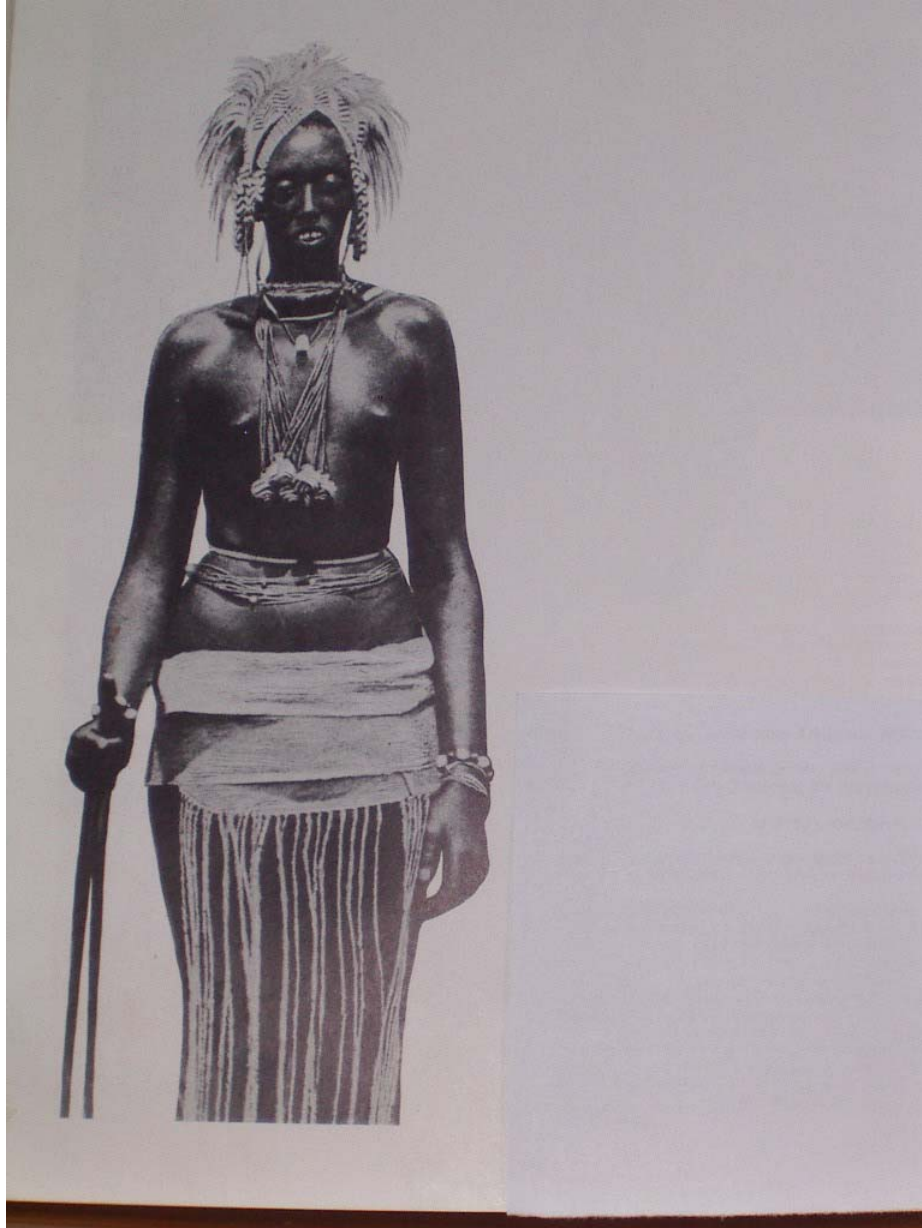


Yuhi V MUSINGA, the King of Rwanda 1897 - 1931

Photograph taken from « Au plus profond de l'Afrique : Le Rwanda et la colonisation Allemande 1885-1919, de Gudrun Honke »



Other suggested lessons:

- The impact of the introduction of industrial crops.
- Education during the colonial era.
- The consequences of Morthan Reform in political-administrative domain.
- The introduction of ethnic identity card.

MODULE III: POSTCOLONIAL RWANDA (1962-1990)

Introduction

Theoretically Rwanda obtained its independence in July 1962, however the country continued to evolve around a certain colonial logic “divide and rule” which compromised the national unity of Rwanda.

Theme: Regional and Ethnic Segregation

The First and Second Republics are known not for their democratic ideals but regional and ethnic discrimination which were institutionalized.

A. Overview

First initiated by the colonial power with Morthan reform since 1962, discrimination opened only for the Tutsi the way to the best schools, government or private posts and more particularly territorial ones.

When in 1950 the Tutsi elite claimed independence, the colonial power used opposition Hutu elites against them. These Hutu elites aspired more for colonial functions which they were denied, rather than the country’s independence in 1962. Indeed, the Hutu elites inherited the country from the colonialists.

The first republic put in action ethnic discrimination against Tutsi in the sectors of public life (schools, army, public service, territorial service, etc).

The second republic, since 1973, radicalized discrimination against Tutsi and initiated regional discrimination against Hutu from the central and southern part of the country.

These different forms of segregation constituted serious human rights violations and somehow prepared the way for the genocide of the 1990’s.

Discriminatory practices under the colonial regime

The colonial Belgium administration chose nationals from the Tutsi group as their auxiliaries in the colonization. This choice had a negative impact on social relations between Chiefs and Deputy Chiefs and the rest of the colonized population who were forcefully imposed on them.

The social Rwandan body divided itself slowly by slowly into rulers (Tutsi) and the ruled group (Hutu) forming two rival groups whose confrontation became inevitable in 1959.

This confrontation between Tutsi and Hutu under the arbitration of the representatives of the Belgium power resulted into the victory of Hutu political parties (Aprosoma, Parmehutu, etc) over Tutsi parties (RADER, UNAR, etc).

Finally, the excluded of yesterday, the Hutu was hoisted into power by colonial regime to replace its former collaborator the Tutsi, the excluded of today.

Therefore, discrimination inspired by colonization was exercised against Tutsi and his descendents throughout the First Republic and later on by the Second Republic. This will not only be ethnic but also regional discrimination.

Discriminatory practices under the First Republic

Ethnic racism was institutionalized against Tutsi by excluding them from schools, the public service, the army, the central administration and finally by committing mass massacres against them. Those among them who escaped from killings sought refuge outside the country or re-settlement sites within the country.

Until 1968, the Kayibanda regime was subject to Inyenzi (refugees outside the country) attacks and as a reaction to each attack the regime carried out retaliations against Tutsi who remained in the country by using brutal interrogations, emissary torture and killings.

Systematic killings of Tutsis in Gikongoro (1963/1964) were carried out by Hutus armed with machetes, spears and clubs with the support of Kigali government emissaries. Many observers believed, beyond any suspicion, to a genocide that took away not less than 10,000 lives.

After crushing the attacks of Inyenzi, the regime faced opponents with regional aspect within Parmehutu party. The group from the North opposed the group from Gitarama, which practiced a radical regional nepotism against the North.

Discriminatory practices under the Second Republic

The regime of President Habyarimana intensified ethnic and regional discrimination by installing ethnic and regional quotas proportional to ethnic and regional representation in the population. Therefore, access to Education and employment was distributed in favour of Hutu from the North.

Hutu from the Central and South regions were removed from decision taking centers while Tutsi were almost fully excluded from political posts and administrative functions of the government.

During the 80's, the power was exercised by people originating from the president's region of birth, Bushiru (Gisenyi) and more particularly by a very small group made essentially by the brothers-in-law of the president and their close confidants. The general environment was racketeering and corruption of this political military ruling class which marginalized more and wider sections of society.

It is then that voices were raised from almost everywhere to denounce abuses and injustice and to claim democracy. The answer was the genocide of Tutsi and the killing of Hutu opponents.

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C. Cross – Cutting Themes

1. Economic growth and crisis (1962-1990)
2. Rwandan refugee's problems (1962-1990)
3. Socio-cultural evolution (1962-1990)

D. Teaching Commentary and Historical Detail for the Teacher

Part 1: Myths and Divisionism Ideologies in Rwanda

Immigrations

Africa is a continent, which experienced many migrations. At the beginning of this era, Bantu people started a long migration. From a starting point called “pre-Bantu” near lake Chad, some families of agriculturalists went up to central of Africa and established themselves in the region called Luba-Bembe in Katanga savannah they were using iron tools. This first group of cultivators dominated very quickly local populations who were living by picking and hunting (...) between the 7th and 10th century AD, these people arrived in Rwanda, bringing with them agriculture and iron.

Source: HEREMANS, R., 1973, 22-23.

b) Kinship among social groups in Rwanda

•Version 1

Gihanga had three sons equally courageous. He did not know seasons for any growing. By then people cultivated anytime. As a result, crops were sometimes good and others bad. One day, Gihanga sent his sons Gahutu & Gatutsi to Kibariro (the cultivator) to have appropriate information on cultivation.

Before Gahutu and Gatutsi arrived, they came to the place where people were slaughtering a cow. Gahutu told them “let me show you how to do it” he cut up the cow and he was given some meat for the work done. Gahutu put the meat on Gatutsi’s head and continued. They arrived to Kibariro who had organized a collective work in his fields.

Those who were cultivating gave Gahutu and Gatutsi some beer. Gatutsi did not want to drink, but Gahutu did so. When Kibariro saw that Gatutsi refused to drink, he called him and gave it to him in a secret place alone.

Gahutu told Kibariro that they had a message addressed to him by their father Gihanga. Kibariro responded that he would receive it after at night. They went to sleep. At night Gahutu started vomiting and because of that, Gatutsi went to sleep in the same room as Kibariro. When Kibariro woke up he asked his wife why Gihanga’s sons did not come to deliver to him the message sent by father. He added: “if they come late, I will tell them nothing or I will lie to them.”

Kibariro began to tell his wife about different seasons of cultivation. “The first month is September and when it appears people saw beans. Fields are prepared for sorghum in October and November. It is cut and harvested in July and then cows come to graze at these places; August is the end of the year.

Thus Gatutsi who was the same room heard all these and returned to his guesthouse. The following morning, when Gahutu got up, he went to Kibariro but Kibariro lied to him. Every time Gahutu asked for more explanations, Kibariro would tell him that he could not talk to deaf people.

They went back home and when Gihanga saw them; he felt happy and demanded for a report. Gahutu said that Kibariro talked too so much that he could understand nothing. Gihanga got angry, because his eldest son could not provide the required information.

Gatutsi took his father aside and told him all about the seasons and the bad behavior of Gahutu during their trip. Gihanga ordered Gatutsi to kill Gahutu, but he refused. Gihanga told Gahutu; “You will not be a chief as planned, but Gatutsi will be your master; he will scorn Gatwa.” Since then and thereafter Gahutu did not sleep and Gihanga told him that

he would be Gatutsi's watchman and his client. Moreover, he would receive milk from Gatutsi and would have no cows. Gatwa would be the carrier for Gatutsi.

Source: BIGIRUMWAMI, A., *Ibitekerezo, Indirimbo, Imbyino, Ibihozo, Inanga, Ibyivugo, Ibigwi, Imyato, Amahamba n'amazina y'Inka, Ibiganiro*, Nyundo 1972, pp-11-12- MANIRAGABA B. *Le mythe des fils de Gihanga ou L'histoire d'une fraternité toujours manqué* In: BANGAMWABO, F.X. et alii, *Les relations interethniques au Rwanda à la lumière de l'agression d'octobre 1990. Genèse, soubassements et perspectives*, Ruhengeri, Editions Universitaires du Rwanda, 1991, pp-61-129.

•Version 2

From Wilhem Mensching, a protestant missionary who worked in Kirinda from 1912 to 1916 and gathered interesting texts of oral tradition

Imana created Hutu, Tutsi and Twa and the girl. One day, Imana called them and poured some milk in four pots and gave one to each one. Imana asked them to keep the milk without sleeping until he would come back. They waited but got tired. The foam of Gahutu's milk got out the pot and fell on his hands. He licked it. The Tutsi milk also did the same a bit. The girl's milk foam poured on her breasts. Gatwa waited for a long time, got annoyed and drank the whole milk and slept. When Imana came back, he asked questions to everybody to know what happened. Then Imana fixed the destiny of everybody accordingly. To Hutu whose milk poured on his hands said to him; "work in fields for Tutsi and make baskets and carpets for him". For the girl, Imana said, "your milk is in your breasts. Let Hutu marry you and give you milk". For Tutsi who kept some of his milk, Imana said, "if you get ten cows, five will die and you will stay with five. If you have twenty cows, ten will die and you will remain with ten". For Twa, Imana said, "go and be a porter, damned for Tutsi so that he gives something, damned for the king so that he gives you something".

•Version 3

Gahutu and Gatutsi were walking together and met Imana. He called Gahutu and ordered him to beat the earth; Gahutu had planned to travel and die, he refused and said, “No, my father, I cannot beat the earth with my stick”. Imana ordered the same thing to Gatutsi who obeyed and suddenly a flock of cows got out the earth. Then Imana told Gahutu, “You are Hutu, you think much about your life. Gatutsi must be your boss”. And the tale concludes that Gahutu regretted what he had done and thus Hutu were dominated by Tutsi because they were not intelligent.

Source: BIGIRUMWAMI, A., Ibitekerezo, Indirimbo, Imbyino, Ibihozo, Inanga, Ibyivugo, Ibigwi, Imyato, Amahamba n’amazina y’Inka, Ibiganiro, Nyundo 1972, pp-11-12- B. Cité par MANIRAGABA In: BANGAMWABO, FX & al, 1991 : 61-129.

2. Views of missionaries and colonialists about Rwandan “ethnic groups”

•Concerning Hutu or Tutsi leadership, Bishop Classes told President Mortehan, in 1927:

“If we wish to be practical and look for the true interest of the country, we have in the Tutsi youth an incomparable element of progress that anybody who knows Rwanda cannot underestimate. Eager to know and to learn whatever comes from Europe and to imitate Europeans, they are entrepreneurs, sufficiently aware that ancestral customs have no reason to be, however they conserve ancient political sense and the skills of their race to conduct people, these young men have the required potential for the country’s future economic well being.

“Ask Bahutu if they wish to be led by commoners or nobles, the answer is simple; they prefer Batutsi and for a cause. Chiefs by birth, they have the sense of ruling (...). It is the secret of their settling in the country and their domination upon it.”

{Lacger, L. (de), 1959: 523.}

•In 1930, Bishop Classe continued to defend this policy in colonial places of power representatives.

“The biggest mistake ... that the government could make to itself and to the country would be suppressing the Mututsi caste. Such a revolution would lead the country directly to anarchy and to hateful anti-European communism. (...) in general terms, we will have no better chiefs who are more active and intelligent, more capable of understanding progress and even more accepted by the people than Batutsi. If anything it is particularly with them that the government will manage to develop the country in all aspects.”

{LACGER, L. (de), 1959: 524.}

•R Kandt wrote in 1905

“If I can analyze and define honestly my feelings, I can say that they impressed me very much. I have even today the same feelings (...) those people are barbarian with an intellectual level a bit lower than mine. Hutu have a strange behavior. In presence of their bosses, they are reserved and raise issues. But when we are alone with them, they tell us almost everything we want and even what we do not ask them. I understand their difficulties and question them when they complain about their oppression and their lack of rights. Most of the time, I tell them to use their elbow and remind them that, their number is 100 times bigger than that of Batutsi and they are only capable of complaining like women.

(LUGAN, B., 1980: 132)

•The Duke of Mecklenburg wrote (1909):

“The manner in which Batutsi use their language is very distinctive. We have the impression to have another class of people who have nothing in common with “blacks” except the color of their skin.”

(LUGAN, B., “Sources écrites pouvant servir à l’histoire du Rwanda”, *Etudes Rwandaises*, no special, 5, XIV, 1980, p.132)

•In 1931, Ryckmans, a Belgian administrator wrote:

(The Batutsi were created to reign-----nothing is surprising that the courageous Bahutu, less crafty were enslaved by them without revolt.)

(LUGAN, B., “Sources écrites pouvant servir à l’histoire du Rwanda”, *Etudes Rwandaises*, no special, 5, XIV, 1980, p. 26)

3. Propaganda and ideology in the 1950s:

•The racial problem

“Some wondered if it was a social conflict or a racial one. We think this is just literature. However, we can say that: the problem is first of all the political monopoly of one race: this political monopoly is becoming economic and social; this political, economical and social monopoly becomes cultural as a result of discrimination done in Education and the Bahutu are desperately condemned to remain inferior manpower... *Ubugake* was banished but it is replaced by that monopoly which is creating abuses and complaints from the population...”

...On political point of view, if we agree that the Tutsi administration participated more and more in the government of the country, we must point out that one system wanted to replace the colonialism of the white to the Black, by another one of a Hamite to Muhutu. We must predict difficulties, which can come from the Hamite origin domination on other races, which were established, in the country long time before him. We want that:

1. Laws and customs are codified.
2. The promotion of the Bahutu in public positions be done
3. Mandate be determined for public positions and people can elect someone else after or the present officer be reelected if he gets satisfaction of the population..
4. The chiefs of provinces be withdrawn from "Councils of chiefs"
5. The National High Council be composed by the district delegates: every district will be represented according to the number of its taxpayers, without excluding Europeans who have definitively established their residence in the district...

In order to monitor this monopoly of one race, we are opposing for the time being the suppression in official and private documents the mentions of "Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa". Their suppression risks to favor again discrimination and to prevent the statistic law to establish the truth of facts. No one even said that it was the 'word', which annoys Hutu; it is the privileges of one group.

(Source: Note sur l'aspect social du problème indigène au Rwanda (Le Manifeste des Bahutu 24 Mars 1957) sur <http://www.noublions-jamais-com/reaction-manif.htm>, le 24/10/2004.)

•Reactions from 12 servants of the king "bagaragu b'ibwami bakuru" 17 May 1958:

What are relations between Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa? Hutu pretend that Tutsi, Hutu, Twa are Kanyarwanda's sons. But with whom did Kanyarwanda beget them, the name of their mother and her family? ...

We know that Kigwa was born long time before Kanyarwanda and consequently Kanyarwanda came late after the existence of three races, which he found well established. How could Kanyarwanda come before the existence of those he found alive? It it possible to have a baby before own existence?

Bahutu pretend that Kanyarwanda is our common father. But Kanyarwanda is a son of Gihanga, the son of Kazi, Merano, Randa, Kobo, Kijuru, Kimanuka, and Kigwa. Kigwa found Bahutu in Rwanda. How can Tutsi be brothers of Hutu? The history shows that Ruganzu killed many Hutu chiefs (abahinza) and conquered their domains. As our kings killed Bahutu ones how can they pretend to be our brothers?

(Source: "Ibaruwa y'abagaragu b'ibwami", Kinyamateka, 15 juillet 1958, no 14, p.2)

- **Karake's article published in Kinyamateka is a keen reply**

I would like to tell you that we are all Rwandans, whether those who originate from Kigwa, or from Mututsi and Nyampundu, even others who came before the above-mentioned from different areas, we are all brothers and sisters. We should all unite and work together instead of creating divisionism among ourselves-and this is possible. All of us; Tutsi, Hutu and Twa have to find the way of stopping hatred among ourselves. This exists because of ethnic names' misinterpretation (...)"

(Source: KARAKE, E "Ndasubiza abagaragu bakuru b'ibwami" In: Kinyamateka, no 22, 15 Nov 1958, p. 2)

- **Kayibanda's speech at a political meeting (1959):**

"Our movement is for Hutu group. It has been offended, humiliated by Tutsi invaders. We have to light the way for the mass. We are there to reconstitute the country to his owners. It is the country of Bahutu. The little Tutsi came with the rich one. Who has cleared the forest? It is GaHutu? Then what?

(ERNY P: 1994: 58)

- **The First Republic**

"During the first Republic, the only values admired were to be Hutu and to belong to an ethnic majority of Hutu"¹³.

Source: Mahmood, Mandani: When Victims Become Killers, p.

- **A Hutu's slogan**

"A Hutu knows how to cultivate the land, so Tutsi too learn how to cultivate; Rwanda has got its true owners-the Hutu, so let the Hutu dominate".

(Source: UGIRASHEBUJA O., "Griefs objectifs Hutu Tutsi" quoted by NKUSI L. "Crispation identitaire sous les deux rép." in RUTEMBESA, F., et alii, Rwanda. Identité et citoyenneté, Série no 7 des Cahiers du Centre de Gestion des Conflits, Butare, Editions de l'Université Nationale du Rwanda, 2003, p.137)

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•An article published in Kinyamateka by Sebananwa.

