



# **UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**ASSESSING THE CONTRIBUTION OF MILITARY IN PEACE  
BUILDING IN AFRICA: CASE STUDY RWANDA (1994-2016)**

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**Reg. No: R47/8917/2017**

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AWARD OF POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN STRATEGIC STUDIES.**

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## **DECLARATION**

This research project is my own original work and it has never been presented for examination in any other university or any other award. All materials from other sources have been acknowledged appropriately.

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## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my beloved parents for their guidance ever since my childhood which became a strong base that propelled me to undertake this academic journey. My success is built on the foundation you gave me.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I wish to thank God for the gift of life given into me throughout this course. Secondly I wish to pay special tribute to my family especially my wife Susan Asimwe and our children, Nyemina Jordan, Beza Georgia and Mpagaze Josh for their understanding, sacrifice, perseverance, patience and moral support given to me during the course. I pledge to dedicate more time to them in the future.

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You have all been there for me.

## **ABSTRACT**

The contribution of the military in peace-building in Rwanda is the best indicator of how the army plays an important role in nurturing peace within states. The aim of this project was to assess the role of Rwandan Defence Forces (RDF) in the peace-building process in Rwanda following a protracted period of war. Theoretical framework was based on “peace-building and human security: a constructivist perspective” which is a theory of peace-building that revolves around the attainment of human security at the structural-cultural, personal and institutional levels. The contribution of military in peace-building in Rwanda was evaluated along the basic tenets of this theory. The findings of this study affirmed the existence of a multifaceted peace-building strategy by the RDF in Rwanda that has led to the attainment of peace, stability, tolerance and economic development. The recommendations given included the enactment of laws towards uprooting the genocide ideology, addressing any form of inequality in Rwanda and developing proper structures of governance which includes proper measures to address increasing youth unemployment. These enhancements will increase the success of peace-building efforts in Rwanda.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

FAR	Forces Armees Rwandaises
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
RPA	Rwanda Patriotic Army
RDF	Rwandan Defence Forces
EAC	East African Community
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
AU	African Union
EU	European Union
US	United States of America
UN	United Nations
NRM	National Resistance Movement
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

### 1.0 Background

Conflict and its impact will continue to prey on national security and will be a reality in Africa as a continent in the foreseeable future, unless the nations and other stakeholders in the continent employ effective strategies that aim at ensuring stability and security. In an attempt to alleviate conflict and mitigate its effects, the military forces of various states in the continent have adopted numerous models of peace building, which have undoubtedly played an integral in peace building and the entire regional stability. In order to realize and comprehend the way in which military has contributed to peace building in Africa, it is important to first seek to understand the meaning of the term peace building. Peace building refers to a process or efforts towards reconciliation, capacity building, and transformation. This implies that peace process takes long period which proceeds a period of conflict particularly when the conflict has ended or reduced.<sup>1</sup>

Peace building can also be defined as the social, political, military and economic measured geared towards fortifying political settlement as a way to redress the causes of strife.<sup>2</sup> In light of the many definitions of peace-building, the rationale is simple and similar because it means stabilization that endeavors to help nations that are recovering from conflicts through the reduction and prevention of violence to protect crucial institutions and people as well as

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<sup>1</sup> Joe Devanny and Harris Josh, *The National Security Council: National Security at the Centre of Government*. London: Institute for Government/King's College London, 2014.

<sup>2</sup> Afro-American Network, 'CNDP Troops Desert FARDC; General Foustin Kayumba Nyamwasa, Suspected', 1 November, 2010.

advancing political processes that guarantee stability and the preparation for future politics of development and non-violence.<sup>3</sup>

It is indeed notable that in Africa the military is a partner in peace building and national stability. There are several examples where the role of the military has been called upon to support weak democracies to nurture their nationhood and increase the economic success and social cohesion. The military has been successful in transitioning countries from crises to stability. Examples include Republic of Uganda, Republic of Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo and Republic of Rwanda. Currently the African union mission in Somalia (AMISOM) is on a similar mission to create a platform for the democratization of the horn of Africa country. Although, the ever-mysterious terrorist group Al Shabaab has thwarted the efforts there are possibilities for change. All these examples indicate how the use of military in building peace is not new in Africa and the military has played an important role in creating room for peace, harmony and democracy. In the DRC formerly Zaire, the coalition of foreign and local rebels launched an armed offensive under Laurent Kabila that ended the despotic reign of Mobutu Sese Seko lasting over thirty years.<sup>4</sup> The military guaranteed lasting peace and a transition to democracy enjoyed in the country today.

In the East African community, there have been numerous instances where the military has helped restore stability by nurturing peace and taking a country from strife to stability. Uganda is a typical case study in the East African Community concerning the positive role of the military in peace building, nurturing societal cohesion and harmony as well as increasing

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<sup>3</sup> Farah, Paolo Davide; Rossi, Piercarlo . "Energy: Policy, Legal and Social-Economic Issues Under the Dimensions of Sustainability and Security". *World Scientific Reference on Globalisation in Eurasia and the Pacific Rim*, 2015

<sup>4</sup> Jordan, Amos A., William J. Taylor, Michael J. Mazarr, and Suzanne C. Nielsen. . *American National Security*. Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

economic development.<sup>5</sup> In Uganda following the political instability witnessed during the 70's and 80's involving the constant toppling of presidents, the military under Yoweri Kaguta Museveni brought normalcy and offered an opportunity for the construction of the nation's social fabric, political stability and economic might. The ascent to power by Yoweri Museveni and the National Resistance Movement (NRM) marked the beginning of peace building efforts under the military. Uganda has known peace, stability and economic prosperity because of the role of the military in creating a transition from political crisis to a democratic era. In Kenya, during the abortive 1982 coup against the President Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi, the military led by late Gen (Rtd) Jackson Mulinge thwarted the attempted thrust of Kenya into political crisis by defeating the coup plotters and restoring power to the civil president. This has been the most distinguished role of the military in warranting peace and democracy in Kenya.

The contribution of the military in peace building, nurturing cohesion, ensuring social harmony, political stability and economic success in Rwanda is noticeable on account of the bloody history of genocide that befell the east African country in 1994. During this period, the national fabric was destroyed and the country put back on the drawing board. The military seemed to be the only option in offering leadership as well as being the authority under which efforts of rebuilding the war torn country could be based after stopping the genocide and defeating genocidal forces of former government. After defeating the genocidal government, Rwanda Patriotic Front led by its army wing Rwanda Patriotic Army established the government of national unity comprised of political opposition parties in Rwanda except those participated in

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<sup>5</sup> Mueller, Karl P.. *Striking First: Preemptive and Preventive Attack in U.S. National Security Policy*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Project Air Force, 2006.

genocide and began the process of rebuilding peace, nurturing cohesion and national stability.<sup>6</sup> Today Rwanda is an epitome of gender equality, inclusiveness, economic prosperity, environmental conservation, and political stability.<sup>7</sup> The Tutsis and Hutu's today live in harmony putting their genocide differences behind.

### **1.1 Statement of the Problem**

Peace building becomes necessary when war destroys the existing harmony and unity within a state. War is an enemy of peace and Rwanda became synonymous with war during the genocide in 1994. The genocide led to the destruction of the national fabric and created anarchy and chaos in the East African country. The ethnic animosity in the country led to the escalation of hostilities in the country which resulted into a full blown war. The war totally destroyed the statehood and national hood which lead to Rwanda's creating need for peace-building. When the war ended, there was need for the reconstruction of the country and more importantly the rebuilding of national peace. Since the war had led to the destruction of all government institutions there was a lack of civil platforms for rebuilding peace, the military was the only institution available and organised to coordinate the efforts of peace building. While a significant amount of research is available regarding Rwanda's history and post-conflict peace building initiatives, little has been said about the role of military in building peace and stable Rwanda. Therefore, this paper investigated the contributions of military in peace building in Rwanda particularly the processes, challenges and outcomes. This study offers a comprehensive evaluation of the role of the military in peace-building in Rwanda.

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<sup>6</sup> National Research Council (U.S.). *Beyond "Fortress America": National Security Controls on Science and Technology in a Globalized World*. Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press, 2009.

<sup>7</sup> Amnesty Int'l (2004) 'Rwanda: Further information on fear for safety, possible disappearance"/Incommunicado detention', 16<sup>th</sup> March 2004.

## **1.2 Objectives of Research**

### **1.2.1 General Objective**

The general objective of this study is to investigate the contribution of the military to peace building in Rwanda during the period between 1994 - 2016

### **1.2.2 Specific Objectives**

The specific objective of this study underlines specific areas which include the following;

1. To investigate the rationale and nature of peace building activities by Rwanda Military between 1994 - 2016.
2. To evaluate the extent to which the military has contributed to the peace building in Rwanda between 1994 - 2016
3. To examine the challenges faced by Rwanda Military in the process of peace building in Rwanda between 1994 – 2016

## **1.3 Research Questions**

1. What is the rationale and nature of peace building activities conducted by Rwandan Military between 1994 - 2016?
2. To what extent the military has contributed to the peace building in Rwanda between 1994 - 2016?
3. What are the challenges faced by Rwandan Military in peace building process between 1994 - 2016?

## **1.4 Justifications**

The study is justified on academic and policy grounds.

### **1.4.1 Academic Justification**

This research on the role of military in peace building in Africa with a special reference to Rwanda is important academically as it increases discourse on how the military plays a role in African security. Therefore, academically this research is important for the researcher and scholars.

**The researchers:** the researcher obtained wider understanding of the inherent processes of research thus gaining experience on research processes. In addition, the researcher gained a well appreciative of the inherent role of military in peace building.

**Scholars:** the findings and outcomes of this research will be important to scholars who will increase their understanding of national peace building as a function of the military in Africa.

### **1.4.2 Policy Justification**

At the policy level the study to investigate the contribution of the military in peace building in Africa with a special reference to Rwanda will be important for policy makers because it will increase their understanding of how the military can be used in civil duties. Therefore, the findings and recommendations of this study will be important in informing policy decisions and frameworks towards better utilization of the military in peace building and cohesion.

## 1.5 Literature Review

### 1.5.1 The rationale and nature of peace building activities conducted by Rwanda Military between 1994 - 2016

The Rwandan military has perfected the art of peace building particularly after the 1994 genocide.<sup>8</sup> The Rwanda Defence Forces (RDF) has spearheaded a peace building strategy that has created the right basis for national development and stability.<sup>9</sup> However, the role of the military in national peace building started with its integration. It is very significant to note that the integration of the military in Rwanda after 1994 genocide against Tutsi became the cornerstone of the peaceful and stable Rwanda and was not new in Rwanda as it was preceded by the integration of the former government army into Rwanda Patriotic Army (RPA), then rebels during the quest for inclusivity a model to weaken the morale of the enemy.<sup>10</sup> In the process of building lasting peace, all the warring factions were united together by the broad based government shortly after the war as a strategy for building lasting peace in Rwanda. Through this strategy, Rwanda embarked in a peace building model that is effective and can be replicated elsewhere. In Rwanda the consent model of peace building was adopted as the beginning of a new dawn following the genocide.<sup>11</sup> The 1993 Arusha agreement between the Rwandan Government and the RPF then rebel group signaled the integration spirit where RPF then rebels were willingly agreed to end hostilities and join Rwanda Defence Forces.<sup>12</sup> Part of the agreement

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<sup>8</sup> *Focus* (Kigali) 'US Ambassador to Rwanda: Needed Political Solution in Darfur', March 2006.

<sup>9</sup> Beswick Danielle. The role of the military in Rwanda: Current dynamics and future prospects. In companion M, Noack P (eds) Rwanda fast forward. (palgrave Macmillan, London, 2012), 249

<sup>10</sup> Rotimi, K. "Political Violence and Social Insecurity". [www.nigeriatel.com](http://www.nigeriatel.com) Webster (1993): New World Dictionary, Oxford University Press Inc. New York, U.S.A, 2011.

<sup>11</sup> Cordesman, H Anthony. *Saudi Arabia National Security in a troubled region*. Santa Barbara, Calif: Praeger Security International, 2009.

<sup>12</sup> Amnesty International (2006) 'Rwanda: reports of extrajudicial execution in Mulindi Military detention center must be independently investigated', March 2006.



involved protocol III that permitted the integration of Rwanda Patriotic Army into Rwandan Government Forces.<sup>13</sup>

### **1.5.2 The extent to which military has contributed to peace building in Rwanda between 1994 – 2016**

Rwanda has enjoyed relative peace, political stability, national security and economic development after the genocide of 1994 against Tutsi and its aftermath insurgency that plunked the country into prolonged instability until 1999.<sup>14</sup> It is also during this period that there was continuous repatriation and re-integration of all ex- combatants from Democratic Republic of Congo into the Rwandan Defence Forces. This made it possible for the government to embark on a path of national building.<sup>15</sup> Throughout this period, the role of the military was notable as it remained the single most authoritative organ in the country to oversee the process of not only security change, but also social-economic and political. The most notable figure throughout the process of military peace-building was the current president Paul Kagame who rose through the ranks to become the most decisive figure of the transition of Rwanda from political instability to peace and prosperity. He once stated in 1992 during struggle, “Jeshi letu hii ndilo litakuwa msingi wa mabandiliko katika hii nchi yetu” literally means (this army will be the foundation for the transformation of our country) Rwanda is currently in the path for growth as it has accomplished many strides that include gender equality, inclusiveness and political participation, participation in UN peace support operations. Currently, Paul Kagame is a democratically elected president who reigns as a civil leader.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Ibis

<sup>14</sup> Ibis

<sup>15</sup> Roger Ginty Mac. *International Peace Building and Local Resistance* (United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, 56

<sup>16</sup> Ibis

### **1.5.3 The Challenges faced by Rwandan Military in the peace building process between 1994 - 2016**

The Rwanda Military faces numerous challenges in its role of facilitating peace building in Rwanda particularly following the end of the genocide.<sup>17</sup> Most of these challenges involve the inherent traces of ethnic dogma, national security challenges, genocidal ideology, truth and justice, peace and reconciliation, poverty and unemployment. Although Rwanda has made several steps since the end of the civil war, the task of peace building in the country has been challenged by the aforesaid factors.<sup>18</sup> The Rwandan government continues to forge ways of facilitating peace building in the wake of the challenges.<sup>19</sup>

**Genocidal Ideology:** Genocide survivors strongly believe that the genocidal ideology is still live among Rwandan community. About 80% of the population and 84% genocide survivors believe that defence witnesses want to lessen the extent of crimes of genocide. Moreover, an equally large share of survivors (around 80%) believes that there is a “pact of silence” among prisoners who have not confessed and they believe that they just did their duty in perpetrating the genocide. These interpretations were rejected by prisoners (about 60%), although there is still a substantial minority of about 30% of the respondent prisoners who agree that there is a “pact of silence,” and that a genocidal ideology might live on among certain groups<sup>20</sup>.

