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A Colony’s State of Sovereignty: Decolonization Has Yet to Take Place In Rwanda

Mahalia Mehu

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A COLONY’S STATE OF SOVEREIGNTY
DECOLONIZATION HAS YET TO TAKE PLACE IN RWANDA

by

MAHALIA MÉHU

A master's thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Liberal Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, The City University of New York

2018
A Colony’s State of Sovereignty
Decolonization Has Yet to Take Place in Rwanda

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Liberal Studies in satisfaction of the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

A Colony’s State of Sovereignty
Decolonization Has Yet to Take Place in Rwanda

by

Mahalia Méhu

Advisor: Dr. David Humphries

Martin Shipway, renowned author of *Decolonization and Its Impact* and professor of twentieth-century French Studies stated that:

"[...] it took only about twenty years for most of the formal structures and institutions of colonialism [...] to be swept away. [The] often violent and intermittently intense period of crisis [...] [explains] an international phenomenon as complex as decolonization [...] ."

Yet this quote by Shipway does not speak to the fact that independence from former colonial powers has not been fully achieved and neither has decolonization. According to the documentation of the Rwandan Genocide of 1994, the former German/Belgian colony of Rwanda did not achieve the “complex international phenomenon”. It can be argued that despite being granted independence in 1962 the Belgian *divide and conquer policy*, implemented in 1916, still continued to foster separation and hatred amongst the Tutsi and Hutu tribes. Which would lead to the 1994 Rwandan Genocide, that would, in turn, shape the nation in the years to come; particularly in its government. Paul Kagame, the former commander of the rebel forces who ended the 1994 genocide, is the current President after having taken power in March of 2000.

What role does the Belgian government or oligarchy have on the Rwandan government since as well as prior to the genocide? Aside from the genocide what is the legacy left behind by the Belgians and the Germans? What does it say that President Kagame is still president after 17 years? Can his administration be seen now as a dictatorship? What are the sentiments of the Rwandan people? Do the Germans presently hold sway in Rwanda? Is there political, economic or social unrest in the country today?
Frantz Fanon a psychiatrist, philosopher, revolutionary, and writer once said in *The Wretched of the Earth*: "[for] a colonized people an essential value [...] is first and foremost the land: the land which will bring them bread and, above all, dignity." With his quote, Fanon highlights the struggle of the Rwandan people, which rested on the whim of the tribe in power, before the genocide and which would be among the catalysts for it. Can complete independence be achieved when the echoes of the colonial period can still be seen and heard? Can decolonization truly occur within a nation whose history and traditions have been rewritten or erased to suit the pleasures of the colonial fathers?
Acknowledgments

*Thank you* to my parents, Maxime and Margarita, for always supporting me and my crazy ideas.

*Thank you* to my annoying baby brother, Max, for always reminding me that I’m ugly.

*Thank you* to Ms. King & Mr. Charles for pushing me to do better and encouraging my love of reading and writing.

Special thanks to my mentor Dr. White and advisor Dr. Humphries for having the patience to walk me through this process.
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"Letter from Egboyoung Offeong"
Introduction

The Transatlantic Slave Trade & Africa

The Side Effects of the Slave Trade

Africa was once a beautiful and plentiful continent. However, when one reads of the times after the transatlantic slave trade began, it is hard for one to see the no longer existent beauty. “The transatlantic slave trade began in the 15th century after the Portuguese started exploring the coast of West Africa.”\(^1\) From beginning to end, the African continent slowly but surely deteriorated due to the impact of the slave trade on it.

The transatlantic slave trade effectively destroyed a people which is what allowed for the “Scramble of Africa”. The Scramble of Africa was a time in which European powers sought to carve up the African continent for their natural resources and abundant labor supply. The trade was one conducted by both the native black Africans and white traders. Though you may find it difficult to believe, it is nevertheless a true and proven historical fact, although a rarely mentioned and not widely known one, that Africans did participate in trading other Africans. As editors of the International Slavery Museum wrote on their site, “European traders captured some Africans in raids along the coast but bought most of them from local African or African-European dealers. These dealers had a sophisticated network of trading alliances collecting groups of people together for sale.”\(^2\) The Africans would go further inland and capture members of other tribes and bring them to the coast for the white slavers to put in holding pens until transportation could be arranged. The museum also has in their collection a letter from an

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African slave trader discussing how many slaves he had for sale and what he wanted in exchange, courtesy of the Wisbech & Fenland Museum:

"Dear Gentlemen Sir,

Captain John Burrow arrived at this river on the fourth day of May with a very fine cargo, only we want more iron bar and romalles [cloth] and powder and ordnance and shot as them be finest thing for our trade as we will send Captain Burrow away with 450 or 460 slaves after October. I hope his ships carry 450 or 460 slaves and I hope he will send by tender 340 or 330 slaves. I think so, as you may, get the cargo ready before he come home. I don't keep him long and I think he'll get to Liverpool 15 or 20 day March - Mind send very little salt and mugs as you may. Send round white and round green and round yellow bead for money, salt and mugs. I wish no more war for England.

I am your dear Egboyoung Offeong

Old Calabar, July 23rd 1783"³

*At the end of the chapter is the scanned copy of the actual letter; stains and all.

Certain tribes such as the Aro tribe and many others did not care for trading their enemy tribe members for all that the white man would give in exchange; the tribes under the Dahomey

kingdom had no such qualms. This was an exchange made for guns, food, beads, alcohol, and many other goods never seen before on the continent. Once made aware of the money to be made with such highly demanded “goods,” slavers began capturing and selling their own people with the encouragement of the Europeans. The young and old, however, were the ones left behind.

For the Portuguese, British and many others, as well as the affluent or strong African tribes, the trade was a major component of their economy. However, their economy was occasionally supplemented with other activities, especially on the part of the Africans, by trading ivory tusks and minerals for weapons and rum. The greatest concentration of European trading forts was along the “Gold Coast”, the coastline of modern day Ghana. Slaves were taken from the “slave coast” and Angola until well into the 19th century.

To comprehend the under-development in contemporary Africa, one needs to come to grips with the devastating consequences, intended and unintended, of the Transatlantic Slave Trade. Starting with the Slave Trade, this paper will explore the multiple aspects of the Slave Trade, as well as it’s dehumanizing, and impoverishing side effects. However, any analysis of contemporary African states must take into account the creation of European empires or their "spheres of influence" on the continent. Ultimately, inter-ethnic tensions that are powerful enough to destroy nation-states warrants consideration through the lens of the conflict in

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4The Atlantic Slave Trade: Effects on Economies, Societies and Peoples in Africa, the Americas, and Europe by Joseph E. Inikori (Editor), Stanley L. Engerman (Editor), pg. 26
Rwanda. The ripple effects of the slave trade being seen decades after its end yet to understand one you must understand the other.

The effect of the trade on Africa was immensely cruel, inhumane and much more on several levels such as in the family as well as on several continental levels. The African continent was often reduced to being referred to as a third world country. The term Third World was commonly used as a label for developing nations. This came about during the Cold War although it did not initially have said meaning. The term third world changed in definition to mean something negative when it was originally intended to mean a country not associated with NATO or the Communist Bloc. Previously it was not given a name other than Africa although there are those who do not know that it is a continent and not a country. Due to this world view of Africa the continent is provided with multiple forms of aid yet if they even reach the people they fail in their initial goal because of the mindset of the people on the ground. However, more often than not, the money or food or supplies are taken and divided amongst the rich or corrupt government officials.

The other tribes who were not fortunate in strength and power were taken apart by the stronger ones. Millions of healthy and strong black men, women, and children were captured and transported. This was an issue for the continent for the labor force was being taken out and there was no one to tend the land, educate the young on the traditional ways of survival, or protect those left behind from encroaching tribes. The primary African suppliers of their fellow man for slavery were the Kingdom of Dahomey and the Kingdom of Oyo. The Dahomean people would become a major player in the “game” of slavery second only to the Oyo (their overlord).10

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The remains of the decimated tribes either joined a larger or stronger tribe or died out. The young ones had no one to care for them and the elderly were too old to hunt and grow crops to survive, to care for themselves much less the babies left behind. Of all those taken, only about 10 million made it across and to the other side alive. Families were torn apart. Those remaining suffered from famine, droughts and higher mortality rates. The Atlantic Slave Trade can be credited with taking the lives of up to 50 million people, if not more; this is, however, an estimate for there can be no true accuracy. These deaths would occur during the raids, marches to the coast, the coastal holding cells they were placed in upon arrival as well as during the voyage itself, and documentation of slaves often did not begin until they had reached the coast. Angola was one of the hardest countries impacted by the trade due to massive depopulation. The continent as a whole, most specifically West-Central Africa, suffered a massive as well as a systematic depopulation from the beginning (the early 1500’s) to an official end of the trade, with the passing of The Slave Trade Act of 1807 by the British. Putting the African participation in the trade aside for the moment one must understand that this cycle would not have persisted had the Europeans not perpetuated The Slave Trade as a whole.

In the 17th century the amount of slaves captured and put aboard ship was an average of 20,000 a year. In the 18th century, however, that number would become, between 50,000 and 100,000 a year. Even though these numbers went down during the 19th century, the trade did
not completely stop until the 1870’s and 1880’s.\textsuperscript{16} However, the end of the Transatlantic Slave Trade and Slavery itself are two different things.\textsuperscript{17}

There were also financial collapse and environmental destruction due to the wars and slave raids.\textsuperscript{18} The main side effects of the trade are seen as depopulating and or the distortion of the development of Africa. Africa lost its greatest source of productive wealth; the manpower or brawn behind the newly developing economic strength and stability of European families as well as the Americas.\textsuperscript{19} However, some would go so far as to say the trade’s greatest evil was in its cruel and total disregard for life. The lives of the slaves were seen as less than that of the slaver and less than even dogs.\textsuperscript{20}

The transatlantic slave trade obliterated and eliminated entire peoples of Africa. It turned the continent into a place where brother attacked brother and then sold them. The African continent became a place in which the black became the few and the weak, while the Europeans and their compatriots flourished and enriched themselves on the backs and blood of those they saw as less than human and even less than an animal. The white man effectively exterminated the black people, and this would make way for their campaign to colonize the continent: the “Scramble for Africa” or “Mad Dash for Africa”, which would take place at the beginning of World War I. It would clear their path and allow them to suck the very life from the people and continent itself.

\textsuperscript{16}Shillington, Kevin. \textit{History of Africa}. 1995. 173
\textsuperscript{17}Mintz, Steven. "Facts about the Slave Trade and Slavery." The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History. 53.
\textsuperscript{19}Harris, Joseph E. \textit{Africans and their history}. 1998. 89-91.
\textsuperscript{20}Shillington, Kevin. \textit{History of Africa}. 1995. 175
Dear Gentlemen,

Sir, Capt. Gurner

Arrived at this town by May 3rd
With £1000

More money in London. I send you in two thousand pounds coal at the same price
Hope to send more this month. I have orders to send you 1000 more pounds

Ships his ship

Carry 450 or 4600 Shovels, and ship 1000 more

Ships with 310 by tenner 340 or 330 shovels

I think so as your ship got there cargo ready will be

Come home some slept here long and

I think he got Liverpool 16 or twenty days

March mind send very little salt

And green & red molasses and a

Wax for England

As you may send none white

Nama Salt or meag, I wish no more

Do not keep more

July 23rd 1743

By your order

[Signature]
Chapter 1

The Middle Passage & The Meaning of Life
A Matter of Life & Death

Throughout history, one hears of the atrocities of which a human being is capable of and just how low mankind can stoop. Discussions of the Middle Passage during the slave trade as well as all it entails can be seen as an occasion in which mankind has truly stooped so low. The passage was a difficult time in which the captured and enslaved Africans would begin to understand the cruelty of those who held them in chains and perhaps understand the fate that awaited them at the end of the voyage. The passage itself as well as the ‘training’ given to the slaves, once on land again, gives credence to the fact that people are not born slaves but are enslaved.

