

Rwanda: from bloodshed to peace and development

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This paper aims to discover the mechanisms behind the war-recovery and the rebuilding efforts that took place in Rwanda after the devastating civil war and three-month genocide in 1994. It explains that Rwanda's efforts to rebuild the country were based on security, economic recovery, democracy and state building alongside a strong national leadership. However, the reason is not to merely analyse Rwanda's recent history, in fact, it is to demonstrate that other countries which have also suffered from civil war and internal domestic conflicts can learn from Rwanda's experience as well as the measures it performed to ensure that they move forward collectively. Moreover, it is to demonstrate that rebuilding a modern state on the remnants of bloody history in a relatively short period is possible, realistic and achievable. However, comparisons of countries- which is not the purpose of this paper- at all levels is almost impossible, although sharing human suffering and experiences of state-rebuilding is always inspiring.

In February 2019 Rwanda launched its first satellite into space. The aim is to connect remote schools in Rwanda to the internet and to afford the younger generation an opportunity to develop. Moreover, plans are taking place to launch a second satellite intended for space research and to assist in the collection of data on water resources, natural disasters, agriculture and meteorology soon¹. Today, and 25 years since the start of the genocide Rwanda is completely transformed and is seen by many as a country demonstrating well-planned economic development. The country's economy is flourishing, life expectancy has risen by more than 30% and ethnic divisions have been smoothed by means of policies aimed at stimulating reconciliation and cohesion. The World Bank has praised Rwanda for the reason that it has

¹ Rwanda Today (2020) "Second satellite launch to boost Rwanda space programme" The main website of Rwanda Today News. Available from: <http://rwandatoday.africa/business/Second-satellite-launch-to-boost-Rwanda-space-programme/4383192-5134940-7qvqn9z/index.html>

“achieved impressive development,”² while UNICEF has said that the decline in infant mortality - which has halved since 2000 - is “one of the most significant in human history”³.

Furthermore, according to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Rwanda has become one of the world’s fastest-growing economies, averaging 8% per year over the past decade⁴. The World Bank articulates that Rwanda as one of the best places to start a business in Africa⁵. Rwanda was “among the ten most improved economies in 2013”⁶ and has set a target to become one of the best technological hubs in the region supported by an impressive e-government system where most government financial transactions and other tasks are completed electronically⁷. These achievements are associated with impressive successes in education, where the government strives to provide Rwandan children with laptops based on the “one laptop per child” initiative and the provision of fast fibre-optic internet cables across the country that will deliver an affordable and reliable internet service together with the launch of a pilot project to provide Rwandan students with access to online education⁸. These achievements have clearly reflected on reality. Records show that development in Rwanda has been astounding. For example, in 1994, 78% of the population lived below the poverty line on less than \$1.25 a day. However, within seven years poverty dropped to 45%. This is also associated with the fact that primary school enrolment reached 99% in the country and is now one of the highest in Africa⁹.

² WB (2020) “The World Bank in Rwanda” Available from:
<https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/rwanda/overview>

³ The Economist (2019) “How well has Rwanda healed 25 years after the genocide?” Available from:
<https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2019/03/28/how-well-has-rwanda-healed-25-years-after-the-genocide>

⁴ IMF (2020) “IMF Staff Concludes Visit to Rwanda” Available from:
<https://www.imf.org/en/News/Articles/2019/03/22/pr1986-rwanda-imf-staff-concludes-visit>

⁵ WB (2020) “Doing Business 2020: Two Sub-Saharan African Countries among Most Improved in Ease of Doing Business” Available from: <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2019/10/24/doing-business-2020-two-sub-saharan-african-countries-among-most-improved-in-ease-of-doing-business>

⁶ WB (2013) “Doing business 2013” Available from:
<https://www.doingbusiness.org/content/dam/doingBusiness/media/Annual-Reports/English/DB13-full-report.pdf>

⁷ UN (2014) “Rising from the ashes” Available from: <https://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/april-2014/rising-ashes>

⁸ One-laptop Organisation (2020) “One Laptop per Child”. Available from: <http://one.laptop.org/map/rwanda>

⁹ WB (2011) “RWANDA EDUCATION COUNTRY STATUS REPORT”. P:57-60. Available from:
<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/677741468107072073/pdf/579260SR0P11151353788B01PUBLIC10W eb.pdf>

