

# SOCIAL STUDIES FOR TTC SCHOOLS

YEAR ONE

STUDENT BOOK

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## FOREWORD

The Rwanda Education Board is honoured to avail the Social Studies student book for teacher training Colleges (TTCs) in LE and SME and it serves as official guide to teaching and learning of Social Studies

The Rwandan education philosophy is to ensure that young people at every level of education achieve their full potential in terms of relevant knowledge, skills and appropriate attitudes that prepare them to be well integrated in society and exploit employment opportunities.

The ambition to develop a knowledge-based society and the growth of regional and global competition in the job market has necessitated the shift to a competence-based curriculum. After a successful shift from knowledge to a competence-based curriculum in general education, TTC curriculum also was revised to align it to the CBC in general education to prepare teachers who are competent and confident to implement CBC in pre-primary and primary education. The rationale of the changes is to ensure that TTC leavers are qualified for job opportunities and further studies in higher education in different programs under education career advancement.

I wish to sincerely express my appreciation to the people who contributed towards the development of this document, particularly, Consultants, REB staff, UR-CE lecturers, TTC Tutors, Teachers from general education and experts from Local and international Organizations for their technical support. Special appreciation goes to the Development Partners such as UNICEF, IEE, USAID/*Soma Umenye*, Save the Children and Right To Play for their financial support.

I take this opportunity to call upon all educational stakeholders to bring in their contribution for successful implementation of this syllabus.

**Dr. NDAYAMBAJE Irénée**

**Director General REB.**

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## INTRODUCTION

This text book is part of the reform of the school curriculum in Rwanda: that is changes in what is taught in schools and how it is taught. It is hoped this will make what you learn in school useful to you when you leave school, whatever you do then.

In the past, the main thing in schooling has been to learn knowledge – that is facts and ideas about each subject. Now the main idea is that you should be able to use the knowledge you learn by developing competencies. These competencies include the ability to think for yourself, to be able to communicate with others and explain what you have learnt, and to be creative that is developing your own ideas, not just following those of the tutor and the text book. You should also be able to find out information and ideas for yourself, rather than just relying on what the tutor or text book tells you.

### Activity-based learning

This means that this book has a variety of activities for you to do, as well as information for you to read. These activities present you with material or things to do which will help you to learn things and find out things for yourself. You already have a lot of knowledge and ideas based on the experiences you have had and your life within your own community. Some of the activities, therefore, ask you to think about the knowledge and ideas you already have.

In using this book, therefore, it is essential that you do all the activities. You will not learn properly unless you do these activities. They are the most important part of the book.

In some ways this makes learning more of a challenge. It is more difficult to think for yourself than to copy what the tutor tells you. But if you take up this challenge you will become a better person and become more successful in your life.

### Group work

You can also learn a lot from other people in your class. If you have a problem, it can often be solved by discussing it with others. Many of the activities in this book, therefore, involve discussion. Your tutor will help to organize these groups and may arrange the classroom so you are always sitting in groups facing each other.

### Research

One of the objectives of the new curriculum is to help you find things out for yourself. Some activities, therefore, ask you to do research using books in the library, the internet if your school has it. This, or other sources such

as newspapers and magazines. This means you will develop the skills of learning for yourself when you leave school.

### Skills lab

Social Studies subject is practical than being theoretical only that is why it requires time of skills lab which is a regular time on normal time table when student-teacher are required to complete learning activities working in manageable groups.

During skills lab activity student-teachers are given an opportunity to talk more and get more involved in the lesson than tutors. Student-teachers receive constructive feedback on work done (Tutor gives quality feedback on student presentations).

The Skills Lab prepares student-teacher to complete portfolio assignments on their own after classes. So the classroom activity should connect directly to the portfolio assignment and the tutor during the skills lab makes sure that he/she links the unit with the students.

### Icons

To guide you, each activity in the book is marked by a symbol or icon to show you what kind of activity it is. The icons are as follows:

#### Thinking icon/Introductory activity



This indicates thinking for yourself or groups discussion. You are expected to use your own knowledge or experience, or think about what you read in the book, and answer questions individually or as group activity.

#### Thinking icon/Learning activity



This icon reminds you link your previous knowledge with the topic you are going to learn. As a student feel free to express what you already know about the topic. What is most important is not giving the right answer but the contribution you are making towards what you are going to learn.

#### Application activity



Some activities require you to complete them in your exercise books or any other book. It is time for you show if you have understood the lesson by answering the questions provided.

### **Skills lab**



This icon indicates a practical activity, such as a role play to resolve a conflict, participating in a debate and following instructions provided by the teacher. These activities will help you to obtain practical skills which you can use even after school.

### **End unit Assessment icon**



This icon invites you to write down the results from activities including experiments, case studies and other activities which assess the attainment of the competences. Tutors are expected to observe the changes in you as student teacher.

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**Key unit competence:** The student-teacher should be able to explain the components of social studies and evaluate its importance.



### Introductory Activity

Mugabo was born in the village of Masaka to business parents. His father was a shop keeper and his mother a small scale milk seller. One day, when he was coming from school, he saw a young girl called Keza who was crying..... When Mugabo asked her why she was crying, Keza replied that she was hungry. Mugabo decided to take her to his mother so that she could get what to eat. When the two arrived, his mother served them with milk and Keza was very happy. From that day, they became great friends.

### 1.1. Meaning and importance of social studies



#### Learning activity 1.1

1. Using internet and other reference books, carry out a research and write the meaning of social studies
2. Explain the importance of teaching and learning social studies in schools?

The inclusion of Social Studies in the curriculum of TTC classes signifies the importance of the subject and the role it plays in a student's life. The subject of Social Studies is incorporated in the TTC school curriculum through a combination of subjects like – History, Geography, Economics, Sociology, Foundation of education.

According to Collins English dictionary, Social Studies is the study of how people live and organize themselves in society, embracing Geography, History, Economics and other subjects.

Social studies is also a study of people in relation to each other and to their world; it is an interdisciplinary subject which borrows from many disciplines for example History, Geography, and Economics.

It focuses on peoples' relationship in different environments and helps learners to become active and responsible citizens.

Social Studies is very important not only to the student teachers but also to the Rwandan society. Some of its importance is explained below:

1. The study of Social Studies provides students with the basic knowledge, skills, attitudes and values to continue to learn, make informed decisions, positively participate in society, and achieve personal goals of interest.
2. Social Studies has the capability to guide students' skills progress, stimulate students' interest and awareness, and enhance their thought processes and decision making.
3. Some of the major Skills Social studies will help students to master include critical thinking, writing, reading, analysis, interpretation, independent thinking, etc... If these skills are practiced consistently throughout a school year, students can begin to master them. These skills will build a foundation for the knowledge, ideas, abilities and stimulated interest that Social Studies can provide for students.
4. Social Studies is also designed to increase historical understanding; turning points, causes and effects, progress and decline, empathy, connecting past and present, and historical agency.
5. Social Studies has the ability to expose students to common biases and multiple perspectives from an early age preparing them for the reality that waits for them after high school, including diversity and dishonesty.
6. Social Studies has the ability to prepare students and adolescents to be productive, successful, and active citizens in a democratic society. All of the skills, ideas, and exposure all funnel into the overall idea of guiding the development of independent, individual, intelligent and informed citizens who can actively participate in society to make necessary changes and improvements.



### Application activity 1.1

From the content learned above, explain other importance of learning and teaching Social Studies in secondary schools.

## 1.2. Components of Social Studies



### Learning activity 1.2

Read a range of textbooks or use internet and explain the main components of Social Studies.

Social Studies is an interdisciplinary integration of social sciences and humanities concepts for the purpose of practicing problem solving and decision making for developing citizenship skills on critical social issues.

Social Studies involves the following components: History, Geography, Economics, Moral issues/ethics, Philosophy, Political Science.

**Geography** is the study of earth's landscapes, peoples, places, and environment. It is quite simply about the world in which we live. Geography is unique in bridging the social sciences with natural sciences.

Geography informs us about:

- The places and communities in which we live and work.
- Our natural environment and the pressures they face.
- The interconnectedness of the world and our communities within it.
- How and why the world is changing globally and locally.
- The importance of location in business and decision-making.

**History** is the analysis and interpretation of the human past that enables us to study continuity and change overtime. It is an act of both investigations that seeks to explain how people have changed overtime.

History is a mean to understand the past and the present. Through the study of History we can investigate and interpret why a society develops as it has and determine what influence has infected the past and the present and shapes the future. History helps to learn, to understand the immense complexity of our world and to provide insight to help cope with problem and possibility of the present and future. History is also a bridge to other disciplines. In order to understand other humanities and the sciences, one needs or historical overview of those ones. Historical knowledge is a fundamental prerequisite fundamental for understanding the world in which we live. History is “magister vitae” teacher of life.

History prepares us to live more humanly in the present and to meet the challenge of the future because it provides us with understanding of human condition.

History fulfills our desire, to know, understand ourselves and our ancestors. It also trains its students to read intelligently, think critically, and writing effectively.

**Economic:** Is a social science that analyzes the production of goods and services. It focuses on how economic agent behaves or interacts and how economic works. Economics is a social science that predicts and studies the human behavior before a given economic situation.

**Moral issues or Ethics:** Moral issues or ethics refers to an issue concerning how one ought to behave, how other ought to behave or whether a situation is proper or improper, Moral issues are defined a society often called norm. However, if you claim to be a Christian moral issues can or should be defined by biblical principles. The question might be: what is your moral stand that you use?

Below are several moral issues which a person should examine and compare his or her response into the biblical teaching.

Gambling	Tattoos
Lying (comes in several forms)	Being drunk or disorderly
Adultery	Violence toward to another human being
Fighting in a war	Abortion
Envy	Illegal drug
Stealing	Slanders
Blasphemy	Fornication
The lottery	Covetousness
Homosexuality	Pornography
Cheating	Maligning
False testimony	

**Philosophy:** is a way of thinking about a world the universal and can help to us to learn how to think more creatively. It offers us path to improve our critical thinking skills far beyond anything else.

**Political Education:** refers to the knowledge regarding politics. Political education provides the science of leadership, national integration, creation of good citizen and preparing adult life.

**Sociology:** it is the study of group living, cooperation and their responsibilities

**Psychology:** it is the study of the mind, emotions and behavioral process

**Anthropology:** It is the study of the way people live



### Application activity 1.2

Explain the components of Social Studies.

## Relationship among the components of Social Studies



### Learning activity 1.3

Do research in library or use internet and find out the relationship among the components of social studies

Although the term “**Social Studies**” includes primarily History, Geography, Civics Education, Economics, and Sociology, it also deals with materials from other subjects. Thus, some elements of Ethics, Psychology, Philosophy, Anthropology, Art, Literature, and other subjects are included in various courses in the Social Studies.

**Relationship between History and Geography:** History and Geography are specially closed because they represent fundamental dimensions of the same phenomena. History views human experience from the perspective of time and Geography views human experience from the perspective of space. These dimensions of **time** and space are constantly affecting each other. Key concept of Geography such as location, space, and region are tied inseparably to major idea of History such as time, period and events. Geography and History enable learner to understand how the events and places have affected each other across time.

### **Relationship between Economics and Geography:**

Location and climate have large effects income levels and income growth, through the effect of transport cost, disease burdens and agricultural productive, among other channels. Furthermore, Geography seems to be a factor in choice of economic policy itself. When we identify geographical regions that are now conducive to modern economic growth, we find that many of these regions have high population density and rapid population increase. This is especially true in populations that are located far from the coast, and thus that face large transport cost for internal trade, as well as population in tropical regions of high disease’s burden.

### **Relationship between Political Science and History:**

The Political Science and History are very close. History without Political Science has no fruits, and Political Science without history has no roots. History is essential in political science because it is a record of past events. It provides the raw materials to Political Science. The study of state as it has been, can be done only with the help of History. Historical study is essential for understanding political thoughts, movements and institutions. In general, History is a vast store house of facts and information as from which Political Science obtains data for all its generation. History has also much to borrow from Political Science. Our knowledge of History is a meaningless if the political bearings of events and movements are not adequately appreciated. E g: History of 19<sup>th</sup> Century Europe cannot be fully understood without bring out significance of Movements like Nationalism, Imperialism, Individualism and Socialism.

### **Relationship between Politics / Political Science and Ethics / Morals:**

Ethics/Morals and Political are intimately related, both are normative science.

Ethics aim at supreme good individual as Political aim Science at public good. Public good can be obtained through individual good and individual goods can be attained through public good. Both ethics and political are concerned with the idea of justice, liberty, right, and duties etc...

Thus, we can conclude that incorporating Social Studies in the TTC curriculum ensures well-rounded education of the students.



#### **Application activity 1.3**

Describe the relationship between the components of Social Studies



#### **End unit assessment**

As a prospective teacher, how you will apply the Social Studies skills to live in harmony with other people?

## UNIT 2:

# CIVILIZATION OF PRE-COLONIAL RWANDA

**Key unit competence:** The student-teacher should be able to analyze the civilization of pre-colonial Rwanda



### Introductory Activity

By observing the below illustrations, justify how in the Pre-colonial period, Rwandans developed different elements of their civilization.



### Introduction to civilization

Civilization refers to the great advance in highly developed culture and way of life when people began to farm, form governments, use metals, develop cities and use writing. To civilize, is to pass from a social status to a more advanced one in terms of moral or intellectual order.

Civilization comprises different components or indicators. The following are the main indicators that every civilization might be made up of social and cultural, economic and political aspects and activities.

### 2.1. Social organization of the Pre-colonial Rwanda



#### Learning activity 2.1

Account for the concept of civilization and describe the social organization of the Pre-colonial Rwanda.

### 2.1.1. Family & lineage and clan



**Nuclear family**

The social organization of Pre-colonial Rwanda was based on three main elements including nuclear family, lineage and clan.

The nuclear family was made up of the husband, his spouse and children. The husband was the natural head of the family and he was therefore the first socially responsible person.

In general, a family played several roles. It was the basic unit of cooperation and economic production. It produced all that it needed. According to the Rwandan mentality, an increased number of children brought happiness and strength to the family. Marriage of a daughter made it possible to extend alliances with other lineage groups.

#### **Lineage**

The lineage is a set of several families descending from one common and real ancestor and recognizable because of the genealogical tree traces. People who claim the same lineage take on the name of the common ancestors.

In the traditional Rwanda, two types of lineages were distinguished: the minor lineage, *inzu* and major lineage, *umuryango*. A minor lineage was created when members of the same family could be named after a common and real ancestor thanks to his fame yielded from his great achievements while, on the other side, the birth of a major lineage was done when within a minor lineage there was the emergence of another strong leader whose descendants could be recognized under his name but who went on also being named after their former eponym ancestor.

The following are examples of names of some lineages: *Abarashi* of Nyakarashi, *Abananura* of Kananura, and *Abahindiro* of Gahindiro.

#### **Clan**

The word “clan” corresponds to the term “*ubwoko*” and its institution neither

has a chief or a particular internal organization”. Besides, the clan has no chief, internal organization, or procedures that manage business of common benefits. The clan is not even a residential grouping; its members are located all over the country.

The clan is a set of several lineages claiming a same mythic common ancestor, but rather far off and fictitious.

It is not easy to trace it using a genealogical tree. The members of the same clan share the same culture, same taboos and same totem.

Clans also have animal totems and when possible animal taboos. The main clans had totems as their recognition sign, in this situation they were from animal species: an animal, a bird, a mammal, batrachians and a reptile. The following are totems that have been identified and their animal totems:

No	Clan	Totem
1	<i>Abanyiginya, Abatsobe, Abasindi</i>	Crested crane ( <i>Umusambi</i> )
3	<i>Abazigaba, Abenengwe</i>	Leopard ( <i>Ingwe</i> )
4	<i>Abagesera</i>	Wagtail ( <i>Inyamanza</i> )
5	<i>Abasinga</i>	Kate ( <i>Sakabaka</i> )
6	<i>Abacyaba</i>	Hyena ( <i>Impyisi</i> )
7	<i>Ababanda</i>	Crow ( <i>Igikona</i> )
8	<i>Abega, Abakono and Abaha</i>	Frog/Toad ( <i>Igikeri</i> )
9	<i>Abashambo</i>	Lion ( <i>Intare</i> )
10	<i>Abahondogo</i>	Peak ( <i>Ishwima</i> )
11	<i>Abongera</i>	Gazelle ( <i>Isha</i> )
12	<i>Abungura</i>	Pigeon ( <i>Inuma</i> )
13	<i>Abasita</i>	Jackal ( <i>Nyiramuhari /Umuhari/ Imbwebwe</i> )
14	<i>Abanyakarama,</i>	
15	<i>Abashingwe</i>	

Certain clans have taboo. *Abanyiginya* have *impwi* as their taboo. *Impwi* is a variety of antelope living in high altitude forests, with short horns and rounded cheeks. Bega have as taboo *Ifuti* which is a calf which at birth has come out with first its back rather than the head. *Abagesera* have a monkey as taboo. *Abasinga* have as a taboo *Inka y'Inyombya* which is a cow with (mixture up of small black and small brown colors parts on the skin).

### 2.1.2. Alliance and solidarity in traditional society

The alliance between families and individuals was reinforced and maintained

through marriage and solidarity.

### Traditional marriage



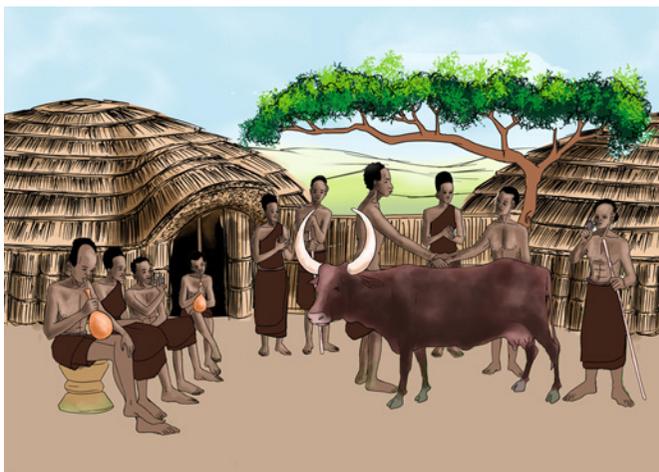
*Guheka umugeni* ( traditional marriage)

Source: Republic of Rwanda, Ministry of Education, National Curriculum Development Centre, (2010), *The History of Rwanda Secondary Schools Teacher's Guide, Module I & II, Kigali, Page41*

In traditional Rwanda, marriage was a union between a man and woman. To get married, the family of the boy had to offer a dowry to that of the girl. The dowry generally consisted of a cow, but it could also consist of goats and hoes.

### Solidarity

Solidarity is a result of an alliance between individuals and families and the feeling which pushes people towards mutual assistance. This manifests itself through various actions and attitudes: blood pact (*Kunywana / Guca kunda*), rescuing (*Gutabarana*), giving a cow (*Guhana inka*), etc.



Giving a cow (*guhana inka*)

### 2.1.3. Division of labor

In Tradition Rwandan society, there were activities reserved for certain categories of people: men, women and children. Men performed the following activities: to fish, to hunt, to dig the fields, to build houses, to herd cows or goats and to serve in the army while women could do the tasks like to look after babies, to maintain the house, to prepare the food, to weave, to fetch water and to collect firewood. On the other hand, children could be in charge of collecting firewood, fetching water, herding cows or goats, sweeping or cleaning house.



#### Application activity 2.1

1. Compare and contrast the concepts of lineage and clan.
2. Identify the duties performed by the members of the family basing on their age or sex.
3. The clans of the *Abanyiginya*, *Abega* and these of *Abagesera* and *Abasinga* had animal totems and animal taboos. Examine the significance of these animals vis-à- vis these clans.

## 2.2. Cultural organization



#### Learning activity 2.2

Pre-colonial period in the kingdom of Rwanda was characterized by a well-developed cultural organization. Analyze to what extent this affirmation can be justified.

### 2.2.1. Traditional religion

#### Conception of *Imana*

In the Pre-colonial period, Rwandans were monotheists who believed in One Supreme Being. They commonly accepted their God (***Imana***) as omnipotent, omnipresent and omniscient. However, there were no rites for *Imana*, no temple to worship *Imana* but *Imana* is present in throughout some aspects of the daily living of Rwandans. For instance, in naming their children, Rwandans referred to the idea of the role played by *Imana* in their day-to-day activities and life. These names are like: Ndayisaba(I implore God), Ndayisenga(I pray God), Niyibizi(It is God who knows), Habimana(It is God who exist), Habyarimana(It is God who procreates), Harerimana (It is God

who nurtures), ...

### **Omnipresence of *Abazimu***

By “*Abazimu*” we understand spirits of the departed or dead. According to the belief of Banyarwanda, a human being is made up of a visible part (*body*) and an invisible part (*soul*).

Upon dying, the union of body and soul disappears and in a mysterious way the soul is transformed into a spirit called in Kinyarwanda “*Umuzimu*”; from the verb “*Kuzima*” meaning to cease existing.

### ***Guterekera***

This rite concerns to offer some things as food or drinks to *Umuzimu*. That rite took place in small huts called *Indaro*. The gestures are accompanied by oral requests formulation according to circumstances. The offertories are symbols because are the smallest. Often the offertories are the things which were liked by *Umuzimu* during his/her life.

### ***Kubandwa***

The rite of *Kubandwa* is a ritual ceremony accomplished in two steps and consists to offering the offertories to Ryangombe and other *Imandwa*.



*People of Ancient Rwanda performing the rite of kubandwa*

Source: [www.africamuseum.be](http://www.africamuseum.be)

The first stage of *kubandwa* is “*Kwatura*”. By accomplishment of this stage, a novice is admitted in the community of *Imandwa* and he/she gets a new name and new parents. He/she is called from now” *Uruzingo*”

The second step, called “*Gusubizwaho*” or “*Gusubira ku ntebe*”, the novice is invited to sit once again on the seat of *Ryangombe*. By this confirmation, he/she takes the definitive name and became *Imandwa*.

A similar cult was practiced in the north of the country and it was rendered to *Nyabingi*. Legend traces *Nyabingi*'s origin to *Ndorwa* or *Karagwe*. She was a noble woman never married and died very old.

After her death, her followers (*Abagirwa* or *Ababyukurutsa*) spread her cult. Legend says that she was the daughter of *Nyakajumba* and *Nyabunyana*.

### 2.2.2. Rites and Taboos

The Rites (*Imigenzo/Imihango*) and taboos (*Imiziro*) can be considered to have been in the framework of religion in traditional Rwanda. They are part of beliefs which influenced behavior of ancient Rwandans.

#### Rites

These were activities that were performed in a particular way or occasion at ceremony as the naming a child (*Kwita Umwana* or *Gusohora umwana*), marriage, funerals...

#### Taboos

These were activities that were not allowed to be done because they could bring curses. E.g. killing a wagtail (*Kwica inyamanza*), Sitting on a motar (*Kwicara ku isekuru*),.



#### Application activity 2.2

Write down a 250-words text explaining the concepts of *Imana*(God), *Nyabingi* and *Imandwa*.

### 2.3. Political and military organization



#### Learning activity 2.3

The Pre-colonial Rwanda was politically and militarily well organized. Justify this statement.

#### 2.3.1. Political organization

The Ancient kingdom of Rwanda was divided into *Ibiti* or Districts which were large constituencies covering several hills and villages. *Ibiti* were divided into *Ibikingi* which were a collection of different hills where administrative authority was exercised. *Igikingi* consisted of division (a hill or a sub-hill) rich

in pastures which was part of the provincial division.

There were two types of *Ibikingi*: the 'administrative *Igikingi*' and 'pastoral *Igikingi*'. It should be noted that some administrative *Ibikingi* could coincide with pastoral *Ibikingi*

Some *Ibikingi* depended on royal authority ruled by the king's representative called "*Igisonga*";

- Others belonged to the chiefs of the traditional militias;
- The last category of *Ibikingi* was known as "*Ingarigari*" belonged to the Queen-Mother.

Administration in pre-colonial Rwanda was centralized, all powers were in the hands of the Umwami, King and he was assisted in his functions by the *Umugabekazi*, Queen-mother, *Abiru* and the chiefs.

### King (*Umwami*)



*A picture of King Yuhi V Musinga with his family members. (A picture taken in 1910).*

Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yuhi\\_V\\_of\\_Rwanda#/media/File:Musinga.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yuhi_V_of_Rwanda#/media/File:Musinga.jpg)

The king occupied the topmost position in the political, administrative and military hierarchy to the extent that these functions were closely linked. Following his nomination, the king identified himself as a separate entity from the nobility. The kingdom of Rwanda was sacred and the king was therefore supposed to have the divine origin. The term *Imana* (God) refers to the Creator but also to the essence of life and the fertility of the land and humans.

The king was the sole proprietor of everything and had every right to life and death over his subjects. He was also in charge of the armies, lawmaker and

supreme judge. His sentences had no appeal.

### **Queen-mother (*Umugabekazi*)**

She was usually the mother of the king or his step mother. She could perform some ceremonies defined by the tradition. She was the confident and chief advisor to the king. She could orient the king's actions and act as regent in case the king came to the throne when he was still young.

### **Custodians of the esoteric code (*Abiru*)**

They were the guardians of the tradition and royal secrets. They were high dignitaries and they came second as advisors of the king. They mastered the rites and symbolic procedures and processes of the country and their accomplishment. The king confided to them the name of his successor and he passed recommendations to the successor through them.

*Abiru* were also responsible for knowing:

- The order in which queens were chosen and the *matri-dynastic clan (Ibibanda)* of the next queen-mother (*Abega, Abasinga, Abaha Abazigaba, Abagesera and Abakono*);
- Rules of enthronement of the new king (*Inzira y'ubwimike*);
- Rules regarding decoration of royal drums. (*Inzira yo kwasira*)

*Ubwiru* was an institution with a text of eighteen *Inzira*. In Pre-colonial Rwanda, *Ubwiru* was a very important legal reference and can be compared to a constitution in modern Rwanda. The content of *Ubwiru* is presented as follows:

- *Irage ry'abami* (permanent last wills of the kings);
- *Umurage w'ingoma* (will of succession to the throne);
- *Inzira z'ubwiru* (fixed official text of the ritual);
- *Intekerezo z'ubwiru* (history and comment of the three preceding titles).

We have 18 rituals or *inzira z'ubwiru*:

1. *Inzira ya Gicurasi* (procedures for mourning or more specifically, the procedures of closing national mourning);
2. *Inzira y'Umuganura* (procedures done after harvesting)
3. *Inzira y'Umuriro* (procedures done during the enthronization of a new king)
4. *Inzira y'Ubwimika* (procedures of enthronization of new king the enthronization of new king was kept secret and hidden to foreigners)

5. *Inzira y'Ishora* (procedures related to cattle);
6. *Inzira y'Urwiwihisho* (ceremonies done when Burundians were enthroning their king, the king of Rwanda was asked to hide himself)
7. *Inzira ya Rukungugu* (procedures done in the period of hunger or famine);
8. *Inzira ya Kivu* (procedures done during the period of heavy rains or floods);
9. *Inzira y'Umuhigo* (procedures done when the king wanted to do hunting);
10. *Inzira y'Inzuki* (procedures done when there were problems of honey production);
11. *Inzira ya Muhekenyi* (procedures done when there were animal diseases);
12. *Inzira yo Kwasira* (procedures done during the decoration of the royal drum)
13. *Inzira yo Kwambika ingoma* (procedures done when decorating royal drum with male's genital organs of army chief killed on the battlefield);
14. *Inzira y'Inteko* (procedures done before Rwanda had to attack an enemy country)
15. *Inzira y'Inkiko yabyaye Umugaru* (procedures done when the country has been attacked by the outsiders)
16. *Inzira y'Ikirogoto* (ceremonies done on the burial of the dead king)
17. *Inzira y'Urugomo* (procedures done by the new king in order to avoid conflict between his brother when their father had died before to resolve those conflicts)
18. *Inzira y'Amapfizi* (procedures done concerning the bulls of the king)

### **Chiefs (*Abatware b'intebe*)**

They were the heads of Ibiti appointed by the king and lived most of their lives at the royal court. They were consulted by the king especially in the time of crises. They had following functions of:

- Controlling farmers and cattle keepers;
- Supervising closely and control the functions of land and cattle sub-chiefs;
- Commanding the army;
- Raising taxes for the king, *ikoro* and other service;

- Distributing land and to withdrawing it from others if it was felt necessary

At the level of “*Igikingi*” the administration was insured by three chiefs. These chiefs were appointed by the king depending on their merit or the merit of their families.

#### **The chief responsible of land (*Umutware w’ ubutaka*)**

He was in charge of agricultural production and responsible for collecting royal tribute, “*ikoro*” from agricultural production. He also had the responsibility of settling disputes arising from land issues.

#### **The chief responsible for cattle (*Umutware w’umukenke*)**

He was responsible for pastures in his *Igikingi* and collected tax dues from cattle keepers. He had to know and supervise pastures reserved for *Inyambo* or cows for the royal court.

#### **The army chief (*Umutware w’ingabo*)**

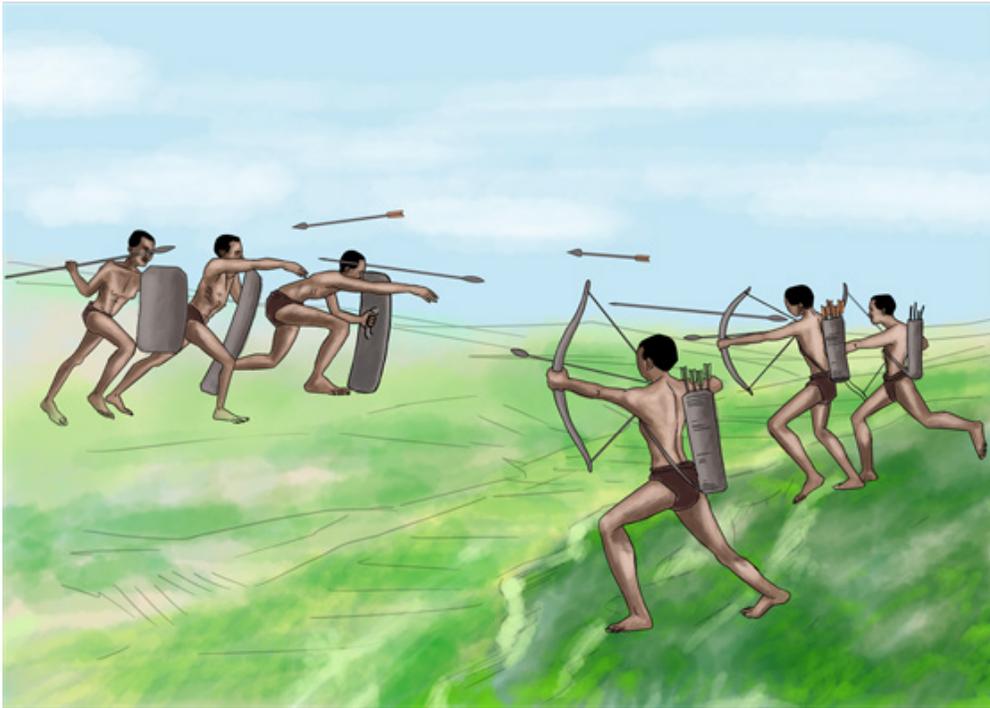
He had the role of commanding the army and participating in the fighting between Rwanda and its enemies. He was also in charge to settling disputes between other chiefs and conflicts between the pastoralists.

