

Rwanda: No future without the past

Is reconciliation possible?



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academic experience worldwide & Imbuto e.V.

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Rwanda: in the heart of Africa – the land of thousand hills



Republika y'u Rwanda - Republic of Rwanda -
République Rwandaise in the The Great Lakes Region



The war, genocide and crimes against humanity – the political contexte

- October 1st 1990: Invasion of the Rwandan Patriotic Front – RPF (from Uganda) – the war continued until 1994
- Burundi, October 21st 1991: Murdering of the first democratically elected and first Hutu President Melchior Ndadaye by Tutsi militaries
- Arusha 1993: Peace Agreement between the Rwandan government (multi-party) and the RPF (transitional multi-party government), supported by the „international community“
- February 1994: more than 1 million displaced persons in the North of Rwanda and 300.000 refugees from Burundi in the South

The war, genocide and crimes against humanity - genocide

- April 6, 1994: shooting down of the plane of the President Juvénal Habyarimana (and Cyprien Ntaryamira, President of Burundi, high military commander, the french equipage) arriving from Dar-Essalam (Peace meeting)
- 100 days: massive killings of Batutsi, less Bahutu and Batwa, mainly by militias Interahamwe (MRND)
- continuing of the war between the RPF (military leader: Paul Kagame) and the Rwandan Military Forces (FAR)
- July 19th, 1994: the 3rd Rwandan Republic, ca. 800.000 murdered persons, mainly Batutsi, ca. 4 mio. refugees and displaced persons (Population: 7,5 mio.)

“After a genocide you think that flowers
would never blossom again,
the lake would never be so calm again,
the crickets would never chirp again so happily.
You think that beauty should no longer exist.”
“Ein Leben mehr” by Esther Mujawayo-Keiner, survivor.

A young girl – survivor – around her all members of her family were killed



The war, genocide and crimes against humanity – the aftermath of the genocide

October 1996: destruction of the refugee camps in Zaire (DRC)

1,5 mio returned, about 500.000 „disappeared“ ... Tingi-Tingi -> The wars in Zaire, Congo 1996... Destitution of President Mobutu, plundering of the extractive industries (coltan, gold, diamonds ... UN_Mapping report 2010) with several mio. of deaths

1998: about 130.000 prisoners in Rwanda

2005: About 250.000 girls and women raped

101.000 child-headed households

The judicial response – Transitional justice

Judicial response was pursued on three levels:

- the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
ICTR-Arusha 11/1994-12/ 2015: 93 indicted, 85 accused (2 withdrawn), 14 acquitted, 2 died before, 5 transferred to Rwanda/ France
- the **national court** system: about 10.000 judgements
- **the Gacaca courts 2001-2012 –**
a so called traditional social conflict solving on the grass – in and by the community through consensus-building, no Murdering

Gacaca 2005-2012: Truth Justice Reconciliation?

Crimes committed in 1994



Truth Justice Reconciliation

Positive

- Very rapid reconstruction of the country, urban development, security, administration ...
- Rwanda highly committed to see justice done
- a symbolic break with the cycle of impunity
- with gacaca processing a huge number of cases in a short time
- the participation of local communities
- the opportunity for some genocide survivors to learn what had happened to their relatives
- *Gacaca* helped some survivors find a way of living peacefully alongside perpetrators.

Challenges

- many *gacaca* hearings resulted in unfair trials
- limitations on the ability of the accused to effectively defend themselves
- numerous instances of intimidation and corruption of defence witnesses, judges and other parties
- flawed decision-making due to inadequate training for lay judges who were expected to handle complex cases

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- <https://www.hrw.org/news/2014/03/28/rwanda-justice-after-genocide-20-years>

June 2012 Gacaca 2005-2012: Cases 1,958,634

a) The total number of cases tried by Gacaca Courts are 1,958,634 including :

Category	Number of Cases	Convicted				Acquitted	Percentage
		All	Percentage	Guilty plea and Confession	Percentage		
Cat 1	60,552	53,426	88.3 %	22,137	41,4 %	7,126	11.7 %
Cat2	577,528	361, 590	62.6 %	108,821	30 %	215,938	37.4 %
Cat 3	1,320,554	1,266,632	96 %	94,054	7.4%	54,002	4%
Total	1,958,634	1,681,648	86%	225,012	13,3 %	277,066	14%

Cases of Appeal

b) Cases tried by Gacaca Courts of Appeal

At the level of appeal, Gacaca Courts tried 178,741 cases (see the following table) representing 9 % of the 1,958,634 cases tried by all Gacaca Courts.

