

**MAKERERE UNIVERSITY**

**THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF  
BANYARWANDA REFUGEES  
IN MBARARA DISTRICT  
SINCE 1959**

**BY**

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## **DECLARATION**

I, **Katuramu Alex**, do declare that this Dissertation is the original and authentic version of my research work. It has therefore, not been submitted anywhere before in an institution of learning.

Although I have obtained assistance from different people and organizations in compiling this work, I am personally responsible for the research findings and any shortcomings that may appear.

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this Dissertation to my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Katuru Lawrence who worked relentlessly to educate me with their meagre resources at the time, and family friends like Mr. Batinti Francis.

Lastly, this work is also dedicated to all my fallen comrades in the academic struggle, especially late Ngabirano Didas and Magara Joseph. May your souls rest in eternal peace. Thank you for helping me when you were still alive.

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In spite of all the assistance I have got, I am responsible for the errors that may be in this work. Thank you.

## **ABSTRACT**

The Banyarwanda refugees, especially those living in western Uganda in Mbarara District are an active group in the political and socio-economic affairs not only in the local area but Uganda generally. Compared to other refugees elsewhere in Uganda, the Banyarwanda live in relatively better socio-economic conditions, while some were able to access resources like land and social services like education and health. Since 1959, they have been struggling for integration into Ugandan society, particularly into the Ankole cultural set-up. Cultural aspects such as those relating to cattle keeping, which the Banyarwanda refugees share with the Banyankole people, have been at the centre of integration efforts.

This study was carried out among refugees and the population among whom refugees live in Mbarara District (before it was divided up into other districts of Kiruhura, Ibanda and Isingiro). A qualitative approach was used with information directly got from the Banyarwanda refugees themselves, and among the indigenous people in the district. Interviews were carried out with the guide of questionnaires in the main areas of concentration namely, Nakivale and Oruchinga refugee settlements.

It was established in the course of this study that although the Banyarwanda refugees live a life of deprivation, their socio-economic conditions are relatively better compared to other refugees elsewhere in Uganda. The information obtained from different humanitarian agencies for refugees such as UNHCR, Red Cross Society and World Food Programme provided evidence of this. Although some were able to access resources and social services, becoming socially, economically and politically active in the process, there is still discrimination towards the Banyarwanda refugees and their proper integration into the Ankole community has been less successful. Therefore, the Banyarwanda refugees remain a pro-active group of people in the district, struggling for a place or social accommodation in a community where they face discrimination.



## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0 Background to the Study

In this chapter, the main purpose is to provide background to the Banyarwanda refugees' question in Uganda and their socio-economic conditions experienced, which have made them a pro-active group of aliens in Uganda. The argument is that unlike any other refugees of other ethnic origins, the Banyarwanda are not a passive group and their being in Uganda has had a big impact on the local population especially in the district of Mbarara (as at 2003) and themselves.

The Banyarwanda refugees are scattered in different parts of the African continent, especially in the Great Lakes region comprising Uganda, Burundi, Tanzania, Democratic Republic of Congo and Kenya. These are asylum seekers who escaped and continue to escape from Rwanda due to armed and ethnic conflicts between the Bahutu and Batutsi. Apart from the Banyarwanda refugees, Uganda alone is host to many refugees of other different ethnic origins such as the Somalis, Congolese, Burundians, Kenyans and Ethiopians. This study, however, focuses on the Banyarwanda refugees whose influx in Uganda seeking asylum started way back in 1959 following the ethnic clashes and failure by the Belgian colonial masters to redress their political mistakes of perpetuating ethnic chauvinism.

The question of the Banyarwanda refugees forms part of Africa's oldest crises. In spite of the effort undertaken towards repatriation and integration. According to the journal of Humanitarian Assistance, there are slightly over 1.3 million Banyarwanda outside Rwanda of which 15% are refugees.<sup>1</sup> By the end of April 2003, Nakivale refugee settlement alone in Mbarara District had 12,311 Banyarwanda living there.<sup>2</sup> This study is intended to analyze the socio-economic conditions of the Banyarwanda refugees and their bearing on the recent history

of Uganda taking the case study of Mbarara District before other districts were created out of it in 2006 (Ibanda, Isingiro, Kiruhuura and Mbarara). The main focus has been centred on production, exchange relationships and all the factors determining the refugees participation in production and exchange on one hand, and access to social services on the other. These factors and forces include accessibility to land, government policy, the attitude of the local population and leadership. Others are availability of markets, transport and communications in terms of feeder roads and transport means. The strategic services include education, health and communication among others.

Two major factors dictated upon the identification of Mbarara District as a case study. This western district of Uganda, formerly part of colonial Ankole district, acted as the major dispersal centre of the Banyarwanda refugees to other parts of the country and outside. Also, the geographical propinquity of Mbarara district to Rwanda has been one of the reasons why there are many Banyarwanda refugees compared to other areas in Uganda.

### **1.1 Historical Background**

The problem of refugees has remained a great international challenge especially after the Second World War and the inception of the Cold War politics in Europe, Asia and Africa. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) was later established as part of the United Nations (UN) to look into the appalling conditions of the growing numbers of refugees in the world. By the July 1951, Geneva Refugee Convention, a legal framework was established under which the plight of refugees was to be addressed. As Saidu Saihou, UNHCR representative in Uganda noted on the occasion of commemorating the World Refugee Day, that the problem of refugees in Sub-Saharan African is escalated by the incessant armed conflicts<sup>3</sup>.

The international community has stepped up the mobilization of resources for the mitigation of this problem following the worsening socio-economic conditions of

these victims of conflicts and other natural catastrophes. UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, referred to the World refugees as “the survivors of our times”<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand, Ruud Lubbers, the UNHCR Commissioner General reiterated the need for concern towards refugees since every one is a potential refugee.<sup>5</sup>

Article 14 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights emphasizes the right to everyone of seeking asylum and enjoying protection in another country as long as the political and socio-economic conditions in the country of origin do not guarantee them. According to the UN, refugees are perceived as all those persecuted individuals due to racism, religion, political opinions and are outside their countries of nationality. Because of fear other than personal convenience, they are unwilling or unable to avail themselves the protection of their countries. They are outside the countries of their former habitual residence and are unable to return or unwilling.<sup>6</sup>

The Banyarwanda refugees first entered Uganda on the eve of her independence following the intensification of political and ethnic conflicts in Rwanda. These were mainly Batusti whose political hegemony was challenged and overthrown by their Bahutu counterparts, thereby igniting a civil war and ethnic conflicts between the Bahutu and Batutsi resulting into a big refugee crisis. Most of these Banyarwanda refugees crossed and settled in Mbarara district on the border with Rwanda and Tanzania, particularly in the county of Isingiro.

The coming of Banyarwanda refugees in the areas of Ankole raised a new question of land in terms of ownership and utilization. Although they shared land with local and indigenous people in the area, the Banyarwanda settled on the land allocated to the King of Ankole under the colonial Mailo land tenure system. This land was close to the border with Rwanda and with a low population of nationals due to infestation with tsetse-flies and lack of water.<sup>7</sup> In 1960, Nakivale refugee settlement was created in response to an influx of Banyarwanda refugees by the government amidst opposition from residents in the area. The

main concerns were raised on how the residents were to share land with the Batutsi cattle keepers competing for pasture and yet the area was dry, apart from the few specific water sources like Nakivale. The same Banyarwanda refugees were seen as uncooperative, treacherous and likely to take over the habitation of the area.<sup>8</sup>

Whereas some Banyarwanda refugees went beyond Nakivale and acquired land by buying and exchanging for cattle, the majority remained in Nakivale which was officially declared a refugee settlement in 1964 following the compensation of the King (Omugabe) of Ankole with land in the Nyabushozi area of Mbarara.<sup>9</sup> The Nakivale camp commandant maintains that tension between refugees and nationals over access to land in the area is one of the largest issues facing the settlement even at this time; “all problems originate from land up to this date”.<sup>10</sup>

Opposition to the Banyarwanda settlement in Mbarara district was also presented in parliament especially over land and the expected rise in crime rate after the arrival of these refugees. Mr. Kangwamu, a member of parliament from Ankole put the Minister of Community Development to task to explain why the Banyarwanda refugees were being given land;

Is the Minister aware that some of the native inhabitants living in the Oruchinga Valley near Nshungenzi have been deprived of their land which was given to the Banyarwanda refugees living in the area? Would the Minister take steps to ensure that the settling of the refugees in Ankole and in other parts of the country will not in any way impair the wellbeing of the citizens of Uganda?<sup>11</sup>

According to Mr. L. Kalule-Settala, Minister of Community Development, Banyarwanda refugees were settled on the land that was vacant, and no one was deprived of his land by the settlement of Banyarwanda refugees.<sup>12</sup> Apart

from the question of land, the residents in areas where the Banyarwanda refugees were being settled, were worried about likely crimes perpetuated by the same refugees. As early as 1964, the Banyarwanda were being convicted of criminal cases ranging from assault to murder. Mr. Kangwamu maintained that the Banyarwanda were a threat in the area since the former Umwami of Rwanda, Kigeri V was declared a prohibited immigrant. Indeed, Mr. F.K. Onama, Minister of Internal Affairs concurred with Kangwamu, but was quick to dispel the general threat caused by the Banyarwanda refugees though some refugees had been convicted of criminal offences and four firearms were captured.<sup>13</sup> Due to deprivation, a section of the population was worried that the Banyarwanda would perpetrate crimes in the area.

The first group comprised mainly the Batutsi refugees who had camped at Mirama Hills in Mbarara District and the government was consequently compelled to establish the two settlements of Nakivale and Oruchinga. It was possible that the first batch of the Banyarwanda Refugees would have got integrated into the Ankole culture, had it not been for the continued coming of more refugees throughout the 1960s. As observed in the National Assembly in 1964, most of the new refugees after 1960 were under the care of the government in Oruchinga valley and Nakivale while those who had come before stayed with their relatives among the local residents. Those who had decided to stay with refugees had to bear the consequences of their own choice as Mr. Ojera, Member of Parliament informed the House.<sup>14</sup> It was not merely the question of overwhelming numbers, but the government lacked the capacity to enforce control measures. All this happened at a time when there was no refugee policy by Act of Parliament.

The politics in Rwanda after the overthrow of King Kigeri and in the times of President Kayibanda was not favorable to any repatriation programme that could be undertaken for the refugees already in Uganda. As the political atmosphere became tense due to the struggle for power after Rwanda's independence, more

and more refugees poured into the country from the South western direction.<sup>15</sup> In Uganda, the Banyarwanda refugees were seen as a political force by the government hence justifying the view that they have always been a pro-active group. Owing to the Belgian legacy, the first Banyarwanda refugees in Uganda were predominantly Catholic by religion and spoke French as their second language.<sup>16</sup> With time, this religious affiliation had political implications since the regime at the time in Uganda was Protestant-backed, while the opposition was composed of mainly Roman Catholics, who had lost their opportunity of taking political power after independence. Accordingly, this position partly added to their persecution in 1980s.

When President Habyarimana came to power through a coup in Rwanda in July 1973, he did nothing towards facilitating the repatriation of these Banyarwanda refugees. Instead, he closed the Rwanda borders to the ethnic Batutsi who were the majority refugees in Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi and Congo (Zaire). This was the ground of accusation also advanced by the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) when an invasion was launched from Uganda against the Kigali government in 1990.<sup>17</sup> There is a general view among the repatriated Banyarwanda (former refugees) that the continued bad politics of ethnic discrimination in Rwanda during Habyarimana's time led to more Banyarwanda seeking asylum in Uganda. This is the same observation by Gerald Prunier;

Throughout the Habyarimana years there would not be a single Tutsi bourgmestre or prefect, there was only one Tutsi officer in the whole army, there were two Tutsi minister out of cabinet of between twenty five and thirty members. The quota policy existing under President Kayibanda was retained, although loosely enforced, and proportions of Tutsi in schools or universities were often some way above the required 9%.<sup>18</sup>

In 1964, the Alien Refugees Act was enacted by parliament in Uganda to regulate the inflow of the Banyarwanda refugees, define their ways operation

such as movement and legal status in Uganda. This followed much pressure from the residents where the Banyarwanda were settled and the speed at which they were acquiring land.<sup>19</sup> Since some were still perceived as a security threat in the area by the local population and the government; they were restricted to the settlement areas of Nakivale and Oruchinga. However, a good number of the first Banyarwanda refugees were outside gazetted areas staying with their relatives who had settled on the unoccupied King's Mailo land in the area. It was this category of the Banyarwanda that became active refugees in Uganda in the 1980s.<sup>20</sup> Others had already illegally occupied vast chunks of vacant land in Ankole formerly belonging to the King. Accessibility to land was a stepping-stone to access education since they could rear cattle and pay fees for their children while others were actively involved in business.<sup>21</sup>

During the 1980 general elections, the Banyarwanda refugees settled in different parts of Ankole massively supported the Democratic Party (DP) against Uganda People's Congress (UPC).<sup>22</sup> There followed an open campaign against all the Banyarwanda living in Ankole by the UPC regime after winning the controversial elections. "They were accused by the state of being former spies to Amin and categorized as the enemies of the UPC government".<sup>23</sup> This was the reason mainly, that prompted many Banyarwanda refugees living in Western Uganda to join Museveni in a guerilla war against the UPC government.<sup>24</sup> By 1986, the guerilla war was successful and some Banyarwanda who were formerly refugees gained political status in the National Resistance Movement government, in the army, civil service and private sector.<sup>25</sup>

According to Prunier (1995)<sup>26</sup>, after the invasion of Rwanda by these Banyarwanda living in Uganda led by Fred Rwigyema (late), there followed a genocide in which close to 1,000,000 Batutsi and moderate Bahutu lost their lives. This 1990 invasion was planned in Uganda by the Banyarwanda who had fought in the NRA guerilla war so as to overthrow President Habyarimana who was opposed to their repatriation back to Rwanda. Owing to their role in the

genocide in Rwanda and in fear of vengeance, some Banyarwanda who were mainly Bahutu also crossed into Uganda. Prunier maintains that it was not possible to have the Banyarwanda refugees' problem addressed even after the fall of Habyarimana's regime and end of the genocide. Many factors dictated against this, especially poverty in the post genocide Rwanda, issues of human rights, accessibility to resources after staying away for three decades and social acceptable among others.

### **Categorization of Banyarwanda in Uganda**

The Banyarwanda question is a rather complex one when it comes to distinguishing refugees from the real citizens of Uganda with Rwandese origin. The colonial boundaries were irrelevant under the British in bringing together groups of people with a common culture, ancestry and language. Apart from the fluid boundaries, other complexities have to be considered ranging from culture, social organization, common history and economic set-up among the Banyarwanda and groups of people in Western Uganda, especially Banyankole. Therefore, the political and legal definitions of the Banyarwanda are insufficient, given that there have been historical and geographical interactions between the Banyarwanda before and the Banyankole or Bafumbira in the western region of Uganda. For instance, there has been the adoption of each other's dialect as a result of intermarriages and nomadic pastoralism. The 1962 constitution of Uganda recognized all the Banyarwanda born in Uganda after independence as citizens. The same constitution stipulates that every person who, having been born in Uganda as on 8<sup>th</sup> October 1962 a citizen of the United Kingdom and colonies or a British protected person shall become a citizen of Uganda on 9<sup>th</sup> October 1962.<sup>27</sup> On contrary, the 1966 Constitution restricts citizenship to only those people born in Uganda by that time and whose parents or grand parents were already citizens.<sup>28</sup> It was this constitutional provision that categorized most Banyarwanda in Ankole as refugees and hindered the integration process.



Only those persons living and born in Uganda by 1926, qualify to be treated as citizens of Uganda in other parts of the country according to the 1995 Constitution.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, all the Banyarwanda living and born in Uganda by 1926 are Ugandan citizens though they are always addressed after their country of origin who should not be mistaken for refugees. The Constitution still provides for consideration of all persons formerly refugees, as citizens after application for this status. Still, since 1959 and slightly before, many intermarriages have taken place between the Banyarwanda refugees and the indigenous possible. There are a number of socio-political and cultural factors in Ankole that make a big section of the Banyarwanda citizens other than refugees.<sup>30</sup>

While contributing in Parliament, the Cabinet Minister for Community Development and Labour noted that colonial demarcations created one group of Banyarwanda within Uganda during the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century in South Western Uganda.<sup>31</sup> Those Banyarwanda in the district of Kisoro later had a new definition as “Bafumbira” though akin to the Banyarwanda in neighbouring Rwanda culturally, linguistically and historically, to some extent. Nevertheless, the national status of this Ugandan Banyarwanda has not been so much in question in the political and socio-economic set up of the country.

Another category of the Banyarwanda is of the hitherto migrant labourers who entered the country since 1920s in search for economic benefits and greener pastures in the British colonial economy. After the introduction of cash crops like coffee and cotton, the labour force was not adequate in Uganda and the colonial government started encouraging migrant labour especially in Buganda from as far as Rwanda and Burundi. S.M. Fortt puts the number of migrant labourers to around 237,257 by 1950s who were sustaining the colonial economy by providing manual labour.<sup>32</sup> He presents an increase in migration figures by the Rwandese labourers in Uganda since 1935.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

There is need to harmonise the existing theories on Banyarwanda refugees whereby some scholars present them as a pro-active group and not passive, while others view them as simply, a suffering and deprived minority. Therefore, this study is intended to analyse the socio-economic conditions and contribution of these refugees in Mbarara District focusing on the sphere of production, exchange relationships and access to resources and social services such as land and education respectively.

Compared to other refugee groups within Uganda, the problem of Banyarwanda refugees seems to be quite complex where their socio-economic conditions have determined their socio-economic destiny since 1959. Unlike other refugees in other districts, it is the Banyarwanda in Mbarara who apparent tried to defy all odds by claiming rights and even being players in national politics. However, in spite of the role of UNHCR (United Nations High Commission for Refugees) and the Red Cross Society, their socio-economic conditions are not good. Therefore, the question remains on how far their conditions have determined their access to resources like land and involvement in national issues amidst discrimination and failure of integration.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

#### **General Objectives**

Examining the life and contribution of refugees in Mbarara District.

#### **Specific Objectives**

1. To analyse the factors that have contributed to the emergence of refugees as a pro-active group in Mbarara District since 1959.

2. To examine the extent to which refugees have access to resources and social services in the district (determined by their socio-economic, civil and political rights).
3. To bring out the impact of Banyarwanda refugee presence in Mbarara District.

#### **1.4 Theoretical Framework**

This study on refugees in Mbarara District draws on the theoretical insights in the works of scholars like Prunier (1995), Namusisi (1998) and Mulumba (1984), among others, who have undertaken refugee studies in the Great Lakes Region, including Rwanda and Uganda. For example, Prunier (**The Rwanda Crisis, 1959-1994**) contends that the Banyarwanda refugees in Mbarara were forced to brave their socio-economic plight due to increased armed conflicts in Rwanda since 1959. As the political and ethnic conflicts intensified, people were forced to leave their homes and become refugees in Uganda where they lived in camps like Nakivale and Orukinga.

According to Prunier, both refugees in camps and the integrated ones never found a safe haven of political and social contentment. In the process of struggling for survival and better living, these refugees became an active group to reckon with thereby influencing the socio-economic life in the areas they lived.

These political and ethnic conflicts in Rwanda, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo and elsewhere in the Great Lakes Region are advanced as the major factor behind the refugee crisis in western Uganda. There was the displacement of people especially the ethnic Batutsi, mass killings and the creation of settlement camps away from the source of conflicts.

Another theoretical insight drawn from by scholars like Mushemeza (2002) holds that the Banyarwanda refugees were enabled by the NRM Government to live better socio-economic conditions, others got integrated in the Ankole community

and got some reasonable hold over resources like land. Accordingly, this made them a pro-active group of aliens in Uganda especially with continued government support that was not accorded to other refugees in the country other than those of Rwandese origin.

The general idea in most of the theoretical insights drawn from the literature review in this study points to the observation that the Banyarwanda refugees have not been passive in the face of harsh socio-economic conditions. Since 1959, they have been trying to get a place in the Ugandan society hence being pro-active compared to other groups of refugees namely, the Somalis, Burundians and Sudanese. This study has been guided by Prunier's theoretical insight about refugees struggling for survival and a better living.

### **1.5 Methodology**

This study is centered on Mbarara district from 1959 to 2002. The year 1959 was of turmoil and bloodshed in Rwanda leading to the Banyarwanda refugee crisis. An analysis is focused on the problems of these refugees, their socio-economic life and experience in Uganda, in and outside gazetted community settlements.

The whole purpose of this study was to analyze the conditions faced by these refugees and expose them for possible solutions in view that refugees can influence socio-economic developments as long as the indigenous people develop an enabling attitude towards them. The term "settlement" is used to refer to the gazetted areas, also known as camps by the local population where mostly Banyarwanda refugees live in isolation from the rest of the indigenous people in the district, namely; Nakivale and Oruchinga. Both quantitative approaches were used in this research work. These include the examination of different refugee condition in the camp, observations and recordings.

20 refugees were interviewed in each settlement of Nakivale and Oruchinga to establish the socio-economic conditions among the Banyarwanda refugees in

Mbarara District. The interviewed refugees were selected from within the settlement homesteads according to sex, age and period of time spent in the area. 8 male refugees of above 50 years of age were interviewed considering the fact that by their age, were more willing and well versed with the refugee life since they could recall their experience since 1959 when they came to Uganda. The criteria for selecting these respondents were based mainly on the interviewer's personal judgment to estimate the age of interviewees.

The second category of respondents in data collection were women in the camps and of different ages of 26-60 years. All these 8 refugee women interviewed were married with children and some had grand children. 2 pupils from Kashojwa Model Primary School in Nakivale and other 2 from Nshungyezi Primary School in Orunchinga represented the young respondents. The interviews were conducted in Runyankole, English and broken Kinyarwanda since the researcher could express himself in at least two of these languages spoken by a good number of the refugees, though not perfectly. At some point, a local council official was hired for translating refugee statements from Kinyarwanda to either English or Runyankole.

The research was conducted around the refugee communities after securing permission from the district and camp authorities. Men and women refugees were interviewed from their refugee homesteads, while children were found at school and on their way from school. Also interviewed, were the local council chiefs, 2 police officers in Nakivale, the camp commandants and 4 Red Cross officials.

There was need for crosschecking the obtained information and records were obtained from different refugee agencies. This endeavour was facilitated by the Red Cross offices in Mbarara town, the District Refugee Desk Office, the staff of the Prime Minister's Office and the AIDS Information Centre (AIC), Mbarara Branch. Though it was a very bureaucratic process for one to be allowed to

interact with these refugees, it was eventually beneficial in obtaining some already categorized information. The office of the Prime Minister coordinates with the Ministry of Disaster Preparedness in Refugee Programmes in Uganda. The Directorate of Refugees under the office of the Prime Minister does the screening of the new refugees seeking asylum and resettlement. It also links with the local government in the refugee areas through the Refugee Desk officer who in turn co-ordinates with the settlement or camp commandants stationed in the specific refugee gazetted areas.

The study at the same time incorporated written sources including government archives at Entebbe, journals, public libraries and newspapers. Non-classified documents of the government and UNHCR were of great use for this study. Other supplementary sources in data collection were publications and unpublished materials from the Uganda Human Rights Commission Headquarters in Kampala, Makerere Institute of Social Research, Centre for Basic Research (CBR) and UNHCR annual working reports. The study findings are presented in a combined historical and analytical way in the subsequent chapters.

**Seasonal migration Table of the Rwandese Labourers in Uganda according to S.M. Fort**

<b>Year</b>	<b>No. of migrants</b>
1935	24,118
1936	20,949
1937	25,734
1938	24,202
1939	10,763
1940	22,384
1941	13,000
1942	17,770
1943	16,908

1944	6,441
1945	4,784
1946	10,241
1947	8,647
1948	7,504
1949	11,053
1950	12,759

Fortt's annual migration figures indicate that there was interaction between the Banyarwanda and people of different societies in Uganda before the coming of refugees in 1959. This steady increase in the 1940s was possibly due to the establishment of the colonial economy that attracted immigrant labourers from as far as Rwanda.

On the other hand, Mahmood Mamdani observes that the Banyarwanda and Burundi immigrants in Buganda in the 1920s were in large numbers and accounted for 34 percent of the whole population of 1,296,701. After their settling in Buganda, these became a big group that was partly responsible for fueling the 1945 and 1949 uprisings.<sup>33</sup> They were protesting against the poor working conditions and meagre pay in the colonial economy. It is believed that their socio-economic influence in the region was later overshadowed by the consolidation of Baganda tribal identity in the name of tradition and kingship after independence. Buganda, therefore, became a bastion of tribal politics after the formation of Kabaka Yekka (King only) party and the Banyarwanda group was no longer influential.<sup>34</sup>

Even after independence, there was more inflow of migrant labour from Rwanda. They preferred reaping colonial economic benefits like employment and at the same time feared going back to Rwanda that was experiencing ethnic tension between the Bahutu and Batutsi. Some opted to remain labourers in Buganda (Bapakasi),<sup>35</sup> while others dispersed in the sparsely populated areas of Buganda. Their descendants are still scattered in parts of Buganda like Buruli and Luwero.