**National Security Challenges:** The 1994 genocide against Tutsi epitomizes one of the worst failures human securities, and the consequences still reverberate through the East and Central

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<sup>17</sup> Ibis

<sup>18</sup> Earl Conte-Morgan, Peace building and human security. A constructive perspective. *International Journal of Peace Studies*, (10, 1, spring/summer 2005)

<sup>19</sup> Severine Autesserre. *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the everyday Politics of International Intervention* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 532.

<sup>20</sup> National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) Social Cohesion in Rwanda An Opinion Survey Results 2005-2008

African Region nearly twenty four years. Diverse threats to Rwanda national security includes but not limited to Genocidal ideology, Truth and Justice, Poverty and Unemployment and Ignorance among others all undermine the process of peace building in Rwanda.<sup>21</sup>

**Truth and Justice:** Rwanda provides wide-ranging examples of experiments in justice and reconciliation. In November 1994, after the genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda, United Nations formed International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) to prosecute genocide perpetrators and other crimes against humanity. However, the ICTR were plagued by charges of inefficiency and corruption. In line with the policy of Government of National Unity to find solutions for its own problems, Gacaca justice system was created in October 2000 as an alternative judicial process to try the perpetrators of 1994 genocide against Tutsi. Gacaca had two objectives; to alleviate overcrowded prisons and constructing Rwandan society. Despite is criticism of failing to meet the international standard of fair trials, the system illustrated the options of using a nuanced approach to combine customary African values with International Criminal Law and humanitarian practices to overcome intractable conflicts<sup>22</sup>.

**Economic Inequality and Ethnic identities:** As Rwanda's history dictates, economic inequalities related to ethnic identities was a significant factor in creating initial divisions among Twa, Hutu and Tutsi throughout the colonial period. Economic variability and inequality existed through the first and second republics, thereby affecting the political and social landscape of the nation. After the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, majority population was plunged into poverty and livestock were destroying the already poorly developed productive infrastructure was

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<sup>21</sup> Ibis

<sup>22</sup> African Union Panel of Wise. "Peace, Justice, and Reconciliation in Africa: Opportunities & challenges in the fight against impunity," The African Union series, New York: Int'l Peace Institute, (Feb 2013) 32-34

completely destroyed. This resulted in a severe shortage of professional personnel in all sectors, which is also affected by high illiteracy rates, malnutrition and the prevalence of major diseases such as HIV/AIDS and malaria. Therefore, peace and harmony could not be prevailed in such desperate population<sup>23</sup>.

**The Relationship between the Victims and Perpetrators:** As quickly as the relationships between the Hutu and Tutsi were torn apart, bringing both sides together to work towards the common goal of national development is not as simple. Research by Reeder, Kumar, Hesson-McInnis & Trafimow (2002) observed how outsiders perceived acts of aggression by rating the level of morality through perceived motives. The perceived and actual motives of a Hutu perpetrator may vary depending on the individual, but it is clear that on a systemic level the aggression was born because Hutu power felt threatened by the Tutsi presence. How victims understand the perceived motive of the perpetrator may help or hinder the process of healing through perceptions of long-term negative consequences. Therefore, RDF understood it from onset that the relationship between the victims of genocide and perpetrators was very indispensable in peace building<sup>24</sup>.

## **1.6 Theoretical Framework**

Peace-building and human security: a constructivist perspective is a theory of peace-building that revolves around the attainment of human security at the structural-cultural, personal

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<sup>23</sup> M. Vanessa Colomba. Post-Conflict Peace Building in Rwanda, *the Effect on Youth, and the Development of Bright Future Generation*, NGO. The University of Massachusetts, Lowell. May 2013

<sup>24</sup> Vanessa M. Colomba. Post-Conflict Peace Building in Rwanda, the Effect on Youth, and the Development of Bright Future Generation, NGO. The University of Massachusetts, Lowell. May 2013, p 55

and institutional levels.<sup>25</sup> The theory stipulates the different ways through which peace-building can be done on the auspices of cultivating and maintaining human security.

The key tenets of this theory involve the three levels namely personal, institutional and structural-cultural through which human security can be attained in the course of peace-building. Another important element involves the three conditions through which peace building can be achieved in guaranteeing human security namely;

- a) Concerted efforts made to maintain ceasefire beyond the short-term monitoring competitive election, disarmament and demobilization,
- b) Identity, culture and an interpretive bottom up strategy to peace-building are considered in tackling problems of communities, individuals and groups,
- c) The consideration of both socio-cultural contexts and material as important dimensions to peace-building and security.

The consideration of these three conditions set the stage for peace-building and increases the effectiveness of the same. The theory accentuates that premise that peace-building is a function of three considerations namely; the maintenance of ceasefire, the involvement of a bottom up strategy and the material and socio cultural context.

Peace-building and human security: a constructivist perspective is a brainchild of Earl Conteh-Morgan and it was used in the study titled Human Security, Peace-building, and Constructivism: Conceptual, Relational, and Theoretical Clarification that was published in the International Journal of Peace Studies, Volume 10, Number 1, Spring/Summer 2005.

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<sup>25</sup> Earl Contch Morgan. Peace building and human security: A Constructivist perspective. *International journal of peace studies*, (10, 1, Spring/Summer 2005)

The theory is significant to the current study because it informs the inherent processes of peace-building by the military in Africa particularly in Rwanda. The three pillars of the peace building process that are anchored on the attainment of human security (personal, institution and structural-cultural) underscore the reliable processes through which the military can attain the ideals of peace-building. For instance, in Rwanda the military's role in peace-building is directly tied to the attainment of human security. By articulating human security as a complementary ideal in peace-building, the theory coincides with the ideas of this study that peace is the absence of war and guaranteeing human security is a strategy towards peace-building.

The main weakness of this theory is that it complicates the processes of peace-building by involving identity, culture and personal issues which make peace-building seem very complex. The basic tenet of the theory appropriately contextualizes the process of peace-building as a function of guaranteeing human security. However, by involving the issues of personal security and cultural identity, the theory becomes petty and myopic in its stipulations.

## **1.7 Methodology**

The study employed the qualitative method of research throughout its processes as a way of attaining a thorough investigation of the subject matter. Qualitative research is very important in helping a research to conduct a comprehensive investigation into a subject.

### **1.7.1 Research Design**

The study was based on a blend of case study and descriptive survey designs. These designs are meant for conducting investigation.<sup>26</sup> The designs are concerned with status. It is based on the fact that problems can be solved and practices improved through objective, thorough

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<sup>26</sup> John Smart. *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research, Volume 24*. (New York: Springer Science & Business Media, 2009), 312

observation, analysis and description. Case studies research design is probably the best method available to scientists and other educators in collecting data for describing a small group in depth. The design is suitable for the study for it enabled the researcher to carry out a detailed study. Descriptive survey design is suitable for carrying out an investigation on a large population.

### **1.7.2 Data Collection Methods**

The study on “the contributions of the military in peace-building in Rwanda” involved secondary methods of data collection. The data for purposes of this study was collected through published books, journal articles, reports, previous studies, government bulletins and magazines. Therefore, part of the data collection exercise involved evaluating published data on the subject matter.

#### **Secondary Data**

Secondary data is information perceived to have already collected by someone and for some purpose and which is available for the present examination. This is data which is originally collected for different purpose and at different time. Secondary data was relevant for the study as sourced from academic journals, textbooks, policy briefs, internet and magazines.

Being a qualitative form of research, comprehensive data was required for purposes of evaluation, analysis and interpretation.

### **1.7.3 Data Analysis**

Qualitative data was analyzed through the evaluation of secondary data which offered the necessary deductions, interpretations and allusions. The deductions made were considered in the process of understanding the role of the Rwandan Military as well as making the summaries, conclusions recommendations on the study. Therefore, conclusions were made from the analysis

and interpretation of selected published data on the subject. By inclining the evaluation to the study objectives and questions, deductions and conclusions were made. The conclusions guided the development of recommendations.

#### **1.7.4 Limitations**

The study covered the role of the military in peace building. The study was constricted by this subject implying that only materials on this subject were used in this study. Any other subject is excluded from this study. Secondly, the study is limited to Rwanda. This research is a case study of how the military contributed to the building of peace in Rwanda. Only materials concerning Rwanda were used in this study. The study was limited by period because in studying how the Rwanda military contributed to peace building only data from the period between 1994 and 2016 was used. This study was undertaken within six months. Therefore, it is limited by time.

#### **1.8 Chapter Outline**

This study has been prearranged in chapters as follows:

Chapter one highlights the background to the study which includes the broader perspective of the military's contribution to peace building in general. The chapter also highlights the research problem, significance justification, scope, limitations, research objectives and research questions.

Chapter two reviews the literature of the general role of the military in peace building. A deeper evaluation was conducted on the roles played by military in building cohesion and transitioning a country into stability.

Chapter three expounded on the role of the military in promoting peace building in Rwanda during the period between 1994 - 2016.



Chapter four focused on how the military has contributed to peace building in Rwanda between 1994 - 2016

Chapter five analysed the challenges encountered by military during peace building in Rwanda between 1994 - 2016

Chapter 6 highlighted the summary, conclusion and gave out some recommendations.

## **CHAPTER TWO: THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN PEACE-BUILDING**

### **2.1 Introduction**

The peace-building and human security: a constructivist perspective offers a credible theoretical underpinning upon which global efforts of peace-building can be founded. The theory centres on the attainment of human security at the structural-cultural, personal and institutional levels. It is against this backdrop that militaries across the world have invested in achieving and maintaining human security through the personal, structural-cultural and institutional methods.

The contribution of the military to peace building is quite noteworthy on account of the fact that peace is always complemented by national security and defence.<sup>27</sup> The military is trained and constituted as an agency that guarantees security and defence. The truth of the matter is that what the military defends is peace. By guarding national borders, intervening during the conflict and civil strife, helping in the event of emergencies, and safeguarding sustainable development reflects the important role military plays towards building peace. Therefore, whether it is directly or indirectly the military is an institution that guarantees peace. It is unimaginable of having peace without the military because in case of attacks or natural disasters it is the military that is called upon to stabilize the situation.

In many developing countries the military plays the role of stabilizing the political situation in the sense that it restores order, calm and cultivates peace particularly during cases of political turmoil. Therefore, there is no doubt that the military is an important partner in building peace because most of its functions revolve round preserving and cultivating peace. However, a better understanding of how the military helps in building peace is through evaluation specific

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<sup>27</sup> Ruben Andersson and Florian Weigand,. "Intervention at Risk: The Vicious Cycle of Distance and Danger in Mali and Afghanistan". *Journal of Intervention and State building* (9, 4. 2015: 519–541).

scenarios where the military has to directly step in to ensure there is peace. Afghanistan and Iraq are cases in point of how the military can help sustain democracy. After the ouster of strongman Saddam Hussein, the US military stepped in Iraq and helped nurture democratic governance. The overthrow of the Taliban in Afghanistan marked the beginning of a new road to democracy with the US military taking charge of the reconstruction process.

## **2.2 The General Contribution of the Military in Building Peace**

The military plays an integral role to peace building through various avenues that underscore its functions. Peace building can be described as an offshoot of the vast efforts or tasks of the military.<sup>28</sup> Through the sum total of all functions of the military peace building emerges as a consequence. Therefore, in the process of understanding the role of the military in peace building, it is important to first evaluate the general roles of the military in any setting. Through this examination, it will be possible to understand how the military eventually cultivates and nurtures peace in a national setting. In essence, the tasks of the military are the most diverse in nature because it is usually impossible to mention or list the roles of the military. However, through their general roles it becomes apparent that the process of nurturing peace in a country emerges. The military contributes to peace building in the process of executing their tasks with directly or indirectly. Although peace building can be a deliberate measure in the military sometimes it is a consequence of their general efforts.

The general contribution of the military in building peace includes; guarding national borders, intervening during causes of civil strife, helping during emergencies, and safeguarding sustainable development. These are the primary roles of the military and in the course of

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<sup>28</sup> Ibis.

fulfilling them, peace is nurtured and cultivated. In other words, the military contributes to peace building by addressing the issues that undermine it like civil strife, war, poverty, underdevelopment, equity and insecurity.

## **National Borders**

One of the most primary functions of the military is protecting or defending national borders ostensibly from external attack. The military guards the borders as a way of guaranteeing security from external actors. By increasing air, water and land surveillance the military increases the prospects for peace. Peace can be described as a state of no war, freedom from strife, harmony or reconciliation. Therefore, although peace does not necessarily emanate from the absence of war, it is apparent that the existence of war or strife undermines peace. There can be no peace when security is threatened. When national borders are unsafe there can never be peace. The implication of this is that by protecting the national borders, the military reduces the chances of war and creates security. When there is no war and security is guaranteed then there will be peace. Peace building is an indirect consequence of the military is protection of national borders. The military indulges in peace building by creating safety on the borders. The process of protecting national borders could involve surveillance, fighting potential enemies, strict border controls and preventive measures. These actions prevent war, scare enemies away and send a strong message to the enemies of peace.<sup>29</sup> The direct result of these actions is peace.

