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The Rwandese

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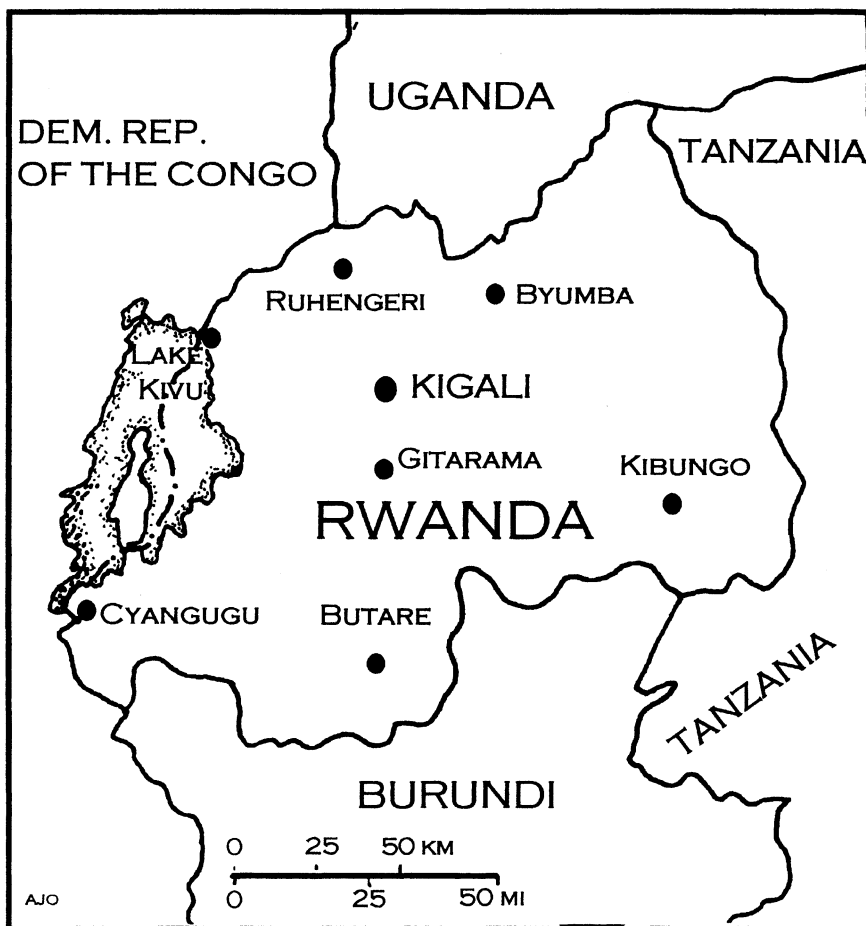
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Chapter 1 1

The Rwandese

Clea Msindo Koff and Ralph J. Hartley

CULTURAL OVERVIEW

The People

The Rwandese²¹ are a set of peoples who live in the country of Rwanda in eastern central Africa who today number an estimated 7.9 million.² Rwanda is a small country that has the highest population density (numbers of people per square-mile) in Africa. All Rwandese speak Rwanda (Kinyarwanda), and some speak French, Swahili, or English. Rwandese identify with three population groups called Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa. Today, these labels are used as ethnic identifiers; however, in the past they designated an individual's occupation.

It is not clear if the words *Hutu*, *Tutsi*, and *Twa* existed in ancient times when people from surrounding regions began migrating to Rwanda in greater number. But by the end of the nineteenth century, most agriculturists were known as Hutu, most pastoralists as Tutsi, and those who primarily hunted and gathered were known as Twa. This system of classification was not hierarchical in its earliest usage, and Rwandese could be classified differently throughout their lives if their mode of production changed.

The labels have become more rigid over time, and a hierarchy was introduced in the classification scheme. This transformation of the meaning of group identities began in the late nineteenth century as a complex state system grew in Rwanda. The labels were solidified during the period of European colonial rule that commenced in 1899 with a German protec-

torate. Tutsi became the elite, Hutu were treated as subjects, and Twa were marginalized.

