

COUNTRY OVERVIEW: Rwanda

Rwanda is a landlocked country in east-central Africa, sharing borders with Uganda to the north, Tanzania to the east, Burundi to the south, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DROC) to the west and northwest. The country is situated on the great East African plateau, with lowlands around Lake Kivu in the Great Rift Valley, a central, grassy highland plain in the east, and swamplands along the eastern border. To the north, along the border with DROC, are the Virunga Mountains, home to a population of endangered mountain gorillas. Rwanda's high altitudes provide the country with a mild tropical highland climate. In the capital of Kigali, on the central plateau, temperatures average 71° F. Rwanda has two rainy seasons, one short (November-December) and one long (February-May).

The population of Rwanda is 8,722,000. Some 84% of the population is a Bantu people called the Hutu, and the Tutsi make up 15%. The official languages are Kinyarwanda, used by most of the population, French, and English. Kiswahili is used in commercial centers. It is estimated that 94% of the population is Christian, of which 50% is Roman Catholic and 44% Protestant. About 17% of Rwandans live in urban areas, with 656,000 residents living in the capital of Kigali. Rwanda has been affected by the prevalence of HIV/AIDS, and 9.1% of the adult population is believed to be infected with the virus. Average life expectancy in the country is 50 years.



Rwanda is a poor country whose economy is based largely on subsistence agriculture. The country lacks in the mineral deposits of many of its neighbors and has a limited manufacturing sector. Some 60% of the population is living under the poverty line, and Rwanda often has a hard time feeding its people due to inadequate food production. Coffee and tea are the major exports, which it sends to countries, such as China, Germany, and the United States, and Rwanda imports machinery, foodstuffs, and petroleum products from Kenya, Uganda, and Belgium. It has been difficult for Rwanda to attract foreign investment. The government is implementing economic reforms to make its economy more attractive to investors. The country saw a recent gross domestic product (GDP) real growth of 6%, but this is attributed largely to the aid it receives from the International Monetary Fund (IMF)/World Bank.

Rwanda was liberated from Belgian administration in 1962, but this independence was followed by years of civil strife, including the massacre of the Tutsi people by the Hutu and the resulting mass exodus of Tutsi to surrounding countries. The National Revolutionary Movement for Development (MRND), a corrupt authoritarian government, came to power in 1975, and popular discontent grew through the 1980s. A total breakdown occurred in 1994, when the airplane carrying the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi, who had been engaged in peace talks, was shot down. This event was soon followed by the mass murder of Tutsi and moderate Hutu by the Rwandan army and armed Hutu, who were under the influence of the extremist Coalition for the Defense of the Republic (CDR). Hundreds of thousands of people were killed and even more had taken refuge in neighboring states. Over the next decade, Rwanda received substantial international assistance and achieved some degree of political reform, holding its first post-genocide elections in 1999. Today, Rwanda is struggling to foster ethnic reconciliation and political stability, which has been shaken by its involvement in recent wars in the neighboring DROC. Despite its problems, the country has managed to stabilize the environment for its endangered mountain gorillas and a small but growing ecotourism industry centered on the animals was developing.

COUNTRY FACT BOX

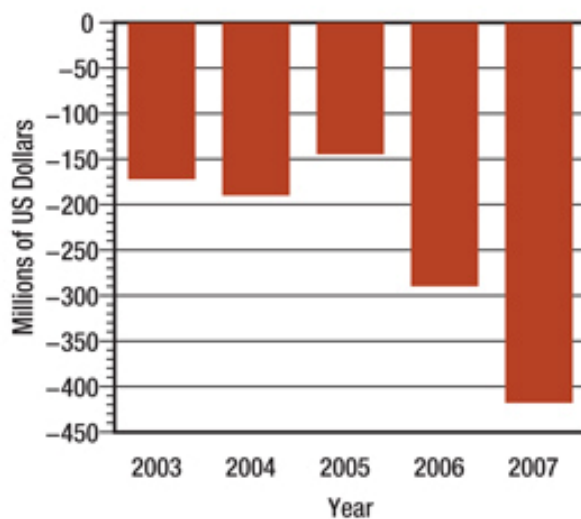
Country:	Rwanda
Continent:	Africa
Area Sq. KM	24,949
Population:	9,907,509
Capital City	Kigali
Type of Government	Republic; presidential, multiparty system
Date Founded	July 1 st , 1962
Unit of Currency	The Rwandan Franc (RFr)
Per capita GNI	\$730 US Dollars
Literacy Rate	70%
Average Life Expectancy	50
Major Languages	Kinyarwanda (official) universal Bantu vernacular, French (official), English (official), Kiswahili (Swahili) used in commercial centers

STATISTICS

Rwanda

Yearly Balance of Trade

The balance of trade is the difference between what a country sells to other countries (its exports) and what it buys (its imports). If a country imports more than it exports, it has a negative balance of trade (a trade deficit). If exports exceed imports, there is a positive balance of trade (a trade surplus).