### **2.3.2.Military organization**

In traditional Rwanda, the military institution was very strong and powerful. The army in Ancient Rwanda had the following roles:

- Expanding country;
- Participating in the different wars;
- Fighting against cattle rustlers and various raids;
- Ensuring territorial security

The creation of an army was done at every beginning of a new reign. The king had to start training his own army of young Rwandans. At the royal court, there was a military training camp known as “*Itorero*” where the young men ***Intore*** recruited from among the king’s favorite chiefs learnt and practiced such values as generosity, courage, patriotism, the moral responsibility, self discipline, the quality of being a man, “*kuba umugabo*”, physical exercises, shooting with bows and arrows, throwing javelin, composing and memorizing of heroic poems, dancing, etc.



*Ancient Rwandan fighters armed with traditional weapons*



### Application activity 2.3

1. Examine the place that was occupied in the Pre-colonial Rwanda by the King, Queen-mother, *Abiru* and Chiefs.
2. Describe the role that was played by the institution of army in Rwanda during the pre-colonial period.
3. Identify different steps that were followed in the process of the creation of an army in Pre-colonial Rwanda



### Skills lab

By reading textbooks, analyze the civilization of the Pre-colonial Rwanda. Then after, show how the unity, harmony, solidarity, patriotism and many other values that characterized Rwandans during this period can be a good reference for the present day and future generations.



## End unit assessment

1. Identify the Rwandan clans and their animal totems.
2. Analyze the role played by the nuclear family in the Pre-colonial Rwanda.
3. Differentiate a lineage from a clan.
4. In the Pre-colonial Rwanda, the King was at the top of the administrative and political hierarchy. He therefore played a vital role at this level of the life of his country. Comment on this statement.

**Key unit competence:** The student-teacher should be able to assess the performance of the German and Belgian rules, the 1959 crisis and the process of the independence in Rwanda.



### Introductory Activity

The 19<sup>th</sup> Century was characterized by the colonization of Africa by European powerful countries. In case of Rwanda, the first colonizers were Germans followed by the Belgians. Using various books written on History of Rwanda and internet, evaluate the causes of the colonization and discuss the major reforms that the Germans and Belgians have introduced in Rwanda.

## 3.1. German administration of Rwanda and its impact



### Learning activity 3.1

By using various books and internet:

1. Discuss the causes of colonization of Africa by European countries.
2. Analyze the effects and achievements of German colonization in Rwanda.

The first German administrator of Rwanda was Captain Ramsay who arrived at Runda on March 20, 1897 under the reign of King Yuhi V Musinga. Captain Ramsay was the regional military chief of Tanganyika – Kivu whose capital was at Ujiji (in Tanzania). On this occasion, Captain Ramsay managed to give King Musinga a German flag as a symbol of German authority.

From 1898, Rwanda became a German protectorate. The King MUSINGA and Bethe concluded a pact on 5<sup>th</sup> March, 1898 and Rwanda became the 20<sup>th</sup> province in East Africa.

### 3.1.1. Causes of colonization

German and Belgium came to colonize Rwanda because of the following reasons:

- **Need of cheap labour:** Especially Belgians needed a work force to cultivate their plantations in Kongo;
- **Need of areas to invest:** The Germans and Belgians needed the new areas where they could invest their surplus capital and found Rwanda as a virgin country to cater for such desire which made them to be interested in colonizing Rwanda;
- **Need of markets:** Germany and Belgium were among the first industrialized countries in Europe and they needed the markets for their manufactured products elsewhere outside of Europe, in Africa and especially in Rwanda. This encouraged them to come and occupy Rwanda;
- **Need to promote Western civilization:** By coming and colonizing Rwanda, the Germans and Belgians socially wanted to promote Western civilization by making people of Rwanda modern and civilized. This developed more obsessive desire in colonizing Rwanda;
- **Need to spread Christianity:** The Germans and Belgians who were Christian missionaries were fascinated by colonizing Rwanda as they could spread out their religion to Rwanda as they looked it as “the best religion” in the World;
- **Need to gain political prestige and glory:** By the time, European countries believed that having more colonies is one way of being respected in the World. Therefore, the Germans had also this desire to acquire political prestige by colonizing more areas including Rwanda and among others;
- **Green light given by the 1884 – 1885 Berlin Conference:** This conference on partition of Africa had officially recognized Germany as the rightful colonial master of Rwanda. This granted and encouraged the Germans to take up Rwanda as their colony.

The German Protectorate was committed to ensure indirect rule for Rwanda, means that by this system of administration, the local traditional leaders and the culture would be maintained. The implementation of the German rule was to be attained through the two steps:

### a) Military phase: 1897 - 1907

The first phase from 1897 to 1907 was characterized by military occupation of Rwanda. During this phase, the German government was to give support to the local leaders to suppress several insurrections. In this way, the military posts created by the German government at Shangji and Gisenyi had only the role of bringing the population in the areas under German rule and therefore under local Rwandan rule headed by King Musinga.

### b) Civil administration phase: 1907-1916

This step started when Rwanda became a Residence and administrative services were transferred to Kigali from Usumbura, followed by the appointment of a civilian Resident called **Richard Kandt**. He was charged with responsibility of establishing a civilian rule in Rwanda, carrying out a census of population, raising taxes and creating a police force. In 1908, he founded **Kigali** as an imperial residence which will become the capital of independent Rwanda.

During this phase, the German government also helped the local authorities to suppress several rebellions, markedly the rebellion of Ndungutse and his acolytes Rukara and Basebya. Ndungutse rebellion had started in the north of Rwanda towards the 1910 in the former provinces of Ruhengeri and Byumba (Buberuka, Kibali and Bukonya).

Another major event happened during this phase of civil administrators is the delimitation of Rwanda's borders. It was on February 8<sup>th</sup>, 1910 during a conference held in Brussels between Belgium, Germany and Britain that Rwanda was limited in the northern and western frontiers. The cutting was simply done using a map.



### Application activity 3.1

1. Analyze the reasons why European countries came to colonize Rwanda
2. After coming in Rwanda for the colonization purpose, the German ruled Rwanda in 2 phases. According to you, were these phases necessary? Why?
3. With the coming of Germans, Kingdom of Musinga was facing the insecurity based on power conflicts. Evaluate their role in the process of pacification of Rwanda

## 3.2. Rwanda under Belgian colonization (1916 – 1962)

The Belgian era includes several elements that contributed to the total transformation of Rwanda in the political, social, economic, cultural and religious areas. It is important to distinguish three major periods of the Belgian domination to Rwanda: Military occupation (1916 – 1926), Rwanda under Belgian Mandate (1926 – 1946) and Rwanda under Belgian Trusteeship (1946 – 1962).

### 3.2.1. Belgian military occupation and its reforms (1916 – 1926)



#### Learning activity 3.2.1

Using the books and internet:

Analyse the social, political and economic transformations operated by the Belgian colonizers in Rwanda during Belgian military occupation

The Belgians did not wait for the peace conclusion to act on the sovereignty of the conquered territories. They already had colonial experience in neighboring Congo. So, before initiating any reforms, they first occupied the country militarily. The High Royal commission was created for that purpose in 1917. The very first leader General Malfeyt put his residence at Kigoma. Rwanda once again fell under military regime and was divided into four military sectors namely: Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, Cyangugu and Nyanza. Because they wanted to ensure public law and order in respect for traditional institutions, they opted for indirect rule based on the German model.

#### a) Administrative reform of 1917 and that of 1923

From 1917, Rwanda was governed from Kigoma by a Royal High Commissioner. However, it was retained as residence and the Belgians imitated the German local policy which consisted of exploiting the authority of the local administration by making sure that they were made tools of colonial occupation. Hence the King and traditional chiefs were allowed to exercise their functions under the guidance of the new colonial authority.

From 1923, a law was put in place to prohibit the King from appointing or dismissing a chief without the permission of the Resident Representative of the Belgian Government. In the same way chiefs and Governors of Provinces did not have the right to dismiss their subordinates.

The application of the system of indirect rule in Rwanda by the Belgian authorities was dictated by the fact that they did not have enough Belgian officials in the country.

The traditional authorities in Rwanda were charged with the responsibility of collecting taxes, mobilizing porters and workers on the local roads or tracks.

### **b) Judiciary reform of 28 April 1917**

The king was stripped off the right to condemn his subjects to death and life but he kept the right to hear appeal cases. The chiefs who traditionally had the power to hear and resolve differences in the areas of jurisdiction and had the right to emit punishments saw their powers reduced. The Belgian Resident representative or even the Belgian administrator was given the right to hear appeals from such cases.

### **c) Politico-religious reform**

The king was forced to sign a decree proclaiming freedom of worship. Therefore, the royal power became secular because the King had just been forced to destroy his politico-religious power. Actually, Rwandans considered the King as their unique religious leader who communicated with God through some sort of magical power and he was, for them, a source of life and prosperity for the whole kingdom.

### **d) Fiscal reform of 26 December 1924**

The Belgians introduced new fiscal reform in 1924. The significant part of this reform was abolition of certain gifts:

*Imponoke* which consisted of cows given as gifts to a chief who had lost cattle in huge numbers.

*Indabukirano* which were cows given to a new chief upon assuming his duties as a new leader in an area. This gift was disguised as a form of congratulatory gift but it often amounted to an inducement to have some favors from the chief.

As for the allocation of work and services, they were fixed at two days out of seven instead of two out of five as was the case in traditional Rwanda. These measures meant that the King was losing more and more of his power to fix allocations and this naturally weakened his authority as his economic

position was also somewhat neutralized. However, as compensation, the King and the Chiefs became civil servants and started earning salaries. For example, the King received a salary of 130,000 Belgian Francs per month.



### Application activity 3.2.1

1. What were the concerns of the following reforms?
  - Judicial reform of 1917
  - Politico-religious reform
  - Fiscal reform of 1924
2. Explain other reforms done in Rwanda during Belgian military occupation?

### 3.2.2. Rwanda under Belgian Mandate (1926-1946)



### Learning activity 3.2.2

Using books and internet analyze the transformations done by the Belgian colonizers during the mandate period. Discuss how the Belgian policy introduced during this period in Rwanda led to the divisive ideology.

Mandate, in ancient Roman law refers to a contract in which one person agreed to perform a gratuitous service for another in return for indemnification against loss. After World War I, the term was applied in international law to provisions under the covenant of the League of Nations for the administration of territories formerly held by Germany and the Ottoman Empire. Between 1926 and 1931, Belgians did many administrative reforms known as Morthan reforms. These are the following:

1. Rwanda – Burundi was joined to Belgian Congo in terms of administration. Congolese colonial law was applied to both countries.
2. Rwanda which was originally governed under 20 Ibiti or districts and pastoral fiefs or Ibikingi, was transformed into a system of chiefs and sub chiefs and territories. By 1931, the 52 “chefferies” corresponded more or less to historical traditional regions and the 544 “Sous-chefferies” were equivalent to former pastoral fiefs.
3. The functions of the three chiefs: Chief of land (umutare w’ubutaka), chief of the cattle (umutare w’umukenke) and chief of the army (umutare w’ingabo), were abolished.

4. The chiefs from that time resided in their administrative places and not at the royal court as it was before this administrative reform.

However, the distribution of administrative responsibilities in the new structure was discriminatory because it excluded the Hutu, Twa and Tutsi of modest background in favour of the Tutsi from wellbeing families. The chiefs were in turn replaced by their sons who had graduated from the school reserved for sons of chiefs or Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida. These were considered as able to rule in a modern way. It is during this period also that the King Musinga was deposited (November, 1931) because he was opposed to the missionaries' activities, especially to the Catholic Church. He considered Christianity as one way of undermining the kingship.

King of Rwanda, Yuhi V Musinga (1895 -1931)



Source: <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/463378249132527834/>

Thus, he refused to be baptized. That is why, he was dismissed and replaced by his son Mutara III Rudahigwa.

King Mutara III Rudahigwa ( 1931 -1959)



Source: <https://www.google.com/search?q=Rudahigwa+images&tbm=isch&source=i-u&ictx=1&fir=iqsNc0at8Y4x-M%253A%252CZYKIBji 5dwfKM>

Although Rudahigwa was proclaimed a king of Rwanda, all his power felt down and became a staff of colonial administration. He occupied the 6th position in the administration of Rwanda. The King was under the Resident authority and had to report on him. He had also a contract and a salary.

### **Transformations under the Belgian mandate**

During the Belgian mandate, Rwanda was transformed in many fields. This transformation negatively and positively affected the Rwandans and was carried out by the Belgian government in the following domains:

#### **◇ Economic transformation**

##### **• Forced labour policy**

During the Belgian colonial rule, the Belgians used cruel forced labour in Rwanda, called “Akazi”. Forced labour was mainly in plantations of the forests, carrying things, road construction, building of churches, schools and hospitals and the digging of anti-erosive ditches. With the introduction of akazi, people found themselves in a worse situation, because this work was so hard and not paid. Instead of being paid, those who didn't perform well their tasks were bitten by the chiefs nominated by colonial masters.

The Belgian colonizers introduced also “Shiku”: his was the compulsory of food crops such as cassava, sweet potatoes in common plantations. People were also obliged traveling long distances to cultivate the cash crops like coffee. These were cultivated away from their homes, often near the roads where colonial dignitaries liked to pass and get a good impression. The Belgian policy of forced labour had negative effects such as famines: Rumanura (1917 – 1918), Gakwege (1928–1929) and Ruzagayura (1943–1944) and insecurity among people.

Forced labour became so insupportable that people started fleeing it to neighbouring countries like Uganda and Tanzania in search of free and paid work.

##### **• Taxation policy**

Capitation or poll tax was introduced in 1917. This was obligatory for all men adult Rwandans of sound mind. From 1931, poll tax was even more concretised. It covered more people and it was paid in form of money, depending on the welfare of each Territory.

#### **◇ Agriculture and animal husbandry**

In this field, the Belgians intensified the cultivation of food crops like cassava, Irish potatoes and sweet potatoes in order to fight endemic famines which were ravaging the country.

They also encouraged the plantation of trees and the digging of terraces to control soil erosion.

In 1927 the colonial power put in place 3 agricultural research stations in Rwanda: Rubona (Southern Province), Rwerere (Western Province), and Karama (Eastern Province).

In the area of animal rearing, the colonial power concentrated on higher animals like cows and goats. Research centres were established at Nyamiyaga – Songa in Southern Region Cyeru in Northern Region and Nyagatare in Eastern Region. Animal health centres were built and veterinary clinics were established in rural areas.

#### ◆ Mining activities

The mining activities started in 1923 while prospecting had started five years before. Four mining companies in all shared the mining exploitation. These were MINETAINE (Société des Mines d’Etain) which had deposits in Gatumba (former Gisenyi) and in Musha (near Rwamagana) and was founded in 1926.

SOMUKI (Société Minière de Muhinga et de Kigali), founded in January 1923 exploited and had deposits in Rutongo and in Nyungwe forest for the mining of gold; COREM (Compagnie de Recherche et d’exploitation Minière) which was a mixed company, jointly managed by the territorial government of Rwanda – Burundi and GEORWANDA (Compagnie Géologique et Minière du Rwanda) that had big concessions in Rwinkwamvu. The main minerals were tin, Colombo tantalite, gold, wolfram and other minerals associated with tin. Some people got jobs in the mining sector employed by these mining companies.

#### ◆ Trade, commerce and infrastructure

In 1930, the monetary economy has been re-enforced in Rwanda due to the emerging class of salaried Rwandans who had started working in the newly created enterprises such as commercial companies, mines, civil servants working for colonial administration in plantations and in the road construction.

As for external trade, the main partners were Belgian, Congo, Burundi, some European countries, Asian countries and America. Foreign companies controlled import and export business. The colonial administration only intervened in the trade of coffee which required a lot of care in order to export good quality products.

In domain of transport, three international roads were built:

- **Road:** Bujumbura – Bugarama – Astrida – Kigali – Rwamagana – Gatsibo – Nyagatare – Kagitumba

- **Road:** Bujumbura – Cyangugu – Bukavu;
- **Road** Bukavu – Cyangugu – Astrida.
- **Socio – cultural transformations**

#### ◇ **Education**

Belgians introduced secular and religious education under the control of the missionaries. However, it should be noted that admission to some sections of these schools was selective for some sections (Groupe scolaire of Astrida), allowing only sons of Tutsi chiefs and other notables.

This type of education introduced was a monopoly of Christian missionaries and the main courses taught at the beginning were religion, arithmetic, reading and writing (Kiswahili, German and later French with the Belgians).

Secondary schools started in 1912 with the creation of the minor seminary of Kansi which in 1913 was transferred at Kabgayi. Secondary education developed in 1929 with the establishment of the “Groupe Scolaire d’Astrida”. Other secondary schools were established such as the teacher Training School in Zaza by Brothers of Charity (transferred from Kabgayi in 1944), teacher Training School for girls at Save managed by White Sisters (1939).

#### ◇ **Christianity**

The Catholic Church dominated other churches and had in large numbers different congregations. The number of Rwandan priests increased from 5 in 1922 to 40 in 1939. The number of baptised converts also increased from 13, 400 in 1928 to 320, 000 in 1945.

#### ◇ **Health**

The medical sector was run by the Christian missions. By 1932, the colonial administration had 2 hospitals: Kigali and Astrida and 29 dispensaries. From 1933, the colonial administration conceived a new policy to replace all dispensaries with mobile “assistance camps”.

This policy was done in order to solve the problem of insufficient medical infrastructure. The private hospitals were put in place in Kigeme and Shyira by the Anglican Church and some others by mining companies like hospital of Rutongo by SOMUKI and Rwinkwavu hospital by GEORWANDA. Other Christian missionaries set up the hospitals throughout the country such as Kabgayi and Mibilizi by the Catholics; Kilinda by the Presbyterians; Gahini by the Anglicans; Ngoma – Mugonero by the Adventists

In addition, a section of training of medical assistants was opened in Groupe Scolaire of Astrida and Medical auxiliaries also opened at Astrida and 2 schools for assistant nurses at Kabgayi and in Kigali.

### **Introduction of identity card**

In 1935, the Belgian colonial administration introduced a national identity card basing on ethnicity. The Banyarwanda who possessed 10 or more cows were registered as Batutsi, whereas those with less were registered as Bahutu and Batwa were considered not only as those with no cows but as the “pygmies” and as those who survived by pottery active ties. They measured also the height and noises. You could see two people born from the same parents given identities mentioning different ethnic groups (one Tutsi and another Hutu).

### **3.2.3. Rwanda under Belgian Trusteeship (146-1962)**



#### **Learning activity 3.2.3**

Using books and internet discuss and analyze the following:

1. The role played by United Nation Organizations in helping the colonies to improve the welfare of their population and to achieve the independence.
2. How did the “Mise au point” and the “Manifeste des Bahutu (Hutu manifesto) affected Rwandan society?
3. Do any analysis and criticism on the ideology of political parties created in 1959.
4. Factors that led to the outbreak of the 1959 crisis.
5. The effects of the “Coup d’Etat” of Gitarama and the last stage that led to the achievement of the independence of Rwanda in 1962.

Towards the end of the World War II, the victorious nations created the United Nations Organization with principal mission of maintaining peace and security in the world. At the same time in Rwanda, the mandate regime was replaced by the Trusteeship regime but all under the Belgian authority.

It was on the 13th December 1946 that the UN and Belgium signed a Trusteeship Agreement on Rwanda and on April 29, 1946, the Belgian Parliament approved it. The Belgium was given a mission of preparing Rwanda for internal autonomy and later on independence. Belgian government had the duty to promote economic and social development as well as the local people who would manage the country after attaining independence.

In order to help the Belgium to fulfil that mission, the UN put up a Trusteeship Council which had to send a mission every 3 years to territories under Trusteeship. The purpose of these missions was to hold consultations and examine together with the state holding Trusteeship any petition arising from the administrated population. Such missions in Rwanda were in 1948, 1951, 1954, 1957 and 1960.

- **Economic reform**

The Belgian government elaborated a Ten Year Social and economic development Plan for Rwanda – Burundi in 1951 (From 1951 up to 1960).

Several projects were financed under this plan like the construction of schools, hospitals, dispensaries, roads, the development of marshlands and the plantation of forests.

On the side of the local authorities, the socio-economic reform done was of king On the 1st April 1954, the King Mutara III Rudahigwa abolished the socio-economic dependence system based on the cow or Ubugake by the royal decree, with the objectives of liberating the pastoral clients (Abagaragu) who used to spend much of their time working for their patrons (shebuja); and to encourage private initiatives and to force cattle keepers to reduce the number of cows to manageable and profitable size.

- **Political reforms**

Under the period of Belgian Trusteeship, there were two political reforms introduced by the Belgian administrators:

1. The first reform was introduced on May 4, 1947. It was the creation of a Conseil du Gouvernement du Ruanda-Urundi. The council comprised 22 members, 5 of whom were Belgians including the governor, 2 resident representatives and 2 Belgian state agents. The rest 17 members were said to represent other foreigners living in Rwanda – Burundi.
2. By the decree of 14<sup>th</sup> July 1952, the Belgian government established the “Conseil de sous-chefferie” (council of sub - chieftaincy), the “Conseil de chefferie (council of chieftaincy)”, the “Conseil du Territoire (council of Territory)” and the “Conseil Supérieur du Pays( High Council of the State).”

On February 22, 1957, a memorandum called “Mise au point” was prepared by the “Conseil supérieur du pays” and addressed to the UN Trusteeship mission to Rwanda and to the Belgian administration.

This document was critical of the colonial power. It talked about discrimination based on colour, the monopoly of the missionary education which was of questionable quality and finally demanded more representation of Rwandans

in the political administration of their country.

To the “Mise au point”, the Belgian authorities mobilised an elite group of the Hutu to write another memorandum in counter attack; which they named “Le Manifeste des Bahutu” (“Hutu manifesto) or ‘Note sur l’aspect social du problème racial indigène au Rwanda” the issued on March 24, 1957. They protested against the monopoly of power by the Tutsi and against all social injustices and through this situation, the colonial power had created a “Hutu – Tutsi” conflict which had never existed before and later would become an obstacle to the unity of Rwandans.

It was in that climate of great confusion and misunderstanding between the King and his former allies (Colonial administration and the Catholic Church officials) that the Belgian government authorised the creation of the political parties in 1959. Some of them are Union Nationale Rwandaise (UNAR). The Rwanda National Union Party officially formed on the 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1959. Created by President was Francis Rukeba supported by King Mutara, Rassemblement Démocratique du Rwanda (RADER) (The Rwanda Democratic Assembly) founded by Bwanakweri Prosper to support the colonial administration and the Catholic Church, Parti du Mouvement pour l’Emancipation Hutu (PARMEHUTU) formed on October 1959 and officially launched as a party on the 18th October 1959 with Grégoire Kayibanda, as its President.

We cannot also forget the Association pour la Promotion Sociale de la Masse (APROSOMA) founded on the 1<sup>st</sup> November 1957 by Joseph Habyalimana alias Gitera and became a Political party on February 15, 1959, AREDETTWA founded by Laurent Munyankuge from Gitarama, APADEC founded by Augustin Rugiramasasu. ABAKI (Alliance des Bakiga) and many others.



### Application activity 3.2.3

1. What is the impact of 10 years social- economic plan introduced by Belgians in 1951?
2. The political reforms introduced by Belgian colonizers in Rwanda in 1952 failed. Discuss.
3. Analyze the strengths and weaknesses of political parties created in 1959.

### 3.2.4. The 1959 crisis in Rwanda



#### Learning activity 3.2.4

1. Analyze the causes of 1959 crisis a part from the molestation of Mbonyumutwa Dominique
2. Evaluate the effects of 1959 crisis in Rwanda in particular and in great region in general.

As you can see, in their agenda, many political parties had the divisive ideology, based either on region or ethnic group. On the November 1<sup>st</sup> 1959, Mbonyumutwa Dominique, a member of PARMEHUTU, (who was a chief of Ndiza), was beaten by a young Tutsi.



Mbonyumutwa Dominique who has been the 1<sup>st</sup> President of Rwanda

Source: [https://www.google.com/search?rlz=1C1CHBD\\_enRW858RW858&q=mbonyumutwa+images&tbm=isch&source=univ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjK6\\_Ls87nkAhUHrxoKHZyt-COkQ7A16BAgIECQ&biw=1038&bih=722&dpr=1.25#imgrc=HwzusufTrQi6ZM](https://www.google.com/search?rlz=1C1CHBD_enRW858RW858&q=mbonyumutwa+images&tbm=isch&source=univ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjK6_Ls87nkAhUHrxoKHZyt-COkQ7A16BAgIECQ&biw=1038&bih=722&dpr=1.25#imgrc=HwzusufTrQi6ZM)

This led to the open violence from the 1<sup>st</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> November 1959 in Gitarama against the Tutsi and the members of UNAR. It was sparked off by the members of PARMEHUTU and APROSOMA from Byimana in Marangara and spread to Ndiza, Gisenyi, Ruhengeri Kibuye and Nyanza.

The violence had mainly the following effects:

1. The houses of Tutsi and Hutu members of UNAR were burned and destroyed systematically. There were arbitrary arrests, imprisonments and assassinations.
2. Many Tutsi were killed (at least 200 people), internally displaced and became refugees in neighbouring countries like in Burundi, Uganda, Tanzania and Belgian Congo (almost between 150.000 and 200.000 people)
3. The 20 chiefs were dismissed and 150 sub-chiefs were replaced by

the members of PARMEHUTU assisted by Colonel Guy Logiest.

Since November 25, 1960, the administrative reforms were introduced by Colonel Logiest:

- The general governor changed the title and became general resident. The sectors or sub-chiefdoms were reduced from 544 to 229 and they were known as communes and communal elections were prepared.
- The chiefdoms were abolished and the 10 territories became prefectures headed by the préfets.
- The “Conseil Supérieur du Pays” (High Council of the State) was dissolved and replaced by a Special Provisional Council comprising 8 members from 4 political Parties: RADER, PARMEHUTU, UNAR and APROSOMA. This Special provisional council was formed on February 4th, 1960. King Kigeli V Ndahindurwa could not hide his hostility for that council because it actually substituted his powers.

From 26<sup>th</sup> June to 30<sup>th</sup> July, 1960, communal elections took place with the following results: PARMEHUTU got 70.4% corresponding to 2, 390 communal councillors, APROSOMA got 7.4% corresponding to 233 communal councillors, RADER got 6.6% corresponding to 206 communal councillors and UNAR got 1.8%, as almost all his members were fled the country and others killed.

By these elections, PARMEHUTU had 166 Bourgmestres, 21 were from APROSOMA, 7 were from RADER and 17 were from other different political parties. UNAR had only one Bourgmester.

According to those results, PARMEHUTU was declared winner. UNAR protested these results along with the king Ndahindurwa. In July, 1960, king Kigeli V Ndahindurwa went to the Belgian Congo to meet the UN Secretary General and to attend Congo’s independence celebration. After these ceremonies, the Belgian minister in charge of Rwanda – Burundi issued an order prohibiting King Ndahindurwa from returning to Rwanda.

On 26<sup>th</sup> October, 1960, a provisional government was put in place by the resident general. It was composed of 10 Rwanda ministers and 9 Belgian state secretaries. On the 25<sup>th</sup> January, 1961, the resident general conferred upon these institutions the powers of autonomy.



### Application activity 3.2.4

1. Do you agree that the 1959 crisis happened because Mbonyumutwa was simply molested? Explain your answer!
2. Analyze the effects of 1959 crisis on Rwandan people

### 3.2.5. The “coup d’Etat” of Gitarama



### Learning activity 3.2.5

Do you think that Belgians played a role during the preparation of the coup d’Etat of Gitarama? Explain your answer.

On the 28<sup>th</sup> January, 1961, the famous “Coup d’Etat of Gitarama” took place. At that time, a meeting took place in a market in Gitarama in which about 2,900 councillors and bourgmestres took part. These people were elected from PARMEHUTU and APROSOMA political parties. With the complicity of the Belgian government, they proclaimed the following decisions:

1. The abolition of the monarchy and the kingdom emblem, the royal emblem drum Kalinga and Ubwiru institution.
2. The proclamation of a Republic and the election of the first president of Rwanda, Mr. Mbonyumutwa Dominique.
3. The formation of a government made up of 11 ministers with Grégoire Kayibanda as prime minister.
4. Creation of a supreme court.

In the February 1961, the Belgian Trusteeship recognised that regime and transferred the power of autonomy to them. A new tricolour flag of Red, Yellow and Green was exhibited. On 25<sup>th</sup> September 1961, legislative elections and a referendum were organised and were won by PARMEHUTU. It was declared that majority of voters had voted “No” against the monarchy and the person of King Kigeli V Ndahindurwa. On the second of October 1961, the legislative assembly was put in place. Grégoire Kayibanda was elected President of the Republic by the Legislative Assembly headed by Joseph Habyalimana Gitera. On the 1<sup>st</sup> July, 1962, Rwanda had recovered its independence; the Belgian flag was replaced by the Rwandan flag.



### Application activity 3.2.5

Analyze the outcomes of the “Coups d’Etat” of Gitarama.



### Skills lab

Using different sources of information related to the colonial period of Rwanda, examine to which extent all the activities planned and implemented in Rwanda by the Belgian colonizers aimed at first of all preserving their interests. Concomitantly, show how even today, the Western countries want to maintain such kind of relationships between them and former colonies.



