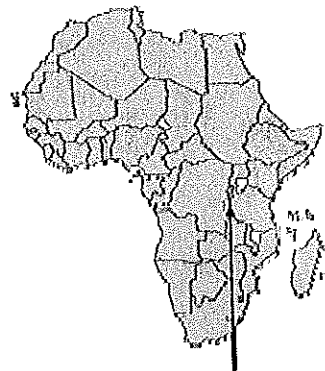
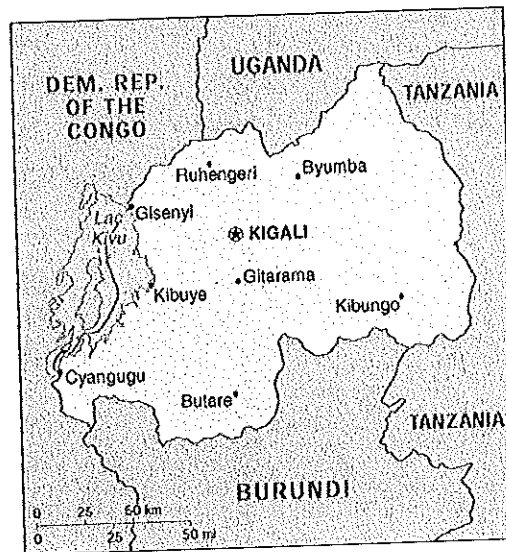


# GROUP ONE : THE HUTUS AND TUTSIS



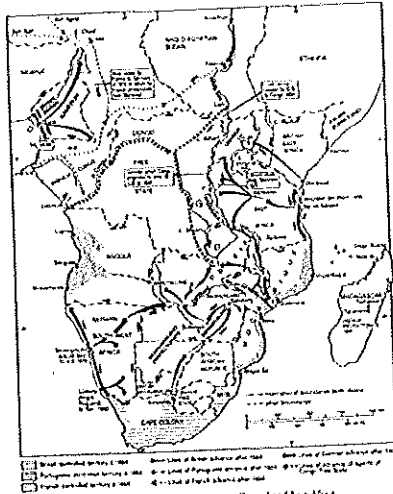
**Rwanda**



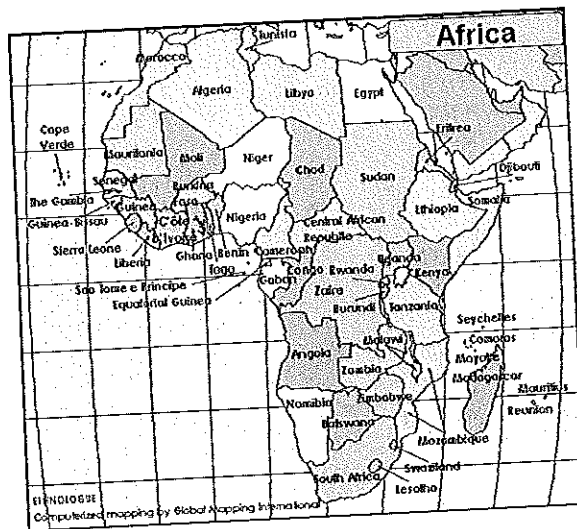
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# HISTORY OF THE TUTSIS AND THE HUTUS

## I. THE AFRICAN DIVIDE



*Africa in 1884: The Berlin Conference*

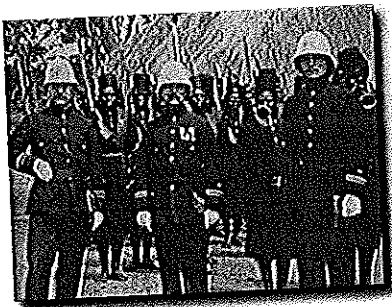


*Africa Today*

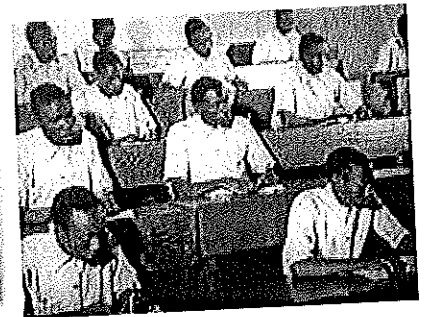
The colonization of Africa had a severely negative impact on both the continent and its people. By the mid 1800s, the western powers had established colonies all along the African coast. Africa provided a source of cheap labor, raw materials and new markets for these countries, which were going through the Industrial Revolution. These colonizing powers, however, began to compete with each other over control. They decided to hold a conference to set up ground rules for colonizing Africa. In 1884, leaders from 14 colonial powers, including the United States, Belgium, Portugal, Germany and Spain, held the Berlin Conference where they divided the continent of Africa into 50 countries and claimed them for themselves. These divisions were made arbitrarily and without any consideration of the common culture, history and language shared by different groups of African people. As a result, two things occurred: people of common ethnic groups were separated by arbitrary national borders and warring ethnic groups were brought under the same government. The map of Africa remains largely the same as when it was divided in 1884 - a major source for many of the continent's conflicts today.

The region that became the country of Rwanda was given to Germany. German colonists arrived in Rwanda in the 1890s and found a centrally governed and efficiently run country made up of people who shared a common culture, language and religious beliefs.

After World War I, Belgium gained control of Rwanda.



*Belgian colonists in Rwanda*

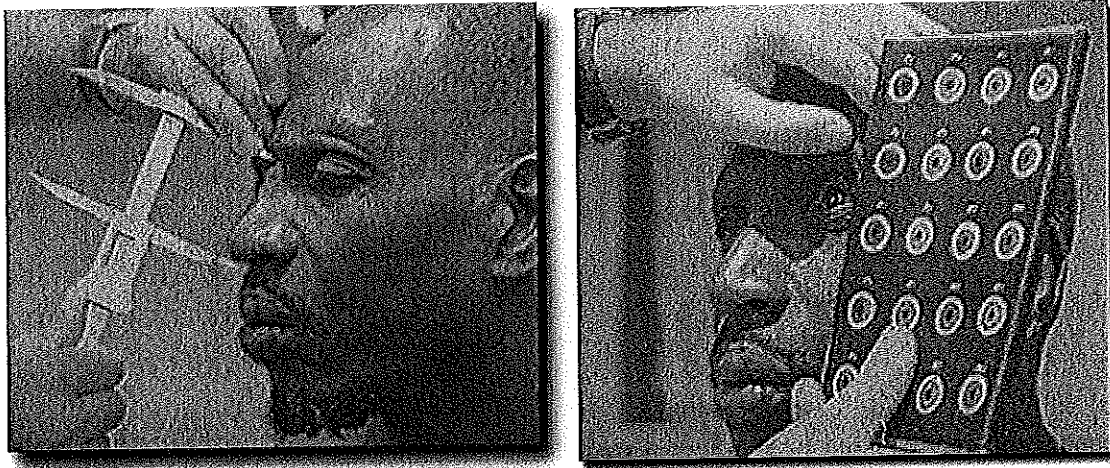


*Rwandan culture and schools before colonization*

## II. RACIAL CLASSIFICATION AND COLONIALISM

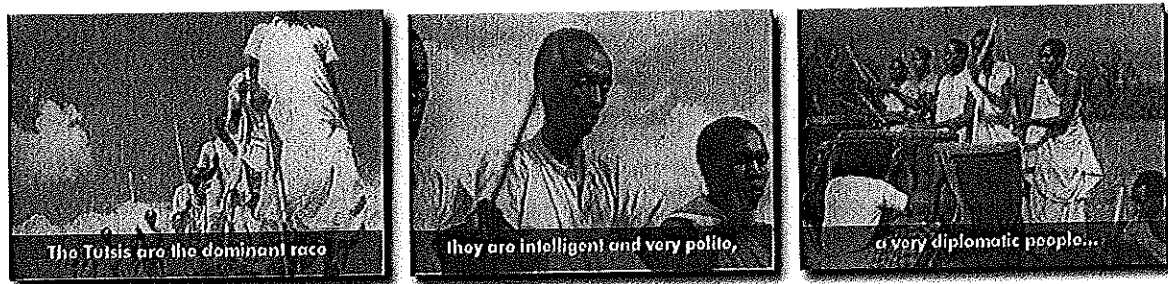
In order to strengthen their control, the Belgian colonists divided Rwanda's unified population into three distinct groups: Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa.