The UN states that Rwanda has “promoted the creation of a corruption free environment and a well-managed and governed clean capital city, in a bid to attract foreign direct investment”. Thus the capital Kigali has been hailed in the media as the future “Singapore of Africa” due to measures taken to improve the plight of slum dwellers, improve waste management as well as banning plastic bags and smoking in public spaces”. Additionally, “with only roughly one tenth of Kigali’s total land area settled, urban agriculture has been elevated in development planning for the city, contributing around 25% of the city’s food supply and employing an estimated 37% of the city’s workforce in small-scale agricultural activities”¹⁰. Nevertheless, in 1994, a different story unfolded in Rwanda as a result of the civil war and internal national conflicts; a genocide that surpassed the civil war and was the ultimate horrific event in this appalling episode.

The conflict in Rwanda can be traced back to the 1960s where colonialism’s divide-to-rule policies and practices had a considerable impact on the country. During this period, noticeable gaps were created between the minority Tutsi who represent almost 10% and the majority Hutu who represent approximately 85% of the population. Belgium’s colonisation of Rwanda favoured the minority over the majority in almost everything, including education, political, official and government positions and administrative posts. This increased grievances and a thirst for power among the majority Hutu who took the opportunity to transform their history of extortion and exclusion into discrimination and violence undertaken against the minority Tutsi in the post-colonial era¹¹.

Between 1991 and 1994 a civil war started between the two main opponents in Rwanda, the Hutu and the Tutsi¹². In 1994 and on the orders of government ministers, the country’s majority Hutu population turned on its Tutsi minority, killing about one million men, women and children over the course of 100 days. With nowhere to run, an estimated 75% of the Tutsi population was hacked or beaten to death in towns and villages across the country by former friends and neighbours. Simultaneously, more than 30,000 moderate Hutus who failed to take part in the

¹⁰ The UN (2014) “The State of African Cities 2014” Available from: <https://www.unclearn.org/sites/default/files/inventory/unhab59.pdf>

¹¹ Karabacak, Emre (2018) “Colonial Regime in Rwanda and Its Effects on the Tutsi-Hutu Relations” Research paper in African studies: 1-8

¹² Reyntjens, Filip (2018) “Understanding Rwandan politics through the *longue durée*: from the precolonial to the post-genocide era” *Journal of Eastern African Studies*: 514-524

genocide were also killed. By August 1994, over a third of the population (two million Rwandans) had sought refuge in neighbouring countries¹³.

The IMF stated that directly after the genocide there was “a virtual collapse of the administrative capacity at the central and local government levels and the delivery of almost all social and financial services was paralysed.”¹⁴ Moreover, in the region of 40% of civil servants were killed or had fled from the country, whilst high inflation and low wages heightened the human resource challenge. The result of this catastrophe had been disastrous on the entire state sector; 80% of public employees did complete high school and only 3.5% of the Ministry of Health’s employees were qualified doctors or nurses by 1998¹⁵.

According to post-conflict literature, there are four important factors that may possibly shape the peacebuilding of post conflict-countries.; specifically security, economic recovery, democracy and state building. These represent the main pillars of any attempts made by any country to recover from the devastating impact of conflict. Regarding security, it is not only about refugees returning back home, the process should also include previous militia members, security forces, police and military being disarmed and accepted into transformation programmes¹⁶. Economic recovery refers to the rebuilding and transformation of the economy to achieve economic growth and reduce poverty in order to prevent conflicts¹⁷. Democracy and state building refer to democratic practices that are closely associated with economic recovery and security where elections and institution building becomes possible¹⁸. However, it is also argued that in reality, optimal democratic practices cannot be achieved immediately after conflicts. As a consequence,

¹³ The Telegraph (2019) “From horror to health: How Rwanda rebuilt itself to become one of Africa's brightest stars” Available from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/global-health/climate-and-people/horror-health-rwanda-rebuilt-become-one-africas-brightest-stars/>

¹⁴ IMF (2000) “Rwanda: Recent Economic Developments” Available from: https://www.elibrary.imf.org/view/IMF002/06059-9781451833232/06059-9781451833232/06059-9781451833232_A001.xml?redirect=true

¹⁵ Jones and Murray, Will and Sally (2017) “Consolidating peace and legitimacy in Rwanda” Research paper:1-67. Available from: <https://www.theigc.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Rwanda-report.pdf>

¹⁶ Samset, Ingrid (2011) “ Building a Repressive Peace: The Case of Post-Genocide Rwanda” Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding: 266-269.

