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3 pages

Action Plan 2000-2002

OBJECTIVES	STRATEGIES	ACTIVITY	IMPLEMENTOR	RESULTS	BUDGET EN 000 US			PROGRAMMA TION			INDICATORS	PARTE NAIRES
					00	01	02	00	01	02		
1. Educate, inform and mobilize youth for behavioral change	1. Assess and conduct <u>research</u>	1.1 Collect existing research reports on youth from 85-99	Consultant	Data collected	1			X			Report produced	
		1.2 Conduct an Operational Qualitative survey on youth risk behaviour in Rwanda	Research Team	Report on survey	12			X			Reports produced and disseminated	
		1.3 Pilot on condom use for youth and women (small condoms/women condoms)	Research Team		10			X				
	2. Conduct <u>IEC</u> on HIV/AIDS among the Rwandan youth in and out of school	2.1 Develop appropriate messages & materials for youth on HIV/AIDS	Two 4-day Workshops conducted by NYC	Messages & Draft materials ready for pre-test	20			X			Messages & materials developed	
		2.1.1 Multiply and disseminate IEC material development workshop/ seminars - Conduct post tests and multiply IEC materials - Distribute and evaluate IEC materials	NYC and UNAIDS	- IEC materials/tools developed. - Pre-test done - IEC materials printed and reproduced in sufficient number - Media campaign planned and carried out	600	600	300	X			Quality and quantity of materials developed, produced and distributed as planned in IEC work shop	
		2.1.2 Conceptualise, produce and distribute 'straight talk' for youth and parents in Rwanda	Bulletin on straight talk edited by NYC information department			40	40		X	X	No of bulletins printed	
		2.1.3 Create a forum for youth in electronic media to discuss all AIDS/HIV related issues	Cf 2.1.1					X	X	X	No of emissions screened & aired	
		2.1.4 Co-organize and participate in world Aids day	WAD Committee	Youth involved in innovative celebrations of WAD in all Prefectures	5	5	5	X	X	X	Reports evaluating youth involvement	
		2.2 Conduct IEC for VCT among Rwandan youth	cf 2.1	Youth encouraged to seek VCT services				X	X	X	No of youth who seek VCT	

		2.3 IEC for sex education & reproductive health for youth in <u>universities, Institutes of Higher learning and schools</u>	- Asses existing program on sex education - Improve curriculum in learning institutions at all levels	- Circular on sex education for youth developed and disseminated in schools through MINEDUC/AGEER - Curriculum improved by consultant	5			X			Quality and No of curricula developed	
	3. Organize and mobilize <u>young PLWA</u> for IEC activities	Conduct public testimonies Public debates in rural and urban centers Cultural events, theatre plays, innovative IEC and sports	NYC/PNLS/UNAIDS/Network PLWA	Young PLWA involved in national campaign against AIDS among Rwandan youth	10	10	10	X	X	X	No of young PLWA that	
	4. Evaluate, create and strengthen Anti-AIDS youth <u>clubs</u> in communities and schools	Evaluate existing ant-Aids youth clubs by analyzing the reports and framework of their activities Create and support such clubs in every commune, sector and every school; Facilitate the running of the clubs	Structures of Youth NGO's and youth associations under NYC	YIS and YOS involved in Anti-AIDS campaign and active in clubs	20	30	40	X	X	X	No of Ant AIDS youth clubs formed and active,	
2. Care and support for youth infected and affected by HIV/AIDS	1. Set up a youth friendly service center in 6 prefectures	Advocate for Youth VCT Plan with partners to state priorities/sites Set up VCT centers in 6 Prefectures	MIJESPOC/NYC/UNAIDS	Youth accessed with VCT services, reproductive health and psycho-social support services, reduction of incidence of HIV/AIDS among the youth	50	100	150	X	X	X	No and quality of Youth friendly service centers created	
	2. Create and support <u>associations</u> for youth PLWA	Encourage affected and infected youth to form and maintain YLWA associations	NGO forum	Young YLWA integrated in youth activities	5	7	7	X	X	X	Structures/ Associations of youth LWA crested	
3. Capacity building for youth	3.1 Train <u>two youth per district</u> in programming, accounting, resource mobilisation and IEC	Build capacity of 70 youth leaders in the districts, to design better implement and evaluate youth programs on HIV/AIDS In two 10 day workshops	UNAIDS/NYC	Youth shall get well versed in programming management, communication and accounting	40			X				
	3.2 Train <u>NYC members</u> at national level in project management, IEC and supervision	Training of 10 days of 30 NYC members	UNAIDS/PNLS	NYC Trained	20			X			Training Report	

	3.3 Conduct <u>Training needs assessment</u> for youth at grassroots level		NYC team and consultant	Needs assessment carried out	15			X			Report	
	3.4 Train <u>anti aids Youth Club animators</u> in all Prefectures on HIV/AIDS and communication skills and resource management	Train 154 commune clubs + 300 school clubs	NYC/ UNAIDS / MINEDUC	900 Youth animators trained in 12 training sessions	10	15	10	X	X	X	500 youth leaders trained	
	3.5 Mobilise, inform and train in behaviour change approaches 2668 <u>youth leaders</u> in solidarity camps at Prefecture level	Train youth leaders in ingando on HIV/AIDS 4 ingando	NYC/TA	All 2668 youth leaders at Prefectoral and community committees trained		85	85		X	X	Number of youth leaders trained	
	3.6 Conduct study tours / attend Conferences		NYC		10	10	10	X	X	X	Number of abstracts Number of youths benefited from study tours & Conferences	
4. Ensure condom promotion among the youth	Collaborate with PSI to improve condom utilization and distribution among youth	Workshop to find ways to strengthen existing distribution system and set up distribution of condoms through youth clubs in collaboration with PSI. to improve skills and knowledge among youth on condom use . to diversify condom offer for youth	NYC/PSI	- Even distribution trough youth clubs country wide ensured - Rural youth get access to knowledge to importance and utilization of condom - Research results available	20			X			Workshop Report	
5. Advocacy	1. Mobilize resources	Conduct round table for donors to raise funds & human resources for development and implement the youth work plan		Youth work plan fully developed and implemented	4			X			Report an workshops	

[illegible]

8. Monitor & Evaluate Youth Activities	Set up a NYC co-ordinating, supervising and evaluation office for HIV/AIDS activities	Select and recruit 1 secretary, 1 driver and 3 permanent staff to co-ordinate. M&E at all levels all Youth activities on HIV/AIDS for a three year period Purchase office items and maintain office for a three year period	MIJESPOC / NYC UNAIDS	Office in place, maintained and functioning				X	X	X		
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PERIODE	1ère ANNEE	2ème ANNEE	3ème ANNEE	GRAND TOTAL
COUT DES ACTIVITES	868,000 US \$	904,000 US \$	657,000 US \$	2,429,000 US \$
COUT DU FONCTIONNEMENT	129,000 US \$	120,000 US \$	120,000 US \$	369,000 US \$
GRAND TOTAL	997,000 US \$	1,024,000 US \$	777,000 US \$	2,798,000 US \$

LE RAPPORT ENTRE LE COUT DES ACTIVITES DU PROGRAMME ET LE COUT
DE FONCTIONNEMENT DU PROGRAMME SE PRESENTE COMME SUIVANT:

- COUT DES ACTIVITES DU PROGRAMME : 84,8%
- COUT DE FONCTIONNEMENT DU PROGRAMME: 15,2%

AVEGA "AGAHOZO"

May the tears of our departed protect us from forgetting and silence on the genocide



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SURVEY ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN RWANDA

With financial assistance from the Canadian Cooperation

AVEGA "AGAHOZO"

Kigali, December 1999

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FOREWORD

The Association of Widows of the Genocide " AGAHOZO ", has been working for the last five years to make known, to cope with and to alleviate problems of the widows of the genocide. Among women benefiting from the interventions of ' AVEGA " AGAHOZO ", a category of vulnerable people has been the object of a particular attention: **women victims of violence during the genocide**. These women are very often little known and so are their sufferings.

In order to pay homage to all victims of genocide and to help women victims of violence to face the physical and psychological consequences of genocide AVEGA AGAHOZO started a program of Psycho-social and medical rehabilitation since 1997. In a joint effort of Action Campaign for Peace (CAPE), a program achieved in collaboration with the collective PRO FEMMES/TWESE HAMWE and other intervening parties in the domain of the violence made to women, including the government through social ministries: The Ministry of Gender and Women Promotion, the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Defense and Territorial Security, the Ministry of Territorial Administration.

The initial Project of this survey had to limit itself to violence suffered by women during the genocide but as the work progressed, it became necessary to speak about daily violence against thousands of women, in towns and villages country-wide.

Indeed, testimonies collected show that violence on women doesn't spare any category and occur daily with the complicity of a society of whose silence on the issue weighs heavily on the fate of the Rwandan woman.

In view of the above very grave situation, AVEGA " AGAHOZO " decided to launch this survey with the financial support of the Canadian Cooperation. We first limited ourselves to 3 prefectures, one in urban environment and 2 in rural areas. With the results of the present survey we hope to be able to carry out a deeper one in the second phase that will cover the whole country to show the extent of the problem of violence against women.

By this survey we are appealing earnestly to all persons of good will to fight the different forms of violence against women and are strongly condemning whoever violates the life of others.

Let the cries of all women victims of violence, of all little girls and teenage victims of human barbarism call each and everyone to a fierce fight to reduce if not eliminate for good the violence made against women.

We take this opportunity to thank the Canadian Cooperation that facilitated this survey to make the problem of violence suffered by the Rwandan women known. Our thanks also go to the collective PRO - FEMMES/TWESE HAMWE and its member associations that kindly accepted to make their staff available in helping to carry out this survey. We also wish to thank all moral or physical persons who feel sympathy for these women and are anxious to offer their contribution towards their rehabilitation, more particularly all those women and men who accepted to answer to our questions.

Finally, we thank Mr. BIGABIRO Charles Louis, the independent consultant, who accepted to lead the research team and to prepare this report.

MUKARUBUGA ANCILLA,
Legal Representative, AVEGA " AGAHOZO "

I. INTRODUCTION

Violence against women has always existed and nearly in all societies. According to circumstances these acts of violence can be either generalized or isolated. In the first case violence is common and most often due to customs of countries that always place the man in a predominant position in relation to the woman. The society gives to the man the possibility to show his power over the woman to the extent of even tormenting her or even wanting to interfere on her nature in order to make her more his.¹ Considered like "the man's property," the woman is rendered incapable to take her destiny into her own hands and is always subjected to the man's decisions. The man thus acquires absolute power over the woman who must undergo all sorts of humiliations and frustrations.

In the case where the violence is generalized one finds situations of conflicts where defenseless women become the first victims and are used as war booty. The sexual or other servitude of women is the most frequent expression of the winners' domination over the losers.

This type of violence is generally tolerated by society and their seriousness varies from one society to another, in addition and in a general way the level of countries' development influences favorably the woman's liberation. The cleavage in this domain between the developed and developing countries is deep. Passing from Western societies where progress is very advanced, to the Arab and African countries, where the woman must not even be seen in public, a lot remains to be done.

In the case of RWANDA, which is our main area of interest, the history of the country tells us that violence originating in the culture exists and that even generalized violence resulting from conflicts took place. Who doesn't know the Rwandan genocide Rwandan which, from April to July 1994, did show how far human barbarism can go? Most often Tutsi women were especially targeted and the worst atrocities inflicted on them under the passive look of the international community. As for violence related to the woman's status in Rwandese tradition, it occurs on a daily basis, and when it is not reported by the media, we notice it and live with it in our setting.

From the foregoing, the present survey is intended to throw more light on reasons behind violence against women, to assess its extent, to find out how much has been done about it and to make recommendations on actions that remain to be taken.

¹ In some communities, infibulation or excision are practiced. Infibulation consists in fixing a ring through the labia minores or sewing them together partially. Excision is the ablation of the clitoris or sometimes of the labia minores of the vulva. Both practices aim at controlling the woman's sentiments and natural desires. That is how man marks his property.

II. METHODOLOGY

2.1 ORIGIN OF THE SURVEY

In the setting of the psychosocial and medical rehabilitation program for women victims of violence during the genocide of 1994 started by AVEGA AGAHOZO since 1996, this project was developed with the collaboration of the collective PRO - FEMMES/TWESE HAMWE and other associations working in the domain of violence against women.

The idea of this project came from the observation that existing books and reports on violence against women talk about testimonies of a few victims without making an analysis on the extent of the violence and its consequences on the physical, psychological and social life of the victims. Besides, these documents although very rich in information don't permit a more advanced exploitation and are therefore not usable for the setting up of programs for the prevention and fight against this violence to women. It is therefore necessary to organize the documentation therefore on the subject and to set up a standard system of information gathering for a rational exploitation.

2.2. OBJECTIVES OF THE SURVEY:

The global objective of the survey is to break the silence by showing the violence undergone by women during the Genocide of 1994 and the one they undergo daily.

The specific objectives are:

- To exploit the already existing information on the subject while collecting all useful information;
- To identify a sample of women victims of violence during the genocide.
- To describe the types of violence inflicted on women.
- To get information permitting to know the extent of the issue of violence against women through an investigation;
- To assess the physical, psychological and social consequences of the problem;
- To know solutions to-date brought to problems of violence undergone by women;
- To study the linkage between violence in normal time and violence in conflict situations;
- To propose actions for the prevention of and to bring appropriate solutions to violence against women;
- To constitute a data base on violence against women;
- To determine causes of violence against women.

2.3 STAGES OF THE SURVEY:

2.3.1. The consultation of documentation

A lot of work having already been made on the subject, the whole research was based on the exploitation of the existing data and contacts with different resource people having worked on that or having a good knowledge of the subject because of their job. Thus, besides the existing documentation that was consulted, we had interviews with magistrates, policemen, medical doctors, religious people, women's associations and social workers.

2.3.2. The Survey

From the previous stage, it was noted that the available work related largely to violence against women in their daily life and that it was very difficult to find a source permitting to identify victims of genocide, especially for sexual violence that, until now had not been the object of any research by the Rwandan themselves.² Besides, victims having benefited from the medical or other interventions, and moreover those that were identified, were not numerous enough to constitute a representative sample of all the victims.

It is from this observation that we decided to carry out a research based on a scientific method to study the various sorts of violence committed against women during the genocide: we chose to make a **statistical survey** on a sample of women having undergone violence during the genocide.

2.3.3. Sampling

Having no exhaustive lists of these women used the " **snowball** " method to make the sample. This method permits to make a sample in spite of such a handicap. This process consists in localizing a subject presenting the sought-after characteristics and thereafter this one is going to help you to identify another and so forth. As for the choice of Prefectures we proceeded from the following facts:

- A large part of the Genocide survivors is concentrated in the urban centers and it is among them that one most often finds those that benefited from the benefactors' interventions. Hence the choice of the City of Kigali;

² Research was essentially based on IFHR and AFRICAN RIGHTS' work or in the form of reports by international consultants.

- Another part remained in the rural areas which are often difficult to reach. It is among them that one finds those that didn't benefit from any assistance either for lack of information, or because of physical disability resulting from the cruelties they suffered from during the genocide. Hence the choice of the Prefectures of Butare and Kibungo;
- The choice was limited to 3 prefectures and 1125 people were investigated.

2.3.4 Recruitment and training of investigators

AVEGA AGAHOZO made the choice of investigators on the basis of the practical knowledge of each of the candidates sent by associations members of PRO - FEMMES/TWESE HAMWE.

The conditions for being recruited were the following:

- Being a woman to facilitate the acceptance and the interview;
- Having an experience in trauma counseling in order to be able to understand and sometimes to counsel the women being interviewed when necessary. In addition, it is necessary to be capable of interpreting the answers given;
- Having at least a secondary school teaching certificate in a social area because it is also necessary to be also capable to assimilate techniques of investigation.