Category	Number of cases	Convicted				Acquitted	Percentage
		All	Percentage	Guilty plea and Confession	Ijanisha		
Cat 1	19,177	16,688	87%	6,731	35 %	2,489	13 %
Cat2	134,394	93,607	70 %	26,019	19%	40,787	30 %
Cat 3	25,170	22, 607	90%	562	2,4 %	2,563	10 %
Total	178,741	132,902	74%	33,312	25,8 %	45,839	26 %

Truth Justice Reconciliation ?

For the victims:

- For a lot of people: Truth, to know how the beloved were killed
- To recognise that that the genocide was executed
- Truth not about crimes of RPF (excluded from gacaca and ICTR, e.g. shooting down of the plane, see Carla del Ponte)
- False accusations
- Fear to tell the truth
- No justice to all victims of serious crimes
- Many victims have the feeling that they did not get justice - no material reparation for victims
- Corruption

Truth Justice Reconciliation ?

- Political instrumentalisation of genocide in Rwanda and in relation to critics from outside
- Unclear laws on ethnic division ... and genocide denial
- Very short time after the crimes – difficult to reconcile
- Stigmatisation of the Bahutu-population to be all perpetrators and all Batutsi are victims
- ...

Truth Justice Reconciliation ?

- Was justice reached? The right to truth and justice!
- Reconciliation more on private level than on level of society
- Transgenerational transfer of trauma – how young people live the situation? The collective memory ...
- No time for healing ... exhibition of the skeleton, testimonies ..
- The poor majority (Bahutu, Batutsi, Batwa) shares the same bad economic conditions and are obliged to live together

Shaping the future – No future without the past

Name the dead persons – and give hope back to those who are in life

Den Toten ihre Namen – den Lebenden ihre Hoffnung wiedergeben

Alexie Gahongayire, 1994 murderd with her husband Déo Dogoli and her three children - Cyarwa - Huye



Nyirawumuntu Généviève
Nyirawumuringa Xaverine
Nyirabagenzi Godelive
Nyirabagenzi Marthe

Nyirabasoni Anonciata
Nyirabazungu Marguerite
Nyirabazungu Marguerite
Nyirabizimana Monique
Nyirabudandi Petronille
Nyirabukara Adèle
Nyirabukara Musabyimana
Nyirabukwe Alodie
Nyirabusakure Elisabeth
Nyirabuseruka Alphonsine

Nyirabutama Elisabeth
Nyirabuzara Anastasie
Nyiracurira Christine
Nyirafurani Gode
Nyiragabiro Anastasie
Nyiragakwavu Odette
Nyirahabari Bizige
Nyirahabimana Dative
Nyirahabimana Antoinette
Nyirahabimana Espérance

Nyirahabineza Jacqueline
Nyirahene Costasie
Nyirahene Gènereuse
Nyirahene Karuranga
Nyirahuku Appolonie
Nyirakadabari Athanasie
Nyirakadaheri Karuranga
Nyirakadiduri Mukarubega
Nyirakamana Françoise
Nyirakanambo Annonciata

Nyirakarigwe Joséphine
Nyirakidende Florence
Nyirakubumba Venancie
Nyiramaboyi Marthe
Nyiramabuku Léocadie
Nyiramafaranga Gaudence
Nyiramafurebo Didaciène
Nyiramagumeri Karimuvumba

Ntagarama Védaste
Ntagaruzwa Jacky
Ntagaruzwa Emmanuel
Ntagozera Frédéric
Ntagungira J.Pierre

Ntagwabira Emmanuel
Ntagwabira Kagarara
Ntahandi Marcel
Ntahinyuka Philippe
Ntakirutimana J. Claude
Ntakirutimana Laétitia
Ntamabyariro Athanase
Ntambara Alphonse
Ntambara Desiré
Ntamugabumwe David

Ntamugabumwe Denis
Ntangari François
Ntantege Eric
Ntarama Devothe
Ntarugera Emmanuel
Ntarungu Richard
Ntasinzira Appolinaire
Ntasinzira J. Damascène
Ntasinzira Jean
Ntawuyahura Straton