### End unit assessment

Answer the following questions:

1. Why European countries came to colonize Africa?
2. Explain the circumstances under which the Belgian Rule was established in Rwanda.
3. Identify the political, economic, social and socio – cultural performance of the Belgians in Rwanda during mandate.
4. Explain the causes and the effects of 1959 crisis in Rwanda.
5. Describe the different steps that led to achievement of independence in Rwanda.

## UNIT 4:

# THE FIRST AND THE SECOND REPUBLICS OF RWANDA

**Key unit competence:** The student teacher should be able to examine the achievements and the failures of the First and the Second Republics of Rwanda.



### Introductory Activity

After recovering its independence, Rwanda was under the First Republic (1962 – 1973) and the Second Republic (1973 – 1994). Both Republics have contributed to the social, political and economic evolution of Rwanda. However, due to different factors, those Republics declined respectively, by 1973 and by 1994.

To which extent the First Republic collapsed by 1973 and the Second Republic by 1994?

## 4.1 Achievements of the First Republic



### Learning activity 4.1

After the recovery of independence, the First Republic had recorded the success in political, economic and social evolution. Examine such achievements under the First Republic.

By the 1<sup>st</sup> July 1962, Rwanda recovered its independence from Belgian colonization which dated from 1916; then, since 1962 up to 1973, Rwanda was under the First Republic. Under this period, some achievements and political institutional changes were recorded.

#### The Constitution

In 1962, Rwanda under the Republican form of government acceded to independence without a well formulated constitution. In this regard, on 28<sup>th</sup> January 1961, during the “Gitarama coup”, PARMEHUTU leaders prepared something that had a semblance of a constitution but which did not qualify to be considered as such because this text was neither published in the Official

Gazette of Ruanda- Urundi, nor was it published in Rwanda's Official Journal. To avoid a constitutional vacuum, a constitution project was proposed by PARMEHUTU and APROSOMA parliamentary groups. The vote took place during the meeting of November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1962; 33 votes for, no vote against and 4 abstentions (3 from UNAR and 1 from APROSOMA). The final text was signed on the following day, i.e. on 24<sup>th</sup> November 1962- by 40 Members of Parliament.



*Grégoire Kayibanda, President of Rwanda from October 1961 to July 1973.*

*Source: <https://www.facebook.com/pg/GregoireKayibanda/about/>*

## **The government**

By independence, Rwanda had also a government headed by a President of the Republic and a Parliament. According to the constitution, the power of the government is allocated to the President of the Republic who is at the same time Head of State and to the Ministers whom he himself had appointed. At the beginning of every term, the President was elected directly by simple majority through adult universal suffrage.

In addition, according to the Constitution, the President was supposed to appoint and disappoint any of the Cabinet Ministers and later inform the National Assembly about the matter. In practice, the President communicated the composition of government to the National Assembly which took note of the decision without subjecting the matter to vote.

Under the First Republic, eight governments succeeded one another. The first one, formed after independence in May 1962, consisted of a coalition government which was composed of the UNAR party (2 ministers), PARMEHUTU and APROSOMA. On 6<sup>th</sup> February 1963, there was a ministerial reorganization and all cabinet ministers from UNAR were dismissed, ostensibly owing to budgetary constraints according to Grégoire

Kayibanda.

However, in actual fact, the reason behind was to expel opposition political parties which later ceased to be part of government from 1963.

### **The National Assembly**

The Parliament supervises the action of the President of the Republic and his government. Under the 1<sup>st</sup> Republic, there were three legislatures elected respectively in 1961, 1965 and 1969 until the dissolution of the Parliament following the July 5<sup>th</sup>, 1973 Coup d'état.

During the first legislative mandate, MDR-PAPMEHUTU was a dominant party (with 35 seats), but there were also UNAR MPs (7) as well as Members of Parliament from APROSOMA (2). In the Assembly that was constituted after the elections of 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1965, all opposition parties were no longer represented. All MPs originated from MDR-PAPMEHUTU.

### **The Supreme Court**

The Supreme Court was instituted in the first Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda. However, the Supreme Court was nonexistent in fact because it could not refuse a law which the President wished to pass. Thus, in 1973, when President Kayibanda wanted to stand for another term, he modified some articles of the constitution. Since the latter did not confer any independence to the judges, the latter were fearful of being dismissed. This led to the paralysis of the judicial system through intrigue and arbitrary decisions by the judges.

### **Economic evolution under the First Government**

Just after the independence, the First Republic faced many economic problems. The main Rwanda offices were still in Bujumbura which had been the colonial capital of Ruanda-Urundi. Rwanda was under equipped. There were few economic infrastructures, in the capital of Kigali. It had no airport; the country did not have a radio, any tarmac road, any telephone line and there were university or any other institution of high education. Everything had to come through Bujumbura or through Belgian Congo.

In addition to the lack of infrastructure and the under equipment of Rwanda, the food security was also another crucial problem.

In fact, this problem was due to land overexploitation in the regions anciently populated, high population density and erosion.

To solve this poverty and shortage of land, the First Republic resorted to the policy of the creation of farms in the former prefectures of Gitarama, Kibungo

and Rural Kigali and committed to sensitize people of the prefectures of Ruhengeri, Gikongoro, and especially Butare to go to settle there.

Moreover, Rwanda lacked the financial means to undertake developmental projects. The country had only one donor, Belgium which created financial dependence on its donors in all domains.

Another economic problem faced by Rwanda was the poor functioning of the monetary and customs union between Rwanda and Burundi. Moreover, the two countries did not have good relations because they had two different political systems; Rwanda was a Republic while Burundi was a Constitutional Monarchy.

The country was going through an extremely difficult crisis including deficits in the balance of payments, because in 1962 inflation began to reach 50 percent and by 1964, inflation had risen to 300 percent. The Rwandan currency depreciated and agricultural and mineral production went down; this created a big fall in exports, which brought about a big gap in foreign exchange and the incapacity of Rwanda to serve its imports.

Despite the economic problems above mentioned, the regime of the First Republic managed to make some achievements. The First Republic inaugurated some financial institutions like banks which helped to finance a few factories and industrial companies. The National Bank was established in January 1964, the commercial Bank in 1962, and the Rwanda Development Bank in 1968.



*Image of the Commercial bank of Rwanda. Source: <https://twitter.com/ClaudeKabengera/status/1026801081823752193>*

This last bank had a mission to solve the problem of financing industrial companies. In fulfillment of this mission, la Banque Rwandaise de Développement (Rwanda Development Bank) financed several industries.



*Image of Rwanda Development bank*

*Source:<http://rwanda-corporate-review.blogspot.com/>*

In the sector of infrastructure, some projects had been conceived to macadamize all the road axes linking the country to the outside world in the frame-work of the five-year development plan (1966-1971). In order of priority, the following roads were to be macadamized:

- Kigali- Gatuna; Kigali-Rusumo;
- Kigali- Butare and Ruhengeri- Cyanika

It is essential to note that before the coup d'état that put an end to the First Republic in 1973, only one of the above mentioned roads had been started to be macadamized: the Kigali- Gatuna road from 1971. But the construction of this road will be completed during the second Republic in 1977. In addition to this achievement, there was the construction of the Rusumo Bridge at the Akagera River linking Rwanda and Tanzania and that of the Bridge over Nyabarongo River.

In the sector of rural development, the emphasis was placed on the reclamation of marshlands in order to improve agricultural production and the distribution of improved seeds and plants in some parts of the country. Besides, there was introduction of new crops like rice. In terms of animal production, some cattle dips were put in place to fight ticks which attack cows.

## **Socio-cultural evolution**

### ***Education system***

In the sector of education and health, the First Republic managed to make some but very few achievements. Since its existence the regime of the First Republic strived to give free education services.

In the 1962 Constitution, and according to the education policy of 1966, the general basic principle was to make primary education compulsory and free for all children up to the age of 15 in order to “benefit as many children possible with basic education that was solid and sustainable”. Following this arrangement, new orientations were introduced in the organization of primary education for boys and girls, as well as in secondary and higher learning institutions.

A “double-intake” system was introduced in primary schools during the academic year of 1969 - 1970. This system meant that every teacher had two groups of pupils to teach: one group in the morning and the other in the afternoon.

However, the increase in intake for pupils resulting from the double-session program had problems. These included inadequate teaching staff who were not well qualified, poor teaching content which was not appropriate to the realities on the ground and finally, there was lack of school materials such as books, chalk, dusters. Even the state of school buildings was appalling.

In order to overcome the above problems, the government took the following actions:

- As early as 1963, more qualified teachers were urgently trained by putting in place a training period of two years for trainers of trainers;
- A “pedagogic training center” was set up in order to improve the quality of head teachers who were destined to become inspectors after six months of internship. This was done in the perspective of reorganized primary education at provincial level in various sectors;
- Opening of 12 audio–visual centers by the Gitarama Radio School in favor of radio teaching programs for uneducated rural children in a 4 years program.
- Creation of a special post- primary cycle for girls to replace the 8 former post primary domestic training colleges (3 years in boarding school) for “privileged” young girls.
- Training of headmistresses and female teachers in women technical schools (2 years’ terminal cycle after ordinary level) in Nyanza, Mubuga and Remera;
- In 1971 - 72, the number of secondary schools increased from 24 to 63;

- For boys, some of those schools offered ordinary level orientation, diversified upper levels, technical secondary studies in agriculture, veterinary, medical training, etc. lower teacher – training education and finally professional education;
- As for girls, who had been marginalized for a long time in terms of education, a common cycle of orientation, diversified upper levels, lower teacher–training education, middle education and social, medical and domestic training were introduced.

It should be reminded that at the time of independence, the country of Rwanda was not well equipped in terms of secondary schools. It possessed few secondary schools such as Groupe Scolaire of Astrida in Butare, Kicukiro Government Technical School in Kigali, Saint Andrew College in Kigali, Christ the King College, etc.

During this period, there was not any for higher education. In fact, the first university was opened on November 3<sup>rd</sup> 1963 in Rwanda. The initiative to establish higher education finally was born during the First Republic. This University was launched in Butare (Huye District today) with the assistance of two countries: Switzerland and Canada. It was started by a Canadian priest called Levesque as Rector with 50 students distributed in three faculties: medicine, arts and sciences. It also operated a school called Ecole Pratique des Langues Modernes (Practical School of Modern Languages) and a Higher School for Nursing.



*Image of National University of Rwanda*

Source: <https://talloiresnetwork.tufts.edu/national-university-of-rwanda-rwanda/>

By 1971-1972, the number of students had reached 470. The Higher Institute of Education (Institut Pédagogique National (IPN) started in 1966.

## Health

In health sector, the First Republic also tried to make some efforts. The focus was put on the construction of new dispensaries whose number increased from 67 to 142 in 1972. Moreover, the other accent was placed on finding the solution to the problem of malnutrition and poor conditions of hygiene. As remedy, some social medical centers were constructed to provide sanitary or health education in order to give some trainings on how to avoid and prevent certain diseases. At this occasion, the breastfeeding mothers were provided with some skills in maternal health care and the government also set up nutritional centers for malnourished children.

To take care of disabled children, a center for physically handicapped children was built at Gatagara and another Psychiatry Centre for the people with mental disability was built at Ndera. This center known as CARAES Ndera is run by the Gand Brothers of Charity. Regarding preventive medicine, vaccination campaigns were initiated between 1965 and 1970.



### Application activity 4.1

1. Assess the political changes undertaken under the First Republic.
2. Examine the economic achievements recorded by the First Republic, from 1962 up to 1973.

## 4.2 Failures and downfall of the First Republic



### Learning activity 4.2

By 1973, the First Republic reached to its end by a coup d'état of the 5<sup>th</sup> July 1973. Discuss the failures and factors that led to this decline.

Through the coup d'état of the 4<sup>th</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> July 1973, the First Republic was at its downfall. This was caused by long standing failures that even dated from its beginning. Many factors were responsible for this downfall.

### **Institutionalization of discrimination against Tutsi**

From 1959 onwards, the population of Tutsi was targeted, causing hundreds of thousands of deaths, and a population of almost two million Rwandan people left the country and living in the exile for almost four decades.

The First Republic, under President Grégoire Kayibanda, institutionalized discrimination against Tutsi and periodically used massacres against the Tutsi as a means of maintaining the status quo.

In 1965 Rwanda was declared a one-party State under MDR-PARMEHUTU, which was the architect of the racist ideology. The regime of Kayibanda did not manifest a good will to repatriate the Rwandan refugees. Instead, it used to kill the Tutsi at a very attack of Inyenzi.

In 1972, President Kayibanda met his closest friends in order to revive his sinister plan. This plan consisted of chasing Tutsi from schools and higher institutions as well as from all public and private establishments. In February 1973, the massacre of the Tutsi was organized and coordinated by Kayibanda's government.

### **Regionalism**

Since 1963, the leading political party PARMEHUTU was experiencing considerable internal tensions. Some concerned inter-personal rivalries and the distribution of jobs as the party organs and State structures came closer and closer.

There was increasing discontent among emerging cadres, students and individuals with primary and secondary education. Very fierce local political competition was combined with rivalries on the national level. Later on, regional rivalry appeared fully during the exercise of power when *ubukonde* was debated. This form of real estate clientelism practiced in the north of the country had been weakened by the assertion of central authority during the colonial period.

Several hypotheses have been put forward about the source of this chaos. Though orders were transmitted through the administration, they may have originated from the entourage of Grégoire Kayibanda. According to other hypotheses, they may also have come from Alexis Kanyarengwe, the Chief of Police, who was from Ruhengeri.

Another cause of the rivalry between the north and the south was that PARMEHUTU members of the South especially in Gitarama, the home area of President Kayibanda tended to systematically monopolize PARMEHUTU and Government power in a form of nepotism at the expense of the Northern region.

In addition, there was a failed coup attempted by a certain Nyatanyi Pierre who was then chief cabinet of President Kayibanda and a certain Muramutsa Joachim, commandant of the Kanombe unit.

These two officers were from the North then the coup was interpreted as being coup of the North against the South. The two officers were imprisoned only to be pardoned later by President Habyarimana when he took over power in the coup d'état of 1973.

### **Need for constitutional amendment**

Another factor that contributed to the fall of the First Republic was the need for constitutional amendment which was voted on May 18<sup>th</sup>, 1973 by the National Assembly. This amendment increased the duration of presidential terms of office from five to seven years and allowed Grégoire Kayibanda to stand for a third term.

When it came the time of voting this report, Members of parliament were not unanimous. On the contrary, they were divided into two camps. There were those who sympathized or supported that report and these who were against it. The supporters of the report were punished by being suspended from decision making organs of the Party and were even prevented from contesting the legislative elections of 1969. To safeguard the Constitution, the senior officers of the National Army carried out a coup d'état that put an end to the regime of the First Republic.

### **The 5<sup>th</sup> July 1973 Coup d'Etat**

The last blow for the downfall of the First Republic was the Coup d'Etat of 1973 carried out by 11 senior officers of the national army commanded by Major General Juvenal Habyarimana. The government of President Kayibanda was deposed and replaced by a "committee for peace and national unity" composed of 11 officers and presided over by Major General Juvénal Habyarimana, until total re-establishment of peace in the country.



### **Application activity 4.2**

After the establishment of the Second Republic in 1973, it achieved in many fields. Evaluate the political, economic and socio-cultural evolution under the First Republic.

## 4.3 Achievements of the Second Republic



### Learning activity 4.3

After the establishment of the Second Republic in 1973, it achieved in many fields. Evaluate the political, economic and socio-cultural evolution under the First Republic.

#### Political evolution under the Second Republic

After the coup d'état of 1963, Rwanda underwent different political changes.

#### Creation and institutionalization of MRND

The “Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement” (MRND) or National Revolutionary Movement for Development was created two years after the coup by the President Juvénal Habyarimana. It was set up in order to fill the vacuum created by the dissolution of PARMEHUTU government on 5<sup>th</sup> July 1975.

It was “Party State” whose objective was to unify, stimulate and intensify all efforts of all Rwandan people with a view to enhancing economic, social and cultural development in an atmosphere of national peace and unity.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> of December 1978, the new Constitution was adopted by the population in a referendum with a reported 89% of the casted votes. At the same time, Habyarimana was elected in a universal suffrage as President of Rwanda at an alleged 99% majority.

Article 7 of the Constitution made Rwanda a single party State under the MRND and made each citizen a member of it from birth. In reality, this was the establishment of a One-Party political system.

The new Constitution abolished the National Assembly and replaced it with Conseil National de Développement (CND) or National Development Council (NDC).

#### Constitution of 1978

On accession to power, the President announced that constitutional order would be re-established within five years. The constitution was approved during the December 1978 referendum. The text provided for a presidential term of five years with a possibility of re-election without exceeding two successive terms. In order to avoid duplication of power between the President and that the MRND president, the 1978 constitution proposed the MRND President as the sole candidate to the presidency of the country.

In addition, the President of the Republic was not directly accountable to CND; contrary, the ministers and permanent secretaries were answerable to the Parliament. In other words, the Members of Parliament could not question the President. Incidentally, the President could dissolve the CND.

The legislature was linked to the executive. The judiciary was undermined in favor of the executive with the suppression of the Supreme Court.

### **Institutionalization of community work (Umuganda) and Facilitation by MRND**

In order to consolidate its power and its grip on the country, the MRND regime resorted to two methods of rural mass mobilization and recruitment of supporters in the entire country. These were community work (Umuganda) and facilitation (gushyushya Urugamba) both of which were inspired by the Salongo and Sakayonsa bands from Zaire's MPR (Movement Populaire de la Révolution). Community work and facilitation were political instruments aimed at controlling the population and ensuring its support to the regime.

That politics of controlling the population in order to ensure its allegiance only brought about rivalry. In 1980, a conspiracy against the regime led by Major Lizinde and his associates flopped. The coup plotters were tried by a tribunal which sat in Ruhengeri; they were condemned to death on 14<sup>th</sup> July, 1982. President Habyarimana pardoned them by changing their capital punishment to life imprisonment. Lizinde and many of his associates remained in prison up to 23<sup>rd</sup> January, 1991, the day they were set free by an attack on their prison by the Inkontanyi. Lizinde and Biseruka joined their liberators.

### **Ethnic and Regional balance**

Although the First Republic was established along lines of ethnic discrimination against the Tutsi, the Second Republic was basically made of Hutu who originated from the central and southern parts of the country. This policy established regional quotas according to ethnic groups. These quotas were based on the criterion of proportional representation according to population as far as education and employment in the public service and private sector were concerned. MRND radicalized this process.

The so-called policy of "Equilibre ethnique et regional dans le service et dans l'enseignement" or "ethnic and regional balance" prevented the best performers to join the education field, the army, the police and other posts which they deserved or wished to join.

The policy marginalized the Tutsi as well as the Hutu from other prefectures apart from Gisenyi and Ruhengeri.

## Economic evolution

In social and economic matters, MRND has opted for “a system which neither favored frantic capitalism and without limitations nor extreme communism which suffocated the liberty and initiative of the individual”. Committed to a denial of both capitalist and communist extremes, the MRND regime used the methodology of rhetoric on development as its main ideological pillar. The government under the Second Republic conceived development as the best means of overcoming ethnic and regional contradictions.

The 1974 – 1982 period was a very important phase of economic growth because of favorable rates of exports. On the one hand, there was an increase in coffee exports, and on the other hand foreign aid also increased.

In order to stimulate the economic evolution in Rwanda, there was establishment and implementation of the “Second Five-year period of the economic, social and cultural development plan” which covered the period from 1977 up to 1981.

The objective of this second Five-year development plan was the creation of many jobs especially in the secondary sector in order to provide young people in rural areas with opportunities to participate in the social and economic life of the country.

From 1982 to 1986, the “third Five-year period of the economic, social and cultural development plan” was also adopted with the following aims at improving food security for the population in terms of both quality and quantity; promoting jobs at sustainable wage; improving the population’s health conditions and developing external relations.

Concerning infrastructure development, the five following infrastructures were put in place by the Second Republic:

- Asphalting of several roads which reached a distance of 888.5 Km by 1989;
- Construction of several buildings to serve as offices for different Ministries and hospitals as King Faisal Hospital;
- Extension of electricity network;
- Construction of Kanombe Airport;
- Construction of Amahoro National Stadium.



*Image of Kigali international airport*

Source:<https://paliagnes-rwanda.skyrock.com/1875726937-L-aeroport-de-Kanombe.html>

## **Socio - cultural evolution**

### ***Health***

Under the Second Republic, many attempts were made like the expansion of the health sector, the dispensaries were transformed into health centers and more medical personnel were trained. Health centers increased from 32 in 1974 to 50 in 1975.

The government of Rwanda had also put in place a policy which aimed at creating nutritional centers in order to educate parents of nutritional diets and hygiene as well as to find a solution to hygiene related-problems. Such nutritional centres within the Health centres had simultaneously achieved in provision of curative care and preventive education, including vaccination, nutrition, maternal and child protection.



*Image of Kigali King Faisal*

Source:[https://twitter.com/easteco\\_org/status/997186271570223104](https://twitter.com/easteco_org/status/997186271570223104)

In 1987, the Rwandan Government established the National Programme for the Fight against AIDS (PNLS) whose objective was to control, prevent, reduce and conduct research on AIDS. In the same year, the Government launched the National Programme for Fighting against Malaria (PNLP = Programme National pour le Lutte contre le Paludisme) and in 1989, the Programme for Acceleration of Primary Health Care (PASSP = Programme d'Accélération des Soins de Santé Primaire) was put in place. This programme aimed at encouraging the participation of the population in self-sponsorship and management of health services in their health centers.

## Education

In this sector, some achievements were attained such as:

- The construction of new primary and secondary schools and many reforms have been made at all levels of education in Rwanda;
- In 1978 – 1979, the system of primary education teaching was revised. The primary cycle changed from 6 years to 8 years. Training in professional skills was introduced in Primary 7 and P8, and Kinyarwanda became a language of instruction from P1 up to P8.
- At the secondary education level, the Ordinary Level was reduced and specializations sections now started in the Second year of secondary education. However, in 1991, there was the revision of this reform where the primary education cycle was brought back to 6 years.

At University level, the national Institute of Education for Teacher Training was fused with certain department of the National University of Rwanda. The creation of the new campus at Nyakinama in the 1980 – 1981 was a result of this fusion.



### Application activity 4.3

1. Analyze the political changes that were undertaken under the Second Republic.
2. Evaluate the socio – cultural evolution of Rwanda under the Second Republic

## 4.4 Failures and downfall of the Second Republic



### Learning activity 4.4

Discuss the different factors that demonstrate the failures of the Second Republic; which later on led to its downfall.

#### **Lack of freedom of speech and press**

The Second Republic was against the freedom of speech and press. This was justified by intimidation and imprisonment suffered by anyone who attempted to criticize this Regime of the Second Republic.

#### **Economic crisis**

The economic improvement was fragile towards the end of the 1970-1980. This was due to an economic crisis which became worse during 1980-1990. It was especially from 1984-1986 that the crisis exacerbated and reached its highest point during 1990-1993. For instance, In January 1990, one-sixth of the Rwandan population was affected by a famine. In 1991, Rwanda signed an agreement with the World Bank to implement a Structural Adjustment Plan (SAP) which led to the devaluation of the Rwandan franc on two occasions: its value fell by 40 percent in November 1990, then again by 15 percent in June 1992.

#### **The imprisonment and killing of the politicians of the First Republic**

Nevertheless, during the two years that followed, the former 'barons' of the First Republic were assassinated or imprisoned. During the following years (between 1974 and 1977), 58 people; individuals who were close to Grégoire Kayibanda and public figures of the First Republic; were assassinated upon orders from Théoneste Lizinde, Chief of Security at the Interior Ministry. According to some sources, the repression affected up to 700 people.

#### **Institutionalization of ethnic and regional balance or quota system**

The regime of Habyarimana coerced and aligned people behind political option within a single party system and partisan politics based on ethnic and regional segregation. The regime had created the Rukiga-Nduga conflicts which were characterized by the exclusion of Tutsi and Hutu of Nduga from schools and main posts of the direction of the country.

This deplorable exclusion highly institutionalized by the Second Republic right from 1981 was known as "ethnic and regional balance or quota system".

This policy was in fact applied in all sectors of the National life and it

constituted a serious violation of human rights. It has undermined the regime of the Second Republic significantly as it was seriously contested by the democratic forces which militated for change and it ended up by leading the MRND regime to its downfall in 1994.

### **Centralization of the power in the hands of a small group of people “Akazu”**

After ten years of economic growth, the economic crisis and regional favoritism destabilized the government. Rivalry for posts increased, power struggles became fiercer, and mafia-type behavior and structures thrived. One of the main power centers was known as the Akazu and was organized around Agathe Kanziga – Juvénal Habyarimana’s wife, and her brothers.

The division of the northerners began in 1980s when two highly regarded senior military officers, colonel Alexis Kanyarengwe and Major Théoneste Lizinde were accused of plotting a Coup d’Etat to overthrow Habyalimana. Lizinde was accused of having killed some politicians who had served in the First Republic from the Southern part of Rwanda. This misunderstanding brought about divisions among the politicians and people from the North of Rwanda. The result was that political power was now being monopolized by a small part of Northerners from Bushiru in the ex-commune of Karago. Finally, power came to be concentrated in the hands of President Habyalimana and his immediate family and the family of his in-laws. This came to be termed “AKAZU” meaning “from one single household”.

### **Increasing of dictatorship**

In addition to this personality cult, President Habyarimana set up a dictatorship regime. Before the outbreak of the liberation war, the Habyarimana regime had already become a totalitarian regime. There was a single political party, the Revolutionary National Democratic Movement (MRND) and all the powers were concentrated in the hands of a small group of family members of President Habyarimana. No single decision could be made whatsoever without prior approval and/or blessings of the dictator’s consent.

### **Mismanagement of refugees’ problem /Refusal of their return**

The problem of refugees in Rwanda dated from 1959 with the mass killing which was organized against the Tutsi. This problem was differently managed by the two Republics.

In 1973, the Second Republic put in place a joint ministerial commission of Rwanda – Uganda for the repatriation of Rwandese refugees living in Uganda.

By a circular issued on 25<sup>th</sup> October 1973, the refugees had to express in writing their desire to return. The request had to be addressed to the country of origin through the High Commission for refugees and the hosting government. The refugee whose request was rejected stayed in the country of exile or looked for another.

In 1982, the regime of the Second Republic reversed decision that refugees had to settle in their countries of asylum because Rwanda was occupied to full capacity and that it did not have any more land.

This position of President Habyarimana and his Government prompted the refugees to call for an International Conference in Washington in August 1988 in which they rejected this position and reaffirmed their inalienable right to return to their homeland, and this led to the National Liberation War on October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1990. Then it is this war which put an end to the Second Republic.



#### Application activity 4.4

1. Analyze the political changes that were undertaken under the Second Republic.
2. Evaluate the socio – cultural evolution of Rwanda under the Second Republic



#### Skills lab

Using different textbooks or internet, discuss how divisionism policy initiated by Belgian colonizers had been perpetuated by the leaders of the First and Second Republics. Then after, show how the same policy led to the perpetration of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi and at the same time suggest how the present-day leaders have to behave in order to avoid such errors.



## End unit assessment

1. Explain the achievements of the First Republic from 1962 – up to 1973.
2. Assess the factors which led to downfall of the First Republic by a Coup d'Etat of 1973.
3. After the 5<sup>th</sup> 1973 Coup d'Etat, the leaders of the Second Republic have promised to the Rwandans the better political, economic and social situation. Examine the achievements scored by the Second Republic.
4. By 1994, the Second Republic collapsed and different factors are considered as responsible for this collapse. Discuss such factors.

**Key Unit competence:** The student- teacher should be able to assess the causes and the consequences of the Liberation war of 1990-1994.



### Introductory Activity

From October 1990 up to July 1994, Rwanda was undergoing the Liberation war started by Rwanda Patriotic Front. To which extent this war was inevitable?

## 5.1 The causes of the 1990–1994 Liberation War in Rwanda



### Learning activity 5.1

Through the use of internet or by visiting your school library, examine the factors that have motivated Rwanda Patriotic Front (R.P.F) Inkotanyi to plan for the 1990 – 1994 Liberation War.

### The long and hard life in exile

The events of 1959 have led to the exile of many Rwandans who left the country after the unrest period marked by violence and massacres of the members of the political party *Union Nationale Rwandaise* (UNAR) and against the Tutsi in general.

In exile, refugees had different hard living conditions. But, in general, those living conditions in refugee camps and single young adults struggled to get a better life. Such bad living conditions coupled with lack of employment and good education in hosting countries pushed them to think of a solution to returning home.

### The regionalism and ethnic based divisionism

Both, the First Republic (1962-1973) and the Second (1973-1994) Republic maintained and institutionalized “ethnic” labels (Hutu, Tutsi, Twa) in identity cards and the quota system.

As a result, ethnic and regional equilibrium had to be respected in different sectors such as administration, enrolment in secondary and tertiary schools and in the army.

Since the late 1960s the power was in the hands of few people from some *communes* of Gitarama. The same situation was observed under the Second Republic where again few people from some parts of the former Ruhengeri and Gisenyi *préfectures* occupied key positions in the country. As far as the political plan was concerned, both Republics were characterized by identity-based ideology.

During the First and Second Republics, hatred against the Tutsi was reinforced; very political crisis was blamed on Tutsi who were treated as scapegoats. This case was raised when refugees' troops called *Inyenzi* attacked Rwanda in 1963 and later before the 1973 Habyarimana's coup d'Etat against Kayibanda's regime.

### **The refusal of return for Rwandan refugees**

Since 1959 and under the First Republic, the Tutsi ran away from the violence and mass killing organized against them; they did so because they had to save their lives. Although the Government of Rwanda had since 1964 requested that refugees be settled in their countries of asylum, it did almost nothing to help them.

In 1973, the Second Republic put in place a joint ministerial commission between Rwanda and Uganda for the repatriation of Rwandan refugees living in Uganda. The refugees had to express in writing their desire to return home. The request had to be addressed to the country of origin through the High Commission for Refugees and the hosting governments. Any refugee whose request was rejected stayed in the country of exile or looked for another hosting country.

In addition, those who were displaced during the 1959 violence could not recuperate their properties. Most of the time, their properties were illegally taken by bourgmestres and their friends and this is why they were a source of trials. In 1966, President Kayibanda prevented refugees from claiming their properties.

In 1975, President Habyarimana put in place a decree stating that Tutsi refugees' assets should become public properties. This decision was due to the refusal of political leaders who did not want to return the land to its owners.

The 1990 – 1994 Liberation War was inevitable insofar as the problem of the refugees was left pending,

while the living conditions in the countries of refuge became unbearable. Many people were disillusioned by the attempts of integration in host countries.

