



**COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES  
CENTER FOR CONFLICT MANAGEMENT**

**SECURITY ORGANS AND RECONCILIATION IN  
POST GENOCIDE RWANDA:  
CASE STUDY OF RWANDA DEFENCE FORCE**

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This Thesis is submitted to the University of Rwanda in partial for fulfilment of the requirement for the Award of a Master's Degree in Security Studies

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Nyakinama, May 2016

## DECLARATION

I Emmanuel RUSAKARA declare that, this Thesis in the title of *Security Organs and Reconciliation in Post Genocide Rwanda: Case Study of Rwanda Defence Force* is my original work, and has never been presented anywhere in any high Institutions of Learning or Universities. And this has been submitted for the successful completion of Master's degree with the approval of the supervisor DR Ezechiel SENTAMA.

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## APPROVAL

I certify that this Thesis has been completed under my supervision and has been submitted with my approval.

Name of Supervisor: DR EZECHIEL SENTAMA

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Date...../...../.....

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this Thesis to my

Family/ Friends

&

Rwandans

And those interested in Rwanda Defence Force's contributions in Reconciliation process  
more than Warfare and Protection

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENT**

My Acknowledgment goes to the Almighty GOD who has given me the life to experience, the resilience and courage to serve the Rwandan people up to this date. The former Leadership and Comrades of Rwanda Patriotic Army, the former and current members of Rwanda Defence Forces that in one way or another have contributed towards this great, stable and lovely Rwanda, Dr Ezechiel SENTAMA for his professional guidance, and commitment thus encouraging me to go beyond Masters Level. And to the best, my wife Mary MUSABYEYEZU for her love, courage and tireless support, families and friends. The list goes also to those who have contributed and responded willingly of their opinions to this Research Study.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

<b>DDR</b>	: Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
<b>DDRC</b>	: Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Commission
<b>DIME</b>	: Diplomatic, Information, Military or Economic
<b>DRC</b>	: Democratic Republic of Congo
<b>EX</b>	: Former
<b>FAR</b>	: Force Armée Rwandaise
<b>GA</b>	: General Assembly
<b>GNU</b>	: Government of National Unity
<b>HDR</b>	: Human Development Report
<b>HN</b>	: Host Nation
<b>HQs</b>	: Headquarters
<b>ICC</b>	: International Criminal Court
<b>ICTY</b>	: International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
<b>IDP</b>	: Internally Displaced Persons
<b>IGO</b>	: International Governmental Organization
<b>IR</b>	: Interpersonal Reconciliation
<b>MOD</b>	: Ministry of Defence
<b>NATO</b>	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
<b>NGOs</b>	: Non-Governmental Organizations
<b>NIC</b>	: National Itorero Commission
<b>NISS</b>	: National Intelligence and Security Services
<b>NR</b>	: National Reconciliation
<b>NSS</b>	: National Security Strategy
<b>NURC</b>	: National Unity and Reconciliation Commission
<b>PB</b>	: Peace Building
<b>PEO</b>	: Peace Enforcement Operations
<b>PKO</b>	: Peace Keeping Operations
<b>PM</b>	: Peace Making
<b>PMESII</b>	: Political, Military, Economic, Social, Infrastructure and Information system

<b>PO</b>	: Peace Operation
<b>RDF-J1</b>	: Department of Administration
<b>RDF-J5</b>	: Department of Planning
<b>RDF-J9</b>	: Civil Military Relations Department
<b>RDF</b>	: Rwanda Defence Force
<b>RDRP</b>	: Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Program
<b>RGB</b>	: Rwanda Governance Board
<b>RNP</b>	: Rwanda National Police
<b>RPA</b>	: Rwanda Patriotic Army
<b>RPF /A</b>	: Rwanda Patriotic Front/ Army
<b>R2P</b>	: Responsibility to Protect
<b>UK</b>	: United Kingdom
<b>UN</b>	: United Nations
<b>UNAMIR</b>	: United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda
<b>UNSC</b>	: United National Security Council
<b>US</b>	: United States
<b>USA</b>	: United State of America
<b>USG</b>	: Under Secretary General

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## **ABSTRACT**

The study is conducted to assess the contribution of security organs and reconciliation in post genocide Rwanda: Case study of Rwanda Defence Force (RDF), from 1994 to 2016. The researcher selected Rwanda Defence Forces based on its thought contributions, roles and attributes that were carried out during and after the violent conflict that culminated in the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, in relation to the Rwanda reconciliation process other than warfare and protection.

The study objective is to assess and provide findings about the RDF contributions rather than warfare and protection of civilians and infrastructures with which brings about reconciliation and harmony in post genocide that others can learn and benefit in conflict situations. And in view also to bring its findings in the context of gaps in academic research to mitigate contemporary security challenges under peace and security studies.

This study is exploratory given that it is not aimed at testing a hypothesis. As far as the study approach is concerned, this thesis is mainly qualitative notably regarding the exploration of the two research questions. The quantitative aspect is only provided in identifying the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents as well as respondents' views on reconciliation and security. The purpose is only to explore respondents' opinions and experiences with regard to activities of RDF in relation to reconciliation in post-genocide Rwanda.

Security is understood by all levels as the very least, the survival as the most basic value to be secured or protected. However, security is not only state sovereignty privilege; it is broadened to include national security, human security and individual security that has been the center of threats to security thus developing violent conflict. Therefore, the link between the security and reconciliation is the intervention (peace enforcement), protection (peace keeping) and sustainability (peace building) activities that security organs should play vital roles among other institutions. It is in this regard that RDF is found contributing an important part within the above three categories more than warfare.

## **CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1. INTRODUCTON**

This chapter highlights the background of the study, statement of the problem, purpose and objective of the study, research questions and significance of the study as well as limitation of the study.

### **1.2. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY**

During the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, despite the hope after the Holocaust that such horrors would not be repeated, there has been a great deal of violence within states and between groups differing in ethnicity, religion, political ideology and agenda, power and privilege<sup>1</sup>. The level of violence in many of these cases were intense mostly in the former Yugoslavia, Sri Lanka, and other countries in Africa, the Middle East, and elsewhere<sup>2</sup> but Rwanda had a turning point of violent conflict that resulted in 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

From the 1950's through the 1990's, Rwanda came into international focus for a host of reasons, including conflict, a record of several human abuses, and the succeeding government's actions that seriously violated the rights of citizens with impunity, in addition to colonial era and ideology that entrenched deep-set divisions within Rwandan society, particularly along ethnic lines. These divisions were further enforced through the enacting and implementation of dehumanising law and policy, inequality of treatment, and differential access to amenities, basic services and the protection of the state. As a consequence, many Rwandans left the country as refugees, settling in neighbouring states and further abroad.

The genocide of 1994 shred all that was left of the Rwandan social fabric that provided a degree of social cohesion prior to the genocide. In its aftermath the country was left with a collapsed system of governance, a highly polarised society characterised by distrust and fear between

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<sup>1</sup>Healing, Reconciliation, Forgiving and the Prevention of Violence after Genocide or Mass Killing: An Intervention and its Experimental Evaluation In Rwanda by Ervin Staub of Massachusetts university, Laurie Anne of Pearlman institute, Alexandra Gubin of Massachusetts university and Athanase Hagengimana of National University Of Butare (Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, Vol. 24, No. 3, 2005, pp 298).

<sup>2</sup> You may read also Chirot & Seligman, 2001; Gurr, 2001; Leatherman, DeMars, Gaffney, & Vayrynen, 1999; Staub, 1989.

citizens, and a lack of shared national unity. In light of this reality, in the post-genocide period, the new Rwandan Government had to put in place a unique assortment of international and national policies based on home grown security solutions, and reconciliatory mechanisms. Promoting security and reconciliation gives positive dimension in post-conflict societies. It includes National and International mechanism such as security to all, criminal trials, amnesties, truth commissions, reparation programs, and memorials<sup>3</sup>etc. Despite various efforts and the growing body of literature, it remains unclear how military activities other than warfare and protection, can contribute to post-conflict/ genocide reconciliation processes. The endeavour of security is to protect people's lives from critical and pervasive threats, therefore, there was a gap in terms of security and reconciliation between the citizens and there was a need of extra and enduring mechanisms to protect, and reconcile Rwandan communities in order to rebuild the new and stable country.

However, it is believed that the establishment of national security organ known as Rwanda Defence Forces (RDF) involving the Rwanda Patriotic Army (RPA) that liberated Rwanda and stopped the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and the integration of Force Armée Rwandaise or EX-FAR (former Rwanda Armed Forces) that majority of them involved in perpetration of the genocide. However this was the first contribution of its kind among other activities towards reconciliation in post genocide reconciliation process in Rwanda and still, these efforts need to be known, learnt, and adopted not only in post genocide but also in other violent and or non-violent conflict situations.

### **1.3. PROBLEM STATEMENT**

Rwanda has undergone a divisive past that culminated into 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, this is seen from the 1950's throughout the 1990's, when Rwanda came into the international and regional focus and attention for a set of reasons including the major and created vicious ethnical conflict that left historical ever recorded human genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda. As a result of colonial administration and the regime change of the first and second Republic

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<sup>3</sup> Parent, Geneviève (2010) "Reconciliation and Justice after Genocide: A Theoretical Exploration," *Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal*: Vol. 5: Iss. 3: Article 5. (Page: 278)

governments that entrenched deep-set roots of divisions within Rwandan society particularly along Hutu, Twa and Tutsi ethnic lines.

These divisions were further enforced through the enacting and implementation of dehumanisation laws and policies, inequality of treatment of citizens, and imbalance allocation of basic services within public and private sectors. As a consequence, many Rwandans died, others left the country as refugees, settling in neighbouring countries and further abroad<sup>4</sup>. Ethnical tensions, killings and abuses are observed by the succeeding governments until 4<sup>th</sup> July 1994 when RPF Inkotanyi stopped the genocide and liberated the country.

A nation building includes security stability, social and cultural reconstruction and rehabilitation, economic and infrastructure building/development that greatly are achieved through internal and external support in terms of finance and expertise with which is purely civilian intervention in nature while military component being considered as protection force for the secure environment. Thus in the post Rwandan genocide, reconciliation was paramount important to harness social stability, and cultural coercion, economic and infrastructure development.

As a result Rwanda Patriotic Army (RPA) that later changed to the current Rwanda Defence Forces (RDF) came into an entity not only ensures security for all Rwandan but provides a model of a National Army with the belief that among its missions will play an important role in reconciling Rwandans. However to the best of my knowledge, the contribution of RDF in the post genocide reconciliation has not so far been assessed. Identification and assessment of the RDF contributions in post genocide Rwanda reconciliation process thus constitute the problem of this study.

#### **1.4. RATIONALE OF STUDY**

While most and different studies and reports have been done on reconciliation in post genocide Rwanda, these reports explain in consideration of government achievement as whole system on unity and reconciliation process. Others discuss about how Rwanda Patriotic Army (RPA)

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<sup>4</sup>Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer (October, 2010, page 13)



stopped the genocide and its resilience, the establishment and installation of security organs including the RDF, yet to the best of my knowledge the role of RDF in post-genocide reconciliation has not yet been explored, which is what this study endeavours to do<sup>5</sup>.

It is believed that the establishment of national security organ known as Rwanda Defence Forces (RDF) involving the Rwanda Patriotic Army (RPA) that liberated Rwanda and stopped the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and the integration of Force Armée Rwandaise that majority of them involved in the perpetration of the genocide. Yet these specific contributions of RDF have not yet been scientifically explored and discussed in post genocide Rwanda's reconciliation process, which is the gap that this thesis endeavours to fill in.

## **1.5. RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

By focusing on the contributions of the Rwanda Defence Force (RDF), this study endeavours to provide answer to the following questions;

- a. What are the activities Rwanda Defence Forces do in connection with reconciliation in post genocide Rwanda?
- b. How these activities do relate to post genocide reconciliation process in Rwanda?

