



**COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**CENTRE FOR CONFLICT MANAGEMENT**

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**ASSESSMENT OF THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS TO  
FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM**

A Thesis submitted to the University of Rwanda in partial fulfillment of the academic requirements for the award of a Master Degree in Arts and Security Studies

By

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Nyakinama, 15 May 2020

## DECLARATION

I, KWISABA Mbonimpa declare that this research project entitled “**Assessment of the efforts to fight against terrorism in Rwanda**” is my own product and is not produced for a degree in other college or university or for any other award. All sources used or quoted have been shown and acknowledged by the means of referencing.

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Signature:

Date: May 15, 2020

## **APPROVAL**

I hereby declare that this thesis entitled” “Assessment of the efforts to fight against terrorism in Rwanda has been presented with my approval

**Name of supervisor:** Dr Innocent RUGARAGU

Signature:

Date: May 15, 2020

## **DEDICATION**

To my wife,  
To my children, brothers and sisters,  
Lecturers of the University of Rwanda

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I am gratefully acknowledging this thesis by thanking the almighty God for gift of life given into me throughout this course. Secondly I wish to pay special tribute to my family especially my wife Marie Louise UWIGIZE and our children. I extend my gratitude to my supervisor Dr Innocent RUGARAGU and Dr Furaha Umutoni Alida without their intellectual guidance and support; it would have been difficult to complete this work.

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## **LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

ACSRT	: African Center for the Study and Research on the Terrorism
ADF	: Allied Democratic Front
APSA	: African Peace Support Architecture,
CT	: Counter Terrorism
DRC	: Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	: East African Community
ECCAS	: Economic Community of Central African State,
ECOWAS	: Economic Community of West African State
FDLR	: Forces Democratique de Liberation du Rwanda
GWOT	: Global War on Terrorism
LRA	: Lord's Resistance Army
MINALOC	: Ministry of Local Governance
MINJUST	: Ministry of justice
MRCDD	: Rwanda Movement Democratic for Change
NATO	: North Atlantic Trade organization,
RDF	: Rwanda Defense Force
RNC	: Rwanda National Congress,
RNP	: Rwanda National Police
UNDP	: United Nations Developments Program.

## **ABSTRACT**

This study investigates the efforts taken by the Rwandan Government to fight against Terrorism and it analyzes the additional measures from grass roots up to national security organs' level and vice versa that can help to mitigate terrorism. This study adopted a qualitative research design to understand different perceptions from 78 respondents based in the Rwanda National Police, the Rwanda Defense Force, the Ministry of Justice and Ministry of local Government. The efficacy theory of terrorism was applied to understand the meaning behind the collected data.

The study finds that acts of terrorism have impacted on the general life of the country. Findings showed that there is need to increasing communication at the local level to ensure that measures are well understood and followed by the community. In doing so, it helps filling the gaps between community and security forces in terms of information sharing that in turn will provide ground to mitigate terrorism in Rwanda. The findings also reveal that acts of terrorism in Rwanda could be understood as both a criminal act and as a political strategy meant to threaten the security of the state.

This study will provide information on current situation on terrorism in Rwanda. Empirically, this study contributes evidence from the security personnel, as well as from other institutions in charge of security.

**Keys words:** Terrorism, Security, Rwanda

## CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of the study

The issue of security is a concern of all states and government. Security is a concept whose political significance has changed continually over time affecting the behavior of individuals and states, and as such, the issue of security has developed within International relations as a gateway for understanding driving forces within international politics. The rate of international threats and the nature of the world conflicts make the study of security central for policy makers and scholars searching for more understanding, and predicting, behavior in global politics. In traditional thinking, the security observed the state as the referent entity and therefore security according to the realists meant security of the state from external aggression by other states, hence all states required military as power to ensure their own self-protection (Rotberg, 2004).

The definition of security has however expanded significantly to include issues beyond territorial conflicts and inter-state aggression underpinned by globalization. By the reference to the World Economic Forum (WEF) report of 2015, the world major threats to peace are many such as terrorist activities where states are collapsing due to the terrorists, conflict between states in form of international geographical bordering tensions, and human security concerns like water crisis and unemployment. Most of these threats have been viewed as international yet they also affect individual states either directly or indirectly. Consequently, all continents in the world have experienced security related issues. The security in Africa generally is characterized by various nature of conflicts such as armed conflict caused by external as well as internal actors' influences

The problem of the threat which comes out or within borders is a big security issue and addressing it has become a basic strategic and moral imperative in Africa (Bugnacki, 2015). A critical approach reveals the underlying social, political, and historical structures that must be taken into account to successfully assess what is and what is not a true security threat and ultimately find solutions. The security doctrine in Africa remains rooted in political realist thought; whereby the state, has kept its place of importance in security narratives through government to government interactions and consultations.

The critical issues constructing the African security situation are terrorism, war and political violence. Although Rwanda was not much threatened by terrorist groups but enhancing its security along the border due to generated by FDLR and other affiliated groups, has been considered.

Besides, Rwanda can be also as a potential target by terrorist groups either for recruitment, transportation or a harbor. Improving the counterterrorism capacity of its security services remained a high priority for the Government of Rwanda; however, counter terrorism approaches in terms of decentralized sensitization are still ongoing. Terrorism is subject to prosecution in Rwanda under the 2008 law on counterterrorism.

The list of terrorism-related offenses was clarified and expanded in the 2012 penal code reform. An Anti-terrorism Unit exists within the Rwanda National Police (RNP); however, currently it is working effectively but due to the new terrorist tools, devices and modern technology, there is need to have specialized training with new addition equipment to deal with terrorist technology tools. Relations between the RNP and its law enforcement counterparts in most of the East African Community (EAC) are strong, particularly with Uganda, but counterterrorism collaboration in Kampala to discuss better ways to fight terrorism in the region. Measures agreed upon included the establishment of a counterterrorism planning desk, to be hosted and coordinated by Rwanda, and regular EAC meetings on ways to fight terrorism.

The Government of Rwanda prosecuted 13 Rwandan citizens for having committed terrorism crimes under Article 497 of the 2012 Penal Code in relation to grenade attacks and other alleged related activities.

## **1.2. Statement of the problem**

Ideally, terrorism in Rwanda is not much viewed as a major threat at grass root level. Yet it is now a global threat which can be fought global or regional efforts. The success or failure of any country depends greatly on the approaches used to counter any threat. Rwanda faced several terrorist attacks from FDLR which today is considered as a terrorist organization against Rwanda. In addition, most of terrorist groups are interconnected and this interrelationship makes every country to be a target either in form of attack, recruitment, transit or a harbor for terrorists. However, local populations including leaders at district level downwards are less aware of terrorist trends. Rwanda has been participating in several strategic planning meeting against fighting terrorists in EAC as a member state but sharing perception with low level leaders lacks lays a bigger loophole for terrorism. Being a partner state in the pursuit of preventing terrorist attacks as a regional player makes it to be a target.

Like many other countries, Rwanda could be a target by terrorist groups specifically Front Democratic pour la Liberation du Rwanda (FDLR) and Rwanda National Congress (RNC). Hence fighting against any terrorist activity requires decentralized sensitization especially at grass root level. Moreover, most of terrorist organizations employ locally made objects/devices which could not be detected by modern systems. In order to counterattack, the State needs to train its security staff to deal with such critical issues. Further still, comprehensive approach in gathering information would involve grass root levels in all issues pertaining to state security. In addition to existing channels of sharing information, this will require enough mobilization through establishment of focal points, special groups (clubs), clusters and forums for quick information sharing. Thus, putting much efforts at equipping population with terrorist' trends and their ways of operations would enhance security. Therefore, this study examines comprehensive approach and efforts of different security agencies in Rwanda to enhance counter terrorism measures.

Due to the consequence caused by some acts of terrorist sent by the FDLR and RNC, there are measures taken by the government through security organs. Therefore the researcher wants to assess the efforts taken to fight the terrorism if they are sufficient for the elimination of terrorism in Rwanda.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

#### **1.3.1 General objective**

The main purpose of this study is to assess the effort taken to fight against terrorism in Rwanda

#### **1.3.2 The specific objectives**

This study was guided by the following specific objectives

- i. To assess the impact of terrorism within the country
- ii. To examine the effort taken by security organs such as Rwanda national police, Rwanda defense force to fight against terrorism in the country
- iii. To scrutinize the additional potential measures of information sharing from grass roots level up to security organs with the purpose of eliminating terrorism in the country

### **1.4 Study questions**

This research aims at answering the following questions:

- i. What are the impacts of terrorism in Rwanda?
- ii. What are the efforts taken by the security organizations like the Rwanda National Police, the Rwanda Defense Force among others to fight against terrorism in Rwanda?

- iii. What are the additional potential measures from grass roots level up to and vice versa that can help to eliminate terrorism in Rwanda?

