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#### RWANDA: RESOLVE THE MAIN CONTRADICTIONS OF THE COMPANY Rwandese

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#### Dear comrades,

With its 26,338 sq. km and a population of 9.2 million inhabitants and a gross domestic product of 238 USD per year per capita, Rwanda is a poor country, almost non-industrialized, divided and dominated. Life expectancy was 45 years in 2005. More than 60% of Rwandans live on less than \$1 a day. 90% of its inhabitants live in the countryside.

From a historical materialist, Rwandan society has increased successively from primitive mode of production, the feudal mode of production, the capitalist mode of production and finally the colonial capitalist mode of production neocobnial. Thus, whatever their level of development, feudalism and capitalism are the two dominant social regimes past five centuries. The feudal regime lasted 4 centuries. The capitalist regime successive stages, and reo-colonial, has lasted for more than a century.

#### The feudal system

The State precolonial Rwanda was formed from the heads of lineages "Abakuru b'Imiryango." Then it is the result of a struggle "between the hoe and the stick," a struggle between heads of lineages farmers and heads of pastoral lineages. Farmers were Hutus. The pastors were Tutsis. The outcome of these struggles is often bloody unification of Rwanda and the formation of a centralized State régenté by a monarch of law, following a dynasty, that of Banyiginya, whose origin is heavenly. A myth wants to effect that Banyiginya and all the clars involved in their power, Baha, Bakono, Bega, Bashambo and Batsobe be "Bimanuka" those who are descended from heaven. They would be the son of Gihanga, "the creator. Actually, they came North, probably from Uganda today. They were reportedly acceuillis by the Mwami Hutu Kabeja, king of the Kingdom of Mubari, located north-east, the border between Uganda, Rwanda and Tanzania.

Slavery has apparently existed in Rwanda. It was not very developed. He left since the word "shebuja" literally means "father in slavery." The slave trade has however slightly affected Rwanda. There was indeed a slave market in Rukara, in eastern Rwanda. The slaves sold on the market took the road to the east in the direction of Tabora, Tanzania. This circuit fuelled trafficking of slaves trafficker "Tipu Tipu" which probably came from the Sultarate of Zanzibar. He referred especially those who were considered insubordonnés "abagome" by heads "abatware 'and teachers' shebuja" Tutsi. Thus it is the feudal system which marked the Rwandan society.

## The feudal system Hutu: ubukonde

Before the 14th century on the territory of Rwanda today, were several autonomous entities run by "Bami" Hutu. The dominant economy of these small kingdoms is agricultural. The mode of current production is less and less primitive and more and more feudal. It becomes frankly feudal the eve of the 16th century. The company is then divided into primary landowners' Abakonde 'and peasants patchy "Abagererwa." "Umukonde" means one who cleared the forest. "Umugererwa", the word "kugererwa" çàd "measure", which literally means one who gives a measure, a portion. Private property does not exist. The land, "isambu" belongs to the community, the lineage or sub-lineage "inzu," the family "umuryango" and is managed by the head of household "umukuru w'umuryango."

The "mukonde" agreed to give arrivals a plot of land to a "mugererwa" to feed his family. The "mugererwa" and gave "mukonde" a hoe to seal the relationship, should ensure that his family gives present "amaturo" at each harvest and support him in all circumstances. These "Bami" are also directors of the land "Abahinza" and are pluviateurs. They head the ceremonies sowing and harvest "umuganura."

They are generally from three major clans, clan Bazigaba, Bagesera clan and the clan Basinga. They are called "a basangwa butaka" those found on their land. They are the ones who will preside over the ceremonies welcoming immigrants, "gutera ubuse." They have preserved and passed on the organization of the State of Rwanda emerge. A dominant lineage, Barenge, had an advanced state organization that suspected to be from Zimbabwe, "Mwene mutapa."

The regime "ubukonde" was not exploitative and narrow. He tied very few farmers, did not include obligations to provide free labour and was in force in some regions, particularly the north-west (Gisenyi, Ruhengeri) and south-west (Cyangugu).

