

Rwanda

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Formal name: Republic of Rwanda (République rwandaise/Republika y’u Rwanda).

Capital: Kigali.

Estimated population: 7.3 million (2001 est.).

Map

http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa/rwanda_rel96.jpg

Summary

In the early 1960s, more than 100,000 Rwandese refugees entered the neighbouring countries of Burundi, Tanzania, Zaire, and Uganda. They sought asylum from the violence emerging from the social and political change within Rwanda. These refugees, and the generations they produced, remained in exile for more than thirty years until political alterations in Rwanda facilitated their return in 1994.

Simultaneously, as many of the refugees from the 1960s returned to Rwanda, a new wave of refugees left Rwanda following the 1994 genocide and the installation of a

new government (predominately composed of returning members of the Rwandese Diaspora).

Websites:

Joint Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda (JEEAR) chronology of events
http://www.um.dk/danida/evalueringsrapporter/1997_rwanda/book1.asp#ap2

Human Rights Watch

‘The Strategy of Ethnic Division’, *Leave None to Tell the Story*

http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/rwanda/Geno1-3-02.htm#P22_7285

The UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR)

‘Decolonization in Africa’, *The State of the World’s Refugees*

<http://www.unhcr.org/pubs/sowr2000/ch02.pdf>

1 Introduction

1.1 Politics

The politics of the Great Lakes region – comprising Burundi, eastern Congo, and Rwanda, as well as areas of western Tanzania and south-western Uganda – are shaped in crucial respects by forced migration. Before independence, at least 500,000 Rwandans and Burundians moved to neighbouring countries for economic or political reasons. The independent Republic of Rwanda was born in a refugee crisis in 1962, and every subsequent political crisis (1973, 1990, 1994, 1996, and 1997–8) has resulted in large-scale displacement. Burundians fled their country in large numbers in 1972, 1988, and 1993–2001, eventually forming one of Africa’s largest groups of refugees. The wars in Kivu in eastern Congo since 1993 have resulted in one of the world’s worst situations of internal displacement. In addition, the long-term presence of Rwandan and Burundian refugees has had a decisive effect on the domestic politics of the main host states, Congo, Tanzania, Uganda, and of course Rwanda and Burundi themselves, which have both hosted large numbers of refugees from each other.

1.2 Geography

The Great Lakes region comprises the mountainous ‘interlacustrine’ areas that include Rwanda, Burundi, the Kivu region of Congo, and south-western Uganda. Land is used intensively throughout the Great Lakes region, and it supports both agriculture (particularly bananas, sorghum, and millet) and animal keeping (mostly cows and goats). Protected parks are virtually the only land that is not used by humans. This is due to the region’s population density, the highest in Africa. Population pressures have in fact frequently been assumed as a ‘cause’ of violence, particularly for Rwanda. This factor has probably been exaggerated. Rwanda has about the same population density (about 325 people per square kilometre) as the Philippines or Israel, and less than that of Bangladesh. But Rwanda's and Burundi's geography does shape patterns of forced migration, because in a crisis there is hardly anywhere to hide. There is very little ‘bush’ or uninhabited land. This is one of the reasons why the killing during the genocide was so efficient. The only real option open to an asylum-seeker is to cross a border to a neighbouring country.

The terrain is punctuated by hills and valleys, and most rural people prefer to live close to their fields rather than in village communities. The term ‘hill’ (*umusizi*) is as

much social as geographical. In a region without natural ‘villages’, the hill is the first layer of belonging and identity, as well as being the most basic unit of government. Inherited rights to land are usually tied to the hill of one’s ancestors. Internal mobility for rural people is therefore risky and expensive in material terms. Added to this are the difficulties inherent in becoming a ‘stranger’ on another hill, without kinship ties and other forms of protection. This is why both the perpetrators and the victims of the Rwandan genocide had to return to live together afterwards. This daily cohabitation of survivor and killer seems to be unique in the history of genocide. The ensuing emotional atmosphere of fear, guilt, anger, and remembrance is one of the most important factors in post-genocide Rwandan politics, and it is a situation which no other country or people has ever had to confront on such a scale.

Website:

Gacaca: Living Together Again in Rwanda?

<http://www.frif.com/new2002/gac.html>

1.3 Ethnography

Nearly every introductory source on Rwanda and Burundi begins by remarking that their society ‘is composed of Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa’. Percentages are then given: 85 per cent Hutu, 13 per cent Tutsi, and 2 per cent Twa – figures which have remained unchanged since the first Belgian census in the 1920s. This deceptively precise accounting is misleading. These labels are variously described as tribes, ethnicities, castes, races, communities, or simply groups. None of the first four is remotely satisfactory, and the latter two are just hand-waving. These social concepts are indeed crucial for understanding the violent history of the Great Lakes region, but they have been ‘fetishized’ to the exclusion of other politically relevant social categories, such as regional origin and clan membership. There is also a tendency to reify the concepts, and fail to take stock of how their meanings have changed over time.

1.4 History

The Rwandan court had been contacted by various Arab traders operating on its periphery, but they were never allowed to enter the kingdom and there were no slave raids. Both Speke and later Stanley had been repulsed, ‘by arrows’. The death of the long-serving and politically astute Mwami Kigeli Rwabugiri in the 1800s – primarily responsible for forging the modern Rwandan polity through thirty-five years of military campaigns – caused a violent struggle for power amongst the leading families. The Germans successfully exploited the confusion to establish control. Richard Kandt, who became the first German colonial governor in 1898 left a chatty memoir (Kandt 1904), which manages by accident to record the important observation that Hutu were already ‘complaining’ of mistreatment by Tutsi attached to the court. According to Vansina (2001), this tension seems to have emerged in the course of the later half of the nineteenth century as a result of the generalized suffering that Rwabugiri’s constant war-mongering imposed on the population, especially in northern Rwanda. Hutu peasants bore the brunt of it, having their crops destroyed and their relatives killed at regular intervals.