### **1.5 The scope of the study**

The sufficient time and financial means constitute the limits to this research. This study is limited to only terrorism in Rwanda. This study was carried out within the period from July 2019 up to May 2020. The domain of this research work were limited to security studies and results interpretation was based on different ideas and opinions from employees of the security organs and Rwandan civilians

### **1.6 Significance of the study**

This study will provide information on current situation on terrorism in Rwanda. Empirically, this study contributes evidence from the security personnel, as well as from other institutions in charge of security.

### **1.7 The organization of the study**

This research project will cover five chapters where chapter one will consist of general introduction including background of the study, problem statement, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, scope of the study and the organization of the study. Chapter two will cover review of related literature concerned with the discussion of theoretical literature, empirical literature, critical review and gap identification, theoretical framework and conceptual framework of the topic related. Chapter three will consist of the research methodology and describes the research design, target population, sampling techniques, data collection tools, data analysis and ethical consideration. Chapter four will describe the analysis and interpretation of the findings of the study from the field while chapter five will be based the summary, conclusions, and recommendations.



## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1 Introduction**

The second chapter of this study was included different parts of the literature related with the research objectives which was to assessment of effort taken to fight against terrorism in Rwanda and this part comprised also the operational definitions of keys terms, measures taken to fight against the terrorism in different countries, theoretical and its conceptual framework which are related to the assessment of efforts taken to fight against terrorism in Rwanda, terrorism groups, the concept of terrorism and its impacts to the society

### **2.2 Operational definitions of key term**

Terrorism is defined as any threat or attacks of terror group which manifest in the form of violence or to persuade an individual, group or entity to participate in a way in what any individual or group of persons be forced lawfully to act where the community struggle for those act (Burgess, 2003).

Efforts taken to fight terrorism: incorporates the practice, military tactics, techniques, and strategy that government, military, law enforcement, business, and intelligence agencies use to combat or prevent terrorism (Burgess, 2003). Counter-terrorism strategy is a government's plan to use the instruments of national power to neutralize terrorists, their organizations, and their networks in order to render them incapable of using violence to instill fear and to coerce the government or its citizens to react in accordance with the terrorists' goals (Burgess, 2003).

Terrorism is also defined as the Latin word called "terrere" of the meaning of frightening or tremble and is linked from the word terror (Burgess, 2004). When this word is associated with the suffix "isme" referred "to apply" or "to put into practice", its definition becomes the application of trembling or to put into the practice of trembling" or "to cause frightening". This means that it is a combination of fears, horror, worries, anxiety and obviously symbolized as terror (Burgess, 2004). More than 2200 years old, in prehistoric Rome the declaration of terror as new word of the meaning of the terror cimbricus was stated as the fear or anxiety and catastrophe with challenges corresponded to the killers (Burgess, 2004).

Similar researches were done to demonstrate the real definition of the terrorism and more than 211 definitions were stated universally and simply over 90 was accepted. These are frequently utilized in different countries and within their governmental institutions (Schmid, 2012). Terrorism can be explained as fear or an anxiety expressed through different methods which are done by violating different activities performed by different person, different groups or government. Consequences are multiple for the community, with criminal, political purpose and also have the direct of targets of killing, violence and assassination of targeted people (Schmid, 2012). Human victims of violence are selected accidentally from the representative targeted and considered as the message generators (Schmid, 2012).

United states of America, Defense Department also consider that the terrorism is as an intended activity prepared where the criminal uses or an illegal threat of violence to indoctrinate the anxiety or fears to force or to coerce the governmental to surrender. Terrorism acts are commonly based on ideological, political and religious believes (Schmid, 2012).

It is considered as the act of forcing the government by using the violence for threatening the community with the purpose of social, political, religious and economical disturbance without any consideration of public safety and property (Ender et al, 2002).

It is also defined as the deliberate exercise or an violence act which is extra normally or violence done by group of people for political, religious and ideological purpose of destruction of public activities and property without the respect of governments policy making or it is intimidation of a huge audience practically regardless of policy made in the country and have main objective of threat of violence and the target of influencing the government political, economic and religious believe(Ender et al,2002). Perception of terrorism can be also defined as the violence form and targeted to fight the civilians in order to attain the politics goals as national citizen to enhance the political, economic, ideological and religious (Mwangi, 2003).

In worldwide terrorism is summarized as single definitions that would be seriously based on different interest and intended to achieve the same thoughtful in the world in order to against it in combined effort and having certain motives, identity (Brooke, 2009) and top have same definition of terrorism is not an easy issue to fight against terrorism because in different country it appeared as a very valuable act and manifested in types or form of violence (Brooke, 2009)

## **2.3 Terrorism Forms**

There is no commonly agreed upon classification of terrorism, but depending on the country, the political system, and the time in history, the types of terrorism are varying. However different scholars have come up with classifications most of which tend to agree on the following types or forms (Mwangi, 2003).

### **2.3.1 Religious Terrorism**

Religious terrorism is terrorism performed by groups or individuals, the motivation of which is typically rooted in faith-based tenets and Terrorist acts throughout history have been performed on religious grounds with the goal to either spread or enforce a system of belief, viewpoint or opinion carried out based on motivations and goals that have a predominantly religious character or influence. The validity and scope of religious terrorism is therefore limited to the individual or a group view or interpretation of that belief system's teachings (Mwangi, 2003). Today, terrorism in the name of religion has become the predominant model for political violence in the modern world. Examples of religious terrorism include the Christian crusades during the middle ages by the Catholic Church against the Islamic east, the modern Islamic extremism in Rwanda.

### **2.3.2. State Sponsored Terrorism**

State terrorism refers to terrorist acts by government agents or forces. It involves the use of state resources employed by a state's foreign policies, such as using its military to directly perform acts of terrorism. Some cited examples of state terrorism include the German bombing of London and the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor. Other state terrorism reported include the British firebombing of Dresden, the Lockerbie bombing by Libya in 1998 and the U.S. atomic bombing of Hiroshima during World War II. The use of terror tactics is common in international relations and the state has been and remains a more likely employer of terrorism within the international system than insurgents. It links "terror of coercive diplomacy" which holds the world hostage with the implied threat of using nuclear weapons in "crisis management" and argue that the institutionalized form of terrorism has occurred as a result of changes that took place following World War II. The concept of state terrorism is also used to describe political repressions by governments against their own civilian population with the purpose to incite fear; for example, taking and executing civilian hostages or extrajudicial elimination (Michael, 2010).

### **2.3.3. Domestic Terrorism**

Domestic terrorism involves violence against the civilian population or infrastructure of a nation often but not always by citizens of that nation and often with the intent to intimidate, coerce, or influence national policy (Mickolus et al., 1989). Here we can say the cases of FDLR and attacks of Sankara in Southern region of Rwanda in 2019 can also be referred to as domestic terrorism.

### **2.3.4. Transnational Terrorism**

Transnational terrorism is a premeditated threatened or actual use of force or violence to attain a political goal through fear, coercion, or intimidation and when its ramifications transcend national boundaries through the nationality of the perpetrators and/or human or institutional victims, location of the incident, or mechanics of its resolution. Most of the terror attacks orchestrated by Al-Qaida have been transnational in nature for example the 9/11 attacks, and the attacks on the American Embassies in Tanzania and Kenya in 1998.

### **2.2.3 Security of the State**

The concept of state is defined in various ways depending on the school of thought, according to Max Weber; the state is a compulsory political organization with a centralized government that maintains a monopoly of the legitimate use of force within a certain territory. General categories of state institutions include administrative bureaucracies, legal systems, and military or religious organizations. The Westphalia treaty of 1648 defined the state as an entity comprising territory, people or population and established authority of government. However in the contemporary world the definition has been improved to include legal autonomy in form of sovereignty in terms of international recognition declared by the United Nations Assembly and Security Council as part of definition of the state.

Carl Marx defines the state as a community of the dominant class running the affairs of a community in their interest. According to the Marxists, the functions of the state include making laws and using the institutions of coercion to propagate the interests of the few economically powerful. It is therefore evident that the state is defined differently depending on the school of thought. A common understanding describes the state as an association of people recognized for the purposes of law and order and diplomacy as a legally equal member of the system of states. It is a means of organizing people for the purpose of participating in domestic affairs and the international system.

The social contract theory by John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau (D'Agostia, 2017) explains the origin of the state and its role. According to this theory, the justification for political obligation is that men are naturally self-interested, rational, and will choose to submit to the authority of a Sovereign State in order to be able to live in a civil society, which is conducive to their interests.

The theory further argues that before, man lived in a state of nature in which life was short, brutal and nasty, lonely and anarchic. Man therefore decided to make a social contract and surrender their liberties and freedoms to a single entity; the leviathan (state) whose role according to Hobbes was to keep law and order and punish offenders. John Locke was of the view that the need to protect life and property was the basis for state formation and therefore concurs with Hobbes on the function of the state.