“In fact, we are fighting for nothing, let us rejoice and feel satisfaction because our ethnic group has power. Every one should appreciate his or her job. We should not have ‘bourgoumestres’, ministers, etc... who cling and fight for positions. No one seems to be satisfied with his/her job. It is surprising that Bahutu brothers in PARMEHUTU party are now busy fighting for power among them. Tutsis are now ordinary citizens and other parties have no power, and this means that Hutus in power can do whatever they want; then why should you fight among yourselves? It is very sad to see PARMEHUTU members fighting among themselves-a thing that gives our enemies, the Tutsis happiness”

(Source: SEBAGANWA, D., “Ntimukitane ba mwana” In: *Kinyamateka* no 29, Augusto 1966, p. 3)

4. Confusion of being a Mututsi, Muhutu or Mutwa in Rwanda? A reflection from Mugesera (2004)

Being a Mututsi is not a tribe, it was a social status that came into being on basis of how many cows one had. The same principle applied to a Muhutu. Gahutu was never taken for a tribe. It was a social status that described Rwandans who were involved in cultivation and usually succeeded to make a living from it. This is all about social formation (Mugesera, 2004).

Any category of people in a social formation gets a name that describes its members in accordance with their social status in order to show clearly the difference from one category to another. It is for this reason that some Rwandans who made it to the high social class due to wealth-in form of cows by then, were called batutsi (ibid, 2004).

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The fact of being a Mututsi, Muhutu or Mutwa did never depend on the origin as portrayed by the western people because none of the Rwandan people knew or thought that they came from different places on different times. These issues of origin and migration were colonial concepts (Interviewee in Kigali town, on 19/10/2004, at 4:00 pm).

In terms of social formation, some people who acquired a given status whether lower or higher could join easily another category or class of people. In this case, a Muhutu who acquired a good number of cows gained the status of a Mututsi and this was commonly known as '**kwi hutura**', likewise, when a Mututsi was impoverished and began to cultivate, he could be categorized easily as a Muhutu (Interviewee, Gikondo, on 24/9/2004 at 5:00pm).

The fact is that colonizers found these 'classes' in Rwanda, under the monarchy. Typical of any monarchy, Rwandan monarchy too practiced some kind of oppression based on these classes. But this was not 'tribal or ethnic' based or discrimination as portrayed by colonizers and perpetuated by MRND PARMEHUTU which culminated into many subsequent havoc (ibid, 2004).

5. Segregation Tendencies in the Rwandan Army

The first and second Republics were characterized by ethnic and regional discrimination in almost all domains. Like any other sector in Rwanda, the Rwandan Army was also affected by this segregation. The conditions of admission in the army were not supposed to contain any form of discrimination, but this was not the case. Some Rwandans were more favored than others.

The segregation ideology which characterized both Republics had its roots in colonial military organization. The introduction of a Rwandese National Guard in the 1960s came from the initiative of the then Belgian military representatives. This first group was almost constituted by one “ethnic group”. Consequently the first and the second Republic adopted this segregation tendency.

Rwanda was conquered by Belgian troops in 1916; as a result, Rwanda had remained under a foreign military occupation for a long period of time. Till 1960 Rwanda was still under Belgian administration and its military force composed of the government Force and a group of policemen. During the 40 years of colonial rule, no Rwandan soldier was recruited. According to the International regulation, no territory under trusteeship was authorized to have an army¹.

The government Force was composed of:

- Belgium officers only

The government Force was composed of:

- Belgiau officers only
- Junior-officers were mainly Belgians and Congolese natives.
- Soldiers who were recruited among Congolese².

Congo got its independence and this was an opportunity to exclude Belgians from the Public Force. Patrick Lumumba, the then Prime Minister gave instructions to Congolese soldiers in Rwanda to leave and return to their own country. For this reason, the Territorial Guard of Rwanda – Burundi was created on the 13th June 1960, before elections took place. Few days later a school for junior-officers for both Rwanda and Burundi was created in Usumbura. This type of command for both countries helped to initiate a local military training for whose command was extended to those two countries³.

According to BEM Guy Logiest, the then Belgian military resident, the Rwandese territorial guard command was given to Major François Vanderstraeten. Many Belgian deputy officers from different ranks were sent to Rwanda to support their staff⁴.

The Rwandese section of the school for junior officers was transferred from Usumbura to Astrida (Butare) in November 1960. Some divisions the like of platoons, were created in

¹ LOGIEST.G, *Mission au Rwanda*, Bruxelles, Didier-Hatier, 1988, p.15

² SEBAGANDE, FX, *Etudes des Institutions militaires pré-coloniales d'après 1960 au Rwanda*, mémoire, Kigali, ESM,1988, p.44 (translated from French)

³ LOGIEST, G., *Mission au Rwanda*, Bruxelles,Didier-Hatier.,1988, p.159

⁴ SEBAGANDE, G., Op Cit.p.45

provinces. On November 10, 1960 the school for officers was opened and seven students⁵ registered. Some of the students were; Juvenal Habyarimana, Aloys Nsekaliye, Bonaventure Ubalijoro and six of them were promoted to the rank of 2nd lieutenant on December 23, 1961, and among them there was J. Habyarimana, the President of the second Republic⁵. During the period between December 1962 and July 1967, Rwanda encountered different incursions of “Inyenzi”, consequently, new units were created and established on the border. In December 1973, the National Guard was called Rwandese Army. In 1978, the National Army was merged by the National Police Force (Gendarmerie) and later became the Rwandese Army Force⁶ (F.A.R)

Because of “Inyenzi” attacks, the FAR had two main objectives:

- To defend the Rwandan territory integrity
- To maintain the security of all Rwandans⁷

These attacks were aimed at eliminating the internal opposition by massacring civilian population and thereafter begin segregation and even in addition to that carry out the elimination of the opposition associated to Batutsi⁸. The region of Gikongoro was most affected. These events constituted the origin of the explosion of the discriminatory and regional ideology in the Rwandese army.

⁵ LOGIEST, G., *Op. Cit.*, P.160

⁶ SEBAGANDE, FX, *Op. cit.*, p.59

⁷ LOGIEST, G., *Op. Cit.*, p.160.

⁸ GATWA, T., *Rwanda, Eglises, Victimes ou coupables? 1900-1994*, thèse de doctorat, Louvain, ,,1996, p.117.

a) **The segregation in the Rwandan army was a result of colonial attitudes**

Testimony from G Logiest

“Since 1960, I was concerned about the departure of the Public Force when Congo became independent. For unknown reasons, the security in Rwanda was Congolese Force’s responsibility. We must remember that Rwanda was conquered by colonial troops in 1916. So, naturally, the conquest was followed by a military occupation. What I did not understand is that after 44 years later, the situation was unchanged no Rwandan soldiers were recruited.

That situation was astonishing as in 1960; the colonial power had to be aware that in a near future, Congo and Rwanda would become independent and then each one to have its sovereignty. Did Léopoldville or Brussels hope that foreign troops, be it Congolese or Belgian were going to stay after Rwanda became independent? (...)

Did they maybe dream of creating a “Belgian Commonwealth” in which the Belgian army would ensure peace? It seems that no instruction was given for the creation of a Rwandan force.

I had permission to send some Rwandans in a training camp in Congo, but it was not a good solution (...) the problem became more serious for two reasons: one of them was the union between Rwanda and Urundi which still existed. According to that principle, both countries had to remain united even after independence. This solution, whose aim was the prevention of a partition came from UN utopia. As a result this situation complicated the creation of the defense institution, which Rwanda strongly needed.

The second reason was the presence of Belgian troops. Their command was organized at the level of Rwanda-Urundi. Col BEM Delperdange had established his staff in Usumbura. That command urged to create a local army with one command for both countries. Colonel Van Damme, the then battalion commander of police took charge of it. This new unit took the name of Rwanda-Urundi Territorial Guard and it was somehow under the command of Belgian troops.

This was more complicated as Usumbura was far. The problems of Urundi raised more concern than those of Rwanda, especially for military domain. But for me, the solution was easy. I estimated that it was important to create for each of the ten territories of Rwanda one mobile and well-equipped platoon as soon as possible. Moreover, it was necessary to create a reserve battalion for intervention in the the whole country. For this purpose, it was urgent to recruit at least 1,200 men and create one school for deputy officers and another for officers with the provision of required materials.

But Usumbura and Kitega Residents in Urundi were not eager to arm a Rwandan unit whose attitude they feared when independence would be granted. The Congolese events had traumatized many people. From then, in that conception of a united Rwanda-Urundi, the lack of trust delayed the creation of Rwandan units.

I traveled to Usumbura many times to convince them. Finally, the Territorial Guard of Rwanda-Urundi was created on June 13, 1960, before communal elections took place. Thereafter a school for junior-officers for both countries was created in Usumbura (...).

Two events marked this problem. The first one was elections in Rwanda and the big victory Hutu political parties. People hoped for a normal and good evolution of events. The second was the Congolese independence. The then Congolese Prime Minister P.Lumumba excluded Belgian officers from the Public Force and ordered different units to elect their own chiefs.

The first consequence was that I hurried to put up a local force composed of 14% Tutsi and 86% Hutu officially, but this was practically almost 100% of Hutu.

The second consequence was the departure of many Belgian deputies -officers from ex-Public Force. This allowed Rwanda to have good representation in the army. It was an advantage for Hutu to have the majority in the national force.

The situation was clear for us. To a Hutu political majority we created accordingly a national force (...). Despite of some reluctance, the Rwanda school of officers was transferred from Usumbura to Astrida. On November 10, 1961, the school of officers was opened with seven students. Six of them were promoted to the rank of second Lieutenant on December 23, 1961. The brilliant chief of this promotion who was then 2nd Lieutenant Juvénal Habyarimana, and was to become the second Rwandan president.

(LOGIEST, G., *Mission au Rwanda*, Bruxelles, Didier Hatier, 1988: 158-160)

b) Personal experience of a respondent

“I was among the first three Rwandan officers to join the military career. Among these there were: Juvénal Habyarimana, Aloys Nsekalije, and later, Sabine Benda, Pierre Nyatanyi, Alexis and Bonaventure Ubarijoro joined us.

Joining the military was not easy for me since every time I could sit for an interview, I was told that I failed. Someone informed me later that I was admitted in the military service on the ground that he knew my father, but later I discovered that I was recommended by the United Nations.

The military in Rwanda used the “*pignet system*” to eliminate some individuals. It was a system that scrutinized people basing on physical tests. Although Tutsi were allowed to join the military, it was very hard for them to be admitted. Military officers would do whatever they could to make them fail.

I did not find many problems at ESM (Ecole Supérieure Militaire) except some accusations put on me that I was always having secret meetings with Ndazaro, Rukeba, and Bwanakweli who were leaders of UNAR. I always appreciated what other officers hated. For example I was sad when Patrick Lumumba and Louis Rwagasore died but other officers were happy. When politicians were preparing for Kamarampaka elections, they came to visit students and I was left in isolation. After Kayibanda’s victory on 26/9/61, during the celebration I was charged with ushering MPs of UNAR and Bishop Bigirumwami, Jean Baptiste Gahamanyi and Joseph Sibomana because we were of the same group while other officers were charged with ushering PARMEHUTU and APROSOMA members.

There was a Whiteman nicknamed Cornichon who told me when Habyarimana became Chief of Staff that I would be appointed minister of defense, If it was UNAR to succeed. Habyarimana did not hide the segregation against Tutsi.

When I was promoted to second lieutenant and sent for further studies in Belgium on 23/12/61 my movements were always monitored so that I could not interact with my colleagues at Astrida.

Anytime I was sent on the front line during Inyenzi attacks, I would be told, “go and fight your brothers”. Many accusations were put on me that I was always in contact with Inyenzi. I was surprised when the Chief of Staff during Nshili attack told me not to send to the front Laurent Serubuga, commandant of Cyangugu region because his wife was pregnant while he knew very well that place.

In 1966, during Buyenzi attack, in order to push Inyenzi, the Rwandan Army burnt many houses. It was said that I was taking revenge on the population. There were many accusations on my collaboration with Inyenzi. The reason was that I helped some Tutsi to join the exile. Thus many politicians were unhappy with me.”

{Source: Interview with Col. Epimaque Ruhashya on 21/07/2004, at Gitega in Kigali. (Translated from Kinyarwanda)}

Other experiences

The admission to the Rwandan military career was subject to an ethnic belonging (affiliation). Hutu from the northern Rwanda were more favored, because after the “1959 crisis”, the first republic found that to be a Hutu was of a great value. In order to protect the results of the “1959 revolution” the Kayibanda regime favored people from the northern considering them as true Bahutu (not hybrid) capable of protecting the revolution.

(Source: Col. Kanimba in a lecture at KIE)

Batutsi were excluded from the army. Some Tutsi changed their ethnic group on their Identity cards to be admitted in military schools.

The “pignet” system at time was an opportunity to exclude those who were not needed. And the response was that they did not fulfill requirements.

Another explanation to that northern influence in the Rwandan Army was that Rwandans from the Central and the south occupied the important administrative positions. During the first Republic, these most important positions were given to people from Gitarama province because President Kayibanda was from that region. So, people from the north were worried. Consequently, they found refuge in the army, where they became very important.

The northern influence in the army began when the new chief of staff was appointed. Consequently young people from the south and the central Rwanda chose to pursue their studies at the National University of Rwanda to have important positions in government administration while young Hutu from the north chose to join their cousins in the army

Source: Epimaque Ruhashya, the only Tutsi senior officer in the Rwandan Army during both republics, interviewed on Aug 8th, 2004. ^{16,}

When President Habyarimana took power in 1973, he held all the duties of the Minister of Defense also that of Chief of staff and he dominated intelligence services from the top to the bottom. The command of the military forces belonged only to people from Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, and Byumba and particularly Bushiru-the native region of President

Habyarimana. These positions could not be given to Batutsi or Bahutu from the central part of the country.

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Source: GATWA, T., *Rwanda: Eglise, victime ou coupable? 1900-1994*, Thèse, Louvain, 1996, p.117.¹⁸.

Promotion and Marriages in the army

The promotion in the army and the appointment to important positions in the military hierarchy followed either regional affinity or criteria. It should be noticed that all regions of the country were trying to send their people to the military school (Ecole Supérieure Militaire) in Kigali, but all regions were not well represented. Regional and ethnic discrimination in the military was quite eminent¹⁹.

I was a military doctor at Kanombe Military Hospital. I underwent some physical tests to qualify as a soldier. But the final decision belonged to Colonel Baransaritse from the north. I was admitted but stayed on the same rank for five years although I had the capacity and experience to head this military hospital. But this did not happen because I was “Umunyenduga”

{Source: Ex-Far, officer (anonymous)}

Marriage between different ethnic groups was also a problem in the Rwandan army. It was forbidden for a member of the army to marry “A mututsikazi”. Those who did so lost their ranks and other advantages. For instance, Joachim MURAMUTSA had a Tutsi fiancée. His passport was confiscated when he was ready to leave for a military training in Belgium.

(Source: E. Ruhashya (interviewed on August 8th, 2004).

Part III: Regional and Ethnic Segregation in Public and Private Service

For many years, Rwandan authorities decided to follow a policy of quota in its labor market while appointing people in different positions. This policy determined quotas according to regions and ethnic groups in the country. Both Hutu and Tutsi complained about the quota system and compared it to apartheid regime of South Africa.

6. Regional Quota Balance

The government of Rwanda then claimed that, the objective of this policy was to avoid regional disparities in public sector. All school leavers from secondary and tertiary Education institutions were recruited by the central administration. It was not easy to know the population of each region so as to recruit people proportionately. The

government did not have even appropriate national census to depend on while carrying out this exercise.

To show these disparities in employment, let us use the results of 1978 census since the proportions did not change considerably, despite some migrations due to the food crisis of 1989-1990.

Table n°1: Rwandan population by province of birth

Province	N° of people	%
Kigali	681,598	14.23
Gitarama	604,481	12.62
Butare	594,294	12.41
Gikongoro	369,288	07.41
Cyangugu	330,476	06.90
Kibuye	336,236	07.02
Gisenyi	467,533	09.76
Ruhengeri	530,820	11.08
Byumba	516,766	10.79
Kibungo	357,077	07.45
Total	4,788,569	99.67

To show the level of importance given to every province in the Public Service Sector, we have used the rating of disparities, which allow comparing the percentage of each province in central administration and the percentage of the same province for the whole population. The balance is reached when the rating of disparity equals one. There is a disparity when it is different from that value.

Table n°2: Distribution of Central Administrative Agents by provinces in 1989

Province	Agents	%	Rating of disparity
Kigali	684	9	0.63
Gitarama	1,101	15	1.19
Butare	990	14	1.13
Gikongoro	663	9	1.16
Cyangugu	495	9	1.01
Kibuye	565	8	1.14
Gisenyi	830	11	1.13
Ruhengeri	1,007	14	1.26
Byumba	567	8	0.74
Kibungo	388	5	0.67
Total	7,280		

The table n°2 shows that except for Kigali (R=0,63), Kibungo (R=0,67) and Byumba (R=0,74), regional disparities are not very high because the rating is close to 1. It is a bit high in Ruhengeri (R=1, 26) and Gitarama (R=1, 19).

The low figure shown above for Kigali must not be surprising; the population of this province is overestimated, it includes people in Kigali city but they originate from all other provinces. Kibuye and Byumba provinces are underrepresented.

Newly recruited workers

This global regional balance disappears when we consider people engaged in 1989. Table n°3 shows that provinces like Kigali (21%) and Gitarama (21%) have high numbers.

The disparities are high in; Gitarama 1.96; Kigali 1.47. On the contrary, for Byumba (R=0.44) Gikongoro (R=0.53), Kibungo (R=0.62) are underrepresented, the quota can be noticed in Ruhengeri (R=1.1), Cyangugu (R=0.97) and Kibuye (R=0.94).

Table n°3: Number of people engaged in 1989 by provinces

Province	Number	%	Rating of disparity
Kigali	490	21	1.47
Gitarama	476	24.8	1.96
Butare	186	8	0.64
Gikongoro	95	4.1	0.53
Cyangugu	156	6.7	0.97
Kibuye	155	6.6	0.94
Gisenyi	186	8	0.82
Ruhengeri	263	11.3	1.1
Byumba	111	4.8	0.44
Kibungo	107	4.6	0.62
Total	2,325	100	

If we consider the suggestion that most of the job seekers were young and as we know that the Ministry of Labor market was not able to employ all professionals available, those quota were not proper and they had to be changed.

When we compare the number of job seekers and those effectively recruited by the Labor market, we notice that the public service recruited an average of 42.6% of job seekers. Thus Gisenyi (24.53%) and Cyangugu (34.4%) had a very little % of recruitments. On the contrary, Ruhengeri (64%) and Kibungo (61%) were therefore favored more.

Table n°4: n° of job seekers and people recruited in 1989 by provinces

Province	Job seekers	Recruited	%
Kigali	1,103	490	44.42
Gitarama	1,207	476	39.43
Butare	389	186	47.81
Gikongoro	354	95	26.86
Cyangugu	453	156	34.43
Kibuye	370	155	41.89
Gisenyi	758	186	24.53
Ruhengeri	411	263	63.99
Byumba	235	111	47.23
Kibungo	176	107	60.79
Total	5,456	2,325	42.60

One may wonder why there was such an inequality amongst job seekers. Table n°5 shows that Gitarama (R=1.75), Kigali (R=1.42) and Gisenyi (R=1.42) were represented better

according to their population weight, while Byumba (R=0.40), Kibuye (R=0.44), Butare (R=0.57) and Ruhengeri (R=0.68) were represented less.

Does this disparity show an inequality of those who completed their Education and also an inequality in admissions? In reality, in 1989 Ruhengeri and Kibungo provinces recruited at least 60% among job seekers, as indicated in table n°5.

Table n°5 of job seekers in 1989

Province	Job seekers	%	Rating of disparity
Kigali	1,103	20.2	1.42
Gitarama	1,207	22.1	1.75
Butare	389	7.1	0.57
Gikongoro	354	6.5	0.84
Cyangugu	453	8.3	1.20
Kibuye	370	6.8	0.97
Gisenyi	758	13.9	1.42
Ruhengeri	411	7.5	0.68
Byumba	235	4.3	0.40
Kibungo	176	3.3	0.44
Total			

7. Ethnic quota

It is not easy to know true ethnic proportions in Rwanda. The colonial masters presented false data, which confirmed that Tutsi were 35% of Banyarwanda or even more.