The last category is of asylum seekers who entered the country in 1959 and 1960s due to the political upheavals in Rwanda after independence. Their numbers have continued to grow and this was aggravated by the unending conflicts in Rwanda up to the time of the genocide in 1994. The majority of these constitute a real refugee problem for whom settlements were established in Nakivale and Oruchinga in Mbarara district (now Isingiro). Prior to the establishment of these refugee settlements, many Banyarwanda refugees had settled and lived among the people of Ankole and most probably some form of integration was yet to take place.<sup>36</sup> They have lived under varied socio-economic conditions as analyzed in the study.

## **1.6 Literature Review**

The existing literature on the refugees contains some of the perspectives very helpful in guiding this study on the Banyarwanda refugees in Mbarara District. These are perspectives covering the history of the Banyarwanda refugees, issues of integration and socio-economic problems experienced. However, some perspectives were focused only on the problems of the Banyarwanda refugees in general without taking a specific case study. Nevertheless, the overall plight of these Banyarwanda refugees is brought out clearly since 1959 in the existing literature. The overall purpose, however, is to analyze the information already in existence by different scholars vis-à-vis the findings in this study.

According to Pincywa (1996), social integration and repatriation are the ultimate ways of resolving the refugee crisis in Uganda and Africa in general.<sup>37</sup> Nabuguzi argues that after the 1994 genocide, a big number of the Banyarwanda refugees went back home after many years following the Rwandese Patriotic Front victory over the Interahamwe Militia. He omits the fact that this repatriation was only voluntary and limited to few refugees especially those who were close to the former fighters in the National Resistance Army (NRA). Many refugees remained



in the settlements of Nakivale and Oruchinga, while others had been partially integrated in the local community.

Little is mentioned about the Banyarwanda refugees whose socio-economic conditions are relatively better. They had adopted Runyankole language and intermarried with the indigenous people especially the Bahima (Sub-ethnic Banyankole). The Bahima were the aristocratic group in Ankole following the traditional social strata inherited throughout the colonial period. Apart from being rulers, they were economically empowered with cattle and much land compared to the Bairu subjects and agriculturalists kept at the periphery of Ankole leadership structures.

This omitted social integration was facilitated by historical factors according to Steinhart (1970). The Hamitic theory presents the Banyarwanda (Batutsi) and a section of the Banyankole (Bahima cattle keepers) as sharing common ancestry.<sup>38</sup> They are believed to have descended from the Bachwezi of the famous Bunyoro Kitara Empire.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, this Bantu and Hamitic bond allegedly, made the Banyarwanda refugees in the district live a relatively settled life unlike for other refugees scattered in different part of the country. The limitations were the Bahima-Bairu sub-ethnic cleavages and the high numerical factor of the Bairu among whom the majority Banyarwanda were to settle and may be get integrated.

Asbjorn Eide (1995) observes that refugees should be treated like any other citizens in the country as long as that country is signatory to the 1951 Geneva Convention. This extends to all basic freedoms and rights enjoyed in the host nation.<sup>40</sup> According to the report on the refugee Convention of 1951, the socio-economic conditions of refugees are largely determined by their socio-economic rights which enable them to contribute differently to society. The report also provides for a degree of freedom of movement within the hosting country and the

right for the refugees to invoke the law of the land they are settled in for their benefit.<sup>41</sup>

David Keen argues that it is the right of refugees to access food rations, safe drinking water and a healthy living environment free from parasites like tsetse flies and exposed epidemics like cholera.<sup>42</sup> All these observations emphasize the standards set in guaranteeing the socio-economic conditions of the refugees, but fall short of the realization that Uganda was never signatory to the 1951 convention on refugees and the fact that African states hosting refugees are economically poor without the capacity to sufficiently cater for the refugee numbers in terms of welfare.

Mutibwa (1992)<sup>43</sup> presents the case of the Banyarwanda refugees in Ankole being caught up in the political conflicts in the country after independence. The major factor making these refugees a political force is not elaborated. According to Mutibwa, they had consolidated their stay and were being slowly getting integrated within the country, had it not been for the political upheavals after the overthrow of President Amin in 1979. He only traces the issues of partisan politics, religion and ethnicity which eventually killed off the gradual integration that was in offing. He makes a generalisation of all Banyarwanda refugees and presents a contradiction which is not analysed on how they were able to access land through factors like ethnicity, religion, culture and social status. Such crucial areas are not treated well but omitted. He observes that the National Resistance Army guerilla war was an anti-climax in addressing the Banyarwanda refugee crisis in the districts of Ankole.

Mutibwa goes further to trace how the Banyarwanda refugees entered Uganda from the south western point and started practicing agriculture in crop production and cattle keeping. These, the majority of whom were Batutsi, were sharing cultural behaviour with the Bahima of Ankole and some intermarriages had started to create a new bond. When the first post independence government was

overthrown in the 1971 coup, the Banyarwanda refugees ceased to be apolitical and were players in politics. For instance, they were accorded rights by Amin's government to express their political concerns, bought land, accessed education, had freedom of movement and good number were employed in the civil service. Therefore, this leads to his conclusion that the Banyarwanda refugees morally supported and liked Amin's regime. Nevertheless, following all these observations, a number of issues remain unanswered such as how land was easily acquired and why it was easy for these Banyarwanda refugees to participate in politics.

Mutibwa goes ahead to present the Banyarwanda refugees' position in the country's politics after the fall of Amin's government. He contends that they were the majority alien settlers in Ankole at the time and predominantly catholic by religion which determined their support for Democratic Party (DP) during the 1980 presidential and parliamentary elections against Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC). After Obote's coming to power, the Banyarwanda refugees were mistreated, branding them traitors who were clandestinely supporting a guerilla war against the government. They were also accused of having been Amin's agents in the defunct State Research Bureau. Although it appears to have been an unjustifiable accusation, the Banyarwanda refugees were either indirectly or directly supporting a guerilla war led by Yoweri Museveni as Prunier also maintains.<sup>44</sup> What followed was the eviction of these Banyarwanda settlers in big numbers, not only refugees, but also Uganda citizens of Rwandese origin. It is therefore, argued that the expulsion of the Banyarwanda from Ankole was a result of their support for the NRA struggle led by Museveni.<sup>45</sup>

It is estimated that by 1982, some 250,000 Ugandans had fled across the frontiers into Southern Sudan and Zaire. On the other hand, in 1982 over 25,000 people of Rwandese origin most of whom were Uganda citizens who had been in Uganda for many years, were evicted from their homes, had their lands

confiscated and, in the case of some, lost their lives.<sup>46</sup>

The United Nations Charter on refugees does not provide for the refugee rights to participate in the politics of the host country and how this came to be an exceptional case to the Banyarwanda refugees is not yet answered. The socio-economic conditions of those refugees outside the arena of politics are not examined especially in the gazetted areas of settlement. One would expect more information presented about land, social services and their accessibility especially health and education. Also lacking is information on why it was not easy for these Banyarwanda refugees to fully get integrated in the region considering factors like social discrimination among others. There is less of historical account about the Banyarwanda refugees prior to the period of liberation struggle in Uganda by Museveni as the main actor.

Prunier (1995)<sup>47</sup> traces the Banyarwanda refugees' problem from the historical conflicts in Rwanda on the eve of the departure of the Belgians as colonial masters. He links it to the ethnic conflicts between the Batutsi and Bahutu. According to Prunier; the ethnic cleansing that followed after King Kigeri V was deposed, created an influx of asylum seekers, mostly the Batutsi who crossed the border into neighbouring Uganda, Tanzania and Congo. To Prunier, the situation was worsened when Kayibanda, a Muhutu, became the president as Rwanda gained her independence from Belgium.

Prunier considers also the days when the Banyarwanda were settled as refugees in Uganda during the UNLF period and how they associated themselves with the opposition catholic-dominated Democratic Party. By this time, conditions were not bad and some Banyarwanda refugees in Uganda had founded the Rwandese Refugee Welfare Foundation (RRWF) which changed its name to Rwandese Alliance for National Unity (RANU). Although not emphasized by Prunier, it is possible that RRWF was formed as a result of the fall of Amin in 1979 and the subsequent rebels against Banyarwanda as supporters of the fallen dictatorship.

RANU was pre-occupied with the question of the eventual return of all the exiled Banyarwanda to Rwanda before the organization migrated to Kenya, following the UPC negative remarks against the Banyarwanda as traitors and supporters of the fallen Amin dictatorship.

Prunier's strong consideration is the suffering and persecution the Banyarwanda refugees were subjected to when the guerilla war against President Apollo Milton Obote intensified especially in the Luwero Triangle. Because they were labeled the enemies of UPC regime after 1980, and some had sent their sons to fight alongside Museveni in the bush, the Banyarwanda refugees were evicted from their homes in the districts of Mbarara, Bushenyi and Ntungamo. Accordingly, some lost their lives including Uganda citizens of Rwandese origin and the elite Banyarwanda who could not be certain about their future, chose to join camps in Nakivale, Oruchinga and Kyaka. There was no option of going back to Rwanda because immediately as the eviction exercise was on course, President Habyarimana closed the Rwanda border. Like Pincywa, Prunier also traces matrimonial links between the Banyarwanda and some leaders in Uganda, which to him was the cause of their support and involvement in the NRA guerilla war.<sup>48</sup>

What is ignored, however, is the general condition on the ground for the Banyarwanda refugees especially in the settlement areas. He does not trace the Banyarwanda problem in the context of a host country and makes no mention of the common Munyarwanda in Nakivale and Oruchinga refugee settlements. Besides no credit is given to the government of Uganda for having received and found shelter for these asylum seekers, the issue of repatriation is not covered at length except when the RPF (Rwandese Patriotic Front) invaded Rwanda in October 1990.

Nabuguzi (1996)<sup>49</sup> explains the activities of the Banyarwanda refugees in Uganda since independence. He presents them as a pro-active group in national politics. Apart from fraternizing with opposition Democratic Party, the

Banyarwanda were planning on the eventual return by all means at their disposal before Obote started prosecuting them. According to Nabuguzi, they had formed the Rwanda Youth Movement to spearhead the struggle to return to their home country. His records reveal that the 1990 invasion of Rwanda by the Banyarwanda from Uganda was not the first attempt. He shows how the Rwanda Youth Movement launched several attacks on Rwanda in 1962 and 1964 without any success.

Unlike other scholars on the refugees in Uganda, Nabuguzi presents one factor that prompted president Obote to treat the Banyarwanda with an iron hand when he came to power for the second time in 1980. According to Nabuguzi (1996), Obote well knew that the Banyarwanda were mainly Catholics and as such supported Democratic Party (DP) against UPC, whose members were predominantly Protestants.

One other argument advanced by Nabuguzi is that Obote harboured negative sentiments about these Banyarwanda whom he perceived to be monarchists that could easily ally with fellow monarchists in Buganda at the disadvantage of UPC which was republican. To substantiate this argument, he explains how the exiled Rwanda Umwami (King), Kigeri IV was being accommodated at Mengo, the seat of Buganda kingdom.<sup>50</sup> According to Nabuguzi, Umwami Kigeri IV was staying with Mr. Amos Sempa, Buganda's Minister of Finance. Therefore, attempts at integrating the Banyarwanda refugees into local communities could not easily succeed thereby perpetuating the Banyarwanda refugee problem. However, other historians and scholars do not present any significant cultural connections between the Baganda and Banyarwanda that could make this monarchical theory by Nabuguzi true.

Barongo (1996)<sup>51</sup> argues that the death of President Juvenile Habyarimana in a plane crash on April 6, 1994 was a diabolical replication and a resurrection of the Banyarwanda woes since 1959. Although the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF)

launched an attack on Rwanda aiming at reclaiming the Batutsi lost nationality, the attack led to another wave of Banyarwanda refugees into Uganda.

Barongo's most sounding Eurocentric view is that he praises colonialism for having stabilized African societies through the creation of nation-states with well defined boundaries and the pacification of otherwise desperate and hostile ethnic groups within those boundaries. The refugee problem, therefore, was born, when ethnic tensions intensified on the eve and after independence. To him, independence for Rwanda was a liability not only to Rwanda as a state, but also Uganda as the host of increasing refugee numbers. Lacking, however, is the question of the refugees' conditions, attempts at integration and the challenges posed by these refugees to the local population and the government.

Much was done in classifying the Banyarwanda in Uganda which is one step in understanding the Banyarwanda problem. According to Barongo, the Banyarwanda in Uganda are of three categories; those citizens of Uganda cut off from their ethnic group in Rwanda and are now fully accorded Uganda citizenship in South Western Uganda (Kisoro District), those who entered the country as migrant labourers and were integrated in Buganda, Ankole and other parts of the country, and lastly, the asylum seekers, majority of whom live in settlements and urban areas as refugees. This last category is the problematic one especially in Mbarara district and is under study. No specific concentration is made on Mbarara as a district with the majority of the Banyarwanda refugees.

Ssanyu (1984)<sup>52</sup> is more specific and to the ground in analyzing the problem of the Banyarwanda refugees in Mbarara district. She is one of the few scholars who have appreciated Mbarara district as a home of those refugees compared to any other parts of the country. Her work goes deeper in seeing the refugees as a person and not as a social or economic problem only.

Ssanyu also looks at the general conditions within the refugee gazetted settlements and the problems faced. She considers the way of life and challenges experienced in Oruchinga and Nakivale settlements since their establishment in the early 1960s. The problems identified are mainly the scarcity of land and its unproductivity to facilitate subsistence farming and insufficiency in relief supplies, especially dry rations from the World Food Programme. Other problems include water for both humans and animals especially in the dry season between May and August, which forces the refugees to rely on natural sources like River Kagera and Lake Nakivale.

According to Ssanyu (1984), the Banyarwanda refugees are still subjected to discrimination socially. Sometimes, the Bakiga immigrants in Mbarara district conflict with Banyarwanda refugees over land and water in the natural valley dams. There is also limited interaction and socialization between the Banyarwanda refugees and the local community which leads to discrimination and failure of integration. For example, there is mention of young people trying to conceal their cultural background in schools for fear of prejudice and social marginalization. However, this is not exactly the case with all the Banyarwanda living in Mbarara. If it is a case of discrimination, then it is generalised and does not apply to the Banyarwanda and all Banyankole, especially Bahima. This is an indication that gradual integration is being curtailed in the area for the Banyarwanda refugees.

On the history and causes of the Banyarwanda refugees in Ankole, Ssanyu agrees with Ali Mazrui and Michael Tidy who attribute their plight to the 1959 ethnic classes in Rwanda. Mazrui and Tidy (1984)<sup>53</sup> blame the Belgians for causing a rift between the Batutsi and Bahutu, but did little to contain the violence that was subsequently unleashed. According to Mazrui and Tidy;

On 1<sup>st</sup> November 1959, an attack on a Hutu Chief provoked a widespread and spontaneous Hutu peasant uprising involving some bloodshed and much looting and burning of Tutsi homes. The Tutsi responded with the killing of various leaders.<sup>54</sup>



There is nothing mentioned about these Banyarwanda refugees in the period after the fall of the second Obote regime in 1985. It was this crucial period that saw the transformation of the hitherto marginalized refugees in Uganda into a political force during the NRM government. The process of going back home undertaken by RPF through armed struggle is also not considered in this work.

Other works on refugees of Rwandese origin include that of Mulumba D. (1984)<sup>55</sup> who makes a general survey of the refugee problem in Mbarara district. She, however, considers the question of repatriation that some scholars have tended to leave out. Her observation is that a good number of the Banyarwanda refugees in Mbarara district were not interested in going back to Rwanda. Mulumba looks at the socio-economic conditions as relatively favourable to the extent that refugees in Mbarara were feeling at home. Some of the refugees had pieces of land, were going to school and accessing health services. Nevertheless, not all refugee conditions are fully highlighted in her work. Also, the fate of the Banyarwanda refugees after 1985 needs to be examined, including the 1994 genocide and the continuous flow of the refugees in settlement areas especially the Bahutu, this time.

Namusisi (1998)<sup>56</sup> analyses the plight of the Banyarwanda refugees and the government policy towards refugees since 1964. She explains how in 1964 the post independence government enacted a law aiming at controlling refugees, mainly Banyarwanda who had at the time settled in parts of Ankole. Nakivale and Oruchinga refugee settlements were formerly established and gazetted under the 1964 Alien Refugees Act. Apart from officially establishing Nakivale and Oruchinga refugee settlements, the Alien Refugees Act had other provisions applying to the Banyarwanda refugees. According to Namusisi, they were to undergo a screening exercise to determine refugee identities, their movements in and out of Mbarara District were restricted and the law was to take its course on them in case of any crimes committed.

Namusisi observes that the government policy towards refugees has changed over years. For example, between 1964 – 1970, the government restricted refugees to settlements. In the period 1971 – 1979, the Banyarwanda refugees were allowed to own land and get employed in the civil service. However, the NRM government refugee policy is not discussed in her work.

Namusisi goes ahead to provide a historical background of the Banyarwanda refugees as they moved into the country and settled near Mirama Hills before dispersing in various areas in Mbarara District and later in refugee settlements. Perhaps, her strongest consideration is the life in refugee settlements in Nakivale and Oruchinga. Namusisi highlights problems like inadequacy in relief supplies, shelter and social discrimination.

Like Mutibwa, Namusisi also talks about a period of upheavals in Uganda when the Banyarwanda were evicted from the areas they occupied in Ankole by the second Obote regime (1980 – 1985). She argues that even before, there was the exercise of screening refugees before being allowed to settle in the gazetted areas. Namusisi focuses mainly on the plight of the refugees other than the issues of integration and repatriation, or the role of the international agencies like the Red Cross, World Food Programme and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR).

Gureme R. (1988)<sup>57</sup> does the interpretation of the 1964 Alien Refugees Act. She blames the government of Uganda for having abrogated the Refugees Act which was intended to protect the refugees' human rights. According to Gureme, the Banyarwanda refugees were mistreated after the making of the Refugees Act especially in the period 1980 – 1985. She highlights the socio-economic conditions in the settlements for refugees and considers the problems of shortage of land and water, health centres and education. All these undermine efforts at integration of refugees. Gureme argues that the refugee settlement size

in Mbarara District is not enough to enable them realize fair socio-economic conditions since the area covers only 16Sq miles for Oruchunga and 84Sq.miles for Nakivale. According to Gureme, the area is small for 12,589 Banyarwanda refugees in the district.

Mugwanya's work (1980)<sup>58</sup> is more precise and deals with the socio-economic conditions of the Banyarwanda refugees since arrival in Western Uganda. Mugwanya mentions the experienced problems such as land shortage, lack of shelter and food. She commends the Uganda government and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees for having rushed to improve the conditions of the refugees. According to Mugwanya, the government facilitated these refugees in partnership with UNHCR to see to it that boreholes, primary schools, churches, dispensaries and shops were put up. Nevertheless, Mugwanya's findings are too limited to address the Banyarwanda refugees' problems in the district because they are only depicted as a passive group.

The UNHCR Report on Refugees (1993)<sup>59</sup> acknowledges the problem of refugees almost everywhere in Africa as a difficult one for which to provide immediate solutions. The refugees are presented as a suffering minority whose plight has been ignored by some African governments. The report focuses on the refugees from Rwanda, Burundi, Somalia and other areas of conflict in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This UNHCR Report makes a thorough survey of the refugee crisis in the Great Lakes region and recommends policy measures to be taken by African governments in mitigating the refugees' problems. Such measures include the establishment of more gazetted settlements to facilitate relief distribution and the elimination of all forms of prejudice against refugees.

The UNHCR and other agencies view refugees as passive or expect them to be so. All governments hosting refugees in Africa expect them to be passive other than a pro-active group of people. However, this is not the case as yet to be

highlighted in this study where refugees, especially those of Rwandese origin are active in an attempt to change the conditions they live in.

Sven (1960)<sup>60</sup> laments about the problems faced by the Banyarwanda refugees in Uganda, Tanzania and Congo. He outlines the immediate challenges faced by the Banyarwanda refugees like the hard life of survival in refugee settlements with insufficient food supplies, poor sanitation and lack of shelter. However, the governments in Africa are acknowledged for their role towards the welfare of the Banyarwanda refugees. There is no mention in Sven's work about how refugees have tried to make conditions better for themselves and therefore, being a proactive group.

Mushemeza (2002)<sup>61</sup> looks at the Banyarwanda refugees as initially passive, but the politics in Uganda made them become active. He gives a clear historical background on how the Banyarwanda refugees came in Ankole after the 1959 skirmishes in Rwanda between the Batutsi and Bahutu. Mushemeza goes ahead to give the categories of the Banyarwanda in Uganda to include those who came as migrant labourers and the asylum seekers. According to Mushemeza, the Banyarwanda refugees in Uganda were an invisible minority who easily mixed with Ugandans and shared resources like land and services like education. To Mushemeza, intermarriages took place between the Banyarwanda refugees and Banyankole (Bahima)<sup>62</sup>. However, Mushemeza does not clearly show why it was not possible to have them fully integrated into the Ankole society.

Mushemeza states that the Banyarwanda refugees in Uganda especially in Ankole, were predominantly Batutsi by ethnicity, who lived fair lives compared to any other refugees of other nationalities. On their being active, Mushemeza argues that the Banyarwanda refugees were empowered by the NRM government since 1986. They attained levels of integration and acquired economic, political and military advantage. Therefore, with this government empowerment advanced by Mushemeza, the Banyarwanda refugees had to

remain a pro-active group to change their socio-economic conditions. According to Mushemeza, even the 1990 invasion of Rwanda by the Banyarwanda refugees living in Uganda was facilitated by the NRM government since most of the leaders of RPF had been serving army officers in the NRA, like Paul Kagame and Fred Rwigyema.

Although Mushemeza shows that the Banyarwanda refugees were not passive, he seems to observe that it was politics in Uganda that changed them. Even before the NRM empowered them, the Banyarwanda refugees were already active, which made President Obote label them traitors since they were clandestinely supporting Museveni in the guerilla war. Mushemeza does not highlight the socio-economic conditions within the refugee settlements in Nakivale and Oruchinga.

Much is presented by different scholars on the Banyarwanda refugees in Uganda focusing on their socio-economic conditions, but some issues still remain unanswered. Although a historical background is presented in this literature on how they came to settle in Mbarara, the question of how they accessed resources like land and cattle remains. There is also generalization of these refugees where they are presented as a suffering minority who could not get integrated in the community due to Uganda's politics especially in the 1980s. The contribution of the international community like UNHCR, Red Cross Society and World Food Programme is not presented. Most relevant to this study is that the existing literature focuses on failed integration and government's lack of capacity to enforce control measures on refugee influx since 1959.

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## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **THE ERA OF POLITICAL UPHEAVALS IN UGANDA**

#### **2.0 The Genesis of Conflicts**

In this chapter, focus is centred on Uganda's political economy since independence. Before colonialism, Ankole's relations with neighbouring Rwanda were far from cordial due to clashes mainly for territorial expansion and cattle raids. Ankole was vulnerable to attacks from the Rwanda armies during the 1890s and a series of counter-attacks prevailed as the two communities tried to create formidable political units that were always prone to epidemics like rinderpest and small pox.<sup>1</sup> The Ankole-Rwanda relations could not then allow the penetration of the Banyarwanda into Ankole and Omugole Mbaguta of Ankole considered the Rwanda threat a serious one before signing the 1901 Treaty with the British. Nevertheless, according to Karugire, Ankole and Rwanda never possessed a disparity in culture and mode of production. They recognised their descent from the chwezi dynasty in the famous Bunyoro-Kitara empire.<sup>2</sup> This stretched from Toro, Bunyoro, parts of Buganda, Rwanda and Karagwe in Tanzania.

The colonial era in Rwanda under the Belgians was later to be a watershed in the future of the Great Lakes region. The Belgian rule was responsible for the first influx of Banyarwanda immigrants who came in search for economic survival in the cash crop economy in Buganda since 1920s. These were destined for Buganda, but Ankole was the route of their movement and actually some Banyarwanda got settled in Ankole on their way to Buganda. The Belgians were employing harsh colonial economic policies such as forced labour and land alienation especially among Bahutu, some of whom decided to cross into Uganda where the working conditions among the British and Baganda were relatively fair. Most Bahutu youth were happy to escape the feudal system perpetuated by the Batutsi domination and got land in Buganda and other parts in Ankole.

According to Mamdani, Buganda was the first region to receive the foreigners from Rwanda and even aid their integration. Although these migrant labourers were despised as foreigners by their Baganda masters, they slowly got assimilated and incorporated into the Kiganda culture.<sup>3</sup> Most of them could speak Luganda fluently with time and took up Kiganda names. The Baganda xenophobia was not outspoken considering the view that these predominantly Bahutu immigrants were only treated as casual labourers and “shamba boys”. For instance, the reference “Kanyarwanda” developed in addressing these new workers whose social status was not different from that of the ‘Banyoro or Barundi labourers’. Besides, many prejudices were nursed against them as ‘dirty, less intelligent, miserable and prone to diseases’.<sup>4</sup> The Baganda aristocratic position and bourgeoisie role in the colonial economy facilitated the migrant labourers from Rwanda and south-western Uganda to acquire land within Buganda and adopt the Kiganda culture. Watson observes that the Bahutu labourers could not be distinguished from the Baganda by physical characteristics. She gives an example of one of the leading RPA soldiers that invaded Rwanda in 1990.