¹⁷ Collier, Paul (2004) “Development and conflict” Research paper: 1-11

¹⁸ UN (2008) “CRISIS PREVENTION AND RECOVERY REPORT 2008: Post-Conflict Economic Recovery Enabling Local Ingenuity” Available from: <https://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/crisis%20prevention/undp-cpr-post-conflict-economic-recovery-enable-local-ingenuity-report-2008.pdf>

optimal democratic policies and practices may possibly need to wait a while to be put in place after providing a more fertile breeding ground in the post-conflict era¹⁹.

In Rwanda, the first ten years after the genocide were not easy. These years were beset with military clashes between Hutu rebels and the internationally recognised Rwandan government. Those Hutus who had previously held positions of power, became rebels and militias who launched attacks either from inside Rwanda or from bases established in neighbouring countries as revenge for their removal from power²⁰.

Rebuilding the Rwandan army and security forces

After the genocide, Rwandan authorities worked diligently to transform their military forces by disbanding and reintegrating former fighters with the aim of rehabilitating these forces. To encourage these reforms without destroying or dissolving the Rwandan army, the post 1994 authorities increased the size and budget of the new army in parallel in order to shift the army's doctrine from an ethnic-doctrine into a Rwandan army doctrine²¹. For this reason, the new government substantially increased the Rwandan army's budget. From 1997 and for a further ten years, the defence budget took between 3.3 % and 4.4 % of the nation's GDP²². This enabled the country to absorb the huge number of former combatants and encouraged them to be under the umbrella of the State, as well as to recruit and provide jobs for thousands of Rwandan refugees who returned back to the country after 1994²³. In next to no time the Rwandan army was recognised as one of the most battle-hardened and disciplined forces throughout Africa. In fact, there was a great level of reintegration of all former forces including the Hutu ex-FAR forces into the military owing to the new spirit of 'solidarity' in addition to the existence of an active military integration programme that was introduced immediately after the genocide. The

¹⁹ Mross, Karina (2018) "First Peace, then Democracy? Evaluating Strategies of International Support at Critical Junctures after Civil War" *Journal of International Peacekeeping*: 1-6

²⁰ Samset, Ingrid (2011) "Building a Repressive Peace: The Case of Post-Genocide Rwanda" *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*: 266-269

²¹ U.S. Agency for International Development (1996) "Rebuilding Post-war Rwanda" A.I.D. Evaluation Special Study Report No. 76: 1-62

²² Trading Economics (2018) "Rwandan military expenditure" Available from: <https://tradingeconomics.com/rwanda/military-expenditure>

²³ Brooks, Elizabeth (2005) "'From the frying pan into the fire': A case study of Rwandan refugees" *Journal of International Social Work*: 500-510; Reyntjens, Filip (2018) "Understanding Rwandan politics through the *longue durée*: from the precolonial to the post-genocide era" *Journal of Eastern African Studies*: 514-524

‘solidarity’ programme embraced intensive political education highlighting the pre-colonial role of the army to serve all citizens and stressed the historical unity of Rwandans. This was followed by the deployment of new recruits to units with ‘pre-genocide’ forces (primarily made up of former rebel groups prior to the genocide) to build camaraderie by means of living and working together, and finally, deploying the recruits to their former community, where they would help ‘spread the good news’ of equality and integration under the new government²⁴.

Economic growth and development plans

With a clear vision to move towards a new stage in its history, the Rwandan post-genocide centralised government has been exceedingly determined to gain national as well as international trust. Strong leadership- represented by President Paul Kagame who is extremely experienced in conflict, sensitive to security risks and adaptable to reforms and changes was incredibly important in forming a revamped governance structure²⁵. Kagame - who descends from the Tutsi minority- is widely seen as an unusually able, devoted and persuasive leader, both in Rwanda and among relatively disinterested parties overseas. These qualities, besides his subsequent achievements on development outcomes provided his office with significant ‘good will’ to mobilise support and action both nationally and worldwide²⁶. In fact, firm economic reforms aimed at building Rwanda’s emerging economy have echoed in tax formation and monetary policy to reduce inflation. This was associated with a unique economic policy that managed to float the national currency with minimal government intervention on foreign exchange markets, accompanied by increasing the role of the private sector in the economy. These reforms have created a credible political and financial system that guarantees economic agents trust in the progress of the country and therefore, has generated an entrepreneurial heaven²⁷. To a certain extent, the international community and organisations trusted the Rwandan authorities. Foreign

