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GENOCIDE IN RWANDA: THE INTERPLAY OF HUMAN CAPITAL, SCARCE RESOURCES AND SOCIAL COHESION

by

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December 2003

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In 1994 the Rwandan genocide stunned the international community. The brutality of its execution was incomprehensible and defied one's wildest imagination. Many authors contend that ethnic extremism coupled with political manipulation were the primary factors behind this tragedy. Yet to oversimplify the cause of this tragedy makes one blind to the complicated nexus that generated the outcome. Even though this genocide was quick in its execution, the events that lead to this massacre took years to unfold. The first violent clash between the Hutu and the Tutsi began in 1959. Historically the relationship between Hutus and Tutsis was harmonious until the advent of Belgian colonialism, which imposed a system that benefited the Tutsi and victimized the Hutu. The Hutu disaffection with the system did not immediately translate into conflict. It was only when they were educated about their misfortunes and inequities that they rose up violently against the injustice. Unfortunately, they perpetrated a ghastly butchery of innocents. The nature of the Rwandan society where people lived close to each other, knew their neighbors very well, and had an element of blind obedience toward the authority served the agenda of the genocide perpetrators. These factors when compounded with intense competition for limited resources eventually led to the aforementioned tragedy

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GENOCIDE IN RWANDA: THE INTERPLAY OF HUMAN CAPITAL, SCARCE RESOURCES AND SOCIAL COHESION

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ABSTRACT

In 1994 the Rwandan genocide stunned the international community. The brutality of its execution was incomprehensible and defied one's wildest imagination. Many authors contend that ethnic extremism coupled with political manipulation were the primary factors behind this tragedy. Yet to oversimplify the cause of this tragedy makes one blind to the complicated nexus that generated the outcome. Even though this genocide was quick in its execution, the events that lead to this massacre took years to unfold. The first violent clash between the Hutu and the Tutsi began in 1959. Historically the relationship between Hutus and Tutsis was harmonious until the advent of Belgian colonialism, which imposed a system that benefited the Tutsi and victimized the Hutu. The Hutu disaffection with the system did not immediately translate into conflict. It was only when they were educated about their misfortunes and inequities that they rose up violently against the injustice. Unfortunately, they perpetrated a ghastly butchery of innocents. The nature of the Rwandan society where people lived close to each other, knew their neighbors very well, and had an element of blind obedience toward the authority served the agenda of the genocide perpetrators. These factors when compounded with intense competition for limited resources eventually led to the aforementioned tragedy.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

"An optimist will say that the glass is half full. A pessimist will say that the glass is half empty. A realist will say, 'if I stay any longer, I will have to wash the glass.'" I believe that the third approach is more appropriate for any security builder or players for nation building. Departing from this standpoint, I decided to choose Rwanda as a case study for my thesis since it has some similarity with my country of origin. There had been a tension between the Malays and the Chinese since our independence from the British in 1957. The conflict peaked in 1969 when it cost numerous losses of lives. In the aftermath, the government pursued several policies that tried to address the inequality between the Malays and the Chinese. Whether this conflict has resolved in its totality depends on the interpretation of the beholder. When I study Rwanda, I found that the pattern is about the same, except that Rwanda took a violent turn for the worst. I humbly hope that my analysis and recommendation can be of benefit toward the effort of building a more tolerance society.

Although the analysis presented herein is my full responsibility, I am strongly indebted to Professor Robert McNab who guided and encouraged me in the course of writing this thesis. He assured me that I had selected a fine topic when I started to question my wisdom of selecting a case study on a country that was too alien for me. I am also indebted to Professor Robert E. Looney who offered his advice and encouragement for me to pursue this work. Professor Letitia Lawson taught me the problems and issues related to Africa and offered me various suggestions and insights. I would like to take this opportunity to thank her for her contributions. With regard to the finishing touch of this thesis my appreciation goes to my editor, Ron Russell, who was very patient in helping to make my writing more readable to the audience.

I would never have come so far without the continuing support from my family. First and foremost are my parents, Hj. Mohamed Bin Samin and Hajjah Jamaliah Binti Hj. Hashim, who from the very beginning encouraged me to pursue the knowledge and stay steadfast in facing its challenges. They have been the boulders of support on which I can always rely upon. My wife, Noreya Ibrahim, is the source of strength, optimism and encouragement in my life. Her care and patience helped me to finish this thesis within the prescribe time. Thank you all.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 1994, the Rwandan genocide caught the international community by surprise. The brutality of its execution was incomprehensible and defied international comprehension. Consequently it is a subject of interest for any security builder to understand the mechanism that drove a country such as Rwanda to experience such genocide.

Many authors contend that ethnic extremism and political manipulation ignited this tragedy. To over simplify the cause of this tragedy makes one blind to the nexus that generated the outcome. Even though this genocide was quick in its execution, one must understand that the events that led to this massacre took decades to unfold. The first violent clash between the Hutu and the Tutsi can be traced back to as early as 1959.

Historically, the relationship between Hutus and Tutsis was harmonious until the advent of Belgian colonialism, which imposed a system that benefited the small Tutsi population and victimized the majority Hutus. The Hutu disaffection with the system did not immediately translate into a conflict. The conflict between the Hutus and Tutsis appeared when the Hutu gained access to higher education with the help of the Catholic church. The role of education, which itself is a major component of human capital, cannot be dismissed in analyzing the roots of this conflict. It is often only through education that people realize that they are victimized or have been denied the opportunity to prosper due to bigotry.

Hence, in the context of this thesis generating human capital entailed educating the people. This research illustrates that inequality in education and an educational system that demeans other people creates a boiling pot for racial prejudices. Moreover, the Rwandan genocide clearly shows even intellectuals and well-educated citizens can become mass murderers if their prejudices have been molded and reinforced since their early schooling.

It is problematic to assert that resource scarcity only played a peripheral role in driving the Rwandan genocide. A pattern of preventing the refugees who dwelled in neighboring countries from returning, and apportioning the available jobs, university placements and secondary schooling along ethnic lines proved that competition for the meager resources was indeed a major factor behind the tragedy.

The social cohesiveness between the perpetrators of the genocide perverted the social capital. The mechanics of the genocide demanded that almost all Hutus within Rwanda take

part in the campaign, focusing on the aim of eliminating the Tutsis. The research presented in this thesis will explain the interplay between the three variables in generating the Rwandan conflict. The lesson can be a valuable tool for security builders to assess similar situations elsewhere. With this assessment, hopefully good policy tools can be implemented to stem any strife from evolving into a conflict

I. INTRODUCTION

A. BACKGROUND

On 19 February 2003, a church leader and his son, a medical doctor, were found guilty of aiding and instigating genocide in Rwanda. The verdict of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda based in Arusha, Tanzania, was unanimous. The pastor, then president of the Seventh Day Adventist Church in western Rwanda, and his son, who was working at the hospital adjacent to the church, were accused of luring Tutsis who sought refuge into the church complex before personally leading in Hutu militias to massacre them.[1]

The father and son were not the only ones guilty of the massacres. The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda was established to try those suspected of masterminding the 1994 genocide. The rest of the perpetrators, that is, those accused of killings, being accomplices to genocide, or looting will be tried in the Rwandan traditional court, known as the Gacaca. There are more than 85,000 suspects being held in overcrowded and unsanitary jails in Rwanda.[2]

The genocide perpetrators came from all levels of society.[3] It is difficult to arrive at an accurate figure of the proportion of Rwanda's Hutu who participated in the genocide. Perhaps as many people killed as were killed. Why did those hundred thousands of Hutu citizens join with their government to kill their Tutsi neighbors, their Tutsi wives, their Tutsi students, their Tutsi patients and fellow Hutu thought to be Tutsi collaborators?

The Rwandan genocide, which started on the night of April 6, 1994 and ended on July 19, 1994, defies logic and imagination. The speed and brutality of the killings, considering that most of the weapons used were primitive (machetes, swords, spears and the traditional *masu*[4]) surpassed that of the Nazis in the execution of Holocaust or the

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[1] Reported by The Financial Times Limited (London) on February 20,2003.

[2] Reported by The Agence France-Presse on August 23, 2003.

[3] Those charged included a vice-rector of a university, professors, teachers, businessmen, farmers, soldiers, doctors, church workers, and so on.

[4] A large club studded with nails.

Khmer Rouge in their Killing Fields.[5] In about one hundred days, approximately eight hundred and fifty thousands individuals were murdered, a rate of murder of 333.3 deaths per hour or 5.5 deaths per minute.[6] While the general motive of the Nazi may have been the elimination of "inferior races" or anti-Semitism and the Khmer Rouge was the elimination of bourgeoisie and other "capitalist" classes, the motive behind the genocide[7] in Rwanda is harder to decipher.

I believe that the conflict in Rwanda is unique and demands further analysis to prevent future conflicts. The conflict's uniqueness stems from several factors. First, the conflict moved from a latent to a protracted conflict before exploding into genocide. In fact, it did not fully attract international interest until it grew into a genocidal conflict. Ironically the genocide happened during the presence of the United Nation peacekeeping force, that is, the United Nation Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). In lieu of the failure of the United Nations to adopt a positive action to halt the genocide, an independent panel of inquiry was commissioned by the Secretary General with the approval of the Security Council to investigate those actions. In conclusion, the panel found that the international community made a judgmental error in assessing the events in Rwanda and lacked the political will and commitment of resources to prevent the genocide. Hence it remains a challenge for a security builder to arrive at an accurate assessment of the actual cause of the conflict and apply the knowledge to prevent similar occurrences in the future.

Second, the conflict displayed how discriminatory policies with respect to how the accumulation of human capital served as the basis for the fragmentation of the Rwandan society. Inequalities manifested themselves through the education system, administrative jobs and economic opportunities. The colonial powers (the Germans followed by the Belgians) used the Tutsis as administrators and oppressed the Hutu

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[5] Alan J. Kupperman, *The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention: Mechanics of Genocide* (The Brookings Institution, 2001) 15.

[6] Michael Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda* (Cornell University Press, 2002) 1.

[7] It is not the intention of this paper to discuss the relevancy of the genocide terminology in the Rwandan massacre considering that many Hutu and Twa were also among the victims. Genocide terminology is used in this paper considering the huge number of victims and the largest proportion came from the Tutsi group.

population. The Tutsi were invested with power and privilege; educated, trained, and then subcontracted to do the dirty work on behalf of the colonial power. These policies caused the Hutu population to resent the Tutsi. The missionaries who had previously championed education for the Tutsi exacerbated the situation when they reversed their policy and started to educate the Hutu. Simultaneously, the missionaries blamed the Tutsi for the injustices suffered by the Hutu. Rwanda can be considered as one of the classic examples of the destructive legacies of the indirect rule.

Third, the Rwandan genocide displays the grave implication of scarce resources within a conflict-prone society. Rwanda is the most densely populated country on the African continent. With a population growth rate of 3.2%, each square kilometer of arable land had to support an average of over four hundred people in 1991.[8] Since the majority of local people lived in rural areas, land pressure and landlessness were severe problems. This problem was enflamed by the incursion of large numbers of Hutu refugees from Burundi in 1993. Rwanda's economy collapsed in 1986 with the collapse of the prices of coffee and tin, Rwanda's primary exports. The Rwandan government requested International Monetary Fund assistance, which required adherence to a Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). The Rwandan SAP involved a currency devaluation and reduction in public spending through privatization.[9] The fall in the price of coffee adversely affected the peasants' income. Additionally, privatization created a loss of access to free health care, free schooling and other services that the government had subsidized. Combined with the invasion of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) form the North in 1990, these developments resulted in a rapid decline in food production. Internal and external displacement also occurred, further exacerbating poverty.

Finally, the genocide devastated Rwandan social capital, destroying the norms, values and trust that bond communities together. The execution of the genocide was

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[8] John F. May, "Policies on Population, Land Use, and Environment in Rwanda," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, Cincinnati, Ohio, 3 April 1993, citing from ONAPO/FNUAP/DTCD, Monographie demographique prefectorale, La population de Butare en chiffres, Kigali: Office National de la Population et Projet Assistance a l'ONAPO RWA/87/PO3 FNUAP/DTCD, 1991, 2-3.

[9] Steve Utterwulghe, "Rwanda's Protracted Social Conflict: Considering the Subjective Perspective in Conflict Resolution Strategies," *The Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution Issue* August 1999: 2.3, accessed electronically on 07 May 2003, <http://www.trinstitute.org/ojpcr/>

efficient due to a strong social cohesiveness that emerged within Hutu extremism. Vertical social cohesiveness was evident by the response of the Hutu masses to the call from the government to participate in the genocide. The success was coupled by the ability of the state to provide excellent information networks, and it instilled a sense of solidarity, obligation and civic duty in the midst of Hutu's fear towards the Rwandan Patriotic Front's (RPF) invasion. Their fears were justified since thousands had died and hundreds of thousands of people had lost their land, houses and possessions in their flight from the RPF.[10] The assassination of a democratically elected Hutu president in neighboring Burundi by the Tutsi-controlled army officers and subsequent massacres also aggravated the Hutu's fear.[11] Thousands of other Hutu had the same experiences in neighboring Burundi. Every Hutu who subscribed to the state's propaganda would have thought that he or she was in a potential struggle for survival. Horizontally, the Hutu were strongly united in fighting their perceived common enemy.

B.   THESIS

This thesis examines the role of human capital, resource scarcity and social cohesion on the formation and execution of the 1994 Rwandan genocide. While many other variables contributed to the conflict, the impact of the variables examined in this thesis are of profound importance if one hopes to understand the Rwandan conflict. Understanding the role of these variables is necessary to develop strategies for post-conflict reconstruction.

This thesis argues that resource scarcity created the potential for conflict, human capital formation determined the shape that the conflict was likely to take (ethnic rather than class or political), and social cohesion patterns facilitated the "effectiveness" of the genocide campaign once it started. These variables and their implications go beyond Rwanda. Throughout developing countries, ethnic and racial issues remain at the forefront of government agendas. Globally, people are fighting each other over limited resources. Consequently there is a tendency to allocate opportunities for higher education

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[10] John Pender, "The Genocide Framework," paper presented at the Africa Direct Conference, London, 27 July 1997.

[11] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 199.

and job placements within governmental administrations and the private sector on the basis of ethnicity or racial characteristics. The intensity of the issues differs from one country to another but Rwanda illustrated that a disastrous outcome can ensue if those with the monopoly of violence manipulated the issues to suit their cliques.

Many of these developing countries are recipients of foreign aid and some of them are considered as development models.[12] Consequently, policy makers must gather and analyze information to assess trends within their country so that development aid does not interact with processes that carry a profound risk of violence.

C.   STRUCTURE OF THESIS

Chapter II presents the historical context of Rwanda from the pre-colonial period until the current post-genocide situation in which the Rwandan government is still fighting the remnants of the genocide perpetrators at its border with Congo. In order to understand the antagonism between the Hutus and the Tutsis, one needs to delve into Rwanda's turbulent history. Suffice it to say that the variables involved in this analysis are firmly rooted in the Rwandan colonial period.

Chapter III examines the accumulation of human capital in Rwanda in its pre-independence and post-independence eras. Human capital played a role in this conflict through the relationship between the attainment of the education and likelihood of conflict. First, inequalities in educational opportunities generated an insufficient amount of human capital. The inequalities in human capital served as a basis for hatred, bitterness, and resentment. Moreover, it is worth noting that the intellectuals were not immune from collaborating with extremist forces in propagating the genocidal agenda. What was taught and the context within which it was taught are just as important if not more important than educational inequalities. Second, the lack of educational opportunities, regardless of ethnicity, meant that many Rwandans could not escape the rural, agriculture based society. These factors, combined with the increasing scarcity of arable land produce an intense struggle for survival.

Chapter IV examines the political and social implications of environmental resource scarcity in generating conflicts. The Malthusian debate is discussed with respect

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[12] Rwanda itself was considered as a development model prior to 1986.

to the situation in Rwanda because land pressure is an issue in agriculturalist societies. This issue played a role in the conflict, and consequently it is important to channel developmental aid in such a way that it will mitigate the effects.

Chapter V examines the perversion of social capital, that is, the manipulation of social cohesion to serve the interest of the extremist in executing the genocide. Some argue that a centralized, top-down, rigid control of the population in developing countries is necessary in order to achieve a high rate of development. Singapore is always quoted as a successful model of this approach. How long it will remain successful is yet to be noted, but Rwanda is an example of a disastrous failure of this model. [13]

Chapter VI concludes the overall analysis and offers recommendation for preventing future genocide and reshaping a post conflict environment. It is imperative for a post-conflict society to address the three variables as soon as possible to break the chain that can cycle them back into another conflict. This can be implemented by reforming education policy, creating interdependencies among the actors in accessing scarce resources, generating diversified income resources, and fostering associations across groups through community projects, and intermixing of groups in schools and businesses. By building a sustainable social capital, a more viable state can be reconstructed from the chaotic aftermath of any conflict.

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[13] Another example is the Soviet Union.

II.   THE RWANDAN GENOCIDE

A.   INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the history of Rwanda from the pre-colonial period to present. The historical record is presented in order to arrive at a complete understanding of the antagonism between the indigenous actors in Rwanda. I argue that the conflict was deeply rooted in the historical interpretation of the origin of the Tutsis and the Hutus.

The act of genocide against the Tutsis received almost widespread support from the Hutus within Rwanda since the organizers of the genocide had successfully exploited misconceptions about who the Tutsis were, what they had done in the past, and what they would do in the future.[14] These misconceptions had been fostered through many years of government propaganda and distortions of history taught in the schools.[15] With the Tutsi dominated rebels force at the border, the majority of Hutus populace may have believed the distorted history. In undertaking this task, I divide the history of Rwanda into three parts: the pre-conflict period, the conflict period and the post-conflict period.

B.   PRE-CONFLICT PERIOD

Rwanda, which means "a land of a thousand hills," is located just south of the equator in the east-central Africa. Its first inhabitants were the Twa, a small group of pygmoid hunter and gatherers. In the fourth or fifth century the Hutu emigrated from Central Africa and settled in Rwanda as farmers. The Tutsi were said to arrive in successive waves from the north during the 15th and 16th centuries. They were cattle herders and most likely came from Ethiopia. The population of Rwanda in 1926 was 1% Twa, 84% Hutu, and 15% Tutsi[16]. Since the Tutsi were wealthy and had superior skills as warriors, they were able to establish a monarchy to rule over Rwanda. The king was

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[14] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 353-354. See also Rene Lemarchand, "Managing transition Anarchies: Rwanda, Burundi, and South Africa in Comparative Perspective," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 32.4 (1994): 589-590.

[15] Christian P. Scherrer, *Genocide and Crisis in Central Africa: Conflict Roots, Mass Violence and Regional War* (Connecticut: Praeger Publisher, 2002) 72

[16] Allison Des Forges, *Leave None To Tell the Story: The Transformation of "Hutu" and "Tutsi"* (New York: Human Right Watch, 1999) 4. The first recorded census was taken when the Belgian implemented ethnic identity cards, which demanded each Rwandan declare himself or herself as Hutu, Tutsi or Twa. Basically the composition is the same today as it has been for centuries.

known as Mwami and the populace considered themselves as Banyarwandans, or inhabitants of the kingdom of Rwanda. They lived intermingled with one another, belonged to joint clans, spoke the same Kinyarwandan language, and shared the same culture. Intermarriage was common.

Figure 1: Position of Rwanda with respect to Africa

Other than the fact that some Tutsis and few Hutus were members of the wealthy elite and close to the Mwami, the rest of the Banyarwandans, Hutu and Tutsi alike, were simply poor peasants struggling to survive from one year to the next.

The kingdom was structured in such a way that under the Mwami there were three types of chiefs: "chief of the landholding," "chief of men," and "chief of pastures." The chiefs were Tutsi and Hutu and there was a mechanism in which each household within the village made its own arrangements to pay the tax to the government. The system was not exploitative since it was in the form of collective responsibility. Against this setting, Rwanda was colonized first by the Germans and later on by the Belgians.

C.   CONFLICT PERIOD

In the late 1880s Rwanda was claimed by the Germans, the Belgians and the British. The Germans had the priority of the claim since Count von Gotzen, then Governor of German East Africa, had signed a treaty with Kigeri V Rwabugiri, the Rwandan Mwami after Gotzen explored the area. The contentious issue between the colonial powers was settled in the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 when most of Rwanda was awarded to the Germans.

Apart from settling the conflicting claims, the Berlin Conference also established the ground rules for colonialism. These rules included a requirement for the colonial power to demonstrate that they were effectively occupying the respective lands and establishing a civilizing mission into the area. Consequently apart from stationing their agents and soldiers in the occupied lands the colonial powers also brought in the missionaries to conduct the task of "civilizing" the indigenous inhabitants. The Catholic missionaries established their mission and schools in 1903. They were not well accepted by Mwami Musinga (descendant of Mwami Rwabugiri) and only succeeded after the Germans pressured Musinga. As a result, Christianity spread very slowly and attracted only the poor and marginal people who looked to the church for some material incentives and opportunities for paid employment.[17]

The German colonial presence was very limited but began to transform relations between the Hutu and the Tutsi. Since the number of Germans who lived in Rwanda was insignificant, they chose to administer the colony indirectly through the Mwami.[18] It is worth noting that Mwami Musinga had no wish to be seen as a Tutsi until he was overthrown in 1931.[19] The military hierarchy and the administration chiefs answerable to the Mwami continued to be Hutus and Tutsis. Thus the relations between Hutu and Tutsi were bound by a shared loyalty to a common institution.[20]

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[17] Lee Ann Fujii, "Origin of Power and Identity in Rwanda," paper presented at the Annual Conference of the International Studies Association, Chicago, Illinois, 20 February 2001.

[18] Even in 1914, there were only five German civil servants in Rwanda. Data taken from standard work of Tor Selklstrom and Lennart Wohlgemuth in "Joint Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda."

[19] Christian P. Scherrer, *Genocide and Crisis in Central Africa: Conflict Roots, Mass Violence and Regional War* (Connecticut: Praeger Publisher, 2002) 26-35; in around 1900 it was a grave insult to the king (Musigna) and his mother to be described as Tutsi.

[20] Ibid.

With the defeat of the Germans in World War I, the League of Nations mandated Belgium to administer Rwanda. The Belgians were impressed by the highly ordered social structure they found in Rwanda and believed that continuing the German policy of indirect rule was the best way to administer the country.[21] They, however, found that Rwanda's complexities troublesome. The administration within central Rwanda, including the least important representatives of the Mwami who sometimes governed only a few hundred people, necessitated a relatively high proportion of labor and local goods for its support.[22] Unfortunately, the Belgian ruling class was not willing to make the effort dealing with the "intertwined fingers" of Rwandese Tutsi-Hutu relations. For the Belgians, it was much easier to divide society between Hutus and Tutsis and ally one group against the rest.[23] The previous system of having three chiefs for each area, one at least of whom was normally a Hutu, was replaced by having a single chief for every locality.[24] The Belgians rammed through a series of measures that utterly transformed the social structure. Mwami Musinga was the last of Rwanda's Mwami who explicitly exhibited an anti-colonialism attitude. He was brought down by the Belgian governor Tilkens in 1931 and replaced with his son, Rudahigwa, who had been educated at a missionary school.[25] From this point on, the Mwami were described as Tutsi.

The indigenous pre-colonial patron/client relationship (*ubuhake*) that was flexible and contained an important element of reciprocity was rigidified by the Belgians and

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[21] Lee Ann Fujii, "Origin of Power and Identity in Rwanda," paper presented at the Annual Conference of the International Studies Association, Chicago, Illinois, 20 February 2001.

[22] Allison Des Forges, *Leave None To Tell the Story: Colonial Changes in the Political System* (New York: Human Right Watch, 1999) 3.

[23] Charlie Kimber, "Coming To Terms with Barbarism in Rwanda and Burundi," *International Socialism* 73 (1996): 1

[24] Allison Des Forges, *Leave None To Tell the Story: Colonial Changes in the Political System* (New York: Human Right Watch, 1999) 3. The Tutsi elite profited from the unintended consequences of these administrative reforms. Under the previous system of multiple officials, the chiefs ordinarily limited their demands on subordinates, "knowing that those who felt unreasonably exploited could seek protection from rivals or could move elsewhere, even clearing new land in the forest, if need be, to escape exactions." With the new administrative structure it was harder for the weak to escape repressive officials; not only did the Belgian "eliminate multiple hierarchies but they also restricted changes in residence from one region to another, and they prohibited new settlements in the forests. The one avenue of escape still possible was migration abroad and thousands took that route beginning in the 1920s. But those who preferred not to leave Rwanda had little choice but to submit to increased exploitation of officials now freed from the constraints that once limited their demands."