In order to do this, the colonists created a strict system of racial classification. Both the Belgians and the Germans, influenced by racist ideas, thought that the Tutsi were a superior group because they were more "white" looking.



*The size of the nose and the color of the eyes were factors that determined whether a person was classified as Hutu, Tutsi or Twa.*

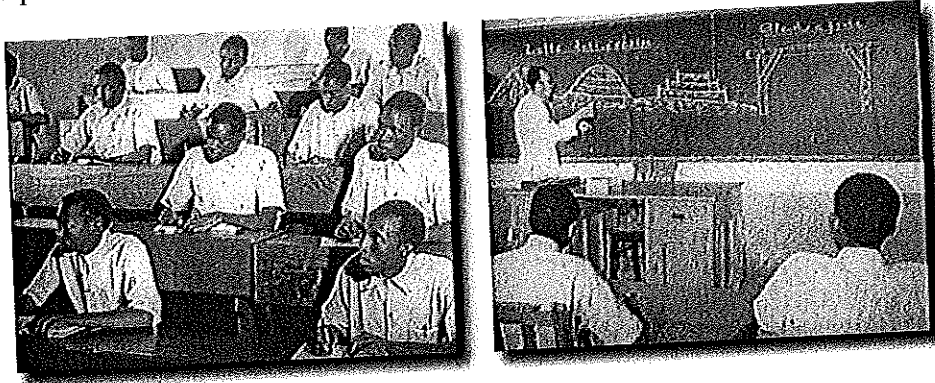
The colonists believed that the Tutsi were natural rulers, so they put only Tutsis into positions of authority and discriminated against Hutus and Twa.



*Even though prior to colonization, the people of the region that became Rwanda lived together, the Belgian colonization put one group above the others.*

### III. DISCRIMINATION AND COLONIALISM LEADS TO TENSIONS

The Hutus, who make up about 85% of Rwanda's population, were denied higher education, land ownership and positions in government. By the 1950s, their resentment had grown.



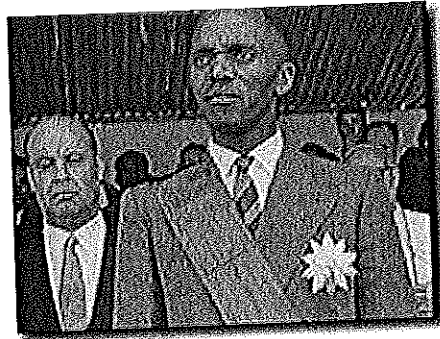
*Only Tutsis could attend school under the Belgian colonization.*

Tutsis, who were in power, also began to feel resentment. They resented the colonial rule of the Belgians and wanted to be even more independent. After World War II, Tutsi elites grew impatient and became more aggressive in their pursuit of independence.

The Belgians feared that their colonial rule was coming to an end. Some colonial rulers felt that by favoring the Hutu and trying to take back some power from the Tutsi, they could remain in power longer.

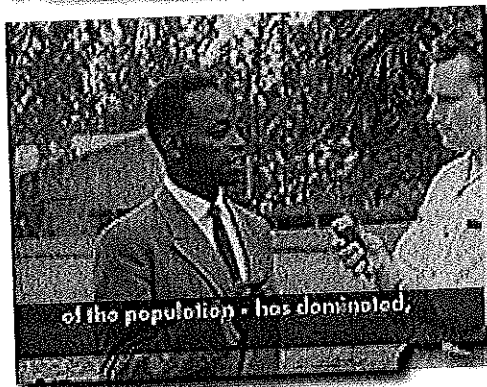
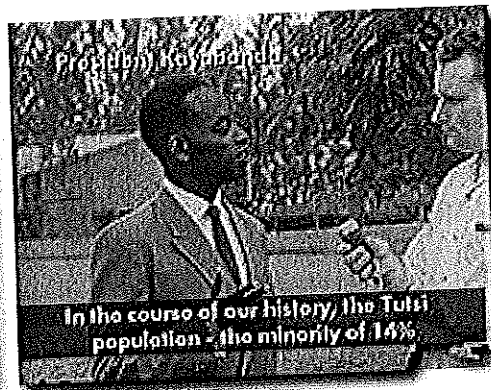
## IV. INDEPENDENCE AND HUTU RULE

In 1959, violence between the Tutsi and Hutu erupted. Hutus overthrew Tutsi rule, declared an independent republic and elected the first Hutu president, Greg wa Kayabanda. Mass killings of Tutsis occurred during the transition to Hutu rule, hinting at things to come.



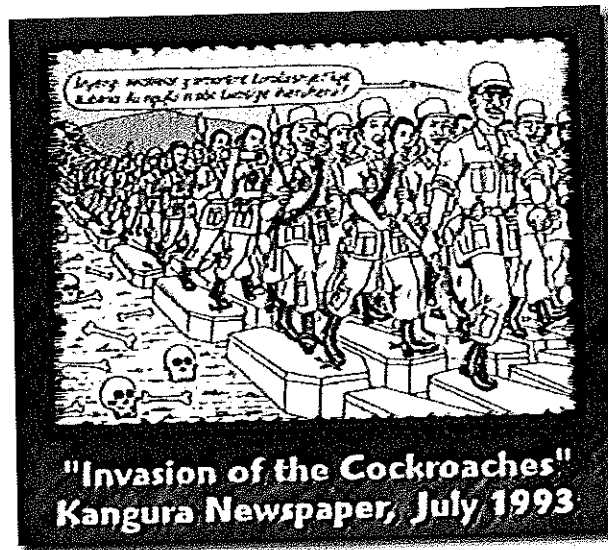
The Hutu-led government used the same system of racial oppression that existed during colonialism, except that now they were in control.

Even though the Hutus had suffered from this identity classification, they kept it in order to use it against the Tutsi who had once used it against them.



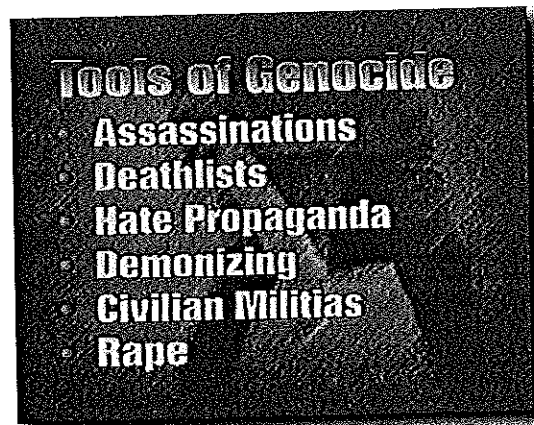
## V. TOOLS OF GENOCIDE

Rising tensions based on racial divisions and the oppression of some groups of people set the stage for the horrific events that occurred in 1994. Hutu officials began preparation to carry out a massive genocide of the Tutsi minority. They trained and armed militias and gave arms to civilians. They distributed lists of people who were to be targeted and killed. Messages of hate were broadcast over the radio, encouraging the killing of Tutsi and opponents to the Hutu regime. The messages portrayed Tutsis as evil cockroaches and rats.



The killings began the night that Rwandan President Habyarimana was killed when his plane was shot down near Kigali Airport. The President's own supporters, Hutu extremists, are believed to have orchestrated the attack in order to prevent the President from signing peace agreements although the exact circumstances have never been determined.

Hutus used different "tools" or methods to carry out the genocide: assassinations, deathlists, hate propaganda, demonizing, civilian militias, and rape. Almost one million people were killed during 100 days of genocide. The United Nations "estimated that at least a quarter-million women were raped" during the genocide. (Tina Rosenberg, *Editorial Observer; New Punishment for an Ancient War Crime*, N.N. Times, 5 Apr. 1998, at § 4, 14).



## REVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1) Why did the Belgians create a rigid system of racial classification?
- 2) Which group of people did the Belgians think were a superior group? Why did they think they were a superior group?
- 3) Which group declared an independent republic in 1959?
- 4) What was the name of the first Hutu president?
- 5) Did the Hutu leadership end the system of racial classification?

## TALKING POINTS

- Rwandans shared a common culture and had an organized government structure before the colonists arrived.
- Belgian and German colonists divided the people of Rwanda into 3 different racial classifications: Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa.
- The Belgians thought that the Tutsis were a superior people because they were more “white.”
- After independence, the Hutus gained power and oppressed the Tutsis, using the same racial classification that was used against them.
- The genocide was planned and carried out through orchestrated public opinion campaigns using radio, television, newspapers, and other hate propaganda.

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The Rwanda Commemoration Project: Genocide In Our Time

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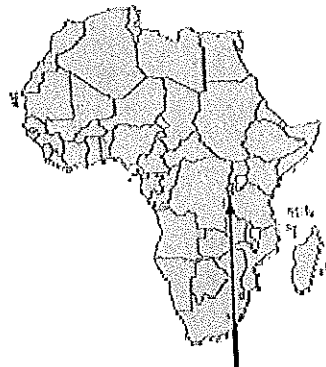
First They Came for the Jews

First they came for the Jews  
and I did not speak out  
because I was not a Jew.  
Then they came for the Communists  
and I did not speak out  
because I was not a Communist.  
Then they came for the trade unionists  
and I did not speak out  
because I was not a trade unionist.  
Then they came for me  
and there was no one left  
to speak out for me.

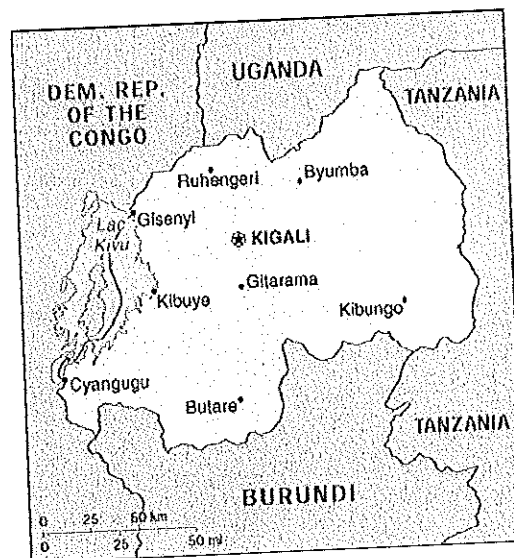
*Pastor Martin Niemöller, 1945*



## GROUP TWO : VALENTINA'S STORY



**Rwanda**



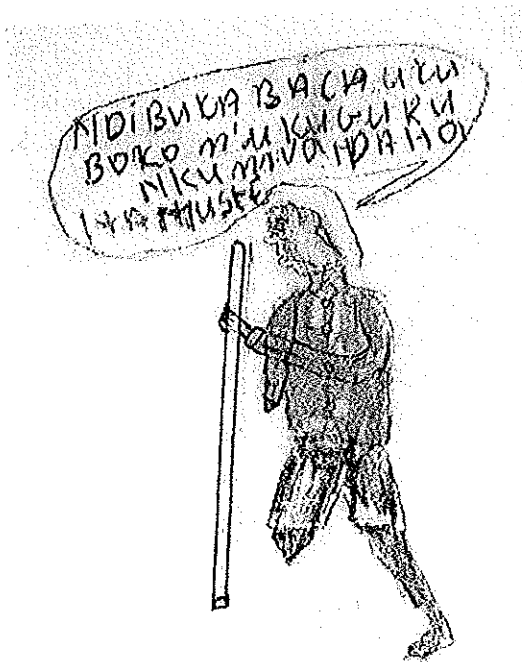
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## GENOCIDE

By April 6, 1994, tensions between the Hutus and Tutsis had come to a boiling point. Within hours of the Rwandan President's plane crash on that day, an organized and systematic program for mass extermination was well underway.

Every day, for over three months, Tutsis were hunted, tortured, and massacred on the streets, in their homes, in churches, and in schools. Military officials were not the only perpetrators; threats and calls for violence turned neighbor against neighbor, as civilians picked up machetes and guns and slaughtered each other. By the end of the murder campaign, almost one million Tutsis and moderate Hutus had lost their lives. In comparison, the population of Washington, D.C. is approximately 570,000. Imagine twice the entire population of Washington, D.C. being slaughtered over a period of three months – not by bombs or machine guns but by garden tools, kitchen knives, and machetes. The genocide formally ended when Tutsi-led troops overpowered the extremist Hutu militias.

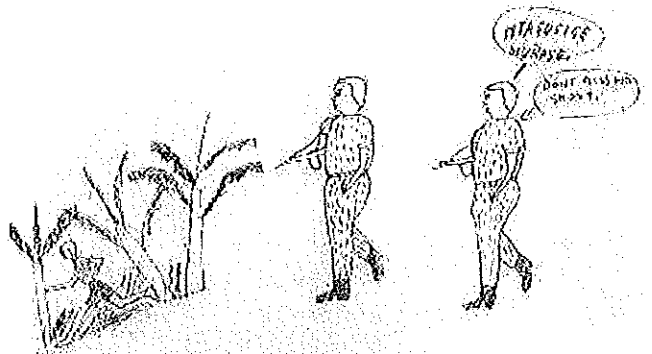
These drawings were made by children who witnessed and survived the genocide.



*"I am traumatized by the memories of the day they cut off my arm and leg."*



*"Militiamen Chasing Refugees"*



*"Don't Miss Her! Shoot!!!"*

THESE DRAWINGS WERE TAKEN FROM THE BOOK, "WITNESS TO GENOCIDE: THE CHILDREN OF RWANDA",  
 EDITED BY RICHARD A. SALEM. THIS BOOK CAN BE ORDERED FROM CONFLICT MANAGEMENT  
 INITIATIVES. [WWW.CMI-SALEM.ORG/WITNESS.HTM](http://WWW.CMI-SALEM.ORG/WITNESS.HTM)

## VALENTINA'S STORY



Below is the story of one victim – out of many – of the genocide in Rwanda. Fergal Keane, a journalist who spent time in post-genocide Rwanda, met her and chronicled her story. Her name is Valentina, and she was only a young girl when genocide shattered her life.

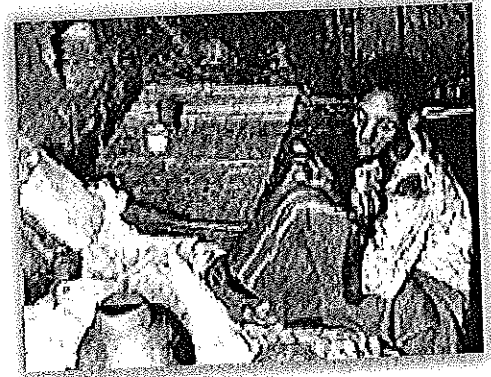
When I first saw her nearly three years ago she seemed more shadowlike than human, a skeletal apparition lying on a camp bed in a country where dead bodies covered the roads and fields.

Her hand had been chopped in half and the wound had become infected. It had taken on an ominous black color. In addition, there were two deep gashes on the back of her head. There were no painkillers or anesthetics in the little room she shared with three other children. When it came to the time for changing her dressings the girl winced and cried in pain.

The nurse told me the child's name was Valentina. She was 13 and her family had been killed in a massacre carried out by Hutu soldiers and militiamen a few weeks before in the nearby parish of Nyarubuye. Valentina was among a small group of survivors. "She will probably die," the nurse said.