## **1.6. STUDY OBJECTIVES**

According to the above mentioned research problem the objectives have been classified into general and specific objectives.

### **1.6.1. GENERAL OBJECTIVE**

The research is meant to identify and assess the contribution of security organs in post genocide Rwanda in reconciliation process y focusing on Rwanda Defence Forces.

### **1.6.2. SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES**

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<sup>5</sup> The Resilience of a Nation a History of the Military in Rwanda by Frank K. Rusagarawith Gitura Mwaura & Gérard Nyirimanzi 2009, p 184-7

Interviews in questionnaire form and convenient discussion have been used in order to;

- a. Identify and assess the activities of Rwanda Defence Forces in connection with reconciliation in post genocide.
- b. Explain how the identified activities of Rwanda Defence Forces are related to the reconciliation.

### **1.7. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

The research is meant to identify and assess contributions of RDF in post genocide Rwanda's reconciliation process that will both benefit me as a researcher, the interested Rwandan and other scholars in order to understand the inherent role played by RDF in reconciling Rwandan society. Also, it is meant to provide additional findings about how and what are the RDF contributions rather than warfare and protection of civilians and infrastructures with which brings about reconciliation and harmony in post genocide that other country can learn and benefit in conflict situations. The study also helps to bring its findings in the context of gaps in academic research to mitigate contemporary security challenges under peace and security studies. The study also is helpful to me as a researcher, because it will fill that gap by providing research findings on the contribution of the RDF in reconciliation process that can be a significant reference for future inputs to military and political entities, scholars, academicians, and any other interested individual, and or groups.

### **1.8. LIMITATION OF THE STUDY**

The study is limited in time and location to overcome the financial and time constraint. In terms of time, study cover the period from 1994 to 2016 (22 years); this period has been chosen in order to identify and assess the RDF activities contributed so far towards post genocide reconciliation process in Rwanda.

## CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter comprises a review of the literature on security and reconciliation in post genocide event in the context of this study. It provides a broad understanding of the theories or concepts of security and reconciliation along empirical studies based on the study variables. Finally it concludes with conceptual framework of the study.

### 2.2. SECURITY

The security concept lacks universal understanding in terms of conceptual analysis and it is neglected and contested in terms of national and international interests rolling around national security, human security, (economic, social and food security etc) and individual security. With which the security itself has several meanings that can be conceptualized as you will see bellow.

*Security is a central condition for action. The basic sense in which we must understand the order of 'the social order' is one of pattern and regularity affording the confidence of being able to function, to go on, to get by, to make sense of our particular segments of activity. While material conditions critically affect ontological, as well as any more conventionally conceived, security, they only do so informed by the cognitive dimension of structure—the pattern of meaning or mutual knowledge in relation to which we feel secure or insecure.<sup>6</sup>*

Security is considered to be a highly contested concept. Yet, it is almost instinctively understood by all at the ontological level to, at the very least, refer to survival as the most basic value to be secured or protected. Without survival, no other values have any meaning. Suffice it to note that the Cold War military-political definition of security, which privileged the state, has been broadened considerably, allowing for the development of the idea of “human security” a

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<sup>6</sup>Bill Mc Sweeney 1999, p. 156

definition that places people at the center of security, but also allows for the state as a referent object. Security, as Buzan defined as “freedom from fear.”<sup>7</sup> It is the condition of not feeling threatened, and the process, through which resources are organized to remedy vulnerabilities.<sup>8</sup> The state is instrumental in providing and building security. At the national level (so-called military-political security), the state protects its sovereignty and territorial integrity. At the domestic level (so-called societal security), it is supposed to protect economic and individual security. Domestic or internal security has as its main agents or instruments of security to include; internal security forces of the state such as the police, intelligence services, and the legal system. The rule of law is the ultimate guarantor against possible state abuse of its security powers.

The explication of security concept subjects to a set of criteria summarized by Oppenheim; that any concept should be operational in the broadest sense, although this should not be interpreted as requiring quantification, concept has to establish definitional connections with other terms to be preferred, concept should draw attention to the theoretically important aspects of the subject matter that might easily be overlooked and desirable, that a concept should not preclude empirical investigation by making true 'by definition' what should be open to empirical inquiry, and finally concept should remain reasonably close to ordinary language.

In the case of state failure to provide security, citizens turn elsewhere. The affluent buy it in the marketplace (privatized security). The poor go without, or turn to self-help, vigilante groups, or mob justice, thereby making it hugely difficult for the state to reclaim its monopoly over organized violence and its ability to create and maintain social order and to grow strong institutions and a culture of the rule of law. Post-apartheid South Africa provides a good example of this struggle.<sup>9</sup>

States aim to reproduce their own survival, often (perceived to be) threatened by external agents or, especially in the case of developing and/or deeply divided countries, by internal forces. Yet one also needs to look at the present Somali situation against the background of the South African experience. A number of aspects of the context with which truth and reconciliation were

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<sup>7</sup>Buzan 1991

<sup>8</sup>McSweeney 1999, p. 156

<sup>9</sup>See Simpson 2004 and Van der Spuy 2004

pursued in South Africa and among them are (1) internal security had been stabilised (2) the restructuring of the security forces was also already in full swing and (3) aspects of the rule of law as well as the spirit that had existed throughout the era of apartheid in South Africa. In other words, to the extent that one can view the truth and reconciliation process in South Africa as successful, it would seem that the establishment of the rule of law, the agreement to negotiate on the basis of a non-occurrence of violence, the general stability of the security situation, a measure of integration among various security forces (whether official, paramilitary, or militias), and positive reinforcement of these processes by the international community were crucial to the success of attempts at reconciliation.

For example, security cannot be isolated for treatment at any single level, however gives the impression that this is conceptually impossible rather than simply an unwise research strategy. His justification for mixing conceptual and empirical analysis is that 'the search for a referent object of security goes hand-in-hand with that for its necessary conditions'<sup>10</sup>. Understanding the concept of security is a fundamentally different kind of intellectual exercise from specifying the conditions under which security may be attained.

Indeed, conceptual clarification of security logically precedes the search for the necessary conditions of security, because the identification of such conditions presupposes a concept of security<sup>11</sup>. Failure to recognize the logical priority of conceptualization is also reflected in Ullman's observation that 'one way of moving toward a more comprehensive definition of security' is to ask what one would be 'willing to give up in order to obtaining more security'.

Such a question, however, has little meaning until one first has a concept of security. Likewise, his statement that 'we may not realize what it is until we are threatened with losing it' is difficult to comprehend<sup>12</sup>. If one has no concept of security, one cannot know whether one is threatened with losing it or not. Inquiry into the opportunity costs of security is an excellent way to determine the value of security, but it is no help at all in determining what security is.

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<sup>10</sup>Buzan, *People, States*, pp. 20-1, 26. Italics added. See also, Barry Buzan, 'Peace, Power and Security: Contending Concepts in the Study of International Relations', *Journal of Peace Research*, 21 (1984), pp. 109-25.

<sup>11</sup>Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, *Power and Society: A Framework for Political Inquiry* (New Haven, CT, 1950), p. x.

<sup>12</sup>Ullman, 'Redefining Security', pp. 130, 133.

### 2.2.1. SECURITY AS A NEGLECTED CONCEPT

It would be an exaggeration to say that conceptual analysis of security began and ended with Wolfers' article in 1952 but not much of one. The neglect of security as a concept is reflected in various surveys of security affairs as an academic field. In 1965 one such study lamented that thus far there have been very few attempts ... to define the concept of national security<sup>13</sup>.

In 1973 Klaus Knorr began a survey of the field by stating his intention to deliberately bypass the semantic and definitional problems generated by the term National Security. In 1975, Richard Smoke observed that the field had paid quite inadequate attention to the range of meanings of security<sup>14</sup>. In 1991, Buzan described security as an underdeveloped concept and noted the lack of conceptual literature on security' prior to the 1980s<sup>15</sup>. Recent surveys of security studies, for example, did not bother to define security<sup>16</sup>. And none of the eleven course syllabi described in *Security Studies for the 1990s* includes Wolfers' seminal article on the concept of national security<sup>17</sup>.

Considering the attempts to redefine security since the end of the Cold War<sup>18</sup>, Security has not received the serious attention accorded to the concepts of justice, freedom, equality, obligation, representation, and power<sup>19</sup>. Buzan suggests five possible explanations for the neglect of security: First is the difficulty of the concept (Buzan admits however that, concept is no more difficult than other concepts), second is the apparent overlap between the concepts of security and power (since these are easily distinguishable concepts), however one would have expected such confusion to motivate scholars to clarify the differences. Third is the lack of interest in security by various critics of Realism (this however, does not explain why security specialists themselves neglected the concept), fourth is that security scholars are too busy keeping up with

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<sup>13</sup>Klaus Knorr, 'National Security Studies: Scope and Structure of the Field', in Frank N. Trager and Philip S. Kronenberg (eds.), *National Security and American Society: Theory, Process and Policy* (Lawrence, KS, 1973), p. 5

<sup>14</sup> Richard Smoke, 'National Security Affairs', in Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby (eds.), *Handbook of Political Science*, Vol. 8: *International Politics* (Reading, MA, 1975), p. 259.

<sup>15</sup>Buzan, *People, States*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>16</sup>Stephen M. Walt, 'The Renaissance of Security Studies', *International Studies Quarterly*, 35 (1991), pp. 211-39; and Joseph S. Nye, Jr and Sean M. Lynn-Jones, 'International Security Studies: A Report of a Conference on the State of the Field', *International Security*, 12 (1988), pp. 5-27.

<sup>17</sup>Richard Schultz, Roy Godson, and Ted Greenwood (eds.), *Security Studies for the 1990s* (New York, 1993). A recent forum on security in *Arms Control*, 13 (1992), including ten authors, never mentions Wolfers' article.

<sup>18</sup>Tickner, 'Re-visioning Security'; and Emma Rothschild, 'What is Security?', *Daedalus*, 124 (1995), pp. 53-98.

<sup>19</sup>Peter Digeser, 'The Concept of Security', paper delivered at the 1994 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 14 September 1994.

new developments in technology and policy (this however, is more an indication that such scholars give low priority to conceptual issues than an explanation for this lack of interest. And the fifth explanation is that policy-makers find the ambiguity of national security useful, which does not explain why scholars have neglected the concept<sup>20</sup>.

During the Cold War, security studies were composed mostly of scholars interested in military statecraft. Security concept has been the central concern of security studies whether the field is called security studies, military studies, or war studies. Security studies however, is widely used and seems to make the subject more acceptable in academia.

### **2.2.2 THE UN SECURITY PERSPECTIVE**

Since the World War II, conflicts were mostly terminated by bilateral or multilateral agreements among the belligerents, after the defeat and/or capitulation of one of the opponents. Defeat was followed by conquest, occupation or territorial dismantle of the defeated as a punishment for an act of aggression. Techniques of peacemaking and sustainable conflict resolution were only of secondary importance. Much of this has changed today. There appears to be a growing awareness that the ending of hostilities requires not only measures to terminate conflict (*conflict termination*), but active steps to build peace (*peacemaking or peace building*).<sup>21</sup>

This change in perception is visible in two areas: in the consolidation of the concept of ‘positive peace’ in the peacemaking practice of the United Nations, and in state practice in the field of peace treaties. The erosion of the concept of negative peace is quite clearly reflected in a number of changes within UN practice: the broad interpretation of the notion of ‘threat to the peace’ under Article 39 of the Charter by the Security Council, linking the issue of security to the protection of human rights and democracy.<sup>22</sup>

the establishment of international or internationalized criminal institution for the restoration of the rule of law in post-conflict territories (Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Kosovo, East

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<sup>20</sup>Buzan, *People, States*, pp. 7-11. See also Buzan, 'Peace, Power', p. 111.

