoted whereas their Hutu counterparts were neglected, even the small number of Hutus who got the chance to study were not employed. The promotion of Tutsis created the gap between them and Hutus whereas in pre-colonial Rwanda they were sharing the power and the wealth. The Tutsis continued to enjoy this collaboration with colonial power elites and the Catholic Church through the education and administration sectors. At the same time Hutu intelligentsia developed hatred towards traditional power elites. This hatred increased in the 1950s when the Belgians and missionaries started to manipulate the same Hutu elites that they had neglected earlier. They changed the collaborators because the Tutsis started to denounce this Belgian system and claimed autonomy first, and independence later. Thus, the politics of exclusion in education and administration had disastrous effects in

Rwanda. The hatred developed by Hutus towards Tutsis resulted to the civil war in 1959. This was master-minded by Belgium and the Catholic Church. However, as demonstrated in this study, agency in Rwandan politics at this time cannot be solely confined to these two white groups because Rwandese (Hutus and Tutsis) played their role too.



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