I left Rwanda shortly afterwards vowing never to go back. However, Rwanda did not go away, nor did the memory of Valentina and the other survivors of genocide. I found myself questioning: how could this have happened? How could people butcher children? What kind of man can kill a child?

I was still in search of the answer three years later when I returned. The country had changed dramatically. The schools had been reopened and the fields were full of peasants harvesting their crops. The sound of shooting had been replaced by the ancient chorus of African village life: crying babies, whinnying goats and the crowing of roosters.

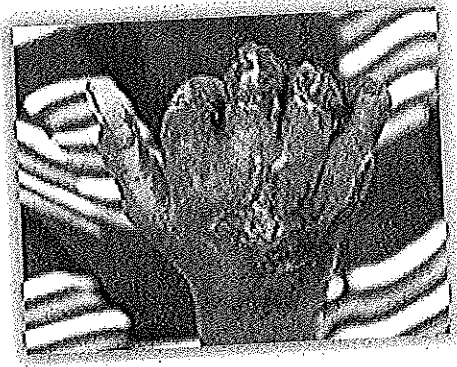


The church that had been the focal point of the massacre had been cleaned up, the bodies removed and placed in a series of rooms nearby. These rooms had also been the scene of particularly brutal killings. Now the government was preserving them, replete with skeletons and moldering corpses, as a memorial to genocide.

Within minutes of arriving at Nyarubuye, I learned that Valentina had not died. Now, meeting her in front of the church, I saw a tall and beautiful 16-year-old nothing like the emaciated child of three years previously. As Valentina patiently told me her full, terrible story I found myself wavering between shock and anger.

The story of what happened at the church of Nyarubuye is more than a story about humanity's capacity for evil. It is a very particular story about the cruelty inflicted upon children by adults, people who were their trusted neighbors.

It began on a Friday afternoon in the middle of April. For days the Tutsis of Nyarubuye had sensed an impending disaster. They were aware that elsewhere in the country massacres of Tutsis had already begun. Ten days previously, the president of Rwanda had been assassinated, probably by members of his political circle.



His death--which was blamed on the Tutsis--triggered calls for a "final solution" in which all Tutsis and Hutu moderates were to be killed. It would result in the murder of all but a handful of Nyarubuye's Tutsi community.

The killing at Nyarubuye began with an attack on Tutsis at the local marketplace. After this, Valentina fled to the church with her family. That afternoon the killers arrived. Valentina recognized many of her Hutu neighbors among the more than 30 men who surrounded the church. They carried knives and clubs and were supported by soldiers from the Rwandan army.

Among the gang of men was Denis Bagaruka, a 56-year-old grandfather whose own children went to school with Valentina. She described what happened next: "First they asked people to hand over their money, saying they would spare those who paid. But after taking the money they killed them anyway. Then they started to throw grenades. I saw a man blown up in the air, in pieces, by a grenade. The leader said that we were snakes and that to kill snakes you had to smash their heads.

The killers moved into the terrified crowd of men, women and children, hacking and clubbing as they went. "If they found someone alive they would smash their heads with stones. I saw them take little children and smash their heads together until they were dead. There were children begging for pity but they killed them straight away," she told me. The killings took place over four days. At night the butchers rested and guarded the perimeter so that nobody would escape.

Other infants, crying on the ground beside their murdered parents, were taken and plunged head first into latrines. One of Valentina's classmates, an angel-faced little boy named Placide, told me how he had seen a man decapitated in front of him and then a pregnant woman cut open as the killing reached its frenzied climax.

"There was so much noise," he recalled. "People were begging for mercy and you could hear the militia saying, 'Catch them, catch them! Don't let them get away!'"

Valentina and Placide hid among the bodies, pretending to be dead. Valentina had been struck on the head and hands with a machete and was bleeding heavily. Following her child's instinct, she crawled to her mother's body and lay there. During the killing she had seen the militia murder her father and her 16-year-old brother, Frodisse.

After several days Valentina crawled to the room where there were fewest bodies. For the next 43 days she lived among the rotting corpses, too weak to stand up and convinced that the world had come to an end.

"I prayed that I would die because I could not see a future life. I did not think that anybody was left alive in the country. I thought everybody had been swept away," she said.

She drank rainwater and rummaged for scraps of food. There was some wild fruit and some grain but she became weaker and weaker as the days progressed. In the weeks that followed, a few other children emerged from hiding places around the church. The stronger ones lit fires and cooked what food they could find, feeding the weaker ones like Valentina.

Then a new hazard appeared: wild dogs that had started to eat the corpses.

"The dogs were coming at night and eating dead children in the other rooms. A dog came to where I was and started to eat a body. I picked up a stone and threw it at the dog and drove it away."

There comes a point in the telling of this story where the existing vocabulary of suffering becomes inadequate, where words wither in the face of an unrelenting darkness. As a reporter I found this the most difficult story of my career to tell. As a parent I listened to Valentina's story with a sense of heartbreak. I marveled at her courage but felt deep anger that this should happen to any child. It was difficult to keep those feelings in check when I confronted one of the butchers of Nyarubuye in the office of the local prosecutor.

Bagaruka, the grandfather who witnesses say was an enthusiastic killer, had recently returned from Tanzania. He had spent nearly three years there in the refugee camp at Benaco where he and his family were fed and cared for by the international community. The man who had helped to bring terror to the infants of Nyarubuye was nervous and evasive when I spoke to him.

"You have eight children, how in God's name can you help to kill a child?" I asked him. After a long pause he answered: "You see all those people in the church had children. Many were carrying them on their backs but none survived. Everyone was killed. We couldn't spare the children's lives. Our orders were to kill everyone."

He told me that he himself had been an orphan and a Tutsi man had been his guardian. Bagaruka had seen the man killed at Nyarubuye. "I almost become crazy when I think about that," he said. Bagaruka has confessed to some of his crimes and has implicated some of his friends and neighbors, hoping to save himself from the firing squad.

Valentina hopes he will never return to the village. She now lives with an aunt and two other orphans. The aunt's husband and three children were killed at Nyarubuye.



The aunt told me that Valentina has a recurring dream. She imagines her mother coming in the middle of the night. They embrace and then Valentina shows her mutilated hand to her mother, saying: "Mother, look what's become of me. Look what has happened to me." And Valentina wakes up crying and sees that her mother has vanished into the darkness. Then she remembers that her mother is dead and gone forever.

*Valentina's Story is adapted from a 1997 article in the Sunday Times by Fergal Keane. The article can be found at: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/rwanda/reports/refuse.html>*

## Review Questions

1. Imagine that you were Valentina. What would you do or say if you were confronted by Bagaruka in the village after the genocide?
2. Put yourself in the shoes of Denis Bagaruka. How could you kill all of these innocent people? What would you have to do to create a mindset that would make it possible for you to murder innocent women, men, and children?
3. What kind of punishment should Bagaruka be given?
4. Try to put yourself in Valentina's shoes. It is three years after the end of the genocide. In what ways does the genocide still impact your daily life?

## Talking Points

- The genocide took place over a period of 100 days. Nearly a million people were killed.
- Mostly Tutsis were killed, but moderate Hutus were also targeted.
- The killing took place everywhere - in houses and neighborhoods, even in churches and schools where people had fled to take safe haven and find a place of sanctuary.
- The perpetrators/killers were not only members of militia forces. They were also regular people – teachers, bank managers, clerks, business people, neighbors and friends.
- Valentina's Story:
  - What happened to Valentina and her family?
  - How did she survive?
  - What happened to Valentina after the genocide?
  - What happened to one of the killers she knew (Bagaruka)?