The Tutsi feudal regime "uburetwa" and "ubuhake"

From the 16th century until the arrival of the colonialists, heads of lineages from pastoral clan Banyiginya unifièrent rather by violence, the various small kingdoms under their rule and incorporèrent as in the realm of Rwanda. They joined the clans Bashambo, Baha, Bakono, Batsobe, Bega and Bahondogo. They organized several expeditions to a mex the kingdoms of their rivals and extend their rule over a territory more and more grand. With the arrival of German colonialists in the late 19th century (1897), this movement has not yet been completed.

Under the dynasty nyiginya, two feudal regimes "ubuhake" and "uburetwa" developed and spread over a large part of the territory of Rwanda today. The land is the principal means of work. Agriculture and animal husbandry are the main production activities. The principal means working hoe for farmers and the stick, for pastors. There is a fairly developed artisanal sector. It works iron "ubutare" and copper "umuringa." A corporation smiths "abacuzi" manufactures weapons (daggers, spears and arrows) and the working tools (axes, hoes, serpettes and knives). Another corporation tanners "abakannyi" manufactures clothing skin beast. It also works sisal, ficus and other materials. There is a market where the rule is barter "kugurana." There are two main social classes, feudal and peasants.

## The regime "Ubuhake"

Under the "Ubuhake", a "mugaragu" a cow received his master "she buja." In exchange, the family of "mugaragu" should obey him and assist him in any time. The conquest of land enabled the Bami nyiginya to have their land taken as the conquered kingdoms. As a first step, pastors nyiginya, ega, ha, kono hondogo and shambo to graze their herds on the lands of farmers. Second, these lands were confiscated. The Bami the nyiginya gave their vassals "bagaragu." This was the birth of fiefdoms, "ibikingi", which deprived farmers of land. The feudal regime "ubuhake" could link the Tutsi Tutsis and Hutus poor. He received more attention in the studies, but the constraints it imposed the "bagaragu" were not commensurate with those imposed on only Hutu peasants under the "uburetwa."

## The regime "uburetwa"

Under the "uburetwa" had the right to work a land located in the feud "igikingi" head "umutware." To do this, the peasant family head should designate in his family who had to work two days a week (five days for the traditional Rwandan week) on the land of "shebuja." The scheme was exceptionally segregationist. Indeed, only the Hutu peasants were submitted. The Tutsis were exempted. The Hutu peasants worked free 2 day 5 to their masters, who were mostly Tutsi. These services were called gufata igihe. "The nature of chores depended on the whim of feudal. This could range from household chores to portage, "guheka" as the Rwanda lacked the culture of the wheel. The so-called general interest (TIG), so-called alternatives entence imposed by the regime in place today and which are condemned as people prosecuted for genoide (mostly Hutu) remind the regime of chores since the Tutsis there are not convicted.

This feudal system was structured and extended by the colonial regime. Indeed, during the Belgian colonization, from 1916 to 1962, he was in force in virtually every chiefdom of the colony, is 46 while not rampant as one third of the territory before the arrival of colonialists. Moreover, while the benefits of work were required of the family, under the responsibility of head of household, they were now required of the individual, corvéable, one day per wæk (seven days). This system has contributed to seal an objective alliance between the Tutsi feudal and Belgian colonialists.

## The capitalist colonial regime

The colonial rule of Rwanda has been marked by two episodes: the imposition of the German protectorate from 1897 to 1916 and the placement of Rwanda mandated Belgian then under Belgian supervision from 1916 to 1959, respectively after the first World War and after end of the Second World War.

## The German colonial rule

The arrival of German colonial coincided witha period of crisis dynasty nyiginya. The succession of "Mwami" prevailing Kigeli IV Rwabugiri was marked by struggles between Bega and Bakono of great intensity. In 1899, Rwabugiri designated Rutalindwa, clan Bakono, as co-reigning and successor and Kanjogera, clan Bega, as Quæn adoptive mother. In 1896, one year after the death of Mwami Kigeli IV Rwabugiri, the queen mother Kanjogera with the help of his brothers and Kabare Ruhinankiko, is organizing a coup against his adoptive son Rutalindwa. His son Musinga, is still unfit to govern, it becomes regent of the kingdom. But its power is contested across the country.

