

## Genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda: Perpetrators Testimonies on their Motives to Commit Genocide

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### Abstract:

The Genocide perpetrated against Tutsi had been planned by the Government of President Juvenal Habyarimana. Different methods and strategies have been used to induce Hutus in the execution of genocide. However, Hutus themselves had their own motives to take part in genocide. In order to know the methods used by genocide planners (the authorities) and what made the Hutus be involved in the implementation of the genocide. 12 interviews have been conducted with prisoners accused of committing genocide detained in Nyanza and Muhanga prisons and a Focus Group Discussion was conducted with 40 perpetrators who have been released after confessing and telling the truth on their involvement in the genocide against Tutsi. After analyzing different testimonies, the research concluded that different motives that led Hutus to be involved in genocide include the ideology of hatred against Tutsi that had been instilled in Hutus for a long time, following blindly the authorities' orders with no prior analysis or interpretation, greed of grasping Tutsis properties or belongings, the culture of impunity, to name, but a few. Despite the aforementioned motives that led perpetrators to commit genocide, there should be no justification or motive of committing genocide as it is a crime above others crimes.

**Keywords:** Genocide, Tutsi, Perpetrators, Testimonies, Motivation

### Introduction

The United Nations Genocide Convention (1948) defines genocide as "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, as such including the killing of its members, causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group, deliberately imposing living conditions that seek to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part, preventing births, or forcibly transferring children out of the group to another group". What makes genocide unique and different from other killings is that the Government sets up a plan with the intent of systematically exterminating one group of its population and oversees the implementation of genocide. In fact, after the Government sets a thoughtful plan of genocide, it instills an ideology of hatred in the population. Therefore, Genocide against Tutsi in 1994 did not happen by accident. It is a result of a long Government plan which passed through different stages and experiments to its fulfillment in 1994. It is an intended, thoughtful and well planned crime. It took the lives of more than 1.074.017 Tutsis (MINALOC, 2004). The victims were among all categories of people: children, elders, educated and uneducated Hutus, farmers, disabled people, patients, businessmen and business women, teachers, doctors and nurses, public and private sector employees and employers, journalists, to name but a few. Genocide perpetrators were found in the aforementioned categories and their intent was to exterminate all Tutsis to the extent that future generations would not know how a Tutsi looked like. To make this happen, all people including educated people, the peasants, young, religious, security officers (military, police and gendarmerie) and paramilitary units, including Interahamwe who were MRND (political party on power) youth, and Impuzamugambi who were CDR (extremist political party) youth had been trained to kill without mercy all Tutsis and Hutus who opposed their ideology.

According to different analysts such as Melvern (2006), Prunier (2012) and Staub (2015), Genocide was also facilitated by the total silence of the international community who became bystanders or helped the genocide planners. After 26 years genocide against Tutsi was stopped by RPF-Inkotanyi<sup>1</sup>, different actions to know the truth about genocide against Tutsi have been initiated and done, remote and immediate causes have been identified, different perpetrators have been identified during Gacaca jurisdictions before being closed in June 2012. All these actions aimed at healing the wounds of the victims of genocide and reconcile all Rwandans. In the same vein, different testimonies have been collected and many books, reports and articles about genocide

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against Tutsi in Rwanda from different scholars have been published. We can, for instance, mention reports from different organizations including those advocating for genocide survivors like IBUKA (1998) and AVEGA (1998), Human Rights Watch (1999), African Rights (1995, 1998), the University of Rwanda Center for Conflict Management (CCM<sup>2</sup>, 2012) and others. In addition, individuals, be they Rwandans or foreigners published pieces of writing on Genocide against Tutsis at different times. We can cite, for instance, Gourevitch (1998), Hatzfeld (2003), Kimonyo (2008), Kabwete (2010), and others.

The aforementioned pieces of writings are backed up with other writings from different research which has so far been carried out in different parts of the country showing the uniqueness and particularity of genocide in each of those areas. We can mention, for examples, the reports of the research conducted in Amayaga (Rutembesa & Mutwarasibo, 2008), Nyarubuye (Rutayisire & Rutazibwa, 2003), Murambi (Rutinduka, 2010), the former Gisenyi Prefecture (CNLG, 2015), the former Ruhengeri Prefecture (CNLG, 2018), the District of Gasabo (2018), and others which are currently being carried out.

However, no research had been conducted in Nyanza and Gitarama prisons for detained and released prisoners in those prisons to testify themselves on what they have committed and why. Therefore, this research is unique as it depicts the motives perpetrators on committing genocide, and this will contribute to mitigating genocide denial as testimonies from perpetrators will shed a light on how and why genocide was committed. This will also complement other similar researches that might have been conducted in other areas of Rwanda. In addition, though there has been various research on genocide against Tutsi, much remains to be explored. To understand the genocide against Tutsi, why it happened and how it is of paramount importance to analyze perpetrators testimonies on their motives to commit genocide.