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The Rwanda Commemoration Project: Genocide In Our Time

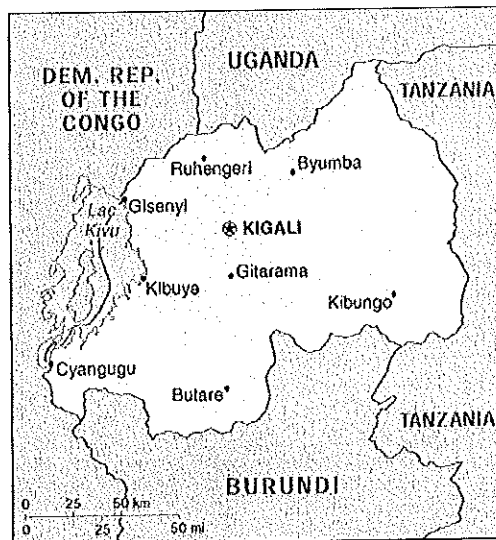
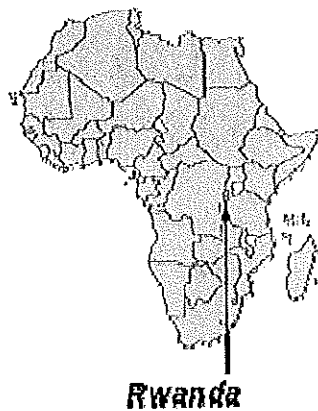
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*First They Came for the Jews*

First they came for the Jews  
and I did not speak out  
because I was not a Jew.  
Then they came for the Communists  
and I did not speak out  
because I was not a Communist.  
Then they came for the trade unionists  
and I did not speak out  
because I was not a trade unionist.  
Then they came for me  
and there was no one left  
to speak out for me.

*Pastor Martin Niemöller, 1945*

# GROUP THREE: THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S RESPONSE



This lesson plan was developed and designed by WCL students Sarah Hymowitz and Amelia Parker.

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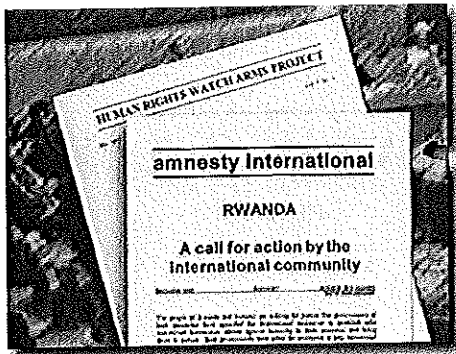
# INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE TO THE GENOCIDE

## I. A CALL FOR HELP

During the years leading up to the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, international human rights groups documented and reported numerous human rights violations in Rwanda to the United Nations. These included putting people in jail for their political views, killing members of opposition political parties and more.

United Nations officials ignored warnings from one of the planners of the genocide who contacted a UN force commander in Rwanda, Major General Roméo Dallaire, three months before the genocide. The informant told Dallaire of Hutu plans to kill every Tutsi in Rwanda. Dallaire sent a message to New York, asking for protection of the informant. He also asked for additional troops to help prevent the planned violence from occurring. The UN denied Dallaire's request for additional troops.

Everything the informant told Dallaire came true three months later.



Graphic: Amnesty International Film *Forgotten Cries*



Major General Roméo Dallaire  
Photo: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/>



Graphic: Amnesty International Film *Forgotten Cries*

## II. EARLY WARNING SIGNS – THE TOOLS OF GENOCIDE

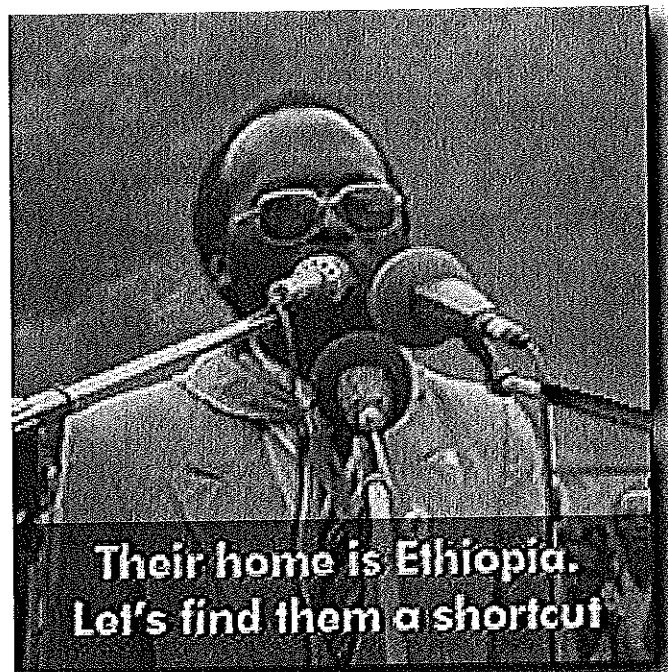
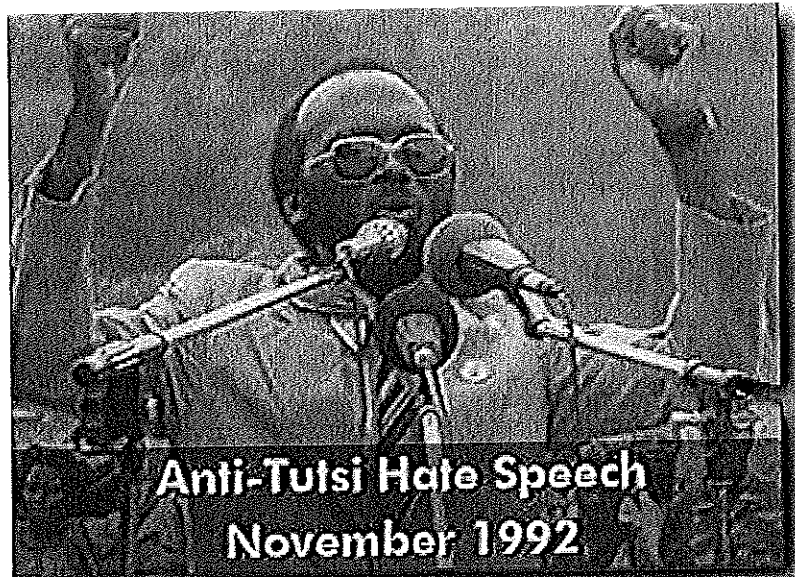
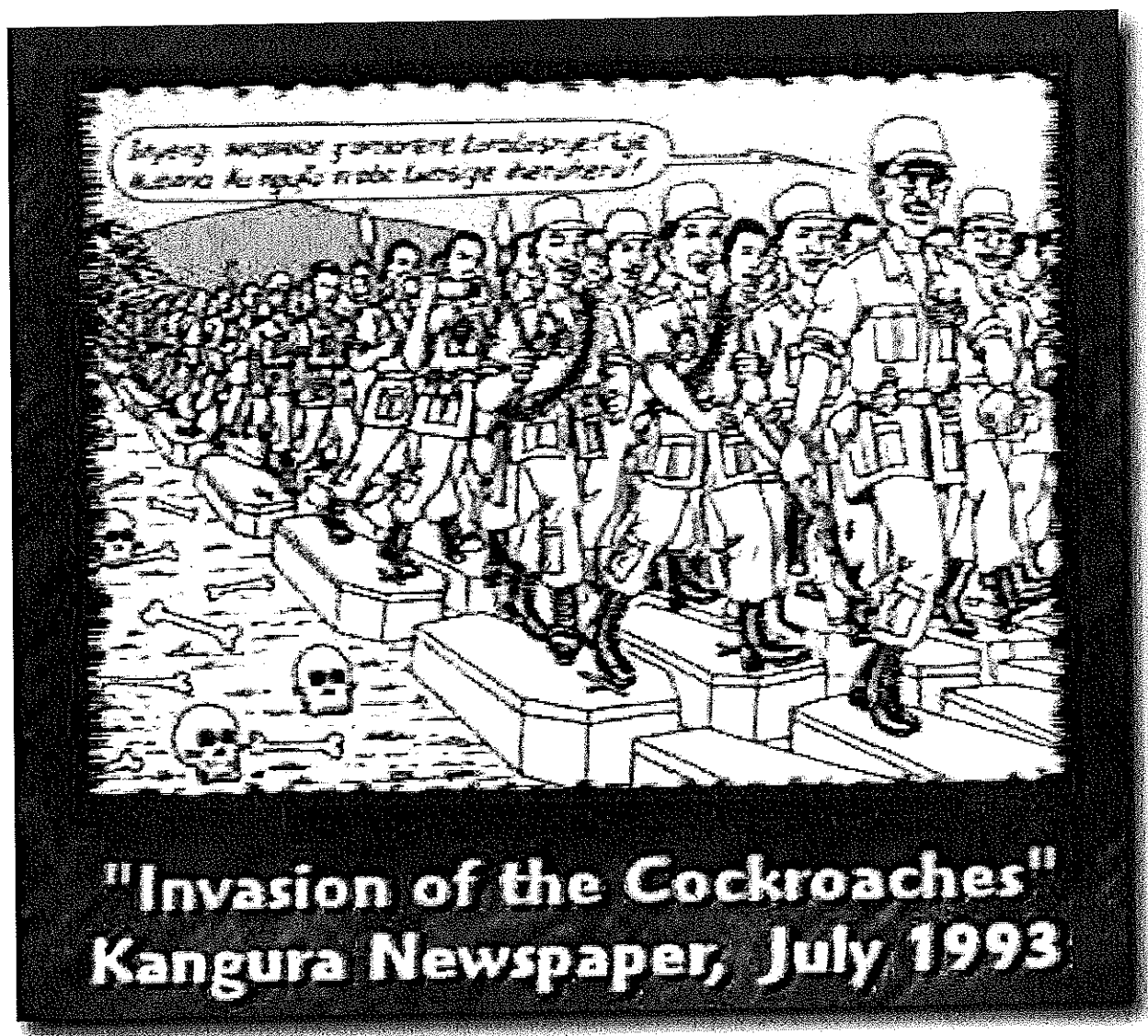