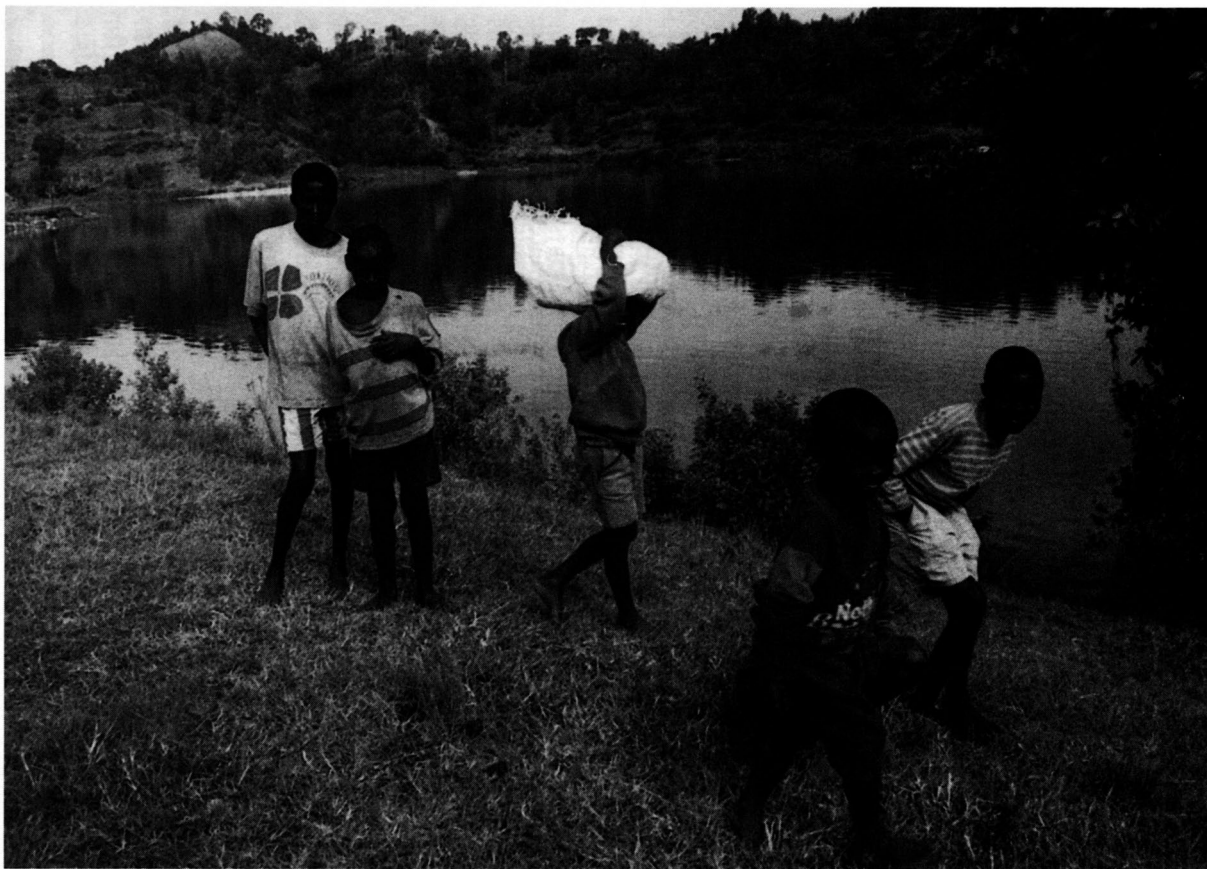
The labels *Hutu*, *Tutsi*, and *Twa* were inherited through the father's lineage or, if a child was born to an unmarried mother, through the mother's lineage. The labels no longer indicated an individual's mode of production, could not be altered during the course of a person's life, and were concretized by being added to the mandatory identity cards all Rwandese began to carry. This last practice was introduced in the 1930s by the Belgian colonial administration (1915–1962) and persisted until 1994 despite the end of colonial rule in 1962. Prior to 1994, it was estimated that 85 percent of the population held an identity card that designated their ethnicity as Hutu, 14 percent were labeled as Tutsi, and 1 percent of the population was recognized as Twa.

The Setting

The nation of Rwanda, which covers an area of 10,169 square miles, is about the size of the state of Maryland. The Rwandese live in a country known both as the Switzerland of Africa and as the Land of a Thousand Hills. Both titles refer to Rwanda's mixture of grasslands, rolling hills, and volcanic mountain ranges. In addition, waterfalls can be seen in the crevices of some mountainsides. Rwanda sits just south of the equator, yet it experiences a range in daily temperatures, creating a lush tropical climate with an average temperature of 73°F. There are two rainy seasons, from February to May and from September to December, characterized by heavy daily downpours separated by brilliant sunshine.

Both the topography and climate of Rwanda can be differentiated between the eastern and western portions of the country, as measured from the ridge line of the Congo-Nile Divide, the mountain range that runs from north to south in western Rwanda. The eastern portion is characterized by open pastures, low hills, and less rainfall during the rainy seasons. In addition, when it is hot in Rwanda, the eastern region is always hotter and drier than the west, particularly as one approaches the border with Tanzania where temperatures can reach 90°F.