### **Research Objectives**

This study is articulated around the following general objective:

Identifying the motives which pushed perpetrators to be involved massively and actively in genocide against Tutsi in 1994.

The study has the following Specific Objectives:

Pointing out different techniques used to induce Hutus (genocide perpetrators) to take part in genocide against Tutsi

### **Methodology**

#### **Study Design**

This study used a qualitative research design as it sought to collect data about opinions and motivations among the population of the study, that is, people who took part in genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda.

#### **Study Location and Population**

This study was carried out in Muhanga prison which hosts perpetrators who committed genocide in the former Gitarama Prefecture. Gitarama Prefecture is one of ten prefectures that were instituted by the decree No 02/72 of March 2, 1961 in the process of the administrative reform. Those prefectures replaced the former territories that were in place during the colonial period (the Belgian Guardianship).

Gitarama prefecture was made up of 11 communes which were: Nyamabuye, Bulinga, Masango, Mugina, Mukingi, Murama, Musambira, Mushubati, Runda, Taba, Nyabikenke, Kayenzi, Nyakabanda, Rutobwe, Tambwe, Kigoma and Ntongwe. Nowadays, it is split up into four districts which are: Muhanga, Ruhango, Kamonyi, and three sectors which cover part of Nyanza District which are: Kigoma, Mukingo and Cyabakamyi. Gitarama Prefecture is known to be the epicenter of genocide as it hosted most of the authorities who perpetrated the ideology of hatred and divisionism among Rwandans. It is ranked at the fourth position to have more Tutsi killed in the 1994 genocide against Tutsi (129,181), according to the report of the Ministry of Local Government (MINALOC, 2004).

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The population of this study was composed of genocide perpetrators who are detained in Muhanga prison and other perpetrators who confessed their crimes and were further released from prisons. The total population of the study was 52.

### **Data Collection and Sampling Techniques**

The information was collected through the use of personal interviews with different categories of people who were involved in genocide against Tutsi in former Gitarama Prefecture. In addition, focus group discussion was used to interact with the rest of the perpetrators who had no leadership role in the former government before 1994.

In general, the researcher used purposive sampling techniques to select respondents. In fact, all prisoners who were in the anti-genocide club who confessed their crimes were part of this study population. Those prisoners were put into categories and those included 6 prisoners who were in Interahamwe militia, 2 Bourgmestres, 4 leaders of sectors (Counselors) and 40 perpetrators who had no role in leadership before 1994. For the latter category, we used a focus group discussion to collect data. In order to know the methods used by genocide planners (the authorities) and what made Hutus be involved in the implementation of genocide, individual interviews have been conducted with prisoners accused of committing genocide detained in Nyanza and Muhanga prisons. The researcher also conducted an interview with genocide perpetrators who have been released after acknowledging their role in genocide, confessing and telling the truth on their role in genocide against Tutsi in 1994.

To analyze data, a narrative method was used. Different testimonies have been reformulated or written the way they have been said by the author.

### **Ethical Consideration**

For the informants to feel free to give the full information we needed, we assured them that the information provided would be used for the research purpose, and that the names of witnesses would not be revealed. We guaranteed them that we would use the initials of their names instead of the full name in the article.

### **Results and Discussion of Findings**

#### **Techniques used to induce more people in taking part in genocide against Tutsi in 1994**

After the so-called "Gouvernement y'Abatabazi" (Government of Saviors) seized power after the former President Habyarimana's death, it exiled and operated in Gitarama on April 12, 1994. The entire cabinet started to sensitize Hutus to be involved in killing Tutsis using different techniques.

The first technique used was using Gitarama native authorities in mobilizing and inciting Hutus from Gitarama to take part in genocide. An eye witness, who was a Bourgmester of Nyamabuye in 1994, states that, considering the relationship and social cohesion between Hutus and Tutsis in Gitarama before genocide, it would not be easy for the so-called Government of Saviors to persuade Hutus to turn against their counterparts Tutsis, and kill them. It is in this regard that the Government decided to use politicians who were Gitarama natives to convince the population (Hutus) that they had to detach themselves from their neighbors Tutsis and join the Government to kill them (Personal interview with a genocide perpetrator RM, Muhanga Prison, 2019.) Among the politicians who have been involved in mobilizing Hutus to kill Tutsis include Nzabonimana Callixte who was the Minister of Youth and Cooperatives and also the chairman of MRND, the ruling party, in Gitarama Prefecture. The list also includes Mpamo Esdras, the Bourgmester of Masango Commune and the MRND committee member at the national level, Kagabo Charles who was the Bourgmester of Ntongwe, Ugirashebuja Celestin who was the Bourgmester of Kigoma Commune, Kamana Claver who was an entrepreneur, Kubwimana Silas, to name but a few. All those high authorities used all possible means to mobilize Hutus to kill Tutsis.