[25] Missionary schools gained increased enrollment from the children's of the Rwandan ruling class when it appeared to the elites that the Belgian was remodeling Rwandan institution and a perquisite for the membership of the new elite class was to become a Christian.

devoid of mutual obligation. Traditionally, *ubuhake* was a relationship based on a measure of reciprocity; through such ties, the client gained a certain level of protection and even prestige through his patron. Prunier notes that *ubuhake* had taken several forms: First, it was a link of subordination between "high and low" Tutsi lineages. Second, it was used as initiatives to increase control over their "administrative" subordinates, whether Tutsi or Hutu. Third, *ubuhake* became defensive strategies by either Hutu or Tutsi lineages who owned cattle and felt threatened by an encroaching rich Tutsi lineage and who looked for powerful *shebuja* (patron) to protect them. Finally, poor families Tutsi or even Hutu, who looked for a patron in order to improve a particular sorry economic situation, also used *ubuhake* as survival strategies. *Ubuhake* was then closed to charity.[26] Under the Belgian administration, *ubuhake* became simply another form of exploitation.

The policy that institutionalized Tutsi supremacy greatly enlarged the power of Tutsi chiefs at the local level. Hutu chiefs were replaced with Tutsi appointed by the administration. These chiefs were now responsible for meeting the demands of the colonial state, which included the collection of head taxes, providing men for free labor in building roads and other public works projects.[27] In the course of discharging their official duties, the chiefs, their kinsmen, and their clients would use their power over the common people to enrich themselves, and understandably the abuses fell hardest on those unable to escape.[28]

Simultaneous with the Belgian policy of favoring the Tutsi to fill the administrative posts, the Catholic schools, which represented the dominant educational system throughout the colonial period, adjusted their educational policies and openly

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[26] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 29.

[27] Ibid., 35. In undertaking the task of creating a 'modern, Rwanda, the Belgian implemented a harsh reform from 1926 to 1931. The burden of taxation increased dramatically and men were mobilized almost constantly to build and maintain roads, to dig anti-erosion terraces, build permanent structures and grow compulsory crops. Those who resisted were brutally beaten.

[28] Lee Ann Fujii, "Origin of Power and Identity in Rwanda," paper presented at the Annual Conference of the International Studies Association, Chicago, Illinois, 20 February 2001.

favored Tutsi and discriminated against Hutu.[29] The Catholic missionaries purposely reinforced the Tutsi feeling of superiority since the missionaries believed that the Tutsi were the "natural-born chief." Therefore they were given priority in education so that the church would have an influence over the future ruling class.[30] The majority Hutu population was left with no choice in pursuing the education except to become theology students at the seminaries. They faced difficulties in finding employment upon graduation and this led to frustration and embitterment in the long run.[31]

Once the Belgians had decided to limit opportunities for higher education and selection for the administration posts to the Tutsi, they were faced with the challenge of distinguishing between the Tutsis, the Hutus and the Twas. Eventually they created a procedure of registering everyone according to their affiliated group. The information obtained was recorded at the offices of the local government and each Rwandan was issued with an identity card that indicated his or her ethnicity.[32]

The segregation between the Tutsi, Hutu and Twa was firmly implanted with the introduction of this ethnic identity card in 1933. This identity card resembled a solid fence between the three groups that could no longer be crossed or reversed. The issuance of this identity card to all Rwandans eliminated the "fluid movement between castes and permanently fixing the identity of each individual, and his or her children, as either Hutu or Tutsi."[33] The long-term effect of this policy was more damaging, since it was maintained and manipulated to the best interest of the ruling party. [34] Consequently, the

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[29] Christian P. Scherrer, *Genocide and Crisis in Central Africa: Conflict Roots, Mass Violence and Regional War* (Connecticut: Praeger Publisher, 2002) 27. The pupils were separated in apartheid style. For example, in the Butare School, the Tutsi pupils were given milk and meat-based meals while the Hutu had to eat maize porridge and beans.

[30] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 33.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Allison Des Forges, *Leave None To Tell the Story: The Transformation of "Hutu" and "Tutsi"* (New York: Human Right Watch, 1999) 4.

[33] Yahya Sadowski, "Ethnic Conflict," *Foreign Policy* Summer (1998): 13. According to Scherrer, only the Twa remained outside the process and consequently "they became economically marginalized and socially largely excluded". Source: Christian P. Scherrer, *Genocide and Crisis in Central Africa: Conflict Roots, Mass Violence and Regional War* (Connecticut: Praeger Publisher, 2002) 27.

[34] Christopher Clapham, "Rwanda: The Perils of Peace-Making," *Journal of Peace Research*, 35.2 (1998) 197-198. Later on the government of post-independence Rwanda further exploited this mechanism by anchoring the Rwandan to a certain place of residence. Ethnicity and place of residence were inscribed inside the identity card and the beholder could not move to a new address without

segregation policy that was introduced by the Belgium with the sole purpose of favoring Tutsi and exploiting them for indirect rule firmly sowed the seed of hatred of Hutu toward Tutsi. If before the segregation "the oppressors" were the administrators, now the oppressed Hutu regarded the Tutsi as the enemy.

In the mid 1950s, the educated Tutsi began to embrace ideas of decolonization that were spreading across Africa and demanded independence. This certainly angered the Belgians who understood that their interests were no longer being served by the Tutsi. In retribution, Belgium began to switch its preference toward the majority Hutu.[35] Coincidentally, the international community through the United Nations had criticized Belgium for their discriminatory colonial activities. By giving the political field to the Hutu, the Belgians managed to address both problems simultaneously. The Catholic Church whose objective was to influence the Rwandan government started to sponsor Hutus to generate educated Hutus. The increased calls for emancipation of the working class and the growth of trade unionism in Europe also influenced the missionaries to revise their policy toward the treatment of the Hutus.[36] Thus they felt they had the moral duty to protest the social injustices suffered by the Hutus and set about to redesign their approach to sympathize the Hutu cause.[37]

With the support and blessing of their colonial master and the Catholic church, the educated Hutu organized their pro-colonial interest groups that were quickly transformed into the first ethno political movements.[38] Gregoire Kayibanda created the Hutu Social

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government's permission. Ironically, "Tutsi" identity cards that were supposed to carry privileges, eventually and literally became death warrants in the cyclical massacres that plagued the nation for the next thirty years.

[35] Christian P. Scherrer, *Genocide and Crisis in Central Africa: Conflict Roots, Mass Violence and Regional War* (Connecticut: Praeger Publisher, 2002) 28.

[36] Prunier noted that the change of Catholic stands was due to the change of the leadership of the Church. Earlier leadership had been from the upper-class men who had conservative political ideas, but after World War II they were increasingly being replaced by clerics from the lower middle class and the working class. As such, they were more sympathized with the downtrodden Hutus. Source: Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 44.

[37] Saskia Van Hoyweghen, "The Disintegration of the Catholic Church of Rwanda: Study of the Fragmentation of Political and Religious Authority," *African Affairs* 95.380 (1996): 381.

[38] Christian P. Scherrer, *Genocide and Crisis in Central Africa: Conflict Roots, Mass Violence and Regional War* (Connecticut: Praeger Publisher, 2002) 28.

Movement (MSM) in June 1957 and Joseph Gitera formed the "Association for the Social Promotion of the Masses" (APROSOMA) in November 1957.[39]

In response, members of the Tutsi elites organized themselves into the Rwandese National Union (UNAR), which was hostile to Belgium and pressed for independence. Realizing that the Tutsi chiefs and sub-chiefs with whom the Belgians had collaborated with for many years started to show hostility toward the Belgian, Jean-Paul Harroy who was the last Belgian Governor General, embarked on a reform that replaced many Tutsi chiefs and sub-chiefs with Hutu with the pretext of advancing democracy and acting in the welfare of the oppressed majority.[40] To counter the UNAR demands, the Belgium also sponsored a liberal and multi-ethic political party known as the Rwandese Democratic Union (RADER), but it attracted few supporters since the situation at the time had been extremely polarized by the distinction between the Hutu and Tutsi groups.[41]

The tension became so intense by late 1959 that violence erupted when some young members of the UNAR attacked a Hutu sub-chief who was also a PARMEHUTU (offspring of the MSM party) activist on 1 November 1959. The false news of his death provoked reprisals against the Tutsis and particularly toward the UNAR members. Hutu activists gathered their troops and attacked the Tutsis, burned their houses, and stole their cattle. The attack occurred throughout Rwanda, particularly in the Northern part where Tutsi domination was deeply resented.[42] The calamities claimed thousands of Tutsis and tens of thousand became refugees in neighboring countries.[43] Since the outbreak of the violence, the Belgian authorities understandably showed extreme partiality for the Hutus and did not intervene forcefully to stop the Hutus from burning the Tutsis' houses.[44]

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[39] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 47-48; The MSM later on became the Party of the Movement and of Hutu Emancipation or MDR-PARMEHUTU, which played a dominant role in Rwandan politics.

[40] Christopher C. Taylor, *Sacrifice As Terror: The Rwandan Genocide of 1994* (New York: Berg, 1999) 44.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid., the numbers of Tutsis who were either killed or fled the country covered the period of the violence, which spread from 1959 to 1963.

[44] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 49.

Finally, they did intervene to restore order but after much damage had been done and the Belgian authority itself started to lose control of the situation.

The destructive development that spanned from 1959 to 1961 came to be known as the Hutu revolution and led to the abolition of the monarchy and the removal of all political administrative Tutsi structures. The Hutu revolution firmly placed Rwanda in a conflict trap. Considering the number of Tutsis either killed or forced from their homes and the extreme damage in general, it was understandable that they would fight back at the earliest opportunity.

The transition from Tutsi to Hutu political domination was sealed by a United Nation sponsored election on September 25, 1961, which resulted in a definitive victory for the Hutu parties.[45] PARMEHUTU gained thirty-five seats out of forty-four while UNAR only won seven seats.[46] Gregoire Kayibanda was elected as the President and Rwanda became formally independent on July 1, 1962.

Kayibanda was to rule Rwanda in an authoritarian way until 1973. For the first several years of his term in office, armed Tutsi refugee groups organized raids into Rwanda from the borders of Burundi, Zaire and Tanzania. Each raid provoked severe reprisals against Tutsi still living in Rwanda. Thousands were either killed or fled into exile.[47] In 1963 the Tutsi rebels (called *Inyenzi* or cockroaches by Hutu authorities) launched an invasion that came quite close to the capital of Kigali but was beaten back by the Kayibanda government. Unfortunately, the government seized this opportunity to justify a massive reprisal against the Tutsis. It was estimated that nearly 10,000 Tutsis were slaughtered from December 1963 to January 1964 including every single Tutsi politician living in Rwanda.[48] This event did not attract international reaction, except from the Swiss government (a major foreign donor), which asked for a commission of

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[45] Due to these events Mwami Kigeli V left the country in an opportunity

[46] Danida, *The International Response to Conflict and Genocide; Lessons from the Rwanda Experience, Study 1 – Historical Perspective: Some Explanatory Factors*, accessed August 13th 2003, available at http://www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/Rwanda/Rwanda4c.htm

[47] Christopher C. Taylor, *Sacrifice As Terror: The Rwandan Genocide of 1994* (New York: Berg, 1999) 44.

[48] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 56.

inquiry.[49] The inquiry issued a report that placed the blame on the rebels, labeling the events as *Inyenzi* terrorism in Rwanda.[50] The government's activity during the crisis was whitewashed and so Swiss economic cooperation was unaffected.[51]

Using the pretext of *Inyenzi* threats, Kayibanda was able to exploit the lingering fear of Tutsi for his own political objectives. When his regime was criticized for favoring the southern over northern Hutus in the early 1970s, he used the anti-Tutsi agenda to deflect the issue.[52] His agents accused Tutsi of holding a disproportionate number of jobs in the private sector, in the schools, and in the church hierarchy. As a result the Tutsis were harassed and fired from their jobs and Tutsi school pupils were abused. A general state of unrest spread throughout the country and with the killings of Tutsis, streams of refugees flocked again across the neighboring borders. The Kayibanda strategy eventually backfired when the situation exploded out of control, which provided an opportunity for Kayibanda's Defense Minister, Juvenal Habyarimana, to stage a coup d'etat on the pretext of trying to reestablished order.[53] Under Habyarimana, the persecution of Tutsi was brought to an end and a policy of regional and ethnic equilibrium was designed to allocate the opportunity for state administrative jobs, schooling and university placements on the basis of the representation of the population. Hutus would not be favored over the Tutsis, neither the southerners over the northerners. Even though in practice, the Tutsis were still being discriminated against, they were no longer being killed or harassed.[54]

In 1978, Habyarimana institutionalized a one-party system in order to strengthen his power base.[55] This party, known as Mouvement Revolutionnaire National pour le Developpement (MRND) was a totalitarian party of which every Rwandan including

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[49] Ibid., pp. 56-57.

[50] Ibid., p.57

[51] Ibid.

[52] Christopher C. Taylor, *Sacrifice As Terror: The Rwandan Genocide of 1994* (New York: Berg, 1999) 45.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Christopher Clapham, "Rwanda: The Perils of Peace-Making," *Journal of Peace Research* 35.2 (1998): 198

babies and the elderly had to be members.[56]   Practically, Habyarimana extended his control to the lowest level of the populace.

Rwanda had been performing well economically for 12 years under his regime and the external political affiliation shifted toward France since it offered financial and military guarantees, which Belgium could not provide.[57] Unfortunately, in 1986, Rwanda was hit by an economic crisis in which the prices of its two main exports, coffee and tin, crashed on the world market. A ravaging famine that ensued in 1988 severely weakened the legitimacy of Habyarimana government due to its failure to address the situation successfully. The Habyarimana government also failed to seek a solution for the Tutsi refuges that were numbering in the hundreds of thousands living in neighboring countries and demanding to return.[58] He firmly objected to the return of the refugees, charging that Rwanda was overpopulated.

Eventually in 1990, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), which consisted mainly of former Tutsi soldiers serving in the Ugandan army, seized the opportunity provided by the unstable situation to launch an invasion from the north. With the French's assistance, the government forces managed to stop the RPF's advancement and push them back toward the northern border.[59]

Owing to political and economic deterioration, caused several opposition groups within Rwanda voiced their anger. Even though Habyarimana had always enforced the MRND political monopoly, eventually he succumbed to the idea of a multiparty system when advised by President Mitterrand.[60] When the political reform was implemented in 1991, twelve new political parties were established.[61] Habyarimana's party changed its

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[56] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 76-77.

[57] Ibid., 89.

[58] Christopher C. Taylor, *Sacrifice As Terror: The Rwandan Genocide of 1994* (New York: Berg, 1999) 47.

[59] W. J.Durch, ed., *UN Peacekeeping, American Policy, and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1996) 370.

[60] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 89-90.

[61] Howard Adelman and Astri Suhrke, eds., *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1999) 69.

name to MRNDD, and the four main opposition parties were the Democratic Republican Movement (MDR), Social Democratic Party (PSD), Liberal Party (PL) and Christian Democratic Party (PDC).[62] The other seven smaller parties were instigated by Habyarimana as an attempt to make a mockery of multipartyism.[63] These seven smaller parties were not very active and were manipulated by Habyarimana to serve MRNDD purposes.[64]

To address the economic situation, in 1991 Rwanda signed a $90 million structural adjustment program (SAP) with the World Bank after long and difficult negotiations.[65] To boost coffee exports and to reduce imports, the SAP called for the devaluation of the Rwandese franc by 55 percent in 1992.[66] The devaluation could not compensate for the further decline of the coffee price and at the same time increased inflation.[67] Even though the SAP mandated many actions that the government had to pursue in order to promote fiscal discipline, the government implemented few of them, which were the devaluation of Rwandese francs and temporarily halting the expansion of public sector jobs.[68] Public employment was greatly expanded when the government decided to increase the size of the army.[69]

Subsequent RPF attacks prompted the international community to broker a ceasefire between the government forces and the RPF. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) led by Tanzanian president, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, was to play a major role by being the mediator between the two belligerents.[70] For the four main opposition parties, the RPF served to increase their leverage and bargaining power relative to the

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[62] Ibid., 67-69

[63] Ibid., 69.

[64] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 127.

[65] Peter Uvin, *Aiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda* (Connecticut: Kumarian Press, 1998) 57.

[66] Ibid., 58

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] W. J. Durch, ed., *UN Peacekeeping, American Policy, and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1996) 370.

MRNDD.[71] On the other hand political liberalization and forced negotiation with the RPF pressured Habyarimana and his political circle to salvage the remaining power they had. Subsequently, this led to the formation of the Hutu extremist CDR (Coalition pour la Defense de la Republique) party in January 1993.[72] In order to undermine the peacemaking process, the CDR and MRNDD supervised the murders of political opponents and increased violence against Tutsi populace.[73] With the deteriorating situation, the donor nations, including the World Bank, threatened Habyarimana that financial assistance would be halted if he did not sign a treaty with the RPF by August 9, 1993.[74] Sensing that the government coffer was close to empty due to the economic recession and the military expenditure on the war, Habyarimana was obliged to sign the peace agreement on August 4, 1993 at Arusha, Tanzania.[75]

In essence, the Arusha Accord consists of two protocols. First, it covered the integration of the armed forces of the government and the RPF. Second, it dealt with various other issues including human rights violations, rule of law, power sharing, and transitional institution, resettlement of displaced persons and reparation for refugees. A timetable was drawn up for a projected period of two months in which a broad-based transitional government (BBTG) had to be established by the thirty-seventh day after the signing of the agreement (September 10, 1993) and end with a fair and free election.[76]

On the surface, the parties to the negotiations seemed to be successful in paving a way for a stable Rwanda, but "underneath they were quite fearful of the future because the extremists were venomously opposed to the accords."[77] Rene Lemarchand also noted that the Arusha Accord as a recipe for disaster since it was viewed by the Hutu extremist

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[71] Christopher Clapham, "Rwanda: The Perils of Peace-Making," *Journal of Peace Research* 35.2 (1998): 201.

[72] Lief Ohlsson, *Environment, Scarcity, and Conflict: A Study of Malthusian Concerns*, Dissertation, University of Goteborg, 1999, 96.

[73] This prompted the RPF to renew an attack on February 1993 but the fighting was thwarted again by French assistance.

[74] Allison Des Forges, *Leave None To Tell the Story: The Arusha Accords* (New York: Human Right Watch, 1999) 14.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Michael Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2002): 62.

[77] Ibid.

as an agreement that was imposed on them by outsiders.[78] The only real achievement of the Arusha accords was the ability of the international mediators to persuade all the parties involved "to put their signatures" on a piece of paper.[79] According to Prunier, Habyarimana himself signed the agreement as "a tactical move calculated to buy time, shore up the contradictions of the various segments of the opposition and [to] look good in the eyes of the foreign donors."[80]

Against these settings, the United Nation (UN) deployed its peacekeepers, the United Nation Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) to assist in implementing the Arusha agreement and support the BBTG according to the mandate passed by the Security Council. Based on the findings of the UN reconnaissance Mission to Rwanda, which was part of UNOMUR, Boutros Ghali proposed a force of 2,548 peacekeepers, plus various military, civilian and police personnel to undertake the tasks of UNAMIR.[81] The UNAMIR troops were plagued with the same problems that were faced by "virtually all peacekeeping operations, [that is], a lack of trained personnel, equipment, and finances."[82] As Laegreid contends, "The Rwanda operation was in this matter not a unique case, but the limitation would have devastating consequences when the crisis erupted in early April."[83]

On the other hand, the United States, which bore a large amount of the UN peacekeeping costs was in the process of reviewing its policy on supporting peacekeeping missions. The United States had suffered 370 percent increase in peacekeeping expenses

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[78] Howard Adelman and Astri Suhrke, eds., *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1999) 85-87.

[79] Christopher Clapham, "Rwanda: The Perils of Peace-Making," *Journal of Peace Research* 35.2 (1998): 204.

[80] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 194-195.

[81] Michael Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2002): 63.

[82] Howard Adelman and Astri Suhrke, eds., *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1999) 233.

[83] Ibid.

from 1992 to 1993.[84] The United States was determined to keep the cost of UNAMIR as low as possible.[85] The UNAMIR budget was only approved on April 4, 1994, and this delay coupled with low funding, prevented UNAMIR being equipped with enough ammunition and armored personnel carriers (APC) when the genocide began on April 6, 1994.[86]

Brigadier General Romeo Dellaire, who had been the UNOMUR's commander, was tapped to lead UNAMIR under the Secretary General Special Representative, Jacques Booh-Booh from Cameroon. Dallaire arrived in Kigali on October 22, followed by Booh-Booh a few weeks later. The Belgian and Bangladeshi forces that comprised the Kigali battalion arrived in the first week of December, and by December 28, the force had accumulated only 1,260 personnel from a dozen different countries.[87]

The deployment of UNAMIR was structured into four phases. Phase I began with the departure of foreign forces and the mission objective was to establish a secure environment within which a broad-based transitional government (BBTG) would be established. Once the BBTG was installed, UNAMIR would move into Phase II that called for the preparation for disengagement, demobilization, and integration of former belligerents. In Phase III, the objective to disengage, demobilize and integrate the former belligerents. In the final phase, the objective was to normalize the situation and subsequently to withdraw the UNAMIR upon the completion of the elections.

Phase I was completed successfully by UNAMIR, including the additional task of establishing an operation area in Southern Rwanda to mitigate the effect caused by the

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[84] Allison Des Forges, *Leave None To Tell the Story: Resources and Mandate* (New York: Human Right Watch, 1999) 18. According to Durch, in 1972 US persuaded the General Assembly to reduce its share of the regular budget from 31.6% to 25%. Only in the beginning of fiscal year 1996 U.S. limit its payments for UN peacekeeping to 25% of the total cost. Source: W. J. Durch ed., *UN Peacekeeping, American Policy, and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1996) 14 -15.

[85] Based on the draft version of PRD-13, the U.S. mission concluded that the condition in Rwanda warranted the deployment of peacekeeping operation. Source: Michael Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2002): 69.

[86] Michael Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2002): 69

[87] Ibid., 74-75.

influx of refugees who fled Burundi due to ethnic violence.[88] Unfortunately, Habyarimana kept delaying the formation of the BBTG by challenging the interpretation of the Arusha Accords.

In the meantime Hutu extremists began their preparation for the genocide. At the end of 1993, Minister Felicien Gatabazi sent a letter to Dallaire warning him that a dangerous conflict was brewing within Rwanda.[89] He insisted that Dallaire should request new operational rules from UN headquarters that would allow UNAMIR personnel to intervene to stop massacres.[90] Dallaire also received letters from senior officers of the Rwandan Armed Forces drawing his attention to the increased incidence of violence that was planned to incite the RPF to violate the cease-fire that would then justify the general resumption of hostilities.[91] Adding to this background the extremist's radio station (RTLM) had been broadcasting daily calls to violence against Tutsis and dissidents.[92] At this stage, "Dallaire and other UNAMIR officials were now keenly aware that they were supervising a highly explosive situation."[93] Dallaire's requests to UN headquarters for more troops and a broader interpretation of UNAMIR's mandate to tailor the situation were repeatedly refused.[94]

Jean-Pierre Twatzinze, who had personal ties to the palace and involved in training the Interahamwe, delivered the most detailed warning to Dallaire on January

[88] W. J. Durch, ed., *UN Peacekeeping, American Policy, and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1996) 382. The assassination of Burundian president, Melchior Ndadaye who is a moderate Hutu by the Tutsi army of Burundi also sent a strong ripple effect into Rwanda. It unified the various Hutu supremacists' parties behind the extremist CDR and consequently the rate of violence incidence increased dramatically.

[89] Christian P. Scherrer, *Genocide and Crisis in Central Africa: Conflict Roots, Mass Violence and Regional War* (Connecticut: Praeger Publisher, 2002) 71.

[90] Ibid. Later on Gatabazi was murdered after he spoke on Radio Rwanda regarding the Interahamwe.

[91] Allison Des Forges, *Leave None To Tell the Story: Chronology*, (New York: Human Right Watch, 1999) 3.

[92] Christian P. Scherrer, *Genocide and Crisis in Central Africa: Conflict Roots, Mass Violence and Regional War* (Connecticut: Praeger Publisher, 2002) 70.

