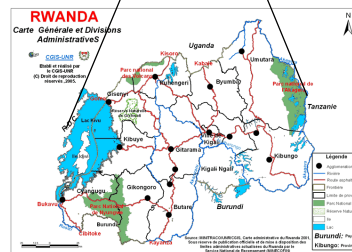
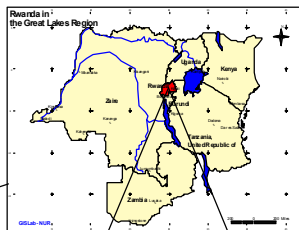


# Reconciliation in Rwanda

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13th Peace Building Seminar Forum  
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## Africa/Great Lakes Region/Rwanda



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# Who are people of Rwanda?

- Commonly known as “banyarwanda” from time immemorial
- One language, the “kinyarwanda”
- One culture and one religion
- Then who are the “hutu”? “tutsi”?, “twa”?
- All have been living together for at least 2500 years!
- Differences? Access to power? Wealth?
- 1926, Belgian colonial administrative reform: when social identity becomes ethnic identity
- Post-colonial institutionalized “ethnic” crystallization

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# History: Dates

- Rwanda is believed to have been formed by the “Nyiginya” dynasty 8 centuries ago (oral history as opposed to 5 centuries according to modern historians)
- **1885: Berlin conference (colonization of Africa), Rwanda becomes a German colony**
- 1917: Belgian protectorate
- **1926: administrative colonial reform with adoption of indirect rule and institutionalization of ethnic identification**
- 50s: wake of independence movement in Africa and shift of metropolitan political alliance from “tutsi” to “hutu” support by the catholic church and the Belgian government
- 1959: first ethnic killings and exile for thousands Rwandans
- **1962 : independence and “ethnization” of all aspects of life in Rwanda (education, access to employment, to police, army, political participation, etc.)**
- 1990: RPF armed attack from Uganda (repatriation of old case refugees)
- August 1993: Arusha peace accord
- **April to July 1994: genocide**

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Mod: 3



Amazina y'abana n'igihwe bavukiye  
Noms, prénoms et date de naissance des enfants

Amazina Noms et Prénoms	Yavutse kuwa Né le...	Igitina Sexe
1. Umunyashamba	27/11/79 B	
2. Umuhazozo	13/08/82 F	
3. Umuharero	16/11/88 F	
4. Umuhayite	15/11/92 F	
5. ....		
6. ....		
7. ....		
8. ....		
9. ....		
10. ....		
11. ....		
12. ....		

Ubwoko (Mute, Tutsi, Twa, Naturalisé)  
Ethnie

Aho yavukiye ... Bushamizi  
Lieu de Naissance

Italiki yavutseho ... 1954  
Date de Naissance

Umwuga ... Mzi  
Profession

Aho atuye ... Bushamizi  
Lieu de domicile

Amazina y'uwo bashakanye  
Noms du Conjoint

N° C.I. ... M.A.A.H.S.A.

Umukono cyangwa igikumwe cya nyirayo  
Signature ou l'empreinte du titulaire

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### The Hutu Ten Commandments, as 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;
  - 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 Hutus must know that all Tutsis 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;
  - 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, 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 be 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.

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## Rwanda Conflict: its origin

- Colonial polarization of existing class inequality by “freezing” the traditional social mobility after the 1920s administrative reform: indirect rule policy through the “tutsi” elite
- Failed (1959 – 1962) independence transition: colonial shift of alliance towards a new “hutu” elite: over 15,000 deaths and 100,000 refugees in neighboring countries (Burundi, Congo, Uganda, Tanzania)
- Post-colonial leadership: destructive state ideology based on ethnic exclusion
- Failure by the Rwanda government (1959 – 1990) to address the issue of refugees (official position: “Rwanda is too small to accommodate refugees back at home”)

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## Rwanda Conflict: genocide

- 1, 000 000 dead in 100 days by government forces, pro-government militia and individuals
- Orphans, wounded, disabled, widows, no shelter
- 3 500 000 refugees and internally displaced people
- No state machinery
- No water, no electricity, no health infrastructure
- Extreme ethnic distrust and acts of revenge
- Several hundreds thousand ordinary people have participated in genocide
- Insecurity

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## Post-genocide reconstruction:

### Major political issues in July 1994

- How to re-build the Nation and the State?
- Was Rwanda going to remain a unitary state or “hutuland” and “tutsiland”?
- Was the new victorious force going to allow massive extermination of suspects or establish a rule of law?
- How to ensure coexistence between hutu and tutsi after such high level of violence?
- Given the magnitude of popular participation in genocide, would general amnesty be applied? How to deal with justice issues?