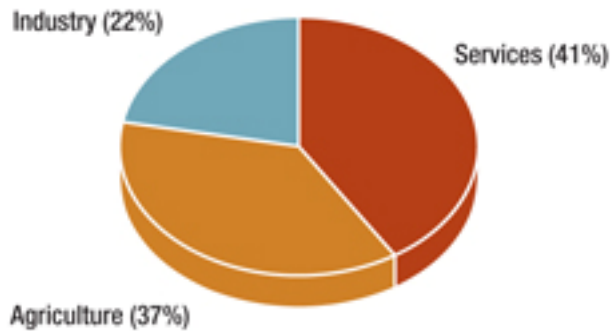


SOURCES: World Bank. *World Development Indicators*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 2008; Central Intelligence Agency. *The World Factbook*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2008.

Rwanda

Components of the Economy

This pie chart shows how much of the country's economy is devoted to agriculture (including forestry, hunting, and fishing), industry, or services.

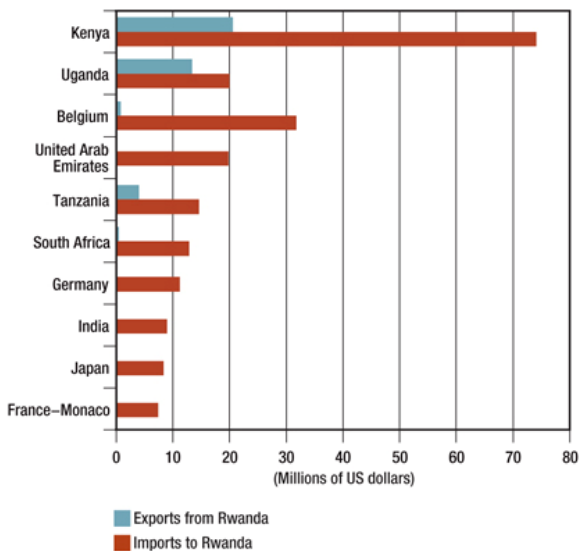


SOURCES: Central Intelligence Agency. *The World Factbook*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2008.

Rwanda

Principal Trading Partners

This bar graph shows exports to and imports from the principal trading partners as measured by the combined values of imports and exports for the year 2003 in millions of US dollars.



SOURCE: 2004 *International Trade Statistics Yearbook*, New York: United Nations, 2006.

Rwanda

Selected Social Indicators

The statistics below are the most recent estimates available as of 2008. For comparison purposes, data for Australia, China, India, Russia, South Africa, United Kingdom, United States, and Venezuela are also given.

Indicator	Rwanda	Australia	China	India	Russia	South Africa	United Kingdom	United States	Venezuela
Per capita gross national income (GNI)*	\$730	\$33,940	\$4,660	\$2,460	\$12,740	\$8,900	\$33,650	\$44,070	\$10,970
Population growth rate	2.77%	0.82%	0.61%	1.61%	-0.48%	-0.46%	0.28%	0.89%	1.36%
People per square kilometer of land	397	3	142	380	8	36	252	33	30
Life expectancy in years: male	44	78	70	63	58	49	77	75	71
female	47	83	73	65	72	52	81	80	77
Number of physicians per 1,000 people	<0.05	2.5	1.6	0.6	4.3	0.8	2.2	2.3	1.9
Number of pupils per teacher (primary school)	66	18	18	40	17	36	18	13	19
Literacy rate (15 years and older)	70%	99%	93%	66%	99%	88%	99%	99%	93%
Television sets per 1,000 people	8	724	350	83	346	177	950	938	186
Internet users per 1,000 people	6	698	85	55	152	109	473	630	129
Energy consumed per capita (kg of oil equivalent)	n.a.	5,978	1,316	491	4,517	2,722	3,884	7,893	2,293
CO ₂ emissions per capita (metric tons)	0.06	16.22	3.86	1.24	10.59	9.42	9.81	20.58	6.60

* The GNI is the total of all goods and services produced by the residents of a country in a year. The per capita GNI is calculated by dividing a country's GNI by its population and adjusting for relative purchasing power.

