

# LAUNCH OF KWIBUKA-20

A PRELUDE OF THE 20TH COMMEMORATION OF THE 1994 GENOCIDE  
AGAINST TUTSI IN RWANDA

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## **Background**

The colonization of Rwanda started with the arrival of the Germans in 1897 and continued under Belgian rule in 1916. Early colonialists considered Tutsi as more intelligent and therefore superior to Hutus and ruled Rwanda through the Tutsi monarchy and its chiefs.

Rwanda strong leadership. Centralized leadership. Full control and follow up of all national matters. Respect governance hierarchy.

## **Colonization**

In 1933-1934: Belgians introduced ID cards which assigned an ethnic identity to each individual. Each person was classified as belonging to the Hutu, the Tutsi or the Twa. Belgians made the discrimination between the two groups greater and yet the Hutus and Tutsis were still living together peacefully, having same language, same culture, marring from each other's family.

Divide and rule: The transformation from a society divided into occupational classes into a society divided into artificially created ethnic groups is considered as the root cause for the protracted social conflict that was to follow.

## **Genocide ideology**

In 1957, five years before independence, a group of nine Hutu intellectuals published the "Hutu Manifesto" which criticized the Tutsi dominance and described them as invaders.

## **Role of clergymen**

Bishop Classe: "If we want to position ourselves at the practical point of view and seek the country's interest, we have in the Mututsi youth an incomparable element of progress, which no one who knows Rwanda can underestimate".

## **1959**

Revenge by Hutu against the

colonizers' ideology, but the victims were Tutsi group (as they were described by the Belgians). Many were killed, others fled the country to neighboring countries.

## **Independence in 1962**

Belgians left the country in a state of discord. Soon the Party of the Hutu Emancipation Movement (PARMEHUTU) came into power. Revenge and many Tutsis were killed. More than 200,000 Tutsi refugees fled to neighboring countries.

## **Efforts to return home**

Between 1961 and 1973, Tutsi refugees from surrounding countries tried many efforts to return to their country but in vain. Each of these efforts resulted in sets of massacres of Tutsis living in Rwanda. Churches were some of the safest places for refuge and many who could get there survived.

## **1973: Habyarimana's regime**

Tutsi were discriminated (job, school, public administration). High School enrolment based on ethnic divisions. The new President relied on Hutu Nationalism with only one political party (MRND). Enhanced hate against Tutsi. Regionalism (Nduga, Ganza, Kiga, etc.).

## **Liberation journey: 1990-1994**

1990: Attack by Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF). Peace deals with Habyarimana's regime. Arusha peace agreement. Genocide ideology perpetration and mass killings.

UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) troops withdrawal. Operation Turquoise: French operation.

## **Genocide execution**

Genocide: systematic planning that begun with classification, dehumanization and polarization followed by preparation, persecution and extermination. Organizers intended to eliminate

the Tutsi group, if not, then to eliminate the maximum number. The genocide was, in fact, both highly planned and remarkably modern in its organization, making extensive use of the administrative structure of the state.

## **Role of Media**

Organizers used the radio, newspapers to order people throughout the country to hunt down Tutsi and to kill them or hand them over to authorities for elimination. One radio propagandist promised that one day children would have to look at pictures in books to know how Tutsi looked like; because all would be killed.

The government also openly sponsored hate propaganda throughout Rwanda through the radio, newspapers and the schools. "Death lists" were developed and openly circulated with names and addresses of Tutsis who should be targeted for murder.

"The genocide against the tutsi in #Rwanda was a state crime; a vicious but successful enterprise. The average Rwandan was only victimized.

The Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda shocked human consciousness. Not only government troops and armed militia, but also neighbors, friends and even relatives turned into murderers.

Between 1990-1994: Tutsi were killed (Bugesera, Bigogwe).

06 April 1994: culmination of what was planned since long time ago.

## **International community response**

The 1994 Rwandan genocide was not prevented or even officially recognized by other countries or international organizations. The UN «never again» had become an empty statement; was in itself a sign of continued failure.

Belgium, the UN Secretariat,

the US and France – knew that there was genocide underway in Rwanda; therefore, they had an obligation to prevent and stop the genocide. They simply took it as civil war rather than discussing the genocide. This international failure had horrific consequences for UNAMIR, which, with neither a robust mandate nor adequate resources, became an eyewitness to the genocide.