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<sup>29</sup> Michael Barnett; Hunjoon Kim; Madalene O'Donnell and Laura Sitea. "Peace building: What is in a Name?" *Global Governance*. (13: 2007, 35–58).

## **Intervening During Cases of Civil Strife**

Although the military is mainly tasked with the protection of national boundaries, it also plays an important role in addressing cases of civil strife when called upon to support the national police in case of escalated violence. Civil strife is a great cause of civil conflicts which may escalate into civil war and sometimes if not controlled may lead into crimes against humanity like 1994 genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda. The law enforcement may not be capable of responding to high level civil strife thus making it necessary that the army intervenes. Most civil wars that have been fought in the history of the world started as civil strife that eventually culminated into a full blown war. When the military acts in time to address civil strife through surveillance, fighting and annihilating dangerous elements for peace, they guarantee peace building. The military is an armed force that utilizes war as a way of building peace. When things get out of hand, the military has to act through force to restore normalcy. Peace building by the military does not necessarily involve peaceful methods. Sometimes the military needs to fight the elements of strife as a way of restoring a country to peace. In times of internal conflicts, the military often intervenes to put an end to hostilities and create an environment of peace. Through addressing civil and other forms of internal hostilities, the military plays an important role in peace building. The military can be relied upon to create a platform of peace building through annihilating elements of war in a country.

## **Emergency and Disaster Response**

It has become a tradition all over the world for the military to intervene during emergencies of all nature. Emergencies may be natural, civil, or humanitarian and they cause great desperations thus necessitating intervention. The military is one of the most equipped institutions in the world to intervene, servicemen have the capacity to fight, engage in

infrastructure building, awareness and disasters response. During humanitarian catastrophes, the military often offer relief and evacuation services. The military also engages in building houses for the displaced as well as relief distribution. The risk and danger that disaster pose on national security, peace and harmony is great and the fact that the military intervenes to offer help, relief and response guarantees calm. Therefore, the military plays an integral role in nurturing peace through the process of offering help towards resolving disasters. When there are cases of disease outbreaks, the military responds by distributing medicines, vaccines and spreading awareness. The aim is to tackle the menace so that it does not affect national security. Outbreaks are examples of calamities that can compromise peace and security. By dealing with such problem, the military plays an important role towards peace building.

During natural disasters like earthquakes, landslides, volcanic eruptions, flooding and hurricanes, the military plays an important role in evacuation, resettlement and distribution of relief. Such efforts restore normalcy and confidence in the government thus protecting national security. By addressing natural calamities, outbreaks and epidemics, the military promotes peace by restring normalcy and calm among people. When citizens are faced with such calamities, they become desperate and apprehensive; they may resort to unlawful or social disorder ways of solving the problems to make things works. When the military helps them in getting a solution they become calm and embrace peaceful ways.<sup>30</sup>

### **2.3 The role of military in peace-building in Africa**

The military plays an important role in peace building in Africa through various ways. The military's role in peace building in Africa ranges from Egypt, Tunisia, Nigeria, Central

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<sup>30</sup> Mark R Duffield. "Risk-Management and the Fortified Aid Compound: Everyday Life in Post-Interventionary Society". *Journal of Intervention and State building*. (4, 4, 2010: 453–474).

African Republic and Zimbabwe. The military promotes peace building through various ways like safeguarding sustainable development economic development, sports, healthcare and national security. The current situation in Zimbabwe is an indicator of how the military in developing countries particularly Africa nurture peace and stability.

### **2.3.1 Safeguarding Sustainable Development**

Globally, the military has been recognized as a partner in sustainable development which underscores a balanced approach towards development that guarantees present and future sustainability. Sustainable development has been described as the best avenue through which a country's present and future needs can be addressed. The military as an important stakeholder in this quest increases the chances of building peace. Conflict theories have often articulated as economically motivated in the sense that people's economic situation is directly related to their vulnerability to war. Poverty for example is a cause of war because when people are incapable of meeting their needs they direct their energies to the government and thus rebelling. The direct effect of poverty on national security is important in indicating that by cultivating sustainable development, the military increases the attainment of peace. People who are capable of meeting their needs have a less likelihood of engaging in war.

### **2.3.2 Economic Development**

The military as a partner in economic development use different methods through which they spur the development of their society's economically. A typical example is military Sacco's which are open to public membership. Many citizens are beneficiaries of these arrangements where they access credit for business investment. Sustainable development has been developed as a blue print for economic development and expansion in developing countries. The military

has been roped in to help in the realization of these ideals.<sup>31</sup> The direct role of the military in sustainable development through poverty alleviation, distribution of resources, guaranteeing security and infrastructural development has an important contribution towards the attainment of peace. Although the military plays an important role in defence, it is not enough to guarantee peace because the economic and social situations increase the chances of peace in societies. Sustainable development increases success, development and national stability which bring about peace.

### **2.3.3 Healthcare**

The military as a protector of public health has contributed towards the access to healthcare services through military healthcare facilities and hospitals that are open to civilians. Since military healthcare facilities are well-equipped with personnel and material, they help in solving most of the healthcare problems facing the civilian population. Free access to these facilities has increased their role in public health. The collective medical camps organized by the military have also increased the quality of public health by offering extensive healthcare services to all people. Through healthcare, the military has increased its interaction with the civilian population and nurtured peace.

### **2.3.4 Increasing Stability**

The military plays an important role towards the stability of nations thus sustaining democratic rule.<sup>32</sup> In many developing countries particularly those with a history of war or civil strife, the military has been handy in guaranteeing transition from conflict to civilian rule. Even

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<sup>31</sup> Tom Keating. *Building Sustainable Peace* (Canada: United Nations University Press and the University of Alberta Press, 2004), 75.

<sup>32</sup> Ibis.



in cases where democracies have been built, the role of the military in ensuring their survival is important. A typical example is Rwanda, Uganda and Nigeria. In Rwanda after the genocide, the military played an important role in creating national stability. The democratic governments that followed the war have been preserved by the military that that ensured that no war takes place. By maintaining stability, the military averts war; such a situation increases the attainment of peace. In Nigeria, following the demise of Sani Abacha, the military facilitated a transition to civilian rule that still exists today. If not for the military at the time, civilian rule could not have succeeded. National stability is a function of many factors and Defence is one of them. The military doesn't just exist to ensure safe borders but also the protection of civilian rule. The advent of democratic governance has increased the role of the military as the custodians of democracy. There are several cases of how the military has increased the success of democratic governance. Other examples include DRC and Nigeria where constant civil strife led to several coups and the only way to stabilize the country and restore peace was through the military. The transition from military rule to civil rule in Nigeria was orchestrated by the military following the death of former strongman Sani Abacha.

## **2.4 The Role of the Military in Building Cohesion and Transitioning a Country to Stability**

### **2.4.1 Maintaining National Security**

By maintaining national security, the military plays an important role in building cohesion and transitioning a country to stability. National Security is a multifaceted expression that underscores many things in a country. National Security refers to the task of the government in protecting its citizens from all types of disasters by a diversity of power projections like military, diplomacy political power and economic power. This implies that national security is a broad term. The role of military power in national security is pronounced because one of the

main national crises is war or civil strife.<sup>33</sup> Through military power a country can protect its citizens from any kind of harm. In building cohesion it is important for the safety of all citizens to be guaranteed first. Before any civil efforts of building harmony among citizens are launched, there must be security. The military provides the security that facilitates the methods of building cohesion in a country. It is inconceivable to build harmony in the absence of the security. By protecting the country from harm, the military facilitates the process of building harmony. The military also facilitates the transition of a country into stability. National security is the most important component of a country particularly one in strife. By ensuring that the citizens are safety from any kind of attack the military paves way for the other processes of democratic transition. A country that is moving from instability to stability needs a lot of time and efforts towards achieving this goal. The most basic dimension is ensuring that during this transition the safety of the citizens is guaranteed.

#### **2.4.2 Integration**

The constitution of the military is one of the most imperative dimensions regarding building cohesion and transitioning a country from instability to stability. For the military to be effective in its roles as a custodian of stability and cohesion it must represent the wide national look. There must be efforts towards integration as a way of increasing the chances of developing a national face. A military composition that does not represent the different faces of the country does not inspire cohesion neither can it be trusted with the role of transitioning a country to stability. Public opinion and acceptability play an important role towards the success of a military towards building cohesion. Cohesion underscores the harmony and mutual consent by

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<sup>33</sup> Dennis Sandole. *Peace building*. Cambridge (UK: Polity Press, 2010), 43.

citizens to go in the same direction. For the military to be trusted by all sections of a nation, it must represent all of them.<sup>34</sup> In a country reeling from civil strife and endeavouring to transition to stability, the military must constitute all ethnic groups. There must be equal distribution of slots within the army to create a national face within its ranks. A country with great ethnic suspicions cannot rally behind a military whose composition does not consider the different ethnic groupings will not succeed in transitioning to stability or building cohesion. Another important element of the composition of the military involves a country that has experienced civil war and now seeks to embark on democratic stability and cohesion building. In creating a national military, the different militant factions must be brought together towards creating in unified force that will reflect the grand divide. There must be careful consideration when forming the military as a way of avoiding the rejection of a military force by a section of the society. If a section of the people feel left out of the entire military establishment could resort to conflict as a way of airing their grievances. There could be revolt within the society thus undermining the national security of a country.

### **2.4.3 Protecting Civil Rights**

When the civil rights of people are protected and respected there will be cohesion and the transition towards stability will be smooth.<sup>35</sup> When the military does not interfere with the civil rights of people it increases the confidence of the citizens who pursue cohesion at very cost. By protecting civil rights, the military increases the chances of harmony as people are free to interact and engage in their activities with absolute freedom.<sup>36</sup> People will live in harmony there is no

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<sup>34</sup> Oliver Richmond. *A Post-Liberal Peace* (UK: Routledge, 2011), 199.

<sup>35</sup> Elisabeth Porter. *Peace building: Women in International Perspective* (Oxon, UK: Routledge, 2007), 67.

<sup>36</sup> Roger Mac Ginty, *Int'l Peace Building & Local Resistance* (UK); Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, 56

section of the society that is oppressed or denied of their rights. The military ought to preserve the rights of every citizen as a way of creating a culture of harmony. During their operations, the military have several opportunities to guard and protect the rights of the people. However, in cases where people's rights are biased it is easy for rebellion to emerge. Such rebellion reduces the effectiveness of building cohesion in a country. When there are complaints regarding military exercises, the chances of success in transitioning becomes low. There must be oneness in the guarantee towards people's rights and access to opportunities. Civil rights have informed several laws that seek to ensure that every member of the society is treated equally. The military has the power and capacity to protect the rights of the citizens. In their role of guaranteeing effective transitions to stability, the rights of every citizen must be guaranteed as a confidence building measure towards success.

#### **2.4.4 Respecting Civilian Authority**

Under democratic ideals, the military is supposed to operate under civilian authority implying that the role of the army is often subservient to democratically elected leaders. Since military rule is considered divisive and unrepresentative, their operations must be in line with the democratic ideals as a way of maintaining stability. Although they are tasked with the responsibility of maintaining national security, Defence and sustainable development, the military should respect civilian rule as a way of promoting national cohesion. The political leadership is considered representative because it represents the will of the people. Cases of military usurping power only increase division and ethnic hatred. During crises the military should play an important role in increasing stability by ushering in civilian government. A typical example is when the Egyptian military overthrew former President Mohamed Morsy of

the Muslim Brotherhood, the military immediately stabilised the country new president was sworn-in and peace, political stability and cohesion were returned in the country.

## **2.5 The Role of the Military in Peace-building in East Africa**

The role of the military in peace building is quite notable in East Africa where there are several examples of how peace building efforts are facilitated by the military. In Uganda the constant strife was solved by military intervention at some point to build the stable Uganda of today. In Uganda Yoweri Kaguta Museveni ascended to power through a military revolutionary struggle that toppled military junta of Gen Tito Okello Rutwa, but later resolved to build a democratic state. With the help of the military Uganda is a much stable and economic vibrant country. Rwanda immediately after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi became a centre of conflict mainly caused by the insurgency of defeated former government army and militias known as Interahamwe who consistently attacked the country from DRC. The civil war had destroyed the democratic institutions and left the country susceptible to unending cycle of war. Following the end of the genocide the next big task was that of building peace. Yet it has not been possible to build peace using civil means as the country had been devastated. The military became the only solution towards transition from war to peace.

### **2.5.1 Peace-Building through Sports**

Sports are a tool of peace-building because it is used to offer practical ways through which a conducive environment for people to come together, work or play together and show respect.<sup>37</sup> During military games or national sports events both members of the military and the civilian population interact, share platforms, space and resources for a common good. Sport has

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<sup>37</sup> Pelle Kvalsund, “*Sport as a tool for peace-building and reconciliation*”, Input Paper for the Break-Out Session. 2nd Magglingen Conference, 2005.

been used to reduce tensions, avert conflict and develop models for reconciliation. During sports events everybody matters and the events attract people from all walks of life thus being a platform for peace-building. Sports cement the path to reconciliation by creating an opportunity for people with different opinions, backgrounds and cultures to be together. Through such events it is possible to embark on a path of justice, healing, forgiveness and resilience. Sport is a proven tool for building national peace and security, specifically in periods following the end of an elongated conflict. Sport is an important partner in fostering social integration, reconciliation and resilience thus building national peace.<sup>38</sup>

### **2.5.2 Remaining Neutral**

One of the most important qualities of a military in transitioning a country to stability as well as nurturing harmony is neutrality. The army should always be neutral in their functions particularly during heightened political activities. When there are political problems in countries that threaten their stability, the military should not be biased. During intervention in political crises the military should not serve any partisan interest because it will increase the hostility within the country. The military should not be used by despotic regimes to perpetrate crimes towards its people. A strong and independent military will inspire confidence among the people thus go ahead in building cohesion. A country transitioning to stability is usually vulnerable to anything. When the military respects the rule of law and acts in the interests of the country it increases the chances of a smooth and successful transition to stability.