In contrast, the western side of the Congo-Nile Divide presents a steep descent to Lake Kivu and the Ruzizi River Valley. Temperatures in western Rwanda are lower on average than those in the east and are accompanied by more rainfall year-round. Despite the slope of the land in western Rwanda, Rwandese farmers have cultivated most hillsides for agriculture. The difference in topography between western and eastern Rwanda is so marked that as one begins to descend from the Congo-Nile Divide by car toward the central plateau, one will have a bird's eye view of a great expanse of land stretching out far below that resembles a quilt due to the



Young boys at Lake Kivunear, Kibuye, Rwanda. (Courtesy Ralph J. Hartley)

multihued rectangular agricultural fields and grazing lands that cover the landscape.

The ridge lines of the mountains in Rwanda present yet another climate. The volcanic Virunga mountain range in northwestern Rwanda borders both Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (former Zaire) and contains the National Park of the Volcanoes. The highest peak here rises to 14,870 feet above sea level and is snow capped. The vegetation is that of a tropical forest, and the mountains are home to, among other animal species, the last bands of endangered mountain gorillas studied by primatologist Dian Fossey and the subject of the film *Gorillas in the Mist*. The higher elevations of the Congo-Nile Divide itself, such as above 9,000 feet, experience overnight temperatures below freezing, and scrub forests abound.

Traditional Subsistence Strategies

Due to the presence of fertile soil and dependable rainfall on the slopes and crests of hills, agriculture has been a steady feature of Rwandese subsistence. In addition, most cultivators raise some cattle, and some pastoralists rely on larger herds of cattle alone. The primary subsistence crops are beans, peas, sorghum, cassava, sweet potatoes, maize, and bananas. Bananas are an important crop to the Rwandese: Not only are they a year-round staple, but they are also used to brew banana beer—a drink served in formal social interactions. In addition to various kinds of bananas, the Rwandese consume more sweet potatoes and beans than any other food product.

Traditionally, shifting cultivation was employed whereby new areas were farmed when the soil in older plots of land was exhausted. Population growth, however, has rendered opportunistic migration impossible; therefore, settled agriculture is now practiced, and the same plots of land are reused, employing crop rotation or a fallow period under ideal conditions. Farming is undertaken by small-scale family units who attempt to cultivate plots at diverse elevations to reduce the risk of food shortages due to inadequate rainfall or extreme erosion. The slope of most plots makes mechanized agriculture difficult, if not impossible; so the traditional hand-farming tools of hoes and machetes have continued as the primary subsistence implements.

The goal of each family unit is to provide food for the family. Thus the raising of cash crops is of secondary importance even though cash crops are the main source of income for individuals. The primary cash crop for export to the world market is coffee, but tea and pyrethrum, a flower used in insecticides, are also grown. On the local level, bananas are the main cash crop. Some Rwandese also raise goats, sheep, and chickens, and

younger men fish with nets along the coast of Lake Kivu. Many Rwandese supplement their incomes through engaging in rural industries, including craft production and sale, and through migrating to the major towns and cities for purposes of work. In the new millennium, there is still a fairly sizable number of Rwandese whose subsistence base is provided by relief agencies and nongovernment organizations.

Social and Political Organization

Precolonial Rwandese society was made up of about thirteen *ubwoko*, or clans (groups whose members assume they have a common ancestor but cannot precisely trace their relationship to each other), and are further divided into patrilines (*imiryango*) (kinship groups where ancestral linkages are traced through males). Descent is normally traced patrilineally, that is, through the male line, but women did not take their husband's name upon marrying. People of the same clan were very close and helped each other. Each clan was represented by a specific totem, usually an animal, bird or reptile. While certain clans produced kings, others provided functions that supported the monarchy. The king (*mwami*) and queen-mother (*umugabekazi*) had political power, supported by a royal council (*abiru*) that provided advice. The social and economic system of Rwanda was characterized by *ubuhake*, which entailed that people with less wealth and power would become clients to the wealthy, in exchange for protection and cows—one of the most valued commodities in traditional Rwandan society.