Jean Jacques Rousseau on the other hand emphasized more on freedom and the role of the state as safeguarding the freedom from abuse by others. It can therefore be inferred that the role of the state was basically for security of the people. The Marxists view the role of the state differently by emphasizing economic determinism. According to Karl Max, all behavior in society is determined by the nature of economy at that particular timing and that the state is therefore a product of economy and class divisions and the role of the state is therefore to protect the interests of the dominant class

## **2.4 Empirical review**

### **2.4.1 Terrorism on the Worldwide**

The impact of terrorism and counter-terrorism measures has remained a top agenda issue in global discourse on security since the 11th September 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States of America. Following the event, the attitude and thinking about terrorism changed following the US led “war on terror”, calling for concerted action among states to prevent and combat terrorism. Since then, the UN Security Council passed several resolutions also calling for concerted efforts among states to fight terrorism. Today almost all countries in the world have had to put in place policies aimed at fighting terrorism irrespective of having been attacked or not. Globalization has been at the forefront of exacerbating terrorism by enhancing the clash of civilizations and aiding the rapid sharing of terrorist ideas across world wide networks enhanced by technological advancement which has also eased financing, information sharing and propaganda. The

globalization of terror has also changed in character as the world moves away from the state sponsored phenomenon of the 1980s (Martinage, 2008).

Democracy has also precipitated an enabling environment for terrorists to operate due to freedom of movement, enjoyment of rights of bail and other rights of uninterrupted access to their targets, gadgets, recruits and financiers. In the past, national and international dimensions of terrorism were known issue areas, but recent focus on global/international concerns is having an unprecedented impact on national level policy, with implications for both mature and emergent democracies. The consequences therefore create a situation of persistent fear, uncertainty, loss of lives and destruction of property which affects sustainable peace and development. Therefore, understanding the motivations and causes of terrorism helps to frame a comprehensive counterterrorism measures in order to understand and mitigate the challenges undermining any given method. The relationship between various contributing factors and terrorism has been the topic of discussion among scholars since the 1960s. Progress has been made over the years through research in an effort to understand the nature of terrorism, why it emerges, escalates and subsequently how to counter it. The focus on identifying the causes of terrorism has caught more attention in light of developing threats, prompting intense debates and consideration yet has not resulted in agreement on any one precise cause (Christopher, 2002).

A new era of modern terrorism emerged after Al-Qaeda terrorist attacks in New York (USA) on 11 Sep 01 (9/11); terrorism had long been a fact of international life but previous attacks had not been as murderous as 9/11. Focus was therefore on three issues that the aftermath of the said terrorist attacks created, one of them was the source of contemporary terrorism that include transformative act of globalization, rise of various types of religious beliefs and increasing dissatisfaction of world's powerless with perceived injustices and slow pace of reform, Al-Qaeda network also started supporting other terrorist cells globally to promote their ideology including ADF in Uganda. It is further argued that some terrorists are strategic actors who use violence to achieve their political goals successfully However, it is further stated that it is important to understand what motivates terrorist organizations and how they behave since this has implications on formulating policies to prevent and defeat terrorism (Kukundakwe, 2013).

The major focus in this literature was to analyze how countries respond to modern terrorism and was mainly critical of USA counter terrorism policies that have influenced policy elsewhere but also with ramifications of escalating terrorism instead. It advocated for enhanced intelligence or

counter terrorism policies to succeed. It is also stated that terrorism is caused by market systems of globalization and When the market economies threaten beneficiaries of traditional economies, terror emerges because western values threaten their survival and also it is further stated that authoritarianism and poverty cause terrorism but another scholar, Michael Mousseau rejects the argument because terrorism occurs also in democracies like India. It is also argued that poverty creates a sense of hopelessness, restricts educational opportunity and produces frustration over inequality. There is a demonstrated correlation between poverty and terrorism (Brown et al., 2010). However, if poverty was the cause, then terrorism would have been more pronounced in the 1990s when many people were poorer. Moreover, 9/11 individual terrorists were educated with good economic prospects.

Brown et al (2010) reject the notion that Islamic religious beliefs provide cultural foundation for contemporary terrorism. The point of reference was the non-Islamic Societies in Northern Island and elsewhere that provided social support for terror and therefore demonstrated that Islam cannot explain the causes of terrorism conclusively. However, they also acknowledge that most suicide attacks today are perpetuated by terrorist groups that adhere to radical Salaf jihadist ideology.

Although ideology plays an important role in explaining global proliferation of suicide attack, there is no evidence that it is the cause of suicide attacks. Brown et al therefore acknowledge that causes of terrorism are complex and reflect interplay of personal motivation, strategic and tactical objectives of sponsoring groups; they further state that to win a war against terrorism, USA and Allies should have both military and political measures. Achieving political victory requires an understanding of the social basis of terror. It is also argued that counter terrorism deterrent strategies may have no significant role to play in countering a new terrorist threat. The case against use of deterrence strategies in counter terrorist campaigns appears to rest on three (3) pillars; they are irrational and therefore unresponsive to the cost benefit calculation required for deterrence. Secondly, Robert Pape argues that many terrorists are highly motivated and willing to die and so are not deterred by fear of punishment or anything else (Brown et al.,2010).

Thirdly, even if terrorists were afraid of punishment, they cannot be deterred because they lack a return address against which retaliation can be revisited. That because of this, deterrence will prove ineffective and counter terrorist strategies should attempt to address root causes such as winning hearts and minds and democratization in the long run.

Martha Crenshaw (2010) believes that the 2004 and 2005 bombings in Madrid and London respectively brought in a mix of domestic and imported terrorism. She argues that in defining terrorism, a conceptual framework should be developed on three levels of analysis i.e. individual, group and its measures. She therefore advocates for research on the aggregate level which handles underlying conditions like poverty, education level and repression (Crenshaw, 2010).

In other words, policy makers should not only focus on what causes terrorism in generic sense but what causes a particular form of terrorism, it is argued that terrorism in the context of an insurgency may have different causes and consequences than terrorism in peaceful settings where violence is the exception rather than a rule, therefore emphasizes the need for a study on why individuals become radicalized in a democratic setting. She pointed out five basic and interrelated reasons of terrorism regardless of specific political objective or ideology to set political agenda in the conflict. They include; undermining authority of Government they oppose, targeted population, provoke overreaction from Government, mobilize popular support and coerce compliance (Crenshaw, 2010).

It is stated that terrorism has changed with respect to 9/11 attacks in the USA due to the process of globalization for example advance in communication, access to weapons and explosives and individual mobility. It has been observed that Government decision makers should act to change terrorists' beliefs of an individual and not a group since there is little indication that the group as a collectivity will change. Policy makers should therefore ensure that counter terrorism measures is linked to grand measures and policy goals. Government therefore must organize, respond, analyze intelligence, establish special units in security Forces, coordinate bureaucratic resources and secure legal changes to facilitate apprehension and conviction of terrorism and the national security to the USA are terrorists with nuclear weapons and the second biggest threat are terrorists without nuclear weapons but armed with box-cutters, rifles or homemade explosives However, (Smith 2010) argues that this was a conscious effort by the President Bush II Administration to keep the American people in the state of existential fear in order to justify launching endless aggressive wars outside USA.

Smith (2010) further argues that USA counter terrorist major efforts had been focused on the effects of terrorism particularly in the Middle East over the decades and underestimated profound causes which contributed significantly to the rise of terror and therefore were misguided to some extent. Smith (2010) postulated that after 9/11 terrorist attacks, the USA policy on terrorism



changed from passive approach to reactive approach and therefore treated effects instead of root causes.

It is acknowledged that the Taliban in Afghanistan were ultra-conservative religious extremists, the USA policies of foreign interference in Middle East largely generated the conditions that led to the creation of Al-Qaeda and suicide bombers, the author argues the policies included support of Israel and physical occupation in her Allied Islamic Countries like Saudi Arabia and Jordan, to the chagrin of other conservative Arab Muslims. In the process of gaining dominance over most Middle East regimes, USA alienated the masses of people throughout the region forcing extremists into terrorism in order to confront the mighty USA using asymmetrical warfare which is a weapon of the weak.

The Hamas and Palestinian Liberation movements are extremists and terrorize Israel because of USA continuous support against Arabs in Gaza and Palestine, this therefore attributes the root cause of terrorism in Middle East to be partly externally driven after the creation of the State of Israel in 1948 (Smith, 2010).

Foreign policy can be part of root causes of terrorism by subjugating states and therefore forcing them into terrorism. The USA can mitigate terrorism in Middle East by revising her foreign policy and support the policy of equitable solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and take measures to enhance Israel's compliance, discontinue support for undemocratic governments and monarchies, apologize for decades of manipulation and violence, invest heavily in eliminating poverty in the entire region and improve social services for the masses of people. Smith therefore believes that when such conditions are realized, the world may witness the end of jihadist terrorism.

Crenshaw (2010) identifies root causes (or preconditions) as those factors that set the stage for terrorism over the long run, whereas trigger causes (or precipitants) are specific events that immediately precede the occurrence of terrorism, after the events of 9/11, former United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan further stressed the need to address the root causes of terrorism in order to be able to fight it. Measures should therefore include policies to identify and address root causes rather than address symptoms, Koffi Annan therefore warned that if we are to defeat terrorism, it is our duty and indeed our interest, to try to understand this deadly phenomenon, and carefully examine what works, and what does not, in fighting it. He also emphasized that it was

just as erroneous to believe that terrorism is unrelated to political and social factors, as it is to assume that terrorists are merely products of their environment.