The Land Passage & The Breaking In

The passage over land was very difficult for those recently captured. They were often taken from areas such as Angola, the Gambia, the Niger Delta and the Bight of Benin. They were taken by other Africans and sold into the hands of white merchants. Once sold they went on an anything but comfortable journey to the coast. This trek would serve the slave traders the dual purpose of breaking the captive both physically and mentally. One can even go so far as to say that whiteman’s mentality of their superiority is evident in the treatment of the captured Africans. Shackled with heavy metal chains on their feet as well as hands and collars around their necks, the captured Africans would be herded like cattle and put into waiting pens till ships and shipmaster came for the enslaved or better said paid for the enslaved “person”.

was being done to sink the new reality Africans faced into their ‘non-existent’ minds; they were no longer free. They were now the white man's property. Once Africans were captured and taken from everything they once knew, they were shoved into cages filled with people who did not speak the same tongue, who in all probability were enemies who would become your friends. However, their circumstances would force a union and the language barrier, after a time, would hold no weight and present no obstacle. Yet, the worst part or time in their lives was still to come. These no longer existing barriers would be what the slavers thought of as an advantage but would be anything but. The slaves no longer thought of themselves as a tribe nor despised each other based on tribal hatred or vendettas; they were all now one tribe. One can take into consideration the slave revolt on the ship Amistad in which the slaves would band together and fight for their freedom by taking the ship from the whites and then suing for their repatriation before the Supreme Court in the U.S. The slaves on the ship were from many different tribes, two of which were the Poro and Mende, the Poro being an elite warrior class society, among them, and the other represented tribes, they had a hierarchy and a built-in cabinet to the Poro’s president like qualities.22

The Middle Passage & The Slaves

The middle passage for those coming across was akin to a hell on earth. They were constantly degraded by any and all means. On board these ships the Africans suffered “[the] uncertainty, discomfort, deprivation, and suffering [...]”23 dealt them by the slave drivers; this often times leading to “several slaves [taking] their own lives when they had the opportunity.”24

24Postma, "The Slaves: Their Treatment and Mortality." In The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1815, 239.
Once on board the ship, they could be hanged upside down so all could see them uncovered; this in a time when modesty and chastity were expected as well as demanded by ‘polite society’. The University of Michigan has amassed a large collection which enhances the understanding and stresses the cruelty and severity of the situation experienced by the slaves when stating that:

“Once ... on this ship ... you are ... yelled at and beaten. You can't ... yell back, because you don't speak the language; and you have no idea what these strange men are capable of doing to you. As you look around, you see men, women and children scared, alienated and sleeping on top of each other. ... There is no escape from the]chilling sounds of crying and despair. ... You see people starving and dying. You hear women being raped and beaten; ... babies being murdered. Months have gone by, ... you see your fellow brothers and sisters die,[yet] you are still [alive]. You [gasp] for air; the stench on [the]ship is almost unbearable but you struggle to take each breath. ... You pray [for] death; it could be no worse than this hell on earth. You even begin to starve yourself but that doesn't work. You do everything possible to die, until one day the ship voyage comes to an end. You have survived the passage, but your soul and spirit has been taken away from you. You think it is finally over, but you have no idea what kind of life is ahead [of] you.”

This voyage was anything but easy; it was hard on both the mental and physical states of those being transported. The people lost everything, even their self-respect. The only way for the slavers to be able to view the captured people as slaves was to have them believe it as well and dehumanizing them as much as possible; stripping them naked in front of each other and changing their names to numbers until sold were some of the tactics used.

**The Middle Passage & The Slave Traders**

The middle passage was harsh, cruel and inhuman for the Africans. For the traders, well, the passage brought out all the bad one wants to believe the ‘superior’ human mind and heart is incapable of. Traders were initially of a Portuguese background and later British, Dutch, Spanish, American, French and so on. It showed us that although the Africans were seen

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25Lindsay, "How Did Enslaved People Cope?" In Captives as Commodities: The Transatlantic Slave Trade, 93.
as nothing more than ‘barbaric animals’ the true animals were the white slave traders and rivers themselves. They would separate siblings, siblings that would never meet again. They would rape, beat, torture, and kill or in some cases lead to Africans killing themselves. All this was done without a care in the world; for they are not human and therefore they do not matter.

**Only Darkness at the End of the Tunnel**

Once the slaves arrived in the Caribbean they were put into more cages and chains; as was often the case for those taken particularly in the late 17 Centure due to its recent colonization. They were given new names whether they wanted one or not. Taught to speak the language of their masters, separated from the new friends, made in the holding cells or aboard ship, slaves were broken in like a pair of new shoes. They made sure to not only take “[their] soul and spirit” but their identity, their religions, beliefs and their very culture. All this was taken, yet one must note that they were not given the identity and culture of their ‘masters’ in return. Once they were deemed suitable slaves were then sold and taken by boat, once more, to the Americas, Europe or slaves would remain behind working for those plantations there, the Caribbean being one of the major Sugar production areas, along with Brazil. Those going to Brazil were those most likely taken from Angola by the Portuguese traders. Those going elsewhere in the Caribbean often came from West African countries such as Ghana (the Gold Coast). Once in these colonies or plantations, the slave would not last more than three years.

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31 Adeuyan, "At Last, the African Slaves Arrived at Their Unknown Destinations." In *Return of the Tidal Flow of the Middle Passage*, 81.
They planted and cultivated crops such as sugar, tobacco, cotton, and rice. The slaves were also forced to work in mines in which there were iron or coal deposits.

**The Middle Passage & Death**

Mortality rates of the Atlantic Slave Trade as a whole and most specifically the Middle Passage are estimated to be very high. This estimation is due to the fact that there is little to no record of the deaths of the Africans. Per ship or “death trap”\(^{34}\), up to \(\frac{1}{3}\) of the human ‘cargo’ would “have died [from] diseases or malnourishment.”\(^{35}\) Within the sailors or crew themselves, there was a \(\frac{1}{4}\) mortality rate. The accumulation of human waste and the illnesses of animals aboard were yet another reason or explanation for the high death rates. Although with time the ‘merchants’ learned to be more efficient and clean, to an extent, and the loss of life is believed to have gone down by \(10\%\).\(^{36}\) Another reason that can be given as to the high death rates is the maltreatment of the Africans.\(^{37}\) They suffered all kinds of torture and the result was generally infections and or suicides committed to escape the maltreatment. When it comes to the illnesses and diseases they spread and killed many and were due to the cramped, or sardine-like, conditions in which they sailed. The dead were often removed and simply thrown overboard never to be seen again.

**The Loss of Less Lives**

By the end of the century, 18th century, the death toll was still high but not as high as it had been in the beginning. The merchants became more efficient by carrying less human ‘cargo’.\(^{38}\) They began shortening the passage time by traveling to Brazil, instead of the

\(^{34}\)Adeuyan, “At Last, the African Slaves Arrived at Their Unknown Destinations.” In *Return of the Tidal Flow of the Middle Passage*, 81.


\(^{36}\)Duiker and Spielvogel. "The Emergence of New World Patterns (1500-1800)." In *World History, Volume 2*, 413.

\(^{37}\)Duiker and Spielvogel. "The Emergence of New World Patterns (1500-1800)." In *World History, Volume 2*, 413.

\(^{38}\)Postma, "The Slaves: Their Treatment and Mortality." In *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1815*, 250-251.
Caribbean, and distributed or sold the captured Africans off from there.\(^{39}\) Another change in the travel route was the acquiring and pick up of Africans from the Senegambia region as well as the Bight of Benin to the Angola\(^{40}\) Coast, which led to a large number of Angolan Africans being taken out to the Americas and other areas. A possible explanation for the high death toll and its decrease over time can be that the ‘merchants’ became more and more experienced with transporting ‘human cargo’. Then there were the laws passed by the British Parliament limiting the amount of ‘cargo’ per ship; Dolben’s Act (1788).\(^{41}\)

<table>
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<th>Table 10.7</th>
<th>Mortality in the WIC slave trade</th>
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<td>73</td>
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<td>1690–1699</td>
<td>46</td>
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<td>Loango coast</td>
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<td>1740–1749</td>
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<td>Loango coast</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{39}\)Postma, "The Slaves: Their Treatment and Mortality." In The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1815, 250-251.


\(^{41}\)Falola and Warnock. "Slave Mortality." In Encyclopedia of the Middle Passage, 277.

\(^{42}\)Reprinted, by permission, from Postma, Johannes "The Slaves: Their Treatment and Mortality." In The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1815, 250-251.
what would become known as the Scramble for Africa, a partition of the continent by those who thought they knew best. Slavery transitions into all-out Colonization, the once prosperous continent now reduced to ‘dependence’ on their colonial fathers and later on foreign aid. The phrase third world country was coined on the backs of Africans despite their forced expatriation to other nations and the need for foreign aid after the foreigners disrupted the production of goods within the country in order to sell their own goods. Dependent they say...
Chapter 2

The Rise & Fall of Imperial Germany

Throughout history, many empires or kingdoms have risen and fallen. Many such European empires or kingdoms fell in Africa. Yet there are those who would argue that their rule simply took on another name. The German Empire, however, fell after World War I and never rose again. Yet, once the Second World War began to rage the Nazis saw an opportunity to revive the countries colonial standing. In an attempt to do so, the German army would invade and control French territories as well as parts of France itself. At wars end, however, all territories would revert back to their previous colonial fathers or to new ones. However, Germany’s effect on these colonies would remain long after they had gone; often perpetuated through the new colonial father who simply reinforced the German policies.

What Factors lead to “decolonization”?

The Germans had a stake in West Africa, although not as big as that of France and Britain. They had Togoland and modern-day Cameroon; formerly Republik Kamerun. Germany sought control of those countries due to their natural resources such as rubber, palm, cotton and cocoa and began farming their own plantations. The factors that lead to the decolonization of Togoland, Cameroon, and South-West Africa, from Germany, was primarily the Great or First World War. Their colonial empire was started by Otto Von Bismark in 1884 and came to a not so surprising end with the Treaty of Versailles (1920). This was no surprise for at the beginning

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of the Great War the Allies began the campaign to take over all German held territories in Africa. The Allies did so to undermine, hinder and cripple the German forces. German territories such as South-West Africa, which would become Namibia in 1990, was surrendered in 1915 and a year later so was Kamerun (1916). These surrenders, along with German East Africa in 1918, was however not made official until the Treaty of Versailles (1920) was signed and ratified by the creators and or participants.

_How Have Historians explained the Dissolution of Empires?_

The occurrences in former German South-West Africa and now Namibia are some factors historians see as contributing factors to the fall of German Empire. “Nietzsche saw the time [of German colonies overseas] as one in which technical ability and civilization became divorced in which the policies of a Great Power remained incompatible with the political immaturity of the nation”. In other words, the growing nation was attempting to match the “power” of its fellow European nations and would surely fail. German historian Sebastian Conrad saw its takeover by the British and French as inevitable since “for the Germans, [Togoland], with its population of approximately one million was not an important colony in economic terms...” This sentiment on the part of Germany can be credited with its eventual surrender to Allied forces during the Great War. A shared and possible factor to the loss of the German South-East Africa and modern-day Togo can be the issue of slavery, an issue viewed as the “slow death for slavery”.