[93] Michael Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2002): 77.

[94] Allison Des Forges, *Leave None To Tell the Story: Chronology* (New York: Human Right Watch, 1999) 3.

11.[95] According to him, the Hutu elites had been busy planning to exterminate all Tutsis and transforming the Interahamwe into a killing machine. Weapons had been stockpiled and ethnic cleansing would begin once the BBTG was established. Calculating that the Interahamwe would not be able to fight a two-front war with the RPF and the UN, they were planning to kill several Belgian peacekeepers, which they assessed would cause Belgium to withdraw their troops (A lesson learned from observing Somalia). He offered to take UNAMIR to the weapon cache and promised to supply more information if the UN could guarantee a protection for himself, his wife and four children.[96]

In response, Dallaire sent a cable to his superior at the Department of Peacekeeping Operation's (DPKO) in New York detailing the information that he received. He stated that he planned to seize the arms within thirty-six hours and requested protection for Jean Pierre. He concluded the cable by saying "Where there is a will, there is a way. Let's do it."[97] Unfortunately, DPKO responded by stating that UNAMIR's mandate did not permit such action and directed Dallaire to discuss the information with Habyarimana. Furthermore protection for Jean-Pierre could not be offered.[98]

The effect was damaging. After the meeting with Habyarimana, Dallaire concluded, "The president and officials of his political party were bewildered by the specificity of the information at our disposal. The president of MRNDD seemed unnerved and is reported to have subsequently ordered an accelerated distribution of weapons."[99]

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[95] Michael Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2002): 77-78. Interahamwe was the youth wing of MRND created by Habyarimana and was notoriously associated with the worst atrocities during the genocide.

[96] William Shawcross, *Deliver Us from Evil: Peacekeepers, Warlords and a World of Endless Conflict* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000) 130.

[97] Allison Des Forges, *Leave None To Tell the Story: Chronology* (New York: Human Right Watch, 1999) 6.

[98] Michael Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2002): 79.

[99] Allison Des Forges, *Leave None To Tell the Story: Chronology* (New York: Human Right Watch, 1999) 9-15. With the situation deteriorating, Dallaire cabled five more messages on January 22, February 3, February 15, February 27 and March 13, requesting permission to react. On each occasion he was denied the permission. The best that he received was to conduct the operation of recovering the stockpiled weapons in the presence of Rwandan authorities. That is equivalent to informing the criminals that their nests were to be raided with their assistance. Apart from that, UNAMIR increasingly faced

While Dallaire repeatedly requested a more flexible mandate, the Secretary General repeatedly "underlined that the success of the mission depended on the cooperation of the Rwandese parties and their willingness to implement the Arusha Agreement."[100] Furthermore, the DPKO viewed Dallaire's plan as an attempt to repeat UNOSOM's failure, and "they feared that the Interahamwe would give an Aideed-like response to a UNOSOM-like provocation."[101]

The genocide began in the evening of April 6, 1994, after the aircraft that carried Habyarimana and Burundi President Cyprien Ntaryamira was shot down while on approach into the Kigali airport. Immediately the extremist set into action, killing individuals who were high on their hit lists. During the first phase of the slaughter, prominent opposition politicians, human right activists, lawyers, critical journalists and moderate civil servants were targeted.[102] "Hours after the plane crash, Dallaire sent a message to New York saying, 'Give me the means and I can do more.' DPKO's immediate reply was that 'nobody is interested in that.'"[103] Dallaire's attempt to save the Rwandan prime minister, Agathe Uwilingiyimana failed when the ten Belgian soldiers that he dispatched to protect her, laid down their weapons in compliance with the demand of the government soldiers, "in order to keep up with their mandate." The prime minister was killed and the Belgians were taken to Camp Kigali where they were tortured and mutilated.[104] Attempts to protect other politicians also proved fruitless, since basically the UNAMIR personnel had to negotiate with the killers in order to perform their duties.

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difficulties getting the necessary equipments for the operation, ranging from basic supplies such as eating utensils, torchlights or papers to a roadworthy APC.

[100] Howard Adelman and Astri Suhrke, eds., *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1999) 234.

[101] Michael Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2002): 92

[102] Howard Adelman and Astri Suhrke, eds., *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1999) 235.

[103] Michael Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2002): 110

[104] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 230.

On April 8, RPF renewed the war especially to rescue their 600 men who were trapped in Kigali.[105]

During the first week of the genocide, the Security Council attention's focused on the task of evacuating foreign nationals from Rwanda.[106] No serious attempt was made to ensure the safety of the Rwandan civilians. Belgium withdrew its battalion on April 19 as had been predicted by the genocide planners. Consequently Dallaire had to redeploy the Ghanaian battalion from the demilitarized zone (DMZ) to Kigali in order to protect his own force and small number of civilians.

As the genocide raging throughout Rwanda, the Security Council was debating whether to withdraw UNAMIR or to change its mandate for intervention.[107] The camp, which insisted on withdrawal, argued that Rwanda was not a genuine threat to international peace and security and the future of UN peacekeeping should be considered since it depended on the willingness of member states to provide troops. The failure of the Security Council to take the necessary measures to protect their soldiers would cause them to refuse sending troops in the future.

The camp that insisted on intervention did not have a strong case to influence the resolution. Not a single UNAMIR soldier represented their country.[108] An absence of a viable peace process and ceasefire, which are the preconditions for UN peacekeepers' presence, blunted their arguments. They could only use moral arguments to stop the massacre—not a winnable argument in a realist world. On April 21, The Security Council voted to reduce UNAMIR strength to 270 personnel with an adjusted mandate, that is, to

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[105] Later on, it was proved that only the RPF was able to stop the genocide in the absence of international intervention.

[106] Michael Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2002): 100

[107] The five permanent members favored withdrawal while Nigeria, Czech Republic and New Zealand favored the later.

[108] Nigeria, Czech Republic and New Zealand did not contribute soldiers in the formation of UNAMIR peacekeeping troop.

negotiate a ceasefire, provide humanitarian relief operations, and monitor developments in Rwanda.[109]

As reports of genocide reached the outside world, public outcry pressured the Security Council to revise the UNAMIR mandate. On May 17, almost six weeks after the genocide began, Resolution 918 was passed that increased UNAMIR strength to 5,500 troops with the provision to provide safe passage for displaced peoples; assist and protect the relief efforts of humanitarian organizations; and provide protected sites for displaced peoples throughout Rwanda.[110] The next usual problem was to solicit troops and equipment from member states. By the time full strength was achieved, the genocide subsided but not before nearly 850,000 killed were killed.[111]

The UN did authorize France's intention to conduct humanitarian intervention on June 22 for a duration of sixty days. Dubbed as "Operation Turquoise," the 2,500 French soldiers quickly established a "humanitarian protected zone" in the Cyangugu-Kibuye-Gikongoro triangle in southwestern Rwanda.[112] Even though this operation provided sanctuary for around fifteen to twenty-five thousand Tutsis, it was criticized for providing a safe passage to the retreating genocidaires and Rwandan forces who fled the RPF advancement.[113]

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[109] The decision was met with severe criticism especially from OAU, which denounced the withdrawal as "a sign of indifference or lack of sufficient concern" for Africa. Immediately after the April 21 vote, Czech and New Zealand ambassadors expressed the possibility of genocide based on independent reports and human right organization assistance. As his final act as president of the Security Council, Ambassador Keating "attempted to push through a presidential statement that acknowledge Rwanda as Genocide. An ally, Czech Ambassador Karel Kovanda, lambasted the council for spending 80 percent of its time discussing the withdrawal of the peacekeepers and 20 percent of its time trying to broker a ceasefire. He pointedly observed that 'It was like wanting Hitler to reach a cease fire with the Jews.'" Source: Michael Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2002): 134.

On the other hand, the April 21 vote sent a signal to genocidaires in Rwanda to accelerate the genocide since they knew UN would do nothing.

[110] Michael Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2002): 139. The resolution was delayed due to the United States' insistence to get the operation working in accordance with Presidential Decision Directive (PDD25) that was signed by President Clinton on May 4. This document contained " a set of criteria intended to guide the United States' decision making on peacekeeping operations."

[111] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 261-265.

[112] UN website.

[113] Michael Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2002): 149.

By July 17, the RPF succeeded in defeating the Hutu regime forces and established a new government in Kigali.[114] One of its leaders, Pasteur Bizimungu, a Hutu, was named as the President and Faustin Twagiramungu as the Prime Minister. The Chief of Staff of the RPF, Major General Kagame was named as the Vice-President. The RPF leadership announced that the new transitional government would serve for five years and adhere to the Arusha Peace Accord. By August 24, the RPF controlled most of Rwanda. The fallen regime leaders, coupled with their Interahamwe band, fled across the borders and encouraged and forced nearly two million of the population to flee with them.[115]

The exodus into neighboring countries created a humanitarian disaster that captured international intention. With the new situation brewing, UNAMIR was tasked to ensure stability in the northwestern and southwestern regions of Rwanda; to stabilize and monitor the situation in all regions of Rwanda in order to encourage the return of the displaced population; to provide security and support for humanitarian assistance operations inside Rwanda; and to promote, through mediation and good offices, national reconciliation in Rwanda.[116]

Unfortunately, the strong presence of UNAMIR after the genocide drew severe criticism from the new government. The discomfort was easily understood. UNAMIR had failed to stop the genocide that happened in front of their eyes, and now they were providing humanitarian assistance for the fleeing genocidaires and halting the government's effort to deal effectively with the cross-border insurgencies by Interahamwe and the former government forces. Finally when the UNAMIR mandate ended on March 8, 1996, it was not renewed and the withdrawal of the forces began on March 9 and was completed on April 19, 1996.

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[114] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 299

[115] The strategy was declared by the extremists' leader, "Even if the RPF has won a military victory, it will not have the power. It has only bullets; we have the population." Source: William Shawross, *Deliver Us from Evil: Peacekeepers, Warlords and a World of Endless Conflict* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000) 141.

[116] UN Website.

From 1997 to 1998, these former regime forces conducted guerilla activity particularly in the northwest area, bordering with democratic the Republic of Congo (DRC). Schools, bars, buses and homes were attacked by Hutu rebels and resulted in the death of thousands of people.[117] Apart from fighting guerillas, the Rwandan troops were charged to be the sponsor of rebel forces in the eastern part of DRC.[118] On the other hand, Rwanda charged that the DRC was supporting and sheltering Rwandan rebels forces. In the meanwhile internal politics within Rwanda paved the way for Kagame to be at the forefront of the administration. On March 23, 2000, President Pasteur Bizimungu resigned from his office citing personal reasons and was replaced by Vice-President Kagame within twenty-four hours.[119] Officially Kagame was sworn as Rwanda's first Tutsi President on April 22, 2000.

On July 22, 2002, Rwanda and DRC reached a peace agreement that might end the four years of conflict since the DRC agreed to destroy and to capture the Rwandan rebels sheltering in its eastern border.

D.   POST-CONFLICT PERIOD

A nationwide referendum on a newly drafted constitution was held in July 2003. In the presidential election held on August 25, 2003, President Paul Kagame won 95.05 percent of the total votes cast making him the first Rwandan President elected through a multi-party election.[120]

Rwanda has also embarked on a decentralization program in which local government officials, elected for five-year terms, are given the responsibility to provide

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[117] Global Information System, *Rwanda-History*, accessed May 23, 2003, available at <http://www.gisresearch.com/online/Rwanda.htm>

[118] Ibid.

[119] Ibid.

[120] "Rwanda: Supreme Court Confirms Kagame Winner of Presidential Elections," *IRINNEWS.ORG.*, accessed on September 4, 2003, available at <http://.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=36371&SelectRegion=Great_Lakes&SelectCountry=RWAND>

social services at the district levels. Presently, the major challenge for the government of Rwanda is to secure adequate funds and resources for local governments projects.[121]

The International Criminal Tribunal for the genocide was established to try the planners of the genocide, but the trials are still continue at a slow pace and face many problems. On the other hand, the Gacaca traditional court system implemented within Rwanda to try the genocide perpetrators has achieved international publicity due to its effectiveness and is seen as a hope for dealing with the mass of suspects who were involved in the crime.

Rwanda still faces severe development challenges. A USAID report noted that more than sixty percent of Rwandans were still living below the poverty line and more than ninety percent of the common farmers exist at the subsistence level. The average farm size decreased from 2.5 acres to 1.75 acres within a ten-year period (1991 to 2000). Poor farming practices led to severe erosion and declining soil fertility.

E.   SUMMARY

The conflict between Hutu and Tutsi in Rwanda resulted from the policies implemented by the colonizers. The rigorous transformation of Rwandan administrative structures coupled with inequalities in the opportunities for schooling and subsequently in the making of the elites bred resentment and hatred within the oppressed majority.

Post-independence Rwanda saw a reversal of the treatment toward Tutsis. The Hutu government basically reused the colonizers' policy to "punish" the Tutsis. Subsequent governments failed to address the issues adequately since the underlying issue was the scarcity of resources within Rwanda. When Hutu extremists were forced to share their power with others to realize a multiparty system in the early 1990s and coupled with a war with the RPF, the protracted conflict transformed into genocide, since the Hutu extremists feared losing ground to the Tutsis. The UN force that was present in Rwanda during the genocide period was unable to prevent its occurrence due to the

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[121] USAID, *Fiscal Year 2002 Annual Report Rwanda*, (2002) 3-4.

unwillingness of the international community to commit the necessary resources coupled with the lingering memory of the Somalia failure.

In the post-conflict Rwanda, nothing much has changed that will alter the underlying causes of the conflict. Land pressure stands as the main issue, and positive accumulation of human capital is yet to be seen considering the large number of people that perished in the genocide while more than eighty-five thousand live in the jails awaiting trial.

III.   THE ROLE OF HUMAN CAPITAL

A.   INTRODUCTION

Investment in human capital accumulation is an important element in the reconstruction process of a post-conflict society since it can generate economic growth and individual advancement while combating unemployment, social exclusion and inequality.[122] Despite this fact, conventional international responses normally focus on emergency relief and economic reconstruction without paying much attention to the development of human capital.[123]

In a broad sense, human capital is defined as "the aggregation of the innate abilities and the knowledge and skills that individuals acquire and develop throughout their lifetime."[124] This definition is quite broad since it includes innate abilities that represent an individual's inherent potential to acquire skills and knowledge either through inter-generational transfers, personal contacts, work experience, education or socialization.[125] For the purpose of this thesis, human capital is referred as the educational attainment of individuals developed through formal and informal educational processes influenced by the state.[126]

Even though the effect of educational attainment is normally associated with increased social and economic well-being, a pattern where rebellions and conflicts are instigated and led by the "educated" also exists. The war in Southern Sudan between the Nuer and Dinka tribes that covering the period from 1991 to 1999 was widely acclaimed as "the war of the educated."[127] The educated leaders, Dr. Reik Machar and Dr. John

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[122] Tom Healy, "Counting Human Capital," *The OECD Observer*, 212, (1998): 1

[123] Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, *Study of the Education Sector in Rwanda,* (Kigali: 1998) 1.

[124] Mireille Laroche and Marcel Merette, "On the Concept and Dimensions of Human Capital in a Knowledge-Based Economy Context," *Canadian Public Policy: Analyse De Politiques*, XXV.I (1999): 89.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Even though other factors also contribute toward generating human capital, for example, public health policy, education attainment is at the forefront that affects the accumulation.

[127] Sharon E. Hutchinson, "A Curse from God? Religious and Political Dimensions of the Post-1991 Rise of Ethnic Violence in South Sudan," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 39 (2001): 324.

Garang, drove the Nuer and Dinka into war.[128] From the perspective of the civilian populations, the war was imposed on them by their leaders. This was evident in the words of one of the tribal chief who stated: "The educated makes us fight."[129] In neighboring Ethiopia, the rebellion that toppled the feudal government was also driven and instigated by the intellectuals. Emperor Haile Selassie was toppled by the same educated class that he had nurtured in his attempt to modernize Ethiopia.[130] In the case of Rwanda, the intellectuals' role in the protracted conflict (propagating the ethnic hate agenda) and their subsequent participation in the genocide is quite evident.

Those events bring into question whether being "educated" does not necessarily imply a moral obligation?[131] If the aim of education is to make people better, then the content of the education should be suited to the practical situation.[132] The curricula and syllabi used by schools and universities can influence whether graduates will foster development or promote subversion.

For example, is it appropriate to incorporate a curriculum that promotes differences across ethnic groups? Is it more appropriate to design the education curriculum that promotes technical innovation and generates improved cultivation techniques, which, in turn, will increase agricultural output? Sadly, in the case of Rwanda, a country whose history revolved around ethnic discrimination in the pre-genocide period, education had been used to distort information and encourage violence. Education, in Rwanda has not been used as a tool to foster development in a densely populated agrarian population.

Another problematic issue affiliated with educational attainment is that improvements in human capital may provoke a latent conflict. Improvements in educational attainment normally increase political awareness. With the growth of literacy,

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[128] Dr. Riak Machar received his Ph.D. in Mechanical Engineering from Bradford University and Dr. John Garang obtained his Ph.D. in Agricultural Economics from Iowa State University.

[129] Sharon E. Hutchinson, "A Curse from God? Religious and Political Dimensions of the Post-1991 Rise of Ethnic Violence in South Sudan," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 39 (2001) 324.

[130] Edmond J.Keller, *Revolutionary Ethiopia: From Empire to People's Republic* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988) 78-83, 180-187.

[131] R.S. Peters, ed., *The Concept of Education* (London: The Humanities Press, 1967) 3-6.

[132] Adam Curle, *Educational Problems of Developing Societies with Case Studies of Ghana, Pakistan, and Nigeria* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973) 4.

concurrent with widespread access to mass media, the perception of the people toward a certain issue can be shaped according to the agenda of the government. While education policy delivered through good governance may promote unity and beneficial political action, the reverse is true if education policy is in the hands of an authoritarian state.

Lederach understands the relationship between education and conflict in that conflict is initially latent or hidden when people are devoid of the knowledge regarding the injustices that govern their life.[133] People might know that inequality exists, but they accept it as the order of the day. Many traditional societies, including feudalistic and caste-oriented typify this type of existence. In order to resolve the latent conflict, Lederach suggests that the issue must be brought to the surface by erasing ignorance and raising awareness regarding the inequality and injustices. Only then can a mechanism be developed to solve or to address the issue. Obviously this strategy is very delicate and can be problematic. If it is not approached diligently or tackled wisely, it can be the real spark that starts the fire of conflict.

Ledarach's strategy proved lethal in the long run for Rwanda since the latent conflict that was brought to the surface was deliberately manipulated by the educators to suit their agenda. Chapter II established that there was no trace of organized violence between the Tutsi and the Hutu during their long period of coexistence in the pre-colonial history. Therefore there is a need to reexamine the educational system in Rwanda to include the educational environment and the actors and their visions. This chapter traced education policy and attainment from the pre-independence period until the post-genocide situation, specifically focusing on how the generation of human capital shaped the pattern of the conflict. Hopefully, a clearer understanding can be obtained and applied in the post-conflict reconstruction process.

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[133] John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997) 64.

B.   PRE-INDEPENDENCE SITUATION

Pre-colonial education in Rwanda was largely informal. Children were educated by their parents and relatives regarding Rwandan cultures and values throughout their childhood and also through a community-based education system (*itorero*).[134]

This method emphasized practical work skills apart from the usual storytelling and dancing. Boys and girls were trained separately according to their future responsibilities. Boys were expected to follow their father's footsteps and become the head of the household, whereas girls were trained in the duties of housekeeping and child rearing.[135]

Roman Catholic Church missionaries introduced the modern Rwandan school in 1908 with the blessing of the colonial administration.[136] The colonial administration had to rely on the churches to provide several public services such as education and health care, as they were expensive.[137] This policy continued throughout the colonial period and characterized the education service in the post independence period. The extent of the missionaries' involvement in this sector is illustrated by the official statistics for the period of 1956-1957 as in Table 1.

In return for the missionaries contribution in providing the educational services, the Belgians cooperated with the missionaries' evangelistic efforts.[138] Invariably the main objectives of the missionaries were to evangelize the population and to train the administrators who would be the future elite of the country.[139] Unfortunately there existed a selective aspect that marked the concept of the education system ran by the missionaries. There was a clear distinction made between educating a "Rwandan elite" in preparation for the administrative jobs, on one hand, and the training of the majority of

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[134] Usha George, *A Cultural Profile: Rwanda* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001) 11.

[135] Ibid.

[136] Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, UNESCO and UNDP, *Study of the Education Sector in Rwanda* (1998): 25

[137] Timothy P. Longman, "Empowering the Weak and Protecting the Powerful: The Contradictory Nature of Churches in Central Africa," *African Studies Review* 41.1 (1998): 55.

[138] Timothy P. Longman, "Empowering the Weak and Protecting the Powerful: The Contradictory Nature of Churches in Central Africa," *African Studies Review* 41.1 (1998): 55.

[139] Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, *Education Sector Policy* (Kigali: 2002) 4.

the people to play their role in a traditional setting.[140] In another word, education represented a structure that divided the masses and the elite.

Type of School	No. of State schools	No. of Mission schools	Percentage of Mission schools out of total	No of students in states schools	No of students in mission schools	Percentage of students in Mission schools out of total
Kindergartens and Primary	17	2,686	99.3	2,12	234,010	97.6
Secondary	2	2	50.0	365	219	37.5
Schools for Teachers	1	15	93.7	61	1,515	96.1
Teacher Training	1	8	88.9	36	391	91.6
Special Schools	4	29	87.9	401	1,469	78.6

Table 1: The School System of Rwanda-Burundi, 1956 to1957 from[141]

Within the school environment, students were separated in an apartheid style.[142] Being earmarked for the training as future elite, Tutsi students were given meat-based meals and milk while the Hutus, who were to play the traditional role, were only given maize porridge and beans.[143] A literature that conveyed the division between the Tutsi and the Hutu was extensively distributed[144] since the missionaries firmly believed that the Tutsi were born chiefs and the Hutus were simply incapable of becoming administrators. Leon Classe, Vicar Apostolic since 1913, set the vision to capitalize the missionary schools as a way to create an ethnically defined Christian aristocracy

[140] Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, UNESCO and UNDP, *Study of the Education Sector in Rwanda* (1998): 25

[141] Helen Kitchen ed., *The Educated African* (New York: Praeger Publisher, 1962) 211, with the original source from Belgian official statistics. Later on, the mission schools were categorized as private education.

[142] Christian P. Scherrer, *Genocide and Crisis in Central Africa: Conflict Roots, Mass Violence and Regional War* (Connecticut: Praeger Publisher, 2002) 27.

[143] Ibid.

[144] Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, *Education Sector Policy* (Kigali: 2002) 4.

composed of Tutsi.[145] Moreover since the attendance at the school was paid for, it compounded the advantages for the wealthy Tutsis who were more capable to finance their children for the schooling.[146] Table 2 below shows a sample taken of the college enrollment of students in the province of Butare[147] (previously Astrida). From this figure it is evident that there existed a disproportionate imbalance between the enrollments of Tutsi and Hutu that resulted from the agenda that was carried out by the Catholic Church and the Belgian colonial government.

Year	Tutsi pupils	Hutu pupils	Hutus As Percent of Total
1932	45	9	16.6
1945	46	3	6.1

Table 2: Proportion between Tutsi and Hutu Students in the Province of Butare after[148]

Upon the completion of secondary education, the Hutus did not have many choices, except to become either theology students at the seminaries or blue-collar workers in the mines or industry.[149] These few Hutus who were lucky enough to obtain a post-secondary education viewed the world outside seminaries as a Tutsi-dominated enterprise. They were excluded from most avenues of social and economic advancement and unable to rise beyond the lowliest ranks of the civil service simply because of their "Hutuness."[150] Being systematically denied opportunities to which they felt entitled, bred a growing frustration and embitterment that was to play an important role in the 1959 Hutu revolution.[151]

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[145] Saskia Van Hoyweghen, "The Disintegration of the Catholic Church of Rwanda: Study of the Fragmentation of Political and Religious Authority," *African Affairs* 95.380 (1996): 380.

[146] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 33.

[147] The only place where secondary education was offered until the mid-1950s as described by a group of researchers on Rwanda: Richard F. Nyrop, Lyle E. Brenneman, Roy V. Hibbs, Charlene A. James, Susan MacKnight, Gordon C. McDonald in *Rwanda: A Country Study* (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1985) 96.