When Richard Kandt, the first Germany resident crossed the country, looking for the source of Nile, he was astonished that 3% of the population managed to dominate the country during many centuries.” Kandt was not talking about all Batutsi, but a minority of them, which had power.

Later, Belgians who replaced Germans estimated that Tutsi were 14% or 15% of the whole population. The 1959 events forced in exile some Tutsi who did not accept the new order. Later, the 1978 census sponsored by FNUAP showed that:

- Tutsi were 9.8%
- Hutu 89.8%
- Twa 0.4%

The figure mentioned above was rounded to 10% and used to calculate ethnic quota for labor.

Table 6: N° of population by nationality, ethnic group/1978 census

Ethnic group/nationality	Total	%
Hutu	4,295,275	89.7
Tutsi	467,587	9.77
Twa	22,140	0.46
Naturalized	3,567	0.07
Sub/total	4,788,567	
Expatriate	41,911	0.8
Total	4,830,480	

a) Quota in public service

According to the report of the Ministry of Labor, all the staff in Public Service was 7,290; amongst them Hutu were 6,189, 1,100 Tutsi and 3 Batwa. This means 85% of Bahutu, 5% of Batutsi and Batwa were under-represented. The rating of disparity is 0.94 for Hutu and 1.5 for Tutsi, which meant that Tutsi, were over-represented according to their number representation among the population.

Table 7: Distribution of Public Service Employees according to Ethnic group in the Ministries

Ministry	Total	Bahutu	Batutsi	%
MINISANTE	2,091	1,690	400	19.1
MINIFIN	462	374	88	19
MINICOM	102	84	18	17.6
MINITRANSCO	520	430	90	17.3
MINAGRI	1,265	1,074	190	15
MINIJUST	172	143	29	16.8
MINIFOP	216	187	29	13.4
MININTER	712	633	78	10.9
MINITRAPE	360	315	44	12.2
MINIPLAN	149	116	29	19.4

We examined also the number of job seekers in 1989 and jobs obtained in the same year.

Table n°8 shows that among job seekers, Tutsi were 19.3%

Can we agree with BOURDIEU principle on reproduction, which affirms that children of notables have an easy access to Education? As many Batutsi studied in the past, this principle explains somehow the Tutsi over-representation. In reality in order to carry out the quota, they had to reduce the Tutsi population in schools.

Table 8: Job seekers and people recruited in 1989

Job seekers	Number	%	Ethnic group	Number	%
Hutu	4,240	80.3	Hutu	1,985	85.4
Tutsi	1,022	19.3	Tutsi	332	14.3
Twa	13	0.3	Twa	6	0.2
Natural	4	0.1	Natural	2	0.1
Total	5,279		Total	2,325	

Data shows that out of 5,279 job seekers, 2,325 people who were recruited (44%) and out of 1,022 Tutsi who applied for employment 332 were recruited (32.5%)and out of 4,240 Hutu job seekers, 1985 were recruited (46.8%). There were 2.27 applications at national level.

b) Quota in other enterprises

The following data were collected in connection with both 463 government and private enterprises according to Ministry of Labor on June 30. 1990. The analysis shows that these 463 enterprises had 23,299 Rwandan workers (20,513 Hutu and 3,299 Tutsi and the percentage of Tutsi was 13.85). Thus the rating of disparity is 1.4; this presents the lack of balance for Tutsi.

Electrogaz in 1990 had 1,065 national employees with 815 Hutu and 249 Tutsi (23.38%) with a rating of disparity at 2.3; there is also UTEXRWA, a textile factory for Indo-Pakistan, which has 800 workers (613 Hutu and 167 Tutsi) that is 20.8% (h=2). Commercial Bank of Rwanda, had 583 Rwandan workers, 518 were Hutu and 63 Tutsi (10.8%). In the same year, out of 551 wage earners in the central Bank 4.96% were Hutu and Tutsi (9.8) with R=1.

The same lack of balance was noticed in private enterprises having more than 80 workers. 15 enterprises use 3.966 wage earners: (Hutu=3,459, Tutsi=386) with the rating of disparity of 0.97. This lack of balance was high in COLAS (R=0.073). RWANTEXCO (R=0.7) SULFO-RDA (R=0.78) UTEXRWA (R=0.83) here the lack of balance is not very high. On contrary, Deutsche Welle (R=2.8), ABAY (R=2.6), MURRI BROTHERS

(R=2.6) and ASTALDI (R=1.9) which had more representation of Tutsi. Elsewhere, according to the following table, the balance was fine.

It is true that the policy of balance (ethnic and regional quota) is due to the under-development of our country. It can be justified for a certain period but not used forever. With democracy and development, it will disappear. In a country with sub-groups like Rwanda, the quota had to protect the minority.

SOURCE: UWIZEYIMANA, L., « L'équilibre ethnique et régional dans l'emploi », *Dialogue*, No 146, Mai-juin, 1991, pp.15-31.

Institution Directors and their Region of Origin

INSTITUTION	DIRECTOR	REGION
Crete Zaire Nil	Gallican Hategeka	Gisenyi
BCR	Claver Mvuyekure	Gisenyi
BK	Viateur Mvuyekure	Gisenyi
BACAR	Pasteur Musabe	Gisenyi
SOPROTEL	Martin Ayirwanda	Gisenyi
TRAFIPRO	Ngororabanga	Gisenyi
PNAP	Pierre Tegera	Gisenyi
Chambre de Commerce	Aloys Bizimana	Gisenyi
ISAAR	Léopold Gahamanyi	Gisenyi
Caisse Hypothécaire	Antoine Libanje (replaced Segasayo)	Gisenyi
Musée National	Simon Ntigashira	Gisenyi
OCIR-Thé	Michel Bagaragaza	Gisenyi
ORTPN	Juvenal Uwilingiyimana	Gisenyi
COOPIMAR	Jean Mburanumwe	Gisenyi
GBK	Jean Bagiramenshi	Gisenyi
SORWAL	Mathieu Ngirira	Gisenyi
Usine à Thé Shagasha	Callixte	Gisenyi
Usine à Thé Pfunda	Munyeshuli	Gisenyi
Usine à Thé Murindi	Jaribu	Gisenyi
We do not include international institutions like CEPGL, OBK, IRAZ, EGL, CEEAC and embassies.		
Caisse sociale	J.Damascène Hategekimana	Ruhengeri
Electrogaz	Donat Munyanganizi	Ruhengeri
Ocir-Café	Fabien Neretse	Ruhengeri
BNR	Denis Ntirugirimbabazi	Ruhengeri
Rwandex	Baragahoranye	Ruhengeri
ONAPO	Gaudence Nyirasafari	Ruhengeri

ORINFOR	Ferdinand Nahimana	Ruhengeri
CID	Daniel Rwananiye	Ruhengeri
Laiterie du Rwanda	Callixte Mirasano	Ruhengeri
RAR	Lt Colonel Nyirimanzi	Ruhengeri
Redemi	J.B Bicomupaka	Ruhengeri
Sodeparal	Michel Bakuzakundi	Ruhengeri
Cimerwa	Callixte	Ruhengeri
Ocir Thé de Rubaya	Juvenal Ndabarinze	Ruhengeri
Ocir-Thé Nshili	Stany Niyibizi	Ruhengeri
Opyrwa	Bizimana Augustin	Byumba
DRB	Laurien Ngirabanzi	Byumba
Somitrap	Laurent Hitimana	Byumba
Bunep	Augustin Ruzindana	Byumba
SoprORIZ	Elie Nyirimibibi	Byumba
Ocir-Thé Gisovu	Alfred Musema	Byumba
Imprisco	Stany Siniyibagiwe	Byumba
Croix-Rouge	Claudien Kamirindi	Byumba
Sucrierie	Kagaba	Kigali
Sonarwa	Ngirumpatse	Kigali
Petrorwanda	Désiré Murenzi	Kigali
Magerwa	Claudien Kanyarwanda	Kigali
CER	Juvenal Ndisanze	Kigali
Maiserie de Mukamira	Dirimasi	Kigali
Onatracom	Kabogoza	Gitarama
Ovapam	Nsengiyaremye	Gitarama
IRST	Gasengayire	Gitarama
DPF	Musengarurema	Gitarama
Oprovia	Butare	Butare
BRD	Maharangari	Butare
UNR	Ntahobari	Butare
DGB	Gasarabwe	Butare
INR	Munyangoga	Gikongoro
OVIBAR	Munyangendo	Gikongoro
Tabarwanda	Mucumankiko	Gikongoro
PASP UGZ III	Nzamura mbaho	Gikongoro
Ocir-Thé Shagasha	Mubiligi	Gikongoro
Air Rwanda	Karangwa	Cyangugu

(Source: “Kwiyuburura Kwa MRND ku janyane no kwicuza”, in *Kinyamateka*, May 1991, No133)

Ethnic” and Regional Segregation in Rwandan Educational System and Religious Life

c) Quota system in Education

We want Education to be strictly monitored.

The system should be improved and made more realistic and modern through the rejection of the system of selection whose results can be seen in secondary schools. We think that this should be respected (...), if the places are not enough, Identity Cards should be used in order to respect quotas.

We wish:

- That the current social ranks do not influence admission to schools.
- The award of scholarships takes place because the population pays taxes. Bahutu should not be victims of Tutsi monopoly which had kept them in an eternal and unbearable social and political inferiority.
- For tertiary Education, we think that sending students to ‘Congo Belge’ is good because this country can accommodate many students but this will not prevent us to send most brilliant students to continue their studies in Europe (metropolis).

Source: Manifeste des Bahutu: Note sur l’aspect social du problème racial indigène au Rwanda, 24 mars 1957 sur <http://www.mdrw.org/manifeste.htm>, le 30/10/2004.

d) The Speech of the President of the Republic

‘Rwandans,

On behalf of the Republic of Rwanda, I the President of the Republic, in order to

- save completely the people of Rwanda and give a true democracy to our country;
- bring peace among citizens and allow them to collaborate in order to safeguard justice and respect for everybody in the new republic;
- protect everybody from the colonization and clientele (*ubuhake*) (...) in conjunction with the whole population of Rwanda, represented by distinguished persons in this congress held on our wish here in Gitarama on January 28 of New Year 1961, we proclaim this law creating the Republic of Rwanda (...).

All Rwandans are equal before the law without considering “ethnic groups”, family, color or religion.

All Rwandans have same rights according to the bill of human rights, with the exception of some according to the law.

Every Rwandan can go to school. Schools which will not follow directives regarding quotas according to the number of individuals of each ethnic group will be closed or given to other owners.

(Mbonyumutwa D., Disikuru ya Prezida wa Republika kuwa 28/1/1961)

In *Kinyamateka* (Translated from Kinyarwanda)

e) The Speech of General Major Juvenal Habyarimana, President of the Republic and Founder President of MRND at the opening of the 3rd Congress of MRND(1985)

I take this opportunity to remind you that the aim of our Movement is to promote unity among all Rwandans. According to the 1959 Revolution, our Movement rejected separatism, the superiority of one race or one family on others. It succeeded to mobilise all Rwandans for peace, unity, democracy, and the necessary resources to boost national development...

(Source: Ijambo rya Nyakubahwa Militant Habyarimana Yuvenali, Prezida Fondateri wa Mouvement Revolutionaire iharanira amajyambere y'u Rwanda, Prezida wa Repubulika atangiza kandi asoza imilimo y'inama ya Kongre ya gatanu isanzwe ya MRND kuwa 20 Ukuboza no kuwa 23 Ukuboza 1985, p. 89)

(...)In this fifth Congress, we were happy that we agreed upon our Educational policy, mainly in respect to sharing places in schools. But again I request responsible ministries, to find out urgently the figures (quotas) to follow in order to correct inequalities in this matter...

(Source: Ijambo rya Nyakubahwa Militant Habyarimana Yuvenali, Prezida Fondateri wa Mouvement Revolutionaire iharanira amajyambere y'u Rwanda, Prezida wa Repubulika atangiza kandi asoza imilimo y'inama ya Kongre ya gatanu isanzwe ya MRND kuwa 20 Ukuboza no kuwa 23 Ukuboza 1985, p. 89)

f) Instructions regarding admissions in Rwandan schools

Criteria to be admitted in secondary Education must be carefully respected, since vacancies in secondary schools are very few. Moreover, due to the fact that our country lacks competent workers in all domains, the quota must favor the most intelligent students (...). The student's performance and his/her scores will determine whether he/she should go to secondary school.

According to MRND and its founder president in the Education policy, ethnic quota should be respected in accordance with the number of every "ethnic group" out of the whole population. This must be applied for each option of secondary Education.

Each *province* must enroll students according to the size of its population while taking into consideration the scores of the student at nation national examinations.

If possible this quota system should be respected in each province on communal (districts) level (...). Also, enrollment at secondary school level must be done according to the proportion of males and females with regard to whole population. The Minister of Education had the privilege to award 5% secondary school placement to correct anomalies where the quotas were not properly respected according to criteria stated above. (...)

Regarding scholarship for tertiary Education in Rwanda and abroad, the above criteria of quota basing on “ethnic group”, regions, sex and also within options must be respected without unbalance according to places available in schools...

(Source: “Ingingo shingiro mu kwemererwa mu nzego z’amashuri yo mu Rwanda”, In: MRND, Amatwara y’u Rwanda mu y’Uburezi, Umuco n’ubushakashatsi. Politique de l’éducation, de la culture, de la recherche scientifique et technique au Rwanda no1, octobre, 1984, pp. 32-35.)

g). A Story from Anonymous Author

I was born in January 1968 during one of the most suicidal attacks of Inyenzi in Nshili. I am very sure of this. My mother told me this twice. She remembered it very well, because when she was coming from her antenatal consultation, she met a military lorry carrying dead bodies and wounded soldiers. At that time, she wanted to know what was on the lorry, the driver stopped and asked her why she was curious and she ran away leaving her baby behind. It was probably 10 years after 1959 revolution.

I began primary school at my parish. It was there that I learnt that Tutsi had oppressed Hutu for centuries and they had to pay for it. I also learnt that I was a son of a Tutsi from Ethiopia.

Hutu classmates were the sons of poor Hutu who earned their living by doing hard labor and therefore justice had to be done for Hutu sons and daughters. I grew up with that shame of being one of the oppressors –the Tutsi. My social surroundings identified me as a “Tutsi”. When I wanted to enroll for secondary school, I could not join public schools because of this Tutsi identification. It was easier to be admitted in the seminary to become a priest. Thus I was admitted at Karubanda seminary in Butare diocese. This was also possible because of my uncle who was a priest and requested my admission from the bishop of Butare.

At secondary school, I was constantly reminded that I was a Tutsi. This awareness was done through ethnic check up done on regular basis in the classroom to remind us that we belonged to a “group of outcastes”

During the check up, Hutu were proud to raise their hands, but for us, we could raise ours hesitantly and some could hide behind desks. We preferred to be Twa who had no traumatizing experience. Unfortunately, it was impossible to change to Twa. It was impossible to cheat in that way. We were obliged to live the fate of our group.

After the seminary, I joined the University- Nyakinama Campus. During my three years there, I was unique in my classroom. I was the only student without a Hutu identity card.

In Nyakinama region, things were serious since it was the birthplace of MRND-CDR. Among the teaching staff there were people like Léon Mugesera, Ferdinard Nahimana and two priests, Roger Heremans (ex-white Father) and, Maniragaba Baributsa (ex-dominican). The latter two had manipulated the bible into the Hutu manifesto.

However, there were some intellectuals like Professor Emmanuel Ntezimana, who tried to convince his colleagues to stop being against Tutsi students for he had realized that there was the political confusion, which was going on in that Institute. But he paid for his good will later by a mysterious death, (sickness) but probably poisoned.

At the beginning, regionalism saved us, because we accepted in the region more than Hutu from other regions. Nyakinama campus was not ready to welcome or integrate Abanyenduga of any ethnic group be it Hutu or Tutsi. According to Nyakinama area, no Hutu from other regions had pure blood of Hutu. They were supposed to be put in the same category with Tutsi.

(Source: Cahiers Lumière et Société
Dialogue IV, Dec 1999, n°16, pp.33-38)

•According to Mugesera (2004), during the academic year 1981/2, it was clear that the system of quota was against Tutsi at secondary to higher level of Education:

Province	Commune	No. of Tutsi passed	No. admitted
Butare	Nyabisindu	9	1
Butare	Huye	21	1
Butare	Nyaruhengeri	9	1
Butare	Ntyazo	14	3
Butare	Ruhasha	37	7
Gikongoro	Rusasira	24	10
Gikongoro	Maraba	28	15
Gikongoro	Karama	44	6

During the 1982/3 academic year, there was a total number of 424 students at Butare University; and out of these there were only 28 Tutsi (ibid, 2004).

According to the newspaper ‘**Le coopérateur Trafipro**’ 12/11/88, the minister of Education by then Mr. Nsekaliye categorically stated that:

“If a commune like Kigoma had 30 intelligent Batwa students and all passed their examinations and their list was put up, and a commune like Nyamabuye had only a list of Tutsi who passed and their list was up; do you think this kind of list would stay on even a night before it was scrapped off? Even the schools where these lists were posted could be burnt. It is for this reason that quota stem should exist.

In the same newspaper, the same minister said:

“Children of ‘Bourgmestres’ should have privileges in schools since their fathers make a lot sacrifices for the nation more than others”.

THE NUMBERS AND REGIONS OF STUDENTS ON FOREIGN SCHOLARSHIP

YEAR \ REGION	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	TOTAL
Butare	18	11	15	18	23	13	11	109
Byumba	13	14	17	19	16	21	23	123
Cyangugu	9	11	10	13	8	9	12	72
Gikongoro	11	9	7	10	10	10	7	84
Gisenyi	18	26	40	46	49	44	84	297
Gitarama	15	23	10	17	25	28	14	130
Kibungo	4	5	11	9	11	8	14	62
Kibuye	7	6	6	11	12	7	13	62
Kigali	18	13	17	20	26	16	28	138
Ruhengeri	27	27	22	27	31	33	38	205

SOURCE: “Kwiyuburura Kwa MRND kujyane no kwicuza, In *Kinyamateka*, No 1334,p .8.

8. Colonial Education in Rwanda

The Roman Catholic Church first introduced formal Education in Rwanda at the beginning of the 20th century. The main purpose for Education at this time was to:

- Train catechists to spread Catholicism to the local population.
- Train auxiliaries to assist the colonial masters for local administration, agricultural production of cash crops for export and enforcement of labor. Thus labor was forced on peasants, resulting into the first exodus of the Rwandans into neighboring Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya in the 1930s and 1940s.

During the colonial period the whole Education system was entrusted to the catholic missionaries who enjoyed support from the colonial government to establish schools, using ‘Funds for the Welfare of the Indigenous People’ (Fonds du Bien-Etre Indigene). The White fathers and nuns established two types of schools:

- The rural schools in villages offered a two-year literacy Education to the people in the villages. The local instructors for these schools were trained by the missionaries. They taught reading, writing, elementary arithmetic and hygiene.
- The central schools were built at the mission and managed by missionaries. These schools admitted the best candidates from the rural schools. They offered a five-year primary Education to boys only, since girls were not allowed to go to school at that time.

Apart from formal basic Education, missionaries established catechism schools run by local catechists whose responsibility was to prepare believers for baptism. By 1935, the Catholic missionaries had established 338 primary schools with 22,645 pupils and a working force of 553 teachers. At that time, there was one special secondary school, established in 1929 by Brothers of Charity in Butare, southern Rwanda. This school had a special mission to train auxiliaries who would assist the colonial government officials for local administration. In 1936 some seminaries were established with specialization in the study of religion, philosophy and languages. Graduates of these seminaries were later to become some of the political leaders of Rwanda after independence

Later, in the 1950s, the colonial government established some secondary schools to train primary school teachers mainly. It was also in the 1950s that a few girls were first admitted to secondary schools to train as nurses and midwives. Before that time girls were trained at 'écoles menagères' established with the sole purpose of training good housewives. In these schools, girls were taught reading, writing, knitting, cookery, and hygiene and home management.