<sup>21</sup>C. Tomuschat, *How to Make Peace after War – The Potsdam Agreement of 1945 Revisited*, *Die Friedenswarte*, Vol. 72 (1997), 11; M. Reisman, *Stopping Wars and Making Peace: Reflections on the Ideology of Conflict consolidation of the concept of ‘positive peace’ in the peacemaking practice of the United Nations, and in state practice in the field of peace treaties.*

<sup>22</sup>Frowein/Krisch, *On Article 39, in Charter of the United Nations* (B. Simma, ed.), 2nd.ed.2002, 720, para. 7.

Timor), the development of peacekeeping from a device of neutralization to a mechanism of promoting social, economic and legal reconstruction in post conflict territories, including the administration of territories; and last but not least, the increasing reliance of UN members on values of liberal peace (democratization, humanitarian consideration) to justify or legitimate interventions (Haiti, Kosovo, Iraq).<sup>23</sup>

Similar indications for the transformation of the concept of peace developments may be derived from state practice in the area of peace treaties. Evidence shows that there has generally been a significant increase of peace agreements in the 1990's. Furthermore, where peace agreements have been concluded, they usually incorporated elements of conflict management (power-sharing arrangements, human rights mechanisms, third party monitoring etc.). These developments challenge the diametrical opposition of the states of war and peace in international relations. The concepts of war or (in the language of today) armed conflict and peace itself have become increasingly intertwined after World War II.<sup>24</sup>

#### **2.2.2.1. UNDERSTANDING THE UNITED NATIONS (UN)**

Saving the people/ nations from the scourge of violent conflicts (wars) was the main motivation for the United Nations creation, whose founders lived and experienced through devastation of two world wars.<sup>25</sup> Since its creation, the UN has often been called upon to prevent disputes from escalating into war, or to help restore peace when armed conflict does break out, and to promote lasting peace in societies emerging from wars. The Security Council, the General Assembly and the Secretary General all play major and complementary roles in fostering peace and security.

Pursuant to its “Uniting for Peace” resolution of November 1950, resolution 377(V), the General Assembly may also take action if the Security Council fails to act, owing to the negative vote of a Permanent Member, in a case where there appears to be a threat to or breach of the peace, or

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<sup>23</sup>T. M. Franck, *Recourse to Force: State Action Against Threats and Armed Attacks* (2002), p. 158-162, R. Müllerson, *Jus Ad Bellum; Plus ça change (le monde), plus c'est la même chose (le droit)*, *Journal of Conflict and Security Law*, Vol. 7 (2002), p. 149, at 182, and C. Stahn, *Enforcement of the Collective Will and the Use of Force Against Iraq*, *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 97 (2003), 80

<sup>24</sup>W. G. Grewe, *Peace Treaties*, in *Encyclopedia of Public International Law*, Vol. III (1997), 938, at 940, and Christine Bell, *Peace Agreements and Human Rights* (2000), 20-32.

<sup>25</sup><http://www.un.org/en/globalissues/peacesecurity/> accessed on 16 Mar 16



act of aggression. The Assembly can consider the matter immediately with a view to making recommendations to Members for collective measures to maintain or restore international peace and security.<sup>26</sup>

*“Peacekeeping is not a soldier’s job, but only a soldier can do it.” By Dag Hammarskjöld Secretary General United Nations 1953-1961*

Conflict prevention remains one of the highest objectives of the United Nations. In today’s world, preventive action extends well beyond traditional preventive diplomacy to involve a broad constellation of UN entities working across a wide range of disciplines; to include poverty eradication and development, human rights and the rule of law, elections and the building of democratic institutions and the control of small arms, to name just a few.

The former UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, once said to the UN General Assembly that; *over the decades, we have had some unmistakable successes, such as Namibia, Mozambique, and El Salvador. But we have found ourselves maintaining calm in some seemingly intractable stalemates such as Cyprus and the Middle East. And in some places “Rwanda and former Yugoslavia,” we have found ourselves standing by, in impotent horror, while the most appalling crimes were committed. There the limits of peacekeeping were graphically demonstrated: we learned, the hard way, that lightly armed troops in white vehicles and blue helmets are not the solution to every conflict. Sometimes peace has to be made or enforced before it can be kept.*<sup>27</sup> *I therefore do not interpret any portion of the Panel’s report [Brahimi Report] as a recommendation to turn the United Nations into a war-fighting machine or to fundamentally change the principles according to which peacekeepers use force*<sup>28</sup>

**Peace operations (PO):** are crisis response and limited contingency operations, and normally include international efforts and military missions to contain conflict, redress the peace, and shape the environment to support reconciliation and rebuilding and to facilitate the transition to

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid

<sup>27</sup> K. Annan, Statement before the Special Commemorative Meeting of the General Assembly Honoring 50 Years of Peacekeeping, 6 October 2000.

<sup>28</sup> K. Annan, Report of the Secretary General on the Implementation of the Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations, A/55/502, 20 October 2000, p. 3, para. 7e.

legitimate governance. PO includes peacekeeping operations (PKO), peace building (PB) post-conflict actions, peacemaking (PM) processes, conflict prevention, and military peace enforcement operations (PEO).

PO may be conducted under the sponsorship of the United Nations (UN), or under intergovernmental organization (IGO) and regional arrangements, within a coalition of agreeing nations, or unilaterally. As with other types of military operations, the character of PO will be unique, reflecting the political, military, economic, social, information, and infrastructure characteristics of the environment.

**Legal basis of Peace Operations:** While the United States may conduct PO independently, normally PO is conducted under the sponsorship of the UN or by IGO. The UN Charter provides several means for the international community to address threats to peace and security. Although the terms “peacekeeping” and “peace enforcement” are not in the UN Charter, they generally describe actions taken under the Charter’s Chapter VI, Pacific Settlement of Disputes and Chapter VII, Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression.

Chapter VI of the UN Charter addresses peaceful means of establishing or maintaining peace through conciliation, mediation, arbitration, and diplomacy, while Chapter VII provides the UN Security Council (UNSC) with a wide range of enforcement actions from diplomatic and economic measures to the extensive application of armed force by the air, land, and maritime forces of member nations.

#### **2.2.2.2. TYPES OF PEACE OPERATIONS<sup>29</sup>**

a. **Conflict Prevention:** A peace operation employs complementary diplomatic, civil, and, when necessary military means to monitor and identify the causes of conflict and take timely action to prevent the occurrence, escalation, or resumption of hostilities. Activities aimed at conflict prevention are often conducted under Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter. Conflict

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<sup>29</sup> US Joint Publication 3-07.3 on Peace Operations of 01 August 2012, page 28 (<https://fas.org/irp/doddir/dod/jp3-07-3.pdf>, accessed on 16 Mar 16).

prevention can include fact-finding missions, consultations, warnings, inspections, and monitoring.

b. **Peacekeeping:** Military operations undertaken with the consent of all major parties to a dispute, designed to monitor and facilitate implementation of an agreement (cease fire, truce, or other such agreement) and support diplomatic efforts to reach a long-term political settlement.

c. **Peacemaking:** The process of diplomacy, mediation, negotiation, or other forms of peaceful settlements that arranges an end to a dispute and resolves issues that led to it.

d. **Peace Enforcement:** Application of military force or the threat of its use, normally pursuant to international authorization, to compel compliance with resolutions or sanctions designed to maintain or restore peace and order.

e. **Peace Building (PB):** Stability actions, predominately diplomatic and economic, that strengthen and rebuild governmental infrastructure and institutions in order to avoid lapse into conflict. It provides the reconstruction and societal rehabilitation that offers hope to resolve conflict. PKO and PEO include predominantly military actions that establish the conditions that enable PB (diplomatic, informational, and economic) to succeed. PB promotes reconciliation, strengthens and rebuilds civil infrastructures and institutions, builds confidence, and supports economic reconstruction to prevent a return to conflict.

PB tasks are at times called “post conflict reconstruction actions.” The PB activities and objectives are generally the same as those in stability operations. Stability operations establish the conditions that enable PB to succeed. Regardless of what term is applied to such an operation, the PB mission sectors described in this chapter are applicable. Some instability will exist concurrently with the PB. The major responsibility for PB resides ultimately with the (host nation) HN and the civil sector, but the PO force has a supporting and essential role. Because the PO force and civil efforts are linked, harmony and synchronization are imperative. PB usually begins during PKO or PEO and continues after they are concluded.

PB consists of actions that support political, economic, social, and security aspects of society<sup>30</sup>. Although the major responsibility for PB is with the civil sector, early in PO, when critical and immediate tasks normally carried out by civilian organizations temporarily exceed their capabilities, PO forces should assist and cooperate with the HN civil sector, NGOs, and IGOs, to ensure that those tasks are accomplished. In these situations, the PO force provides immediate relief and helps to create a sustainable infrastructure.

This temporary assumption of military responsibility for civilian tasks could range from a matter of weeks in relatively stable settings into years in an environment of ongoing security concerns. This temporary assistance should have a dual focus of supporting the re-establishment of services and building a sustainable baseline capacity to permit transition of responsibility to the civilian sector.

**Ground Force Support Capabilities (Military Activities) In Peacekeeping Operations;** includes:<sup>31</sup> Observing, monitoring, and reporting, Maintaining public order and protecting civilians and public officials, Support to elections, Delivery and protection of humanitarian assistance efforts, Manning of checkpoints and patrolling, Force protection, Health service support, Limited construction of critical Infrastructure, Supervising truces and cease fires, Intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance, Crowd control, Negotiation and mediation, Interposition between parties to, the conflict, Demobilization and disarmament, Personnel recovery, Inspection of facilities, and Training.

**Airforce Support Capabilities (Military Activities) In Peacekeeping Operations;** includes:<sup>32</sup> Airlift, Intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance, Command and control of air operations, Communications and information gathering, Aerial refuelling, Personnel recovery, Air traffic control support, Joint fire support, Combat air patrol, Airspace control, Early warning of hostile actions, Delivery of humanitarian aid, Deterrence of hostile actions, Protection, and Logistics resupply.

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid, page 65

<sup>31</sup>Ibid, page 41

<sup>32</sup>Ibid, page 42

To conclude: In accordance to the UN, only peacekeeping, peace enforcement, and peace building usually involves military elements as protection force and minimum humanitarian assistance while peacemaking and conflict prevention are primarily diplomatic efforts done by civilian components.

### **2.2.3. SECURITY AS A CONTESTED CONCEPT**

Some scholars have depicted security as an essentially contested concept<sup>33</sup>, this contention has been analysed for three reasons: First, there is some ambiguity as to what this means. Second, security may not fulfil the requirements for classification as an essentially contested concept. And third, even if security was to be so classified, the implications for security studies may be incorrectly specified. Essentially contested concepts are said to be so value-laden that no amount of argument or evidence can ever lead to agreement on a single version as the correct or standard use<sup>34</sup>.

The stronger variants of this position lead to a radical sceptical in which there are no grounds for preferring one conception of security to another. There are, however, weaker forms of this position that allow one to differentiate between better and worse conceptualizations, even though ultimately none of the better conceptualizations can ever be said to be the best<sup>35</sup>. Since the analysis undertaken here purports only to improve on current usage, and not to identify the single best usage, however that security should be classified as an essentially contested concept.

Of the several requirements for such a classification, two are especially questionable with respect to the concept of security. That security concept must be appraised in the sense that it signifies or accredits some kind of valued achievement<sup>36</sup>. Neorealist seem to imply that for them security is the most important goal a state can have in the same way that winning a championship is

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<sup>33</sup>Review of International Studies (1997) Copyright © British International Studies Association 'the concept of security by David A and Baldwin, page 10. See also Buzan, People, States, and 'Peace, Power'; and Little, 'Ideology and Change', see W B. Gallie, 'Essentially Contested Concepts', Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society, N.S., 56 (1956), pp. 167-98, see Christine Swanton, 'On the "Essential Contentedness" of Political Concepts', Ethics, 95 (1985), pp. 811-27; Alasdair Macintyre, 'The Essential Contestability of Some Social Concepts', Ethics, 84 (1973), pp. 1-9; John N. Gray, 'On the Contestability of Social and Political Concepts', Political Theory, 5 (1977), pp. 330-48; and Oppenheim, Political Concepts, pp. 182 and Gallie, 'Essentially Contested Concepts', p. 168.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid, page 11

<sup>35</sup>Swanton, 'On the "Essential Contentedness" ', pp. 813-14.