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<sup>38</sup> Keim, M. *“Nation building at play: Sport as a tool for social integration in post-Apartheid South Africa”* Oxford: Meyer & Meyer Sport, 2003.

## **2.6 The Strategies of Peace Building**

The military directly or indirectly contributes through peace building through a diversity of strategies that comprise of guaranteeing national security, poverty eradication, protecting natural environment and managing civil strife. Through one or a combination of these functions the military creates a platform through which a society can come together and live in harmony. As a custodian of national sector, safety and Defence, the military oats an important role in generating an atmosphere through which peace building becomes possible. Although the military may not directly engage in peace building activities, its overall roles in nurturing stability, securing the nation and responding to various crises pre-empts wars thus generating peace.

### **2.6.1 Guaranteeing National Security**

Through the strategic efforts of building military power to guarantee national security, the military plays an important role in building peace. Since peace underscores the absence of war, by simply ensuring that there is no war, the military helps the country to achieve peace. In recent times there has been a growing tendency towards increasing the Defence budgets on governments. This has been contributed by the increase in national security threats particularly aggressive states and terrorism. The military conducts consistent surveillance and intelligence generating to ensure that any threat to national security is thwarted. These strategic steps increase the development of peace because war is averted.

### **2.6.2 Poverty Eradication**

The military's role in sustainable development involves the eradication of poverty among citizens. The aim of this function is the empowerment of citizens to increases their economic ability to access resources for living. Through this process, it is convenient to curtail any kind of

national revolution that directly emanates from the lack of resources or economic empowerment. A hungry man is an angry man and it is not possible for poverty stricken people to live in peace. The military tries to help poor societies eradicate the menace by accessing their share of the national cake as well as accessing resources that are crucial to their economic empowerment. When every member of the society easily access the necessary resources for survival there will be peace.

## **2.7 Challenges faced by the Military in Peace Building**

There are several challenges that impinge the role of the military in peace building. Most of these challenges involve the incidences and situations that increase hostility and make it difficult for peace to be established. The challenges comprise of terrorism, civil strife, political stability and emerging crimes like human trafficking, drug tracking, and cyber-crimes.

**Terrorism:** terrorism is one of the biggest threats to peace globally on account of the fact that it undermines global and national security. Acts of terrorism create uncertainty; destroy property and causes death thus hampering peace. It becomes difficult for the military to indulge in any activities of peace building under the shadows of terrorism.

**Civil strife:** civil animosity and strife is a great cause of war and instability in a country thus destroying any chance of peace building. Peace underscores the state of calm yet strife of any kind is the opposite of this. When there is civil strife no activities towards peace building can be achieved or executed.

**Political instability:** political instability redirects the energies, resources and time towards war thus denying a country a chance to concentrate on peace building. A political unstable country is not viable because there is no rule of law which undermines the processes of nurturing lasting peace. Such a situation increases the likelihood of war.



**Crime:** crime undermines national security and social order thus increasing unpredictability within a country. High levels of crime pose a huge threat to peace. When a country experiences high levels of crime, it is difficult to concentrate on the tasks of building peace.

## **2.8 Summary**

The role of the military in peace building across the world is well documented as the military continues to play an important role in nurturing harmony and calmness within nations. The military as an institution of war has been reformed to involve many other tasks like peace building. In modern societies the military is a crucial partner in peace building. From the industrialized to the developing world ranging from the western societies to Asian countries and Africa, the military continues to help countries nurture peace and harmony within. In Africa the military's role in peace building is well exemplified in countries like Rwanda, Uganda, Egypt, Nigeria and Zimbabwe.

## **CHAPTER THREE: THE RATIONALE AND NATURE OF PEACE-BUILDING ACTIVITIES BY MILITARY IN RWANDA BETWEEN 1994-2016**

### **3.1 Introduction**

Part of the mission of the Rwandan Defence Forces (RDF) in accordance with article 173 of the constitution of the Republic of Rwanda includes contributing to humanitarian activities in case of disasters and participating in country's economic development as well as participation in international peace-keeping missions<sup>39</sup>. The RDF's constitutional mandate of protecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity is valueless if it does not translate into sustainable security for Rwandan people. As the primary responsibility of defending the territorial integrity and ensuring national sovereignty is increasingly becoming assured, the RDF has therefore seized the opportunity to focus on contributing to human security and national socio-economic development. It is against this background that the RDF has been involved in various activities in support of national economic development.

Through its guiding principles and values, the RDF participates in peace building in Rwanda, regional, African and the rest of the world at large. The role of the RDF in peace building in Rwanda has been notable following the end of 1994 genocide against Tutsi. Following the ceasing of hostilities after the bloody civil war and genocide, the military remained the strongest institution in the country that was called upon to start the delicate process of building the social-economic, peace and stability of the country.<sup>40</sup> The civil war in Rwanda left the country divided and destroyed and peace was seen as an important resource towards development and national security. It was upon the army to create an environment that will

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<sup>39</sup> Rwanda Defence Force; the Bedrock of National Transformation *2017 Army Week in Perspective*

<sup>40</sup> Ibis

facilitate the development of the country.<sup>41</sup> The formation of a blended military through the incorporation of rebel groups after the war created a strong sense of commitment among the servicemen regarding the cause of peace. The major aim of creating the one strong military through the incorporation of the warring sides was to increase the chances of achieving peace.<sup>42</sup>

The genocide that ended in 1994 was an eye-opener regarding the importance of peace in the East African country. It became apparent to the Rwandan establishment that peace is the most important resource towards national cohesion and economic development. This made the military to embark on a delicate process of ensuring that the post-genocide Rwanda was anchored on the tenets of peace. The inherent dimensions and causes of the genocide also influenced the military's decision to categorically prioritize peace building. The political divergence between the Hutus and Tutsis was the main reason why the war ensued. The military engaged in facilitating sustainable development in the country through poverty eradication and emergency relief, the military endeavoured to create a response mechanism that will make ethnic differences irrelevant in the East African country.

In understanding the role of Rwandan military in peace building from 1994 to 2016 can be understood through the proper evaluation of the genocide, its causes and the agreement ending the war. Through such understanding it will be possible to develop a correct framework of peace building in Rwanda. During this period, the RDF has been involved in various activities aimed at building lasting peace in the East African country. Among these activities include sports, healthcare, economic development, sports and disaster response.

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<sup>41</sup> Andersson, Ruben; Weigand, Florian (2015). "Intervention at Risk: The vicious cycle of distance and danger in Mali and Afghanistan". *Journal of intervention and state building*. 9 (4): 519–541.

<sup>42</sup> Rotimi, K. "Political violence & social insecurity". *www.nigeriatel.com Webster (1993): New World Dictionary, Oxford University Press Inc. New York, U.S.A, 2011*

### **3.2 The Post-Genocide Era**

The Rwandan military embarked on a process of restoring peace in Rwanda after the end of 1994 genocide against Tutsi. This marked the beginning of a new era of reconstruction of the country which could not take place in an environment of hostilities. The escalation of ethnic hostilities during the civil war destroyed the harmony of the Rwandan society thus making it necessary those efforts towards rebuilding the country. Therefore, the RDF perfected the art of peace building predominantly following the 1994 genocide. From 1994 the Rwandan Defence Forces lead a peace building mission that has created the foundation for national development and stability. The genocide is the point of reference because it marked the lowest point of humanity and human rights violation in the history of Rwanda. The genocide marked the escalation of violence and war where peace was not given a chance; this incident underscores the importance of peace in any society. Rwanda learnt from the genocide that peace is very important for the existence of any nation and war can destroy a country.

It became necessary for the RDF to indulge in the process of building peace mainly because there was no peace in Rwanda. The RDF was the best entity to undertake this gigantic task because all other civilian bodies had been disfranchised during the war. The military was the only organization with authority and power to undertake any meaningful quest for a peaceful Rwanda. The post genocide era was a very significant period in the history of peace building in Rwanda because it starts from 1994 when the Rwanda Patriotic Front/Army defeated genocidal forces, stopped genocide and instituted government of national unity which marked the beginning of new era of peace and reconciliation as Rwanda wanted to put its war past behind it and chart a new course. Peace building as found to be very important because it underscored the

inherent quest for a country without civil strife. Peace building was also seen as an antidote to ethnic conflicts that had culminated into the genocide.

The RDF integrated all combatants from the genocidal government who did not participate in genocide and other crimes against humanity; this initiative was a cornerstone of national reconciliation and restoration of peace and stability in Rwanda. This plan made the RDF more trusted army by all nationals hence ceasing of hostilities between RDF and ex government forces who were still living in DRC jungles. Therefore, in accepting the role of the military in peace building in Rwanda, it is important to conceptualize the genocide and the post genocide era as important factors. Whereas the genocide was the turning point for Rwanda regarding peace building, the post-genocide era can only be described as a period where Rwanda endeavoured to build a peaceful nation devoid of civil strife and this task was initiated and spearheaded by the RDF. All efforts towards peace building have been undertaken with the genocide in mind implying that the aim is to make Rwanda a different country to prevent the recurrence of the genocide.

### **3.3 The Composition of the Rwandan Defence Forces**

The process of peace building in Rwanda by the RDF started with the composition of the army. This was the first step in ensuring that the military was in the best form to start the process of building peace. Therefore, the composition of the RDF informed the efforts of starting the building of peace. To start with the civil war erupted due to the alienation of part of Rwandan community including in the military forces, where Tutsi, part of the Hutu community and Twa were marginalised. When the RPF started liberation struggle, several political parties were established demanding for democratisation and for government to neutralise them formed different militant groups including notorious Interahamwe who later took an upper hand in

extermination of Tutsi and other opposition Hutu. The implication of this situation is that there was that there were several militant groups in the country that played a role in the escalation of hostilities country.<sup>43</sup>

It was not possible to embark on peace building with a disfranchised military environment. There was need to create harmony in the military establishment as a way of ending war hostilities as well as pre-empting any attempts for the return to war. The framers of the new Rwanda following the war considered the importance of amalgamation of all military factions into one outfit as a way of increasing the voice and effectiveness of the new Rwandan military. At the heart of this proposition was the fact that without a central military that incorporated all factions, war could remain a possibility in Rwanda. In creating a solution to end the war and embark on peace building the strategy of handling people who fought in the civil war was very important. These people and their factions could not be left behind because in such a situation they could undermine the efforts of peace by launching another offensive. It was considered that the constitution of the army was more important than just ending the war. It became important to consider the possibility of a new military outfit that will take up the Defence and peace building efforts in Rwanda.

Therefore, the role of the military in national peace building started with integration of ex government force who did not commit genocide into RDF. The integration of the army was the first step in constituting the RDF in preparation of the significant task of peace building. Peace was first created at the military level by uniting the different military factions that played a role in the civil war. Apparently, the integration of the RDF after the genocide was not new in

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<sup>43</sup> Rotimi K. "*Political violence and social insecurity*". [www.nigeriatel.com](http://www.nigeriatel.com) Webster (1993): New world Dictionary, Oxford University Press Inc, New York, USA, 2011.

Rwanda as it was preceded by the integration of the Rwanda patriotic army (RPA) throughout the quest for inclusivity a model to weaken the morale of the enemy.<sup>44</sup> As a precursor to the building of peace in Rwanda, all the warring factions of the Rwandan nation were united together by the national unity government shortly after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi. The incorporation of all former government forces into the Rwandan Defence Forces was another important strategy of building lasting peace in Rwanda. This model was effective in fully putting the war past behind the new Rwanda through the quest for unity and reconciliation.<sup>45</sup> It is a model that has proved to be successful in Rwanda and can be replicated elsewhere.

The consent model of peace building in Rwanda was adopted as the commencement of a new dawn after the genocide. The 1993 Arusha Peace agreement between the Rwandan government and the Rwanda Patriotic Front lacked the implementation support by government, later instituted by RPF after took over the government in 1994. This marked the integration spirit in which some of the ex-combatant deliberately agreed to end antagonism and join forces. Protocol III which formed part of 1993 Arusha agreement allowed the integration of Rwanda Patriotic Army into the government forces (FAR).<sup>46</sup>

The structure of the Rwanda Defence Forces became an important factor in its ability to build peace throughout the country. The representative formula taken by the framers of the RDF was strategic because all the warring factions in the military were assimilated into the new outfit. This resulted into a stronger military that could be relied upon in making peace a reality. There was no bias in the composition of the RDF thus allowing people from different regions and

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<sup>44</sup> FOCUS (Kigali) “US Ambassador to Rwanda”. Political solution needed to Darfur, March . 2006

<sup>45</sup> Rotimi, K. “Political violence and social insecurity”. [www.nigeriatel.com](http://www.nigeriatel.com) Webster (1993): New World Dictionary, Oxford University Press Inc. New York, U.S.A, 2011

<sup>46</sup> Amnesty International, “ Rwanda reports of extrajudicial executions at Military Detention Center in Mulindi, must be independently investigated”, March 2006

ethnic groups to join and become part of the army. The RDF was acceptable across the board as every part of the country was represented in the military thus improving its chances of promoting peace building in the East African country.<sup>47</sup> The composition granted the RDF the moral authority to undertake the noble task of promoting peace building in the Rwanda. The significance of the RDFs formation can be ground in the fact that Rwanda has a unique history and culture and have had historical ethnic hatred that was introduced by colonial masters in 1930s which was later used by politicians after independence to gain and maintain power. There was no possibility of RDF success if they were to maintain the historical perspective of ethnical differences and view Rwandan in the mirror of ethnic background where one group may be favoured than the other.