### **The intimidation and killing of opponents**

The Second Republic did not accept and tolerate any opposition. Any person who tried to oppose it was jailed. Even if political assassinations were not frequent, they existed. Thus, the 1990 – 1994 liberation war was organized in order to fight against such injustice in the country.

### **The increase of dictatorship in Rwanda**

During the Second Republic, only a single political party, MRND was allowed to operate as it was stipulated by the 1978 constitution. In practice, the powers were concentrated in the hands of a small group of people from the President's family and his family in-law called *Akazu*. No single important decision could be made without prior approval of the President and his MRND.



#### **Application activity 5.1**

Explain the role played by the following factors for the outbreak of the 1990 – 1994 liberation war in Rwanda:

- The regionalism and ethnic based divisionism
- The refusal of return for Rwandan refugees

## **5.2 The effects of the 1990 – 1994 Liberation War in Rwanda**



#### **Learning activity 5.2**

From 1994 up to 1994, Rwanda was under the liberation war initiated by RPF Inkotanyi on the 1<sup>st</sup> October 1990. analyze the effects brought by that war in Rwanda.

### **The loss of lives and destruction of properties**

Since the war started, there was increase of insecurity in Rwanda; in fighting areas some soldiers could shoot at people; ransack their houses and rape girls and women. In addition, due to the fighting, a number of people were killed and others wounded including soldiers and civilians. The killings led to the problem of orphans and widows.

In some areas, the reaction of the Habyarimana's government was to attack and kill the Tutsi population of the interior of the country. For instance, from 1991 to 1993, there was massacre of *Abagogwe* social group in retaliation against an RPA attacks. The similar killings were also done in Kibirira, Bugesera, Kibuye, Murambi and in Umutara. These killings were also seen by some analysts as a strategy of strengthening the Habyarimana regime in difficult conditions and uniting all Hutu against a same enemy.

By this war, some public infrastructures like offices, roads and bridges, specifically in the northern regions of Rwanda were destroyed. Besides, the private properties were also destroyed like houses and shops.

### **The decline of the Rwandan economy**

The war and the pressure on Habyarimana's regime led to the collapse of the Rwandan economy. The prices of main export commodities such as coffee decreased at the international market thus the country witnessed a hard-economic situation. Besides, foreign aid decreased and the Rwandan franc lost its value. Main sectors of economic activities declined and Rwandans' financial conditions worsened. In fact, because of the war, the North corridor was closed and this led to the stoppage of commercial exchange with Uganda. The war also increased the military expenditure of the Government of Rwanda and the military expenses kept impoverishing the country.

### **Displacement and exile of many people**

Due to the fighting during the 1990 – 1994 Liberation War; more than one million Rwandans fleeing the battle fields were displaced inside the country and they were not working. These Rwandans were in great need of shelter, food and other basic needs to use in their daily life. At the end of the war, Government officials, soldiers and militia fled to Zaïre, the then DRC, Tanzania and Burundi taking with them millions of civilians. Thousands of them died of water-borne diseases.



*A picture of a Rwandan refugees' camp at Goma in DRC*

Source: <https://www.sciencesource.com/archive/Rwandan-Refugee-Camp-SS2348665.html>

Apart from the negative effects brought by the Liberation War fought from 1990 to 1994, on the other side, this war also brought positive results to the Rwandan society.

**Restoration of national unity:** Thanks to the Liberation War won by RPF, many achievements were made in the matter of building the national unity like equal justice, peace and security, end of segregation, etc.

**Fighting against the public malpractice:** The RPF Inkotanyi aimed at fighting against the corruption, favoritism and embezzlement as they were the result of the Liberation War.

**Improvement of the image of Rwanda:** The 1990 - 1994 Liberation War contributed to the improvement of the righteous image of the country. Rwandans are well-known all over the world as a good example of reconciliation, people living together on the same land, victims and criminals, after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

**Promotion of good diplomatic relations with other countries:** By the end of the 1990–1994 Liberation War, the country promoted international relations based on mutual respect, cooperation and mutual economic exchange. This helped the country to reduce economic and political dependency towards foreign countries.



### Application activity 5.2

The Liberation War of 1990 – 1994 has positively and negatively affected the Rwandan society. Explain.



### Skills lab

Analyze the roles played by Major General Fred Gisa Rwigema and other heroes in the 1990-1994 Liberation War in Rwanda and different activities that can be done to be a hero.



### End unit assessment

1. Different factors justify the reasons which led to the outbreak of the 1990 – 1994 Liberation War in Rwanda. Identify and explain them.
2. Examine the negative and positive impacts of the Liberation War in Rwanda.

## UNIT 6:

### GENOCIDE AGAINST THE TUTSI, ACHIEVEMENTS AND CHALLENGES OF THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT AFTER THE GENOCIDE AGAINST THE TUTSI AND PREVENTION OF GENOCIDE.

#### Key Unit competence:

The student-teacher should be able to explain genocide against the Tutsi, achievements and challenges of Rwandan Government and analyze the preventive measures of genocide against the Tutsi from happening again in Rwanda and elsewhere in the world.



#### Introductory Activity

From April to July 1994, Rwanda has experienced the genocide against the Tutsi. This has negatively affected the Rwandan society so that it was a great challenge to the government of national unity to rebuild the nation.

Analyze the consequences brought by the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and the challenges faced by the government of Rwanda in reconstruction of social fabric.

### 6.1 Causes, course and effects of genocide against the Tutsi



#### Learning activity 6.1

Using various documents and movies talking about the genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda, analyze the causes, course and effects of the genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda.

#### 6.1.1. Causes that led to the genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda

It is so hard to identify the roots - causes of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda in reference to the bonds that linked Rwandans before the coming of colonizers. In fact, during this period, all Rwandans were united and shared the elements for national cohesion like the same king, clan, language, ideals or values, army, culture and country. But, the following factors had

contributed to the disunity of Banyarwanda and led to the genocide:

### **The loss of cultural identity**

During the colonial period, the colonial masters deliberately applied a policy of “divide and rule”. The colonialists took the Tutsi and Hutu as two distinct “ethnic groups” instead of looking them as two social categories. The loss of their common cultural identity and the policy of divide and rule resulted in the first programs and massacres of 1959 and very far to the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

### **The hatred culture of Rwandans vis-à-vis other Rwandans under the two Republics**

Rooted from colonial period and because of bad leadership under the First and the Second Republics, the hatred culture was promoted and supported by divisionism worsened by regionalism and nepotism under the First and the Second Republics. This undermined the national unity among the Rwandans.

### **Institutionalization of untruthfulness and the culture of impunity**

Under the two Republics, the crimes were committed with the beliefs that the culprits will never be apprehended. Indeed, some people who committed big and atrocious crimes were rewarded by being promoted to important administrative positions.

### **The poor management of resources and poor conditions of life**

In Rwanda there was an imbalance between the demographic growth and economic production. The problem did not come from the population, but rather from poor management of the available resources and denial of other to share the little available hence to eliminate one part of Rwandans in hope to be satisfied.

### **The misinterpretation of social inequality among the Rwandans**

During the colonial period, the colonizers had favored the Tutsi aristocracy which was in power and their children to the detriment of other social classes. Under the two Republics, the social inequality was maintained and encouraged by exclusion and favoritism. The climat of this social inequality led to the massacres of 1990 – 1993, preparing the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

## The ethnic based ideology

All above suggested causes could not lead to a crime of genocide without any genocidal ideology. The genocidal ideology identified the two antagonist groups like “Us” and “Them” or “You” and after proceeded by the nomination or qualification of those two groups.

With the attack of RPF – Inkotanyi in October 1990, the ideological speeches pointed out the “double threat presented by the Tutsi (of internal and of external) against the Hutu”. Between 1990 and 1994, the Tutsi have been qualified as the “enemy”, “outsiders” and “suspected” complots. From those qualifications, many newspapers and medias in general, called upon all Hutu for their self-defense, “to kill before being killed”. It was the same ideology which has guided the extremist Hutu to commit genocide against the Tutsi.

## The bad governance under the two First Republics

Independent Rwanda experienced poor governance. It was characterized by indoctrination of part of the population with extremist, genocidal ideology. It was marked by a divisionism done by the press which preached ethnic hatred. In addition, the regime of Kayibanda and Habyarimana were characterized by predominance of single political party systems namely MDR-PARMEHUTU and MRND respectively for the 1<sup>st</sup> Republic and the Second Republic. Opposition political activity was prohibited under these two regimes.

### 6.1.2. Course of the genocide against the Tutsi

Genocide against the Tutsi started in the night of 6<sup>th</sup> April 1994, immediately after the crash of the Presidential airplane. Planners of the genocide saw in the death of the president a precious occasion to carry out a general massacre of the Tutsi as well as physical and ideological elimination of Hutu in the opposition. The attack against the presidential plane and his shooting down took place in the Kanombe military zone.

From the early hours of 7<sup>th</sup> April 1994, following the power vacuum and incitement from the media and genocidal planners, the *presidential guards*, *Interehamwe* and *Impuzamugambi* militias started a systematic elimination of Tutsi and key political personalities of the opposition. By the mid-morning of 7<sup>th</sup> April 1994, the genocide movement had already spread to various regions of Rwanda.

On the same date of April 7<sup>th</sup>, 1994 there was a meeting of the High Command of the F.A.R (*Forces Armées Rwandaise*) (Rwandese Army Forces) at E.S.M (*Ecole Supérieure Militaire*) (High Military School) after which “*Hirondelle operation*” was adopted. It considered of violating the cease-fire and breaking

the fighting against RPF. By this operation, the Kigali City was “cleaned” using the list of the people to be killed just established.

On 8<sup>th</sup> April 1994, a new government was installed. The former president of CND (*Conseil National de Développement*) (National Council of Development) and member of MRND, Théodore Sindikubwabo became the President of the Republic.



A picture of President Théodore Sindikubwabo, Head of State under “Abatabazi government” (April 9, 1994 – July 19, 1994).

**Source:**[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Th%C3%A9odore\\_Sindikubwabo#/media/File:Theodore\\_sindikubwabo.png](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Th%C3%A9odore_Sindikubwabo#/media/File:Theodore_sindikubwabo.png)

Jean Kambanda, from the extremist wing of MDR known as *Hutu power* became head of the government. On the following day, an official communiqué announced the formation of a new government (called, by itself, “Abatabazi”) (rescuers). It was made up of extremist leaders of five parties, four of which belonged to the so-called opposition (MDR, PSD, PL and PDC).



A picture of Kambanda Jean, Prime Minister of Abatabazi government.

**Source:**[https://real-life-villains.fandom.com/wiki/Jean\\_Kambanda](https://real-life-villains.fandom.com/wiki/Jean_Kambanda)

In a meeting held on the 11<sup>th</sup> April 1994, the interim Prime Minister Kambanda Jean called on leaders at *L'Hôtel des Diplomates* in Kigali, apart from Jean Baptiste Habyalimana, the leader of Butare Province, to apply in their respective Prefectures “*Hirondelle* operation”. He also openly called for “*Insecticide operation*” and what he called “the final solution” aimed at systematic extermination of the Tutsi and their accomplices, without “sparing neither babies, nor women, nor aged people as the insecticide does to cockroaches”. It was after this meeting that genocide spread throughout the whole country.

The night of April 6<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup>, 1994, there was assassination of Prime Minister Uwiringiyimana Agatha, 10 Belgian of UN Peacekeeper soldiers, several ministers, opposition political leaders, businessmen and civil servants in Kigali City.

After the 11<sup>th</sup> April 1994 horror had spread throughout the entire country except Gitarama and Butare Prefectures.

April 12<sup>th</sup>, 1994, the government of Kambanda auto called “*Abatabazi*” fled the capital of Kigali due to the advance of the RPF – Inkotanyi and settled in Gitarama, at Murambi.

April 19<sup>th</sup>, 1994; Butare plunged into genocide and massacres after the inflaming speech of President Sindikubwabo Théodore after the dismissal of the *Prefet* of Butare. After April 21<sup>st</sup>, it was now the turn of Gitarama to sink low in Genocide after the dismissal of Uwizeye Fidele (*Préfet*) by Jean Kambanda.

In order to accelerate the massacre and ensure extermination of the Tutsis, the government had distributed large quantities of arms and ammunition to the militia and local population under the guise of “*civil self-defense*”. It was in this context that the so-called *security* system was strengthened.

Finally, it should be noted that it was the RPF – Inkotanyi soldiers who stopped the genocide and everywhere they were scored victory over the genocidal forces. It was on 4<sup>th</sup> July 1994 with the liberation of Kigali City and Butare that the 1990 – 1994 Liberation War was generally over and genocide stopped.

### **6.1.3. Effects of the genocide against the Tutsi**

The consequences of the genocide are numerous at all levels of life and the most negative impact of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi is the human disaster never seen in the country. In fact, more than one million of men, women and children had been killed in 100 days.

The genocide against the Tutsi led to the destruction of infrastructures and equipment where the public properties like offices, communication lines, etc. and private properties like the houses were massively destroyed.

Another consequence of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi is physical mutilations. Frankly speaking, during this genocide, the perpetrators did not only kill the victims but they also damaged the body of some Tutsi who managed to survive.

The 1994 genocide against Tutsi led to a high level of psychological trauma. This situation was caused by the sexual abuse like raping and torturing of the victims by the killers.

Excessive degradation of human dignity this was due to inhuman crimes committed during this genocide like cannibalism, raping even the burial of live people in some areas. In some areas, also the killers mutilated the body of victims.

In addition, the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi had caused the devastation of the environment. For instance, many forests had been cut down, huge plantations had also been damaged, and number of domestic animals belonging to the Tutsi had also been slaughtered and consumed.

There is also increase in the HIV/AIDS prevalence in post genocidal period because during the genocide against the Tutsi, the perpetrators used the rape of women and girls as their weapon.

The 1994 genocide against the Tutsi led to the decadence of the country's economy. During the period of genocide, most of the active population was involved in committing it, the economic activities were abandoned because the perpetrators were killing the Tutsi while the victims obviously could not work and participate in such economic activities.

Disgrace of Rwanda's international image: after the genocide against the Tutsi, the image of country was only seen in negative sense by considering almost all the Rwandans as the killers. The Rwanda was also seen as a country totally destroyed and without any humanity.

Rapid increase of the number of widows and orphans and that of the disabled people: the genocide against the Tutsi led to the death of more than one million of the Tutsi and left many widows and orphans who had lost their family's members.



### Application activity 6.1

No reason could justify the reasons for the outbreak of a genocide. However, some root-causes have led to the genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda. Explain the factors that led to this genocide and its consequences on the Rwandan society.

## 6.2. Challenges and achievements of Rwandan government after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.



### Learning activity 6.2



Observe and describe the above drawing. How do you link it with the challenges faced by Rwandans after the genocide against the Tutsi?

### 6.2.1. Challenges faced by the Rwandan government after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi

After stopping the genocide against the Tutsi by RPF Inkotanyi on the 4<sup>th</sup> July 1994, a new government was set up on the 19<sup>th</sup> July 1994. This government of National Unity during the transitional period faced the following challenges:

### **Problems of insecurity**

Although the RPF had captured the power and a transitional government had been put in place, the security situation was still fluid, with the former government forces and *Interahamwe* militia that were still carrying out genocide in various part of the country. In addition, infiltrators from refugee camps across the border from Zaire (today Democratic Republic of Congo) continued to cross and destabilize the country.

### **Political and administrative vacuum**

The Government of National Unity inherited a country without political and administrative institutions, due to the chaos provoked by the Interim Government. Most of civil servants were either killed or have left the country and the political institutions were destroyed.

### **Suspicion and mistrust among the Rwandan population**

Since Rwanda's social cohesion had fractured due to the divisive politics that preceded the genocide, suspicion and mistrust characterized relationships between Rwandans. Thus, the new government inherited a deeply scarred nation where trust within and between social groups had been replaced by fear and betrayal. This lack of trust between people posed a serious challenge to the functioning of institutions because the vision of the Government of National Unity was not shared by all stakeholders.

### **Broken judicial system**

The Government of National Unity inherited a broken justice sector. More than 140, 000 genocide suspects had been arrested yet there were insufficient prison infrastructures to host them. Their detention became a huge challenge in terms of feeding, and provision of medical and other services. The Laws were also outdated, obscure and inadequate. For example, there was no law for punishing those who had committed genocide.

### **Lack of shelter for refugees and other vulnerable people**

Tens of thousands of internally displaced people, especially genocide survivors whose houses had been destroyed, were looking for housing facilities. About three million Rwandan refugees taken as hostage by the defeated genocidal forces in current DRC and some in Tanzania and Burundi were brought back home by the Transitional Government.

## **Economic slowdown**

As a result, post-genocide Rwanda faced a number of economic challenges including an unstable macroeconomic environment. In addition, there was low private investment. As a result, the country lacked a serious and vibrant private sector to drive economic growth. In the public sector too, there was a high unskilled labor force. For example, in 1994, at least 79% of civil servants in the country had not done tertiary education. To make matters worse, skilled professionals had been particularly either targeted in the genocide or had fled the country. In brief, the Government of National Unity inherited an economy completely destroyed by the genocide and mismanagement.

## **A bleak health sector**

The genocide against the Tutsi has negatively affected the health sector in Rwanda. This sector was weak in Rwanda; just after the genocide against the Tutsi. The personnel in health services were few and poorly trained. On one hand, this situation was greatly exacerbated by the genocide in which a number of health personnel had either participated in or had fled the country. On the other hand, some health workers had been killed. Few refugees that had returned from exile settled in Kigali. Malnutrition levels were also very high. Infant as well as maternal mortality rates were equally high due to poor health service delivery.

The prevalence of water-borne diseases and other conditions related to poor sanitation was among the highest in Africa at that time. The high infection rate of transmittable diseases, especially HIV and AIDS was equally high. This pandemic disease had worsened during the genocide because rape was used as a war weapon.

## **6.2.2. Achievements of the Rwandan government after genocide**

On July 19<sup>th</sup> 1994, the Government of National Unity was put in place with Pasteur Bizimungu as President, Major General Paul Kagame, as Vice President and Faustin Twagiramungu as Prime Minister. During the establishment of the transitional institutions in July 1994, only RPF, MDR and PSD, PL, PDC, PSR, UDPR and PDI were officially recognized. Later on, MDR was excluded from accepted political parties because of its divisive ideology.

After facing a lot of problems, this government scored the following achievements:

### **Safeguarding national security**

After the genocide against the Tutsi, the security in Rwanda was extremely

unstable as there were still unhealed wounds from the war. Most of the population was displaced, creating a volatile situation in the country. Military strategies were devised to find solution and eradicate the thousands of military groups and ex-combatants who continued to torment and kill citizens. To put an end to this destabilization, the Government of Rwanda proceeded to the repatriation of refugees from Zaïre, current DRC and military operations aiming at weakening the combatants.

### **Politico-administrative reforms and fighting against injustice**

From its inauguration on July 19<sup>th</sup> 1994, the Government set up administrative structures from the top to the bottom in order to fulfil the Political and administrative vacuum. Due to lack of time to produce the most appropriate administrative framework, it maintained the structure left by the defeated regime namely central government, provinces (*préfectures*), districts (*communes*), sectors and cells.

To reinforce good governance in Rwanda, anti-corruption and public accountability institutions were created by the Government. Their operational capacity continued to be strengthened so as to achieve greater accountability. They include the Office of the Ombudsman, Office of the Auditor General for State Finances, Rwanda Public Procurement Authority and Rwanda Revenue Authority. These institutions are mandated to fight injustice, corruption and abuse by public officials and related offences in both public and private administration and to promote the principles of good governance based on accountability and transparency.

### **Promotion of unity and reconciliation**

In 1999, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) was formally instituted by the Parliament through the passing of law No 03/99 of 12 March 1999 and with the broad mandate of promoting and fostering reconciliation among Rwandans, the NURC has enjoyed political will and support from the highest political levels since its commencement. Rapidly, the Government of National Unity fought and eliminated all constraints of national unity such as “ethnicity” and regionalism. For instance, “ethnic” labels were removed from identity cards.

To strengthen the national unity and reconciliation, the Government of National Unity introduced several structures and programmes that were meant to correct past errors that led to war and genocide. These structures include the National Commission of Human Rights, the *Gacaca* Jurisdictions, *Commission Nationale de Lutte Contre le Genocide* (CNLG) (National Commission for the Fight Against Genocide) and Rwanda Demobilization Commission.

## Remaking justice

After genocide against the Tutsi, there is significant to the people of Rwanda to feel that no reconciliation is possible without justice. In order to guarantee the justice to all Rwandans, the Government of National Unity set up Gacaca Court through Organic Law n° 40/2000 of 26 /01/2001, governing the creation of Gacaca Courts and organizing the prosecution of Genocide crimes and other crimes against humanity committed between the 1<sup>st</sup> October 1990 and the 31<sup>st</sup> December 1994, published in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Rwanda, 15<sup>th</sup> March 2001. It was officially launched on 18<sup>th</sup> June 2002. In addition, Mediation Committee, known as *Abunzi*, was also set established by organic law n° 02/2010/OL of 09/06/2010 on organization, jurisdiction, competence and functioning of the mediation committee published in Official Gazette n°24 Bis of 14/06/2010.

The Government of National Unity decided to ease pressure on the criminal justice system by categorizing genocide suspects according to the crimes they were accused of. In this regard, category 1 was composed of the planners and perpetrators of the genocide.

This new process significantly sped up trials and sentencing, which if they had been restricted to conventional courts would take over 200 years to complete. The Gacaca courts also had the advantage of involving the community in the trial and sentencing process. The Government believed that involving the population in the trials could also contribute significantly to reconciliation. In fact, testimonies from the general population helped survivors to discover the corpses of the family members killed during the genocide. Moreover, some perpetrators demanded pardon from the survivors.

## Assistance to the most vulnerable people

Almost all the Rwandan population that had survived genocide and war was described as vulnerable. The vulnerable people included Rwandan refugees and repatriated displaced people, genocide survivors, single children and orphans, widows, people with disabilities, the poor, HIV/AIDS victims and prisoners.

The survivors of genocide were part of the most important vulnerable groups in the country. The Government handled them as a priority. In 1998, an (Genocide Survivors Fund) Fonds d'Assistance aux Rescapes du Genocide (FARG) was set up. It was allocated 5% of the national budget, so that, it can achieve its goals of assisting the genocide survivors.

From 1994, the orphans and single-children received assistance of varied nature. For some of them, houses were constructed; others were trained and given supplies in reception centers. In this way, they received physical

and mental health-care, education and social integration facilities. Some of them were able to reunite with members of their families.

### **Health promotion**

During the period of emergency, from 1994 and 2003, a particular focus was put on the improvement of health infrastructure given the role that the latter plays in the improvement of health. Some new hospitals were constructed and old ones were constantly rehabilitated or expanded. Several health centers were also constructed while old ones were repaired gradually. In 1996 the majority of health facilities (hospitals, health centers and dispensaries) started to provide both curative and preventive treatment. Health staff increased qualitatively and quantitatively. However, the Government resorted to foreign doctors from neighboring countries and even beyond to solve the problem of inadequate medical personnel.

The government policy of encouraging the people to participate in health programs was successful. The Rwandan Sickness Insurance Scheme (RAMA) was established to ensure that government civil servants get proper medical insurance coverage. It started business in 2001. Community Based Health Insurance, commonly known as “*Mutuelle de Santé*”, was piloted since 1999 and became countrywide mandatory in 2008.

### **Meritocracy and skills enhancement in education**

On its coming to office, the Government of National Unity immediately instituted meritocracy in education system and in service. Then, measures were put in place to address the country’s manpower incapacity.

In education, the Government introduced universal primary education, established education support institutions such as the National Curriculum Development Centre, the General Inspectorate of Education and Examinations Board. The National Examination Council was introduced to ensure fairness, transparency and uniformity in standards.

In public service, the Law No 39/2012 of 24/12/2012 determining the responsibilities, the organization and functioning of the Public Service Commission was passed. The Commission is responsible for ensuring that policies, the principles and laws governing public service recruitments and administration are adhered to and put into effect by all Government institutions.

### **Enhancing economic growth and development**

Due to Liberation War and the genocide, the country’s infrastructure was destroyed. Between July 1994 and 2000, the Government of National Unity

put in place an emergency programme of reconstruction. In this regard, policies and programmes of economic recovery and social welfare were put in place. In addition, the Government had to restore favorable conditions for economic and social activities.

In 2000, the Government of Rwanda started formulating long term policies. They included Vision 2020 and the Strategic Plan for the Reduction of poverty (EDPRS) which was published in June 2000. These two strategic programs demonstrated remarkable dynamism because they inspired subsequent policies which were designed in all government sectors.

The process of privatization of government enterprises started in 1996. Many enterprises were put up for privatization and shares were sold to local or foreign investors. The government made it a priority to diversify Rwanda's economic base.

### **Promotion of gender equality**

In this field, one of the Government and civil society priorities were to strengthen capacity building programmes for women in all fields. The Government set up the National Commission for Women's Rights which played an important role in revising the law and culture. In addition, laws on inheritance were reformulated. In addition, the gender factor was integrated in all national policies on Rwanda's long-term development.

In political domain, the Government encouraged women to get involved in decision making organs. This started from the first electoral campaigns of 1999, 2001 and 2003. The Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda of 2003 as amended in 2015, stipulates that women shall occupy at least 30% of the decision-making organs in the country.



### **Application activity 6.2**

From 1994 up to 2003, the government of the national unity has faced many challenges but it managed to score some achievements. Examine those challenges and achievements.

## **6.3. Forms and channels of genocide denial and ideology.**



### **Learning activity 6.3**

The genocide denial and ideology are expressed through the different forms and channels. Identify and describe the forms of genocide denial.

Genocide denial occurs when an act of genocide is met with attempts to deny the occurrence and minimize the scale or death toll. It is an attempt to deny or minimize statements of the scale and severity of an incidence of genocide. To some extent, the genocide denial is defined as the final stage of a genocidal process and the erasing of the memories of the victim group.

Since 1994, the genocide denial has taken three main forms: *Literal genocide denial, interpretative and implicative genocide denial*. In the case of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, all these three forms of genocide denial are more or less linked one to another.

### **6.3.1. Literal genocide denial**

The literal genocide denial involves negating the facts of genocide, silencing talk of genocidal plans and killings, literal denial becomes harder to sustain once evidence emerges that genocide plans were made and executed right across Rwanda.

Knowledge may be directly denied, sometimes even in the face of clear evidence to the contrary. Silence, indifference and treating evidence as if it does not merit serious consideration, are all strategies of literal genocide denial.

Literal genocide denial was mainly confined to the private sphere during the early post-genocide years. It still appears in some research, in internet blogs, and among the lawyers of those accused of genocide at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.

### **6.3.2. Interpretative genocide denial**

The interpretative genocide denial reframes or relabels the events of the genocide, viewing them as part and parcel of civil war. This form of genocide denial becomes the dominant form of genocide denial around 1999-2003 in post-genocide Rwanda. It involves categorizing evidence that is established, and goes beyond negating, ignoring or silencing talk of genocide.

Interpretative genocide denial involves use of euphemisms and the relativizing of atrocities by one's own 'side as an' as an understandable response to the threat of the 'other side.' In the media and at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, the most common expression of interpretative denial was to present the genocide against the Tutsi as simply part of a wider 'civil war' of all against all, rather than a targeted genocide.

Interpreting data in order to 'prove' *the double genocide thesis* is part of interpretative genocide denial, therefore. And such accusations of double genocide started even before the genocide began. In fact, there is no doubt

that genocide denial has been a political weapon of perpetrators since even before the genocide of Tutsi took place in 1994.

### 6.3.3. Implicatory genocide denial

This third form of genocide denial consists of revengeful counter-accusations, and explicit justification for one's position, through anticipatory counter – accusation against the other party. The aim is also to exonerate all atrocities and lay the blame on others. In implicatory denial the other side is always guilty of: lies, propaganda, ideology, disinformation or prejudice, and thus of triggering the genocide. Very often, implicatory genocide denial tries to prove that if genocide was committed, it was not by those accused but by the 'other side' in a civil war.

In Rwanda, since around 2003, implicatory genocide denial has been aimed at restoring a sense of self-worth among those accused of genocide crimes. The implicatory genocide denial becomes prevalent and involves explicit counter-accusations that genocide was planned by those previously viewed as saving the victims. At an individual level, a perpetrator engaged in this kind of implicatory reversal when he/she claims the survivors associations only exist to persecute Hutu in general, and the prisoners in particular. A double genocide thesis is part of both the interpretative and implicatory forms of genocide denial.

The most channels of genocide denial and ideology are the books, the newspapers, the public speeches, the films etc.



#### Application activity 6.3

Prove that all three forms of genocide denial have been used to deny the genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda.

### 6.4. Measures of preventing genocide ideology at primary, secondary and tertiary levels



#### Learning activity 6.4

Visit a genocide memorial site near your school. Ask the resource person at the site to tell you the history of the place.

Write a report of how the genocide ideology was spread, the preparation and executions of mass killings at the site of the memorial and suggest the way it can be prevented.

Prevention is a continuous process that aims at avoiding the occurrence of something harmful by tackling the causes of the harm prior to it and at each phase of the process to its occurrence and after. Genocide Prevention is any action that works toward averting a future genocide.

***The prevention at the primary level*** consists of measures aiming at creating an environment that reduces the risk of its escalation. At this phase the aim is to put in place measures that may pre-empt the start of the harm. This means preventive measures that may avoid the occurrence of the harm by tackling its root causes. Prevention will therefore include the adoption of measures that not only prohibit the harm but also put in place mechanisms that ensure the prevention of that harm.

Among other things to consider when assessing and addressing the risk of genocide is looking at structural and institutional frameworks in the country - including domestic legislation, an independent judiciary and an effective police force - to protect people.

***Prevention of genocide at secondary level*** is necessary in two situations. Firstly, in case a state has not adopted measures at the primary level and secondly, in case the measures adopted before did not prevent the risks of genocide from developing.

The secondary prevention takes place when genocide is already taking place. At this level, many genocidal actions are observed, such as hatred, intolerance, racism, ethnic cleansing, torture, sexual violence, disappearances, dehumanizing and public discourse.

The main focus is to end the genocide before it progresses further and claims more lives. Measures tailored to the situation are taken in order to prevent the risk from materializing or the situation from becoming worse.