He asserted that, “Terrorism will only be defeated if we act to solve the political disputes or long-standing conflicts that generate support for it. If we do not, we should find ourselves acting as recruiting sergeants for the very terrorists we seek to suppress.” In this book, Crenshaw highlights the difficulty of finding general explanations for terrorism and contends that it is possible to distinguish different types of variables, as a starting point for further research on causal relations

The relationship between terrorism and democracy continues to challenge scholars in their search for causes of terrorism. It is generally agreed that a lack of democracy, civil liberties and the rule of law are preconditions for many forms of domestic terrorism. Generally, the most democratic and totalitarian societies have the lowest levels of oppositional violence. Failed or weak states on the other hand, lack the capacity or sometimes the will to exercise territorial control. This often leaves a power vacuum that can be exploited by terrorist organizations to maintain safe havens, training facilities or serve as bases for launching terrorist campaigns for example Somalia and the existence of several terrorist and insurgent groups in Eastern DRC (Tomis, 2003).

However, this should not be perceived as simply lack of democracy or democratic processes. Long standing liberal democracies with established traditions of free speech and tolerance have been the targets of both domestic and foreign extremist ideologies as a consequence of more fundamental political or personal reasons. Democracies actually provide the environment that is exploited by terrorist to further their agenda; any intelligent discussion of terrorism must investigate the causes and objectives of terrorism, and set parameters for a legitimate response to what many regard as a fundamental challenge to world peace (Tomis, 2003). Benjamin Netanyahu (1987) ,in his book, *Terrorism: How the West Can Win* (2006) argues that the only way to combat terrorism is to weaken and destroy the terrorist’s ability to consistently launch attacks, even at the risk of civilian casualties. However, Netanyahu’s discourse has limitations about the possible causes of terrorist violence beyond subjective allusions to Islam’s confrontation with modernity and causing civilian casualties which alienate their support to Government. Netanyahu portrays a terrorist as a carrier of oppression and enslavement with no moral sense whose elimination is the only rational means for the West to win.

This is an indifferent statement because it actually plays into the hands of the terrorist. The language typified in Netanyahu's book provides a paradigm of how the rhetoric of terror has generated only more terrorism. The principle that the only way to deal with terrorism is with counter-terrorist violence, has been the policy of successive Israeli governments since the early 1950s. The result has not reduced, but escalated the threat of terrorism in the Middle East. His view is therefore not just idiosyncratic but representative in a way of his government views. They illustrate how the Israeli reprisal attacks of Palestinians have not deterred Palestinian violence directed at Israelis. They disprove Netanyahu's claim that terrorists will rarely engage in terror tactics if the risks to their own survival are too great. They are also against his argument that deterrence will put a stop to terrorism and protect innocent civilians from terrorist violence. . (Netanyahu, 1987).

#### **2.4.2 Terrorism in Africa**

Most of developed countries have faces fears and response of what is known as international terrorism which has had serious repercussion for general African development goal and constructing the a global participation to fight against the terrorism. The September 11 discussion on terrorism has been over powering strong-minded from outer Africa and African voices have only donated on an ad hoc basis and African researchers and specialist from different African countries have had little time to share their analysis and evaluations on these challenges (Hübschle, 2006)

Terrorism and measures to fight against terrorism have damaged the different norms, rules and institutions that strengthen the security service in continent and through the discrimination use of violence terrorism have disfigured and innocent people killed, threatened jobs, hurt democratic process of conflict resolution in the community and society (Hübschle, 2006).

The Islamic terrorist group called Al-Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb has the purpose of spreading terrorism and deals in African countries and be expanded in sub-Saharan African countries. The Al-Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb created its organization or cells in Libya after the death of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi with the facilitation of NATO force in Libya which is also established in west Africa countries especially in Mali and Somalia faced Al-Qaeda ideology-based terrorism (Fabiani, 2016).

Moslem brotherhood has created in the Egypt and has not been spreader the terror wave in Africa on December 30<sup>th</sup>, 2013 where Egypt recommended other Arab league members to impose the

measures to fight against terrorism strategy that would weaken the source of funds and others support for Muslim brotherhood after naming it as terrorist group in Egypt (Andrew, 2012).

Boko Haram is also a terrorist group in Nigeria and was known as attacking Muslim, Christians and government policies targets, they attack by bombing the churches, schools attacking, mosques attacking, attacking of police stations, kidnapping of western tourist and attacks of Book haram resulted the estimation of 10000 deaths from 2002, kidnapping more than 200 schoolgirls in northern Nigeria and selling them it wants to set up pure Islamic state ruled based on sharia law (Walker, 2012).

### **2.4.3 Terrorism in East African Countries**

Most of east African countries suffer from the terrorism especially all region in sub-Sahara Africa, all those countries are the more victims of terrorism threats and they are carried out by and against country's nationals for household purpose where it intended to the extra national or extra regional targets .in 1998 terror attacks was introduced in Kenya (Norfolk hotel) and in 1998 other terrorists attack was introduced simultaneously on the United States of America embassies in Nairobi and Dares salaam (Tanzania), attacks done simultaneously in Mombasa, Kenya, on paradise hotel and on an Israel-bound aircraft at takeoff from Mombasa international airport in Kenya in November, 2002, the attacks was done also during world cup final in Kampala, Uganda in July 2010 and other attacks bombing on the Kampla-bound bus in Nairobi in December, 2010 (Mwangi, 2013).

In reference to local newspapers such as Rushyashya, Umuseke, New Times and Kigali Today, Rwanda has faced unsuccessful terrors from MRCD and FDLR. The FDRL, from DRC, was responsible for terrorism activities in Kigali City. Other terrorist attacks have occurred within rural areas by destruction of people activities, killing innocent people, violation of human rights in Rwanda. On 17th March 2019 in Nyamasheke district, Karambi sector around Nyungwe forest terrorist attacked and affected civil activities and killed people (Umuseke, 2019). Other terror group attacks which happened on 1<sup>st</sup> July 2018 from Burundi through Nyungwe forest appeared in Nyaruguru District, Nyabimata sector, Ruhinga cell and Cyamuzi village and those attacks were defeated by RDF (Rushyushya, 2018). Further attacks were performed by FDRL on 10 December, 2018 in Rubavu district (Kigali today, 2018). Currently, the major terrorist groups considered to be a threat to Rwandan security remains FDLR, RNC and MRCD. Similarly, attacks occurred in

Rusizi District, Bweyeye Sector at Nyamuzi cell and these terror group was from Burundi in Kibira Forest on 7 November, 2019 (Newtimes, 2019).

Mwangi (2013) argued that some of East African' countries are vulnerable to terrorism acts due to their weak governance, leadership, political conflicts, collapsed state institutions and social economic condition. Porous borders which facilitate widespread and unrestrained movements of people and small arms proliferation promote illegal handling weapons. Enlarged extremist of ideologies based religious and vulnerable groups radicalized (Mwangi, 2013).

#### **2.4.4 Effect of Terrorism on Human Right**

Main target of terrorism is violence of human right, country democracy and rules of law. It attacks the principles that lie down the charter heart of united nations and different international material or instruments which are the rule of law, armed governing rules, conflict and civilian protections, respect of human right, raise of tolerance among the people and nations, peaceful resolution strategy (Richardson, 2011).

Terrorism impacted directly the enjoyment of human right especially the life right, liberty and physical integrity and its acts destabilize governmental projects, weaken the civil society, peace jeopardized and security, disturbance to the social economic development of the country The Rwanda National Commission for Human Rights hereby presents Rwanda's efforts in combating terrorism given the resolution 31/30 of the Human Rights Council on "Effects of terrorism on the enjoyment of all human Rwanda's constitution, 2015.

### **2.6 Theoretical framework**

A theoretical framework allows the reader to conceptualize the study in a broader context and in a given field of knowledge which is security studies. This study will be guided by the Efficacy theory of Terrorism as developed below.

#### **2.6.1 Efficacy Theory of Terrorism**

A Schmid (2010) defined terrorism in various contexts as crimes, politics, war, propaganda and religion. The terrorism in Rwanda is based on politics and terrorist activities are taken as crimes. The terrorist activities adopted with different terrorist group in the world and stated that terrorism is like the threat and utilization of illegal violence to deteriorate political authority whose can be a government, class, race, religious, party, minority or a combination of all of them. The main

explanation for the occurrence of terrorism is that terrorism is a measure or a weapon of the weak because the weak try to achieve their objectives by violence and acts of terrorism. If those wanting to weaken a hated political authority were strong, they would not use terrorism as their main measures because successful terrorism depends entirely upon the actions of the target. Other studies about successful terrorism based on the targeted activities, and then one should study the characteristics of the terrorist group and not the behavior of the terrorist group (Martha, 2008). The efficacy theory of terrorism should be applied on terrorist groups in Rwanda because always their attacks were targeting weak people and innocent civilian.