Germany, bogged down along the Kenya-Tanganyika border, failed to defend Ruanda-Urundi during the Great War. Congolese troops under Belgian command seized the territory without a fight in 1916. They didn’t really want to keep it. Belgian ministers had concocted a complicated scheme that they attempted to push through

during the Versailles negotiations after the war. The plan was to offer Rwanda to Britain in exchange for British pressure on ailing Portugal to cede to the Belgian Congo the south bank of the Congo River from Angola. Britain was assumed to be coveting Rwanda because the proposed Cape-to-Cairo railway would have necessarily had to pass through the Rwanda's eastern grasslands. But Portugal's pride wouldn't bend; Britain had anyhow begun to doubt the feasibility of the railroad; nobody really took the Belgians seriously. And so, by mistake, Rwanda and Burundi were stuck with Belgium (for details of this diplomatic history, see Louis 1963). In 1923, Belgium formally received Ruanda-Urundi as a Trust Territory of the League of Nations, later of the United Nations. It was never, technically, a colony.

But once the inevitable was accepted, Belgium threw itself into its 'civilizing mission' with gusto. The structural and institutional reforms undertaken during this period of Rwandan history, from about 1923–39, were to sow the seeds for much of the post-independence violence. Three elements should be stressed: fixation on Tutsi/Hutu, in education, civil service, clergy, and ID cards; the role of the Catholic Church; and the *Mission d' Immigration de Banyarwanda* (MIB). But it should always be born in mind that these seeds were sown in a context of a history extraordinarily violent political conflict, with all the forms of barbarism that are known from recent events. Fear, treachery, and the total annihilation of opposing groups are ever-present elements in the numerous dynastic chronicles, poems, and oral histories that have been recorded.

2 The exodus period: 1960–1994

During this period, refugee settlements were established in Uganda, Tanzania, Congo-Zaire, and Burundi, to house Rwandan refugees. The host governments allocated land to the refugees with the aim that the refugees would become self-sufficient, and subsequently, international and national aid and assistance would be withdrawn (Stein and Clark 1990).

Although the policy of refugee settlement was advocated in all the host states, the rights accorded to the refugees differed from state to state. For example, in Tanzania, Rwandese refugees were viewed as a permanent fixture, and rights were given to them as such. By the middle of 1985, Rwandan refugees were allowed to apply for Tanzanian citizenship (Gasarasi 1990). By contrast, in Uganda, even after thirty years, the refugees were still seen as a temporary phenomenon who would eventually return to Rwanda. Although the issue of citizenship to Rwandan refugees was discussed nationally throughout their stay in Uganda, Rwandan refugees were never given the right to own land, move outside refugee settlements without official permission from the Settlement Commandant, or given the right to citizenship (van der Meeren 1996).

Throughout their time in exile, there were various armed attacks by refugees to invade back into Rwanda. The first attacks in the 1960s reflected the refugees' belief that their life in exile was a temporary one. Between 1960 and 1963, a refugee group, referred to as the *Inyenzi* (meaning 'cockroaches' in the Kinyarwanda tongue) by the Hutu in Rwanda, launched a series of unsuccessful assaults on Rwanda from Uganda and Burundi. These attacks resulted in repercussions for those Tutsi who remained in Rwanda (Prunier 1998).

2.1 Organizing a return to Rwanda

Between the 1960s and the 1980s there were limited attempts by refugees to organize an armed return to Rwanda. By the late 1980s, a new group, the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) had been formed in Uganda, and expanded itself amongst the Rwandese Diaspora from Dar-es-Salaam to Toronto.

There had been a series of events throughout this period which culminated in the creation of the RPF. The first was what is referred to as the 'expulsion of the Banyarwanda' in 1982–3 when people of Banyarwanda origin (encompassing Ugandan nationals, Rwandan immigrants prior to the 1960s, and Rwandan refugees of the 1960s) were victimized, with thousands being forced back into Rwanda from Uganda, or pushed into refugee settlements. The second event was Rwandan refugees helping Museveni win the 'bush war' by their recruitment into Museveni's National Resistance Army (NRA), and then subsequently, once Museveni was in power, being sidelined from the positions which they had achieved in government and in the army (Prunier 1998, JEEAR 1997a).

On 1 October 1990, the RPF launched an invasion from Uganda into Rwanda which used approximately 2,500 RPF recruits, who had belonged to the NRA, together with large amounts of Ugandan military hardware, which had been easily taken by high-ranking members of the Ugandan army (Prunier 1998). Between 1990 and 1993, a civil war ensued in Rwanda that culminated in the Arusha Peace Agreement in 1993. Part of the agreement, forcibly encouraged by the international community, was that a multi-party system would be implemented in Rwanda, and that a 'Broad-Based Transitional Government' (BBTG) would be formed and would include the RPF (JEEAR 1997b).

Despite signing the Arusha Agreement and agreeing to a BBTG, there was an increasing reluctance by the president of Rwanda and his close inner circle to cede power. Since seizing power in a coup in 1973, President Juvénal Habyarimana had created a one-party state. Political parties had been outlawed, there was no freedom of press, and political representatives from the national to the local level were chosen from amongst Habyarimana's closest supporters.

