



Rwanda on the Process of Recovery from the 1994 Genocide

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ABSTRACT

During the pre-colonial era, Rwanda was a united nation. Hutu, Tutsi and Twa were commonly known as Rwandans. From time immemorial, they lived together on the same territory, had the same culture and used the same language. Upon their arrival, Belgian colonists misinterpreted the existing socio-economic stratifications in Rwanda. Colonial powers transformed the three existing socio-economic stratifications into ethnic groups. Colonial powers treated Hutu and Tutsi differently. This resulted into conflicts and genocide.

April to July 1994 Rwanda was a hell of a nation. More than 1,000,000 people, Tutsi and moderate Hutu had been killed. over 300 lives lost every hour for the 100 days of the genocide, and millions more displaced from their homes. Its institutions, systems of government, and trust among its people were destroyed. There was no precedent for the situation it found itself in: desperately poor, without skilled labour and resources, and the people demoralised and divided.

This paper intends to treat the historical background of the Republic of Rwanda, from the precolonial period, through 1994 genocide and its aftermath. The paper will bring about the awareness in regards with the current situation of Rwanda on the course of recovering from the consequences of genocide. The current paper will analyze the main milestones of Rwanda development and the strategies used for this achievement.

1. Introduction

In 100 days in 1994, people, mainly members of the Tutsi ethnic group, were slaughtered in the East African nation of Rwanda, making it one of the worst atrocities in the bloody history of the 20th century. Violence came about as a result of simmering tensions between the majority Hutus, who make up 85 percent of Rwanda's population of 7.2 million (as of 1994), and the Tutsis, who had traditionally enjoyed elite status. The Belgian colonial rulers contributed to the problem by rewarding the Tutsis with privileges and a Western education while denying political and economic power to the Hutus.

This ideology spurred sporadic killings of the Tutsi, pogroms, exiles and humiliations of all kinds, culminating in the Genocide against the Tutsi in 1994. This genocide, committed by Rwandans against Rwandans, destroyed social bonds between Rwandans and damaged economic institutions. Despite this, the survivors, the genocide perpetrators and their respective families now have to live together in order to overcome their painful history, as they envision an optimistic future. The Belgians issued identity cards to distinguish the two groups, an act that would have chilling ramifications nearly a century later.

In spite of the agreement, animosities between the ethnic groups only deepened: By early 1994 the situation had deteriorated to such an extent that humanitarian agencies began to evacuate their employees. The event that precipitated the subsequent Genocide occurred on April 6, 1994, when the plane carrying President Habyariman, a moderate Hutu, and his Burundian counterpart was brought down by a rocket under mysterious circumstances.

The Genocide against the Tutsi has done a lot of harm to Rwandan society. In a three months period, more than one million Tutsi were killed. This genocide damaged and destroyed the social cohesion and make up of Rwandan society. After the genocide ended, the country was on the brink of economic collapse..

In Rwanda, events of a prior decade are still fresh in the minds of many survivors and perpetrators [5] however, Rwandans have made considerable progress on the road to reconciliation and are focusing on economic development.

2. Genocide- the Meaning

Although the term is relatively recent, genocide has been practiced for millennia. In the fifth century, forces of the Atilla the Hun rampaged through Europe and the Middle East, carrying out indiscriminate killings, and Genghis Khan and his Mongul hordes slaughtered thousands as they pushed westward.

However, it is only in the 20th century that genocide became so systematic and was carried out with such brutal efficiency, beginning with the deportation of Armenians from Ottoman territory, which may have taken the lives of as many as 1.8 million people in 1915. The contemporary archetype of modern genocide is the Holocaust, in which German Nazis starved, tortured, and executed an estimated six million European Jews, as well as millions of other ethnic and social minorities, as part of an effort to develop a master Aryan race.

Apart from the Holocaust, there have been a number of other events that at least some commentators have described as genocide. These include the devastation of numerous Native American tribes through battles with European settlers and exposure to their diseases; the killing of some 1.5 million Armenians by the Turks during and after World War I; the deaths of approximately 1.7 million Cambodians under the Khmer Rouge regime in Cambodia between 1975 and 1979; the killing of hundreds of thousands of civilians during the Vietnam War; the deaths of more than 20,000 Christian Orthodox Serbs, Muslims, and Roman Catholic Croats in "ethnic cleansing" arising out of the civil war in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina during the early 1990s; and the deaths of more than one million Rwandan civilians in ethnic clashes between the Hutu and Tutsi peoples, also during the early 1990s. The 1994 genocide of Tutsi in Rwanda will be deeply discussed in the next section.