### **3.4 RDF and the Peace Building Process**

#### **3.4.1 Sports**

The use of sports in peace building in Rwanda has been rampant and effective after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi and other crimes against humanity that devastated the country and destroyed the existing harmony and unity within a state.<sup>48</sup> Sports were identified by RDF as an element of which could be the foundation of bring unity and reconciliation among Rwandans and boost peace and stability in the country. By the end of 1994 RDF by then RPA had created different teams both men and women among them are; Football, Basketball, Volleyball, Athletics, and Beach volleyball teams among others which incorporated military and civilian

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<sup>47</sup> Ibis

<sup>48</sup> M. Keim, "Nation building at play:sports as a tool for Social Integration in Post-Apartheid South Africa." Oxford: Meyer & Meyer sports, 2003.



personnel.<sup>49</sup> These three teams became so powerful to the extent that they have won several tournaments in African and Eastern and Central African competition, back home, they have perfected in all tournaments that are organized by the country federations.<sup>50</sup>

Sports offer an equal platform where the civilian populations share activities with military officers in their deployments, where competitions are organised on the Provincial and District levels. These arrangements boosts the human side of the military as members of the military interact freely with the civilian population where army Brigades and Battalions teams come together in competitions with Provincial and Districts Authorities' teams in their respective area of responsibilities. In Rwanda this strategy has been very successful because some military factions that were involved in human terror during the genocide period were able to be integrated back in the society through peace and reconciliation process that advocated by armed forces. Survivors of the genocide recall their experiences at the hands of the military characterized by horror and terror where most survivors of the horrific genocide had a very negative purview of the military and in this case, military had lost its credibility among the population. Through sports which are loved by all members of the population, people interact with military officers in sports gear and without their usual armament, compete each other in organised tournaments; share fields and shake hands, and even take photos together. These initiatives assisted military to gain their trustworthy among the civilians and created good image of the military, consequently winning back their credibility which they had lost during the genocide period.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Danielle Beswick. *The role of military in Rwanda: current dynamic and future prospects*. In companion M, Noack P. (Eds) Rwanda Fast Forward. Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2012.

<sup>50</sup> Ibis

<sup>51</sup> Pelle Kvalsund, "*Sport as a tool for peace-building and reconciliation*", Input Paper for the Break-Out Session. 2nd Magglingen Conference, 2005.

Sports have been an important element of peace building with military games being open for civilian participation whenever, civilian teams beat the military teams in sports there is a sense of fulfilment as the army is perceived as vulnerable as the civilian population. The rapport between the military sportsmen and civilian players goes beyond the friendliness between the two to typify how differences are moral and not harmful. Military teams represent the country in international games thus winning various awards for the country. The role of sports in peace building in Rwanda increases the significance of unity, peace and reconciliation by creating an image that the military is also important in other avenues apart from war.<sup>52</sup>

The genocide attitude that portrayed military as an enemy to the civilian population has been erased as more people interact with the civilian side of the military through sporting activities. It is also important to note that sporting activities increase the portrayal of the friendly nature of the government particularly towards the civilian population.<sup>53</sup> Because of such an effect, the RDF has been successful in redeeming its image as the custodian of peace, love and unity in the country. The continued use of sports as a peace building gimmick in Rwanda by the RDF has paid off immensely during the period linking 1994 and 2016.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Ibis

<sup>53</sup> Kyalsund Pelle, "Sports as a tool for peace building and reconciliation", Input paper for the break-out session. 2<sup>nd</sup> Magglingen conference, 2005.

<sup>54</sup> Ibis

RDF 402 BDE SOLDIERS LIFTING INTERGOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTION FOOTBALL  
COMPETITION TROPHY IN 2015



Source: <http://www.rdf.gov.rw> accessed on 23 Feb 2018

### **3.4.2 Improving Public Health**

The role of the military in improving public health in Rwanda has been notable between 1994 and 2016 during which the RDF has engaged on various ways towards improving the health of Rwandans. Public health is a very important part of every society because it affects the quality of life. Healthcare in most developing countries are still very low and in poor status in the sense that in many countries particularly in Africa, healthcare facilities are ill equipped and also have very unskilled personnel.<sup>55</sup> Therefore, the rate of death from treatable illnesses is very high. Rwanda is an example of countries with rudimentary healthcare systems that do not offer high quality services to people. However, military clinics and healthcare units are very much

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advanced in Rwanda and they serve the servicemen and women. The quality of healthcare services offered in military clinics is very high compared to those in public healthcare facilities. The RDF opened its healthcare facilities for members of the public thus increasing their access to high quality healthcare services.<sup>56</sup>

Most people suffering from various illnesses have benefited from military clinics by accessing the advanced services. The military facilities which are located across its various barracks across the country have been serving several people in the country during this period. This development has been very instrumental in promoting peace in Rwanda with several civilians appreciating the military for saving their lives and those of their loved ones. The gesture by the RDF has been taken with great appreciation from members of the public who have been learnt the importance of living at peace with each other. It has opened people's eyes regarding the significance of togetherness and unity among Rwandans.

RDF have been aiding civil population through its Army Week programme, example in 2017 army week, free and specialised treatment countrywide in ophthalmology (eye treatment), Ear Nose and Throat (ENT) treatment, dental care, general surgery, gynaecology, orthopedic surgery, oral and maxillo facial surgery were provided.<sup>57</sup> The medics also carried out voluntary testing for HIV/ AIDS and male circumcision. These specialized consultations and medical operations were done close to patients home excluding issues of transportation, accommodation and other prolonged medical consultation procedures. This has contributed enormously to providing quality health services that are acceptable and accessible to the majority of people.

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<sup>56</sup> Rwanda Defence Force; the Bedrock of National Transformation *2017 Army Week in Perspective*

<sup>57</sup> Ibis

The total number of patients treated was 114,354; while the number of medical operations done 1391. The army week healthcare activities saved 966,785,000 Frw from public accounts.<sup>58</sup> The mobile clinics have been spread to virtually all parts of the country to offers relief and medical services to the unfortunate, also members of RDF have been contributing to the health insurance (Mutuelle de Santé) of the poor populace.<sup>59</sup> These services have been received with great kindness on the part of Rwandans who have fully taken the RDFs message of peace within their hearts. The military mobile clinics use helicopters to ferry medicine and personnel to these areas in specific occasions to help the people overcome diseases and outbreaks. The military also takes part in public immunization and spreading awareness regarding the various healthcare problems as well as educating citizens in how to prevent diseases and healthcare problems. Thee gestures of love, care and concern have increased the stare of peace in Rwanda as diversity has been taken very positively. Healthcare is a very sensitive area particularly for a developing country like Rwanda with poor healthcare systems. The role prayed by RDF in promoting public health has been a cornerstone in increasing the effectiveness of its peace building approaches.

Construction of healthcare capabilities by the Rwandan Defence Forces has increased access to public health by many Rwandans.<sup>60</sup> The military plays a direct role in the construction of healthcare facilities with servicemen volunteering to be masons.

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<sup>58</sup> Ibis

<sup>59</sup> Rotimi, K. "Political Violence and Social Insecurity". [www.nigeriatel.com](http://www.nigeriatel.com) Webster (1993): New World Dictionary, Oxford University Press Inc. New York, U.S.A, 2011

<sup>60</sup> Ibis

CONSTRUCTION OF A HEALTH POST IN HUYE DISTRICT IN ARMY WEEK

2017



*Source: RDF 2017 Army week in Perspective report*

RDF MEDICS PROVIDING FREE EYE TREATMENT TO POPULATION IN 2017



*Source: RDF 2017 Army week in Perspective report*

### **3.4.3 Disaster Response**

During the period linking 1994 and 2016 the RDF had a full-fledged disaster response wing through which activities of offering relief and evacuation for various crises were coordinated.<sup>61</sup> Disasters response is an umbrella term that underscores the activities of offering immediate response in times of crises as a way of helping the people involved to avoid further harm. The role of the military in disaster response is an established practice globally that mainly involves preparation for all kinds of unexpected happenings. In Rwanda, the RDF is well prepared to respond to any kind of crisis whether civil or military. The compound nature of the military makes it capable of responding and helping during all forms of crises. Among the crises

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<sup>61</sup> Beswick D. the role of military in Rwanda: current dynamics and future prospects. In companion Noack M, P (eds) Rwanda fast forward. (Palgrave Macmillan) London, 2012.

that the RDF handles in Rwanda include natural calamities like floods, landslides, earthquakes, strife, wild fire outbreak, epidemics outbreaks, famine and accidents.

Relief distribution during crises is an important element of the RDFs disaster response where various forms of relief are distributed to people in need. Typical examples are military helicopter ambulance evacuation of injuries during continuous bus road accidents along Kigali-Kampala highway, intervention of Military Engineer Brigade during landslides and floods, the 2017 military involvement in pesticide control against armyworm nationwide where military were using Pyrethrum EWC+ pesticide produced by Sopyrwa, a Ministry of Defence affiliated company to contain the fall armyworm.<sup>62</sup>

Evacuation is an important segment of the RDFs disaster response mechanisms which aims at transporting people to safer zones in the event of disaster such a process ensures that the degree of harm or fatality is reduced by taking people away from danger. Examples where evacuation is used is accidents, floods, earthquakes or clashes.<sup>63</sup> The RDF is a member of National Disaster Committee and has a ready team and machinery for this process which ensures that the consequences of the crises are diminished. The RDF has a ready rescue mission involving divers who can rescue drowning people and bring them to safety; such a process reduces the degree of fatality or injury because it is done immediately to ensure that the people involved are safe and sound.<sup>64</sup> Through rescue missions the RDF has gained a reputation as the best in offering relief and rescue processes.<sup>65</sup> This had increased its reputation as a unit that also cares for people.

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<sup>62</sup> Ibis

<sup>63</sup> Ministry of Defence. Genocide Ideology and Denial threats to National Security - Minister James Kabarebe, 2015.

<sup>64</sup> Rotimi, K. "Political Violence and Social Insecurity". www.nigeriatel.com Webster (1993): New World Dictionary, Oxford University Press Inc. New York, U.S.A, 2011

<sup>65</sup> Ibis.



Through its multifaceted disaster response, the RDF has gained acceptance, recognition and acceptance across Rwanda as a champion of peace. The military has entrenched its reputation as a partner for peace by being available at the hour of need. Since the services of rescue, evacuation and relief distribution are spread to every region of Rwanda, the RDF has presented itself as a neutral player towards the peace and unity of Rwanda. The messages of peace spread by the RDF have been taken with kindness because its importance in offering disaster response when crises arise.

#### RDF HELICOPTER RESCUING INJURED CIVILIANS JULY 2010



Source: <http://www.rdf.gov.rw> accessed on 15 Feb 2018

#### **3.4.4 Economic Development**

The RDF has promoted economic development in Rwanda during the period between 1994 and 2016 by opening its Credit and Saving Schemes (Zigama CSS) for the military members and their relatives as membership. Credit and Saving Schemes are very important in

economic development worldwide because they offer opportunity for saving, investment, advice, capacity building and credit. They play an important role in economic development globally and have been described as the engines for community development since they do not require many entry requirements.<sup>66</sup> In Rwanda, the economy is underdeveloped implying that accessing credit from mainstream banks is very difficult and expensive in terms of payback due to higher interest. The use of Credit Saving Schemes has been heralded as the best way towards consolidating communal potential towards credit an investment. Military Credit and Saving Schemes are more established and stable in the sense that they offer consistent opportunity to save and invest as well as access credit.<sup>67</sup> By opening the Credit Saving Schemes membership to the public the RDF has extended an olive branch to the civilian population to harness the inherent power of military Credit Saving Schemes for their own personal and community development. Many Rwandans have hailed this step because the RDFs Credit Saving Schemes are well endowed and help civilians to increase their ability of financial empowerment.

Through its Zigama Credit Saving Schemes RDF have been providing and sponsoring different rural sector projects like One Cow per family (Girinka Munyarwanda), power saving stoves (Rondereza), Mutual health insurance (Mituelle de Sante') among others, and this has created an image of an institution that is committed towards the development and peace of all Rwandans.<sup>68</sup> Economic development is an important factor in national security because an

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<sup>66</sup> Mark R Duffield. "Risk Management & Fortified Aid Compound: Everyday Life in Post-Interventionary Society". *Journal of Intervention and State building*. 4, 4 (2010): 453–474.

<sup>67</sup> Farah, Paolo Davide; Rossi, Piercarlo. "Energy: Policy, Legal and Social-Economic Issues Under the Dimensions of Sustainability and Security". *World Scientific Reference on Globalisation in Eurasia and the Pacific Rim*, 2015.

<sup>68</sup> Ibis

economically empowered society coexists very well with each other.<sup>69</sup> By extending the Credit Saving Schemes membership to members of the civilian population more especially the specific projects that have been earmarked for supporting rural women development, the RDF has indirectly promoted peace within Rwanda.

#### RDF CREDIT AND SAVING SCHEMES (ZIGAMA CSS) FUNDED GIRINKA PROJECT



*Source: RDF 2017 Army Week in Perspective report*

### **3.4.5 The Construction of Model Villages**

The construction of model villages is another major step by the Rwandan Defence Forces towards attaining peace building ideals through economic development and resettlement of the homeless. There are many model villages that have been constructed to resettle Internally

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<sup>69</sup> Michael Barnett, Hunjoon Kim,; Madalene O'Donnell,; Sitea, Laura. "Peace building: What Is in a Name?" *Global Governance*. 13: (2007) 35–58.