The second technique used was disseminating false information to instill fear in Hutus and urge them to kill Tutsis. The aim of this falsified information was to show Hutus that their lives were at risk, and this contributed a lot in intensifying genocide and having many Hutus get involved in killing Tutsis. Both on the radio and through public meetings, authorities worked to make the long-decided threat of RPF infiltration concrete and

immediate. Throughout the country, they disseminated detailed false information, such as reports that Tutsi had hidden firearms in the bushes, or that they had prepared maps showing fields to be taken from Hutu in Butare, or that they had killed local administrative officials. Authorities counted on such news to convince Hutu that their Tutsi neighbors were dangerous agents of the RPF who had to be eliminated. Community leaders and even clergy assured Hutus that they were right and allowed to kill Tutsi as a measure of "self-defense."

This false information was also used after the crash of Habyarimana aircraft whereby Bagosora Theoneste, one of the master minder of genocide, told a soldier journalist to spread the information that RPF inkotanyi were the ones who shot the plane and killed the president (Dupaquier, 2010). Spreading this information that Inkotanyi or a Tutsi was the one to kill the president would inevitably incite a sense of panic and anger in Hutus, and this would urge them to join the genocide planners. In the former Gitarama Prefecture, the senior leaders, including Minister Callixte Nzabonimana, Mpamo Esdras and others, told Hutus that a Tutsi is a bad person, that he invaded the country and killed President Habyarimana Juvenal (their father as they used to call him) and that the (Tutsi) wants to restore monarchy and tyranny in Rwanda. They also spread rumors that everywhere Inkotanyi passe in Rwanda, they kill pregnant mothers by cutting off their wombs and pulling out the fetus and killing the babies. They said that Inkotanyi share those acts of atrocities with Tutsis who were inside the country. Some leaders like Nzabonimana Callixte used to tell Hutus who had Tutsi wives that they were accomplices of Inkotanyi and that they were the ones who betrayed their husbands in order to get married to the Tutsis who had joined Inkotanyi. Furthermore, they told Hutus that Tutsis who had fled the country would take back the lands Hutus had captured/conquered when Tutsis had taken refuge in the neighboring country in 1994. This was a technique used to create panic in Hutus by showing them how their lives were in danger and urged them to take quick actions to kill Tutsi (Focus group discussion with genocide perpetrators in Nyanza Prison, 2019).

In addition, one of the witnesses shares how he asked Minister Callixte who had said that Inkotanyi kill all Hutus why some senior Hutus officers had joined Inkotanyi including Kanyarengwe, Pasteur Bizimungu and others who even give testimonies in different radios. The Minister told him that the voices (of Hutus who were said to have joined Inkotanyi) he heard had been recorded before their death (Personal interview with a genocide perpetrator NN, Nyanza Prison, 2019.).

Leaders of different sectors also used to tell the population that Inkotanyi killed Hutus, pregnant women and their fetus and took back their sisters Tutsi wives after killing their husbands. This technique of instilling fear in Hutus created a climate of suspicion between Hutus and Tutsis and led Hutus to take Tutsis as evil people (Personal interview with a genocide perpetrator SI, Kamonyi District, 2019). Hutus authorities used to tell the population (Hutus) that if Tutsis got to power, they would take Hutus lands and jobs stating that they have received better education when they were outside the country. These were also some of the factors that made majority of Hutus turn against their counterparts Tutsis and killed them (Personal interview with a genocide perpetrator K.J.M, Nyanza Prison, Muhanga District, 2019.).

In order to know the impact that false information had on the receiver, the researcher asked different witnesses why they believed in rumors. The bulk of them said that when someone is in a position of weakness or bad conditions, it is not easy to think critically. Especially, when the information is from the authorities whom you take as in charge of your security and life in general, you easily believe in what they tell you without questioning it. The false information whose aim was to instill fear in Hutus was full of genocide ideology based on ideology of hatred that was taught to Hutus in different periods since 1959. This changed their mentalities and created a kind of animosity which made Hutus commit extraordinary evil like killing their wives, husbands, children, nephews, etc.