Thus colonial Education by missionaries played an important role by developing basic Education and vocational skills among Rwandans. However, it was noted that the way formal Education was introduced in Rwanda had some negative effects on the future development of the country. For example, Education was used as early as the 1920s to divide Rwandans:

1. Children at schools were put in distinct categories of **Hutu (commons)** or **Tutsi (royals)**
2. Children of **Tutsi** chiefs were favored and admitted to 'Astrida Secondary School' to prepare them for service in the colonial administration.

The colonialists used the divide and rule strategy by grooming the **Tutsi** for leadership and excluding the **Hutu** children, who received Education generally from the seminaries. This was a contributing factor to trouble in the late 1950s and subsequent conflicts in Rwanda. Colonial Education also provided Rwandans with only the basic skills to occupy assistant positions to the colonialists. Rwandans were not given the chance to develop skills of leadership, decision-making and creativity, neither were they given professional and technical training in fields like medicine, agriculture, engineering and veterinary

medicine which would have benefited the country. It was noted that this type of training was later to entrench a culture of lack of self-confidence, dependence and passive submissiveness among Rwandans.

9. Post Colonial Education in Rwanda

After Rwanda's independence in 1962, the government concentrated on expanding access at primary level. Primary schooling was declared free and obligatory, starting at age six. Opening a number of secondary schools also helped to expand secondary Education and higher Education was established by opening the National University of Rwanda in 1963. It has been noted that by 1975, school enrolment was increased from 250,000 pupils at the time of independence to 386,000 pupils at primary level whereas at secondary school level, there were 64 schools with a student population of 11,227 students. The National University of Rwanda had six faculties, of medicine, agriculture, law, social sciences, natural sciences and arts. It had a student enrolment of 619.

Rather than expanding access to Education for all, the Education system in Rwanda remained discriminatory after independence, this time in favor of the **Hutu (commons)**, against the **Tutsi (royals)** and **Twa (pigmies)**. In 1978, for example, reforms to nationalize Education were made but rather than correcting the errors of the colonial legacy, it was during this time that quotas were introduced for each ethnic group.

Thus students were no longer admitted to secondary schools on the basis of merit, but on the policy of "quota". Article 60 of the law on public instruction stated that transition from primary to secondary school should respect the following criteria: results at national exam; the progressive in the student's performance; regional, ethnic and sex balance. This was the policy of 'social justice' (**Iringaniza**) that left out many **Tutsi** children.

a) Some Educational Changes after Independence

According to the national curriculum report the structure and content of primary Education in Rwanda was developed in three phases after independence. That is **before** the school reform of 1978/79, **the school reform** of 1978/79, and **the readjustment** of school reform (1991). In this respect, each phase had a linguistic concern in its curriculum.

Before the school reform of 1978/79, meaning phase one in the development of primary Education, there are two important legal texts in this respect: the law of 27 August 1966 on National Education in the Republic of Rwanda, and the Presidential Decree N^o.175/03 of 28 April 1967, which set the general regulations of Rwanda's Education.

Based on these two texts, the language of instruction from primary one to primary three was Kinyarwanda, while French became a medium of instruction from primary four to

primary six. The former was taught as a subject from primary four to primary six, while the latter became a subject and not a medium of instruction in primary one to four.

During the 1978/1979 reforms, the whole system of primary Education was revised. The duration changed from six to eight years of primary and Kinyarwanda became a medium of instruction for all the subjects (apart from languages) throughout the eight years of primary school, while French became a subject to be taught from primary four to primary eight. This Education reform faced a lot of problems such as lack of instructional materials; teachers were not trained in the new fields of the syllabus, and lack of proper methods for the evaluation of the reform.

It was these, among other reasons, that prompted the revision of the reform in 1991. Primary Education went back to six years. Immediately after the revision of the reform, war broke out in some parts of the country, which culminated into the 1994 genocide and massacres. Therefore, not much of what was revised had time to be implemented (Ndabaga E, 2004).

b) Muvara “Affair”; A Plot between Clergmen

The Muvara affair is well known in Rwanda. He had been just appointed as Bishop of Butare in 1988 before he was forced to resign. Reverend Félicien Muvara a Tutsi priest was forced to resign some months just before his consecration because of President Habyarimana’s circles and many other fellow priests.

This scandal fuelled divisions among Rwandans. Amongst the big network of those who pushed Reverend Félicien Muvara to resign were the following:

- Mrs. Josephine, the spouse of colonel Nsekaliye, the then Minister of primary and secondary schools had a grudge against Muvara.

She got into contact with Reverend Charles Bizumuremyi who had just been appointed Director of Catholic Education. Bizimungu was an extremist Hutu and a friend to the family of President Habyarimana and more with the Minister of Education. Bizimungu himself did not like Muvara. Bizimungu forged information that Muvara had a kid with a lady called Veronique yet how can he be appointed a bishop. He gave this information to Josephine who spread it to the circle of high authorities in the government.

- Reverend Andre Sibomana too was very active in the group against Muvara. He knew Muvara very well since they came from the same parish. The Ex-Director of Kinyamateka journal visited the President of Bishops conference- Bishop Ruzindana

from Byumba, and convinced him the truth of Muvara's adultery and having a child. Bishop Perraudin also was informed through Sibomana's friends.

Bishop Joseph Ruzindana, the president of the Bishops Conference also did not like Félicien Muvara. He was unhappy with Muvara's promotion. He informed his cousin, Colonel Bagosora. The objective was to sabotage Father Muvara completely

- Colonel Bagosora informed the President who did not immediately agree with the information regarding Muvara. President Habyarimana continued hesitating. Meanwhile, the Director of Intelligence arrived in the office of the President and confirmed the information to him by saying; "the whole Kigali is now talking about it", he said; but, the President wanted more details and then decided to meet the Archbishop of Kigali, Vincent Nsengiyumva and Bishop Joseph Ruzindana, the president of the "bishops conference". By meeting these people, President Habyarimana was influenced and hence convinced about Muvara's affair.

The decision was then taken that Father Félicien Muvara would go to Rome to present his resignation to the Pope and the apostolic nuncio was informed.

At the same time, President Habyarimana ordered Jacques Maniraguha (Member of Parliament) to follow up this affair. Maniraguha met a Belgian businessman, nicknamed "Jef" who would convince and influence an influential Belgian priest called father Vanderborght about the guilt of Muvara since they were friends. While "Jef" was informing pro-Hutu circles in Belgium about that "scandal" Father Vanderborght influenced a group of priests in Butare. Amongst those priests were: Sylvio Sindambiwe (Director of Kinyamateka) Charles Bizumuremyi, Fidèle Nyaminani, Denis Sekamana, Venuste Linguyenzeza and Ladislav Habimana, a close friend to father Vanderborght for an investigation on Muvara. The results from this inquiry were given in by father HABIMANA Ladislav to Father Vanderborght

With those results, father Vanderborght and father Joseph Vleugels who was the superior of white fathers informed the apostolic nuncio that they had evidence to confirm Muvara's guilt. Meanwhile, the Burundian ambassador to Rwanda tried to intervene but the Vatican diplomats argued that the ambassador's information was wrong. Few days later, on March 24, 1989 at 10h30, on a holy Friday, Muvara was forced by the President of the Republic and the Bishops' Conference to present his resignation to the Pope and he did it.

Thereafter, Muvara wrote a confidential letter to the bishops describing his unhappiness because of their silence during his times of trials. He told them that he would reveal nothing regarding their part in this affair just to safeguard the church's honor.

Few days later, it discovered that the Veronique Nyirandegeya story was an imaginary lady just to sabotage Muvara not to become a bishop on ethnic grounds. Véronique Nyirandegeya herself agreed that the father of her child was not Muvara, but a Burundian doctor, Batungwanayo.

However, on May 10, 1989, Bishop Perraudin, Vice-President of the Bishop Conference went on and wrote a letter to Pope John II to affirm Muvara's guilty convincing the Pope that it was not an ethnic issue as some people claimed.

(TERRAS C., 1999: 35-39)

E. Other important Cases

1. The elimination of opposition by PARMEHUTU (1962-1965)
2. The socio-economic development under the first and second republics (schools, electricity, roads, water, telephone, health, etc)
3. The Inyenzi attacks
4. The refugee problem
5. Rwanda and international community (relations between Rwanda and Belgium, Rwanda and France, Rwanda and other African countries, with French speaking countries, with neighboring countries (Uganda, Burundi, Congo, Tanzania, etc), Rwanda and economic communities (CPGL, OBK, etc)
6. The 1973 coup and MRND domination
7. The role and organization of *Umuganda*
8. The 1978 Education reform and its aftermath
9. The 1980 attempt coup
10. The good years of Habyarimana regime: auto-reliance and the fall of economy in the 1980s
11. The demographic problem
12. Religions and the influence of the Catholic Church
13. Political assassinations
14. Women emancipation

F. Lessons

1. Preliminaries

a) **Topic:** Rwanda post colonial up to 1990

Theme: Ethnic and regional segregation between 1962 and 1989

- Sub theme: discrimination in the Rwandan society

Form: Senior 3

Duration: 50 minutes

b) **Teaching materials:** •the texts of a short story “the two cows”

•the questions for reflections in groups

2. Objectives

a) **General objective:**

- To assess and evaluate the ethnic and regional discriminations in Rwandan society between 1962 and 1989.

b) **Specific objectives:**

At the end of this lesson, students should be able to:

- Understand the dynamics of ethnic and regional discrimination tendencies in Rwandan society
- Explain how Rwanda used Education as a tool to discriminate some individuals
- Describe different Educational reforms that took place in Rwanda
- Identify the values of Education

3. Lesson sequences

a) **Activity 1**

•The reading of a short story: “The 2 cows” after giving the copy of the text to each learner.

• Invite students to silent, individual reading – interpretation and then invite them to work in groups of two in order to share their reactions.

b) **Activity 2**

•The approach “Think, pair, share”

•To lead the whole class for a discussion on the subject matter

- To make a summary from the discussions to draw the important aspect of the lesson and give homework.

4. Teaching commentaries

- a) The case of segregation at ESM (see p 183)
- b) The Myths and segregation (p.190)
- c) Other suggested lessons on segregation:
 - Ideologies and segregation
 - Segregation in religious community
 - Segregation in the public and private service

Theme 1: Discriminations in Rwandan Schools

• Suggested activities

Through the case of discrimination in schools, students will explore the theme of discrimination and how in Rwanda ethnicity represented one of the worst tendencies in the society.

- Suggested reading and activities:

a) Activity 1

Preparatory study of discrimination: Read the story “two cows”

Ask students to write a response to the story in their journals then, have students pair up and share their reactions.

Approach “think, pair, and share:

Finally, bring the whole group together for a discussion of the story.

(This approach is called “think, pair, share,” and it is an effective way to engage all students in the discussion. Everyone has the chance to share his or her ideas with at least one other person. In addition, students, who do not like to speak out in class, have an opportunity to share in a small group, and all students have the chance to “test” their ideas before they share them with the entire class. Teachers can also use the pairing as a way to listen to students’ discussion, the way students learn and react on the text.

Two Cows

In this story, “two cows”, one with horns and another without horns, were going to the other side of lake to fetch some grass. In the middle of their journey, they quarreled until they fought. Kungu, the cow without horns, was accusing Nyambo because his ancestors knocked off Kungu’s ancestors’ horns, which made their descendants be born without horns. So far Kungu, it was time to revenge that act. When the two cows were still fighting for no good reason, after a discussion with the crocodiles, the cow saw sense and decided to reconcile and live together peacefully. As a way of thanking the crocodiles, the cows invited them threw a big party for them.

• • Activity 2

Personal experience of a respondent

“I was among the first three Rwandan officers to join the military career: Juvénal Habyarimana, Aloys Nsekaliye. Sabin Benda, Pierre Nyatanyi, Alexis and Bonaventure Ubarijoro joined us later.

Joining military was not easy for me since every time I could sit for an interview, I would be told that I failed. Someone later informed me that I was admitted in the military service on the ground that he knew my father, but later I discovered that I was recommended by the United Nations.

Rwandan military used the “*pignet system*” to eliminate some individuals. It was a system that scrutinized people using physical tests. Although Tutsi were allowed to join the military, it was very hard for them to be admitted. Military officers would do whatever they could to make them fail.

I did not find many problems in ESM (Ecole Supérieure Militaire) except some accusations put on me that I was always having secret meetings with Ndazaro, Rukeba, and Bwanakweli who were leaders of NNSS.

Sometimes I used to think the contrary of what other officers believed in. For them the death of Patrick Lumumba and Louis Rwagasore was right.

When politicians were preparing for Kamarampaka elections, they went to visit other students but on I was left in isolation.

After Kayibanda’s victory on 26/10/60, during the celebration I was charged with ushering MPs of UNAR and Bishop Bigirumwami, Jean Baptiste Gahamanyi and Joseph Sibomana because we were of the same group while other officers were charged with ushering PARMEHUTU and APROSOMA members.

There was a Whiteman nicknamed Cornichon who told me when Habyarimana became Chief of Staff that I would be appointed Minister of Defense, if it was UNAR to succeed. Habyarimana did not hide the segregation against Tutsi.

When I was promoted to 2nd lieutenant and sent for studies in Belgium on 23/12/61 my movements were always monitored so that I could not interact with my colleagues in Astrida.

Anytime I was sent on the front line during Inyenzi attacks, I would be told, “go and fight your brothers”. Many accusations were put on me that I was always in contact with Inyenzi. I was surprised when the Chief of Staff during Nshili attack told me not to send to the front Laurent Serubuga, commandant of Cyangugu region, because his wife was pregnant. But, it was him who knew very well that place.

In 1966, during Buyenzi attack, in order to push Inyenzi, the Rwandan Army burnt many houses. It was said that I was taking revenge on the population. There were many accusations on my collaboration with Inyenzi. The reason was that I helped some Tutsi to join the exile. Thus many politicians became unhappy with me.”

b) Immigrations

In the 19th century, explorers, ethnographers and missionaries wrote that Rwanda was occupied by different groups. Abatwa was the first population group in Rwanda.

The second group was Abahutu, cultivators and their origin was first of all located in Australia (LAGGER, L. (de), 1959:48-49). But when archaeology suggested that the origin of humanity was not in Asia, but in Africa, the Australian origin for Rwandese population was shifted. Then population movements and theorists based their explanations on Bantu migration.

(NYAGAHENE A., 1991: 74)

It was said that Abahutu arrived in Rwanda from Lake Chad between the 7th and the 10th century. Some of the theorists are still claiming that Abahutu and Abatwa's primitive origin is Rwanda itself.

Accordingly, Hamites may have come from the Nile region, between Lake Albert and the Bahr-el-ghazal and went to the south. Since the 1950s, some politicians used these theories with no scientific proof to explain the primacy of their ethnic group to the other citizens. The 1st and 2nd republics of Rwanda did not manage to escape from these ideologies. Instead, they institutionalized the exclusion inspired by such ideas with the pretext that Tutsi were strangers in regard to other authentic autochtones.

Besides, these authors state that on one hand, agriculture and iron were brought by Abahutu, and on the other hand Abatutsi brought cattle. But, archaeological findings have questioned these statements with the discovery of some teeth of cattle that were found in Gisagara (Butare) and which date back centuries BC. Other research also revealed the presence of agriculture before the installation of Abahutu and Abatutsi, around the 10th century B.C. Other findings also located “Acheulean” industries in Rwanda (500 000 –100 000 BC).

While Europeans were developing these theories, they were influenced by racist ideology which considered blacks as inferior people incapable of creating something positive. As they found well organized kingdoms in the Great Lakes region, they thought that the Tutsi who were leading Rwanda were related to Ethiopians. The latter were also considered as descendant of people in Asia (the son of Noah). This myth helped Europeans to divide Rwandans in order to lead them easily as Tutsi were no longer considered as Bantu population.

MODULE IV: RWANDA POST COLONIAL (1990-1994)

Introduction

From 1990, Rwanda has faced challenges of its own contradictions fully institutionalized: war by refugees, the frond of political parties, which all together led the second republic into horrible shame.

The role of “ethnic and regional quota” in Education as a preliminary to the 1994 genocide is testified: in 1992, the then Minister of Secondary Education opposed discrimination against Tutsi in schools. She was immediately cautioned by the regime and discriminatory quotas were radicalized.

At the same time, the militia was created for ruling political parties (CDR and MRND). These parties taught young Hutu how to kill Tutsi and moderate Hutu. Extremist media supportive of the regime of MRND were already infecting hatred in indoctrinated minds.

Finally, INTEERAHAMWE (those who attack together) were the incarnation of the discriminatory Educational policy with genocide characteristic. Indeed they were the same people who prepared and executed the genocide of April-July 1994.

Theme: Education Policy and Genocide Ideology

A. Overview

Rwanda faced many problems in the mid 1980's. In the sector of economy, from 1986, coffee, tea and pewter the three major sources of foreign revenue for the country and wealth for power holders, collapsed. Thereafter, the mines of pewter were closed. The remaining fourth one was the collection of international aid, called “specialized source”¹. This constituted a source of competition and jealousy; only those involved in the restricted circle of power called “Akazu” had access to it. The country was faced with the problems of budget deficit and a growing debt as indicated in the table below:

¹ En 1989, le nombre de projets s'élevait à 512 avec un montant de 2.104.482.000 US \$ promis mais 1.361.488.000 US \$ reçus effectivement et officiellement, 742.999.000 US \$ non reçu et ou dans les poches des individus.

Public Funds and Debt

	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Budget deficit in millions (RWF)	-4.136	-4.885	-3.692	-5.986	-5.651	-11.842	-7.795	-7.331	-10.1
Deficit as a % of GDP	-3.2	-3.4	-2.3	-3.4	-3.3	-6.9	-4.4	-4.2	-6.0
External debt (billions of RWF)	18.7	21.7	26.6	31.7	36.2	44.6	50.3	48.3	51.8
Internal debt (billions of RWF)	7.16	11.6	13.5	14.3	16.5	20.7	24.3	28.9	34.2
and as % of GDP	6.1	8.2	8.5	8.3	9.7	12.1	13.6	16.6	20.1
Total Public debt of GDP in £	20.4	23.4	25.4	26.5	31.0	38.1	41.9	44.4	56.7
Service of external debt as a % of exports	5.9	5.6	5.7	6.6	7.2	14.8	14.9	16.5	18.3
Service of total public debt as a % des budget revenue	11.0	17.4	12.5	13.2	12.9	20.4	26.5	30.6	32.2
Internal net credit to gov't (millions of RWF)	779	3.231	3.035	3.001	2.744	6.804	8.481	10.551	16.484
Annual National Budget : 1 st January – 31 December									

Source: MINISTERE DU PLAN (Prévisions du Ministère du Plan, antérieures aux événements d'octobre 1990)

The drought in 1988-1989 caused famine in Gikongoro, Butare and Kibuye Provinces. This caused the death of about 300 people and many others left for neighboring Tanzania.

On the social aspect, the country had the problem of unemployment which was aggravated by the program of structural adjustment, the abandonment of agricultural activities because of its unproductiveness, and the continuous dispersion of rural agricultural property. In order to address this situation, the government took coercive measures and an “edifying and hypocrite” behavior (PRUNIER G, 1997: 112) by organizing a round-up of all prostitutes, a fight against abortion, the destruction of condoms, sending the urban unemployed to rehabilitation centers and the destruction of slums under the pretext that they housed criminals. It was a “Social Revolution” undertaken in order to hide a critical and explosive situation.

Politically, apart from the events of 1980 in relation with the conspiracy and tentative of a “coup d'état” by Théoneste LIZINDE, nothing had weakened the political alliance of people from the north with Hutu ideology.

However, the assassination of Colonel MAYUYA, a man from the north, who was however to be the president's successor, divided people from the north and hardened the “AKAZU”. Other assassinations of government critics or opponents were carried out, for example in August 1989, Félicita Nyiramutarambirwa a member of CND, the father of Silvio Sindambiwe, journalists and many others were murdered, the private media was censured while a pro-government fraction became harsh and extremist on ethnic and regional aspects.

Concerning international politics, from 1987, RPF pressured the Rwandan government to accept the return of refugees, the introduction of reforms and the instauration of democracy. Its uncompromising behavior caused the October 1990 attack; the then Rwandan government reacted with brutality by simulating attacks during the night of 4th to 5th October 1990 and carried out massive detention of about 8,000 people called “ibyitso” in Kigali, Butare and elsewhere.

It is by intervention of the international community, embassies and non governmental organizations such as Human Right International Federation (HRIF) and “Association Rwandaise pour la Defense des Droits de la Personne et des libertés Publiques” (A.D.L.) that the survivors of the massive detention were released without trial.