After the debacle with the dead Belgian peacekeepers, the only time the country showed any interest in Rwanda was when Belgian, French and US soldiers came to rescue expatriates between April 7 and 10.

The international community was very hesitant to call the killings in Rwanda a «genocide».

Although they knew about the extreme brutal attacks taking place, they did not choose to intervene, they were indifferent!

Indeed, the UN withdrew most of its troops and officially limited the actions of the tiny force of 450 soldiers who stayed behind with no mandate to protect civilians.

#### Apologise by Koffi Annan

“The world must deeply repent this failure. Rwanda’s tragedy was the world’s tragedy. All of us who cared about Rwanda, all of us who witnessed its suffering, fervently wish that we could have prevented the genocide. Looking back now, we see the signs which then were not recognized. Now we know that what we did was not nearly enough—not enough to save Rwanda from itself, not enough to honor the ideals for which the United Nations exists. We will not deny that, in their greatest hour of need, the world failed the people of Rwanda ...” - Koffi Annan.

#### ICTR work

The ICTR was established by the UN in Arusha, Tanzania (UNSC Resolution 955, 1994 & 977, 1995). The Court was tasked to investigate and prosecute Category 1 perpetrators of the genocide. But how many judicial cases so far closed?

#### Home grown solutions

**NURC:** Unity and reconciliation initiative.

**GACACA:** Justice and reconciliation tool.

**CNLG:** Fighting against genocide and prevention.

**NDI UMUNYARWANDA:**



Посол Республики Руанда выступает с публичной лекцией.

Promoting Rwandanity instead of ethnic groups.

Rwandan Government had to make the reconciliation process the centre piece of their policies. These courts represented a restorative and retributive justice approach which was hoped to address the basic human needs of victims and perpetrators.

In the Gacaca system, communities elected judges to hear the trials of genocide suspects accused of all crimes except planning of genocide. Lower sentences if the person repents and sought reconciliation with the community. Often, confessing prisoners returned home without further penalty or received community service orders.

More than 12,000 community-based courts tried more than 1,2 million cases throughout the country. The Gacaca trials also served to promote reconciliation by providing a means for victims to learn the truth about the death of their family members and relatives.

The reconciliation process in Rwanda focuses on reconstructing the Rwandan identity, as well as balancing justice, truth, peace and security in the country.

Primary responsibility for reconciliation efforts in Rwanda rests with the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, established in 1999. It makes use of the following approaches:

**Ingando:** A programme of peace education. Rwandans participated in these programmes, which aim to clarify Rwandan history and the origins of division amongst the population, promote patriotism and fight genocide ideology.

**Itorero:** Established in 2007, the

Itorero programme is a leadership academy to promote Rwandan values and cultivate leaders who strive for the development of the community.

#### Road to Social Economic Transformation

Rwanda has since recovered. Today, the country is a beacon of hope, peace, and stability and has become a model for successful post-conflict nation-building. Rwanda is politically stable, has well functioning institutions, rule of law and zero tolerance for corruption.

Over 3 million refugees have been returned and reintegrated in society. Rwanda is now one of the top 6 countries globally contributing to UN Peace keeping with over 5000 peace keepers deployed in Mali, Sudan, South Sudan, Darfur, Haiti, Chad, Liberia and Ivory Coast. Rwanda completed the deployment of a mechanized battalion of peace keepers to the troubled Central African Republic.

The country has experienced a significant economic transformation which translated into alleviating poverty and improving the lives of all Rwandans. The real GDP growth increased from 2,2% in 2003 to 7,2% in 2010 with a peak growth of 11,5% in 2008. Overall, the average growth rate has been 7%.

#### Strategies

**Vision 2020**, and its medium-term strategy, the Economic Development Poverty Reduction Strategy (EDPRS) which gives a clear direction on how to move from poverty to a middle income country. From Vision 2020, a blend of programs and policies have been formulated and implemented in several key sectors - agriculture, investment, tourism and ICT.

About 1 million of Rwandans have been pulled from the poverty line (2008-2012).

#### Why do we remember?

Honoring the memory of those who died, comforting those who survived. Memory, knowledge and historic clarity. Ensure that it never happens again – in Rwanda or elsewhere.

We remember the past without being bound by it, we remember without forgetting while forgiving; yet our past was bitter!

Understand our responsibility

to protect innocent citizens in the face of impending mass atrocities. Build international political to respond when genocide threatens.