On basis of these criteria we recruited 5 investigators in the Prefecture of the City of Kigali, 2 in Kibungo and 2 in Butare.

The training of investigators, numbering 9, lasted 5 days and covered techniques of investigation, the study of the questionnaire and the simulation. It was completed by a pilot survey in the city of KIGALI. At the end, discussions were held and a revised and corrected questionnaire was adopted.³

2.3.5 The collection of data

The field survey took place between November 17th and December 12th, 1998 in the prefectures of KIGALI CITY, KIBUNGO and BUTARE.

TABLE 1: DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLING BY PREFECTURE

Prefecture	Assaulted women	Resource persons
PVK	555	71
BUTARE	201	49
KIBUNGO	195	54
Total	951	174

The targeted prefectures are those where AVEGA is operational at the time of the survey.

³ See questionnaire in Appendix

In all 1125 people interviewed out of whom 951 women having undergone violence during the genocide and 174 resource persons, who were chosen because they have to deal with victims of violence on a daily basis as part of their occupation.

It should also be noted that this survey investigation permitted, outside the interviewed women, to know the names of 938 other women victims of violence during the genocide. The interviewees had to indicate if they knew other victims. This is how the database has 1889 names.

TABLE 2: DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLING BY PROFESSION

Profession	Assaulted women	Resource persons
Agro-pastoral	249	76
Commerce	87	1
Civil servants	103	53
Private employees	40	13
Students and pupils	130	10
Housewives	99	5
Prostitutes	1	-
Unemployed	234	4
Others	7	12
Total number	951	174

It should be noted that the majority of interviewed persons are unemployed. Most of them are jobless and invalid women. If the number of agro-pastoralists is high, it is because people have the habit of calling themselves so even when they have no known profession.

Among the resource persons, state or private workers whom we interviewed, we have the following qualifications:

Table 3: Distribution of resource persons by qualification

Qualification	Number	Frequency (%)
Medical doctors	38	57.6
Religious people	6	9.1
Social workers	8	12.1
Teachers	2	3.0
Other qualifications	8	12.1
Total	66	100

The remaining 108 resource persons are local officials. This social position makes them face problems of women who suffered from violence on a daily basis.

2.4. DIFFICULTIES AND LIMITATIONS OF THE SURVEY

The **limitations of the survey** are essentially financial and documentary. The funds that AVEGA " AGAHOZO " had limited the size of the sample, the extent of coverage and the duration of work.

This last element influenced a lot the choice of the documentation to consult. Not only does it have little variety,⁴ but also the necessary time to consult the judicial files was short. The pending civil and penal cases before courthouses could have given us more information because suits of divorce, of domestic pension, of recognition of fatherhood, of sharing of property often result from domestic violence.

Time also adversely affected the choice of themes to cover. So some themes were not part of the survey: economic violence, violence in refugee camps, violence committed by soldiers during the genocide and the war.

Another element and not by any means the least is the difficulty that one had to collect data from judicial authorities: the public prosecutor's office, the court, the judicial brigade. For any information to be given to an outsider, a special permission from higher authorities is necessary. This would have been possible if the time allocated to the survey had been longer, thus permitting official contacts on behalf of AVEGA.

The **difficulties** encountered were essentially methodological. Not having the list and addresses of women having undergone violence, it was sometimes difficult to reach them. Besides the method used to localize them is empirical and doesn't permit to calculate the error in sampling and leaving too much freedom of choice to the investigators. The discretion which was necessary in approaching the subjects (because of sexual violence) slowed down the work. Given the psychological situations of the people being interviewed, the investigator had to show evidence of patience and tact in order to avoid withdrawal. They also had to also avoid creating false hopes among the people in need of aid and for whom the promises made most often⁵ never materialized.

For all these reasons, some objectives such as the establishment of a linkage between violence during the genocide and the traditional status of the Rwandan woman, were not achieved reached and that is why associations backing the survey, AVEGA AGAHOZO and PRO - FEMMES/TWESE HAMWE, intend to make the same survey all over the country by integrating topics that were not part of the research (see limitations of the survey) and it is also why the present survey doesn't claim to be exhaustive and should be considered as a draft.

⁴ There is a lot of documentation, but it is general, often comes to the same subject or covers other countries. Documents on Rwanda are scarce.

⁵ According to the victims, several persons came to ask them questions on unaccompanied children, on women heads of families, on handicapped people. Every time there were promises that were not kept.

III. RESULTS OF THE SURVEY

As already indicated, results of our research don't claim to be exhaustive because the area of violence against women is very large and varied and that is why we don't have the intention to end here.

What is going to follow will show what we were able and what we were not able to do. But the essential is there.

Results, with or without figures, will first cover violence during the genocide, then violence in every day life.

3.1. VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN DURING GENOCIDE

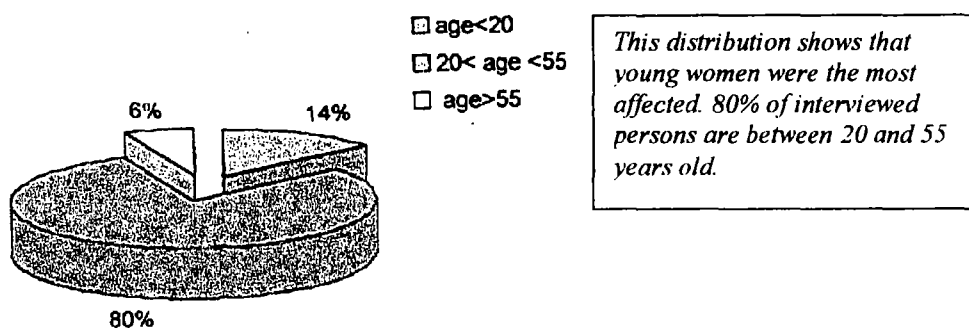
Violence against women in time of conflict varies according to the magnitude of the conflict. Thus, the Genocide of the Tutsis of Rwanda carried away thousands of women and those who survived still carry its stigmata of all kinds whose nature shows its unique characteristics at first sight.

In spite of what we know and see every day, whether it is the traumatized people or those with scars on the face or other signs of genocide, we must recognize that there are sometimes other invisible and deeper sufferings. Violence against women during genocide, most often sexual, is part of the latter. It was therefore necessary to go before these women to know and to share their pains.

For this reason, the statistical survey that was carried out in the prefectures of Kigali - City, Butare and Kibungo was exclusively about violence during genocide.

The interviewed women are mostly widows of the genocide, girls and little girls orphan and heads of family. They are 33 years old on average, the youngest being 7 years old and the oldest 70 years.

Graph 1: Distribution of victims by age



They present themselves as the most affected physically and morally; some have injuries, scars or other infirmities (see pictures 11 and 12). Sometimes the after-effects are not visible but their looks can tell. Initially, they are reticent to disclose anything, but as they gain more confidence, they become voluble and have tendency to be willing to say everything. One must say that it is relaxing to be able to confide one's pains to someone, as if to unload a weight from oneself.

The Rwandese Genocide which aimed at the physical elimination of the Tutsi ethnic group and which carried away some Hutu, had the particularity to have been especially ferocious towards these women. As pointed out above, the violence against women being part of the genocide plan.

3.1.1 The picture of the Tutsi woman in the preparation of genocide

The Tutsi woman was a privileged instrument of propaganda in the preparation of the genocide. She was used for both raising the conscience of Hutu women and youth about the supremacy of the Hutu and the so-called Tutsi deceitfulness.

Tutsi women were first of all presented as malevolent beings with the power to make men lose the head to divert them from their wives. The term " KIZUNGEREZI " which means that things of the earth change, was diverted of its real significance to designate **a woman who makes men lose their head**, implying the Tutsi woman. With this power, the Tutsi woman infiltrated every milieu and more especially the foreign embassies in Rwanda, the NGO and the international organizations where she occupies the job that should have been occupied by the Hutu woman whose husband has been diverted from the home. The propagandist made allusion thus to dignitaries of the regime who, through various constraints, had taken Tutsis women as "second office".⁶

In the ten commandments of the Bahutu published by the KANGURA newspaper N° 6 of December 1990 it is stipulated that:

- 1: Every Hutu man must know that a Tutsi woman, wherever she is, is working in the interest of her Tutsi ethnic group. Therefore, any Hutu man who gets married to a Tutsi woman, or who makes her his concubine, or who makes her his secretary or a protégée is a traitor.*
- 2. Every Hutu man must know that our Hutu girls are more worthy and more conscious in their role of woman, wife and mother. Are they not pretty, good secretaries and more honest?*
- 3. Hutu women be vigilant and bring back your husbands, your brothers and your sons to reason.*
- 7. The Rwandese armed forces must be exclusively Hutu. The experience of the October 1990 has taught us a lesson. No soldier should marry a Tutsi woman.*

The propaganda didn't limit itself solely to vilifying the Tutsi woman on the professional and conjugal plan, but also on the sexual plan. She was presented as different on the sexual plan, more attractive in comparison to the Hutu woman.

⁶. The constraints are: sacking, husband's detention, expulsion from school, husband's or fiancé's transfer...

The Tutsi woman is made for pleasure, just the opposite of the Hutu woman made for work. One could not find better argument to trigger off the hostility of Hutu women.

It was clear that this propaganda aimed at making the Hutu know that the Tutsi woman was solely good for sex, no more than that. They must therefore not make her their legitimate wife, but only their concubine.

The objective was thus double: on the one hand, to stir up the hatred of Hutu women against Tutsi women who constitute a threat because they take their jobs and their husbands. On the other hand, to arouse the Hutu man's sexual desire for the Tutsi woman.

The last stage consisted in making the Hutu understand that all the Tutsi (without exception) were under any protection whatsoever, even God had abandoned them "*Imana yabakuyeho amaboko*". So, the Tutsi woman became a gift from heaven which every Hutu could use as he/she wished.

Instruments of this hate campaign were essentially the **media**:

- Newspapers like Kangura, Umurwanashyaka, the Nyiramacibiri medal, UMURANGI, Power...
- The free Radio Télévision Mille Collines and Radio Rwanda joined hands to support the written newspapers.
- A certain MUHINDO Dieudonné⁷ was known for his **caricatures in the newspapers** where the most often General DALLAIRE⁸ and Belgian soldiers were presented in the company of Tutsi women in different erotic positions.⁹

Rallies and demonstrations by pro-Habyarimana political parties were also a breeding ground of hatred against the Tutsi woman.

3.1.2 Violence against women as a well-planned act of genocide.

The survey that was made among women who were sexually assaulted during the genocide shows that government officials at all levels actively participated in this.

It was done at public rallies and other meetings where "interahamwe" militiamen were incited to rape Tutsi women.

At the beginning of the genocide a meeting of high-ranking military officers, the Government, all the Prefects with the exception of those of Butare and Kibungo¹⁰, was called by President SINDIKUBWABO. It was held on April 16th, 1994 in Gitarama. It is during this meeting that clear and precise instructions on the genocide were given and prefects were ordered

⁷ A Congolese working for the newspaper Rafiki.

⁸ Commander of the UN Military Mission in Rwanda during the Genocide.

⁹ See "RWANDA, LES MEDIAS DU GENOCIDE, page 274, 366.

¹⁰ Both prefects will be executed shortly after. They were thought to be too soft, but in reality, they were killed because they were Tutsi.

to transmit them to Burgomasters, Burgomasters to Counselors of sectors and so forth down to the lowest echelons.¹¹ These instructions were awaited since the beginning of the upheavals.

Among the interviewed women, almost all confirmed that particular instructions were given and that the entire administrative was involved. Only, in testimonies, one notes that victims insist a lot more on the performers than on the planners of the genocide, in this case representatives of the central and local government.

If certain civil and military officials were seen on scenes of the crime, others preferred to work through intermediaries.

Table 5: The role of political and military authorities in violence against women.

Function	Number of answers	Frequency (%)
President	11	1.9
Minister	11	1.9
Deputy	26	4.5
Soldiers	43	7.5
Burgomaster	109	19
Counselors and their subordinates	178	31
Interahamwe	189	33
Others	6	1.2
Number of answers	573	100

Dates of the 12/04/1994 and the 22/04/1994 are mentioned several times as days when the particular instructions to violence against women were given (by 10.2% and 10.6% of the interviewed people respectively).

The date of April 12 frequently comes back in testimonies of people who were in the City of Kigali at the material time. On the other hand the date of April 22 was given by victims of Butare on the basis of the following facts:

- That day, the deputy Bernadette MUKARURANGWA launched massacres in NDORA commune.
- Also, the same day, a concerted attack took place at SOVU Health Center, in HUYE commune;
- The same day, the Minister Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO, in military uniform on board her Peugeot pickup, launched and participated in massacres in the urban commune of NGOMA.

¹¹ Report on survey on the Genocide, CLADHO-KANYARWANDA, part I, 10 December 1994.

It should be specified here that, during these massacres women were taken, raped, tortured and killed or often offered as a reward to militias.

Among people mentioned to have given these instructions we find:

Table 6: People mentioned to have planned violence against women in Kigali City

Names	Official function	Other specification
Renzaho Tharcisse	Prefect	Colonel
Karera Francis	Sub-prefect	Kanazi
Karushara Rose	Counselor of sector	Kimisagara
Nyirabagenzi Odette	Counselor of sector	Rugenge
Kamatamu Euphrasie	Counselor of sector	Muhima
Gregoire	Counselor of sector	Nyakabanda
Iyakaremye Athanase	Counselor of sector	Nyamirambo
Karekezi Amri	Counselor of sector	Biryogo
Haragirimana Michel	Counselor of sector	Cyahafi
Stanislas	Counselor of sector	Gitega
Gakuru	Counselor of sector	Kimisange
Rusatira Leonidas	Military officer	General
Kayiranga	Soldier	
Ndeze	Soldier	
Rwakana	Soldier	
Semanyenzi Claude	Soldier	
Kamoso	Soldier	
Ryamukuru Athanase	Soldier	
Nyamwasa	Interahamwe	
Bikindi Simon	Interahamwe	Employee, Ministry of Youth
Sefara	Interahamwe	Trader, Gikondo
Nyirasinamenye	Interahamwe	
Sukari	Interahamwe	SONARWA employee
Mbonigaba	Interahamwe	
Bigori Gerard	Interahamwe	
Mukandutiye Angeline	Interahamwe	Schools Inspector, Nyarugenge
Maman Aline	Interahamwe	Hair saloon owner

Each of the above political and military officials either organized or participated in the violence against women in his/her own way. If we consider the case of MUKANDUTIYE Angeline for example, this one supervised the genocide in the sector of RUGENGE and showed great pleasure in tracking down women teachers. She pushed her wickedness to the point of hunting down the teachers even outside her area of jurisdiction. The following teachers were tortured and killed on her orders:

KAYITESI Chantal: This one was 9 months pregnant and lived in RUGENGE;

IRYANYAWERA Alice: she lived in Kanombe;

MUKANDORI Agathe: she left Rugenge to take refuge in **Kiyovu of the Rich**¹² where she was pursued and killed;

UWIZEYE Julienne: this one lived in KACYIRU

She also ordered the murder of the wife of GUMILIZA Innocent of RUGENGE and ordered the murder of many more women particularly the beautiful or educated women.

The Prefect RENZAHU Tharcisse is mentioned because he was seen everywhere in the Prefecture of the city of Kigali, organizing counselors of sectors and the Interahamwe militias. The Interahamwe BIKINDI Simon and SUKARI were famous for their songs inciting to ethnic division. Who will not remember MAMAN Aline with her relentlessness against other women?