This level of prevention may involve military intervention of some sort, especially when it is in an armed conflict context on one hand. On the other, the peaceful prevention is chosen because it saves lives and does not require costly intervention.

***Prevention of genocide at tertiary level*** consists of measures that are needed in order to respond to this final phase of the genocide. Tertiary prevention focuses on avoiding genocide in future by rebuilding, restoring the community and dealing with all the consequences to repair the damage caused. In other words, the tertiary prevention level also deals with all consequences in order not only to repair the damage but also to avoid the reoccurrence of the harm.

Important measures are needed to put an end to the harm. According to the international humanitarian law, the international community has the

obligation to intervene once all signs are clear enough to prove that genocide is happening.



### Application activity 6.4

As a student teacher, suggest the preventive measures to be adopted in order to prevent the genocide at different levels.

## 6.5. Challenges faced in the process of preventing genocide and solutions to the challenges faced.



### Learning activity 6.5

Carry out a research about the prevention of the genocide, then study the different challenges faced in the process of preventing the genocide.

While fighting and preventing genocide, there are many challenges including the following:

The first challenge is related to lack of certainty that the presence of factors at different phases may lead to genocide and the second is the uncertainty on whether the preventive measures to be taken can prevent it. At advanced phases, the degree of certainty of occurrence may still not be clear. The process to genocide cannot be understood as an exact science. That is why it may be argued that the answer to the lack of certainty may be negative.

In fact, by the time this is clear, it might be too late to prevent genocide from happening and too difficult to do it without causing other problems. The analogy with the prevention of environmental damage which does not require full scientific certainty can help to understand the uncertainty of the occurrence of genocide. The fact that there may not be a linear process to genocide that is identical everywhere is a big challenge.

Another important challenge is that there is no institution that assesses the factors and phases in order to determine who takes which measures, when to take them, how and where to implement them.

On the question whether certainty that preventive measures to be taken would totally prevent the occurrence of genocide is needed, the answer is negative as well.

Given the nature of prevention and the process to genocide, it is very difficult for the preventer to be sure beforehand that the preventive measures to be taken will definitely prevent the occurrence of genocide.

Even though preventing of genocide is not so easy at every levels due to different challenges; the following are some solutions to be adopted in preventive process:

### **The role of the international community as solution to the challenges faced in the process of preventing genocide:**

Once the challenges are identified, the international community should:

- Prevent armed conflict, which usually provides the context for genocide;
- Protect civilians in armed conflict, including the mandate for United Nations peacekeepers;
- End impunity through judicial action in both national and international courts;
- Gather military information and set up an early-warning system; and
- Take quick and decisive action along a continuum of steps, including military action.

**At Regional level**, African countries, for example, are committed to overcome the challenges by developing distinct methods for engaging with concerns that fall within the borders of their member states. The African Union (AU) is significantly more engaged in the region than its predecessor, the OAU.

In Africa, there is establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union (PSC) and the African Standby Force (ASF) as part of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). The agenda of such institutions cover comprehensive agenda for peace and security.

The Eastern Africa Standby Force (EASF) created by the decision of the Summit of the African Union held in July 2004 in Addis Ababa, is a constituent organization of the African Standby Force (ASF). Yet, a number of the regional organizations still lack the resources, logistical and communication capacities to effectively enforce the peace.

**At national level**, in case of Rwanda, in the aftermath of genocide, measures have been taken to face the immediate consequences and to prevent genocide from happening again. Such measures include the following:

- Prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide, fighting against denial and in revisionism of genocide as well as eradication of genocide ideology and all its manifestations;

- Eradication of discrimination and divisionism based on ethnicity, region or on any other ground as well as promotion of national unity;
- Building a State governed by the rule of law, a pluralistic democratic Government, equality of all people and between men and women.
- In Rwanda, the laws punishing the crime of genocide and the genocide ideology have been elaborated and Gacaca court was set up in order to speed up the trial of genocide cases.
- Special organ to monitor and implement these principles has been created, the National Commission for the Fight against Genocide established by Law N°09/2007 of 16/02/2007.



### Application activity 6.5

In order to be successful in process of preventing genocide, we should be able to overcome the challenges faced. Suggest the solutions adopted in order to meet with those challenges.

## 6.6. *Ndi Umunyarwanda*: background, Rwandan values and taboos as well as their role in sustainable development



### Learning activity 6.6

Briefly, describe the “*Ndi Umunyarwanda* programme” as a life style for restoring and strengthening unity among the Rwandans.

#### ***Ndi Umunyarwanda*: Background**

Since the coming of Europeans in Rwanda, the Rwanda’s history has been characterized by divisionism based on ethnic discrimination and regional exclusion. All those acts have paralyzed and destroyed the unity of the Rwandans, leading to the genocide against the Tutsi in 1994.

The history of pre-colonial Rwanda demonstrates that the Rwandan identity (*Ubunyarwanda*) was the foundation for building a nation and protecting it. The belief that the Rwandans had a common identity has guided them to share the spirit of patriotism and being proud of their country.

The Rwandan identity was built on values and taboos that Rwandans were trained to respect each other since early childhood. The Rwandans spoke the same language and also shared the same religion and culture. They lived side by side and were ruled by one king who was the symbol of their unity.

They were grouped in clans like *Abanyiginya*, *abasinga*, *abega*, *abagesera* and *abazigaba* among others.

When the European colonialists arrived in Rwanda, the Rwandans were strongly united. Those colonialists had to destroy such unity among the Rwandans and their fundamental values for easy administration. They started by using the existing social classes, namely Tutsi, Hutu and Twa. The social classes were turned into ethnic groups and the colonialists gave them mythical origin and, later on, identity card. The First and the Second Republics had maintained the same discrimination based on social classes, especially the hate towards the Tutsi and regionalism: Rukiga versus Nduga. All those discrimination

On the 1<sup>st</sup> October 1990, the RPF Inkotanyi launched a liberation struggle in order to free all Rwandans. It was during this liberation war that the regime of Habyarimana started planning and preparing the genocide against the Tutsi. This one, as its final stage, was put into practice from the 7<sup>th</sup> April 1994 until it was stopped on 4<sup>th</sup> July 1994, the date on which the country was liberated.

By July 19<sup>th</sup> 1994, the government of national unity was set up with the main aim of restoring the national unity and reconciliation among the Rwandans. In this regard, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) was set up with the aim to implement the Rwandans' unity and building a new Rwanda backed by good governance. To enhance this, *Ndi Umunyarwanda*; means "I am Rwandan", was adopted.

"*Ndi Umunyarwanda* programme" is the idea given in 2013 during the "Youth connect" where the youth wanted to switch from ancient history of their parents. This idea was welcomed by the Nation Unity and Reconciliation commission and, by the 6<sup>th</sup> retreat of the Unity Club of 2013; *Ndi Umunyarwanda* Programme was officially launched. In addition, by the 7<sup>th</sup> retreat of Unity Club (On 8<sup>th</sup> November 2014), "*Ndi Umunyarwanda* Programme" was evaluated and integrated in daily life of the Rwandans.

*Ndi Umunyarwanda* is a programme initiated in order to build a national identity based on trust and dignity. It aims to strengthen unity and reconciliation among Rwandans by providing a forum for people to talk about the causes and consequences of the genocide as well as what it means to be Rwandan.

### ***Ndi Umunyarwanda*: Rwandan values and taboos**

*Ndi Umunyarwanda* is composed of three key components including upholding the Rwandan identity, respecting values and taboos characterizing the Rwandans.

The main values characterizing a true Rwandans are patriotism and the love of his fellow citizens, bravery, unity, integrity, politeness, hardworking and excellence in service delivery. Other values are having the spirit for dialogue and being analytical while solving problems.

According to “*Ndi Umunyarwanda* Programme”, a true Rwandan should respect taboos. Those taboos include the following:

- It is a taboo to put personal interests ahead of general interests;
- It is a taboo to associate with agents of destabilization against Rwanda;
- It is a taboo to harbor the genocide ideology or inculcate it in others.

Upholding the Rwandan identity is accepting your identity as Rwandan and believing that Rwanda is your country that you love and for which you can die.

Putting Rwanda and Rwandans ahead of everything is the foundation for “*Ndi Umunyarwanda* Programme”. Resilience and sacrifice are some of the factors behind the success of “*Ndi Umunyarwanda* Programme”.

### ***Ndi Umunyarwanda*: its role in sustainable development of Rwanda**

*Ndi Umunyarwanda* is a daily lifestyle of working way whereby every Rwandan citizen is proud of whom he/she is, and values her/his fellow country mate citizen’s fellowship who bears the national interest at heart and works relentless his/her part toward achieving the development and the defense of our nation Rwanda.

*Ndi Umunyarwanda* programme includes actions aiming to build the Rwandan identity like dialogues whose targets are to mend Rwandan’s wounds and injuries left by the tragic history, and to have a brotherhood.

*Ndi Umunyarwanda* Programme is also understood as having an inner understanding of the relationship uniting Rwandans who are proud of being Rwandans, patriotism and will to protect and develop their country.

*Ndi Umunyarwanda* includes responsibility, rights and values and taboos geared towards promoting the roots of the Rwandan identity shared by all Rwandans. It brings trust, forgiveness, equal rights and freedoms, which build in all people the spirit of patriotism and the will to work for their country.



### Application activity 6.6

1. Identify the values and taboos which should characterize a true Rwandan according to “Ndi Umunyarwanda Programme”.
2. Assess the role of “Ndi Umunyarwanda Programme” in building a nation.



### Skills lab

Carry out different activities that can be done by them to fight against the genocide against the Tutsi and the genocide ideology.



### End unit assessment

1. To which extent the genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda was possible?
2. Demonstrate the impact of the genocide against the Tutsi on the Rwandan society.
3. Even if the government of National Unity has faced a lot of challenges, it has tried to overcome them, and then reach its objectives. Examine the success of the government of national unity since 1994 up to 2003.
4. Why do you think that the government of Rwanda has upheld the *Ndi Umunyarwanda Programme*?

**Key Unit competence:** The student-teacher should be able to analyze types and different ways of Human Rights violation, its prevention and the national duties and obligations towards the achievement of national cohesion



### Introductory Activity

In Paris, on December 10<sup>th</sup> 1948, United Nations General Assembly adopted Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Thereafter, a number of countries ratified this text. Assess how Human Rights have been protected in general and what your country has been able to achieve in particular in this area?

How the Rwandan citizens and non-citizens towards have contributed to national duties and obligations? What were the challenges faced during the implementation of the national duties and obligations?

## 7.1. Types and prevention of Human Rights violations



### Learning activity 7.1

Through the use of internet, textbooks and or newspapers make research about Human Rights violations and give answers to the following questions:

1. Explain the concept of Human Rights.
2. Identify types of Human Rights and describe different ways of prevention of Human Rights violations.

#### 7.1.1. Definition of the concept of Human Rights

Human Rights are commonly understood as inalienable fundamental rights which are inherent in the mere fact of being human. The concept of Human Rights is based on the belief that every human being is entitled to enjoy her/his rights without discrimination.

Human Rights differ from other rights in two respects.

Firstly, they are characterized by being:

- Inherent in all human beings by virtue of their humanity alone (they do not have, *e.g.*, to be purchased or to be granted);
- Inalienable (within qualified legal boundaries); and
- Equally applicable to all.

Secondly, the main duties deriving from Human Rights fall on states and their authorities or agents, not on individuals.

Human Rights are applicable everywhere and at every time in the sense of being universal, and they are egalitarian in the sense of being the same for everyone. They require empathy and the rule of law and impose an obligation on persons to respect the Human Rights of others. They should not be taken away except as a result of due process based on specific circumstances, and require freedom from unlawful imprisonment, torture, and execution.

### 7.1.2. Types of Human Rights

Human Rights can be classified and organized in a number of different ways. At an international level the most common categorization of Human Rights has been to split them into civil and political rights, and economic, social and cultural rights. The following are some of the types of Human Rights:

**Individual or civil rights** are a set of ‘physical integrity rights’ which concern the right to life, liberty, and security of the person; privacy and freedom of movement; ownership of property; freedom of thought, conscience, and religious belief and practice; prohibition of slavery, torture, and cruel or degrading punishment.

**Rule of law** is related to equal recognition before the law and equal protection of the law; effective legal remedy for violation of rights; impartial hearing and trial; presumption of innocence; and prohibition of arbitrary arrest.

**Rights of political expression** comprise freedom of expression, assembly, and association; the right to take part in government; and periodic and meaningful elections with universal and equal suffrage.

**Economic and social rights** concern adequate standard of living; free choice of employment; protection against unemployment; “just and favorable remuneration”; the right to form and join trade unions; “reasonable limitation of working hours”; free elementary education; social security; and the “highest attainable standard of physical and mental health.”

**Rights of communities** refer to self-determination and protection of minority cultures.

### 7.1.3. Ways of prevention of Human Rights violations

#### The concept of prevention

Human Rights violations occur when actions done by state's (or non-state) actors abuse, ignore, or deny basic Human Rights (including civil, political, cultural, social, and economic rights). Furthermore, violations of Human Rights can occur when any state or non-state actor breaches any part of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) treaty or other international Human Rights or humanitarian law.

By becoming parties to international treaties, States assume obligations and duties under international law to respect, protect and fulfil Human Rights for all persons within their territory or jurisdiction, without discrimination of any kind.

States have the primary responsibility for the promotion and protection of all Human Rights, including the prevention of Human Rights violations. The obligations of States include the duty to protect against Human Rights abuse by third parties, including private actors. States may breach their international Human Rights law obligations where they fail to take appropriate steps to prevent, investigate, punish and redress private actors' abuse.

For example, the prevention of genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity requires “sustained efforts to build the resilience of societies to atrocity crimes by ensuring that the rule of law is respected and that all Human Rights are protected, without discrimination; by establishing legitimate and accountable national institutions; by eliminating corruption; by managing diversity constructively; and by supporting a strong and diverse civil society and a pluralistic media”.

The terminology used in relation to the prevention distinguishes between specific practical actions which need to be taken for preventive purposes (direct prevention or mitigation), and the response to violations which needs to be taken in order to remedy those violations and prevent recurrence (indirect prevention or non-recurrence).

#### Direct prevention/mitigation

Direct prevention aims to eliminate risk factors and establish a legal, administrative and policy framework which seeks to prevent violations.

It is also contingent on establishing a culture of respect for Human Rights, good governance and the rule of law, and an enabling environment for a vibrant civil society and free press.

### **Indirect prevention/non-recurrence**

Indirect prevention of Human Rights violations, or non-recurrence, takes place after a violation has occurred. It aims to prevent recurrence by identifying and addressing causes of violations of all Human Rights, through investigation and prosecution, ensuring the right of victims and societies to know the truth about violations, and the right of victims to an effective remedy, in accordance with international law.

In practice, prevention of violations of Human Rights can be done through the establishment of a legislative and institutional framework for prevention; Human Rights education; dialogue, truth commissions, international war crimes tribunals, democratization measures and humanitarian aid and development assistance.

### **Legislative and institutional framework for prevention**

As a first step, prevention includes ratifying Human Rights treaties and their implementation at the domestic level and adopting laws and policies that guarantee Human Rights in law and practice. Regular and systematic review of existing and proposed legislation for compliance with a State's Human Rights obligations is an important safeguard. Such review may be done through a judicial, parliamentary or internal State process. National Human Rights institutions may be specifically mandated to complement such a review and to provide relevant authorities with information about compatibility or recommendations, which have led to changes in proposed laws or policy.

### **The role of Human Rights education in prevention of Human Rights violation**

Human Rights education contributes to the prevention of Human Rights violations and conflict, and to the enhancement of participation in decision-making processes within a democratic system. Education about Human Rights must become part of general public education. Technical and financial assistance should be provided to increase knowledge about Human Rights. Members of the police and security forces have to be trained to ensure the observation of Human Rights standards for law enforcement. Research institutes and universities should be also strengthened to train lawyers and

judges.

### **Dialogue**

Dialogue groups that assemble people from various ethnicities should be organized to overcome mistrust, fear and grief in society. Getting to know the feelings of ordinary people of each side might help to change the demonic image of the enemy group. Dialogue also helps parties at the grassroots level to discover the truth about what has happened and may provide opportunities for apology and forgiveness.

### **Truth commissions**

Truth commissions are sometimes established after a political transition. They can be understood as bodies set up to investigate a past history of violations of Human Rights in a particular country which can include violations by the military or other government forces or armed opposition forces. Their goal is to uncover details of past abuses as a symbol of acknowledgment of past wrongs. They typically do not have the powers of courts, nor should they, since they do not have the same standards of evidence and protections for defendants. As such, they usually do not «name names» of those responsible for Human Rights abuses, but rather point to institutional failings that facilitated the crimes. Finally, they conclude with a report that contains recommendations to prevent a recurrence of the crimes and to provide reparations to victims.

### **International war crimes tribunals**

International war crimes tribunals are established to hold individuals criminally responsible for violations of international Human Rights law in special courts. The international community rarely has the will to create them. As the experiences with the war tribunals for Rwanda and Yugoslavia indicate, even where they are created, they are imperfect. They cannot hold all perpetrators accountable and typically aim for the top leadership. However, it remains difficult to sentence the top-level decision-makers, who bear the ultimate responsibility for atrocities. They often enjoy political immunity as members of the post-conflict government. Incriminating a popular leader might lead to violent protests and sometimes even to relapse into conflict.

### **Democratization measures**

Various democratization measures can help to restore political and social rights. For sustainability and long-term viability of Human Rights standards, strong local enforcement mechanisms have to be established. An independent judiciary that provides impartial means and protects individuals against politically influenced persecution must be restored. Election of

monitors who help to guarantee fair voting procedures can help to ensure stable and peaceful elections.

And various social structural changes, including reallocations of resources, increased political participation, and the strengthening of civil society can help to ensure that people's basic needs are met.

### **Humanitarian aid and development assistance**

Humanitarian aid and development assistance seeks to ease the impact that violent conflict has on civilians. During conflict, the primary aim is to prevent human casualties and ensure access to basic survival needs. These basics include water, sanitation, food, shelter and health care. Aid can also assist those who have been displaced and support rehabilitation work. Once conflict has ended, development assistance helps to advance reconstruction programs that rebuild infrastructure, institutions and the economy. This assistance helps countries to undergo peaceful development rather than sliding back into conflict.



#### **Application activity 7.1**

1. Explain the concept of prevention of Human Rights violations.
2. Differentiate direct prevention from indirect prevention.
3. How education can help in the prevention of Human Rights violations?

## **7.2 National cohesion, identities and respect of Human Rights**



#### **Learning activity 7.2**

Use the internet or visit your school's library and read about the national cohesion and identities and then answer to the questions below:

1. Explain the concepts of national cohesion and national identity.
2. Discuss how the national cohesion and national identity can influence the respect of Human Rights.

### **National Cohesion**

National cohesion involves the constructing of an integrated citizenry with a sense of belonging amongst members of different groups and from different regions, through the regulation and reconciliation of differences as well as

competing interests and demands.

### **National identity**

National identity is the sense of a nation as a cohesive whole, as represented by distinctive traditions, culture, language and politics. A person's national identity is his/her identity and sense of belonging to one state or to one nation, a feeling one shares with a group of people, regardless of one's legal citizenship status. Scientists see national identity in psychological terms as an "awareness of difference", a "feeling and recognition of 'we' and 'they'".

National identity is not an inborn trait, various studies have shown that a person's national identity results directly from the presence of elements from the "common points" in people's daily lives: national symbols, language, national colors, the nation's history, national consciousness, blood ties, culture, music, cuisine, radio, television, and so on.

National identity markers are those characteristics used to identify a person as possessing a particular national identity. These markers are not fixed but fluid, varying from culture to culture and also within a culture over time. Such markers may include common language or dialect, national dress, birthplace, family affiliation, etc.

### **Factors of national cohesion and identities**

The promotion of the national cohesion and identities requires deliberate strategies to reorganize the management of diversities. These strategies include:

There is need to strengthen social institutions and organizations as well as mechanisms of governance to enhance national cohesion. The transformation of the political and governance institutions such as the executive, legislature, judiciary, civil service, local government, public administration, electoral rules, and party composition is particularly important for the achievement of national cohesion and integration.

Adoption of diversity concepts at all levels of organizational management at public and private establishments. There is need for a mandatory provision to infuse cohesion principles in all ministries, departments and agencies within the public sector. Private sector agencies should also ensure that they mainstream national cohesion in their respective institutions especially in their recruitment, promotion and retention of staff.

Establishment and enhancement of local community dialogue forums by creating, developing and/or expanding local community dialogue forums such as local workshops are essential. This will offer a platform for individuals

and community members to discuss issues and generate solutions to the problems affecting national cohesion.

Strengthening the role of national, province and community leaders in promoting national cohesion and identity; community leaders and traditional systems that promote national cohesion such as the Councils of Elders should be recognized and supported.

Implementation and enforcement of legislation that is related to prosecution of individuals or groups that promote negative ethnicity and hate speech in Rwanda. Individuals who make expression that promote negative ethnicity and hate speech should be reported and prosecuted irrespective of their ethnic background or status in society. Communities should not embrace such individuals and should instead warn them for fueling enmity against other communities. The media should equally avoid giving publicity to such individuals.

Embracement of diversity and symbols of national unity: Emphasis should be placed on the sovereignty of the people, effective management of indigenous languages, national symbols, the national anthem, national days, national values and principles of governance among others.

Develop and monitor a set of indicators and indices that capture the role of governance institutions in enhancing cohesion. These indicators will include: democratic governance, rule of law, reduction of corruption, justice and human security as well as promotion of value systems and public policies.

Accelerate the development of special economic zones to improve the socio-economic profile of the less developed regions. It is imperative that the socio-economic profiles of less developed regions are improved through investment in infrastructure and industries. The Government should ensure equitable infrastructural development across the country with attention to roads, electricity, water and sanitation among others.

Facilitate equitable investments in social and economic services, education, training institutions, health facilities, food, security and water among others. Ensure universal access to fundamental Human Rights such as basic education, health services, and water and food security.

Improve land management practices and challenges related to natural resource mismanagement. Since many conflicts in Rwanda revolve around land and management of resources, there is need to improve land management practices and address land inequalities and resource mismanagement.

Address youth unemployment and other forms of socio-economic exclusion. The economy should be improved with the aim of facilitating the creation of more job opportunities.

The youth should also be provided with relevant training skills and necessary capital to generate wealth and become self-reliant.

Use traditional performances such as dance, music, drama and sporting activities to facilitate cohesion amongst communities. Cultural performance and arts, especially those that are linked to specific events and national days, should be used to encourage and support national cohesion and integration.

Media and cultural activities such as art, music, pictures and film can be used to broadcast messages of peace and positive co-existence. Therefore, the media should be used to promote various cultural activities that encourage and support national cohesion and integration.

There is a need of strong communication strategy which should entail working with local media among others in a bid to counter stereo-types and other negative practices.

Another factor for national cohesion and identity includes the existence of a visionary leadership that practices good governance and develops a vision for the nation. It also involves community empowerment through participation and engagement through a bottom-up consultation process.

It is also essential to recognize changing demographics such as youth, men, women, people with various challenges and other groups.

### **Influences of national cohesion and identity on the respect of Human Rights**

National cohesion and culture play a significant and fundamental role in fostering identity and sense of security by directing individual behavior. Cultural products serve to unify people while participation in cultural activities ensure that issues of national importance are profiled and messages of integration communicated thereby promoting mutual coexistence and respect of Human Rights as follows:

When the people identify themselves in one group, one country or state with the same culture, this enables them to defend them and safeguard their life and the life of each other.

The national cohesion is amongst the key points in respect of the Human Rights especially the right to the nationality as defended in Universal declaration of Human Rights and in the constitution of Rwanda as amended

up to date. This is due to the will of sharing a nation as their identity.

In the traditional Rwanda, the Rwandans had the same religion, beliefs and rituals.

This facilitated them to enjoy the freedom of worship because everyone was allowed to participate in his or her own traditional ritual like Kubandwa and guterekera.

Today, even if there are various religions practices; the Constitution of Rwanda grants all citizens with freedom of worship. In this regard, the respect of Human Rights is ensured.

Culture is essential for individual survival and for social relations. Just as culture is essential for individuals, it is also fundamental for the survival of societies. Some system of rule-making and enforcing is necessary in all societies. In order to survive, societies need rules about civility and tolerance toward others. We are not born knowing how to express kindness or hatred towards others.

National cohesion and Rwandan identity can promote the respect of the Human Rights in the sense that they destroy the sectarian references, exclusions, division and negative ideologies that had characterised the Rwandan societies and led to the genocide against the Tutsi.

In culture of Rwanda and as it is stated in the constitution of Rwanda, every child has the right to the family and is entitled to special measures of protection by his/her family, society and the State. This enforces the respect of Human Rights especially the Convention on the Rights of the Child adopted in 1989.

In ancient Rwanda as well as today, the Rwandans enjoy the rights of being fairly tried. Judicial institution like Gacaca for instance, had been set up to perform such noble task. This cemented the culture of justice and all Rwanda people respected the decision made by hierarchal courts of justice.



### Application activity 7.2

1. Examine different ways through which the Rwandan identity can be reshaped in order to enable Rwandans to no longer consider each other according to the different stereotypes that have characterized the Rwandan society.
2. Carry out a survey on different policies currently set up by government of Rwanda basing on the Ancient Rwandan cultural practices to rebuild the National cohesion and identity.
3. Explain how Rwandans have been known under different identities and some of them underwent mistreatments due to that discrimination.

## 7.3. The background and structure of the national duties and obligations



### Learning activity 7.3

Use the different resources like books, internet or documentary films about national duties and obligations in Rwanda in order to give relevant answers to the questions below:

Explain the national duties and obligations of Itorero ry'Igihugu, Umuganda, Imihigo and Community Policing and describe their background.

#### 7.3.1 Itorero ry'igihugu

##### Historical background

According to the History of Rwanda, Itorero was initiated during the reign of Gihanga and reinforced by King Ruganzu II Ndoli 510 A.D. Itorero ry'Igihugu was a national forum for glooming national leaders. Itorero trainees would delve deeply in discussions relating to national programs and Rwanda's cultural values. Graduates of Itorero; Intore, would be qualified to become leaders at various levels of the country's leadership, depending on how each one would distinguish oneself during the Itorero mentorship.

As an educational institution, Itorero ry'Igihugu was deeply rooted in the Rwandan culture, till it was later abolished by the colonial administration. It was through Itorero that the country channeled various subjects relating to national culture. These included Language, Patriotism, Social Studies,

Sports, Creative Arts, Martial Arts, good governance, the spirit of courage, integrity, and synergy while dealing with challenges because in the olden times, Intore would never give way to defeat. That should be the very legacy we hand over to our posterity.

Itorero trainees would be immersed in the Rwandan culture; they were encouraged to critically discuss, explore and analyse Rwandan cultural values with the aim of instilling its values, which would in turn give them the lifelong foundation in the way they mirror their social environment, shape their conduct, tune their mind-set, their way of doing things, and mould their social interaction.

From 1924 to 1994, Itorero was banned by the colonial rule and further by the post-independence regimes. Itorero lost its significance which resulted in distortions of the Rwandan culture and breakdown of Rwandan social fabric, mutual support and selfless service to the nation.

These distortions are indubitably among the main causes of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi which devastated the Rwandan society.

### **Legal framework**

During the Urugwiro consultative meetings that took place between May 1998 and March 1999, top national leadership and various other leaders in the country met and discussed the issues of national unity and reconciliation, democracy, justice, economy and security. Among the many recommendations that were passed at that time, was that of reviving the Rwandan cultural values that could help to cultivate decent citizens.

This is why the Rwanda Government decided to draw from the Rwandan culture, some home-grown tools of dealing with the country's peculiar challenges, be it in the area of governance, economy or social welfare.

The Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda, promulgated on 4<sup>th</sup> June 2003, as revised and amended to this day; in its Article 8 of the Preamble gives the guideline on which Itorero ry'Igihugu was established; that is where it states the following;

“We, the People of Rwanda...,considering that it is necessary to draw from our centuries-old history the positive values which characterized our ancestors that must be the basis for the existence and flourishing of our Nation...”

The idea of establishing Itorero ry'Igihugu came up during the top leadership retreat that took place in Akagera in February 2007. During that retreat, all Government institutions that have community sensitization in their mandate were given the responsibility of developing strategies which would ensure that all Rwandans are sensitized on their tangible role in the rapid implementation

of National and International Vision.

One of the recommendations passed during the Akagera retreat in February 2007, was to establish a “**National Service**” which would help to sensitize Rwandans on the importance of changing their mind set, especially in as far as their way of looking at things, of conduct, and of doing things is concerned. This would help to bring about peace and development, revolutionize the socio-economic life of the people, hence speeding up the attainment of National and international Vision objectives.

It is in this perspective that a Cabinet meeting of November 12<sup>th</sup> 2007 resolved that Itorero ry'Igihugu be revived as an appropriate tool of achieving the goals of all Visions and enhance sustainable development.

Itorero ry'Igihugu was revived at the official launch presided upon by His Excellency the President of the Republic on 16/11/2007, in the Parliament Buildings.

During the launching ceremony, His Excellency the President of the Republic reflected on the origin of Itorero. He pointed out that Itorero is a home-grown tool that has root in the Rwandan culture. He stressed **Three Key Factors** that must be taken into account if we have to get solutions to the challenges faced by our Country; he said this, however, without any shade of doubt that the work of Itorero would bring solutions to them.

**The first factor** was to understand that dealing with challenges faced by our country was primarily the responsibility of leaders, and secondly that of every citizens.

**The second factor** was that Rwandans should have conviction that they have, in themselves, the capacity to deal with those challenges.

**The third point** was that Rwandans should begin working hard, bearing in mind that they are working for their own good, but also have constant evaluation mechanisms to detect impending obstacles and give early warning signals.

### 7.3.2 National Itorero Overall goal

National Itorero is one of the Rwanda's Home-Grown Solutions in the governance cluster and is regarded mainly as a cultural-centred programme.

The overall goal of the National Itorero is to build a patriotic Rwandan who has values and taboos of the Rwandan culture and who has Ubutore culture”.