However, during this time of political repression Habyarimana implemented a rigid development policy, which gained the support of international donors. By 1991, 22 per cent of Rwanda's GNP came from international aid, compared to fewer than 5 per cent in 1973 (Prunier 1998). It was only when political conditions were imposed on aid, and demands were made on Rwanda to become multi-party, did Habyarimana reluctantly agree to political change.

2.2 The genocide

On 6 April 1994, a plane carrying President Habyarimana, and the president of Burundi, President Ntaryimira, was shot down over Kigali. Within a few hours, road blocks were set up around the city, and the killings of Tutsi and moderate Hutu took place. These included the Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana and politicians who were considered 'moderate'. Within weeks, killings took on a more localized ethnic dimension, and it is estimated that between 800,000 and 850,000 people were killed (Prunier 1998). Initially the West viewed the killings as ethnic, ignoring the fact that the first killings had been planned with lists of the victims drawn up in advance. The initial organizers of the genocide were high-ranking members and Ministers of the

government and the military, including the Presidential Guard. The killings in the capital were first carried out by members of the Presidential Guard, who were also assisted by the *Interahamwe* (the youth section of the National Revolutionary Movement for Development party). In the prefectures, outside of Kigali, the killings took on a more localized aspect, and the killers here were local peasants (Verwimp 1997).

2.3 Humanitarian response of the international community

There has been much criticism levied at the response of the international community to the Rwandan genocide. At the time the genocide began in Rwanda, there was already a UN mission in the country. The United Nations Assistance Mission to Rwanda (UNAMIR I) was a monitoring force engaged after the Arusha Peace Agreement. However, the mandate of UNAMIR I was to be an observatory force, and they technically did not have the power to intervene in the killings which began to take place. After the killing of ten Belgian UNAMIR I soldiers (who had been protecting the Prime Minister), Belgium withdrew its troops from Rwanda. The French government intervened with Opération Turquoise in July 1994, and UNAMIR I's mandate was extended by the Security Council in May 1994; but these were both too little, too late. The international community stalled at responding to the unfolding crisis, and these justified criticisms have subsequently been the topic of major investigations into the inadequate response of the international community (JEEAR 1997b).

Website:

Journal of Humanitarian Assistance

Tobias Vogel, 'The Politics of Humanitarian Intervention'

<http://www.jha.ac/articles/a011.htm>

Cedric Thornberry, 'Peacekeepers, Humanitarian Aid, and Civil Conflicts'

<http://www.jha.ac/articles/a002.htm>

2.4 Failure to respond to the genocide

In December 1999, Kofi Annan publicly stated the UN's commitment 'never to fail' to protect people from genocide in the same way as they had failed in Rwanda (UN Press Release 1999). Since 1994, many reports have been published on the failure of the international community to respond to the genocide, from sources such as the European Union (Eurostep 1996), UNAMIR (UNAMIR 1996), the Belgian parliament, and the French National Assembly (Assemblée Nationale 1998).

2.5 Ignoring early warning signs

Since the genocide, evidence has emerged which shows that the international community did know that genocidal killings were being planned in Rwanda long before Habyarimana died in April 1994. The National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book at George Washington University contains documents, accessible online, which clearly show the warnings which were given in advance, and much evidence of the inaction of the international community. Two other sources are particularly useful. The first, by Samantha Power, considers why the United States did not act to stop the genocide, and the second is an interview with General Roméo Dallaire, who was in charge of the United Nations mission, UNAMIR.

Websites:

George Washington University, National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book
<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB53/press.html>

The Atlantic Monthly

Samantha Power, 'Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen', September 2001

<http://www.theatlantic.com/issues/2001/09/power.htm>

ABC News television interview of General Romeo d'Allaire by Ted Koppel

'Broken Soldier: A Peacekeeper's Nightmare', 7 February 2001

http://abcnews.go.com/sections/nightline/nightline/transcripts/nl010207_trans.html

2.6 The refugee exodus

On 18 July 1994, the RPF gained control of Gisenyi, and in Kigali, a new government under the RPF was formed (Prunier 1998). This political change, together with the impact of the genocide, forced more than 2 million Rwandans to leave the country and seek asylum in the neighbouring countries of Congo, Tanzania, Uganda, and Burundi. In Congo alone, it is suggested that more than 1.2 million Rwandans entered in the space of four days in 1994 (Halvorsen 1999). It is also estimated that between 28–29 April, 250,000 refugees entered Tanzania alone (Rutinwa 1996). Whilst the response of the international community to the genocide had been limited, the response to the unfolding refugee crisis was very different. Large numbers of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as Médecins sans Frontières (MSF), Oxfam, and Care International responded quickly. It is estimated that in Tanzania alone there were more than 500 NGOs in operation.

One of the major problems facing the NGOs responding to the crisis was that the refugee camps were housing ex-members of the Forces Armée Rwandaises (FAR) and the *Interahamwe*, who had been so heavily involved in the Rwanda genocide. The arming and training of the ex-FAR and *Interahamwe* within the camps in Congo caused organizations such as MSF and Care International, in 1995, to withdraw their humanitarian support. These organizations faced the dilemma of helping refugees whilst knowing that the camps were also being used as recruitment grounds for Hutu militia who were benefiting significantly from the assistance being given to the refugees.

The refugee influx also had a significant impact on the host countries. In Congo, the presence of the Hutu militia posed a security threat to Rwanda. By 1996, the government of Rwanda warned the Congolese government to close the camps housing them, or Rwanda would forcibly do it themselves. This is said to be one of the major reasons why Rwanda gave its support to Laurent Kabila and the rebel group, the Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo-Zaire (AFDL) in 1996. Research has shown that the refugees had both a positive and negative impact. In December 1996 the Rwandan army (the RPA) and the AFDL forcibly closed the refugee camps in Goma and Bukavu which were housing members of the ex-FAR and *Interahamwe* (Adelman n.d.).