*An example is the RPA’s second-in-command, Lt. Col. Adam Wasswa. Wasswa is a Kiganda name. After the invasion, Uganda’s President Yoweri K. Museveni said with surprise that he had always thought that Wasswa was a Muganda.<sup>5</sup>*

In Ankole, the Banyarwanda were welcomed especially Batutsi whose cattle culture made them closer to the Bahima in the region. This was at a time when the Baganda were up against the acquisition of land in the central region. As more and more Banyarwanda occupied lands in Rakai, Masaka and parts of Ankole, the Bahima cattle-keepers were eager to fraternize with them for the purpose of forestalling any threat from the Bairu cultivators. This followed the attempt by the Bairu majority to challenge the Bahima aristocracy in Ankole. In the late 1950s, the Bairu had formed an ethnic nationalistic cohesion in the name of “Bairu Kumanyana Movement” which was aiming at uniting the majority Bairu

against the Bahima.<sup>6</sup> Given that the Banyarwanda were closer to Bahima than Bairu in culture, they would automatically support the former in case of any sub-ethnic clash. It is this factor that perpetuated the anti-Banyarwanda feelings among the Bairu after independence, culminating in the 1982 brutal evictions overseen by the Bairu UPC government officials. Given this background, there was no way Ankole could escape Banyarwanda presence owing to the region's soil fertility, availability of grazing land, propinquity to the country of origin and the location of migration routes. Continued political and ethnic clashes in Rwanda triggered off a big number of asylum seekers who were the "real refugees" in Uganda.

## **2.1 Obote I Regime**

By 1964, more than 50,000 Banyarwanda refugees had entered the country and a good number had got dispersed and settled in different parts of the district. Public outcry and scarcity of resources like land necessitated the establishment of camps in South Western Uganda along the immigration routes in Nakivale and Oruchinga. These were mainly Batutsi who crossed into Uganda after the overthrow of their monarchy and the subsequent Bahutu consolidation of power at the departure of the Belgians. There was a period of ethnic cleansing since 1959 as the majority Bahutu were empowered to change the status quo of Batutsi domination.<sup>7</sup> In the period 1959-1964, most of the refugees that flocked into Uganda were the Batutsi and were concentrated in Ankole as cattle-keepers, while few crossed to Masaka, Luwero, Nakasongola and the rest were confined in the newly created refugee settlements in South Western Uganda.

The period 1964 -1969 was relatively progressive for the Banyarwanda in Uganda, though anti-Banyarwanda sentiments persisted among the Baganda and Bairu in Ankole. The resources after the departure of the British were increasingly getting scarce, which prompted some sections of the population to appeal to ethnic solutions. The UPC regime was later prompted to adopt anti-refugee tendencies for the sake of appeasing the disgruntled UPC supporters in Buganda and Western Uganda, which eventually thwarted the Banyarwanda

hopes and efforts at real integration.<sup>8</sup> The futility of some Banyarwanda clandestine movements attacking Rwanda to open the gates to repatriation, was perceived as a factor that would make the Banyarwanda stay permanently in Uganda. For instance, the “Inyezi” (cockroach) was a paramilitary movement operating within Uganda that frequently organized attacks on the Bahutu-dominated government in Rwanda, but without success. In many parts of Ankole, the Banyarwanda neither wished to go back to Rwanda, and her population was doubling from 2.6 million in 1959, meaning that land was not available and there was no guarantee that the hitherto hostile Bahutu would this time be hospitable.<sup>9</sup> Land was available in Ankole and anti-Banyarwanda sentiments were relatively low compared to the case in Buganda.

Obote’s policy towards the Banyarwanda was dictated by two main issues; religion and the monarchy. Though he was under intense pressure from UPC faithfuls to be tough against foreigners competing for resources, Obote never forgot that the Banyarwanda were predominantly Catholics who at one time would team up with the Catholics in the Democratic Party thereby mounting a formidable opposition. After the 1964 referendum in the lost counties of Bunyoro, relations between the Prime Minister and the Mengo establishment soured. It was quite clear that the UPC-KY alliance had broken and Obote suspected Buganda to ally with the newcomers who were the Banyarwanda believing in the monarchical systems since the days of Kigeri’s rule. To put clear this fear, one of the deposed monarchs in Rwanda was being accommodated at Mengo, as seen in Chapter One.

After the 1966 Kabaka crisis, Obote was tough on the foreigners within the country which marked the beginning of the woes for the Banyarwanda that were irreversible. In 1969, President Milton Obote gave orders for the removal of all non-skilled foreigners from employment in the public service, including the Banyarwanda and Asians. Watson (1991) notes that Obote went ahead to move against the Banyarwanda in Ankole by ordering a census on this ethnic group that was allegedly opposed to the Protestant-backed UPC regime in Uganda.<sup>10</sup>

By this step, Obote's draconian policies against the Banyarwanda in Uganda were in effect. After the Nakivubo pronouncements, Obote announced his Move-to-the-Left Strategy that was also indirectly directed against the foreigners. Obote's political economy was geared towards appeasing the indigenous population by appealing to the issue of citizenship which automatically aroused pseudo-nationalism among the Baganda and Bairu UPC supporters. Unfortunately, Obote did not survive long to implement the envisaged dreams following the 1971 coup by Idi Amin.

## **2.2 The Amin Era**

When Amin came to power, the Banyarwanda welcomed him and the seemingly impending eviction was forestalled. Amin's political gestures were indicative of his accommodative policy towards the Banyarwanda refugees. Amin gave political asylum to the deposed Umwami (King) of Rwanda who was then living in Nairobi. He showed more courtesy by even giving him a house and a car in Kampala. It was also reported that the upcoming dictator promised to facilitate their return back home. This good will is also noted by Watson who argues that the Banyarwanda reciprocated by getting recruited into Amin's security organs.

*A number of Banyarwanda refugees joined his army and Secret Services. It will never be known for sure what role the Banyarwanda played for Amin. After his downfall, a list of his 240 most notorious bench men was circulated. Only 7, or about 3 percent, appeared to be Banyarwanda.*<sup>11</sup>

Although the Banyarwanda were accused of having facilitated Amin's terrorist activities, they were later exonerated by the commission of Inquiry. The testimonies received from the victims of torture in the year 1986 were not implicating any Banyarwanda. The Amin era was then used by the Banyarwanda to stabilize, acquire land and access education.

In spite of these positive developments, the notion that the Banyarwanda were foreigners did not die among Ugandans, neither did the Banyarwanda

themselves forget that they were still a vulnerable group. These considerations accelerated ethnic nationalism among the Banyarwanda to fight for their future. Education was the tool that was used by the Banyarwanda to redeem themselves in future. President Amin was an illiterate or semi-illiterate army general who had swiftly risen through the ranks in the army. Many Ugandans did not take education as serious at the time when education was cheap in the country. Instead, the Banyarwanda refugees used this opportunity of being in Amin's good books to advance in education. Even the settlers in gazetted areas such as Nakivale and Oruchinga could send their children to school through patronage of their kin and kith in Amin's ranks of the State Research Bureau and the Secret Service.<sup>12</sup> At school, especially in Western Uganda, the Banyarwanda were ambitious, which ambition yielded to the creation of a good elite class of the Banyarwanda in Uganda as lawyers, doctors, teachers and economists. This partly explains the flow of skilled labour to Rwanda from Uganda after the RPF victory in 1994. Today, there are some Banyarwanda members of parliament whose education was acquired in this way.

When Amin expelled the Asians, a good number of Ugandans downplayed the role of education as a means of accessing the scarce resources. The majority of "Mafuta Mingi" (those who acquired the Asian property) were illiterate. This slow, but steady success of the Banyarwanda in accessing land and later education which guaranteed them jobs, was the stereotype used by their adversaries after the fall of Amin to persecute, them at the umbrella of state patronage. In fact, some Ugandans had contemplated the immediate expulsion of the Banyarwanda when Amin came to power instead of the Asians.<sup>13</sup> Owing to their cattle culture and lack of business acumen, the Banyarwanda refugees were not among those who scrambled for the departed Asians' property, otherwise it would have been a double tragedy in 1982.

Trouble began when Ugandan exiles launched an attack against Amin's regime from Tanzania at the auspices of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. The 1979 "Saba



Saba” (Ballistic Missile) invasion was launched through the South Western border with Tanzania in the areas mostly occupied by the Banyarwanda especially in the settlements of Nakivale and Oruchinga. Many Banyarwanda were displaced as the Tanzania troops popularly known as “Wakombozi” (liberators) drove Amin from power. In the Southern parts of Mbarara district, the Banyarwanda lost their lives, cattle and all their belongings. The mode of life that had started to stabilize, was once again destroyed by this turmoil that ensued. Few managed to cross to the then Congo while the majority got entangled in the chaos. During the few months Paul Muwanga headed the Military Commission, the Banyarwanda were braving all the misery created by the war. To them, the future was unpredictable given that they knew who Obote was since the days of warning the foreigners before the coup in 1971. However, the presence of Museveni in the interim government of UNLF as Minister of Defence was giving hope to the Banyarwanda. They associated with Museveni as a son of Ankole, a land in which they had settled at least for more than two decades. Nevertheless, these hopes came to fade off as Museveni failed to recognise the 1980 elections and took to the bush.<sup>14</sup>

### **2.3 The Return of Obote and the Aftermath of the 1980 Elections**

The 1980 elections under a multi-party system were highly sectarian and marred by violence especially in Ankole and Buganda. Religion and ethnicity played a pivotal role in these elections contested by about three main political parties in Uganda; UPC (Uganda Peoples Congress), DP (Democratic Party) and UPM (Uganda Patriotic Movement). DP had shielded Paul Kawanga Ssemogerere while UPC was represented by Dr. Apollo Milton Obote who was instrumental in organizing for the fall of Idi Amin. Museveni represented UPM interests, but was not popular even in his home region of Ankole and to that effect, UPM got only one parliamentary seat in Bukonzo, Kasese.

Trouble heralded for the Banyarwanda when UPC won the general 1980 elections and Obote who had signaled to their expulsion in 1969 came to power.

Obote's immediate accusation against the Banyarwanda was that they voted illegally in the 1980 elections, and more so against him. The Banyarwanda truly supported DP on ground that they were mainly Catholics who formed the majority of DP membership, and could not support the president who had started to insinuate about their foreign status in Uganda before being ousted in 1971.<sup>15</sup> At this time, the Banyarwanda comprised 7% of the entire population in Uganda and were confined in the cattle corridors of Uganda. According to the **Uganda Times**, 11<sup>th</sup> January 1982, Obote is quoted saying that "our laws say that non-Ugandans are not allowed to vote".<sup>16</sup>

Before considering the exercise of eviction of Banyarwanda, one also needs to first establish Obote's relationship with the indigenous population in Ankole. Western Uganda was one of the UPC's strongholds in the country especially the districts of Bushenyi and Ntungamo. The Bairu, unlike the Bahima in Ankole were the darling of Obote and he used to pay them regular state visits after the return from exile. Obote's day of return from exile was always celebrated in May in Bushenyi town and the people of Ankole were political beneficiaries of his regime whose sons were prominent in the government such as Minister Rwakasisi, Adonia Tiberondwa, Edward Rurangaranga and Yona Kanyomozi. In expression of their love, a petty name symbolic of their attitude towards Obote was quickly identified. Since 1980, Obote was referred to as "Nyamurunga" (very beautiful, innocent and bright-coloured bird) whose popularity in Ankole needed no question.<sup>17</sup>

As land remained precious in Ankole, the Bairu who were the majority of all the sub-ethnic groups in Ankole started agitating for the eviction and repatriation of Banyarwanda refugees who occupied vast chunks of land in the area. The ethnic cleavages were partly responsible for the fate of Banyarwanda in Ankole. The Bairu were educated compared to the Bahima who were illiterate, but owning much of the resources such as land and cattle and had fraternized with the Banyarwanda to monopolise wealth in Ankole. Although the monarchical

system in Ankole had collapsed like elsewhere in the country, the Bahima were still rich, though not educated. The Bairu nursed sentiments of revenge against the Bahima aristocracy which was characterised by brutality against the Bairu (serfs) during the Ankole monarchical era.<sup>18</sup> It was therefore time for the Bairu elites to take up the custodianship of resources in Ankole by appealing to the issue of the Banyarwanda who occupied much land in Ankole, owned many heads of cattle and were being protected by their historical adversaries, the Bahima.

Obote had reasons for considering and treating the Banyarwanda the way he did. He labeled them a treacherous community whose membership in the State Research Bureau and Secret Service of Amin led to untold suffering of many Ugandans. They formed the majority in UPM whose leader had fallen out with the regime and started a guerilla war in Luwero Triangle. As months passed, Obote's hatred for the Banyarwanda became clear.

*Most atrocities during Amin's era were committed by refugees... evidence that many refugees voted in the December 1980 general elections ... Refugees have been found to flirt with terrorists in Luwero district and are responsible for the unrest there... . If refugees particularly those from Rwanda, do not reciprocate our hospitality ... alternatively, we shall tell them to go.<sup>19</sup>*

A momentous event occurred in September 1982 when two prominent UPC youth were shot and killed in Mbarara, in the county of Isingiro. Immediately, this sparked off the long awaited action against the Banyarwanda as suspicion could not be directed anywhere else. The public mood was tense with cries for revenge from many UPC supporters in the districts of Ankole. It is this mood of melancholy that gave the UPC regime justification to launch its long planned war on the Banyarwanda. Clay (1984) narrates on how a meeting was then summoned in Mbarara to consider the issue of the Banyarwanda. Local leaders,

UPC officials, members of parliament from Ankole and Ministers attended. Cris Rwakasisi (Minister of State in the President's Office) and Patrick Rubahaiyo (Minister of Agriculture) who addressed the meeting, gave the local officials a go-ahead to evict the Banyarwanda from the lands they occupied in Ankole. While addressing a rally in Ibanda town, Rubahaiyo said that all the Banyarwanda were to go away from Ankole irrespective of the time they came in.<sup>20</sup> He continued to say that those Banyarwanda who came after or before the civil war in Rwanda were also to go and those who still upheld the refugee status were to move to the camps in Oruchinga and Nakivale.

By 30<sup>th</sup> September, order had passed that the Banyarwanda were to leave Ankole immediately with no excuses. Although it was hard to screen and identify the true Banyarwanda refugees to go, the government and UPC officials could not wait for any further ceremony. A special police unit was secured to execute the eviction exercise assisted by the UPC Youth Wingers in Ankole. Hundreds of refugee homesteads were attacked, household property grabbed, cattle confiscated and roadblocks were mounted on the major routes to ensure that the Banyarwanda went with no belongings. Very many people who participated in the eviction exercise amassed property such as iron roofs and many heads of cattle snatched from the fleeing Banyarwanda.<sup>21</sup>

About 35,000 people of Rwandese origin were forced to flee including the Ugandan citizens of Rwandese origin. There were killings, rapes and maiming. About 25,000 uprooted people moved to settlements while 40,000 crossed to Rwanda and 4,000 were trapped inside Uganda.<sup>22</sup> In November 1982, Rwanda reacted by closing its border to these Banyarwanda being evicted in South Western Uganda. The exercise took place in today's districts of Mbarara, Bushenyi and Ntungamo. It was so surprising that even those prominent individuals who had stayed in Uganda were also forced to leave including a prominent bishop of the Church of Uganda known as Shalita who, though born in Rwanda had stayed for long in Uganda and served the Ugandans in addition to

possessing a Ugandan passport. Other prominent personalities were also victims of this brutal eviction exercise that was reminiscent of the hurried expulsion of the Asians by Amin in 1972.

The UPC regime could not take heed of much condemnation from the international community, the Western embassies, UNHCR and the opposition groups in Uganda. The UNHCR sent peace delegations to Kampala to plead for the Banyarwanda refugees, but efforts were futile. The UNHCR reasoned that it was not the duty of any governments to determine the fate of refugees who were already settled at the auspices of the UNHCR.<sup>23</sup> Britain and USA added their voice through the embassies in Kampala, but nothing could be forestalled. Dr. Kawanga Ssemogerere, the DP Secretary General also intervened to no effect (*Munansi*, 12<sup>th</sup> November, 1982).<sup>24</sup> He reasoned that the government should have facilitated the return of refugees through peaceful means only after the end of political turmoil in Uganda. He argued that it was illegal and unconstitutional for any government to seize by force the property of individuals and see thousands of families being displaced. A report was sent to the UNHCR Headquarters in Geneva outlining the gross violation of human rights for refugees in Uganda, though Uganda was not a signatory to the 1951 Geneva Convention Refugees.

According to Watson (1991), a similar situation was happening in other parts of the country. In Teso and Lango, the Banyankole who had settled there in small numbers were fleeing in caravans. The Langi were also accusing them of being kinsmen to Museveni who was perceived as a threat to the 'northern hegemony'. Many deaths took place and herds of cattle were confiscated.<sup>25</sup>

Obote was later to deny that the government was actually deeply involved in the eviction exercise. He argued that the disgruntled Banyankole were responsible for the problems within their region. He was emphasizing that the Banyarwanda left just because of rumours and promised to make an inquiry and bring to justice those youth wingers who were involved in the eviction exercise. To him, the

government never gave out orders for the eviction of Banyarwanda. Nevertheless, the official statement after the eviction was belated since the president was expected to give an official statement as soon as the eviction exercise was underway. Obote continued with his political rhetoric in a speech read to the district councils assembled in Mbarara;

*On the question of internal instability, I am concerned that the aliens including Rwanda refugees who left their homes because of rumours of various kinds did so in circumstances that gave the impression that they were actually forced to flee to various destinations..... It is absolutely not true that the government of Uganda which as you know is a UPC government ever authorized or in any way ordered UPC youth in your area to uproot the Banyarwanda.<sup>26</sup>*

Prime Minister Otema Allimadi reiterated Obote's stand on the evicted Banyarwanda that the government was not involved. To him, the Banyarwanda were prompted by fear for retribution for what they had done against Ugandans in carrying out atrocities during Amin's regime.<sup>27</sup> What's clear, however, is that the government was trying to appease the loyal political constituency in Ankole by clearing one hurdle in their way to access resources formerly in the hands of the Banyarwanda. Indeed, it worked out well and when the number of internally displaced people grew after losing cattle and land, the government worked hand in hand with the Rwanda regime to establish new refugee settlements in Western Uganda. Following these diplomatic arrangements, Kyaka I refugee settlement was created in Kabarole district to absorb the Banyarwanda that could not get accommodated at Nakivale and Oruchinga as the Rwanda border remained closed. With the Banyarwanda gone and some deprived of their means of production, the UPC regime got buttressed in Ankole, save among the minority Bahima. Obote was popular in Western Uganda, in the UPC strongholds for having listened to their ethnic sentiments. Unfortunately, these very ethnic sentiments undermined his regime when most Banyankole and displaced

Banyarwanda rallied behind Yoweri Museveni in a guerilla war in Luwero Triangle that subsequently led to the fall of Obote and UPC in 1985, when a coup was staged by Acholi army generals promising to negotiate a power-sharing with Museveni, a Munyankore and associated with the Banyarwanda of Tutsi ethnicity.

#### **2.4 Banyarwanda Refugees and the NRA Guerilla War**

The National Resistance Army was the armed wing of the National Resistance Movement started by Yoweri Museveni after the rejection of the outcome of 1980 general elections that saw Obote bouncing back to power in Uganda. Although Museveni was part of this victorious group that overthrew Amin's dictatorship, and at one time held the portfolio of minister of defense, he was against Obote whom he accused of rigging the 1980 election. The accomplices in this alleged rigging were Paul Muwanga and some ministers from Ankole that Museveni had never had good relations with. The UNLF (Uganda National Liberation Front) was not a solid liberation body having been assembled by Mwalimu Julius Nyerere shortly before the attack. Museveni had created the Front for National Salvation (FRONASA) and had fresh military (guerilla) experience acquired in Southern Africa, in Mozambique.<sup>28</sup>

When Museveni declared war against the government in the jungles of Luwero, he was quickly joined by the Banyankole kinsmen especially the Bahima. For instance, out of the 27 people that formed the nucleus of the NRA, about 5 were not sub-ethnic Bahima. This group also had ethnic Tutsi Banyarwanda such as Fred Rwigyema (late) and one or two Baganda. By 1983 when the Banyarwanda were finally evicted, the guerilla movement was to receive very many young men who were desperate after being dislodged from their lands and having lost all their belongings, including some lives of their loved ones. It is for this case, not a mere assertion, to state that the eviction of Banyarwanda by the UPC regime

boosted NRA led by Museveni. Persecution drove the Banyarwanda into the NRA insurgency and were the third largest ethnic group after the Banyankole and Baganda. Even more of them joined in 1984 (November) when the NRA occupied Western Uganda. When the NRA captured Kampala on 26<sup>th</sup> January 1986, around 3,000 fighters were Banyarwanda out of a force of 14,000 men.<sup>29</sup>

Nevertheless, this is not to say that the NRA was recruiting fighters using ethnicity as one of the criteria. This is partly explained by the political economy of civil conflicts in Africa. The Baganda and Banyankole had been a politically down-trodden community since independence and it was high time the status quo was changed to topple the northern-led political hegemony. The study carried out among the old Banyarwanda who retired from the NRA (now National Army) before 1995 due physical deformities suffered during the protracted war shows that political and socio-economic discontent was the main factor. They scoff at the view that the displaced Banyarwanda joined the NRA on condition that Museveni would in future facilitate their return to Rwanda.<sup>30</sup> However, the Banyarwanda living and integrated in Ankole in Kashaari, Kazo and Nyabushozi, through personal interviews agreed that the majority returned to reclaim their land when Museveni overran Western Uganda.

Apart from giving military support during the NRA guerilla war, the Banyarwanda were instrumental in sustaining the war logistically and morally. The Banyarwanda in Luwero Triangle covering present districts like Luwero, Kiboga, Nakasongola and Sembabule offered Museveni a base for the war. They lost their lives in concealing the badly hunted soldiers and gave up their cattle to the NRA fighters. Sometimes, they were the conduits of intelligence information to the rebels for a period of about five years. The ethnic factor here was not deep-rooted as the case was in Ankole, and that is why both the Baganda and Banyarwanda living in Luwero Triangle facilitated Museveni and were deprived of their resources, peace and lives.



According to the testimonies of some of the former NRA Banyarwanda fighters, life was unbearable in the bush, but there was no alternative at the moment. Many Banyarwanda perished in the Luwero Triangle and homeless children were forced to join the combatants. Although it may be taken as a fabrication, the story of China Kaitetsi relayed through the international media could agree with this.<sup>31</sup> As presented by “Carte Blanche,” (MNET- Programme), China Kaitetsi is an estranged former NRA fighter of Tutsi origin who was forced into the NRA guerilla war at a young age. She narrates her experience as a girl and young soldier (Kadogo) and the trauma it brought into her life until Kampala was overrun in 1986. She laments in dropping tears how she could be forced to kill, was raped purportedly by senior officers and the haunting experience of seeing her young comrades perish at the hands of the government troops. Although this case has been brushed off as a fabrication after China’s escape with sums of money into exile, it gives insights that the Banyarwanda experienced untold misery under the NRA struggle for power. The popular revolutionary songs composed in the bush bring fresh memories of the fallen Banyarwanda fighters. After the war, there was a ray of hope for the Banyarwanda and a good number had started to reclaim their lost land in Ankole. The war was a platform for the few careers of the Banyarwanda such as Paul Kagame and Rwigyema who were later to revive Banyarwanda nationalism.