The third technique used was to mobilize Hutus to take Tutsis properties as a way of overcoming poverty. Genocide planners had a strategy of convincing Hutus that after killing Tutsis, they would take all their belongings. Nzabonimana Callixte, who was the Minister of Youth and Cooperatives, used that strategy of mobilizing youth to take Tutsis properties after killing them. Likewise, Bourgmesters incited the population(Hutus) to kill Tutsis in order to take their properties and get rid of poverty. One genocide perpetrator, K.J., from Runda Commune, asserts that he took part in genocide after Bourgmester Ndayambaje

Sixbert had told them that if they wanted to overcome poverty, they had to kill Tutsis and then take their properties. He states it as follows:

I can say that we involuntarily took part in genocide because authorities took advantage of extreme poverty we were in and manipulated us. If you try to understand, the Bourgmester came with a leader of the sector together with a police officer and told us that it was the right time for us to overcome poverty by taking Tutsis properties. After realizing that we were supported by the authorities telling us there was no negative effect in doing so, we felt authorized and freely took all Tutsi possessions. Then, those authorities convinced us to kill the owners of those properties lest they should take them back if things turned the other way round. It is in that perspective that we first killed whom we knew had lots of properties and then took them with no resistance. I remember one day, the Bourgmester of Runda Commune. Sixbert Ndayambaje came where we were taking Tutsis' properties and eating their cows and told us, 'you foolish, why are you eating the cow without first killing its owner? If he sentences you tomorrow, where are you going to find his cow? We then implemented what the leader told us, as people take as true whatever the authority says (Personal interview with a genocide perpetrator KJ, Muhanga Prison, Kamonyi District, 2019.)

This motive would be questioned when examined thoroughly, and one can ask him/herself the following question: Why did Hutus not ask themselves the origin of their poverty and turn against those who were much more directly responsible for their poverty, that is, politicians instead of killing their often equally poor Tutsi neighbors? This can be interpreted as lack of education or critical thinking, but on the other hand, one would ask why even educated people were involved in the act of pillage or killing so as to take Tutsis possession? This infers that there was another hidden intention rather than poverty.

Different media also played a great role in mobilizing people to get involved in genocide. For instance, RTLM (Radio Television Libre des Mille collines) was constantly calling Hutus to kill Tutsis. As people most of the time believe in what is said by radio as true, together with what the authorities told them, this made them to massively be versed in committing genocide (Focus group discussion, Ruhango, District, 2019). Various informants also revealed other factors that led people to be involved in genocide. One of the factors mentioned was ideology of hatred against Tutsis that was taught for a long period. The ideology of hatred against Tutsi which has been instilled in Hutus for a long period resulted into the 1994 genocide against Tutsis. The aforementioned ideology was based on spreading false information whereby in different schools, students were taught that before 1959, Tutsis had oppressed Hutus and subjugated them to forced labor. This ideology has also been intensified during the 1994 genocide against Tutsis whereby extremist politicians and Hutus authorities warned their counterparts that if they didn't unite and get rid of Tutsis, they would find themselves again in forced labors they were in before 1959 (Personal interview with RPC, Muhanga District, 2019.).

N. N, one of the genocide perpetrators, explains how the ideology of hatred against Tutsi has been instilled in Hutus to the extent of acting like animals:

In class, teachers told us how Tutsis were wicked, and that when they take power, they stick on it and that they mistreated Hutus for years. They used to tell us that when a Hutu accompanied a Tutsi during a trip, carrying his provision, a Tutsi would eat his provision under the gaze of a Hutu and let him starve of hunger. Imagine in that situation a Tutsi telling you again to carry that provision whereas he did not give you any portion of it! You can obviously have a grudge against a Tutsi. We were told this by opinion leaders including teachers and leaders (Personal interview with NN, Nyanza Prison, 2019.).

Another genocide perpetrator testifies how the ideology of hatred has been one of the leading factors that made Hutus kill Tutsis to the extent of having Hutus even kill their relatives:

The ideology of hatred that was spread out played a great role in genocide because some of the sectors' leaders used to tell us that Tutsi women accepted to get married to Hutus not because they loved them, but for the sake of spying them so as to have them killed at the right time. Therefore, since disputes are unavoidable in each household, after that ideology of hatred is spread, a Hutu husband who has a small problem or skirmish with his wife would say, 'I now understand: you want to fulfill your mission'. This ideology of hatred was instilled in Hutus and taken as granted. This made Hutus lose humanism. This, together with the

ideology of divisionism spread throughout RTLM Radio urging Hutus to kill Tutsis, intensified hatred and led a weak-minded Hutu to kill his own wife or handed her to the killers without further judgement (Personal interview with a genocide perpetrator UE, Muhanga Prison, 2019).

Other genocide perpetrators who confessed their crimes say that the leading factor that made them take part in genocide and even reach the extent of killing their relatives and neighbors is the ideology of hatred that was instilled in them. They were told that a Tutsi was evil and this made them not even see anything good from Tutsis. One of the genocide perpetrators called M.A A states it in these words:

Imagine, my Mom is a Tutsi, but I was told that Tutsis are wicked, that I don't have to trust my Mom. Even my wife is a Tutsi. However, I took what I was told as true to the extent that whenever I was seeing my wife, I took her as my enemy! (Personal interview with a genocide perpetrator MA, Nyanza Prison, 2019.).