According to Dr. Andreas Eckart, the reasons behind the fall of Cameroon to British and French

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hands was not due to ongoing strife within the colony about slavery; slavery was a self-solving issue. This leads one to infer that its fall to the Allies was more an issue of Allied forces trying to weaken enemy forces.

**Germany's colonization of Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda**

Colonization played an important role in the dissolution of Tutsi and Hutu relations in Rwanda. Before the Berlin Conference of 1884, the Tutsi and Hutu tribes lived together in harmony and with minimal forms of discontent. Yet with the rulings of the Berlin Conference, the start of the disintegration of peace began, beginning with the redrawning of existing borders in 1890. Once the borders were drawn, Rwanda and other kingdoms under German control had the shores of Lake Victoria as their defining border. Several years later, once Germany had subdued any and all resistance, German citizens began settling in the territory to be known as Rwanda; this was due in essence to its submission to German rule as opposed to the other territories who continued to resist.

Back in Europe, the development of the idea of ‘race’ was coming about and this would determine the way the colonies governing structure was constructed. With this in mind the Germans began to see Tutsis as a better ‘race’ “because they were taller, had more ‘eloquent’ personalities, many readily converted to Roman Catholicism, and their people originally came from the Horn of Africa [and] which was considered "more European" than the origination sites of the Hutus.” This classification system would become the root cause of the Rwandan problem.

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52"Slavery in Colonial Cameroon, 1880's to 1930's." In *Slavery and Colonial Rule in Africa*, edited by Suzanne Miers and Martin A. Klein, by Andreas Eckert, 133
today as those classifications became ingrained in the people themselves. In addition to this system, the Germans designed a feudal-like state in which the pastoral Tutsis were in charge of the agricultural Hutus and later converting this into the governing policy for the entire country. This caused strife because the Hutu were once on equal footing as the Tutsi and each tribe needed the other in order to survive; with the colonization by Germany, this once symbiotic relationship became one of hatred. Following the First World War changes and damages wrought by their rule would be perpetuated, and in certain instances emphasized, with the recolonization by the Belgian forces at war's end. The invitation was said to have been issued by the Congolese government yet there is debate as to whether it was the government or the President himself. President Joseph Kabila, according to reports by journalists of both countries, gave the Belgian Queen diamond jewelry during the celebration. This infuriated many of the DRC people since the reason for such celebrations “[...] was to emphasize the country's new-found sovereignty after years of war, not to remind us of the sordid past; [of] Belgian colonialism, big man politics, and blood diamonds.”

*Did European Colonialism Really End?*

In my opinion, colonialism did not come to an end; it simply took on another name and justification. Yet it can be argued that even till this day there still is colonialism, however, it is now done through political and diplomatic strategies and meetings as well as between the African countries and companies instead of nations. Until this day if one looks hard enough there are European companies in Africa extracting, not to say exploiting, the raw materials and other

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resources. One can say that colonialism no longer exists in the physical sense yet it still does in a mental one. As Bob Marley says in Redemption Songs, “Emancipate yourself from mental slavery, None but ourselves can free our minds.”\(^{57}\)

In essence, the Great War lead to decolonization and some argue that it also lead to the dissolution of the German Empire. Yet one must note and keep in mind that the fall of the German Empire leads to the rise of the other European Nations. For what was once Germany was split among the Allied Forces, and although no longer referred to as colonies, all foreign controlled territories in Africa were just that: Colonies.

Chapter 3

Belgian Colonial Rule in Africa

The DRC, Rwanda & Burundi before “independence”

Throughout history, the colonization of the African continent has been a topic constantly discussed. Africa witnessed the control of its land by foreign powers such as Germany and Belgium, each with their own methods of rule. However, the two nations’ colonial policies were both similar and different in their practices and subsequent effects or impacts.

Belgian Rule in The DRC

During the Berlin West Africa Conference, of 1884-1885, the African continent was divided amongst the Great Powers of Europe. Those countries in attendance and who would gain or cement their control in Africa where Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Germany, and Belgium, among others. “The Conference created artificial state boundaries as well as a colonial system that was in effect for the next sixty years.” Ruanda-Urundi was the name of an East-African state that, following the conference, would fall under the control of Belgium from 1922 following the first World War until independence was achieved in 1962; the country having been under German control from 1885 up until 1919. What is now the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) had a different situation to the other colonies under Belgian rule; the DRC were given to the King of Belgium and not Belgium itself. During King Leopold’s rule of the DRC, he would become notorious for the horrendous treatment of the country's people and the brutal extraction of the country's rubber for his own personal gain. This would only come to an

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end when the international community would force the management of the colony out of his control and into that of the Belgian Government in 1908.⁶⁰

During the rule of the Belgian Government, up until their independence in 1960, control and subjugation of the DRC was done through education. The administration of the educational system was held by Catholic missionaries who made sure to teach that education was only for those seeking to enter Priesthood while impressing upon the students that colonialism was a good thing.⁶¹ Officials were of the mentality that, for example, “[…] to train a man to be an expert stenographer in a foreign language is prohibitive […]”.⁶² Education for the Congolese people was only for religious pursuits and for the spreading of colonial propaganda and simultaneously discouraging all African people from pursuing a European education. According to the 1934 article written by Ellsworth Faris, “the total number of people who are being reached by educational influences at the present time, the figure might be set down very roughly and very crudely as being somewhere between 3 percent and 7 percent of the total population […].”⁶³

Yet in 2010, 50 years to the date of independence, Belgian officials and their King would be the guest of honor at the celebration of such a momentous occasion. The Guardian in an April 21st, 2010, an article entitled “Congo's Colonial Ghost”, by Khaled Diab, wrote that “[p]reparations are underway in the Democratic Republic of the Congo for celebrations to mark 50 years of independence in June. The Congolese government has reportedly set aside [$2 million] for the festivities. Guests of honor will include a high-level Belgian delegation, headed by King Albert II, who will be on his first official visit to the former colony.”⁶⁴

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⁶⁰ACHBERGER, JESSICA. “Belgian Colonial Education Policy: A Poor Foundation for Stability.”
⁶¹ACHBERGER, JESSICA. “Belgian Colonial Education Policy: A Poor Foundation for Stability.”
Belgian Rule in Rwanda & Burundi

When the Germans came to colonize the Eastern region of Africa, Ruanda-Urundi, they began defining cultural practices and appearances incorrectly, thereby generating and fostering tribal conflicts. The Germans also began to implement taxes and other such payments to force the country into becoming a coffee plantation.65 The Germans believed that the Tutsi held power over the Hutu since they were more economically prosperous. The Tutsi were often owners of large herds of longhorn cows and had a physical appearance which they believed to be conducive to a commanding presence as opposed to the shorter Hutu.66 With this in mind, the Germans gave certain prominent positions to Tutsis within the colonial administration. However, this would change slightly with the Berlin West Africa Conference.

The Belgian colonial power was the most feared of all, and in the name of then King Albert I they would conquer Rwanda with the blessing of European powers in 1918.67 Although invaded and colonized under King Albert I’s reign, the country would remain in the hands of the Belgians until midway through the reign of King Baudouin or Boudewijn; until independence was attained in 1962.68 King Baudouin or Boudewijn was the last Belgian ruler to hold power over the Rwandan people.

The Belgians once in power saw no reason to change the German instituted policies and therefore continued to stress the stereotypes of Tutsis as tall and slender and with the Hutu as short and stocky people. To further separate the two tribes the use of ID cards would be put into place. Much like the yellow star of the Jews during World War II, the 1930’s would usher in the

new laws which stated that an identity card must be given to all of the people and that it should state the person's tribe. This was necessary as they had already categorized or identified the Tutsis as being more intelligent since they were the taller ones with more cows that the agricultural Hutus. Yet there was an issue with determining who belonged to what tribe what with “[several] years of intermarriage and migration the stereotypes could not be used to identify all people. So they introduced a formula: those with 10 cows or more were classified as Tutsi and those with less as Hutu.” All of these laws written and unwritten would be the cause of many of the problems faced by the Rwandan people in later years. However, despite the church’s role in fermenting this separation and subjugation of the Africans by the Belgians, especially in terms of education, the first Rwandan to be awarded a degree was Anastase Makuza who graduated from the Centre Universitaire of Kisantu (a university in the Belgian Congo later known as the DRC) in 1955 with a degree in political and administrative sciences. He was a Hutu.

Ruanda-Urundi Split

Throughout those years before independence, the state was run by a vice governor-general, much like the British had in India, while also being an intrinsic part of the Belgian Congo although the state did have its own budget. In 1960 the Belgian government agreed to hold a democratic municipal election. Once the agreement came to light the Hutu majority turned out in full force and were able to elect Hutu people into points of power within the country’s municipal administration, thereby ending Tutsi control and benefits. With the

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69 Gourevitch, Philip, and Rory Stewart. *We wish to inform you that tomorrow we will be killed with our families: stories from Rwanda.* New York, NY: Picador, 1998.

70 "Ethnic Hierarchy in Ruanda- Urundi from 1890." Global Black History.

71 "Ethnic Hierarchy in Ruanda- Urundi from 1890." Global Black History.


pressure coming from the international community as well as the UN, Belgium had no choice but to aid in the split of Ruanda-Urundi into Rwanda and Burundi while beginning their pull-out of the country. The split of Rwanda from Burundi was also inevitable due to their irreconcilable differences, and it was thought best to separate, despite the fact that both nations had a population of about 80% Hutu and about 13% Tutsi. Rwanda became a country landlocked in the southeastern part of the African continent with three ethnic groups within its borders; the Hutu, the Tutsi, and the Twa. At the time of the genocide, the 7 million population of the nation was divided with an estimated 85% being Hutu, 14% being Tutsi, and a minority of 1% being Twa. The Hutu were the agriculturalists and the Tutsi were the pastoralists. However, some would argue that the genocide that rocked the nation in the early nineties is traced to the country's colonial past.

**Segregation & Discrimination**

A democratic paradigm was not the focus of the Belgians, but rather territorial and ethnic bigotry which were institutionalized to their advantage. This process began with the implementation of the “Mortehan reform [...] 1962 [the Tutsi were given preference and power to the detriment in the advancement of the Hutus, Tutsis had the ability to go] to the best schools, government or private posts, most particularly territorial ones.” Yet with the coming of independence, a switch would take place. In 1950, the Tutsis moved to gain independence and the Belgians not liking their loss of power, in turn, supported the opposition Hutu politicians. However, it was not independence that the Hutu were fighting for but rather the positions

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and posts which had been denied them and given only to Tutsis within the colonial power structure; hence their Belgian support and eventual success. Once in power, the Hutu wasted no time in retaliating against the Tutsis for the years of oppression. The Tutsis no longer had access to the best schools, army positions, civil service posts, they were also not allowed to hold political office equivalent to a Mayor in the U.S. The situation worsened as a new decade was ushered in. “Discrimination characterized Rwandan society mainly after its independence. From [an] “ethnic” point of view, it became both “ethnic” and regional.”

In the 1970’s various forms of segregation like attacks amongst the tribes would take place, “[constituting] serious human rights violations [...].” All of which paved the way for the hostilities that would implode into the Genocides of the 1990’s.