In order to achieve the broader aim of the Itorero, the following objectives have been set:

1. Train Rwandans to make them:
  - a) Understand their shared values and taboos in their coexistence, be patriotic and contribute to national development;
  - b) Be aware of and have proficient knowledge of national programs and necessary means for their implementation;
  - c) Be confident in their ability to solve problems to they are faced to with and uphold their dignity;
  - d) Be Intore who are worthy Rwandans found in all categories and are catalysts for positive changes;
  - e) Have the culture of volunteerism through national service;
  - f) Have the culture of being proud to set performance targets and to proclaim their achievements;
2. Train leaders to engage in a leadership style that promotes the values and strive to become the best performers;
3. Train Rwandans to promote respect for the values and taboos as a basis for coexistence and national development;
4. Collaborate with other public and private institutions and non-governmental organizations that train in values and taboos and seek their advice;
5. Prepare and follow up volunteerism activities through the national service;
6. Perform any other task as the Commission may find relevant to its mission.

In order to achieve the above objectives, the following strategies and content have been set to bringing up a patriotic rwanan who have values and taboos and ubutore culture.

#### **a. Some Strategies**

1. Reinforce Rwandan culture and values as a foundation for peace and unity (NST1 art 79) by enshrining Kinyarwanda language and Rwandan values of integrity, transparency, fighting injustice and intolerance for corruption among Rwandans in families, schools' curricula and the youth; this will be achieved through the operationalization of Itorero in schools and in all villages. Strategies of **Itorero at village** (Itorero ry'Umudugudu) **and schools Level** (Nursery, primary, secondary, University and high Institutions of learning).
2. Mentor and monitor the operationalization of **Itorero in public & private institutions.**

3. Increase citizens' participation, engagement and partnerships in Development (NST1 art 107) by promoting the culture of self-reliance, teamwork spirit, integrity, solidarity and patriotism among Rwandans and develop home-Grown Solutions to problems encountered by different categories of our society and strengthening the voluntary **National service program (Urugerero)** with the objective of developing the Rwandan youth into citizens who aspire to become self-reliant and hardworking.

The National Service (Urugerero) Program is provided by the constitution of Rwanda in its Art. 47.

4. **Volunteerism Program:** is an effective tool of mobilizing people for national and community service activities including among others: security, disaster relief and other socio-economic community services. It was used at all levels among Rwandans to address issues confronting society at various levels.

The International Labor Organization (ILO) proposes the following working definition of volunteerism as “unpaid non-compulsory work or non-obligatory work, work not done for family members.

According to the adopted Itorero strategy, Volunteerism (Ubwitange) in Rwanda is a Self-motivated action, performed by an individual or a group of individuals who contribute their time, skills, advice, talents and passion to the provision of services for the benefit of the larger community, without expecting a salary. Example: Umuganda, Ubudehe, Umusanzu (Communal self-help activities based on solidarity), Abunzi, local government councils (Njyanama), Gacaca judges, electoral commission agents, community health workers (abajyanama b'ubuzima), traditional birth attendants etc.

The volunteers might however be entitled to stipends intended to cover some of the expenses incurred for the accomplishment of the volunteering activity. Based on the concept of Ubwitange (National Service) that was used by Rwandans in rebuilding and developing pre-colonial Rwanda, the preferred option to guide our volunteer activities is National Service. Opting for National Service is mainly due to the following principal reasons:

- i) Rwandans in pre-colonial Rwanda applied National Service in state rebuilding and led the Country to great achievements hence need to be re-adopted;
- ii) National service is carried out by nationals and non-nationals without expecting any pay for the work accomplished unlike Volunteerism where the Volunteer expects some little pay for the work done;

iii) Nationals and non-nationals engaged in National Service activities may later participate in Volunteerism activities as a recognition of their dedicated and committed services to their State;

5. **Ubutore development Centre** is a centre where trainers from different areas are trained. This is also another strategy to foster a mindset that accelerates development and national self-reliance.

### b. Some Content

The curriculum content for Itorero ry'igihugu is unique to Rwanda due to the fact that it is based on principles of intore and values peculiar to the Rwandan culture while Urugerero (National Service) on the other hand, has much in common with what takes place in other countries. Participating in Itorero is the right of every Rwandan, regardless of status and social group. During Itorero, the participants are encouraged to critically discuss, explore and analyse Rwandan cultural values and the following principles of Intore have been set up.

#### The principles of Intore:

1. **Intore ntiganya**; Ishaka ibisubizo (This *literally means solving problems as they may arise without waiting for others to do it for you*).
2. **Intore ntiyoba**; No mu ishyamba ry'inzitane, yishakira inzira (This *simply means creating a way where there is no way through*)
3. **Intore ni umurinzi w'ibyagezweho**; ntacyabisenya ibona (*This means protecting what has been achieved*)
4. **Intore si nanjye binyobere**; ni nkore neza bandebereho. (*Being role model*)
5. **Intore ntigambanira indi** ; kirazira gutatira igihango (*Not being a traitor to your nation*)
6. **Intore ikemura ibibazo byayo itabyerekeje ku bandi**, Kirazira (*Selflessness, solving own problems with out depending on others*)
7. **Intore ntivunda ntisahinda**, Ijabo ryayo riyiha ijambo (*Respecting one another*)
8. **Tugire amahoro**, Ubworoherane ubumwe n'ubwiyunge, (*Being a peace maker*)
9. **Ingengabitekerezo ya jenocide**, tuyirandurane n'imizi yayo yose

### ***(Uprooting Genocide ideology)***

#### **10. Tugire ubukire, Tubukoreye, dufatanije twese hamwe kandi vuba. (Quick inclusive economic growth and development)**

The Core Values have also been set to achieve the Itorero objectives:

- 1. Unity** – The state of being joined together to form one unit. A genuine vehicle of “the same wisdom, the same vision of the world, and the perception of political life”.
- 2. Patriotism** – Love and allegiance to the nation and the government of the Republic of Rwanda
- 3. Selflessness** – the renunciation of one’s own interests in favour of the interests of others. The spirit of not putting one’s self first but being willing to give one’s time and resources for the benefit of others.
- 4. Integrity** – the act of consistency of actions, values, methods, measures, principles, expectations and outcome.
- 5. Responsibility** - the obligation and authority to take the necessary actions to ensure success. The obligation for the proper custody, care, and safekeeping of resources entrusted to the possession or supervision of an individual.
- 6. Volunteerism** – Volunteering is the practice of people working for a particular cause without payment for their time and services. It is the desire to undertake by choice and free will a task or work for the benefit of the wider community beyond the volunteer’s immediate family and friends
- 7. Humility** – defined as a disposition to be humble; a lack of false pride. This attribute increases one’s willingness to listen to others.

#### **c. Benefits of Itorero and National Service (Urugerero & Ubwitange).**

- Increased solidarity and strengthened national identity and reduced stereotypic thinking by interfacing with the realities of the communities and the country in general.
- Increased patriotism and civic participation especially among the young generation.
- Receive committed, motivated workers at no financial reward. The committed and motivated workers often influence the atmosphere in

the work place.

- The well-being of beneficiaries is improved with the injection of new compassionate dedicated workers.
- Increases Social integration and cohesion.
- Self-actualization because of the recognition of participants' efforts in people's lives or other forms of change emanating from their efforts.
- The participation empowers those involved in different ways including gaining new skills, interaction with others etc.
- Bridging the gap between communities and participants who may not otherwise get such an opportunity.
- Gain practical skills that bridges the gap between theory and practices thus exposing participants to the world of work.
- Increases a sense of responsibility as a citizen to serve the country as well as an opportunity to gain knowledge and professional experience through their service.

The same content focuses on a desire to promote opportunities for development using Rwandan cultural values; identify taboos that inhibit the development of the country; fight violence and corruption; eradicate the culture of impunity; strengthen the culture of peace, tolerance, unity and reconciliation; and eradicate genocide ideology and all its roots.

### 7.3.3.Umuganda

*Umuganda* was created to help supplement the national budget spent in construction and the repair of basic infrastructure. The work done is organized by community members and is done voluntarily and without pay. The projects completed through *Umuganda* include the construction of schools, feeder roads, road repair, terracing, reforestation, home construction for vulnerable people, erosion control, water canals, etc.

Planning for *Umuganda* is done at council meetings at the cell level. It is the responsibility of local leaders as well as national leaders to mobilize the population to participate in *Umuganda*. Community members meet and plan the date and the activity. Participation in *Umuganda* is compulsory for all able-bodied citizens and it is expected that this policy will result in a more cohesive society as all members of a community come together to complete a project that benefits the community.



Rwandan population performing the umuganda activities

Source: <https://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2018/07/18/628364015/how-rwanda-tidied-up-its-streets-and-the-rest-of-the-country-too>

*Umuganda* is one of Home-Grown Solutions. Modern day *Umuganda* can be described as a community work. On the last Saturday of each month, communities come together to do a variety of public works. This often includes infrastructure development and environmental protection.

#### 7.3.4. Imihigo

*Imihigo* (*Performance Contract*) is the plural Kinyarwanda word of *Umuhigo*, which means to vow to deliver. *Imihigo* also includes the concept of *Guhiganwa*, which means to compete among one another.

*Imihigo* describe the pre-colonial cultural practice in Rwanda where an individual set targets or goals to be achieved within a specific period of time. The person must complete these objectives by following guiding principles and be determined to overcome any possible challenges that arise.

As part of efforts to reconstruct Rwanda and nurture a shared national identity, the Government of Rwanda drew on aspects of Rwandan culture and traditional practices to enrich and adapt its development programs to the country's needs and context. The result is a set of Home-Grown Solutions - culturally owned practices translated into sustainable development programs. One of these Home-Grown Solutions is *Imihigo*. In 2000, a shift in the responsibilities of all levels of government as a result of a decentralization program required a new approach to monitoring and evaluation. Local levels of government were now responsible for implementing development programs which meant that the central government and people of Rwanda needed a way to ensure accountability.

In 2006, *Imihigo* were introduced to address this need. Since its introduction, *Imihigo* have been credited with improving accountability and quickening the pace of citizen centered development activities and programs. The practice of *Imihigo* have now been extended to ministries, embassies and public service staff.



*Ceremony of Evaluation 2015-2016 and planning 2016-2017 contract performance*

[https://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.newtimes.co.rw%2F-sites%2Fdefault%2Ffiles%2Fstyles%2Fmystyle%2Fpublic%2Fmain%2Farticles%2F2014%2F09%2F12%2F1410556037pk.jpg&imgrefurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.newtimes.co.rw%2Fsection%2Fread%2F180868&tbnid=f\\_6V\\_pGnxx69uM&vet=1&docid=E0\\_U8TTCfOaOmM&w=873&h=491&itg=1&q=imihigo%20evaluation%202018&hl=en-US&source=sh%2F%2Fim](https://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.newtimes.co.rw%2F-sites%2Fdefault%2Ffiles%2Fstyles%2Fmystyle%2Fpublic%2Fmain%2Farticles%2F2014%2F09%2F12%2F1410556037pk.jpg&imgrefurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.newtimes.co.rw%2Fsection%2Fread%2F180868&tbnid=f_6V_pGnxx69uM&vet=1&docid=E0_U8TTCfOaOmM&w=873&h=491&itg=1&q=imihigo%20evaluation%202018&hl=en-US&source=sh%2F%2Fim)

In putting into practice *imihigo*, the districts are responsible for implementing programs under this broad agenda while Central Government assumes

the task for planning and facilitating. The decentralization policy is also designed to deepen and sustain grassroots-based democratic governance and to promote equitable local development. This entails enhancing citizens' participation, promoting the culture of accountability, fast-tracking and sustaining equitable local development.

The principle of subsidiary underpins the decentralization policy, which is designed to ensure transparency and accountability for local service delivery through citizen participation in planning as well as civil society and faith-based organizations, the private sector and development partners.

### 7.3.5. Community Policing

When **Rwanda National Police (RNP)** was created in the year 2000, it adopted the Community Policing strategy to build ties and work closely with members of the community to fight crime. Since then, the department for community policy has been influential in reducing crime throughout the country.

Traditionally, the Police respond to crime after it occurs. On top of that, the Police cannot always be everywhere and, therefore, relies on routine patrols, rapid response to calls for service, arrests and follow-up investigations. Community Policing,

therefore, was adopted to encourage citizens to participate in crime-solving.

Community Policing encourages the Police to increase the means by which citizens can report incidents or the use of volunteers to provide timely reports that help the Police in anti-crime operations.

This strategy has been very successful in increasing Police response to crime, because many reports are now provided by community members. This shows that the community trust the Police members to do their best in protecting their lives and property.



#### Application activity 7.3

1. Explain the background of the creation of itorerero. What was its curriculum content at its origin?
2. Explain the concept of Imihigo in its present-day meaning.
3. Account for the reasons for the creation of the Community Policing and umuganda community work.

## 7.4. The contribution of the Rwandan citizens and non-citizens towards the national duties and obligations



### Learning activity 7.4

From the result of your research in learning activity 7.3, assess the role played by the Rwandan citizens and non-citizens in the implementation of the national duties and obligations of Itorero, umuganda, imihigo and Community Policing.

#### 7.4.1. National *Itorero* Commission

From 19 November 2007, *Itorero ry'Igihugu* was launched in all districts of the country. In December 2007, a ceremony to present nationwide *Intore* regiments at district level to His Excellency the President of the Republic of Rwanda and other senior Government officials took place at Amahoro stadium. Each district's regiment presented its performance contract at that colorful ceremony marked by cultural festivals. Each district's *Intore* regiment publicly announced its Identification Name.

There is also *Itorero* for Rwandan Diaspora that has the authority to develop its affiliated sub-division. From November 2007 up to the end of 2012, *Itorero ry' Igihugu* had a total of 284,209 trained *Intore*.

In order to enable each *Intore* to benefit and experience change of mindset, each group chooses its Identification Name and sets objectives it must achieve. Those projected objectives must be achieved during or after training, and this is confirmed by the performance contracts that necessarily have to be accomplished. With this obligation in mind, each individual also sets personal objective that in turn contributes to the success of the corporate objectives.

The number of *Intore* who have been trained at the village level amounts to a total of 814 587. Those mentored at the national level are the ones who go down to mentor in villages, schools, and at various work places. In total, 1 098 599 Rwandans have been mentored nationwide.



*Journalists, artistes and sportsmen who took part in the national Itorero Programme at the Kigali Convention Centre where they were waiting to meet the President /Village Urugwiro*

*Source: <https://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/read/213653>*

From 2007 to 2017, about 23 categories composed of over 2,300,000 people from both public and private institutions have been trained under *Itorero*. These include citizens (1,109,707), students (160,875), professionals (50431), teachers (43600), decentralized (leader 33509), trainers (7520), diaspora (2769), farmers (2256) and people with disabilities (392).

Through *Urugerero* Program, *Intore* mentored in 2012 totaled 40,730. Among them, 19,285 were female, while 21,445 were male. However, those who joined *Urugerero* were 37,660, female being 18,675 while male participants were 18,985.

#### **7.4.2. Umuganda**

Rwandans between 18 and 65 are obliged to participate in *Umuganda*. Expatriates living in Rwanda are encouraged to take part. Professionals also contribute to *umuganda*. It is in this context that members of Rwanda's elite and private sector, including engineers, medical personnel,

IT specialists, statisticians and other professionals, are actively involved in *Umuganda* activities. The military personnel also participate in social activities like building schools and hospitals and this inspires the population to be very active as well.

### 7.4.3. Imihigo

*Imihigo* is the result of a participatory process of identifying and implementing priorities from *the* grassroots to the national level. In the process of identifying priorities, each level demonstrates its contribution to achievement of development goals.

Performance contracts offer various opportunities for community participation including various meetings at the district, sector, cell and village. Accountability days and public meeting after *umuganda* are interesting opportunities for participating in performance contracts. The above opportunities are exploited by many including communities, women, consultative councils who actively participate in performance contracts. In such meetings, local priorities to be included into the national priorities are directly discussed with all the people contrary to other levels that involve only people's representatives.

### 7.4.4. Community Policing

Community Policing Committees (CPCs) were introduced in 2007 and they are made up of ordinary citizens chosen by fellow residents. They operate in cells and sectors to collect information that helps in crime prevention, while they also sensitize residents about the need to collectively overcome crime.

The Youth Volunteers in Crime Prevention is an organization that has over 7,000 young men and women spread throughout the country – with an aim to promote security and participate in crime prevention.

They have been influential in aiding Police operations and also in sensitizing fellow youth against crime.



Police officers creating a road connecting communities during 'Police Week' 2017/ Courtesy

Source: <https://www.newtimes.co.rw/news/police-attributes-security-gains-people-centred-policing>

The Community Policing also works with motorists' association to ensure that road safety is respected, as well as with the business community to protect the country against economic crimes.



### Application activity 7.4

1. Evaluate the contribution of the different categories of Rwandans towards Itorero and umuganda.
2. In the preparation of Imihigo or performance contracts, the Rwandan population plays a crucial role. Discuss this statement.
3. Explain to which extent, the Community Policing requires the participation of civilians in its implementation.

## 7.5. The challenges faced during the implementation of the national duties and obligations



### Learning activity 7.5

Basing on the results of learning activity 7.3, evaluate the challenges faced during the implementation of the national duties and obligations in Rwanda.

#### 7.5.1. National Itorero Commission

According to the Strategic Plan 2009-2012 of *Itorero ry'Igihugu*, the biggest challenge for *Itorero* is finding solutions to address the poor mindset of the average Rwandan.

This weakness impedes the understanding of the country's policies. Therefore, the contribution required from the citizen is not well realized.

Other problems which impede development goals are corruption, genocide and divisionism ideology. Despite measures designed to eradicate these problems, they are still apparent in some institutions and individual Rwandans. This observation was made during the sixth National Dialogue Council held in Kigali in December 2008.

From the time *Itorero* was launched, it is remarkable that many Rwandans have not yet fully understood its purpose and rationale. This confusion has caused some people to link *Itorero ry'Igihugu* with activities of other

associations. For example, those with a dancing purpose (cultural troupe). There is therefore an urgent need for the purpose of *Itorero ry'Igihugu* to be fully explained to all Rwandans so that they feel comfortable with it.

To mentor a significant number of *Intore* throughout the country still requires a substantial financial budget.

This also calls for the commitment of the government and its partners to finance the programme.

### 7.5.2. Umuganda

The challenges faced by *Umuganda* fall into two broad categories: planning and participation. In some areas of the country, poor planning has led to unrealistic targets and projects that would be difficult to achieve without additional financing. In urban areas, participation in *Umuganda* has been lower than in rural areas.

To address these challenges, the team responsible for *Umuganda* at the Ministry of Local Government has run trainings for the committees that oversee *Umuganda* at the local level. These trainings include lessons on monitoring and evaluation, how to report achievements, the laws, orders and guidelines governing *Umuganda* as well as responsibilities of the committee. These two days trainings have taken place in every province. The national competition also awards communities that have undertaken proper and successful planning.

To overcome the issue of low participation rates in some areas of the country, especially in urban areas, an awareness raising campaign was conducted through documentaries, Television and radio shows to inform Rwandans about the role *Umuganda* plays in the society and its importance. A recently produced documentary has been screening at the sector level across the country and a weekly radio show from the Ministry of Local Government often features *Umuganda*.

### 7.5.3. Imihigo

#### Problems of measurements

*Umuganda* is one of the most important activities planned to be achieved through implementation of *Imihigo*. However, there is absence of a clear standard on how to measure the value of *Umuganda*. The first issue has to do with the output on increasing the value and participation in *Umuganda*. For instance, some districts measure its value based on the number of people participating on the day multiplied by the daily labor (mostly farming) rate applicable in that district, whereas other districts attempt to estimate the

financial cost of achievements on the day of *Umuganda*. However, in both cases it is known that *Umuganda* lasts only three hours. A key defect from the first approach is that when calculations are based on a full day's work rate when *Umuganda* lasts an average of three hours means that the value assigned could potentially mislead by overestimating the achievement.

### **Budget versus needs**

There is a clear discrepancy between allocated budget and the magnitude of citizen needs at the local administrative level. This challenge was raised by a number of leaders at the district level from the Executive Committee, Councils, and the Joint Action Development Forum (JADFs). In all focus group discussions with district authorities, harmonizing citizen needs with the available budget was pointed out as a key challenge. While there are always several competing needs for a limited budget, appropriate apportionment implies that the limited resources should respond to the most pressing demands.

### **Competing Agenda**

The evaluation team noticed the existence of competing agendas between central and local government. In all districts, respondents reported that urgent assignments from line ministries and other central government agencies interfere with local planning. Despite efforts for joint planning meetings between the central and local levels, unplanned requests emerging from channels outside of joint planning often come from the central government consume local resources (finances and time) particularly when the demands are not accompanied with implementing funds. In some instances, money to implement an inserted item will be promised but the promise is not delivered when it comes to the implementation phase or local authorities are told to insert items and are then told to expect the resources to come from private sources. In general, local implementers would be less concerned if all the requests from central government were accompanied with implementing resources.

### **Low Ownership of Imihigo**

Preferably, district *Imihigo* should be informed by the needs of citizens at the local level while being aligned to national development priorities that themselves stem from those needs. However, findings from evaluation found out that *Imihigo* ownership is relatively low among the intended beneficiaries. In some respects, districts officials pointed to a “dependency syndrome” where citizens would rather depend on government to provide them with free or subsidized goods. In some instances, the officials pointed out, citizens will compete for lower categories of *Ubudehe* in order to become eligible

for free healthcare and Vision 2020 *Umurenge* Programme, very known as VUP programmes. Overall, officials point to these programs as responsible for diminished ownership of *Imihigo*.

### **Understaffing and Low Capacity**

Understaffing and capacity gaps at the local government level are widely documented. Studies have provided evidence on the subject.

According to Rwanda Association of Local Governments Authority (RALGA), lack of staff, insufficient financial means, lack of data base to facilitate planning, monitoring, and evaluation and heavy workload constitute “the most pressings factors influencing service delivery in local government.

While these are factors that affect service delivery at the local level, these shortages have particular effects on the implementation of *Imihigo*. On one hand, district staff is overloaded to the extent that they may not have the requisite time to implement *Imihigo* targets. On the other hand, as evidenced by the above studies, local government staff are not skilled enough in Monitoring and Evaluation, a key element if the *Imihigo* are to achieve optimum impact.

### **Delays in Funds Disbursement**

Some of the key detriments to *Imihigo* are delays in funds disbursement, be it from the central government or from other development partners. The same RALGA study pointed to delays in funds disbursement as the most important issue affecting service delivery at local government level, equally important as insufficient staff. This evaluation process has pointed to two related issues that make it difficult to implement *Imihigo* targets in a timely manner. First, there is a discrepancy between the fiscal year and the period of *Imihigo* signing. This challenge comes from the relationship with stakeholders most

of whom use the calendar which starts in January against the district's fiscal year which starts in July. Overall, time discrepancies mean that there is a period of time that is lost before *Imihigo* can be effectively implemented. More specifically, *Imihigo* are usually signed 2-3 months after the fiscal year has started. This means that almost a quarter is lost.

### 7.5.4 Community Policing

The following are the biggest challenges the National Police of Rwanda is faced to as far as Community Policing is concerned: high population growth rate and high population density, high police population ratio, high Rural-urban migration rate, low level of education, illiteracy, and ignorance of laws and potential for increasing criminality.



#### Application activity 7.5

1. Explain how the absence of a clear standard on how to measure the value of Umuganda constitutes a challenge in implementation of imihigo.
2. Account for the challenges encountered in implementation of the following national duties and obligations: Community Policing, itorerero and umuganda.



#### Skills lab

Identify the importance of different home grown solutions that Rwandan government has taken to overcome different problems it was faced with in your District.



## End unit assessment

1. Explain different types of Human Rights.
2. Describe different ways of prevention of Human Rights violations.
3. Explain the role that the media can play to influence national cohesion and national identity.
4. Describe the historical background of National Itorero Commission.
5. Assess the role played by different categories of Rwandans in the implementation of Umuganda.
6. Examine the challenges of Imihigo.
7. Describe the structure of the Community Policing and its day-to-day activities.

## UNIT 8:

# PREVENTION AND RESOLUTION OF CONFLICTS

### Key Unit competence:

The student-teacher should be able to analyze the national, international judicial systems and instruments, how the justice has been delayed and denied in Rwandan society, preventing and resolving conflicts and violence at the national as well as international levels.



### Introductory Activity

Analyze the national and international judicial systems and instruments, and how to prevent and solve the conflicts at the national and international level.

## 8.1. National and international judicial systems and instruments



### Learning activity 8.1

Describe the Rwandan national and international judicial system and instruments.

#### 8.1.1. Concepts of judicial systems

The judicial system is the system of courts that interprets and applies the laws in the name of the state. The judiciary also provides a mechanism for the resolution of disputes.

The term “judiciary” is used to refer collectively to the personnel, such as judges, magistrates and other adjudicators, who form the core of a judiciary (sometimes referred to as a “bench”), as well as the staffs who keep the systems running smoothly.

In some nations, under doctrines of separation of powers, the judiciary generally does not make law (which is the responsibility of the legislature) or enforce law (which is the responsibility of the executive), but rather interprets

law and applies it to the facts of each case.

In other nations, the judiciary can make law, known as “*Common Law*”, by setting precedent for other judges to follow, as opposed to Statutory Law made by the legislature. The Judiciary is often tasked with ensuring equal justice under law.



*Justitia, a symbol of justice.*

**Source:** <https://www.figuren-shop.de/en/kulturen-shop/cultures-religion/ancient-gods-heroes/ancient-gods/medium-justitia-figurine-goddess-of-justice-silver-gold-13452.html>

In some countries and jurisdictions, judiciary branch is expanded to include additional public legal professionals and institutions such as prosecutors, state lawyers, ombudsmen, public notaries, judicial police service and legal aid officers. These institutions are sometimes governed by the same judicial administration that governs courts, and in some cases the administration of the judicial branch is also the administering authority for private legal professions such as lawyers and private notary offices.

### **8.1.2. National judicial system and instruments in Rwanda**

After regaining its independence, the Republic of Rwanda got a Supreme Court with five sections. However, according to the Constitution of December 28<sup>th</sup>, 1978, the Supreme Court with 5 sections was replaced by 4 High Jurisdictions which were separated from each other, including: The Court of Appeals, the Constitutional Court, the Council of State and the Audit office.

During the post-genocide period (from 1994 to 2003) the Fundamental Law instituted the Supreme Court which consisted again of the five sections such as the Department of Courts and Tribunals, the Court of Appeals, the Constitutional Court, the Council of State and the Auditor Office. With the 18/04/2000 reform to the Fundamental Law, it was provided with the sixth section named Department of “Cacaca jurisdictions”.

In now days, the judicial system is divided in two kinds of courts such as Ordinary courts and specialized courts. The Ordinary courts are headed by the High Council of the Judiciary. This is established by the Rwandan Constitution of 4/06/2003 in its article 157 and 158, as amended in 2015. It is the supreme organ of the judiciary.



*Office of the Supreme Court in Rwanda*

**Source:** <https://twitter.com/rwandajudiciary>

Today, apart from the Supreme Court, there is a High Court with different chambers in the country such as the Chamber of international crimes, the Chamber of Nyanza in Southern Province, the Chamber of Rusizi in Western Province, the Chamber of Rwamagana in Eastern Province and the Chamber of Musanze in Northern Province. There are the Intermediate (12) in Districts of Nyarugenge, Gasabo, Nyagatare, Ngoma, Muhanga, Huye, Nyamagabe, Rusizi, Kaarongi, Rubavu, Gicumbi and Musanze. At the lower level, there are 41 Primary Courts in the country.

The specialized Courts today, there is Commercial High Courts in Nyamirambo with its branches at Musanze and Huye and the Military Courts.

### **8.1.3. International judicial systems and instruments**

The International judicial system is dominated by the international Court of Justice (ICJ) and the International Criminal Court (ICC). The ICJ was

established in 1945 by the UN Charter, the Court began work in 1946 as the successor to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The Statute of the International Court of Justice, similar to that of its predecessor, is the main constitutional document constituting and regulating the Court.



*A picture of Peace Palace in Hague Netherlands, seat of the ICJ*

**Source:** [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/fb/International\\_Court\\_of\\_Justice.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/fb/International_Court_of_Justice.jpg)

The International Criminal Court (ICC) is an Intergovernmental organization and international tribunal that sits in The Hague in the Netherlands. The ICC has the jurisdiction to prosecute individuals for the international crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. The ICC began functioning on 1 July 2002, the date that the Rome Statute entered into force. The Court issued its first arrest warrants on 8 July 2005, and the first pre-trial hearings were held in 2006. The Court issued its first judgment in 2012 when it found Congolese rebel leader Thomas Lubanga guilty of war crimes related to using child soldiers.

- **The structure and organization of the International Court of Justice**

The ICJ is composed of fifteen judges elected to nine-year terms by the UN General Assembly and the UN Security Council from a list of people nominated by the national groups in the Permanent Court of Arbitration. Their Elections are staggered, with five judges elected every three years to ensure continuity within the court. No two judges may be nationals of the same country. There are five seats for Western countries, three for African states (including one judge of francophone civil law, one of Anglophone common law and one Arab), two for Eastern European states, three for Asian states and two for Latin American and Caribbean states. The five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (France, Russia, China, the United Kingdom, and the United States) always have a judge on the Court.

Generally, the Court sits as full bench, but in the last fifteen years, it has on occasion sat as a chamber. Articles 26–29 of the statute allow the Court

to form smaller chambers, usually 3 or 5 judges, to hear cases. Two types of chambers are contemplated by Article 26: firstly, chambers for special categories of cases, and second, the formation of *ad hoc* chambers to hear particular disputes. In 1993, a special chamber was established, under Article 26(1) of the ICJ statute, to deal specifically with environmental matters (although it has never been used).

- **Structure and organization of International Criminal Court**

The ICC is governed by an Assembly of States Parties, which is made up of the states which are party to the Rome Statute. The Assembly elects officials of the Court, approves its budget, and adopts amendments to the Rome Statute. The Court itself, however, is composed of four organs: the Presidency, the Judicial Divisions, the Office of the Prosecutor, and the Registry.

The Judicial Divisions consist of the 18 judges of the Court, organized into three chambers; the Pre-Trial Chamber, Trial Chamber and Appeals Chamber which carry out the judicial functions of the Court. Judges are elected to the Court by the Assembly of States Parties. They serve nine-year terms and are not generally eligible for re-election. All judges must be nationals of states parties to the Rome Statute, and no two judges may be nationals of the same state. They must be “persons of high moral character, impartiality and integrity who possess the qualifications required in their respective States for appointment to the highest judicial offices”.



### Application activity 8.1

1. Explain how Rwandan judicial system is organized.
2. Briefly differentiate the International court of Justice from the international Criminal court basing on the cases to be tried.

## 8.2. Organs responsible for preventing and resolving the conflicts and violence at the national and international levels.