3. Definitions of Genocide

Genocide, said Lemkin, is a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of the essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves'. This, he continued, did not necessarily have to entail 'immediate destruction' but was part of an overall plan to cause 'the disintegration of the political and social institutions of the group', including the 'destruction of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups' (my emphases).

3.1 Various Definitions of genocide

1. **Peter Drost (1959):** "Genocide is the deliberate destruction of physical life of individual human beings by reason of their membership of any human collectivity as such.
2. **Steven T. Katz (1994):** "[Genocide is] the actualization of the intent, however successfully carried out, to murder in its totality any national, ethnic, racial, religious, political, social, gender or economic group, as these groups are defined by the perpetrator, by whatever means." (*n.b.* Modified by Adam Jones in 2010 to read, "murder in whole or in part.
3. **Donald Bloxham (2009):** "Genocide is] the physical destruction of a large portion of a group in a limited or unlimited territory with the intention of destroying that group's collective existence.
4. **Webster: Genocide is** the deliberate and systematic destruction of a racial, political, or cultural group.
5. **Legal disctionary: Genocide is** The crime of destroying or conspiring to destroy a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group. Genocide can be committed in a number of ways, including killing members of a group or causing them serious mental or bodily harm, deliberately inflicting conditions that will bring about a group's physical destruction, imposing measures on a group to prevent births, and forcefully transferring children from one group to another.

3.2 Definition by the International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide

He Genocide Convention was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 9, 1948, and entered into force on January 12, 1951. As of September 2005 the number of parties to the convention had grown to 137; more than 70 nations have made provisions for the punishment of genocide in domestic criminal law. Article II of the Genocide Convention making, the commission of genocide a crime, has been incorporated in the 1998 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.

The Fourth Geneva Convention employed a similar definition in Article II, which describes genocide as “any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such.

- Killing members of the group;
- Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

4. Genocide in Rwanda

The 1994 genocide was the result of a long-established discrimination, divisionism, and an ideology of hatred that encouraged the Hutu ruling regimes to consider the Tutsi as invasive foreigners. They were considered as Hutu oppressors who should be gotten rid of definitively.

In the 1950s Hutu resentment against the Tutsis burst into violence; by 1963, after Rwanda had become independent, the Hutus were firmly in control of the country.

Tutsis were massacred and subjected to discrimination and persecution. Many Tutsis went into exile in neighboring Uganda, where they formed the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). In the early 1990s the RPF invaded the country, setting off a civil war lasting six months that ended only with a cease-fire formally called the Arusha Accords in 1991.

The commander of the United Nations peacekeeping force, deployed in the country to supervise the Arusha Accords, recognized the danger and requested authorization from UN headquarters in New York to take action to prevent the conflict from exploding. But the United Nations failed to respond in any meaningful way.

5. The Precolonial Rwanda-A United People

During the pre-colonial era, Hutu, Tutsi and Twa were commonly known as Rwandans. From time immemorial, they lived together on the same territory, had the same culture and used the same language: “*Ikinyarwanda*”. Those ties were an important element of social cohesion. Individuals recognized one another as being Rwandans and each recognized the other as having the right to be a Rwandan.

At that time the first Rwandan identity reference was the clan. Belonging to the same clan implied that the concerned persons were of the same origin and shared the same distant ancestor. Both Hutu and Tutsi enjoyed their rights and lived peacefully, working together, marrying one another and having children together. The pre-colonial period saw Rwanda as a united state. Under their King, Rwandans profited from the leadership of the monarch and exercised their rights fully. The Hutu, Tutsi and Twa socio-economic stratifications of Rwanda human groups swore allegiance to the same monarch.

Upon their arrival, Belgian colonists misinterpreted the existing socio-economic stratifications in Rwanda. Colonial powers transformed the three existing socio-economic stratifications into ethnic groups. Referring to the Hamitic ideology, they divided Rwandans into a “*conquering*” race (the Tutsi), a Bantu race (the Hutu), and pygmoids (the Twa). The Hamitic ideology supported the idea that the Tutsi belonged to the Nilotic Hamitic family while the Hutu belonged to the Bantu family.

In 1931, Belgian colonial powers introduced ethnic identity cards indicating which ethnic group each Rwandan citizen belonged to. Colonial powers treated Hutu and Tutsi differently. They described the Tutsi as alien, the superior ethnic group, and as natural leaders who should thus make up the entire ruling class, while the inferior Hutu, the indigenous people, should become a permanent underclass.