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Chapter 4

Belgian Colonial Policy
A decentralization of power.

With the colonization of a new country comes the inevitable shift of power and order at all levels. In the case of Rwanda and its colonial father, Belgium, a decentralization effect took place. However, let it be clear that this decentralization did not take place in the form of power shifting to the localities but rather from the Rwandan King to that of Belgium. By 1931 full control had been taken from King Yuhi V Musinga and was placed fully in the hands of the Belgian King in Brussels.

Political Structure of Pre-Colonial Rwanda

Many cultures have evolved from clan structures into contemporary city-states, and Rwanda was no different. Many of the tribes or peoples living in or near the Great Lakes Regions formed their city-states on the basis of the clan system.\(^{78}\) Rwandan clans were, however, quite unique in comparison to their former sister country Burundi, for Rwandan clans were multi-ethnic in its configuration. As with the creation of ‘Race’ by the white slavers, the imperialistic Belgians came up with and instituted the Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa classifications as opposed to its original connotation which was simply used as a form of differentiation amongst the extended families. However, this did not wipe away, in its entirety, the importance nor its existence of the clan system.

The Hostile Takeover

From 1926 to the early 1930’s, the Belgians began the reorganization of the Rwandan

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\(^{78}\)“Rwanda -- History”https://www.africa.upenn.edu/NEH/rwhistory.htm (accessed October 2017).
government through the reform plan referred to as the “Mortehan Reform”.\textsuperscript{79} With this reform came an in depth restructuring of the country's political, administrative, economic, social and cultural practices. Politically and administratively, the Rwandan government was configured to take all power from the King Yuhi V Musinga and replace him with the more malleable Mutara II Rudahigwa; King Musinga’s son.\textsuperscript{80} “There was also construction of administrative posts and missions [primarily for Belgian nationals and a few Tutsi but never Hutu positions].”\textsuperscript{81} With the economy, new agricultural methods and species were introduced. The country was now to serve as Belgium's exporter of cash crops such as tea leaves and coffee. Belgians were also forced to institute a reforestation plan in an effort to avoid the possibilities of soil erosion which did eventually take place due to the planting of said cash crops. The colonial reform policy of “Mortehan” was a revolution in itself, yet not in its typical sense. The oppressed did not win victory against their oppressors but rather the colonial power won victory and in the process erased an entire way of life.

With the arrival of Belgium came racism as well as European diseases never seen before. Belgians, presuming their own eminence, “[...] valued those physically and geographically close to themselves, [because of] this the [racist] Hamitic hypothesis was born.”\textsuperscript{82} This hypothesis states that the ones responsible for bringing civilization to other parts of Africa where the pastoralists from the northern part of the continent through the means of annihilation and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{80}Nkusi, David \textit{Know Your History: King Musinga and the bitter history of colonialism} The New Times Rwanda ed.;, sec Education. The New Times Rwanda, August, 2015.
\end{itemize}
invasion.\textsuperscript{83} The Tutsis fit this hypothesis since they were believed to have migrated to Rwanda from Ethiopia and were somehow responsible for civilizing the agricultural Hutu. In addition to this the form of dress of the Tutsis, the use of togas, was believed to have come from the times of Roman conquest in the North and therefore further cemented the belief that they were the civilizing force within the ethnic groups.\textsuperscript{84}

**Religion & Colonization**

In the social and cultural scenes, Rwanda became officially, forcefully, Christian and the Belgian King decreed that the country was “consecrated [...] to Christ the King.”\textsuperscript{85} Simultaneously, the Belgians began their process of ethnological manipulation. The Belgians declared the Tutsi morally superior and therefore the only ones fit to rule, a position that would change in the decades to come. “This was done on recommendation of Apostolic Vicar Bishop Léon.”\textsuperscript{86} The effects of these manipulations and recommendations was a Genocide that would begin in 1959 and last for nearly four decades.

Starting in the 1930’s, “Cardinal Lavigeri’s [and other] emissaries [began imposing] Christianity to Rwandans.”\textsuperscript{87} This was done because the native religions and religious practices originally in place were very different. This new faith preached to its worshipers the idea of and need to comply and yield to their colonial powers while rejecting the ways of their ancestors. There were waves of Rwandans who converted in the 1930’s and the pressure was put to increase


\textsuperscript{86}Longman, Timothy, Weinstein, Harvey M. , Warshauer Freedman, Sarah , The Teaching of History of Rwanda: A Participatory Approach. 44.

\textsuperscript{87}Longman, Timothy, Weinstein, Harvey M. , Warshauer Freedman, Sarah , The Teaching of History of Rwanda: A Participatory Approach. 44.
the distance and erase the memories of their ancestral cultural identity, not to mention that Catholicism took its foothold in the country by giving the appearance of supporting the Hutu people and in turn receiving their support as well as power through the Hutu.

**Education & Colonization**

NYU professor and author Elizabeth King chose to focus on the Rwandan education system before, during, and after Belgian colonialism for her 2013 publication entitled *From Classrooms to Conflict in Rwanda*. Through readings of documents and interviews, conducted with Rwandan students and teachers during these time periods as well as certain Belgian administrators and missionaries, King discovered that colonization introduced a system of classification and reinforced them through the educational system. For children, schooling for grades one through six was particularly limited. Despite the disproportionate majority of Hutus in the country, the majority of the students in these schools were Tutsi. However, some Hutus did attend these schools yet many never completed up until the sixth grade; including some Tutsi students. Of those who completed the sixth grade and went on to secondary school, most were Tutsi.

In these schools the children were primarily taught European history. If they were taught Rwandan history it was done through a decidedly European point of view. “The Tutsi were a superior Caucasian race that came south centuries ago from Ethiopia and rightly dominated the Hutu, a backward Bantu race that had arrived previously and dominated the indigenous Twa.”

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89 Countries and their Cultures Staff, "Culture of Rwanda".
A textbook would note the Hutus as demonstrations in “atavistic stupidity”, with the Tutsi as “sage and prudent”, and with the Twa completely forgotten; for all that mattered were the Tutsi “aristocratic Negroes.” With independence came a Hutu dominated government in which these differences were even further ingrained. Hutus were no longer restricted from going to school that was now a status given to the Tutsis; a complete role reversal for the Tutsis were now not allowed to go to school after certain quotas were met.

**Colonization & Mining**

In 1926, along with reorganizing the government, the Belgians began the mining and exportation of Rwanda's minerals, although it was not until 1972 that they were to be given the research rights; mining companies began extracting minerals without even being given the rights to do so by the Rwandan government nor the international community. Minerals such as cassiterite, columbite, gold, wolfram and others were dug up and sold no matter the cost to the miners or the soil. The most important would be columbite and wolfram. Columbite is the material that goes into our phones today and wolfram the second hardest minerals in the world after diamonds. Wolfram is however more a necessity as opposed to diamonds because to see them we need the wolfram filaments in the light bulbs to work.

The Belgians took advantage of the resources, despite the fact the Rwanda was not mineral rich to begin with, and through four companies, Minetain, Somuki, Georwanda and Corem, shipped out what little Rwanda did have. An engineer by the name of John Newport conducted a study to discover what minerals Rwanda had and his study would lead to: “[m]ining activities [which would begin] in 1930 with [...] Urundi Tin Mines Company (MINETAIN:

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Société des Mines d’Etain du Ruanda-Urundi) and Muhinga-Kigali Mining Company (SOMUKI: Société Minière de Muhinga-Kigali) in 1934. Subsequently some other mining companies were established including GEORWANDA (1945) and COREM (1948). After independence, the government of Rwanda decided to create a public mining company by grouping together all existing mining companies in order to try to strengthen the industry.\textsuperscript{93}

However by 1955, mining became Rwanda's second most important source of income as well as the industry that provided the majority of the jobs in the whole country. As the trains and railroads did for towns in the west during America’s Manifest Destiny period, these mines did for certain regions in Rwanda. To have a mine in the area ensured prosperity and destroyed the possibility of ever becoming a veritable ghost town; although it should be noted that once the mines dried up that would be exactly what the town would become. Infrastructures such as roads were built for the transportation of these minerals which did provide a benefit to the farmers; now getting their goods and products to market was made easier.

Like mining towns in the American West, the mines provided and more than likely owned all stores, schools, and medical facilities. Yet this was not a good thing, for it ensured that the mine, who owned all the stores, did not allow for competition and therefore steep prices were the order of the day. As for the schools, they were a perfect place to carry out the Belgian government's process of indoctrination. The minerals being mined, after a period, began to affect the farmers in a negative way for now the land was made unusable by it being depleted of any and all nutrients without being given time to replenish itself. “Nowadays, one can still see big areas of naked land [especially in areas such as Rutongo or Rwinkwavu].”\textsuperscript{94}

\textsuperscript{93}“Mining in Rwanda”http://rma.co.rw/mining-in-rwanda/ (accessed November 2017 ).
\textsuperscript{94}Longman, Timothy, Weinstein, Harvey M., Warshauer Freedman, Sarah, \textit{The Teaching of History of Rwanda: A Participatory Approach}. 84.
Due in part to the benevolence of the Belgian forces, with the sitting Rwandan Tutsi government, the initial colonization of Rwanda was done without bloodshed, although this would not dictate what the people would suffer in the years to come. By leaving the Tutsi in power they were able to take control without much fuss and in so doing they further supported or reinforced the existing divisions amongst the Tutsi and Hutu. This served as a distraction for the Belgians to mine the country into near destruction and future bloodshed in the form of a Hutu led Tutsi genocide.
Chapter 5

Rwanda's History of Genocide
What came before 1994?

Rwanda and Burundi were once interdependent as well as interconnected, economically and otherwise, to the Belgian Congo, which is today known as The Democratic Republic of the Congo, as most countries in such proximity often are. During their colonial age, all under Belgian control, they were ruled by Belgian officials who saw fit to rule all three countries in the same fashion. In that vein, what took place in one nation, a revolt for example, nearly always severely and adversely affected the other two. As with Belgian control and other similarities, before, during and following their colonial periods, all three countries have had a well established history of a brutal and murderous relationship amongst the Hutu and Tutsi tribes under the various colonizers that have come and gone.

A Bloody Path to Independence

July 24th, 1959, the forty-six-year-old Rwandan King passed away, under suspicious conditions, without leaving a clear declaration as to who would take his place. The Tutsi elite promptly postulated the King's nephew on the throne while simultaneously organizing a political attack against the Hutus in government and their Belgian supporters. The Rwandan Tutsi radicals began to view Belgian politicians and their ideals of reform as a threat to their continued power, what with their King dead. In an order to prevent the new Belgian policy of placing the Hutu in power as they began to pull out of the country, these radicals would go so far as to murder several popular Hutu leaders and strove to subdue if not eliminate the Hutu movement.

However, with Belgian support, 1959 would be the year of a switch in the long-standing power structure. Gregoire Kayibanda, once a seminary student and a guide for the Belgian World's Fair as well as the editor of a Catholic newspaper, would be the leader behind the PARMEHUTU.\footnote{The Atlantic Report: Rwanda.\textit{ The Atlantic Monthly} 213, no. 6 (June 1964): 26-33.} Under all this pressure and opposition the new King simply fled, along with many of those who place him on the throne, thereby allowing the Hutu to establish a temporary government. “Indeed, Tutsis suffered heavy casualties; it is reported that approximately 120,000 fled to Burundi and other neighboring countries.”\footnote{Lemarchand, Professor Rene and Martin, David,\textit{Selective Genocide in Burundi} Minority Rights Group volume, no MRG No. 20. Minority Rights Group, 1974. pp.3-36} The next two years would leave an acrid taste in the mouth of the remaining Tutsis for PARMEHUTU would win the U.N. overseen elections with eighty percent of the vote. This was an obvious wish by the people to no longer be governed by the Tutsi King. Yet the new government, instituted through popular vote, did not mean that peace would reign.