TABLE 7: PERSONS SAID TO HAVE PLANNED VIOLENCE IN BUTARE PREFECTURE

Names	Official function	Other specification
Sindikubwabo Theodore	President	Native of Butare
Nyiramasuhuko Pauline	Minister	MIFAPROFE
Mukarurangwa Bernadette	Deputy	Gisagara
Ntawukuriryayo Dominique	Sub-prefect	Gisagara
Kanyabashi Joseph	Burgomaster	Ngoma
Kabeza Charles	Burgomaster	Nyaruhengeri
Ruremesha Jonathan	Burgomaster	Huye
Hategekimana Deo	Burgomaster	Runyinya
Ndayambaje Elie	Burgomaster	Muganza
Ntaganzwa Ladislav	Burgomaster	Nyakizu
Nategekimana Nicodeme	Counselor of sector	Cyarwa Sumo
Barayavuga Alphonse	Counselor of sector	Cyarwa Cyimana
Habyarimana Pascal	Counselor of sector	Sahera
Bwanacyeye Francis	Counselor of sector	Tumba
Kanywabahizi Augustin	Counselor of sector	Nkubi
Kanyenzi Jean	Counselor of sector	Kivomo
Ndindiriyimana Augustin	Soldier	General
Rekeraho Emmanuel	Interahamwe	Driver, Huye
Hategekimana Antoine	Interahamwe	Contractor, Ngoma
Rutagengwa Emmanuel	Interahamwe	Medical doctor, Ngoma
Rwemera	Interahamwe	Trader, Ndora

In Butare Prefecture, the wickedness of Pauline NYIRAMASUHUKO is notoriously known and the militia she was supervising chose women for gang rapes and girls they sequestered to make them their wives. The militia organized masquerades of marriage ceremonies.

TABLE 8: PERSONS SAID TO HAVE PLANNED VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN KIBUNGO PREFECTURE

¹² In Kigali, people think there are two quarters in Kiyovu, one below the main road: **Kiyovu of the poor**. It is in Rugenge sector. On the other side of the road, **Kiyovu of the rich**, in Nyarugenge sector where senior civil servants live. (These are mere names, the reality is different!)

Names	Function	Other
Rwagafilita Pierre Celestin	Soldier	MRND President, Kibungo
Ngenzi Octavien	Burgomaster	Kabarondo
Rutagengwa Jean Marie Vianney	Burgomaster	Muhazi
Senkware	Burgomaster	Kayonza
Mugiraneza Emmanuel	Burgomaster	Kigarama
Bizimana Jean	Burgomaster	Rutonde
Kabiligi Jean	Counselor	Nkomangwa
Karangwa	Counselor	Kabare
Kinyogote Silas	Counselor	Nyagatovu
Munyaneza Josua	Counselor	Nyarubuye
Turatsinze Francis	Counselor	Sovu
Munyaneza Joseph	Counselor	Kitazigurwa
Sekaziga Andrew	Counselor	Rusira
Muyanja Moses	Interahamwe	Driver, Rutonde
Barahira Tito	Interahamwe	Ex-Burgomaster, Kabarondo
Ngabonzima	Interahamwe	Muhazi & Ex-Burgomaster
Nzabandora Emmanuel	Interahamwe	Trader, Rutonde
Nyemazi Athanase	Interahamwe	Rutonde
Nsabimana Francis	Interahamwe	Judge, Kabarondo

The Burgomaster of MUHAZI, a certain RUTAGENGWA Jean Marie Vianney coveted Tutsi women even before the genocide. During the genocide he was among the first to pursue Tutsi women to rape them and went regularly to look for them in Rwamagana.

It should be noted that the lists of the above-mentioned people are not exhaustive and that there are some notoriously known people for their involvement in the genocide that don't appear there. The reason for that is that we worked on a small sample and on part of the country, besides, we only gave names mentioned during the survey. The readers will excuse us not to be able to satisfy them in this respect, as the survey is neither legal nor criminal in nature.

3.1.3 The unleashing of acts of violence against women

The nature of violence inflicted on Tutsi women originated mainly from a widespread complex among militiamen according to which Tutsi women were physically and morphologically different (see 3.1.2) from Hutu women. For this reason militiamen wanted to really know the Tutsi woman, to see her genitalia and if need be the inside of her womb, more particularly the pregnant women. Besides ethnic cleansing, that is one of the motives that prompted the inhuman treatments inflicted on women.



Picture 1. The body of the child is covered with burns and injuries. The girl is wounded on the head and the foot

Most often, it is men who committed these acts, but it is not rare to find women, children and even foreigners who actively participated. It is not necessary to forget that even dogs were used to track the victims.

Women like MUKANDUTIYE Angeline, Inspector of schools in Nyarugenge sector Bemeriki Valerie of RTL, Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, Minister of Family and Feminine promotion, Maman Aline and many others are notoriously known to have been particularly ferocious against Tutsi women.¹³

If women had not encouraged and had actively participated, violence would not have reached the extent that we know. It is necessary to say that their involvement was decisive. Hence, is it necessary to wonder if there are children among the criminals of the Genocide?

¹³ See "Moins innocents qu'il n'y parait", African Rights, August 1995

Table 9: Participation in violence against women

Participation	Number of answers	Proportion (%)
Men	535	47.6
Women	103	9.2
Men & Women	469	41.7
Children	278	24.7
Others (including soldiers and Burundians)	76	6.8
Number of persons	1125	100

The above table shows that soldiers of the former Rwandese Armed Forces and Burundian refugees participated in violence against women in a proportion of 6%.

Besides numerical data we recorded testimonies from some of the victims that give some idea of what women endured:

"... he raped me and when he finished, helped by another, he held my legs apart and called people to come and see how Tutsi women looked like inside... Then he cut up the inside of my vagina and, pulling off the flesh he waved it on a small stick. He planted the small stick on the ground outside the house howling that everybody that will pass by there will see what a Tutsi woman looks like ... I always have problems: I feel very severe pains every month, during menstruation, I didn't see a medical doctor..."¹⁴

"... About ten of them raped a woman collectively and when they finished, they wanted to kill her by introducing a sharpened stick of the size of a wooden handle in wood into the vagina until she bled to near death. I saw them making that to several women... One them told us that they were going to cut up women in several pieces over several days, a leg today, an arm tomorrow..."¹⁵

¹⁴ Testimony collected on 26th March 1996 by FIDH in Kayenzi commune.

¹⁵ Testimony collected on 8th April 1996 by FIDH in Nyarugenge commune.



Picture 2: This girl received blows on the head and the leg

Testimonies on cases of rape committed by soldiers in Butamwa¹⁶ during the 1994 Genocide:

1 ". I am a mother of 6 children. Soldiers led by Ncogoza who is at present in detention in GIKONDO killed my husband in front of me and raped me. My backbone is broken and I am not able to do anything anymore "

2 ". I am a mother of 5 children. I was raped by soldiers when I was 4 months pregnant. They immediately killed my husband under my eyes, they beat me for a long time and I feel pains to the stomach, in the chest. I don't know names of those that did that. I only know that they were soldiers".

3 ". I am 59 years old, mother of 8 children and widow of the genocide. The Interahamwe accompanied by soldiers came and killed my husband, my children and our neighbors and threw them into the pit latrine. They raped me and one of them named Védaste shot me in the stomach the bullet came out through the back, then he hit me several times with the crosier of his gun. I am disabled."

4". I am 38 years old and mother of one child. It was on April 14, 1994, when the Interahamwe from Mount Kigali whose names I know came with soldiers. They raped me, killed my husband's younger brother, a neighbor and cut off my arm, then they shot me; the bullet is still inside my body. They knifed in the chest and threw me in the pit latrine with other cadavers. Beams of the latrine held hanging and that is how I was able to get out. I am disabled now and cannot do anything, I wish someone could get me treated and helped in justice."¹⁷

The acts of violence can be described as acts of genocide because before being killed pregnant women first had their womb slashed open to remove the babies and the furiousness to destroy the reproductive functions is another proof. Women who had young children were first made to watch their children being killed by smashing them against walls or with big stones;

¹⁶ In Butamwa Commune, Kigali Rural Prefecture

¹⁷ Testimony collected by AVEGA

In several places, especially in Kigali, the victim had to first undergo a parody of trial aiming to show that she was an accomplice of *inyenzi*.¹⁸

After those preliminary acts of torture the victim began to undergo her fate: she was first stripped naked then she was raped by one or several men, then she was tortured. The torture of the sexual organs of women interested both men and women. In the following table, we can see the different types of violence inflicted on women:

Table 10: The different types of violence inflicted on women

Type of violence	Direct question to victims	General question asked	Frequency	%
Sexual violence	374	838	39.3	74.5
Blows and injuries	752	945	79.1	84.0
Sequestration	285	404	30.0	35.9
Stripping naked	270	475	28.4	42.2
Physical torture	302	447	31.8	39.7
Public humiliation	310	401	32.6	35.6
Violent death	-	1062	-	94.4
Others	48	56	5.0	5.0
Number of women interviewed	951	1125	-	-

It is important to note that the proportion of sexual violence victims increases as soon as the question doesn't concern the particular individual more in particular, but what happened in general. It rises from 39% to 74%. The stripping naked also increases from 28% to 42%. This is because women are still reluctant to reveal all they went through, knowing that Rwandese society would not easily accept it. Who will accept to marry a girl who has been raped? What respect could be given to a dishonored mother? Besides, as already pointed out, the Rwandese woman, does not like to talk about anything concerning her modesty.

¹⁸ Name given to RPF fighters, a word which means "cockroach" in Kinyarwanda.



Picture 3: This girl was macheted along the eye and the ear.

Below, are some of the acts of sexual violence that were inflicted on women:

- *Individual or gang rape;*
- *Forced incest by children or the victim's parents;*
- *The ablation of genitalia;*
- *The introduction of harmful objects or products into the vagina;*
- *Infection with HIV-AIDS through rape by one or several infected men;*

The relentlessness on the woman's sex aimed among others to prevent the victim from procreation if ever she managed to survive.

3.1.4. The after-effects of violence

Violence made to women during the genocide left marks on the victims themselves in general and on Rwandese society in particular.

a. On the victims themselves

Women victims of violence during the genocide present some very deep physical and mental sufferings. The problem is even more complicated since most cases have never been treated and specialists¹⁹ agree to say that, more particularly, the psychological after-effects can sometimes take several years to appear.

¹⁹ National Trauma Center in Kigali.

a. 1 Physical sufferings:

As specified in table 10, the women received blows and injuries, underwent the various tortures and suffered from sexual violence. The latter whose extent is very large last but is not known with precision, is the most serious and most difficult to treat since it concerns sensitive parts of the body. Some of the consequences such as the amputations and injuries were visible during interviews but there was no way to verify the mutilations of the genital parts. The after-effects of blows and injuries and physical torture left various infirmities and incurable diseases.

Picture 4: *This elderly woman lost the use of her arm*



Out of 491, or more than 50% of victims interviewed, we calculated the following percentages:

Table 11: Physical infirmities of the victims

Infirmity	Number	Proportion (%)
Amputation of legs	39	7.9
Amputation of arms	27	5.5
Amputation of fingers	8	1.6
Dislocation of limbs	25	5.1
Deep injuries	17	3.5
Chest pains	11	2.2
Pains in the ribs	8	1.6
Pain in the spinal column	6	1.2
Pains in the belly	12	2.3
Incapacity to use arms	25	5.1
Incapacity to use legs	62	12.6
Incapacity to use neck	3	0.6
Partial or total paralysis	23	4.7
Blindness	14	2.6
Chronic headache	20	4.1
Broken vertebral column	64	13.0
Sterility	16	3.3
STD	26	3.3
AIDS	327	66.7
Cardiac problems	30	6.1
Respiratory problems	14	2.9
Stomach troubles	22	4.5
Hearing problems	7	1.4
Bleeding	5	1.0
Number of sick persons	491	100

The infirmities in this table show that certain victims are totally disabled: inability to use limbs (17.7%), the spinal column, atrophy of limbs (15%).

The presence of AIDS (66.7%) with a high rate shows that sexual violence affected about one third of the victims (327 out of 951) and that it was an essential tool for ethnic cleansing.

Testimonies that are going to follow show the extent of the after-effects of the violence that the women underwent and for some of victims the daily life looks like martyrdom:

Aftermath of violence undergone during the genocide (Testimonies):

I ". Immediately after killing my husband they threw me down. They ordered 18-year-old son to have sex with me so that he can first catch AIDS in case I was contaminated. He refused and he was given a blow of a sword that killed him on the spot. Several people raped me and introduced horns of cows and sticks into my vagina. The suffering was so atrocious that I had to keep my legs apart. Since that day, I have vaginal discharges that resist medicines and a blood test

revealed that I have AIDS. I wish I were dead because AIDS is a very unpleasant illness, I would like to die.

2 ". I began to show signs of trauma (PTSD) since I learnt that I have AIDS. During the Genocide of April 1994 militiamen came and killed my husband and my 4 children. They were dirty men, some in military uniforms that began to rape me and I fainted. When I woke up, I was in hospital on a drip and since then, I have purulent vaginal discharges that resist to medicines. My physician proposed me to make a HIV test that proved to be positive and since then I began to show signs of trauma.

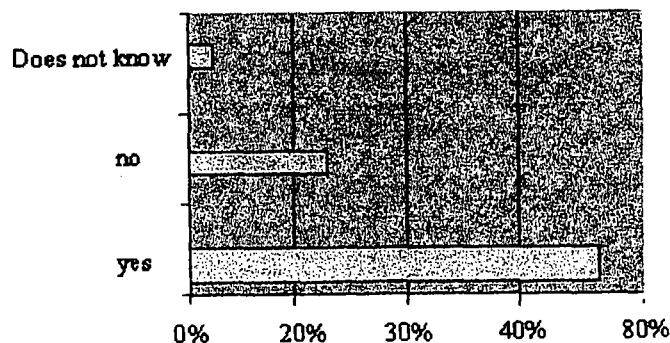
3 ". After my 2 brothers and my parents were killed with knives, I went to hide in the forest where I remained for some days. Several militiamen came one morning and they raped me. When they finished, they introduced a stick into my vagina and I fainted. When I regained conscious, I was in a hospital and I noted that I had purulent vaginal discharges. Since medicines were not of any effect against that, the doctor decided to remove my uterus ".²⁰



Picture 5: This young woman also lost the use of her arm

As for the extent of violence, 70% of the victims answered that they know a lot of Tutsi women who did not suffer from violence while 25% said they did not know any who did not. (see graph below)

Graph 2: The existence of women who were not assaulted during the genocide



²⁰ Testimony collected by AVEGA

The fact that there are some Tutsi women who were not assaulted during the genocide is due to the following:

- A large proportion of them was married to Hutu and therefore well-protected, we obtained 45% of answers on this;
 - Other women succeeded in hiding until the arrival of RPF soldiers. There are 24% of the answers;
 - Another category is constituted of women who were hidden by other people who were not sought-after by militiamen. The rate of answers is 18%;
 - The region of Kibungo, being part of the sample, is one of the first regions to have been liberated by the RPF.²¹
- For all these reasons one can say that very few women survivors of the genocide were raped by militiamen and that the largest number of women who were raped were killed on the spot.

a.2 Mental suffering

The mental health of violence victims has been deeply damaged deeply to such point that it is difficult to say they will recover or not.

The different types of trauma that are found among the victims are the mental disturbances affecting the physical behavior physiques of patients: the victim is incapable of mental organization and she needs someone to guide her. Unfortunately most victims live alone or have very young children who are necessarily affected by this situation.

The following table shows the mental after-effects that were given by the victims:

Table 12: Mental health problems

Infirmities	Number	Proportion (%)
Trauma symptoms	580	80.9
Amnesia	16	2.3
Autism	4	0.6
Hallucinations	12	1.7
Madness	46	6.4
Dizziness	5	0.7
Headaches	54	7.5
Total	717	100

²¹ RPF: Rwandese Patriotic Front.