Consequently, Hutu chiefs were systematically demoted and Tutsi were promoted. In addition, the educational system was unequal, developed in line with the established ethnic groups with Tutsi superiority. As Sebarenzi, J. (2009) wrote, “admission to schools that prepared government leaders was reserved predominantly for Tutsi; only a handful of Hutu could go.

6. Preparations for Slaughter

The Genocide of the Tutsi in 1994 was a carefully planned and executed exercise, by the Habyarimana regime, to annihilate Rwanda's Tutsi population and Hutus who did not agree with the prevailing extremist politics of the Habyarimana regime.

In late October, Tutsi soldiers in neighboring Burundi seized and murdered the Hutu president, freely and fairly elected only months before. The crime, energetically exploited by Radio television libre de mille collines (RTLM), confirmed the fears of many Rwandan Hutu that Tutsi would not share power and swelled the numbers supporting Hutu Power.

Meanwhile the Habyarimana circle was preparing the organization and logistics to attack the minority. During 1993, some loyalists from Habyarimana's party expanded the recruitment and training of the Interahamwe. The recruits were to be trained by former soldiers or communal police who would direct them in attacking the "enemy" in their communities.

Soldiers and political leaders distributed firearms to militia and other supporters of Habyarimana in 1993 and early 1994, but Bagosora and others concluded that firearms were too costly to distribute to all participants in the "civilian self-defense" program. They advocated arming most of the young men with such weapons as machetes. Businessmen close to Habyarimana imported large numbers of machetes, enough to arm every third adult Hutu male.

By late March 1994, Hutu Power leaders were determined to slaughter massive numbers of Tutsi and Hutu opposed to Habyarimana, both to rid themselves of these "accomplices" and to shatter the peace agreement. Aware of these preparations, the RPF anticipated further conflict. They too recruited more supporters and troops and, in violation of the peace accords, increased the number of their soldiers and firearms in Kigali.

7. The Media and Preparation for Genocide

To carry out genocide by these groups involved the training of the militia, the arming of both the militia and some sections of the population, the establishment and widespread use of a hate radio called RTLM.

Through attacks, virulent propaganda, and persistent political maneuvering, Habyarimana and his group significantly widened divisions between Hutu and Tutsi by the end of 1992. They intensively propagated an ideology of hatred, divisionism and discrimination through the mass media, like RTLM and Kangura no.6¹ journal. Hutu artists such as Bikindi and many others also helped spread propaganda. Tutsi were considered as the common enemy of the Hutu who want to re-establish the repressive regime of the colonial era and re-enslave the Hutu. It was for this reason that the Hutu Ten Commandments were created and published in Kangura, No. 6 (December 1990).

The intent of the Ten Commandments was to rid the Hutu of their obligation to moral decency and facilitate future killings.

8. Hutu Ten Commandments published in Kangura, No. 6 (December 1990)

1. Every Hutu must know that the Tutsi woman, wherever she may be, is working for the Tutsi ethnic cause. In consequence, any Hutu is a traitor who acquires a Tutsi wife, acquires a Tutsi concubine or acquires a Tutsi secretary or protégée.
2. Every Hutu must know that our Hutu daughters are more worthy and more conscientious as women, as wives and as mothers. Aren't they lovely, excellent secretaries, and more honest!
3. Hutu women, be vigilant and make sure that your husbands, brothers and sons see reason.
4. All Hutu must know that all Tutsi are dishonest in business. Their only goal is ethnic superiority. We have learned this from experience. In consequence, any Hutu is a traitor who forms a business alliance with a Tutsi, invests his own funds or public funds in a Tutsi enterprise, borrows money from or loans money to a Tutsi or grants favors to Tutsis (import licenses, bank loans, land for construction, public markets...).
5. Strategic positions such as politics, administration, economics, the military and security must be restricted to the Hutu.
6. A Hutu majority must prevail throughout the educational system (pupils, scholars and teachers).

7. The Rwandan Army must be exclusively Hutu. The war of October 1990 has taught us that. No soldier may marry a Tutsi woman.
8. Hutu must stop taking pity on the Tutsi.
9. Hutu wherever they are must stand united, in solidarity, and concerned with the fate of their Hutu brothers. Hutu within and without Rwanda must constantly search for friends and allies to the Hutu Cause, beginning with their Bantu brothers. Hutu must constantly counter Tutsi propaganda. Hutu must stand firm and vigilant against their common enemy: the Tutsi.
10. The Social Revolution of 1959, the Referendum of 1961 and the Hutu Ideology must be taught to Hutu of every age. Every Hutu must spread the word wherever he goes. Any Hutu who persecutes his brother Hutu for spreading and teaching this ideology is a traitor. These set out rules for Hutu contact with the Tutsi.