Hutus have been, for ages, instilled the ideology of revisionism stating how Tutsis were wicked. The same witness keeps on saying:

In the lesson of History, we were taught that during Monarchy, Hutus were servants of Tutsis, that every Hutu was raised knowing that he would work for a Tutsi and, if not, he would be beaten to death. We were raised knowing that Tutsis were evil, and this was taught to different Hutu generations until 1994. Even when we were in prison, those ideologies were still taught. We were told that Tutsis used to castrate Hutus, and the remains (testicles) were put around Karinga (a drum symbolizing the dynasty) as garments. Imagine if you are told such a thing! This made that hatred a legacy of Hutus which was transmitted from generation to generation. All prisoners who are detained here, in Mpanga, are still being taught the ideology of hatred by some extremist Hutus (Personal interview with MA, Nyanza Prison, 2019.)

Hutus who had Tutsi women were told by authorities that, after killing their own wives, they would find them Hutu wives that fit them. G. E., who is a genocide perpetrator in Buringa Commune, asserts how he has been several times forced to kill his wife who was a Tutsi and refused to do so because of many small children he could not raise alone after the death of his wife. He states it as follows:

The fact of not killing my own wife did not depend on the love I had toward her, but I was afraid that a Hutu wife that I would marry after the death of the former one would not accept to raise six small children that I had. After putting pressure on me, I warned my fellow killers that, if anyone kills my wife, I would also kill him and his whole family. I said this as I knew that they feared me a lot as I looked like a foolish man because of killing too many Tutsis. My colleague named Ruyenzi who had a Tutsi wife accepted to put her in the hands of killers to remain with only 2 Hutu wives as he had three wives. That wife was killed by a killer named Gitiyo who took her out from her house and killed her. Then after, her body was thrown in the latrine (Personal interview with GE, Muhanga District, 2019).

The ideology of hatred that was preached by the so-called leaders of that time made people who were previously in good relationship with their wives feel guilty of getting married to Tutsi wives. Actually, from the Kayibanda regime up to 1994, the image of a Tutsi was spoilt. A Tutsi was considered as a wicked person and was, therefore, taken as an enemy to fight against. S.L, a genocide perpetrator, explains it in the following words:

You can't be a good servant if you have a bad master. This means that, if the senior leadership of a country has a bad ideology aiming at creating hatred among its citizens, people will obviously follow that policy. The ideology of hatred has been the milestone of the Rwandan leadership since Kayibanda took power in 1962 until 1994 when the genocide against Tutsis was implemented. Authors such as Mamdani (2001) and Chrétien (1997) support this idea believing that "ethnic hatred was the primary force motivating the genocide". However, according to Longman (2004) "they offer little empirical support, and the degree to which ethnic hatred motivated the killing remains to be proved".

Another factor that intensified genocide was the fact of following blindly the authorities' orders. The culture of paying respect to authorities has characterized Rwandan for a long period. That act is not bad itself. It only becomes bad when it may result in destroying the country or into actions that might lead to human rights violation. During Kayibanda and Habyarimana regimes, respectively in the first and the second republic,

people have been ruled blindly to the extent that they could not seek an explanation to what they were told to do, and this made them implement blindly everything they were told to do. This was manifested into how the population took Inkotanyi during the liberation war. They were told by the authorities that Inkotanyi were evil people, had long ears, tails, and the population believed so. The aim was to show that Inkotanyi were not human beings and, therefore, they prevented Hutus from joining them. However, Longman questions this belief and concludes that it is unclear how the entire population accepted these characterizations drawn from the ideology put forth by the organizers of the genocide sought to demonize Tutsi as alien interlopers (Longman, OpCit).

N. N, a genocide perpetrator, asserts that he took part in different killings because of executing what they authorities had told him. He states it as follows:

Hutus and Tutsis lived in harmony. However, authorities knew what they were planning. On my side, I had a Tutsi wife, but I was involved in the killings after being invited by the Bourgmester to go and kill someone and take his belongings with no further consequences; I obeyed what Bourgmester Ugirashebuja told me, and this resulted into being jailed with other related consequences. Had I reflected before acting, the situation would not have been like this (Personal interview with NN, Nyanza Prison, 2019).