## **2.5 The Banyarwanda under NRM Regime since 1986**

The coming to power of President Museveni and the NRM government marked a historic transformation in the lives of some Banyarwanda refugees not only in Uganda, but also among the refugees in diaspora. It appeared as though Museveni understood the question of the Banyarwanda in the Great Lakes region more than any leaders before. According to Prunier (1995), the year 1986 was a turning point to the Banyarwanda refugees especially the Batutsi who had been long denied nationality in Rwanda.<sup>32</sup>

For the first time in the history of Uganda, the Banyarwanda were recognised with limited indignity and prejudice. First, the Banyarwanda had done their part in contributing to the peace and stability within the country. The ethnic Bairu, Baganda and Bakiga could not raise sentiments against Banyarwanda knowing that they formed the bulk of the NRA fighters who saw the end of extra-judicial killings in the country and state-inspired violence. The Baganda in particular, though calm, knew that these once marginalized immigrants were instrumental in ousting the 'man' that expressed his dislike for the clamoured monarchy in Buganda when the palace of the Kabaka was raided in 1966.<sup>33</sup> Secondly, some Baganda were also married to Banyarwanda women, but could not let their ethnic lineages be discussed including top cultural officials in the Buganda monarchy. The Kabaka to be at the time, Mutebi II himself was illegitimately married to a Munyarwanda who took up the headship of protocol in Rwanda after the end of the 1994 genocide. Even to the ordinary Baganda, it dawned to them that Prince Jjunju was a son of their Kabaka born to him by a Munyarwanda woman.<sup>34</sup>

In Ankole, particularly Mbarara, the anti-Banyarwanda sentiments were buried for the time, only to resurrect as some Banyarwanda started coming from Tanzania. In the district of Mbarara, some Banyarwanda had remained at the climax of the eviction exercise in 1982. These had been partly integrated among the Bahima and were left behind on the basis of the identical culture with the Bahima cattle-keepers. These incorporated in their areas more Banyarwanda whose sons were lieutenants in the NRA especially in the areas of Nyabushozi and Kazo. When the question of citizenship was raised in the Constituent Assembly in 1994, many delegates could not differentiate the Banyarwanda army officers in the NRA from the Bahima.<sup>35</sup>

Many Banyarwanda came to the centre of politics in Uganda once again after 1986. A good number of top military officers were Banyarwanda such as Major General Fred Rwigyema (late), Major General Paul Kagame and Lt. Col.

Wasswa. Paul Kagame, now President of Rwanda was Deputy Director of Military Intelligence, having joined the NRA after undergoing education in Uganda in schools like Ntare School in Mbarara.<sup>36</sup>

In many government departments, the Banyarwanda were employed such as the Uganda Revenue Authority and different ministries. Although many went to Rwanda in 1995, a good number from the elite class in Uganda and some are still in charge of sensitive departments such as the Military Intelligence and State House is no exception.

In 1990, debate was opened in the National Resistance Council over the question of land redistribution in South Western Uganda especially the ranches that had not been developed. The government faced bitter criticism that the plan to redistribute land was a hatched plan to allocate land to the Banyarwanda who at this moment were construed as Museveni's allies. The allocation of ranches in Ankole and Masaka by the government aided by United States Agency for International Development (USAID) was intended to accelerate economic development in South-western Uganda. More than 100 cattle ranches of several acres were given out and the then politicians used their position to get these ranches including the Bahima in Ankole in the 1960s.<sup>37</sup> When the planned land policy became ethnic, the government became more cautious with the president meeting the outspoken critics such as Miria Matembe, representing Mbarara Women and Clement Kandore for Kyaka county in Kabarole. This was at a time the ranches were allegedly being used as training grounds for the RPA fighters. In October 1990, the ranch saga came to an end with the RPF's invasion of Rwanda.

On 1<sup>st</sup> October 1990, an invasion was launched on Rwanda from Uganda by the armed Banyarwanda in the NRA led by Major General Fred Rwigyema. These were the Banyarwanda, mostly Batutsi who were nurtured within Uganda that formed the Rwandese Patriotic Front, with the ultimate goal of overthrowing the

Bahutu dominated regime in Kigali.<sup>38</sup> This chapter won't go into the details of what actually transpired and the details of the invasion, but what is clear is that this invasion on Rwanda was popular among sections of the population in Uganda. In Ankole, this was taken as a relief since the Banyarwanda had turned into potential competitors for land especially in Mbarara. Others sympathized with them taking into consideration the fact that, these were a marginalized group whose national identity had been denied them for more than three decades. Criticism against the government also subsided since the NRM was being seen as a government that supports foreigners. All this loose talk had been pre-empted by the government's plan to redistribute ranches in Ankole so as to facilitate the squatters who were expected to be Banyarwanda.

As much as this 'facilitated' invasion was popular among many people in the country, it sparked off open criticism upon the government for undertaking an aggressive foreign policy. The government was quick to disassociate itself from the activities of RPF popularly known as "Inkotanyi" or armed fierce freedom fighters (in the Kinyarwanda language). The opposition politicians in the county got a ground for attacking the regime, that President Museveni was a war-monger aiming at destabilising the Great Lakes region.

Elsewhere in Mbarara, a good number of the Banyarwanda were not willing to go home if at all the invasion succeeded afterwards. Those who were anxious to go home were mainly the refugees in camps at Nakivale and Oruchinga.<sup>39</sup> These were so squeezed in settlements and hoped to get land in Rwanda after the success of the liberation war. Given that many Banyarwanda had started benefiting from the NRM regime, those who were already settled had no wish of going back to Rwanda considering the view that Rwanda was a small country with a high population. After the 1994 genocide, many Banyarwanda still stayed in Mbarara as more penetrated the district due to persistent instabilities.

In the refugee settlements and outside in other areas occupied by the Banyarwanda, Museveni is still popular though many Banyarwanda are living in misery. From the interviews carried out in Nakivale and Oruchinga, the majority Banyarwanda would rather stay the way they are than go to Rwanda. The food supplies are not enough, they lack social services like health and education facilities, but they acknowledge that the NRM government has enabled them get even the little they have, especially peace. In Nakivale settlement, a group of Banyarwanda refugees let the secret that no single Munyarwanda, either Muhutsi or Muhutu voted Rtd. Col. Dr. Kiiza Besigye who was the main challenger to Museveni during the 2001 presidential elections. They acknowledge that whatever they have achieved as a relative improvement in their lives, has been courtesy of the NRM government since 1986.<sup>40</sup>

## **2.6 The Impact of the 1994 Rwanda Genocide**

This was the period of terror, treachery and bloodshed in Rwanda following the sudden assassination of President Habyarimana and his Burundi counterpart, a few years after the RPF invasion. Habyarimana and Ntaryamira perished at around 8.30 p.m. local time, 6<sup>th</sup> April 1994 after their plane in which they were traveling was hit by rockets which triggered off deliberate massacres of the Batutsi and moderate Bahutu.<sup>41</sup> This renewed the ethnic tensions that had persisted in Rwanda in the period 1959 – 1964. The assailants of Habyarimana were perceived to be the disgruntled Batutsi with bases outside Rwanda, particularly in Uganda and Tanzania. There were also some sections of the Bahutu who were not comfortable with the Bahutu regime – moderate Bahutu. Although various theories are put forward in explaining the circumstances under which Habyarimana was slain, sometimes exonerating the Batutsi, what followed was ethnic cleansing that saw 800,000 Batutsi lives lost.

The Bahutu armed militia known as ‘Interahamwe’ championed the process of killing all the Batutsi and moderate Bahutu on mere suspicions or perception that

they were opposed to the Bahutu dominated regime under President Habyarimana. There was horror in Rwanda and the whole situation could be explained as gruesome.<sup>42</sup> For that time, the world came to know of the 'power' of ethnicity following the experience in Rwanda. Religious priests and nuns could not overcome their ethnic biases and most times colluded with the murderers, even in places of worship. Guns, pangas, machetes, hammers and clubs reigned on the human race in Rwanda until when the RPF came to power. In South western Uganda, some rivers such as the Kagera, were filled with corpses which eventually polluted L. Victoria to the extent that fish consumption was temporarily shunned in Uganda. At one time, 40,000 bodies were picked and later buried on the Ugandan shore. The use of machetes often resulted into painful and long agony before the victim died. Some victims would bribe their killers with money to finish them off quickly. Women would be killed after being brutally raped, babies were smashed against the rock or thrown alive into pit latrines or water. Breasts and penises were often chopped off.<sup>43</sup>

In Uganda, this period of massacre had various implications, and especially on the question of Banyarwanda in Uganda. Following the 1990 invasion on Rwanda by the RPF, many Banyarwanda were preparing for the home-going especially those in the gazetted areas where conditions were still bad such as Nakivale and Oruchinga. The sudden eruption of genocide in Rwanda was an anti-climax that undermined a smooth repatriation of the Banyarwanda refugees living in Ankole. Here, the fear was that anti-Batutsi sentiments were deep-rooted in Rwanda which undermined the repatriation tempo. Even after the genocide, a good number of the Banyarwanda never crossed the Uganda border in seeking their nationality in the RPF dominated new Rwanda. In Mbarara, the Banyarwanda now tightened grip on their resources like land and cattle, which indigenous people were prepared to take over.

Although this has not been emphasized by some writers on the Rwanda crisis, the 1994 genocide created a new wave of refugees, who under mysterious

circumstances, managed to enter the Ugandan territory. Indeed, it was hard to escape the massacre, but some lucky Batutsi and moderate Bahutu managed to cross rivers and lakes into Uganda. Basomyi Deusdedit, is a good example of this category of Banyarwanda refugees. After interacting with him in Nakivale settlement, he narrated his haunting experience in Rwanda. He was a Muhutu, but married to a Mututsi wife who disappeared from home as soon as killings started. Given that his wife used to pay frequent visits to Uganda, their home was raided and Basomyi was questioned about the whereabouts of his wife. He managed to escape from his captors at night and travelled for three days, moving only at night until he reached the Rwanda – Uganda border. He recalls how he found many-stranded Batutsi on River Kagera who first suspected him of being part of the Interahamwe. When the water levels receded, the entire group attempted to cross, but the majority got drowned. With few exhausted and emaciated Batutsi, they managed to reach Bukanga in Mbarara and settled even with no formal clearance from the local authorities.<sup>44</sup>

Some Banyarwanda in Mbarara district, especially those settled in gazetted areas came through Tanzania and Kisoro district. When the genocide intensified, it was difficult to escape northwards. Some were even officially cleared to settle as refugees by the immigration office under the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The 1994 Rwanda genocide brought with it another influx of asylum seekers in the region of Ankole, where land for food and settlement could be found. Prunier (1995) approximates 10,000 people in Rwanda to have got displaced in South-western Uganda between August – December 1994.<sup>45</sup>

To the Banyarwanda strugglists formerly living in Uganda, the genocide was more inspirational. The RPF concentrated on winning the war to curb mass killings as the international community only played lip service. Allegedly, more officers in Uganda were dispatched to assist the RPF to end the genocide. There was this time, a more justified cause for the war against the Rwanda establishment, following the massacre of very many important personalities in the

Kigali regime. One of them was the Vice President, whose Belgian bodyguards were also murdered. The RPF was not only fighting for a home, but was also justifiably fighting against the perpetrators of genocide against the Batutsi and moderate Bahutu. One other vital implication of the genocide was that it enabled the RPF to capture power in Rwanda, though at the expense of many lives. The would-be opposition forces against the invading Banyarwanda, concentrated on massacres while the RPF hardened in the battlefield. President Museveni had for long envisaged the idea of the Banyarwanda refugees going home, but this came to sever his relations with President Habyarimana. That is why the RPF invasion of Rwanda in October 1990 was perceived by different groups as one component of Museveni's foreign policy in the Great Lakes region. Museveni is alleged to have stated his position on the Banyarwanda issue when the invasion by the RPF (Inkotanyi) was underway. He is quoted in the *Weekly Topic*, to have remarked on this RPF invasion thus; "I cautioned Habyarimana".<sup>46</sup> This, though ambiguous statement, carried a connotation that Museveni had long wanted the Banyarwanda refugees in Uganda to go home peacefully, but the Kigali government was not positive about it.

On 19<sup>th</sup> July, 1994, a new government was sworn in, in Rwanda under General Austin Bizimungu, which became a major step in ending the genocide. By early 1995, the clearing exercise was underway in laying a foundation for the reconstruction of the ravaged country. During this period, many Banyarwanda poured in to Rwanda from South-western Uganda especially the Batutsi. Though a good number remained in many parts of Ankole, Prunier (1995) observes that;

*Tutsi families and their children who had left since 1959 and had lived or even been born in exile, were coming back in massive numbers ... they were 100,000 in July 200,000 in August and probably 400,000 by November. They came from Uganda, Zaire and Burundi, and each group had different style, reflecting their different experience in the*



*countries of exile where they had lived for a whole generation.*<sup>47</sup>

## **2.7 The Socio-economic role of Banyarwanda Refugees in Mbarara district**

The period from 1959 is long since the Banyarwanda refugees started living in Ankole. Although the colonial economy was not buttressed in Ankole, these refugees were part and parcel of the production process throughout the post-independence era. In Ankole, unlike Buganda, the Banyarwanda's status was not a conspicuous one attracting too much marginalisation and getting sidelined in the accessibility of resources like land. During the military regime after the 1971 coup, the Banyarwanda refugees became a force to reckon with in south-western Uganda. These were mainly the Banyarwanda living in non-gazetted areas in Mbarara district. They owned the means of production such as land, had cattle and were able to compete with the indigenous population economically.

The cattle culture among the Banyarwanda and Bahima sustained the image of Mbarara district as "a land of milk and honey". In the areas of Kashaari, Kazo, Nyabushozi and other areas where some integration has taken place, long horned cattle are kept as an important resource not only for the district, but also for the general economic benefit of the country. According to the employees of Bassajabalaba Hides and Skins Ltd. in Ishaka town in Bushenyi district, the Banyarwanda living in Mbarara sustain the market for hides and skins which are shipped to Europe.<sup>48</sup> Milk is also supplied to the district of Mbarara especially to the urban community. Some Banyarwanda families that got access to land, cattle, also produce milk, the surplus which is sold especially on the regional market.

At Nakivale and Oruchinga, some refugees are involved in the rendering of services such as education and health. In both settlements, educational

instruction is done by the Banyarwanda who have lived in the district for long and qualified as teachers, while others are just licensed to serve. Mr. Twinomugisha Victor, headmaster Kashojwa Model Primary School is among the first Banyarwanda in Mbarara district and more than a quarter of his teaching staff are Banyarwanda refugees. He reasons that most of the staff and pupils are united by one factor of possessing the same origin or nationality-being the Banyarwanda refugees. This is the same situation as far as the delivery of health services is concerned. Since the UNHCR and Red Cross personnel are not enough, the refugees themselves have trained as nurses, laboratory technicians and birth attendants. In the study carried in Oruchinga refugee settlement, it was established that Nshungyezi Health Centre is also open to the service of other people outside the refugee settlement areas.<sup>49</sup>

Elsewhere in the district, the Banyarwanda have been engaged in economic activities including partaking in commerce and offering of labour, skilled and unskilled. Owing to poverty in the camps or settlements, a good number of the Banyarwanda have moved to look for other ways of survival. According to the campaign speech read to the people in Bukanga county by the aspiring member of parliament, Nathan Byanyima, he praised the Banyaranda youth for having participated in income-generating activities.<sup>50</sup> These activities include motor-cycle operation (boda boda), brick-laying in the peri-urban areas, mud-fishing on L. Nakivale and farming in some areas outside the settlement. The Banyarwanda youth are generally ambitious and hard-working which in turn has paid off in sustaining their economic well being. To this effect, some refugee families are paying for secondary education to their children in schools outside the settlement.

In the history of Uganda, the Banyarwanda have been an important factor since independence. The majority of these were settled in South-western Uganda who never remained passive like any other refugees in Africa. As earlier mentioned in this chapter, the Banyarwanda refugees were politically active during the 1971-

1979 Amin regime. The elite Banyarwanda were serving the nation in the security organs such as the State Research Bureau and Secret Service.<sup>51</sup>

The Banyankole have since 1980 acknowledged the role of the Banyarwanda refugees in the region. Since the politics of Uganda had long been dominated by statesmen from the North and Central region, the Banyankole also wanted a chance of being at the political mantle. Those ministers from Ankole were perceived as self-seekers such as Brazil Bataringaya (who was later murdered by Amin), Grace Ibingira, Rwakasisi, Rubaihayo, Tiberondwa, Francis Butagira and Yona Kanyomozi. This explains why Museveni got popular Banyankole support during the protracted guerilla war. This parochial nationalism was later carried forward when many Banyankole joined the NRA struggle in the Luwero Triangle. The Banyarwanda who by then, had been evicted from Ankole areas, desperately joined the NRA. To the Banyankole, the Banyarwanda were heroes in the liberation struggle in Uganda. According to Watson (1991), the Banyarwanda were the third largest ethnic group that comprised the NRA. The political platform secured in Mbarara as a district, almost second to Kampala in economic importance, is partly due to the role of these Banyarwanda refugees.<sup>52</sup>

Cultural integration is slowly gaining ground in Mbarara district as more Banyarwanda are getting land and inter-marrying with the indigenous Banyankole especially, Bahima. With modern education, the question of Banyarwanda refugees is no longer perceived in terms of ethnicity, marginalization and deprivation. The main problem lies with the Banyarwanda refugees who penetrated the district at a later period. A good number of the old refugees from Rwanda learnt how to conform to the Ankole culture and are now almost accorded an equal status with the indigenous people. Nevertheless, loose talk takes time to evaporate because these Banyarwanda are still associated with Rwanda as a country by many people with whom they live. They have succeeded in business, education and politics, but the Banyarwanda are still traced from their roots.



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## CHAPTER THREE

### THE PROBLEM OF INTEGRATION

#### 3.0 Introduction

Refugees live a life of deprivation wherever they are displaced due to armed conflicts, increased persecution and other catastrophes. As the old adage goes, East or West, home is best, refugees are always haunted by the feeling of displacement, deprivation and sometimes isolation. The plight of refugees has remained unresolved in most parts of the African continent. This has called for the intervention of the international community to address the plight of refugees and mitigate the rather harsh socio-economic conditions under which refugees live.

In Uganda, the problem of refugees is as old as the post independence conflicts in Africa and even before. Various scholars on the refugee problem have advocated an effective and viable policy by the government towards the refugees especially when considering the impact of these refugees on the national economy, politics and the indigenous community.<sup>1</sup> Like any other refugees from Sudan or other neighbouring states, the Banyarwanda have not found a haven of political, economic and social stability in Uganda. Today, most Banyarwanda scattered in different parts of the country face socio-economic problems ranging from lack of food, land, shelter, security and a minimum level of welfare. Since 1964, the government of Uganda tried to address the refugee problem without tangible results due to the turbulent world especially in the Great Lakes region. According to Pincywa, the Banyarwanda as a single refugee group are still facing a multiplicity of problems especially in South Western Uganda in the districts of Mbarara and Ntungamo. That has been one reason for some Banyarwanda refugees to move from South Western Uganda to other parts of the country such as Mukono district and others in some lands of the Iteso in North Eastern Uganda.<sup>2</sup>



### **3.1 The Question of Land**

Banyarwanda refugees in Mbarara occupy much land of 90 sq. miles especially in the southern part of the district on the border with Tanzania. The counties of Bukanga and Isingiro host thousands of Banyarwanda refugees in gazetted and non-gazetted areas. The gazetted areas are popularly known as “Refugee Settlements” such as Nakivale and Oruchinga in Bukanga and Isingiro respectively. This was the land that was set aside by the government after 1964 as a home of the ever-increasing influx of asylum seekers in Uganda. Nevertheless, there are many more refugees in Mbarara district living outside settlements among the indigenous people in areas of Kashaari and parts of Nyabushozi. Outside gazetted areas, the Banyarwanda refugees live an ordinary life like any other citizens or common people in Mbarara district because of some degree of integration.

These refugees came as early as 1959 and continued their movement in the district which then was extending as far as parts of Ntungamo and Bushenyi. According to the Refugee Act of 1964, Chapter 4, Laws of Uganda, there was a security necessity to control the alien refugees in Uganda.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, some refugees had mixed up with the local population in Mbarara district thereby acquiring land in present day Isingiro county, Bukanga county, Kashaari county and in some parts of Nyabushozi. The refugees of this category were mainly the Batutsi who are akin to the Bahima of Ankole according to culture. It was therefore, easy for them to get easily incorporated in the district.

The land tenure system in Ankole facilitated the Banyarwanda refugees in accessing land outside the government gazetted areas. By 1959, many square miles of land in Mbarara were not occupied by the Ankole communities namely: the indigenous Bairu and Bahima. The Bairu in Ankole were occupying the agricultural areas which were productive for the growing of groups like bananas, millet and cereals. On the other hand, the Bahima were pastoralists keeping long horned cattle and living a nomadic life. This meant that much of the land

unfit for settled agriculture was left free and later occupied by these Banyarwanda immigrants.<sup>4</sup> True to this observation, is that the land that the Banyarwanda refugees occupy is dry and semi-arid, only suitable for cattle grazing. The Banyarwanda refugees became cattle keepers in their new areas of abode and could go looking for food among the traditional Bairu.

Today, many Banyarwanda of especially Batutsi ethnic origin own private land in Mbarara district which is used for cattle grazing. In 1970s, there were steady intermarriages taking place between the Banyarwanda refugees and the Bahima of Ankole. Apart from the disparity in speech, these people were almost the same culturally. First, all were cattle keepers, and sharing cultural norms. According to Powesland, there were no remarkable physical differences between these two groups though ethnically different.<sup>5</sup> The Batutsi refugees got easily incorporated into the Ankole culture due to their identical characteristics with Bahima. Though the Bairu-Bahima ethnic cleavages were undermining this integration, the Bairu later ignored this new cultural bond given that the Bahima and their new 'friends' were still a minority in Ankole. As time went by, more land was being accessed by the Bahima and Banyarwanda refugees especially the grazing land which the Bairu had no interest in. Besides, the Bairu could not easily identify a Munyarwanda from a Munyankole since they could all fluently speak Runyankole.

When the Banyarwanda got land, this was not the end of the road in their search for a future and neither did accessibility to land alone alleviate the refugee problem in the district. A lot was yet to be done; this acquired land was supposed to be developed and improved for human settlement. Until this day, this land is dry, unproductive and not fit for permanent settlements. For example, the land is too dry to allow a substantial yield even in drought-resistant crops like cassava and sorghum. The vegetation is wild and not so environmentally friendly since rainfall-attracting trees like eucalyptus cannot effectively be planted. During the dry season between June – August, the land is unfit for any economic

activity including cattle grazing; the grass is scorched dry. The rocky hills lie completely bare and humidity is almost at zero degrees. It is this kind of climate that makes the land inhabited by the Banyarwanda refugees almost unable to facilitate economic activities.<sup>6</sup>

There is scramble for land even among the refugees where some integration has taken place especially in the southern parts of the district. Apart from the problem of external asylum seekers, Uganda still has an in-born problem of internally displaced people. These in Western Uganda, have been the Bakiga whose population has kept on growing at a high rate and in turn making them migrate to different parts of the country in search for land. Most of these have migrated from Kabale district and occupied some lands hitherto vacant in Mbarara district. Some Bakiga immigrants have started encroaching on the Banyarwanda land outside the gazetted settlement in Bukanga and Isingiro. According to the Local Council III Chairman Kashumba sub-county, Bukanga county, the Bakiga come looking for the valleys and hilly areas in Bukanga and Isingiro counties where food cultivation can take place.<sup>7</sup>

Besides the issue of the Bakiga, the Banyarwanda have kept on steadily moving in from Rwanda and other parts of the surrounding region especially Tanzania, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo. These latest refugees keep on threatening the existing occupied land although the government has put on stringent measures on the refugee eligibility in Uganda. Sometimes there are loopholes in the screening process thereby allowing for the taking of land in parts belonging to the already integrated Banyarwanda. The situation in the settlements is far from better though they try as much as possible to survive. Those refugees who have encroached on the land in Ankole have been living in Bukoba in Tanzania, Democratic Republic of Congo and in Rwanda until the 1994 Rwanda genocide. Prunier (1995) observes that the most recent ethnic clashes among the Batutsi and Bahutu ushered in Uganda another phase in

resolving and coping with the refugee problem. Since then, land has never been available enough to absorb the recycling influx of refugees in Mbarara district.<sup>8</sup>

When the genocide was over, an interesting phenomenon was witnessed as most Batutsi started returning to Rwanda on voluntary repatriation. Although some Bahutu refugees also went back home to Rwanda, the majority remained in Mbarara and consolidated themselves in the lands formerly occupied by the Batutsi who went following Rwandese Patriotic Front resounding military victory.

It is alleged that the return of the Banyarwanda refugees back home in 1995 was used as an opportunity by some Banyarwanda asylum seekers in the settlement areas of carve for themselves some chunks of idle land in Ankole. That is why some Bahutu refugees of Rwanda origin also occupy some land outside the settlement. This draws us back to the historical inter-ethnic suspicion and mistrust among the Batutsi and Bahutu. Although the two were hosted in Uganda, as refugees, the relationship had never been cordial, but what subsided was open rift among them putting into consideration that they were on foreign land in which case the unity of purpose was crucially desired.<sup>9</sup>

Ironically, the voluntary repatriation of the Banyarwanda refugees after the 1994 genocide did not land them in the 'promised land'. The socio-economic situation in Rwanda had drastically changed since their departure in the year 1959 and throughout the 1960s. For instance, the population of Rwanda as a country had more than doubled and land was not easily available. Consequently, home was not best for all the returnees until some started returning back to their rather comfortable lands in Mbarara district. Back in Uganda as secondary refugees, some Banyarwanda were faced with a problem of land since some unscrupulous Banyankole and fellow refugees had encroached on their former land. They found shelter in the government gazetted settlements and of course some were able to reclaim their land through diplomatic means with the new occupants. This explains why the population in Nakivale and Oruchinga settlements had

increased to 14,314 and 4,500 respectively. The Banyarwanda refugees; Batutsi and moderate Bahutu who arrived in Mbarara district as a result of the 1994 genocide could not easily get land and were with much difficulty to be accommodated in the Oruchinga and Nakivale settlements.<sup>10</sup>

The problem of land had been one of the factors that prompted the Banyarwanda refugees in Uganda 'Inkotanyi'<sup>11</sup> to attack Rwanda in October 1990 trying to oust President Habyarimana, an ethnic Bahutu. During the National Resistance Army (NRA) guerilla war, the Banyarwanda refugees especially in Ankole, Luweero and Nakasongola massively supported Yoweri Museveni morally and militarily. Mutibwa (1992) contends that the deprivation of the Banyarwanda in Uganda of resources like land made them so desperate that they fraternized with the guerilla fighters in the years 1982 – 1986.<sup>12</sup> In Mbarara district, the Banyarwanda were chased from the land they occupied by the then UPC regime under President Apollo Milton Obote. They were accused of treacherous clandestine activities against the second Obote regime. Obote himself had no kind words for the Banyarwanda refugees; he publicly condemned them for having been agents in Amin's State Research Bureau that saw many Ugandans lose their lives while others go into exile.<sup>13</sup> With these considerations, the Banyarwanda refugees in today's Mbarara and Ntungamo districts were evicted from their land in 1982. The eviction decree or policy was mostly affecting refugees outside the gazetted areas (see Chapter Three).