Ntawuyirushintge Weralis
Ntayerberana Colette
Ntayerberana Coren
Ntezimana Antoine
Nteziryayo Alexis
Nteziryayo Bosco
Nteziyaremye Joseph
Nteziyaremye Bosco
Nteziyaremye François
Ntibagendereza Balthazard

Ntidendereza John
Ntigurirwa Abdulkhalim
Ntihinyurwa Achille
Ntihinyurwa Athanase
Ntihinyurwa Ephrodite
Ntihinyurwa Nicole
Ntihiwura Denyse
Ntirenganya Gilbert
Ntirugirisoni Florent
Ntirugirisoni Antoine

Nkurunziza Michel
Nkurunziza Pacifique
Nkusi Hnerique
Nkwakuzi Bernard
Nkwaya Antoine
Nkwenderi Gaudence

Nogeyabandi Népo
Nsabimana Emmanuel
Nsabimana Shabani
Nsabimana Gakanuye
Nsabimana Jean Bosco
Nsabimana Munyanshongore
Nsabimana Rutayisire
Nsabimana Théogène
Nsabyemahoro Gisèle
Nsangwamihigo Phillipe

Nsanzabaganwa Justin
Nsanzabaganwa Aimable
Nsanzamahoro Fidèle
Nsanzumuhire Jean
Nsanzumuhire Patrick
Nsekanabo Abdallah
Nsengimana Antoine
Nsengimana Rubayiza
Nsengimana Claude
Nsengimana Karangwa

Nsengimana Michel
Nsengimana Olivier
Nsengimana Ruhumuliza
Nsengimana Smialagidi
Nsengimana Télésphore
Nsengiyaremye Védaste
Nsengiyumva Théoneste
Nsengiyumva Gracien
Nsengiyumva Damascène
Nsengiyumva David

Nsengiyumva Emmanuel
Nsengiyumva Jean de Dieu
Nsengiyumva Jean Michel
Nsengiyumva Jean Paul
Nsengiyumva Philémon
Nsengiyumva Vincent
Nsengiyumva Yakujije
Nsengiyunva Said
Nsengiyunva Claudien
Nsengiyunva Pascal

Nsengumuremyi Edouard
Nsengumuremyi Saidi

Nduwayezu Joseph
Nduwayezu Rhin
Nduwayo Richard
Nduwimana Emmanuel
Nemeyabahizi Ernest
Nemeyabahizi Marcellin
Ngabonziza Céléstin

Ngabonziza Faustin
Ngaboyinsonga Valentin
Ngarambe Bénithe
Ngarambe Bosco
Ngarambe Charles
Ngarambe consolée
Ngarambe Mukanyangezi
Ngarambe Oswald
Ngarambe Pierre
Ngaruyinka J.Damascène

Ngenzi Jean Népo
Ngenzi J.Claude
Ngenzi Birasa
Ngenzi Jean Luc
Ngirabanyiginya J. Chrisostome
Ngirabanyiginya Stanislas
Ngirabware Ezechias
Ngirumpatse Juvénal
Ngiruwonsanga Pascal
Ngijijire Diswald

Nisingizwe J.Baptiste
Niwemutoni Clarisse
Niwemwali Aline
Niwenshuti Jean
Niwenshuti Ernest
Niyibaho Hyacinthe
Niyibizi Jean Claude
Niyigera Sandrine
Niyompwhe Regis
Niyomugaba Emmanuel

Niyomwunge Lydie
Niyomwungeri Eugénie
Niyomwungeri Jérôme
Niyongira Alias
Niyonsaba Emmanuel
Niyonsaba Anicet
Niyonsenga Ernest
Niyonsenga Cassien
Niyonsenga Céléstin
Niyonsenga Ester

Niyonsenga Marie
Niyonsenga Stanislas
Niyonzima J.Népomuscène
Niyonzima Léonard

Niyonzima J.Pierre
Mutumyinka Agnès
Mutuyimana Emma
Mutwakazi Evariste
Mutwarangabo François
Muvandimwe Innocent
Muvunyi Eric
Muzayire Bertilde
Muzhehe André

Muziranenge Christian
Muzuzi M.Goretti
Mwamba Rwigema Janvier
Mwamba Sabiti Dieudonné
Mwanafunzi Eugène
Mwanafunzi Justin
Mwemamora Issa
Mwemezi Emmanuel
Mwiririza M.Aimée
Mwitende Edouard