The Hutu Ten Commandments aimed to convince the Hutu population that the Tutsi were their archetypal enemies. The propaganda evoked images of war, slavery, oppression, injustice, death and cruelty. Fabricated images of the non-existent Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) munitions depots, for example, or shady suspect Tutsi, led Hutus to be fearful and arm themselves in order to protect and defend themselves against the Tutsi enemy.

Despite poor distribution, *Kangura* reached a wide audience. Other newspapers and magazines copied reports that appeared in *Kangura*. Despite the fact that only 66% of Rwandans could read, the propaganda was highly effective: the articles were lavishly illustrated with cartoons that communicated an unmistakably malicious message. Moreover, the Rwandan oral culture meant that the Hutu Ten Commandments were passed on to many illiterate people.

Because of the high rate of illiteracy, the radio was the most successful tool for propaganda. In 1991, only 29% of all households owned a radio, but Rwandans who did not have radios listened to broadcasts in local cafes or elsewhere. Until 1992, the country's only station, Radio Rwanda, mainly broadcast presidential addresses, official governmental announcements, exam results and censored news bulletins. An independent radio station did not exist.

When, in 1991, the RPF put its own station, Radio Muhabura, on air, it quickly caught on among Rwandans. In response to this, the government founded Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM). The hugely popular musician Simon Bikindi and all of the RTLM shareholders came from the elite that surrounded Habyarimana. RTLM was soon drawing a large audience.

The station's lively music and informal style of presentation encouraged people to tune in. RTLM news bulletins and local news flashes were full of gossip and scandal. Members of the audience were encouraged to phone in, and the callers were put live on air. Radio stations broadcast different messages like the "RPF is the enemy as long as they fight. We know where their supporters are in every commune".

9. Implementation of the Genocide against the Tutsi

After the crash of the presidential plane on April 6th, 1994, Hutu extremists took over the government, blamed the Tutsi for the assassination of the president, and started the slaughter. Extremist Hutu leaders and informal armed militia groups called "Interahamwe" launched a campaign of massive extermination against the Tutsi. The Hutu extremists were made up from the bottom-up, from civilians to those in the highest level of government.

This structure gave the Hutu extremists absolute power in orchestrating the genocide.

On April 7th, after the crash of the presidential plane, Hutu extremists began purging the government of their political opponents. Both Tutsi and even some moderate Hutu were killed, including Prime Minister Agathe Uwiringiyimana. Over the following days and weeks, the killings and violence spread all over the country and, since the government had already established the names and addresses of nearly all Tutsi living in Rwanda, the killers were able to go door to door, slaughtering the Tutsi. Men, women, and children were murdered.

Once the genocidal campaign was launched, check-points were set up throughout the capital of Kigali, and Rwandan army soldiers went from house to house killing Tutsis and moderate Hutus. Acting together with the Presidential Guard the militias succeeded in killing an estimated 20,000 people in the capital and its immediate environs within a week. No sooner had a group of Hutu politicians close to the late president formed a new government than the Tutsi-backed RPF in exile resumed the civil war.

Two weeks into the massacres, the interim prime Minister was assassinated, in addition to the 12 Belgian soldiers guarding him. The United Nations (UN) peacekeeping mission proved ineffective to forestall the atrocities.

After Belgium announced the withdrawal of its 400-man peacekeeping contingent, the Hutu extremists decided to extend their genocidal campaign beyond the capital to the east and the southwest.

Militias fanned out into the countryside to continue their killings; if local Hutus refused to collaborate in the bloodbath they, too, were killed. Local Hutu officials and broadcasters, however, often volunteered to help, directing the militias to Tutsi homes or to churches and schools where Tutsis had taken refuge. Survivors were frequently set upon and killed with machetes.

In some localities, thousands were massacred within a matter of hours. The militias would generally begin their "work" at eight in the morning and finish their slaughter by four in the afternoon and then resume the following day until all Tutsis in the community were killed.

The objective was ethnic extinction. Those who tried to flee the targeted communities were stopped at barricades set up in the roads where soldiers or militiamen would demand to see their identity papers. If people were found to be registered as Tutsis, they would be killed immediately. In the space of only 100 days of such atrocities, more than one million Tutsi were murdered solely because they were Tutsi.

In the first days of killing in Kigali, assailants sought out and murdered targeted individuals and also went systematically from house to house in certain neighborhoods, killing Tutsi and Hutu opposed to Habyarimana. Administrative officials like the prefect of the city of Kigali, ordered local people to establish barriers to catch Tutsi trying to flee and to organize search patrols to discover those trying to hide.