In the late nineteenth century, the region that is now Rwanda was occupied by several small kingdoms, many of which were often at war with each other. The largest kingdom, the Abanyiginya dynasty, expanded its power and influence and eventually controlled all the land in Rwanda's current boundaries. The leader of the Abanyiginya kingdom was attributed divine power and dominated the people with his chiefs. For many years several smaller kingdoms in the northwest part of the country resisted this control, but by World War I, the new German colonial administration (1890–1916) helped incorporate these kingdoms into the evolving social and political organization. After 1916, near the end of World War I, the Belgians gained control of Rwanda and began exercising greater control over the primarily Tutsi central aristocracy. The Belgian colonists empowered the king and his administrative rulers with enhanced economic and social control over the people. These rulers were essentially subject to Belgian authority. The people were obligated to grow cash crops to pay high taxes to the ruling government, while the Tutsi monarchy maintained access to land—reserving much of it for pasture for their cattle. This political and social system, in which wealth and strength were established by cattle ownership, reinforced the Tutsi king's power and, in turn, maintained Belgian control. The divisions between Tutsi and Hutu were codified and

institutionalized by the Belgian colonial administrators. They ensured educational and employment opportunities for Tutsi, causing entrenched resentment among many Hutu, some of whom were relegated to forced labor. Only Tutsi boys were selected for training as chiefs, positions that amounted to being administrative officials of Belgian authority and that were rewarded according to the amount of taxes chiefs collected.

Rwanda gained independence in 1962. The constitution, passed by the National Assembly, permitted the election of a president as head of state and head of the army. The country was divided into ten administrative regions, known as prefectures, and 141 communes, representatives of which were elected in obligatory elections.

Religion and World View

Several religions are followed in Rwanda. The majority of the population of the country—perhaps 80 percent—is Catholic, with the remaining 20 percent of the population equally divided between Muslims and traditionalists (those who practice indigenous religions). Despite the apparent Christianization of most Rwandese, it is likely that many practice a blend between traditional Rwandese beliefs and Christian dogma.

Traditional Rwandese religious beliefs center around Imana, a Supreme Being who is considered the Original being, the Creator, and the great Provider. Worship of Imana does not involve ritual so much as prayer, oaths, blessings invoking Imana's name, and naming of children after Imana. Rituals are associated with supernatural forces that are believed to inhabit all things and with the unhappy spirits of ancestors who live in the underworld. Both small offerings, such as a few drops of milk, and large offerings, such as a goat, are provided to placate these spirits at periodic intervals.

Catholicism arrived in Rwanda as part of the intense and sustained Christian missionization of East Africa. Missionization had commenced in Tanzania in the mid-nineteenth century, then expanded into Uganda and southeastern Kenya, all neighboring countries to Rwanda. The turn of the century brought a particular order of French Roman Catholics—the White Fathers—from Uganda into Rwanda. They built their first mission at Save in 1899 just as the country became part of German East Africa. By 1919, the White Fathers had established at least sixteen missions throughout the country where they provided education and wage labor opportunities. Conversion by Rwandese was slow at first, but the period from 1927 to 1935 saw an enormous conversion to Roman Catholicism, from 36,978 to 202,732. Today, most primary and secondary education in Rwanda is still provided by the Catholic Church.

There was some initial resistance to Catholicism because Rwandese were following the example of the king, Musinga (1896–1931), who refused to

convert. Organized resistance came most strikingly in the form of the Nyabingi cult of northern Rwanda. The Nyabingi cult was multiethnic and multiregional; its adherents lived in Uganda, northwestern Tanzania, and it surfaced in southern and central Rwanda under the name Ryangombe or Kubandwa. The cult is named for the hero goddess of fertility, health, and prosperity, and its followers believed that Nyabingi's power, among other capabilities, could melt European bullets. Both the German and Belgian colonial administrations had difficulty in suppressing the cult, which protested against missionaries and colonialists several times before it was sent completely underground in 1934.

Whether a given person follows Christianity, Islam, or traditional beliefs, all Rwandese emphasize the importance of family and believe that children have particular value because children are the link between life and death. Oral tradition provides guidelines for living through stories, myths, and aphorisms.

THREATS TO SURVIVAL

Demographic Trends

The population of Rwanda has steadily grown due to improved nutrition and health programs enacted during colonialism and decreased infant mortality. The population density, therefore, has increased; the number of persons per square mile was approximately 700 in 1990, and it was nearly 990 persons per square mile of arable land (i.e., roughly 71 percent of the country). By comparison, the population density of the state of Maryland (a comparable size) is approximately 470 persons per square mile. Rural resident projections (made before the 1994 genocide) estimated that Rwanda's population density in 2025 would exceed 1,300 persons per square mile. Rwanda currently has one of the highest population densities in Sub-Saharan Africa and one of the highest birthrates. In juxtaposition to the high birthrate, the fast-growing AIDS epidemic will take the life of 1 person out of 10 in the coming decade.³