Photo: Amnesty International Film *Forgotten Cries*

Warning signs of the genocide came from other sources as well. The training of militia in Rwanda was conducted in the open. The perpetrators of the genocide distributed weapons like guns and machetes openly. The government also openly sponsored hate propaganda throughout Rwanda through the radio, newspapers and the schools. "Death lists" were developed and openly circulated with names and addresses of Tutsis who should be targeted for murder.

The hate propaganda portrayed Tutsis as evil and manipulative people who were cockroaches and snakes and whose ultimate goal was to regain power and return Rwanda to a country that mistreated the Hutu people.

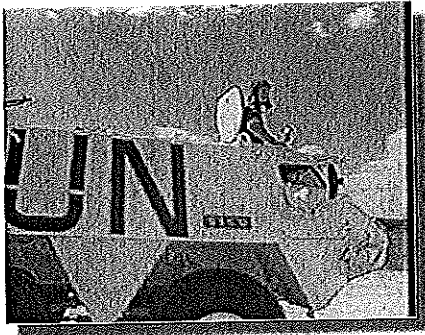
Alain Destexhe, author of a book on the Rwandan genocide said that "They used to say you have to shorten the Tutsi, who are supposed to be taller than the Hutu. So in Rwanda, when the radio military used to say you have to shorten the Tutsis, everyone understood that you have to kill them."



Cartoon: Amnesty International Film *Forgotten Cries*

### III. BETRAYAL BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

Once the killings began, the violence escalated quickly. Representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross estimated that within two weeks from the start of the genocide, 100,000 people had been murdered. Two weeks later, over 300,000 people had been killed. Yet, while the killings continued, the United Nations Security Council decided, primarily at the urging of Belgium and the U.S., to remove its peacekeeping forces.



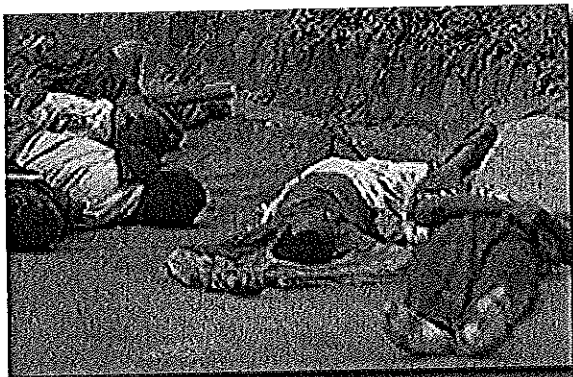
As a response to the Holocaust in which six million Jews had been systematically exterminated by the Nazi regime, the international community adopted an agreement which supporters thought would ensure that genocide would never happen again. Entitled the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Genocide Convention), the international agreement officially gave a name to mass killings and abuse which aimed to wipe out an entire community based on a specific characteristic such as religion, nationality, ethnicity or race. It also established a legal obligation under which the

international community would be legally obligated to intervene and stop the violence, if genocide were found to be occurring in the world.

Because of this, the international community was very hesitant to call the killings in Rwanda a "genocide." Although the international community knew about the extremely brutal attacks taking place, they chose not to intervene. Indeed, the UN withdrew most of its troops and officially limited the actions of the tiny force of 450 soldiers who stayed behind.

After the international community withdrew, the militia intensified the genocide, targeting resisters and officials who opposed the genocide.

According to estimates made by Amnesty International, action could have easily been taken to stop the killings and incitement. Radio broadcasts which sent people on murdering rampages could have been blocked. A small force of a few thousand troops with strong weapons could have overwhelmed the weak militias. What was needed was a message from the international community that what was happening was unacceptable and would not be tolerated. That message never came. If it had, perhaps the genocide could have been stopped.

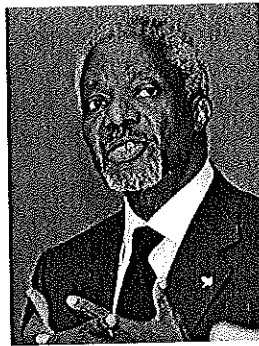


## IV. APOLOGY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

After the 100 days of killing stopped, the international community recognized the extent of the genocide and the effects of their failure to act. The international community then began a process of self-reflection. The UN conducted an investigation into the genocide and the international community's role in it. This report concluded that the international community was guilty of failing to act when the people of Rwanda needed it.

On May 7, 1998 in Kigali, Rwanda, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan apologized before the Parliament of Rwanda. He said:

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



UN Secretary General Kofi Annan.

Photo: [http://www.ccmeq.org/2003\\_articles/Iraq/042403\\_us\\_bridles\\_as\\_un.htm](http://www.ccmeq.org/2003_articles/Iraq/042403_us_bridles_as_un.htm)

Also in 1998, President Clinton also apologized to the victims of the Rwandan genocide. He said:

"... the international community, together with nations in Africa, must bear its share of responsibility for this tragedy, as well. We did not act quickly enough after the killing began. We should not have allowed the refugee camps to become safe havens for the killers. We did not immediately call these crimes by their rightful name: genocide. We cannot change the past. But we can and must do everything in our power to help you build a future without fear, and full of hope ..."



Photo: <http://www.mw.nl/>

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

- 1) When did UN officials receive warnings about the genocide?
- 2) Besides the warning given by one of the planners, what were other warning signs of the genocide?
- 3) How did state-sponsored propaganda present the Tutsi group?
- 4) What prevented the international community from calling the violence in Rwanda "genocide"?  
What would have happened if they had?
- 5) Once the international community withdrew its troops, what did the militia decide to do?
- 6) Who does President Clinton say must share responsibility for the genocide?

## TALKING POINTS

- The international community ignored warning signs of the genocide.
- The government used the media and the school system to broadcast racist ideas about the Tutsis and to incite violence.
- Although the international community had agreed after the Holocaust to intervene if genocide happened again in the world, they failed to do so in Rwanda.
- The United States and Belgium urged the United Nations to remove its troops from Rwanda during the genocide.
- The genocide might have been stopped if the international community had been willing to get involved.
- In 90 days, nearly one million innocent and unarmed people were killed – nearly 1/3 of all of the Tutsis on earth were wiped out.
- Years later, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan and US President Bill Clinton apologized to the Rwandan people, saying that they should have done more to stop the genocide.