## 2.7. Conceptual framework

Conceptual framework of this study plan has based on two variables which were used to reach study objectives. In this regards, the independent variable of this study was the effort taken to fight against terrorism while the dependent variable were the terrorism to be fought.

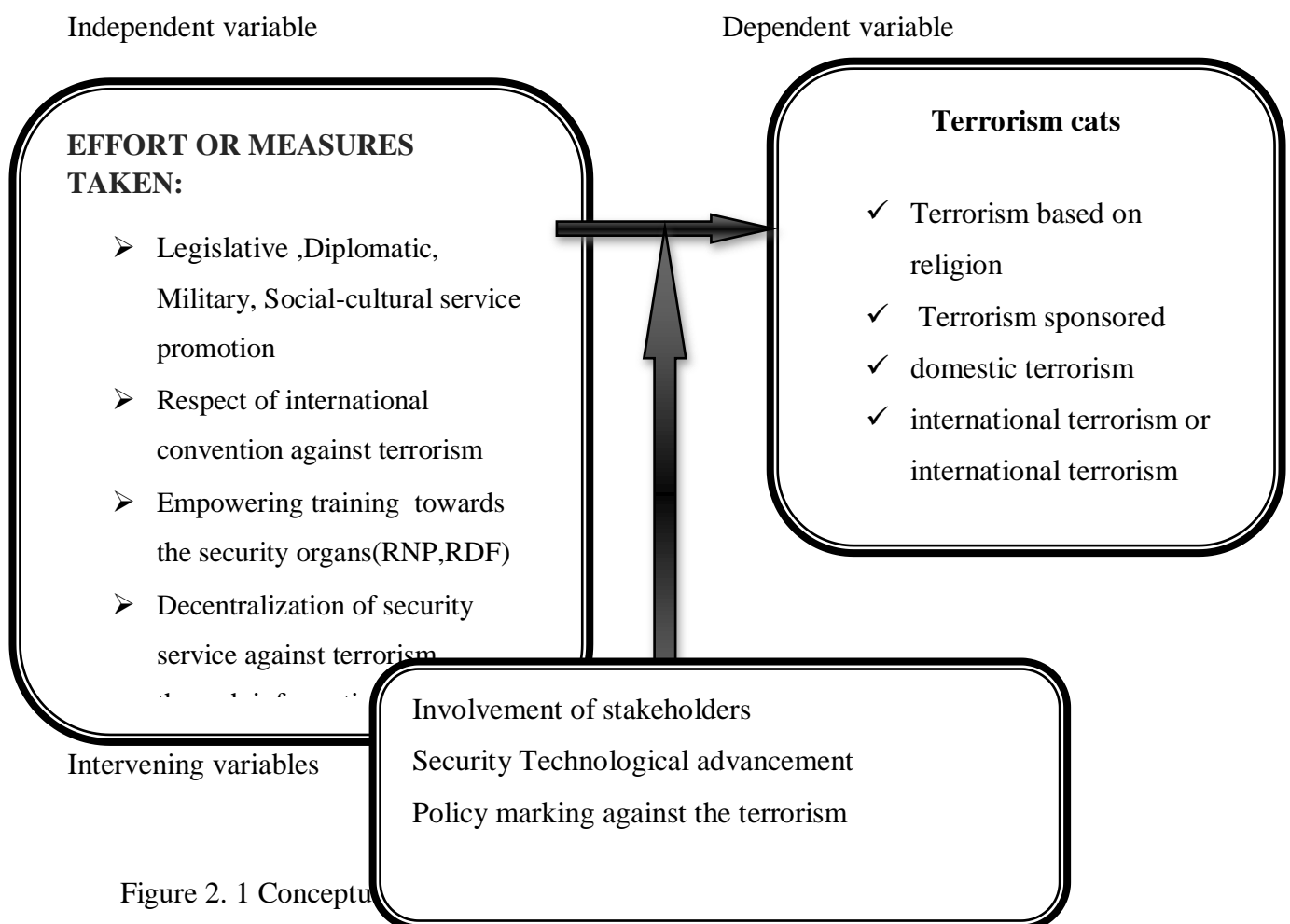


Figure 2. 1 Conceptual framework

Source: Researcher, 2020

This figure 2.1 shows the relationship measures to counter terrorism. This research examined the independent variables which concerns measures taken to fight against the terrorism in Rwanda In this regard there are several measures which are taken such as legislative adopted, diplomatic affairs increased, military cooperation in place, political and social cultural service promoted and empowering training towards the security organs (RNP, RDF) all to respect of international convention against terrorism. Decentralization of security service against terrorism through information sharing has still in progress been put in to fight the threats such as genocide ideology which still existing in some people which deny them to provide information on the right time, neighboring countries still supporting terrorists group, budget constraints and also lack of counter terrorism teams from village level up to district level. Therefore there is a need of creating clubs, teams, clusters at village up to the district level to provide early warning to the security organs in case of terrorist activities. These counter terrorism teams should direct work hand in hand with security organs and local leaders.

## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter consists of the study design, study population and its sample size, techniques of sampling, methods and procedures of data collections, study validity and reliability, research instruments, procedure of data analysis and ethical consideration

### **3.2 Study Design**

Churchill (2006:23) defined a research design as a framework that is used by researchers to conduct research. According to Creswell (2009:87), a research design forms the blue-print or maps that details how the research collected information that is relevant to addressing the research questions. According to Kothari (2008:14), a good research design must yield maximum information and provide an opportunity for considering many different aspects of the problem. Since the researcher is interested in the assessment of the Rwandan Government's efforts to fight against terrorism, this study is based on a qualitative research approach.

Bryman and Bell (2003:34) opined that qualitative research approach enables the researcher to interpret and analyze the empirical materials in depth. Based on this idea, this research employs a qualitative research since it is a non-numerical examination of observations which leads to discovery of underlying meanings of patterns and relationships which is appropriate for the current research.

Denzin and Lincoln (2005:27) described qualitative research approach as involving an interpretive naturalistic approach to the world. Hence, since respondents' views concern their own thoughts, feelings and perceptions, the study will adopt the ontological starting point of the world being socially constructed, where reality is dependent upon individual's perception.

Moreover, the epistemological position in this study is ascribed to the traditions of interpretation, where the world is constructed through our ability to attach meanings to actions and objects (Prasad, 2005:27). Therefore, the researcher did not search for one single truth but several realities that contribute to properly assess the Rwandan Government's effort to fight against terrorism.



### **3.3 Targeted population, sample size and sampling techniques**

#### **3.3.1 Targeted population**

Burns and Grove (2004) stated that study population concerns to the gathering of information different personalities in the research and participants eligibility. The population consisted of 360 participants composed of 112 officers from Rwanda National Police, 177 officers from the Rwanda Defense Force and 30 authorities from Ministry of Justice and 40 authorities from Ministry of Local Governance.

### 3.3.2 Sample Size

Denscombe (2008) stated that the simple way of withdrawing the sample in entire group to give the valid information that could be scientifically tested for research purpose, here the purposive sampling was used to select sample for representation of all respondents. The researcher used the Yamane formula in calculation of sample size from all study population where 360 participants provided the sample size of 78 participants as shown on table 3.1.

$$n = \frac{N}{1+N(e)^2} \quad (1)$$

$$n = \frac{360}{1+360(0.1)^2} = \frac{360}{1+360(0.01)} n = 78 \quad (2)$$

Where n: indicate the sampled size

N: symbolize the targeted population

e: level of accuracy which is equal to the 10%

Table 3. 1 Study population and sampled size

Participant	Total population	Frequency	Sampled population
Officers from RNP	112	31.1	24
Officers from RDF	177	49.16	38
MINJUST	31	8.61	7
MINALOC	40	11.12	9
Total	360	100	78

Source: Field data, 2020

Our study was conducted on 78 subjects from which 24 (30.7%) were from RNP, 38 (48.7%) from RDF, 7 (9%) from MINIJUST and 9 (11.5%) from MINALOC.

### 3.3.3 Sampling technique

The main target or aims of techniques used in sampling is to make a selection or classification of respondents due to their attitude, ideas and qualities (Bernard, 2002). Here researcher conducted purposive sampling techniques from RNP officers and RDF officers. Other methods used was the stratified sampling methods to select the respondents from MINJUST and others from MINALOC. Based on the knowledge qualities and experience of all respondents, the researcher selected and classified the respondents within the different sampling techniques where researcher

selected the respondents who were able to give and have willing to answers various inquiries needed in the study (Bernard, 2002).

### **3.4 Instrument for Data Collection**

In data collections of this study, researcher used different materials to collect primary data and secondary data where he focused on objectives on this study and the data were collected through observation, questionnaire methods. The secondary data source for this study includes both internal and external information of the organization collected from different sources. External information was gathered by reviewing the books and journals in different archives or libraries and internal information on other hand were collected from the security management in security organs (Kothari, 2004).