[148] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (NewYork: Columbia University Press, 1995) 33, with original source from Rene Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi* (New York: Praeger Publishing, 1970).

[149] Lee Ann Fujii, "Origin of Power and Identity in Rwanda," paper presented at the Annual Conference of the International Studies Association, Chicago, Illinois, 20 February 2001.

[150] Ibid.

[151] Ibid.

However the initial attempts by these small educated Hutu to influence and to win the support of the Hutu masses in the first two provincial and state councils elections that were introduced by the Belgians failed, since the masses were still attached to the values and norms based on deference toward the ruling class.[152] For the rural Hutu, inequalities between the masses and the elite class were an acceptable fact and norms of the day. The awakening of the Hutu masses about class-consciousness only materialized slowly with the changing of the missionaries' sympathies toward the struggle undertaken by the small educated Hutus.

The shift in the missionaries' treatment of the Hutu in contrary to Classe's vision was mainly due to three factors. First, by 1951, within the Rwandese church organization, the number of black Rwandese priests had grown in number and was threatening to overtake the power of the whites.[153] These black priests were almost exclusively Tutsi, coinciding with the period when the educated Tutsis started to pick up the ideas of colonial political devolution and possible self-government.[154] Obviously the Belgians were uncomfortable with these developments. Second, working closely with the Belgian administration that had shifted their policy to favor the Hutus in retribution for Tutsis demand for independence, the Catholic church switched their attitudes from supporting the Tutsi elite to educating, aiding and encouraging the Hutu to rise from their subservient position and assume the position of power after independence.[155] Third, that period was also marked with the change of leadership within the Church hierarchy. The conservative clerics who originated from southern and southeastern Belgium were increasingly being replaced by Flemish clerics from humbler origins who knew first hand the experience of being treated as second-class citizens in their own country.[156]

The Catholic church, which always had the vision to have an influence within the Rwandan government, started to sponsor the education of many of the Hutu and helped

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[152] Ibid., these elections were held in 1953 and 1956 as the initial steps that were taken by Belgium in order to introduce democracy in Rwanda.

[153] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 43-44.

[154] Ibid., p.43

[155] Ibid.

[156] Lee Ann Fujii, "Origin of Power and Identity in Rwanda," paper presented at the Annual Conference of the International Studies Association, Chicago, Illinois, 20 February 2001.

them gain access to higher education. The abrupt change in the missionaries' attitude however, did not suffice to rectify the inequalities that had developed over the previous three decades. Again, a sample on the college enrollment of students in the province of Butare taken for that period showed only a minimal increase in Hutus' enrollment even though when compared to earlier periods, the increment was quite substantial:

Year	Tutsi pupils	Hutu pupils	Hutu As Percent of Total
1954	63	19 (13 from Burundi)	23.2
1959	279	143	33.8

Table 3: Proportion between Tutsi and Hutu Students in the Province of Butare in 1954 to 1959 after[157]

The extent of the church's commitment to this issue went beyond Rwanda. Some of the Hutus, such as Gregoire Kayibanda, were sponsored by the church to stay in Europe where they could gain political experience in Christian Democratic trade unions.[158] Apart from morally supporting the Hutu's cause for social justice, the church also supplemented its logistical needs. The Hutus were allowed to used the church's weekly publication, *Kinyamateka*, to disseminates their views and to debate the prominent issues of the day.[159] Even though the level of literacy in the countryside was very low, *Kinyamateka* was the main source of information for rural people. Those who could read would read the contents aloud which enabled illiterate Hutus to follow the political battles that were taking place in their name.[160] *Kinyamateka* proved to be an effective organ for the educated Hutu to openly confront the Mwami and his court and eroded the sense of legitimacy of the Mwami.[161]

Over time, the pre-independence education system in Rwanda was characterized by the shifting of the attitude of the educator from favoring one group of the population

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[157] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 33, with original source from Rene Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi* (New York: Praeger Publishing, 1970).

[158] Christopher C. Taylor, *Sacrifice As Terror: The Rwandan Genocide of 1994* (New York: Berg, 1999) 43.

[159] In fact Kayibanda was made the chief editor of *Kinyamateka*.

[160] Lee Ann Fujii, "Origin of Power and Identity in Rwanda," paper presented at the Annual Conference of the International Studies Association, Chicago, Illinois, 20 February 2001.

[161] Ibid.

to another. The latent conflict was radicalized through the use of the mass media, which effectively penetrated every household in the villages. The mass media successfully raised the awareness among the Hutus that the Tutsi-ran state relegated the Hutu to second-class citizenship.[162] With the backing of the colonial power, the effort undertaken by the small group of educated Hutu eventually succeeded when the last Mwami was overthrown and the Hutu political party won the election that led to the independence of Rwanda in 1962.[163]

Compounding the problem of inequalities, the Belgian colonizer performed badly in building the human capital of Rwanda. There was only one Rwandan-Burundian studying at the University in Antwerp in 1951.[164] There was none in other universities until 1955, and in 1956 there were only twelve students in the University at Elizabethville and twenty in the Lovanium University in Leopoldville.[165] The number Rwandan-Burundian students in the Lovanium University rose to forty-one in 1958-59 when 37 of them were Tutsis.[166] In 1960 there was only one University in Rwanda with only thirty students.[167] Such a low level of human capital accumulation did not prepare Rwandan adequately for the independence. On the other hand, when the majority of the highly educated were Tutsis, the situation was worse when post-independent Rwanda was to be led by the Hutu elite who was a staunch enemy of the Tutsis.

C.   POST-INDEPENDENCE TO GENOCIDE PERIOD

Gregoire Kayibanda, who had lived through the inequalities in his early schools years, was to lead Rwanda after independence.[168] Unfortunately at independence the

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[162] Ibid.

[163] Ibid.

[164] Helen Kitchen, ed., *The Educated African* (New York: Praeger Publisher, 1962) 215.

[165] Ibid.

[166] Ibid.

[167] Ibid.

[168] Gregoire Kayibanda was the private secretary to Mgr Perraudin, the Swiss vicar apostolic of Rwanda and he had managed to build an extensive relationship with the Belgian Christian syndicalist world. This made him the most acceptable person to lead Rwanda after independence in the eyes of Belgian and the Church. Sources: Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 45 and Saskia Van Hoyweghen, "The Disintegration of the Catholic Church of Rwanda: Study of the Fragmentation of Political and Religious Authority," *African Affairs*, 95.380 (1996): 381.

number of Hutu who had successfully completed higher education was very small. Within that small number of Hutu elites, there were even less who had an idea on how to democratize the education service. In fact, ethnic discourse had always been used as a means to divert attention away from inner contradictions within Hutu elites.[169] Consequently, these elites were more interested in fostering a policy of segregation in order to maintain their power base and extend their dominance into every state institution and economic sphere.[170]

In the area of education service, the church continued to play a major role in educating Rwandans. Church involvement in education and other social programs conserved state funds and hence maximized their revenues.[171] Of course the Church also viewed its involvement in these programs as an effective way to attract new members.[172]

This working relationship between the church and the state was beneficial to both sides. Apart from the advantage in the form of economic savings, the church helped to increase the legitimacy of the state, while the state provided freedom for the church to implement its activities.[173] The Kayibanda government designed a policy (including the education policy) to minimize the Tutsis involvement in state building. Post-independence Rwanda saw the legacy of the colonial period applied in reverse. Using a quota system, the Tutsi were systematically discriminated against and repressed, especially in arenas that allowed for upward mobility, namely modern education, state jobs, and politics.[174] Within the school environment, the discrimination occurred in various ways. Students were assigned with identification files that required them to internalize their ethnicity as Hutu, Tutsi or Twa.[175] The teaching of Rwandan history and

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[169] Saskia Van Hoyweghen, "The Disintegration of the Catholic Church of Rwanda: Study of the Fragmentation of Political and Religious Authority," *African Affairs* 95.380 (1996): 382.

[170] Ibid.

[171] Timothy P. Longman, "Empowering the Weak and Protecting the Powerful: The Contradictory Nature of Churches in Central Africa," *African Studies Review* 41.1 (1998): 5.

[172] Ibid.

[173] Ibid.

[174] Peter Uvin, "Tragedy in Rwanda: The Political Ecology of Conflict," *Environment* 38 (1996): 8.

[175] John Rutayisire, John Kabano and Jolly Rubagiza, "Rwanda-synopsis of the Case Study," *Curriculum Change and Social Cohesion in Conflict-affected Societies* (July 2002 - June2003), accessed electronically on 20 May 2003, <http://www.ibe.unesco.org/Regional/social_cohesion/sc_rwanda.htm>

civics emphasized ethnicity that reinforced social division. [176] These practices led to conflict in and out of the classrooms and deteriorated relations between students, teachers and the community. [177] This discriminatory policy and the deliberate inclusion of the Tutsi myth[178] inside the syllabus had an insidious effect on the organizational structure of educational institutions, the training of the teachers, and the content of textbooks. Human capital that was generated through the education process was at the same time indoctrinated with the ideology that strengthened the ruling power and victimized the minority. Within an authoritarian system, even moderate college students who realized the issue would not be able to speak up against the injustices and insidious propaganda.

Utterwulghe finds that the Hutu elites were successful in their propaganda policy since the reality validated the history they were trying to convey. [179] Within Rwanda, and despite the discrimination, the Tutsi lived fairly well socially and economically.[180] Proportionally, they still retained a larger portion of the economic and governmental resources with respect to their demographic share.[181] Years of colonial rule that favored the Tutsi minority had produced hundreds of thousands of Tutsi who were wealthy and well educated when Rwanda achieved its independence. As described in the previous section, even though the Belgian reversed the education policy in the late 1950s the disparity between educated Tutsi and Hutu remained starkly evident.

Juvenal Habyarimana, who took over the presidency from Kayibanda during a coup in 1973, continued with his predecessor's strategy in persecuting the Tutsi and building his power base. In 1975 a system that was based on a quota of ethnicity and region was introduced as the criterion for admission to secondary education. [182] Access to

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[176] Ibid.

[177] Ibid.

[178] Fictitiously, the Tutsi were charged as being the culprit behind all Rwanda's trouble, the oppressor of the Hutu and had the intention to revive their domination.

[179] Steve Utterwulghe, *The Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution* 2.3 (1999), accessed electronically on 07 May 2003, <www.trinstitute.org/ojpcr/>

[180] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 195) 76.

[181] Steve Utterwulghe, *The Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution* 2.3 (1999), accessed electronically on 07 May 2003, <www.trinstitute.org/ojpcr/>

[182] Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, UNESCO and UNDP, *Study of the Education Sector in Rwanda* (1998): 37.

secondary education became very competitive due to the limited number of places in public secondary schools. In response to both constraints, parents set up private secondary schools.[183] Unfortunately, many of these schools had poor teaching, were not approved by the government, and their graduates could not continue their studies into higher education.[184] These private schools mainly developed in rural areas and were often considered as "education for the poor."[185] Ironically since these schools had no access to government subsidies or assistance from donors, the rural poor bore the contributions and fees to support their children's schooling.[186]

A survey on the level of education within the active population in 1992 displayed the acuteness of the problem:

Level of education	All sectors	Formal sector
No education	54.6	25.2
Primary level	41.3	46.0
Secondary level	3.8	25.8
Higher education	0.2	3.1
Undetermined	0.2	0.0
Source: Survey on Employment, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 1992.		

Table 4: Level of Education of the Active Population in 1992 (percentage) from[187]

Analyzing the data above, I conclude that Rwanda in the pre-genocide period was not a diversified economy. The education system and policy in Rwanda failed to assist the country in facing the economic crisis. In one extreme, the narrow portion of the population who had the privilege to complete a formal education were more prepared to compete for governmental jobs, which were scarce, and on the other side there was a much larger segment of the population that received a very minimal education.[188] Table 5

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[183] Ibid.

[184] Ibid.

[185] Ibid., p.39

[186] Ibid. Private schools in rural areas depended on the dedication of poor families, whereas in the city they became a business.

[187] Ibid.

[188] De Forges reported that "The imbalance in wealth and power was a question not just of the usual urban-rural disparities but also of increasingly evident discrimination against Tutsi and against Hutu from

provides a more detailed indicator of the attainment of education level within the population and the means of employment before 1994:

Educational Data:	
Literacy (%)	52.1%
Average education (at age of more than 25 years)	1.1 year
School enrollment in 1990 (between 6 to 25 years)	39%
Population depending for their living on:	
Agriculture	90%
Industry	2%
Services	8%
Population below the poverty line	85%

Table 5: Some Educational and Employment Indicators before 1994 after[189]

Since not many Rwandans completed an education beyond primary school, they were more easily manipulated to serve the interest of the elites. Certainly the elites came from the slice of educated Rwandans. A consultant to a curriculum project in mathematics and statistics, Robert C. Johnson, who spent a month in Rwanda working with high school and university mathematics teachers, noticed that some people in the group were using the expression "C'est un paysan" (he's a peasant) to criticize others.[190] This attitude of looking down on rural people and their life brings to our thinking that the education failed to delivers the "goodness" to Rwandan society. Johnson comments on the incidents sharply in his paper,

> [T]he educators were among the most conscientious and qualified group of people with whom the writer has had the opportunity to work, and all were serious about the task at hand and concerned about their students. Yet, with the

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areas other than the 'blessed region,' that is, the northwest. Habyarimana had established a system of quotas, supposedly to assure equitable distribution of resources and opportunities to all Rwandans. In fact, officials used the system to restrict the access of Tutsi to employment and higher education, and increasingly to discriminate against Hutu from regions other than the north. By the mid-1980s, Habyarimana's home prefecture of Gisenyi, one of ten in the country at the time, had provided the office holders for one-third of the most important jobs in government as well as virtually all the leaders of the army and security service." Cited from Allison Des Forges, *Leave None To Tell the Story: Prosperity, Short-Lived and Superficial* (New York: Human Right Watch, 1999).

[189] James K. Gasana, "Natural Resources Scarcity and Violence in Rwanda," *IUCN* (2002): 211.

[190] Robert C. Johnson, "Educational Change in Francophone Africa," *The Journal of Negro Education* 56.3 (1987) 279.

expression of such attitudes one must wonder what values are being transmitted and perpetuated.[191]

The failure of the education system in Rwanda to instill morality and openness in the intellectual thinking manifested in the events that led to the genocide. Even though many of the educated Hutu had gone overseas pursuing higher degrees, how the state had molded their thinking remained and continued to shaped their behavior and perception. Going through the events, it was found that the educated were the planners and instigators of the genocide. For example, the founder of the Hutu extremist party, Coalition pour la Defense de la Republique (CDR), Jean Shyirambere Barahinyura was "a well-educated man who had studied first in the Soviet Union and then in West Germany."[192] The CDR was instrumental in planning and organizing the genocide and notoriously associated with the extremism against Tutsi. Prunier observes,

> In the hysteria of Rwanda in April 1994, almost anybody might turn into a killer. But the responsibility lies with the educated people—with those in positions of authority, however small, who did not have the strength (or maybe even the wish) to question the poisonous effluents carried by their cultural stream.[193]

D.   GENOCIDE PERIOD

Within the totalitarian government of Habyarimana, the people who profited more from his rule were understandably his cronies and supporters. Since the criteria for admission to higher education was dependent on a quota based on ethnicity and region, a large numbers of faculty members at the national university were from Habyarimana's home region as they had received the privilege of pursuing a university education either locally or overseas.[194] Others who taught at the university or at the government-sponsored schools as well as the staff of research institutes, understood firmly that advancement in their career and perhaps continued employment depend largely on their "reports" on backing the government positions.[195] Des Forges notes this succinctly in her

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[191] Ibid.

[192] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 128.

[193] Ibid., 248.

[194] Allison Des Forges, *Leave None To Tell the Story: Validating the Message* (New York: Human Right Watch, 1999).

[195] Ibid.

report, "Both those within Rwanda and those studying abroad wrote letters and made public statements that reported facts wrongly or misinterpreted data to support the official line."[196]

There were two prominent Rwandan academicians who were actively and notoriously involved in administering and enforcing the hate propaganda against the Tutsi and the calls for their extermination. Dr. Ferdinand Nahimana, one of Rwanda's most distinguished historians who had done his university study in Paris administered the radio station that broadcast the hate propaganda through his capacity as the director of the Rwandese Information Office (ORINFOR).[197] He was appointed to the post after he left his teaching position. The first incidence that marked his notoriety was when Radio Rwanda broadcast all day long false news report that charged Tutsi-based Liberal Party of "advocating the terrorist killing of twenty-two leading Hutu, politicians, army officers, civil servants, priests, businessmen, and lawyers," on March 3, 1992.[198] The repercussion for this news was brutal. The very next day, Interahamwe militia began to kill Tutsi and burnt their huts in the Southern region of Rwanda. Approximately 300 people were killed during the six-day massacre.[199]

In response to this incidence, Western ambassador lodged a stiff protest with President Habyarimana, which led to Nahimana's dismissal from the ORINFOR director post, but unfortunately he was made a counselor to Rwanda's ambassador in Bonn. He was, however, rejected by the German government and returned to his university post.[200]

In the university, he developed the theory that "Radio Rwanda had been infiltrated by agents of the Rwanda Patriotic Front, backed by evil foreign diplomats determined to undermine Hutu self-defense."[201] His theory was used as a basis to drop the charges against over 400 persons implicated in the massacres mentioned above.[202] Later on, Nahimana was appointed to direct the operation of *Radio-Television Libre des*

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[196] Ibid..

[197] Ibid.

[198] Howard Adelman and Astri Suhrke, eds., *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire* (New Jersey: Transaction publishers, 1999) 95.

[199] Ibid.

[200] Ibid.

[201] Ibid.

[202] Ibid.

Mille Collines (RTLMC), which was the most effective propaganda medium in Rwanda and was notoriously used as an instrument of genocide.[203]

Dr. Leon Mugesera was another example of an educated Rwandan who was involved with the propaganda mechanism. He did his advanced university studies in Canada. [204] After he left his teaching position at the National University of Rwanda, he took up a post with the Ministry of Information and became the vice-president of the Gisenyi MRND party. [205] Being a good orator, he used his skill to influence the Hutu masses to take up a hard and brutal stand toward the Tutsi. His "success" was manifested in the violence that occurred instantly throughout the areas that he had preached.[206] One notable example of his speech addressed to militant members MRND party on November 22, 1992 proved to be prophetic:[207]

> The opposition parties have plotted with the enemy to make Byumba prefecture fall to the Inyenzi.[208].... They have plotted to undermine our armed forces. …. The law is quite clear on this point: 'Any person who is guilty of acts aiming at sapping the morale of the armed forces will be condemned to death.' What are we waiting for? … And what about those accomplices (ibyitso) here who are sending their children to the RPF? Why are we waiting to get rid of these families? … We have to take responsibility into our hands and wipe out these hoodlums. …. The fatal mistake we made in 1959 was to let them [the Tutsi] get out. …. They belong to Ethiopia and we are going to find them a short cut to get there by throwing them into the Nyabarongo River [which flows northward]. I must insist on this point. We have to act. Wipe them all out![209]

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[203] RTLMC was founded with the assistance of Felicen Kabuga, a wealthy businessman whose daughter was married to a son of Habyarimana. Even though RTLMC was privately owned, it was aided by the staff and facilities of Radio Rwanda, the official government-owned station. Its broadcasting studio were connected to the electric generatord of Presidential Palace, permitting it to continue operating even in the event of power failure – source from Frank Chalk, Howard Adelman & Astri Suhrke, *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire* (New Jersey: Transaction publishers, 1999) 96.

[204] Allison Des Forges, *Leave None To Tell the Story: Validating the Message* (New York: Human Right Watch, 1999).

[205] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 171

[206] Ibid., 172.

[207] Christopher C. Taylor, *Sacrifice As Terror: The Rwandan Genocide of 1994* (New York: Berg, 1999) 81.

[208] Inyenzi means "cockroaches," a name that was given to Tutsi guerilla that fight against the government. Later on all Tutsi were branded by this name.

[209] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 172.

During the genocide, around 40,000 bodies were thrown into the Nyabarongo River that ultimately flowed into Lake Victoria via the Akagera River.[210] This seriously polluted Lake Victoria to the extent that the countries bordering the area had to declare a state of emergency.[211] Eventually, international aid was required to help with the removal and burial of the bodies.[212] Ironically, Mugesera was only temporarily arrested in Canada where he was employed as a university professor after the genocide.[213]

At the lower academic level, teachers also were involved in abetting the genocide. Prunier found that the "Hutu teachers commonly denounced their Tutsi pupils to the militia or even directly killed them themselves."[214] Scherrer states that many teachers actively took part in the genocide "as rabble-rousers and agitators."[215] For example thirty-two out of forty-nine ringleaders of the genocide in the community of Nyakizu were teachers.[216] Schools' compounds became places where terrified Tutsis who were seeking shelter were mercilessly massacred.

The extensive involvement of academician in the genocide revealed that the education system failed the Rwandan nation in 1994, and even before that. Henceforth the accumulation of human capital in Rwanda did not achieve the normally desired outcome of propelling the country into prosperity. Instead it was used blatantly by the actors to further the cause of extremism with disastrous consequences.

Education can also be transmitted to the society through informal means. In fact, within an agrarian community, this method is more effective in shaping the perception of

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[210] Christopher C. Taylor, *Sacrifice As Terror: The Rwandan Genocide of 1994* (New York: Berg, 1999) 81.

[211] Christian P. Scherrer, *Genocide and Crisis in Central Africa: Conflict Roots, Mass Violence and Regional War* (Connecticut: Praeger Publisher, 2002) 70.

[212] Christopher C. Taylor, *Sacrifice As Terror: The Rwandan Genocide of 1994* (New York: Berg, 1999) 81.

[213] Christian P. Scherrer, *Genocide and Crisis in Central Africa: Conflict Roots, Mass Violence and Regional War* (Connecticut: Praeger Publisher, 2002) 83. Scherrer, who branded Mugesera as Rwanda's Goebbels states, "Mugesera was defended by one of the most well-known and expensive lawyers in a court case in Quebec."

[214] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 254.

[215] Christian P. Scherrer, *Genocide and Crisis in Central Africa: Conflict Roots, Mass Violence and Regional War* (Connecticut: Praeger Publisher, 2002) 114.

[216] Ibid.

the people. Due to the difficult access to formal education, newspapers and radio were efficient tools to deliver the government's propaganda.

Des Forges reported that the newspaper *Kangura* began spewing hate against the Tutsi after the RPF attacks in 1990.[217] Other newspapers and journals soon followed. Even though the paper was published and sold in the Kigali capital, she noted that the urban workers usually carried copies of the newspaper to the hills when they went home for the weekends.[218] Since around 52 percent of Rwandans were literate, those who knew how to read, read the papers for others, which effectively disseminated the propaganda throughout the community.[219]

In comparison to the newspaper, the radio was more effective in delivering the message of hate and shaping public perspectives. But due to poverty, only 29 percent of all households had a radio in 1991.[220] This did not prohibit the Hutu hardliners from using the radio station to broadcast their agenda. The RTLMC was fast to gain popularity because its broadcasts, which combined music and informal conversation, were attractive to the audience. Peoples who had no radio listened to the broadcast at the local bar or obtained the information from their neighbors.[221]

E. POST GENOCIDE PERIOD

The post-genocide government inherited what was left over in terms of human capital and a ruined Rwanda. Many teachers and students were killed and many others fled to the borders as refugees. A total of around 1,000 university students perished at the three branches of the National University of Rwanda.[222] Within the small minority of Tutsi students in the university, not many survived the genocide while most of the Hutu

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[217] This method drew similarity with how Kayibanda and his cliques used *Kinyamateka* to propagate their ideas on Hutu revolution to the masses.

[218] Allison Des Forges, *Leave None To Tell the Story: The Media* (New York: Human Right Watch, 1999) 3

[219] Ibid.

[220] Ibid.

[221] Ibid.

[222] Louise Tunbridge, "With 1,000 of Its Students Killed in Civil War, the National University of Rwanda Changes Radically," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 43.12 (1996): A53.

students fled the country.[223] About fifty instructors and one hundred and fifty staff members were killed and dozens of professors became refugees.[224] University and schools' compounds were destroyed while laboratory equipment and books were looted.[225] The University of Rwanda was closed for a year after the genocide, but managed to reopen at Butare in 1995.[226] The deplorable situation of schools in rural areas prior to the genocide was only exacerbated by the events.