Current Events and Conditions

Two major threats face the Rwandese today: environmental degradation and internal violent conflict. The first threat stems from a food need and the second from resource competition. Both these sources, however, are related to the high—and increasing—population density in Rwanda. This relationship can be visualized in the following manner: Population growth leads to resource competition, which, in turn, contributes to internal violent conflict and increased food needs, which, in turn, leads to agricultural intensification (more labor and energy invested) and the expansion of agri-

cultural activities in marginal lands. Eventually, these processes result in deforestation, environmental degradation, soil erosion, and encroachment on park land, including areas where there are endangered species, notably the mountain gorilla, a number of whom have been killed over the past several years in spite of concerned efforts to conserve them.

The second threat, internal violent conflict, stems from the competition for natural and material resources. Competition between people can take place at both the political and personal levels, and that competition is associated with violent conflict.

Environmental Crisis

Although Rwanda encompasses land that is highly fertile, such as that found in the numerous river valleys and the volcanic soils in the northwest, only 70 percent of Rwanda's total land is suitable for farming or grazing because of the amount of hilly and mountainous terrain. Some percentage of the suitable land is still further unexploitable due to waterways, unpredictable climate, or because it is reserved for industrial use. The limited amount of ideal and available agricultural land has led the Rwandese to employ some practices aimed at increasing food production that have detrimental effects on the land. These practices include moving into marginal lands, intensive cropping, overgrazing, and encroaching on forest and parkland.

Marginal land refers to those lands that do not provide ideal conditions for agriculture. In Rwanda, this means the steeper slopes. Steep slopes require a barrier in the form of a terrace, drainage ditch, or vegetation to keep soil from washing down during rains. Rwandese farmers using the steepest slopes are often younger and only cultivating the marginal slopes because all the "good" ridge line plots are taken by older family members. The younger farmers feel pressure to maximize the amount of ground dedicated to crops; therefore, erosion control in the form of additional plantings are rarely used, and the slopes both lose soil and create a landslide danger. In addition, the plots on the steepest slopes are often planted with crops that grow well in poor soils but still have a high calorie level, such as manioc, maize, or tubers, but these crops have no inherent erosion control features—that is, they do not provide cover for the soil from rain. When soil loss does occur on hills, the runoff becomes sedimentation in the valleys, and this increases potential for flooding.

There has been intensive cropping in both the marginal lands and those areas that are well suited to agriculture. Intensive cropping encompasses the planting of crops one after another without employing a fallow period that allows the soil to "rest" and rebuild its nutrients. By shortening or eliminating a fallow period, a Rwandese farmer can, in the short term, increase the probability of producing food year-round. In the long term,

however, intensive cropping removes the natural nutrients from the soil that allow crops to thrive. Without the addition of fertilizer, crops grown in depleted soil are weak and therefore more vulnerable to unfavorable conditions, such as erratic rainfall. Many Rwandese farmers cannot afford chemical fertilizers, and the use of natural fertilizers, such as manure, is limited to bananas, beans, and other important crops located close to the family compound. Eventually, soil planted under these conditions will not be able to support a crop at all. The same is true in pasture areas that have been overgrazed; here, vegetation is no longer able to regenerate itself over time.

Much of the land now used for farming was originally part of Rwanda's natural forests. It is estimated that less than 600 square miles of forest remain. Deforestation reduces soil stability and leads to deterioration in the density or structure of vegetation cover, a phenomenon known as degradation.

The end result of weak crops is lower yield; in turn, low yield leads to food shortage, which in its extreme form is famine. In Rwanda, the very efforts employed to meet the food need are increasing the inability to provide food.

Sociocultural Crisis

No one has anything. So that creates competition between groups. If someone has no work, he says it's the other group that has all the work.⁴

The second threat facing the Rwandese is internal violent conflict. Civil wars, in 1959, 1963, and 1972, caused many Rwandese to flee to neighboring countries where they lived as refugees until the wars ended. When they tried to return to Rwanda, however, the government would not readily allow them to do so. The justification given for the "closed border" policy was that there was not enough land for all the people already in Rwanda and letting the refugees back would only compound the problem—especially because 90 percent of Rwandese depend on agriculture for their livelihood. In 1990, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), an army made up of Rwandese living in Uganda, attacked Rwanda's government army, from the north. The RPF goal was to defeat the army, overthrow the standing government, and let the refugees return to Rwanda. They did not succeed, and in the following three years, defenses against the RPF grew: Organized militias in Rwanda were armed, and the army was strengthened under President Juvenal Habyarimana. Many resident Tutsi were categorized as being potential accomplices to the RPF—a Tutsi-led army—and were murdered.