Given that it is difficult to understand people's perception, the qualitative approach is better since it is more communicative and descriptive. Essentially, qualitative research looks at the way people make sense out of their own real-life understandings and experiences, and they speak their mind in their own words. The researcher employed qualitative approach which was based on respondents' information from one-on-one (unstructured) interviews to gather different perspectives on the study as it is purely conversational and it invites opportunities to get more details from respondents. It is therefore a good opportunity to obtain accurate and detailed data about what people consider and what their impulses are; thus getting the meaningful data

However the interviews are meant to provoke primary data answers through straight interrogation (Kothari, 2004). It is the utmost method of data collection in any social survey as it provokes different respondents' opinions on a particular subject. The study made use of unstructured interviews in order to get the primary data. One by one interview was very flexible and helped to get noteworthy data. Therefore, some discussions will be made with key target persons.

Unstructured interviews are very valuable method to develop an understanding of an as-of-yet not fully unwritten issue in the new security sector of human security. They are useful to focus on the respondents' talk and will allow the researcher the opportunity to test out his initial understanding, while still analysing other secondary data to draw an appropriate conclusion. Some interviews were performed face-to-face or on phone and usually could last between fifteen to half an hour or even more. Guided interviews were flexible tools to gather information from different respondents and were helpful to answer to the research questions.

### **3.5 Research Procedure and data processes**

The researcher used statistical tools during the data analysis and all data collected were analyzed qualitatively where Guided interview indicated all items to be analyzed and done in explanatory statistics which comprised the percentage, standards deviations, frequency, means and make calculation spearman correlation coefficient from the relationship of variables, the techniques used was SPSS 21.0 (Statistical package for social sciences).

### **3.6 Data Analysis Methods**

Analysis and interpretation of data collected was based on the use of thematic analysis as the primary tools used in investigation process in order to have same understanding of the assessment of effort taken by the government to fight against terrorism in Rwanda. This method was used for the qualitative data and was interpreted in the form of percentages (%) and frequency (n) retrieved by using statistical package for social sciences 21.0 as tools use in data analysis(Dickson, 1997)..

### **3.7 Research limitation**

This study focused on the all areas in Rwanda faced by terrorism threats. To gain the real information on the field was complicated from different participant due to their everyday responsibilities to give information related to the terrorism in Rwanda and effort taken to fight against terrorism .The researchers used different methods of sampling to deals with the above limitation in order to get the data to be representative of every population. Therefore this study started from the event where terrorist attacked in Kigali using grenades.

### **3.8 Ethical consideration**

The University of Rwanda and Ministry of defense, Ministry of local governance, Ministry of Justice and Rwanda national police provided the permission to conduct this research in Rwanda and they issued the authorization to help the candidate to obtain the information in the institution. The purpose of the study was communicated to the respondents where respondents were explained fully the main target of the study and their role in the study. The research all right of participants to secure their personal truthfulness and the respondents were open to takeout their standing in the research participation when they wish and research guaranteed respondents secrecy and privacy towards their confidentiality. There was no need of showing the identification of respondents that

were appeared on the item of questions to be responded except coding activities to facilitate data collected editing during analysis.

## Chapter Four: DISCUSSION, DATA ANALYSIS AND DATA INTERPRETATION

### 4.0 Introduction

This chapter includes the data analysis, interpretations, and data discussion of the findings. The researcher presented the study findings based on the study of objectives and the results were interpreted in the forms of the tables, graphs and figures for finding representations. The chapter consists of the demographic characteristics of respondents and presentation of findings from the data analyzed from the field.

### 4.1 Demography of the Respondents

This part shown the basic information of respondents who participated in this study, the demographic characteristics of the respondents in this study was based on their education level, age, working experience, rank (for respondents from RDF and RNP), family status and gender. All participants were 78 including 24 from Rwanda National Police, 38 from Rwanda Defense Force, 7 from the Ministry of Justice and 9 from the Ministry of Local Government.

#### 4.1.1 Category of respondents based on their gender

The study classified the participants according to their gender during data collection and identification of respondents' gender was done to establish whether the study included gender and the findings were summarized in figure 4.1 below.

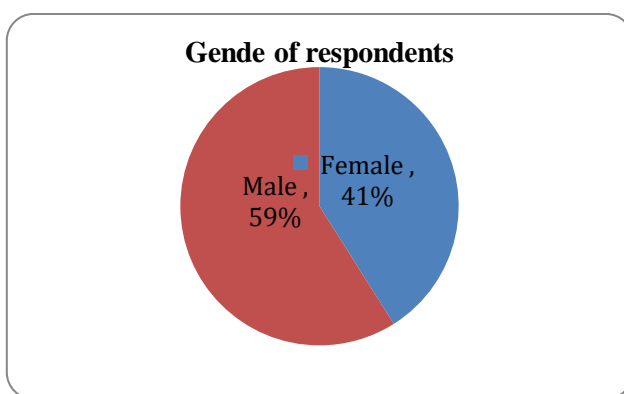


Figure 4. 1 Participants gender

During investigation, it was found out that 59% were male while 41% were female. It means therefore, females and males were included equitably and were engaged to participate in the research.

#### 4.1.2 Rate of Guided interview Delivered

Guided interviews were delivered to all the 78 respondents from Rwanda Defense Force, Rwanda National Police, MINIJUST and MINALOC. All Guided interviews were returned as indicated in table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1 Returned Guided interview

Respondents	N	%
RDF	24	100
RNP	38	100
MINIJUST	7	100
MINALOC	9	100

Source: Field data, 2020

The results revealed that, 100% of the Guided interviews were returned from all respondents having given out the required information needed for the study. Respondents were from different institutions where 24 (30.7%) were from RNP, 38 (48.7%) from RDF, 7 (9%) from MINIJUST and 9 (11.5%) from MINALOC. Many respondents had almost similar opinions on the impact of terrorism in Rwanda, additional potential measures to fight against terrorism. For this regard only eleven (11) had their voices in the presentation of findings below.

#### 4.1.3 Professional Qualification of the respondents

The study established the qualification of respondents who participated in the research to ensure the credibility of required information. The results were indicated as shown here in figure 4.2 below.

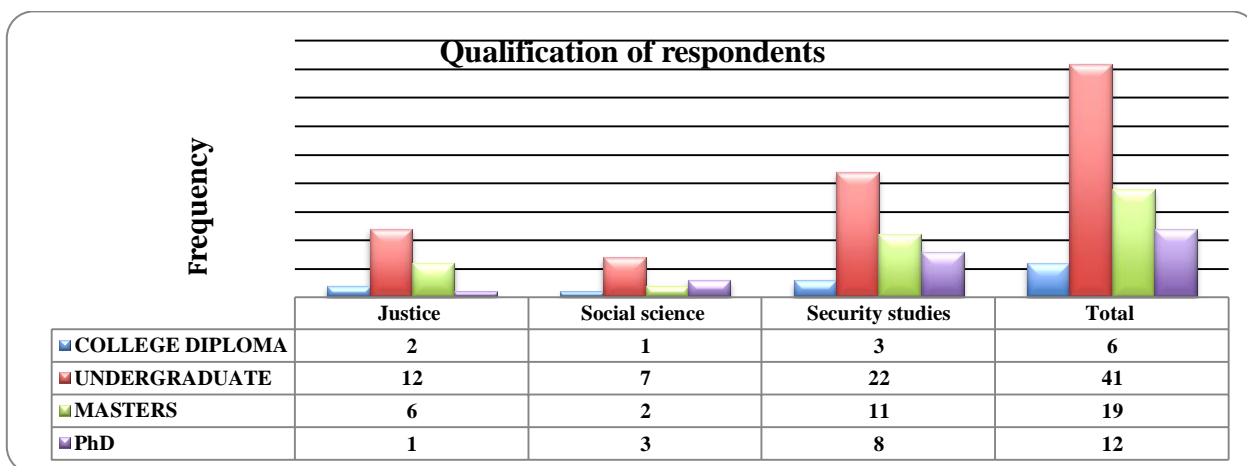


Figure 4. 2 Professional Qualification of the respondents

This figure indicated that 6 (7.6%) participants have qualification of college diploma level, 41 (52.5%) of the respondents have a bachelor’s degree and the rest been postgraduate degrees holders. This means that 19 (24.3%) of them were qualified as master’s degree-level and the 12 (15.3%) respondents were PhD degree holders. Most of the respondents were qualified in security studies, justice and social studies.

#### 4.1.4 Ranks of respondents from RDF and RNP

The participants of this study have a background on the security matters and are still in active service such as the RDF and RNP where those respondents are well conversant with terrorism and security issues in Rwanda. The ranks of different officers were responded as follows:

The findings indicated that from RDF revealed that from 38 RDF respondents, 10 were second Lieutenants, 10 of them were Lieutenants, 9 of them were Captains, 7 respondents were Majors, 2 respondents were Lieutenant Colonels. The other security organs which participated in this study were Rwanda National Police, and their ranks were summarized in figure 4.4.

The respondents from Rwanda National Police were 24 where 3 of them were Assistant Inspectors of Police, 6 Inspectors of Police, 2 Chief Inspectors of Police, 7 Superintendents, 5 Senior Superintendents and 1 Chief Superintendent. The participants provided by the RDF and RNP were officers of high level. This means, they were able to give the relevant information for this research.