²⁴ Jones and Murray, Will and Sally (2017) “Consolidating peace and legitimacy in Rwanda” Research paper:1-67 Available from: <https://www.theigc.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Rwanda-report.pdf>

²⁵ Jones and Murray, Will and Sally (2017) “Consolidating peace and legitimacy in Rwanda” Research paper:1-67. Available from: <https://www.theigc.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Rwanda-report.pdf>

²⁶ WB(2011) “RWANDA’S EXIT PATHWAY FROM VIOLENCE: A STRATEGIC ASSESSMENT” Available from: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/508571468304500079/pdf/620540WP0Rwand0BOX0361475B00PUBLIC0.pdf>; Jones and Murray, Will and Sally (2017) “Consolidating peace and legitimacy in Rwanda” Research paper:1-67. Available from: <https://www.theigc.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Rwanda-report.pdf>

²⁷ SIDA (2004) “Aid and Growth in Rwanda” Available from: https://www.sida.se/contentassets/48e71c6c07eb450fb4793d82878d25c4/aid-and-growth-in-rwanda_1424.pdf

aid and investments have flowed into the country. Foreign Direct Investment in Rwanda averaged USD 238.14 million from 2009 and continued to increase for a few years, reaching an all-time high of USD 314.70 million in 2014²⁸. Foreign aid has also increased from approximately USD 711 million after the genocide in 1994 to in the region of USD 935 million in 2008 and roughly USD 1.3 billion in 2011²⁹. Nevertheless, the need for foreign aid did not prevent a national doctrine of self-independence being established - if not for the present certainly for the future and that improving Rwanda is to be achieved by means of promoting self-reliance and liberation in all spheres, and moreover, has not excluded security, national defence or economic development³⁰. These reforms were also associated with genuine attempts to fight corruption based on the idea that efficient government spending could not be achieved without combating corruption. Rwanda's pledge to fight corruption has led to the drafting and execution of numerous anti-corruption laws, whistle-blower protection, asset recovery, in addition to regulations to combat money laundering and the funding of terrorism³¹. It is now argued that President Kagame is leading some of the most clearly-focused new anti-corruption and social policies globally,³² besides and perhaps most importantly, salary structures that underwent a substantial reform in 1999. As the IMF noted, "Under the old structure, the ratio of the salary of the highest-paid public employee to that of the lowest-paid including fringe benefits was 60:1" and "Under the new structure, all fringe benefits were monetized and a top-bottom ratio of 19:1 was adopted"³³.

²⁸ Trading Economics (2018) "Rwanda foreign direct investment" Available from: <https://tradingeconomics.com/rwanda/foreign-direct-investment>

²⁹ Transformation Index PTI (2020) "BTI 2018 | Rwanda Country Report" Available from: <https://www.bti-project.org/en/reports/country-reports/detail/itc/RWA/>

³⁰ Mann, Laura and Berry, Marie (2017) "Understanding the political motivations that shape Rwanda's emergent developmental state" *Journal of Political Economy*: 1-47; Zorbas, Eugenia (2011), "Aid Dependence and Policy Independence: Explaining the Rwandan Paradox," in *Remaking Rwanda: State Building and Human Rights after Mass Violence*, eds. By Scott Straus and Lars Waldorf Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

³¹ Oyamada, Eiji (2017) "Combating corruption in Rwanda: lessons for policy makers" *Journal of Political Economy*. available from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/317132377_Combating_corruption_in_Rwanda_lessons_for_policy_makers

³² Centre for Security Studies: Germany (2020) "Rwanda: Kagame's New Seven-Year Challenge" Available from: <https://css.ethz.ch/en/services/digital-library/articles/article.html/119764/pdf>

³³ IMF (2010) "Evaluating Government Employment and Compensation". Available from: <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/tnm/2010/tnm1015.pdf>