In conjunction with the refugee issue, Rwanda's economy was under stress. During the 1950s, the world's market for coffee, Rwanda's main export, had fluctuated wildly. By 1989, the price Rwanda received per kilo

of coffee had dropped almost 50 percent. As a result, the income of people living in rural areas was drastically reduced. In addition, a disease that affects coffee trees reduced yields in some areas, and a serious famine racked the south and southwest parts of the country in the fall of 1989. Farmers needed to cut down coffee trees to make the land available for food production, but this made it difficult for them to pay increased taxes used to support school education, health care, water supply, and distribution networks. Moreover, rising costs of fuel and military demands put families in stressful situations.

By the late 1980s, the average family had little more than two acres on which to grow crops, while some of the more wealthy and powerful people in the country were increasing their landholdings. Poverty was increasing while divisions between social classes grew wider. The future appeared bleak for many, especially for young men who were required to have a house before getting married, but most had no access to land and little education, and there were few available jobs.

Into this climate of concern for the future, one radio station in Kigali, the capital of Rwanda, poured fuel for hate: Radio Milles Collines included daily speeches by extremist political leaders that identified the RPF—and by extension, all Tutsi—as the source of Rwanda's problems and a threat to Rwanda's future. The leaders behind the hate speech were therefore distressed when President Habyarimana responded to another unsuccessful attack by the RPF in 1993 with a meeting to discuss peace. This meeting led to a peace negotiation that called for President Habyarimana to share power with RPF leaders; the negotiations took place in neighboring Arusha, Tanzania, and became known as the Arusha Accords.

The government stipulated by this peace agreement was not fully implemented when, on April 6, 1994, a plane carrying President Habyarimana was shot down over Rwanda. The next day, the extremist wing of the then-ruling party initiated the systematic murder of over 500,000 men, women, and children. Tutsi were targeted specifically. Identity cards, required of all Rwandese, became a distinguishing label of those who were to die and those who were to live. The majority of those killed were noncombatants and not associated with the RPF. In the first few days, gangs of militia (*Interahamwe*) went from house to house, killing Tutsi and Hutu residents who had opposed extremist political and social positions. Within a week of the beginning of the killing, thousands of victims were herded to churches, schools, stadiums, and other public areas where they were subsequently massacred with machetes, hoes, clubs, spears, bullets, and grenades, sometimes over the course of several days. This mass murder lasted from April through June of 1994 and is identified as the first legally defined genocide in Africa. The massacres ended with the advance of the RPF into Rwanda and their takeover of the government.⁵

Yet another threat facing Rwanda and other central and southern Afri-

can countries is the HIV/AIDS crisis. Like other Sub-Saharan African countries, Rwanda has a substantial number of people who have HIV/AIDS, and there are hundreds of thousands of orphans in Rwanda whose parents have either died from AIDS or other diseases or who have lost their lives in the violence that has wracked the country.

RESPONSE: STRUGGLES TO SURVIVE CULTURALLY

The relationship between environmental degradation and food shortage is recognized by the Rwandese. The attention paid to it has been particularly acute during the famines Rwanda has suffered. The Rwandese response has taken several forms, but the 1994 genocide has severely constrained large-scale mitigation efforts as the focus has turned to the healing of the population. Between the colonial era and the 1990s, a number of government-sponsored efforts to mitigate environmental degradation were launched throughout Rwanda. In some cases, these efforts were well received by Rwandese farmers and are credited with improving conditions; in others, however, the mitigation methods had degradation outcomes of their own. For example, the largest government effort to mitigate the shortage of land was the relocation of families from around the country to planned agricultural settlements, primarily in the northwest. These government-sponsored cooperatives were called *paysannats*, and the crops grown were for export: coffee, tea, pyrethrum, wheat, and potatoes. The *paysannat* plan, in effect during the 1960s and 1970s, was successful in easing the population density of some rural areas; however, the land cleared for these cash crops was often natural forests—further damaging the overall environmental condition through deforestation.

Numerous mitigation methods were introduced to rural farmers, and they were adopted to various degrees. Erosion was combated with a hedge-planting campaign and some small terrace building on the steeper fields. Soil conservation measures were encouraged, including mulching of crops, digging of drainage ditches, and intercropping. Two new crops, rice and soybeans, were introduced because they are high-yield crops and were expected to decrease food shortages. Deforestation was addressed through planting of fast-growing trees, such as cypress and eucalyptus, in communal forests or along roadsides. As for grazing lands, pastoralists were encouraged to plant foraging crops for their herds.