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## Post-genocide reconstruction:

### Immediate post-acrisis strategies in July 1994

- Coalition government (RPF + 5 other political parties )
- Unity and Reconciliation: important shift from the previous “ethnic” identification
- Build the judiciary
- Repatriation and resettlement of 3 500 000 refugees and internally displaced people
- Decentralisation process and participation
- Rehabilitation of social sector
- Security at the Rwanda/DRC’s border, etc.

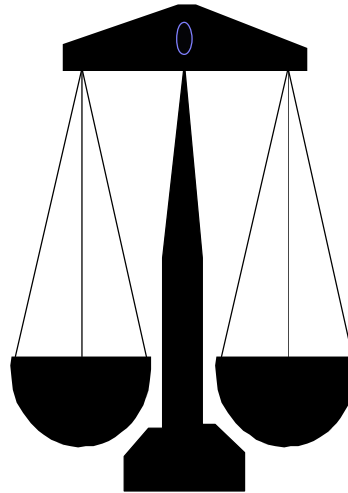
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## Post-genocide reconstruction: Justice

- Management of genocide suspects :( 130,000 or more)
- Genocide organic law of August 30th, 1996
- Gacaca Jurisdictions, 2000: fight against impunity, national reconciliation through participation of the population
- Intensive human resources development (training of lawyers for the judiciary)
- Major law reform review



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## What does reconciliation in Rwanda mean?

- Definition derives from:
  - shared analysis of past missed opportunities in peace negotiations (1990 – 1993)
  - Exacerbation of social distrust caused by 1994 genocide
- Aims:
  - To overcome the plight of high scale trauma (“about having peace of mind”)
  - Peaceful coexistence between individuals (victims / perpetrators), various groups (hutu / tusti, people from the north/people from the south, etc.)
  - To re-build a national identity as opposed to the then institutionalized “ethnic identity” (mandate from the 1993 Arusha peace accord)
  - To learn how to plan and work out together the future (inclusive governance as opposed to ethnic and regional exclusion)

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## Reconciliation in practice

- Several levels of intervention:
  - Individuals
  - Education system including universities
  - Women (economic activities, trauma counseling, etc.)
  - NGOs (economic activities, trauma counseling, etc.)
  - Religious groups
  - State: commitment to the rule of law, transparency, accountability, participation, **INCLUSIVENESS**
- Cross-cutting interventions:
  - justice & reconciliation: **Gacaca**, etc.
  - national unity and reconciliation

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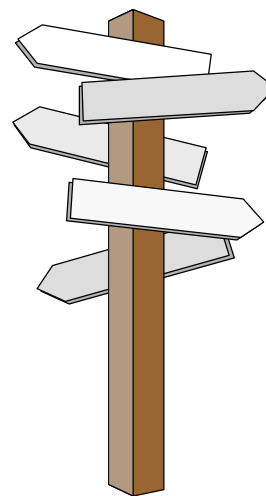
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## Governance

based on new values and principles

- Equation : HOW TO ENSURE BOTH DEMOCRACY AND POLITICAL STABILITY IN A POST-WAR & GENOCIDE DIVIDED SOCIETY?
- Form of democracy : full multiparty democracy? Alternative forms including power sharing mechanisms?
- Decentralization : people's participation and empowerment in decision making
- New Constitution 2003:
  - **Power sharing culture** (winning party not more than 50% of cabinet position, President, Speaker and President of Senate from different parties, etc)
  - **Women quota** at 30% all levels of governance



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## Justice with reconciliation : Gacaca's main directions

1. Eradicating the culture of impunity:
  - Establishing the facts of genocide
  - Individualization of guilt
2. Mending the social fabric
  - Freeing the innocent ones
  - Speeding up trials for the guilty ones
3. Reviving the capacity of Rwandans to resolve their conflicts
  - Delegating judicial powers to grassroots actors
  - Offering an accessible justice