The closure of Rwandan refugee camps also occurred in Tanzania. On 6 December 1996, the government of Tanzania, along with UNHCR, issued a directive that all Rwandan refugees must leave Tanzania by 31 December 1996. This directive

received condemnation from groups such as Amnesty International, as it was seen as a forcible repatriation of refugees. The closure of the camps had three effects. It either compelled the refugees further into the Tanzanian interior, into third countries such as Malawi and Uganda, or it forced them to return to Rwanda, where their security could not be guaranteed.

Websites:

UNHCR

The State of the World's Refugees, 'The Rwandan genocide and its aftermath'

<http://www.unhcr.org/pubs/sowr2000/ch10.pdf>

Beth Elise Whitaker, 'Changing priorities in refugee protection: the Rwandan repatriation from Tanzania', February 2002

[http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-](http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home/openssl.pdf?tbl=RESEARCH&id=3c7528ea4&page=research)

[bin/texis/vtx/home/openssl.pdf?tbl=RESEARCH&id=3c7528ea4&page=research](http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home/openssl.pdf?tbl=RESEARCH&id=3c7528ea4&page=research)

Beth Elise Whitaker, 'Changing opportunities: refugees and host communities in western Tanzania,' June 1999

[http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-](http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home/openssl.pdf?tbl=RESEARCH&id=3ae6a0c70&page=research)

[bin/texis/vtx/home/openssl.pdf?tbl=RESEARCH&id=3ae6a0c70&page=research](http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home/openssl.pdf?tbl=RESEARCH&id=3ae6a0c70&page=research)

Bonaventure Rutinwa, 'The end of asylum? The changing nature of refugee policies in Africa', May 1999

[http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-](http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home/openssl.pdf?tbl=RESEARCH&id=3ae6a0c34&page=research/)

[bin/texis/vtx/home/openssl.pdf?tbl=RESEARCH&id=3ae6a0c34&page=research /](http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home/openssl.pdf?tbl=RESEARCH&id=3ae6a0c34&page=research/)

Journal of Humanitarian Assistance

Tony Waters, 'The Coming Rwandan Demographic Crisis, or Why Current

Repatriation Policies Will Not solve Tanzania's (or Zaire's) Refugee Problems' June 2000

<http://www.jha.ac/articles/a013.htm>

3 The 'new Rwanda': 1994–present

3.1 Political developments

In July 1994, a transitional 'Government of National Unity' as well as the 'National Assembly of the Transition' was established under the presidency of Pasteur Bizimungu. Based on the 1993 Arusha Accords, the new government sought to overcome the divisive politics of the past and establish a political structure founded on the principles of democratization, inclusiveness, decentralization, justice, rule of law, and respect for human rights. At present, eight political parties are represented in the government: the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF); Rwandan Democratic Movement (MDR); Social Democratic Party (PSD); Liberal Party (PL); Christian Democratic Party (PDC); and the Islamic Democratic Party (PDI). The new political landscape of Rwanda is nonetheless dominated by two large parties – the RPF and the MDR. In early 2000, Paul Kagame was unanimously elected president by the National Assembly.

Over the last eight years, the transitional government has made substantial progress in bringing about stability and development on the political, economic, and social fronts. The legacy of the civil war and genocide was a devastated country which, beyond recovering from the human tragedy, required massive rehabilitation to physical infrastructure, economic and social services, and institutional capacity. In addition,

the country has had to cope with the return of 3 million refugees. Ongoing structural problems continue to pose a massive challenge, as do the high incidence of poverty; huge numbers of child- and female-headed households; lack of skilled human resources; environmental degradation and recurrent droughts; obstacles to trade such as high transport costs and unfavourable terms of trade; high HIV/AIDS prevalence; housing shortages; and livestock depletion. Nevertheless, with substantial support from the international community, which shifted its attention from humanitarian assistance to reconstruction and long-term development in 1995, services have resumed and economic growth has risen steadily.

Reconciliation lies at the heart of government policy and a number of actions have been implemented to further political reform. Several commissions were established in 1999, most notably the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, which has organized various nationwide and local consultations, including two National Summits on Unity and Reconciliation held in October 2000 and October 2002; and the National Human Rights Commission, established to examine human rights violations and promote human rights awareness.

Advances have also been made towards democratization. Decentralization has been furthered with the passing of a decentralization law in 2001, dividing the country into 106 districts and 11 provinces. Local elections were held in 1999, and district elections in 2001. A Constitutional Commission was set up in 1999 to undertake a national consultation in order to prepare a new constitution. This will lay down the nature of the electoral system; the division of powers between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government; and set out decision-making procedures and the legal framework of the country. In November 2002 Rwandans came together to debate a draft of this constitution. The constitution is due to be submitted to a national referendum in 2003, paving the way for presidential and parliamentary elections in 2003.

Despite these moves, and the government's adherence to principles of good governance and to furthering the democratization process, the recent political situation in the country has not been without controversy. The legitimacy of the local elections in 1999 was criticized by some for the failure to use secret ballots – voters lined up publicly behind the candidate of their choice (Uvin 2001). Concerns have been voiced over restrictions on the activities of rival political forces to the RPF and the concentration of power in the hands of a small group. There are also concerns about human rights abuses, in particular in the north of the country.