Democracy and state building

On the one hand, it is argued that Rwanda's optimal democratic reforms, particularly regarding the change in power primarily of the president's office- have been delayed. Conversely, Rwanda's new authorities insist that the catastrophic events that occurred in the country's history forced them to prioritise other reforms³⁴. In effect, the decentralisation of government units and institutions started in 2000 to increase broad-based participation in the design, implementation and monitoring of projects and policies. Elections at all levels in the country- in cities, towns and villages, were held for the second time in 2002. The "Community Development Fund (CDF)" represents a vital institution in the decentralisation efforts where it assiduously oversees and coordinates the administration of the districts. It also represents a channel for distribution of the budget (the goal is 10%), that is allocated for projects or programmes at the district levels and grants delivered directly to the districts, and furthermore, where CDF's priorities are a variety of education, health and minor infrastructure projects³⁵. The state-building mentality is based on the idea that security and military institutions were and should remain significant for the country. Thus, a mentality of logic rather than crime and punishment has prevailed as regards dealing with former state bodies. This established a new doctrine for peace to be maintained where Rwandan individuals, culture, society and institutions all need to "develop" rather than be eradicated. Such goals were implemented by way of transformation projects concerning social relations and identities and where justice reforms and correcting the nature of the social contract between the State and citizens are adopted³⁶.

A re-education programme relating to Rwandan history based on forgiveness though not forgetting was introduced, specifically in solidarity camps, and moreover, it was later largely generalised among people. These reforms were coupled with founding the "National Unity and

³⁴ Rafti, Marina (2008) "A Perilous Path to Democracy Political Transition and Authoritarian Consolidation in Rwanda" Available from: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/6698801.pdf>; Politico (2020) "Rwanda: The Darling Tyrant" Available from: <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2014/02/rwanda-paul-kagame-americas-darling-tyrant-103963> ; TURIANSKYI, YARIK (2019) "The 'Kagame Reforms' of the AU: Will they stick?" Political report. 1-25

³⁵ Sida (2004) "Aid and growth in Rwanda". Available from: https://www.sida.se/contentassets/48e71c6c07eb450fb4793d82878d25c4/aid-and-growth-in-rwanda_1424.pdf

³⁶ Samset, Ingrid (2011) "Building a Repressive Peace: The Case of Post-Genocide Rwanda" Journal of Intervention and State building: 266-269

Reconciliation Commission” via the enactment of new laws that criminalised expression of contention along ethnic lines. Consequently and through compulsory participation camps for people- including pupils and students at all levels, attitudes and mentality were transformed³⁷. Moreover, and to implement justice, local community courts were established (called Gacaca). As a matter of fact, from 2002 until 2009, more than 11,000 local community courts staffed with more than 100,000 lay judges tried over a million genocide cases³⁸. With compulsory attendance from the local community and held on a weekly basis, the Gacaca courts helped to increase the negative feelings of ethnic divisions in the country, and repeatedly recalled the pains and atrocities of the 1994’s genocide. In this way, Gacaca could consequently make Rwandans want to embrace national unity and abandon their ethnic identities³⁹.

In addition to the Gacaca, there were other government initiatives based on domestic involvement which have later become compulsory in Rwandan society. A once a month ritual and alongside the authorities; Umuganda, a self-help and cooperation practice among family, friends and neighbours, aimed to rebuild and rehabilitate schools, clinics and other infrastructure. The programme was also an opportunity to discuss communal and state matters that needed to be conveyed to the Government. This brought an inclusive and people-centred approach rooted in country tradition. Imihigo is another programme that is designed to ensure accountability on government practices and behaviour to improve the State’s delivery and responsiveness. In this programme, people from all state and authority levels publicly and openly set targets or goals to be achieved within a specific period. Furthermore, Umushyikirano is an annual forum and a unique Rwandan institution promoting national dialogue. It is aimed at participatory governance where each citizen feels part of the national development agenda. Umushyikirano is designed to

³⁷ Samset, Ingrid (2011) “Building a Repressive Peace: The Case of Post-Genocide Rwanda” *Journal of Intervention and State building*: 266-269

³⁸ Clark, Phil (2010) “The gacaca courts, post-genocide justice and reconciliation in Rwanda: Justice without lawyers” Available from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/287239175_The_gacaca_courts_post-genocide_justice_and_reconciliation_in_Rwanda_Justice_without_lawyers

³⁹ Samset, Ingrid (2011) “Building a Repressive Peace: The Case of Post-Genocide Rwanda” *Journal of Intervention and State building*: 266-269

bring all Rwandans together to review the State of the Nation over the past year and is where ideas concerning the way the country is heading are exchanged⁴⁰.