Displaced People (IDPs) as well as improve the housing of Rwandans in general. The commitment of the RDF in improving housing for Rwandans is well captured in the speech by the commander in chief at RWERU IDP Model Village on 4<sup>th</sup> July 2016, where he stated that *“The first phase of liberation struggle was meant to remove bad leadership that led to suffering and genocide in Rwanda. The next phase that we undertook is to engage in activities geared towards liberating Rwandans from another evil- poverty and social distress.”*<sup>70</sup> Through these efforts 2752 houses have been constructed or rehabilitated by the RDF so far. In addition to building houses, the RDF has constructed toilets, classrooms, bridges and roads. By December 2017 386 bridges had been rehabilitated, 390 kilometers of feeder roads rehabilitated, 38 classrooms constructed and 3421 toilets constructed.<sup>71</sup>

#### KAZIRANKARA MODEL VILLAGE IN NYABIHU DISTRICT BUILT BY RDF RESERVE

#### FOR IDPS



*Source: RDF 2017 Army Week in Perspective report*

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<sup>70</sup> Rwanda Defence Force; the Bedrock of National Transformation, *2017 Army Week in Perspective*

<sup>71</sup> Ibis

### **3.4.6 Rwanda Defence Force Fight against Fall Army Worm**

Rwanda Defence Force started national operations for eradicating the Fall Army Worm, a distressing insect that has become a real threat to the national food security. The insects appeared first in NYAMAGABE District (Southern Region) in February 2017, later spread across all the regions of the country. They feed on more than 80 plant species, including cereals (maize, millet, sorghum, sugarcane, rice and wheat among others). The destructive stage of the pest is the caterpillar. It can be identified by its inverted Y mark on the front of the head and four large spots towards the end of the abdomen.

The caterpillar feeds aggressively on most parts of the plant including stems, leaves, tassels, and maize cobs with exception of roots. The signs of damage include leaf perforation, perforated cobs, defoliation, and damaged grains. This feeding damage leads to reduction in both yield and grain quality. Pyrethrum EWC+ is the pesticide that is used by RDF countrywide partnering with farmers in fighting the Fall Army Worm. The pesticide has been designed and produced by SOPYRWA; a Ministry of Defence affiliated company<sup>72</sup>.

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<sup>72</sup> <http://www.rdf.gov.rw> (Accessed on 20 February 2018)

RWANDA DEFENCE FORCE FIGHT AGAINST FALL ARMY WORM IN APRIL 2017



Source: <http://www.rdf.gov.rw> (Accessed on 20 February 2018)

FALL ARMY WORM AFTER BEING SPRAYED BY PYRETHRUM EWC+



Source: <http://www.rdf.gov.rw> (Accessed on 20 February 2018)

### **3.4.7 Rwanda Defence Force participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations**

Peacekeeping operations serve as one of the humanitarian aid effective tools to cope up with emerging human threats to maintain peace and security. Rwanda's commitment to peacekeeping derived from principle of international bodies has a responsibility to avert conflict and to encounter any situation that may threaten international peace and security. This perspective is derived from the experience of UN peace mission in Rwanda during 1994 genocide against Tutsi and disappointment of the international community on intervention and protection of innocent civilians.<sup>73</sup> Rwanda deployed its first peacekeepers to the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) in 2004. The country's involvement in United Nations peacekeeping began with a modest contribution in May 2005 with the deployment of one military observer to the UN Mission in Sudan (UNMIS).

Today, Rwanda is among the largest Troops and Police Contributing Country (T/PCC) to UN peacekeeping mission, with about 5,136 troops, 978 police, and 32 military observers in 6 UN Missions, including the AU/UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID); UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS); the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH); the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL); the UN Interim Security Force in Abyei (UNISFA); and the UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI), UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA)<sup>74</sup>.

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<sup>73</sup> Ibis

<sup>74</sup> <http://rwandaun.org/site/un-peacekeeping/>

PEACEKEEPERS PATROLLING THE STREETS OF BANJUL (CENTRAL AFRICA  
REPUBLIC) 2017



Source: <http://rwandaun.org/site/un-peacekeeping/>: Accessed on 15 Feb 2018

### **3.5 Summary**

The RDF as a partner in peace building in Rwanda has been successful in this task for the period between 1994 and 2016. The multifaceted methods used by the military to promote peace have been very successful in creating a peaceful nation particularly in light of the genocide period that divided the country. Because of the efforts of the RDF, Rwanda has fully overcome the genocide tensions as well as created a very peaceful East African country. War and civil animosity are unheard of in Rwanda because of the efforts of RDF in promoting peace. The current state of peace in Rwanda is directly attributable to the many strategies of peace building espoused by the RDF. The role played by the RDF in peace building during this period is responsible for the advanced level of peace, unity and national identity of Rwanda.



## **CHAPTER FOUR: EXTENT TO WHICH MILITARY HAS CONTRIBUTED TO PEACE-BUILDING IN RWANDA DURING 1994-2016**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The role of the Rwandan Defence Forces (RDF) in peace building has been felt throughout the world, being the second in Africa and fourth worldwide largest troops contributing country to United Nations Missions. After the 1994 tragedy and subsequent defeat of insurgency caused by Democratic Force for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) and INTERAHAMWE militias from jungles of DRC, Rwanda is a much peaceful country due to the role and determination of the RDF in cultivating peace within. In the vast east African country, Rwanda remains an epitome of peace joining countries like Kenya and Tanzania in maintaining peace. There has been a steady improvement of peace in Rwanda from 1994 and 2016. When comparing the state of peace in Rwanda during the period between 1994 and 2016, the genocide is the point of reference, first it must be acknowledged that 1994 was the time when Rwanda was going through the roughest period in its history; the genocide.<sup>75</sup>

During this time peace was nonexistent as the elements of civil strife still lingered in the minds of Rwandans. Although the war was over by the end of 1994, Rwandans remained disunited due to the factor that elements of former government forces and INTERAHAMWE militias remained armed across the border in DRC with intentions of coming back and execute their genocide ideology. This period was also marked by the series of incursions between the insurgency and RDF which further divided population, those who had a hope from the insurgency and supporting them and those who had the scars of genocide and supported government forces. After the defeat of insurgency forces, and subsequent repatriation,

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<sup>75</sup> Amnesty International. 'Rwanda further information on fear for safety/possible "disappearance"/ incommunicado, detention, March 2004.

demobilisation and re-integration of willing former government forces into national army, the country started enjoying peace and stability. The efforts of peace process that started immediately after the genocide started being felt in the years that followed the defeat of insurgency forces in the year 1999 as the RDF took initiatives beyond security and Defence to create togetherness among Tutsi and Hutus. It is apparent that by 2016 Rwanda was one peaceful nation irrespective of the many political, social and economic challenges facing the country. The political differences among Rwandans have not in any way separated them across tribes. This is an indication of the success of peace building efforts spearheaded by the RDF.

#### **4.2 The Extent of Peace**

Rwanda has enjoyed relative peace, political stability, national security and economic development after the genocide of 1994 against Tutsi and its aftermath insurgency that plunged the country into prolonged instability until 1999.<sup>76</sup> It is also during this period that there was continuous repatriation and re-integration of all ex- combatants from Democratic Republic of Congo into the Rwandan armed forces. This made it possible for the government to embark on a path of national building. Throughout this period, the role of the military was notable as it remained the single most authoritative organ in the country to oversee the process of not only security change, but also social-economic and political. The most notable figure throughout the process of military peace-building was the current President Paul Kagame who rose through the ranks to become the most decisive figure of the transition of Rwanda from political instability to peace and prosperity. Rwanda is currently in the path for growth and development as it has accomplished many strides that include gender equality, inclusiveness, political participation and third least corrupt country in Africa and 48<sup>th</sup> worldwide with its capital city Kigali being the

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<sup>76</sup> Ibis

most cleanness city in Africa. Currently, Paul Kagame is a democratically elected president who reigns as a civil leader.

### **4.3 The Reconciliation Process**

The success of peace building efforts in Rwanda is well epitomized by the reconciliation process that has been at the forefront in entrenching peace among native Rwandans. The reconciliation process that took effect after the genocide has been at the centre of all activities in the sense that the efforts towards creating an equal level playing field have resulted in a more tolerant Rwanda. Reconciliation took place at two levels namely within the military ranks through the incorporation of former government forces and militias into the RDF and within the communities where the genocide perpetrators were encouraged to accept their role in genocide and seek for forgiveness from the survivors of genocide and both were encouraged to bury the hatchet and live together in harmony.<sup>77</sup>

The truth of the matter is that although peace building is a long process to attain which require more time for both survivors and perpetrators of genocide, Rwanda's peace and reconciliation processes have been effective in increasing the bond within the Rwandan national fabric. Both at the military and community level, reconciliation has made Rwanda one nation that is capable of pooling the resources together towards a better country. Among the many indications of success in peace building in Rwanda involves the advent of democracy where both Hutus and Tutsis participate in the national political discourse. The election of leaders during general elections is one of the signs that Rwanda has made gains towards peace building following the end of the genocide. There are very little genocide ideology prevailing more

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<sup>77</sup> Autesserre, Severine. *Peaceland: Conflict resolution and the everyday politics of international intervention*. UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014

especially among those who left the country in 1994 and live outside the Rwanda who never got chance to undergo truth, justice and reconciliation programme. The notion of Ndi Umunyarwanda in other words “I am a Rwandan” is the utmost example of a true Rwandan spirit.<sup>78</sup>

Ndi Umunyarwanda is about re-generation of Rwandan identity or “ubunyarwanda” that were shattered over decades of racial-discrimination and ethnic politics. The implementation of Ndi Umunyarwanda provides an opportunity to uproot the legacy of genocidal ideology and awful ethnic based politics, and form a strong, united, tolerant nation benchmarked on a democratic, responsive, and accountable state where each citizen is regarded as an important stakeholder.<sup>79</sup> It forms the strong base for national unity and reconciliation. Rwandans has chosen to form a strong bond of a shared language, culture, norms, values, and practices which provides the foundation for rebuilding their identity and nation. Therefore, the reconciliation process is at the core of peace-building in Rwanda whose success is directly visible in every sense. Thanks to reconciliatory efforts Rwanda managed to become one nation, ruled by one government and with one unified military. The fact that the development of public institutions at the national level led to joint service delivery to all citizens facilitated the attainment of peace in the vast country, it is apparent that reconciliation has attained great peace for Rwandan but some challenges still prevail that should be pursued. Rwanda should keep taking this path for the sake of success in future.

Reconciliation within the military was the first process of creating a peaceful and stable Rwanda following the end of the genocide and subsequent insurgency war. Since the civil war was fought by different rebel factions, the creation of a single Rwandan Defence Forces was a

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<sup>78</sup> Ibis

<sup>79</sup> Ibis

cornerstone of building trust and confidence among Rwandans which became the true foundation for unity and reconciliation in the military. The RDF was able to break the ground and create moral cohesion to spearhead the peace building process from its representative nature. Rwanda Defence Forces peace and reconciliation initiative became the link that binds together the Rwandan values of unity, patriotism, integrity, self-worth (Agaciro), perseverance and self-sufficiency. Those values that define Rwandans ever since were destroyed over decades through discrimination and politics of hatred. Rwandans have got the responsibility to cultivate, promulgate and rebuild those values in order to strengthen the society and nation.<sup>80</sup>

The efforts towards communal or social reconciliation also played an significant role in creating the current state of peace in Rwanda. It was not possible to build one nation with cohesion in Rwanda after the genocide without seeking to reconcile the members of the society. Consistent efforts to put the genocide and its animosity behind targeted communities that were affected by the war lead to great healing and reconciliation in the country. Healing process through reconciliation was backed by political, military, social and economic gains to cement the quest for oneness in the East African country.

The current peace being experienced in Rwanda is an evidence of important reconciliation can help in creating a cohesive nation. Although more needs to be done to foster more peace in Rwanda, the current state is much different from what was there after the genocide. Rwandan continues to be an emblem of peace for countries that have faced genocide or civil war. Ultimately, RDF peace and reconciliation initiative helped to deracinate genocide ideology, culture of impunity and defuse genocide denial. It acts as a deterrent to political

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<sup>80</sup> Ruben Andersson and Florian Weigand,. "Intervention at Risk: The Vicious Cycle of Distance and Danger in Mali and Afghanistan". *Journal of Intervention and State building* (9, 4. 2015: 519–541).

speeches that stalks hatred, any form of divisionism, discrimination of any kind and draw a clear redline for politicians who promote such practices, eliminating any form of discrimination that may poison the Rwandan society

#### **4.4 The Genocide Memorial**

The genocide memorial is a symbol of peace in Rwanda because it brings people from all walks of life, ranks and community together to remember the war that tore the national fabric.<sup>81</sup> Since everybody attends this memorial, it indicates how peace has been cultivated in Rwanda to the extent of sharing painful memories of the past. The genocide memorial held every year in Rwanda has been used to call for peace by reminding Rwandans what war can do to a country. This has become an element of peace in Rwanda with government officials, military and citizens attending a gathering to remember the darkest moment in its history. Through this ceremony, it has been possible to rally Rwandans together for a peaceful quest because both Hutus and Tutsis lost their loved ones during the war. Such efforts have contributed to peace in Rwanda as it creates an impression that peace is all that a country needs.<sup>82</sup> The vivid memories of the genocide are figurative elements that remind Rwandans that war does not benefit anyone.<sup>83</sup>

This ritual has created a national consciousness for reconciliation and forgiveness but also heightened the quest for justice. The existence of several litigation processes for the people who masterminded mass murder during the genocide is an adequate indication of how Rwanda is using justice to create peace. The people who suffered during the genocide feel relieved when justice is done through the sentence of the perpetrators of the bloody genocide. The state of

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<sup>81</sup> Ibis

<sup>82</sup> Ibis

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peace in Rwanda is a function of several factors that have been in play since the war ended. The role of the RDF cannot be underestimated on account of the fact that as the only stable and strong institution after the genocide, it took authority over peace building and has facilitated a good process of bringing Rwandans together. The military has served Rwandans fairly and with dedication to make them believe that peace is possible in the aftermath of war.<sup>84</sup>

#### **4.5 Economic Equality**

One of the indicators of the success of peace building in Rwanda is economic equality which has become synonymous with the East African country between 1994 and 2016. Although Rwanda has faced numerous economic and security challenges during this period, it remains a growing economic giant that empowers people of all kinds. The various economic peace building efforts by the RDF that include rural women empowerment and social-economic support through its Credit and Saving Scheme (Zigama CSS) and economic awareness have been successful in empowering Rwandans of all kinds irrespective of their creed, gender, ethnicity and ideology.<sup>85</sup> This has made Rwanda an epitome of economic prosperity within a very short time from war.