From the democratization of eastern countries and the Soviet Union’s crisis, democracy requirements for African countries by President F. Mitterand, USA and Bretton Woods’ institutions and other international organizations, African countries had to adopt multiparty in order to receive assistance. Therefore MRND government was forced to accept multiparty but meanwhile became more radical and prepared Genocide. After Ruhengeri was attacked on (23.01.1991) by RPF, Bagogwe people were massacred in the district of Mukingo, on (25.01.1991), Kinigi, (27.01.1991) around 3 p.m., Gaseke and Giciye, (02.02.1991) and in Gisenyi province more precisely at Bigogwe in the night of (03 to 04.02.1991).

Immediately after multiparty was declared, on 13th November 1990, Rwandans hurried to create political parties with a non exhaustive number of 23, among which, majority were created under the auspices of the region which wanted to be more effective by having more supporters who feelings are close to those of MRND (D).

While MRND (D) pretended to adopt political openness, the other main political parties (MDR, PSD, and PL) were engaged in the struggle to form a new government, to organize elections, to hold a national sovereign conference and to start negotiations aimed at ending war. Political life became bipolar and tense and the government in its instability changed prime minister four time between 13.10.1991 and 17.07.1993. The presidential tenure hardened its position and maintained a climate of insecurity via “Reseau zero”, Interahamwe militia, CDR, the extremist and right hand of MRND (D) and a harsh, extremist and ethnic media including Kangura newspaper, Radio RTLM (first broadcast on 08.08.1993). In four years 72 newspapers were created among which 22 were openly Hutu extremist or “Hutu power”.

The long and hard Arusha negotiations, despite problems and blockages caused by the head of delegation and its mandate, led to the signing of a peace accord on 4th August 1993. It included six agreements and protocols in relation to the cease fire, law enforcement, the repatriation of refugees and displaced people, military integration and other business and final clauses.

The political situation remained troubled under the government of A.Uwiringiyimana on one hand extremists from MRND were against the president, they were accusing him of giving a lot of importance to the opposition and on the other hand the opposition political parties divided themselves into rival factions with the creation of “Hutu Power” tendency in October 1993. New blockages also came in when it was time to put in practice the Arusha peace accord concerning especially the transitional government.

Security conditions tensioned in the city, with demonstrations against demonstrations - the increase in the number of displaced persons – extremists, political parties with the “Hutu Power” tendency, INTERAHAMWE and CDR all calling for the unity of Hutu in order to fight against one enemy “Tutsi” from inside and outside. It was then that the presidential aircraft was shot down on the 6th April 1994 and that the Genocide which was prepared since 1990, with the killing of Bagowge, Kibilira, Nasho, Murambi and Bugesera, was started.

This death machine was the outcome of an Education policy supportive of Genocide ideology.

Divisionism, ethnic and exclusionist politics in Rwanda started since colonialism and was applied in the exercise of power, administration and Education including schools for the children of chiefs, strict selection etc. The first two republics inherited this, especially the second republic which institutionalized it from 1981 by calling it “ethnic and regional quota” or “quota system”. This policy was applied in all the sectors of the society (employment, army, administration, diplomacy etc.) and this was the root cause of Genocide in 1994.

Aware of certain failures and harassed from all parts, MRND, the only party was forced to share power with other opposition political parties (MDR, PSD, and PL).

The Ministry of Education was given to MDR which named late A.UWIRINGIYIMANA as Minister of Education. She introduced change progressively in favor of regions which were neglected; this was confirmed by people such as her own advisor on political and administration matters (who was also from the opposition), the different internal meetings

of the political opposition which denounced the policy of quota excluding talented children under the pretext of ethnic/ and or region.

Their meeting's resolutions were confirmed by KINYAMATEKA newspaper n° 1378, September 1992, p.5: in a press conference of 24.09.1992, Minister Uwiringiyimana Agathe explained that regional quota should be replaced by the distribution of places per district, meaning that it was fair to consider also marks at districts level rather than considering them only at national level, taking the best pupils with regard to the number of p6 and p7 pupils of each district.

According to her, it was best to compare a pupil to his/her colleagues from the class or district, who he/she studied in the same conditions like her/him, considering that some regions had better teaching materials and more qualified teachers. For more transparency, Minister UWIRINGIYIMANA published all examination results since December 1992.

After identifying those who scored 50% and above, they proceeded to the selection of the best pupils per district. If Genocide had not taken place, this system encouraged parents who had bright children to send them to school while before 1992 many of them had been disappointed.

We should also indicate that even if ethnic quota was abolished, the Ministry of Education favored Batwa by increasing their number on published lists when only 2 of them had done well in national examinations, more opportunities were given to girls as well.

In short, in 1992, there was a reform because Ms Agathe Uwiringiyimana with all moderate members of opposition wanted really to free Education from political interference, which certainly did not please the extremists in power.

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▪ **Interviews**

1. **KAYITESI Belthilde**
2. **Anonymous**
3. **BAKUNUKIZE Rempta**

C. Cross Cutting Themes

1. Job discrimination
2. Discrimination in Educational
3. Discrimination in the media
4. Illiteracy and ignorance
5. Exaggerated unemployment
6. Wealth monopoly and the creation of a rich oligarchy
7. Political exclusion and one party system
8. Youth disappointment because of exclusion and injustice.

The coming up of private Education sector

D. Teaching Commentaries

1. The origin of political segregation in schools and the practice of “Regional and ethnic quota”

This was made official by G. KAYIBANDA in the document instruction n°01/38/7102 of 28/02/1971” and in the resolutions of “seminaire de formation du MDR, ParmeHutu” held in Kigali in 1972, G. KAYIBANDA said at that occasion that in schools the Bahutu should have 85% of places, Abatutsi 14% and Abatwa 1%” (MUGESERA, A., 2004:309). J.HABYARIMANA institutionalized segregation saying “quota” in his speech “discours- programme” of 01/08/1973 and in the fourth “MRND congress” of 29/06/1973 with a decree rules to be followed and gave to the ministry of Education authority to give out 5% of places to pupils admitted each year.

a) The definition of political segregation

“Ethnic quota should make sure that proportion of school population reflects that of the whole population of the country. This principle should be respected at the level of each section.

Practically, each ethnic group will have a quota in accordance with its importance in number within the population (MUNYANTWALI E., 1991: 306).”**The justification of politics called “ethnic and regional quota”**

•Written sources

Text 1:

“At the onset of the second republic, the president, Major General HABYARIMANA Juvenal declared the general orientations of ethnic and regional quota in the following terms: “... On the other hand, it is understandable that enrolment in different schools will take into consideration social, ethnic and regional composition of the Rwandan society (MINEPRISEC, 1986)

Text 2:

Archbishops in Rwanda supported political quota in their letter addressed to Christians on 28.02.1990 in these words:

“ethnic quota regarding employment and enrollment in schools aims at correcting ethnic segregation which favored some and neglected others ... Let us not forget that it’s goal all ours: to distribute places for employment and schooling” (MUGESERA, A., 2004:310).

Text 3:

The Minister of Education NSEKARIJE Aloys justified the quota system as follows:

“I am going to tell you the truth, because all Rwandans are intelligent. Telling lies is not good. If for example the district of Kigoma had 30 intelligent Batwa pupils and all passed exams and then the ministry of Education put up the list at the district. On the other side, let say in Nyamabuye District, a list of Tutsi only, is put up at the district and elsewhere only Hutu pupils passed exams. Would that list of Tutsi remain there? Let us speak the truth. This list would be burnt and the schools to kake these pupils be burnt too. It is for this reason we should have quota system.”

The children of “Bourgoumestres” should be given places in school first because their fathers have served the nation more than peasants” (*Le coopérateur-Trafipro, Nov-Déc. 1988*).

b) The practice of ethnic and regional segregation in Education

Table n°1: Ethnic Segregation in Secondary Education 1960 - 1980

The number of students in secondary schools 1960 - 1980

Academic year	Abahutu (%)	Abatutsi (%)
1962/63	62	36
1963/64	66	33
1964/65	69	30
1965/66	71.0	28
1966/67	71.0	28
1967/68	76	23
1968/69	79.0	20
1969/70	81.6	18.2
1970/71	83.0	16

1971/72	84.7	13.8
1972/73	87.2	11
1973/74	89.7	8
1974/75	88	9
1975/76	87	10.7
1976/77	87.4	10.3
1977/78	87.4	11.2
1978/79	87.5	11.3
1979/80	86.4	12
1980/81	86	12.4

(Source : MUGESERA, A. op.cit., pp. 312-313)

Table n°2: Enrollment in government secondary schools, per Province, September 1989

Provinces	Vacancies in accordance with demographical importance	Vacancies	Difference
Butare	836	696	-140
Byumba	722	662	-60
Cyangugu	461	443	-18
Gikongoro	514	466	-48
Gisenyi	649	1045	+396
Gitarama	836	792	-44
Kibungo	501	425	-76
Kibuye	468	412	-56
Kigali	970	1005	+35
Ruhengeri	736	747	+11
Total	6693	6693	442-442=0

(Source : UWILINGIYIMANA, L., Octobre et Novembre. Le Front Patristique Rwandais et à l'assaut du Mutara UNR, Editions Universitaires du Rwanda, 1992, p.83.)

N.B.:

The Provinces of Gisenyi (The President's Province of origin), Kigali (The headquarters of the country's high authorities) and Ruhengeri (the province which is an allied to Gisenyi) gained more places than others.

Table n° 3: The segregation against Tutsi: Secondary Education: 1981/1982

Province	Commune	Passes (70-60%)	Admissions
Butare	Nyabisindu	9	1
	Huye	21	0
	Nyaruhengeri	9	1
	Ntyazo	14	3
	All	267	103 (=77%)
Province	Commune		Refused
Cyangugu	All		16
Gikongoro	All		56
Gisenyi	All		11
Gitarama	All		72
Kibungo	All		24
Kibuye	All		53
Kigali	All		86

(Source: MUGESERA, A., 2004: 317.)

Table n° 4: the segregation against girls secondary Education 1981/1982

Province	Commune	passes (70-60%)	Admissions
Butare	Ntyazo	14	0
	Gishamvu	36	14
	Muyira	23	4
	Muganza	10	1
	Ndora	16	1
Gikongoro	Karama	23	3
Gisenyi	Rwerere	25	14

(Source: MUGESERA, A. 2004: 317)

After a focused observation of the tables 1, 2, 3, and 4, answer the following questions:

1. From table 1, the segregation against Tutsi followed which curve?
At which moment did it get stronger and why?
2. From table 2, the official policy of regional quota was it respected? Why did Gisenyi, Kigali and Ruhengeri get a bigger of number of students when compared to what had been planed? What will be the consequence of this situation in the field of employment?
3. From tables 3 and 4 what are the feelings of Tutsi and girls who passed but were not admitted? The feelings of Hutu who got less than 60% or 70% but were admitted?

•Registration Form at NUR

Section A: Personal Details

1. Name:
2. Surname:
3. Address during vacation
4. Permanent Address:
5. Place of birth (Sector):
6. Date of birth
7. Province
8. Country
9. Residence (sector).....
10. Commune
11. Province.....
12. Country.....
13. Nationality.....
14. Ethnic group
15. Sex
16. Mother tongue
17. Religion
18. Marital status
19. Number of children.....
20. Spouse's name and surname
21. Spouse's address

Table 5: Ethnic segregation at N U R (1981-1983)

Academic year	Hutu	%	Tutsi	%	Twa	%
1981/82	974	85.14	168	14.69	2	0.17483
1982/83	1112	27.08	164	12.8426	1	0.07831
1983/84	1189	89.3	142	10.7	1	0.08
1984/85	1360	88.484	177	11.51	0	0
1985/86	1340	87.638	189	12.361	0	0
1986/87	1250	86.266	198	13.664	1	0.0690
Total	6325	85.85	1037	14.07	5	0.067

Source : République Rwandaise, Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieure et de la Recherche Scientifique, Direction Etudes et Evaluation, Annuaire Statistique de l'Enseignement Supérieur au Rwanda, 1986-1987, Kigali, Mars 1989 , p.49

After reading carefully texts 1, 2, and 3, respond to the following questions:

1. Since when did the segregation policy begin in schools?
2. Who designed it?
3. Which category of Rwandans were victims of this segregation?
4. Was this segregation policy accepted by Rwandans? Give an example.

Table 6: Ethnic and regional segregation at Higher Level of Education

A. At NUR

A.1. Academic year 1983-1984

Province Ethnic group	Kigali	Gitarama	Butare	Gikongoro	Cyangugu	Kibuye	Gisenyi	Ruhengeri	Byumba	Kibungo	Total	%
Hutu	117	153	119	98	88	84	170	183	103	74	1189	89.33
Tutsi	31	19	31	11	9	11	7	1	8	13	141	10.6
Twa			1								1	0.07
Total	148	172	151	109	97	95	177	184	111	87	1331	100
%	11.12	12.92	11.34	8.2	7.3	7.13	13.3	13.82	8.34	6.53	100	

Source: République Rwandaise, MESRS, Annuaire, 1983-1984, Kigali, Novembre 1985, p.10

Diagram 1

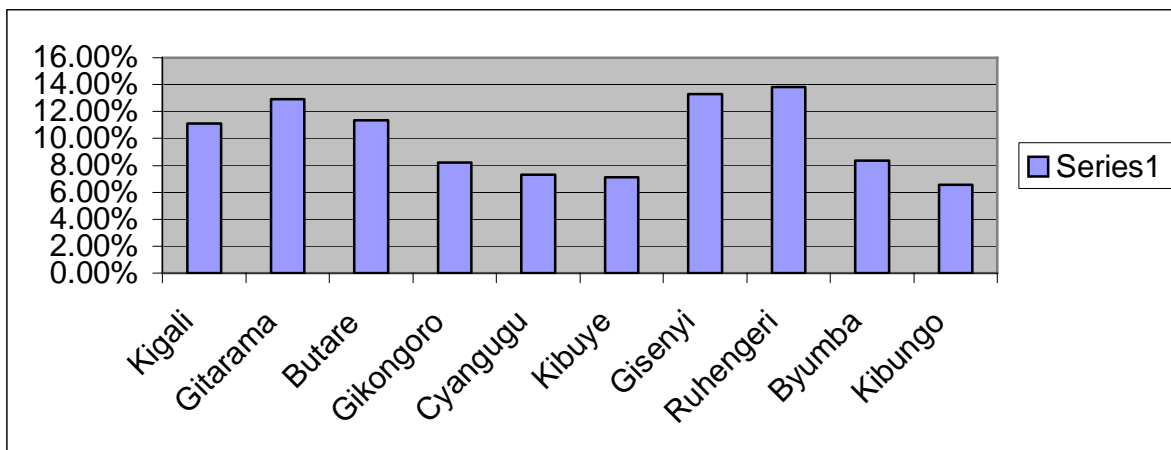


Table 7: Ethnic and regional segregation at Higher level of Education

A.2. Academic year 1984-1985

Province	Butare	Byumba	Cyangugu	Gikongoro	Gisenyi	Gitarama	Kibungo	Kibuye	Kigali	Ruhengeri	N.D.	Total	%
Hutu	143	123	109	112	186	168	77	105	136	201		1360	86.37
Tutsi	39	15	11	20	4	19	22	17	29	1		177	11.50
Nationalized												1	0.06
N.D.											1	1	0.06
Total	183	138	120	132	190	187	99	122	165	202	1	1539	100
%	11.89	8.97	7.80	8.58	12.35	12.15	6.43	7.93	10.72	13.13	0.06		

Source: République Rwandaise, MESRS, Annuaire, 1984-1985, Kigali, Avril 1987, p.14.

Diagram 2

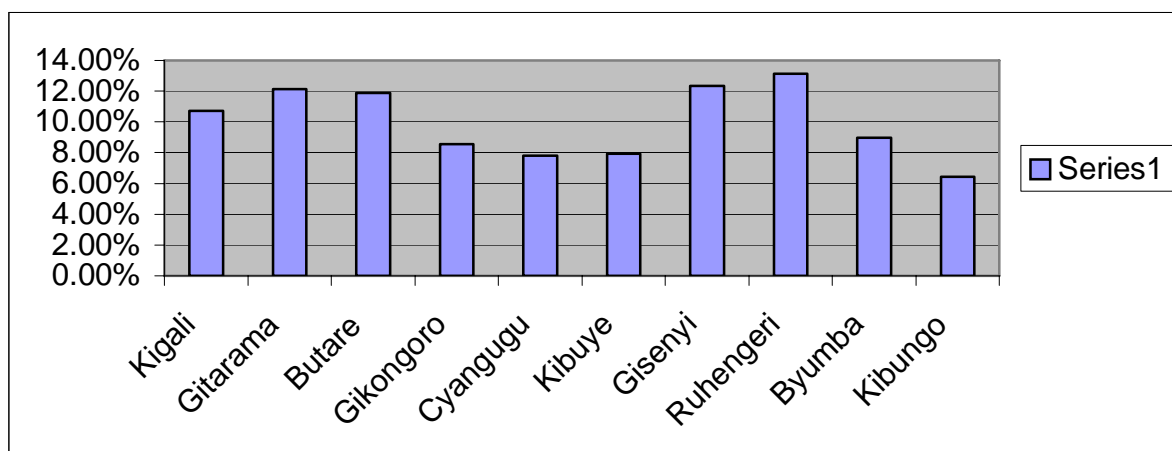


Table 8: Ethnic and regional segregation at Higher level of Education

A.3. Academic year 1985-1986

Préfecture	Butare	Byumba	Cyangugu	Gikongoro	Gisenyi	Gitarama	Kibungo	Kibuye	Kigali	Ruhengeri	Total	%
Ethnic group												
Hutu	147	127	105	107	175	169	71	99	130	210	1340	87.64
Tutsi	50	12	11	25	7	20	18	16	26	4	189	12.36
Total	197	139	116	132	182	189	89	115	156	214	1529	100
%	12.88	9.9	7.59	8.63	11.90	12.36	5.82	7.52	10.20	14	100	

Source: République Rwandaise, MESRS, Annuaire, 1985-1986, Kigali, Août 1988, p.15

Diagram 3

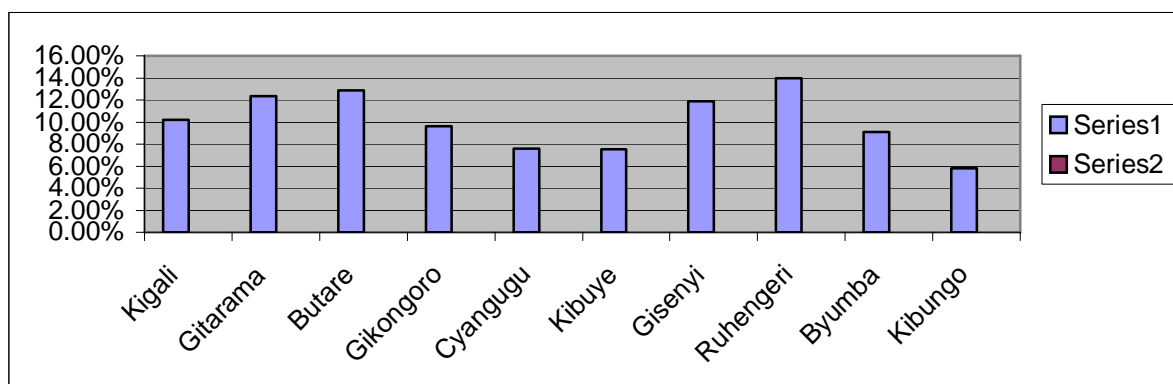


Table 9 Ethnic and regional segregation at Higher level of Education

A.4. Academic year 1986-1987

Province	Butare	Byumba	Cyangu.	Gikongoro	Gisenyi	Gitarama	Kibungo	Kibuye	Kigali	Ruhengeri	Total	%
Hutu	142	124	99	105	159	149	62	98	126	186	1250	86.21
Tutsi	51	12	11	22	8	21	17	17	33	6	198	13.65
Twa						1					1	0.07
Nationalised									1		1	0.07
Total	193	136	110	127	167	171	79	115	160	192	1450	100
%	13.31	9.38	7.59	8.76	11.52	11.79	5.45	7.93	11.03	13.24	110	

Source: République Rwandaise, MESRS, Annuaire, 1986-1987, Kigali, Mars 1989; p.17