** GNI unavailable, per capital gross domestic product (GDP) used instead.

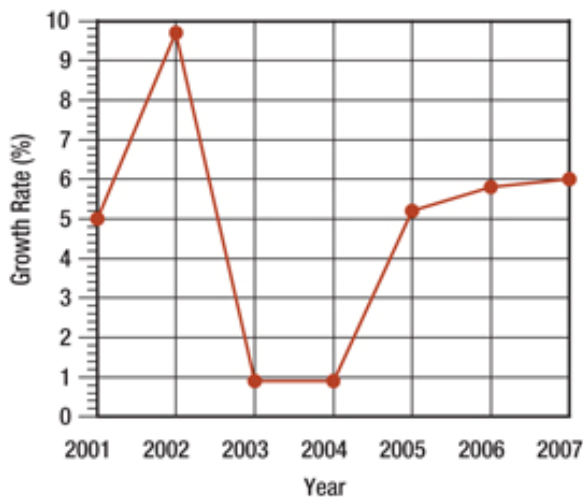
n.a.: data not available >: greater than <: less than

sources: World Bank. *World Development Indicators*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 2006; Central Intelligence Agency. *The World Factbook*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2006; World Resources Institute, Washington, D.C.

Rwanda

Yearly Growth Rate

This economic indicator tells by what percent the economy has increased or decreased when compared with the previous year.



SOURCES: World Bank. *World Development Indicators*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 2008; Central Intelligence Agency. *The World Factbook*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2008.

ISSUE OVERVIEW: Rwanda Genocide

In April 1994, the central African nation of Rwanda erupted into genocide, which can be roughly defined as the mass killing of a large group of people with the intent to destroy an ethnic, racial, national, or religious group. For six weeks in April and May, between eight hundred thousand and one million ethnic Tutsis were massacred by their Hutu neighbors. Tens of thousands of sympathetic Hutus were also

executed. By July, between 35 and 40 percent of the Rwandan population had been killed or fled the violence.

The tiny country of Rwanda has a total population of nearly eight million people. Despite the 1994 killings, it remains one of the most crowded nations in Africa. Tension over land ownership in Rwanda can be explosive and the country lacks enough industries to absorb the people living in its cities.

Three African ethnic groups inhabit Rwanda. The Tutsi, the Hutu, and the tiny population of the Twa. For centuries, these groups coexisted in a monarchical society. Tutsis held the highest social status, but a Hutu could advance to the status of a Tutsi. The general population intermarried; lived in ethnically mixed communities; fought in the same army; and shared the same religion, language, and political culture. While there is no biological evidence of difference among the races, many Rwandans perceive physical distinctions between the Tutsi and Hutu. Tutsi are thought to be tall, with thin lips and noses; Hutu are thought to be shorter and broader, with thin lips and flat noses. According to most scholars, these distinctions are not physically apparent, but they have become cultural perceptions of difference.

In 1899 German forces conquered the Tutsi kingdom. Accepting the Tutsi dominance, the Germans heightened divisions by issuing ethnic identity cards to separate the ethnic groups and by advancing Tutsis to leadership positions and better jobs. After World War I (1914 - 18), Belgium administered Rwanda as a United Nations (UN) Trust Territory until independence. Like the Germans, the Belgians instituted a classification system, sorting all native people as either Tutsis or Hutus, and granting Tutsi chiefs nearly all of the power. Inequalities persisted until about 1959, when the frustrated Hutus rose up in a series of violent riots against the Tutsis. When Belgium gave Rwanda its independence in 1961, it called for democratic elections. Since 85 percent of the population of Rwanda was Hutu, the Tutsis lost power to the Hutu. Over seven hundred fifty thousand Tutsis migrated to Uganda and Tanzania.

In 1973, General Juvenal Habyarimana (1937 - 1994), a Hutu, overthrew Rwanda's president, beginning a twenty-year dictatorship. Habyarimana and his close circle of advisors favored the Hutus, particularly the elite. Habyarimana established rigid ethnic quotas and expelled Tutsis from politics, government, business, and schools. Many Tutsis left Rwanda for neighboring countries.

Beginning around 1979, Tutsi exiles in Uganda formed a rebel group called the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). The RPF regularly launched raids into Rwanda in an attempt to destabilize the government. Rwanda's shaky economy deteriorated. By 1990, the RPF had initiated a civil war against the government of Rwanda. In 1991 Habyarimana agreed to a new constitution that would allow multiparty politics. There was dispute about how to implement reform, however, and the violence continued.