Websites:

Human Rights Watch

'Rwanda: The Search for Security and Human Rights Abuses'

<http://www.hrw.org/reports/2000/rwanda/>

Norwegian Refugee Council update on Rwandan IDPs

<http://www.db.idpproject.org/Sites/IdpProjectDb/idpSurvey.nsf/wCountries/Rwanda>

Amnesty International on disappearances and killings in northern Rwanda

<http://www.amnesty.org/ailib/intcam/rwanda/repintro.htm>

UNHCR

WRITENET 'Rwanda update to end February 1998'

<http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home/opedoc.htm?tbl=RSDCOI&page=home&id=3ae6a6b84>

ECDPM

S. da Camara, 'The European Union's Political and Development Response to Rwanda', 2001

http://www.ecdpm.org/pubs/dp27_gb.htm

World Bank

Overview of the government line on political and social developments since 1994

http://poverty.worldbank.org/files/Rwanda_PRSP.pdf

Emergency Recovery Programme

http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDS_IBank_Servlet?pcont=details&eid=000009265_3961007213842

Official website of the government of Rwanda

<http://www.rwanda1.com>

United Nations Integrated Regional Information Network, Nairobi (IRIN)

<http://allafrica.com/stories/200210280351.html>

A. Inyumba, 'Resorting Human Dignity and Reconciling the People of Rwanda', 2002

www.stockholmforum.se/dynamaster/file_archive/020423/e0e25dfd678c322559d35efc88b9c07f/inymba.pdf

Human Rights Internet

'Rwanda Commission on Human Rights', 2001

<http://www.hri.ca/fortherecord2001/vol2/rwandachr.htm>

Afrol.com

UNHCR's 'Situation of Human Rights in Rwanda', March 2001

http://www.afrol.com/Countries/Rwanda/documents/unhcr_rights_2001.htm

Ministry of Local Government and Social Affairs

<http://www.minaloc.gov.rw>

United Nations Development Programme

'Local Governance and Poverty Reduction in Rwanda'

http://www.undp.org/rba/pubs/agg5/AGF_per_cent20V_per_cent20Rwanda_per_cent20CP.pdf

International Crisis Group

'Consensual Democracy in Post Genocide Rwanda: Evaluating the March 2001 District Elections', October 2001

<http://www.intl-crisis-group.org/projects/showreport.cfm?reportid=453>

Constitutional Commission

<http://www.cjcr.gov.rw/eng/index.htm>

‘National Program For Strengthening Good Governance For Poverty Reduction In Rwanda’, March 2002

<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/un/unpan002927.pdf>

3.2 War with the Congo

The governance situation has impacted on relations with external donors, many of whom have consequently been reluctant to provide direct financial support to the government (Uvin 2001). However, most controversy about the new Rwandan government surrounds its military action in the Congo.

In 1996, in a bid to halt incursions into Rwanda by armed groups operating out of refugee camps in eastern Congo, Rwanda allied with Uganda and the Congolese opposition led by Laurent Kabila to oust the regime of Mobutu. Kabila eventually took power and renamed the country the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). However, the Rwandese armed groups remained in the DRC and stepped up their incursions into Rwanda. In August 1998, Rwandan and Ugandan forces entered the DRC to support a new Congolese rebel movement against their former ally. In August 1999, the various African governments who had rallied to support the two sides and the rebel groups signed the Lusaka Agreement to stop the war and provide the framework for peace.

Progress in implementation of the Lusaka Accord has been slow, and Rwandan troops remained active in eastern DRC until a bilateral agreement was signed between Rwanda and the DRC in July 2002 in Pretoria that provided for the disarming of the Rwandese armed groups in the DRC and the withdrawal of Rwandese troops from the DRC.

Particularly damaging during this war has been the impact on relations between Rwanda and Uganda, who had previously been close allies, especially seen in the help that Uganda gave the RPF in organizing their return to Rwanda in 1990. The fighting between the armies of Uganda and Rwanda in Kisangani, Congo, in 1999 and 2000 heralded serious damage to relations between these two states, although with the mediation of the United Kingdom relations have now improved somewhat.

Since 1997 a demobilization and reintegration programme has been underway to demobilize many RPA troops, including ex-FAR (Forces Armées Rwandaises) troops who had been absorbed into the RPA under the Arusha Agreement. Since the cessation of hostilities with the DRC, a new programme has been approved by the World Bank to support this process.

Websites:

UNHCR

<http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home/opendoc.htm?tbl=RSDCOI&page=home&id=3ae6a6b84>

OneWorld's special coverage of the war

[http://www.oneworld.net/cgi-bin/index.cgi?root=129&url=http per cent3A per cent2F
per cent2Fwww per cent2Eoneworld per cent2Eorg per cent2Fdispatches per
cent2Fcongo per cent2Ffront per cent2Eshtml](http://www.oneworld.net/cgi-bin/index.cgi?root=129&url=http%20per%20cent3A%20per%20cent2Fwww%20per%20cent2Eoneworld%20per%20cent2Eorg%20per%20cent2Fdispatches%20per%20cent2Fcongo%20per%20cent2Ffront%20per%20cent2Eshtml)

C. André and L. Luzolele Lola, 'The European Union's aid policy towards countries involved in the Congo war: lever for peace or incitement to war?', May 2001

http://nilebasin.com/documents/eur_war.html

IRIN

'DRC-Rwanda: Text of the Pretoria Memorandum of Understanding'