Since 1994, however, most of these efforts have been deemphasized or diminished entirely due to the social disruption from the genocide. Rwandese in the north and northwest of the country have been particularly hard-hit because this region was heavily mined during the conflict and continues to experience violence. Farmers from this region have been reluctant to cultivate fields that have not been cleared of mines, and many Rwandese are concerned about the overall insecurity of the region. In addition, Vi-

runga National Park and its neighbor, Akagera National Park, are no longer protected because the government has little control in the area, making them vulnerable to further deforestation as local residents look for wood, the main source of fuel for most Rwandese. Indeed, deforestation has greatly increased since the genocide as camps for internally displaced people lead to the total removal of all trees and small vegetation in the immediate area—usually encompassing several miles. The vegetation is initially removed to make room for tents or lean-tos, and then the remaining wood is rapidly consumed as firewood.

Although it is estimated that 20 percent of land in Rwanda was not cultivated directly after the genocide, the new government is aware that land and food shortages continue to pose a threat, particularly as the population now holds not only 2 million returnees from the genocide but nearly 800,000 refugees who have returned from decades in effective exile. All of the returnees vie for land rights with the survivors of the genocide. To address this, the government has attempted to increase arable land by converting swampland into farms, promoting resettlement, and distributing seeds to those farmers who already have land. Resettlement consists of providing families with housing and several acres of land, primarily in the eastern region—the last less populated region of Rwanda but also the drier and less fertile region.

Churches, women's organizations, and some international aid agencies are promoting efforts to heal emotional wounds resulting from the 1994 genocide. Vice President Paul Kagame emphasized in 1996 in an interview, "People think it is a matter that we should have got over with and forgotten. But, no, no, no, no. We are dealing with human beings here."⁶ The government has attempted to improve the cohesiveness of all Rwandese by eliminating reference to ethnicity on identity cards, eradicating reference to ethnicity in speeches or public documents, and ceasing gathering of data on ethnicity in education and government. It has established the National Reconciliation Commission to promote a common history by removing myths for all Rwandese while monitoring government programs to confront bigotry and promote national unity. Tens of thousands of people are imprisoned for allegedly participating in the genocide; however, many of them are in overcrowded jails without having been formally charged. The government is attempting to rebuild the judicial system so these prisoners can be brought to trial.

Attempts are also being made to decentralize decision-making power and lay the groundwork for some kind of multiparty democratic political system. The outlawing of ethnically based political parties is a major element of this effort. Social and economic support for villages in Rwanda is a key to assuring greater stability. Enforcing security for village residents in the face of revenge killings, coercion, and extortion is an ongoing challenge to political and civic leaders. Improving the material well-being of families is

integral to rebuilding the social system of Rwanda and constitutes the most significant challenge to the country's leaders as well as their most valuable legacy.

Along with efforts to promote conflict resolution by international agencies, nongovernment organizations, and community-based organizations in Rwanda, there are substantial investments being made in promoting the health, education, and welfare of the Rwandese. Some of the investments are being made in HIV/AIDS education and treatment programs and the reconstruction of the social and physical infrastructure of the country relating to health and educational services. In some cases, excombatants are working together to promote development and peace initiatives at the local level in Rwanda.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

The sources of threats to the Rwandese are interconnected. The environmental crisis stems from a lack of sustainable agriculture in a country that depends on agriculture for its subsistence yet lacks the economy to support an import/export system. The degradation of the environment, coupled with a growing population, leaves the Rwandese people vulnerable not only to severe and ongoing food shortages but also to the potential coercive tactics of politicians whose agenda for power consists of the literal elimination of their enemies—as was the case in 1994. The genocide radically altered the emotional, economic, and social lives of the nearly 8 million people now living in Rwanda. Postgenocide reconstruction is aimed at reconciling all Rwandese, for the key to their long-term cultural survival lies with finding a balance among population growth, food production, and social and material well-being. Finding this balance can reduce future threats to the social system of Rwanda that center around the potential for competition that in the past has been labeled “ethnic conflict”—a phrase that does not describe the struggle for survival by Rwandese both today and in the past.

Questions

1. What are the factors that led Rwanda to have such a high density of population?
2. Why is sustainable agriculture so important for Rwandese survival?
3. What are the legacies of colonialism for Rwandese social and political organization?
4. The 1994 genocide in Rwanda is often explained as a result of “ethnic conflict.” What are some of the alternative explanations for why some Rwandese would choose to participate in genocidal violence?