#### 4.1. 5 Presentation of Findings

This section presents and analyses data of the study on the assessment of government effort to fight against terrorism. It contains the respondents' views collected during interviews in the course of the study. The interpretation and analysis of the research findings are based on view of four different groups that were interviewed throughout the research. Findings and their analysis are based on 3 main themes that are effects of terrorism in Rwanda; government measures taken to fight against terrorism and additional potential measures should be taken to fight terrorism.

The above thematic areas are related to the objective of the research and thus they are not separately examined. One section presents the collected data while another carries the analysis of the presented data. Before presenting data, it is essential to show participants' identifications in the table below. Nonetheless, due to ethical considerations, codes have been used to replace the respondents' names.

**Table 1: Identification of Respondents**

Ser	Respondents' Code	Age	Gender	Professional status	Address
1.	R01	28	M	Police	Nyamagabe
2.	R02	34	M	Police	Kigali
3.	R03	48	F	Military	Kigali
4.	R04	55	M	Military	Musanze
5.	R05	46	M	Military	Musanze
6.	R06	50	F	CIV	Nyaruguru
7.	R07	42	M	CIV	Rubavu
8.	R08	54	M	Military	Rubavu
9.	R09	18	F	Police	Nyaruguru
10	R010	30	M	CIV	Nyaruguru
11	R011	40	M	Police	Nyamasheke

**Source:** Field Research Survey, March 2020

Respondents were well selected in order to have credible and rich answers and comments on the researcher's questions. They fall within five different categories: the Ministry of Defence, Rwanda National Police, Ministry of Local Government and Ministry of Justice.

### **4.3 Data Presentation and Interpretation**

This section presents the views collected from different respondents and the findings are linked to the objectives of the research. They have been clustered into 3 main thematic areas in order to enable the researcher to come up with an enhanced understanding of the study problem. The study has gathered views from different respondents on the effects of terrorism in Rwanda; government measures taken to fight against terrorism and additional potential measures should be taken to fight terrorism.

#### **4.2.1 Effects of terrorism in Rwanda**

The primary objective of this study was to identify the impact of the terrorism in Rwanda and the respondents indicated the areas that had effects of terrorists a. Their views focused on how terrorism affected the general public arte summarized in various fields mainly in trading and tourism activities; killing innocent people; gender based violence; violation of human right, destruction of infrastructure; destruction of population's activities.

The findings indicated that a majority of respondents gave an account of how terrorism affected some human activities in different areas of the country. The respondents were asked on how terrorism affected trade and tourism. According to definition from AP Schmid terrorist can be used as political strategy to stabilize the state. In the case of the present study, several attacks were meant to threaten the security of the country. Acts of terrorism were halted by security forces trained to fight against terrorism. With reference to the above case, the researcher revealed that terrorist groups' conducted their operations in Rwanda and their battlefield has changed the ground because most of Hutu extremist groups and their allies locating in DRC were defeated by military operations. These extremist groups especially those who committed genocide against Tutsi during 1994 in Rwanda has changed their tactics into terrorism attacks.

**Table 4. 2** Perception of respondents about the impact of the terrorism in Rwanda

Response from respondents	SD		D		N		A		SA		Mean	Std
	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%	freq	%		
Trading and tourism activities impacted	24	30.8	52	66.6	2	2.6	0	0	0	0	3.44	1.77
Killing innocent people	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	30.7	54	69.3	1.43	1.13
Gender Based Violence(GBV)	0	0	0	0	0	0	64	77.41	14	22.59	2.21	2.01
Violence of human right	0	0	0	0	0	0	63	75.80	15	24.2	2.68	1.42
Destruction of infrastructure	7	11.2	2	3.2	0	0	52	58.06	17	24.41	2.13	2.11
Local population activities destruction	0	0	0	0	0	0	59	69.3	19	30.7	2.18	2.27

Researcher, 2020 **STD:** standard deviations: **SA:** Strongly agrees **SD:** Strongly disagree, **A:** agree, **D:** disagree: neutral

The illustration of the content of the above mentioned table correspond to the narratives of respondents

*For instance, the respondent (R01) said that: “has revealed that the terrorist groups were responsible for different grenades attacks in Kigali, and planned to destabilize Rwanda. This is evidenced by the respondent and according to him for Rwanda National Congress (RNC) was alleged to be the one group that blasted grenades in the City of Kigali from 2010 to 2014, claiming about 10 people died and 50 injured.”*

*For instance, “ the respondent (R05) said that: “I was deployed near National park during of Virunga, when the terrorists attacked of Kinigi of course the tourists could not come to visit mountain gorillas in the park before cleaning the area by security organs. But in few days the tourists resumed their activities; therefore I can confirm that the terrorists attack did not too much*

affect tourism. Concerning the impact on trade activities after the attack of terrorist group in same area, I confirm that after military intervention, the trade continued its activities”.

Similarly, *the respondent (R04)* he also was working in Musanze in the time where the event of terrorist occurred, he said “ I worked in Bisate sector where terrorist groups attacked, they were coming from Virunga National Park, they killed people because they support the government and looted their properties, more than ten people were killed and others injured. he confirmed that terrorists had killed innocent people where almost 30 civilians were killed during one night of attack. According to him terrorism had impacted on human life where by killing innocent people in the area before the intervention of security forces. He argued that, the intervention of our security forces killed many of attacked terrorists and remaining run away toward to National park of Virunga.

For instance, *the woman respondent (R06)* gave her testimony about violation women and girls during the attack of Nyabimata sector in Nyaruguru district and said that: “I am a resident of Nyabimata sector, when the terrorists attacked at the evening I was home with my husband, while they were approaching our home, my husband run away and one of terrorists came and asking me to sleep with him by force but at that I cried then he run away because he was afraid to be caught by security organs. According to her, the terrorist attacks resulted the violation gender based violence within the area affected them”.

## 4.2.2 Government measures to fight against terrorism

**Table4. 3 Effort taken to fight against terrorism**

Statements	Mean	Std. Dev
Information sharing	1.3802	1.76655
Elaboration of laws regarding terrorism in Rwanda	2.7851	1.54492
Community awareness to their security	2.0083	.83042
Mobilization and decentralization of security service to the local community	1.4463	1.55430
Elaborate the more anti-terrorism centers for security organs( RDF and RNP)	4.1736	.73964
Religious based training to fight against terrorism	1.1903	1.34325
Community policing capacity building	3.1125	.78743

**\*\*\*[3-4]= Moderated means, [1-2]= very high mean, [2-3] = high mean,[4-5]= low means, [5-6]= very low mean, \*\*Correlations significance is at the 0.01 level(2-tailed)\*\*\***

The second objective of the study was to assess the measures taken to fight against terrorism in Rwanda. According to the interview I did with *the respondent (R07)*. I was asking him how information sharing was when terrorist group attacked his area of residence and he said: “*I remember when the attack was happening in my village, it has revealed that few neighbors were aware of the attack but they did not reported to the security so that they should deny the attack to happen*”. *He argued that the information sharing channel should be developed from the village level up to the security organs.*

Other interview was concerning to the sensitization on specific laws promulgated regulating and punishing the crimes of terrorism in Rwanda. The *respondent (R09)* said “A big number population is not aware of those laws because they were not interested to read promulgated laws. He added that the state should plan and harmonize how people people should be aware of national and international laws in order to prevent crimes including of terrorism crimes as prevention is better than cure”.

The *respondent (R010)* was interviewed about decentralization of security personnel to the local community and he said “*There is the presence of security forces in the sector level at the office of Secretary Executive of the sector but military are located only in different places. He argued that*

*the presence of security forces is needed because it can prevent insecurity in the area. Additionally, respondents suggested that anti-terrorism training centers within the community would contribute to the elimination of terrorism. The respondents indicated that there is a need for counter-terrorism centers but mainly focus on training and mobilization of civilians on the security services to fight against terrorism in Rwanda..*

*The respondent (R04) said that: “religious institutions were not well informed about terrorist acts whereby the churches and mosques are the main place where people gathered for playing God but they don’t care about terrorism. He added that terrorist should use bible to mislead the citizens based on bible verses like in 1998 where FDLR come in Gataraga cell I was in the mentioned above place and they told us to follow them as they are planning to guide us as Moise of Israel liberated their people from Egypt their promise land. He continued that many of people followed them from the said village to DRC and become combatants.”*

According to the definition from AP Schmid states that the terrorism can be used as religion to sensitize religious based on their own interests and divert them where they become members of terrorist groups.

*The respondent (R07) said that ; was asked about the security of local population by community policing and he answered that “ Concerning the community policing capacity as far as security is concerned , respondents reported that community policing is not well trained and not equipped to fight against the terrorism. Therefore there is need to intensify trainings against terrorism and equipping the community on their personal security and if possible to supplement them by police or Army.”*

Furthermore to conduct the interview was challenged due to the pandemic of Covid-19 whereby some respondents were interviewed through telephones as means of communication and others were contacted face to face.