Between 1897 and 1913, several insurrections broke out in the country, particularly north and east. To protect his power and ensure the safety of her son, she accepts present and a letter hand protection of Captain Von Ramsay, thus making Rwanda a German protectorate. The Germans and help Kanjogera, then his son Yuhi IV Musinga quell rebellions.

In 1900, Rukara, a descendant of Kimenyi, Mwami of Gisaka previously annexed in Rwanda, refuses authority Musinga and announce the independence of Gisaka. It is mâté by Chief District Usumbura Burundi, Græwert. Rukara is captured. He died in prison Bukoba, Tanzania.

In 1905, Musinga mounts a military expedition against Basebya, head of Mulera Twa, who refuses to pay benefits required by the mwami. Troops sent by the mwami are beaten. He appealed to Germans to overcome the insurgency.

In 1910, Rukara rwa Bishingwe, head deemed to Mulera, murdered a European missionary, Father Lupias, following a quarrel between him and several of his parents who wanted to escape its hold. The resident German Gudovius organizing a punitive expedition whose objective is the complete submission of the regionat a cost of the destruction of crops and homes. Several Hutu were killed.

In 1911, Nyiraga humuza, one of the widows "mwami" Rwabugiri, announced that the heir to the throne, Mibambwe IV Rutalindwa is still alive and hiding in northern Iraq. A rebellion broke out against the mwami Musinga ablaze and northern Rwanda. The rebellion is matée intervention by German and Nyiraga humuza is caught.

Also in 1911, Ndungutse refuses authority Musinga and organizes a rebellion in the north. Musinga troops prove unable to defeat the rebel troops.

In 1912, German troops attack Buberuka in the region of Ruhengeri, where there are refugees Ndungutse, Rukara rwa Bishingwe and Basebya. Ndungutse book first Rukara to win demency for German troops, then took the flight to Uganda. Rukara and Basebya are executed. Lieutenant German Linde supports the punishment of the region. The crops are destroyed, houses are burned and the resistance is matée. In total, at least 50 people were killed.

Thus, departing colonialists German alliance with feudal clan Bega. Paul Kagame, is a descendant of the Queen Mother Kanjogera, by which Rwanda became a German protectorate. He travels regularly to

Germany, where he often receives medical care.

#### The Belgian colonial rule

The Belgian colonial rule standardized the territory and extended theauthority of the Mwami. Thus, in 1925 the hotel occupies the Belgian Bukunzi province with a protectorate status of the south-west Rwanda. The Queen Mother of the region, Nyiranda kunze, is killed and young mwami Ngoga dies in prison in Kigali. In 1926: The Belgian troops occupy the Busozo, whose mwami has just died, and to entrust the command to a young notable of the court (+ Reyntjens, 1985, 102). A movement called messianic Nyira burumuke or Ndanga, is to raise the people of Bugesera and Gisa ka. The strength mate this public uprising in 1927.

The Belgian colonialists several remove existing tributes - including, in 1924, benefits in livestock and food - imponoke, indabukirano and amaturo-it generalizes the uburetwa it considerably extends the base at any adult male valid throughout the Rwandan territory and creates a kazi, requisition men to carry out public works unpaid

The colonial regime is therefore a political alliance with the feudal system. Under this regime, Rwanda between capitalism in the global economy. It provides minerals (cassiterite, colombo-tantalite, wolframite, and so on.) And agricultural products exported to Europe (coffee, tea, pyrethrum and cinchona). For the evacuation of products, it was necessary to build roads. For chores "uburetwa" comes and added "akazi" or mandatory services for the benefit of colonialists (port, construction of roads and bridges, construction of public buildings, compulsory work in the plantations of tea, coffee, pyrethrum and cinchona). Until its abolition in the aftermath of World War II, the desire to avoid uburetwa be one of the main motivations of exile: 425,000 Rwandans to leave the country for Uganda and Tanganyika.