The answers given show that the victims know the symptoms of trauma, but that there are some who do not know them. The answers are reproduced just as they were gathered.

The high rate of trauma (80,9%) is not a surprise because this phenomenon appears in various ways and apparently normal individuals can be deeply affected because the trauma is not always visible and its effects are not often immediate.

Some of the illnesses on the table can be manifested by ramblings, hallucinations and of other abnormal behaviors. The permanent or temporary character of illnesses related to trauma requires a regular follow-up that is lacking, yet vital for all these women. However, it is necessary to deplore the fact that institutions which can make such a follow-up very few and in their embryonic stage.

From the physical and mental after-effects, and because of lack of care and/or help, other illnesses develop and worsen the health of victims even more: Kwashiorkor, loss of weight, stomach disorders, and often even death follows.

b. On the society

Everything that can affect the physical and mental health of an individual will necessarily have consequences on his/her/ immediate environment and on the society. This is even more serious when the society doesn't have means to face such events that spare neither property nor human beings like genocide. On the other hand, the society minimizes the danger, ignores it or pretends to and sometimes stigmatizes the victims.

At the outset, it should be noted that the victims are incapable to change their situation in a meaningful way because they don't have any means and for some, their state of health does not permit it. This results into social problems that go beyond the individual setting:

- The problem of child **education** that later becomes one of delinquency and prostitution;
- The problem of **subsistence** that places victims in a situation of vulnerability, and can be sometimes a source of prostitution and proliferation of sexually transmitted diseases and AIDS. A recent survey on prostitution and AIDS showed that some prostitutes were victims of sexual violence during the genocide;²²
- The problem of **resources and means** of production of the country that are affected. Violence against women affected part of the active population, such as women young and/or educated whose strength was lost by the country. The distribution of victims by age shows that 79,6% of victims is between 20 and 55 years:

²² "Etude sur la Prostitution et le Sida", KIBILITI Christine, BIGABIRO Charles Louis, November 1998

Table 13: Distribution of women victims of violence by age

Age	Number	Proportion
Age{20	135	14.2
20{age{55	757	79.6
55{age	59	6.2
Number of assaulted women	951	100

To this add the fact that the country has the important duty to conceive programs of social rehabilitation from which all victims should benefit. It affects considerably the poor means of the country.

**Picture 6: This little girl won't be able to regain full use of her leg.**

3.1.5 Interventions in favor of women victims of violence.

National or foreign members or associations of the Rwandan society intervene in favor of genocide survivors but the problem of women victims of violence remains untouched. Because of insufficient information the problems resulting from violence against women are underestimated and the victims themselves are not all known. This partly explains the low number of victims having received aid.

Table 14: Distribution of views of victims about interventions in their favor

View	Number	Proportion (%)
No aid	766	80.5
Aid given	148	15.6
Marginalized	76	8.0
Number of victims	951	100

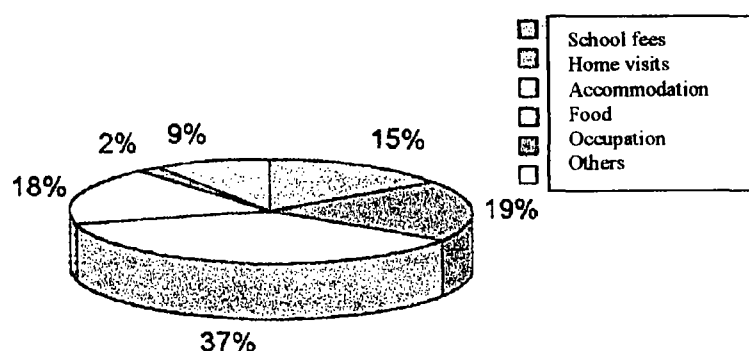
Victims that think that no aid is granted (80,5%) can either be right, or be under the effect of despair and discouragement and their answer would be only the reflection of bitterness. However this answer deserves to be considered for all its worth.

Table 15: Nature of interventions

Nature of intervention	Number	Proportion (%)
None	551	57.9
Medical care	124	13.0
Social care	134	14.1
Justice	215	22.6
Others	3	0.3
Number of victims	951	100

On changing the form of the question asked, it becomes clear that the number of purely negative responses decreases. The rate of "none" answers drops from 80.6% to 57%. These women remain numerous in thinking that the assistance they get is insufficient, some even confirm there is no assistance at all. Among those who acknowledge assistance, those who believe judicial assistance is provided come first with 23% and social assistance comes second with 13%. Among those who get social assistance, the majority have benefited from housing.

Graph 3: Social aid provided to women victims of violence.



The above diagram shows that the aid received, although insufficient, corresponds to priorities of the victims: Lodging (37,2%) and the food aid (17,6%).

When one asks these women the origin of interventions, it is surprising that the majority answers negatively and those that are positive place institutions whose primary vocation is aid: churches, associations and NGOs.

TABLE 16: DISTRIBUTION OF INTERVENING PARTIES IN AID

Intervening parties	Number	%
NGO, Associations, churches	367	38.6
Government	101	10.6
Friends	153	16.1
Others	24	2.5
No one	579	60.9
Number of victims	951	100

At the top of the interventions list, victims repeatedly mentioned the associations AVEGA AGAHOZO,IBUKA, KANYARWANDA, and BARAKABOHO.²³ The role of the victims' parents is also considerable, although not being considered for the same reason as interventions.

For the particular case of the aid provided by AVEGA to victims of the Genocide the report of activities for the year 1998 gives us its contents:

Table 17: AVEGA's assistance to women victims of the genocide

Intervention	Number helped	Location
Care to patients	2217 patients	
Counseling	600 persons	Kigali and Kibungo
Food aid	464 families	PVK and Gisenyi
Building materials	728 persons	Gisenyi
Sewing machines	9 persons	
Social credit for projects	200 women	
Judicial assistance to civil suits	20 persons	Kigali, Gitarama, Butare, Gikongoro

The data contained in this table constitute only a minute part of AVEGA's interventions. We considered only direct aid to the victims. It should be noted that AVEGA gives assistance to several categories of people of which women victims of violence constitute a considerable part. It also gives an indirect aid by training resource people, collaborates with other intervening parties in the domain of women victims of violence.

However, the percentage of women that says that no intervention is made is to be considered because it large: Percentages vary between 58% and 80% depending on the question asked.

As for initiatives of the victims to solve their own problems, most of them think that they should form associations but they are unaware of procedures and they don't know each other, if one considers the question from the angle of the violence the went through.

One should not forget that there is not a long time that they accepted to speak of their problems, especially those concerned by sexual violence.

The number of women that says that they are not doing anything remains high and what they say tends to confirm that they don't have confidence in the judicial system. Only 6% say that they go to authorities to expose their cases.

This weak rate is explained by the context in which the judicial system functions: the national reconciliation on the agenda, the slowness of trials which doesn't treat sexual violence in a special way, the government's role in the genocide: Habyarimana's régime in the preparation and the government of the Abatabazi²⁴ in the execution of the genocide.

²³ See Appendix, on the list of intervening parties

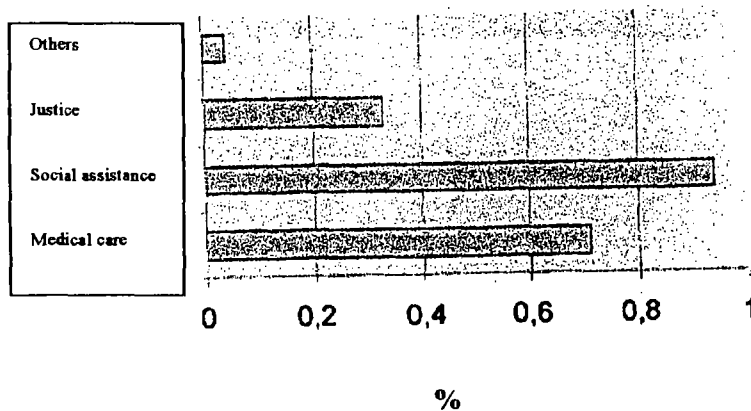
²⁴ The government during the genocide called itself "government of liberators"

Although the governments are different in their composition, governmental action is continuous. All these elements make women victims hesitate in confiding.

3.1.6 Wishes of women victims of violence

The near totality of women victims of violence would wish to be assisted because the assistance given goes only to a tiny minority among them and concerns the obvious problems of subsistence, lodging or schooling only. Problems of health have remained unknown for a long time and it is frequent to find victims that have never seen a physician since 94. Only 6% of interviewed women have already consulted a physician. According to the victims health problems are less urgent than those of subsistence. It is normal for a woman to first of all think about ways of finding food for her children before going to consult a doctor.

Graph 4: Nature of needs expressed by victims



Therefore, the majority of interviewed women (94%) would wish to be helped of whom 71% for medical help and 33% for judicial help. Other equally relevant wishes are evoked: to know how to create an association, to pray for them, to receive damages in finished trials of the genocide, to ensure the security of victims and the education of their children.

These preoccupations are founded insofar as until now, no damages have been paid to the victims in genocide suits and victims have every reason to fear for their life because not only do they live with their aggressors or their families, but also they must testify before the justice. The will to confide their souls to God is a sign that translates their growing concern for their survival.

3.2 VIOLENCE AS COMMON PRACTICE

This form of violence was not the object of a systematic investigation but rather of a research based on the available documentation which we have already mentioned in the limitations of the survey, the judicial information, previous works and/or interviews with resource people having knowledge of the problem because of their occupation or work already done. Thus, we talked with magistrates, physicians, policemen and members or staff of women's associations. Data collected from the different sources that we consulted permitted us to group forms of violence made to women in every day life in the following categories:

- *Violence on little girls;*
- *Violence on minors and teenagers;*
- *Domestic violence;*
- *Forced marriages;*
- *Violence in workplaces.*

Difficulties and limitations of the survey mentioned earlier didn't permit us to make a research on violence made to women in refugee camps outside the country and violence committed by soldiers during the genocide and the war. Information gathered on these topics is very scanty and difficult to verify.

To approach the above forms of violence it was judged important to first of all situate the problem the Rwandese traditional context to allow each person, Rwandese or not, to have an objective vision of the issue.

3.2.1 The role and place of the woman in Rwandese society

In the pure Rwandese tradition the woman lives as the man's shadow. She is expected to be reserved and discrete. She doesn't have the right to give her opinion on questions concerning family life. "**Uruvuze umugore, ruvuga umuhoro**"²⁵

In Rwandese pre-colonial society: Since her youth the girl is expected to remain next to her mother to help her in the domestic or agricultural work. Her education is essentially centered on qualities of a good wife, what must please to her husband at all levels and more especially sexually.

²⁵ In a home where the woman speaks, there is discord. It is a Rwandese proverb.

Any departure from these expectations is severely punished and the most striking example is the punishment reserved to girls who fall pregnant before marriage: These are attached to a heavy stone and thrown into a river. Thus, they can neither swim nor can their cadavers come to the surface.

The girl doesn't even have the right to know her future spouse. The traditional marriage is the result of negotiations between the two families represented by men. Once married, the woman is held to respect her in-laws and more especially her father-in-law. The woman thus belongs to her in-law and benefits from their protection. Also, it is indicated that if the husband dies, his younger brother or even his father marries his wife.

With **colonization** the woman's status did not change much and for some it became worse than before. Marriage is no more traditional but religious and because of this the woman doesn't benefit from her in-laws' protection any more because henceforth she belongs to the church that abolished some customs going together with marriage. Instruction is reserved to men, the woman joins the school later and yet to educate a girl is to educate a nation.

In the **administration of the country** the woman has been left out for a long time. In the days of the monarchy, certainly the queen mother had an influence on the king, but no woman could intervene in the business of the monarchy at whatever administrative echelon.

Under the **first republic** women entered into the administration rather timidly. They were especially found in teaching, there was even one woman minister.²⁶ At the time, one remembers that the question of the woman's condition was not even raised and women were satisfied with the situation.

The government had other preoccupations notably the organization of the successive massacres of the Tutsi since 1961.²⁷ It was during these massacres that sexual violence against Tutsi women began to appear.

With the coming of the **second republic** ideas about the emancipation of the woman began to infiltrate among the Rwandan and women's associations began to appear, women became more represented in power and they could be seen in all sectors, public and private. They were even recruited in the army.

In spite of this breakthrough the woman's role in decision-making was only very slow to come and the woman's traditional role as unobtrusive and discreet person remained even among women themselves. It is at this time that barons of the regime began to take Tutsi women as concubines.

The **government of national unity**, now in power, reserves a more or less privileged place to the woman in decision making. So one finds women in the government, in the

²⁶ The Minister of Family, Mrs. AYINKAMIYE Madeleine.

²⁷ The attacks by Inyenzi monarchists were used as a pretext to massacre the TUTSI between 1961 and 1973. In 1973, the massacres were simply deliberate since the Inyenzi were no longer attacking.

Transitional National Assembly, as heads of parastatal companies,... so that a net improvement of the woman's condition is visible. This change could be attributed to the evolution of mentalities, to the contribution of women recently returned from exile and having experiences from other countries, to the responsibilities assumed by women consequent to the genocide and the war which left a lot of widows and orphans heading families.²⁸ But also to the awareness of women all over the world who are claiming their rights.

In spite of this progress Rwandese society reserves a secondary role to the woman in relation to the man and barriers at the level of legislation and mentalities still exist.

The present survey wants to show that, from what we have just shown, if violence against women must be abandoned one day, there is need to discover it first because women victims are not always disposed to talk about it, the discretion of the Rwandan woman being well known and those with information about it are not always disposed to disclose it to the public. The question then arises: how can one solve a problem that one doesn't know? Hence this study which attempted to know the nature of violence inflicted on women and then make appropriate recommendations. Contrary to violence during the genocide, violence in every day life is deeply rooted in the memory and habits and will be more difficult to uproot. Some people even think that its upsurge, especially the rape of minors, these last times is closely linked to the near impunity enjoyed by those people responsible of violence during the genocide because this crime alone does not make them go into the first categories of criminals. How then are those who are not jailed and who meet their victims every day?

3.2.2 Violence on little children

This type of violence exists and has several aspects, some linked to modernism introduced in Rwanda by colonization, of others linked to tradition.

Colonization came with modern education thus giving access to a new life style and creating new needs. **Monetized economy** replaced **trade by barter**. To ensure its subsistence the family doesn't get the essential of its resources from agriculture any more, it also has recourse to **salaried work**. Women, who also benefited from education no longer remain at home because they have to contribute to the domestic budget, they have been recruited like secretaries, social workers, teachers, nurses, etc... They have been made to go and work far from their homes during the day and sometimes even during the night. This is how the necessity to hire houseboys or maidservants became necessary. These had to take care of the home and more especially of the young children.

The violence against little girls, which interests us, was born of the way the domestic servants did their work. But other reasons exist as we shall see later.

Generally the care of children is given to girls, but considering the freedom enjoyed by the servants, it is not excluded that these can absent themselves one way or the other, a carelessness

²⁸ According to the results of the socio-demographic survey by MINECOFIN-FNUAP, 1996, in the 20-24 and 45-64 age groups, there is a wide difference in the percentages reaching more than 57 and 58% for women and falling to 43 and 42% for men.

or a distraction occurs and the houseboy is left alone with the little girl. This is how houseboys came to defiling little girls.

According to the CID of the Public Prosecutor's office in Kigali, there are many cases of defilement of children and there is no sign of decrease observed for such cases. These incriminate houseboys but don't exclude the responsibility of parents either. The fact to put one's child into the care of a nanny doesn't reduce in anything the parents' duties towards their children and a nanny is nothing else but a nanny! Magistrates point an accusing finger to parents who don't have the courage to denounce cases of defilement of their children and accept amicable arrangements of such cases. The gravity of the crime and its immediate or future consequences on the child should incite parents to militate for an exemplary punishment.