\textit{Rise of the Hutu Power Movement}

With the Tutsis in exile or fleeing across the country’s borders into nearby nations, leaders of the Hutu Emancipation Movement (PARMEHUTU) began to establish an interim government back home in Rwanda. This government and its political party would gain recognition by the Belgian government a year later. However, this new regime would not be recognized by the UN. With thoughts of peace and democracy in mind, the UN declared the proceedings leading to the establishment of this ‘new’ government as being illegal and decreed elections be had. These elections were held and UN officials were hopeful that a “[...] ethnic-economic union of Burundi and Rwanda after Independence [...]” could be preserved.\footnote{Lemarchand, Professor Rene and Martin, David,\textit{Selective Genocide in Burundi} Minority Rights Group}
the end of these elections it was made clear that PARMEHUTU was the choice of the people and with these results the UN was left with no other recourse but to end the Belgian trusteeship and granted Rwanda full independence officially in 1962.

**The Kayibanda Administration**

With the PARMEHUTU government of Gregoire Kayibanda in power, Rwandan Hutu nationalism was used to inspire Rwanda’s Hutu population to rise above what the Tutsi had made them. However, the government's true purpose was known only to the elite it served and protected. “The regime sought above all else to protect in power Kayibanda himself and the group of Hutu elites who formed the core of [his] supporters.”100 Those within his, Kayibanda’s, inner circle and under his protection were primarily from his home town Gitarama from whom he expected and engendered complete loyalty. “During its years of power, one main effect of the government was to further harden the two national identities that had emerged in the years leading up to Rwanda’s independence [...]”.101 Through the use of propaganda they fostered and cemented the divisions amongst the Tutsis and Hutus especially with rumors that the Tutsis were looking to murder Hutus. This meant that now anyone looking for a future in politics would need to secure the support of one of the ethnic tribes in order to even have a slight chance of achieving anything, not to mention even being able to get into office.

**Rwandan Economy**

The mid-1980’s was a time which found Rwanda in dire economic straits. In 1986 the primary sources of revenue for the country began to lose its value and eventually collapsed

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altogether.\textsuperscript{102} Those who had gained and sustained their wealth through the revenues made in exporting coffee, tea and pewter were left penniless. However, this was only the case for all of the wealthy politicians and well connected families unless they were part of the \textit{Akazu}. The majority, not to say all, of the country's power was held by this small group of people given the moniker \textit{Akazu}. The \textit{Akazu} consisted of: President Habyarimana's wife, their children, her brother along with his death-squad comrade Alphonse Ntrivamunda and “other extremists”\textsuperscript{103} They did not suffer with the collapse because one-fourth of the country's revenue had always come from foreign aid, aid which was continuously given and to which only the \textit{Akazu's} had access and from which they drew to continue living lavishly.\textsuperscript{104} Yet, during all this lavish living, the country began to suffer from severe budget deficits while also incurring great debts.

\textbf{A Social Revolution}

To add to the strenuous economic state of the country came a period of drought which in turn brought about a famine. This famine had a two fold effect in that many, as high as 300 people, died while others saw themselves forced to flee to neighboring Tanzania. There was also the issue of rising unemployment levels due to the rigidly controlled government jobs, the decreasing number of farms and farmers, as well as the constant redistributing of land to those who garnered the favor of the \textit{Akazu}. The government also took a strong stand against crime and ‘morally’ incorrect behavior. Through policy, coined “edifying and hypocrite”, the \textit{Akazu} began to gather-up all prostitutes while campaigning against abortions as well as the use of condoms. Those who were unemployed were now sent to rehabilitation centers. The government also

sanctioned the bulldozing of ghetto neighborhoods under the guise of ridding the country of criminals through the elimination of their safehouses. “It was a “Social Revolution” undertaken in order to hide a critical and explosive situation.” On the political front, the strength and power of the Hutu ideology as well as the PARMEHUTU was increasing.

**Indoctrination**

The start of a new decade came a country abound with contradictions. In 1990, Rwanda was a country at war with refugee groups of their own people and was ruled by a two headed dragon political party; a recipe for disaster. The Akazu went so far as to restrict the number of Tutsi students allowed in the educational system. This was a quota that was made even more stringent after the speech of moderate Hutu Agathe Uwilingiyimana, then Minister of Secondary Education, in 1992 which he called for an end to the quota system. To further strengthen their hold over the country, the two primary political parties began forming militias with the brainwashed Hutu illiterates. The Hutu youth was taught how to kill Tutsis and any Hutu who sympathized with them. These youth and Hutu illiterates would be referred to as “INTEERAHAMWE (those who attack together)”.

**The Emergence of the RPF**

The following year, in 1963, there was an attempted Tutsi invasion of Rwanda from its border with Burundi. An army of exiled Rwandan Tutsis who referred to themselves as the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), with the support of the Tutsi controlled Burundi government, would invade on the 14th of November and fail to restore Tutsi power and begin the repatriation

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of Rwandan Tutsis. The second invasion the following month would also fail and only serve to further endanger the Tutsis remaining in Rwanda while infuriating the Hutu President, Gregoire Kayibanda. Soon after the first invasion Kayibanda would put ‘ministers’ in place to oversee the radio listening Hutu mobs as they began the sanctioned massacre of Tutsis. “The result was disastrous for the Tutsis. In the massacre that followed, as many as 12,00 Tutsis in Rwanda were killed.”

Consequences of the Invasion

Once done, the propagandist made sure to spread hate and fear through the air waves causing even more Hutu mob perpetrated Tutsi deaths; the Tutsis were plotting against them. “A renewed and intensified Tutsi exodus from Rwanda began,” while within its borders those attempting to flee where met with roadblocks and Hutu panga, machete, wielding men. As promised, on March 11th of the same year, by President Kayibanda “[...] suppose you take Kigali by force how will you measure the chaos of which you will be the first victims [...] it will be the total end of the Tutsi race.” At the end of this rampage the PAMEHUTU government would claim that it was a misunderstanding and that fear lead the Hutus to act in such a manner and that a mere 400 civilians had perished as a cause of this fear. Yet it is estimated by The World Council of Churches that anywhere between 10,000 and 14,000 had died.

1963 was a year of blood and death for Rwanda as well as a year in which the country garnered its 15 minutes of fame. Coming into the limelight of the Western world with journalists

109Barrington, Lowell W. , After Independence Making and Protecting the Nation in Postcolonial and Postcommunist States. 71 - 106
110Lemarchand, Professor Rene and Martin, David,Selective Genocide in Burundi Minority Rights Group
111Lemarchand, Professor Rene and Martin, David,Selective Genocide in Burundi Minority Rights Group
112Melvern, Linda, Conspiracy to Murder: The Rwandan Genocide 8 - 9
113Melvern, Linda, Conspiracy to Murder: The Rwandan Genocide 8 - 9
114Melvern, Linda, Conspiracy to Murder: The Rwandan Genocide 8 - 9
referring to the murders of thousands upon thousands of Tutsis as an “[...] organized slaughter [...] reminiscent of the Holocaust in Europe.”

Although this would not be the first time in which the genocide in Rwanda is referred to as such, the killings of 1963 were not considered genocide at the time nor in what is currently written of that year in Rwandan history. Why is that? Why is there such a fear in the Western World and culture of the word genocide? Is there a sense of responsibility, culpability, and guilt that comes with this word that no country was willing to take on?

115Melvern, Linda, *Conspiracy to Murder: The Rwandan Genocide*: 8 - 9
Chapter 6

The Rwandan Genocide
A dark time in Rwandan history.

Throughout history wars have been waged, havoc wreaked on their victims and survivors; the Rwandan people in the early nineties were no different. As most nations on the Continent were experiencing civil war, to see it occur in Rwanda was not out of the ordinary; yet what would come out of it would be. The Rwandan genocide lasted for nearly 100 days starting April 6, 1994. At its end the survivors were reeling; dead bodies and human body parts filled the streets, with children looking over the dead bodies of their families. The dead numbered in the thousands, the orphaned even more and Rwanda was in chaos. The childhoods or lives of some were forever altered by a war between two groups who at one point in time had coexisted peacefully.

Who are the Hutu and Tutsis?

As touched upon above, the names Hutu and Tutsi had one meaning that over time was twisted to mean something different. In the old days the ones with more cattle were called Tutsi and those with only a few were the Hutu. Upward mobility was always possible if you married into or acquired a certain amount of cattle in your holdings to qualify for a title change. The names were an economic class or label much like what we refer to as the rich and the poor. "As a rule, the populations of African states are multi-tribal. ([the DRC] is inhabited by 300 different tribes, Nigeria by 250), whereas only one group inhabits Rwanda, the Banyarwanda, a single nation divided into three castes: the Tutsi cattle owners […], the Hutu farmers […], and the Twa
labourers and servants [...].”

Before colonization these differences meant nothing, yet with colonization the lighter skinned, taller, and apparently richer (measured by the number of cows possessed) the colonizers thought it only right to put the Tutsi in power. However, with the hatred fostered between the Hutu and the Tutsi, by the Germans and later Belgians following World War I, Hutu and Tutsi became racial labels used in a derogatory manner by the colonizers and the natives alike. These racial labels would enable the Belgians to not only foster hatred but division, amongst the people and thereby ensuring no threat of revolution to their totalitarian rule. The Belgians ‘colonized’ and created a hatred, a mentality of superiority on the part of the Tutsi towards the Hutu, and the once interdependent people began to grow apart.

**Colonial Times**

On the 20th anniversary of the genocide in a speech given by the President Paul Kagame, the genocide would be referred to as a byproduct of colonial rule. He stated that “The people who planned and carried out the Genocide were Rwandans, but the history and root causes go beyond this country. This is why Rwandans continue to seek the most complete explanation possible for what happened.”

He however took the time to clarify that “[...] when we speak out about the roles and responsibilities of external actors and institutions, it is because genocide prevention demands historical clarity of all of us, not because we wish to shift blame onto others.”

The Belgians would put in place a divide and conquer system much like the British

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117 “What's This Hutu Tutsi Thing?” The Ideas around Hutu and Tutsi Have Played a Big Part in Rwanda's History.


119 Kagame, President Paul. "Speech by President Paul Kagame at the 20th Commemoration of the Genocide against the Tutsi.”
colonial policy of divide and conquer in their colonies such as Nigeria or Ghana. They would break a once interdependent relationship between the Hutu and Tutsi and turn them against one another by giving power to one and none to the other. By putting the Tutsi in power, they used this new found power to oppress the Hutu, and when power was passed to the Hutu, they in turn would oppress the Tutsi.

How Did it All Begin?