This alliance has not always gone without crises. In particular, in 1931, Musinga was tabled by the Belgian colonialists. The German colonial troops had only a few dozen officers and NCOs and 154 German troops in Africa. To cope with the cons-offensive initiated by the Belgian colonial troops after the attack on a post colonial on Ijwi Island (now DRC), Musinga had lifted Indugaruga troops to help the Germans. They replaced by his son Mutara III Ruda higwa considered more likely to obey. He was deported and died at Moba in the DRC. In 1950, Rudahigwa showed less enthusiasm

So there were only two social classes, peasants and feudal, colonial rule has created two new social classes, both from the peasantry. On the one hand, a petty bourgeoisie and on the other hand, an embryo of the proletariat. These two social classes are mostly composed of Hutu. Linked to Hutu peasants forced the feudal regime "uburetwa" and the colonial regime "akazi," these two social classes had access to knowledge conveyed by the colonial school. They are the ones who will serve as close to challenging the order and the feudal monarchy nyiginya.

An alliance objective is noua between peasants, workers and petty bourgeois Hutu against the feudal order and against the monarchy nyiginya. But the weakness ideological organizations that are born in

1950 and the tactical manoeuvres of the Belgian colonialists will be because of anti-feudal movement. The revolutionary movement Rwandan dissocia tasks of the revolution anti-feudal tasks of the anticolonial revolution.

This strategic error has greatly affected the history of Rwanda. Thus, the feudal Tutsi allies to the German and Belgian colonialists for a long time, could pretending to be revolutionaries and champions of national liberation. Their positions tactical advantage of the expansion of the international communist movement and in particular the proletarian internationalism, even allowed them to organize a revolution against unsuccessful from 1959 to 1968 that even hardened revolutionaries argued, as Che Guevara in the Congo. This error was the cause of the tragedies that followed the 1959 revolution.

Even today, many revolutionaries let themselves be taken in such tactical manoeuvres. For example, taking advantage of inter imperialist struggles between in black Africa, french imperialism on the one hand and the alliance between the American and British imperialism on the other hand, the Rwandan Patriotic Front, targeting France, the trompe more vigilance on the part of African revolutionaries, even though the regime he has put in place is a neocolonial regime US-British.

The revolutionary movement of 1950's managed to impose the dismantling of fiefdoms-ibikingi-the abolition of feudal regimes "ubuhake" and "uburetwa" and the end of the monarchy and the proclamation of the republic, in 1961. However, it did not allow the Rwandans to get rid of colonialism. Between 1965 and 1968, internal ideological correction to the ruling party, the Democratic Republican Movement, influenced by nationalists in Tanzania under the leadership of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, has injected the Rwandan revolution, a new impetus. Thus, the Constitution of Rwanda was revised to include in the draft national principle of democratic socialism, a concept progressive in the conditions in Rwanda at that time.

But that did not prevent that Rwanda comes under French neocolonial domination after 1975.

## The neo-colonial regime

The mistakes of the 1959 revolution led into exile, mainly in neighbouring countries, Burundi, Congo, Uganda and Tanzania, 150,000 Tutsis. They joined together 425,000 Hutus who fled the feudal regime "uburetwa" between 1897 and 1950. They also joined several hundreds of thousands of others installed by the colonial power Belgium as part of its policy of transferring work force in Rwanda Congo, for ease of colonial exploitation.

From 1962 to today, Rwanda has entered a neo-colonial regime. During this period, the petty bourgeoisie has spread through the extension of the salariat. As elsewhere in Africa, consolidating the entry of Rwanda in the circuits of the global capitalist economy has led to the birth of another class: the bourgeois political and administrative compradore.

Two elements based particularity of the bourgeoisie political and administrative compradore Rwandan

compared to the rest of Africa. First, it is generally non-ethnic and national. Secondly, the fraction ruling binds to one or another Western imperialism which it serves as a relay.