Like any other communities, the Banyarwanda refugees attach a lot of value to land in the areas they occupy. There is more of settled life in parts of Nyabushozi and Kashaari given that the Batutsi immigrants easily mixed up with the Bahima sub-ethnic group. Nevertheless, the struggle for land still exists in Bukanga and Isingiro counties especially between the Banyarwanda and Bairu or sometimes Bakiga immigrants. As one traverses the areas occupied by the integrated refugees in the southern parts of Mbarara district, there is a common sight of artificial land demarcations. Given that this land is not surveyed, the occupants

have resorted to improvising temporary demarcations. They use tree branches to gazette all their land used for cattle grazing and crop cultivation. Dry tree branches are heaped in long lines across one's land to deter the encroachers from using the land already carved by the bona fide occupant. According to the L.C III Chairman, Kashumba sub-county, this has been one of the methods to resolve land disputes among the Banyarwanda settlers themselves and the newcomers especially the Bakiga immigrants.<sup>14</sup>

Another category of land is that which was gazetted as settlement land by the government of Uganda invoking the 1964 Refugee Act of the Laws of Uganda. The problem of Banyarwanda refugees was unique considering the wave in which they were entering the country. The Banyarwanda were coming in big numbers and in specific intervals according to the nature of the conflicts at home since 1959.<sup>15</sup> This non-sporadic immigration necessitated the establishment of refugee settlements in Nakivale and Oruchinga by virtue of their propinquity to their migration routes and availability of space compared to other parts in the district. As conflicts continued in the Great Lakes region, Oruchinga and Nakivale ceased to be homes for only Banyarwanda refugees. However, their numbers are far higher than those of any other refugees from other surrounding countries; Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, Somali, Kenya, Burundi and others.<sup>16</sup>

According to the Uganda Red Cross officials based at Mbarara Regional Headquarters, the land in the settlement is used for subsistence farming to grow food crops by the refugee households. In Nakivale, there are 14,314 refugees and more than 60% of these are Banyarwanda. Every homestead has got at least a plot of land where some food crops and vegetables are grown using the traditional methods of agriculture. The government of Uganda has not yet embarked on any modernized agricultural methods like irrigation since the land is too dry to ease mechanized agriculture. The refugees till the land to grow crops like cassava, sweet potatoes, sorghum, maize, groundnuts, green vegetable,

sunflowers and tomatoes. The yields are however, very poor and insufficient in sustaining the refugee households. This simple, but hard farming is to supplement the food rations refugees get from the international relief agencies like World Food Programme and bananas bought or worked for in the neighbouring areas.<sup>17</sup> The nature of land in the settlement cannot make the refugees self-sufficient in terms of food production as one refugee testifies;

Nakivale is dry and barely infertile. Most of what we plant dries up because there is no rain between May and August.<sup>18</sup>

Some domestic animals are also reared within the settlement such as heifers, goats and chicken supplied by the Red Cross. These are sold in markets within the areas surrounding the settlement such as the popular Kahirimbi market. The proceeds are used to buy essentials in the refugees homesteads. At Nakivale and Oruchinga, the refugees get at least 10 kilograms of maize and beans together with 300 millilitres of cooking oil from the World Food Programme stores located in the settlements at least twice a month. Before the refugee population increased, World Food Programme and UNHCR could effectively distribute food throughout the two settlements in relatively enough quantities at regular intervals. This land problem has undermined efforts at integrating refugees and make them self-reliant, able to access food and engage in any valuable economic activities according to the officials from the Uganda Red Cross in Mbarara who monitor and provide humanitarian services at Nakivale and Oruchinga settlements.

### **3.2 Social Discrimination**

In Ankole, the Banyarwanda found two sub-ethnic groups especially in the district of Mbarara where the majority indigenous people are the Bairu and the minority, Bahima. Being a Bantu group was not enough to make them easily acceptable among the Banyankole. The negative attitude towards these refugees grew as some Banyarwanda started occupying and buying land among the settled

communities in the district. The descendants of the original immigrants succeeded in business and education thereby joining the elite class in Uganda. This transformation was positive, but not welcome to the majority Banyankole especially the Bairu. Up to today, there exists a negative attitude towards the Banyarwanda and in fact, they are discriminated against as the Jews were in the inter-war period in Europe.<sup>19</sup>

To some Bairu, the name 'Munyarwanda' is synonymous to unfriendliness and sadism. The Banyarwanda are stigmatized and isolated as aliens in the Ankole land. This is a common phenomenon in education institutions where the Banyarwanda have been undergoing education, hospitals, public places and even in business. Most people argue that the Banyarwanda themselves were responsible for this negative attitude towards them. They live a mere coherent life amongst themselves thereby getting cut off from external social connections. Owing to their problems since 1959, the Banyarwanda became united and ready to assist each other to cope up with the new situation in Uganda. The Kinyarwanda phrase, "*Mwene wachu*"<sup>20</sup> was picked by the Bairu of Ankole to mean that the Banyarwanda are a selfish community and ready to assist their ethnic kins in case of any political, economic and social problem. The Banyarwanda social life did not suit well with the African traditional norms of sharing. True, this is not to say that they were selfish per se, but may be the attitude that was developed towards them from the beginning was responsible for this Banyarwanda ethnic confinement. One old man of Bahinda clan in Isingiro testified that the Munyarwanda would rather bury meat in the ground than call a non-Munyarwanda neighbour to share it. He continued to reveal that it was tantamount to a taboo for him or his wife to ask for either salt or beer from his Mututsi neighbour; Niyonzima whom he accused of selfishness.<sup>21</sup>

During the research, it was also discovered that some absurd primitive prejudices still exist against the Banyarwanda. In urban areas like Mbarara Town, Ibanda and Kaberebere, the Banyarwanda house-wives staying in '*Mizigo*'<sup>22</sup> are



considered as the most unclean and unhygienic. According to Twinamatsiko Baker, a taxi conductor on Mbarara – Kaberebere road, the Banyarwanda women from Nakivale, Oruchinga and other surrounding areas are always left on the way deliberately just because they don't know how sit in the car, have big bottoms and go while spitting unnecessarily.<sup>23</sup>

Social discrimination has also been a barrier to refugee integration in the district of Mbarara. As far as marriage is concerned, it is not easy for mixed marriages to take place between the Banyankole and the Banyarwanda save for some few Bahima. The general statistics revealed that the Banyarwanda marry among their fellow Banyarwanda though some Bahima have intermarried with them creating some kind of social integration in the areas of Kashari, Kazo and Nyabushozi. From the view of young men especially the unmarried, the Banyarwanda girls are very beautiful indeed, but the problem comes with the issue of ethnicity. Men still think that getting married to a Munyarwanda woman would be paving way for one's own downfall.<sup>24</sup> A number of prejudices and allegations are put forward by labeling Banyarwanda women treacherous, unfaithful, lazy and parasitic. They believe that a Munyankole married to a Munyarwanda woman will always 'share' her with her endless list of fellow Banyarwanda lovers disguised as cousins. Worst of all, some men go as far as thinking that a Munyarwanda spouse can plot for one's death to take the estate of the family. Nevertheless, this traumatisation did not prevent the Banyarwanda from struggling for their identity as Ssanyu (1984) remarks:

*The negative attitude which local people had towards Rwandese refugees did not prevent them from combining their efforts as people who had the same identity; to fight and return to their homeland in broad day light.*<sup>25</sup>

The integration of some Banyarwanda refugees in Mbarara has not been without much difficulty and uncertainty. Due to culture and high affinity for social

cohesion amongst themselves, the Banyankole of Rwandese origin are still being identified. Some try to hide their identity in business, employment and in education institutions in vain. In schools, the students of Rwandese origin are still labeled bad attributes. They are competitive and very ambitious to overcome their plight as their fore-parents have tried. In schools like Ntare school, Mary Hill High School and Kinoni Girls Secondary School, the students of Rwandese origin are treated with prejudice as they aspire to overcome the odds in their historical background through education. In Ankole, education has been the tool for the emancipation of some Banyarwanda socially, economically and politically. A case in point is of the Banyarwanda fighters in Museveni's guerilla war in the Luwero Triangle such as the late Fred Rwigema and Paul Kagame (now President of Rwanda) who were the beneficiaries of the education system in Uganda. Ssanyu Beatrice (1984) reveals the case of a girl by the names of M. Bonabaana who had to hide her true Kinyarwanda identity while studying in Kinoni Girls School in fear of social discrimination. She was later to break the bombshell to her peers after the examinations and also confided in them that her name was registered in the Oruchinga Refugee settlement.<sup>26</sup>

The evidence of negative sentiments against the Banyarwanda refugees are quite clear even in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. With the new influx of Banyarwanda refugees in Mbarara district, the local people have gone to the extent of undertaking mob justice against the new refugees in Bukanga county. It is alleged that the Banyarwanda refugees have turned into criminals and terrorists to the local people. According to the weekly Newspaper (**Orumuri**), vol. 13, No. 21 of May 27<sup>th</sup> 2002, the Banyarwanda were risking being lynched and mutilated by the 'wananchi,' "*Mbarara kuhondesa empungi obufuuni*".

*Abeebembezi b'amagomborora agari omu ishaza rya Bukanga barabwire ngu gavumenti yaaba etarahukire kutongoza abantu abaahungire kuruga Rwanda na Tanzania nk'empungi, nibaija kutaahirirwa abataka babatemeteme n'obufuuni ahabw'ebikorwa byabo by'obwainazi.*

*(The leaders of the sub-counties in Bukanga have threatened that if the government does not respond in looking into the issue of the refugees from Rwanda and Tanzania, the local people are going to attack these refugees with hoes and cut them into pieces due to their crimes).<sup>27</sup>*

The study carried out in the counties of Bukanga and Isingiro where Nakivale and Oruchinga settlements are found respectively, showed that the relationship between the indigenous people and the refugees is severing. The question is whether there are any justifications for this kind of attitude. The Banyarwanda refugees especially the new ones and the youth are accused of burglary and theft of animals like cows and goats which are either slaughtered for food or sold for money to survive the harsh conditions and starvation in the camps. About 250 new refugees of Rwandese origin are reported to have arrived in the Nakivale settlement where the hostile environment has forced them to desperately struggle for survival. The Local Council 3 Chairman for Kashumba county where Nakivale is located, Mr. Gyovatoyombe Kawooya Muhamad, said that the government has not yet settled these new refugees and the Red Cross together with World Food Programme have not managed to supply enough food to these refugees.<sup>28</sup> He reiterated the need to have a clear refugee policy geared towards addressing the socio-economic problems of the displaced people.

The local people have also gone ahead to pester the Ministry of Local Government through the Refugee Desk Officer in Mbarara to relocate these refugees to other settlements outside Mbarara district. They want them taken to Kyaka settlement on ground that they have started harassing the population by robbing sums of money at night, stealing food and terrorizing the entire community. There is also a feeling that these Banyarwanda are connected to atrocities committed against humanity in the 1994 Rwanda genocide and are perceived as the remnants of the displaced Interahamwe armed militia. The affected and bitter people are those in Rugaaga and Endiizi about 5 kilometres from Nakivale.<sup>29</sup> The settlement commandant and the Red Cross officials in

Mbarara district could not confirm that the refugees were a threat to the local people. What is quite clear, is that all these accusations are tantamount to witch-hunt and reminiscent of the historical discrimination the Banyarwanda refugees have been subjected to since their displacement in the district.

In the refugee settlement of in Nakivale and Oruchinga, the inter-refugee relationship is not all that fair. The refugees themselves still live in ethnicities, though subject to the same socio-economic conditions in Mbarara district. Nakivale settlement is a mixed-up settlement with majority Rwandese and other refugees from Congo, Somalia, Kenya and Burundi. The Banyarwanda, being the majority group, occupy much of the allocated land for farming at the expense of other ethnicities especially the Somalis who are not interested in agriculture. The Banyarwanda do live alone in specific zones within the settlement. For example, they are the sole occupants of the hilly headquarters of the Red Cross and World Food Programme. This predominantly Banyarwanda zone is known as “Kigali” in remembrance of their former capital while still in Rwanda. In Kigali zone, other refugees come for shopping simple items like soap, salt, beer and sugar, but cannot be accommodated therein. Somalis argue that the Banyarwanda refugees are selfish, treacherous and cannot maintain physical hygiene. On the other hand, the Somalis stay alone in one zone where the mode of life could be mistaken with that of a semi-urban area. The Somalis have mobile phones and put on expensive attires such as jewels and shawls for women. The two different refugees live independent of each other though they are not enemies. They can communicate in a single language; Kinyarwanda or Kiswahili. The isolation of Banyarwanda zones in settlements is not yet a cause of discontent, but depicts the extent of the discrimination transcending the local communities in Mbarara district.<sup>30</sup>

Oruchinga settlement has fewer settlers who are almost all Banyarwanda. One can hardly get a non-Munyarwanda and the mode of life is relatively better compared to Nakivale. The Banyarwanda live as though they are at home; they

have land for farming with supplements of relief aid received from the Red Cross and World Food Programme. There, the Banyarwanda have taken a rest from discrimination since they are not mixed up with other communities and are fewer in number to attract immediate ethnic settlements especially from the local population.

When the Banyarwanda refugees supported President Museveni in his guerilla war against Obote's government, the negative social sentiments and prejudices against them reduced. It seemed like the Banyarwanda refugees atoned for their negative social image by identifying with the popular struggle by President Museveni among the Banyankole in Mbarara. According to Prunier, Museveni was certainly popular and this led to the reduction of the social discrimination against the Banyarwanda who were in partnership with his protracted war.<sup>31</sup> Here, the old adage was applying that, "a friend of your friend is also your friend". There was also no way outright prejudices against the Banyarwanda could continue given that their next of kin were occupying strategic posts in government as cabinet ministers, intelligence chiefs, civil servants and so on in Museveni's government. The tide of events came to change after the 1994 genocide when the prominent Banyarwanda in Museveni's government went back home in Rwanda and continued to encourage voluntary repatriation. This study has found out that there is still too much of discrimination against the people in Uganda of Rwandese origin even though the constitution of Uganda is supposed to protect them.

During the 1994 elections to the Constituency Assembly in Ruhaama County in neighbouring Ntungamo, the aspiring candidates were put to task to explain their ethnic origins. Brigadier Kamwesiga (late), a former NRA guerilla fighter and Chairman Court Martial was contesting with Augustine Ruzindana who happened to be a Munyarwanda by origin. The electorate still envisaged the issue of ethnicity in choosing their representatives in the constitution-making exercise. When Brig. Fred Kamwesiga, an indigenous Munyankole lost the elections in

favour of Ruzindana, there was some form of bickering in the county with much condemnation of the Banyarwanda as politically ambitious foreigners.<sup>32</sup>

Ugandans of Rwandese origin have decried the social and political persecution at a time when there should be political harmony in the Great Lakes region. President Yoweri Museveni has had to intervene and address the harassment of Banyarwanda refugees. A number of meetings have been organized by prominent Ugandans of Rwandese origin to put their case to the President. **The Sunday Monitor** at one time covered the anti-Banyarwanda sentiments expressed in June 2002;

*President Yoweri Museveni this week met with Ugandans of Rwandese origin to discuss their complaints that they are being harassed by government officials. The president met the prominent Banyarwanda on Tuesday at state House, Nakasero. The MP for Ruhaama county and former IGG Augustine Ruzindana led the Banyarwanda delegation. Also present were Capt. Gad Gasatura, Presidential Advisor Joan Kakwenzire, Uganda Human Rights Commissioner Adrian Sibomwa, Kananura Donati, Haje Gashegu, Makaku Christopher, John Leonard Rucogooza, Dr. Ephahim Kamuhangire, Prof. Biryabarema, Michael and the MP Augustine Nshimye and Dr. Higirow Semajjege.<sup>33</sup>*

Accordingly, a memorandum was written by the Banyarwanda community in Uganda outlining some of the problems they face in Uganda. The memorandum continued to spell out the problems already experienced and some parts read:

*The nightmare of the 1982 expulsion of the Banyarwanda in Uganda is still fresh in our memories. As a community, we have been traumatized. No other indigenous community has suffered the indignity of being expelled from their own country ... Many Ugandans do not accept our equality as*

*citizens. Often as a minority, in many instances, Banyarwanda lose out on scholarships and other services.*<sup>34</sup>

In the memorandum, the Banyarwanda especially put it that the president should come to their rescue and should make a public statement to unequivocally affirm their constitutional rights in the geo-political history of Uganda and to avail airtime on Radio Uganda for Kinyarwanda. The Banyarwanda community also took time to assure the president that they are law-abiding citizens like any other Ugandans, hence no cause for negative sentiments against them by the public. Mbarara District was mentioned as one of the areas where many people of Rwandese origin are discriminated against, especially by the local administration as far as job allocation is concerned.

The question of the Banyarwanda had also been the issue during the 2001 presidential elections. Rubaga South MP John Ken Lukyamuzi reportedly incited the public against the Banyarwanda since it was perceived that they would vote for president Museveni against retired Colonel Dr. Kiiza Besigye for presidency because they had also supported the guerilla war that brought him to power in 1986. This was allegedly stated at a political rally in 2001 in Bakuli, Rubaga Division, Kampala.<sup>35</sup>

The severing of relations between Rwanda and Uganda after the Kisangani clashes of 2000 has accelerated this alleged 'persecution' or discrimination against the Banyarwanda in Uganda. In Bukanga, some Banyarwanda cattle keepers have emphatically denied their ties with Rwanda as a home country and feel that they are Ugandans born and living here. They also continued to say that they should not be paying for the sins of Rwanda against Uganda in the battlefield in the Democratic Republic of Congo.<sup>36</sup>

Some political demagogues still maintain that President Museveni has ties with the Banyarwanda by lineage and argue that these Banyarwanda should be

repatriated forcefully.<sup>37</sup> They ignore the fact that their stand could cause a constitutional crisis since Article 10 of the 1995 Uganda Constitution could be invoked to guarantee them proper citizenship though they came after 1926.<sup>38</sup> The same anti-NRM politicians especially in the Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC) maintain that the Banyarwanda are responsible for the political and economic woes of the country. For instance, they express feelings like the monopolizing of public jobs and growth of sectarianism in the national army (UPDF). The argument is that there are many Banyarwanda who came as refugees and are holding government jobs at the expense of the indigenous unemployed lot. In the army, there are many commissioned ranks held by the Banyarwanda by virtue of having fought for Museveni between 1982 – 1986. In fact, some maintain that these very army officers do sell UPDF military secrets to Rwanda and other countries which are considered enemies to Uganda.<sup>39</sup>

Whatever the case may be, this is the old story of the problems of the Banyarwanda in Uganda. The public image towards the Banyarwanda is not all that healthy and the future cannot easily be predicted. The constitution should be interpreted and the locals sensitized on the question of refugees in Uganda. Luckily enough, there hasn't been any clash in Mbarara district incited on ethnic grounds against the Banyarwanda refugees as it has been in Kiryandongo Refugee camp against the Sudanese (Loluk).

### **3.3 Shelter**

The United Nations Human Rights Charter attaches great importance to shelter as a basic necessity in guaranteeing one's human rights. This study on Banyarwanda refugees has also shed some light on how refugees in Mbarara district live in the settlements of Nakivale and Oruchinga. The refugees lack shelter and the conditions in these human habitats are really appalling. This has remained as an insurmountable challenge given that the Red Cross and UNHCR are overstrained with the increasing victims of armed conflicts in the Great Lakes



region and other asylum seekers. The situation is wanting as far as human shelter is concerned in settlements and outside.

Oruchinga settlement alone has apparently 4,500 refugees, almost all being of Rwandese origin and Nakivale accommodates 14,314 people displaced from different countries. In Nakivale, the Banyarwanda are still more in number and are predominantly Bahutu by ethnicity. Nakivale alone is over-populated and this has complicated the efficient distribution of relief assistance. The entire settlement was close to 80 sq. miles in size before the unscrupulous local people and Bakiga immigrants started encroaching on some parts. The size of Oruchinga settlement has also reduced to 13 sq. miles due to the problem of land encroachers.<sup>40</sup>

The Banyarwanda like any other refugees in the settlements live in poor shelter erected locally by the refugees themselves. The UNHCR used to supply tents to refugees when the numbers in the whole country had not yet shot up especially in northern Uganda. The refugees use the UNHCR tents for roofing the small mud shelters. As one enters the settlement, there is a clear view of these small huts roofed with white tents and sometimes polythene papers commonly known as "*buvera*" and supported by stones at every corner of the roof. This is not only a primitive way of erecting human shelter, but it is also very dangerous especially during the rainy season when these huge stones can be shaken by too much wind causing loss of human life in the ever packed or congested shelters.

It was established that some shelters are too small to be hygienic for human habitation. In Kigali zone in Nakivale, the huts are too small and short in roof height to allow comfortable standing inside for a fully grown tall Munyarwanda refugee. The entrances are so narrow that one has to bend before entering the mud huts that produce the semblance of a bee hive. Given that land is not enough, the refugees try to spare the allocated plots for farming and cannot expand on their homesteads. This makes the Banyarwanda compacted in a

single hut with hardly any biologically acceptable kind of ventilation. A single hut accommodates the parents, approximately five children, some close relatives and domestic animals like goats, chicken and few sheep. This further creates another refugee health problem of poor hygiene. Oruchinga settlement is more spacious compared to Nakivale and has fewer people thereby escaping this kind of alarming situation. Sometimes, the huts in which these refugees live are “self-contained” with the kitchen, store and other utilities.

The problem of shelter is interconnected with the environmental concerns within the settlements. Much of the vegetation is cleared for shelter including the naturally growing trees within the settlement. There is also the clearing of the grass around Lake Nakivale and the branches of trees for shelter and firewood which causes environmental concerns. Diisi John (1997) has observed that the problem of refugees in Uganda is also a problem of the environment. He maintains that the refugee camps in Moyo are endangering the environment in the area.<sup>41</sup> There is therefore, need for the government to come up with clear policies on the habitat for refugees in Uganda.

Compared to the refugees in other parts of the country, the Banyarwanda are somehow better off. They are not squeezed in the settlement like the case is with the Acholi and Sudanese refugees in Kiryandongo camp. At least, there is a distance of 15 metres between different refugee homesteads. In the periphery of the settlement, the refugees live some distance apart from each other separated by about 50 metres. The concentration of refugees is around few zones and in strategic centres where the Red Cross operates food stores and where commercial activities take place.

Outside the settlements, the Banyarwanda live a life of an average Ugandan in terms of shelter. It is true that the human shelter is not necessarily the best, but the Banyarwanda have adapted to it with much ease. The huts of the cattle-keeping Banyarwanda in Bukanga and Isingiro counties are identical with white roofs popularly known as “*amahema*”, meaning tents. These are suited to the

occupation of the Banyarwanda cattle keepers who historically never lived in permanent structures. Nevertheless, some Banyarwanda interspersed among the Bahima and Bairu in Mbarara district to have permanent shelters with modern architecture. In the areas of Kashaari, Nyabushozi and Kazo, there are many people of Rwandese origin with modern houses roofed with corrugated iron sheets. The problem of shelter in Mbarara does not adversely affect all the Banyarwanda refugees, only those in gazetted settlements suffer the deprivation of necessities like shelter. Besides, the refugees have other immediate problems like food and social discrimination which are hard hitting. The UNHCR is doing all in its means to improve the conditions of the Banyarwanda, shelter inclusive.