Ethnic violence followed in the years after the hard fought battle and victory for Rwandan independence. An undeclared war began between the Tutsi and some “moderate” Hutu against the Hutu “majority”\textsuperscript{120}. Consolee Nishimwe, a child at the time, would describe this time as “Growing up,[and being able to feel the] tension growing in my country. Going to school I could feel it […] In elementary school they made us stand up if you were a Hutu or a Tutsi, separating me from my friends. It made me and the other kids that were Tutsis feel humiliated.”\textsuperscript{121} This war started with the children and evolved into all out war with and/or among the adults. In 1973, a military group made Major General Juvenal Habyarimana, a moderate Hutu, President of the nation: a president who would remain in power for the next two decades.\textsuperscript{122} Habyarimana created a new political party during his presidency: the National Revolutionary Movement for Development (NRMD). He was later made President once again, through a democratic vote, under a new constitution, which was ratified in 1978, then re-elected twice in 1983 and 1988, instances in which he was the only candidate in the running.\textsuperscript{123} In 1990, forces of the Rwandese

\textsuperscript{123}Cummins, Joseph. "XVII." In The World's Bloodiest History: Massacre, Genocide, and the Scars They Left on Civilization, 278-281.
Patriotic Front (RPF), made up of mostly Tutsi refugees, invaded Rwanda from Uganda. They lived there in exile due to previous conflicts between Hutu and Tutsi politicians and people.\textsuperscript{124}

\textbf{The RPF Invasion}

The RPF (Rwandan Patriotic Front) was a rebel force made up of exiled Tutsis and Tutsis supporters who were living in Uganda. The Tutsi had fled to Uganda in the early 1960’s as tensions rose between the Hutu and Tutsi; another reason was that when the Hutu wrestled control from the Tutsi they became the oppressors of the Tutsi. They did unto them as had been done unto them.\textsuperscript{125} The RPF, led by current President Paul Kagame, would invade Rwanda from Uganda in 1990. The invasion would last for two years until a ceasefire and agreement was made between the RPF and the government in 1992.\textsuperscript{126} In the following year yet another agreement would be made in Arusha, Tanzania, that would slowly shift power or the political structure to include the RPF.\textsuperscript{127} The death of former Major General Juvenal Habyarimana, the sitting President at the time, would also add fuel to the fiery rage of Hutu extremists. The fire would ignite into an all out 100 day war, a war some argue was sanctioned by Hutu extremists or their extremist sympathizers within the government.

\textbf{The Slaughter}

The slaughtering of the Tutsis began April 6, 1994 when President Juvénal Habyarimana was killed, his plane having been shot down.\textsuperscript{128} This was the justification the Hutu used to begin killing their political opponents together with the atrocities committed by the RPF in their 1990 invasion. The first act that garnered the title of Genocide was the actions that followed the

\textsuperscript{124}Cummins, Joseph. "XVII." In The World's Bloodiest History: Massacre, Genocide, and the Scars They Left on Civilization, 278-281.
\textsuperscript{128}Cummins, Joseph. "XVII." In The World's Bloodiest History: Massacre, Genocide, and the Scars They Left on Civilization, 284.
president's death; the “Massacre at Gikondo”\textsuperscript{129}. On April 9, 1994 hundreds of Tutsis were killed in the Pallottine Missionary Catholic Church, among the first casualties in the 100 day long genocide to rock the nation. The killers entered the church and targeted only the Tutsis parishioners, leaving no doubt that a point of no return had been reached. Genocide was clearly at hand. With the blatant disrespect for a religious and “sacred or holy” place, a 100 day war, later to be labeled Genocide, began in earnest.

\textit{The Genocide}

The genocide is believed to have been sanctioned by the Rwandan government. This, however, would only come to light when former Rwandan Prime Minister Jean Kambanda would plead guilty, at an international court hearing on May 1, 1998, “to the crime of genocide”: a genocide that, according to the UN news center, would leave 800,000 men, women, and children dead, perhaps as many as three quarters of the Tutsi population.\textsuperscript{130} At the same time, thousands of Hutu were also killed simply because they opposed the killing campaign and the forces directing it.\textsuperscript{131} Men, women, and children were beheaded, burnt alive with their arms tied behind their backs, or raped and cut up and left to bleed out. Statistics provided by the Survivors Fund\textsuperscript{132} tells us that aside from the killings carried out by the Hutu, between 250,000 and 500,000 women were raped during the 100 day period.\textsuperscript{133} Up to 20,000 children were to be born to women whom they had raped.\textsuperscript{134} Jean Hatzfeld would say this in explanation about Rwanda and those ‘unexplainable’ 100 days:

\begin{quote}
“Rwanda, [the] famous land of a thousand hills, is above all a land of one vast
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[132] A foundation that provided aid for survivors after the Genocide and collected data.
\item[134] A foundation that provided aid for survivors after the Genocide and collected data.
\end{footnotes}
village. Four out of five Rwandan families live in the countryside…. Even Kigali seems less like a capital city than a collection of villages linked by little valleys and tracts of open ground. After the genocide, many foreigners wondered how the huge number of Hutu killers recognized their Tutsi victims in the upheaval of the massacres, since Rwandans of both ethnic groups speak the same language with no distinctive differences, live in the same places, and are not always physically recognizable by distinctive characteristics. The answer is simple. The killers did not have to pick out their victims: they knew them personally. Everyone knows everything in a village.”

Survivors

According to the Survivors Fund, there are between 300,000 to 400,000 survivors of the genocide today. Yet these may not be accurate numbers for they may not take into account those who were born due to rape or those born from already pregnant mothers. Many of those who survived have similar stories to tell. Many would describe their life in those days as now 32 year old Hamis Kamuhanda would. The nightmare began for Hamis and his family the day after the moderate Hutu president’s plane was shot down. In his account:

"Then there was a knock at the door and before we could even respond, the door fell in and about four or so people came in and dragged my father out by his legs. That was the last we saw of him. We were hiding under the bed but we could see everything. Mother told us to keep quiet. Then the shooting began. The bullets came in and hit everything in the way. Yet no-one dared scream. Mother could not cover all four of us. I could feel blood coming from under my right shoulder and I did not know whether I was hit or not. I could not feel any pain then. My mind was occupied with the terror of being hacked to death. They played dead, praying that the killers would disappear. Suddenly the door burst open and they came in praising themselves for a good job done. I was closer to the door and they kicked me in my belly. It was painful but the thought of being severed alive with their machetes, made me stay as quiet as a mouse. One of them said: 'Let's make sure that he is dead with this'. I didn't move an inch, nor did I make any noise. They must have thought that I was dead. I just felt a very sharp pain on my leg and I must have passed out. I don't know for how long. But when I woke up, my mother was nursing my wounded leg. I was trying to look at the wound when I lost consciousness again. Later, Hamis learnt that he had fainted after realising that he

was left with only half of his right leg. The machete men had deprived him of the other half. But the Kamuhandas somehow felt lucky. Hamis's mother and his siblings had superficial bullet wounds which healed quickly. "God spared us. Pity I cannot say the same for your father."  

**Foreign Aid and Approach**

A Frontline documentary called “Ghosts of Rwanda” began with these lines: “Virtually the entire world turned away and did almost nothing to stop the genocide. The full story of perhaps the darkest and most brutal tragedy of our time, a story told by the victims and by the killers, by those who turned away and by those who stayed and tries desperately to save as many people as they could.” The “Ghosts of Rwanda” documentary goes on to introduce Rwandan UN Force Commander General Roméo Dallaire. General Dallaire spoke of the targeting of his Belgian peacekeepers and how Hutu extremist were only killing them to force Belgium to pull back its forces. The Canadian General also talked about how all he could do was watch as thousands of Rwandan people died. He could do nothing even for his men and how the eyes of the victims haunt him. He could do nothing for Kofi Annan, then Secretary-General of the UN, had given General Dallaire the order not to engage the extremist Hutu and to inform the Rwandan government, whom they knew to have close ties with the extremists, of what had been gleaned by an informant: that an imminent attack upon Belgian peacekeeping soldiers would be carried out in order to force the Belgian government to pull their soldiers.

Though not physically present, the policies and practices done while in power by the Germans and then the Belgians would pay dividends even after they had ‘helped’ the country

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138 Frontline is a show that produces and presents documentaries on a wide range of topics.
through its ‘decolonization’ period, with the decolonization having placed the oppressed in power and those formally in power as regular civilians and hatred in the air. This presented the Hutus with a perfect opportunity to get their revenge against the *inyenzi* or cockroach Tutsis. The UN, with Secretary-General Annan’s order, did nothing and outside involvement by foreign leaders was not forthcoming and many Tutsis would die. These Belgian officials left behind a country destroyed and devastated. Many of the countries people were traumatized by the events, not all of them Rwandan natives, in their wake yet decolonization had been ‘successfully achieved’. To use President Franklin D. Roosevelt's own words, the days of the genocide are ones that “will live in infamy” for the Rwandan people and a period in time forever branded in the minds of the world wide community.¹⁴¹ A memory of a Rwanda in chaos.

Chapter 7

The U.N. & Media in 1994 Rwanda

What role did the U.N. and Media platforms play during the Genocide?

The genocide could have been stopped; however it was not. During this time the country would be riled through radio broadcasts and newspaper published propaganda. UN peacekeepers on assignment in the country would be of no aid. The media was used to fuel the hatred already present and the UN was used as the front seat viewers to an absolutely horrendous horror film.

Radio Broadcasts Before the Genocide

Many Rwandans were unable to read much less write which made radio broadcasts the main source of communication between the government and the people. Radio stations would broadcast the local news, “official notification of appointments to and dismissals from government posts, announcements of government meetings and lists of candidates admitted to secondary schools.” Also broadcasted were the words of then President Juvénal Habyarimana and the propaganda of his party, the MRND; *Mouvement Républicain National pour la Démocratie et le Développement*. However, the stations were also used to help connect families to one another who had relatives living in distant cities or villages; these broadcasts would serve to notify family members of deaths and or births.

In March of 1992, the radio was first used in directly promoting the killing of Tutsis in a place called Bugesera, south of the national capital of Kigali. This would come on the heels of President Habyarimana’s obviously declining political power and standing. On the 3rd of March, after repeated broadcasts that a communication had been intercepted, a “warning that Hutu in

Bugesera would be attacked by Tutsis”, the convinced Hutus within the area would be called upon by their local council members to go on the offensive by striking first. “Led by soldiers from a nearby military base, Hutu civilians, members of the Interahamwe, a militia attached to the MRND party, and local Hutu civilians attacked and killed hundreds of Tutsi.” Yet this would not be the last straw to break the camel's back and jumpstart the Genocide.

On October 21st, 1993, the president of neighboring Burundi, Melchior Ndadaye, the first Hutu to become president of the country, was assassinated. Once the news of the assassination spread, Burundian Hutus began attacking Tutsis at times with the aid or leadership of government officials. This would then cause the primarily Tutsi military to strike back and begin a massacre of Hutus; in the end there were tens of thousands of dead from both tribes. News of these attacks spread even further and reached the ears of neighboring Rwanda. Rumors and propaganda began spreading the idea that the RPF had assisted Burundian Tutsis in the killing. These broadc astings on the assassinations would also cause Rwandan Hutus to use the Burundi attacks as an example why the Rwandan Tutsis would never follow the 1993 Arusha accords brokered by Tanzania. As with many other accords there were those who supported it and those who did not. Those who did not believe in the accord’s power would form “a new coalition with Habyarimana's MRND and the CDR.” This coalition would have as its battle cry the words 'Hutu Power' and as with the political parties and propagandists before it, the radio would be its main form of communication with the public in particular the RTLM or Radio-Télévision Libre des Milles Collines.