<sup>36</sup>Gallie, 'Essentially Contested Concepts', p. 171.

presumably the goal of all teams in Gallie's example just as teams compete to be champions, so states compete for security. And just as the champion is better at playing the game than other teams, so states with more security than other states are.

He suggests, that more likely to involve special pleading and rationalization than deep-seated philosophical disagreement, thus much of the contemporary public policy debate over whether to treat the environment, budget deficits, and crime or drug traffic as national security issues does not qualify as serious conceptual debate by GaBie's standards. For Gallie essential contentedness implies more than that different parties use different versions of a concept. Each party must recognize the contested nature of the concept it uses, and each must engage in vigorous debate in defence of its particular conceptual viewpoint<sup>37</sup>.

It is true of course, that the state's pursuit of security for itself may conflict with the individual's pursuit of security; but this is an empirical fact rather than a conceptual problem. Most of the phenomena designated by Buzan as conceptual contradictions could more fruitfully be called instances of empirically verifiable conflict between various actors or policies<sup>38</sup>.

#### **2.2.4. SPECIFYING THE SECURITY PROBLEMATIQUE**

The national security as Wolfers suggests can be a dangerously ambiguous concept if used without specification. To identify some specifications that would facilitate analyzing the rationality of security policy begins with specifications for defining security as a policy objective and proceeds to specifications for defining policies for pursuing that objective. The point of departure is Wolfers' characterization of security as 'the absence of threats to acquired values', which seems to capture the basic instinctive notion underlying most uses of the term security<sup>39</sup>.

Since there is ambiguity in the phrase 'absence of threats', this does not significantly change Wolfers' meaning, and it allows for inclusion of events such as earthquakes, which Ullman has

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid, page 12. See also Wolfers, 'National Security', p. 491-2. 31 and Gallie, 'Essentially Contested Concepts', p. 169-172.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid, page 13. See also Buzan, 'People, States', pp. 16, 374; 'Peace, Power', p. 125; Booth, 'Security and Emancipation', p. 317; and Buzan, 'People, States', pp. 1-2, 15, 364.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid, page 13. See also Wolfers, 'National Security', p. 485.

argued should be considered 'threats' to security<sup>40</sup>. The advantage of this reformulation can be illustrated as response to threats of military attack, and states develop deterrence policies. With this reformulation, security in its most general sense can be defined in terms of two specifications: Security for whom? And security for which values?

Security for whom? As Buzan rightly points out, a concept of security that fails to specify a referent object makes little sense. However a simple specification such as the state or the individual does not suffice. Since there are many states and individuals, and since their security is interdependent, he argues that the 'search for a referent object of security' must go 'hand-in-hand with that for its necessary conditions'<sup>41</sup>. However for the purposes of specifying the concept of security, a wide range of answers to the question, like security for whom is acceptable: the individual, the state, and the international system (some, most, or all international systems) etc's choice depends on the particular research question to be addressed.

Security for which values? Individuals, states, and other social actors have many values. These may include physical safety, economic welfare, autonomy, psychological well-being, and so on. The concept of national security has traditionally included political independence and territorial integrity as values to be protected; but other values are sometimes added. The former American Secretary of Defence Harold Brown, for example, includes the maintenance of 'economic relations with the rest of the world on reasonable terms' in his conception of national security<sup>42</sup>.

To conclude, Security concept has been developed around three different perspectives; the first, dealing with the link between the objectives of national security and economic development, where the old opposition between *liberalism* and *mercantilism* still remains relevant. The second approach uses economic models to study conflicts and militarism and the third approach considers the consequences of militarism on the growth and the stability of capitalist economies, from a *Marxist, Keynesian, or institutionalism* perspective.

Also, security can be defined as the process in which quality of individual or state of being safe (assurance, safeness, safety) and the action or means of defending (defence, guard, preservation,

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid, page 13. See also Ullman, 'Redefining Security' and Buzan, 'People, States', p. 26

<sup>41</sup>Review of International Studies (1997) Copyright © British International Studies Association 'the concept of security by David A and Baldwin, page 14.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid. See also Harold Brown, Thinking about National Security: Defense and Foreign Policy in a Dangerous World (Boulder, CO, 1983), p. 4.

protection, protector, safeguard, shield, ward)<sup>43</sup>. And the security organ is defined as institution/department with its attributes in relation to national security services as stipulated by Rwandan constitution that security organs include; Rwanda Defence Forces (RDF) among others.

Security organs are public institutions with its attributes in relation to national security services and also private institutions are not left out because they contribute economically. Like Rwanda Defence Forces has the primary responsibilities of protecting country's sovereignty and Rwandan people and intervene in regional and international peace and security. Yet secondary roles oblige it to contribute in social economic development by carrying out several activities that relates to reconciliation process and poverty alleviation among others.

And the concept of security notion is contested in terms of its conceptualization and the application. Several nations; great or small in terms of military, economy and technology powers and capabilities has been keen in defensive and offensive competition of military, economic and technology empowerment and they apply it as a national security concern based on which institution is addressed to e.g. security shouldn't be singled as a single factor; it should be seen as collective mechanisms designed to protect a nation and human security over physical, and moral threats in all spheres.

In fact, security should be seen as the foundation (foremost) of other services to the nation and its people because, lack of it (the absence) will bring insecurity that definitely will paralyse the current and future progress of the people. Indeed security should be seen as day by day service guarantor that wherever interrupted may bring down the loss to the human and nation sovereignty. Therefore, as far as this study is concern, the concept of security embraces the above three perspectives i.e. national, human and individual security.

### **2.3. RECONCILIATION**

The spirit that underpins any conceptualization or theory of reconciliation attempts to capture and communicate the idea of bringing together different and opposing views and opinions. It

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<sup>43</sup><http://www.thefreedictionary.com/security> accessed on 17 June 15



incorporates the (re)uniting of people, of groups, or of society in harmony. This is to be understood simply as tolerance of differences and divergence at the individual as well as the collective at national levels. It means the acceptance that in democratic society it is legitimate and even important to disagree but not to attempt to overthrow by means of violence or anarchy in the societal order when there is divergence and opposition among people or groups. In this sense, reconciliation and democracy suggest a set of rules or a legitimate societal “patterning” in which all (or the great majority) of the players agrees that such rules are in their common interest and must therefore be abided by.

### **2.3.1. CONCEPTS OF RECONCILAITON**

The concept of reconciliation and efforts to measure it quantitatively is a relatively new research focusing on increasing interest internationally, although substantive work has been carried out by the Institute of Justice and Reconciliation in this respect, through the South African Reconciliation Barometer, conducted since 2003<sup>44</sup>. This growing importance worldwide is also confirmed by the United Nation’s declaration of 2009 as the International Year of Reconciliation, in order to highlight its significance for the large numbers of countries facing post-conflict transitions. The concept of reconciliation is extremely complex, and encapsulates a multitude of principles, variables, dimensions, and meanings.

Reconciliation may be defined as mutual acceptance by groups of each other (Staub and Pearlman, 2001; Staub and Bar-Tal, 2003). The essence of reconciliation is a changed psychological orientation toward the other. Reconciliation means that victims and perpetrators, or members of hostile groups, do not see the past as defining the future, as simply a continuation of the past. It means that they come to see the humanity of one another, accept each other, and see the possibility of a constructive relationship. This definition is consistent with other definitions which focus on restoring a damaged relationship, and on both the processes involved and the outcome (Broneus, 2003; de la Rey, 2001; Kriesberg, 1998b; Lederach, 1997).

William Zartmann, as cited by Umutesi, goes further and explicitly incorporates the importance of confronting the past in order to move forward and arrive at a pacified society where free and

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<sup>44</sup><http://www.ijr.org.za/political-analysis-SARB.php>

equal individuals acknowledge each other and are capable of facing up to a history full of violent acts, and above all, are able to surmount that history.<sup>45</sup>

Also reconciliation is a complex term, and there is little agreement on its definition. This is mainly because reconciliation is often both a *goal*—something to achieve, and a *process*—a means to achieve that goal. A great deal of controversy arises from confusing these two ideas. Therefore, despite its increasingly common usage in a range of diverse contexts, there is lack of common understanding about the definition of reconciliation. Reconciliation remains a complex and contested dependent concept.<sup>46</sup> In general, some writers suggest that reconciliation can be referred to as goal/outcome, or as a process, while others consider the concept to be both a goal and a process.<sup>47</sup> Others, such as Lederach, consider reconciliation as a place<sup>48</sup>; while Borer holds that reconciliation occurs at many dimensions like spiritual, personal, relational and social, structural and ecological.<sup>49</sup>

Mostly, reconciliation is often restricted to interpersonal relationships, and becomes defined in terms of bringing together former adversaries on the basis of a minimum mutual acceptance. This implies the restoration or transformation of the minimal acceptable relationships between former adversaries, which build on a minimum of mutual acceptance, in a viable and cooperative manner.<sup>50</sup> In this regard, a ‘minimum acceptable relationship between former adversaries’ is defined in terms of the existence of mutual trust, positive attitudes and behaviours, and the consideration of the parties needs and interests.

This understanding is restricted to the process involving the transformation or change at the relationship level after a violent conflict has caused a rupture in people’s relationships (thick reconciliation). It is also concerned with mutual acceptance of one another by members of

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<sup>45</sup> Umutesi, M-B, “Is Reconciliation between Hutus and Tutsis Possible?” *Journal of International Affairs*, Fall/Winter 2006, Vol 60(1), p. 164.

<sup>46</sup> Evaldsson, Anna-Karin (2007). *Grassroots reconciliation in South Africa*, PhD Dissertation, School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University, Sweden, p.37; Sentama (2009). *Peacebuilding in post-genocide Rwanda: The Role of cooperatives in the restoration of interpersonal relationships*. PhD Dissertation, School of Global Studies, Gothenburg University, Sweden.

<sup>47</sup> Kostić, Roland, (2007:31); Bloomfield, (2005:12); Villa-Vicencio, (2006:60); Borer, (2006:31); Bar-Tal and Bennink, (2004:11), In Sentama (2009). *Ibid.* 2009, p. 30-31.

<sup>48</sup> Lederach, John Paul (1997). *Building Peace: Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press; Sentama (2009), *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> Borer, (2006:67); Sentama (2009)—*Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> Lederach, (2002:24); Kostić, (2007:31); Galtung, (2001:1-2); Villa-Vicencio, (2006:60), In Sentama (2009). *Ibid.* 2009, p. 30-31.

formerly hostile groups or individuals. Such acceptance includes positive attitudes, but also positive actions that express them, as circumstances allow and require.

Other researchers argue that the goal of reconciliation, beside mutual accommodation and acceptance of former adversaries, also includes forgiveness. Reconciliation touches upon its character or approach by making a distinction between individual reconciliation and national reconciliation.<sup>51</sup>The first type of reconciliation is concerned with what is called *intrapersonal reconciliation*—the process by which individuals who suffered from, or conducted violence need to reconcile with themselves. It is often referred to as trauma ‘healing’.<sup>52</sup> The second type of reconciliation is called *interpersonal reconciliation* (IR), sometimes also called *thick reconciliation*, associated with a religious paradigm—with individuals as units of analysis. It is concerned with the reparation of relationships between victims and those who harmed them or their loved ones. Here reconciliation happens to individuals, usually between two (a group of people i.e. survivor and perpetrator), but also sometimes with an individual themselves. The interpersonal understanding of reconciliation is characterized by ‘a shared comprehensive vision, mutual healing and restoration, and mutual forgiveness’. Its elements also include “confession, sacrifice, and redemption”.<sup>53</sup>

Although this model varies according to individual emphasis, certain concepts are strongly identified with it, including healing, apology, forgiveness, confession, and remorse. In this model, individual reconciliation can foster sustainable peace if and when the following core elements as outlined by Assefa,<sup>54</sup> are taken into consideration: (a) honest acknowledgment of the harm/injury each party has inflicted on the other; (b) sincere regrets and remorse for the injury done; (c) readiness to apologize for one’s role in inflicting the injury; (d) readiness of the conflicting parties to ‘let go’ of the anger and bitterness caused by the conflict and the injury,(e) commitment by the offender not to repeat the injury; (f) sincere effort to redress past grievances that caused the conflict and compensate the damage caused to the extent possible; and (g) entering into a new mutually enriching relationship.