### NOTES

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6. Interview, David Mugenyi, Camp Commandant, Nakivale Refugees Settlement, Mbarara, 28<sup>th</sup> October, 2003.
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11. Op. cit, Prunier (Kinyarwanda word for armed patriots in reference to RPF-Rwandese Patriotic Front).
12. Phares Mutibwa, *Uganda since Independence*, Fountain Publishers, Kampala, 1992, pp.157-163
13. *Uganda Times* 11<sup>th</sup> January, 1982, p.1 (President Obote's Speech on the allegations of harassment of Banyarwanda refugees in Western Uganda).
14. Interview, LC III Chairman, Kashumba Sub-county, Bukanga, Mbarara, 30<sup>th</sup> October, 2003.
15. Kangwamu, Ankole Member of Parliament of Uganda, 3<sup>rd</sup> April, 1963, p.501.
16. Interview, David Mugenyi, Camp Commandant, Nakivale Refugee settlement, Mbarara, 28<sup>th</sup> October, 2003.
17. Interview, Uganda Red Cross Officials (Muhumuza Simon and Wilson Sengo), Mbarara Regional Headquarters, 26<sup>th</sup> October, 2003.
18. The Monitor (Special report on refugees), "Refugees live in contrast in Nakivale Resettlement Camp", Monday, July 21<sup>st</sup>, 2001, p.14.
19. Naggaga, and Elliot Smith, "Land problems in Nakivale Settlement and the Implications on Refugee Protection in Uganda," Refugee Law Project, Working paper, No.8, May 2003.
20. Kinyarwanda word for "comrade" or "brother."
21. Interview, Petero Bainenaama, Bireere, Isingiro, 30<sup>th</sup> October, 2003.
22. Local term used to refer to a single-roomed house usually rented by low-income earners.
23. Interview, Twinamatsiko Baker, taxi driver, Kabereebere- Mbarara road, 26<sup>th</sup> October, 2003.
24. Interview, Peter Kashabe and Joash Bwengye, commercial, motor-cycle ridders (*Boda-Boda*) in Isingiro town, Mbarara, 26<sup>th</sup> October, 2003.
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## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **SOCIAL SERVICES**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

A closer look at the refugee and accessibility to the crucial services is important in analyzing the socio-economic conditions of Banyarwanda refugees. In Mbarara District at 2003, the Banyarwanda refugees were living a life of deprivation, but still relatively better off compared to other refugees elsewhere or internally displaced persons. This relative accessibility to social services like health and education has had a big impact upon these refugees in terms of economic, political and social transformation.

In this chapter, the purpose is to analyze how the socio-economic conditions of these Banyarwanda refugees have been influenced by the level of accessibility or no accessibility to some vital social services in the district, the most crucial being health, education and security among others. Security of lives and property, transport and communication conditions do have an implication on the socio-economic conditions of any refugees, but in this case, the Banyarwanda in Mbarara District.

#### **4.1 Health**

Refugees face the challenges of health not only in Uganda, but also in other parts of the world. The environment under which the refugees live is responsible for the deteriorating health especially in camps and settlements. Whereas we have had cases of epidemics in different camps in Uganda, the situation has been slightly different among the Banyarwanda refugees in Mbarara district. In the past, there used to be the cases of cholera and dysentery, but with a small magnitude. The health of these refugees could be determined by the socio-economic conditions under which they live at present.

The immediate health concerns of the refugees stem from the hygiene in settlement areas. A survey carried out in the settlement indicates that the Red Cross and Ministry of Health have tried to promote the health facilities in both Nakivale and Oruchinga. There have been primary health care programmes focusing on proper sanitation and the prevention of the killer diseases. The Ministry of Health in conjunction with the International Committee of the Red Cross has been involved in immunisation programmes aiming at eradicating polio, measles and meningitis fever. Given that all the refugees' households in Oruchinga and Nakivale are registered with the government, it is easy to implement government programmes.

Almost each refugee home accesses safe water from the different water tanks in Nakivale and Oruchinga during the rainy season. Sometimes, water is drawn from as far as Lake Nakivale in cases of abrupt water shortage. The problem of water to the rest of the Banyarwanda outside settlements grows when the entire area in Bukanga and Isingiro is dry during the months of June – August. During the dry season, the refugees find solace in the valley dams especially for their animals. In the past, water had turned into a business with many youth using bicycles to ferry water from Lake Nakivale distributing to different homes for a pay.<sup>1</sup> The conditions are relatively better with the intervention of the Red Cross, UNHCR and the government of Uganda through Water and Sanitation Programme.

In Oruchinga and Nakivale, there are no standard sanitation measures put in place for the future of refugees. The toilet facilities are appalling with no safeguards against the transmission of diseases. Every home has got a pit latrine not befitting the term “toilet”. These are just pits dug around the settlements for the disposal of human faeces with no consideration of their propinquity to the living quarters of the refugees. The so-called pit latrines are not covered and lack roofs to shelter the users from passers-by. It is easy for houseflies to hover in such places of convenience and return to the food

prepared or stored for human consumption.<sup>2</sup> Besides, these toilets are so near the living quarters and refugee homesteads in settlements.

The information received from the camp commandant showed that malaria and skin diseases among children are the major health problem. In Nakivale, there are persons who run small drug shops under their roofs selling medicine like chloroquine, panadol, and other paracetamol products. These are not trained health facilitators and are neither registered to supply drugs in times of emergency in the settlement. The local women talked to revealed that there are also local women in the settlement who serve as midwives thus reducing the death rate for women at birth.<sup>3</sup> Nakivale which is now reduced to an area of 64 sq. miles is served by only one health centre. Nakivale Health Centre has managed to bring down the death rate in the settlement though operating in harsh conditions. By July 2002, there was only one doctor in charge of the health of the entire settlement assisted by few nursing officers paid by the Red Cross. The health centre is fully operational, but lacks beds, mattresses and the trained staff is not enough, and it is also highly congested. Nshungyezi Health Centre in Oruchinga operates under the same difficult conditions though the population is smaller compared to Nakivale. The refugees with referral cases lack the money to travel and get treatment in Mbarara Hospital and return to the settlement. The Somalis and Ethiopians in Nakivale have maintained links with relatives in Mbarara town and Kampala where medical assistance is sought. Some old women in Nakivale have resorted to using local herbs which are hardly found in the settlement to cure diseases like malaria and other child diseases. June 20<sup>th</sup>, 2001 was the world refugee day and the national celebrations were held in Nakivale with refugees lamenting poor health facilities. The then Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Disaster Preparedness, Martin Olwedo promised that the government would soon table a bill on refugees to incorporate a self-reliance strategy for them.<sup>4</sup>

The Red Cross, AIDS Information Centre and the Aids Support Organisation (TASO) have endeavoured to improve the health conditions within the settlement



areas. They provide assistance ranging from counseling services, supply of condoms and sanitary towels, dissemination of health information and transportation of referral cases to Mbarara hospital. There are two ambulances serving both settlements in Nakivale and Oruchinga. The question of prevention has remained a problem given that the rate of AIDS infection has not yet been brought down.<sup>5</sup> The settlements have got communal grave yards for any deaths and its estimated that AIDS is the leading killer disease in Nakivale and Oruchinga settlements. Malnutrition is another problem for Banyarwanda in settlements as children are poorly fed and depend on posho and cassava porridge. Among the Banyarwanda, the children are physically unhealthy and stunted in growth. Some men in Nakivale are polygamous and maintain two homes which is absolutely hard given that the refugees lack any gainful employment. The samples taken, showed that children are given breakfast of either cassava porridge or watery posho after which they wait for posho with diluted bean soup as lunch. They do not easily get a balanced diet since protein foods have to be bought from the neighbouring markets in Rugaaga and Kahirimbi. Sometimes, bananas are bought for food yet their food nutritions are minimal. Almost all the crops grown within the settlements are carbohydrate in content such as maize, sorghum, cassava, potatoes and sunflowers. This has complicated the issue of nutrition and in turn created health problems for the children, making them prone to constant disease attacks. There is dire need for the refugees to be settled in areas where there is soil fertility and crops can be grown to overcome the problems of health especially among children.

## **4.2 Education**

The education of the refugee child is a more complicated task in the host country like Uganda where even the indigenous people cannot access education. In this case, education to the refugee child comes last on the list of priorities. Before the introduction of Universal Primary Education (UPE), the Banyarwanda had a double task of educating their young ones in settlements and struggling for survival especially on what to eat. On arrival in Mbarara, education was a

privilege of the few Ugandans and those who could afford paying for their children had them enrolled in the mission primary schools. In settlements, primary education was communal at the auspices of the Red Cross and UNHCR and secondary education was a dream except for the Banyarwanda who managed to get settled in places not gazetted as settlements. These could use proceeds from the sold cows to pay school fees for their sons and daughters in secondary schools like Ntare School, Mbarara High School, Kinoni Girls School and other education institutions of further learning. The first graduates among the Banyarwanda in Mbarara inspired the rest to educate their children through thick and thin.<sup>6</sup> Today, there are many doctors, lawyers, teachers, army generals and academicians in Mbarara district whose parents came as refugees since 1959. The Banyarwanda are a big elite community in Uganda which is the reason behind their struggle for recognition in present Uganda. Historically, the Banyarwanda refugees were forward-looking and ambitious to overcome their woes though in a foreign land. Those who have studied with them in the first secondary schools in Mbarara district give testimony to this struggle in education and academic excellence in class.<sup>7</sup>

Much emphasis has been put on primary education in both settlements of Nakivale and Oruchinga. The economic deprivation and lack of incomes dictate against continuing with secondary school education. Besides, the government has not put in place any secondary school in the areas in the vicinity of the settlements where the Banyarwanda children could study, at least as day students. Accordingly, for one to continue with higher education, they have to be linked with the next of kin outside the settlements or even off the areas occupied by the Banyarwanda. The parents who endeavor through thick and thin send their sons and daughters to relatives in Mbarara town and Kampala to join secondary schools. According to the headmaster of Kashojwa Primary School in Nakivale settlement, the Red Cross gives at least two scholarships to the pupils at P.L.E. to pursue the Uganda Certificate of Education in schools around Mbarara town per year. The remaining lot ends up braving all the problems

within the settlements and girls marry even before 18 years of age.<sup>8</sup> Although some Banyarwanda cattle keepers in Mbarara district have got resources to be able to pay for their children's good education, most of the time there is nothing done to them after primary seven. The boys take to looking after cattle and girls get married to the young men who have also dropped out of school.

In Oruchinga settlement, education is not a priority, there is general apathy towards continued education and instead many children drop out of primary school to take up farming since there is relatively more land for agriculture compared to Nakivale. Young men take to petty trade moving in the neighbouring parts of Tanzania. The settlement is supposed to be served by three primary schools, but only one is fully operational at Nshungyezi. The school infrastructure is shattered having been abandoned during the 1995 repatriation of the Banyarwanda living in Mbarara. It has taken time and resources to adjust to the original education facilities abandoned when most Banyarwanda went home following the RPF victory.

There are additional problems associated with education in Nakivale settlement. There are three primary schools in the entire settlement funded by the government of Uganda, the Red Cross and UNHCR. Kashojwa Model Primary School is government funded and receives some monetary and logistical assistance from the Red Cross which is the implementing partner with the government and UNHCR policies towards refugees. Juuri and Kabazana primary schools operating under the Universal Primary Education Programme also serve the settlement. According to Mr. Twinomugisha Victor, the headmaster Kashojwa Model primary school, there is still a lot to be done by the government and other refugee agencies to look into the programs of refugees in Mbarara. At Kashojwa Model primary school, the classrooms are not enough for the ever-increasing number of pupils.<sup>9</sup> As a result, many children study under trees where the academic atmosphere is uncondusive especially during the dry season. The sun

is scotching hot to the young kids who at times take a french-leave from school and spend the rest of the weekdays as truants.

The toilet facilities are not enough and there is no perimeter fence guaranteeing the safety of the pupils when at school. Surprisingly, the school has got a library with latest books like the modern encyclopedia which are not put to use due to lack of spacious rooms to serve as reading space. The headteacher revealed that much remains to be done especially to Kashojwa Primary School which is the model school not only in Nakivale and the surroundings, but also for Oruchinga settle. The situation is alarming in other primary schools like Juuri and Kabazana where teachers share the same premises with the head teacher and one desk is shared by more than two pupils.

By mid 2002, Kashojwa Primary School was the leading education provider among the Banyarwanda and non-Banyarwanda communities in the gazetted area of Nakivale with an enrolment of 1,774 pupils. From the head master's statistics, the school has been registering an average performance of 3 pupils in first grade since 1996. He lamented the failure of his bright pupils to continue with secondary school education due to lack of capacity by their parents to pay their school fees. Only two of 6 pupils in first grade who sat Primary Leaving Examinations in the year 2001 managed to get sponsorship for secondary education by the Red Cross while the rest remained in the settlement.

There has been also a problem of the medium of instruction in the schools located in Nakivale settlement given that the settlement is multi-ethnic. The language problem comes in when the Banyarwanda children go to the same schools with the Somalis, Kenyans, Sudanese, Congolese, Ethiopians, Burundians and Ugandans born in and around Bukanga (Bunyankole). It has been a hard task to formulate an instruction policy for these pupils from different ethnic backgrounds especially on the issues of language.<sup>10</sup> In Nakivale and Oruchinga, Kinyarwanda and Runyankole are the dominant languages which the

other refugees can not easily adopt for instruction purposes. The following is a table showing the distribution of refugee pupils by ethnic percentage at Kashojwa Model primary school.

**Table 1 showing the distribution of refugee pupils by percentage at Kashojwa Model Primary School according to Mbarara District Education Department**

<b>Pupils by Ethnic Origin</b>	<b>Percentage enrolment</b>
Banyarwanda	62.1
Congolese	18.5
Ugandans	13.4
Somalis	5.1
Sudanese	0.2
Kenyans	0.2
Burundinians	1.1
Ethiopians	0.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,774 pupils</b>

The Ministry of Education has come up with a policy on language in primary school where two local languages have to be taught and serve as a medium of instruction. This was a dilemma and the boards of governors in Nakivale primary schools resolved to adopt English and Kiswahili as local languages since they can be relatively understood by nearly all the children of school going age. Today, all the subjects in Kashojwa Model Primary School are taught in English and Kiswahili is also taught as the second language. However, almost all communities in the settlement do understand some Kinyarwanda owing to the large population of Banyarwanda refugees. The Somalis, Ethiopians, Congolese, and Ugandans can communicate in Kinyarwanda though it is not recognised according to the new school curriculum implemented in the settlement and elsewhere in the country.

In spite of all these setbacks, the government of Uganda has endeavoured to resolve some problem in education as a social service. Textbooks are given, teachers are recruited and paid by the government and some grant annually comes to the schools in the settlement, though meagre. Kashojwa Model Primary School alone received 1,935,450/= on education grant for refugees in the year 2002. The International Committee of the Red Cross also intervenes in addressing the educational challenges. At the beginning of the year 2002, the Red Cross gave a donation of 7,500,000/= to facilitate Kashojwa educational programmes. The money has been used to construct some makeshift classrooms and pay some teachers who are not on the government pay roll. In all these programmes, the headmaster and board of governors do liaise with the Inspectorate of Schools at Mbarara headquarters.<sup>11</sup>

Although most of Banyarwanda refugees in the settlement areas are either illiterate or semi-literate, some have started private nursery schools in different zones in the settlements of Nakivale and Oruchinga. There are specific locations within the settlements where children of mostly Banyarwanda refugees are given instruction. The sample carried out indicates that these nursery schools have become popular since they are nearer in distance without the troubles of moving long distances where conditions become harder for young children. Besides, the classrooms and learning environment are almost the same. For instance, sometimes all of them study under trees and cannot be differentiated due to lack of school uniforms. All the three primary schools in Nakivale settlement are not distinguished by a particular uniform for the pupils due to poverty among the parents. Although certain colours were identified for uniform, the refugees are too poor to afford it for their school-going children and maintaining it would be an added problem.

As a department of education and sports has been promoted in the refugee settlements of Oruchinga and Nakivale, there are three sports fields in Nakivale used for soccer by the youth and school children. The Red Cross staff also and

officials from the commandant's office play volleyball using parts of the fields. Recreation facilities play an important role in engaging the refugees to distract them from the poignant memories about the plight of being displaced and deprived people according to some refugees interviewed.<sup>12</sup>

The government of Uganda and relief agencies are applauded for their contribution towards these refugees, but a lot remains to be done. Many refugees are ignorant especially those who left Rwanda having not undergone education instruction due to the ethnic conflicts. Though there has been Community-Based Rehabilitation programmes, this is not enough. However, credit goes to the Community-Based Rehabilitation in Nakivale for self-help projects and adult skill training in tailoring, poultry, cookery and farming. A lot needs to be done on the refugee problem of education to make them realise their position and the future prospects either in Uganda or after repatriation or resettlement.

### **4.3 Communication**

In the refugee zones in Mbarara, communication is a major problem especially in transport. It is not easy to connect to different areas where the Banyarwanda are settled. In the first place, the roads are poor and there are no telecommunication services. The road from Mbarara town to Kaberebere which connects to Oruchinga and Nakivale on the border with Tanzania is too poor. It takes one more than two hours to reach Nakivale from Mbarara town due to the structure of the roads in Isingiro and Bukanga counties. Apart from the many pot-holes, water is stagnant in many parts along the road which makes it impossible for the commuter vehicles to operate freely. Besides the taxis operating on this road are few given the nature of the roads to the extent that people are packed more than 20 passengers in a single commuter that is licensed to carry only 14 passengers. This has in the past been the cause of many accidents since the traffic police is not facilitated to fight overloading.<sup>13</sup>

Within the settlements, it is hard to travel for a kilometer from one end to another. The paths are impassible and even the Red Cross four-wheel drive vehicles cannot easily run on the terrain. They use motorcycles which can traverse even the most complicated parts of the landscape to cross. There are small motorcycles operating on a commercial basis at different points and junctions within the settlement areas. They are commonly referred to as “boda boda” carrying the refugees and visitors in the settlement at a fee that is negotiable according to distance. Some youth at Nakivale Red Cross Headquarters do business by ferrying people using bicycles in and out of the settlement especially visitors and traders. The commercial motorcycles belong to people outside the settlement areas.

The Banyarwanda refugee settlements are generally isolated and are found in the remote parts of the district. Communication is a problem and the Red Cross has had to rely on the Radio-call system for communication. Whereas the rest of the district is connected with the mobile telephone network (MTN) and Celtel, these settlements are not facilitated in terms of communication. In cases of emergencies, the commandant uses the radio-call system to connect with the Red Cross offices in Mbarara and the Refugee Desk Officer in the Ministry of Local Government. Surprisingly, some Banyarwanda youth do have mobile phones operating on a commercial basis and identify strategic points where they can tap either MTN or Celtel network by climbing on top of water tanks or anthills. In spite of these communication problems, the refugees of Somali origin have a high affinity for mobile phones secured through their external links with their friends and relatives.

Frequency Modulation (FM) radios do transmit as far as the border with Tanzania and serve all the parts of the refugee settlements. Information can be carried on **Radio West** broadcasting mainly in Runyankole, **African Greater Radio** and **Capital Radio**. At least there is a small radio in each homestead in Nakivale and Oruchinga secured by the refugees themselves. Amidst all the problems associated with income, refugees move within and outside the settlements in



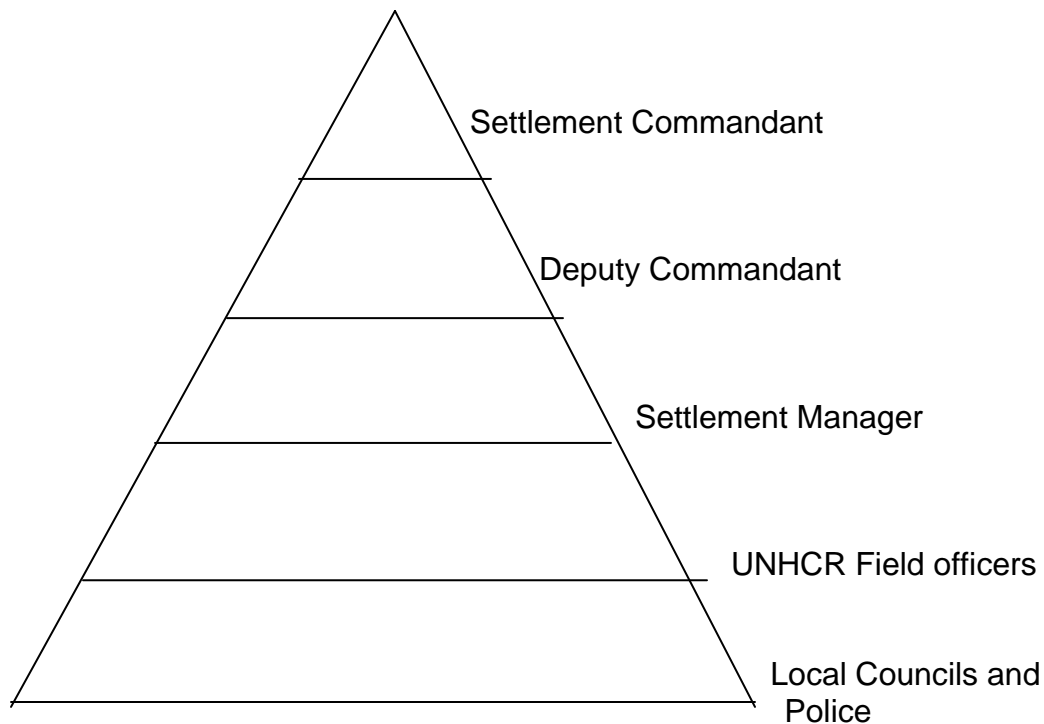
search for economic activities for survival. Many young men move as far as Mbarara town to look for petty jobs as porters and bricklayers while the rest try to survive within the settlements. L. Nakivale is used for mud-fishing using the local methods and the catch is exchanged for bananas and sometimes cassava with the local people in the neighbourhood.<sup>14</sup>

#### **4.4 Security**

This study tried also to find out on the security situation of the Banyarwanda refugees in Mbarara district. An analysis was made on how the refugees themselves and their property are secure or insecure in the district. Although Nakivale and Oruchinga are gazetted areas, it does not mean that the security of these refugees is guaranteed given that they live in a turbulent Great Lakes region. The Banyarwanda are prone to threats or attacks from the vagabond militia of Interahamwe operating across Uganda's frontiers.

In the settlement areas, security is guaranteed by the Uganda police force which has got a number of police posts all around the settlements. Cases of civil nature are handled by the police such as theft of property, assault and trespass on one's plot of land. The local council system is also functional in as far as maintaining law and order is concerned. When wrangles erupt between the neighbouring homesteads, the local council chairman summons his council members and cases are heard and a verdict is passed democratically. This system is popular in Nakivale and Oruchinga where the Banyarwanda refugees don't trust the police on ground that it is biased against the Banyarwanda as an ethnic group. Some settlers express doubts on the effectiveness of the police in safeguarding people's own rights and their property. Because of much congestion in some zones in the settlement and lack of privacy, some cases of rape and defilement have cropped up. Surprisingly, these cases, though of capital nature, end up being resolved locally. The settlement manager revealed that some of the cases do not come for mention to be resolved in the formal judicial structures.<sup>15</sup>

**The following is the hierarchical order in which law and order is maintained in the settlements.**



The settlement commandant is the official government representative managing the refugee settlement and aiding the implementation of government and international programmes towards the refugees. He is a resident official commanding the entire settlement to see to it that law and order is maintained among the refugees.<sup>16</sup> The commandant is accountable to the refugee desk officer based in Mbarara town who co-ordinates all the programmes and aid from outside the country and from the relevant ministries concerned with refugees. In case of any threat to the lives of the Banyarwanda refugees, the camp commandant notifies the government authorities in the district and also commands the security agencies such as the police and local defence units within the settlement.

In both Nakivale and Oruchinga, the commandant works with other officers in guaranteeing the security of the refugees. The settlements in the district have deputy commandants who assist the commandant in resolving any conflicts among refugees. Perhaps the most ground-based official is the settlement manager who does much of the supervision over many square miles of land in Nakivale and Oruchinga. The security of the refugees and their property is then guaranteed through this hierarchy of officials whose jurisdiction extends from land affairs, local disputes and external threats from land encroachers. The UNHCR and Red Cross have got field officers in the settlement areas who liaise with the settlement authorities in ensuring the implementation relief programmes.<sup>17</sup> At present, the issue of security is not an immediate problem though the absence of war does not mean peace and security.

#### NOTES

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2. Interview, Philimela Rwatangabo female refugee, Nakivale, refugee settlement, 29<sup>th</sup> October, 2003.
3. Interview, Eva Mutetsi nurse at Nakivale Health Centre, Nakivale Refugee settlement, 29th October, 2003.
4. *The Monitor* (Special report on refugees) "Refugees live in contrast in Nakivale Resettlement Camp", Monday, July 21<sup>st</sup>, 2001, p.14.
5. Interview, David Mugenyi Camp commandant, Nakivale Refugee settlement, 28th October, 2003.
6. Robina Namusisi, "The Plight of Rwanda Refugees", M.A Thesis Makerere University, Kampala, 1998, pp. 39-44.
7. Interview, Zelda Beehayo, Woman councilor, Ntungamo District, school of Post-Graduate studies, Makerere University, November 2003.