100 Days of Death on the Radio & within the UN

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144Thompson, Alan, The Media and the Rwanda Genocide Kampala,Uganda. 2007. 41 - 55
146Thompson, Alan, The Media and the Rwanda Genocide Kampala,Uganda. 2007. 41 - 55
148Thompson, Alan, The Media and the Rwanda Genocide Kampala,Uganda. 2007. 41 - 55
149Thompson, Alan, The Media and the Rwanda Genocide Kampala,Uganda. 2007. 41 - 55
With the death of the Rwandan President, when his plane was shot down, the RTLM began attacking the Belgian peacekeepers of the UN stationed in the country. They were to be held accountable for their supposed involvement in the president's death. These broadcasts led to the gruesome death of ten UN troops of the Belgian contingent. This was orchestrated by Hutu Power leaders who had predicted correctly that the death of these peacekeepers would have the Belgian government withdrawing its troops. Yet the Belgian government did not fully withdraw in the end and those left behind were given express orders to only “[concentrate] on protecting itself and taking no risks to save Rwandans.”150

On April 6th, 1994 RTLM sent out a call to arms to all Hutus via radio waves. Hutus were told to “rise up as a single man' to defend their country in what was said to be the 'final' war.”151 One of the broadcasters even went so far as to predict that this ‘final war’ would lead to the extermination of all Tutsis worldwide.152 Through the use of terms such as inyenzi or cockroach the radio commentators would help to incite the Hutus to violence against Tutsis and RPF combatants saying things such as “the cruelty of the inyenzi can be cured only by their total extermination.”153 They struck fear in the hearts of Hutus with statements about how the Tutsis were evil cockroaches whose combatants, RPF, often walked amongst them in plain cloths to join those escaping the country as refugees; they also warned Hutus to be vigilant and kill those thought to be Tutsis.

Authorities used both radio stations to give instructions and orders to listeners. RTLM announcers identified specific targets to attack, sending assailants on 8 April to the home of Tutsi businessman Antoine Sebera and later to the home of Joseph Kahabaye. One identified a hill in the capital where Tutsi were said to be hiding in the woods and another provided a list of 13 people and their locations. On one occasion, an announcer urged people guarding a barrier in Kigali city to eliminate

151Thompson, Alan , The Media and the Rwanda Genocide Kampala,Uganda. 2007. 41 - 55
152“UNICTR RTLM Tape 193
153“UNICTR RTLM Tape 194
Tutsi in a vehicle just nearing that checkpoint. Notified soon after that the Tutsi had been caught and killed, the announcer congratulated the killers on the air. In yet another case, the station directed assailants to attack a mosque in Kigali where Tutsi were seeking shelter and on another day, urged an attack on a convoy that was attempting to evacuate Tutsi and Hutu opponents of Hutu Power from the Hotel Mille Collines, a gathering point for people at risk (RTLM transcripts: 13, 29 April; 15, 20 May; 1, 5, 9, 19 June 1994). Later in May, RTLM said that General Dallaire should be killed, identifying him as a white man with a moustache (Dallaire 2004: 379–80). Leaders of the militia used RTLM to call their men to meetings in the capital or to send them off to other parts of the country (Kamanzi n.d.: 146). 154

These were just some of the ways in which the radio was used to detect, target and kill many of the Tutsis in hiding as well as those who thought to flee. As more died, those who fought for human rights sought help from the UN, U.S., and France yet none would come. The UN and other organization, one person in particular being Boutros Boutros-Ghali, would make it known that should any member of the UN intervene or confiscate the shipment of weapons that had been discovered severe repercussions would be dealt out to those involved. 155 It was not until the 30th of April, exactly 23 days since the beginning of the genocide, that the UN Security Council and therefore the Secretary General would hear a request for reinforcements to the peacekeepers on the ground; it would take two weeks to gain approval and even more time to be implemented. Once all was said and done the new peacekeepers arrived as the RPF took power and the interim government fled into exile.

What of the International Community?

The Human Rights Watch, when asked about the international community's silence on the situations impact, answered that their failure to intervene or at the very least provide signal jammers for the broadcasts allowed the interim government to perpetuate the untruth of their

154Thompson, Alan , The Media and the Rwanda Genocide Kampala,Uganda. 2007. 41 - 55
legitimacy in the eyes of the global community. This allowed them to gain credibility amongst the Hutu majority especially in the minds of those not already in league due to their ingrained hatred of the Tutsis. For those who cried that the use of jammers could have, at the very least, been provided, the Human Rights Watch responded in agreement. That to have done so would have served to “disrupt incitements to genocidal violence and would limit the delivery of genocidal directives.”\textsuperscript{156} It could have also cemented the views and standing of the international community of the Genocide and perhaps could have helped to weaken the claim to legitimacy held by the interim government during those 100 days as well as encouraged the efforts of the resistance.

\textit{The Response of Germany Post & Pre-Genocide}

In 1999 a report was written for the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development in Germany by Jürgen Wolff and Andreas Mehler which condemned German officials for not intervening at the time of the Genocide. Wolff and Mehler would write that "[t]he very fact that despite numerous warning signs, the German side was completely surprised by the outbreak of the civil war and the genocide, indicates some serious deficits in conflict detection and flow of information, [...] ."\textsuperscript{157} German officials have repeatedly responded to these allegations by stating that non-disclosure agreements being what they were at the time it was impossible for the government to have responded appropriately since it did not have the necessary information.

In the years following its recovery from the Second World War the German government reestablished and maintained a relationship with the Rwandan people. The country would have a German embassy, Developmental Agency (DED) as well as the German Technical Cooperation Agency (GTZ) (now known as the German Society for International Cooperation (GIZ) ) along

\textsuperscript{156}Thompson, Alan , \textit{The Media and the Rwanda Genocide} Kampala,Uganda. 2007. 41 - 55
\textsuperscript{157}Peltner , Arndt Germany s role in Rwanda s genocide: See no evil, hear no evil?DW- Deutsche Welle \url{http://www.dw.com/en/germanys-role-in-rwandas-genocide-see-no-evil-hear-no-evil/a-18522377} (accessed October 2017 ).
with other institutions within Rwandan borders.\textsuperscript{158} The government having gone as far as to have a significant presence of their defense forces on the ground since the mid-1970’s and whom are known as the Bundeswehr.\textsuperscript{159}

Berlin had hand picked Rwanda as a recipient for military equipment in an aid program for foreign forces. That said, where were the German government when signs of the impending genocide began to manifest in October of 1990? The RPF had led an invasion of Rwanda from the shared border with Uganda.

Statements and declarations given after the fact by those present during and before the genocide pointed to the escalation of tensions amongst both tribes. A German Pastor stationed in a Rwandan Missionary, Jörg Zimmermann, stated that "[t]he fact that it blew up, is an understatement" and that the raids, shellings, and specific oriented killings were "[...] atrocities [that] took proportions that even the traditional Rwanda [had not seen] before."\textsuperscript{160} Zimmermann listened to the hate speech against the Tutsi being spread on radio station RTLM and would write several letters to Germany for help. In one such letter, dated February 1994, he wrote that "[in] a recent issue [of the RTLM associated newspaper], Kangura [...]

These letters and warnings by many other German representatives in Rwanda wrote to Berlin of the escalating tensions, but no response was given. Berlin adopted a similar stance to that of the American government. It was later discovered that not one embassy record or communication to Berlin even mentioned the situation on the ground; not one mention of the impending genocide was discussed.

Then Ambassador to Rwanda, Dieter Hölscher, was said to be perplexed by the situation that due to its far-away nature the possibility of genocide was never even an idea in the minds of German officials. Hölscher was once quoted to have said that "[one] could not tell, it was always

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\textsuperscript{158}Nuwamanya, Emmanuel, "Germany to strengthen cooperation with Rwanda in skills development"http://www.wda.gov.rw/en/content/germany-strengthen-cooperation-rwanda-skills-development (accessed October 2017 ).

\textsuperscript{159}Peltner , Arndt Germany’s role in Rwanda’s genocide: See no evil, hear no evil?DW- Deutsche Welle

\textsuperscript{160}Peltner , Arndt Germany’s role in Rwanda’s genocide: See no evil, hear no evil?DW- Deutsche Welle

\textsuperscript{161}Peltner , Arndt Germany’s role in Rwanda’s genocide: See no evil, hear no evil?DW- Deutsche Welle
\end{flushright}
far from the capital [Kigali], we only heard of incidents in which people had died but not on the massive scale as later became apparent

Records on the genocide were classified and made inaccessible to the public. Documents of any kind can not be found at their likeliest location within the Defense Department or in the headquarters of GIZ, the organization that would replace GTZ and DED. Can this be evidence of the guilt felt by Germans and recognition of their part in instigating what would lead to the Genocide?

**The Response of the U.S. Presidential Administration**

Four years after the genocide President Clinton would go on a visit to Rwanda and say what is now known as the "Clinton apology." This apology, which was in reality a cautious acknowledgment, was given in March of 1998 to a gathering of Rwandan officials, survivors of the genocide and others. His words as he descended the step of AirForce One in the Kigali tarmac where: "We come here today partly in recognition of the fact that we in the United States and the world community did not do as much as we could have and should have done to try to limit what occurred" in Rwanda. It gave the false implication that the U.S. had made an effort to aid the Rwandan people during those days and felt ashamed of not having done more when in reality the U.S. like the rest of the international community had done no such thing. In reality the U.S. did not send troops and it worked quite tirelessly to remove all remaining UN peacekeepers from the country as well as having tried to stop the eventual approval of reinforcements to those 270 peacekeepers that were left after the initial withdrawal of men.

The U.S. government categorically refused to use the term Genocide in reference to the nearly 8,000 Rwandans dying a day in an effort to avoid having to provide assistance of any kind.

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162 Peltner, Arndt Germany’s role in Rwanda’s genocide: See no evil, hear no evil?DW- Deutsche Welle
Not even in the media was word mentioned of these ‘killings’ and when questions as to why, one CNN reporter, Gary Strieker, stated that what little coverage it did receive in the international media was due to the elections taking place in nearby South Africa; had there been no election there may have been no coverage of those 100 days. 166 “With the grace of one grown practiced at public remorse”, President Clinton grasped the podium before him with both hands, taking the time to make eye contact with nearly everyone present as he said, "It may seem strange to you here, especially the many of you who lost members of your family, but all over the world there were people like me sitting in offices, day after day after day, who did not fully appreciate [pause] the depth [pause] and the speed [pause] with which you were being engulfed by this unimaginable terror.” 167 As Samantha Power, of *The Atlantic*, stated in her piece on the speech, “Clinton chose his words with characteristic care.” 168

The Rwandan genocide was like a chess game with active and inactive participants. Through Radio broadcasts and newspaper publishings of propaganda, an interim government would succeed in gaining support for their plans of total annihilation of an ethnic group. UN peacekeepers on assignment in the country would be of no aid and neither the U.S. nor the remainder of the international community would help. Apologies may have been given, arguments and reasons may have been given, and aid may have been given, a little too late, but the genocide still took place and many are still dead.

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Conclusion

There is a consensus that there are no longer any colonies in existence. Yet there is also a consensus that slavery has ended and there are clear indications that that is most definitely not the case. Society has evolved and gained sophistication while simultaneously colonialism has proven to be very adaptable. It has simply changed forms, yet, never has it ceased to exist. December 14th, 1960 the UN made a declaration that all colonial countries and peoples should be given independence. Just two years later Rwanda would be granted independence yet the effects of colonialism can still be seen.