<http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=29111>

International Crisis Group

'Rwanda/Uganda: A Dangerous War of Nerves', December 2001

<http://www.intl-crisis-group.org/projects/showreport.cfm?reportid=688>

'Uganda and Rwanda: Enemies or Friends?', May 2000

<http://www.intl-crisis-group.org/projects/showreport.cfm?reportid=37>

Rwandan government site

Communiqué of 18 October 2002

http://www.rwanda1.com/government/101802_1.html

'Reintegration and Reconciliation'

http://www.rwanda1.com/economy/new_page_1.htm

UNICEF's report on demobilization of child soldiers

<http://ginie1.sched.pitt.edu/ginie-crises-links/childsoldiers/rwanda.html>

World Bank

<http://www->

[wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDS_IBank_Servlet?pcont=details&eid=000094946_020
41104221775](http://wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDS_IBank_Servlet?pcont=details&eid=000094946_02041104221775)

3.3 Rwandan national development policy

Since 1994, the government has implemented a number of macro-level policies aimed at facilitating the transition from conflict and emergency to stability and sustainable development. The substantial involvement of donor agencies in preparing these documents is evident.

Websites:

Rwandan government

Policy Framework Paper (1998–2001)

<http://www.rwanda1.com/economy/PFP.htm>

Public Investment Programme (1999–2001)

<http://www.rwanda1.com/economy/PIP.htm>

Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) in Rwanda (2000–2)

(http://www.rwanda1.com/economy/mtef_action_plan_2000-2002.htm)

3.3.1 The poverty reduction strategy paper

The most significant recent policy paper which the government has produced is the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) which was adopted in June 2002. The

PRSP lays down the detailed short- and long-term development plans of the government, as well as a very good assessment of the state of Rwanda with regard to poverty. Various surveys and case studies were carried out to inform the process. The PRSP approach represents the latest strategy by the international community (most notably the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund) to address macro-economic development problems in developing countries by seeking to base development strategies in locally-owned processes. It is a necessary step to procuring substantial development assistance, as well as being eligible for debt relief under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC), for which Rwanda became eligible in December 2000.

Although the PRSP is considered to be both produced and owned by the Rwandan government, the process of its preparation is essentially determined by external forces. A key factor in the PRSP process is consultation with various members of the political community and civil society organizations. While welcomed as an innovative approach, the reality of this consultation has come in for a great deal of criticism.

Websites:

World Bank

http://poverty.worldbank.org/files/Rwanda_PRSP.pdf

<http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/strategies/overview.htm>

‘Rwanda: Joint Staff Assessment of Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper’

http://poverty.worldbank.org/files/Rwanda_JSA_PRSP.pdf

Press Release, December 2000:

<http://wbln0018.worldbank.org/news/pressrelease.nsf/673fa6c5a2d50a67852565e200692a79/16a382f805bb75bf852569bd006b344e?OpenDocument>

Strategic Partnership for Africa

‘Institutionalising the PRSP Approach in Rwanda’, 2001

http://www.odi.org.uk/pppg/publications/papers_reports/spa/ch8rwanda.pdf

‘Support for Poverty Measurement and Analysis in Rwanda’, 2001

http://www.minecofin.gov.rw/poverty_reduction/PRSP_profile.doc

Oxfam

‘Debt Relief for Rwanda: an opportunity for peace-building and reconstruction’,
March 1999

<http://www.oxfam.org.uk/policy/papers/rwanda/rwdebt.htm>

ActionAid report, ‘Inclusive Circles Lost in Exclusive Cycles’, 2002

<http://www.eldis.org/fulltext/ActAid1.pdf>

E. Zuckerman, ‘Engendering Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs): why it reduces poverty and the Rwanda case’

http://www.wider.unu.edu/conference/conference-2001-2/parallel_per cent20papers/3_3_Zuckerman.pdf

3.3.2 Innovative policy approaches: *gacaca*, *imidugudu*, and *ubudehe*

Although the general thrust of government policy in many ways reflects an adherence to approaches present in many developing countries, and promoted by the

international financial institutions (IFIs) and the donor community, a number of innovative national development strategies have been developed by the government to address Rwanda's specific development challenges, particularly in the field of justice and social integration.

Post-genocide Rwanda faces massive challenges with regards to the justice process. Not only was the judicial system in tatters both physically and in terms of human resources, but there were hundreds of thousands of potential suspects who had participated to a greater or lesser extent in the genocide. Today, over 100.000 alleged perpetrators of genocide languish in overcrowded prisons. To deal with this problem, a system has been devised to classify offenders. The most serious crimes for organizers and planners of genocide are being tried by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, which was set up in Arusha, Tanzania, in 1994.

However, to deal with lesser crimes, there has been recourse to the traditional *gacaca* system, which has been revised into law accordingly. This system hinges on confession and repentance, and seeks not only to try those accused of genocide-related crimes, but also to foster reconciliation within communities. There has been a great deal of international support for establishing the *gacaca*, of which the first courts were held in June 2002, but some concerns have been raised about the integrity of the system.

More controversial has been the 'villagisation' programme, known as *imidugudu*, which was introduced by the government to tackle the problem of resettling and housing returning refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs), and those left homeless after the genocide. Written into law in 1997, this policy has been shrouded in controversy over site locations, selection of beneficiaries, quality of housing, provision of services, participation, and most importantly, issues of forced relocation. Nevertheless, the government is still keen to maintain this policy of establishing grouped settlements, but seems to have taken on board some of the earlier criticism and is emphasizing the importance of provision of adequate infrastructure and real community participation.

Another tradition upon which the government has sought to build is *ubudehe*, the concept of communal action. As part of the decentralization programme, sub-district levels ('cellules') will receive annual funding to carry out community action plans which are to be defined, managed, and undertaken by the cellule but aimed specifically at poverty-reducing developmental activities. A pilot study has been carried out in the Butare province.