Perhaps the gravest effect of the genocide was destroying the social trust that bonded the Rwandan community. During the genocide, teachers were killing students and friends were killing each other. In order to reconstruct the society again, the Rwandan government, through the Ministry of secondary Education of Scientific Research and Culture embarked on a project called the "Program of Communication and Civic Education for Rehabilitation of Confidence and National Reconstruction."[227] Rwandan children face depression due to the loss of their parents, witnessing violence, feeling guilty for the death of others, desiring revenge, feeling incapable of becoming the heads of households (with the lost of parents) and feeling pessimistic about the future. Therefore the program was established with the hope that it could normalize the relationship among students, teachers and surviving parents and serve as agents for peace, unity and reconciliation within the communities.[228] Today this program emphasizes the skills of cooperation and communication and also conflict resolution. It is also intended to bridge the social capital of the future educated Rwandans in rebuilding their torn country.

Since education should be regarded as a channel through which national reconciliation, poverty reduction and economic development can be brought about, the curriculum which is the heart of an education system should be given great

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[223] Ibid.

[224] Ibid.

[225] Ibid.

[226] Ibid.

[227] Alexandra M.Kaun, "Education as a Tool for Peace in War-Torn Societies: The Case of Rwanda and the African Great Lakes," Independent Study Project, University of Colorado at Boulder, 2000, 5.

[228] John Rutayisire, John Kabano and Jolly Rubagiza, "Rwanda: Synopsis of the Case Study," *Curriculum Change and Social Cohesion in Conflict-affected Societies* (July 2002 - June2003), accessed electronically on 20 May 2003, <http://www.ibe.unesco.org/Regional/social_cohesion/sc_rwanda.htm>

consideration.[229] Within this area, since the end of the genocide until year 2002, although the government was aware of the negative messages contained in the textbooks, teaching and learning materials remain unchanged and continued to disseminate the past culture of ethnic stereotypes.[230]

Finally, in September 2002, a new textbook policy was finalized and a three-year plan for the review and revision of the primary school curricula and textbooks was established.[231] Even though the policy appears very promising, it is yet to be assessed how far the implementation will go beyond the paper since it implies substantial financial implications.[232] In general, post-genocide educational reconstruction revolves around the implementation of a durable educational policy, quality and relevancy of education, accessibility and equality, eradication of illiteracy, and capacity building in science and technology.[233] These are included in the government primary objective in Vision 2020. Within that vision, the government set the target that in the next twenty years, Rwanda will be established as a regional service and information center in order to attract foreign investment. Consequently, an educated workforce is needed. This demands a heavy investment in human resource development and capacity building.[234]

The primary objective for education in Vision 2020 is "to provide Universal Primary Education (UPE) by 2010 and subsequently Basic Education for All (EFA) by 2015."[235] In order to achieve this objective, the government needs to address the high dropout and repetition rates of the students with different underlying causes and constantly review school curricula and teaching methodologies so as to equip the people with the appropriate life skills.[236]

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[229] John Rutayisire, John Kabano and Jolly Rubagiza, "Rwanda: Synopsis of the Case Study," *Curriculum Change and Social Cohesion in Conflict-affected Societies* (July 2002 - June2003), accessed electronically on 20 May 2003, <http://www.ibe.unesco.org/Regional/social_cohesion/sc_rwanda.htm>

[230] Ibid.

[231] Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, *Education Sector Policy* (Kigali: 2002) 11.

[232] In the absence of reliable data, this fact cannot be ascertained.

[233] Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, *Education Sector Policy* (Kigali: 2002) 19-27.

[234] Ibid., 6-7.

[235] Ibid.

[236] Ibid.

This remains a challenge to the government since Rwanda is among the poorest countries in the world, despite achieving remarkable economic growth since 1994.[237] The growth rate stabilized at 5.5 percent in 2001 and currently the GDP per capita stands at $260.[238] Sixty-five percent of the 8.1 million population lives below the poverty line and ninety-one percent of the active population works in the agricultural sector, and two-percent in the industrial sector.[239] Within the education sector, the primary net enrolment rate is quite high at seventy-four percent but nevertheless the types of school administrative systems remained unchanged. So were their inefficiencies. Throughout Rwanda there are four types of schools as shown in Table 6.

Within the public and private subsidized schools the fact that most of the teachers have not completed a secondary education themselves led to poor teaching standards compared to the private schools.[240] After the genocide the proportion of qualified teachers fell from sixty percent to thirty-three percent and those teachers often have to teach between sixty to eighty students per class.[241] The student intake capacity is still limited and unevenly distributed among districts.[242] Schools work under extremely inadequate material conditions with teaching supplies mostly limited to blackboards since other equipment may either be missing, not functioning or non-existent.[243]

In general, most schools lack resources and textbooks are in acute shortage, or are not yet published in Rwanda.[244] In some instances laboratories that were donated by aid

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[237] Ibid., 5.

[238] Ibid.

[239] Ibid.

[240] Ibid.

[241] Jaya Earnest and David Treagust, "Voices from the Classroom: Teachers' and Students' Perceptions and Experiences on Science Education Reform in a Transitional Society," paper presented at the International Education Research Conference of the Australian Association for Research in Education, Brisbane, 4 December 2001.

[242] Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, UNESCO and UNDP, *Study of the Education Sector in Rwanda* (1998): 29.

[243] Ibid.

[244] Jaya Earnest and David Treagust, "Voices from the Classroom: Teachers' and Students' Perceptions and Experiences on Science Education Reform in a Transitional Society," paper presented at the International Education Research Conference of the Australian Association for Research in Education, Brisbane, 4 December 2001.

organizations are often not used or used ineffectively. [245] In the case study carried out by Earnest and Treagust, Rwanda's schools' facilities are described as being in extremely

Nomenclature	Description	Percentage of students in 1997
Official school	Official or public school are all "neutral" schools which are organized and managed by the Rwandese government.	15.6
Official Congressional School	These are official schools that are congressional, but controlled and paid for by the state.	(combination of official and unofficial congressional schools' students)
Private Subsidized School	These are private schools managed by authority other than the state. These schools nevertheless receive grants from the state, which pays personnel and other expenses on the condition that certain rules are respected (e.g. curricula, schedules and inspections).	47.6
Private School	Private schools are managed by a body other than the state. They are called "private" because they do not receive any subsidies from the state. Some schools are approved by the government, others are not.	36.8
Source of nomenclature: Based on G.Simpenze, *Epitome de l'enseignement libre subsidie au Rwanda*, Kigali, 1988.		

Table 6: Nomenclature of Schools Specific to Rwanda (June 1997) from[246]

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[245] Ibid.

[246] Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, UNESCO and UNDP, *Study of the Education Sector in Rwanda* (1998): 29.

dismal shape.[247] There is an "acute need for significant improvement in water and sanitation facilities in most schools. Many schools had no toilets or latrines within the school and many had latrines outdoors."[248] This structural damage caused teachers to teach in difficult circumstances and students in the rural schools facing difficulties in the learning process

Within the higher level of education, nearly half of all students are registered in the Faculty of Economics, Social and Management Sciences (33.9 percent), the faculty of Law (16.9 percent) and the Faculty of Arts (10.1 percent). The other faculties, which are nevertheless relevant as part of the major driving force behind the national economy, had fewer students: the Faculty of Sciences (3.59 percent) and the Faculty of Agronomy (3.6 percent), Faculty of Educational Sciences (5.0 Percent) and the Faculty of Applied sciences (6.2 percent).[249] According to the Ministry of Education, the pattern is not tailored to the country' need and subsequently they are trying to create incentives to attract more students in disciplines deemed priorities for development.[250]

Overall, the success and quality of the education system remain limited at all levels and in all sub-sectors and the internal and external efficiency of the system is weak.[251] Obstacles that face the reconstruction include the number, qualifications and motivation of teachers, unevenly distributed intake capacity, low financial capacity, shortage of students in priority disciplines, wastage and poor adaptation and highly centralized system of management.[252]

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[247] Ibid.

[248] Ibid.

[249] Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, UNESCO and UNDP, *Study of the Education Sector in Rwanda* (1998): ix.

[250] Ibid.

[251] Rwandese Republic Ministry of Education, UNESCO and UNDP, *Study of the Education Sector in Rwanda* (1998): 29.

[252] Ibid.

F.   SUMMARY

Thus far I have presented extensively the extensive role of human capital formation in generating the conflict. Invariably I believe that the education system in Rwanda, which was inherited from the colonial period, actively perpetrated the insidious effect of segregation policy. With due respect to those who were not involved, I also believe that, there were significant contributions from the intellectual community who represented a small portion of the population in furthering the genocide agenda. They consciously pursued this idea and used their intellectual capacity to influence the masses. Suffice it to say that the shape of the conflict was molded by the educated. The former Rwandan Minister for Higher Education and Scientific Research, Jean de dieu Kamuhanda, has been standing on trial at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), facing nine counts of genocide, conspiracy to commit genocide and directing public incitement to commit genocide.[253] At the lower level, participation of the teachers in the genocide is more direct.

On another note, informal education in the form of mass media also influenced the cause of genocide. The newspapers and the radio broadcasts were used effectively by the genocide planners to deliver their message and to influence the Hutu masses to participate in their agenda.

In order to rebuild the education system, the stakeholders must instill into all Rwandans the positive values of society, a sense of security, unity and reconciliation and give Rwandans the essential skills to reduce their poverty. Central to the issue, the former curriculum should be reviewed in order to correct the shame and violence of the past. Textbooks must be cleared of historical and social prejudices, negative images and stereotypes of any groups in Rwanda. In term of the civic values, the curriculum should be changed to include values that could allow Rwandans to live peacefully, sharing a common identity without undermining their individual and group identities. It is imperative that the quality, content and orientation of education receive serious attention.

Furthermore, there is also a pressing need to address the issue of accessibilities, equal opportunities, quality of teachers and teaching materials, greater student enrolment in disciplines deemed to be priorities for development, a more decentralized system of

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[253] Reported by RNA News Agency, Kigali, 14 February 2002.

management, a more liberal mass media and the participation of parents, government, the private and voluntary sectors as stakeholders in the reconstruction process.

The ways and means to finance education must be found through a mix of public financing, investment from private sectors, and also direct contributions from firms, associations and individuals. By collaboratively building the human capital, it is hoped that the educated Rwandan graduated from the institutions will be the catalyst to foster development and stabilize governance.

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IV. THE EFFECT OF RESOURCE SCARCITY

A. INTRODUCTION

Rwanda is among the smallest countries (26,388 km^2) within sub-Saharan Africa. The country is landlocked and is nearly 700 miles from the Indian Ocean. Its neighbors are Uganda to the north, Congo to the west, Burundi on the south and Tanzania to the east. Except for the western and eastern border areas, most of the land is at least 3,000 feet above sea level.

Even though about 90% of the population depends on agriculture for their livelihood, only 32% of the land is arable and 10% holds permanent cropland.[254] Forested areas cover 12% of the land and other uses constitute about 45%.[255] With such a huge proportion of the population dependent on a small portion of land area for cultivation, land is definitely a scarce resource.

In fact the scarcity of arable land and also employment opportunity had plagued Rwanda prior to independence. The Belgian colonial authorities regarded the country as over populated. The World Bank classed Rwanda as one of the poorest countries in the world and noted that Rwanda played only a subordinate role in the world economy. Its main manufactured products are sugar, lemonade, beer, cigarettes, blankets, plastic shoes, matches and soap. Ninety-nine percent of its exports are of primary commodities, which are coffee, tea and tin cassaterite, wolfframite, and pyrethrum, with coffee comprising around 50 percent to 80 percent of the total export.[256]

Van Hoyweghen observes that the Rwandan agricultural production system was "consumption-driven."[257] This implies that the farmers grew a mixture of seeds to satisfy the requirement of their particular environment. The capacity to have sufficient food at

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[254] Herman Musahara, "Landnet Rwanda Chapter: Land and Poverty in Rwanda," paper presented at the Seminar on Land in Rwanda, Umubano, 23 November 2001.

[255] Ibid.

[256] *Rwanda Economy*, access on 19 June 2003, <http://www.sas.upenn.edu/African Studies/NEH/rw-econ.html>

[257] Saskia Van Hoyweghen, "The Urgency of Land and Agrarian Reform in Rwanda," *African Affairs* 8.392 (1999): 353-372.

the household level was a symbol of pride; consequently if forced to buy food due to insufficient home production, a farmer would lose dignity, as such a situation is considered as a sign of poverty. [258] This agrarian system in Rwanda has slowly become endangered. A high population growth rate of 3.2 percent a year, coupled with the majority of local people dependent on agricultural as a main source of income, places a high demand on land resources.

On most farms, soil exhaustion greatly limits productivity. [259] Since family plots are fragmented and decreasing in size due to generational transfer, farmers had to cultivate their land to its limits in order to harvest the same amount of crops. [260] With more farmers working smaller plots of land, productivity increases at the expense of soil degradation and erosion. [261] When this happened, farmers were unable to produce sufficient crops at a household level and are forced to purchase food, which was considered shameful. [262] In this context of scarcity, the resulting competition for land significantly fueled the conflict.

In order to arrive at this conclusion, I examine the usage of land and ownership in Rwanda. Since the Rwandan land-tenure system is complex, detailed and historical, I divide the analysis into sections ranging from pre-independence until the post-genocide period. I discuss the Malthusian debate that surrounds population growth and the available land, which provides a more appropriate causal explanation.

B.   PRE-INDEPENDENCE SITUATION

Land was always regarded as the most important asset for the Rwandan peasants and they favored living surrounded by their land. [263] During the pre-colonial period, the Mwami delegated the management of land resources and the administration of the district

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[258] Ibid.

[259] Saskia Van Hoyweghen, "The Urgency of Land and Agrarian Reform in Rwanda," *African Affairs* 8.392 (1999): 353-372.

[260] When the head of the family died, the farm is divided among his sons. Consequently, the size of the farm shrinks with subsequent generational transfer.

[261] Many farmers means more production, but on a smaller farm. This led to intensive farming, which caused soil erosion due to a shortened fallow period.

[262] Ibid.

[263] Ministry For Lands, Human Resettlement and Environmental Protection, *Brookings Initiative In Rwanda: Land And Human Settlement* (2001): 73.

through his appointed chiefs called *"umutware w'ubutaka"* (chief of landholding), *"umutware w'umukenke"* (chief of pastures) and *"umutware w'ingabo"* (the chief of men).[264] In every district these three chiefs worked independently of one another according to their line of jurisdiction and also engaged in a continuous reciprocal surveillance for the benefits of the inhabitants.[265] This mechanism served the purpose for check and balance within the administration at the district level.

Since land was used either for cultivation or as pastures, there were four main aspects of the land-tenure system.[266] First, the *"Ubukonde,"* or clan law, which was enacted by the head of the clan who was the first to clear the forest.[267] The head of the clan was usually the chief who owned vast tracts of land on which he would settle several families called *"abagererwa"* and in turn benefited from a land tax in accordance with customary conditions.[268] Second, the *"igikingi,"* or the right to establish a land domain accorded by the Mwami to the chief of pastures.[269] He in turn distributed the available land to the pastoral families.[270] Initially the tenants on *igikingi* were not constrained to provide food or services for the chief.[271] This was changed during the reign of Mwami Rwabugiri (1860 to 1895) since he increased the extractive capacities of the state.[272] As

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[264] Eugene Rurangwa, "Land Policy and Land Reform in Sub-Saharan Africa: Perspective of Land Reform in Rwanda," paper presented at the FIG XXII International Congress, Washington D.C., 29 April 2002.

[265] Johan Pottier, "Taking Stock: Food Marketing Reform in Rwanda, 1982-1989," *African Affairs* 92.366 (1993): 8. Basically the chief of pastures was responsible for the grazing land and collecting taxes on cattle, while the chief of landholding collected dues on labor (*uburetwa*) and acted as arbitrator in land disputes. But both of them listened to each other on complaints put forward by their colleagues.

[266] Eugene Rurangwa, "Land Policy and Land Reform in Sub-Saharan Africa: Perspective of Land Reform in Rwanda," paper presented at the FIG XXII International Congress, Washington D.C., 29 April 2002.

[267] Ibid.

[268] Ibid.

[269] Ibid.

[270] Ibid.

[271] M. Catherine Newbury, "Ubureetwa and Thangata: Catalysts to Peasant Political Consciousness in Rwanda and Malawi," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 14.1 (1980): 99.

[272] Ibid., p.100.

such, the tenants on *igikingi* paid their dues to the chiefs. *Igikingi* was one of the most common land tenure systems in Rwanda until the beginning of colonialism. [273]

Within this community a mechanism of acquiring cattle existed. The mechanism was known as "*ubuhake*" or cattle contract or clientship. A person who had a lot of cattle allocated a number of cattle to an employee in exchange for his service.[274] At the end of the contract, the employee would receive a number of cattle as a barter trade for the services that he had fulfilled.[275] Even though the working condition was very harsh, it provided an avenue for a poor person to accumulate wealth and status by owning cattle.[276]

The third aspect of the land-tenure system was the "*inkungu.*" *Inkungu* was a customary law that authorized the local political authority to dispose the escheated or abandoned land.[277] These lands were normally grouped as land reserve from which the authority of the time accorded plots to any who required one.[278] Fourth, the "*gukeba*" (also known as *kugaba*), which was the process of settling families into grazing land or on fallow land.[279] Within these communities with agriculturalist and pastoralist living together, land rights were respected and transmitted from generation to generation, according to Rwandan tradition and custom.[280] In summary, this customary law recognized land rights obtained in one of three ways: by inheritance (through the male

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[273] Eugene Rurangwa, "Land Policy and Land Reform in Sub-Saharan Africa: Perspective of Land Reform in Rwanda," paper presented at the FIG XXII International Congress, Washington D.C., 29 April 2002.

[274] Israel Ntaganzwa-Rugamba, "Rwanda: A Classis Colonial Distortion of African History and Its Catastrophic Consequences," New York, 2000, 23.

[275] Ibid.

[276] Ibid.

[277] Eugene Rurangwa, "Land Policy and Land Reform in Sub-Saharan Africa: Perspective of Land Reform in Rwanda," paper presented at the FIG XXII International Congress, Washington D.C., 29 April 2002.

[278] Ibid.

[279] Ibid.

[280] Ibid.

line), allotted by one of the chiefs, or by clearing new land to which no chief had laid claim.[281]

When Rwanda fell under German colonization, the land tenure system remained fairly unchanged. The Mwami's authority over the land was recognized by the Germans and this held the system in place.[282] The system was drastically changed by the Belgian colonizer who disliked the idea that three chiefs co-governed within the same political district.[283] As a result, this traditional tripartite structure, a well balanced system, was completely dismantled and transformed into a centralized administration.[284]

Regarding the land-tenure system, the Belgian administration introduced a written law in addition to the established customary law. Two main ideas that formed the back bone of the written law in 1885 were the indigenous Rwandan should not be dispossessed of their land, but in any event, the right to occupy land taken from an indigenous Rwandan could only be guaranteed by the Belgian administration.[285] Furthermore all vacant land was considered as state-owned land.[286]

Clearly these provisions initiated a dual system of land administration. All occupied lands were still subjected to the customary law while the written law only benefited the colonialist and the missionaries (there was a provision that dealt with the free transfers and concessions to scientific and religious associations as well as parastatals).[287] In 1954, when the Belgian started to shift their support for the Hutus, they

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[281] Herman Musahara, "Landnet Rwanda Chapter: Land and Poverty in Rwanda," paper presented at the Seminar on Land in Rwanda, Umubano, 23 November 2001.

[282] Eugene Rurangwa, "Land Policy and Land Reform in Sub-Saharan Africa: Perspective of Land Reform in Rwanda," paper presented at the FIG XXII International Congress, Washington D.C., 29 April 2002.

[283] Johan Pottier, "Taking Stock: Food Marketing Reform in Rwanda, 1982-1989," *African Affairs* 92.366 (1993): 8.

[284] Eugene Rurangwa, "Land Policy and Land Reform in Sub-Saharan Africa: Perspective of Land Reform in Rwanda," paper presented at the FIG XXII International Congress, Washington D.C., 29 April 2002.

[285] Ibid.

[286] Ibid.

[287] Ibid.

introduced a written law that abolished the cattle clientship, or *ubuhake*.[288] The Belgians saw that *ubuhake* bound poor people (usually Hutus who did not have cattle or a plot of land to cultivate) to powerful protectors, who were usually cattle-rich Tutsi.[289] Even though the Belgian "liberated" the poor Hutus and allocated the ownership of the cattle to those Hutus who looked after it, the Belgian failed to redistribute the pasture land.[290] This led to a situation in which many Hutu had cattle but without a grazing area, and this precipitated a rapid decline of available land and worsened ethnic relations.[291]

Compounded to this problem, the Belgian introduced a system called "*paysannats*" to solve migration due to the high population density and the need to explore new areas.[292] *Paysannats* was quite similar to the system of *gukeba*.[293] The only difference was that it was developed in regions with a lot of grazing land and land reserves and consisted of giving each family two hectares for cultivating crops such as cotton and coffee.[294] *Paysannats* emerged after the suppression of the *ubuhake* and *ibikingi* and encouraged the peasants to grow cash crops.[295] Clearly, the Belgian favored an economic development based on agriculture, to the detriment of cattle-raising and thus completely disrupted the balance that had always existed between the two.[296]

In the 1959 Hutu revolution, the land and cattle that belonged to the thousands of Tutsis who were either killed or who fled to neighboring countries of Burundi, Zaire and

[288] Herman Musahara, "Landnet Rwanda Chapter: Land and Poverty in Rwanda," paper presented at the Seminar on Land in Rwanda, Umubano, 23 November 2001.

[289] Johan Pottier, "Taking Stock: Food Marketing Reform in Rwanda, 1982-1989," *African Affairs* 92.366 (1993): 9.

[290] Ibid.

[291] Ibid.

[292] Eugene Rurangwa, "Land Policy and Land Reform in Sub-Saharan Africa: Perspective of Land Reform in Rwanda," paper presented at the FIG XXII International Congress, Washington D.C., 29 April 2002.

[293] Ibid.

[294] Ibid.

[295] Suspension of *Ibikingi* (private rights to pastureland) was endorsed by the Belgian Resident in 1960 even though it was opposed by the Mwami. Source: Herman Musahara, "Landnet Rwanda Chapter: Land and Poverty in Rwanda," paper presented at the Seminar on Land in Rwanda, Umubano, 23 November 2001.

[296] Eugene Rurangwa, "Land Policy and Land Reform in Sub-Saharan Africa: Perspective of Land Reform in Rwanda," paper presented at the FIG XXII International Congress, Washington D.C., 29 April 2002.

Uganda were quickly claimed by land-hungry, agriculturalist Hutus.[297] Considering that by early 1962, there were around 120,000 refugees, one can estimate the size of the abandoned land left by them.

C. POST-INDEPENDENCE TO GENOCIDE PERIOD

The post-independence government implemented several policies in dealing with the scarcity of land and overpopulation. Soon after independence, the government embarked on a resettlement project by moving a large number of peoples from the densely populated northeastern areas (Gikongoro, Ruhengeri, Gisenyi and Kibuye) to the western and southern part of the country.[298] This resettlement program displaced over 80,000 farmers and their families into previously unsettled areas.[299] During this period the government tried to organize the habitat in *paysannat*s system for the rationalization of the land use and land occupation.[300] The *paysannats* policy that had been implemented by the Belgian administration before was revitalized to encourage the farmers to grow cash crops, especially coffee.[301]

Another policy implemented by the government was to increase agricultural production to cope with rapid population pressure.[302] Within this policy, the government sponsored the conversion of pastures into cultivated land, which reduced the production of manure, which in turn decreased the fertility of the soil.[303] On the other hand,

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[297] Paul Magnarella, "Explaining Rwanda's 1994 Genocide," *Human Rights and Human Welfare* 2:1 (2002): 26.

[298] John F. May, "Policies on Population, Land Use, and Environment in Rwanda," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, Cincinnati, Ohio, 3 April 1993.

[299] Tara Mitchell, "Rwanda and Conflict," *ICE Case Studies* Number 23 (1997): 3.

[300] Eugene Rurangwa, "Land Policy and Land Reform in Sub-Saharan Africa: Perspective of Land Reform in Rwanda," paper presented at the FIG XXII International Congress, Washington D.C., 29 April 2002.

[301] John F. May, "Policies on Population, Land Use, and Environment in Rwanda," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, Cincinnati, Ohio, 3 April 1993.