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<sup>51</sup>Kostić, 2007:32; In Sentama (2009). Ibid.2009, p. 30-33

<sup>52</sup>Stovel, (2006:23); and Sentama (2009). Ibid.2009, p. 30-33

<sup>53</sup>Borer (2006), Ibid, p.32.

<sup>54</sup>Assefa (2008), Ibid.

The third model of reconciliation can be described as *political reconciliation*, often referred to as ‘National Reconciliation’ (NR), and also called *thin* reconciliation, associated with a national or political paradigm—with socio-political institutions and processes, as units of analysis. This approach to reconciliation, unlike the second (thick reconciliation), assumes that former enemies are unlikely to agree with each other or even to get along very well. In this regard, one important aspect of NR is ‘the development of a political culture that is respectful of the human rights of all people’. As Borer stresses, NR’s emphasis is that “the state should strive to build legitimate and representative state institutions which respect fundamental human rights” and in which it is the state’s responsibility to “create a culture of rights based upon an inclusive and democratic notion of citizenship.” In sum, the NR model of reconciliation is most closely associated with the following terms: tolerance, rule of law (justice), democracy, human rights culture, conflict resolution, transparency, and public debate.

### **2.3.2. RECONCILIATION IN THE RWANDAN CONTEXT**

The reconciliation process in Rwanda has and still focuses on reconstructing the Rwandan identity, as well as balancing justice, truth, peace and security. The Constitution states that all Rwandans share equal rights. Laws have been passed to fight discrimination and divisive genocide ideology. Primary responsibility for reconciliation efforts in Rwanda rests with the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC), established in 1999.<sup>55</sup>

As outlined in the previous section, reconciliation is viewed as an important priority for overcoming a history of conflict within Rwandan society, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) has defined unity and reconciliation as “a consensus practice of citizens who have common nationality, who share the same culture and have equal rights; citizens characterized by trust, tolerance, mutual respect, equality, complementary roles/interdependence, truth, and healing of one another’s wounds inflicted by our history, with the objectives of laying a foundation for sustainable development<sup>56</sup>.”

The NURC maintains that attaining unity and reconciliation among all Rwandans will require a “radical change on the part of the Rwandan society and willingness to transform Rwanda into a reconciled and united nation in which all citizens have equal freedoms and a country that has a

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<sup>55</sup><http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/rwanda/about/bgjustice.shtml> accessed on 12 Sept 15

<sup>56</sup>Definition provided by Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer of October 2010 (page 18)

common vision for a better future. The work of the NURC is framed historically by both the 1994 genocide, but also by Rwanda's history of conflict, resulting from "various historical eras of bad governance characterized by divisions and discriminations based on ethnicity, religion, region of origin and nepotism which have had devastating effects on the social relations" between Rwandans.

In Rwanda, reconciliation is understood as a process through which Rwanda has to move from a divided past to a shared future, a process that aims to overcome the dehumanizing past towards a re-humanized present and future, a process that has to do with 'who Rwandans have to be and become'. This understanding reflects the definition provided in the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance's Reconciliation Handbook: Reconciliation 'is a process through which a society moves from a divided past to a shared future.'<sup>57</sup> This understanding also agrees with Galtung and Wallensteen, who contend that reconciliation process is not about forgetting the past or loving the former enemies but rather to coexist peacefully.<sup>58</sup>

Therefore, Rwanda's understanding of reconciliation bends towards the above-described third model of reconciliation, which indicates the strong political will as refers to political reconciliation or 'National Reconciliation' (NR) given that this model emphasizes the state's responsibility to "create a culture of rights based upon an inclusive and democratic notion of citizenship. The model is indeed associated with the rule of law (justice), democracy, human rights culture, conflict resolution, transparency, and public debate. This is a process aimed at redefining the Rwandan identity and building a shared sense of a shared citizenship."<sup>59</sup> The National Policy on Unity and Reconciliation indeed defines reconciliation as: *Conduct and practices of Rwandans that reflect the identity of the shared citizenship, culture, and equal rights manifested through interpersonal trust, tolerance, respect, equality, truth, and healing the wounds with the objective of laying a foundation for sustainable development.*<sup>60</sup>

Accordingly, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission also understand reconciliation as: *A consensus practice of citizens who have common nationality, who share the same culture and have equal rights; citizens characterized by trust, tolerance, mutual respect, equality,*

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<sup>57</sup>Blomfield, Barness and Huyse (2003:12); Sentama, 2009—Ibid.

<sup>58</sup>Galtung (1996); Wallensteen, (2002); Sentama, (2009)—Ibid.

<sup>59</sup>NURC (2009), Ibid., p.5.

<sup>60</sup>NURC (2007).The National Policy on Unity and Reconciliation, Kigali August:6-7

*complementary roles/interdependence, truth, and healing or one another's wounds inflicted by our [Rwanda's] history, with the objectives of laying a foundation for sustainable development.*<sup>61</sup>

To conclude, Reconciliation is a complex term, and there is little agreement on its definition mainly because reconciliation is often both a *goal* and a *process* to achieve an objective. Even though a great deal of controversy arises from confusing these two ideas, reconciliation concept has long been defined on the intrapersonal, interpersonal and national reconciliation basis that involves both civilian and military components (population, politicians, donors and military for security) known as government and non-government organisations framed at national and international level that are in charge of recovery process in peace building of the community. Therefore, as far as this study is concern, the concept of reconciliation embraces the above three perspective of intrapersonal, interpersonal and national reconciliation, but with strong emphasis on the concept of national reconciliation that seem to bind them all.

#### **2.4. SECURITY AND RECONCILIATION IN POST-CONFLICT SOCIETY**

Since the end of the Cold War, demands and cries for an end to authoritarian government and tyranny, societal conflict, and injustice, and for peace and security, for reconciliation, and for a better life for all have increasingly been globally framed in a new paradigm i.e. of human rights and humanitarian law. Possibly, the world peace and calls for the end to war, governments and terrorism have come to be understood via debate that stresses the strengthening of socio-political and socio-economic institutional centers by way of expanded inclusion and extension, the rule of law, and an imaginative market, but also by a set of policies guaranteeing a rights culture.

This suggests that the development and reconstruction struggles of recently democratic societies or regions are no longer strategically driven by international policy emanating from notions of control, conquest, and victory in a Superpower-driven world. Instead, they are motivated by global human rights and humanitarian concerns. The bringing together and reconciliation of the people, hence the securing of their human rights has become central to conflict resolution and peace-building projects all around the world.

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<sup>61</sup>NURC (2010).Ibid., p. 16.

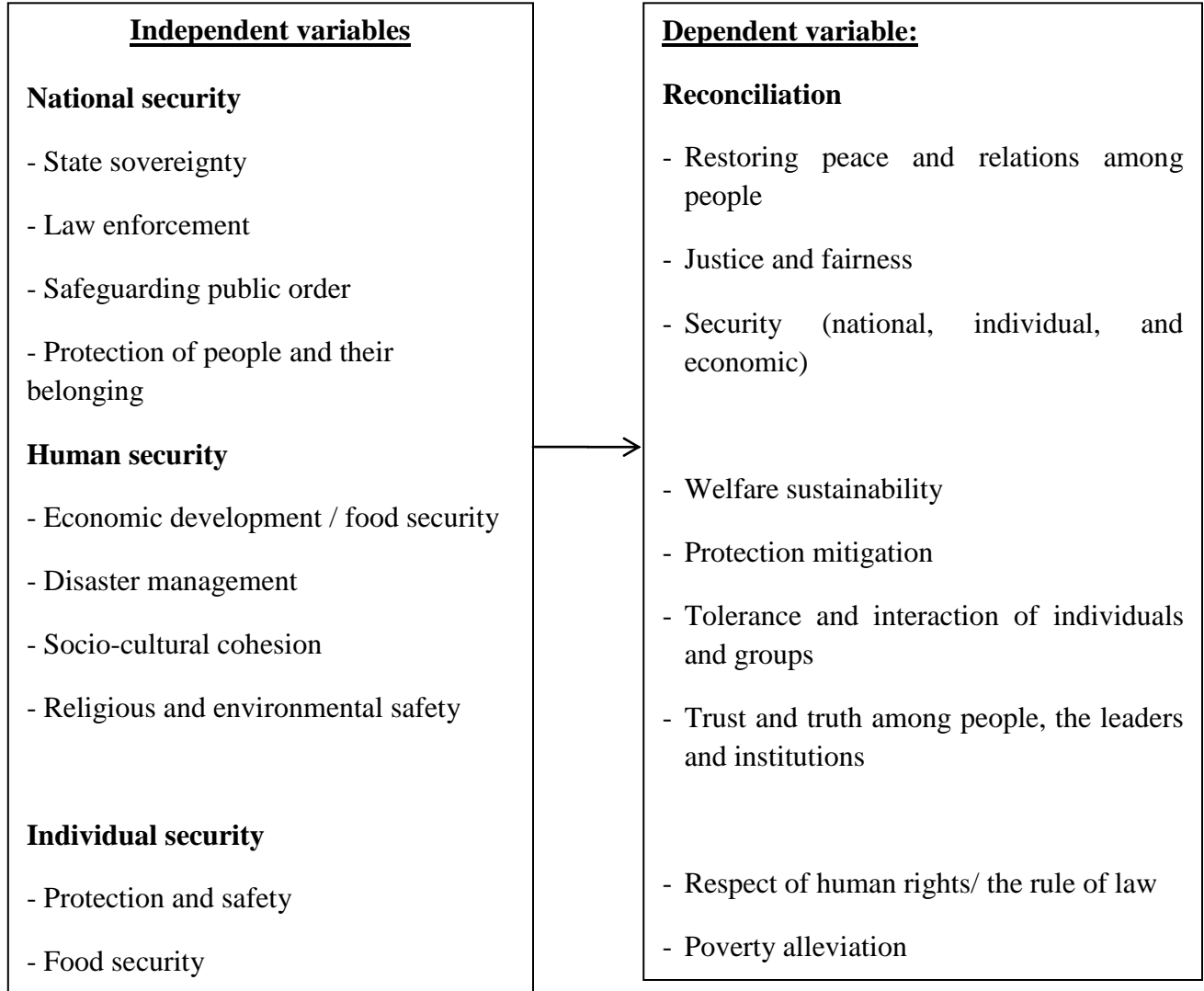
At the institutional level transitional justice in the form of the promotion of societal reconciliation, national unity, security, the rule of law, and democracy via truth commissioning of some sort has become the key strategy used to challenge the universal or international criminal justice system position and practice. The contestation of the notion of transitional justice has become pivotal in this regard. In view, perpetrators and wrongdoers should be brought to justice in terms of identical standards of criminal law, no matter where they find themselves.<sup>62</sup> The other view is situated within broad parameters that suggest that retributive justice is both doomed to failure and impractical in the struggle for a better life for all. It asserts that the implementation of transitional justice should be composed of some form of truth commissioning (or forward-looking justice) rooted in compromise and negotiated settlement, in which forgiveness and reconciliation, people-centeredness, and truth telling are keys to successful societal transition.

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<sup>62</sup>The setting up of the International Criminal Court that followed the Rome Statutes of 1998 is a key development in support of this position.

## 2.5. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

A conceptual framework has been developed in order to present proposed variables that connect security to reconciliation.