By the middle of the first week of the genocide, organizers began implementing a different strategy: driving Tutsi out of their homes to government offices, churches, schools or other public sites, where they would subsequently be massacred in large-scale operations.

They also sought to rein in assailants who were abusing their license to kill, such as by slaying Hutu with whom they had disputes or who were allowing Tutsi to escape injury in return for money, sexual favors or other considerations. They ordered militia and other citizens to bring suspects to officials for investigation and then murder instead of simply killing them where they found them. Authorities used "pacification" also as a tactic to lure Tutsi out of hiding to be killed.

By mid-May, the authorities ordered the final phase, that of tracking down the last surviving Tutsi. They sought to exterminate both those who had hidden successfully and those who had been spared thus far like women and children or protected by their status in the community, like priests and medical workers. As the RPF advanced through the country, assailants also hurried to eliminate any survivors who might be able to testify about the slaughter.

10. Motive behind the Involvement

Many poor young men responded readily to the promise of rewards. Of the nearly 60 percent of Rwandans under the age of twenty, tens of thousands had little hope of obtaining the land needed to establish their own households or the jobs necessary to provide for a family. Such young men, including many displaced by the war and living in camps near the capital provided many of the early recruits to the Interahamwe, trained in the months before and in the days immediately after the genocide began. Refugees from Burundi, in flight from the Tutsi-dominated army of Burundi, had also received military training in their camps and readily attacked Rwandan Tutsi after April 6.

In some regions, particularly those where Habyarimana's supporters were strongest, authorities needed to do little more than give the signal for Hutu to begin attacking Tutsi. In other areas, such as central and southern Rwanda, where Tutsi were numerous and well integrated and where Habyarimana's party had little standing, many Hutu initially refused to attack Tutsi and joined with them in fighting off assailants. Only when military and civilian authorities resorted to public criticism and harassment, fines, destruction of property, injury, and threat of death did these Hutu give up their open opposition to the genocide.

11. The Rape

Since bullets were expensive, most Tutsi were killed with other weapons such as machetes or clubs. Throughout the genocide, Tutsi women were often raped, tortured and mutilated before they were murdered often by neighbors who knew them well. In addition, rape and other forms of sexual violence were also used as a weapon of genocide and directed against the Tutsi women was widely employed as a means of warfare; many Tutsi women were gang-raped, sometimes for weeks at a time by men who had murdered their families. As many as 7,300 rape victims later died from AIDS; it is estimated that as many as 14,000 women have been infected.

During the genocide, rape was widespread to the extent that tens of thousands of Tutsi women were individually raped, gang-raped, and raped with objects such as sharpened sticks or gun barrels. Frequently, Tutsi women and girls were killed immediately following the rape while some others were sexually enslaved for weeks. Sometimes, rapes were followed by torture before being killed, including mutilation of the vagina and pelvic area with machetes, knives, sticks, having their breasts cut off.

12. Genocide Ended

The United Nations took the explosive situation to heart and sent observers. The United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), was installed to help implement a transitional government as agreed in the Arusha Accords. The UNAMIR mandate consisted of peacekeeping, disarmament, supervising the ceasefire and reporting incidents. It was also supposed to assist with the repatriation of refugees and to coordinate humanitarian UNAMIR was headed by the Canadian General Roméo Dallaire. He had 2,548 troops of 26 different nationalities under his command. The former coloniser Belgium also sent troops, even though this was actually not permitted under UN regulations. Belgium provided a battalion of 450 troops and a paramilitary commando. UNAMIR's equipment was inadequate and the mission had a low status.

The international community had been painfully unable to intervene or prevent the atrocities. It was unable to draw the right conclusions on time. In the first days of April 1994, the term 'ethnic cleansing' was used instead of genocide. UN General Roméo Dallaire, probably the best known witness ('bystander') to the genocide, said that although he was initially appalled by the murders, he had the impression that the Rwandan army and the *Interahamwe* were attacking political enemies of Habyarimana.

It was only in the course of several days that it began to dawn on him that crimes against humanity were being committed and that *all* Tutsi were being targeted. He only realised this when he actually saw *Interahamwe* pulling people with Tutsi Identity Card (ID) out of their cars at roadblocks and murdering them on the spot.

Sadly, the international response was indifferent and the aid that did come was 'too little, too late.' The 1994 genocide in Rwanda, was stopped by the RPF (Rwandan Patriotic Front). *Masauso* (2015), by July of 1994, the better-organized RPF had gained control of the country.