In 1993, a multinational attempt to broker peace in Rwanda resulted in the Arusha Agreement, under which Tutsi refugees were granted safe return to Rwanda. Habyarimana and the RPF pledged to form a transitional government and to hold multiparty elections in 1995. The United Nations issued a UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) and 2,500 troops from several nations to monitor the peace settlement.



Even while laying the foundations for a coalition government, though, both sides continued to fight. The Rwandan military strongly opposed the Arusha settlement and stepped up its attacks against Tutsis. Opposition also came from Habyarimana's own party and the Committee for the Defense of the Republic (CDR), a Hutu extremist organization. The RPF fought on as well. The tiny UN peacekeeping force could not keep a peace that had never existed. Instead, the peacekeepers remained in Rwanda as witnesses to what was to come.

On April 6, 1994, as Habyarimana flew to Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, for a round of peace talks, his plane was shot down. Habyarimana and the president of Burundi were both killed. No one knew who was behind the killing, but the assassination inflamed Rwanda's extremist Hutus, who immediately sent out an order for Rwanda's mayors, militias, and death squads to start killing the Tutsis.

The genocide began with the assassination of every Tutsi in the cabinet. Death lists were established and everyone on them was hunted down and killed. The Interahamwe (those who attack together), an unofficial militia group of about 30,000 fighters, was organized. Radios broadcast the command for all Hutus to join the campaign to kill the Tutsis. The speed and level of the violence was shocking. Hutu gangs armed with swords, spears, and machetes attacked Tutsis, hacking, clubbing, or beating them to death. The Tutsis fled, gathering in central locations, such as hospitals, churches, and stadiums. At first their numbers protected them, but soon the national army, Presidential Guard, and national police arrived bearing rifles, grenades, and machine guns. Hutu militias threw hand grenades into the buildings housing the Tutsis. Anyone who ran out was shot and Tutsis remaining alive inside were hacked to death. Many who survived the initial killings were raped and mutilated. An estimated twenty thousand people died per day in the slaughter. Moderate Hutus were often killed to discourage other Hutus from sympathizing with Tutsi victims. Some were forced under threat of death or torture to kill their Tutsi neighbors.

The slaughter convinced the RPF that it had to defeat the Hutu government or face the total extermination of the Tutsis. By late July 1994, just four months after the killing began, the Tutsi rebel group had gained control of essentially all of Rwanda and the war ended. The RPF established a government in accordance with the principles outlined in the Arusha Agreement. The new government was faced with rebuilding a collapsed nation with little economic or political structure and a huge percentage of its population living in other countries as refugees.

In fact, as the war ended, more than two million Hutu refugees crossed the border into Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo), Burundi, and Tanzania, including many of those responsible for orchestrating the Tutsi murders. Some used the Hutu refugee camps as a staging area for guerrilla attacks on Rwanda's new government as it struggled to restore order and peace to the country.

The international community reeled as the details of the genocide in Rwanda became known. But the overall facts of the violence had actually been known to the world as it occurred. UNAMIR and a contingent of journalists had been on hand observing and reporting the violence. The failure of the UN and other countries to stop the genocide in Rwanda remains a bitter issue of contention many years after the killings.

UNAMIR, strengthened after the genocide, maintained a presence in Rwanda until 1996 in an effort to provide stability as the new government established itself. The UN also established an international tribunal in Rwanda to try those accused of genocide.

In the decade following the war, most of Rwanda's refugees returned home, though a small troop of rebels remained in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and continued to attack Rwanda. Rwanda had its first post-genocide national elections in 2003. The new government, under President Paul Kagame (1957 -), the former leader of the RPF, has been repressive in terms of freedom of speech and the right to dissent. In the years since the genocide, Rwanda has been involved in wars in the Democratic Republic of the Congo that threaten its fragile peace. But the country's new leaders have created a more stable economy in which health and education services are a priority. The movement toward reconciliation is complicated but ongoing.

Haunted Mornings, Sleepless Nights: Jean Baptiste Kayigamba Describes How He Survived Genocide in Rwanda

Jean Baptiste Kayigamba, the author of the accompanying perspective, urges that the experiences of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda never be forgotten. In November 1994, the United Nations Security Council established the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in Arusha, Tanzania, to put to justice those people deemed responsible for the genocide.