Diagram 4

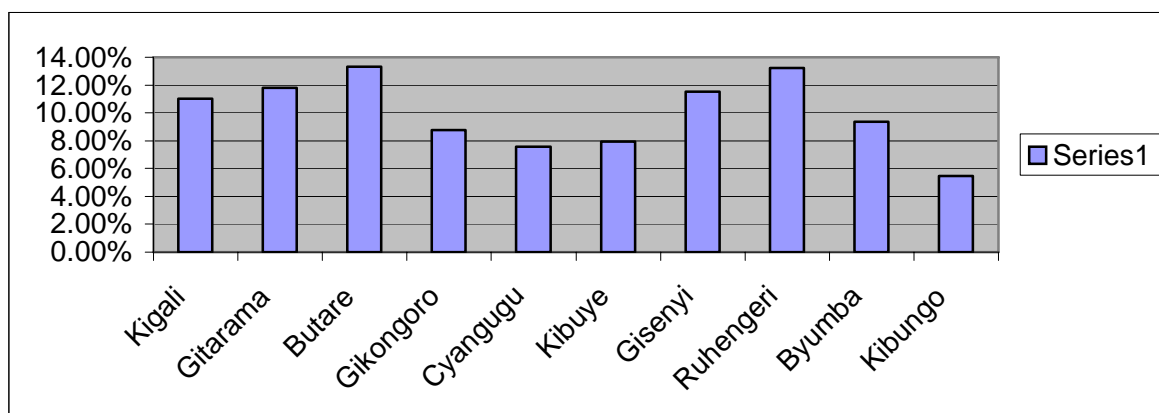


Table 10: Ethnic and regional segregation at NUR

Year and ethnic group	1983-1984		1984-1985		1985-1986		1986-1987		Total
	Hutu	Tutsi	Hutu	Tutsi	Hutu	Tutsi	Hutu	Tutsi	
Préfecture									
Kigali	117	31	136	29	130	26	126	33	411
Gitarama	153	19	168	19	169	20	149	21	682
Butare	119	31	143	39	147	50	142	51	636
Gikongoro	98	11	112	20	107	25	105	22	500
Cyangugu	88	9	109	11	105	11	99	11	443
Kibuye	84	11	105	17	99	16	98	17	437
Gisenyi	170	7	186	4	175	7	159	8	716
Ruhengeri	183	1	201	1	210	4	186	6	792
Byumba	103	8	123	15	127	12	124	12	424
Kibungo	74	13	77	22	71	18	62	17	284
Total	1189	141	1360	177	1340	189	1250	198	4584
%	89.33	10.60	86.37	11.50	87.64	12.36	86.21	13.65	

Table 11: Ethnic and segregation at NUR (1981-1987)

Academic year	Hutu	Tutsi	Twa	Total
1981/82	974	168	2	1,144
1982/83	1,112	164	1	2,277
1983/84	1,189	142	1	1,331
1984/85	1,360	177	0	1,537
1985/86	1,340	189	0	1,529
1986/87	1,250	198	1	1,448
Total	6,325	1,037	5	7,367

Source : République Rwandaise, Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieure et de la Recherche Scientifique, Direction Etudes et Evaluation, Annuaire Statistique de l'Enseignement Supérieur au Rwanda, 1986-1987, Kigali, Mars 1989, p.49.

Tableau 12: Ethnic and regional segregation at higher level of Education

B. E.S.M.

B.1. Academic year 1983-1984

Préfecture	Kigali	Gitarama	Butare	Gikongoro	Cyangugu	Kibuye	Gisenyi	Ruhengeri	Byumba	Kibungo	Total	%
Ethnie												
Hutu	18	7	5	6	9	3	20	35	16	4	124	98.41
Tutsi		1						1			2	1.59
Twa												
Total	18	8	5	6	9	3	20	36	16	4	126	100
%	14.30	7.14	3.97	4.76	7.14	2.38	15.87	28.57	12.70	3.17	100	

Source: République Rwandaise, MESRS, Annuaire, 1983-1984, Kigali, Novembre 1985, p.11

Diagram 5

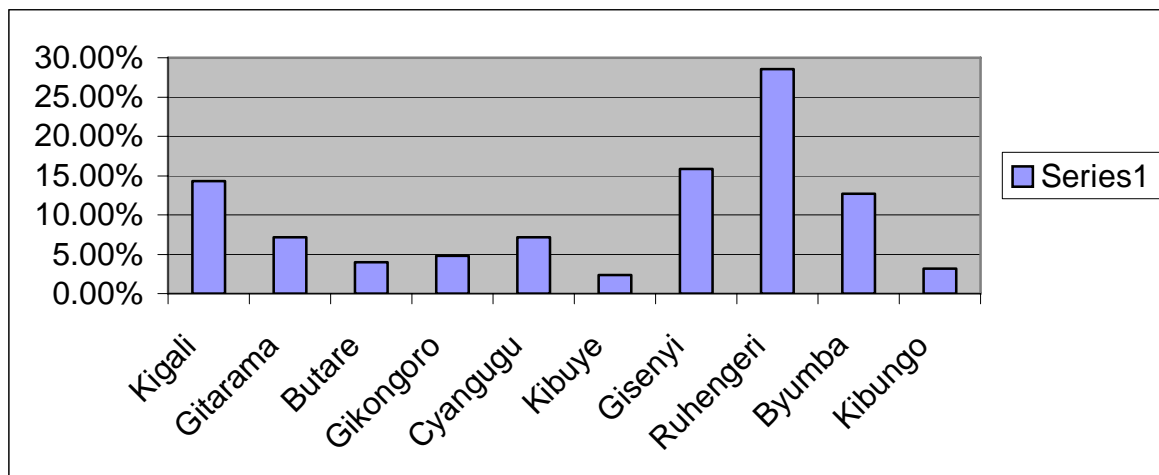


Table 13: Students' distribution at ESM (Military School) per rank and per ethnic group : 1983/84

Rank Ethnic group	Corporal	Sergeant	Officer	Total	%
Hutu	41	34	49	124	98.41
Tutsi	-	1	1	2	1.59
Twa	-	-	-	-	-
Total	41	35	50	126	100

Table 14: Student distribution at IAMSEA per Province and per ethnic group

Year and ethnicity	1983-1984		1984-1985		1985-1986		1986-1987		Total
	Hutu	Tutsi	Hutu	Tutsi	Hutu	Tutsi	Hutu	Tutsi	
Province									
Kigali	3	3	4	1	2	2	4	3	22
Gitarama	2	1	3	2	3*	1	2	2	16
Butare	2	3	2	4	-	2	-	2	15
Gikongoro	1	2	1	1	-	3	3	2	13
Cyangugu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kibuye	2	-	4	1	3	1	5	1	17
Gisenyi	3	-	2	-	2	-	1	-	7
Ruhengeri	1	-	4	-	4	1	4	-	14
Byumba	1	-	1	-	1	1**	-	1	5
Kibungo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	15	9	21	9	14	11	19	11	105
%	62.5	37.5	70.0	30.0	56.0	44.0	63.33	36.67	

Source: République Rwandaise, MESRS, Annuaire 1983/84, 1984/85, 1985/86 et 1986/87, pp. 11 et 12, 18, 29, 35.

N.B.:

- 1) In 1983/84, one Hutukazi student from Gitarama
 - 2) No Mutwa at IAMSEA for four years
 - 3) Nobody from Cyangugu nor Kibungo for four years
- * One female student
 ** Female student

Diagram n° 6: National students at IAMSEA per province : 1983/84

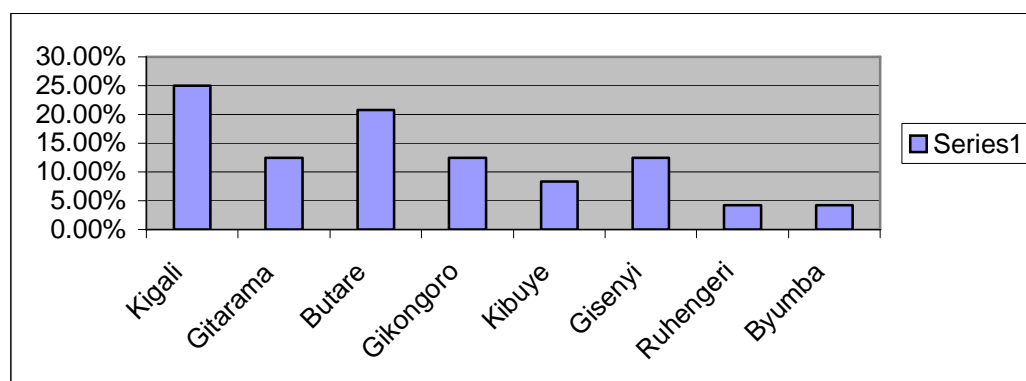


Diagram n°7: National students at IAMSEA per province: 1984/85

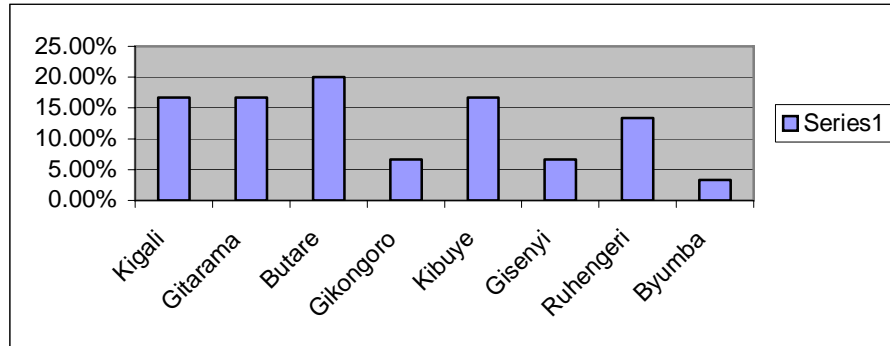
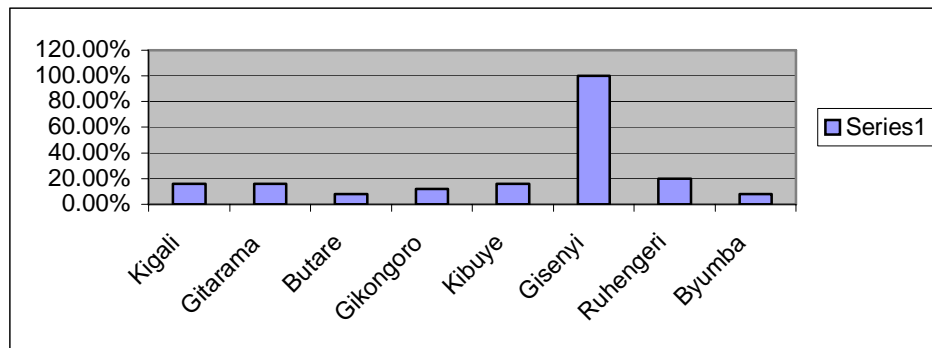


Diagram n°8: National students at IAMSEA per province : 1985/86



N.B The provinces of Cyangugu and Kibungo are not represented at I.M.S.E.A. in the course of the academic year 1985/86.

Diagram n°9: National students at IAMSEA per province: 1986/87

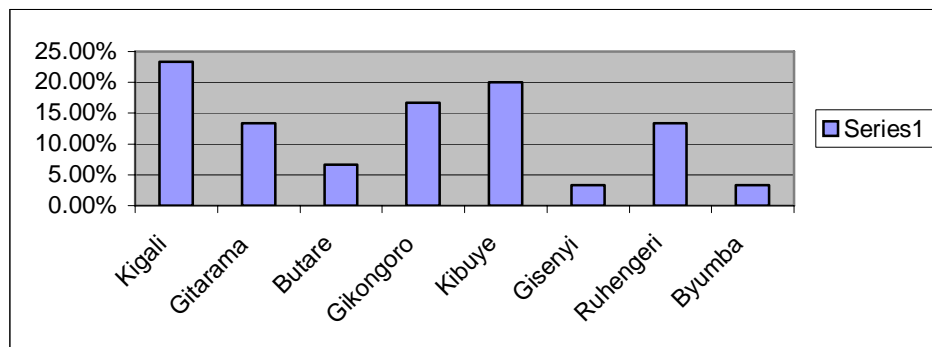
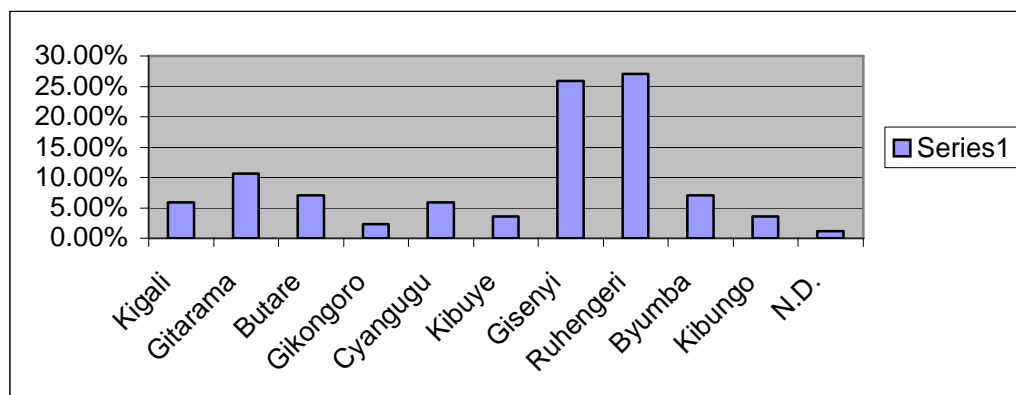


Diagram n° 10: National students at “Institut Saint Fidèle” per province : 1986/87



Source: République Rwandaise, MESRS, Annuaire 1986/1987; p.40.

N.B. Ruhengeri and Gisenyi alone had a total of 52.94 %.

Table n° 15: National students abroad per province 1983/84

Province	Kigali	Gitarama	Butare	Gikongoro	Cyangugu	Kibuye	Gisenyi	Ruhengeri	Byumba	Kibungo	Total	%
Region												
Africa	18	10	8	6	9	7	27	21	14	4	124	10.59
Europe											256	40.44
Rest of the world	24	21	27	18	20	12	49	38	28	16	253	39.97
Total	42	31	35	24	29	19	76	49	42	20	633	100

Table n° 16: National students abroad per province: 1984/85

Province	Kigali	Gitarama	Butare	Gikongoro	Cyangugu	Kibuye	Gisenyi	Ruhengeri	Byumba	Kibungo	Total	%
Region												
Africa	14	11	9	6	11	9	33	21	12	5	135	19.07
Europe											265	37.43
Rest of the world	33	28	33	17	26	12	49	61	29	19	308	43.50
Total	47	39	42	23	37	21	82	82	41	24	708	100

Diagram n° 12: National students in Africa per Province : 1985/86

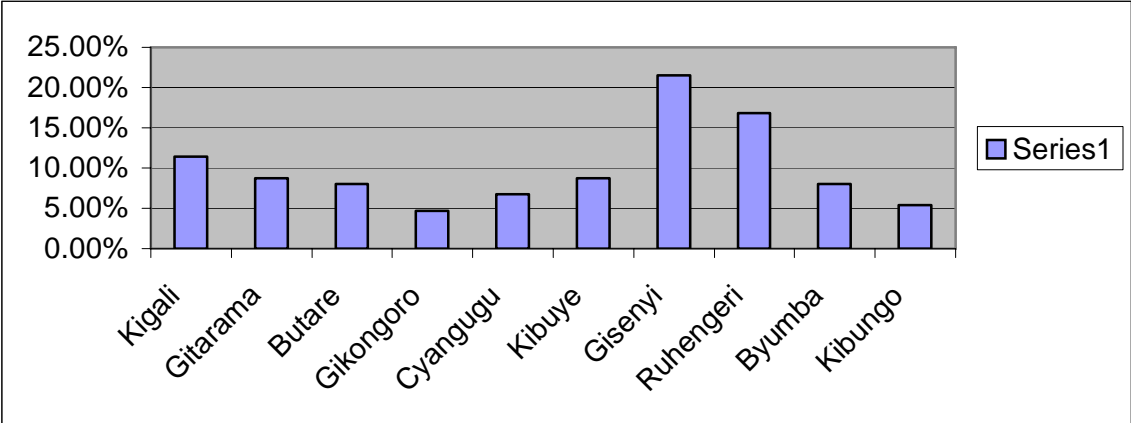


Diagram n° 13: National students in Europe per province : 1985/86

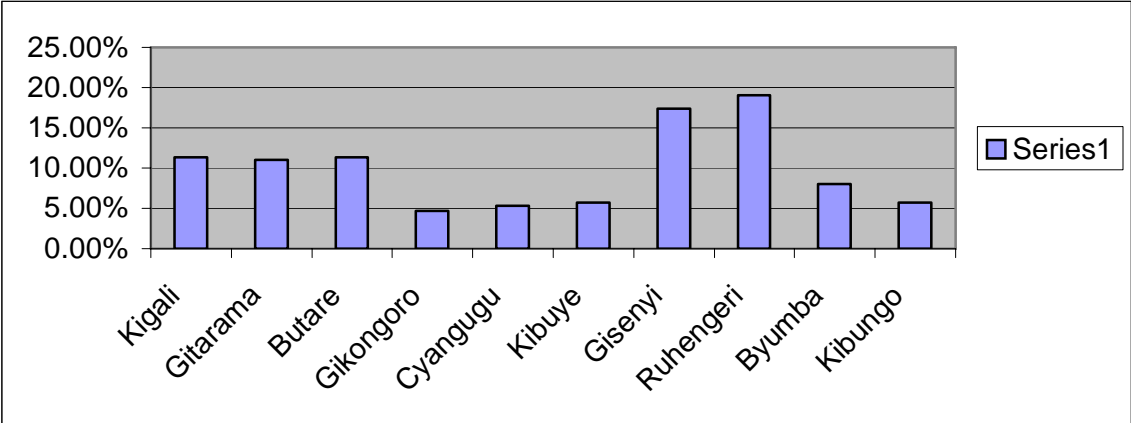


Diagram n° 14: National students in the "Rest of the world": 1985/86

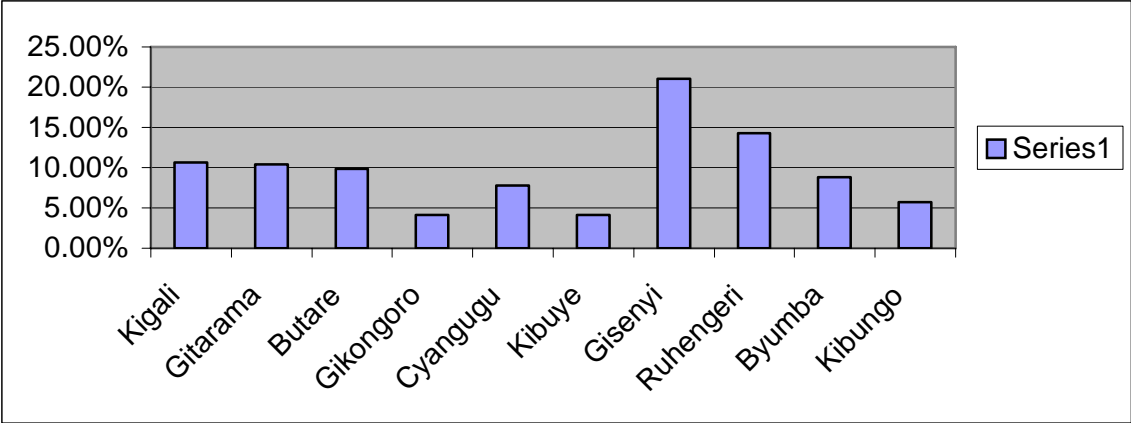


Table n° 17: National students abroad per province : 1986/87

Province	Kigali	Gitarama	Butare	Gikongoro	Cyangugu	Kibuye	Gisenyi	Ruhengeri	Byumba	Kibungo	N.D.	Total	%
Region													
Africa	19	18	11	8	11	15	39	28	12	10		172	18.20
Europe	40	44	33	24	18	18	63	60	33	17		343	36.30
Rest of the world	52	46	39	20	33	14	95	68	29	24	3	430	45.50
Total	111	108	83	52	62	47	194	156	137	51	3	945	100
%	11.75	11.43	8.78	5.50	6.56	4.97	20.53	16.51	16.45	5.40	0.32		