Respecting the authorities to the extent of committing acts that are against your will depends on different factors. These include keeping the trust of your authorities because of adhering with their strategy, praising the authorities and sustaining what you have already achieved because you want their protection, etc. However, we can't agree hundred percent that all perpetrators were involved in genocide because of following blindly what they authorities told them. There are many other motives behind. Reacting to this, Vidal (1998) notices that "if obedience was observed among some peasants, such an assertion could not be generalized to the whole country and to all peasants." This infers that some perpetrators might have taken this as a pretext to justify their participation by rejecting their responsibility and scapegoat the authorities.

Greed was mentioned by several informants among other factors that pushed Hutus to kill Tutsi during 1994 genocide against Tutsis. Genocide planners based on the extreme poverty conditions that Hutus were living in and assured them that they would take Tutsi properties including houses, equipment and pieces of land after killing them. Therefore, this motivated Hutus to get rid of Tutsis and killed massively and pitilessly. N. N, a genocide perpetrator in Kigoma commune, explains what motivated him to be involved in committing genocide:

Even Though I am a Hutu, my wife is a Tutsi. From the time we got married, we had not quarreled. One factor that led me be involved in genocide is a poor mentality and the greed I had of grabbing the Tutsis belongings as it is one of the strategy our Bourgmester Ugirashebuja used in order to mobilize us that it was the right time for us to get rid of poverty. That Bourmester urged me to slaughter Tutsi cows saying that there was nothing wrong in doing so, and that there was no consequence I might face. Therefore, I took it as a golden and last opportunity that I couldn't let go. For instance, I only used to eat meat once a year, at the new year, and even not always. Therefore, telling me to go and eat meat was automatic. In addition, as we were urged by the leaders to do so, we took it as granted (Personal interview with a genocide perpetrator NN, Nyanza Prison, 2019.).

Different witnesses assert that whenever Minister Nzabonimana Callixte arrived, he told the youth that there was nothing wrong in taking Tutsi properties. He said that Hutus managed to get pieces of land after getting rid of Tutsi and chasing them outside the country. He kept on saying that, if that revolution had not taken place, Hutus would have remained the servants of Tutsis until now. He well and truly urged the youth to kill Tutsis and take their properties (Focus Group Discussion with prisoners of genocide from ex Nyakabanda and Kigoma communes, 2019).

Because of being backed up by the Government with a guarantee that there would be no consequences after taking Tutsi properties, many Hutus did not hesitate to take part in grabbing the Tutsis possessions as the bulk of those Hutus were poor and jobless. In a words, leaders used poverty as a weapon to urge Hutus to kill Tutsis and take their properties with no further lawsuits (Personal interview with KJ.M, Nyanza, Prison, Muhanga District, 2019). Leaders used to tell Hutus that, if Tutsi came back and took power, no Hutu would

get a job, and Tutsis would retake their lands that Hutus had taken from the 1959 revolution. One of the witness, who was a Bourgmester during genocide against Tutsis, states that he does not believe in what perpetrators call "following blindly the orders" because the perpetrator has his/her own motives and purpose in committing genocide. Leaders manipulated people by showing them the interest they could get once they get rid of Tutsis. For instance, they used to tell them that they would give them high positions like being Bourgmesters, the sector leaders/counsellors, or told greedy people to take Tutsis' possessions with a guarantee of not being prosecuted. This was accompanied by the ideology of hatred against Tutsis that was conveyed (Personal interview with a genocide perpetrator RE, Muhanga Prison, 2019).

Even though there were Hutus peasants who were involved in genocide for the sake of gaining Tutsis' possessions, there were others who participated because of the excessive wickedness and hatred they had against Tutsis. There were even some Hutus who burned alive Tutsis cows saying that they did not want to see anything that could remind them of the existence of Tutsis. The extremists had no purpose other than exterminating Tutsis regardless of their properties. In addition, the fact of thinking that there would be in trouble if there were any Tutsi who would survive intensified the killings so as to get rid of any evidence or further complaint (Personal interview with a genocide perpetrator MP, Ruhango District, 2019).

The culture of impunity has also been an intensifying factor in perpetrating genocide. Because of the culture of impunity that characterized both Kayibanda and Habyarimana regimes, respectively in the first and second republic, many Hutus were involved in killing Tutsis and taking their properties. Basing on the fact that there had not been any consequences for people who had been involved in different acts of violence, barbarities and killing before 1994, many Hutus were involved in genocide as they had nothing to fear and they were supported and urged by their leaders.

G.E, who is a genocide perpetrator, states how the culture of impunity had been one of the factors that made him think that there was nothing bad and no consequence in killing Tutsis and taking their properties as he was also told by his parents that they land they were cultivating had been taken from Tutsis in 1959 after throwing them outside the country.