The Rwandese penal code makes a provision for a sentence ranging from one to 20 years of imprisonment and capital punishment if the defilement caused death (Articles 358 to 360 of the penal code).

Finally, violence linked to Rwandese tradition and culture originates from habits acquired from education or some occult beliefs. Although it is not generalized, facts reveal that healers and sorcerers advise men suffering from certain illnesses to have sexual relations with little girls as a remedy.

Other practices such as adults playing with small girls by touching their genital parts can sometimes hide some unhealthy intentions. Some sexual violence is also found among guardians on adoptive little girls and this is even made worse by the fact that these orphans have no legal status in the foster family.

These last cases are confirmed by both the CID and by associations fighting against violence made to women.

3.2.3 Violence on minors and teenagers

Pedophilia which is defined as " an adult's sexual attraction to children ", although it exists in Rwanda, has not yet reached the level of the European countries where there are organized networks of pedophiles and in our case, it involves only girls.

Indeed, this type of violence made to children in preschool age is most often sexual and is exercised by older people. So it is very often found in homes where houseboys rape the children and contrary to the case of little girls, the houseboys are sometimes denounced by their victims.

According to a CID Officer of the Kigali gendarmerie the same type of violence is also found among young boys sellers of sweets by the roadside or among "shopkeepers". The latter attract children with sweets, especially schoolgirls, to make them fall into their trap. This practice is also found with motorcyclists and the ABANYONZI,²⁹ who promise little girls motorcycle or bicycle rides. This practice most often concerns little girls at the age of puberty (12-13 years)

²⁹ Bicycle riders who use them as taxis.

who sometimes cannot denounce this aggression. Sometimes complicity should also not be ruled out.

Violence on teenagers is especially frequent in schools, not by schoolboys but by unscrupulous teachers. These use their authority that they have on girls to manipulate marks in exchange for money or sex. This is also a kind of sexual violence. Boys pay in cash but girls pay in kind.

There was this case of a teacher at a secondary school in Kigali who impregnated one of his pupils and, to make matters worse, ended up by marrying her.

There was again this case reported by the press³⁰ of a teacher at the Holy Spirit School in Nyanza. According to the newspaper that published the information, the school authorities acknowledge that one of their teachers abuses his pupils, that even one of the parents complained about of this “**teacher**”. Yet no sanction has been taken against him. As if this is not a very serious case!

The same newspaper, in its following edition reported a no less dramatic story of a Congolese teacher at Kirinda TTC³¹ who, this time raped a 50-year-old woman!³² In a lot of private schools, stories between teachers and pupils are very frequent but people do not talk about them sufficiently.

According to a lady staff at the Trauma Counseling unit of one of the women's associations in Kigali, similar cases can be found elsewhere outside schools because teenagers are essentially characterized by their gullibility and reverie which make them easy prey. This stage is often referred to as the **silly age**.

In orphanages the situation is pretty much the same with only one difference. The orphan girls don't have any domestic protection and their educators know it well. These cases are doubly reprehensible because on the one hand there are the aggravating circumstances and on the other hand, there is a breach of trust and even sometimes indecent assault.

According to a medical doctor, cases of defilement of minors and the little girls by soldiers took place immediately after the genocide. Having been deprived of sexual relations during years of war soldiers turned to minors and little girls.³³

The penal code makes a provision for a sentence ranging from one year 40 years of imprisonment. For example a teacher found guilty of defiling a child of less than 16 years is liable to a prison sentence ranging from one to 40 years (articles 358,359,360,361 paragraph 3).

³⁰ The INVAHO newspaper N. 1267 of 18-24 January 1999.

³¹ Teacher's Training College.

³² The newspaper IMVAHO N.1268 of 25-31 January 1999

³³ This testimony is to be taken with reservation since no other source has confirmed this.

3.2.4 Domestic violence

It is only recently that the Rwandan woman accepted to speak about domestic violence that was considered like normal and which she avoided to speak about in public by discretion because, it should not be forgotten that Rwandese women know that one should not wash dirty linen in public.

Because of this attitude, men were convinced that it was necessary to beat their wives so that they may become docile and women had accepted it. The man didn't need to have a justification to beat his wife because she was considered like his private property. The dowry he had paid was sufficient to have the right to treat his wife as he pleased. (It is necessary to realize that the paying of a dowry is becoming more and more like a commercial transaction).

According to a **magistrate** of the tribunal of first instance in Kigali, the violence the woman is subjected to is not limited to *beatings and injuries* only. It can also be found in all sorts of harassment she must undergo, including *sexual violence* and *polygamy*.

In case of *sexual violence* the woman is obliged to satisfy the man's sexual appetite every time that he feels the need for it. The result is that spacing of births which is very necessary for the Rwandese woman, becomes impossible under such conditions. It can be also a means of propagation of sexually transmitted diseases in case of adultery.

This situation is all the more damaging to the woman's health since it is she, especially in rural areas, who does agricultural work, feeds her family and takes care of the education of the children.

The Rwandese woman doesn't have the control of her sexuality and her education taught to her that she should never refuse the man what he wants.

Adultery is punishable by law but the provisions for its punishment can only reinforce the inequality between the man and the woman before the law. So article 354 of the penal code stipulates that: "A woman convicted of adultery will be sentenced to an imprisonment of one month to one year. The husband convicted of adultery will only be sentenced to an imprisonment of one to six months and a fine of one thousand francs or only one of the two. "

Polygamy which is common in Rwanda although not being legal, is tolerated by the authorities. It is forbidden among Catholics but authorized among Moslems. And yet the law punishes whoever gets involved in marriage while already married. The **punishment** ranges from three months to three years imprisonment and a fine of one to twenty thousand francs or one of the two. This punishment is very light if one considers the consequences of polygamy: First of all the woman victim of polygamy is placed in a situation of competition with her rivals. The resources of the household are shared unequally between the different homes because some wives are more favorite than the others. Children who are born in these conditions only receive their mother's education and when they grow up, quarrels about the sharing of family property become inevitable.

Domestic violence acts in a negative way on the family harmony. It constitutes a bad example for the children and when it ends up in divorce, it affects the woman as much that the man and even more the children. Alcoholism, financial problems, adultery, polygamy which come to be added to "*masculine arrogance*" are the main causes of domestic violence.

Family abandonment, child desertion or exposure are punished with sentences ranging between one and fifteen months imprisonment according to circumstances (articles 380 to 387 of the penal code).

3.2.5 Forced marriages (GUTERURA)

Originally this practice consisted in *taking the coveted girl one way or another, to make her a wife without the parents' knowledge, even if it means to make amends subsequently*.

However, in certain regions parents are sometimes accomplices. In others, the girl is often in agreement but the particularity of the UMUTARA region deserves particular attention because the girl's consent is not a condition for marriage. It is sufficient that the boy identify the girl whom he wants, for the abduction to be organized.

The situation in the UMUTARA region:

The highest number of cases of forced marriages was recorded in 94 and 95 among ABAKONYINE³⁴ and soldiers. At this time, a woman's abduction was not considered as a crime and was rather seen as a cultural trait of the inhabitants of the UMUTARA region. Currently a police unit was created in NYAGATARE (Headquarters of the UMUTARA Prefecture), and this led to the decrease of the extent of this phenomenon. Men don't dare to force marriages any more because they are jailed and the rare cases that occur are

considered as unusual by the population and attract crowds (gushungera)³⁵. One cannot say that the phenomenon has disappeared but the tendency is on the decrease.

It is a practice that is prejudicial to the woman as a human being because doesn't take into account of her fundamental rights: the freedom to love and to marry whom she wants, the freedom of her movements and the right to be protected by the society.

This practice, that only takes account of the man's will can sometimes have some ominous consequences on the girl's health because it doesn't take her age into account whereas this should be considered to see if the girl is mature enough to have sexual intercourse.

Initially, the phenomenon of "**guterura**" was essentially due to the boy's poverty because he had difficulties in getting a dowry to pay, and the girl being the boy's accomplice. Currently, the girl is not necessarily consulted any longer. What is worse is that this practice is supported by certain parents whose reasoning is the simplest: so long as the boy pays the fine (**icyiru**) the

³⁴ Some cattle keepers in the UMUTARA are called like that.

³⁵ Gushungera: to gather together out of curiosity

problem is solved for the two families. And yet, the problem remains for the girl for the rest of her life.

According to an officer of the Public Ministry, the responsibility of the impunity is a lot more on the side of the girl's family because it is the only one that can bring an action in justice, according to the law.

It is a pity because the act committed does not concern only the people involved directly, but the whole society. That is why even in the absence of a complaint the State represented by the Public Ministry should take a court action against the captors if it is established that the girl was not willing.

Article 389 of the penal code stipulates that: " If a woman is abducted without being detained or sequestered, marries her abductor, he and his accomplices can only be sued by people have the right to ask for the nullification of the marriage, and they shall be convicted only after the said nullification has been pronounced by the court. In any case, the withdrawal of these people stops the public action or the effects of the final condemnation ".

The law doesn't even consider the opinion of the person concerned, in this case the woman. Whatever the consequences of this abduction, the girl has no right to complain anywhere if her family doesn't intervene!

3.2.6 Violence in the workplace

This kind of violence is often qualified as acts with aggravating circumstances because bosses (employers), guilty of the act, commit it on people under their authority. Examples have been provided by magistrates and physicians in this respect.

The first cases that have been reported concern housemaids that are attacked by their bosses in the absence of their wives. Needless to say that this type of violence is sexual and that most often result in unwanted pregnancies. The housemaids thus lose their jobs, because the wife who can no longer tolerate their presence dismisses them. Besides, they have no help from their aggressors, most often, deny any responsibility for this situation, claiming that the girl was not virgin at the time of their relations. So cases of non-assistance and non-recognition of fatherhood remain pending before jurisdictions.

Cases of *sexual harassment* are most often reported as violence in workplaces. An accusing finger is in turns pointed at doctors, prison warders, persons in charge of orphanages.

When the patients go for prenatal consultations, at the time of the gynecological exams, some unscrupulous doctors use the opportunity to go beyond the setting of their work. Besides, other doctors are accused of illegally carrying out *abortion* with sub-standard methods and equipment. This sometimes results in the death of the mother. A recent survey on **the assessment of needs for a risk-free maternity** gave the following results:

TABLE 17: BIRTHS, MATERNAL AND INFANTILE MORTALITY AND STILL BIRTHS IN THE HEALTH CENTERS IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS.

Indicator	Health Center		Hospital	
	Number	Ratio	Number	Ratio
All births	17355	-	8270	-
Live births	16829	-	7525	-
Maternal deaths	16	95*	46	611*
Still born	526	31.3‰	745	99‰
Neonatal deaths	35	2.3‰	42	5.6‰
Prenatal deaths	564	33.5‰	787	104.6‰

* The calculations are made for 100.000 live births

Source: Assessment of needs for a risk-free maternity, Minisanité, FNUAP, June 1998, p. 52.

✱ The number of deaths is higher in hospitals because the most complicated cases are not treated by health centers and are rather referred to hospitals.

The same survey reveals that if the maternal deaths are reported by health centers, no investigation or verification is made in case of maternal death in 77,8% of the cases.

In prisons or detention centers one wonders how detained women fall pregnant whereas they are always separated from men. The accusation goes right to the warders who alone are able to enter into contact with prisoners.

In private or public establishments, work after service hours (supplementary hours) or missions inside the country (or abroad) are as many pretexts that bosses use to be alone with one or the other of their employees, more particularly their secretaries. One of the conditions to get employment is to sleep with the boss.

These acts are punished by the law in the same manner as violence committed on pupils by teachers. In its article 361, paragraph 4, the penal code stipulates that: " The maximum sentence shall be doubled if the infringement has been committed either by the public civil servants, representatives of the authority or Ministers of a cult who abused their function to commit it, either by physicians, surgeons, obstetricians towards people confided to their care ". So sentences vary between 2 and 40 years of imprisonment.

Below, we give the situation with the judicial authorities. The data collected are partial because details are contained in the judicial files. It would be necessary to have sufficient time to consult files with the permission of the officials concerned.

Situation in judicial brigades, at the public prosecutor's office and in court

At the judicial brigade of MUHIMA, the Commander remained convinced that many cases of violence against women are not reported. The complaints received concern mainly the

defilement of little girls. Below, we give the situation for the months of August, September and October 1999:

Date	Victim & age	Accused & age	Crime committed
13/08/99	Orphan 12 years	Man 25 years	Impregnated girl they lived together at their aunt
19/08/99	Little girl 8 years	Man unknown age	Defiled the little girl using a sweet to attract her
23/08/99	Little girl 3.5 years	Man unknown age	Rape
31/09/99	Little girl 2 years	Man 49 years	Rape
04/09/99	Little girl 4 years	Man unknown age	Rape
28/09/99	Little girl 5 years	Man unknown age	Rape

It is evident from this table that child rape³⁶ is very frequent and that no age is spared. Besides, it appears that the sexual relations with the young children can last for as long as it is not discovered or as an accident does not occur. For example, if we consider the first case in the table:

Supposing the boy had not impregnated the 12-year-old little girl, no one would have known. It is very easy to convince a child to keep quiet. On the contrary, the assaulted adults keep quiet of their own will.

In the **magistrate's court in Nyamirambo** (Prefecture of the City of Kigali), for 1999 only, and for the rape of minors there were 24 pending files up to the month of October. The age of victims varies between 2 and 16 years. During the same period there were 9 cases of **food pension refusal** to the abandoned wives or to single mothers. For the latter, there is often the non-recognition of fatherhood to be added.

In the **public prosecutor's office** of the Republic in Kigali, 131 files for rape of the minors have been constituted since 1997.

Concerning the particular case of **violence in refugee camps**, the information that we received concerns the situation in camps in Tanzania and in former Zaire after 1994. According to our source,³⁷ the genocide ideology still active in the camps was the main source of women's misfortunes: the women had to make as many children as possible to have an even larger number of HUTU. The woman didn't have any importance because the man could take any so long as he does it for the good cause. The phenomenon reached such alarming proportions that certain women began to complain about having a lot of children because at this rate they had a child each year.

³⁶ The wrong use of the word "rape" is due to our eagerness to report according to the source. Otherwise it would have no sense since adults could always persuade minors without resorting to the use of force.

³⁷ A UNHCR officer

IV. CONCLUSION

Violence against women exists everywhere in the world but the extent varies from one society to another and one region to another. They are bound to the statutory role that the society imposes on the woman. They appear in every day life or during conflicts.

RWANDA has and is still experiencing the phenomenon. As we have just noted it, Rwandese traditional society wants to confine the woman to a secondary role in relation to the man and the genocide which especially affected women physically, morally and socially, reinforced their feeling of frustration.

At the present hour the Rwandan society is faced with this double challenge: on the one hand it is necessary to give to the woman places she deserves on equal footing with the man while inviting all Rwandans to change their mentality and by adapting and applying the existing legislation and on the other hand programmes to assist women victims of violence during the genocide must be elaborated and implemented.

In this way, some actions have been undertaken and deserve appreciation:

- A ministry of gender was created and entrusted to a woman;
- Women members of the National Assembly have been appointed;
- The family code has been revised in favor of women;
- A fund to assist survivors of the genocide has been created;
- Women's associations are numerous and are militating in favor of the Rwandese woman.