### Learning activity 8.2

Identify different organs responsible for preventing and solving conflicts and violence at the National and international levels and suggest the ways of prevention and conflict resolution.

#### 8.2.1. Concepts of Conflict

A conflict exists when there is an interaction between two or more individuals, groups or organizations where at least one side sees its thinking, ideas, perceptions, feelings or will contradicting with that of the other side and feels that they cannot get what they want because of the other side.

A conflict is an opposition, a lack of comprehension or agreement between individuals about opinions, thinking, ideas or interests. As a human fact, conflict can become extreme and lead to the war. It can arise between members of the same group, known as intragroup conflict, or it can occur between members of two or more groups, and involve violence, interpersonal discord, and psychological tension, known as intergroup conflict.

The conflict is a reality of social life and exists at all levels of society. The conflicts are as old as the world itself. Conflicts are inevitable in human kind and the justice is mandatory to deal with them. In order to make the justice perfect, rules and laws were set up and various judicial systems or court systems were organized. The Conflicts are dynamic and are not inherently negative or positive. They can facilitate growth or bring harm to the people involved.

Generally, they are four main factors which lead to the outbreak of conflict:

**Structural factors:** such as weak states, security concern and ethnic geography;

**Political factors:** example discriminatory political institutions, exclusionary national ideologies, intergroup and elite politics;

**Economic factors:** example widespread economic problem, discriminatory economic system, poverty, unequal access to national resources and modernization.

**Cultural factors:** example cultural discrimination, problematic group histories, emerges dehumanizing ideologies, etc.

### **8.2.2. Organs and actors responsible for preventing and resolving conflicts and violence at national and international levels.**

There are no conflicts that are entirely similar and special features always have to be kept in mind. Domestic disputes are resolved by counselors or psychologist provided by the government; for labor disputes, trained mediators or arbitrators might work well.

#### **Role of the state in prevention and conflict resolution**

The state is the only legitimate user of physical violence in a society. Thus,

it is almost by definition involved whenever there is an armed conflict in society. There are also fiscal, territorial and ideological monopolies. All these roles make the state an actor in conflict as well as an object of conflict.

The dilemma of state in prevention and conflict resolution can be summarized as follows: if the state is powerful (totalitarian system), it creates counteraction, fear among the population and pay high cost of the repression in case of resistance; if it is weak (failed state enable to maintain, order, and collect taxes) it can be dismissed.

To find the 'ideal' state for lasting peace is not easy. Liberal democracy has been identified as an appropriate model, but it may not be applicable in every context and be sufficient to handle all the world's conflicts.

Internal affairs can be submitted to the international community if the legitimate, government asks for such an intervention. This is a basic principle of the UN Charter and was seen as an untouchable principle during the Cold War.

Internal conflicts have always implications for regional stability. Neighbor states can be innocent victims of internal conflicts, but they are also active contributors to military escalation and regional instability ("spill over", "contagion").

The state should set up the mechanisms, institutions and policies aiming at fighting the violence and preventing the conflicts basing on the respect of the human rights.

The state has also obligation of passing the rules and laws which limit the occasion of violence, outbreak of the conflicts and determine the pacific ways of conflict resolutions.

The state, through its organs, must enforce the rules, regulations and the laws. This is basic principle for preventing the conflicts.

### **Role of international community in prevention and conflict resolution**

The United Nations Organization (UN) has a broad mandate for the prevention of violent conflict under Article 1 of the UN Charter. It has a wide array of departments and agencies that have been working to very good effect to mitigate the sources of conflict and stem the proximate causes of violence. For instance, the UN is often best placed to undertake preventive initiatives. Such initiatives include preventive diplomacy, preventive disarmament, preventive peacekeeping, post-conflict peace building, capacity building and technical support, and activities promoting human rights and good governance.

The most visible manifestations of the UN Secretary-General’s “good offices” efforts, Special Envoys, are deployed to help resolve a wide variety of disputes, from territorial questions to constitutional and electoral crises to peace talks. Special Envoys may have country-specific (e.g. Syria, Yemen), regional (e.g. Sahel, Great Lakes), or thematic (e.g. prevention of genocide) mandates.

The UN special political commissions, headed by senior representatives of the Secretary-General, provide a tool for intensive and sustained preventive efforts across a range of disciplines such as electoral support, women’s empowerment and human rights.

They support complex political transitions and help sustain peace in coordination with national and UN development and humanitarian entities and other actors such as regional organizations and international financial institutions.

The UN Peacekeeping missions bring military and police capacities to bear, integrating them with civilian peacekeepers to advance multidimensional mandates. Peacekeepers provide security and political and peace building support to help countries make the difficult, early transition from conflict to peace, helping to prevent relapse and to secure longer term stability, working in partnership with many other actors.



*UN peacekeeping soldiers from Rwanda patrol on December 09, 2014 in Bangui.*

**Source:** <https://www.forbes.com/sites/realspin/2017/04/20/after-the-rwandan-genocide-the-un-promised-never-again-now-its-time-for-them-to-take-action-against-isis/#599d5e344142>

UN regional offices serve as forward platforms for preventive diplomacy. Their networks and proximity to the countries in their region help to defuse tensions and support national actors, UN Country Teams, and regional organizations to address crises. Regional offices are also well placed to address cross-boundary issues such as transnational organized crime and water sharing.

The UN works closely with regional partners – either in a leading or supporting role – to prevent conflict and maintain international peace and security. Partnerships with regional organizations such as the African Union (AU), the European Union (EU) or the Organization of American States (OAS), and sub-regional organizations like the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) or the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), play important roles in early warning, engaging national networks and coordinating regional responses.

### **Roles of regional organizations**

Regional and sub-regional organizations are uniquely placed to affect several factors that are crucial in the prevention of violent conflict. Such organizations can facilitate and help move forward the efforts of the UN system throughout its engagement in a given conflict or potential conflict.

Regional and sub-regional organizations are well placed to act because first, members of regional and sub-regional organizations may be more willing to allow these organizations, rather than the UN, to engage in preventive action.

The actions of regional and sub-regional organizations are likely to be more discreet than those undertaken by the various bodies of the UN, particularly at the early stages of potential conflict.

Moreover, regional and sub-regional organizations may be better placed to act because they are familiar with the actors involved in the dispute and the situation on the ground.

In addition, although their interests are not always benign, neighbors frequently have a greater interest in preventing conflicts that could potentially escalate to the regional level.

The regional and sub-regional organizations have an important role to play in developing a regional “culture of conflict prevention” through the promotion of democracy, human rights and sustainable development.

Lastly, they can and have been quite successful at longer-term and sustained conflict prevention efforts involving capacity building and technical assistance. In the past few years, this has begun to include election monitoring and

broader democratization assistance in several regions.

### **Role of Non – Governmental Organizations in prevention and conflict resolution.**

In prevention and conflict resolution, the local and non-governmental organizations could play the following role:

- Addressing structural violence and promoting human security - through development, human rights monitoring and promotion, preventing environmental degradation...
- Making governments and state structures more responsive - through participation in political processes, policy dialogue, monitoring, advocacy campaigns, protests...
- Alleviating social tensions and conflict - through challenging xenophobia and discrimination, facilitating dialogue, promoting tolerance and a culture of peace...
- Developing options and strategies for response - formulating recommendations, engaging in policy dialogue, problem-solving workshops
- Mobilizing political will for response - lobbying and campaigning, sensitizing domestic audiences
- Developing and strengthening 'constituencies for peace' and public awareness work, facilitating social dialogue, public protests...
- Providing the humanitarian relief and support to war-affected communities; which reduce tension to the revengeful war.
- Strengthening capacities to mediate conflict and manage differences - through conflict resolution training, mediation services, education, promoting rule of law.
- Creating a 'pragmatic peace' at the local level, strengthening local community organizations' capacities for conflict transformation and peace building through public dialogue.
- Developing a negotiation agenda and vision for the future that addresses the causes and consequences of conflict.
- Participating in the political negotiations and facilitating / mediating political negotiations process.



### Application activity 8.2

1. Explain the role of Non-governmental organization in prevention and resolution of conflicts.
2. Analyze the main factors which contribute to the outbreak of conflict.

## 8.3. Different ways used to prevent and resolve conflicts and violence



### Learning activity 8.3

The conflict is considered as “integral part if humanitarian action”. Suggest the different ways which could be used in order to prevent and resolve it.

Dealing with conflicts is called differently: “conflict management,” “conflict resolution”, “conflict transformation”, “conflict mediation”, “consensus building”, etc. Most of the theorists and practitioners prefer to use “conflict resolution”. The possible outcomes can be win-lose (one wins, the other loses), or compromise (parties settle their difference or win-win). But the common outcome in violent conflicts is that both parties lose.

Because conflicts are an integral part of human interaction, one should learn to manage them in order to prevent escalation and destruction. Throughout history, individuals and groups used a variety of ways to resolve their disputes or conflicts, trying to reach a resolution acceptable to all parties.

- **Conflict analysis**

In dealing with conflicts, it is necessary to have a better understanding of the dynamics, relationships and issues of the situation. A detailed analysis of the conflict from a variety of perspectives must be carried out by exploring the specific issues and problems that relate to it. This practical process is what is called “conflict analysis”.

The whole dynamic conflict analysis is to be able to move from an attitude of “I don’t know what the real cause of the conflict is!” to “Now I know why we have this conflict!”

It is therefore important for the person or group analyzing a situation to gather data about the positions, values, issues, interests and needs of each party in conflict.

Conflicts change over time, passing through different stages of activity,

intensity, tension and violence. It is helpful to recognize and analyze each stage.

- **Timelines**

It is a list of data (years, months, days, location, and actors) which depicts events in a chronological order. It shows a succession of events and gives examples in the history of the country. People of opposing sides may have different histories, emphasize different events, describe them differently, and attach contrasting emotions to them.

The aim of using timelines in this way is to try to arrive at a 'correct' or 'objective' history of the conflict and to understand the perceptions of the people involved. The timeline is also a way for people to learn about each other's history and perceptions of the situation. The aim to reach is the point where the parties in a conflict can accept that others may have valid perceptions, even if these are opposed to their own.

- **Conflict mapping**

Mapping is a technique used to represent a conflict graphically, placing the parties in relation both to the problem and to each other. When people with different viewpoints map their situation together, they learn about each other's experiences and perceptions.

- **Conflict tree**

In many conflicts there is a range of opinions concerning questions such as: What is the core problem? What are the root causes? What are the effects that have resulted from this problem? What is the most important issue for our group to address?

This is called "*conflict tree*". It offers a method for a team, organization, group or community to identify the issues that each of them sees as important and then sort these into three categories: Core problem(s), causes and effects. This tool offers also a way of identifying positive and negative forces and to assess their strengths and weaknesses.

- **Negotiation**

Negotiation is a process in which parties to a conflict discuss directly possible outcomes. Parties exchange proposals and demands, make arguments, and continue the discussion until a solution is reached, or an impasse declared. The goal of negotiation is to reach an agreement that is acceptable to all parties, to which they remain committed, and which they indeed implement.

In negotiations there are many approaches to resolving the conflict. For example, negotiators can focus on the discussion about the interests of parties. Because there are many interests underlying any position, a

discussion based on interests opens a range of possibilities and creative options, but positions may not be reconciled and can lead to the failure of the negotiations. That is why the dialogue on interest should be transparent, in order for the parties to arrive at an agreement that will satisfy the needs and interests.

Negotiations are based on the following basic principles:

**Separate the people from the problem:** The participants in a negotiation have with different perceptions, beliefs, viewpoints and emotions. In negotiation the “people side” must be treated separately from the factual issues. Ideally, participants should also see themselves working side by side attacking the problem, not each other.

**Focus on interests, not positions:** The object of negotiation is to satisfy underlying needs and interests. To take and hold on a position will not lead to agreements that take care of human needs. Thus, the focus should be on interests.

**Invent options for mutual gain:** In negotiation, partners must take time to look for a wide range of possible solutions before trying to come to an agreement. If there are many options, there is more chance of finding solutions which advance shared interests and reconcile differences.

**Use objective criteria:** Agreement must reflect some fair standards. These standards are not subjective criteria of one participant; rather they should be shared by all participants and objectively verifiable.

Finally, **active listening** is the most important and difficult skill needed for negotiator or mediator to succeed in the negotiation process.

On international level, negotiation in order to resolve conflicts has become a common and frequent practice. Many ways are available to deal with conflict. In most cases conflicts are resolved through efforts of trained government representatives or diplomats. This is an old tradition by which ambassadors were personal representatives of one sovereign to the court of another. In modern times, electronic communication has supplanted the individual diplomat when it comes to the establishment of important international agreements, but the role of person-to-person contact, even at the highest levels, remains important. The process of conflict resolution is like a debate.

- **Mediation**

Mediation is a process that employs a neutral/impartial person or persons to facilitate negotiation between the parties to a conflict in an effort to reach a mutually accepted resolution. It is a process close to negotiation.

The mediator’s role is to help the parties think in new and innovative ways

and to avoid rigid positions instead of looking after their interests. In general, the mediator not only facilitates but also designs the process and helps the parties to get to the root of their conflict, to understand their interests, and reach a resolution agreed by all concerned parties. He/she uses tools such as active listening, open-ended questions, and his/her analytical skills.

The mediator may decide to stop the process for ethical or other reasons, and the parties may decide that they are not satisfied with the process. The agreement, which is reached between the parties, is voluntary; the parties own it and are responsible for implementing it. The agreement is validated and ratified by the courts.

Mediation has a special advantage when the parties have ongoing relations that must continue after the conflict is managed. Since the agreement is by consent, none of the parties should feel they are the losers. Mediation is therefore useful in family relations, disputes between neighbors, in labor relations, between business partners, and political parties. It creates a foundation for resuming the relation after the conflict has been resolved.



### Application activity 8.3

1. Analyze the ways used while preventing and resolving conflicts and violence.
2. Evaluate the principles of negotiation in terms of conflict resolution and avoiding violence.

## 8.4.Challenges encountered during the prevention and resolution of conflicts and violence



### Learning activity 8.4

By using textbooks and reports make a research on prevention and resolution of conflicts and violence and examine the challenges encountered by the peacemakers in conflict prevention and resolution process.

#### 8.4.1. Challenges faced during the prevention and conflict resolution.

Solving conflicts completely is impossible, as conflict is part of the daily life. What is needed to achieve a lasting peace is to prevent escalation so that it does not become crisis with killings of human beings and destruction of social and material structures.

Practitioners say that peace begins within each individual and then spread out. The question is that not everyone is ready to engage in that process unless there is awareness action with that aim. This can be initiated by the state, the international institutions or civil society organizations.

Lack of conflict mechanism and programs in local community can hinder the prevention and resolution of conflict in the community. Not all countries or communities have such experience. Rwanda is among the countries that have elaborated such kind of programs because of its particular tragic experience.

Minimizing oppressive personal relationships may be a prerequisite for helping to alleviate the oppression of others. The world will be better and less violent place if each individual makes peace in his or her own life (inner peace). Commitment in the struggle for peace may require conflict – preferably non-violent with existing authorities if meaningful change has to happen.

On a wide scene, contemporary armed conflicts encompass different levels from international level (global, regional, bilateral), through national state level, down to societal level. This is what makes them so hard to resolve or transform.

Key challenges to conflict prevention remain in international affairs. Many states in the South are concerned that conflict resolution can be abused as a pretext for the big powers to violate the sovereignty of the weak. These concerns have been some what verified in the past couple of years. It is the case of recent operations in Libya.

Concerns about violations of sovereignty persist, as do suspicions about the underlying motivations behind the use of military power for ostensibly humanitarian purposes, and perceptions that, even when well-intentioned, the application of force can potentially have troubling and unpredictable consequences.

Lack of international community ownership regarding some crises: the actions of the United Nations are limited with insufficient humanitarian activities and in some cases (like in Darfur crisis), the international community's will is oriented by the big powers such as the USA and China. To some extent, China was mandated to play a more role to end the conflict in Darfur. Therefore, the conflict became insignificant to the UN which delays the action to be taken in order to stop it.

Unwillingness of the UN to develop a conflict resolution mechanism capable of managing crisis also is another challenge in process of conflict resolution. This unwillingness is a result of the misperception of the existence of glob

threats by states and non-states actors. Such willingness can be also resulted from the division within international community based on different interests each member state can find in conflict.

In case of intra-state conflict, some states are not able to address the menace of the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in polity with functional policies. This enables different groups to get armed and able to challenge the national security. As a result, the government is seen as a weak and failed state. Even the civil society is not able to act in order to prevent the conflict.

Some states also failure to tackle the immediate and root causes of conflict holistically. After many years of neglect, the government can fail to really solve many cases of injustice, poverty, unemployment and issues of resource control. In addition, the state failure to address early warning signs and early response systems can greatly affect the conflict prevention and resolution.

#### **8.4.2. Solutions to the challenges encountered during the prevention and resolution of conflicts and violence**

Conflict prevention and resolution involve long-term political processes, with periods of slow to no progress punctuated by shifts in positions, circumstances or contexts. While some types of conflicts can be sorted into broader categories due to certain common features, each conflict has to be seen in its particular environment.

To be effective, conflict resolution tools should integrate state and non-state actors through multi-track approaches at the local, national, and regional levels. Local civil society organizations may have a better understanding of local context and can play a significant role in supporting national conflict resolution and reconciliation processes at the local level.

Mediation is a specialized activity, which requires specific training, expertise and knowhow. Consequently, any third-party actor engaging in mediation efforts should be equipped with a solid understanding of how mediation and conflict resolution work.

Sustainable peace building contributes to the process of conflict resolution. Consequently, national and international efforts have to focus on meeting the most immediate needs of people.

Another key objective is the restoration of state legitimacy and effectiveness, as peace building usually starts after a partial or complete breakdown of the political and social order, for instance due to an armed conflict or other forms of protracted violence.

The establishment and promotion of prevention and conflict resolution

must include national peace commissions, national and local institutions for mediation and dispute settlement, national and local early warning networks, local peace committees, truth and reconciliation commissions as well as community-based conflict prevention initiatives.

Early warning and early response systems must be considered on time so that they can be especially important contributions to end the conflict status within a society or between different nations.

The key building blocks for reconciliation include trust, justice and reparation. They should be applied in support of conflict resolution and peace building; reconciliation activities are inherently about learning how to remember and change rather than to forgive and forget.



### Application activity 8.4

1. Analyze the different challenges faced by the peacemakers while they are trying to prevent and solve the conflicts.
2. Examine the solutions proposed to the problems faced by the peacemakers when they are preventing and solving the conflicts.



### Skills lab

Explain ways of preventing and solving conflicts and violence



### End unit assessment

1. “Conflict is a reality of social life and exists at all levels of society”. Discuss this assertion.
2. While solving conflicts, one of the ways used is negotiation. Explain the basic principles of negotiation.
3. Explain challenges that may occur when preventing and resolving conflicts.
4. Describe the role of international community headed by UNO, in prevention and conflicts resolution.

## UNIT 9:

# DIGNITY AND SELF-RELIANCE

### Key unit competence:

The student-teacher should be able to critique how the home-grown solutions contribute to self-reliance (*Abunzi, Gacaca, Girinka, Imihigo, Itorero, Ubudehe, Umuganda, umwiherero*)



### Introductory Activity

In traditional society, people were handling their problems in different areas such education, agriculture, justice, etc. Identify different ways from Rwandan traditional society that should be applied to our modern society to solve similar problems.

## 9.1. Concepts of home-grown solutions and self-reliance



### Learning activity 9.1

Visit your school library or smart classroom and make research on home grown solutions in Rwanda and then give answers to the questions below.

1. Examine in which context the government of Rwanda initiated her proper innovations such as Gacaca, Abunzi, Itorero, Umwiherero and Girinka to achieve social and economic development.
2. As one of the home-grown solutions, why was Umuganda reintroduced?

Home Grown Initiatives (HGIs) or Home-Grown Solutions are Rwanda's brain child solutions to economic and social development. They are also practices developed by the Rwandan citizens based on local opportunities, cultural values and history to fast track their development. Being locally-created, HGIs are appropriate to the local development context and have been the bedrock to the Rwandan development successes for the last decade.

In Rwanda, HGIs include *Umuganda* (community work), *Gacaca* (truth and reconciliation traditional courts), *Abunzi* (mediators), *Imihigo* (performance contracts), *Ubudehe* (community-based and participatory effort towards problem solving), *Itorero* (military and cultural formation), *Umushyikirano* (national dialogue), *Umwiherero* (National Leadership Retreat) and *Girinka* (One cow per Family program). They are all rooted in the Rwandan culture and history and therefore easy to understand by the communities.

### 9.1.1. *Abunzi* – Community mediators

The word *abunzi* can be translated as ‘those who reconcile’ or ‘those who bring together’ (from verb *kunga*). In the traditional Rwanda, *abunzi* were men known within their communities for personal integrity and were asked to intervene in the event of conflict. Each conflicting party would choose a person considered trustworthy, known as a problem-solver, who was unlikely to alienate either party. The purpose of this system was to settle disputes and also to reconcile the conflicting parties and restore harmony within the affected community.



*Local resident stands before the Abunzi committee in Karongi District recently.*

Source: <https://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/read/181042>

The reintroduction of the *Abunzi* system in 2004 was motivated in part by the desire to reduce the accumulation of court cases, as well as to decentralise justice and make it more affordable and accessible for citizens seeking to resolve conflicts without the cost of going to court. Today, *Abunzi* are fully integrated into Rwanda’s justice system. In 2004, the Government of Rwanda established the traditional process of *abunzi* as an alternative dispute resolution mechanism.

Established at the cell and sector levels, *abunzi* primarily address family disputes, such as those relating to land or inheritance. By institutionalizing *Abunzi*, low-level legal issues could be solved at a local level without the need to be heard in conventional courts. Citizens experiencing legal issues

are asked to first report to *abunzi*, cases not exceeding 3,000,000 Frs (for land and other immovable assets) and 1,000,000 Rwf (for cattle and other movable assets). Cases of these types can only be heard in a conventional court if one party decides to appeal the decision made at the sector level by the mediation committee.

### 9.1.2. *Gacaca*– Community courts

The word *gacaca* refers to the small clearing where a community would traditionally meet to discuss issues of concern. People of integrity (elders and leaders) in the village known as *inyangamugayo* would facilitate a discussion that any member of the community could take part in. Once everyone had spoken, the *inyangamugayo* would reach a decision about how the problem would be solved. In this way, *Gacaca* acted very much as a traditional court. If the decision was accepted by all members of the community, the meeting would end with sharing a drink as a sign of reconciliation. If the parties were not happy with the decision made at *Gacaca*, they had the right to take their case to a higher authority such as a chief or even to the king.

The most common cases to come before *Gacaca* courts were those between members of the same family or community. It was rare for members of other villages to be part of the courts and this affirmed the notion of *Gacaca* as a community institution.

In 1924, with colonisation, *Gacaca* courts were reserved only for civil and commercial cases that involved Rwandans. Those involving colonisers and criminal cases were processed under colonial jurisdiction. While the new justice systems and mechanisms imported from Europe did not prohibit *Gacaca* from operating, the traditional courts saw far fewer cases. During the post-colonial period, the regimes in power often appointed administrative officials to the courts which weakened their integrity and eroded trust in *Gacaca*.

### Contemporary *Gacaca* as a home-grown solution

Contemporary *Gacaca* was officially launched on June 18, 2002 by President Paul Kagame as the best way to give justice to the survivors of the Genocide and to process the millions of cases that had risen following the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.

Contemporary *Gacaca* draws inspiration from the traditional model by replicating a local community-based justice system with the aim of restoring the social fabric of the society. In total, 1,958,634 genocide related cases were tried through *Gacaca*. The courts are credited with laying the foundation for peace, reconciliation and unity in Rwanda. The *Gacaca* courts officially finished their work ten years later on June 18, 2012.

The Gacaca courts were implemented across the country and the original Organic Law No. 40/2000 (January 26, 2001) was replaced by the Organic Law No. 16/2004 (June 19, 2004) which then governed the Gacaca process.

### 9.1.3. *Girinka Munyarwanda*-One Cow per Poor Family Programme

The word *girinka* (*gira inka*) can be translated as ‘may you have a cow’ and describes a century’ old cultural practice in Rwanda whereby a cow was given by one person to another, either as a sign of respect and gratitude or as a marriage dowry.

*Girinka* was initiated in response to the alarmingly high rate of childhood malnutrition and as a way to accelerate poverty reduction and integrate livestock and crop farming. The programme is based on the premise that providing a dairy cow to poor households helps to improve their livelihood as a result of a more nutritious and balanced diet from milk, increased agricultural output through better soil fertility as well as greater incomes by commercialising dairy products.

Since its introduction in 2006, more than 203,000 beneficiaries have received cows. *Girinka* has contributed to an increase in agricultural production in Rwanda - especially milk products which have helped to reduce malnutrition and increase incomes. The program aimed at providing 350,000 cows to poor families by 2017.

#### Traditional *Girinka*

Two methods, described below, come under the cultural practice known as *gutanga inka*, from which *Girinka* is derived.



*A traditional Rwandan giving a cow to a friend*

**Kugabira:** Translated as ‘giving a cow’; such an act is often done as a sign of appreciation, expressing gratitude for a good deed or to establish a friendship.

**Ubuhake:** This cultural practice was a way for a parent or family to help a son to obtain a dowry. If the family was not wealthy or did not own cattle, they could approach a community or family member who owned cows and requested him/her to accept the service of their son in exchange for the provision of the cows amounting to the dowry when the son marries. The aim of *ubuhake* was not only to get a cow but also protection of a cow owner. An informal but highly valued social contract was established which was fulfilled through the exchange of services such as cultivating the farm of the donor, looking after the cattle or simply vowing loyalty.

### **Contemporary Girinka**

*Girinka* was introduced in 2006 against a backdrop of alarmingly high levels of poverty and childhood malnutrition. The program is structured in two phases. First, a community member identified as someone who would greatly benefit from owning a cow is given a pregnant dairy cow. That person benefits from its milk and manure production. Beneficiaries are then obliged to give the first-born female calf to another worthy beneficiary in their community. This is known as the ‘pass on’ principle, or *kuziturirana/kwitura*.

*Girinka* has been described as a culturally-inspired social safety net program because of the way it introduces a productive asset (a dairy cow) which can provide long-term benefits to the recipient. Approved on 12 April 2006 by Cabinet decision, *Girinka* originally aimed to reach 257,000 beneficiaries; however, this target was revised upwards in 2010 to 350,000 beneficiaries by 2017. The Government of Rwanda was initially the sole funder of the *Girinka* program but development partners have since become involved in the program. This has led to an increase in the number of cows being distributed. By September 2014 close to 200,000 beneficiaries had received a cow.

#### **9.1.4. Imihigo: Performance contracts**

The word *Imihigo* is the plural Kinyarwanda word of *umuhigo*, which means to vow to deliver. *Imihigo* also include the concept of *guhiganwa*, which means to compete among one another. *Imihigo* practices existed in pre-colonial Rwanda and have been adapted to fit the current challenges of the Rwandan society.

#### **Traditional Imihigo**

*Imihigo* is a pre-colonial cultural practice in Rwanda where an individual sets targets or goals to be achieved within a specific period of time. The person must complete these objectives by following guiding principles and be determined to overcome any possible challenge that arises. Leaders and chiefs would publicly commit themselves to achieving certain goals. In the event that they failed, they would face shame and embarrassment from the community.

### **Contemporary *Imihigo***

*Imihigo* were re-initiated by Rwanda's President, Paul Kagame, in March 2006. This was as a result of the concern about the speed and quality of execution of government programs and priorities. The government's decentralisation policy required a greater accountability at the local level. Its main objective was to make public agencies and institutions more effective and accountable in their implementation of national programs and to accelerate the socio-economic development agenda

Today, *Imihigo* are used across the government as performance contracts and to ensure accountability. All levels of government, from the local district level to ministries and embassies, are required to develop and have their *Imihigo* evaluated. Members of the public service also sign *Imihigo* with their managers or head of institution. The *Imihigo* process ensures the full participation and ownership of citizens because priorities are developed at the grassroots level.



*Ceremony of Evaluation 2015-2016 and planning 2016-2017 contract performance*

**Source:**

[https://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.newtimes.co.rw%2F-sites%2Fdefault%2Ffiles%2Fstyles%2Fmystyle%2Fpublic%2Fmain%2Farticles%2F2014%2F09%2F12%2F1410556037pk.jpg&imgrefurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.newtimes.co.rw%2Fsection%2Fread%2F180868&tbnid=f\\_6V\\_pGnxx69uM&vet=1&docid=E0\\_U8TTCfOaOmM&w=873&h=491&itg=1&q=imihigo%20evaluation%20](https://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.newtimes.co.rw%2F-sites%2Fdefault%2Ffiles%2Fstyles%2Fmystyle%2Fpublic%2Fmain%2Farticles%2F2014%2F09%2F12%2F1410556037pk.jpg&imgrefurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.newtimes.co.rw%2Fsection%2Fread%2F180868&tbnid=f_6V_pGnxx69uM&vet=1&docid=E0_U8TTCfOaOmM&w=873&h=491&itg=1&q=imihigo%20evaluation%20)

### 9.1.5. *Itorero*- Civic education

Traditionally *Itorero* was a traditional institution where Rwandans would learn rhetoric, patriotism, social relations, sports, dancing, songs and defence. This system was created so that young people could grow with an understanding of their culture. Participants were encouraged to discuss and explore Rwandan cultural values. *Itorero* was reintroduced in 2009 as a way to rebuild the nation's social fabric and mobilise Rwandans to uphold important cultural values.

#### **Traditional *Itorero***

As a traditional school, *itorero* trainers planned daily activities according to different priorities and every new comer in *itorero* had to undergo initiation. Each *Itorero* included 40 to 100 participants of various age groups and had its own unique name. The best graduates would receive cows or land as rewards.