He states it as follows:

My parents used to tell me that from 1959 onward, Hutus used to kill Tutsis and expelled them outside the country and took their lands, and there has not been any single consequence that they faced. They even revealed that the land we had belonged to Tutsis and that they acquired it after driving Them away from Rwanda. Even our grandfathers used to have that conversation. Therefore, as a young, I grew up knowing that getting rid of Tutsis would enable me to live happily and eat whatever I wanted. This kind of information and education associated with the guarantee that there was no consequence that one would face intensified the killing of Tutsi. The authorities even told us that when a group of 30 people kill Tutsis, they can't be prosecuted and that there was no law that punishes this act. They gave us an example of the killing Tutsis in 1973 where they were not prosecuted. Therefore, they encouraged us to kill Tutsis if we want to survive (Personal interview with a genocide perpetrator GE, Muhanga District, 2019).

Different witnesses refer back to the testimonies of G. E. by asserting that some authorities, including the sector administrators, assured peasants that they would not be scared since, during wartime, no peasant is punished, that only high authorities are the ones who are punished. To initiate a Hutu who had not previously been involved in the killings, killers used to take him in one attack and ordered him to kill a Tutsi in a cruel or inhuman way. From that time onward, that Hutu was versed in further killings. This is how G.E, who is an eyewitness and a killer, was initiated in the killings as he had been previously reluctant to get involved in any attack to kill Tutsis. He further got used to killing and took it as a normal way and compared it as killing any other animal like a dog (Personal interview with a genocide perpetrator GE, Muhanga District, 2019). Even though people knew that killing was a sin and was not a good act, because they were supported by authorities and motivated by the culture of impunity that had characterized Kayibanda and Habyarimana regimes, they got fully and massively involved in the killings. Perpetrators did not take killing Tutsi as a sin as they had been previously doing it in the years back before 1994 and did not face any consequences.



Apart from the aforementioned factors, the density of the administrative and political hierarchies, characteristic of Rwanda for many years, gave genocidal leaders rapid and easy access to the population, but did not guarantee mass participation in the slaughter. As authorities played on popular fears and greed, some people picked up their machetes and came readily. Others came more slowly and some refused to come, even at the risk of their lives. To push Hutus in the killings, authorities offered tangible incentives to participants. They delivered food, drink, and other intoxicants, parts of military uniforms and small payments in cash to hungry, jobless young men. They encouraged cultivators to pillage farm animals, crops, and such building materials as doors, windows and roofs. Even more important in this land-hungry society, they promised cultivators the fields left vacant by Tutsi victims. To entrepreneurs and members of the local elite, they granted houses, vehicles, control of a small business, or such rare goods as television sets or computers. Many poor young men responded readily to the promise of rewards as early 60 percent of Rwandans under the age of twenty, tens of thousands had little hope of obtaining the land needed to establish their own households or the jobs necessary to provide for a family. Such young men, including many displaced by the war and living in camps near the capital, provided many of the early recruits to the Interahamwe, trained in the months before and in the days immediately after the genocide began. Refugees from Burundi, in flight from the Tutsi-dominated army of Burundi, had also received military training in their camps and readily attacked Rwandan Tutsis after April 6.

In some regions, particularly those where Habyarimana's supporters were strongest, authorities needed to do little more than give the signal for Hutus to begin attacking Tutsi. In other areas, such as central and southern Rwanda, where Tutsi were numerous and well integrated and where Habyarimana's party had little standing, many Hutus initially refused to attack Tutsis and joined with them in fighting off assailants. Only when military and civilian authorities resorted to public criticism and harassment, fines, destruction of property, injury, and threat of death did these Hutus give up their open opposition to the genocide. In some places, authorities deliberately drew hesitant Hutus into increasingly more violent behavior, first encouraging them to pillage, then to destroy homes, then to kill the occupants of the homes. Soldiers and police sometimes threatened to punish Hutus who wanted only to pillage and not to harm Tutsis. Authorities first incited attacks on the most obvious targets—men who had acknowledged or could be easily supposed to have ties with the RPF—and only later insisted on the slaughter of women, children, the elderly, and others generally seemed to be apolitical.

Just as communities were ready to kill some Tutsis than others, so individual Hutus would agree to attack one person and not another or, in an extension of the same logic, would attack one person and save another. Hutus who protected Tutsis ordinarily helped those to whom they were linked by the ties of family, friendship, or obligation for past assistance, but sometimes, they also saved the lives of strangers. Even such persons as Colonel Bagosora and leading figures of the interim government saved the lives of Tutsis close to them. In some cases, former officials now seek credit for saving the lives of a few favored Tutsis, as if having done so reduced their responsibility for directing or permitting the slaying of so many others.