Under the leadership of Major General Paul Kagame, the RPF eventually defeated the extremists and formed a new government. When asked how a small poorly armed RPF army was able to stop a large heavily equipped Rwandan army Paul Kagame, who became the Rwandan president replied, "the Tutsis had to end the slaughter of their fellow Tutsis. Basically every one of us was motivated. That was the main weapon of our success." Peterson, *Me against My Brother*, 282 Cited by Benjamin Nzioka in his article, "The Rwandan Genocide: Eye Witnesses to a Human Catastrophe".

13. Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)

For decades Tutsis in exile had natured the „injustices” of the 1959 Hutu uprising and vowed to return. For them revenge was rooted in a never-forgotten series of ethnic transgressions. In 1987, the Rwandese Alliance for National Unity (RANU), a Rwandan refugee organization based in Uganda changed its name to the RPF. The RPF, while branded a Tutsi movement included Hutus and had a broad base beyond an ideological group and ethnicity.

14. The Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) Invasion

The Tutsi launched sporadic cross-border attacks, though these often resulted in massive retaliation by government forces and militias against the Tutsi in Rwanda. To the Hutu, the 1959 revolution was important because it marked the end of decades of Tutsi elite domination.

On the other hand, the Tutsis point to various waves of refugees driven from Rwanda as well as political, social and economic discrimination against the Tutsis in Rwanda ever since the country gained independence. In 1987, the Rwandese Alliance for National Unity (RANU), a Rwandan refugee organization based in Uganda changed its name to the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)]. A civil war between the Rwandan government and the RPF started in October 1990 when an estimated 10,000 RPF forces from Uganda invaded Rwanda and captured two cities, Gabiro and Nyagatare.

15. Numbers

Establishing a reliable toll of those killed in the genocide and its aftermath is important to counter denials, exaggerations, and lies. In July 1998, the Rwandan government announced plans for a census of genocide survivors.

A U.N. expert evaluating population loss in Rwanda estimated that 800,000 Rwandans had died between April and July 1994. Seltzer estimated the number of persons killed in the genocide as at least one half million. Professor Gérard Prunier estimated that 130,000 Tutsi were alive in July, but his figures did not include those in Zaire or Tanzania, perhaps another 20,000. If this number of 150,000 survivors is subtracted from an estimated population of 657,000 Tutsi, this leaves 507,000 Tutsi killed, close to Seltzer's minimum assessment, and representing the annihilation of about 77 percent of the population registered as Tutsi.

16. A Frightening Record

Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda was perpetrated with unprecedented violence and took the lives of 1,074,017, of whom 934,218 have been identified by names. The great majority of these victims were killed because they were identified as Tutsi (93.6%).

Others because they resembled Tutsi (0.85%), had friendship relations with Tutsi (0.37%), were married to Tutsi (0.32%), had hidden Tutsi (0.17%), or had shown opinions opposed to the regime that perpetrated genocide (0.64%) [34]. Among these victims, those aged between 0 and 24 years accounted for the great majority (53.8%).

Victims were killed with brutality: 38.88% with machetes; 16.78% were bludgeoned; 14.80% with fire arms; 8.65% were beaten to death; 4.22% were thrown in lakes and rivers; 2.26% were burnt alive; 0.80% died of hunger; 0.30% were disemboweled; 0.25% were forced to commit suicide; 0.19% of babies were crushed against the wall and 0.17% were hanged. Genocide in Rwanda was carried out on the whole national territory. 59.3% of victims were killed on the hills; 11.6% in churches; 9.3% in residential houses; 3.9% in offices; 1.9% in schools; 1.5% on check points and 0.78% in hospitals 527 mass graves were identified with a big number of corpses.

17. Consequences

The Genocide against the Tutsi has done a lot of harm to Rwandan society. It was a dramatic historical event that opened a new dark page for Rwanda. In a three months period, more than one million Tutsi were killed. In addition, hundreds of thousands of survivors became orphaned, wounded, disabled, widowed, aids victims, and/or were forced to live without shelter. Moreover, the genocide caused practical and psychological consequences as a result of the horrors of the macabre acts to which genocide survivors were subjected throughout the genocide.

This genocide damaged and destroyed the social cohesion and make up of Rwandan society. It destroyed the mutual trust and the unity that Rwandans had developed and relied upon for centuries. The genocide against the Tutsi led people to separate from one another based off fear, suspicion, mistrust, hatred and misperception reinforced.

After the genocide ended, the country was on the brink of economic collapse. All the farms and agriculture of the country were destroyed, and most of the state infrastructure including schools, hospitals and clinics, roads, homes, business centers and more were almost completely destroyed. Many Rwandans became refugees or internally displaced persons.