Endangered Peoples of Africa and the Middle East

5. What can the rest of the world do to help the Rwandese reconcile their differences and stabilize their social and economic system?

NOTES

1. We have defined the Rwandese here as the people of the country of Rwanda. The population of Rwanda consists of three major peoples, all of whom are considered endangered: the Hutu (89 percent), Tutsi (10 percent), and Twa (1 percent). The three groups speak Ruanda (Rwanda, Kinyarwanda, Orunyarwanda). There are intermarriages among the Hutu and Tutsi, blurring social, ethnic, and linguistic distinctions. The Hutu and Tutsi also have a common heritage and had a long history of coexistence, much of it peaceful.

2. The Rwandese as a group are some of the most endangered peoples in Africa. Not only were there between 500,000 and 800,000 Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa murdered systematically in 100 days in April–July, 1994, but there have been thousands of retaliatory killings since 1994, not only in Rwanda but also surrounding countries, including the Congo, Burundi, Tanzania, and Uganda. In the eastern Congo, which has seen over 2.7 million deaths in the past two decades of struggle, there have been tens of thousands of Rwandese who have been killed or who have disappeared, including Hutu, Tutsis, and Twa, among other groups.

3. Data on AIDS are from the World Health Organization and United Nations AIDS (UNAIDS).

4. Quote by Alexi Kayitsinga in Jeff Drumtra, *Life after Death: Suspicion and Reintegration in Post-Genocide Rwanda* (Washington, DC: U.S. Committee for Refugees, 1998), 37.

5. Alison des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1999), 37–38; United Nations, *The United Nations and Rwanda 1993–1996* (New York: United Nations, Department of Public Information, 1996), 8.

6. Paul Kgame in Philip Gourevitch, “After Genocide—A Conversation with Paul Kagame,” *Transition* 6, no. 4 (1996): 162–84.

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- Chronicle of a Genocide Foretold*. 1996. 3 volumes. Directed by Danièle Lacourse and Yvan Patry. For more information, contact Alter-Ciné, 5371 Avenue de L'Esplanade, Montréal, Québec, Canada H2T 2Z8. Film about the genocide in Rwanda in 1994, shot over three years.
- Forsaken Cries—The Story of Rwanda*. 1997. 35 minutes. Amnesty International USA.
- A Republic Gone Mad, Rwanda 1894-1994*. 1996. Directed by Luc de Heusch. Available from First Run/Icarus Films, 32 Court Street, 21st Floor, Brooklyn, NY 11201. Telephone: (800) 876-1710. A film about the history of Rwanda from German rule in 1885 to the genocide in 1994.
- Rwandan Nightmare*. 1994. Directed by Simon Gallimore. Available from First Run/Icarus Films, 32 Court Street, 21st Floor, Brooklyn, NY 11201. Telephone: (800) 876-1710. Film about the genocide in Rwanda and how political struggle, not ethnic hatreds, led to it.
- "Valentina's Nightmare." 1997. *Frontline*, April 1, 1997. Produced by Mike Robinson. Fergal Keane, Correspondent. Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

WWW Sites

- Africa News Web Site
<http://www.africanews.org/east/rwanda/>
- NetAid
<http://www.netaid.com/survival/project>
- Rwanda Hope Society
<http://www.rwandahope.com>
- Rwanda Page
http://www.sas.upenn.edu/African_Studies/Country_Specific/Rwanda.html
- United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN). Humanitarian information newsletter.
<http://www.reliefweb.int/IRIN/index.phtml>

Organizations

African Rights
11 Marshallsea Road
London, SE1 1EP, United Kingdom
Telephone: (44) 171-717-1224
Fax: (44) 171-717-1240

Association for the Promotion of the Batwa
BP 2472
Kigali, Rwanda
Telephone/Fax: (250) 74761.

CAURWA (Communaute des Autochtones Rwandais) (Association for the Promotion of the Batwa and the Association for the Global Development of the Batwa of Rwanda).
P.O.Box 3809
Kigali, Rwanda
Telephone/Fax: (011) 250-776-40

Physicians for Human Rights
100 Broylston Street, Suite 702
Boston, MA 02116
Telephone: (671) 695-0041
Fax: (617) 695-0307
Email: phrusa@phrusa.org
Web site: <http://www.phrus.org>

Rwanda Hope Society,
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Vancouver, BC V6B 1H7, Canada
Telephone: (604) 488-0860
Fax: (604) 684-1296
Email: info@rwandahope.com
Web site: <http://www.rwandahope.com>