The U.N. Position

A declaration by definition, however, is simply a formal or explicit statement or announcement. The U.N. may have expressed in a succinct yet direct manner their stance on colonization yet this had no true effect. Yet they had a strategic reason for doing so. Had the declaration been anything more, perhaps similar to a Bill submitted to Congress, they would have run the risk of getting negative votes in the General Assembly. With the declaration, the U.N. not only avoided that situation but they also were able to have the declaration passed without “legal ineffective abstentions” and with the aid of French specialists in civil rights during the preliminary writing process. The declaration, entitled General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, is believed to have been modeled and structured after the 1789 “Déclaration des droits de l’homme et du citoyen” the French equivalent to the American Bill of Rights.

Yet, the representative of Saint Kitts and Nevis, Delano Frank Bart, spoke on the part of the Caribbean Community, also known as CARICOM, belaboring the need to place particular focus on scrutinizing the declaration. Bart, in 2009, spoke at the sixty-fourth General Assembly’s fourth committee in its second meeting on the subject of decolonization or the lack of progress in furthering this agenda. Bart “[…] worried, in particular, that [the] United Nations work on contemporary decolonization processes remained in a state of virtual inertia and that unless fundamental action was taken, the Organization would be complicit in stymieing the legitimate aspirations of peoples whose human rights it was created to protect.”

To date there remain a total of seventeen colonies in the world which are held in the hands of the UK, US, France, New Zealand and Spain on a technicality. Officially speaking, neither Belgium nor any other nation is a colonial power in Rwanda.

**Rwanda’s Still A Colony**

Following their 1962 independence Rwanda has experienced many upheavals as discussed in the previous pages, with the most notable being that of the 1994 Genocide. During this period the hatred and divisions instituted amongst the Rwandan people by Belgium, and Germany before them, reached their boiling point. Yet following the genocide, and the remarkable recovery of the landlocked nation, relations between Belgium and Rwanda are tenuous at best. The renowned Filip Reyntjens, a Belgian scholar known as the authority on all Rwandan matters, discussed in his 2015 publications the reasons behind this as well as the continued side effects of colonization. In *Political Governance in Post-Genocide Rwanda* Reyntjens discusses, through consideration of political governance versus RPF bureaucratic

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regime, the two sides to Rwanda and its President are viewed by the international community. First, they are viewed as the site of the worst crime against humanity committed in the 20th century. Yet Rwanda is also viewed as a nation which has risen from the ashes of said event to become a nation “[...] of fast growth and rare good economic governance with enviable advances in health care, education, and women’s rights.”

Thirdly, Rwanda is seen by scholars as a nation with “[...] autocratic rule, gross human rights [abuses], growing inequality and rural poverty, victimization of the Hutu majority, and injustice.”

President Paul Kagame

Rwanda’s current president is Paul Kagame the former leader of the RPF and the man credited with ending the 1994 Genocide. He is the nation's charismatic and ambitious president as well as the person responsible for bootstrapping the country out of the ashes of the genocide. However, Paul Kagame has been the country's president for the past seventeen years, having succeeded Pasteur Bizimungu officially on April 22nd, 2000. American author, academic, and journalist Stephen Kinzer is part of the first group discussed above. In his 2008 book, A Thousand Hills: Rwanda's Rebirth and the Man Who Dreamed It, Kinzer strives to enlighten his readers on the man who remade Rwanda and highlight the remarkable feat Kagame was able to achieve in doing so. However, his methods are questionable, as pointed out by Susan M. Thomson in her 2009 review of the book, because he draws the majority of his information from the “more than thirty hours of interviews” he’s said, in his acknowledgements, to have conducted with Kagame. Thomson described Kinzer’s book as having “[fallen] far short of its stated goal

of explaining Paul Kagame’s road to power; it simply reports the assertions of those in power. It is a pity that many people seeking to understand Rwanda will read this book without realizing that it is little more than government propaganda.”

The other side to that coin are in the works of like minded scholars such as Filip Reyntjens. Reyntjens, published *Political Governance in Post-Genocide Rwanda* in 2015 and clearly states in his introduction that his goal is to show the side of Paul Kagame who is responsible for the “[...] structural violence and [eventual] political instability [...]” that reigns in the country and which could lead to a “new conflict”. While Reyntjens is not as critical of Kinzer as Thomson is, he does feel that Kinzer struggled to syncretize the two images portrayed by Kagame. Kinzer begins by comparing the situations of Rwanda to that of Somalia and Kenya, paying special attention to the fact that crimes are near to non existent, that education levels are rising, and women's empowerment movements are gaining momentum and support throughout the country.

*Kagame and His Iron Fist*

Away from the camera and from the propaganda generators one sees a Rwanda in a clearer yet darker light. While achievements and advancements have been made Kagame is still president and can remain so until 2034. In this latest election, which took place starting August 4th, 2017, Kagame won victory against his primary opponent Frank Habineza. Habineza is a


Hutu in an opposing and independent party by the name of Democratic Green Party of Rwanda. However, Kagame’s most feared yet considered non-threatening opponent was Diane Rwigara, the daughter of one of his RPF members. Rwigara’s father was recently killed in a car accident, which she believes to have been manipulated into existence by the machinations of Kagame or his supporters. Through the work and ‘movement’ of Rwigara we learn of a different Rwandan than that portrayed through popular media.

Rwigara attempted to run against Kagame in the 2017 election but was barred from doing so by the National Electoral Commission and which was apparently not surprising. “Criticism is barely tolerated, and the history of the past 15 or so years is littered with the names of opponents silenced and dissenters muzzled. To that list Rwigara adds her father, a prominent Tutsi businessman known to have been close to the RPF, at least early on.” Rwigara’s father was killed, or in her opinion murdered, because the RPF was not given a portion of her father's business which in turn stopped them from being able to eventually take it over; the standard mode of operation for the RPF. Unlike her father, others resisted by simply leaving the country while Assinapol Rwigara lived and built up his business in Rwanda with great success. Rwigara rose above the smear campaigns used in an attempt to discourage her and her supporters. In doing so she began to bring to light the human rights violation being committed by Kagame and the RPF. Rwigara was once a member of this group, so does her distance and divulging of secrets

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182Gardner, Tom. "'Rwanda is like a pretty girl with a lot of makeup, but the inside is dark and dirty.'" The Guardian. August 04, 2017.
signify a split within the countries unifying force? Are the Tutsis on the verge of suffering an ethnic split as did the Hutus in the time leading to the genocide? Will this divide and thirst for total control lead to another catastrophic event like the 1994 genocide or worse? There are those who report Kagame as being of the same caliber as Joseph Stalin, Saddam Hussein and Kim Jong Un. Kagame having won the 2017 Rwandan election with “ [...] a near-perfect vote of 99% [...]. The costly sham elections had been preceded by a constitutional referendum in 2015. In that vote, 98% approved changes that allow Kagame, [officially] in power since [2000], to be president until 2034.”

**Human Rights Watch**

With Rwigara we learn of her family's experiences and opinion on the government. In her 2017 interview with Tom Gardner she stated that “[e]verybody knows somebody who has disappeared, who has been killed, [...] the personal doctor of the president and an army major both died in the same week as my father. And those are the well-known people. You don’t hear about the other people.” These comments and others making the request for an investigation brought Rwanda to the Human Rights Watch. During the week of Thanksgiving, 2017, Rwanda was called before the Human Rights Watch to give an account of their alleged non-compliance with the 2008 ratified treaty *Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment* (Convenant against Torture). It was alleged that Kagame and his administration were responsible for the “[detainment] and [torture

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185Gardner, Tom. "Rwanda is like a pretty girl with a lot of makeup, but the inside is dark and dirty." The Guardian. August 04, 2017.
of people, beating them, asphyxiating them, using electric shocks and staging mock executions. In October, Human Rights Watch issued a report documenting these abuses in military camps around Kigali, the capital, and in the northwest.” These prisoners were held and were not allowed to contact anyone in the outside world. They primarily imprisoned for being or working with “[...] “enemies” of the Rwandan government [...]}. Some of these people were held in unknown locations, incommunicado, for prolonged periods and in inhuman conditions. Human Rights Watch issued a report on this in October 2017. Ultimately, these prisoners were, often, left with no choice but to confess to being part of armed forces or to give information for the incrimination of another. Perhaps because of this “[the] Memorandum of Understanding between the Justice Ministry and Human Rights Watch, which in theory allows the organization to be registered in Rwanda, [and which] expired in June 2017 [...]” has yet to be renewed. Yet again similarities to the Hutu government of 1994 appear. Is there a chance that history will repeat itself?

Rwanda and Decolonization

Perhaps in recognition of the role played by the colonially instituted labels, Kagame passed legislation banning the use of ethnic labels such as Tutsi, Hutu, or Twa. In a nationalizing movement Kagame made a country see themselves as simply Rwandans. However, “[critics] argue that this policy is being used to cover up inequalities notably against the majority Hutus, who fail to secure any of the top jobs.” According to the UN report released in 2010, it can be

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confirmed that Kagame’s forces had indeed killed innocents during their search for those responsible for the 1994 genocide. Can the popularity of Kagame and his actions during the genocide be blinding the Rwandan people as well as the Western world to true situation in the country?

Officially speaking Belgium has no colonial rights over Rwanda, yet their actions during the time that they were have had rippling effects throughout time and space. Not only is the DRC, Democratic Republic of Congo, a constantly warring state but just as in the past what affects the DRC affects Rwanda. Rwanda may be one of the fastest growing economies in the African continent, yet it is often times the Rwandan led or supported forces that cause problems across the border. Belgium with the withholding of fifty million dollars worth of aid funds may be attempting to rectify the wrongs committed during colonization. In refusing to give the money unless certain conditions are met perhaps the Belgians are recognizing the state of the Rwandan people and seek to change them by using the money as an incentive to do so. However, the policies and mentalities which they left behind still hold sway as they are now part of the social norms and political strategy of governance.

On April 7th, 2014 an article was published in The Irish Times in which the tension filled and fractured relationship between Rwanda and France as well as Belgium could not be made more evident. President Kagame, who is notably and quite often referred to as Mr. Kagame, gave an interview with popular African Magazine Jeune Afrique in which he accused the aforementioned countries of being complicit in the 1994 genocide. In response to this Alain

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Juppé, the French representative to the country in 1994, stated that Kagame was simply attempting to rewrite history and that France was never “complicit [nor] “an actor” in the massacre of Tutsis.” In the same interview, Kagame, also pointed a finger at Belgium when stating that “[...] Belgium and France [had a direct role] in the political preparation of the genocide, and [that] the participation of the latter in its actual execution.” However, the Belgian foreign minister, Didier Reynders, made it quite clear that these comments were not going to dissuade him from paying homage to the slain on the 20th anniversary of the genocide. Reynders was “[...] not going to pay homage to the current Rwandan government,” but to the victims and their families.

Yet, has Rwanda ‘escaped’ colonization to be controlled by a dictatorship in the form of Kagame and the RPF that is credited with saving the nation from the brink after the genocide? Is there a difference despite the involvement pull back done by the Belgians today? Is it not telling that with Kagame and the RPF in power there are little to no ethnic Hutu representatives within the government? Do the illegal detention and summary execution of Hutus and those seen as enemies of the government not bear a striking resemblance to the 1994 Hutu administration of Akazu? Is the suspension of ethnic labels, and therefore ID’s, truly representative of a distancing from the former colonial policies? Or is it the lack therefore, demonstrated by the injustices committed against those of ethnic Hutu identity or ancestry? Evolution and sophistication along with a new standard of morality do not automatically indicate nor induce an end to a history of

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colonialism for it has proven quite adaptable through time. Never has it ceased to exist yet legally it has.


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