[302] Tara Mitchell, "Rwanda and Conflict," *ICE Case Studies* Number 23 (1997): 3.

[303] Ibid

imported fertilizers were often too expensive for normal farmers.[304] Apart from trying to improve insufficient food production, this policy had a clear implication: the Tutsis' pastures or grazing lands were increasingly turned into Hutu farming lands.[305]

Figure 2: Rwanda Perfectures

Another consequence to this policy was that the soil protection offered by forest cover had decreased dramatically due to the loss of up to a quarter of the natural forests since 1960, which was used for subsistence agricultures and cash crops.[306] However, the areas devoted to communal forests had increased since there was a strong need for timber and fuelwood.[307] Table 7 shows the evolution of cultivated areas, pastures, fallow land and forest from 1970 to 1986:

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[304] John F. May, "Policies on Population, Land Use, and Environment in Rwanda," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, Cincinnati, Ohio, 3 April 1993.

[305] Tara Mitchell, "Rwanda and Conflict," *ICE Case Studies* Number 23 (1997): 3.

[306] John F. May, "Policies on Population, Land Use, and Environment in Rwanda," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, Cincinnati, Ohio, 3 April 1993.

[307] Ibid.

Utilization	1970	1980	1986	Percentage of increase (+) or decrease (-) from 1970 to 1986
Pastures	487,884	322,060	99,360	-59%
Cultivated land	527660	710,400	826,500	+56%
Fallow land	200,000	154,000	123,000	-38%
Communal forest	27,156	57,200	99,500	+266%
Total	1,242,700	1,243,660	1,248,360	

Table 7: Use of Pastures, Cultivated Areas, Fallow Land and Forest in Hectares after[308]

In 1976, a law was passed to control tightly the purchase and sale of land. The activity had to have the permission of the minister in charge of lands, and it was an obligation that the seller had at least two hectares remaining, and that the buyer did not possess more than two hectares.[309] Since then, the state only recognized the right of ownership based on land registration and other than that all lands belong to the state.[310]

There were several features that colored the issue of land scarcity within this period. In the densely populated areas, such as Ruhengeri and Butare, the number of land transactions increased notably.[311] Many peasants also resorted to renting land for a number of years as a means of survival.[312] Compounded to this problem was the fragmentation of family holdings through generational transfers. According to the inheritance law, the land would be subdivided among male heirs with every boy aged 18 qualified for a part.[313] When a subdivision became too small, either another plot had to be bought or the peasants had to go further afield to acquire new lands.[314] Table 8

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[308] Ibid., 13, citing from Republique Rwandaise, Le Rwanda et le probleme de ses refugies. Contexte historique, analyse et voies de solution, Kigali: Presidence de la, Commission Speciale sur les problems des émigrés rwandais (1990): 117.

[309] Eugene Rurangwa, "Land Policy and Land Reform in Sub-Saharan Africa: Perspective of Land Reform in Rwanda," paper presented at the FIG XXII International Congress, Washington D.C., 29 April 2002.

[310] Ibid.

[311] Herman Musahara, "Landnet Rwanda Chapter: Land and Poverty in Rwanda," paper presented at the Seminar on Land in Rwanda, Umubano, 23 November 2001.

[312] Ibid.

[313] John F. May, "Policies on Population, Land Use, and Environment in Rwanda," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, Cincinnati, Ohio, 3 April 1993.

[314] Herman Musahara, "Landnet Rwanda Chapter: Land and Poverty in Rwanda," paper presented at the Seminar on Land in Rwanda, Umubano, 23 November 2001.

illustrates the intensity of the problem. By 1990, the density of persons per cultivable hectare had nearly tripled from the figures of 1960:

Year	Population (million of people)	Persons per Cultivable Hectare
1960	2.6950	2.3
1965	3.1919	2.8
1970	3.7566	3.3
1975	4.2426	3.7
1980	5.2570	4.6
1985	6.3520	5.5
1990	7.5902	6.6
Note: Population numbers were taken on December 31.		

Table 8: Number of Rwandan Population and Farmland Density for the Period from 1960 to 1990 after[315]

It was noticeable that land scarcity caused a considerable internal and external migration during this period. People moved from the densely populated areas to areas previously underpopulated due to a lack of water, poor soil condition or tsetse infection.[316] There was also migration to urban areas particularly among the youth who were looking for jobs due to the shortage of land for farming,[317] but this incidence was limited since the government held firmly to its economic ideology, which promoted the idea that the Hutu "holy way of life" was farming.[318] Thus, people could not change residences without the government's permission and the government itself did not make a significant attempt to diversify the economy as a solution to the pressing problem.[319]

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[315] John F. May, "Policies on Population, Land Use, and Environment in Rwanda," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, Cincinnati, Ohio, 3 April 1993, citing from ONAPO, Le Probleme Demographique au Rwanda et le Cadre de sa solution, vol. I: Interrelations Population-Developpement, Kigali: Office National de la Population, 1990, p.15 and REPUBLIQUE RWANDAISE, Le Rwanda et le probleme de ses refugies. Contexte historique analyse et voies de solution, Kigali: Presidence de la Republique, commission Speciale sur les problemes des émigrés rwandais (1990): 117.

[316] Ibid.

[317] Ibid.

[318] Paul Magnarella, "Explaining Rwanda's 1994 Genocide," *Human Rights and Human Welfare* 2:1 (2002): 32.

[319] Ibid., 33.

Lacking a viable solution, other peasants choose to migrate to Zaire, Uganda, and Tanzania seeking available land.[320]

At the beginning of the 1980s, the "new" land within Rwanda no longer existed, and with population growth steadily increasing, serious problems began to emerge—namely, soil degradation and available land for cultivation.[321] The peasants' attempts to increase the output of the farm by triple-cropping their shrinking plot resulted in soil exhaustion.[322]

Adding insult to injury, in 1989 the price of coffee dropped by almost 50% on the commodity markets.[323] Apart from directly affecting the income of hundreds of thousands of small-scale coffee farmers, this incident also affected every Rwandan. Partly as a result of this crash in commodity prices, the World Bank engineered a "Structural Adjustment Program" to salvage Rwanda's economy.[324] Devaluation on its currency immediately increased prices for virtually all Rwandans. Moreover, public services provided by the government were dramatically curtailed.[325] The cost of water, health care and schooling increased, hurting the families who were already suffering from the reduced coffee price.[326] Within an agrarian community, a shortage of land and a decrease in the price of the cash crop intensely challenged the Rwandans' survival.

By 1990s, regarding land, the country already faced a deadlock.[327] Other problems included insufficient agricultural production, an ever increasing population exhausting natural resources, a growing number of landless peasants, and the pressure to accept the return of the refugees from Uganda. There were at least 700,000 refugees in

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[320] Herman Musahara, "Landnet Rwanda Chapter: Land and Poverty in Rwanda," paper presented at the Seminar on Land in Rwanda, Umubano, 23 November 2001.

[321] Eugene Rurangwa, "Land Policy and Land Reform in Sub-Saharan Africa: Perspective of Land Reform in Rwanda," paper presented at the FIG XXII International Congress, Washington D.C., 29 April 2002.

[322] Paul Magnarella, "Explaining Rwanda's 1994 Genocide," *Human Rights and Human Welfare* 2:1 (2002): 32.

[323] David Newbury, "Understanding Genocide," *African Studies Review* 41.1 (1998): 89.

[324] Ibid.

[325] Ibid.

[326] Ibid.

[327] Eugene Rurangwa, "Land Policy and Land Reform in Sub-Saharan Africa: Perspective of Land Reform in Rwanda," paper presented at the FIG XXII International Congress, Washington D.C., 29 April 2002.

1990 and a huge percentage of them living in Uganda.[328] When the Ugandan government established an ancestry requirement for Ugandan citizenship in 1990, the Tutsi refugees were forced to reestablish themselves in Rwanda.[329] Understandably, Habyarimana had adamantly refused to allow Tutsi refugees back into the country, insisting that Rwanda was too small and too crowded to accommodate them.[330] The estimated population densities can be verified from Table 9.

Prefecture	Population	Available (km^2)	Density (per km^2)
Butare	908,273	1,757.3	517
Byumba	792,015	2,606.2	304
Cyangugu	509,860	1,116.7	457
Gikongoro	556,493	1,561.8	356
Gisenyi	708,521	1,311.3	540
Gitarama	921,048	2,157.0	427
Kibungo	568,401	2,666.6	213
Kibuye	509,860	1,296.9	393
Kigali	908,138	2,807.9	466
Kigali-City	400,430	-	-
Ruhengeri	807,196	1,442.5	560
RWANDA	**7,590,235**	**18,724.2**	**405**

Table 9: Estimated Rwandan Population Density on January 1st, 1991 after[331]

Pressured to leave Uganda due to the ancestry requirement, and unable to gain acceptance by the Habyarimana government, the RPF launched an attack from the North (with bases from Ugandan border) that caused a massive displacement of the northern

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[328] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 63-64.

[329] Paul Magnarella, "Explaining Rwanda's 1994 Genocide," *Human Rights and Human Welfare* 2:1 (2002): 29.

[330] Ibid., 33.

[331] John F. May, "Policies on Population, Land Use, and Environment in Rwanda," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, Cincinnati, Ohio, 3 April 1993, citing from ONAPO/FNUAP/DTCD, Monographie demographique prefectorale. La population de Butare en chiffres, Kigali: Office National de la Population et Projet Assistance a l'ONAPO RWA/87/PO3 FNUAP/DTCD (1991): 2-3.

population to the south. During this period, Rwandans faced a very difficult situation. People displaced by the war were justified in hating the RPF, and so were the Tutsis.[332] Other Rwandans especially the youths, at this stage, found themselves looking at the prospect of no land, no schooling, no jobs, and no hope of a better future.[333] Embittered and desperate, thousands of the youth were easily manipulated by the Habyarimana government to be mobilized, either in the armed forces to fight the war against the RPF or into the militias, which were to carry out the genocide.[334]

D.   GENOCIDE PERIOD

Clearly, the growing poverty and land scarcity fueled the genocide and these factors also helped to explain the readiness with which the jobless and landless took to killing Tutsi when they were promised to be rewarded with land or property left by Tutsi.[335] Des Forges notes strongly in her report that most of the genociders fought not over money but over land, crops or cattle.[336] As a result, during the genocide, the extremist government directed the burgomasters[337] to manage the disposition of Tutsi goods and land promptly to avoid clashes.[338] In turn, the burgomasters ordered their subordinates to prepare inventories of the Tutsis' property and a list of those killed.[339] This was used to identify which Tutsi household were completely eliminated, hence their

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[332] Since RPF was normally affiliated with Tutsis refugees.

[333] David Newbury, "Understanding Genocide," *African Studies Review* 41.1 (1998): 91, "without land or jobs, there would be no marriage and no family, for both by custom and statute a rural youth had to provide a home for his wife before he could legally marry."

[334] Ibid.

[335] Human Rights Watch, "Uprooting the Rural Poor in Rwanda: Background," *Property and Returning Refugees,* accessed September 23, 2003, <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2001/rwanda/rwnvilg-03.htm>

[336] Allison Des Forges, *Leave None To Tell the Story: Disputes Over Property* (New York: Human Right Watch, 1999) 20.

[337] Burgomaster was the chief of a commune.

[338] Allison Des Forges, *Leave None To Tell the Story: Disputes Over Property* (New York: Human Right Watch, 1999) 20.

[339] Ibid.

property was available for distribution, or which households still had some survivors, meaning the land would only be available after further killings.[340]

On the other hand, in their in-depth case study, Catherine Andre and Jean-Philippe Platteau found that the genocide victims (either Tutsi, Twa or moderate Hutu) in the area that they studied could be categorized in three ways.[341]

The first category consisted of the persons who owned much real estate. This included old persons who had accumulated much land; relatively young persons who were resented because they had access to off-farm income opportunities and hence were able to purchase land parcels but refused to redistribute their wealth to the poor villagers; the troublemakers who were notoriously affiliated with scuffles and conflicts (including land disputes); and the Tutsi landowner.[342]

In the second category were the young people who engaged in the militias and in the third category were the poor people who had no land or "access to regular off-farm income opportunities."[343] Table 10 verifies Andre and Platteau's finding in a locality that had a total of 596 inhabitants before the genocide:

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[340] Ibid.

[341] Catherine Andre and Jean-Philippe Platteau, "Land Relation under Unbearable Stress: Rwanda Caught in the Malthusian Trap," Case Study, University of Namur, Belgium, 1995, 47-49. The studied area was the commune of Kanama situated in the Perfecture of Gisenyi.

[342] Ibid.

[343] Ibid.

Characteristics of Kanama's inhabitants who were known to have died during the genocide.	Ratio of dead people to population in the relevant category	Percentage
1.Persons who owned much land	**15/56**	**26.8**
a. The elderly*	7/38	18.4
b. Young people with economic success	2/6	33.3
c. Persons considered to be troublemakers	5/11	45.4
d. Tutsi	1/1	100.0
2. Youth engaged in militias**	**5**	**n.a.**
3. Land-poor and malnourished people***	**11/83**	**13.2**
Total	**32/596**	**5.4**
* People were considered to be old when they had children of age to marry and therefore tensions over land could arise between father and sons. ** Since their activities were shrouded in mystery (they are organized as secret societies), information about the total number of Kanama's inhabitants engaged as militias was impossible to obtain without serious risk to the investigator. *** Eight out of these eleven victims were children.		

Table 10: Category of the Genocide Victims and their Percentage with respect to the Total Number in the Same Category after[344]

Obviously the proportions of the victims who owned much property (26.8%) were much higher than the overall ratio of the people killed with respect to the whole population of Kanama (5.4%). This suggests that the genocide provided an avenue for the villagers to reshuffle land properties or seek revenge even among the Hutus.[345]

E.   POST-GENOCIDE PERIOD

Apart from decimating a large proportion of the Rwandan population, the genocide also resulted in millions of refugees and displaced persons.[346] After the genocide, the government had to solve intense land related problems that stemmed from

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[344] Ibid., 48

[345] Ibid., 48-49.

[346] Eugene Rurangwa, "Land Policy and Land Reform in Sub-Saharan Africa: Perspective of Land Reform in Rwanda," paper presented at the FIG XXII International Congress, Washington D.C., 29 April 2002.

several issues. First, around 800,000 "old caseload" refuges who left in the years 1959 to 1973 returned in 1994 were devoid of any ownership of land.[347] Second, there were one million internally displaced people during 1994.[348] Third, in 1996 to 1997, 1.4 million refugees returned from Tanzania, Burundi and Zaire and in most cases huge groups returned in a matter of weeks.[349] Fourth, the period of 1997 to 1998 saw an increase in insurgency activity that displaced 600,000 people form the prefectures of Gisenyi and Ruhengeri.[350] Fifth, since more than 90% of the population was dependent on agriculture as their means of subsistence, badly degraded soil had a tremendous impact on their lives. Soil erosion had worsened due to the lack of reliable soil conservation methods, uncontrolled and almost continuous cultivation (hence a shortened fallow period) and exploitation of marginal land that was unsuitable for agriculture.[351] Finally, there were many widows and orphans who had difficulties managing the land left by their deceased husbands or parents.[352]

The government responded in several ways to solve these problems. Some of the 1959 refugees were permitted to occupy the abandoned land temporarily.[353] Others were given state lands to enable them to produce. The state lands that were partitioned and distributed were the Mutara Game reserve, two-thirds of the Akagera National Park, the Gishwati Mountain Forest and the lands that belonged to certain state-owned projects.[354] In the province of Kibungo, Umutara, and Kigali Rural where people still possessed

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[347] Ministry For Lands, Human Resettlement & Environmental Protection, *Brookings Initiative in Rwanda: Land and Human Settlement* (2001) 61, during the Arusha accord both parties (the standing Rwandan government and RPF) had agreed that "with a view to promote social harmony and national reconciliation, refugees who fled the country over 10 years ago not claim their property if it has been occupied by other individuals. To compensate them, the government will put land at their disposal and will assist them to resettle".

[348] Ibid.

[349] Ibid.

[350] Ibid.

[351] Eugene Rurangwa, "Land Policy and Land Reform in Sub-Saharan Africa: Perspective of Land Reform in Rwanda," paper presented at the FIG XXII International Congress, Washington D.C., 29 April 2002.

[352] Ibid.

[353] Ibid.

[354] Ibid.

sizeable properties, many family plots were divided and shared between the owners and the old case refugees.[355]

These actions were implemented through a policy called "*imidugudu*" or villagisation policy. This policy called for the construction of houses in settlement sites that effectively grouped all rural dwellers into villages as opposed to the traditional method of living.[356]

There were several advantages that were auspiciously perceived by the government in implementing the policy. First, with the population living closely in the villages it was easier and more cost-effective for the government to provide basic services such as water and sanitation, health care and education.[357] Second, these villages were more easily connected with roads and communication networks that would support market access and off-farm income generating activities.[358] By settling people in clusters, markets could be developed, "as well as agro-industries and off-farm incomes."[359] Third, the *imidugudu* concept could enhance security since by living close together it was easier for the security forces to protect the villagers from the insurgents, and they could simultaneously hinder[360] the infiltrators from securing hideouts and covert support. Fourth, the government envisioned that by distancing the farmers from their land, the emotional attachment to the land as a part of a family heritage could be detached. Subsequently the government believed that this effect would make the farmers more likely to treat land as economic goods that could be valued only in terms of its productive capacity.[361]

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[355] Ibid.

[356] Human Rights Watch, "Uprooting the Rural Poor in Rwanda: Background," *Property and Returning Refugees,* accessed September 23, 2003, <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2001/rwanda/rwnvilg-03.htm>

[357] Ministry for Lands, Human Resettlement and Environmental Protection, *Brookings Initiative in Rwanda: Land and Human Settlement* (2001) 62.

[358] Ibid.

[359] Ibid.

[360] Ibid.

[361] Human Rights Watch, "Uprooting the Rural Poor in Rwanda: Background," *Property and Returning Refugees,* accessed September 23, 2003, <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2001/rwanda/rwnvilg-03.htm>

Unfortunately, a practical implementation of the *imidugudu* policy in the midst of the urgency to meet the housing needs of a huge number of people within a short period of time created several problems. First, many of the projects were inadequately planned and the site selection was poorly chosen resulting in disastrous social, economic and environmental outcomes.[362] The decision to locate the *imidugudus* that were far from the farmland caused a significant fall in food production in some areas.[363] Understandably the site selection process was governed mostly by the availability of land since high population density and acute shortage of land remained as the greatest challenge for Rwanda.[364] The shortage of public or state land forced the *imidugudu* to be installed on the lands of citizens.[365] Since the government lacked sufficient resources to compensate the property owners whose land was taken for building *imidugudu* houses, the government decided that those who lived in the *imidugudu* should pay the compensation.[366] The mechanism to settle the issue was left for the villager to decide.[367] Unfortunately, rarely did the land owners receive the compensation since the new villagers either did not have anything to offer or refused to compensate due to some past enmity.[368] Contrarily, the owners of the land faced many difficulties in resuming their lives. They were either deprived of compensation, or the remaining farmland that they had, or the new farmland that they received in exchange was too far from their residence.[369] Second, a failure to secure local participation in the planning process resulting in a poor sense of ownership among the communities, to the extent that some people considered that the houses they were living in belonged to the organization that

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[362] Ministry for Lands, Human Resettlement and Environmental Protection, *Brookings Initiative in Rwanda: Land and Human Settlement* (2001) 62.

[363] Ibid.

[364] Ibid.

[365] Human Rights Watch, "Uprooting the Rural Poor in Rwanda: Background," *Property and Returning Refugees,* accessed September 23, 2003, <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2001/rwanda/rwnvilg-03.htm>

[366] Ibid.

[367] Ibid.

[368] Ibid., in a sample of 500 *imidugudu* residents in late 1999, only eight percent of those who had ceded land for *imidugudu* received something in exchange.

[369] Ibid.

constructed it.[370] Third, a failure to take into account the community structures when populating the new villages resulting in some villages consisting mostly of either widows, one social group or a very vulnerable people.[371]

The land issue remained an enormous challenge for the government since many families were still landless, and they had to sustain themselves by cultivating small borrowed or rented plots.[372] Others worked on the land belonging to someone else for wages or in exchange for the right to cultivate a small piece of land for themselves.[373] The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs found that the *imidugudu* residents in the region of Bugesera depended on food aid for survival since they had less easy access to land.[374] Naturally, those who lost their land in the process of creating the *imidugudu* suffered enormous hardship and burned with enmity.[375]

According to the consultations on national unity and reconciliation, land disputes were the greatest factor that hindered sustainable peace.[376] These disputes ranged from conflicts over distribution of village plots, land redistribution operation, land exchange, inheritence and property violations.[377] Land also had been badly managed to the extent that soil erosion has worsened due to continuous and uncontrolled cultivation, exploitation of marginal land and the lack of reliable soil conservation methods.[378]

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[370] Ministry for Lands, Human Resettlement and Environmental Protection, *Brookings Initiative in Rwanda: Land and Human Settlement* (2001) 62.

[371] Ibid.

[372] Human Rights Watch, "Uprooting the Rural Poor in Rwanda: Background," *Property and Returning Refugees,* accessed September 23, 2003, <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2001/rwanda/rwnvilg-03.htm>

[373] Ibid.

[374] Ibid.

[375] Human Rights Watch, "Uprooting the Rural Poor in Rwanda: Background," *Property and Returning Refugees,* accessed September 23, 2003, <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2001/rwanda/rwnvilg-03.htm>

[376] Ministry for Lands, Human Resettlement and Environmental Protection, *Brookings Initiative in Rwanda: Land and Human Settlement* (2001) 62, over 80% of the cases coming before a prefect are concerned with land.

[377] Ibid.

[378] Eugene Rurangwa, "Land Policy and Land Reform in Sub-Saharan Africa: Perspective of Land Reform in Rwanda," paper presented at the FIG XXII International Congress, Washington D.C., 29 April 2002.

F. ANALYSIS AND SUMMARY

The relationship between ecological resource scarcity and conflicts invokes Thomas Malthus' argument in "The Principle of Population," in which he asserts that there is a time when the population growth reaches the limit of subsistence, it will be held back by epidemics, infanticide, famine and war.[379] Many authors either agree or disagree with Malthus' theory. As a brief overview, the various positions in the debate can be camped into three proponents, that is, the anti-Malthusian, hard-Malthusian, and the soft-Malthusian.[380]

The first school of thought completely rejected Malthusian argument and argues that there is no relationship between conflicts and ecological resource scarcity. They understand that population growth will stimulates progress and economic growth since with more people there will be an increase in knowledge and technological innovation, which will lead to better economic activity and organization.[381] Simon asserts that new inventions will actually spur population growth since with this invention, there will be a diffusion of new methods, which in turn will increase the output for a given amount of labor and land. This will make additional population growth possible.[382] On the other hand, population growth will require better agricultural methods. This in turn will require more labor per worker.[383] Hence both cases complement each other in dealing with the positive attributes of population growth and disproved the Malthusian theory. Boserup also discarded Malthusian theory in her work. She asserts that population growth is an

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[379] Thomas Homer-Dixon, *Environment, Scarcity, and Violence* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999) 28-46.

[380] Dixon simplified the debate by categorizing three main positions that is the neo-Malthusians, the Economic optimists, and the distributionist. Other author, for example, Frank Furedi, in his writing, [*Population and Development: A Critical Introduction* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997)] categorizes eight proponents in the debate, that is, the developmentalist perspective, the redistributionist perspective, the limited resources perspective, the socio-biological perspective, the people-as-a-Source-of-Instability perspective, the women and human rights perspective, the people-as-problem-solver perspective and the religious pro-natalist perspective. Lief Ohlsson, in his dissertation, ["Environment, Scarcity, and Conflict: A Study of Malthusian Concerns," University of Goteborg, 1999, 99-112] identified seven positions that were adapted by the social scientist when applying Malthusian theory in the Rwanda case studies. These positions can be seen as either avoidance, rejection on principled grounds, intuitive acceptance, determining the role of scarcities, determining the role of the developmental model, empirical corroboration and empirical refutation.

[381] Peter Uvin, *Avoiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda* (Connecticut: Kumarian Press, 1998) 183.

[382] Julian L. Simon, *Research in Population Economics* (Connecticut: Jai Press, 1978) 165-186.