The situation that resulted from the genocide and the war made women the majority of the Rwandese population: there are lots of widows and of orphans heading families, women are more and more present in decision making processes, whether in the public or private sector. Rwandese society, and the authorities in particular, should take this numerical advantage into account to give women more responsibilities. Women on their side should organize themselves better to carry out actions in favor of their liberation at the social, penal and legislative levels.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 To the Rwandese associations fighting violence against women:

- To carry out research aiming to know all women having undergone violence during the genocide in order to constitute the medical files of all women presenting some serious after-effects.
- To constitute a database and a systematic documentation system on violence made to women;
- To carry out work of sensitization among women victims of violence so that each has sufficient information on interventions in their favor and on their legal rights because it has been noted a problem of lack of information among victims;
- To elaborate programs of intervention in favor of women victims of violence notably by the creation of specialized clinics and centers for orientation and counseling;
- To take action to defend victims of violence often stifled by the domestic arrangements or for lack of means, by bring an action in justice against the United Nations, countries and institutions having participated in the genocide so that they contribute in taking care of women victims of violence during the genocide and especially women infected by HIV-AIDS.
- To carry out actions of sensitization of the whole Rwandese population on the woman's condition;
- Making available information allowing women victims to know and to localize intervening parties in their favor.

5.2 To the Rwandese government

- To institute a specific law on the repression of the crime of violence crime against women with aggravating circumstances for violence made to young children and minors;
- The Ministry of the public service should require all employers to have work contracts for each of their employees. Besides, it should review the labor legislation to insert one or several clauses specifying sanctions and penalties in case of sexual or other violence committed deliberately on employees;
- Genocide trials including violence made to women should be the object of a particular attention. So inspectors and officers of the judicial police, officers of the public ministry and magistrates should include women in their ranks who would especially in charge of cases of violence against women;

- To open care centers for psychosocial cases and reinforce the already existing ones;
- The government should elaborate and execute (with the fund of aid to survivors of the genocide) a program of urgent medical aid to women and girls assaulted during the genocide;
- To sensitize the Rwandese population on the existing penal legislation on violence against women and to ensure that it is implemented;
- The Ministry of health should institute mechanisms for taking into care of women victims of violence. Health should sensitize the population on the fact that traumatism is a normal reaction to an abnormal situation that people went through.

5.3 To the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda³⁸

- The International Tribunal must absolutely make inquiries on, and really investigate all cases of sexual violence. Rape, sexual slavery, sexual mutilations should be recognized and investigated, when it is justified, as crimes against humanity, crimes of genocide or war crimes.
- The International Tribunal must endeavor to integrate discrimination into its investigations. Procedures and methods of investigation used until now, that have not up to now succeeded in clearly reporting testimonies of rape, must be modified. In particular, the Tribunal must ensure that under its jurisdiction the issue of violence against women is dealt with with the same gravity as other crimes against humanity. Investigations concerning rape and the other forms of sexual violence, must be carried out by teams which will include women and interpreters (preferably women) must have the experience of interviews with women having survived sexual crimes, within a larger context of atrocities.

Anonymity should be granted to the surviving victims, as well as the necessary time to testify on crimes of which they were victims. Investigators should also explain basic investigation procedures to interviewed people.

- Indictments should be modified, when necessary, in order to ensure that charges such as rape, sexual slavery and the sexual mutilations appear. If necessary, a more advanced investigation should be carried out by the Tribunal to collect information on sexual violence that had been disregarded before.

5.4 To the international donors

- To assist women who were assaulted during the genocide by financing programs of social rehabilitation aimed at fighting against poverty and total destitution in which these women are living.

³⁸ Recommendations formulated by the IFHR in "IFHR weekly letter", January 1997

- To contribute to the aid fund for the survivors of the genocide.
- To help the government in the setting up of a suitable structural legislation on violence against women in everyday life or during conflicts.

5.5 To the victims themselves

- Not to yield to discouragement and to continue their fight for equitable justice and social rehabilitation notably by creating associations within which their struggle must be carried out;
- To try their best to be represented in organs of decision making at national and regional level in order to make their protest heard much more.

5.6 To the Rwandese society

- To change mentalities such as the preconceived ideas notably on the woman's role in society;
- To encourage the judicial reforms aimed at restoring the woman in her rights by a readaptation of punishment provided for in case of infringement against women and a revision of all legal texts where the woman is specially wronged to the man's benefit (right of succession, the marriage system, education, the public service, etc....);
- To contribute efficiently to the struggle against violence made to women and to consider it as a blemish on the society.

VI. THE ASSOCIATION

The Association of Widows of the Genocide "AGAHOZO" AVEGA in acronym is a non-profit making association founded on January 15th, 1995 on the initiative of 50 surviving widows of the genocide called founding members. It was approved by ministerial decree number 156 / 05 of October 30, 1995.

AVEGA has as its main mission to contribute to the self-help of widow communities and to meet the needs of a lasting socio-economic development in the various zones of action in which it is implanted.

In this perspective AVEGA "AGAHOZO" tries to reinforce self-help capacities of widow groups (movements and groups of widows and other local initiatives) through education and training in order to constitute alliances of widows for a non-violent and development movement that is socially and economically strong, dynamic and prosperous all over the national territory.

AVEGA's aim is therefore to promote the integration of the genocide widow and to reinforce her self-help capacities and involvement in the process of the country's socio-economic development through awareness campaigns, training, support/advice, assistance, coordination and study of development projects.

Among the important actions susceptible to facilitate the realization of AVEGA "AGAHOZO"'s mission is the establishment of an adequate statutory setting, the restructuring and the decentralization of AVEGA, the creation of awareness among its members, the political authorities and the Rwandan public on the vision, the mission and the global strategy of AVEGA, and the re-enforcement of capacities in human resources.

AVEGA's main objectives are:

- To encourage the self-fulfillment of widows;
- To promote active solidarity between members of the association;
- To carry out activities aimed at the improvement of the living conditions of widows and their children;
- To cooperate with associations having similar orientations;
- To perpetuate the memory of the victims of the genocide;
- To fight so that justice is done and that peace prevails in Rwanda.

In brief **AVEGA "AGAHOZO"** is interested in the problems of widows and orphans of the genocide, in general, and is looking for solutions to problems and consequences of the genocide on survivors on the moral, physical, psychological as well as social plane.

It is in the search for ways and means to solve these problems, in an active solidarity between members of the association that they will encourage their blossoming.

This is how AVEGA "AGAHOZO" initiated four programs (that are in full action) that contain activities aimed at finding the solution to all the above-mentioned problems.

These programs are:

1. The program of support and backing to grass root groupings (PSBG)
2. The psychosocial medical program for women victims of violence (PSMP);
3. The advocacy and information program;
4. The program for backing AVEGA's technical and institutional capacities.

Through its structures and programs, AVEGA "AGAHOZO" has achieved many things since its inception almost five years ago, but problems are still persisting. It is always in search for solutions to these problems. It is in this setting that this work saw the day. It is the fruit of a combined effort to make the public know the violence Rwandese women were subjected to during the genocide so that such an act may never happen again and to fight for the eradication of the culture of impunity.

All this was achieved in the spirit of the promotion of a peaceful cohabitation aimed at the rehabilitation and the reconstruction of our country.

VII. APPENDICES

7.1 List of the consulted documents

- Les violences sexuelles lors du génocide rwandais et leurs conséquences, lettre hebdomadaire de la FIDH, Janvier 1995;
- Moins innocentes qu'il n'y paraît, African Rights, Août 1995;
- La tragédie rwandaise, historique et perspectives, Emmanuel Nkunzumwami, L'Harmattan, 1996;
- RWANDA, les médias du génocide, under the direction of Jean Pierre Chrétien, Karthala, 1995;
- Lutte contre la violence faite aux femmes, document de synthèse et de discussion, Réseau des femmes, Novembre 1998;
- RWANDA, du génocide à la défaite, NTARIBI KAMANZI, Edition Rebero, avril 1995;
- C'est ma taille qui m'a sauvée, Italian Cooperation in Rwanda, December 1996;
- Violences Faites aux femmes: L'état du droit, UNIFEM, juillet 1998;
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- Rapport de l'enquête sur le Génocide, CLADHO-KANYARWANDA 1ère Partie, 10 décembre 1994.
- Rapport de l'enquête sur le Génocide, CLADHO-KANYARWANDA, 2ème Partie, mars 1998.
- Le mariage coutumier au Rwanda, Stanislas BUSHAYIJA, Maison Ferdinand Larcier, Bruxelles, 1966.

7.2 List of people who took part in the realization of the survey

1. BIGABIRO Charles Louis: Consultant, director of the survey and who prepared the final report.

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Mrs. Marie KAGAJU, Canadian Cooperation, Kigali,
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Mrs. UWAMBYEYI Espérance, Ex - Coordinator of AVEGA, Kigali.
Mrs. MUKAMAZIMPAKA Hilarie, Coordinator of AVEGA,

4. Photographs of victims were made available by **Mrs. BARAKAGWIRA Sylvie**, assistant in the "Advocacy and Information" service, AVEGA.

Other people intervened for the reading of the document and made their own observations which were taken into account in the writing of this report.

7.3 List of institutions intervening on behalf of women victims of violence

1. ARDEC
2. ARBEF
3. ASOFERWA
4. AVEGA
5. BARAKABAHO
6. CARE
7. CARITAS
8. RED CROSS
9. CYUZUZO
10. GIRIBAMBE
11. HAGURUKA
12. UNHCR
13. IBUKA
14. IMBONERAHAMWE
15. IRC

- 16.KANYARWANDA
- 17.MWANA UKUNDWA
- 18.PRO FEMME/TWESE HAMWE
- 19.SISTERS OF CALCUTTA
- 20.TROCAIRE
- 21.UMUSHUMBA MWIZA

The list of intervening parties is much longer but we preferred to privilege the responses of people interviewed during the survey.

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Sandy

C. K. K.

Here is the summary of the
Rwanda genocide report and web
site. Full doc is 300 pp. Also the
report on rape by the local NGO
AVEGA.

I'll check to see if we
can kidnap you later for
drinks —

Chris

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Mandate

- E.S.1. The International Panel of Eminent Personalities to Investigate the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda and the Surrounding Events was created in 1998 by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) with a mandate "to investigate the 1994 genocide in Rwanda and the surrounding events in the Great Lakes Region... as part of efforts aimed at averting and preventing further wide-scale conflicts in the...Region." The OAU asked the panel "to establish the facts about how such a grievous crime was conceived, planned, and executed, to look at the failure to enforce the [United Nations] Genocide Convention in Rwanda and in the Great Lakes Region, and to recommend measures aimed at redressing the consequences of the genocide and at preventing any possible recurrence of such a crime."
- E.S.2. The Panel was asked specifically to investigate the 1993 Arusha Peace Agreement, the 1994 killing of Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana and the genocide that followed, and the subsequent refugee crisis that culminated in the overthrow of the Mobutu regime in Zaire. It was also directed to investigate the role, before, during, and after the genocide, of the UN and its agencies, the OAU, "internal and external forces," and non-governmental organizations. The Panel was also mandated to investigate "what African and non-African leaders and governments individually or collectively could have done to avert the genocide."

Before independence

- E.S.3. It is possible to identify the key steps that led from the late pre-colonial period to the genocide a full century later. There was nothing inexorable about this process. At its heart was the deliberate choice of successive elites to deepen the cleavages between Rwanda's two main ethnic groups, to dehumanize the group out of power, and to legitimate the use of violence against that group. In the process, a culture of impunity gradually became entrenched.
- E.S.4. It was under Mwami ("King") Kigeri IV Rwabugiri, a Tutsi who ruled during the late 1800s, that the chief characteristics of modern Rwanda were fixed for the next 100 years. A powerful head of a centralized state, dominated first by Tutsi until 1960 and then by Hutu until the 1994 genocide, provided firm direction to an elaborate series of subordinate structures. In the colonial era, under German and then Belgian rule, Roman Catholic missionaries, inspired by the overtly racist theories of 19th century Europe, concocted a destructive ideology of ethnic cleavage and racial ranking that attributed superior qualities to the country's Tutsi minority. These 15 per cent were approaching, however gradually, the exalted level of white people, as contrasted with the declared brutishness and innate inferiority of the "Bantu" (Hutu) majority. Since the missionaries ran the colonial-era schools, these pernicious values were systematically transmitted to several generations of Rwandans, along with more conventional Catholic teachings.
- E.S.5. The alleged differences between ethnic groups were arbitrary and baseless, yet they soon took on a life of their own. The Belgians made the Mwami's complex structures more rigid and ethnically inflexible. They institutionalized the cleavage between the two groups, culminating in the issuance to every Rwandan of an ethnic identity card. This card system was maintained for more than 60 years until in a tragic irony it became the instrument that enabled Hutu killers during the genocide to identify the Tutsi, who were its original beneficiaries.
- E.S.6. While it served them, the Tutsi elite was only too pleased to believe in their own natural superiority and to run the country for its Belgian patrons. The Hutu majority was treated with a harshness appropriate to a lower "caste." Soon many Hutu came to agree that the two ethnic groups, distinguished mostly by vocation in prior centuries, were indeed fundamentally dissimilar in nature and irreconcilable in practice. Tutsi came to be demonized by the Hutu as a foreign invading power with no entitlements in Rwanda.
- E.S.7. As the colonial era drew to its close during the 1950s, democracy throughout Europe's former colonies in Africa became synonymous with majority rule. The tragedy of Rwanda is that the majority came to be defined by ethnicity alone. A national independence movement, an umbrella under which all citizens could unite to oppose colonial rule, failed to thrive in Rwanda. Voices of moderation and inclusiveness were drowned out by extremists advocating ethnic exclusivity.

- E.S.8. Yet there had been little open violence before the independence period. Hutu were unquestionably considered the “serfs,” but only some Tutsi benefited from colonialism. In fact, many Tutsi led lives no better than the Hutu peasantry. Then, as always, the notion of ethnic homogeneity was contradicted by the divisions within both Hutu and Tutsi communities.
- E.S.9. While Hutu resented their status and treatment, some intermarriage took place between the two groups which, after all, shared a common language, religion, geography and, often as not, appearance. Tutsi cattle herders and Hutu farmers complemented each other. Hatred between the two groups needed careful nurturing. Until political parties formed on the basis of ethnic origins, there were no massacres of either ethnic group by the other.
- E.S.10. Instead of an independence struggle directed against their colonial masters, the Hutu party targeted their masters’ surrogates: the Tutsi. Surprisingly enough, Hutu politicians now found themselves supported by the Belgians and the Catholic church, both reversing their original stance once they realized Hutu rule was inevitable. This support continued even when violence broke out. Between 1959 and 1967, 20,000 Tutsi were killed, and 300,000 fled in terror to neighbouring countries.

The first Rwandan governments.