Websites:

International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

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

Global Policy

<http://www.globalpolicy.org/intljustice/tribindx.htm#rwanda>

'Rwanda to Resurrect Traditional Justice System'

<http://www.globalpolicy.org/intljustice/general/2002/0617ga.htm>

International Crisis Group

<http://www.intl-crisis-group.org/projects/project.cfm?subtypeid=23>

University of California — Berkeley

A. Forges, 'The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, 16 March 2002'

http://www.hrcenterberkeley.org/download/justice_alisondesforbes.pdf

S. Gabisirege and S. Babalola, 'Perceptions About the Gacaca Law in Rwanda: Evidence from a Multi-Method Study', April 2001

http://www.jhuccp.org/centerpubs/sp_19/English/index.shtml

Rwandan government

Gacaca Schedule

http://www.rwanda1.com/government/gacaca_schedule.pdf

Amnesty International

'Gambling with Justice', 2002

<http://web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/recent/AFR470032002!Open>

Oxfam

'Land Use and Villagisation in Rwanda', 1999

www.oxfam.org.uk/landrights/risdsummary.rtf

S. Jackson, 'Relief, Improvement, Power: Motives and Motifs of Rwanda's Villagisation Policy'

<http://www.ucc.ie/ucc/depts/sociology/rip/essays/rwanda.htm>

Human Rights Watch

'Uprooting the Rural Poor in Rwanda', 2001

<http://www.hrw.org/reports/2001/rwanda/index.htm>

World Bank

PRSP, page 71 and Annex A

http://poverty.worldbank.org/files/Rwanda_PRSP.pdf

'Ubudehe to Fight Poverty'

<http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/attackingpoverty/activities/rwanda-nprp.pdf>

'The Government of Rwanda's Approach to Poverty Reduction and Decentralization'

http://www.minecofin.gov.rw/poverty_reduction/gov_approach.htm

3.4 Relations with the international donor community

Since 1994, Rwanda has depended heavily on external assistance to underwrite the reconstruction and stabilization process, with approximately 18 per cent of Rwanda's gross national income deriving from foreign aid. The national development policies outlined above have all been prepared with substantial input from the donor community.

Nevertheless, relations between Rwanda and the donor community vary dramatically, with donors differing greatly in their perceptions of the incumbent Rwandan government, most noticeably during the Congo war and over political governance issues (Uvin 2001). While some donors work very closely with the Rwandan

leadership, in particular the United Kingdom, which provides a great deal of budgetary support, others, such as Belgium and the Netherlands, prefer to provide more indirect support, as they are concerned that basket funds could be diverted for military purposes. This situation may change now that Rwandan military forces have withdrawn from the DRC.

Since 1994, the key bilateral donors to Rwanda have been the UK, the USA, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden. Among the many multilateral donors active in Rwanda, the following are among the most important in terms of volumes of support provided: the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the United Nations Development Programme, the European Union, the African Development Bank, the Food and Agriculture Organisation, the International Fund for Agricultural Development, UNHCR, UNICEF, and the World Food Programme. A large number of international NGOs are also active in Rwanda, although the government clamped down on the activities of many in 1996, and has subsequently sought greater control over their activities.

Given the large number of donors active in Rwanda, the government is seeking to establish greater control over aid flows and to coordinate the activities of donors through the Central Project and External Finance Bureau (CEPEX).

Websites:

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
<http://www1.oecd.org/dac/images/AidRecipient/rwa.gif>

DFID Country Strategy Paper 1999
http://www.dfid.gov.uk/Pubs/files/rwanda_csp.pdf

USAid
http://www.usaid.gov/regions/afr/country_info/rwanda.html

Other donor countries
Belgium
http://www.dgic.be/fr/pays_partenaires/rwanda/rwanda.html

France
<http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/actu/article.asp?ART=27714>

Germany
<http://www.gtz.de/themen/ebene3.asp?Thema=8&ProjectId=69&Reihenfolge=1&spr=1>

The Netherlands
http://www.minbuza.nl/default.asp?CMS_ITEM=B53AE1C55A0A45659F1473146A441968X3X42777X97

Sweden
<http://www.sida.se/Sida/jsp/Crosslink.jsp?d=362&a=8827>

World Bank
<http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/AFR/afr.nsf/2c3372e21474c39e852567cf004d66fc/6f04df5a047cdbf6852567d1004a6553?OpenDocument>

International Monetary Fund

<http://www.imf.org/external/country/RWA/index.htm>

United Nations Development Programme

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

European Union

http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/development/country/rw_en.htm

African Development Bank

<http://www.afdb.org>

Food and Agriculture Organisation

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

International Fund for Agricultural Development

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

UNHCR

<http://www.unhcr.org>

UNICEF

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

World Food Programme

<http://www.wfp.org/index2.html>

Central Project and External Finance Bureau (CEPEX)

http://www.rwanda1.com/economy/aid_co-ordination_through_project_finance.htm

http://www.rwanda1.com/economy/donors_ngos.htm

4 Other resources

4.1 Electronic resources

4.1.1 Ugandan newspapers

The New Vision

<http://www.newvision.co.ug>

The Monitor

<http://www.monitor.co.ug>

4.1.2 Electronic references

Assemblée Nationale, 'Mission d'information sur le Rwanda. Rapport d'information sur les opérations militaires menées par la France, d'autres pays l'ONU au Rwanda entre 1900 et 1994', 1998.

<http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/dossiers/rwanda/r1271.asp>

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<http://www.stanford.edu/~sstedman/2001.readings/Zaire.htm>

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<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB53/press.html>

Gourevitch, Philip, *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed With Our Families: Stories From Rwanda*, 1998.