During the genocide itself, however, the international community failed to act, as Kayigamba states in his article. In a BBC article of March 26, 2004, former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan (1938-) said, "The international community failed Rwanda and that must leave us always with a sense of bitter regret. . . . I believed at that time that I was doing my best. . . . But I realised after the genocide that there was more that I could and should have done to sound the alarm and rally support."

As a Tutsi and a genocide survivor, my account here is not neutral, but a deeply personal one. It is a narrative of how I survived an attempt to annihilate all Tutsi in Rwanda and of the events I witnessed first-hand in the lead-up to, and during, the genocide. It is also a narrative of how I have since tried, day by day, to come to terms with the devastating personal legacies of these experiences.

Nearly all of my relatives, including my parents, two sisters and five brothers, were killed in 1994, perishing at the hands of the genocidal government, its army, its militias and Hutu mobs. Only two of my sisters, one niece and I survived. Like all Tutsi, my whole life has been a chain of suffering because of violent discrimination and extreme fear for my life and those of my loved ones.

It is not easy for me to recount what happened in Rwanda in 1994. Whenever I ponder the genocide, I revisit the agonizing death of my family and friends, and the physical and emotional trauma I also suffered. It sickens me to think that they knew one day they would be killed, but they never attempted to flee the country to find safety elsewhere. I also relive the terrible days of the genocide, when all Tutsi in the capital Kigali were counting the hours until they would be killed. As Hutu militias prowled the streets looking for Tutsi, we experienced haunted mornings and our fears continued throughout the days and sleepless nights.

I was born in Gikongoro province in 1963, the year after Rwanda gained independence from Belgium. This area is known even today as a hotbed of Hutu extremism. As a child, I grew up hearing from my parents harrowing stories of the sadism and cruelty that characterized the massacres of that time. My father once told me that the rocks on the banks of the Rukarara River remained crimson for years because the blood of thousands of Tutsi had flowed so freely there.

The bloodletting begins

On the morning of 7 April 1994 a group of armed presidential guards stormed the compound of the Jeunesse Ouvriere Catholique (JOC), where I lived. Several friends and I dashed through a nearby fence and sought refuge in the compound of the Centre for Learning of African Languages (CELA), run by the priests of the Catholic White Fathers.

Later that afternoon our camp swelled to 400 frightened Tutsi refugees and a few Hutu, including women and children. More continued to arrive that evening and during the following days. The fresh arrivals told harrowing stories of entire families being butchered. The White Fathers briefed us every day, telling us the names of those who had been killed. We realized that, as the situation stood, it was unlikely we would survive. The Fathers were soon evacuated by French and Belgian soldiers and left us with the keys to the camp.

We started to organize, focusing on the need to maintain hygiene. We sent most of the women and children to Saint Paul, a nearby religious centre in the Sainte Famille Parish. To ensure that we had enough food to hold out for a long period we contacted the Red Cross, who sent us a dozen sacks of beans.

Our camp was raided two weeks later, around 10.00am on 22 April. We were attacked by a combination of soldiers, members of the gendarmerie, the local population and the Interahamwe militias--some armed with guns and grenades, others with traditional weapons such as pangas, machetes and spears. Colonel Tharicisse Renzaho, Mayor of Kigali City, and Major General Laurent Munyakazi, Head of Muhima Police Station, led the attackers. Further back in the group was Father Wenceslas Munyeshyaka, Vicar of Sainte Famille and nicknamed Umujeune ('the young one'). He used to move around in a flak jacket, armed with a pistol and grenades. He was notorious for protecting women and girls who had satisfied his raging libido. During the attack he stood where he could see us and asked the killers not to harm women and children. Despite Munyeshyaka's role in the genocide, he now lives free and peacefully in France.

During the attack, the killers rounded up around 30 men accused of being accomplices of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). It was obvious that the killers had a list of names--luckily enough, I was not on it. Being a Tutsi, a journalist and a graduate of the local university made me a prime target. Before the young men were taken away we were told that they would be interrogated before being released. About an hour later we heard staccato gunshots nearby--only two survived.



In the afternoon, I and a couple of other Tutsi decided to go back to JOC, traumatized and still wondering whether the militia would come back to look for us. As night began to fall a few of the Hutu young men grew suspicious--some even called for our expulsion. We were given an evening meal, but I could hardly eat anything. We were shaking uncontrollably and talking incoherently.