[383] Ibid.

independent variable, which will determine the agricultural developments, that is, with more people, the agricultural sector will be affected with better cultivation techniques, which will increase the output and improve the social structures of agrarian communities.[384]

The problem with this camp is that it cannot explain the genocide in Rwanda. If this theory is to be applied to Rwanda in the pre-1994 genocide all the arguments will break down. Habyarimana had repeatedly refused to accept the return of refugees based on his reason that Rwanda had been overpopulated. The legitimacy of Habyarimana government was challenged when he failed to address the issue of the famine that ravaging the country in 1988. If the anti-Malthusian theory is correct, then supposedly more population in Rwanda means more output from arable land since population growth will push for the adoption of productive agricultural work. Unfortunately this did not happen because Habyarimana did not implement a policy that call for agricultural modernization. But this is the point that the anti-Malthusian will make. For them, if the Habyarimana government seriously pursued the use of technology for agricultural work or for diversifying the economy, and establishing more industry that can generate products for exports, then there will be no shortage of food. The output from the agricultural sector will multiply with the use of technology or the income from the exports will be adequate to buy more food. To the anti-Malthusian resource scarcity in Rwanda is only a social construct, that is, the outcome of government policy. However that explanation affirmed that the conflict was partly generated by the land scarcity pressure, which was a byproduct of government policy.

The second school of thought, which is known as "hard" Malthusian sees a direct relationship between overpopulation and resource scarcity with famine and conflict since population increases exponentially when unconstrained while the subsistence or food increases linearly.[385] Arithmetically, eventually the population growth will exceed the level of subsistence available. When a country is overpopulated, with food production maximised, invariably people will be driven to find subsistence. Competition for the

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[384] Ester Boserup, *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth: The Economics of Agrarian Change under Population Pressure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company 1965) 11-14.

[385] Exponentially means in the order of 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, … and linearly means 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6…

scarce resources will generate a conflict or otherwise a ravaging famine will neutralize the effect.

R. Ehrlich and H. Ehrlich contend that a "population explosion" has already resulted in environmental devastation, poverty, hunger and violent conflict.[386] They see a direct connection between population growth and the reduction of subsistence. For them, in order to arrest the impending disaster, an action to end the "population explosion" should be made, that is, through birth control. They assume that if the human birthrate can be lowered slightly below the death rate, then population will gradually decline. Otherwise the growing population will rapidly debilitate nonrenewable resources or transform renewable resources into nonrenewable ones with the overall effect of reducing the capacity of the environment to support the growing population.[387]

Another proponent of the hard-Malthusian position is Garrett Hardin. She uses the metaphor of a lifeboat to illustrate the effect of overpopulation. For her, eventually the lifeboat can no longer accept extra passengers without sinking it. It is the same with the nation's land. If the population continues growing, it will exceed the capacity of the land.[388] Furthermore with the population growth rate in the poor countries doubling that of the rich countries while the world resources are decreasing, the gap between the rich and the poor is widening. As such, the pressure to compete for the limited land or resources will increase.

Hardin stresses that an environment that is open to all is subjected to abuse if there is no proper control. It only takes one person to start abusing the environment, which can then create a chain of reactions. The users of a common environment or resource may eventually destroy the very resource upon which they depend. Hardin contends that continued population growth will pollute resources.[389]

These hard-Malthusian views are flawed on two aspects. First, they must hold that other elements within the population remain constant in order to infer the causal relationship between population growth and subsistence (increases or decreases in

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[386] Paul R. Ehrlich and Anne H. Ehrlich, *The Population Explosion* (New York: Simon And Schuster Publisher, 1990) 23.

[387] Ibid., 39.

[388] Garrett Hardin, "Life Boat Ethics: The Case against Helping the Poor," *Psychology Today* September 1974: 38-43.

[389] Ibid., 124-126.

population growth causing the inverse effect on subsistence). Second, the hard-Malthusian argument works on the law of diminishing return. This means, with a fixed size of a farm, the production per labor will decline with the addition of each new laborer. However, in the real world, both of these assumptions do not hold since all the variables within the population equation keep changing and are not constant. For example, the expanding human mind and creativity will spur technological advancements that can increase agricultural production.[390] Changing in societal organization or government policies also will effectively avoid the situation in which the population growth is greater than the capacity to sustain them. Even the unpredictability of the nature itself or sheer luck will mitigate the relationship between population growth and subsistence.[391]

The hard-Malthusian attempts to attribute the genocide in Rwanda directly to the issue of overpopulation and the scarcity of arable land is also not plausible. Many other countries, for example, Tanzania and Bangladesh that have a higher population density and are basically as poor as Rwanda did not experience a violent conflict.[392] This led us to the third school of thought, whom I call the soft-Malthusian that stands between the two extremes, that is, the optimist anti-Malthusian and the pessimist hard-Malthusian.

The proponents of the soft-Malthusian position argue that social conflict is not an unavoidable outcome of resource scarcity. There are intervening variables that may vary the effect. These intervening variables such as the accountability and legitimacy of the state, political processes, economic activities, patterns of innovation and social cooperation can modify the resultant outcome of resource scarcity whether it will or will not causes a conflict.

Prunier states that the pressure generated by the effect of overpopulation in some way contributed to the genocide. The willingness of ordinary Hutu peasants to take part in the massacres when instructed by the politicians displayed the peasants' line of thinking that with the elimination of the Tutsis, there will be a lot of space available for

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[390] This is an anti-Malthusian argument that was presented before.

[391] Ann F. Wolfgram and Maria Sophia Aguirre, "Population, Resources and Environment: A Survey of the Debate," The Catholic University of America, assessed electronically on 04 June 2003, <http://arts-sciences.cua.edu/econ/faculty/aguirre/resenv.htm>

[392] Peter Uvin, *Avoiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda* (Connecticut: Kumarian Press, 1998) 182-183.

them.[393] In his argument Prunier illustrated that the overpopulation problem by itself did not cause the genocide. In fact, the genocide was orchestrated by the ruling elites in order to salvage their loosening power over the control of the rural population. Having accustomed to rule Rwanda in a totalitarian way, Habyarimana government was not happy when the Western aid donors forced the government to establish a multiparty system as a prerequisite for the economic aid. This is clearly described by Prunier in illustrating the intention of Habyarimana in signing the Arusha Peace accord. "President Habyarimana had consented to sign the Arusha Peace agreement not as a genuine gesture marking the turning over of a new political leaf and the beginning of democratization in Rwanda, but as a tactical move calculated to buy time, shore up the contradiction of the various segments of the opposition and look good in the eyes of the foreign donors."[394]

After the peace accord was signed, the political circles around Habyarimana organized a plan to exterminate the Tutsi as well as the Hutu dissidents in order to remain in power.[395] The lust for power drove them to commit to this agenda.

The fact that Rwanda had been densely populated largely favored their agenda since the population had been under enormous pressure to sustain agrarian life within the small space available. Coupled with other variable, such as the "issue of Tutsi threat" which had been deliberately brainwashed on the Hutu population by the state, resulted in the easiness of the ruling elites to mobilize the Hutu masses in executing the genocide.[396] I believe that this line of argument is more convincing since it takes into consideration the cumulating events that happened during the pre-genocide period to form up a causal explanation for the genocide. Invariably it was found that the issue of resource scarcity due to overpopulation contributed to the cause of genocide via political process.

Another author who adapts a soft-Malthusian approach in explaining the genocide in Rwanda is Peter Uvin. Uvin uses an analogy of transmission belt in explaining the linkage between the genocide and resource scarcity. Uvin points out that in real lives,

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[393] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 4.

[394] Ibid., 194-195

[395] This political circle known widely as "akazu" (the small house), actually centered around the President's wife. Akazu members were identified in the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) as the planners of the genocide.

[396] Ibid., 353-354.

people are dealing with a "web of interactions." Thus, any issue cannot be seen in isolation.[397] For him, in order to arrive at the explanation of genocide with respect to the resource scarcity, there were three important factors that transmitted the pressure of resource scarcity into the execution of the genocide. The first factor was the legacy of the conflict between the Hutu and the Tutsi that traces back to the social revolution in 1959.[398] The conflict that ended in 1963 displaced thousands of Tutsi as refugees. Subsequently, their abandoned land was occupied by the Hutu farmers. The successive attempt by the RPF to invade Rwanda in late 1980s and early 1990s raised the fears of the Hutu, that the land they were cultivating would be reclaimed by the returning Tutsi refugees if the RPF won the war. The Hutu extremists also deliberately fueled this fear in order to achieve their agenda. The government's persistence to block the return of the refugees on the basis that Rwanda had already been overpopulated also alarmed the Hutu's mind.

The second causative factor was the economic crisis faced by Rwandan for a decade beginning in 1984. A decreased food production coupled with the crash of the prices for coffee and a reduction in jobs caused severe hardships for many families. Since the crisis spanned for a long time, a lot of young people who were unemployed saw no hope in improving their lives. This sense of hopelessness drove them to participate in the ensuing genocide orchestrated by the government since they saw a lot to gain from it.

The third contributing factor was is the attempted invasion by RPF in the early 1990s. This war displaced around one million Rwandan from the northern region to the refugee camps around Kigali. Consequently, the capital's population rose dramatically and were littered with thousands of young people who were unemployed and dissatisfied. This situation presented perfect breeding grounds for extremism and radicalism against the minority Tutsi. Apart form that, an increase in military expenditures to fight the war resulted in a reduce budget for social and development programs, which in turn had increased the hardships faced by the common people.

Hence I believe that even though resource scarcity in Rwanda, the issue of land ownership, did not automatically generate a lethal conflict, it stood as the biggest causal

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[397] Peter Uvin, "Tragedy in Rwanda: The Political Ecology of Conflict," *Environment* 38 (1996): 15.

[398] Discussed on pages 12 and 13 of this paper.

factor based on several aspects. First, the peasants were pressured to maintain their livelihood on a shrinking plot of land. Second, there was a constant fear that they would lose the land to the Tutsi if the RPF took over the country. Third, the youths who were not prepared to seek a livelihood other than being farmers were disillusioned with the "situation" that caused unemployed and left them without a plot of land to farm. This "situation" was generated due to a government policy that failed to address the issue of resource scarcity and rapid population growth.

James Gasana who was the Rwandan ex-Minister of Agriculture published his analysis on the effect of natural resource scarcity toward violence in Rwanda in a 2001 International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) book on environment and conflict.[399] Gasana identified three factors that turned the social effect of natural resource scarcity into violence.[400] First, a large population who were badly affected by the land issue and the ensuing famine of 1988 and 1989 were dissatisfied. The peasants who lived in the badly affected southern areas saw that the government, which paid more attention to the northern region where Habyarimana and his political elites originated, marginalizing them.[401] Second, the government failed to address this dissatisfaction seriously and did not consider suggestions from the grass-root level.[402] Third, a lack of national debate led the southern elites to organize the peasants to support opposition movements.[403]

Three set of events led to the genocide. First, the RPF's leaders assessed the period of decline of Habyarimana regime's legitimacy due to its inability to address the issue of refugees, poverty, famine and rising voices of opposition groups, as an

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[399] Gasana held the post of Minister of Agriculture (1990 to 1992), and Minister of Defense (1992 to 1993) in the Rwandan government headed by Hayarimana. He was involved in negotiating with the RPF delegation during the Arusha Agreement process. Knowing that the extremists led by Colonel Bagosora were watching him, he fled to Switzerland shortly before the signing of the accord in fear of his life. His colleague, Foreign Minister Ngulinzira, who stayed behind was among the first to be killed in April 1994 genocide. Source: Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 163.

[400] James K. Gasana, "Natural Resources Scarcity and Violence in Rwanda," *IUCN* (2002): 229-230.

[401] Ibid., 218.

[402] Ibid., 229.

[403] Ibid. Most southern peasants were Tutsi and moderate Hutu. They opposed Habyarimana since he was seen as favoring his northern region.

appropriate time to renew their rebellion.[404] Second, the ensuing war displaced up to one million inhabitants from the north, disrupted agricultural production, increasing scarcity, and sharpened the ethnicity divide and hatred (since RPF was associated with Tutsi).[405] Finally, the extremists manipulated this boiling situation by turning it into genocide in an attempt to salvage their remaining power structure.[406]

Based on this analysis, I believe that Gasana acknowledges a significant role of environmental scarcities in the Rwandan conflict. His soft-Malthusian approach[407] in explaining the genocide does not differ much from the attempt set by Prunier and Uvin. These explanations are more plausible in debunking the role of environmental scarcity in generating the genocide in Rwanda.

On the same line, Hoyweghen argues that the economic gains especially in the form of land seizures have always been the motivation for many participants of the genocidal campaign.[408] In an economy in which access to non-agrarian sources of income is very limited, land has invariably become the scarce production factor.[409]

As a result, this resource scarcity pressured the population that was dependent on a single source of income. However, that pressure alone would not be a sufficient factor to initiate a violent conflict. According to Collier, "The willingness of young men to join a rebellion might be influenced by their income-earning opportunities. If young men face only the option of poverty, they might be inclined to join a rebellion than if they had better opportunities."[410] An insidious education policy coupled with dependency on limited income opportunities created a hostile situation within the population. It only needed an evil and determined organization that could manipulate the situation to plan and to execute the genocide using all the available "effects" that had culminated from the

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[404] Ibid., 218-219.

[405] Ibid., 223.

[406] Ibid., 226-228

[407] In reading his conclusion regarding population growth in Rwanda, an impression can be formed that Gasana is a true hard-Malthusian since he advocates religiously the birth-control program. But his inability to link directly the genocide with the population growth and environmental scarcity lead me to conclude he is in between soft-Malthusian and hard-Malthusian with more leaning toward the latter.

[408] Saskia Van Hoyweghen, "The Urgency of Land and Agrarian Reform in Rwanda," *African Affairs* 98 (1999): 353-372.

[409] Ibid.

[410] Paul Collier, "Doing Well Out of War," *The World Bank* (1999): 3

legacy of indirect rule championed by the colonizer and totalitarian rule of Kayibanda and later on, the Habyarimana regimes.[411]

In summary increasing land scarcity and a rapid population growth extremely affected the well-being of Rwandan societies. In the past, Rwandan farmers always had a choice to relocate to other areas of the country in response to the growing demographic pressure. The launching of the *paysannat* scheme in Rwanda was to some extent a reaction against land scarcity and a rising population. It was a well-intended project but provided only a temporary solution to the growing twin problems. Once there were no more unoccupied lands, farmers had to continue to cultivate the same holdings in an increasingly intensive manner year after year in order to sustain their livelihood. Compounded to these problems, farms were shrinking in size, as farmers had to subdivide their meager holdings equally among their sons.

Since Rwanda's strategy of agricultural development emphasized a subsistence agriculture (food self-sufficiency), a level of surplus production remained marginal and could not be used effectively to sustain a growing population. Dependency on cash crops, such as coffee or cotton, rendered the economy subjective to the fluctuation of the market. In retrospect, the Rwandan farmers could accrue higher incomes by diversifying their farm produce to include high-valued products, such as flowers and vegetables that had a good export potential. [412]

A problematic policy that was followed by the pre-genocide government revolved around limiting the opportunities of the Rwandan for other types of employment. Basically there were only two types of employment opened to the Rwandans: governmental jobs or working on the farms. Clinging to the ideology that "Hutus holy way of life is farming," the government did not pursue a strategic policy of diversifying

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[411] Interestingly, Ohlsson introduced the concept of evil intent in order to recover the value of Malthusian factors with respect to the genocide. The causal role of evil intent was to increase the option for the players in the position of power to deliberate planned and carried out the genocide. This evil had been nurtured in many ways. Among them were the culture of impunity, that is, the murderers of previous massacres were released and no action were taken by the international community in dealing with the regime that was known to be suppressing their populace. Source: Lief Ohlsson, "Environment, Scarcity, and Conflict: A Study of Malthusian Concerns," Dissertation, University of Goteborg, 1999, 141-144

[412] Catherine Andre and Jean-Philippe Platteau, "Land Relation under Unbearable Stress: Rwanda Caught in the Malthusian Trap," case study, University of Namur, Belgian, 1995, 6.

the non-agricultural opportunities in an environment where there existed an extremely high pressure on land resources.

Certainly, the "successful execution" of the genocide in 1994 had much to do with the readily available unemployed, landless people especially the youth who saw the elimination of Tutsis as a way to freed up more land for their usage apart from carrying out their duties against the "RPF collaborators."

On the other hand, nothing much has changed after the genocide. The intense demand for land is still the subject of conflict among the Rwandans. The *imidugudu* policy carried out by the government was well-intended but failed to perceive the difficulties that would be suffered by the affected individuals. Likely, this will become a source for future conflict.

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V. THE PROBLEM OF SOCIAL COHESION

A. INTRODUCTION

Prior to the economic crisis that hit Southeast Asia in July 1997, many Asian governments were lulled into the impression that their top-down approach in fostering social cohesion and social stability had led to rapid development for three decades since the 1960s.[413] These governments developed overarching "vision documents"[414] that served as a rallying point around which the citizens were invited to focus their energies in achieving the goal.[415] These visions facilitated social cohesion since they promoted the feature of "togetherness."[416]

Unfortunately, the economic crisis in 1997 quickly weakened social cohesion and resulted in a social conflict that arose from the ethnicity and class issues that had been lying dormant while the economic was booming.[417] In the case of Rwanda, this conflict took a vicious twist. The vertical social cohesion that was fostered by the government for almost three decades was manipulated diligently in executing the genocide. Under such a situation, the power of social cohesion can clearly become a blessing or a curse.

Since the exact meaning of social cohesion remains vague, I will examine some of the definitions that sociologists have put forward in entangling the issue.

Stanley defines social cohesion as "the willingness of members of a society to cooperate with each other in order to survive and prosper."[418] This definition is very

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[413] Sharon Siddique, "Social Cohesion and Social Conflict in Southeast Asia," paper presented at the Asian Regional Consultation on Social Cohesion and Conflict Management, Manila, Phillipines, 17 March 2000.

[414] Malaysia developed "Vision 2020" with the aspiration of becoming an advance industrial nation by year 2020. This vision was developed after two decades of "New Economic Policy" (1970 to 1990) with the objective to raise the Malay's economic status in comparison to the Chinese and Indians. Singapore's vision is documented in the government publication in 1991 entitled "The Next Lap." It visualized that between 2020 and 2030, Singapore would develop into a global city, with a national identity, economic dynamism and a good quality of life. Indonesia continued to derive its primary vision from the State Ideology of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Source: Sharon Siddique, "Social Cohesion and Social Conflict in Southeast Asia," paper presented at the Asian Regional Consultation on Social Cohesion and Conflict Management, Manila, Phillipines, 17 March 2000

[415] Ibid.

[416] Ibid.

[417] Ibid., 6-9

[418] Dick Stanley, "What Do We Know about Social Cohesion: The Research Perspective of the Federal Government's Social Cohesion Research Network," *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 28 (2003): 1.

normative and it does not take into account the existence of vertical control that influences a society. A broader understanding of social cohesion was advanced by the World Bank encompass both the positive and negative aspects by including vertical as well as horizontal relations within a community and between the people and the institutions.[419]

On the other hand, Moody and White propose that social cohesion or solidarity to be partitioned into an "ideational component" and "relational component."[420] Ideational component refers to "members' identification with a collectivity," while relational component refers to "the observed connections among members of the collectivity."[421] Using this concept they believe that it is easier to identify analytically the relation between the community actors even though this does not negate the possibility that one component will reinforce the other.

Colletta and Cullen assert that social cohesion can be measured "by the density and nature of organization and networks (both vertical and horizontal) and by members' sense of commitment and responsibility to these groups."[422] They understand that cohesiveness of a society was founded on the basis of trust, which leads to the ability for cooperation and mutual exchange for material, labor and information.[423] The problem with trust, regarding vertical social cohesion, is that the higher levels of trust can make the conflict more violent since the rival ethnic group is more susceptible to unexpected attacks.[424] In their investigation, Bhavani and Backer find that there were many examples that illustrate how the Tutsi "trusting" the Hutu in ways that facilitated the genocidal killings in 1994.[425]

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[419] The World Bank Group, *Social Capital for Development:Vertical and Horizontal Associations*, accessed electronically on October 10, 2003, <http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/scapital/whatsc.htm>

[420] James Moody and Douglas R White, "Structural Cohesion and Embeddedness: A Hierarchical Concept of Social Groups," *American Sociological Review* 68 (2003): 104.

[421] Ibid.

[422] Nat.J. Colleta and Michelle.L. Cullen, "The Nexus between Violent Conflict, Social Capital and Social Cohesion: Case Studies from Cambodia and Rwanda," *The World Bank Social Capital Initiative Working Paper* No.23 (2000): 15.

[423] Ibid.

[424] Ravi Bhavnani and David Backer, "Localized Ethnic Conflict and Genocide: Accounting For Differences in Rwanda and Burundi," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44.3 (2000): 303.

[425] Ibid.

To examine the problem of social cohesion with respect to the Rwandan tragedy I believe it is necessary to investigate how vertical and horizontal cohesiveness were developed within the Rwandan society in the pre-Genocide period. Subsequently, I will also examine how the authorities manipulated this cohesion to pursue their genocide agenda. Since the genocide enormously damaged the Rwandan society, destroying the social trust that bonded the Rwandan community, I will investigate how the post genocide government responds in facing a demanding challenge to calm the community actors who are ripe with hatred, suspicious, disillusionment, desire for revenge, and pessimistic about the future.[426]

B.   PRE-INDEPENDENCE SITUATION

The social pattern of Rwandan population was very much influenced by the geographical condition in which they lived. Most of the people live on *musozi* (hills) and consequently the hilly terrain of Rwanda was dotted with houses and farms and only broken by odd clumps of trees.[427] Each peasant was a man of the *rugo*, which meant he had a family enclosure or compound around which all life revolved.[428] *Rugo* was a basic unit of social life and several *rugo*s were interconnected into *ingo* based on lineage.[429] Since the lineage head held control over the land, any individual from another kin group who needed land might request a plot from the lineage head, and when granted, the recipient would become a land client of the donor lineage.[430] In return he would repay the lineage head from time to time in the form of farm products or sometimes labor.[431] This was a very basic existence of social cohesion in which both parties performed their parts to achieve a mutual benefit. Another mechanism of fostering social cohesion was

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[426] John Rutayisire, John Kabano and Jolly Rubagiza, "Rwanda-synopsis of the Case Study," *Curriculum Change and Social Cohesion in Conflict-Affected Societies* (July 2002 - June2003), accessed electronically on 20 May 2003, <http://www.ibe.unesco.org/Regional/social_cohesion/sc_rwanda.htm>

[427] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 2-3.

[428] Ibid.

[429] Ibid.

[430] M. Catherine Newbury, "Ubureetwa and Thangata: Catalysts to Peasant Political Consciousness in Rwanda and Malawi," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 14.1 (1980): 99.

[431] Ibid.

the *ubuhake* system that had been described earlier, which worked in the form of charity. Every hill was dotted with dozens of *ingo*s, and consequently the Tutsi and Hutu lived side by side in neighboring *ingo*, on the same hilly slopes.[432] In terms of a relational component of social cohesion, these communities were very cohesive due to the dense connection among the members, and they knew each other very well.

When the Mwami extended his control over the population, he sent his chiefs to administer the *musozi*. The chiefs set certain norms for the *musozi* as a way to fulfill the obligation and to pay the taxes to the government.[433] Neither these obligations nor the taxes rested on individuals separately but within each *rugo* (household). The people made their own arrangements to fulfill the government's order.[434] This enforced the social cohesiveness within the community and acted as a mechanism in which people helped each other in order to survive and to prosper.

Another mechanism that maintained social cohesion within this traditional society was the *gacaca* court. This conflict resolution mechanism was built on one essential precondition: mutual trust. It worked on the basis that the conflicting parties trusted the older men who were respected in their community to "impart impartially, with sincerity, wisely, honestly, and freely without benefiting themselves."[435] On the other hand, both parties were trusted to deliver the truth in their claims.

In the late nineteenth century, a new form of compulsory work known as *ubureetwa* was introduced. An individual would labor at public work once every two months.[436] This mechanism was flexible and was also looked upon as a community obligation.

During the Belgian colonial period, the system was excessively tightened, so taxes were a responsibility of every individual instead of the softer collective

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[432] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 2-3.

[433] Ibid., 12.

[434] Ibid.