The transformation of the social contract between Rwandans and their government was also remarkable. Rwanda's history reveals that the authority's ability to mobilise citizens- at least the Hutu majority- benefitted from people's ignorance and State propaganda as a social exclusion mechanism in society for shaping national identities were massive. Today, the rise of national identity and unity in Rwanda based on citizenship rather than ethnic, regional or even class divisions is impressive⁴¹. Furthermore, the promotion of women's rights has also become the cornerstone of Rwanda's development plans and success⁴²; after the genocide, Rwanda empowered its women in all fields and at all levels. In truth, Rwanda has the highest percentage of women represented in parliament, holding 56% of the seats in the lower house. Researcher Roxane Wilber, a senior researcher and writer at the Institute for Inclusive Security, advises countries looking to enhance governance practices to learn from Rwanda's experience. Wilber explains that Rwanda's achievement is not an accident. The government "prioritised women, introduced structures and processes designed to advance them at all levels of leadership"⁴³.

The recognition of the authorities as well as society in general with regards to the sacrifice and the importance of women's role in rebuilding the State have empowered women in social, economic and political life. Furthermore, during the official opening of a gender-training workshop for Parliamentarians, President Kagame stated that "These imbalances are not only an

⁴⁰ RGB(2017) "IMPACT ASSESSMENT OF UMUGANDA" Available from: http://rgb.rw/fileadmin/Key_documents/HGS/Impact_Assessment_of_Umuganda_2007-2016.pdf; RGB(2015) "Governance for Development. The case of Rwanda" Available from: <https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/20.500.12413/10117/Governance%20for%20Development.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>; Uwimbabazi, Penine (2012) "An Analysis of Umuganda: the Policy and Practice of Community Work in Rwanda". Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Policy and Development Studies), in the College of Humanities at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa:1-277

⁴¹ UN (2016) "Engaged Societies, Responsive States: The Social Contract in Situations of Conflict and Fragility" Available from: https://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Democratic%20Governance/Social_Contract_in_Situations_of_Conflict_and_Fragility.pdf

⁴² Mwambari, David (2017) "Leadership Emergence in Post-Genocide Rwanda: The role of Women in Peacebuilding" *Journal in Leadership and Developing Societies*: 88-103

⁴³ The Solutions Journal (2011) "Lessons from Rwanda: How Women Transform Governance" Available from: <https://www.thesolutionsjournal.com/article/lessons-from-rwanda-how-women-transform-governance/>

obstacle to the country's development but constitute a form of social injustice. It is imperative to our lawmakers, policy makers and implementers to have an objective and correct analysis of the gender question in order to design appropriate corrective policies and programmes. The question of gender equality in our society needs a clear and critical evaluation in order to come up with concrete strategies to map the future development in which men and women are true partners and beneficiaries. My understanding of gender is that it is an issue of good governance, good economic management and respect of human rights"⁴⁴.

To conclude, the facts show that Rwanda disintegrated and that it has subsequently risen from the ashes of the ravaging conflict. Now that it has emerged, Rwandans do not want to forget about this horrendous period in the country's history. They continue to remind themselves that they were severely affected and that they do not want to forget this bloody episode in their history. Moreover, this approach of recalling their horrific history is an important reason for a better future and has encouraged them to rebuild their country. It should also be pointed out that different mechanisms have been implemented cautiously but courageously in Rwanda, addressing the special historic, social and economic nature of the nation. The story of Rwanda's success is exceedingly important for other countries which have suffered from civil war and internal domestic conflicts like Rwanda. For instance, Syria is one country that could learn from Rwanda's experience.

⁴⁴ UNESCO (2005) "THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN RECONSTRUCTION: EXPERIENCE OF RWANDA" By: Jeanne Izabiliza. Available from: <http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/SHS/pdf/Role-Women-Rwanda.pdf>

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- Mross, Karina (2018) “First Peace, then Democracy? Evaluating Strategies of International Support at Critical Junctures after Civil War” *Journal of International Peacekeeping*: 1-6
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Politico (2020) “ Rwanda: The Darling Tyrant” Available from:
<https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2014/02/rwanda-paul-kagame-america-darling-tyrant-103963>

Rafti, Marina (2008) “A Perilous Path to Democracy Political Transition and Authoritarian Consolidation in Rwanda” Available from: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/6698801.pdf>

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