This scale of killing (genocide) was also due other factors and strategies used by Hutus leaders to incite their Hutu counterparts to be involved in genocide. Among other techniques used by Hutus leaders to cultivate hatred in genocide perpetrators, it is worth mentioning the creation and use of mass media. According to International Media Support, IMS (2003), after the RPF's attack in October 1990, Radio Rwanda started broadcasting propaganda against the RPF, which had to be called "the enemy". The government's communiques insulted the Tutsis and reports among the farmers had to go along the same line. The first medium known for constantly insulting Tutsis was Kangura whose purpose was to mobilize people around the president on the basis of an ethnic ideology excluding Tutsis. Kangura published "The ten Hutu commandments", a reference to the ten commandments of the Bible widely known in Christian Rwanda. The ten Hutu commandments were a true incitement to hatred, and discrimination against Tutsis. The 10 Hutu commandments concluded, "Every Hutu must widely disseminate this ideology. Any Muhutu who persecutes his Muhutu brother for having read, spread and taught this ideology is a traitor.

Besides Kangura, there was another radical media called RTL (Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines, meaning: One Thousand Hills Free Radio TV). It was created in April 1993. RTL was born when the Arusha

Accords were signed between the Rwandan government and the RPF. The radio's shareholders and founders were known personalities, bank managers, businessmen, journalists from public media, military officers, and government officials. Most of them were members of the MRND and the CDR. They had key-positions in the government before and during the genocide. Like the newspaper Kangura, RTLM regularly denounced opposition members and persons who were known to be critical towards the government as traitors, RPF accomplices and enemies. The radio-station also targeted leaders of civil society and journalists who supported the Arusha Accords, human rights activists and journalists reporting on abuses committed by the MRND, the CDR or the militias. This way of using mass media instilled in Hutus the ideology of hatred to the extent that many Hutus were mentally brainwashed and were prepared to kill any Tutsi as they were taught and were convinced that Tutsis were Hutus' main enemies. The outcome has been the killing of 1, 072, 017 Tutsis according to the recent statistics of IBUGA, an organization advocating for the interests of genocide survivors.

### **Conclusion and Recommendations**

Basing on different motives that pushed many Hutus to be involved in genocide as mentioned by various witnesses, one can deduce that the driving factor was the ideology of hatred that was instilled in Hutus for many decades. Even during the multiparty system in 1991, many Hutus from Gitarama who were in the opposition did so because Habyarimana had isolated them in politics, but that hatred against Tutsis that was taught during Kayibanda regime was still driving their mind. Hutus took as true the false ideology that has been instilled in them to the extent of taking Tutsis as their first enemies, and this became the leading factor to the 1994 genocide against Tutsis. Beside the ideology of hatred, there have been lots of factors that pushed Hutus, even those ones who were previously reluctant, to actively participate in genocide. Those motives include obeying and following blindly the authorities' orders, greed, the culture of impunity that characterized both Kayibanda and Habyarimana regimes whereby the killers were rewarded after killing Tutsis instead of being punished. Apart from those factors, the leaders also used different techniques to incite Hutus to turn against the Tutsis counterparts and kill them. Those techniques include using Gitarama Hutu leaders to mobilize Hutus of the same origin to kill Tutsis and take their properties as a way of overcoming poverty, disseminating false information to instill fear in Hutus and urge them to kill Tutsis.

This being said, would the aforementioned factors and techniques used ever justify genocide? Would anyone be blindly driven by those motives to turn against his/her counterpart? It is undeniable that no reason would ever justify genocide as it is a crime above other crimes that is even beyond human understanding. The problem is that, after the holocaust in 1948, even the international community said never again to genocide, but in 1975, it was committed in Cambodia, 1991 in Srebrenica and in 1994, in Rwanda against Tutsis. This infers that, if no serious measures are taken to prevent it, it is likely to happen again. Hence, there is a need to join our effort and work hand in hand to denounce any act or source that would lead to genocide. Together, we can make it.

As this research was a bit short and not exhaustive, it is worthwhile making some suggestions and recommendations to keep on writing about genocide as one way of preventing it if we are striving for the wellbeing of human kind and of Rwandans in particular. Therefore, the following are the recommendations to take into consideration.

It would be better if the Government of Rwanda invests much money in the research about genocide in many and remote areas of the country so to have genocide history documented in every place. This would be one way of having a full history of Rwanda during and after the darkest time of its history, that is, genocide against Tutsi in 1994.

Rwanda should also request all universities and high learning institutions to make and present research on genocide in different parts of the country as a way of giving back to the effort the government is investing in providing a conducive and safe place of learning which contributed to the emergence of tertiary education which was quasi-inexistent before 1994.

In addition, as different areas don't share the same realities during the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, it would be better if each area has its own history and, therefore, other researchers should orient their studies in some

regions with some particularities like how genocide was perpetrated in "Zone Turquoise" during French intervention to support the former government, genocide in Bisesero, and genocide on the way to Congo when the former government was going into exile.

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