[435] Africanpriciples.org, "Peace and Reconciliation in Africa – Some Questions Regarding the Application of Gacaca in the Rwandan Context", 2001, accessed electronically on October 19, 2003, <http://www.africanprinciples.org/article.asp?cID=3>

[436] M. Catherine Newbury, "Ubureetwa and Thangata: Catalysts to Peasant Political Consciousness in Rwanda and Malawi," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 14.1 (1980): 103.

responsibility approach that had been practiced before.[437] *Ubureetwa* was also abused. Men were expected to perform *ubureetwa* work for two to three full days a week.[438] This looked more like a forced labor system since an *ingo* could no longer delegate a strong man among them to perform the job since every single man and sometimes women and children too had to go and perform the public work.[439] Thus this form of social obligation was devoid of social cohesion and much more disliked by the people than the traditional form of taxation.[440] The effects of the colonial policy also fostered the cohesion within the oppressed Hutu population while fragmenting the relations between the Hutu and Tutsi. The relational component of social cohesion across the community still existed since physically they still living close to one another.

C.   POST-INDEPENDENCE SITUATION TO PRE-GENOCIDE PERIOD

The Hutu elite led by Kayibanda, who gained power in 1961 and retained it after the independence in 1962, embarked on a policy that completed the destruction of traditional social cohesion that existed during the pre-colonial period. Traditional political and social systems such as the *gacaca* conflict resolution mechanism and the role of elders were replaced by a central administration. Kayibanda adopted a style of governance that was highly authoritarian and continued to reinforce a culture of obedience that provided an enabling environment in subsequent years for the continued persecution of the Tutsi.[441] Horizontal cohesion between Hutu and Tutsi worsened with increasing government repression against the Tutsi that mainly characterized the pattern of Kayibanda's administration until he was replaced by Habyarimana.

After taking power from Kayibanda, Habyarimana lessened the repression against the Tutsi and tried to rebuild a better Rwanda. In order to foster social cohesion in communes that were rife with suspicion and devoid of collective spirit due to the Hutu revolution and Kayibanda's policy, Habyarimana government introduced *umuganda*,

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[437] Ibid.

[438] Ibid.

[439] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 27.

[440] Ibid., 2-3.

[441] Greg Duly, "Creating a Violence-Free Society: The Case for Rwanda," *The Journal of Humanitarian Assistance* (2000): 9.

which was a system of obligatory communal labor.[442] Weekly *umuganda* worked on a neighborhood basis and it was the government's attempt to foster the spirit of local cooperation and goodwill.[443] Apart from being used as a mechanism to organize communal labor, *umuganda* sessions were also filled with activities that attracted the community like the "animation," including dancing, praising for the regime and its leaders and a great deal of collective chanting and clapping.[444] Hence *umuganda* was a powerful community building exercise and it encompassed building horizontal and vertical social cohesion.

Even though the quota for the Tutsi remained enforced within the public office or official state administration, they were allowed more freedom in private business sector.[445] Tutsi businessmen were able to prosper and to develop good relations with senior members of the government, including President Habyarimana himself.[446] As long as the Tutsi stayed away from the political arena, they were fairly accepted as part of the society.

The early years of Habyarimana's regime saw impressive macro-economic growth.[447] Before the mid-1980s, the government had avoided becoming heavily indebted, while the level of inflation and corruption was very low.[448] The services that were provided to the population in terms of drinking water, electricity, primary education, health care, and networks of road were very impressive.[449] This outward appearance of order and growth brought significant technical and financial support from the major western country donors and the World Bank, who disregarded the issue of the

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[442] Johan Pottier, "Taking Stock: Food Marketing Reform in Rwanda, 1982-89," *African Affairs* 92.366 (1993): 12.

[443] Ibid.

[444] Helen M.Hintjens, "Explaining the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 37.2 (1999): 269.

[445] Ibid., 257.

[446]Greg Duly, "Creating a Violence-Free Society: The Case for Rwanda," *The Journal of Humanitarian Assistance* (2000): 9.

[447]Ibid.

[448] Helen M.Hintjens, "Explaining the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 37.2 (1999): 256.

[449] Ibid.

prevailing socio-cultural ideology.[450] Rwanda during this time was regarded as "an outstanding example of orderly, well-organized and honestly administered development" and was well known as the "Switzerland of Africa."[451] To a general observer, only a cohesive society could achieve a success as in Rwanda.

On the other hand, Habyarimana also had succeeded in extending his control to the lowest level of the Rwandan society. The single party system (MRND) that he institutionalized in 1978 was used as a mechanism to build a strong vertical cohesiveness between the masses and the administrators. As had been shaped during the aristocratic and colonial rule, Rwandan individuals continued to demonstrate a remarkable degree of internalized social control in relation to their superiors[452] while the administrators, down to the village level, were selected from among the party cadres in order to ensure a "oneness" of his vision.

In furthering his agenda to keep the Rwandans from being actively involved in politics (hence strengthened his power), MRND was portrayed as an administrative apparatus and not a political party. In an agrarian community like Rwanda it was easier for Habyarimana to urge and to encourage the populace to devote entirely to the business of agriculture and leave politics on his shoulder.[453] Thus a culture of obedience to the state by the masses was instilled throughout his regime's period. As long as the economy of the country prospered, there was no concern among the population to scrutinize his policy.

The economic crisis that I discussed in the previous section and the ensuing ravaging famine in 1988 to 1989, weakened the legitimacy of the Habyarimana regime since he was not able to address the problem effectively. As Rwanda's trade deficit accumulated, the existing redistributional and welfare policy that had flowered during the early years of his regime came under increasing pressure to be changed.[454] These policies

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[450] Greg Duly, "Creating a Violence-Free Society: The Case for Rwanda," *The Journal of Humanitarian Assistance* (2000): 9.

[451] Helen M.Hintjens, "Explaining the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 37.2 (1999): 244

[452] Ibid., 248

[453] Greg Duly, "Creating a Violence-Free Society: The Case for Rwanda," *The Journal of Humanitarian Assistance* (2000): 9.

[454] Helen M.Hintjens, "Explaining the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 37.2 (1999): 248

had been based "on the construction of social cohesion among Hutu through the imposition of ethnic quotas, and a high degree of economic control of producers and pricing."[455] Unable to salvage the economy successfully, Habyarimana turned to the old strategy of pointing the blame to what he called the "conspiracy of parasitic traders, merchants and intellectuals," professions in which Tutsi tended to specialize.[456]

Whatever rhetoric Habyarimana employed, the level of dissatisfaction among the peasants grew since there was a lack of free debate on the appropriate response that should be taken. Perhaps at this stage the cohesiveness of the Rwanda society was at the verge and animosity between the people and the administrators was on the rise. Coincidently the RPF renewed a war against the government in response to the failure of the government to address the issue of refugees. This war as had been discussed before displaced around one million inhabitants, and this caused grievances and strong anti-rebellion sentiment among the Rwandans. In turn, Habyarimana seized this tense situation to recreate the propaganda on the perceived "Tutsi threat" as a moved to salvage his remaining power.[457] Brown is correct when he states that hostilities can be escalated due to the existence of "antagonistic group histories and mounting economic problems."[458]

At the same time, something new emerged as a direct result of the war with RPF: a militarization of Rwandan state expenditure, growing corruption among the political elite and a rapid para-militarization of Rwandan society.[459] Facing the war and the growing voices of oppositions, Habyarimana oversaw the creation of hundreds of civil defense associations and covert death squads, all dedicated to fighting the RPF and "their allies."[460] Covert actions were an important dimension of Habyarimana regime's close political control and were especially effective in highly stratified society.[461] Hintjens

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[455] Ibid.

[456] Ibid.

[457] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 108.

[458] Michael E. Brown, *Turbulence Peace* (Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2001) 222.

[459] Helen M.Hintjens, "Explaining the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 37.2 (1999): 248

[460] Ibid., 257

[461] Ibid., 246

describe the atmosphere vividly, "a strong sense of secrecy and a false air of normality served to disarm many victims of this genocide … many Tutsi apparently failed to anticipate the genocide, in spite of mounting evidence that something [sinister] was being planned."[462]

D. GENOCIDE PERIOD

In many ways the creation of *Interahamwe* and *Impuzamugambi* as youth wings of MRND party was a strategy used by Habyraimana to build cohesiveness among the Hutu extremist. This notion can be verified by the meaning of both movements in the Kinyarwandan language. In Kinyarwanda, *Interahamwe* means "those who attached together" and *Impuzamugambi* means "those who have the same goal" or "single-minded ones."[463] These movements bonded together the unemployed, uneducated Hutu youth to pursue a single objective that is the preservation of "Hutu power." Colleta and Cullen noted this in their research by their statement, "Of the nearly 60 percent of the Rwandan population under age 20, few had hopes of obtaining land and jobs. This bleak reality facilitated the recruitment of Hutu and their acceptance of Tutsi hate propaganda."[464] At this stage, the situation was already ripe for the Hutu extremists within the government to set the plan to exterminate all Tutsi or dealt with the "Tutsi threat" once and for all.

When the call for "Let us do the work" began, the "Genocidaires were united by the collective action of killing, which helped created feelings of collective consiousness, commonality, shared goals, and solidarity … The manipulation of fear and hatred against Tutsi created solidarity among Hutu."[465] The calls to inspire all the Hutu to participate in the genocide were passed down to the lowest rank of the Hutu population via the administrative network that had been established by Habyarimana and through the notorious RTLMC (Radio Television Libre des Mille Collines) radio that continuously broadcast the anti-Tutsi feelings. The concept of *umuganda* was also manipulated to

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[462] Ibid., 245.

[462] Ibid.,

[463] Nat.J. Colleta and Michelle.L. Cullen, "The Nexus between Violent Conflict, Social Capital and Social Cohesion: Case Studies from Cambodia and Rwanda," *The World Bank Social Capital Initiative Working Paper* No.23 (2000): 19.

[464] Ibid., 18

[465] Ibid., 19

gather ordinary Hutu peasants support in carrying out the genocide. The killings were legitimized by the interim government led by Jean Kambanda by the calls such as "Let's clear the bush," which meant killing the *inyenzi* and the Tutsi.

Prunier contends that the efficiency of the genocide was attributed to the quality and responsibility of Rwandan local administrator, which was a manifestation of historical strength of the central government.[466] This was enforced by the civilians' sense of civic duty to fulfill orders delivered to them. Consequently, vertical social cohesiveness, which was manifested as an absolute state power, penetrated the Rwandan society so deeply that it took precedence over horizontal relations and loyalties. Colleta and Cullen also noted this in their research, "Officials from the police, local administrators, and military forces went door to door requisitioning men to partake in their "national duty" of eliminating Tutsi, and Hutu voluntarily or begrudgingly followed these orders. Killing Tutsi was portrayed as a Hutu civic duty; such phrases as "do your work" or "it is your duty to help clear the field" that meant eradicate the *inyenzi* (cockroaches, meaning Tutsi) were current."[467]

Up to this stage, I illustrated the role of vertical and horizontal cohesiveness of the Hutu in perpetrating the massacres against their Tutsi country men and women. The element of social cohesion actually played a double edge sword in this tragedy. The Tutsi who trusted their Hutu administrators or neighbors were caught by surprise when their trust backfired while the cohesion within the Hutu enabled the genocide to spread at an extreme rate.

E.   POST-GENOCIDE PERIOD

As a mean to facilitate community reintegration and horizontal social cohesion in a society that was traumatized by unimaginable violence, the new government of Rwanda with the assistance of the UNDP and the World Bank embarked on a strategy of decentralization in which communes would plan and implement their own development

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[466] Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 245.

[467] Nat. J. Colleta and Michelle L. Cullen, "The Nexus between Violent Conflict, Social Capital and Social Cohesion: Case Studies From Cambodia and Rwanda," *The World Bank Social Capital Initiative Working Paper* No.23 (2000): 19.

projects.[468] This decentralization policy that would dismantle the legacy of strong vertical cohesion provided an avenue for the people to experience a culture of open debate in which ideas were debated rather than passively accepted, as had been the norms during the pre-genocide era.[469]

This strategy was implemented by the use of Participatory Rural Appraisals (PRAs) where community members were free to express their views regarding development program that should be prioritized and suitable for local needs.[470] The World Bank provided the PRAs with technical assistance and local consultants in order to coordinate the effort.[471] The Rwandan Ministry of Interior set up two bodies in realizing the community development program.[472] They were the Community Development Committee (CDCs) at the commune level that acted as the project's decision making bodies and the Project Coordination Management Unit (PCMU) that coordinated projects at the national level.[473] The PCMU would contract with local consultant to build the PRA and inform communities of project opportunities.[474] In turn the PRA assisted the CDCs to develop and finalize Community Development Plans.[475] To qualify for World Bank and UNDP support, CDPs had to adhere to specific principles that were seen as the pillars to foster horizontal social cohesion and implement decentralization.[476] The five principles were

- The project cycle must maximize grassroots participation and input.

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[468] Markus Kostner and Kathleen Kuehnast, "Building Cooperation in Post-conflict Areas: Rwanda Community Reintegration and Development Project," *Social Development Notes* No. 59 (2001): 1.

[469] The Government of Rwanda, "Action Programme for the Development of Rwanda," paper presented at the Third United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Brussels, 14-20 May 2001.

[470] Markus Kostner and Kathleen Kuehnast, "Building Cooperation in Post-conflict Areas: Rwanda Community Reintegration and Development Project," *Social Development Notes* No. 59 (2001): 1-2

[471] Ibid.

[472] Ibid.

[473] Ibid.

[474] Ibid.

[475] Ibid.

[476] Ibid.

- At the communal level, the development plans must encourage trust building through community-based reintegration and development activities while increasing conflict resolution capacity.

- The CDPs must be seen as a way to enhance the opportunities for self-reliance of vulnerable populations and communities.

- The CDPs must strengthen local capacity to implement reintegration and development activities.

- The CDPs must promote protection of the disadvantage groups (widows, female headed household, orphans and the disabled) in decision-making. [477]

In a nutshell, this initiative attempted to use a novel and promising approach that built partnerships between local populations and local administrations in a way that would enhance ownership of development.[478] Since the project paid great attention to instilling the skills for conflict resolution and consensus building, this had an immediate effect of rebuilding ideational and relational social cohesion that had been destroyed by the genocide.

Another important effort that had been made in the reconstruction of social cohesion was the establishment of an effective and fair mass media.[479] This was meant to linking Hutu and Tutsi once again in a cohesive Rwandan identity and also held the government accountable for their policy.[480]

The new Rwandan government led by Kagame is also embarking on the vision of 2020, which seeks to turn the country into a reasonable prosperous and emergent economy by the year 2020.[481] Understandably, the government always stresses the policy of "there are no more Hutu and Tutsi in Rwanda, only Rwandans."

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[477] Ibid.

[478] Ibid.

[479] Nat J. Colletta and Michelle L. Cullen, *Violent Conflict and the Transformation of Social Capital* (Washington D.C.: The World Bank, 2000) 98-100.

[480] Ibid.

[481] Keynote statement by Paul Kagame, President of The Republic of Rwanda on the occasion of the 12th Board Governors Meeting of the African Capacity Building Foundation (ACBF), accessed electronically on 21 October 2003, <http://www.rwanda1.com/government/president/speeches/2003/26_06_03_acbf.html>

F. SUMMARY

It is evident that traditional Rwandan society was fairly cohesive and the mutual relation among the inhabitant characterized their interaction. Vertical social cohesion started to grow when Mwami extended his control over the population. This positive vertical and horizontal social cohesion that existed prior to the colonial period was fostered through many mechanisms, such as the mechanism to obtain a plot of land, the *ubuhake*, *ubureetwa*, and *gacaca* system of conflict resolution. During the colonial period, the horizontal relationship between Hutu and Tusti was damaged through various colonial administrative policies that favored one group over the other.

The initial post-independence period saw horizontal cohesion between Hutu and Tusti, which continued to be disturbed by the Kayibanda government's policy. Traditional societal mechanisms that survived the colonial period were replaced by authoritarian rule. The Habyarimana government performed well during the early period of his regime while the economy was booming. Society looked very cohesive and in many aspects it enjoyed the benefits that Southeast Asian countries were experiencing. As long as the economy was good, people could live harmoniously and the unsolved issue of ethnicity and class remained dormant. Unfortunately, dependency on limited resources of income rendered Rwanda vulnerable to an economic downturn. When it happened, the consequence was disastrous due to the inability of the Habyarimana government to handle the situation wisely. He placed his objective of salvaging his power ahead of the future of Rwanda.

The genocide that happened after the culmination of many events illustrated that social cohesion can appear during the conflict. Apart from uniting the extremist Hutu together to carry out "the duty," the vertical and horizontal social cohesion within the Hutu group that had been fostered during the pre-genocide period made the execution of the genocide easier. The Tutsi could not escape the deadly trap of living in Rwanda since the Hutu knew them very well. This was evident by the pre-genocide situation that I depicted earlier. Prunier states it clearly, "In the countryside, where people knew each other well, identifying the Tutsi was easy and they had absolutely no chance of escaping. Since Hutu and Tutsi are not tribes but social groups within the same culture, there was no separate dwelling pattern. They lived side by side in similar huts, and given the

demographic ratio, each Tutsi [rugo] was usually surrounded by several Hutu families [rugos], making concealment almost impossible … The "small Tutsi" from the Hills were in no way different from their Hutu neighbors, except perhaps in their physical appearance. But it did not matter because the Tutsi or Hutu identities of villagers were public knowledge."[482]

This demonstrates that the ability for a community to live together does not necessarily indicate a stable society. Despite their calmness and innocent appearance, the underlying fears of each community member which in this case was built on the foundation of hatred towards the others and being re-imposed successively placed the society in a flimsy situation of being demolished at any instant when the "fear" was translated into violence.

The post-genocide government of Rwanda, named itself the Government of National Unity. The name alone shows that social defragmentation should not be allowed to happen again in Rwanda. The government totally ascribes to the concept of decentralization and this seems to be the aspect that governs many of its policy. The obvious advantage of decentralization is that the negative aspect of vertical cohesion in terms of blind obedience has ended and a more vocal society will appear. This bottom-up approach in community building will hopefully generate a society that has a sense of belonging. It also fosters an openness among the citizens that will lead to a more cohesive relationship.

On the other hand, to take at face value or deny the existence of Hutu and Tutsi identities, as malleable as they are, seems to repeat the failure of the past. The situation can be under controlled as long as the government or the economy is strong, but that is not the normal cycle of this world. Perhaps the best approach that should be taken is for each group to acknowledge their existence and foster an understanding without any historical bias or political agenda.

482 Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 249.

VI.   CONCLUSION

The Tutsis who perished in the genocide did not choose to be born as Tutsi. The Hutus who are languishing in the jails waiting for the trials also did not choose to be born as Hutu. Mankind being composed of different races and must learn to coexist peacefully. The ability to coexist in harmony has very much to do with our perceptions and the prejudices of our forefathers.

In any given society, the public perception of certain matters can be shaped through education, the mass media, inter-generational transfers of knowledge and socialization. Fundamental to the use of any educational materials should be their appropriateness in facilitating an individual's understanding of social relations and the ability to live in a changing society. It is also recognized that the mass media can quickly become an apparatus for indoctrination.

This thesis showed that Rwanda's decent into genocide was fostered through educational and the mass media. Since throughout the conflict the government held the reins of both of these instruments, it shaped and manifested the Hutu-Tutsi antipathy. On the other hand, one must remember that the people in the power structure were the Rwandan bred who had the opportunity to obtain the highest level of education available. Thus there existed an interlocking mechanism—the educated had been victims of indoctrination. They in turn, became the power holders who perpetuated the bigotry and eventual genocide. The education system in Rwanda since its independence was very centralized and an admission for higher schooling was based on ethnicity. Coupled with the government's policy to maintain the economy mostly based on agricultural products (coffee, tea and cotton) while advocating the ideology of "Hutu's holy way of life is farming," the education system was not designed to prepare the majority population for other types of employment. Perhaps future research could concentrate on finding more detailed evidence in the contents of the education curriculum through out the pre-genocide period that might display these patterns.

Pre-genocide Rwanda was characterized by a situation in which the population kept increasing while soil fertility was decreasing. Eventually, cultivable land became a scarce resource that ultimately increased the tension between struggling farmers. Refugee

issues and civil war only increased the social tension. For the Hutus who occupied the land left by the refugees there was a constant fear that they would lose the land if the refugees were allowed to return. The civil war massively displaced northern Hutus who fled to the south and lost their livelihood and descended into poverty.

Against this backdrop, the extremist forces were able to exploit the existing ethnic cleavages and historical animosities between the Hutu and Tutsi in order to foster horizontal cohesiveness between the majority Hutu in perpetrating the genocide. This was reinforced by the existing vertical cohesiveness between the masses and the administrators. The extremist forces cunningly manipulated the available mechanisms within the Rwandan community to promote the genocide. They further exploited the international community by killing peacekeeping personnel to ensure the "successful" execution of the genocide outside of international purview. If any accident is a culmination of a chain of incidents, it is true of the genocide in Rwanda. With hindsight, the genocide in 1994 might not have happened if one of the aforementioned factors was mitigated. If humanity is to learn a lesson from the Rwandan tragedy, it is important for any "conflict prone society" to look back and understand the overall impact of any policy that is implemented.

The problem with many developing countries is that the ethnic and racial issues spill into the education system. An indicator of ethnic or racial issues is the existence of a quota system based on ethnicity or race for pursuing higher education. Such a system creates tensions and breeds racial or ethnic biases in the minds of the students who are supposed to be the future human capital of the state. Hence, policy makers should be prudent in designing an education policy so that it fosters national unity and reconciliation in any post-conflict society. Entrance into higher education should be based on merit and decentralizing the education administration may prevent the curriculum from being politicized. Decentralization may also limit the influence of the center on the educational operations of local governments. By having the community involved in the school's administration, positive values can be advanced within and outside the schools. To sustain schools financially, a collaborative effort should be established through a mix of public financing, investment from the private sectors, foreign assistance, and contribution from firms, associations and individuals. These

various actors should be made to understand that they have a stake in the education system.

Policy makers should also view education as a national investment. There is no doubt that education is a factor in human capital formation and thus it is an important ingredient of economic growth and social development.[483] Therefore the education system must be designed in such a way that it will inspire people to seek progress.[484]All education levels, if designed on a sound basis, can contribute directly to economic growth by creating human capital essential for any kind of production. In this process of creating human capital, the contribution of elementary education should not be undermined since it forms the foundation of all subsequent education. At the very early stage of development, the children should be taught the civic values that will be the foundation of civil society. An effective and fair mass media can reinforce these values.

Moreover, in a densely populated country like Rwanda, economic planners should also recognize how education promotes economic growth. This can shift the current tendency from relying on limited agricultural and manufacturing products. This can be achieved if the economy is diversified and if public education produces the necessary manpower. Increasing educated populations should be viewed as a catalyst for growth since it increases demand and thus stimulates investment.

Policy makers should also recognize that building stronger, more resilient societies is as important as reengineering economic growth. This can be achieved by fostering civic engagement in community building and cooperative problem solving, which eventually will creates social trust, cooperation, reciprocity and inclusion. The *imidugudu* policy that is being implemented by the present Rwandan government is looked upon as a practical way to rebuild the shattered community and to solve the land issue. However because various problems arose from its implementation, further research might verify whether this policy can be a source of future conflict.

A more prudent approach to solve the refugee and land claim issues must be taken. The government should establish a court that can settle this problem wisely. Apart from trying those involved with genocide, the *gacaca* court could also settle the

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[483] Muhammad Shamsul Huq, *Education and Development Strategy in South and Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1965) 97.

[484] Ibid., 64

contention of the various land claimants. If the economic system is redesigned to generate various sources of employment for Rwandans, land pressure could be addressed if there is an element of transparency and community participation in the reallocation process.

The strategy that was designed by the World Bank and UNDP to decentralize community projects and to establish mechanisms that build horizontal social cohesion among Rwandans deserve praise. Implementing projects will be more practical if the process involves maximum participation from the grassroots levels. Developers will be able to understand the real problems and the needs of the community. By building a partnership between the local population and local administrators, it is hoped that a sense of ownership of the development can be enhanced.

Understanding that reconciliation will take a long time, the government must take enormous efforts to reduce the tension. Recently, the presidential election showed that the ethnicity issue still lingers among the Rwandans. Thus a fair and effective mass media can play an important role in reconstructing the social cohesion between the Hutu and Tutsi and can function as a watch-dog in the implementation of government policy. Even if the government embarks on a policy to refer to all its people as Rwandans, no more Hutu and Tutsi, it is wiser if the ethnicity is not denied and mutual respect is inculcated in the mind of the people.

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