The following morning a friend (who would later become my wife) sent someone to look for me. After the attack on CELA she had moved to the parish of Sainte Famille. She convinced me that I should leave the

hostel and join her there. That morning a friend and I left the hostel and began walking in the ditch along the main road. Trucks of Interahamwe militia drove past. One reversed, in a bid to get us. We gathered the last energy we had and ran quickly towards the church. Had they caught us we could have not survived. The next afternoon my friend and I heard that we had escaped death for a second time: that morning militia arrived at the hostel where we had been hiding and killed all of the people sheltering there.

From the church to 'Hotel Rwanda'

The premises of Sainte Famille were large: in addition to the church itself, there was a compound containing a school and several accommodation units. The complex became overcrowded with both Tutsi and Hutu refugees. Some of us slept on the altar and did not have enough to eat. Father Munyeshyaka, the Hutu vicar who had been present at the assault on CELA, was not interested in helping us. Instead he continually insulted the refugees and blamed the Tutsi for assassinating the father of the nation, President Juvenal Habyarimana, whose plane had been shot down over Kigali on 6 April, sparking the first killings.

The dominant feelings among the refugees were of fear and mutual distrust. The Tutsi were afraid that the Hutu refugees were spying on them. We could see some strange faces visiting, apparently to gather information. We took every possible precaution to conceal our identities. I changed my name from Jean Baptiste to Thacisse.

Meanwhile, one of my sisters who had reached the refuge of the famous Hotel des Mille Collines in the centre of Kigali was informed that I was still alive and hiding at Sainte Famille. With the help of some gendarmes who were stationed at the hotel and whom she knew personally, she managed to get me out to the hotel. Mille Collines was a privileged place, for entrepreneurs and intellectuals. We were told that some of the fugitives had paid huge sums of money to influential men in the military or the leadership of the Hutu militias to escort them to this hotel.

We had TV in our rooms, so we could follow the news and see what was happening around the country. The hotel manager, Paul Rusesabagina--recently depicted in the film *Hotel Rwanda*--worked tirelessly to keep us alive. There were some unsung heroes, like Victor, who owned a bakery in the city centre and risked his life bringing Tutsi to the hotel. Our only drinking water came from the swimming pool. We stored it in the bathtubs of some of the rooms, most of which were being shared by three or four people.

Along with other Tutsi hiding in the Mille Collines, my sister and I were evacuated in the middle of May to an area under RPF control. If it hadn't been for Paul Rusesabagina and Romeo Dallaire, the head of the UN peacekeeping mission, we would never have survived.

The remainder of my family, however, was not so fortunate. They were massacred in late April in Musange, my home commune, in an office building where they had sought refuge at the start of the killings. One of my nieces, who was five years old at the time, was the only member of my family to survive. She later told me that she had received a machete blow and had fallen to the ground. She hid under the corpses and crawled out to hide in the latrine of a nearby Hutu home.

No reconciliation without Justice

I still bitterly regret that the world betrayed my people in our hour of need. I am surprised that some powerful countries spent days discussing the best terminology to give to the bloodletting in Rwanda at the UN - countries that had done nothing to stop the genocide. A gigantic coalition was raised to invade Iraq. What was needed to stop the killings in Rwanda was not a big force, just a few thousand.

Rwanda's major ethnic groups speak the same language, have the same religion and share many of the same customs and traditions. What is painful for me today is that our history has been truncated, trivialized and reduced by many commentators to a simple tale of ancient, visceral, tribal conflict.

This is yet another reason why survivors' testimonies are so crucial. We have too often been denied the right to narrate the true facts, which we know better than the best historians and political experts, many of whom could not even locate Rwanda on the map. Is it really possible to blame the genocide on inherent ethnic differences between groups of Rwandans, even though this sort of violence was never observed in Rwanda before colonialism?

What is disheartening is the continued targeting of genocide survivors in Rwanda. These murders go on, unreported. The plight of survivors is ongoing. Every day we must fight the deepest emotional and psychological battles imaginable. Sometimes it is difficult to go on living.

Today my fear is that another culture of impunity is being cultivated in post-genocide Rwanda in the guise of reconciliation. Survivors are encouraged to forgive and forget. They are asked to live with some of the neighbours they know participated in the genocide. As long as survivors assume that justice has not been done, prospects for healing the wounds remain bleak.

I cannot forget what happened, and it would be wrong to forget. It is necessary for survivors to tell what they experienced, so that the world understands the nature and magnitude of the violence that engulfed Rwanda throughout the entire second half of the 20th century. When others learn and acknowledge what we lived through, this helps restore some of the humanity that we lost during the days of violence. If the world is willing to listen, this may also help prevent similar tragedies from occurring in other countries.