Source: Experimental findings from this study



## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1. INTRODUCTION**

This chapter presents procedures applied in conducting the study. It focuses on the research design, locale of the study, target population, sampling techniques and sample size, research instruments, data collection and analysis techniques. Finally, logistical, ethical and human relations considerations of the study are also presented.

### **3.2. RESEARCH DESIGN AND APPROACH**

This study is exploratory given that it was not aimed at testing a hypothesis. The theoretical framework provided (see the end of chapter 2) is designed to be connected to the empirical findings. As far as the study approach is concerned, this thesis is mainly qualitative notably regarding the exploration of the two research questions. The quantitative aspect is only provided while identifying the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents as well as respondents' understanding on reconciliation and security. The purpose is only to explore respondents' opinions and experiences with regard to activities of RDF in relation to reconciliation in post-genocide Rwanda.

### **3.3. TARGETPOPULATION**

According to Mugenda (2008) the total population specified by the researcher under his/her study from which a representative sample to be drawn based on practical accessibility to generalize the result of the study is referred to as target population.<sup>63</sup> Therefore, target population of the study (respondents) were selected as follows; Rwanda Defence Force (RDF) as an organ for security, Rwanda Governance Board (RGB), the National Unity and Reconciliation

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<sup>63</sup>Mugenda, A. G. (2008). Social Science Research: Theory and principles. Nairobi: ARTS Press.

Commission (NURC), Rwanda Demobilization and Reintegration Commission (RDRC), National Itorero Commission (NIC), and Regal practitioners as organs that have direct or indirect connection with the reconciliation process in Rwanda, and would avail information on how ordinary citizens perceive and react to the RDF's efforts aimed at promoting peace and harmony among Rwandan.

Furthermore, the population of Kagarama village of Kagugu cell Kinyinya Sector Gasabo District were targeted because of their mixture which consists of RDF families, ex-combatant families, relocated people from Kiyovu and others with low and middle income earners. Lastly, the population of Ntarama village Kanzenze cell Ntarama-Bugesera District were also targeted because of its long historical agenda of genocide that characterized Bugesera area since 1959 to 1994 of systematic killings.

### **3.4. SAMPLE SIZE**

With regard to the respondents from various institutions concerned by this study, a purposive sampling method was used whereby individuals representing each institution were selected on basis of availability and suitability to provided information. Therefore, respondents (individuals) that were reached, includes: 31 respondents from RDF, 6 RGB, 9 NURC, 6 RDRC, 16 NIC, 5 regal practitioners. With regard to citizens, no fixed sample size was made before data collection. The research relied upon on a convenient method so as to get to citizens as many as possible. In the end, 120 individuals were reached and were subject to individual and group interviews. Their representation was as follows: 19 respondents from Kagarama village, and 28 respondents from Ntarama village.

**TABLE 3.1: SAMPLE SIZE**

<b>Sample group</b>	<b>Sample size</b>
RDF	31
RGB	6
NURC	9
RDRC	6
NIC	16
Regal practitioners	5
Kagarama Village	19
Ntarama Village	28
<b>Total</b>	<b>120</b>

Source: Experimental findings from this study

### **3.5. DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS**

In the study both questionnaire and semi-structured interview schedules were used. To do this the research followed all the required procedures starting with applying for permission from University of Rwanda and all the chain followed from the regional to the local authorities. Each participant was asked permission to take part in the study after detailed explanation of the purpose of the study. After consent was obtained the interview took place in a calm and private environment. The research was welcomed by all of the study respondents and was personally monitoring the structured interview.

#### **3.5.1: QUESTIONNAIRE**

A questionnaire has a great reliability because it lets the selection of all areas and representative sample. Questionnaires are also preferred due to the relative ease and cost effective and time use. In this study the questionnaire was intended to obtain information about socio-demographic characteristics from different study participants. This was designed to address whether contribution of RDF in post-genocide reconstruction has played a great role in reconciling a divisive society and promoting the country's security and stability.

#### **3.5.2: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULES**

In the study semi-structured interview (in-depth interview) schedules were used. In-depth interviewing is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual

interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea. Therefore, it was used to get more information about participant's experiences on the RDF activities in relation towards security and reconciliation.

### **3.6. VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY**

Validity refers to the degree to which an instrument measures what it is intended to measure. Therefore, to enhance the validity of the instruments, the research undergone through different literature review to construct a data collection tool which suites to this study. Reliability refers to the measure of the degree to which a particular research instrument gives a consistent result or data over a number of repeated trials. Therefore reliability of the study was maintained through monitoring and supervising data collection activities on daily basis.

### **3.7. DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS**

The study used descriptive analysis for quantitative data using frequency and proportions for the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents and their views on the contribution of RDF on security and reconciliation. The data were presented using tables and figures/graphs.

Qualitative data was categorized and analyzed according to themes; transcripts were thoroughly reviewed to note the main themes. Coding of the content was then done so as not to miss relevant pieces of information. And thereby rearranging themes according to the appropriate part of the schematic framework to which they relate and placed in charts for discussions and interpretation.

### **3.8. LOGISTICAL AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

Logistical, ethical and human relations considerations are perceived to be all the processes and necessary actions that a researcher must apply to ensure a successful completion of a research project (Orodho, 2009). Based on this idea, the research was conducted through the appropriate

arrangements on the means of transportation, permission letter, working schedule, budget and all appropriate layouts of research instruments.

The research followed the ethical and human relations issues in order to get a genuine cooperation from the respected individuals. Thereby the consent of the respondents was sought and obtained, thereafter, the participants were informed that their participation was voluntarily and they could withdraw from the study at any time without giving any reason. The findings were treated with utmost confidentiality and were for the purpose of this research only. Furthermore, all works used from other scholars were highly acknowledged through appropriate citation of sources.

## CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

### 4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents data analysis, results and discussions of findings from the respondents gathered through questionnaire and semi-structured interviews. Analyzing the data gathered through questionnaire (quantitative) is presented in tabular and graphical forms. Percentages and frequencies are used to clarify if the contribution of RDF in post genocide Rwanda in reconciling a divisive society and promoting the country's security is high, average or low. The qualitative data from the interviewees are presented and discussed under each topic in relation to the quantitative data presentation.

### 4.2. DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

Before getting to empirical findings, the presentation of the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents appears paramount.

#### 4.2.1. DISTRIBUTION OF AGE AMONG RESPONDENTS

**TABLE 4.1: RESPONDENTS BY AGE**

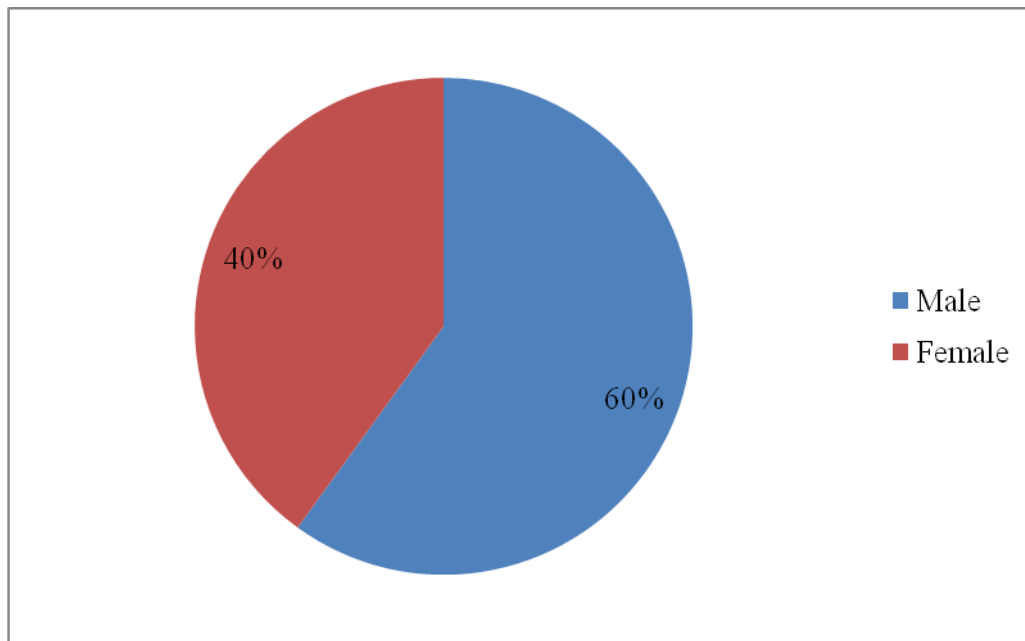
Age group	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
18-20	4	3.3
21-30	14	11.7
31-35	29	24.2
36-40	23	19.2
41-45	41	34.2
50 and above	9	7.5
<b>TOTAL</b>	120	100.0

Source: Experimental findings from this study

As the findings presented in the above table indicate the respondent's participation (frequencies and percentages) have both varying age group and shows that the big number of respondents is categorized being more experienced, grown-up (they are above 30 years) and occupies 85%. They know the negative and positive impacts of previous regimes, the 1994 Rwanda genocide against the Tutsi and its ideology, its impact and reconciliation process. Vividly, those of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> categories are at 30 years old and bellow; even though occupies 15% but owes Rwanda's future. Therefore both their views are really useful to this study.

#### 4.2.2. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS IN PERCENTAGE BY SEX

**FIGURE 4.1: SEX DISTRIBUTION**



Source: Experimental findings from this study

The above figure presents the respondents by sex that contributed their opinions, whereby males increased by 60% compared to females of 40%. Therefore, the mismatch (gender imbalance) indicated in some of these respondents are of no intention but only as a result of working environment, however their views were equally useful and weighted at the same level to this study.

### 4.2.3. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY CATEGORY

**TABLE 4.2: CATEGORY OF RESPONDENTS BY SEX**

<b>DESTINATION</b>	<b>MALE, n(%)</b>	<b>FEMALE, n(%)</b>	<b>TOTAL, n(%)</b>
RDF	25(20.8%)	6(5.0%)	31(25.8%)
RGB	4(3.3%)	2(1.7%)	6(5.0%)
RDRC	6(5.0%)	0(0.0%)	6(5.0%)
NURC	4(3.3%)	5(4.2%)	9(7.5%)
KAGARAMA VILLAGE	10(8.3%)	9(7.5%)	19(15.8%)
NTARAMA VILLAGE	10(8.3%)	18(15.0%)	28(23.3%)
REGAL PRACTITIONERS	4(3.3%)	1(0.8)	5(4.2%)
NIC	9(7.5%)	7(5.8%)	16(13.3%)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>72(60.0%)</b>	<b>48(40.0%)</b>	<b>120(100.0%)</b>

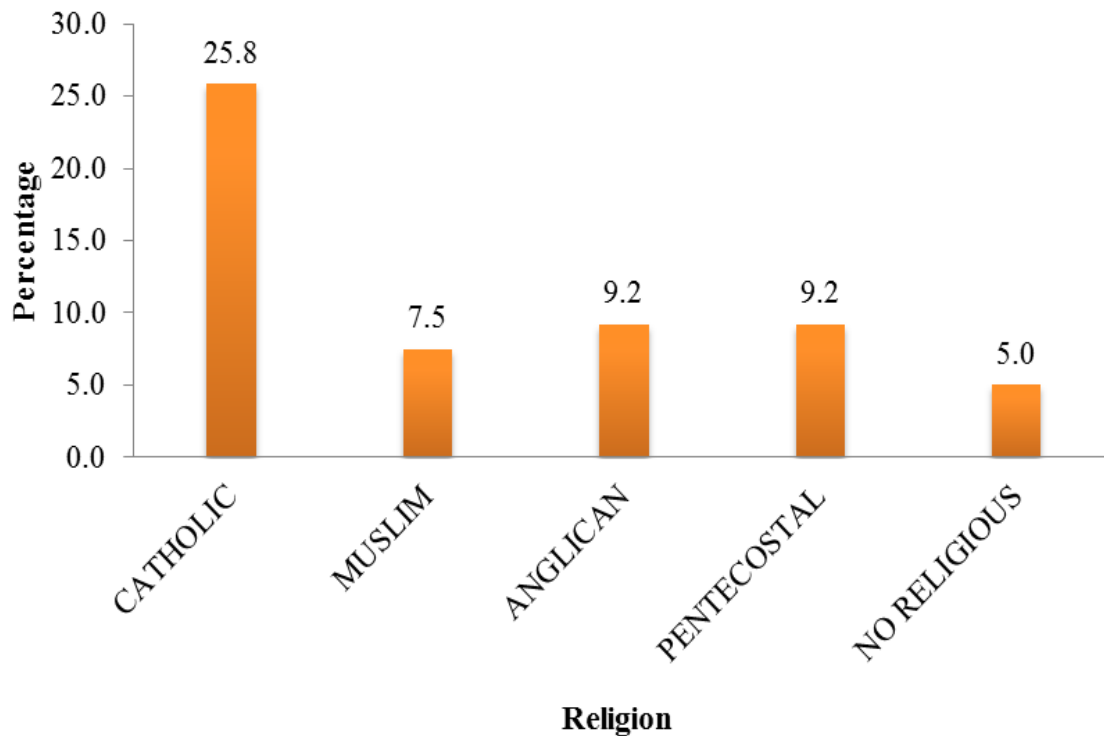
Source: Experimental findings from this study

As the findings presented in the above table indicates the respondent's participation thus both male and female individuals accepted to contribute were involved in, except in RDRC. Also the number or figures to this study from different category is based on employee's contributions under their responsibilities and does not necessarily affect the research target of individuals and gender equality.