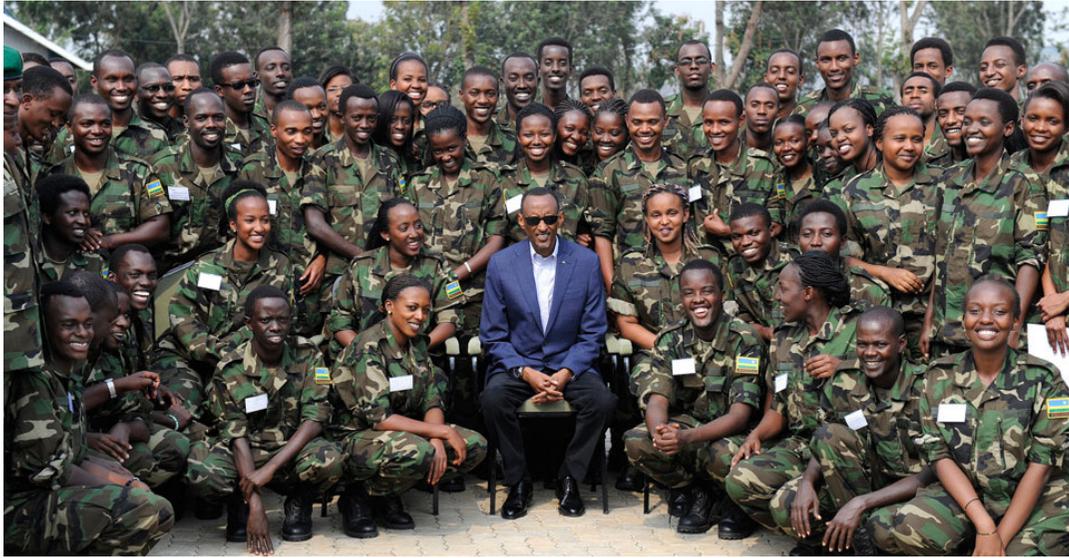
The traditional of *Itorero* provided formative training for future leaders. These community leaders and fighters were trained in military tactics, hand to hand combat, jumping, racing, javelin, shooting and endurance. They were also taught concepts of patriotism, the Rwandan spirit, wisdom, heroism, unity, taboos, eloquence, hunting and loyalty to the army.

During colonisation, traditional *Itorero* gradually disappeared because the core values taught did not align with the structures established in society. In 1924, the colonial administration prohibited classic *Itorero*. The *Itorero* during and after the colonial period were different in the sense that they focused on singing and dancing, whereas the other core civic education components of *Itorero*, such as respect and good relationships with others, were no longer taught.

#### **Contemporary *Itorero***

In the aftermath of the Genocide against the Tutsi, the Government of Rwanda reintroduced *Itorero* in view of societal transformation. This Home Grown Solution translated as Civic Education Program, was adopted following the 4<sup>th</sup> *Umwihherero* (National Leadership Retreat) in February 2007.

Contemporary *Itorero* includes physical activities along with classes on Rwandan history that reintroduce some of the cultural values lost during colonisation. Training is adapted for the group participating in *Itorero*.



*President Kagame closes 7<sup>th</sup> Itorero for youth living abroad*

Source:<http://paulkagame.com/?p=3551>

## Participants

*Itorero* is designed for all Rwandans. Children of seven years and above take part in their *imidugudu*, *villages*, to help them grow up to become responsible citizens. Compulsory National Service (*Urugerero*) is designed for those between the ages of 18 and 35 who have completed secondary education. Others keen to participate are given the opportunity to do so according to their professional backgrounds.

Rwandan citizens living abroad also join *Urugerero* and a number of young Rwandans have organised *Itorero* in cities including London and Brussels. Non-nationals desiring to participate and provide service to the country can also do so.

### 9.1.6. *Ubudehe* – Social categorisation for collective action and mutual support

*Ubudehe* refers to the long-standing Rwandan practice and culture of collective action and mutual support to solve problems within a community. It is one of Rwanda's best-known Home-Grown Solution because of its participatory development approach to poverty reduction.

## Traditional *Ubudehe*



*People working and sharing together during Ubudehe.*

The origin of the word *Ubudehe* comes from the practice of preparing fields before the rainy season and finishing the task in time for planting. A community would cultivate clear the fields together to make sure everyone was ready for the planting season. Once a community had completed *Ubudehe* for everyone involved, they would assist those who had not been able to take part, such as the very poor. After planting the partakers gathered and shared beer. Therefore, the focus of traditional *Ubudehe* was mostly on cultivation.

*Ubudehe* was an inclusive cultural practice involving men, women and members of different social groups. As almost all members of the community took part, the practice often led to increased solidarity, social cohesion, mutual respect and trust.

Colonisation and the introduction of a cash-based economy weakened the practice of *Ubudehe* as some members of the community were able to recruit some people to perform agricultural works for payment. While this trend occurred across the country, in some places *Ubudehe* was still practiced until the 1980s.

## Contemporary *Ubudehe*

Contemporary *Ubudehe* is a poverty reduction initiative by the Government of Rwanda which provides communities with the skills and support necessary to engage in problem solving and decision making for their development. This programme was conceived through a set of meetings of political, social, legal and religious leaders between 1998 and 1999 known as the Urugwiro debates. These gatherings discussed the most pressing issues concerning national reconstruction after the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. The Urugwiro debates prioritised policies and programs that promoted collective action and that upheld the principles of decentralisation.

After Urugwiro debates, *Ubudehe* was reintroduced into Rwandan life in 2001 as way to better involve communities in their development by setting up participatory problem-solving mechanisms. *Ubudehe* creates opportunities for people at all levels of the society, especially the village level, to interact with one another, share ideas, create institutions and make decisions for their collective development.

The programme was reinstated and launched in a pilot phase in Butare prefecture (known today as Huye) by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning and the Ministry of Local Government in 2001. The national rollout of *Ubudehe* took place between 2004 and 2006 as the programme was officially adopted as a national policy overseen by the Ministry of Local Government.

A consolidation of *Ubudehe* took place between 2007 and 2012. This was at the same time as an administrative restructure which saw the creation of 14,837 villages (*umudugudu*) as the lowest level of government organisation. In 2011-12, *Ubudehe* was conducted in ten districts and in 2012-13 *Ubudehe* was conducted in 15 districts. The Government of Rwanda planned to carry out *Ubudehe* in the 20 districts by 2014.

### 9.1.7. *Umuganda* – Community work

In simple terms, the word *Umuganda* means community work. In traditional Rwandan culture, members of the community would call upon their family, friends and neighbours to help them complete a difficult task.

*Umuganda* can be considered as a communal act of assistance and a sign of solidarity. In everyday use, the word '*Umuganda*' refers to a pole used in the construction of a house. The pole typically supports the roof, thereby strengthening the house.

On February 2, 1974, *Umuganda* became an official government programme and was organised on a more regular basis – usually once a week. The

Ministry of District Development was in charge of overseeing the program. Local leaders at the district and village level were responsible for organising *Umuganda* and citizens had little to say in this process. Because penalties were imposed for non-participation, *Umuganda* was initially considered as forced labour.

After the Genocide, *Umuganda* was reintroduced to Rwandan life in 1998 as part of efforts to rebuild the country. The programme was implemented nationwide though there was little institutional structure surrounding the programme. It was not until November 17, 2007 with the passing of Organic Law Number 53/2007 Governing Community Works and later on August 24, 2009 with Prime Ministerial Order Number 58/03 (determining the attributions, organisation, and functioning of community work supervising committees and their relations with other organs) that *Umuganda* was institutionalised in Rwanda.

Today, *Umuganda* takes place on the last Saturday of each month from 8:00 a.m. and lasts for at least three hours. Rwandans between 18 and 65 are obliged to participate in *Umuganda*. Those over 65 are welcome to participate if they are willing and able. Expatriates living in Rwanda are also encouraged to take part. Those who participate in *Umuganda* cannot be compensated for their work – either in cash or in kind.

While the main purpose of *Umuganda* is to undertake community work, it also serves as a forum for leaders at each level of government (from the village up to the national level) to inform citizens about important news and announcements. Community members are also able to discuss any problems they or the community are facing and to propose solutions together. This time is also used for evaluating what they have achieved and for planning activities for the next *Umuganda* a month later.

#### **9.1.8. *Umwiherero*– National leadership retreat**

*Umwiherero*, translated as “retreat”, refers to a tradition in Rwandan culture where leaders convene in a secluded place in order to reflect on issues affecting their communities. Upon return from these retreats, the objective is to have identified solutions. On a smaller scale, this term also refers to the action of moving to a quieter place to discuss issues with a small group of people.



*National leaders during the 11<sup>th</sup> National Leadership Retreat at Gabiro*

**Source:** [http://www.rwandapedia.rw/sites/default/files/13062988465\\_7e76c492ef\\_b\\_0.jpg](http://www.rwandapedia.rw/sites/default/files/13062988465_7e76c492ef_b_0.jpg).

In modern times, the Government of Rwanda is drawing on this tradition to reflect on and address the challenges the country faces on an annual basis. *Umwiherero* is organised by the Office of the President in conjunction with the Office of the Prime Minister. The President chairs *Umwiherero* during which presentations and discussions centre on a broad range of development challenges, including economics, politics, justice, infrastructure, health, education and others. Contemporary *Umwiherero* was intended exclusively for senior public officials but has evolved to include leaders from the private sector as well as civil society.

Since its inception, organisers of *Umwiherero* have adopted numerous initiatives to improve the implementation of resolutions agreed upon at each retreat. By 2011, these efforts resulted into noticeable improvements in planning, coordination, and accountability leading to clearer and more concise priorities. In 2011, six priorities were identified, down from 174 in 2009, allowing for more effective delivery and implementation of *Umwiherero* resolutions.



### Application activity 9.1

1. Explain the following concepts: *umuganda*, *imihigo* and *ubudehe*.
2. Compare the traditional *umuganda* and contemporary *umuganda*.
3. Discuss the reasons why Rwanda adopted home-grown solutions.

## 9.2. Contribution of home-grown solutions towards good governance, self-reliance and dignity



### Learning activity 9.2

Referring to the results of your research in activity 9.1, discuss the contribution of home-grown solutions towards good governance, self-reliance and dignity.

Home Grown Solutions, culturally owned practices have been translated into sustainable development programmes and have contributed a lot in helping getting some socio-economic solutions that were not possible to get otherwise.

#### 9.2.1. Contribution of *abunzi*

As the *abunzi* system gained more recognition as a successful method to resolve conflicts and deliver justice, the importance of providing more structure and formality to their work increased.

During the fiscal year ending June 2017 for example, mediation committees received 51,016 cases. They were composed of 45,503 civil cases representing 89.1% and 5,513 penal cases received before the amendment of the law determining organization, jurisdiction, and competence and functioning of mediation committees. A total of 49,138 cases equivalent to 96.3% were handled at both sector and cell levels. 38,777 (76.0%) cases received by mediation committees were handled at cell level, 10,361 (20.3%) cases were mediated at sector level whereas only 3.6% were undergoing at the end of the year. The number of cases received by mediation committees increased at the rate of 30.9% over the past three years.

**Pre-hearing counselling:** Before cases are heard, mediators call on both complainant and defendant to emphasize the importance of social cohesion and conflict-resolution through community mediation. In some instances,

both parties may opt to withdraw the case at this point and come instead to a mutual agreement. In other cases, litigants are more inclined to accept, rather than appeal, the mediation decision as a result of the counselling.

**Reduced social distance between parties and mediators:** Since mediators are members of the same community from which disputants come, the latter feel less intimidated and more comfortable expressing themselves during those sessions, whether in public or in camera.

**Integrity over legal literacy:** The majority of the participants insisted that the question of integrity, which determine the selection of mediators, confer more 'trust and confidence' in the committees and fostered an environment in which justice prevailed.

**Parties' freedom to choose mediators:** This was another factor highlighted by participants who felt that the freedom to choose mediators helped ensure equal treatment during mediation and reduced the likelihood of corruption.

**Win-Win approach:** During mediation, *Abunzi* avoid referring to either party as "winner" or "loser" as these words could create resentment and further contribute to the atmosphere of conflict. The goal of these mediations is to find lasting solutions through reconciliation, hence the avoidance of such words.

### 9.2.2. Contribution of *Gacaca* courts

*Gacaca* courts officially finished their work on June 18, 2012 and by that time a total of 1,958,634 genocide related cases were tried throughout the country. As earlier mentioned *Gacaca* is credited with laying the foundation for peace, reconciliation and unity in Rwanda.

### 9.2.3. Impact of *Girinka*

*Girinka* has led to a number of significant changes in the lives of the poorest Rwandans. The impact of the program can be divided into five categories including agricultural production, food security, livestock ownership, health outcomes, unity and reconciliation.

*Girinka* has contributed to an increase in agricultural production in Rwanda, especially milk products. Milk production has risen due to an increase in the number of cows in the country and because beneficiaries have received cross breeds with better productive capacity than local cattle species. Between 2000 and 2011, milk production increased seven fold allowing the Government of Rwanda to start the One Cup of Milk per Child program in schools. Between 2009 and 2011, national milk production increased by 11.3%, rising to 372.6 million litres from 334.7 million litres. Over the

same period, meat production increased by 9.9%. The construction of milk collection centres has also increased and by February 2013, there were more than 61 centres operational nationwide with 25 more due to be completed by the end of 2013.

Most of the beneficiaries produce enough milk to sell some at market, providing additional income generation. The manure produced by the cows increases crop productivity, allowing beneficiaries to plant crops offering sustenance and employment as well as a stable income. *Girinka* has also allowed beneficiaries to diversify and increase crop production, leading to greater food security.

*Girinka* has played a significant role in post-genocide reconstruction in Rwanda. During the colonial period, the cow was used to divide Rwandans along ethnic lines and cattle became a symbol of elitism and a commodity reserved only for a portion of the country's people.

*Girinka* has changed what it means to own cattle in Rwanda. While the symbolism of prosperity is still attached to the cow, by giving cattle to the poorest in society, the program has helped to end the divisive perception surrounding owning cattle. The 'pass on' component of *Girinka*, whereby a recipient gifts the first born calf to a neighbour, has helped to rebuild social relationships which had been destroyed during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. This is because the giving of a cow to someone or '*Gutanga Inka*', translated as 'sealing a bond of friendship' remains a cultural practice owned, understood and valued by Rwandans.

#### **9.2.4. Contribution of *Imihigo***

Since its introduction, *Imihigo* has been credited with improving accountability and quickening the pace of citizen centred development in Rwanda. The practice of *Imihigo* has now been extended to the ministries, embassies and public service staff.

Once the compilation of the report on *Imihigo* implementation has been completed, the local government entity presents it to stakeholders including citizens, civil society, donors and others. After reviewing the results, stakeholders are often asked to jointly develop a way forward and this can be done by utilising the Joint Action Development Forums (JADF).

Good progress was also made in mobilising citizens to join SACCOs (*Savings and Credit Cooperatives*) and reasonable funds were mobilised. Although most of the SACCOs obtained provisional licenses from the National Bank of Rwanda to operate as savings and credit cooperatives, they needed to mobilise more member subscriptions in order to realise the minimum amount required to obtain full licenses. Most of all SACCO at the sector level needed

adequate offices. In addition, great efforts were made to ensure that teachers were paid their monthly salaries on time.

All districts evaluated made substantial progress in classroom construction, made possible by the willingness of the community to play a role in the districts' development programmes, particularly *Imihigo*. This was as a result of awareness raising campaigns and mobilisation efforts to encourage citizens to own their development activities.

**Improvement of agricultural production:** Significant efforts were made by the districts in mobilizing and advising farmers on how to improve farming, notably among which was land use consolidation (maize, rice, coffee, tea, cassava, potatoes, banana and beans) which helps to guarantee national food security.

**Infrastructure development:** A significant number of infrastructure projects were completed including roads and bridges, hospitals and health centres, classrooms and toilet facilities, houses for vulnerable people, modern markets, selling points, drying grounds, street lighting and housing development in urban areas, trading centres and administrative offices. There was great improvement in distribution of electricity and water in both urban and rural areas. In addition, there was evidence in most districts of small-scale factories being started, especially those involved in agriculture based products being initiating.

### 9.2.5. Contribution of *Itorero*

In matter of capacity building for *Itorero ry'Igihugu*, structures of *Intore* were elected from villages up to sector levels in 2009. Later on, in 2012, *Itorero ry'Igihugu* was officially launched in primary and secondary schools. From November 2007 up to the end of 2012, *Itorero ry' Igihugu* had a total of 284,209 trained *Intore*. The number of *Intore* who have been trained at the Village level amounts to a total of 814 587. Those mentored at the national level are the ones who go down to mentor in villages, schools, and at various work places. In total, 1 098 599 Rwandans have been mentored nationwide.

*Itorero* instilled the culture of unity, truth and hard work among Rwandans. In 2009, with the launch of *Itorero ry'Igihugu* in all districts of the country, each district's regiment presented its performance contracts at that colourful ceremony marked by cultural festivals. Each district's *Intore* regiment publicly announced its identification name.

In order to enable each *Intore* to benefit and experience change of mindset, each group chooses its identification name and sets objectives it must achieve. Those projected objectives must be achieved during or after training, and this is confirmed by the performance contracts that necessarily have

to be accomplished. With this obligation in mind, each individual also sets personal objective that in turn contributes to the success of the corporate objectives.

**Achievements made through *Urugerero* Program:** Plans to implement *Urugerero* (National Service) started towards the end of 2012 and the actual implementation started in 2013. Despite this short time, however, *Urugerero* program has started to yield impressive results. Students who completed secondary school since 2012 went through *Itorero* mentorship.

Upon the completion of the prescribed course, participants were given the certificates, but later on, they had to undergo practical exercise of *Urugerero* organized through various activities designed to promote social cohesion and community wellness in particular and boost national development in general.

In line with the above achievements, *Urugerero* participants did different activities related for instance to data collection; service provision and delivery; communal work; promotion of volunteerism in national development programmes and partnership with other stakeholders.

Participants in *Urugerero* did data collection related to illiterate people; people not yet registered for mutual health insurance; potential tax payers; school drop outs and children of school going age who are not yet in school; illegal marriages. Making inventories of districts' properties was also done by *Urugerero* participants.

Other *Urugerero* activities are related to manual community work such as vegetable gardening for family consumption; shelters construction for vulnerable families; participation in the construction of cell offices and their compounds' landscaping. In the area of environmental protection, *Intore* constructed terraces and planted trees as a measure of preventing soil erosion.

#### **9.2.6. The contribution of *Ubudehe***

One of the most significant impacts of *Ubudehe* is the way in which it has transformed citizens' engagement with their own development. Much of the twentieth century in Rwanda was characterised by centralised planning and delivery of services with little or no involvement from local communities. *Ubudehe* has changed this and, coupled with decentralisation efforts, has changed the way Rwandans participate in decision making processes that affect their lives. *Ubudehe* has achieved almost nationwide coverage and communities across Rwanda are now actively involved in developing their own social maps, visual representations and collection of data to the extent of poverty in their village. This information is used to determine national

development objectives against which the national government and its ministries are held accountable.

The way in which *Ubudehe* has brought communities together for collective action based on their own priorities is also considered a major achievement of the programme. The provision of a bank account to each community has enabled thousands of community-lead actions such as purchasing livestock, undertaking agriculture activities, building clean water facilities, classrooms, terraces, health centres as well as silos for storing produce. In 2006-2007, 9,000 communities undertook different projects through *Ubudehe* and in 2007-2008 that number rose to 15,000. 2010 saw over 55,000 collective actions by communities with the assistance of 30,000 *Ubudehe* facilitators.

At least 1.4 million people, around 20% of the population, have been direct beneficiaries of *Ubudehe*. Between 2005 and 2008, around 50,000 people were trained on *Ubudehe* concepts and procedures. This has resulted in a greater level of skills available to the community at the local level – helping *Ubudehe* to be more effective.

### **9.2.7. Contribution of *Umuganda***

*Umuganda* is credited with contributing to Rwanda's development, particularly in the areas of infrastructure development and environmental protection. Common infrastructure projects include roads (especially those connecting sectors), bridges, health centres, classroom construction (to support the 9 and 12 Years of Basic Education programs), housing construction for poor and vulnerable Rwandans (often to replace grass-thatched housing) and the construction of local government offices and savings and credit cooperative buildings.

Environmental protection projects undertaken include tree planting and terracing to fight erosion, wetland rehabilitation, renewable energy construction and crop planting.

From 2007 to 2010/11, the activities valued at 26,397,939,119 Rwf consisted mainly of the construction of houses for vulnerable people, roads, classrooms for the Nine-Year Basic Education Programme (9YBE), health centres, public offices, and tree planting, terracing and other infrastructures to protect against erosion.

*Umuganda* is also credited with assisting in reconciliation and peace building in Rwanda. This is because neighbours are brought together to build their community and have the opportunity to discuss problems and solve them collectively.

### 9.2.8. Impact of *Umwiherero*

For a few days every year, leaders from all arms of Government come under one roof to collectively look at the general trajectory the country is taking and seek remedies to outstanding problems. Initially, *Umwiherero* had been designed exclusively for senior public officials but it has evolved to include leaders from the private sector as well as civil society. Provided for under the constitution, *Umwiherero* is chaired by the Head of State and during this time, presentations and discussions centre on a broad range of development challenges including but not limited to the economy, governance, justice, infrastructure, health and education.

Since its inception, organizers of *Umwiherero* have adopted numerous innovative initiatives to expedite the implementation of resolutions agreed upon at each retreat. Since then, the results are quantifiable. These efforts have resulted in noticeable improvements in planning, coordination, and accountability leading to clearer and more concise priorities.

As discussions go deep in exposing matters affecting the wellbeing of the people of Rwanda, poor performers are reprimanded and those who delivered on their mandate are recognized.



The 15<sup>th</sup> National Leaders Retreat took place from February 26, 2018 to March 1, 2018.

Source: <http://en.igihe.com/local/cache-vignettes/L1000xH652/1-1963-90fc1-2-65dec.jpg>

*Umwiherero* provides a platform for candid talk among senior officials. For example, an official raises a hand to mention his/her superior who is obstructing a shared development agenda. The said superior is then given a chance to explain to the meeting how he/she intends to resolve this deadlock.

The retreat sets a scene for every leader to be held accountable. Ultimately, this provides an opportunity for leaders to forge a better future for Rwanda. The organization, implementation and outcomes of *Umwiherero* have vastly improved and significant achievements recorded. The focus has been to make number of key priorities that makes it easier for meaningful discussions and effective implementation. The retreats are also credited with significantly improving coordination and cooperation between government ministries and agencies. This time round, priorities might not be just small in number, but much more challenging and tougher.



### Application activity 9.2

1. Analyse the impact of *abunzi* as a home-grown initiative.
2. Summarize the contribution of home-grown initiatives to social and economic development of Rwanda.
3. Analyse the contribution of home-grown initiatives to unity and reconciliation of Rwandans.
4. Evaluate the role of *umuganda* as a home-grown solution.

## 9.3. Challenges encountered during the implementation of home-grown solutions



### Learning activity 9.3

In the implementation of home-grown solutions, different challenges were encountered. With reference to what you have found in learning activity 9.1, discuss especially these ones that were faced in Girinka programme and how they can be handled.

#### 9.3.1. Challenges of Abunzi

**Inadequate legal knowledge:** While most mediators acknowledged that they received training session on laws, they expressed a desire to receive additional training on a more regular basis to enhance their knowledge of relevant laws.

**Insufficient mediation skills:** Mediators also expressed a desire to receive additional training in professional mediation techniques in order to improve the quality and effectiveness of their work.

**Lack of permanent offices:** In some areas, mediation committees do not

always have workspace reserved for them and must share space with the staff from cells and/or sectors offices; this sharing can sometimes result in the loss or mix-up of case files.

**Incentives:** A number of mediators complained that the incentive promised to them and their families in the form of “*mutuelle de santé*” (health insurance) was not always forthcoming.

**Transportation for field visits:** Mediators complain about not always being able to afford transportation to perform site visits when reviewing cases. While each chairperson at the appeal level received a bicycle, it has been recognised that field visits for all mediators have been very difficult in some cases. This can result in delays in the mediation process.

**Communication facilities:** To perform their duties, mediators have to communicate among themselves or with other institutions, but they are not given a communication allowance. This proves problematic at times and can lead to financial stress for some when they are obliged to use their own money to contact for instance litigants and institutions.

### 9.3.2. Challenges of Gacaca courts

At the beginning of the data collection phase at the national level, 46,000 *Inyangamugayo* representing 27.1% of the total number of judges, were accused of genocide. This led to their dismissal from *Gacaca* courts.

Leaders, especially in the local government, were accused of participating in genocide constituting a serious obstacle to the smooth running of *Gacaca*.

In some cases, there was violence against genocide survivors, witnesses and *Inyangamugayo*.

Serious trauma among survivors and witnesses manifested during *Gacaca* proceedings.

In other cases, there was a problem of suspects fleeing their communities and claiming that they were threatened because of *Gacaca*.

There was also corruption and favouritism in decision making.

### 9.3.3. Challenges of Girinka

In some cases, the distribution of cows has not been transparent and people with the financial capacity to buy cows themselves were among the beneficiaries. This issue was raised at the National Dialogue Council (*Umushyikirano*) in 2009 and eventually resolved through the cow recovery programme. This program resulted in 20,123 cows given to unqualified

beneficiaries (out of a total of 20,532 wrongly given) redistributed to poor families.

A lack of feed factories in the country has hindered efforts to properly feed some of the cattle affecting their health and productivity. The Ministry of Agriculture worked with investors who have shown interest in building feed factories in Nyagatare, Kayonza and Kicukiro. In some instances, the cost of management inputs has been high and in some districts, there has been a delay in utilisation of earmarked fund. Decentralisation of the programme has helped address this.

Provision of additional services (especially veterinary services and artificial insemination) has been limited in some cases due a shortage of skilled staff with relevant training. This has affected the cows' milk production and the 'pass on' system.

With regards to bank loans, some farmers received cows that were overpriced. As a resolution, farmers who were overcharged are required to pay the bank the actual cost of the cow only through a new contract with the difference paid by those who were responsible for over costing.

Poor management by inexperienced farmers has increased the mortality for some cows. A shortage of land requires an intensification program in cattle management practices which can sometimes have adverse impacts on the cows such as increase in disease prevalence. To address this, beneficiaries now receive training about modern farming practices prior to receiving their cow.

#### **9.3.4. Challenges of *Imihigo***

There is a planning gap especially on setting and maintaining logic and consistency: objectives, baseline, output/targets and indicators.

Setting unrealistic and over-ambitious targets by districts was common. Some targets were not easily achievable in 12 months; for example, the construction of a 30 km road when no feasibility study had been conducted or reducing crime by 100%.

In some districts low targets were established that would require little effort to implement.

The practice of consistent tracking of implementation progress, reporting and filing is generally still weak.

Some targets were not achieved because of district partners who did not fulfil their commitments in disbursing funds - especially the central government institutions and development partners.

There is a weakness of not setting targets based on uniqueness of rural and urban settings.

Setting targets that are beyond districts' full control was observed: For example, construction of stadiums and development of master plans whose implementation is fully managed by the central government.

There was general lack of communication and reporting of challenges faced that hindered implementation of the committed targets.

### **9.3.5. Challenges of *Itorero***

Inadequate staff and insufficient logistics for the monitoring and evaluation of *Itorero* activities and training modules and internal regulations and procedures governing *Itorero* programmes are not yet refined.

There is still low level of understanding the important role of *Itorero ry' Igihugu* on the part of partners. This is the reason why some partners have not yet included activities relating to the promotion of *Ubutore* culture in their plan of action.

The National *Itorero* Commission does not get adequate information on partners' commitment to Volunteer Services;

A number of various institutions in the country have not yet started considering voluntary and national service activities in their planning.

### **9.3.6. Challenges of *Ubudehe***

In some cases, village members have preferred to be classified into lower poverty levels as a way to receive support from social security programs such as health insurance and *Girinka*. To overcome this, household poverty level categorisation takes place publicly with all heads of households and must be validated by the village itself.

In the event that community members dispute the decision made by their village, they are entitled to lodge a complaint and appeal in the first instance to the sector level. The *Ubudehe* Committee at the sector level conducts a visit to the household and either upholds or issues a new decision. If community members remain unhappy with the decision, they can appeal in the second instance to the district level. The final level of appeal is to the Office of the Ombudsman at the central government level.

In the project implementation, the major challenge lies in the choice of a project by the community and its completion. Actually, communities sometimes have difficulty to define the problems affecting their development and struggle to know how best to prioritise the projects and select the most crucial project to

execute. Challenges also sometimes arise when communities are required to choose one household to act as a model for the village. This can be a point of contention because that household receives significant resources to carrying out its *Ubudehe* development plan.

### 9.3.7. Challenges of *Umuganda*

The challenges faced by *Umuganda* fall into two broad categories: planning and participation. In some areas of the country, poor planning has led to unrealistic targets and projects that would be difficult to achieve without additional financing. In urban areas, participation in *Umuganda* has been lower than in rural areas.

### 9.3.8. Challenges of *Umwihherero*

The first four years of *Umwihherero* saw questionable results. The organisation of the retreat was often rushed, objectives were poorly defined and few tangible results could be measured. This led President Paul Kagame to establish the Strategy and Policy Unit in the Office of the President and the Coordination Unit in the Office of the Prime Minister. At the same time, the Ministry of Cabinet Affairs was set up to improve the functioning of the Cabinet. These two newly formed units were tasked with working together to implement *Umwihherero*. While the first retreat organised by the two new teams suffered from similar problems to previous retreats, improvement was noticeable.

Following *Umwihherero* in 2009, Minister of Cabinet Affairs served as head of the newly formed steering committee tasked with overseeing the retreat. The steering committee was comprised of 14 team members. Alongside the steering committee, working groups were set up to define the priorities to be included on the retreat agenda. This process was overseen by the Strategy and Policy Unit which developed a concept paper with eleven priority areas to be approved by the Prime Minister and the President.

Since that time the organisation, implementation and outcomes of *Umwihherero* have vastly improved and significant achievements have been recorded. The focus on a small number of key priorities has made it easier for meaningful discussions to be held and for effective implementation to take place. For example, the number of national priorities agreed upon by participants fell from 174 in 2009 to 11 in 2010 and to six in 2011. The retreats are also credited with significantly improving coordination and cooperation between government ministries and agencies.



### Application activity 9.3

1. Examine the challenges encountered in the implementation of *Gacaca*.
2. Account for the challenges met by *Abunzi* in the process of implementing this home-grown solution.
3. Explain the key challenges in planning and implementation process of *Imihigo*.



### Skills lab

Identify the importance of home-grown solutions towards good governance, self-reliance and dignity



### End unit assessment

1. Assess the achievements and challenges of Umuganda in social and economic sector.
2. Explain the contribution of Umwihero to the economic development and good governance of the country of Rwanda.
3. Analyse the contribution of Girinka to poverty reduction.
4. Discuss the social impact of Abunzi and its contribution to unity and reconciliation.

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