8. Interview, Victor Twinomugisha, Headmaster Kashojwa Primary school, Nakivale Refugee Settlement, 30<sup>th</sup> October, 2003.
9. Interview, Headmaster, Kashojwa Primary School, 30<sup>th</sup> October, 2003.
10. Interview, Headmaster Kashojwa Primary School, 30<sup>th</sup> October, 2003.
11. Interview, Headmaster, Kashojwa Primary School, 30<sup>th</sup> October, 2003.
12. Interview, some of the Banyarwanda refugees, Nakivale Refugee Settlement, 28<sup>th</sup> October, 2003.
13. Interview, Police Constable Ben Noowe, Nakivale Police Post, 29<sup>th</sup> October, 2003.
14. Interview, Pio Rwatangabo, resident of Nakivale Refugee Settlement, 29<sup>th</sup> October, 2003.
15. Interview, Protazio Mihingo, settlement Manager, Nakivale Refugee settlement, 28<sup>th</sup> October, 2003.
16. Interview, Douglas Asiimwe, Directorate of Refugees Office of the Prime Minister, Kampala 24<sup>th</sup> October, 2003.
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## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **THE ROLE OF HUMANITARIAN ORGANISATIONS**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

Having analysed the socio-economic conditions of the Banyarwanda refugees in Mbarara district since 1959, more emphasis, in this chapter is on the response of humanitarian agencies in mitigating the refugee crisis. Mbarara district has received both financial and logistical humanitarian aid from different support agencies to enable the settling of refugees and provide for their basic necessities. Although the realized support has not been enough to provide for the refugees needs, at least Nakivale and Oruchinga settlements have recorded a reasonable way of life.

Different organisations and agencies have been instrumental as government and community partners in working towards the welfare of the Banyarwanda refugees. UNHCR has been on the ground co-ordinating relief assistance ranging from food rations, shelter, safe drinking water, medicine and overseeing a voluntary repatriation programme. Others operating in the district include Uganda Red Cross Society (URCS), an affiliate of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent, providing for the welfare of the disadvantaged especially in the war-torn areas and disaster-affected nations.

World Food Programme (WFP) based in Rome, Italy has been the food basket to the Nakivale and Oruchinga settlements through regular interval distribution of rice, wheat, maize flour, beans and cooking oil among other items. It has also been active in promoting food cultivation in the refugee settlements especially sorghum and maize. The activities of WFP have been supplemented by other philanthropists such as the Jesuit Refugee Service based in Kampala. The Jesuit Refugee service, through the office of the Prime Minister has been responding to the refugee needs by providing clothes, household items and blankets. This has been based on the religious doctrines of sharing, charity and alms giving to the needy.<sup>1</sup>

The role of humanitarian agencies and organisations has enabled the government to implement the refugee policy as a signatory to the 1951 Geneva Convention. This is in view of the fact that the Great Lakes region is ever turbulent and the influx of refugees is ever witnessed, yet the government is incapacitated to solely address the refugee challenges and needs. In Western Uganda where the Banyarwanda refugees were settled and some got integrated, some indigenous people live a way of life much more appalling than that of a refugee. Uganda's economy as a developing country is not stable enough to allow for consistent attention to refugees, yet some Ugandans already live as internally displaced people without enough food, shelter, proper sanitation, safe drinking water and basic education. It is against this background that the activities of the humanitarian agencies have been timely and commendable to this day.

### **5.1 World Food Programme (WFP)**

WFP is an international humanitarian food distribution agency formed for the purpose of eradicating hunger and starvation especially among refugees and internally displaced people (IDP) in conflict areas. WFP is another UN-affiliated body that supplements Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) formed after the Second World War with headquarters in Rome, Italy. The unending wave of conflicts in Africa has dictated its operations in more than 20 African countries torn apart by war such as Somalia, Democratic Republic of Congo and Liberia among others. WFP has been operational in Uganda since 1971 and by July 2001, over 60 development projects and relief operations had been completed at a cost of over 262 million dollars (\$262,000,000).<sup>2</sup>

The goal of WFP assistance in Uganda is to save the lives of refugees and internally displaced persons made vulnerable by civil strife, improve health and nutritional status of vulnerable, malnourished and starving populations. These are mainly women and children, and also promote self reliance through agricultural development activities. WFP activities in Uganda supports the

government's poverty eradication efforts by targeting those areas assessed as the poorest and prone to refugee crises such as Nakivale and Oruchinga in Mbarara, Kyaka settlements and Northern Uganda among the Kony victims and Sudanese refugees.

WFP approved a country programme for five years (1999-2004) whose goal and objectives were clearly outlined. One of them was to improve, in a sustainable manner, the level of food security of approximately 113,800 beneficiaries a year (569,000 in five years) through education, agriculture and marketing, support to education and vocational training. Under this category, the Banyarwanda refugees were to be covered through the relevant ministry and other stakeholders in the refugee affairs in the country.<sup>3</sup>

The programme was also to enhance emergence preparedness and response by targeting aid to chronically food deficit areas and centres of refugees and internally displaced persons. This was through the provision of rural poor with assets and building their resilience to cope with recurrent calamities and perennial food shortage due to other factors.

WFP has continued to provide food aid to refugees not only the Banyarwanda in Mbarara district, but also internally displaced persons (IDPs). A new Protracted Relief and Recovery Operation (PRRO) for Uganda was formulated. The PRRO programme has addressed the underlying problems of food insecurity rather than providing subsistence alone, as well as responding to emergencies as they occur. Since 1971, the Banyarwanda refugees have benefited from WFP as recipients of food stuffs and knowledge to utilize their various small plots of land in the settlements to grow their own food.<sup>4</sup> As such, the two settlements of Nakivale and Oruchinga have a number of demarcated plots of land on household or homestead basis used in the cultivation of sorghum, potatoes, maize, beans, tomatoes, sun flowers, groundnuts and others. Under "Food aid for Relief and Recovery in the Great Lakes Region" Code no. PRRO 6077, a lot has been achieved for ordinary refugees. For the duration of 24 months (from 3<sup>rd</sup>

July 1999 – 31<sup>st</sup> July 2001), 8,670 tonnes of food were distributed to an estimated number of 20,000 refugees, half of whom were the Banyarwanda in Nakivale and Oruchinga settlement areas.<sup>5</sup>

## **5.2 Uganda Red Cross Society (URCS)**

Uganda Red Cross Society is a major humanitarian organisation operating in many parts of Uganda among the most vulnerable people like refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs). Since its inception in 1939 as a small women's emergence organisation, Uganda Red Cross Society has developed over years to become formidable and leading humanitarian agency especially for the refugees.

The society has about 150,000 registered members and is affiliated to the International Committee of the Red Cross and Red Crescent.<sup>6</sup> Uganda Red Cross Society executes its mission in partnership with other agencies together with the government of Uganda, United Nations agencies like UNHCR, World Food Programme and a number of Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs). Since 1994, the URCS has been an implementation partner in Western Uganda providing care and maintenance to about 20,000 refugees of various nationalities.

According to URCS officials, the formal operation of URCS among Banyarwanda refugees commenced in January 2000, following the signing of the Tripartite Agreement with the government of Uganda and UNHCR. Henceforth, the society was charged with the responsibility of managing refugee operations and humanitarian services in the settlement camps of Oruchinga and Nakivale. URCS through the Mbarara branch has been undertaking a number of humanitarian programmes as per the 2000 Tripartite Agreement that include:

- (i) Water and sanitation programme
- (ii) Health and Nutrition
- (iii) Community services



- (iv) Logistics and Transport
- (v) Relief
- (vi) Camp management
- (vii) Agency operation support

### **Water and Sanitation**

The Red Cross Society has undertaken this initiative to enable the refugees in settlement areas access safe drinking water. The programme involves the construction of boreholes, pumping and treatment of water from the available natural sources. A number of water committees have been formed at Nakivale and Oruchinga with much enthusiastic refugee participation. More than 10 boreholes have been put up at Oruchinga and 8 water tanks in Nakivale. It has not been possible to construct boreholes in Nakivale owing to the deep water table unlike Oruchinga. As such, the Red Cross directly pumps water from Lake Nakivale, treats and distributes to the refugees at selected centres.<sup>7</sup>

### **Health and Nutrition**

The society also carries out routine mobilization of the refugees towards having an acceptable health standard. This is in light of the fact that refugees are always vulnerable to epidemics and other pandemics like AIDS, cholera and Ebola that usually claim their lives en masse. The programme focuses on other health components like Nutrition and proper hygiene among refugee families. URCS supports health centres logistically and financially in the refugee settlements of Nakivale and Oruchinga such as Nakivale Health centre and Nshungyezi respectively. Support is extended to the medical staff especially for those not supported by the government in terms of wages. It was established that URCS has stepped up on-camp health programmes like immunisation of polio, measles, tetanus and dissemination of prevention information about HIV/AIDS. Vaccines are acquired in liaison with the Ministry of Health and World Health Organisation (WHO) and other agencies like the German GTZ.

The overall goal of URCS integrated health programme is to contribute towards the improvement of health of the most vulnerable by reducing morbidity and mortality rates from the prevailing diseases and health emergencies. The URCS health priorities have been implemented; HIV/AIDS control and Blood Donor Recruitment, First Aid, Social mobilization for the control of vaccine preventable diseases, Community Based Health Care (CBHC) and Emergency Health in disasters. Under the first component, URCS has been working closely with the Uganda government, AIDS Information Centre and WHO in the sensitization programme against HIV/AIDS among refugees. Sex education and condom distribution among refugees have been emphasized and implemented in the settlements. URCS also promotes hygiene by giving out tools and implements for digging up pit latrines, slabs for toilet covering and sanitary tissues to women.<sup>8</sup>

### **Community Service and Education**

Under this programme, the most vulnerable refugees are targeted including the elderly, lame, blind, widows and the terminally ill. It also involves the giving out of soft loans on a self-help basis after monitoring some of the refugee projects. The target group of the most vulnerable benefits more from relief items like blankets, increased food rations and household items.

Support has been extended towards refugee education in Mbarara district with more focus on basic literacy at primary level. There are a number of schools financed and supported by both the Uganda government and the URCS. URCS meets the top-up wages for teachers and fully pays those that are not on the official government payrolls. The beneficiaries are primary schools in the settlements at both Nakivale and Oruchinga which at the same time serve the population around the refugee gazetted areas. The URCS-supported schools include Kashojwa Models Primary School, Juru Primary School and Kabazana Primary School in Nakivale. In Oruchinga, support is given to Rwamurunga Primary School and Kajaho, all of which receive regular scholastic items like

books, pens, uniforms, chalk and at times direct construction of classroom blocks.

### **Logistics and Transport**

This is the programme geared towards maintenance of the infrastructure among refugees. It is mainly concerned with transport, communication, store and equipment management to facilitate URCS refugee activities. A number of facilities have been put in place such as power generators, food stores, ambulances, walkie-talkies, motorcycles and radio communication network. These facilities are manned by the Red Cross officials resident in the settlements of Nakivale and Oruchinga, assisted by the camp commandants.<sup>9</sup>

### **Relief**

Relief food and non-food items were distributed among the refugees on the household basis at regular and constant intervals. The URCS in collaboration with its partners like WFP, GTZ and UNHCR avails food rations, household utilities and tents for shelter. URCS receives food from WFP and distributes to the Banyarwanda and other refugees of different nationalities within the settlements. Each household receives grains (13.5kgs), beans and cooking oil every month. Every year, refugee families are given new blankets, water jerricans, a tent and sometimes clothes especially for children.

In spite of the regular food supplies from the Red Cross, the Banyarwanda refugees do not depend on food relief. These are supplementary food items to the families that already have food gardens around the settlements in both Nakivale and Oruchinga. The different allocated plots of land are put to maximum agricultural use by the application of a crop rotation method every other year. Ironically some of the Banyarwanda refugees have food surpluses ranging from potatoes, sorghum, vegetables and maize which are then sold to other refugees at specific commercial points in the settlement. Flesh food nutrition is maintained through the rearing of animals and birds within the camps especially goats, sheep, hens, ducks and rabbits. URCS relief food distribution follows a specific

pattern depending on the period particular refugees arrived in the district. The first groups of Banyarwanda refugees benefit more from relief food compared to the new entrants in the camps especially those who were settled after the 1994 Rwanda's genocide.

### **Camp Management**

Uganda Red Cross Society manages and monitors all the refugee activities and matters within the settlement areas in accordance with the Tripartite Agreement signed with the government of Uganda and UNHCR. The programme involves monitoring of social life in the camps, maintenance of law and order, resolution of conflicts and counseling. URCS implements the government refugee policies and programmes as directed through the Directorate of Refugees in the office of the Prime Minister and the Refugee Desk Officer based at Mbarara district headquarters. In the years 2002-2004, URCS had successfully and diplomatically resolved the inter-refugee clashes over land, witchcraft and theft that hitherto yielded to mayhem leading to manslaughter.<sup>10</sup> URCS works closely with the police in the refugee areas and the local council officials within the settlements to ensure peaceful co-existence among refugees.

### **Agency Operation Support**

URCS Agency Operation Support is essentially administrative work carried out at the society's headquarters in Mbarara. All the other programmes are co-ordinated from the centre and offices in Mbarara by a dedicated and humanitarian team. Various duties are executed such as purchases, reports, remitting of staff salaries, data analysis and programme appraisals among others. The programme is headed by the project coordinator who is the overall official for South-Western Refugee operation in charge of humanitarian support and administration.

A number of bottlenecks have been encountered by the society in the implementation and execution of programmes and activities. These, at times

have slowed down humanitarian work and services among the Banyarwanda refugees in the district. Mr. Nahamya Francis, the project coordinator, South-Western Refugee operation decried the absence of support staff to execute various programmes and activities. The Mbarara district medical offices had availed only 8 medical officers for the two refugee settlements of Oruchinga and Nakivale. According to him, in 2002, the refugees were under the medical services of only one medical doctor until URCS employed other health workers at Nakivale Health Centre and Nshungyezi in Oruchinga. There is also need for more funding to meet refugee services like pumping of water, drilling of boreholes and easing of transport. By February 2004, the refugee settlements were depending on 4 vehicles, and some not in a good mechanical condition. The distance from the Red Cross headquarters to the settlements is 56 and 52 kilometres respectively for Nakivale and Oruchinga. However, inspite of the challenges, URCS has been able to work for the welfare of refugees and mitigate the appalling conditions, courtesy of funding from UNHCR, WFP, International Federation of the Red Cross (IFRC), Netherlands Red Cross, German GTZ and other Corporate bodies like MTN Uganda.

### **5.3 United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR)**

UNHCR is one of the leading UN humanitarian agencies formed for the primary aim and objective of addressing the worsening conditions of the world's refugees and internally displaced people in the aftermath of the Second World War. On July 28 1951, the Geneva Refugee Convention established the legal framework in which UNHCR was to operate and adopted the terms of its humanitarian operations across the world. UNHCR has been instrumental in the settling of refugees and ensuring relief supplies like food, shelter and medicine in a turbulent world marred by armed conflicts and violence. Uganda is one of the states that embraced the mission of UNHCR and pledged to respect all its articles such as crucial Article 33 of the convention that states; "No contracting state shall expel or return a refugee to territories where his life or freedom would be threatened".<sup>11</sup>

In Uganda, UNHCR has been instrumental in responding to human suffering in refugee areas by maintaining relief assistance and resettling displaced people. This has been in partnership with the government of Uganda and other humanitarian agencies like the Uganda Red Cross Society. For the case of refugees, UNHCR entered into a Tripartite Agreement with the government of Uganda and Uganda Red Cross Society in executing its humanitarian assignment. UNHCR areas of operation in Uganda include South-Western Uganda (Oruchinga and Nakivale), Kyaka I and II, Acholi Pii camp and Kiryandongo in Masindi. Nevertheless, much of attention in this chapter is directed towards the role of UNHCR among the Banyarwanda refugees in the South-Western Refugee zone of Mbarara. The following tables illustrate the refugee population size and registration by nationality in Oruchinga and Nakivale according to UNHCR figures as per November 2003.

**The table below shows the Refugee Population break-down (sex and age) at Nakivale.**

Nationality	0 -4		5 -17		18-59		60+		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Rwandese	2486	2242	2066	1857	2120	1909	64	54	12798
Kenyans	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	3
Somalis	70	61	133	136	225	227	6	3	861
Ethiopians	3	2	6	3	30	13	0	0	57
Congolese	171	177	194	199	226	217	17	18	1219
Burundians	27	30	39	40	95	58	0	0	289
Sudanese	5	5	13	21	19	14	0	0	77
<b>Total</b>	<b>2762</b>	<b>2517</b>	<b>2451</b>	<b>2257</b>	<b>2716</b>	<b>2439</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>15304</b>

**The Table below shows the Refugee Population break-down (Sex and Age) at Oruchinga dominated by Banyarwanda.**

	0 -4		5 -17		18-59		60+		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Kifunjo	253	222	276	264	329	310	16	11	1681
Kazinga	144	197	221	183	199	234	16	15	1209
Michinga	310	279	210	193	177	183	8	8	1368
<b>Total</b>	707	698	707	640	705	727	40	34	4258

According to the population figures obtained from the refugee settlements of Nakivale and Oruchinga, Banyarwanda were by far the majority refugees. At Nakivale, the Banyarwanda gender population distribution was almost even, but with males being slightly more in number. Population figures at Nakivale also indicated that the Banyarwanda refugee problem still remains for the next generations because of the high number of refugee children, especially between the ages of 0-4 years. The same scenario applies to Oruchinga settlement that is pre-dominantly for the Banyarwanda refugees.

## **Operational Assistance and Supplies**

### **Relief Supplies**

UNHCR has maintained a consistent food distribution programme among the Banyarwanda refugees in Mbarara district. Apart from supporting URCS activities, UNHCR buys and carries out food distribution to different refugee families through the URCS officials. According to UNHCR statistics, a total of 15,304 refugees were given food rations from 30<sup>th</sup> October to 6<sup>th</sup> November 2003 in Nakivale. A total of 4,258 persons received UNHCR food distributions in the month of November 2003 in Oruchinga. The different relief food varieties included maize grains, posho, beans, rice and sometimes soft protein deities for the refugee children.

The Commission also regularly responds to the refugee domestic welfare through the provision of household needs and support items. Nakivale and

Oruchinga have benefited from UNHCR domestic and household support programme by receiving a number of assorted items as the 2003 reports indicate for the same year; 112 hoes, 150 jerricans, 150 blankets, 396 kitchen sets, 24 cartons of soap and 370 pieces of plastic sheeting. 6 bicycles for Nakivale and 4 for Oruchinga settlement were also delivered by UNHCR in support of HIV/AIDS programme.

### **Community Service and Education**

UNHCR has endeavoured to improve the refugee health services within the refugee gazetted settlements in the South-western areas of operation in implementation of the UNHCR-URCS-Uganda government Tripartite agreement. This has yielded to the reduction in the refugee mortality rate and general improvement in the health condition within the settlements at Nakivale and Oruchinga. Under the auspices of UNHCR, the leading child killer diseases like polio and measles have been effectively controlled, together with epidemics that were hitherto a periodical menace in the area.<sup>12</sup>

2003 records show that since UNHCR started funding URCS, two vehicles have been donated for refugee health programmes, including a UAA 278N registration Toyota Landcruiser for the project coordinator and another UAA 285N Toyota Landcruiser (hard top) which is directly used for health and administrative services between Mbarara town and the settlements. Both Nakivale and Oruchinga are also served by one ambulance that operates between the two sister settlements.

Other areas where UNHCR has registered humanitarian health support include the recruitment and remuneration of the health support staff among the refugees. A new medical officer, Dr. Fred Magala was recruited in the year 2003 on a temporary arrangement, replacing the former whose contract ran out. The field health co-ordinators attended a one-day Regional Symposium on 14<sup>th</sup> November 2003 in Mbarara organized by Aids Information Centre (AIC) at UNHCR initiative.



Nakivale and Oruchinga settlements managed to organise a two-day general health and food basket monitoring workshop facilitated by the area Public Health Nursing officer. In the same way, the health staff within the settlement attended a three-day training workshop on Prevention of Transmission from Mother to Child (PTMC) at Nakivale organized by URCS and facilitated by UNHCR. Also, HIV/AIDS activities and programmes have been progressing in the settlements with a call towards responsible behaviour and use of condoms. Other future health prospects include the fight against malaria through provision of treated mosquito nets, fumigation and re-grading and restocking of Nakivale-Nshungyezi health centres to hospital level.<sup>13</sup> In spite of all these undertakings by the UNHCR, there are still a number of health concerns especially on malaria which is a leading killer in the settlements. Some of the mosquito nets distributed to refugees are not put to proper use, and a number of refugees confessed to having abandoned the use of nets in their tents.

UNHCR has spearheaded other community programmes like education (including Adult Literacy) and Environmental Management and Conservation on refugee household levels, and also, the surrounding communities. UNHCR avails monetary and logistical support to primary schools within the settlements of Nakivale and Oruchinga through URCS. A case in point is Kashojwa Primary School which has been ear-marked as a model school for refugee children at Nakivale. The commission has also financed the construction of classroom blocks, purchase of scholastic items like school chalk, exercise books, reading guides and study charts among others.<sup>14</sup>

### **Environmental Conservation**

UNHCR environmental concerns have been directed and aimed at protecting the Banyarwanda refugees, their surroundings and vegetation. This is owing to the geographical fact that the refugee settlements of Nakivale and Oruchinga are situated in a dry and semi-arid area that forms part of the East African cattle corridor, and thus vulnerable to dry weather. Much of the green vegetation either withers away or is ravaged by the herds during the months of June-August. This

is further worsened by wild fires and collection of firewood. UNCHR has worked closely with URCS and the Ministry of Land and Environment in the protection of the refugee surroundings within and outside the gazetted areas.

According to the Commission's report, UNHCR tree project at Nakivale includes the planting of Eucalyptus woodlots at the two zones near the Base camp, plus the Nursery site of cupressus woodlot covering 26.7ha which have been weeded and slashed. The cupressus hustanica at the nursery site was rodent-pruned and a total area of 4.5ha was weeded through deep tilling at Kiretwa A and the Base camp in Nakivale. The second weeding has also been done at Kityaza covering an area of 25ha.

Fire lines for protection against any flames destroying the settlement were constructed and managed in all the Eucalyptus woodlots at Kiretwa A, Kiretwa B and Base camp. Meanwhile, restocking with tree seedlings continued at Kityaza and more than 23ha were covered with more than 38,000 seedlings of Eucalyptus grandis. The complete establishment of a nursery site topped up to 904 seedlings of cupressus hustanica. At Somali site in Nakivale, 5.89ha were filled up and about 3.05ha previously planted by Teak trees were planted with Grivelia robusta seedlings totaling to 4000.

The nursery management programme undertaken by UNHCR involves mixing of soil, pricking seedlings, filling pots and general management. Eucalyptus and passion fruit seedlings have been planted together with the pricking out of calliandra, albizia and few other species. The nursery store building was also reaching completion to sustain any other future environmental programmes. A total of 20 new mud stoves have been constructed in the refugee zones of Kabazana, Burundi and Kiretwa A within a period of two months. Intensive sensitization is going on and focusing on the importance of tree planting, woodlot conservation, intercropping trees with crops as well as soil and water conservation (SWC). This has yielded to some refugees in Burundi zone

establishing woodlots on individual basis and ensuring crop management for food security.<sup>15</sup>

The same report continues to highlight that similar environmental and crop management programmes have been initiated in Oruchinga settlement. All the 9.23ha under tree planting have been weeded, 4.32ha have been planted with trees of different species; Eucalyptus (700 seedlings), casuarina spp (500 seedlings), Pinus spp (800 seedlings) and Neem. A fire line has also been constructed to counter wild flames and a termite control system was introduced in Kazinga zone.

Others include a soil conservation project that has covered 12 sites. Six villages were set up for farmer training in compost manure preparation in all the three refugee zones in Oruchinga. The animal excrete for the compost pits was produced and delivered to the respective sites, and the process of composting awaits the delivery of calliandra biomass and farmer training.

The central demonstration garden set up at the central tree-nursery site is well established under good management. Weeding of crops (cabbages, maize and beans) has already been done at the nursery site demonstration plots. Already, there is a significant difference between the beans grown in plots with manure and those hitherto planted under natural conditions. Similar demonstration plots have been established at two primary schools in the area and five groups of farmers have been assisted to raise some horticultural crops in five different villages. The agency started a component on food security to raise improved food varieties of yams, cocoyams, sweet potatoes and cassava. Also, an orchard has been set up and will include guavas, pawpaws, mangoes, citrus and solanum spp. according to the camp commandant.

## **UNHCR and Repatriation**

On Monday, 19<sup>th</sup> January 2004, UNHCR officials oversaw the home-going of hundreds of refugees from Nakivale and Oruchinga camps. The truck-loads were organized by UNHCR staff and the district local government officials. It was an emotional moment for the people who had stayed in the district for many years.