#### 4.2.4. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY RELIGIOUS

FIGURE 4.2: RESPONDENTS BY RELIGION



Source: Experimental findings from this study

As the findings presented in the above figure indicate the respondent's participation by religious groups. This has been considered based on the historical background of its negative and positive impacts in Rwanda's history. Example; Rwandan old people are believed to be more confident in religious than local leadership as a result of developed divisionism ideology from the colonial and missionary that have negatively affected the Rwandan society. It therefore in view that respondent's perception towards RDF activities in reconciliation processes according to religious grouping is useful to this study.

#### 4.2.5. DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

**TABLE 4.3: RESPONDENTS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL**

<b>EDUCATIONAL LEVEL</b>	<b>Frequencies</b>	<b>Percentages (%)</b>
O level	7	5.8
A Level	14	11.7
Diploma	25	20.8
Bachelor's degree	47	39.2
Masters	12	10.0
PhD	4	3.3
Others	11	9.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Experimental findings from this study

As the findings presented in the above table indicate the respondent's participation by education level has been considered based on the historical background of its negative impacts based on the ignorance and poverty vis-à-vis intellectual influence. Example, Rwandan people (locals) influenced by intellectuals (leadership) are believed to have accelerated the divisionism, discrimination and hatred (genocide ideology) to young and active ignorant and poor Rwandan society. It was considered based on their views on how they perceive the RDF's contributions towards post genocide reconciliation processes in Rwanda.

Also, category of others includes technical schools; primary and none educated ones that are involved and among the community. Their perception on RDF's contributions in knowledge and capacities towards new Rwanda are very useful to this study.

#### 4.3. RESPONDENTS VIEWS ON THE CONTRIBUTION OF RDF IN POST-GENOCIDE RECONCILIATION

**TABLE4.4: GROUP OF RESPONDENT'S VIEWS IN RELATION TO THE INDICATORS**

CATEGORY	INDICATORS REFLECTED IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE					
	Strongly agree, n(%)	Agree, n(%)	Don't know, n(%)	Disagree, n(%)	Strongly Disagree, n(%)	TOTAL
RGB	4(4.5%)	2(2.2%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	6
RDRC	6(6.7%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	6
NURC	9(10.1%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	9
KAGARAM A VILLAGE	13(14.6%)	4(4.5%)	3(3.4%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	19
NTARAMA VILLAGE	21(23.6%)	6(6.7%)	1(1.1%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	28
RGAL PRACTITIONERS	5(5.6%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	5
NIC	14(15.7%)	2(2.2%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	16
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>72(80.9%)</b>	<b>12(13.5%)</b>	<b>4(4.5%)</b>	<b>0(0.0%)</b>	<b>0(0.0%)</b>	<b>89</b>

Source: Experimental findings from this study

The above table shows how the 89 respondents (less 31 of the RDF) perceive the RDF activities in relation to security and reconciliation. They strongly agree at 80.9% (72 out of 89) followed by 13.5% (12 out of 89) agree that that RDF has contributed in different activities in relation to security and reconciliation during and after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. Only 4(4.5%) of the respondent were not sure about the contribution of the RDF. However no one disagrees or denied the perception of RDF interventions in the security and reconciliation. Therefore indicators show that the majority of the respondents acknowledge the contributions of RDF in ensuring the security and reconciliation processes in the post genocide Rwanda.

Also Rwanda Defence Forces (RDF) respondents were omitted to avoid sentiments exposure in research because they are the ones under the investigation.

#### 4.4. THE ACTIVITIES RWANDA DEFENCE FORCES DO IN CONNECTION WITH RECONCILIATION IN POST GENOCIDE RWANDA

The first research question was aimed at exploring the activities RDF do in connection with reconciliation in post genocide Rwanda. The table below presents the list of views as provided by respondents.

**TABLE 4.5: RDF ACTIVITIES**

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>RDF ACTIVITIES</u>
RPA intervention of 1994 (peace enforcement)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Fighting to liberate the country</li> <li>- Stopping the genocide</li> <li>- Evacuation of civilians in danger</li> <li>- Separation of negative forces from innocent civilians</li> <li>- Creating safe environment for people’s safety and infrastructures start-ups</li> <li>- Arrest of genocide perpetrators</li> </ul>
RPA/RDF protection/ Safeguarding (peacekeeping)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Protection of all civilians in danger (survivors, nationals, internally displaced persons ‘IDPs’ and internationals</li> <li>- Fighting and disarmament of insurgency groups</li> <li>- Mobilization, demobilization and reintegration of former military and para-militaries.</li> <li>- Integration of EX-FAR into the RPA to form RDF</li> <li>- Strengthening norms and capacity to reduce human costs of armed conflict.</li> <li>- Civic education to reconcile Rwandan community.</li> <li>- Provision of basic needs like health care, food, water and etc.</li> <li>-</li> </ul>
RDF supporting activities (peace building)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Fighting genocide ideology through mobilization, civic education and interactions under civil military relations.</li> <li>- sensitizing people to have patriotism where everyone need to live with others like brothers in order to remove bad ideology which can cause death in families hence conflict escalation</li> <li>- Construction of infrastructures like health centers, schools, poverty eradication etc.</li> <li>- Treatment of both survivors and other poor families</li> <li>- Eradication of grass thatched houses</li> </ul>

Source: Experimental findings from this study

As the above table shows, the activities of RDF played during and in post genocide Rwanda are grouped into 3 categories namely peace enforcement, peacekeeping, and peace building.

#### **4.4.1. PEACE ENFORCEMENT (THE INTERVENTION)**

The first category through which RDF's activities focuses on peace enforcement. In this regard, RDF engaged in various activities such as: fighting to liberate the country from anarchy, stopping the genocide from the killers, evacuation of civilians from danger situation to safe places, identification and separation of negative forces (with appropriate measures) from innocent civilians, creating safe and conducive environment for people's safety from potential threat of social disorder, infrastructures start-ups by providing shelter and medical assistance as basic needs for human, and arrest of genocide perpetrators to stop further atrocities. These activities are relatively endorsed by the peace enforcement concept which states that application of military force or the threat of its use is normally pursuant to international or regional authorization, to compel compliance with resolutions or sanctions designed to maintain or restore peace and order by diplomatic means but RPA/RDF intervened by force while others were on lookouts.

Throughout the Rwandan history until this day, the military machinery has had a hand in influencing the socio-political life of its people, whether positively or negatively. Traditionally Rwanda was created by its military and the society was organized around it. Defined through each individual and his or her place in society, it is the military that has had the most central socio-political role to play in Rwanda's protection against internal or external threats of military invasion and slave trader<sup>64</sup>. It is through the politics and military means that led to the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. It is also through the military that 1994 genocide against the Tutsi was stopped and it is through its military that Rwanda is experiencing security, peace and stability as a foundation for the development.

By imitating Rwanda's home grown and post conflict initiatives, the country's peacekeepers in Darfur have helped people in Darfur rebuild their lives. Since then, more than 40,000 Rwandan peacekeepers have completed a tour of duty with different missions,

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<sup>64</sup>Henry Morton Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, London, 1878, Vol.1, p.455; Ian Linden, *Church and Revolution in Rwanda*. Manchester, 1977, p.21

including; African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS), United Nations–African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID), United Nations Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS), United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), and United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA)<sup>65</sup> among others.

Rwandan peacekeepers, in Sudan’s Darfur region, have done more than just keeping peace, through Quick Impact Projects (QIP), the RDF introduced and engaged in health, infrastructure development (schools, markets) water and sanitation projects in order to improve the living conditions of local residents. All these humanitarian activities are aimed at protecting civilians. Also Rwandan female peacekeepers in Darfur have protected vulnerable women and girls in situations of conflict and engaged in activities aimed at fostering conflict resolution mechanisms which have directly impacted lives in Darfur<sup>66</sup>.

*“I am so thankful to the Rwandan soldiers who have combined peacekeeping with projects that have helped to positively change our ways of living. These stoves (Rondereza) have helped us a lot in this camp. It has even reduced the risk of our women being raped while searching for firewood. I wish the project can be extended to every household in North Darfur,”* Sheikh Ally, a community leader beneficiary of the energy saving stoves locally known as “Rondereza”, testified.

#### **4.4.2. PEACE KEEPING (PROTECTION/ SAFEGUARDING)**

The second category through which RDF’s activities focuses on peace keeping. In this respect, RDF participated in various activities such as: protection of all civilians from danger (survivors, nationals, internally displaced persons ‘IDPs’ and internationals); fighting and disarmament of insurgency groups by deployment of military actions in order to mitigate violent conflict; mobilization, demobilization and reintegration of former military and para-militaries through integration of EX-FAR into the RPA to form RDF; strengthening norms and capacity to reduce human costs of armed conflict by provision of basic needs like health care, food, water and etc; civic education to reconcile Rwandan community in order to enhance social cohesion and harmony. The conceptual definition of peace keeping also certifies some of these activities which

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<sup>65</sup>Ibid

<sup>66</sup>Ibid

states that military operations undertaken with the consent of all major parties to a dispute, designed to monitor and facilitate implementation of an agreement (cease fire, truce, or other such agreement) and support diplomatic efforts to reach a long-term political settlement. But RDF goes beyond protection to include intervention and humanitarian assistance in addition to protection. From the study onset, security in Rwandan context is an inclusive activity that involves individual(s), group(s) in addition to the security forces in order to safeguard national sovereignty and people's interests of which the most of the respondents revealed more than protection (peacekeeping). Therefore security covers inclusive activities in relation to the human security theory.

#### **4.4.2. PEACE BUILDING (SUPPORTING ACTIVITIES)**

The third category through which RDF's activities focuses on peace building. In this regard, RDF participated in various activities such as: fighting genocide ideology through mobilization, civic education and interactions under civil military relations that impacted restoring relationship among the people, sensitizing people to have patriotism and unit where everyone need to live with others like brothers and sisters in order to remove bad ideology of divisionism, construction of infrastructures like health centers, schools, civic education, poverty eradication as respect of human rights etc.; treatment of both survivors and other poor families; eradication of grass thatched houses participation a community work (umuganda). These activities are relatively endorsed by the peace enforcement concept which states that stability actions, predominately diplomatic and economic, that strengthen and rebuild governmental infrastructure and institutions in order to avoid a lapse into conflict. It provides the reconstruction and societal rehabilitation that offers hope to resolve conflict with which is purely civilian work. But RDF makes it beyond those principles to include human security activities as mention above.