- E.S.11. The newly independent government of Grégoire Kayibanda made its colours apparent from the start. As early as 1961, the United Nations reported that, “The developments of these last 18 months have brought about the racial dictatorship of one party.... An oppressive system has been replaced by another one.” The government pleased no one, not even the large majority of its fellow Hutu. Life for the peasantry remained precarious, while a small Hutu elite from the north and northwest grew increasingly dissatisfied with its marginal role in the government.
- E.S.12. As pressure grew on Kayibanda, he unleashed ethnic terror once again, hoping to save his regime by uniting the Hutu against a common Tutsi “enemy.” At the same moment, ethnic cleavages were reinforced, neither for the first nor last time, by events south of the border in Burundi. After an appalling massacre in 1972 of the Hutu majority by the Tutsi government, terrorized Burundian Hutu flooded into Rwanda, where they inflamed ethnic tensions and joined in anti-Tutsi attacks. While relatively few Tutsi were killed, many thousands joined their ethnic kin in exile.
- E.S.13. But Kayibanda’s exploitation of ethnic fears failed to save his regime. He was replaced in 1973 by Juvenal Habyarimana, head of the Rwandan army. For about the next 15 years, Rwanda enjoyed good times, with little ethnic violence. Habyarimana opened the country to the world, and efficient, stable little Rwanda soon became the darling of the West’s burgeoning development industry. As for the Tutsi, first and foremost, they were now safe for the first time since ethnic violence had broken out in the late 1950s. While it is true they were allowed to play only a marginal role in politics, were shut out of the military, and were limited by quota to 10 per cent of education placements, they thrived in the public sector and were successful in the liberal professions as well as some public service institutions.
- E.S.14. More than 60 per cent of Rwandans were Catholics, and the church remained a trusted ally and reliable bulwark of the Habyarimana regime, giving it legitimacy and comfort until the end. In common with the foreign governments and aid agencies that were involved with Rwanda, church leaders rarely challenged the ethnic basis of public life or Habyarimana’s one-party military dictatorship.
- E.S.15. By the late 1980s, however, all economic progress ended. Rwanda’s economic integration with the international economy had been briefly advantageous; now the inherent risks of excessive dependence were felt. Government revenues declined as coffee and tea prices dropped. International financial institutions imposed programs that exacerbated inflation, unemployment, land scarcity, and unemployment. Young men were hit particularly hard. The mood of the country was raw.
- E.S.16. It was at this vulnerable moment, on October 1, 1990, that Rwanda was invaded. The children of the Tutsi refugees who had earlier fled from the Kibiyanda pogroms into Uganda now emerged as a rebel army, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). Often scapegoated and persecuted while in exile in Uganda, Rwandan Tutsi also remained unwelcome back in Rwanda. According to Habyarimana, his country was too poor and had too little land to accommodate the

exiled community. If their right to return home peacefully were thus denied, the rebels had decided, it was time to use more forceful means.

- E.S.17. The October 1990 RPF invasion of Rwanda and the Government's response constituted a giant step on the road to genocide. Habyarimana at that moment had a choice. Contrary to RPF expectations, few Rwandans of any background welcomed these unknown "Ugandan" soldiers. A united front among all Rwandans against outside invaders would have been possible, but an opportunistic and threatened Habyarimana government chose the opposite course. With great deliberation, it awakened the sleeping dogs of ethnic division. The Tutsi were portrayed as alien invaders. Any question of class or regional divisions among Hutu was to be submerged in a common front against the intruders. All Tutsi were denounced as fifth columnists, secret supporters of the RPF. Anti-Tutsi propaganda, largely muted for the previous 17 years, was unleashed anew.
- E.S.18. At the same time, Habyarimana called on his foreign friends for military help. Rwanda was a French-speaking country, and the response from France was the most positive. Its forces prevented a swift RPF victory over the inept Rwandan army, and French soldiers and advisers remained in the country counselling Habyarimana's people politically and militarily on keeping these "anglo-saxon" interlopers from English-speaking Uganda at bay. The Habyarimana government learned it could always count on the unconditional public and private support of the French President and government.
- E.S.19. Immediately after the RPF raid, the OAU threw itself into peacemaking and attempts to resolve the conflict. For the OAU in Rwanda and then in the Great Lakes Region, the 1990s were a time of well-meant initiatives, incessant meetings, commitments made, and commitments broken. In the end, however, the OAU as such had the resources and the power to do nothing more than bring adversaries together, hope first that they would agree, and then hope they did not violate their agreements.
- E.S.20. The impact of the RPF raid was devastating in every way. RPF advances, together with the government's anti-Tutsi propaganda drove terrified Hutu into internal settlement camps. In a short time, close to 300,000 Rwandans had been driven from or had fled their land either to become "internally displaced persons" or refugees abroad. In early 1993, another large-scale RPF attack led to a further million, mostly Hutu, internally displaced persons. The country was in turmoil. The ailing economy had little chance to recover. Anti-Tutsi violence, organized by the government or its allies, spread like wildfire, while RPF insurgents similarly showed little restraint, dealing brutally with Hutu civilians in the areas they "liberated."
- E.S.21. Within the Habyarimana government, real power increasingly resided with a small faction of insiders from the northwest called the Akazu ("the little house"). It was also widely known as "le Clan de Madame," since its core was the President's wife and family and close associates, who were the chief beneficiaries of the corruption that characterized the regime. As the economic collapse significantly reduced the available spoils of power and called into question the very legitimacy of the regime, the Akazu began playing on ethnic cleavages to divert attention from serious divisions among the Hutu; the main division was between those from the northwest and everyone else.
- E.S.22. This should not be taken to mean that planning the genocide was initiated at a precise, documented moment. It is true that a campaign of both physical and rhetorical violence against the Tutsi continued to escalate from the 1990 RPF raid until the genocide started in April 1994. It is true this campaign was organized and promoted. It is also true that at some point in this period these anti-Tutsi activities turned into a strategy for genocide. But that exact point is unknown.
- E.S.23. What is known, however, is that from October 1, 1990, Rwanda endured three and a half years of violent anti-Tutsi incidents, each of which in retrospect can be interpreted as a deliberate step in a vast conspiracy culminating in the shooting down, on April 6, 1994, of President Habyarimana's plane and the subsequent unleashing of the genocide. But all such interpretations remain speculative. There is no generally accepted version of the plane crash, nor can it be demonstrated that the countless manifestations of anti-Tutsi sentiment in these years were all part of a diabolical master plan. The evidence most plausibly suggests that the idea of genocide could have emerged only gradually, beginning after the 1990 RPF invasion, continuing possibly through 1991 and 1992, and accelerating in determination through 1993 and into 1994.

- E.S.24. Later, when it was finally over, a major international argument broke out over who knew what about the events unfolding in Rwanda. There can be no debate on this question: The facts speak for themselves. The world that mattered to Rwanda - its Great Lakes Region neighbours, the UN, all the major western powers - knew exactly what was happening and that it was being masterminded at the highest levels of the Rwandan government. These observers knew this was no senseless case of "Hutu killing Tutsi and Tutsi killing Hutu," as the genocide was sometimes dismissively described. They knew that a terrible fate had befallen Rwanda. They even knew that some individuals in Rwanda were talking openly of eliminating all Tutsi, although few observers could then contemplate that an actual genocide was even conceivable.
- E.S.25. Anti-Tutsi violence, it was widely known, was revived immediately after the RPF invasion, when some organized anti-Tutsi massacres began (and ended only when the genocide itself ended). Massacres of Tutsi were carried out in October 1990, January 1991, February 1991, March 1992, August 1992, January 1993, March 1993, and February 1994. On each occasion, scores of Tutsi were killed by mobs and militiamen associated with different political parties, sometimes with the involvement of the police and army, incited by the media, directed by local government officials, and encouraged by some national politicians.
- E.S.26. As the terror heightened, the organizers learned that they could not only massacre large numbers of people quickly and efficiently, they could get away with it. A culture of impunity developed as the conspirators grew bolder. Extremist army officers conspired with the circles surrounding Habyarimana and the Akazu to form secret societies and Latin American-style death squads known as "Amasasu" (bullets) and the "Zero Network." They did not long remain secret; in 1992, their existence and connections were publicly exposed.
- E.S.27. But contrary forces were at work at the same time. Pressure for democratization from both within and outside the country forced Habyarimana to accept multiparty politics. A host of new parties emerged, most of them Hutu, wanting to participate in the process. However, one of these new parties, the Coalition Pour la Défense de la République (CDR), represented Hutu radicals and had links to the death squads. Worse, parties organized their own youth militia, the most notorious being the "interahamwe," formed by Habyarimana's own Mouvement Républicain National pour la Démocratie et Développement (MRND). At the same time, new hate-propagating media sprang up, most infamously a radio station calling itself Radio-Télévision libre des mille collines, sponsored by the Akazu faction. While his militia terrorized opponents and beat up Tutsi and his radio station incited ethnic hatred and violence, Habyarimana nonetheless, and with great reluctance, agreed to accept a coalition government.
- E.S.28. Immediately the new ministers joined with the OAU and western powers to pressure Habyarimana to agree to negotiations with the RPF in Arusha, Tanzania. In August 1993, after long, drawn-out sessions, agreements were reached on a series of key issues, including power sharing within the government and military and the future of refugees. But these were never implemented. Ultimately, the Arusha process backfired. The more it appeared that power and the limited spoils of office would have to be shared, not only with other Hutu parties but also with the RPF, the more determined became Akazu insiders to share nothing with anyone.
- E.S.29. At the same moment, a deadly new weapon was unexpectedly delivered into the hands of the Rwandan Hutu. The assassination in October 1993 of Burundi's democratically elected Hutu President Melchior Ndadaye and the appalling massacres that followed were taken by many Hutu as final proof that power-sharing between Tutsi and Hutu was forever doomed: The Tutsi could never be trusted. "Hutu Power," as an explicit and public organizing concept, was the immediate consequence of the Burundi upheaval. Large Hutu Power rallies attracted members of all parties attesting to the new reality that ethnic solidarity trumped party allegiances. Political life, in these last turbulent months before the genocide, was re-organized strictly around the two opposing ethnic poles.
- E.S.30. As the conspiracy thus widened and deepened, so did knowledge of the conspirators' intentions. Virtually everyone in Rwanda associated with the UN, the diplomatic community, or human rights groups, knew about death lists, accelerating massacres, and threats to opposition politicians. International arms traders worked overtime behind the scenes. Rwanda's capital, Kigali, resembled an arms bazaar, with modern weaponry easily available in the city's markets. The UN military mission uncovered a high-level interahamwe informant, whose revelations led UN commander General Romeo Dallaire to send his famous fax of January 11, 1994 to the UN's headquarters in New York. In his fax Dallaire reported that "Jean-Pierre [the interahamwe informer] has been ordered to register all Tutsi in Kigali. He suspects it is for their extermination. Example he gave was that in 20 minutes his personnel could

kill up to 1,000 Tutsi.”

- E.S.31. When it was finally unleashed, only three months later, the violence was organized and co-ordinated. Its goal was explicit: genocide. A clique of Rwandan Hutu supremacists planned to mobilize the Hutu people with the express intention of exterminating all Tutsi in the country, including women and children. The rest of the world knew that a great disaster loomed for Rwanda but did not envisage the possibility that the radicals would resort to genocide. They were soon proved wrong.

The external actors before the genocide

- E.S.32. At the same time, several outside actors carry a heavy responsibility for the events now unfolding. Within Rwanda itself, those with the heaviest responsibility were the Catholic and Anglican hierarchies and the French government, all supporters of the Habyarimana government. Church leaders failed to use their unique moral position among the overwhelmingly Christian population to denounce ethnic hatred and human rights abuse. The French government was guilty of the same failure at the elite level. Its unconditional public backing of the Habyarimana government constituted a major disincentive for the radicals to make concessions or to think in terms of compromise. Though some French officials knew that many of their clients at the highest echelons of the Rwandan regime were guilty of human rights violations, they failed to use their influence to demand that such violations stop. The radicals drew the obvious encouraging lesson: They could get away with anything.
- E.S.33. At the UN, the Security Council, led unremittingly by the United States, simply did not care enough about Rwanda to intervene appropriately. What makes the Security Council's betrayal of its responsibility even more intolerable is that the genocide was in no way inevitable. First, it could have been prevented entirely. Then, even once it was allowed to begin, the destruction could have been significantly mitigated. All that was required was a reasonable-sized international military force with a strong mandate to enforce the Arusha agreements. Nothing of the kind was ever authorized by the Security Council either before or during the genocide.
- E.S.34. The US has formally apologized for its failure to prevent the genocide. President Clinton insists that his failure was a function of ignorance. The facts show, however, that the American government knew precisely what was happening, not least during the months of the genocide. But domestic politics took priority over the lives of helpless Africans. After losing 18 soldiers in Somalia in October 1993, the US was unwilling to participate in any further peacekeeping missions, and was largely opposed to the Security Council's authorizing any new serious missions at all, with or without American participation.
- E.S.35. In October 1993, the first UN mission to Rwanda (UNAMIR), was set up, notable mostly for its weak mandate and minimal capacity. No amount of credible early warnings could persuade either the members of the Security Council to treat the mission seriously or the UN Secretariat to authorize the mission to interpret its mandate flexibly. The single occasion in the life of UNAMIR when it was authorized to go beyond its passive observer mandate was at the very outbreak of the genocide, when several European nations evacuated their nationals. UNAMIR was in this case authorized not only to assist the evacuation, but also to go beyond its mandate, if that were required to assure the safety of foreign nationals. Never was such permission granted for the protection of Rwandans.
- E.S.36. The significance of the Security Council's action should not be underestimated: Its refusal to sanction a serious mission made the genocide more likely. The feeble UN effort helped persuade the Hutu radicals that they had nothing to fear from the outside world, regardless of their deeds. This assessment proved only too accurate, as will be described later.

The genocide

- E.S.37. The rockets that brought down President Habyarimana's plane on April 6, 1994, became the catalyst for one of the great calamities of our age. After the chaos of the first hours following the plane crash ended, the government military structure built since the 1990 RPF invasion of Rwanda was used by the interim Hutu Power government and the Rwandan military leaders to execute the genocide, as well as to fight a civil war. It could now be seen clearly that the instigators of genocide had an overall strategy they implemented with scrupulous planning and

organization. They had at their disposal control of the levers of government, highly motivated soldiers and militia, the means to kill vast numbers of people, the capacity to identify and kill the victims, and tight control of the media to disseminate the right messages both inside and outside the country.

- E.S.38. When the genocide ended, little more than 100 days later, between a half -million and 800,000 women, children and men - the vast majority of them Tutsi - lay dead. Thousands more were raped, tortured, and maimed for life. Victims were treated with sadistic cruelty and suffered unimaginable agony.
- E.S.39. The attacks had many targets. The priority list for elimination included government and opposition members; Hutu moderates, thousands of whom were slaughtered without mercy in the first days; critics such as journalists and human rights activists; any Tutsi seen as a community leader, including professionals, political activists, lawyers, and teachers; priests, nuns, and other clergy who were Tutsi or who sheltered intended victims.
- E.S.40. Together, military leaders and the new interim government of Hutu Power supporters sworn in after the crash made the overall decisions, while Rwanda's elaborate governing structure implemented the genocide with gruesome efficiency. All received indispensable support from the Hutu leadership of the Catholic and Anglican churches. With some heroic exceptions, church leaders played a conspicuously scandalous role in these months, at best remaining silent or explicitly neutral. This stance was easily interpreted by ordinary Christians as an implicit endorsement of the killings, as was the close association of church leaders with the leaders of the genocide. Perhaps this helps explain the greatest mystery about the genocide: the terrible success of Hutu Power in making so many ordinary people accomplices in genocide. In no other way could so many human beings have been killed so swiftly.
- E.S.41. Because of the nature of the event, it has always been difficult to establish the numbers killed in the genocide. The highest persuasive figure for Tutsi killed seems to be 800,000, the lowest, 500,000. Even if the most conservative figure is used, it still means that over three-quarters of the entire population registered as Tutsi were systematically killed in just over 100 days. As well, millions of Rwandan Hutu became internally displaced within the country or fled to become refugees in neighbouring countries.