One woman who had lived in the camp in Nakivale since her birth exclaimed that; “Imaana ishimwe we”, literally meaning that ‘God be praised’, in reaction to the long-awaited journey back home to the country she has known only through her parents’ tales. The repatriation process facilitated by the UNHCR has been a substantive step and breakthrough in addressing the question of the Banyarwanda refugees in the Western districts of Uganda.<sup>16</sup> As earlier noted, the long envisaged integration solution could not ultimately address the socio-economic conditions of the refugees owing to social discrimination and the continuous influx of Banyarwanda after the 1994 genocide.

Although the repatriation exercise and programme was voluntary by the Rwanda government, the UNHCR played a fundamental liaison role between the Kigali government and the Ministry of Disaster Preparedness in Uganda. According to the UNHCR spokesman based in Uganda, Dennis Duncan, the Commission formulated the policy framework that led to the signing of a Tripartite agreement for the refugees to go back home. The first group of 240 refugees was seen off and assured protection in Rwanda, to be followed by the second group of 280, all from the two camps of Oruchinga and Nakivale in Mbarara.

A senior refugee protection officer in the Prime Minister’s office, Douglas Asiimwe attributed the successful repatriation exercise to the logistical and financial support provided by the UNHCR in collaboration with other relief agencies such as the Uganda Red Cross Society (URCS). Other support areas included the transportation exercise, medicine, shelter, materials and remuneration to the support staff both in Uganda and Rwanda until the refugees are fully settled.<sup>17</sup>

The issue of repatriation has been the question unresolved since the establishment of Oruchinga and Nakivale as refugee settlements in 1964. The then Kigali government under President Habyarimana had disowned the Banyarwanda displaced in Uganda, which in turn led to new social and political developments for both Rwanda and Uganda. In the 1980s, most Banyarwanda refugees who were denied repatriation joined the NRM guerilla movement that ushered in a new political order to this day. The 1994 Rwanda genocide has been traced from the denial of repatriation by scholars like Gerald Prunier (1995).<sup>18</sup> The Banyarwanda force was well represented in NRA after the inauguration of the NRM government in 1986, who invaded their mother country in October 1990 under the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) umbrella. This was the genesis of the protracted war in Rwanda that ended with the 1994 holocaust.

The UNHCR –supported repatriation exercise is expected to achieve a three-fold end. The plight and the hostile socio-economic conditions of these refugees are expected to be addressed and the volatile relations between the countries would improve.<sup>19</sup> In this chapter a closer look is taken in highlighting the role and contribution of the UNHCR particularly towards repatriation as a crucial phase in addressing the Banyarwanda refugee crisis in Mbarara district.

UNHCR sought voluntary repatriation for the Banyarwanda refugees through a series of diplomatic undertakings. The second Tripartite Agreement between Rwanda, Uganda and UNHCR was signed paving way for the return of the Banyarwanda refugees living in the UNHCR settlements in Western Uganda. Apart from the agreement, a commission comprising officials from Uganda, Rwanda and UNHCR visited refugee settlement in Western Uganda to personally allay fears among the Banyarwanda refugees on returning to their homeland. This was because the entire repatriation exercise had been hijacked by pessimists and some opposition politicians for their parochial aims.<sup>20</sup> Some of the refugees feared for their lives and yet they were eager to return. Accordingly, their main concerns were revolving around availability of land, personal security

and social acceptance within the new post-genocide Rwanda community. Indeed some Banyarwanda living in Uganda had been accused of perpetrating genocide in 1994 and were branded collaborators with the notorious Interahamwe militia.

Courtesy of UNHCR sensitization programmes, the Head of the Rwanda Delegation and chairman of the Repatriation Committee was invited to address the refugees on the crucial points of land, personal security and social acceptance or integration within the new RPF-led Rwanda. All these fears are of great significance in appreciating the social-economic conditions of Banyarwanda refugees in Mbarara district. The Banyarwanda insisting on land and security to be guaranteed as a pre-condition for repatriation, puts right the observation that they were hitherto relatively well treated in Mbarara district. A good number had access to land, security and contributed in the production system in the district.

Sheik Abdul Karim Harelimana, the Head of the Rwanda Delegation and Chairman of the Repatriation Committee had been a prominent member of parliament in the newly elected Rwanda government. His message for the refugees touched on overall safety and acceptance awaiting them in Rwanda. He delivered a special message from President Paul Kagame that his government was committed to security for all, equality and good governance together with reconciliation between the Bahutu and Batutsi.<sup>21</sup>

He touched on land issues saying that all property illegally procured during the 1994 genocide would be repossessed by the rightful owners in accordance with the Rwandan law and international justice. UNHCR officials were reassured that those Banyarwanda refugees not claiming land in Rwanda would be allotted small plots in the areas of their choice that fit their family requirements basically for food production.

The Rwandan government reiterated its stand on the issue of security guaranteed by the Tripartite agreement that would be enforced by government institutions. However, Sheik Abdul Karim was quick to add that those among the refugee population, who committed atrocities during the 1994 genocide would be identified and prosecuted in due time according to the recommendation of the International Court of Justice on genocidaires. The Rwanda government urged those wishing to take up voluntary repatriation not to be adversely influenced by parties with the wrong information about their safety in Rwanda.

The first UNHCR trucks carrying refugees were slated to leave the settlements of Oruchinga and Nakivale on January 19 2004. Prior arrangements had been concluded by UNHCR together with the government officials from Rwanda and Uganda. According to UNHCR information officer, Dennis P. Duncan, families would be catered for to enable them settle in a new life of an average Rwandese. Each family would receive on arrival in Rwanda, one kitchen set, plastic sheeting, three blankets, two jerricans and 200 grams of soap per person. Also promised in due course were dry food rations, cooking oil and other household items. The UNHCR would co-ordinate with the Rwandese medical team to examine the health status of the returnees to guard against health hazards and epidemics such cholera, ebola and the like.<sup>22</sup>

1,165 refugees comprising 382 families had registered for repatriation back to Rwanda according to UNHCR statistics. Alice Litunga, UNHCR representative resident in Mbarara said that while registered numbers were low during the programme's onset, they would increase as more returnees sent word back to the settlements in western Uganda that conditions were indeed good. To her, the success of voluntary repatriation programmes would be determined by the way the returnees get acclimatised to the socio-economic and political changes in Rwanda. The information campaign would continue sponsored by UNHCR in the settlements to keep refugees abreast of safety conditions in Rwanda and urge them to register for an orderly and swift return home.<sup>23</sup>

#### **5.4 The Refugee Human Rights**

On July 28, 2001, UNHCR marked its 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary with a call on governments to observe, protect and guarantee refugee rights.<sup>24</sup> UNHCR Director of International Protection, Erika Feller noted that the Geneva Refugee Convention has been subjected to much pressure by refugee-hosting states. The High Commissioner for Refugees, Ruud Lubbers reiterated the need for the protection of refugees, particularly by the signatory states to the 1951 Geneva Convention. According to him, the most worrying trend was the growing number of states violating Article 33 of the convention, which states that: “No contracting state shall expel or return a refugee to territories where his life or freedom would be threatened”.

For the last one decade, the local communities treated most of the Banyarwanda who came to Uganda as refugees in the 1950s, as citizens.<sup>25</sup> They later went back to Rwanda through an armed struggle in the 1990s. Nevertheless, this is a debatable position as to whether it stands as an open goodwill policy of Uganda towards the refugees or it was just the government’s ineffectiveness that arose out of the instability period that existed since independence.

Uganda Human Rights Commission (UHRC) has played a significant monitoring and advisory role towards protecting the Banyarwanda refugees’ rights since its formation. Although the government changed its policy towards refugees after the years in 1980s, not all the refugee rights have been granted. As such, UHCR has called for the change of various policies and treatment of refugees, especially the Banyarwanda who settled in Ankole as early as 1959. The UHCR Monitoring and Treaties Department head, Nathan Byamukama observed that it is unfair for refugees who have lived in Uganda for long and have been paying taxes to be denied voting rights in the national elections. To him, the attitude to refugees in general by Ugandans varies from those who want to oppress them and others who do not care.<sup>26</sup> This was however, a contentious issue at a conference on Pan-African Development and Advocacy Programmes on



Citizenship and Conflict Resolution in the Great Lakes Region, attended by delegates from Uganda, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, Burundi and Eritrea at Grand Imperial Hotel, Kampala in 2003.

Unlike other refugees living in the country, the Banyarwanda refugees are recognized at almost the same status in terms of human rights like the local people in Mbarara district. According to the affidavits sworn by witnesses in the petitions filed against President Museveni's re-election in 2001 and that of Ngoma Ngime versus Winnie Byanyima in the 2001 parliamentary elections, the Banyarwanda refugees are said to have voted. Since 1996, they have cast their votes like any other registered voters in favour of President Museveni. A report released by Makerere University, Banyarwanda refugees are recognized voters, except those who are new in the settlements.<sup>27</sup> The irony of this is the allegation that they always unanimously vote for one presidential aspirant following different political gimmicks and ploys that any other leader, other than President Museveni would change the refugee policy and have them forcefully evicted.

A survey conducted by the Refugee Law Project, Faculty of Law, Makerere University, shows that the Banyarwanda refugees have lived under far relatively humane conditions vis-à-vis their counterparts scattered in other parts of the country. The project was established in November 1999 with the aim of protecting and promoting refugees' rights in Uganda. The Refugee Law Project (RLP) operates as an autonomous project within the Faculty of Law at Makerere University, and focuses on three main areas: legal assistance, training and research advocacy. RLP works towards ensuring that asylum seekers and refugees are, as specified under national and international law, treated with the fairness and consideration due to fellow human beings.

The legacy of Uganda's past was characterised by gross human rights violations and disregard for justice and rule of law by a series of authoritarian regimes. This left almost a million people dead, two million refugees, numerous others injured

an incalculable amount of property damaged. As part of the process of constructing a new Uganda, the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government took several tangible measures towards fulfilling its promise of restoring respect for human rights.<sup>28</sup> These steps included the establishment of a commission of inquiry to investigate violations of human rights in the period 1962 -1986 and institutionalizing of the Inspector General of Government (IGG) to investigate government corruption and human rights violations. According to Kanyeihamba, the legal framework for human rights protection is clearly established and Uganda has incorporated the 1951 Geneva Convention into a national law by passing the Geneva Convention Act. Consequently, over the past ten years and so, Uganda has secured international recognition as one of the most stable countries in the Eastern Region of Africa, with a commitment to addressing and investigating human rights abuses.<sup>29</sup>

Amnesty International has observed that once a nation's constitution incorporates human rights safeguards which are equal to or greater than the existing minimum international standards, national law and practice needs to be reviewed and amended accordingly. In the case of Uganda, the 1995 Constitution promises an impressively large "bundle of rights" for citizens and non-citizens alike. All this has called for refugee legislation in Uganda by invoking the 1964 Alien Refugees Act.

In 1996, a Draft Refugee Bill was introduced, formulated on the basis of 1995 constitution and incorporating Uganda's obligations of human rights protection under international human rights and refugee law.<sup>30</sup> The underlying premise of the analysis is that within the human rights arena, there is no hierarchy as to the importance of certain rights over others such as civil, political, economic, social or cultural. The main strengths of the Draft Refugee Bill include its incorporation of fundamental rights specific to the categories of persons known as refugees. The Bill also contains the definition of a refugee in accordance with the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1969 OAU convention.

However, the Draft Refugee Bill contains several inconsistencies as well as omissions of international human rights standards which must be addressed if Uganda is to ensure that refugees are given respect as human beings within Uganda's borders. The bill omits the fundamental right of freedom of movement, accessibility to the courts of law among others.

Nevertheless, for the sake of Banyarwanda refugees, there has been preferential treatment since 1986. Most of the settled and camped refugees participated in the guerilla war of liberation led by President Museveni. A good number could move freely, own land and be employed in the civil service before voluntary repatriation in 1994 and 2003. The Banyarwanda human rights have further had a bearing on the socio-economic conditions positively, at least in Mbarara district, though a lot must be done to address the settlement conditions with much optimism. The 2003 Refugee Act will resolve the underlying issues, pertaining to the refugee human rights in general in accordance with the 1951 Geneva Convention.

Due to much deprivation and exposure to socio-economic problems, the Banyarwanda refugees have been an active group in the struggle to regain their lost identity. Unfortunately, the government policy in Uganda has not enabled yet the realization of their future aspirations. All this withstanding, they look forward to living a better life in Mbarara, access land, water, food and live harmoniously with the local community. This calls for government's involvement in partnership with the international community such as the Red Cross, World Food Programme and UNHCR.

## NOTES

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2. World Food Programme Working paper 2001-2003, p.1.
3. Ibid, p.3.
4. Interview, Philimoni Ndahizimaana, Nakivale Refugee Settlement, Mbarara, 29<sup>th</sup> October, 2003.
5. Op.cit, WFP Report, p.2.
6. Interview, Uganda Red Cross official (Simon Muhumuza) Mbarara Regional Headquarters, 26<sup>th</sup> October, 2003.
7. Interview, David Mugenyi, Camp Commandant, 28<sup>th</sup> October, 2003.
8. Interview, Simon Muhumuza, Uganda Red Cross Society, Mbarara, 26<sup>th</sup> October, 2003.
9. Interview, David Mugenyi, Camp Commandant, Nakivale, 28<sup>th</sup> October, 2003.
10. Interview, Wilson Sengo, Uganda Red Cross Society official, Mbarara Regional Headquarters, 26<sup>th</sup> October, 2003.
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14. Interview, Victor Twinomugisha, headmaster, Kashojwa Primary school, Nakivale Refugee settlement, 30<sup>th</sup> October, 2003.
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17. Interview, Douglas Asiimwe, Directorate of Refugees , Prime Minister's Office, Kampala, 24<sup>th</sup> October, 2003.
18. Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis 1959-1994*, Fountain Publishers, Kampala, 1995, p.65.

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23. Interview, Alice Litunga, UNHCR Representative, Resident in Mbarara, 12<sup>th</sup> November, 2005.
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## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **6.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents a summary of the major arguments and findings in the previous chapters. It is a general summary of the information gathered through research work on the Banyarwanda refugees in Mbarara District since 1959. A conclusion is drawn and recommendations made in light of their socio-economic conditions.

## **6.1 Summary**

In the study, it was established that the root-cause of Banyarwanda problem in Mbarara District and the rest of Uganda stemmed from the post independence conflict in Rwanda and the ethnic tension among the Batutsi and Bahutu. Most of the literature focusing on the Banyarwanda problem does confirm this and some writers like Prunier have gone further to trace the background to the ethnic conflicts within Rwanda after the end of Belgian colonialism<sup>1</sup>.

The study found that the question or problem of Banyarwanda in Uganda is a rather complex one, considering mainly political and geographical factors. By constitution, there are Banyarwanda living in Uganda as citizens or Ugandans of Rwandese origin. These are at times mistaken by sections of people as refugees, which is wrong according to the 1995 constitution of the Republic of Uganda and the findings in this study<sup>2</sup>. The Banyarwanda who constitute the refugee problem in this study were those who entered the country in 1959 and after. Research findings also established that the refugee socio-economic conditions were affected negatively by the influx of another group of asylum seekers during the 1994 Rwanda genocide.

Uganda's politics other than any other factor determined the Banyarwanda refugees' socio-economic conditions since independence. It was found out that the Banyarwanda refugees became more pro-active after 1971. For instance, they were used by some regimes for political objectives. Amin used the Banyarwanda as an anti-Obote force whereby a good number were recruited into the infamous State Research Bureau. It was also true that a good number of

Banyarwanda women were married to army and government officials because of their striking beauty.<sup>3</sup>

Between 1980 and 1985, the Banyarwanda refugees' socio-economic conditions were so harsh that most of them supported the guerilla war in Uganda led by Yoweri Museveni. This followed anti- Banyarwanda government policies especially in western Uganda such as state-sponsored evictions from the lands they occupied and wanton arrests and persecution. It was this political factor that in turn hindered their social integration. Findings again show that the National Resistance Movement government policies have been more favourable to the Banyarwanda refugees, and therefore, positively determining their socio-economic conditions. This has been attributed to the equally supportive role the Banyarwanda refugees played in helping the then NRA take over power, especially in the areas of Luweero.

Apart from politics, other factors found out to have influenced the socio-economic conditions of the Banyarwanda refugees in Mbarara District include accessibility to resources and also cultural issues. Some refugees accessed land and others were absorbed into the Ankole culture, especially among the Bahima. The reason for this was the homogeneity in some aspects of culture such as cattle-keeping and marriage systems as discussed in the previous chapters. However, this was to a limited extent because many Banyarwanda are still living in camps, though referred to as settlements in Nakivale and Oruchinga. Land and education facilities are still lacking, communication in the area is poor and there is need for better shelter.

Though different scholars have generalized the refugee problem in Uganda, this study revealed that the Banyarwanda refugees in Uganda are not passive aliens. They are pro-active people that have been struggling to make an impact on their socio-economic conditions, and accessed land, got education and participated in Uganda's politics as already shown in the previous chapters.

There is much work being done by humanitarian agencies towards making the socio-economic conditions of Banyarwanda refugees better. The UNHCR, World Food Programme (WF) and the Red Cross Society have been actively involved in providing assistance to the Banyarwanda refugees especially those living in gazzetted areas or settlements in Nakivale and Oruchinga. The Banyarwanda refugees are able to access food rations, household utilities and medical care. The UNHCR has also facilitated the repatriation process of some refugees since 2003 under a tripartite arrangement with the governments of Uganda and Rwanda.

## **6.2 Conclusion**

As far as the refugee question is concerned, the Banyarwanda refugees had been given preferential treatment especially since 1971. Most of the settled and camped refugees participated in the guerilla war of liberation led by President Museveni. A good number could move freely, own land and be employed in the civil service before voluntary repatriation in 1994 and 2003. The Banyarwanda human rights have further had a bearing on the socio-economic conditions positively, at least in Mbarara district, though a lot must be done to address the settlement conditions with much optimism. The 2003 Refugee Act will resolve the underlying issues pertaining to the refugee human rights in general in accordance with the 1951 Geneva Convention.

Due to much deprivation and exposure to socio-economic problems, the Banyarwanda refugees have been an active group in the struggle to make their lives better. Unfortunately, the government policy in Uganda has not enabled yet the realization of their future aspirations. However, they look forward to living a better life in Mbarara, access land, water, food and live harmoniously with the local population. This calls for government's involvement in partnership with the international community such as the Red Cross, Word Food Programme and UNHCR.

## **6.3 Recommendations**



Following the findings in this study on the socio-economic conditions of Banyarwanda refugees in Mbarara District, the following recommendations are put forward.

- i) There is need for the government to put more focus on improving the refugee conditions especially those in camps and settlement areas. This is about improving transport and communication to such areas like Nakivale, Orukinga, Kiryandongo.
- ii) The National Environment Management Authority (NEMA) should design a programme of protecting or securing the habitats for refugees. This would serve to save vegetation around refugees' settlements and camps due to much degradation activities taking place such as the cutting of trees for shelter and firewood.
- iii) Apart from the distribution of food rations and provision of shelters like tents, the refugee agencies need also to look into the issue of health. There is urgency to address the hygiene concerns around the refugees' settlements in Nakivale and Oruchinga. Disease control measures also need to be adopted especially on vaccination and protection against HIV/AIDS.
- iv) Following the rampant cases of land grabbing in the country, there is need to ensure that the gazetted settlements of Nakivale and Oruchinga are free from land encroachers. The two settlements were established by act of parliament and therefore, the government through the local government should maintain the square miles of land for refugees.
- v) The repatriation programme that started way back in 2003 should remain on course as a way of resolving the Banyarwanda refugee problem. The Uganda government together with UNHCR and the government of

Rwanda need to work towards finding a place back home for the Banyarwanda refugees still living in gazetted areas.

- vi) There is also need for a definitive refugee policy in the country that is uniform to all the aliens. This should be able to address issue like refugees' human rights, protection, social services and conditions of settlement in a host country.

#### **NOTES**

1. Gerald Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis 1959-1994*, Fountain Publishers, Kampala, 1995, pp.65-67.
2. The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995, Chapter 3, Article 10, Section (a).
3. Interview, Mzee Rwamafa, a retired principal of Ibanda Primary Teachers College, Mbarara, 30<sup>th</sup> October 2003.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A: Interview guide and Questionnaire Sample

#### 1. Adult Refugees

- a) What is your name?
- b) How old are you?
- c) Where were born?
- d) Do you have children? How many?
- e) Are your children in school?
- f) Where?
- g) Who pays their school fees?
- h) What about uniform and books?
- i) Where do you get water for home use?
- j) Have you heard of Uganda Red Cross Society?
- k) What does it do here?
- l) What kind of food do you receive from the Red Cross Society?
- m) Do you have a garden anywhere on this camp?
- n) What do you grow?
- o) How often do your children fall sick, and of what?
- p) Where do you go for treatment?
- q) Tell me, what happens around this area when it is time for voting leaders (elections time)?
- r) Have you ever voted any leader? Who?
- s) Are you supposed to be voting?
- t) How are you treated by the people around this camp, the Banyankole and Bakiga immigrants?
- u) Are you happy here at Nakivale?
- v) Do you remember when the Banyarwanda were forced out of Ankole in 1980s?
- w) Were you one of them?

- x) Where were you living then?
- y) Apart from farming on this piece of land, what else do you do for survival?
- z) Tell me in summary, the main problems you have faced as a refugee.

## **2. Refugee Children**

- a) What is your name?
- b) How old are you?
- c) Do you go to school? Where?
- d) In which class are you?
- e) Do you have parents?
- f) What is your mother's name?
- g) What is your father's name?
- h) Who is your headmaster?
- i) Have you ever put on school uniform?
- j) Which language do your teachers use in class?
- k) Where do you sit in class?
- l) What are you going to eat at home?
- m) How many times do you eat at home?
- n) Do you know any relative outside Nakivale/Oruchinga?

## **3. Refugee Leaders (Camp Commandants, Red Cross Officials, Headmaster – Kashojwa Model Primary School)**

- a) What is your name Sir/Madam?
- b) What is your main role towards helping refugees?
- c) How big is Nakivale settlement?
- d) How big is Oruchinga settlement?
- e) How many primary schools are in each of these settlements?
- f) Do you have any health centres in these settlements? What are their names?
- g) How does the government help these refugees?
- h) Tell me about the activities of the Red Cross in this area.
- i) What about UNHCR?
- j) How did pupils perform last year at P.L.E?
- k) Can you tell me of the challenges refugees face in this settlement?



## **APPENDIX B: Categories of Respondents**

- a) Individual refugees.
- b) Refugee children.
- c) Camp commandants.
- d) Headmaster – Kashojwa Model Primary School, Nakivale.
- e) Health workers within Refugee Settlement areas.
- f) Tax drivers in Refugee areas.
- g) Motorcyclists (Boda boda).
- h) Indigenous people (citizens in the district).
- i) Red Cross Officials (Mbarara Regional Headquarters).
- j) Refugee Desk Officer, Mbarara District.
- k) Retired Civil Servants.
- l) Veteran Politicians.
- m) Police constables, Nakivale.
- n) Officials from the Directorate of Refugees, Prime Minister’s Office.
- o) UNHCR Information Officer, Kololo.

## **APPENDIX C:**

- a) David Mugenyi – Camp Commandant
- b) Simeo Gabitsya – Former LCIII Chairperson
- c) Mzee Rwamafa – Retired Civil Servant
- d) Mzee Ntiro – Refugee
- e) Philimoni Ndahizimaana – Refugee
- f) Elifazi RWabukurukuru - Indigenous citizen
- g) Charles Rwomushana – Former Constituent Assembly Delegate.
- h) Elinansi Gahuungu – Refugee
- i) Basomyi – Refugee
- j) Mrs. Margaret Mugambwa – Nurse
- k) Samuel Bamwe - Sub-county Chief
- l) Gyovatoyombye – LC III Chairman

- m) Muhumuza Simon – Red Cross Official
- n) Wilson Sengo – Red Cross Official
- o) Petero Bainenaama – Refugee
- p) Twinamatsiko Baker – Taxi Driver
- q) Peter Kashabe- Refugee
- r) Joash Bwengye – Refugee
- s) Mutongore K. – LC I Chairman
- t) Mrs. Zelda Behayo – Woman Councilor.
- u) Tadeo Bakwatane – Refugee
- v) Tibigwisa Mukuru – Refugee
- w) Pio Rwangabo – Refugee
- x) Philimela Rwangabo – Refugee
- y) Eva Mutetsi – Refugee Nurse
- z) Victor Twinomugisha – Primary Headteacher
- aa) Ben Noowe – Police Constable
- bb) Protazio Mihingo – Settlement Manager
- cc) Douglas Asiimwe – Official Directorate of Refugees
- dd) Fred Magala – Health Worker
- ee) Dennis Duncan – UNHCR Information Officer

#### **APPENDIX D: Instruments**

- a) Interviews (Refugees and Non-refugees).
- b) Use of secondary sources in Libraries and Archives.
- c) Government Statistics.
- d) UNHCR and Uganda Red Cross working papers.
- e) Parliamentary Debates – Hansards.
- f) Newspapers.
- g) Field observations.