#### 4.5. RDF ACTIVITIES DO IN RELATION TO RECONCILIATION PROCESS IN POST GENOCIDE RWANDA

The second research question was aimed at exploring the RDF activities do in relation to reconciliation process in post genocide Rwanda. The table below presents the list of views as provided by respondents.

**TABLE 4.6: RDF ACTIVITIES IN RELATION TO RECONCILIATION**

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>RDF ACTIVITIES</u>	<u>CONNECTIONS WITH RECONCILIATION</u>
RPA intervention of 1994 (peace enforcement)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Fighting to liberate the country</li> <li>- Stopping the genocide</li> <li>- Evacuation of civilians in danger</li> <li>- Separation of negative forces from innocent civilians</li> <li>- Creating safe environment for people's safety and infrastructures start-ups</li> <li>- Arrest of genocide perpetrators</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Security (at national &amp; individual)</li> <li>- The rule of law</li> <li>- Respect of human rights</li> <li>- Justice and fairness</li> <li>- Trust and confidence among the community</li> <li>- Punishments and healings</li> </ul>
RPA/ RDF in protection/ Safeguarding (peacekeeping)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Protection of all civilians in danger (survivors, nationals, internally displaced persons 'IDPs' and internationals</li> <li>- Fighting and disarmament of insurgency groups</li> <li>- Mobilization, demobilization and reintegration of former military and para-militaries</li> <li>- Integration of EX-FAR into the RPA to form RDF</li> <li>- Strengthening norms and capacity to reduce human costs of armed conflict.</li> <li>- Civic education to reconcile Rwandan community.</li> <li>- Provision of basic needs like health care, food, water and etc</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Respect of human rights</li> <li>- Security (national and individual)</li> <li>- The rule of law</li> <li>- Justice and fairness</li> <li>- Reintegration and disintegration of former hostile forces</li> <li>- Tolerance and interactions</li> <li>- Trust (among people and of leaders and institutions)</li> <li>- Restoring relations among people</li> <li>- Group and individual healing</li> <li>- Respect of human rights</li> </ul>



<p>RDF supporting activities (peace building)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Fighting genocide ideology through mobilization, civic education and interactions under civil military relations.</li> <li>- Construction of infrastructures like health centers, schools, civic education, poverty eradication etc.</li> <li>- Treatment of both survivors and other poor families</li> <li>- Eradication of grass thatched houses</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Trust (among people and of leaders and institutions); Tolerance and interactions</li> <li>- Security (national, individual, and economic)</li> <li>- individual healing</li> <li>- Respect of human rights</li> </ul>
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Source: Experimental findings from this study

As the findings indicate in the above table, the RDF’s activities have contributed and continue greatly in Rwanda’s reconciliation process. This is what the next discussion is all about.

**4.5.1. RDF’S PEACE ENFORCEMENT AND RECONCILIATION**

As empirical findings indicate, RDF’s activities are related to the reconciliation process in Rwanda with regard to peace enforcement, as described above played an important role in reconciliation after the genocide. By fighting to liberate the country then the individual and national security can be achieved which enhances reconciliation. The rule of law has been enacted to punish genocide perpetrators and the genocide ideology and this in turn facilitates reconciliation. Similarly, evacuation of civilians from danger; arrest of genocide perpetrators and creating safe environment for people’s safety and infrastructures start-ups are among the respect of human rights that could facilitate reconciliation humanitarian interventions. By maintaining justice and fairness for example separation of negative forces from innocent civilians would also facilitate reconciliation among people.

Example; 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi was the result of decades (over thirty years) of colonialism, and post-colonial leadership that entrenched ethnic division, hate and discrimination which was planned and implemented by bad leadership that administered the country in divide and rule policies supported by foreign countries, and watched over by regional and international community including the United Nations (UN) presided over by United Nations African Mission In Rwanda (UNAMIR).

#### **4.5.2. RDF'S PEACE KEEPING AND RECONCILIATION**

As the findings indicate, RDF's activities are related to the reconciliation process in Rwanda with regard to peace keeping as described above played an important role in reconciliation. Some of the activities including; protection of all civilians in danger (survivors, nationals, internally displaced persons 'IDPs' and internationals and provision of basic needs like health care, food, water and etc are good indicators of respect of human right whereby reconciliation process can be enhanced. Fighting and disarmament of insurgency groups can lead to good reconciliation through security (national and individual) and/or justice and fairness. Mobilization, demobilization and reintegration of former military and para-militaries and the integration of EX-FAR into the RPA to form RDF can result trust among people and of leaders and institutions or tolerance and interactions among different groups which finally lead to the first reconciliation process in Rwanda. Likewise, restoring relations among the people and individual healing through civic education and strengthening of norms and capacity enhances reconciliation process.

#### **4.5.3. RDF'S PEACE BUILDING AND RECONCILIATION**

As empirical findings indicate, RDF's activities are related to the reconciliation process in Rwanda with regard to peace building as described above played an important role in reconciliation. Trust and interactions among the people, the leaders and institutions and as well as tolerance can be achieved through the activities of community work, fighting genocide ideology and mobilization, and civic education under civil military relations that will enhance reconciliation among the population. Reconciliation can also be accelerated through national, individual, and economic security by the activities of construction of infrastructures like health centers, schools, civic education, poverty eradication etc. Treatment of both survivors and poor families that lead to individual healing and this in turn enhances reconciliation. RDF also involved in eradication of grass thatched houses which is respect for human rights that eventually facilitated reconciliation and harmony among the Rwandan.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

This chapter is about the conclusion and eventual recommendation on the security organs (RDF in this case) and reconciliation in Post Genocide Rwanda.

### **5.1. CONCLUSION**

The overall objective of this study was to explore the activities in which Rwanda Defence Forces contribute in Rwanda's reconciliation process. As the findings indicate, RDF activities have played an important milestone towards reconciliation process and make difference vis-avis other security forces in support of national security, human security and individual security under the aspects of peace enforcement, peacekeeping and peace building.

Those activities RDF do in connection with reconciliation as summarized in the category of peace enforcement (the intervention) include: fighting to liberate the country, stopping the genocide, evacuation of civilians in danger, separation of negative forces from innocent civilians; the peacekeeping category (protection/ Safeguarding) include: protection, creating safe environment for people's safety and infrastructures start-ups, mobilization, demobilization and reintegration of former military and para-militaries etc; and in peace building (supporting activities) include: protection, civic education and interactions to fight genocide ideology, mobilization in promoting Rwandan identity, construction of infrastructures like health centers, schools, poverty eradication etc among so many that are relevant and very important in reconciliation process.

Security contributes highly on reconciliation process and very important tool because if there is no security, there is no hope of survival thus affecting all sectors of the nation and the people to paralyze that's why from the study, security in Rwandan context is taken as an inclusive activity involving individual(s) and group(s) in addition to the security forces in order to safeguard national sovereignty and people's interests to include their contributions on human security is not hesitated.

RDF provides security as the foundation and guarantor for other activities and services the country enjoys and more to that it conducts human security activities as central role directly or indirectly connects in reconciliation process. The link between the security and reconciliation is the intervention, protection and sustainment that have to be appreciated in relation to the RDF's contributions towards reconciliation process in post genocide Rwanda. According to the suggestions from our respondents RDF is considered as an entity in which people are very confident upon its service delivery towards security, reconciliation and development.

This thesis thus believes to have contributed to the shortage of knowledge when it comes to the activities and ways in which security organs can contribute to reconciliation. It is in this regard that, considering empirical findings the RDF make the difference so far. And the next subsection details the recommendations that were judged necessary.

*Finally: shaping the Rwandan cohesion is everyone's task who feels deeply concerned and in recognition that, the peaceful and stable Rwanda must be gained and protected at whatsoever cost. I would encourage fellow Leaders and Comrades to contribute something tangible mainly to remind Younger Ones that what necessitates Rwanda's future achievements is within our capacities today.*

## **5.2. RECOMMENDATIONS**

Based on this study's findings, RDF's contribution to reconciliation in Rwanda is commendable. Therefore, the consolidation of RDF's activities toward reconciliation should be done while keeping working in synergy with other stakeholders, notably other security organs and above all the Rwandan citizens.

Scientifically, this study was limited to the case of RDF. Therefore, it is important that further researches focus on other security organs role in reconciliation, in the example of the Rwanda National Police.

Methodologically, this study was also highly qualitative. It thus recommended that further researches focus on a triangulation of methods whereby both the quantitative and qualitative approach is rigorously employed.

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## ANNEXES

### ANNEX I: QUESTIONNAIRE

#### SECURITY ORGANS IN POST-GENOCIDE RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA, CASE STUDY OF RWANDA DEFENCE FORCE (RDF)

#### REQUEST LETTER

I am Emmanuel RUSAKARA, a researcher and post graduate student at Rwanda Defence Forces Senior Command and Staff College in partnership with University of Rwanda. I am conducting a study on security organs in post- genocide reconciliation in Rwanda, by focusing on Rwanda Defence Force (RDF) as part of the requirement for the award of Master's degree in Security Studies.

Please bear with me to spare time and answer attached questionnaire. Your participation is highly appreciated and the information provided is purely academic exercise. Assurance of confidentiality for all participant's responses to be treated with utmost good faith.

I thank you most sincerely by accepting in answering honestly this questionnaire.

#### SECTION A (to be answered by all respondents)

1. **Sex**

Male (Gabo)  Female (Gore)

2. **Age:** 18-20  21-30  31-35  36-40  41-50  50 and above

3. **Religion**

1. Catholic
2. Muslim
3. Anglican
4. Pentecostal
5. No religious

4. **Educational level**

- 1. O Level
- 2. A level
- 3. Diploma
- 4. Bachelor's degree
- 5. Masters
- 6. PhD
- 7. Others specify.....
- 8. What is your occupation (akazi ukora).....

**SECTION B (TO BE ANSWERED BY ALL RESPONDENTS)**

**5(a). English.** The contribution of RDF to post-genocide reconstruction has played a great role in reconciling a divisive society and promoting the country's security and stability. Do you agree with this statement and why?

**5(b). Ikiyarwanda.** RDF yagize uruhare runini nyuma ya genocide mukunga imiryango yabayemo amacakubiri kandi yimakaza umutekanon'ituze mugihugu, uremeranya niyi mvugo, kuber'iki?

- 1. Strongly agree
- 2. Agree
- 3. Disagree
- 4. Strongly Disagree
- 5. I don't know

**Why?**

- 1. ....  
.....  
.....
- 2. ....  
.....  
.....

**ANNEX II: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW**

**SECURITY ORGANS IN POST-GENOCIDE RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA, CASE STUDY OF RWANDA DEFENCE FORCE (RDF)**

**6(a). English.** What are the activities Rwanda Defence Forces do in connection with reconciliation in post genocide Rwanda?

**6(b). Ikinyarwanda.** N’ibihe bikorwa RDF ikora bifitanye isano n’ubwiyunge nyumaya genocide mu Rwanda?

1. ....  
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2. ....  
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3. ....  
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4. ....  
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5. ....  
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**7(a). English.** How these activities do relate to post genocide reconciliation process in Rwanda?

**7(b). Ikinyarwanda.** Nigute ibikorwa RDF ikora byimakaza ubwiyunge n’ubumwe ubigereranya nagahunda y’ubwiyunge nyuma ya Jenocide mu Rwanda?

1. ....  
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2. ....  
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3. ....  
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4. ....  
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5. ....  
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**8(a). English.** What do you think RDF can do to further strengthen reconciliation in Rwandan society?

**8(b). Ikinyarwanda.** Uratekereza iki RDF yakora cyakomeza guha imbaraga ubwiyunge mu muryango Nyarwanda?

1. ....  
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2. ....  
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3. ....  
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4. ....  
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