Source: République Rwandaise, MESRS, *Annuaire 1986/87*, p.45

Diagram n°15: National students in Africa per province: 1986/87

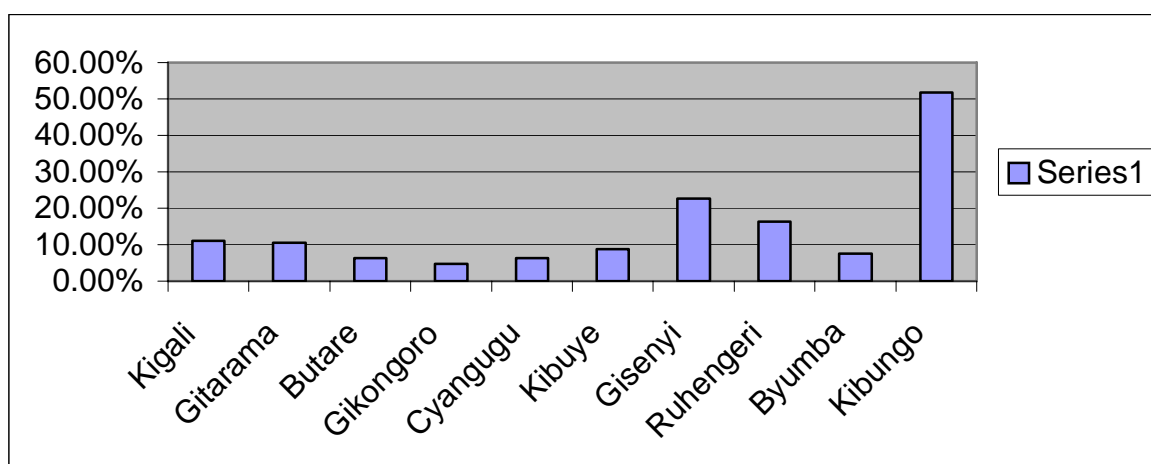


Diagram n° 16: National students in Europe per province: 1986/87

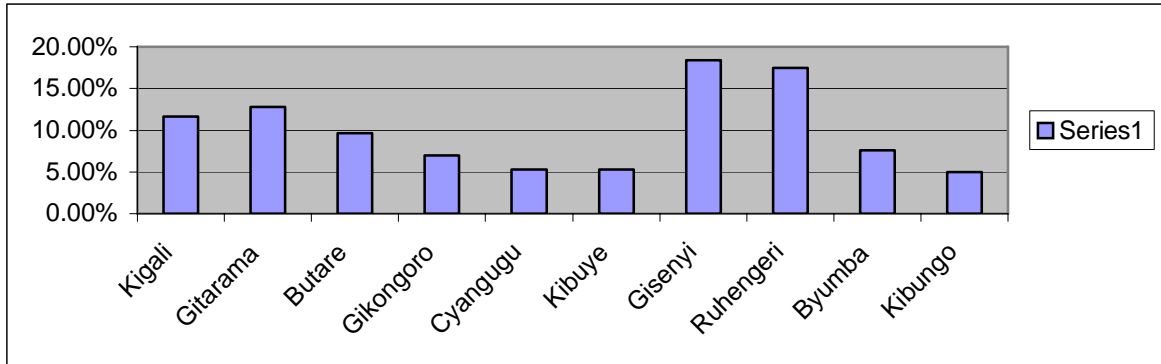
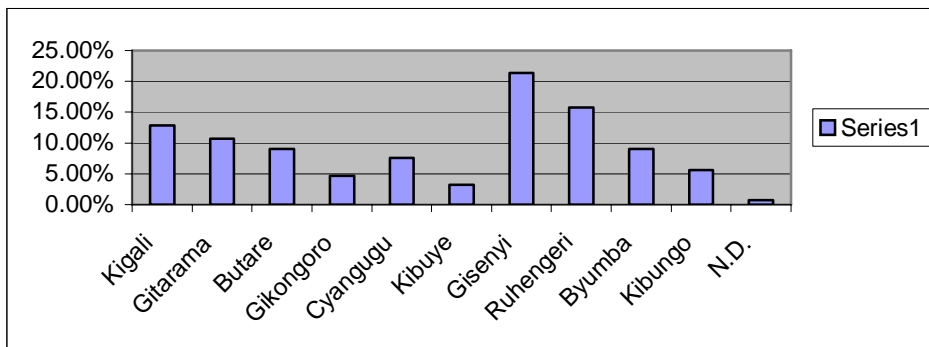


Diagram n° 17: National students in the “Rest of the World” per province: 1986/87



Having observed table n°6 →tables 17:

1. Classify the Provinces based on the number of students.
2. Explain this order of classification.
3. Why do the two top provinces have a small number of Tutsi?
4. What are the feelings of inhabitants of provinces which have a small number of students and the feelings of those who have a big number of students?
5. What is the impact of this situation in employment?

c)The practice of ethnic and regional segregation in the employment sector

Table 18: The number of employees in banks and insurance companies based on ethnicity

Banks and Insurance companies	Total No.	Bahutu	Batutsi	%	Rate of disparity
B.C.R.	583	518	63	10.8	1.1
B.R.D.	107	93	14	13.1	1.3
BACAR	105	93	11	10.5	1
B.N.R.	551	496	54	9.8	0.98
Caisse hypothécaire	45	34	11	24.4	2.4
Banques Populaires	168	146	22	13.1	1.3
SONARWA	302	272	31	10.2	1
TOTAL	1,861	1,652	206	11	1.1

The same global quota is done in private enterprises with more than 80 employees. Indeed, 15 private enterprises had a total number of regular 3,966workers including 3,458 Hutu and r385 Tutsis, which represents disparity indication of 0,97. This disparity is very high at Colas (I=0.073), this lack of quota is probably in relationship with operation zones of this company at that time, it was operating in Ruhengeri province. Then Rwantexco can be picked out (I=0.7), Sulfo Rwanda (I=0.78) and UTEXRWA (I=0.83) where the lack of quota is less noticed. To the contrary, Deutsce Welle (I=2.6), Murri freres (I=2.6) and Astaldi (I=1.9) with over represented of Tutsi; in other enterprises, disparity varies with quota as shown in table 12 (BANGAMWABO F.x & AL., 1991:321)

Table n°19: Wage earners in the private sector per ethnic group

Enterprise	No.	Bahutu	Batutsi	% de Batutsi	Rate of disparity
Sulfo Rwanda	447	412	35	7.8	0.78
Colas	821	815	6	0.73	0.073
B.C.R.	583	518	63	10.8	1.1
UTEXRWA	800	631	67	8.3	0.83
Sorwal	100	85	15	15	1.5
Hôtel Umubano	93	82	11	11.8	1.2
NH V-Rwanda	134	116	18	13.4	1.3
Murri -Frères	103	76	27	26.2	2.6
Abay	114	70	30	26.3	2.6
Ekaglah	105	89	15	14.3	1.4
Astaldi	142	114	28	19.7	1.9
Deutsche Welle	89	64	25	28	2.8
Rwantexco	171	159	12	7	0.7
Briqueterie uliba	148	128	18	12.1	1.2
Rwandex Chilington	116	100	15	12.9	1.3
Total	3,966	3,459	385	9.7	0.97

N.B.: Out of 62 directors of enterprises, 19 originate from Gisenyi, 15 from Ruhengeri, 8 from Byumba, 6 from Kigali, 6 from Gikongoro, 4 from Gitarama and Butare, none from Cyangugu, Kibungo and Kibuye!

And to think that it is a policy of regional quota!

Table n°20: Number of central administration personnel based on ethnic group in some ministries

MINISTRY	TOTAL	%	BAHUTU	%	BATUTSI	%
MINISANTE	2091	32.9	1690	80.9	400	19.1
MINIFIN	462	7.6	374	81	88	19
MINICOM	102	1.6	84	82.4	18	17.6
MINITANSCO	520	8.6	430	82.7	90	17.3
MINAGRI	1265	20.9	1074	85	190	15
MINIJUST	172	2.8	143	83.2	29	16.8
MINIFOP	216	3.5	187	80.6	29	13.4
MININTER	712	11.6	633	89.1	78	10.9
MINITRAPEE	360	5.9	315	87.8	44	12.2
MINIPLAN	149	2.4	116	80.6	29	19.4

Source: UWIZEYIMANA, L., « La politique de l'équilibre ethnique et régional dans l'emploi », in Les relations interethniques au Rwanda à la lumière de l'agression d'octobre 1990. Genèse, soubassements et perspectives, EUR, Ruhengeri, 1991, p.316.

Table n°22: Job seekers per ethnic group in 1989

Ethnic group	No.	%
Bahutu	4,240	80.3
Batutsi	1,022	19.3
Batwa	13	0.3
Nationalized	4	0.1
Total	5,279	100

Source: UWIZEYIMANA, L., « La politique de l'équilibre ethnique et régional dans l'emploi », in Les relations interethniques au Rwanda à la lumière de l'agression d'octobre 1990. Genèse, soubassements et perspectives, EUR, Ruhengeri, 1991, p.317.

Table 23: Workers in the 12 most important government organizations

MINISTRIES	TOTAL	%	BAHUTU	%	BATUTSI	%
BGM	209	3.8	156	74.4	53	25.3
OPROVIA	354	6.6	313	88.5	41	11.5
MAGERWA	471	8.8	433	92.1	38	7.9
BNR	550	10.2	496	90.2	54	9.8
DRB	278	5.1	264	95	14	5
OCIR/Thé Shagasha	341	6.3	244	71.6	97	28.4
ONATRACOM	645	11.9	566	87.7	79	12.3
Projet Crête Zaire Nil	258	4.7	216	83.7	42	16.3
OCIR/Café	662	12.2	627	94.8	35	5.2
SONARWA	303	5.5	272	89.8	31	10.2
ELECTROGAZ	1064	19.7	815	76.6	249	23.4
ONAPO	252	4.7	245	97.3	7	2.7
TOTAL	5,387	100	4,646	86.3	740	13.7

Source: UWIZEYIMANA, L., « La politique de l'équilibre ethnique et régional dans l'emploi », in Les relations interethniques au Rwanda à la lumière de l'agression d'octobre 1990. Genèse, soubassements et perspectives, EUR, Ruhengeri, 1991, p.319.

Table 24: Government institutions and directors' province of origin

INSTITUTION	DIRECTOR	REGION
Crête Zaïre -Nil	Gallican Hategeka	<i>Gisenyi</i>
BCR	Claver Mvuyekure	Gisenyi
BK	Viateur Mvuyekure	Gisenyi
BACAR	Pasteur Musabe	Gisenyi
SOPROTEL	Martin Ayirwanda	Gisenyi
TRAFIPRO	Ngororabanga	Gisenyi
PNAP	Pierre Tegera	Gisenyi
Chambre de Commerce	Aloys Bizimana	Gisenyi
ISAAR	Léopold Gahamanyi	Gisenyi
Caisse Hypothécaire	Antoine Libanje (replaced Segasayo)	Gisenyi
Musée national	Simon Ntigashira	Gisenyi
OCIR-Thé	Michel Bagaragaza	Gisenyi
ORTPN	Juvénal Uwilingiyimana	Gisenyi
COOPIMAR	Jean Mburanumwe	Gisenyi
GBK	Jean Bagiramenshi	Gisenyi
SORWAL	Mathieu Ngirira	Gisenyi

Usine à Thé Shagasha	Callixt	Gisenyi
Usine à The Pfunda	Munyeshuri	Gisenyi
Usine à Thé Murindi	Jaribu	Gisenyi
Les institutions internationales comme CEPGL, OBK, IRAZ, EGL, CEEAC et les ambassades ne sont pas incluses		
Caisse sociale	J.Damascène Hategekimana	<i>Ruhengeri</i>
Electrogaz	Donat Munyanganizi	Ruhengeri
Ocir-Café	Fabien Neretse	Ruhengeri
BNR	Denis Ntirugirimbabazi	Ruhengeri
Rwandex	Baragaahoranye	Ruhengeri
ONAPO	Gaudence Nyirasafari	Ruhengeri
ORINFOR	Ferdinand Nahimana	Ruhengeri
CID	Daniel Rwananiye	Ruhengeri
Laiterie du Rwanda	Callixte Mirasano	Ruhengeri
RAR	Lt Colonel Nyirimanzi	Ruhengeri
Redemi	J.B. Bicumupaka	Ruhengeri
Sodeparal	Michel Bakuzakundi	Ruhengeri
Cimerwa	Callixte	Ruhengeri
Ocir-Thé de Rubaya	Juvénal Ndabarinze	Ruhengeri

Ocir-Thé Nshili	Stany Niyibizi	Ruhengeri
Opyrwa	Bizimana	Byumba
DRB	Laurien Ngirabanzi	<i>Byumba</i>
Somitrap	Laurent Hitimana	<i>Byumba</i>
Bunep	Augustin Ruzindana	Byumba
Soproniz	Elie Nyirimibibi	Byumba
Ocir-Thé Gisovu	Alfred Musema	Byumba
Imprisco	Stany Siniyibagiwe	Byumba
Croix-Rouge	Claudien Kamirindi	Byumba
Sucrerie	Kagaba	<i>Kigali</i>
Sonarwa	Ngirumpatse	Kigali
Petrorwanda	Désiré Murenzi	Kigali
Magerwa	Claudien Kanyarwanda	Kigali
CER	Juvénal Ndisanze	Kigali
Maiserie de Mukamira	Dirimasi	Kigali
Onatracom	Kabogoza	Gitarama
Ovapam	Nsengiyaremye	Gitarama
IRST	Gasengayire	Gitarama
DPF	Musengarurema	Gitarama

Oprovia	Butare	Butare
BRD	Maharangari	Butare
UNR	Ntahobari	Butare
DGB	Gasarabwe	Butare
INR	Munyangoga	Gikongoro
OVIBAR	Munyangendo	Gikongoro
Tabarwanda	Mucumankiko	Gikongoro
PASP UGZ III	Nzamura mbaho	Gikongoro
Ocir-Thé Shagasha	Mubiligi	Gikongoro
<i>Air Rwanda</i>	<i>Karangwa</i>	Gikongoro

Source: "Kwiyuburura kwa MRND kujyane no kwicuza", in kinyamateka, May 1991, n°1334.

N.B

Out of 62 Directors of enterprises, 19 came from Gisenyi, 15 from Ruhengeri, 8 from Byumba, 6 from Kigali, 6 from Gikongoro, 4 from Gitarama and Butare; none of directors came from Cyangugu, Kibungo and Kibuye!

And to think that this was a policy of regional quota!

d) Ethnic segregation in the media: Kangura Newspaper

Text 1:

“... Hutu, be united like Tutsi who are one... Don't you know that it is when Hutu will unite that they will be able to fight the Tutsi? But if we remain divided, we will continue being instruments in the hands of Tutsi who will make us turn in one direction at their will until monarchy is restored”.

Source: BARANYERETSE, M., « De la franchise de Kangura », in *Kangura*, n°21, Août 1991, pp.6-7.

Text 2:

“TO ALL HUTU OF THE WORLD”

“Discover again your ethnic group because Tutsi have taught you to forget it. You belong to an important ethnic Bantu group whose number is more than 15,000,000 inhabitants in Central and Southern Africa (...)

The Tutsi who plan the eradication of the ethnic group have a “francomaçonique” code, which allows them to recognize each other. Before becoming Belgian, the Flemish is Flemish and Walloon is Walloon. The nation is more important than ethnic groups but form it. The nation is artificial but the ethnic group is natural...”

Source: Kangura, 1992

Text 3:

“Every Hutu should consider another Hutu as a brother. He should know that if tomorrow one of the volcanoes erupted, Hutu from Rukiga would be brought to stay in Nduga and will become Munyanduga to that effect. He should know that if there is famine in Nduga, a Hutu from Nduga will become a Mukiga. No matter what he does, a Hutu cannot become a Tutsi and conversely...”

Source: HATEGEKIMANA, J.B., « L'espoir des Bahutu est dans l'unité des régions », In : *Kangura*, n°13, Avril 1991, p.12.

Text 4:

Since MRND has liberated Hutu from the claims of Feudalism, Tutsi are ashamed when they are called Tutsi because they have failed. They have turned their back to the truth, they ground their teeth and sworn that they will be called Tutsi again only when King Kigeli V return to Rwanda. They have changed their ethnic identity they call themselves Hutu on identity cards because they fear the truth. This means that the first leaders of PARMEHUTU did not respect the truth because they allowed Tutsi to change their ethnic group yet the truth imposes to each person to accept his/her ethnic group even if the latter is not in power. These authorities have encouraged liars because either Tutsi gave them cows or girls to marry. Others were allowed to be called Hutu simply because they were to increase the number of PARMEHUTU members. Under the second republic, lying became a law, even if it was not voted by members of parliament, and I am asking myself a question on this. Our M.Ps. always repeat that we are in a country where there is respect of law. But isn't it the violation of law when one changes his/her ethnic group? But how many have been punished for that action?

A state which does not punish people who dare to confirm that black is white, is it itself in the right?

It is unbelievable that a Tutsi presents himself for legislative elections by taking a Hutu identity card and then becomes Minister for Public Service, because he lied. In the context of ethnic quota, which we in the right mind support so long it is effectively implemented, will this Mututsi take the place of a Hutu in order to use it with his brothers Tutsi, in the fight for the restoration of monarchy and Tutsi identity? MRND party which accepts to write his name on the lists of candidates in Rwanda, with confirmation that he is Hutu when he is a Tutsi, can we say that the party respects the law? I hope that in the process of reform, the question of its support for its members' lies will also be considered.

Listen to me carefully, I don't say that a Tutsi should be marginalized because he/she is a Tutsi, but he/she should have the place that she/he deserves but not stealing that of a Hutu or that of a Twa while keeping his/her own for his/her brother. You, Tutsi who made yourself a Hutu, listen to me carefully, it is no use to hide your ethnic group, and the current regime loves Tutsi as if they poisoned it..."

Source: *Kangura*, n°17, Avril 1991; « La vérité est le fondement de la Démocratie »

Text 5

In our program, the expression “rubanda nyamwinshi” is repeated very often. This is surprising! In Rwanda, the terms such as “rubanda nyamwinshi” and also “imbaga nyamwinshi” mean Hutu. For what reason did you decide to come to defend the interest of Hutu? Have Tutsi become “rubandanyamwinshi” without our knowledge? But this is not possible. The last population census showed that the Rwanda population approximated to 7,000,000, 90% of them were Hutu. Things did not change. Tutsi who live in foreign countries are not more than 1,000,000. Is it “rubanda nyamwinshi” which have called for help? Since when we, Hutu, would we need you, to liberate us, if we really needed to be liberated?

Source: BARAHINYURA, J. « Je voudrais poser quelques questions aux Batutsi », In: *Kangura*, N°33, Mars 1992, p.12.

Text 6

“Since the 1959 revolution, efforts have been made here and there in order to secure the interests of the Hutu majority although they are still neglected. Of course when different areas are analyzed, you find that the members of the majority were allocated key posts. But if you look into other areas, the ethnic quota surely provides alarming information.... the Tutsi minority puts at risk the ethnic and regional quota system. People of mixed races present another aspect of the problem. This is known as something that shadows the local structures. Besides, those who falsify their identity cards are many already since 1959. There are a variety of examples. Suppose that statistics at all levels of Education, for secondary and tertiary are precisely and strictly counted, unfortunately everyone will be surprised to see Tutsi in all fields. One may ask if the ethnic and regional quota system was a simple slogan or a mere issue. At the National University of Rwanda, more precisely in the Faculty of Law, there are facts which speak for themselves; there is no need of insisting. In higher institutions, only those who live there know the actual situation. Ethnic proportions are unbalanced and they are alarming. In public and private businesses, the power is in their hands. The minority has managed to seduce the Rwandan society and since long ago, the latter seems to have been infiltrated by it. Certain activities are particular to the Tutsi ethnic group; these are among others the Rwandan clergy, etc. The members of this ethnic group always stick together wherever they are. They are faithful companions on the road, forming networks to take over power.”

Source: *Kangura-Magazine*, n°10, Mai 1992. Pp.3-4 « Rwanda, Pourquoi l’union de la majorité doit-elle provoquer des insomnies ? ».

Text N° 7: 10 Commandments of Hutu Extremists

1. Every Hutu should know that umututsikazi wherever she is works to the benefit of her ethnic Tutsi group. Consequently, any muhutu is a traitor when:
 - He takes as wife a mututsikazi
 - He has a mututsikazi girlfriend
 - He has a mututsikazi secretary or girlfriend.
2. Every Hutu should know that our girls Bahutukazi have more dignity and consciousness in their roles as women, wives and mothers. Aren't they pretty, good secretaries and more honest?
3. Bahutukazi be cautious and bring back your husbands, your brothers and your sons back home.
4. Every Hutu should be aware that every mututsi is dishonest in business. He only targets his ethnic group's supremacy.