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The Rwanda Commemoration Project: Genocide In Our Time

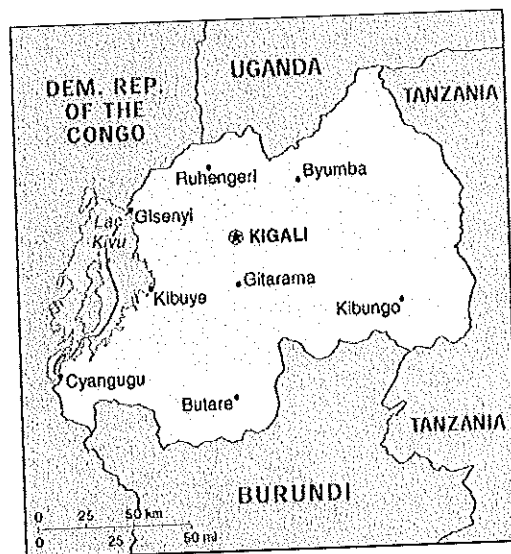
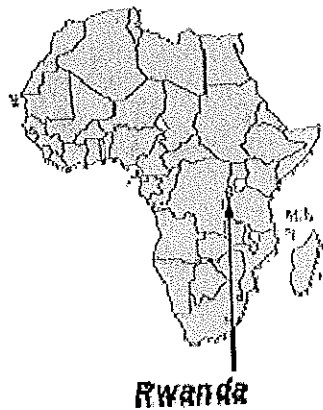
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First They Came for the Jews

First they came for the Jews  
and I did not speak out  
because I was not a Jew.  
Then they came for the Communists  
and I did not speak out  
because I was not a Communist.  
Then they came for the trade unionists  
and I did not speak out  
because I was not a trade unionist.  
Then they came for me  
and there was no one left  
to speak out for me.

*Pastor Martin Niemöller, 1945*

## GROUP FOUR: POST-GENOCIDE RWANDA

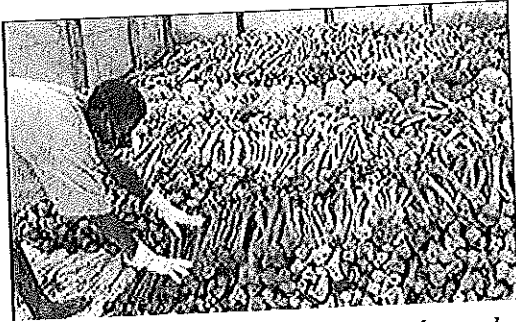


This lesson plan was developed and designed by WCL students Sarah Hymowitz and Amelia Parker.  
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[WCLCenterforHR.org](http://WCLCenterforHR.org)



## POST-GENOCIDE RWANDA

### *A Scattered Population*



*An aid worker in Rwanda sorts through thousands of unidentified remains.*  
[www.historywiz.com](http://www.historywiz.com)

When the genocide finally ended in summer 1994, Rwanda was in shambles. There was no government to run hospitals, schools, shelters, food programs, or factories. Public utilities such as telephones, electricity and water were also not functioning. Most of the people who had been in charge of the country had either been killed or fled to neighboring countries.

Survivors of the genocide were scattered throughout the country. Many had lost dozens of family members in the genocide. Some villages were entirely destroyed. Thousands of children were left parentless with no one to care for them. In addition to losing their families, neighbors, and friends, thousands of people had also lost their homes and land.

As survivors struggled to rebuild their lives, about three and a half million Rwandans, mostly Hutus, fled to the neighboring countries. For many years, they lived there in refugee camps. Those who supplied shelter and food for the refugees in camps couldn't tell the victims from the killers. While the international community failed to intervene to prevent the killings, international aid programs ended up giving food and shelter to many of those refugees, including thousands of people guilty of the mass killings.

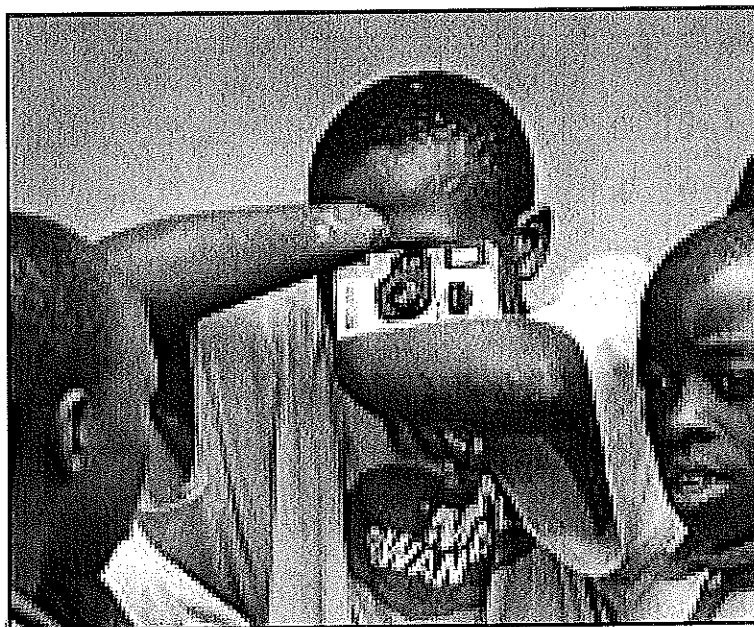


*Rwandan refugees trudge along a highway near Tanzania. They tried to escape the horrors of the genocide by going to Tanzania, but were turned back by at the borders by Tanzanian soldiers. Several refugees said they would walk all the way to Kenya or Malawi just so they could avoid returning to Rwanda.*

In addition to dealing with the traumatic memories of the violence they had witnessed and their family members and friends who had been murdered, many survivors of the genocide had severe physical disabilities with which to cope. Many lost hands, arms or legs when they were attacked with machetes. Many women were raped and became infected with HIV/AIDS as a result. Many children were orphaned when both of their parents were murdered. Older children who survived often had to become parents for their younger brothers and sisters.

*Frederick, 17, has learned to take pictures by holding the camera with his wrists. His hands were chopped off by a machete-wielding attacker during the genocide.*

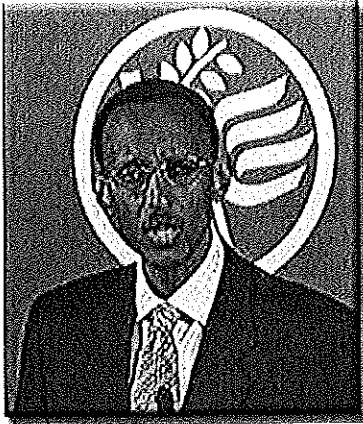
[http://abcnews.go.com/sections/wnt/World/rwanda\\_children030706.html](http://abcnews.go.com/sections/wnt/World/rwanda_children030706.html)



*Many orphaned Rwandan children are now parents to their younger siblings.*  
[www.worldharvestevangelism.org/images/rwanda.jpg](http://www.worldharvestevangelism.org/images/rwanda.jpg)

## *Rebuilding the Government*

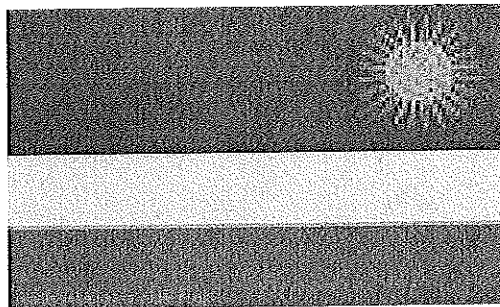
In July 1994, the Rwandan Patriotic Front, the military branch that ended the genocide, established a “Government of National Unity” together with seven other political parties. In the years following the genocide, the government worked to rebuild Rwanda’s education, health, and economic systems. The Government of National Unity also created a Genocide Survivors Fund to support survivors of the genocide and a Human Rights Commission to ensure that all people in Rwanda get the basic rights they are entitled to.