Mwiza Kayinamura
Mwizere J.M.Vianney
Mwumvaneza Céléstin
Mwumvaneza J.Baptiste
Mwumvaneza Desiré
Nakabonye Marie
Ndacyayisenga Gaspal
Niyokwizerwa
Mwizerwa
Macibiri

Mukandamage
Kayitesi
Gasana
Ndacyayisenga Musabyimana
Ndacyayisenga Souvenir
Ndacyayisenga Yakujije
Ndagijimana Patrice
Ndahayo Pierre Claver
Ndahigwa Gilbert
Ndahimana Donathe

Ndahunga J.Bosco
Ndahunga Joseph
Ndamage Jules
Ndamage Alphonse
Ndamage Athanase
Ndangamira Denis
Ndara Solange
Ndarasi André
Ndaruhutse J.Paul
Ndatimana Karuranga

Ndayambaje Antoine
Ndayambaje Fidèle
Ndayambaje Nyamugarigari
Ndayingwa Inés
Ndayingwa Ishimwe
Ndayingwa J.M.Vianney

Ndayingwa Ernestine
Mukayihiri Angeline
Mukayihiri Antoinette
Mukayihiri M.Chantal
Mukazayire Béatha
Mukazayire Marceline
Mukerangabo Epinaque
Mukerangabo Christine
Mukeshamungu Stanislas
Mukeshimana Françoise

Mukeshimana Chantal
Mukeshimana Musabyimana
Mukeshimana Marie
Mukeshimana Rutayisire
Mukerangango Primien
Mukotanyi Desiré
Mukuba Emmanuel
Mukuba Béatha
Mukuba Pascal
Mukunde Josiane

Mukundente Françoise
Mulima Idéphose
Mulindwa Jean Michel
Mulinzi Daniel
Mumporeze Claudine
Mumporeze Elianne
Munana Rusie
Muneza Innocent
Muneza Janvier
Muneza Jean

Munganyinka Epiphane
Munganyinka Julienne
Munganyinka Gracien
Mungarakarama Florentine
Munsengamanza Augustin
Munyabarenzi Cyriaque
Munyagahigi Céléstin
Munyakayanza Athanase
Munyakazi Félicien
Munyampundu François

Musonera Alphonse
Musonera Médard
Musoni Kimenyi
Musoni Laurent
Musoni Bertin
Musoni Emile
Musoni Jean Claude
Mutabaruka Augustin
Mutabaruka Dieudonné
Mutabazi Karuranga

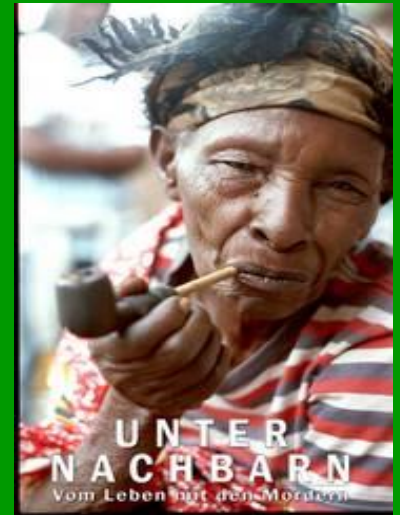
Mutabazi Alphonse
Mutabazi Eugène
Mutaganda Céléstin
Mutaganda Charles
Mutagoma Dailmas
Mutagoma Emile
Mutagoma Emile
Mutagoma Gérard

Imbuto e.V. invites:

Mi, 02.11.2016 | 19 Uhr | Frankfurt/M. (Haus am Dom)

„Unter Nachbarn – Vom Leben mit den Mördern“,

Film & Gespräche



mit Steffen Düvel, Susanne Steuber, Hildegard Schürings, im Rahmen der **entwicklungspolitischen Film- und Diskussionsreihe „fern : welt: nah“**, in Kooperation mit Entwicklungspolitisches Netzwerk Hessen (EPN), hessisches Eine Welt-PromotorInnen-Programm und Haus am Dom.



Never again?

Thank you for your attention!

Murakoze cyane!

Hildegard Schürings

www.imbuto.net

www.ruanda-entgrenzungen.net



Questions:

1) Considering the actual situation of your community, what can I do for shaping the future?

2) Considering the actual situation of your community, what can I do for shaping the future of the young generation?