The economy of Rwanda has become competitive with other countries in Africa that have enjoyed relative peace since independence. Equality in economic empowerment is only synonymous with political stability.<sup>86</sup> Having been a politically unstable country in 1994 during the war, Rwanda quickly embraced in a process of creating peace as a precursor to economic growth. A typical example is gender equality and women empowerment in social-economic development and decision making levels of governance, Rwanda boasts as one of the few

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<sup>84</sup> Rwanda Defence Force; the Bedrock of National Transformation, *2017 Army Week in Perspective*

<sup>85</sup> Ibis

<sup>86</sup> Ibis

developing countries that have achieved gender parity regarding jobs and economic empowerment. Yet during the war time women were in the receiving end regarding social economic and political participation. Rwanda economic development index coincides with the elements of equality and inclusivity thanks to the relatively peaceful state. The peace building efforts by the RDF have paid off as the country's economic development trajectory remains robust.<sup>87</sup>

#### **4.6 Social Inclusion**

The success of peace building in Rwanda as evidenced by the current state of peace is well epitomized by the elements of social inclusion in the East African country. Rwanda has become a socially inclusive society a direct contradiction to the civil war era where ethnic exclusion ruled. In Rwanda, entities or entire population are systematically allowed to access or exercise rights, opportunities and resources (e.g. housing, employment, healthcare, civic engagement, democratic partaking and due process) are normally available to members of society and which are key to social integration. Vivid examples being the Mutual Health Insurance project, where every Rwandan citizen is entitled to be covered by insurance and government Twelve years Universal free Education System. Thanks to peace building efforts orchestrated by the RDF, the country has managed to overcome its heightened civil animosity among the Hutus and Tutsis.<sup>88</sup> In Rwanda citizens have learned to live with each other as a gesture of seeking to rebuild their country from the shackles of the genocide. Rwanda has created social harmony and inclusivity in every aspect as a way of building a strong national fabric. The

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<sup>87</sup> Severine Autesserre. *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of International Intervention* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 532.

<sup>88</sup> Rwanda Defence Force; the Bedrock of National Transformation, *2017 Army Week in Perspective*



success of these efforts point towards the effectiveness of peace building as the country enjoys relative peace.

#### **4.7 Political Stability**

Over twenty four years after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, Rwanda is politically stable, with consistently strong economic growth and managing the country's substantial development assistance revenues effectively and transparently.<sup>89</sup> Crime rate is minimal low, the capital Kigali is remarkable for its orderliness, and government articulate its vision of national reconciliation through development and service delivery which has won accolades from the international community. President Paul KAGAME'S accreditation for restoring peace and order in Rwanda, has earned him another 7 years third and last term after being persuaded by more than four million Rwandans including majority of opposition parties that offered to give him an extension of one more term. Thanks to peace building efforts by the Rwandan Defence Forces (RDF), Rwanda is a politically stable country. The country's political stability emerges from increased democratization of the country's politics as everyone is allowed to participate in the political discourse.<sup>90</sup>

#### **4.8 National Security**

Insecurity situation engulfed Rwanda in 1996, as former government soldiers and Interahamwe militia crossed borders with the intent of continuing genocide ideology and destabilising Rwanda from the jungles of Democratic Republic of Congo. Rwanda's boldness to the role of military in maintaining national security becomes its "interventionist" foreign policy

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<sup>89</sup> Ibis

<sup>90</sup> Ruben Andersson and Florian Weigand,. "Intervention at Risk: The Vicious Cycle of Distance and Danger in Mali and Afghanistan". *Journal of Intervention and State building* (9, 4. 2015: 519–541).

outlook. This rests on an interpretation of sovereignty as being primarily defined by responsibility to fulfil basic criteria of statehood rather than reflecting absolute rights to non-intervention.

It is demonstrated most clearly in Rwanda's use of military power in the DRC and in peacekeeping, but also in its posture on other security crises intervention in Africa and beyond. Given the state of insecurity that was prevailing in Rwanda, the government of national unity had to ensure that peace and security prevails by integrating and forming a coherent National Defence Force. Bringing together the former Government Administrative Police (Gendarmarie) and the RPA soldiers with training assistance of UN Forces in Rwanda, a strong police force was established to take over the national police duties and responsibilities. The demobilised soldiers formed Local Defence Units in all Districts and Provinces which reinforced Rwanda's security. The strategy of integrating former government soldiers into a coherent RDF played a key role in achieving national peace and reconciliation.<sup>91</sup>

Rwanda is a stable country with great national security in the sense that the country is not vulnerable to various elements from within or outside. Following the espousal of peace building efforts coupled with national reconciliation, the national security of Rwanda can be described as fine. Although the country has been facing some terrorism acts especially grenade attacks in different parts of country including capital Kigali in recent past, they have all been dealt with accordingly.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Rwanda Defence Force; the Bedrock of National Transformation, *2017 Army Week in Perspective*

<sup>92</sup> Ibis

#### **4.9 Rwanda's Peace building Lessons**

Achieving total peace cannot be assembled elsewhere; it should be a home grown solutions. National ownership is superseding because populations must be fully accountable for the implementation of peace and security because they are custodian of peace. Rwanda's peace and reconciliation process has indicated that the peace building is positive-sum game; there is no spoilers nor losers. Everybody is a winning shareholder in the post-conflict situation. In order to thrive in peace and development, local capacity especially in security and defence must be given priority. Capacity building must give courage to say "no" to what is wrong and defend what is right before the authoritarian and patronizing international community.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Amnesty International: 2004, "Rwanda further info on fear for safety and possible disappearances/incommunicado/ detention", 16<sup>th</sup> March 2004.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: CHALLENGES ENCOUNTERED BY MILITARY IN PEACE-BUILDING IN RWANDA DURING 1994-2016**

### **5.1 Introduction**

Peace building and national reconciliation requires home-grown solutions, of which Rwanda adopted after the 1994 genocide against Tutsi. Over one million people had been killed and over 3 million were displaced as refugees in neighbouring countries, and many more – about 3.5 million– were internally displaced.<sup>94</sup>

There was countless number of orphans, widows, thousands of handicapped people and generally a very susceptible and traumatised population. The country's law and order was totally broken down. Unaccountable atrocities were still going on in some parts of the country and all national law enforcement organizations and legal institutes no longer existed the justice administrative system of had come to a standstill. Social - economic infrastructure had been completely collapsed and economic indicators showed a desperate conditions, where inflation was almost 1000 percent, and most economic activity was completely broken down. Government of National Unity made a consensus of establishing national institutions, including the military.<sup>95</sup>

Rwanda's military institutional building was hinged on former government forces where they were fully incorporated in the spirit of the 1993 Arusha Peace Agreement between the RPF and the Government of Rwanda. Protocol III of the Arusha agreement provides for integration of the Rwanda Patriotic Army with Forces Armées Rwandaises (FAR). Although military faced numerous challenges in its role of facilitating peace building in

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<sup>94</sup> Rwanda Defence Force; the Bedrock of National Transformation, *2017 Army Week in Perspective*

<sup>95</sup> Ibis

Rwanda during the period between 1994 and 2016, but a remarkable success has been made by the military in accomplishment of this noble task. It was virtually impossible to achieve this task without building peace in a country divided by civil animosity in the course of the civil war. Therefore, the military was tasked with peace building since it was the only organized institution in the country. In the aftermath of war, peace can be elusive and Rwanda has not been an exertion.<sup>96</sup> The country had all the residues of war stemming from civil and ethnic strife. Building peace among people living with suspicions against each other was not easy. It is apparent therefore that the military had a fair share of challenges right in the beginning of its task to build peace in the East African nation.

The challenges faced by the RDF during the period between 1994 and 2016 are multifaceted in the sense that they comprise of political issues, social issues, legal issues, economic issues, governance issues, security issues and educational. In examining the challenges facing the RDF in peace building in Rwanda, it is necessary to look at how the various issues caused hindrances in the attainment of peace in the country. In the process of examining these challenges, it is necessary to consider that after the genocide, Rwanda was divided as Hutus and Tutsis perceived each other with great suspicion. The mass killing of many people left several wounds in the hearts of the society. Since the war was fought along ethnic lines, Hutus and Tutsis were reading from two different scripts. Therefore, the challenges facing the RDF in peace building revolve around the state of peace, security and unity in the country following the genocide.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Ibis

<sup>97</sup> Rwanda Defence Force; the Bedrock of National Transformation, *2017 Army Week in Perspective*

## 5.2 Politics and Governance Issues

Politics, power and governance issues have been the major problems facing Rwanda in its quest to rebuild peace after a protracted war period. In essence, Rwanda faced several challenges immediately after embracing in the process of building peace in 1994 because of the underlying conflicts pitting the two sides of the civil war and genocide. The process of peace-building in Rwanda by the Rwandan Defence Forces faced several challenges during the period between 1994 and 2016 because of the state of the country. It must be borne in mind that the Arusha Accord of 1993 had proposed a national unity government where power sharing could be the best way of ending the hostilities between the warring factions. However, this did go as per the agreement, instead government resorted to committing genocide after the plane crash of then president Habyarimana, which marked the beginning of the acrimony between two major warring parties in Rwanda.<sup>98</sup>

The Colonial period fuelled and established ethnic hatred; post-independence narrow-minded regimes and bad leadership cultivated hatred and discrimination among Rwandans. The development of a national identity card bearing an individual's tribe meant that a person's tribe was very important in seeing and accessing public services. Since the colonial period and the subsequent independence of Rwanda, the Hutus were the dominant tribe with great power in government and business. The civil war that breakout in 1990 by the Rwandan Patriotic Front/Army was meant to end the impunity, political oppression, corruption, discrimination and marginalization that characterised the Hutu government and provide political freedom, equal rights to all Rwandans including repatriation of 1959 refugees. The RPF/A assembled as a group of Rwandan refugees who had be pushed out of the country by the Hutu barbarian machinery

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<sup>98</sup> Ibis

during the independence era.<sup>99</sup> The Arusha peace accord sponsored by United Nations between the Rwandan Government and Rebel group RPF failed because of distrust among the signatories, lack of support by international community due to diverging interest, security concerns related to the process of demobilisation, challenges of integrating the militaries among others.

The 1994 genocide was the uttermost of a long historical ideology that focused on racial discrimination, inciting ethnic hatred. The colonial period was built on social engineering and institutionalisation of discrimination and ethnic divisions and hatred under the colonial policy of divide and rule.<sup>100</sup> The hematic myth which gave birth to the Hutu-Tutsi dichotomy was spread during that period.

Difficulties in building peace in Rwanda by the RDF were mainly caused by the fact that the existing ideology and hatred between ethnicity is entrenched in the history of Rwanda thus making it very difficult for a perfect reconciliation to take place. Although the RDF has achieved a lot in its peace building efforts, it is apparent that some elements still possess a genocidal ideology which makes reconciliation this process very difficult to address.<sup>101</sup> After ceding power the Government of National Unity chose Pasteur Bizimungu, as President with Paul Kagame the vice President and Faustin Twagiramungu as Prime Minister, this was in line with Arusha peace accord of power sharing.<sup>102</sup> However, there were several disagreements within the ranks of government that were mostly attributed to corruption and external influence which lead to resignation of Prime Minister and later on the President in the year 2000.

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<sup>99</sup> IBIS

<sup>100</sup> Ruben Andersson and Florian Weigand, "Intervention at Risk: The Vicious Cycle of Distance and Danger in Mali and Afghanistan". *Journal of Intervention and State building* (9, 4. 2015: 519–541).

<sup>101</sup> Ibis

<sup>102</sup> Ibis

### **5.3 Peace Building in Rwanda**

The RDF faces numerous challenges in its role of facilitating peace building in Rwanda particularly following the end of the genocide. Most of these challenges involve the inherent traces of civil animosity, national security challenges, political instability, external actors, unity and reconciliation of genocide perpetrators and survivors, peace and justice, genocide ideology and denial, poverty and unemployment. Although Rwanda has made several steps since the end of the civil war, the task of peace building the country has been challenged by the aforesaid factors. The Rwandan government continues to forge ways of facilitating peace building in the wake of the challenges.<sup>103</sup> As President Paul Kagame well said: *“We cannot turn the clock back nor can we undo the harm caused, but we have the power to ensure that what happened never happens again”*. The concept of peace building in Rwanda is about national obligation for moulding the future as Rwandans want it. Through this concept, Rwandans have refused to be captives of political ideology and condemned history, but to be builders of a shared future.