Educate young people to prevent and avoid such ideology.

#### **KWIBUKA, what it means?**

As Rwanda looks forward to the next twenty years, we have a vision of hope, dignity and prosperity for our country. As we work together for the brighter future we deserve, we are honored to share our experiences and learn from others;

*Kwibuka-20* is a chance for everyone, wherever they are and whatever their age, to come together to learn about and commemorate the Genocide against the Tutsi.

*Kwibuka-20* calls on the global community to stand together against genocide in three key ways:

- To remember: Honouring the memory of those who died and offering support to those who survived.

- To unite: Rwanda shows that reconciliation through shared

human values is possible, and asks the world to do the same.

- To renew: «Remembering our lost ones, give us strength & motivation of working hard & demanding us to assume our duties plus their.

We may remember their names, their numbers, what their liked, ...but we will never know what were their projects; what we sure know, they wanted a better Rwanda; together let us make Rwanda a better place to live.

# РУАНДА ПОСЛЕ ГЕНОЦИДА

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*Ключевые слова:* Руанда, геноцид, события 1994 г., восстановление

7 апреля этого года исполнилось 20 лет со дня трагических событий 1994 г. в Руанде, тех событий, которые черной вехой разделили историю страны на «до» и «после». Масштаб трагедии был таков, что привел к гибели или бегству из страны до 40% ее граждан. По разным оценкам, от 500 тыс. до 1 млн человек было убито, более 2 млн стали беженцами [1].

Такое число жертв потребовало небывалого количества судов и судей, чтобы восстановить справедливость и наказать виновных. В 1995 г. в Аруше (Танзания) начал работать Международный трибунал по делу геноцида в Руанде, который занимается преступлениями бывших высокопоставленных чиновников правительства и высших чинов армии. Обычные судебные инстанции Руанды не справлялись с количеством дел, поскольку три четверти судебных кадров были истреблены в ходе массовых репрессий 1994 г.

В 2000 г. руководство Руанды решило возродить суды *гачача*, существовавшие еще в доколониальный период, с целью разгрузить обычные суды и ускорить

рассмотрение дел по преступлениям геноцида 1994 г. По существу, это - советы старейшин, призванные рассматривать на местах различные правонарушения, по которым не выносятся смертные приговоры.

За 10 лет эти суды рассмотрели около 1 млн дел руандийцев, подозревавшихся в актах геноцида [2]. Подразумевалось также, что деятельность судов «гачача» (она была прекращена в 2011 г.) должна способствовать национальному примирению в Руанде.

#### **ЛЮДСКИЕ ПОТЕРИ**

В 1995 г., по оценкам экспертов ООН, в Руанде проживало не более 5 млн человек. Затем произошел резкий скачок в темпах прироста населения - до 12% - за счет возвращения к своим очагам более 2 млн беженцев с потомством, рожденным в эмиграции. К 2000 г. население страны возросло до 7 млн 720 тыс. человек, что примерно соответствовало довоенному уровню. Численность населения Руанды в 2012 г. составила 11,7 млн человек (оценка), к 2033 г. ожидается удвоение населения.

Как показал опыт восстановления и реконструкции экономики в Руанде, население страны

росло интенсивнее, чем темпы прироста ВВП. На восстановление численности населения понадобилось около 5 лет, а на достижение «довоенного» размера ВВП - 8 лет. Прирост населения опережал темпы восстановления экономики.

#### **ВОССТАНОВЛЕНИЕ ЭКОНОМИКИ**

Хозяйство страны было серьезно подорвано в ходе гражданской войны и геноцида 1994 г. Объем ВВП упал на 50%; уровень инфляции, составлявший в 1993 г. 12,5%, к концу 1994 г. достиг 64%. Урожай продовольственных культур, собранный в 1994 г., составил лишь около половины урожая 1993 г. [3, с. 589]. Во время событий 1994 г. сильно пострадало животноводство, практически полностью было уничтожено племенное стадо крупного рогатого скота, значительно сократилось поголовье овец, коз, свиней. Только к началу 2005 г. поголовье скота приблизилось к довоенному уровню.

Значительный ущерб был нанесен лесам, площадь которых, составлявшая до 1994 г. 13 тыс. га, сократилась на сотни гектаров. Существовавшие до 1994 г. предприятия пищевой и легкой про-

Доклад на Общем собрании в ИАФР РАН 12 февраля с.г. (с нек. сокращениями).