Judge Lloyd Williams of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda adjusts his headphones, April 2, 2002 during the opening session of the trial against Col. Theoneste Bagosora accused of being the mastermind of the 1994 Rwandan genocide and his co-defendants in Arusha, Tanzania.

Jean Baptiste Kayigamba is a former Reuters correspondent in Rwanda and eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. He is now a graduate in publishing at the School of Arts and Humanities, Oxford Brookes University and lives in Oxford, England.

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ADDITIONAL PERSPECTIVES

Reconciliation in Rwanda: Education, History and the State

Seeds of Change

Not Just an African Story: Hotel Rwanda Is the Riveting Account of a Man Finding Courage in the Midst of Genocide

Enemies Holding Hands (Excerpt)

The population of the central African country of Rwanda is comprised of two primary ethnic groups, the majority Hutu and the minority Tutsi. Ethnic division and civil war between the two groups led to genocide in 1994. From April to July of that year, between 500,000-1,000,000 people were massacred. Extremist political groups organized the killings, which were directed primarily at the Tutsis, though Hutus who opposed the killings or had been active in Rwanda's pro-democracy movement were also targeted.

Canadian general Roméo Dallaire took charge of the United Nations Assistance Mission to Rwanda in 1993, after the country's civil war ended with a cease-fire accord signed in Arusha, Tanzania. His mission was to help both sides implement the agreed-upon peace accords and transition to a new government. But on April 6, 1994, after the Rwandan president's plane was shot down, Hutu extremists began assassinating moderate government officials. This set in motion an escalation of violence that ultimately led to vicious genocide.

*In the first days of the genocide, the United Nations repeatedly refused to send reinforcements and nations began withdrawing their troops. Dallaire's force of 2,600 men quickly shrunk to 800. His book, *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*, chronicles the brutality he witnessed while he and his remaining forces stayed and tried to save as many people as they could. The following excerpt from the book describes Dallaire's first fact-finding mission to Rwanda in 1993. He shares his observations about the Rwandan countryside, the welcome he received upon landing in Kigali, and the difficulties he faced setting up the technical mission.*

We landed in the Rwandan capital, Kigali, on August 19, 1993. From the first moment I glimpsed its soft, mist-covered mountains, I loved Rwanda. Though it is almost on the equator, its elevation makes it a temperate place, full of fragrant breezes and unbelievable greenness. With its tiny terraced fields against the perpetual backdrop of rolling hills, Rwanda seemed to me then a kind of garden of Eden. Not that there was much time to appreciate its beauties: from the moment the plane touched down, I was caught up in a flurry of diplomatic activity. From the runway, I stepped into my first press conference, which was well-attended by the local and international media.

The atmosphere was friendly and positive. The official airport welcoming party was led by Anastase Gasana, the coalition governments foreign minister; Jean-Damascène Bizimana, the Rwandan ambassador to the UN; and the Rwandan ambassador to Uganda. Gasana had been one of the strong peace supporters within the Rwandan government at Arusha, and he had been appointed official liaison with the technical mission. He was an affable, unpretentious chap, a politician from the Mouvement démocratique républicain (MDR), a party that was in opposition to the Habyarimana regime. He believed that the Arusha Peace Agreement marked the beginning of democracy for his country. He wasn't afraid that Rwanda would fall back into war, but he recognized the dangerous political uncertainty that the transition to a multi-party, power-sharing, democratic system represented for the country. He was unwavering in his insistence that the UN had to form a neutral peacekeeping force and get it on the ground as soon as possible.

I was buoyed by Gasana's optimism; it was hard to keep my neutral face and not respond. Bizimana was a different story. He watched and listened intently and said nothing, his sombre silence more than a little disturbing, as he was Rwanda's man in New York and an important interlocutor on our behalf in front of the media that day. At the time, I didn't know he was from the hardline side of the house.

I stuck closely to my script, emphasizing that my team was embarking on a fact-finding mission, and stressing that our presence was no guarantee that the UN would commit to the full-fledged peace-keeping operation mandated by the Arusha accords. The question of September 10, the day that the

BBTG was supposed to be in place, was on many of the journalists' lips. I remember raising my finger to make the point that our presence was only phase one, that a series of decisions had yet to be made by the UN and the troop-contributing nations before anybody would be sent to Rwanda. There would definitely be no UN mission on the ground by September 10. However, I promised, if a mission was approved, we would break every possible record, not to say a few rules, to get there as quickly as possible. My news took a lot of the enthusiasm out of the reception.