### **5.4 Truth and Justice**

The justice system and its infrastructure were destroyed by the genocide and war. Lack of trained personnel and material resources, financial difficulties, and loss of credibility contributed to the deterioration of the legal justice system. With an overwhelming number of accused perpetrators overflowing in the nation’s prisons, it was essential to handle these cases in a timely manner to deliver justice to the survivors and establish the historical narrative.<sup>104</sup> Many judges and lawyers were either exterminated, perpetrators. Ever since the government of national unity took over power, about 120 thousand accused perpetrators were in prison which becomes a

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<sup>103</sup> Rwanda Defence Force; the Bedrock of National Transformation, *2017 Army Week in Perspective*

<sup>104</sup> Ibis



challenge to government. In the year 2003 President KEGAME ordered the release old prisoners and teenagers at the time of the genocide. This was beneficial in many ways, for example, by relieving the burden on family members who had to take food to the prison.

### **5.5 Genocidal Ideology**

There is a solid sense among genocide survivors that a genocide ideology still exists among Rwandans. Majority of population and survivors of genocide believes that defence witnesses want to reduce the extent of genocide crimes. Additionally, an equally large share of survivors believes that there is a “pact of silence” among prisoners who have not confessed and this group also believes that they were executing their duties in committing genocide. These views are generally rejected by prisoners even though there is still a significant minority of prisoners who agree that there is a “pact of silence,” and that a genocidal ideology might live on among certain groups. Despite these hopes for future reconciliation, other limitations continue to pose challenges to public cohesion. Mainstream of genocide survivors also feels that public testimony during the Gacaca amplifies tensions between families and that those found guilty- ridden of crimes of genocide will always feel resentful.<sup>105</sup>

### **5.6 National Security Challenges**

The 1994 genocide against Tutsi denotes one of the worst failures human in security and the aftermath still resonate through the Great Lakes region of Africa nearly twenty four years. Diverse threats to Rwanda national security includes but not limited to Genocidal

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<sup>105</sup>Ibis

ideology, Truth and Justice, Poverty and Unemployment and Ignorance among others all undermine the process of peace building in Rwanda.<sup>106</sup>

### **5.7 Economic inequality and ethnic identities**

As Rwanda's history dictates, economic inequalities related to ethnic identities was a significant factor in creating initial divisions between two ethnic groups during the colonial period. Economic instability and inequality was traded on through the regimes of Presidents Kayibanda and Habyarimana, thereby affecting the political and social landscape of the nation. After the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, ordinary populace was plunged into extreme poverty and national cohesion was destroyed which halted the already ill developed infrastructure completely hence the increase of extreme poverty and ignorance among Rwandans.<sup>107</sup> This resulted in a severe shortage of professional personnel in all sectors, which is also affected by high illiteracy rates, malnutrition and the prevalence of major diseases such as HIV/AIDS and malaria. Therefore, peace and harmony could not be prevailed in such desperate population.<sup>108</sup>

### **5.8 The Relationship between the victims and perpetrators**

As quickly as the relationships between the Hutu and Tutsi were torn apart, bringing both sides together to work towards the common goal of national development is not as simple. The perceived and actual motives of a Hutu perpetrator may vary depending on the individual, but it is clear that on a systemic level the aggression was born because Hutu power felt threatened by the Tutsi presence. How victims understand the perceived motive of the

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<sup>106</sup> Ibis

<sup>107</sup> Ruben Andersson and Florian Weigand, "Intervention at Risk: The Vicious Cycle of Distance and Danger in Mali and Afghanistan". *Journal of Intervention and State building* (9, 4. 2015: 519–541).

<sup>108</sup> Ibis

perpetrator may help or hinder the process of healing through perceptions of long-term negative consequences.<sup>109</sup> Therefore, RDF understood it from onset that the relationship between the victims of genocide and perpetrators was very indispensable in peace building.

There are several challenges hindering the quest for peace in Rwanda that stem from various factors like historical background, truth and justice, poverty and unemployment, genocidal ideology and issues concerning the national security. The memories of the genocide should be adequate reminder of the importance of peace. Without peace there shall be war, Rwanda should never go back to war again. The struggle for equality should continue in Rwanda as a way of ensuring that everyone is treated with dignity deserved. The sharing of power within government, military and business as an antidote to war should be encouraged. The role of opposition, journalism and the civil society should be acknowledged and accepted by Rwanda. Such initiatives will increase the chances of success in Rwanda regarding peace building. The government should spearhead the fighting for any form of corruption, inequality, oppression and brutality among its institutions as it may be the basis of insecurity. The government and people of Rwanda must remember that the civil war and subsequent genocide were offshoots of political intolerance and brutality, of the previous governments hence the strategies should be developed to prevent similar situation.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Rwanda Defence Force; the Bedrock of National Transformation, *2017 Army Week in Perspective*

<sup>110</sup> Ibis

## **CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **6.1 Summary**

In summary, the role played by military in peace building has been exemplified in many published literature with numerous examples across the world of how the military supports the process of peace-building. This study has investigated the role of the Rwandan Defence Forces in Peace-building in Rwanda between the 1994 and 2016. The objectives of this study revolved around investigating how the Rwandan Defence Forces has participated in peace-building, results, challenges and outcomes. This study concludes that the Rwandan Defence Forces has played an important role in transitioning Rwanda from a war-torn East African country to a peaceful developing country. As a result the role of the military in peace building is well exemplified by the RDF in Rwanda.

### **6.2 Conclusion**

The military plays an important role in peace building particularly in countries that have faced civil war or conflict other than war or war in the past. Although the military is commonly known as an institution of war, it can also be used as an agent of peace. As contradictory as it may seem, there are various example globally of how the military has emerged as a tool of peace building. The examples include the United States, Iraq and Afghanistan among others. The basic rationale of using the military for purposes of peace building is multifaceted because several reasons make the military the best institution to tackle the task of peace building. The first rationale is the strategic position of the military as an institution with great manpower, expertise, experience and energy.

In most cases the military is resorted to as an engine of peace building because of its immense power. The military as an institution has multifaceted skilled personnel who can tackle

virtually every task. The delicate process of peace building within disenfranchised societies can only be tackled by a strong, strategic and multifaceted institution like the military. The military's immense power and machinery plays an important role in carrying out this comprehensive role. Regarding facilities, the military is one of the most endowed agencies implying that it has diverse facilities to deal with any situations. Apart from the arms, militaries have transportation facilities, technical skills, and educational, infrastructure, economic and social amenities. These facilities can easily be employed into the process of peace building to increase the chances of success. Secondly, the process of peace building comes after a period of war or civil strife within a country; therefore, during this time all civil organizations have either been destroyed or weakened. This makes the military the only institution with power thus having the authority to handle the process of rebuilding a country.

The compound nature of peace building requires a well-equipped, strong and powerful institution and after war only the military commands such immense power. This makes the military only organization with the ability to address the tricky task of peace building. In various examples across the world where the military has played an important role in peace building, there was no formal or recognized government to govern the country and the military filled the vacuum by creating the basis upon which democracy can either be launched or reintroduced. As a result, an agent of peace building, the military also plays the role of national reconstruction both politically, economically and socially. The emergence of the military as an instrument of peace building can be traced to the history of war in the modern context where war ravages a country's social, political and economic institutions. War causes instability and renders a country ungovernable.

The only way to transition a country from such chaos to a much better society is through reconstruction. However, after war, there is no basis of reconstruction because everything has been destroyed. This is where the military comes in as a force that seeks to create stability, cultivate unity and serve as an interim government. Even in scenarios where a civil or democratic transitional government is formed, a strong military is always necessary to cushion the new government from instability as well as take up the role of peace building. The US military has played the role of peace building in many countries ravaged by war like Afghanistan and Iraq. In Afghanistan the September Eleventh attacks lead to the US invasion of Afghanistan to topple Taliban and arrest Osama Bin Laden. The result was a country ravaged by war and incapable of picking up the pieces, the US military helped train local army and embarked on the process of peace building and national reconstruction. The tight balancing act involved stabilizing the country as well as keeping the extremists at bay. In Iraq following the invasion of Iraq and eventual toppling of Saddam Hussein, Iraq remained a weak country in need of support.

The military through the help of the US picked up the role of peace building towards stability. From these two examples at the global level, it becomes apparent that the military is an instrument of peace building and this is more pertinent in cases of countries that have experienced war. The military comes in as an authority to lay the foundation of national stability, social harmony and economic development. The impact of the military in peace building globally extends beyond creating peaceful societies to entrenching democratic ideals, social inclusion and economic development.

In Africa there are various examples of how the military has been used as an agent of peace building. The most notable examples include Egypt and Zimbabwe where the military has been the agent of transition and stabilization of the countries after periods of uncertainty. Indeed

Africa is home to several conflicts in the world and remains one of the continents experiencing great political instability and civil war. The military has often come to the rescue of many African countries on the brink of collapse by creating a transition and stabilizing the country. Egypt is a very good example of a country whose military has been in the forefront in peace building as well as national reconstruction.

The Arab spring led to the ouster of Hosni Mubarak through mass protests. After his ouster, a timeline for democratic resumption was drawn and elections held. The Muslim Brotherhood party won the elections Mohammed Morsy became President. However, the country remained stable even after the formation of a new government as protests resumed. The military led by Abdel Fatah el-Sisi overthrew Morsy who was also accused of leaking state secrets with foreign countries. The military stabilized the country and new elections were held. Although Egypt's situation is much more complicated, it presents evidence that the military is a tool of peace and during transitions it can become the only hope for stability and peace. The failure of a democratically elected government to offer stability in Egypt indicates how important the military can be in nurturing peace and stability. Zimbabwe is the most recent example in Africa of how the military is an agent of peace and transition management.

The wrangles plaguing the aging Robert Mugabe administration were gradually plunging the country into political uncertainty. The 93 year old president had led Zimbabwe since independence in 1980 and his wife was controlling state machinery while planning to succeed her husband as president. The sacking of Vice-President Mnangagwa who was favoured to succeed him was the biggest indicator of the fact that the President's wife was overpowering him in the management of the country. The military stepped in and saved the situation before the conflict escalated. Mugabe was still President during the military intervention, but organized a

peaceful negotiation that ended the tussle by compelling the president to resign. The case of Zimbabwe indicates how important the military is in solving political problems and guarding the sovereignty, peace and stability of a nation.

Within the East African community there are numerous examples showing how military can be used as an institution of peace building. The examples comprise of Uganda, Kenya, and Rwanda where the role played by military in peace building was well exemplified. In Kenya the military has always been on the forefront to promote peace through sports, public health, disaster response and economic development among others. In Kenya the military has a public face where members of the public easily mingle with servicemen during various occasions. When it comes to emergencies, healthcare and other services, the military serves all Kenyans equally irrespective of their ethnic affiliation. In Uganda, the national resistance movement (NRM) which came to power through liberation struggle has been the face of peace building in Uganda. Led by President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, the (NRM) remains the agent of peace having saved Uganda from dictatorial regimes of Milton Obote and Idi Amin Dada. The Ugandan military is the face of peace building in the country since 1986 when Museveni took over power.

Rwanda which is the case study of this research is the best exemplification of how peace building can be coordinated by the military. The Rwandan Defence Forces (RDF) has played the role of peace building since 1994 when the country faced the genocide. The genocide which came immediately after the failure of 1993 UN led peace process aimed at ending the Rwandan civil war and restore peace. The famous Hutu power dominance governments of Rwanda since independence led the country with impunity, corruption, discrimination, marginalisation and oppression of some section of Rwandans which led into several Tutsis exiled.



The RDF engaged in peace building through various strategies like creating a representative army by integrating former government army and militias to form RDF, nurturing social cohesion, economic empowerment and development, public health, disaster response and awareness schemes. The RDF also engaged in the resettling of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and ex-combatants through construction of model villages where population threatened by landslides, floods and repatriated combatants are resettled. RDF also through its programme of army week, have engaged in the construction of healthcare facilities and classrooms for schools, building feeder roads and construction of bridges, provision of electricity and water, one cow per family and assisting population living in highlands terracing their fields, thus boosting the public access to social amenities.

The state of peace Rwanda is adequate proof that the military as an agent of peace building can be successful. Indeed Rwanda is a very peaceful country thanks to the efforts of the RDF through a multifaceted strategy. Although more needs to be done to liberate Rwandans from the threat of poverty and illiteracy, the country has made several steps towards improving its society. The Rwanda of today is very different from that of as Rwandans elect to build on the strong tie of a shared culture, values, language, norms, practices and centuries of harmonious co-existence to build rebuild their identity and nation. “We must create economic opportunity, build a culture of entrepreneurship, get people to take responsibility for improving their lives, rather than putting them in a position where they sit back in their poverty and blame others for it” by President Paul KAGAME, In spite of the many challenges faced Rwanda remains a peaceful, economically developing and politically stable country.

### **6.3 Recommendations**

In light of the challenges facing the Rwandan Defence Forces peace building in Rwanda, several recommendations have been considered. Primarily, the RDF has played an important role in peace building since 1994 and the results have been positive and promising. However, there have been numerous challenges involving the same. To overcome these challenges and succeed in the role of peace building the following recommendations are given;

- i. Stringent laws should be sanctioned to uproot genocide ideology, the culture ethnic hatred and defuse genocide denial. It will be a deterrent to political discourse that stalks hatred, ethnicity, and discrimination.
- ii. The Rwandan government should put more emphasis on building a solid, cohesive, broad-minded nation benchmarked on a democratic, accountability, efficient and responsibility to every citizen as an important stakeholder. It is a backbone of true foundation for peace, unity and reconciliation.
- iii. Any form of inequality should be eradicated through the introduction of equitable ways of distributing resources; where every citizen should be part of national development.
- iv. The government should take measures to reduce the rising youth unemployment that could threaten peace and national stability.
- v. Proper governance and political structures should be strengthened to empower citizens to take part in decision makings regarding the issues of national development.

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