The world during the genocide

- E.S.42. Until the day the genocide ended with the RPF's military victory in the civil war, the UN, the governments of the US, France, and Belgium, African governments, and the OAU, all failed to define the massacres as a full-blown genocide. All continued to recognize members of the genocidaire government as legitimate official representatives of Rwanda. All except the French government retained a neutral public stance between a government practising genocide and that government's sole adversary, the RPF. In practice, however, neutrality allowed the genocide to happen. Once the genocide began, the US repeatedly and deliberately undermined all attempts to strengthen the UN military presence in Rwanda. Belgium became an unexpected ally in this goal. On Day Two of the crisis, the day after the April 6, 1994, plane crash that killed President Habyarimana, 10 Belgian soldiers were murdered by Rwandan soldiers. As the radicals had anticipated, Belgium immediately decided to pull out all its troops, leaving the 2,000 Tutsi they were protecting at a school site to be slaughtered within hours. The Belgian government decided that its shameful retreat would be at least tempered if it were shared by others and strenuously lobbied to disband UNAMIR entirely. Although the US supported the idea, it was too outrageous to pursue. Instead, with the genocide taking tens of thousands of lives daily, the Security Council, ignoring the vigorous opposition of the OAU and African governments, chose to cut the UN forces in half at the exact moment they needed massive reinforcement. As the horrors accelerated, the Council did authorize a stronger mission, UNAMIR II, but once again the US did all in its power to undermine its effectiveness. In the end, not one single additional soldier or piece of military hardware reached the country before the genocide ended.
- E.S.43. The French government, for its part, remained openly hostile to the RPF throughout the genocide. In June, after two months of conflict that started with the fatal plane crash, the French government, with the surprising concurrence of the Security Council, sent a force to Rwanda. Called Opération Turquoise, it soon created a safe zone in the southwest of the country. As the RPF advanced, frightened Hutu peasants escaped to the protection and safety of this zone, but so too did a significant number of government and military leaders involved in the genocide as well as many Rwandan soldiers and militia. All the genocide leaders, soldiers, and militia who

succeeded in reaching the French safe zone were then permitted to cross the border into eastern Zaire, joining there with fellow genocidaires who had escaped through other routes. All were ready to resume their war against the new government in Kigali that had replaced Hutu Power. The French troops pulled out in August 1994, a month after the new government was sworn in.

- E.S.44. The facts are not in question: A small number of major actors could directly have prevented, halted, or reduced the slaughter. They include France in Rwanda itself; the US at the Security Council; Belgium, whose soldiers knew they could save countless lives if they were allowed to remain in the country; and Rwanda's church leaders. In the bitter words of the commanders of the UN's military mission, the "international community has blood on its hands."
- E.S.45. In the years since, the leaders of the UN, the US, Belgium, and the Anglican church have all apologized for their failures to stop the genocide. No apology has yet come from the French government or the Catholic church. Nor has any responsible government or institution suggested that Rwanda is owed restitution for these failures, and in no single case has any responsible individual resigned in protest or been held to account for his or her actions during this period.

Rwanda after the genocide

- E.S.46. When the war and the genocide ended on July 18, 1994, the situation in Rwanda was almost indescribably grim. Rarely had a people anywhere had to face so many seemingly insuperable obstacles with so few resources. Their physical and psychological scars are likely to linger for decades.
- E.S.47. The country was wrecked, a wasteland. Three-quarters of Rwanda's original population of seven million inhabitants had been killed, displaced, or had fled. Of these victims, as many as 15 per cent were dead, two million were internally displaced, and another two million had become refugees. Many of those who remained had suffered greatly. Large numbers had been tortured and wounded. Many women had been raped and humiliated, some becoming infected with HIV/AIDS. Ninety per cent of the children who survived had at the least witnessed bloodshed. An entire nation was both brutalized and traumatized. They were, in their own phrase, "the walking dead."
- E.S.48. This was the situation a new, inexperienced government had to face. Its challenges were monumental and its strategies not always convincing. While it called itself a Government of National Unity, most observers have always been convinced that real power in the land, political and military, has been exercised by a small group of the original "RPF Tutsi." Some saw a government not trusted by its people and a people not trusted by their government.
- E.S.49. Nor, for very compelling reasons, did the new government trust the international community. Yet it immediately found itself overwhelmingly dependent on western nations, international agencies, and financial institutions to begin reconstruction. Given its past record, the world's response to Rwanda's needs ranged from modest to disappointing to downright scandalous.
- E.S.50. To make matters worse, only months after the genocide ended, many of the foreigners who had returned to help with re-building began to argue that Rwandans ought to get on with the task of rebuilding their society. "Quit dwelling on the past and concentrate on rebuilding for the future," Rwandans were earnestly advised. Within six months of the end of the genocide, relief workers were already saying, 'Yes, the genocide happened, but it's time to get over it and move on.'
- E.S.51. It was not so easy then, nor is it now. Among an endless host of problems, highly complex questions and dilemmas of justice, guilt, and reconciliation haunt Rwanda to this day. The UN set up an International Criminal Tribunal in Arusha, Tanzania, and Rwanda has its own courts. In both cases, the process of trying accused genocidaires is long, laborious, and frustrating. Only seven convictions have been handed down in Arusha after five years of work, while in Rwanda only some 2,000 cases have been disposed of. At least 120,000 Hutu rot in prison in appalling circumstances, often without proper charges. At the present rate it is estimated it will take anywhere between two and four centuries to try all those in detention. The Rwandan government has developed a new procedure called "gacaca," lower-level tribunals that attempt to blend traditional and contemporary mechanisms to

expedite the justice process in a way that promotes reconciliation. The impact of gacaca remains to be seen, and as a process it certainly needs substantial external resources to function properly.

E.S.52. In the meantime, questions of justice and reconciliation, perplexing in any post-conflict situation let alone a genocide, will remain to bedevil government decisions and popular expectations. Reconciliation is not just a matter to be assigned to the justice system. All governmental institutions and policies must foster a culture of reconciliation, and all opposition to government must function in the same manner. This is no easy task, given the reality of a badly polarized country. In the words of one scholar, "The Tutsi want justice above all else and the Hutu want democracy above all else. The minority fears democracy. The majority fears justice. The minority fears the demand for democracy is a mask for finishing an unfinished genocide. The majority fears the demand for justice is a minority ploy to usurp power forever." Somehow, justice and democracy must both prevail, and ethnicity must stop being the sole element in determining a Rwandan's interests and identity.

The regional consequences

E.S.53. While these questions absorbed Rwandans internally, beyond its borders the genocide had created another monumental crisis. Two million citizens fled the conflict in every direction: more than a half-million east to Tanzania, more than a quarter-million south to Burundi, and most dramatically, at least 1.2 million west to the eastern Kivu region of Zaire. At the same time, much of the leadership and many of the troops and militia of the genocide had escaped from Rwanda into eastern Zairian refugee camps, where they had unlimited access to weapons. This was a sure-fire formula for disaster.

E.S.54. The international media, which had first ignored and then largely misinterpreted the genocide as nothing more than tribes fighting tribes, now made the Kivu refugee camps a universal cause célèbre. Foreign aid and foreign aid workers flooded in. Unfortunately, the Ex-FAR (the former Rwandan army) and the militia had almost completely taken over the camps and were benefiting from the work of the humanitarian community. Genuine refugee needs could be met only when the non-governmental agencies finished serving the demands of the military controlling the camps.

E.S.55. The goals of Hutu Power were transparent and well known to everyone involved in dealing with the Kivu crisis. Hutu Power was determined to overthrow the Kigali government. Almost immediately after their leaders resettled in the Zairian refugee camps, Hutu Power supremacists started to raid back into Rwanda, adding yet another major emergency for the Kigali government to deal with. Widespread demands for the international community to disarm the killers went unheeded. Once again, the leaders of the Security Council badly failed Rwanda. In some ways they actually added, once again, to Rwanda's woes. The French government, with tacit American approval, supported Zaire's President Mobutu as the only person who could help with the refugee crisis in his country. In fact, important groups in the Zairian government became the primary supplier of arms to the Ex-FAR and militia, although many other countries and groups were involved in weapons trading as well.

E.S.56. The consequences for Africa of these international decisions were largely foreseeable and wholly disastrous. The post-genocide Rwandan government had long made it abundantly clear that it would not forever tolerate the camps of eastern Zaire being used as launching pads for the genocidaires' return. By late 1996, the Kigali government had had enough. Hostility among Zairians to the many former Rwandan Tutsi lived in Zaire's Kivu region had increased ominously, and the Rwandan government secretly began training young Tutsi men in the region. Under the flag of an alliance of anti-Mobutu Zairians, and with the active support of Uganda, the Rwandan army launched a vicious attack on the entire complex of Hutu refugee camps in the Kivu region in October and November, 1996. A flood of refugees fled back into Rwanda, but the cost in human life was enormous. Large numbers of other camp dwellers fled west, deeper into Zaire. Some of these were genuine refugees, while some were EX-FAR and interahamwe. Led by the Rwandan army, the anti-Mobutu alliance pursued them ruthlessly, killing many. In the process, they perpetrated atrocious human rights abuses.

E.S.57. But the military action soon spread far beyond eastern Zaire. The anti-Mobutu alliance, led still by the Rwandan army and bolstered by the forces of Uganda, Angola and Burundi, now set its sites on Mobutu, launching what proved to be the first Congo war. In May 1997, only months later, Mobutu fled, and the government in Kinshasa fell. But there was to be no happy ending to the saga. The new head of Zaire (renamed the Democratic Republic of the

Congo [DRC]) Laurent Kabila, soon clashed with his Rwandan advisers. In July 1998, little more than a year after the Rwandans had helped him become president, the Rwandan and Ugandan military were thrown out of the DRC by Kabila.

E.S.58. Within days they returned as an enemy force. The second Congo war in two years now began; it almost immediately escalated to continental dimensions. Directly or indirectly, some one-fifth of African governments and armies from across the continent are involved, as well as perhaps a dozen or more armed groups. The alliances between and among these groups, with their varied and conflicting interests, has been bewildering. The situation is further endlessly complicated by the DRC's enormous mineral resources - an irresistible lure for governments, rogue gangs and powerful corporations alike - and by the continuing problem of arms proliferation sponsored by governments throughout the world as well as a multitude of unscrupulous private hustlers. In July 1999, one year after the second Congo war began, the Lusaka agreement on a cease-fire and peace process was signed. Although the cease-fire has been repeatedly violated since, attempts to implement a genuine peace continue.

E.S.59. The original Rwanda catastrophe shows that what is now required in the DRC is a very large UN military mission with a mandate to enforce the Lusaka agreement. Yet what has been authorized by the Security Council is a modest monitoring mission, and even it is not to be deployed unless peace and co-operation among conflicting forces break out. The consequence, as OAU officials point out, is that the international community is only willing to intervene when it is not needed, a reflection of Africa's marginalized status within the international community. If, however, the governments now at war with each other in central Africa were prepared to turn their forces over to a UN mission, the moral pressure on the rest of the world to offer logistic support would be considerably increased.

Rwanda and the region today

E.S.60. The dilemma for the region is clear. Rwanda will not retreat from DRC so long as Ex-FAR and interahamwe are free to continue destabilizing the present regime. But so long as the conflict continues, reconciliation and reconstruction in Rwanda will be significantly retarded. The Rwandan government can hardly be expected to let its guard down against its mortal enemies. But in the government's determination to be vigilant, innocent Hutu are killed, and abuses of human right occur. Tutsi-Hutu tensions are inexorably heightened. Scarce funds are diverted to non-productive functions. Without peace, the chances of success for the government's ambitious initiatives for national reconciliation are seriously threatened.

E.S.61. This reality is equally true for Burundi and the DRC. While Rwanda, Burundi, and the DRC each has its own multiple challenges to meet, their interconnectedness can hardly be overestimated. Without peace, their futures are all jeopardized, with incalculable consequences not only for their own citizens but also for the entire continent. Beyond domestic solutions to domestic problems, therefore, must be found regional solutions to regional problems.

E.S.62. Predicting the future is not easy. Looking at Rwanda itself, it is possible to be either relatively optimistic or quite pessimistic. In many ways, the progress the country has made since the 1994 genocide is remarkable. The ubiquitous devastation is no longer apparent. The country is beginning to think in terms of future development instead of emergency assistance. To the superficial observer, Rwanda has returned to normality.

E.S.63. At best, however, that status simply makes Rwanda a desperately poor, underdeveloped country, now eleventh from the bottom in the United Nations Development Programme's human development rankings. But in reality, the legacy of the genocide can be found in every aspect of society and governance. Just as there is no statute of limitations for genocidaires, so is there none for their victims.

E.S.64. Old ethnic tensions simmer beneath the surface. Political machinations are invariably dissected for their ethnic implications, whether they exist or not. The hold on real power by the "Ugandans," as the RPF is also still known, alienates Hutu moderates who courageously want to work with them. Tutsi who have returned home from elsewhere in the diaspora feel themselves underrepresented and neglected by the present government. This view is shared, surprisingly enough, by genocide survivors. There is also much regional antagonism to the government's insistence on its right to chase alleged genocidaires across any border it chooses. These "soldiers without frontiers" reinforce a widening conspiracy theory (grounded ironically in the same 19th century European racism that originally rigidified ethnic differences in Rwanda) positing a so-called pan-Tutsi plot to impose domination over the authentic

“Bantus” of Africa (such as the Hutu). The present Rwandan government appears to be caught up in a militaristic logic likely to lead Rwanda and the region into deeper conflict. It is necessary to change this logic in order to strengthen the peace process.

- E.S.65. Rwanda’s situation goes well beyond the usual litany of deep-rooted social and economic challenges faced by any poor country with scarce land and a booming population. It must never be forgotten that we are dealing here with the extraordinary circumstances of a post-genocidal society. The burden of the onerous Rwandan government debt is exacerbated by the knowledge that it was largely incurred by the previous Habyarimana and interim governments for weapons that were ultimately used against the moderate Hutu and Tutsi in the genocide. There are, as well, enormous funding needs that spring directly from the genocide: for assistance to survivors; for orphans, traumatized children, street children, and child-headed households; for violated women; for the great burdens of the justice system; for programs to inculcate national reconciliation and human rights; for resettling the millions of refugees and internally displaced persons; for the army, for the battered education system. The list is virtually limitless, a burden that is the consequence of a tragedy that could have been prevented or mitigated. Yet Rwanda today is dependent on foreign sources for a third of its meagre budget, while almost all initiatives crucial to rehabilitation, reconciliation, and a culture of rights depend for their viability on outside funding sources.
- E.S.66. Views on Rwanda are remarkably diverse. Some conflicting opinions can be discarded. Hutu Power advocates, still thriving, continue to deny the genocide. If a genocide took place, they insist, it consisted of the RPF’s attacks on Hutu within Rwanda and in the DRC. But it is more difficult to dismiss the accusations of former supporters of the government who now accuse it of being controlled by an RPF-Tutsi version of the old Akazu, a small clique that controls real power and is guilty of corruption and gross human rights violations. The cancellation last year – for a further four years – of scheduled national elections adds weight to some of these criticisms of the “transition government.”
- E.S.67. But there are those who are hopeful for the future. As a lengthy Hutu Power insurgency in the northwest has finally been beaten back, so human rights abuses have decreased. A sense of the end of impunity for such abuses may be taking hold. Some voices continue to remind the world that Rwanda is, after all, not just another poor country, but one just beginning to recover from a vicious genocide. New programs for healing the wounds, for coming to grips with the past and its consequences, are just being put into place.
- E.S.68. Of course the regional conflict must be settled. More genocidaire leaders must be brought to trial swiftly. The 120,000 Hutu held in prison in squalid conditions must be dealt with justly, fairly, and soon. The international community must be made to understand the need for reparations for its complicity in the calamities of the past decade. National elections must be held, under conditions that honour the majority’s right to govern while guaranteeing the security of the minority.
- E.S.69. For Rwanda to recover properly, it is essential that majorities and minorities will be perceived in non-ethnic terms. Governments, like civil society, must be based on interests and convictions beyond mere ethnicity. But there should be no pretence that ethnic identities do not matter in Rwanda. They do, and they will. But they need not be divisive categories. Diversity, properly appreciated, strengthens a society. Unity in diversity has the potential to be a great strength. People are far more complicated than their ethnic heritage makes them. In fact, the modern history of Rwanda has repeatedly demonstrated that members of the same ethnic group often have different interests, a phenomenon never more tragically played out than when Hutu Power slaughtered thousands of Hutu moderates in the early days of the genocide.
- E.S.70. Putting these ideas, principles and concepts into practice is not a chore to be underestimated. But it is hard to see how anything less can create the new Rwanda in which the nightmares of the past can never again recur.