Furthermore, this genocide generated a large number of prisoners, which created a heavy burden on the Rwandan Government, as it had a duty to feed them.

18. Rwanda in Post-Genocide

After the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, the main concern of the new government was how to re-build the Nation and the State. Was Rwanda going to remain a unitary state, or a state divided into 'Hutuland' and 'Tutsiland'? Was the new victorious force going to allow massive extermination of genocide perpetrators or establish the rule of law? How were they to ensure coexistence between Hutu and Tutsi after such extreme violence? One of the first things the new government did was to eliminate the reference to ethnicity in identification documents.

From then on, the country's inhabitants were all "Rwandans." In order to mend the destroyed social fabric of Rwanda, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) was created in accordance with the law N°03/99 of March 12th, 1999 and a unity and reconciliation week, were enacted. The ultimate aim of this commission was to rebuild a culture of national citizenship as opposed to one of ethnic identity, in addition, the new government upholds its responsibility to protect Rwandan population and ensure a future forever free of impunity and genocide as contribution to the vow of 'never again' campaign.

In this regard, other nations of the world are encouraged to share responsibility and do their best to prosecute criminals, protect civilians, and ensure that evil of this magnitude never happens again.

In combating impunity while unifying Rwandans, the international community responded by establishing the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda to try those who planned the genocide and its instigators. In another attempt to impart justice, the Rwandan Government developed the modern Gacaca courts system. Gacaca Courts is an adaptation of a traditional form of resolving disputes between members of a community where people used to sit together in 'agacaca (kind of grass)' and settle their disputes. Based on the traditional **Gacaca** process, to try suspected genocide perpetrators while unifying Rwandans.

The Gacaca courts allowed swift trials with popular participation. They reduced prison overpopulation and facilitated a better understanding of what happened during the genocide. In addition, Gacaca courts contributed in locating and identifying bodies of the victims, and reducing the ethnic tensions between genocide survivors, perpetrators and their respective families.

Pronk states that although Rwanda experienced one of the most violent conflicts of the 20th century, the country has achieved a lot of success in reconciliation, reconstruction and development since the genocide ended. This was the result of a combination of leadership, national ownership, and innovative approaches to governance and employment generation with the support of the development partners.

The post genocide period, as part of efforts to reconstruct the country and nurture a shared national identity, the country embraced two prolonged approaches in an effort to achieve her dreams following the aftermath of genocide.

Firstly, drew on aspects of Rwandan culture and traditional practices to enrich and adapt its development programmes to the country's needs and context. The result is a set of Home Grown Solutions, culturally owned practices translated into sustainable development programs.

Secondly, the framework of a regional approach, in this respect, much effort has been put into the promotion of regional integration as a mechanism for conflict prevention and social economic development. The home grown solutions are clustered into nine specific homegrown policies.

Under this governing institution, a number of local mechanisms that foster reconciliation, including the:

- **'Ndi Umunyarwanda'** (I am Rwandan) program is a platform through which Rwandans give testimonies of what happened, did, or omitted to do. It aims at building Confidence Bridge which would then bring about national cohesion and unity of purpose void of suspicion /pretence. This program was initiated to create core values that can bind Rwandans together. The *Ndi Umunyarwanda* program encourages Rwandans to have a continual dialogue in the framework of sharing their history and, from bad experiences, building an optimistic future. Despite past efforts in unit and reconciliation, and reconstruction in post-genocide Rwanda, the country is still suffering from the wounds of the genocide. The survivors of the genocide must confront their own traumatic experiences on a daily basis.
- **Itorero** (National Cultural Academy). is a type of civic education emphasizing positive values of patriotism, human respect, human rights, love of work, etc, with a view to achieve lasting peace and development. Itorero is a loose concept set to educate all Rwandans at all levels of the society towards patriotism and self-esteem. Promoting of cultural values and positive traditions for sustainable development are guiding principles of the leadership in today's Rwanda. Umushyikirano (National Dialogue) brings annually all segments of the society for a broad dialogue platform that would be used to discuss various national issues in order to assess the country's development progress and plan for the future.
- **Ingando:** Ingando is taken from the Rwandese verb 'Kuganda' that refers to halting normal activities to reflect on and find solutions to national challenges. Today, it aims at clarifying the history of Rwanda by analyzing and understanding the origin of divisions among the population in order to eradicate the divisionism.
- **Gacaca** (Community justice) jurisdictions have been pivotal to the justice, reconstruction, reconciliation and restoration of accountability in post-genocide Rwanda. *Abunzi* (Mediation Committees) also re-emerged as a tool of informal settlements of disputes and smaller criminal offences and have become formalized in the jurisdiction.
- **Ubudehe** (Credit Scheme) represents the group of home grown solutions to stir pro-poor economic development and aims at poverty eradication through community action and should stimulate pro-poor economic growth and decisively contribute to poverty reduction. *Nikuze, d.(2014)* adds that Ubudehe is a Rwandan traditional practice that defines the collective effort employed towards solving social and economic problems.