<http://www.historyplace.com/pointsofview/rwanda.htm>

Human Rights Watch, 'Leave None to Tell the Story', Human Rights Watch, March 1999.

<http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/rwanda/>

Joint Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda (JEEAR), *The International response to Conflict and Genocide: Lessons from the Rwanda Genocide*, 'Study 1 – Historical Perspective: Some Explanatory Factors', 1997a.

http://www.um.dk/danida/evalueringsrapporter/1997_rwanda/book1.asp

—, *The International response to Conflict and Genocide: Lessons from the Rwanda Genocide*, 'Study 2 – Early Warning and Conflict Management', 1997b.

http://www.um.dk/danida/evalueringsrapporter/1997_rwanda/book2.asp

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<http://web.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v1/3/2.htm>

Power, Samantha, 'Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen', *The Atlantic Monthly*, September 2001.

<http://www.theatlantic.com/issues/2001/09/power.htm>

Rutinwa, Bonaventure, 'The end of asylum? The changing nature of refugee policies in Africa', UNHCR Working Paper No. 5, May 1999.

<http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home/openssl.pdf?tbl=RESEARCH&id=3ae6a0c34&page=research>

Stein, Barry N. and Clark, Lance, 'Refugee Integration and Older Refugee Settlements in Africa', Paper presented at the 1990 American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, 28 November 1990.

<http://www.msu.edu/course/pls/461/stein/FINAL.htm>

United Nations, 'Comprehensive Report on Lessons Learned from United Nations Assistance for Rwanda (UNAMIR) October 1993–April 1996', 1996.

<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/lessons/rwanda.htm>

United Nations Press Release, 'Kofi Annan Emphasizes Commitment to Enabling UN Never Again to Fail in Protecting Civilian Population from Genocide', Press Release SG/SM/7263 AFR/196, 16 December 1999.

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<http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home/opendoc.pdf?tbl=RESEARCH&id=3c7528ea4&page=research>

—, 'Changing opportunities: refugees and host communities in western Tanzania', UNHCR Working Paper No. 11, June 1999.

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<http://www.yale.edu/gsp/publications/Rwanda.doc>

4.1.3 Other websites of interest

Amnesty International

<http://www.amnesty.org>

Human Rights Watch

<http://www.hrw.org>

International Alert

<http://www.international-alert.org>

Lawyers Committee for Human Rights

<http://www.lchr.org>

Refugees International

<http://www.refintl.org>

UN High Commissioner for Human Rights

<http://www.unhchr.ch>

US Committee for Refugees

<http://www.uscr.org>

International Crisis Group, Brussels
www.crisisweb.org

Observatoire de l'Afrique Centrale, Ottawa
www.obsac.com

Réseau Documentaire International sur la Région des Grands Lacs Africains, Geneva
www.grandslacs.net

United Nations Integrated Regional Information Network, Nairobi
www.irinnews.org

The UN Refugee Agency UNHCR, Geneva
www.unhcr.org

Future site of the Rwandan Ministry of Defence
www.minadef.gov.rw

Official website of the government of Rwanda
www.rwanda1.com

Official website of the president of Rwanda
www.rwanda1.com/government/president/index.html

Up-to-date information on the ICTR (tribunal) in Arusha
www.diplomatiejudiciaire.com

French National Assembly inquiry report into responsibility for genocide
www.assemblee-nationale.fr/2/dossiers/rwanda/rapport.htm

PBS Frontline documentary on Rwandan genocide
www.pbs.org/frontline/shows/evil

Fergal Keane's PBS interview with Gérard Prunier
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/rwanda/etc/interview.html>

BBC Kinyarwanda/Kirundi service
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/greatlakes/>

Fondation Hirondelle
www.hirondelle.org

INCORE
www.incore.ulst.ac.uk

International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
www.icttr.org

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty

www.iciss-ciise.gc.ca/report-e.asp

Well-known Danish study on Rwandan genocide
www.um.dk/danida/evalueringsrapporter/1997_rwanda

Official Website of the Republic of Rwanda
www.gov.rw

Banque Nationale du Rwanda
www.bnr.rw

Rwandan Office of Information
www.orinfor.gov.rw

10th Anniversary memorial project in Canada
<http://www.visiontv.ca/RememberRwanda/index.htm>

Recent Lemarchand paper on crisis
http://membres.lycos.fr/obsac/OBSV3N30_Lemarchand-GLA.html

Global IDP Database for Democratic Republic of the Congo
<http://www.db.idpproject.org/Sites/IdpProjectDb/idpSurvey.nsf/wCountries/Democratic+Republic+of+the+Congo>
For Burundi
<http://www.db.idpproject.org/Sites/IdpProjectDb/idpSurvey.nsf/wCountries/Burundi>
For Rwanda
<http://www.db.idpproject.org/Sites/idpSurvey.nsf/wCountries/Rwanda>

Example of hysterical conspiracy theorizing
<http://users.skynet.be/wirira/eir.htm>

'Great Genocide Debate', London July 1997
<http://homepages.udayton.edu/~uwiringi/genocide/>

Human Rights Watch
Rwanda: the Search for Security and Human Rights Abuses
<http://www.hrw.org/reports/2000/rwanda/>
Burundi: Emptying the Hills
<http://www.hrw.org/reports/2000/burundi2/>

Journal of Humanitarian Assistance
'Youth and conflict in Kivu: Komona clair'
<http://www.jha.ac/greatlakes/b004.htm>

University of Florida Africana Collection
<http://www.uflib.ufl.edu/cm/africana>

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