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## Justice with reconciliation :

### Basic facts on Gacaca

- There are 3 levels of jurisdiction for the different categories of crime (2 and 3) at the cell and sector.
- 12,103 Gacaca courts; 9,013 Gacaca courts at the cell level( smallest administrative unit), 1,545 sector-level courts, and an equal number of appeals courts
- Run by 170.000 judges nationally, called “*inyangamugayo*” (people of integrity) elected from the local communities

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## The National Commission for Unity and Reconciliation

- Derived from the August 1993 peace accord: ultimate aim is to re-build a culture of national citizenship as opposed to the “ethnic identity”
- Constitutional mandate: (i) to coordinate all programs for unity and reconciliation; (ii) educate; (iii) to monitor; (iv) to propose new programs/refoms: (v) to report
- Tools (mostly based on cultural reference): (i) civic education; (ii) conflict mediation; (iii) support to communities

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## Civic education: tools

1. **Ingando** called also solidarity camps: groups live together for two months and debate on five major topics: analysis of Rwanda's problems; history of Rwanda; political and socioeconomic issues in Rwanda and Africa, rights, obligations and duties and leadership.
2. Biannual National Reconciliation Summit presided over by the President assess the progress and challenges
3. **Gusabana**: intercommunity exchange

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## Conflict mediation: tools

- **Abunzi** or community mediators, elected people from the community known for their integrity who serve as mediators on voluntary basis
- **Abakanguramabaga** or community mobilizers who champion unity and reconciliation at community level
- Community conflict management training

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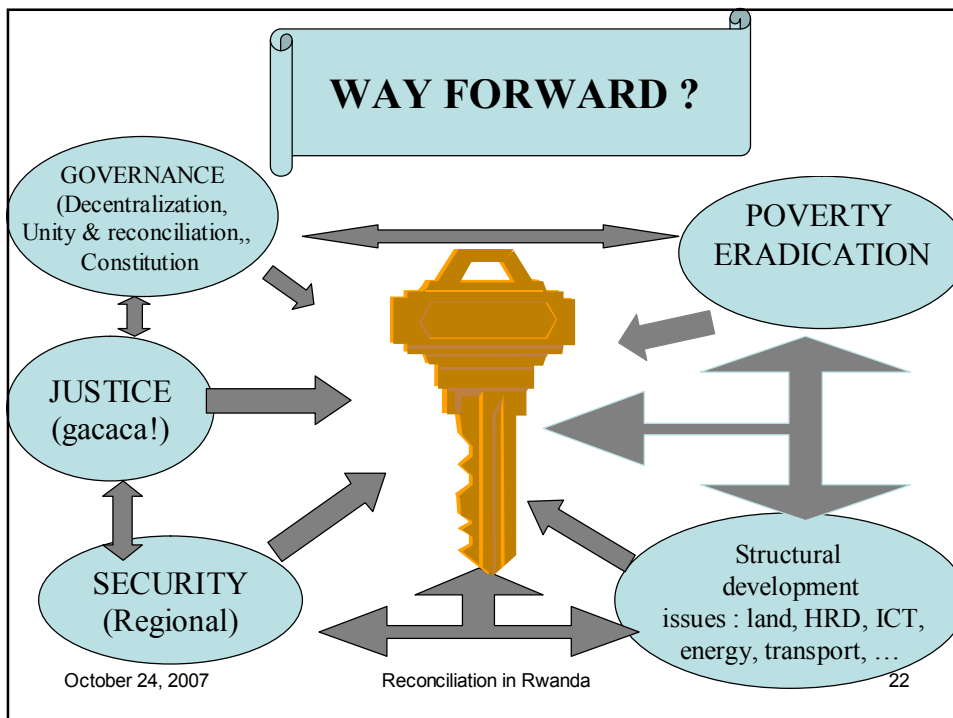
## Reconciliation in the community

- Grants to grassroots' association for income generation
- Support to Reconciliation Clubs especially in schools and universities
- Culture as a resource for reconciliation: arts and drama in the community, schools

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## Conclusion

- Peace and reconciliation efforts in Rwanda have been by large steered by the state but the community ownership has taken root quite steadily
- Hollistic approach: values and principles, state reforms, economic management, culturally embedded references for peacebuilding