RIZABARA UWARIRAYE!

Consequently is a traitor every Hutu:

- Who has connections with Batutsi in his business;
 - Who invests his money or government's money in an enterprise of a Mututsi;
 - Who borrows or lends money to a Mututsi;
 - Who gives favors to Batutsi in business (giving license for import, bank loans, land for construction, government market, ...)
5. Strategic posts like political, administrative, military and security vacancies must be confined to Bahutu;
 6. The Education sector (pupils, students and teachers) must be majority Hutu.
 7. The Rwandan army must be exclusively Hutu. The experience from the beginning of the war in October 1990 has taught us a lesson. No army personnel is allowed to marry a Mututsikazi.
 8. Hutu should stop feeling sorry for Batutsi.
 9. Hutu wherever they are should be united, show solidarity and cautiousness about the fate of their Bahutu brothers. Hutu living inside and outside Rwanda must look constantly for friends and allies for the Hutu cause, starting with the Bantu brothers.
 - They should constantly halt Tutsi propaganda.
 - Hutus should be firm and watchful against their common enemy Mututsi.
 10. The social revolution of 1959, 1961-referendum and Hutu ideology must be taught to every Hutu and at all levels.

All Hutu must circulate widely this ideology. Any Hutu who will persecute his fellow Hutu brother because he has read, circulated and taught this ideology, will be a traitor". (Kangura, December 1990)

Source: LUGAN, B., *Histoire du Rwanda*, Vitry, Bartillat, 1997, pp.482-83

Table n° 25: Extremist Newspapers

Name	1 st Edition	Actual Periodicity	Director	Political tendency
IJAMBO	January 1991	Unknown	?	Branch of RPF
IMBAGA	March 1991	Monthly	ASBL Imbaga	Moderate Pro-Hutu
LA Victoire TURATSINZE	April 1991	Monthly	Ministre Défense	Journal of Rwandan Army Forces
DUSINA SANE IMITIMA TUDAHUSHUN	April 1991	Short-lived	H.B. Habyarimana	Hutu Power
ECHO DES MILLE COLLINES	June 1991	Monthly	T. Kabonabake	Hutu extremism
LA MEDAILLE NYIRAMACIBIRI	July 1991	Monthly	F Rwabutogo L. Musekuru Kwitonda	Hutu extremism
JYAMBERE	August 1991	Monthly-short-lived	T. Hahozayezu	Hutu extremism
KANGURA INT.	October 1991	Monthly	Mensuelle Issa Nyabyenda	Hutu extremism
INTERAHAMWE	Jan. 92 to Sept. 93	Bi-monthly Short-lived	R. Kajuga Tatien hahozayezu	Hutu extremism
IKINANI	June 1992	One censored edition	P. Simbikangwa	Hutu extremism
VERITES D'AFRIQUE IMPAMO	August 1992	Bi-monthly	Epa Habimana	Tendency « Power » of MDR Party
PAIX ET DEMOCRATIE	April 1993	Irregular	E. Gapyisi	Moderate then « Power »
LE COURRIER DU PEUPLE	1993	Short-lived	?	MRD « Hutu Power »
POWER-PAWA	Nov. 1993	Monthly	Froduald Karamira	Extremism of « Hutu Power »
INTERA	Dec. 1989	Bi-monthly	S. Rwabukumba A. Nkurunziza	Hutu extremism
UMURANGA MAGAZINE	January 1990	Monthly or bi-monthly	Félicien Semusambi	Independent and then Hutu power
KANGURA	May 1990	Monthly	Hassan Ngeze	Extremist
IJAMBO	August 1990	Monthly or bi-monthly	François Xavier Hangimana	Moderate then « Hutu power »
IJISHO RYA RUBANDA	Dec. 1990	Irregular	T.N. Mbarute	Libertarian then « Hutu Power »

Source: CHRETIEN, J-P. et alii, Rwanda. Les médias du génocide, Paris, Karthala, 1995, p383,384,385 et 386

•**Oral sources (Interviews)**

1. Kayitesi Beltilde, born July 1964 at Nyaruguru in Gikongoro province, finished primary 6 in 1979 with 47% and repeated her class. During that year, from 6 primary schools (Ruramba, Gorwe, Rwamiko, Giseke, Rubona and Ngado, only 14 pupils were admitted to secondary schools among these 12 were Hutu and 2 Tutsi. In 1980, when Kayitesi B. finished primary 6, no Tutsi was admitted to secondary Education that is why she went to study in Zaire. She passed National Examinations with 51%, but she was denied University studies at the National University of Rwanda (NUR). She needed the equivalent of her certificate while her Hutu colleagues who finished in Zaire with 50% were admitted at the NUR. It is for this reason she started working first as a teacher and later on as assistant mayor; she never did her University studies.
2. X. was born in 1973 at Nyakizu in Butare province. She finished primary 6 in 1987 at Cyahinda, Nyakizu Educational sector. She got 82%. Since she could not be admitted to a government school for secondary Education, she joined a private school self sponsored. At the end of secondary, she got 70,7% in 1993. Because of the above-mentioned system, she could not enroll at NUR. It is for this reason that she was employed as social assistant by one private secondary school. She is currently pursuing university studies at the NUR, third year.
3. BAKUNDUKIZE Redempta: “I was born 11th march 1970, in MARABA district, Butare province. I did primary Education at Maraba 1977/1978 to 1985/1986, and I was always first in my class. Despite that, when we did national examination in order to join secondary Education, 5 pupils who were always behind me in class passed and I mysteriously failed. On the lists, there were only names without marks because of the bad system of ethnic and regional quota, which was practiced in schools. I repeated primary 8 and when I sat for national exams for the second time, I was sent to “ecole normale primaire de SHANGI”, in Cyangugu province. I did 6 years 1986/1987 to 1991/1992. I graduated with satisfaction (65%). After secondary Education I wrote an application letter requesting for access to NUR, my letter was filed, I never got a reply. I became a teacher. After the genocide of 1994, I did not manage to continue my studies; I had to ensure my survival and that of my family’s orphans as well. I found the answer through evening studies. I have finished “Bac II” in Sociology.”

e) Education without Discrimination and Genocide Ideology

After the 1994 Genocide, the transitional government committed itself to free the Education sector from its main policy of ethnic and regional quota.

This system of ethnic quota limited access to Education for all and constituted a big obstacle to national development for a weakened country which lacks sufficient qualified human resources.

From now on, it is the principle of merit and teaching democratization that should underlie the Education policy so that the country may be led towards its so awaited economic take off.

Concerning genocide ideology, it might disintegrate as it is no longer being fueled by the quota policy and ethnic hatred.

2. Situational analysis of the period between the 1980's up to 1994 in Rwanda by

European researchers:

- a) Pierre Erny, Rwanda 1994, Paris, L'Harmattan 1994

•Inside the country:

The population is unhappy

“A kind of wild racketing was developed among leaders. The population noticed with unhappiness how land had been misappropriated by those who were privileged because of their region of origin, big pastoral fields comparable to those of rich Tutsi in old days were being developed, the general drop of prices of products for export such as coffee and tea which caused a 40% reduction of government resources, the establishment of regionalism in the opposite direction of that of KAYIBANDA, shocking social disparities existed in the open and the succession of torrential rains and drought yet caused famine in some regions”...

Dissension between Hutu from the north and those from the south

“September 1990, four newsmen of former KINYAMATEKA whose director was Father SIBOMANA, were seriously charged because they tried to discredit the authorities by denouncing a certain number of cases of injustice, misappropriation of funds, human rights irregularities and violation.

With statistics to support this, the authors demonstrated that Rwandans from the north were clearly favored concerning access to secondary and higher Education and posts in government institutions as well...

During interrogations, the person in charge of security managed to intimidate Father SIBOMANA Saying:

“Do you forget that you come from GITARAMA and that people from that province are enemies’ number one of the second republic? If you continue to disturb this government’s meetings by your writings, we will inflict you the same fate (death) as we did to the authorities of the first republic. We have all material and technical means to do it.” (Dialogue 143)

The deterioration of human rights and security conditions as well

“Hutu personalities were targeted the same way as Tutsi were. Arbitrary arrests and imprisonment were carried out in big numbers for contacts with external opponents or writing articles in the media which accused government of corruption, violence by police or discrimination (more than 8,000 cases were made official between October 1990 and February 1991, without counting others); newsmen were hunted, suspicious trials were made; torture was done frequently.

Political assassinations were committed in big numbers... the army began intimidation openly...

Genocide tried

To make it worse, while nothing predicted the deterioration of relations between Tutsi and Hutu, very serious and high tensions, troubles and ethnic confrontations erupted:

- At Kibirira, in the North-west, in October 1990
- In the region occupied by Bagogwe, a sub group of pastoral Batutsi in the north, with no doubt one thousand victims in January 1991, at Kanzenze, near Kigali in October 1991
- In march 1992 in Bugesera, at Nyamata and Ruhuha
- At Kibuye.

... Five hundred machine guns were distributed to district authorities, and groups of killers called “escadrons de la mort” were running all over the country looking for Tutsi, stealing cattle, destroying houses and crops... they were also talking of sinister “réseaux zero”.

•Outside the country: the question of refugees' return

“For those in exile, one big claim was made concerning the inability to go back to their homeland rightfully... Extremist Hutu were opposed to this return of refugees by principle. The government at Kigali had demonstrated its refusal, once again, with no doubt, as it was the case with quotas, they feared overpopulation. Therefore they put a lot of emphasis on the point of view which was purely technocratic and was not taking into account human problems and international reactions and opinion, saying that the country was already overpopulated, that there was no more land to give and that it was mere utopia to plan such a return.

As stated by H. Rossel, this statement and attitude constituted a serious psychological impact because when refugees are denied the possibility to return to their country, they are pushed practically to despair and this can cause them the desire of revenge.”

b) Claudine Vidal, *sociologie des passions*, Paris, Karthala 1991

“The separation of ethnic groups”

“How and in what conditions, do ethnic divisions become a reason of criminal confrontations”? (p19)

“When ethnic speeches become “national identifications”, they acquire quite different modalities of existing depending on social divisions pertaining to national groups.” (p.20)

“The call for historical images was particularly intensive in Rwanda. These images aimed at explaining the divisions among diverse groups of ethnic entities with no difference based on language, geographic location, religion and traditional culture. But this historical development on ethnicity did not happen on the spot, there is a history which began in the first years of colonization, also very diverse social actors rallied to protect ethnic figures of the past when their existence simply appears in the present.”

Such retrospectives, which were practiced by Europeans first, were taken over by Rwandans, and were taught, internalized until they formed a set of beliefs, which not only gave immediately a historical destiny to European forms of social inequality but also introduced in nature the privilege to access European life styles. When the first open conflicts erupted (in 1959), oppositions got involved in total hatred and even ethnic racism.”(p.21)

c) **A. Des Forges, Aucun témoin ne doit survivre le génocide au Rwanda, Paris, Karthala, 1999**

While affirming that Tutsi were preparing the genocide of Hutu, several publications seemed to have followed closely the propaganda tactic of “accusation en miroir”. Many newspapers attributed to Tutsi words that Hutu were finally going to say while making the call for Tutsi genocide. This is how in September 1991, “la médaille Nyiramacibiri” claimed that Tutsi wanted to clean Rwanda [...] by throwing Hutu in Nyabarongo, this sentence became famous one year later when Mugesera spoke of throwing Tutsi in the river. Kangura mentioned that captured RPF soldiers by government troops had come to remove Hutu dirt from Rwanda [...]. During genocide, Hutu were talking often of cleaning their communities from Tutsi dirt. In April 1992, Jyambere newspaper accused opposition parties of distributing arms to their younger members, revealing exactly by these “accusations en miroir” what the Habyarimana army was actually doing at that time.

b) **Bernard Lugan. Histoire du Rwanda, 1997 pp 516-517**

Reflection on genocide

“Beyond the number of victims, estimated at 500,000 to 1,000,000 dead for a population which was counted at about 8 million before massacres, the Rwandan killings took the form of a proper “populicide” when victims were moderate or liberal Hutu, killed for their political thoughts and Genocide when Tutsi died because of their “ethnic-racial” belonging. These events can be put into the following major categories:

- Political assassinations

The lists of people to be killed, Hutu and Tutsi had been established. Hutu extremists used these lists in order to eliminate in the shortest time possible most of the politicians from opposition parties and in fact these were in majority Hutu than Tutsi. The militia and presidential guards had lists; the operation was carried out systematically, it was not a hazard when they launched their campaign of extermination.

This operation had been prepared, planned and organized long before. The death of the president was a pretext of its start. It began some hours after his death was announced, as if those who gave the order were waiting for it and had prepared it.”

(LUGAN B., 1997: 516)

“Certain massacres of Tutsi began some hours or days after the death of president Habyarimana was announced, but the most important phase of Genocide erupted when the Hutu political class was physically eliminated. It was as if those who planned the killings, the elimination of all the Tutsi population of Rwanda, the action “ethnic-racial” fight was of less “urgency” and proprietary than that of Hutu officials from opposition parties. Then when killers started attacking Tutsi, they did it systematically. They did not need lists because all Tutsi were to die.

The silent Genocide probably caused more deaths. It took place in rural areas, everywhere, Tutsi were murdered by their neighbors. It was a movement of madness in which thousands of Hutu peasants were involved. In this campaign of Tutsi “eradication”, “genie assassin” of those who started genocide was to involve the whole population in the killing. From now on, Hutu union had been sealed in the shared sacrifice that they had offered to “bantuité”

A new social pact, a new union had been enhanced by blood and screaming of victims who were dying. People had become mad, with no knowledge or respect of any moral or religious values. They were fulfilling their genocidal “duty” with obstinate application that these uneducated peasants put in whatever they undertook.

- The Catholic Church and Genocide

Before the 1994 Genocide, the catholic clergy was made of 9 archbishops and 620 priests. Among these 250 foreigners (French, Belgians, Canadians, Polish, Italians, Spanish, Dutch, etc.)

During Genocide, at least 120 priests were massacred. These were mainly Tutsi. A sixth of the clergy was physically eliminated therefore. Considering the percentage of national priests, it is a third of the clergy which was massacred.

On 3rd June 1994, at Kabgayi, the historical place of the Rwandan Catholicism and from where began the inspiration of Hutu revolution of 1959; Tutsi soldiers assassinated three archbishops. Two of these archbishops were closely connected to Habyarimana regime.

Mgr Nsengiyumva was an archbishop ethnically engaged. He was 58 years old, Hutu from the north. His nomination was very political in 1976. For 10 years, 1975-1985, he was a member of MRND central committee. A strong partisan of Habyarimana, he was hated by Tutsis who accused him of having “covered” the massacres of their brothers by his silence.

Bishop Thadée Nsengiyumva was not a relative of his Archbishop. He became the successor of Bishop Perraudin since 1989, as the head of the cathedral of Kabgayi. He was the president of the Episcopal conference of Rwanda. In his pastoral letter of April 1994, he clearly supported president Habyarimana when he was still alive. As far as Tutsi

were concerned, the bishop of Kabgayi clearly engaged the Catholic Church in the camp of their oppressors”

(LUGAN B., 1997:511

E. Other Important Themes

1. Economic, social, cultural and political crisis;
2. The refugee problem;
3. The October 1990 attack of RPF;
4. The reaction of the Rwandan government (imprisonment of accomplices “ibyitso” and that of international community);
5. The formation of opposition parties and the return to multiparty
6. War extension and the problem of displaced people
7. The different negotiations before Arusha agreement (Nsele, Gbadolité)
8. Political instability: the transitional governments;
9. Political tensions, internal insecurity and massacres, preludes to genocide: Bigogwe, Kinigi, Murambi, Bugesera etc.
10. The role of media (newspapers, radio) during violence and call for massacres;
11. The role of the church
12. Arusha accords and negotiations
13. The role of Africa and that of international community in Arusha accords;
14. Blockages of Arusha accords and the role of MINUAR;
15. The crash of the presidential aircraft and the beginning of Genocide;
16. Genocide chronology;

F. Lessons

Lesson preparation

1. Preliminaries

- a) The subject matter: Post Colonial Political Rwanda (1990-1994)
Theme: Exclusion and Genocide in Rwanda (1990-1994)
Sub theme: Education Policy and the Genocide Ideology between 190 and 1994 at secondary and tertiary levels of Education.
Class: Senior 3
Lesson period: 50 min.
- b) Teaching materials: the map of Rwanda, tables of statistics and graphics, texts on discrimination in Rwanda.

Objectives:

- a) General objective
 - To show the role of discrimination in Genocide
 - To show how a group of Rwandans had monopolized the knowledge in order to monopolise wealth and power
- b) Specific objectives:

At the end of the lesson, learners will be able to describe the policy of discrimination, which is a means of spreading the genocide ideology and pin its negative consequences as something that must be eradicated for ever.

3. Lesson sequences

Topic	Student activities	Teacher's activity	Teaching material
<p>a) <u>Introduction</u> : recall on important concepts :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Discrimination = division = exclusion - Ethnic group = human group with the same history, a common culture and a common territory. - Higher Education = post – secondary = university, Institution or school. <p>b) <u>Ethnic discrimination at</u> :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - NUR - IAMSEA - ESM <p>c) <u>Regional discrimination at</u> :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - NUR - IAMSEA - ESM <p>d) <u>Consequences of discrimination:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Job discrimination and monopoly of employment. - The superiority complex of those who are privileged and used as instruments. - Inferiority complex of those excluded, resigned and passive. - Number of illiterates, unemployed and the disappointed used as instruments. 	<p>To respond to the questions of the teacher.</p> <p>To observe and answer questions.</p> <p>Idem</p> <p>Answer the questions of the teacher.</p> <p>Idem</p> <p>Idem</p>	<p>To ask questions</p> <p>To show the map and ask questions</p> <p>To show tables, drawings, statistics and ask questions, and make a summary of the answers.</p> <p>Idem</p> <p>Ask questions and make a summary of the answers.</p> <p>Idem</p> <p>Idem</p>	<p>The map of Rwanda</p> <p>Tables, graphics and statistics.</p> <p>Idem</p>
<p>Summary</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Show the important elements of the subject - Make a summary of the lessons to be drawn from discrimination, for future reference. 			

4. Synthesis or general review
 - To draw important elements of the subject
 - To make a summary of the lesson to be drawn from discrimination for the future.

5. The list of other proposed lessons:
 1. The support offered to the second republic regime by the Catholic Church;
 2. The support of international community (institutions of Bretton Woods and states), assistance to the second republic regime;
 3. The problem of refugees and its consequences;
 4. The Rwandan Patriotic Front: origin, organization and objectives;
 5. The role of media in regional and ethnic discrimination;
 6. Return to multiparty system: motivations and claims;
 7. Social, economic crisis;
 8. The problem of displaced people because of war;
 9. The reaction of international community on Genocide;
 10. The role of political parties in genocide

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The methodology innovation proposed by this study is about the learner's involvement in the use of sources, documentation materials and interpretations in order to get his/her participation in the most possible objective interpretation of facts. This is far from being easy task but it presents the enormous advantages of being participatory and helps the learner to acquire ability at the highest level in choice and concerted decision making.

The first among requirements consists of providing the sources and teaching materials on the theme to be studied. We managed to do it but with difficulties since our schools do not have textbooks for the majority of subjects and so far little has been done for the modernization of libraries. Therefore, the problem of teaching materials needs to be recognized and materials made available.

The second requirement is about indications for the learner on how to work and explore at liberty before receiving historical commentaries and notes from the teacher. This requirement has been widely explored but it requires a long experience and a "certain" maturity on the part of the learner and this must be acquired as soon as possible. The remark is that the size of topics covered in this study is rather very small considering the learner's lack of confidence in the field of silent individual reading- interpretation in the presentation of different answers followed by their critical analysis.

The third necessity is about the aspect of contact network for interaction between the teacher and the learner. This must be fully democratic although some habits still resist change. The learner must ensure that homework is done properly and make sure that he/she understands very well the summary or the general overview of the lesson.

And lastly, the participatory approach in the teaching of History of Rwanda helps the learner to have access to interpretations after participating actively to their development. Nothing is imposed by the teacher and consequently; everything comes from individual and collective critical analysis which is developed methodologically.