I was surprised that a formal visit to President Habyarimana wasn't on the immediate agenda, since I thought he might have wanted to make his own appraisal of the person leading the team of UN staff that would sway the decision to send a mission or not. When I mentioned this to Gasana, he assured me that the president did want to see me. He left it at that and so did I for the moment.

In twelve days, my small eighteen-member team and I had to assess the political, humanitarian, administrative and military aspects of a potential UN peacekeeping mission. Because I was now head of a mission, I had to split my time to cover political and humanitarian aspects as well as the military and meet the leading politicians of the seven parties who would be involved in forming the transitional government. I also had to meet members of the diplomatic community of Kigali, and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) resident representative, Amadou Ly of Senegal, who was the senior UN presence in the country.

As a result, I had to delegate several military reconnaissance tasks to Brent, Tiko, Miguel Martin and Brigadier Paddy Blagdon, a retired U.K. army officer and UN de-mining expert, while I took on only the work with the highest military authorities on all sides. As well, I would have to touch base with the humanitarian and aid organizations that would be key to helping the refugee, internally displaced and famine-ridden populations inside and around the country and reintegrating demobilized soldiers later on. A drought had hit southern Rwanda hard, and no let-up seemed to be in sight.

Staff from the Field Operations Division (the UN's field administrative and logistics agency) would examine communications, infrastructure, personnel, local logistics and transportation, and every other aspect of administrative support that the mission would need in this remote, landlocked country.

Even for the technical mission, we needed vehicles, local staff, telephones and all sorts of equipment. We set up a temporary headquarters in a meeting room in the Hôtel des Mille Collines, but we were plagued with logistical problems, and I fumed about the amount of time we were wasting just getting ourselves set up. We had some tourist maps on the wall, some computers on the desks and a conference table with a few chairs. At the end of this brief trip I would have to submit my recommendations and draft concept of operations to the UN for approval, and already administrative problems and shortages were consuming our limited time and attention.

ADDITIONAL PRIMARY SOURCES

An Ordinary Man: An Autobiography (Excerpt)

WEBLINKS

Women for Women International

Women for Women is dedicated to helping women in war-torn regions rebuild their lives. Despite the suffering of women in war-torn regions, the women of Rwanda understand that peace and prosperity for their country depends on their ability to rebuild their lives and their communities. Concerned citizens are

encouraged to sponsor a woman in order to empower them to invest in health, education, and nutrition of their children and communities. *This information was derived from the website.*

<http://www.womenforwomen.org/rwanda.htm>

American Refugee Committee International

American Refugee Committee International (ARC) began work in Rwanda in December 1994, following the genocide that claimed the lives of more than 800,000 ethnic Tutsis and moderate Hutus. In July 1994, an army of exiled Tutsis swept through the country, ending the genocide and causing nearly 2 million refugees to flee, mostly to Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo). ARC currently serves 45,000 Congolese Tutsis who have fled to Rwanda from this conflict. ARC manages all three major refugee camps in Rwanda, providing health care, water, construction, and sanitation services as well as programs combating gender-based violence and HIV/AIDS. *This information was derived from the website.*

<http://www.arcrelief.org/site/PageServer>

International Rescue Committee

The International Rescue Committee began emergency and relief operations in Rwanda immediately following the 1994 genocide. As the country stabilized, we concentrated on restoring physical infrastructure, a process that is mostly complete. Since 1998, IRC programs have focused on reestablishing trust and sustainable economic growth in communities. Over the last five years, we've helped local governments and emerging community-based organizations to rebuild the physical, social, political and economic institutions in Rwanda's post-conflict environment. At the home page search "Rwanda". *This information was derived from the website.*

<http://www.theirc.org/>

Hirondelle Organization on Young Hutus with Machetes

The Hirondelle Organization, based in Tanzania, is dedicated solely to reporting on the Rwandan Genocide. This page reports on accusations that a former Rwandan minister of education supplied machetes to young Hutus during the genocide.

<http://www.hirondelle.org/hirondelle.nsf/caefd9edd48f5826c12564cf004f793d/f98d9cd12db192c4c12565b3005fab02?OpenDocument>

Human Rights Watch on Rwandan Genocide

Human Rights Watch is a global organization that defends human rights and exposes violations. This page discusses how Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana used the strategy of ethnic division to enhance his power.

http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/rwanda/Geno1-3-02.htm#P21_7273