Between 1962 and 1973, the neo-colonial Rwandan economy has not developed enough to create such a class. The ruling class was the petty bourgeoisie Hutu. Her links with the Belgian capitalism, capitalism without scale, neverallowed the development of a middle class worthy of the name.

Between 1973 and 1994, after the coup soldiers from northern Rwanda, a fairly significant rise of neocolonial Rwandan economy has led to the formation of a bourgeois political and administrative compradore, bound by an agreement on military cooperation France. This expansion has been halted by the war launched in 1990 by the Rwandan Patriotic Front, an amalgam between the Tutsi-revolutionary against the years 1960 and the petty bourgeoisie issue of 150,000 Tutsi refugees 1960, under the direction of its fraction English-born and educated in Uganda.

## The bourgeoisie political and administrative Tutsi compradore

Since 1994, a new bourgeoisie political and administrative Tutsi compradore was formed. She has done its primitive accumulation by the expropriation of the bourgeoisie former Hutu political administrative, looting of the Democratic Republic of Congo, the low hand over public enterprises through privatization of public enterprises operating in various sectors (tea, Coffee, rice farming, industry, mining, energy, telecommunications, finance, hotels and tourism) alone or injoint ventures, bilateral aid from Western capitalism, essentially, the U.S. and United Kingdom and multilateral (World Bank and Union European) as well and especially by the slurping of national income at the expense of the peasantry. We know for example that 10% of the richest in Rwanda, focusing on their hands, 38% of national income.

The three main contradictions of Rwandan society

It follows from what has been said that there are three major contradictions in Rwanda: the ethnic issue, the social question and the national question.

## The ethnic issue

It is the result of ethnic exclusion. The ethnic exclusion because there is no correlation between the state and nation. The State is mono ethnic while the nation is multi-ethnic. In addition, practices exclusions lead to armed conflict habits and patterns whose consequences are the destruction of natural resources to begin with human resources, braking growth in the domestic market due to discrimination and creating divisions among the masses. Today Hutu Rwandans and of mixed marriages are the main excluded from the Rwandan nation, on behalf of prevention or suppression of genocide.

## The social issue

It is the result of hoarding land and national income by a clique political and administrative compradore

linked to capitalist globalization. Linking his interest to that of global capitalism, it is part of the ownership of the value added created by the neo-colonial economy of Rwanda. For example, while 60% of Rwandans in general and 80% in rural areas live on less than \$ 1 a year and the average per capita income is 220 USD per year monthly income of President Paul Kagame is about 26,000 USD per month.

# The national question

Since the arrival of German colonialists, the Rwandan ruling cliques have always combined with Western imperialism to come to power or maintain it. The Tutsi aristocracy has joined the German and Belgian colonialists between 1897 and 1950. The small bourgoisie Hutu in power after 1962 has partnered with capitalism Belgian 1959 until 1968. From 1973 to 1994, the bourgeoisie administrative Hutu political issue has partnered with french capitalism. Since 1994, the bourgeoisie political and administrative Tutsi compradore is serving the interests of the American-British imperialism.

Paul Kagame has thus justified and approved the neo-colonial war that the USA and the UK lead in Iraq. The war of aggression launched on 02 August 1998 against the nationalist Congolese government headed by Laurent-Desire Kabila was a neo-colonial war US-British subcontracted the troops Paul Kagame. It still continues in North Kivu, under the cover of the militia of the National Council for the Defence of the People, CNDP led by former officers of the Rwandan Patriotic Army, Laurent Nkundabatware and Jean-Bosco Ntaganda.

The task of the Rwandan national democratic revolution is to solve these three issues and Rwanda, a democratic state, non-ethnic and independent solidarity with other peoples of Africa, instead of being the starting point of imperialist aggression against other African states. This task requires the solidarity of all revolutionaries. It can not be carried out only through a democratic front and nationally. This front is moving. These are unified Democratic Forces. The FDU rely primarily on the strength of Rwandan masses, but they can not lead this fight in isolation. The solidarity of other oppressed peoples can only victory of democratic forces over the forces of exclusion.

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