*President Paul Kagame*  
[www.usip.org/events/images/003/kagame.jpg](http://www.usip.org/events/images/003/kagame.jpg)

In April 2000, Major General Paul Kagame was sworn in as the fifth President of Rwanda. On December 31, 2001, Rwanda unveiled its new flag:

*Rwanda’s new flag*



## The Search for Justice

Now that some order was established in post-genocide Rwanda, the Government of National Unity faced several important questions:

- ❖ How could the government bring justice to the people of Rwanda?
- ❖ With most of the country's judges and lawyers dead, how could trials be held for all the killers?
- ❖ How would the government investigate and determine who the perpetrators were?
- ❖ How would the courts handle the thousands of cases that would have to be brought to court?

Thousands of people were jailed in Rwanda in the aftermath of the genocide and even today, over ten years later, over 100,000 people are still awaiting trial in severely overcrowded jails. This presents its own human rights problems, such as the right to humane treatment for individuals in detention and the right to a speedy trial.

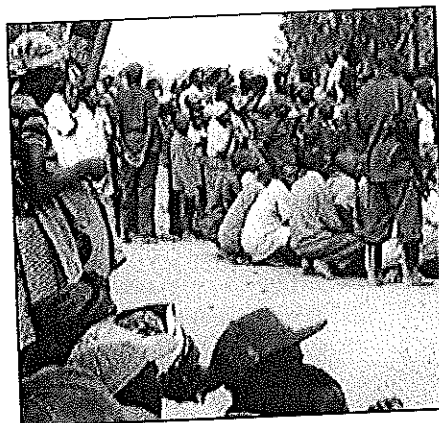
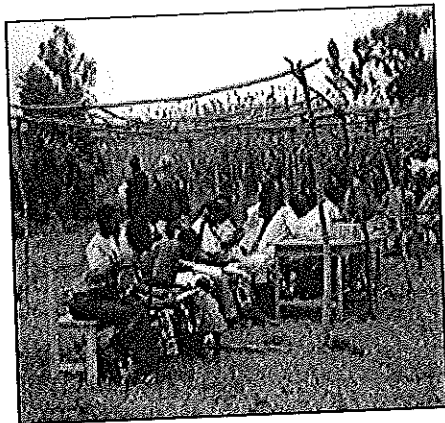
In its search for justice, the Government of National Unity worked with the United Nations to establish legal mechanisms for prosecuting and punishing those responsible for Rwanda's genocide.

The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) was set up by the United Nations in the neighboring country of Tanzania to prosecute leaders of the genocide between April and June 1994. It is headed by judges from around the world and is responsible for trying the worst criminals – those who ordered others to kill and those who committed the worst crimes. Government officials, church leaders, journalists, and other influential figures have all been tried in this court.

As of January 2009, the trials of 28 individuals have been completed, 23 trials are in progress and 8 detainees are awaiting trial. Eight cases are currently on appeal. Five individuals have been acquitted of the crimes with which they were charged.

In addition, the national courts within Rwanda are also responsible for trying people who killed and committed other crimes during the genocide. Due to the large number of people to be tried and the weak national court system which is still being rebuilt following the killing and departure of most of its lawyers, judges and staff, the process is very slow and the system is overwhelmed.

The Rwandan government has developed a third system of justice called "Gacaca" (ga-cha-cha) to try to speed up the process, and get rid of the backlog of cases. The Gacaca process is modeled on ancient tribal customs where a criminal is confronted by the community he has harmed. Local community members serve as the lawyers and judges and trials take place where the crimes were committed. Trials are very brief and often guilty people have been given lighter sentences than they would have received otherwise. Because Gacaca does not follow recognized standards for due process and fair trials, they are controversial (especially in the international community). The Rwandan government, however, says that Gacaca is an important, legitimate mechanism which will help the country to start to heal.



*Bench of judges (left), Byumba Mutete-Kavumu. Spectators, confessed prisoners, and security (right) at the "pre-Gacaca" presentation of detainees  
[www.news.harvard.edu/.../13-rwanda2-450.jpg](http://www.news.harvard.edu/.../13-rwanda2-450.jpg)*

### *Lessons Learned from Rwanda*

In May 1994, then-U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali admitted that the international community had failed the people of Rwanda by not stopping the genocide. In 1998, President Clinton apologized for not having responded to Rwandan cries for help and Secretary-General Kofi Annan also expressed regret for not helping to end the genocide.

In the years following the genocide, the international community realized the consequences of its failure to act. This lesson has resulted in many international calls for a system to identify potential genocides in their earliest stages and intervene so that what happened in Rwanda never happens again. There are places in the world today like Sudan, where we can see that genocide may be happening again. And yet, without awareness and action by individuals, governments and the international community, genocide will continue to occur.

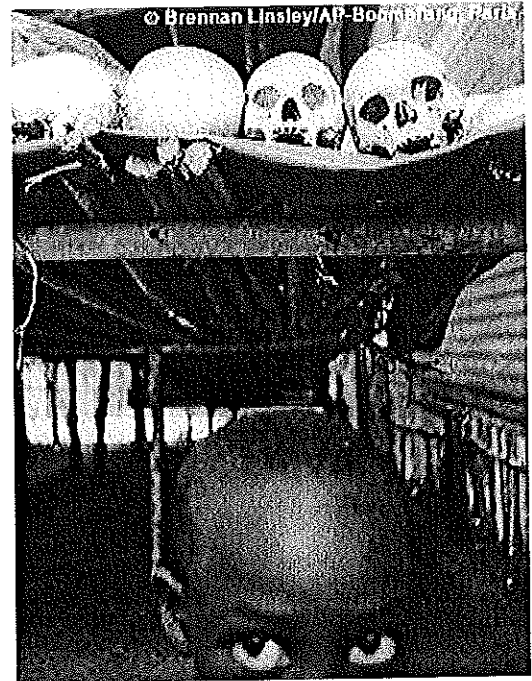


*A cemetery in Rwanda.*

[www.donika.com/rwanda\\_8.jpg](http://www.donika.com/rwanda_8.jpg)

*A Rwandan boy in a Catholic church, which is now a memorial to the genocide. In 1994, thousands of Tutsis were massacred on the church's grounds.*

[www.unesco.org/courier/  
1999\\_12/photos/34.jpg](http://www.unesco.org/courier/1999_12/photos/34.jpg)



## Review Questions

1. In what ways did genocide impact the development of this “developing” country?
2. Where does the rebuilding of a country shattered by genocide begin? What can the people do? What can the government do? What can the international community do?
3. How can justice be found in post-genocide Rwanda?
4. Which can bring justice to the people of Rwanda more effectively – international courts or community courts? Explain.

## Talking Points

- Rwanda was a shattered country at the end of the genocide. Many leaders had been killed, the roads, buildings and services had been badly damaged and many people were traumatized by the violence.
- Many people fled the horror of the genocide and went to neighboring countries like Burundi, Congo and Tanzania to live in refugee camps. Some of the perpetrators of the genocide also lived in the refugee camps.
- Three different mechanisms have been set up to prosecute and punish the people responsible for the genocide:
- The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda is run by the United Nations and has judges from all over the world. It is prosecuting key planners and leaders of the genocide, but the process is very slow and only the top people are being brought to trial.
- Over 100,000 people are in jail in Rwanda today awaiting trial by the Rwandan criminal courts. Not only are there many people to be tried, but the justice system in Rwanda still needs to be rebuilt after many of the lawyers, judges and staff were killed during the genocide.
- The Gacaca process is modeled on ancient tribal customs where a criminal is confronted by the community he has harmed. Local community members serve as the lawyers and judges and trials take place where the crimes were committed.
- In 1998 President Clinton and UN Secretary General Kofi Annan each apologized to the people of Rwanda for not having stopped the killings in 1994.
- Today the lessons of Rwanda need to be taken into account as we look at other events in the world around us – in Africa, Europe, Asia and all parts of the world.

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*Pastor Martin Niemöller, 1945*