#### **4.2.3 Additional potential measures should be taken to fight terrorism**

According to the UN counter terrorism, 2011, the attacks of terrorism have become complicated due to the higher proliferation of those groups in different parts of the world and globalization. It is easier to get weapons pursuant to the effects of free movement of goods and personnel

**Table 4. 4 Additional potential capacity of measures taken to fight against terrorism**

Response	SD		D		N		A		SA		Mean	S.dev
	fr	%	fr	%	fr	%	fr	%	fr	%		
Technology advancement in the security service	1	1.6	2	3.2	0	0	26	41.9	49	53.2	3.8525	.69397
Financial constraint in the security service	29	30.6	10	16.1	3	4.8	12	19.3	24	29.0	2.7222	.76643
Cooperation of neighboring countries	0	0	0	0	2	3.3	17	27.4	59	69.3	1.0556	.71385
specific counter terrorism strategy	3	4.8	7	11.2	1	1.6	45	46.7	22	35.7	2.7020	.79151

\*\*\*[3-4]= Moderated means, [1-2]= very high mean, [2-3] = high mean,[4-5]= low means, [5-6]= very low mean, \*\*Correlations significance is at the 0.01 level(2-tailed)\*\*\*

The third objective of this study was to scrutinize the additional potential measures of information sharing from grass roots level up to security organs with the purpose of mitigating terrorism in the country. It includes assessing of technology in security service, enhancement of cooperation of neighboring countries and additional counter terrorism measures.

*The respondent (R02) said on communication by telephone conversation that “Basing on the above statement, the emergence of new areas of confrontation, such as terrorism, with exception of cyber means and technologies, most of means used in hybrid conflicts such as propaganda and political/ diplomatic or economic actions are not new. Actions in cyberspace offer both new tools of action (like cyber espionage), but also new opportunities to maximize the effect of traditional instruments of influence political/ diplomatic, economic, informational.”*

*The respondent with code N added that “exploiting the potential of new technologies, as well as new tools for social influences. The high speed of information flow, the way information is produced and how social communities can connect beyond national borders are the result of global process of digitization and advanced development. Thus, one of fundamental pillars in democratic societies is eroding under the influence of modern technology. The internet has become the new "tactical field" of confrontation, and propaganda, disinformation”.*

The different respondent indicated and confirmed that technology is advanced in security service. They agreed that more than 50% of security organs are advanced in technology. They added that the information technology is needed from grass root level. The study revealed that there is need to maintain the advancement of technology in security services and to extend it in local community to facilitate their contribution in counter terrorism.

*The respondent (R008) said that” The Financial means to fight against terrorism is highly cost and training and equipment are costly. However there is need to mobilize funds from international monitory fund (IMF) as well as World Bank to avail enough funds to support the anti-terrorism budget in order to increase efforts to fight terrorist groups. This should be done by increase the financial year budget of Ministry of Defense and other security stakeholders to deal with terrorism”*

*The respondent (R03) said that “Rwanda has good relationship with neighboring countries and the regional cooperation of East African community and Communaute Economique des Pays de Grand Lake (CEPGL) including United Nations (UN) .However he added that countries that harboring terrorists groups should be focused on enhancing diplomatic relations between them, and ensure to continue engaging neighboring countries and the international community to support activities for fighting terrorists”.*



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

### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter draws the general conclusion of the research. It comprehensively echoes the major findings of the study and ultimately put forward some recommendations.

### **5.2 Conclusion**

To sum up, it was argued that the main impacts of the terrorism in Rwanda were mainly connected to its negative effects to trade and tourism, the killing of innocent people in some areas of the country, gender based violence, violation of human right, destruction of infrastructure and of local population activities. Rwanda mostly faced terror activities of RNC, FDLR and MRCD. However their attacks were defeated by the Rwanda Defense Force.

The findings showed that measures taken to fight against the terrorism in Rwanda were information sharing, promulgation of laws punishing the crimes of terrorism, security awareness within the community, mobilization and decentralization of security service to the local community, increased of anti-terrorism centers by security organs, establishment of religious based training centers to fight against terrorism and community policing capacity building. Additional measures reported of information sharing from grass root level up to security organs to counter terrorism in Rwanda were technology advancement within the security services.

### **5.3 Recommendation**

To enhance the strategic measures to fight against terrorism and emphasize the implementation of the existing effort taken or measures taken to enhance internal security of all community in Rwanda. Countering terror attacks in Rwanda could be attained by addressing the following recommendations:

- The Ministry of Finance should avail enough funds to support the anti-terrorism budget in order to increase efforts to fight terrorist groups. This should be done by increase the financial year budget of Ministry of Defence which is in charge of counter terrorism.

- Ministry of Local Government should establish effective decentralization methods enabling anti-terrorism operations at community levels where sensitization and mobilization on the strategies and policies made to fight against terrorism in Rwanda are done.
- Security organs in collaborations with Ministry of Local Government should create anti-terrorism teams including anti-terrorism clubs and clusters at village and cell level with coordination with security forces
- The Ministry of Local Government should enhance community policing capacity building and ways of communication between communities at village level and security organs by providing special equipment including communication tools, including mobile telephone, to anti-terrorism teams at village level to facilitate the information sharing. This will facilitate the teams to provide early warning in case of terrorist activities.
- Ministry in charge of diplomatic relations should continue engaging neighboring countries and the international community to support activities against terrorist groups targeting Rwanda.
- Technology is one of the means that is exploited by terrorist globally to effectively launch terror attacks. The Ministry of ICT should provide the special equipment which are updated to counter terrorism because current the terrorist groups changed tactics by adapting to new technologies especially in coordination of their movements, sources of funding and publicity. This should be done through mobile telephones, satellite phones and internet services of almost free costs like Skype, whatsApp and Facebook in social media. Although technical surveillance and tracking have been successfully used to arrest terrorist suspects, the technological advancement is equally used by terrorists to elude security. Therefore these activities should be monitored and defeated by using the appropriate technological tools. It is in this regard Ministry of ICT should purchase these special tools to fight the terrorist groups.

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## **APPENDICE**

### **APPENDIX I: CONSENT LETTER**

**UNIVERSITY OF RWANDA, COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCE**

**Dear, All**

**REF: CONSENT LETTER**

I am called **KWISABA Mbonimpa**, a Student in the college of arts and social science specifically in center of conflict management. I am currently conducting a research for the degree of Master of Arts in security studies. The research objective is to investigate the assessment of the efforts to fight against terrorism in Rwanda

I kindly request you to participate in my study by honestly and accurately responding to all items in the Guided interview. The information you provide will be used for the purposes of the research and will be held in strict confidence. Do or do not write your name or the name of your company in the Guided interview. You may ask the researcher to inform you about the findings of the study.

Thank you very much for participating in this study.

Yours faithfully

**Maj. KWISABA Mbonimpa**

**Reg.No.220016958**

## APPENDIX II: GUIDED INTERVIEW FOR RESPONDENTS

### Section: A: Demographic Information

1. Category of the respondent (tick with v)

Items	Scores
Officer from Rwanda National Police	
Officer from Rwanda Defence Force	
Rank	
MINIJUST	
MINALOC	

2. Gender of respondent (tick with v)

Male

Female

3. Please indicate the highest level of education attained? (Tick with v)

➤ College Diploma

➤ Undergraduate

➤ Master

➤ PhD  ...

### Section B: Procurement Practices

Indicate your level of agreement with the following statements relating to how the measures taken to fight against terrorism in Rwanda. **1=strongly disagree, 2=Disagree, 3=Neutral, 4=Agree, 5=strongly agree**

To assess the impact of terrorism in Rwanda.					
STATEMENTS	1	2	3	4	5
1. Terrorism have impacted the trading and tourism activities					
2. Terrorism Kills innocent people					
3. It affect to gender Based Violence(GBV)					
4. It affect the human right					
5. Employment rates affected by terrorism					

6.terrorism to the destruction of infrastructure					
7. It make the Political and social destruction					
8. The Security and laws challenging					
9. Local population activities destruction					
<b>OBJECTIVE II. To examine the efforts taken by the security organizations like the Rwanda National Police, the Rwanda Defense Force among others to fight against terrorism in Rwanda (measures to fight against terrorism )</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
10.Information sharing					
11.Elaboration of laws regarding terrorism in Rwanda					
12.Community awareness to their security					
13.Mobilization and decentralization of security service to the local community					
14.Elaborate the more anti-terrorism centers for security organs( RDF and RNP)					
15.Religious based training to fight against terrorism					
16.Community policing capacity building					
<b>To scrutinize the additional potential measures of information sharing from root grass level up security organs with the purpose of eliminating terrorism in Rwanda.</b>					
Use of Technology advancement in the security service					
Enforcement Democracy and promoting rules of laws					
Invest Financially in the security service					
Cooperation of neighboring countries					
Borders porosity and security measures enhancement					
Having specific counter terrorism strategy					

**Thank you for your participation!!!!!!**