- **Girinka** (One cow per poor Family) is an extensive programme for rooting out extreme symptoms of poverty, such as malnutrition or absence of dairy products through the distribution of cows to the poorest segments of the society. Girinka translated as 'may you have a cow' describes a Rwandan traditional practice whereby a cow was given by one person to another, either as a sign of respect and gratitude or as a marriage dowr.
- **Umuganda** (Community Works) has been re-deemed as the ultimate state-building projects through community engagement in small projects, which would benefit the whole community or individuals in need. The practice of doing regular community work, which was grounded in the Rwandan tradition of "umuganda," was reintroduced not only as part of the effort to rebuild the country but as a way to foster a community spirit.
- **Imihigo** (Performance contracts) has been established as a tool for management of public affairs implying competition and the self-commitment of an individual or a group of people, which is scrutinized by the public.
- **Promoting economic progress:** The government in Kigali is also counting on economic progress to help the country achieve lasting reconciliation. A poverty reduction program, with measures such as the introduction of health insurance for all, the targeted improvement of educational opportunity as well as a promotion of the private sector had already yielded results, according to Daniela Beckmann, the head of Germany's state-owned development bank, KfW, in Kigali. Rwanda had reduced its poverty rate by 12 percent within 5 years. It now stood at 45%, Beckmann said, adding that in comparison to other African countries that was an extremely good result. But this did not mean there were no challenges ahead, she warned. After all, Rwanda needs foreign aid to meet half of its budgeted expenses.
- Lastly, **Umwiherezo** (National Leadership Retreat) brings together leaders from the central to local government, to reflect on the achievements and challenges anticipated to have taken place over the past year as well as priorities for the year to come. Based on this, the study argues that, appreciating best practices is not a failure at all but a positive mind. Therefore, there is a lot outside there, which can help in unlocking some dilemmas facing Africa.

19. Conclusion

This paper shows how the origin of the violence that transpired in Rwanda is tied to the ways in which Hutu and Tutsi were treated differently by the colonial masters. This crushed the existing relationship between Hutu and Tutsi and caused to see each other as different.

By the time the power fell into the hand of the Hutu, many Tutsi were massacred, and hundreds of thousands fled into the neighboring countries of Uganda, Burundi, Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The tutsi who remained inside the country, were sporadically killed and accused of being accomplices or supporters of exiled Tutsi. For decades, the regime remained a Hutu one while many Tutsi remained in exile and marginalized within the country.

The Genocide cost the lives of around 1,074,017 Tutsi. It created hundreds of thousands of orphans, wounded, disabled people, widows, aids victims, and victims without shelter. It also resulted in practical and psychological consequences for genocide survivors, and destroyed the country's infrastructure.

After the genocide, the post-genocide ruling regime created the possibility of combating impunity and human rights violations while unifying Rwandans, and therefore brings a hope of peace and a brighter tomorrow.

Very few expected the country to achieve a tangible level of rebuilding itself. But under the leadership of President Paul Kagame, Rwanda decided to start afresh; to begin a unique experiment in post-conflict nation building. Over the last decade, economic growth has exceeded 8% per annum. Investment is flowing into Rwanda it has nearly tripled since 2005 and investors are made welcome. Even without many natural resources, the country is economically vibrant.

In little over five years, more than a million Rwandans have lifted themselves out of poverty. The proportion of children dying before their fifth birthday has more than halved, and when they reach seven years old, they can nearly all go to school. Most of the population is covered by health insurance, and malaria deaths have fallen more than 85% since 2005. Science and technology is highly advanced, comparing to other east African regions.

Communities are still trying to build a livable peace, in unimaginable circumstances with murderers and their victims' families living side by side. No wonder that trust is fragile. Moreover, building trust is made all the harder as the country's quest for justice is not over; many of those who committed the genocide are still at large.

To attain positive peace requires planning, strategising and investing in resources to build strong social institutions; to improve citizens' livelihoods and rebuild the damage caused by war; to address discrimination and exclusion; and build relations across the divide. So far, Rwanda is on the right track towards a complete recovery from the genocide and its aftermaths.

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