

Dear Participants,

Welcome to PICSim 2005! My name is Anas Sarhan, the chair of the Rwandese Republic Committee. Samuel Clendon, our director, and I look forward to meeting all of you.

We are all fortunate to be assigned to such an interesting committee – Rwanda has undergone vicious civil wars, the terrible Hutu genocide of the Tutsi population, and faces several problems today, such as a post-war and third-world economy and a refugee and IDP predicament. I know that the thought of conflict and war making something more interesting is distasteful for many, myself included, but that seems to be the way it works. Although the tension Rwanda created with its neighboring countries during its times of crisis has been somewhat diluted, tactful decisions must be made by a Cabinet fully aware of the repercussions their choices can have. We are charged with the task of taking actions in the best interest of our countries, both as leaders and citizens of our nation.

Having said that, I'd like to take the time to introduce our director. Sam Clendon is a sophomore studying in the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, potentially with a certificate from the African Studies Program, although South East Asia remains his primary area of interest. He hails from Christchurch, New Zealand—don't bother with sheep jokes; he's heard them all—but has spent most of his life in the Philippines, and recently Belgium. Sam is a member of the International Relations Council at Princeton, as well as the Whig-Cliosophical Society; he also plays field hockey, after multiple broken noses forced him from water polo.

Well, as I said before, I'm Anas Sarhan, a freshman who hasn't quite decided what he plans to study. I'm taking sciences and economics, and hopefully I'll be able to decide before too long. I come from Amman, Jordan, and yes, I used to ride my camel to school while dodging nukes left and right. I've lived all over – Dallas, Oklahoma City, Chapel Hill, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan – so there's a good chance I've been somewhere you have. I'm a member of the International Relations Council as well, and don't really play any team sports. I love football though (American), and watch a lot of sports if that counts.

It seems pretty obvious what responsibilities our committee has, being the Rwandese Republic. In simulation, we will play the role of the Cabinet of Rwanda. All decisions made must reflect the mindset of our country. Because of this, it is very important that everyone be well-informed on the history, current conflict, economy, geography, and government of Rwanda. The background guide gives a little insight into each of these topics, but do not limit yourself to the information provided. Research anything and everything that interests you, and try to become knowledgeable in any subject matter that directly pertains to your role as a Cabinet member. Besides that, I recommend that everyone took a second to look at Rwanda's constitution and the Arusha Peace Accord.

Sam and I are looking forward to getting to know all of you. See you in a few weeks!

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Princeton University International Relations Council
Princeton Interactive Crisis Simulation 2005
RWANDESE REPUBLIC
Background Guide

Anas Sarhan--Chair
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A BRIEF HISTORY

I. The Formation of a Sovereign State

The Rwandese Republic became a sovereign nation on July 1, 1962 when the country gained its independence from a Belgian-administered UN trusteeship. From 1918 until 1962, Rwanda had been a UN-protectorate under Belgian rule. The specified protectorate was Rwanda-Urundi, which is presently Rwanda and Burundi. Each territory was governed by Tutsi monarch. Unfortunately, but not surprisingly, Belgium used the Tutsi minority (about 14%) to their advantage; the Tutsis were preferred over the Hutus. They were given special privileges and a western education, and, in return, the Tutsis enforced Belgian rule in the protectorate. In fact, in 1928, Belgium introduced a system of identification cards that differentiated between Hutus and Tutsis. Predictably, dissent grew amongst the Hutus, which eventually led to violence.

In 1957, the Party for the Emancipation of the Hutus was formed, and in 1959, an open Hutu rebellion led to the termination of the Tutsi regime and disrupted Belgian control in the region. The rebellion also forced 150,000 Tutsi to flee Rwanda and seek refuge in Burundi. In 1960, the Hutus dominated Belgian-coordinated municipal elections. During the following two years, Belgium withdrew from the protectorate, which gave birth to two sovereign states, Rwanda and Burundi.

II. The Hutu Regime

An immediate Hutu revolution installed Kayibanda as president in Rwanda, but the Tutsis managed to retain power in Burundi. In 1963, a renewed eradication of the

Tutsis occurred in Rwanda, which continued on and off for the next decade. In 1973, an extra step was taken towards the genocide of the Tutsis, where the Hutus purged the universities of Tutsis. The army chief of staff, General Juvenal Habyarimana, seized power and creates a single-party state. Habyarimana pledged to restore order, and imposed an employment quota upon the Tutsis, in which they were restricted to only nine percent of available jobs. In 1975, Habyarimana's political party, the National Revolutionary Movement for Development (Mouvement Revolutionnaire National pour le Developpement, or MRND) was formed. Hutus from the president's native area of northern Rwanda were given overwhelming preference in public service and military jobs. This pattern of exclusion of the Tutsis continued throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s.

In 1986, the National Resistance Army, led by Yoweri Museveni, overthrew Ugandan dictator Milton Obote. A significant percentage of the rebels were Rwandan exiles. These exiles went on to form the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF), a Tutsi-dominated organization.

In 1989, the price of coffee dropped significantly, which dealt a severe blow to Rwanda's already faltering economy. As international aid increased, Habyarimana folded under western influence and reformed the system – Rwanda became a multi-party democracy. However, Habyarimana was able to hinder the reform in the face of armed conflict.

In October 1990, RPF guerillas invaded Rwanda from Uganda. Rwanda called upon French and Zairean allies to throw off the attack, and a cease-fire was signed on March 29, 1991. In the meantime, the Rwandan army trained civilian militias called

interhamwe (“those who stand together”). Throughout the next few years, thousands of Tutsis were massacred throughout Rwanda, while opposition in the form of politicians and newspapers were persecuted. In February 1993, the RPF launched another attack, and this time, the guerrilla forces reached the outskirts of Kigali. French reinforcements were called in, and fighting carried on for several months. While the combat continued, Habyarimana and the RPF signed an accord that allowed for the return of the refugees, along with a coalition Hutu-RPF government. The UN oversaw the terms of the accord and deployed 2500 troops in Kigali to implement it. However, Habyarimana managed to stall the implementation of the power-sharing government until March 1994. The training of militias continued in the meantime, and anti-Tutsi propaganda surfaced amongst the Hutus. Human rights groups began warning the international community and the UN of the impending conflict.

III. The 1994 Genocide

Beyond the fear of massacres, extremist Hutus were becoming anxious, believing that Habyarimana was preparing to implement the Arusha Peace Accords. When the President’s plane was shot down on April 6, 1994, killing both Habyarimana and the president of Burundi, Cyprien Ntaryamira, the extremists were believed to be behind the attack. That very night, the massacres began. The following day, the Rwandan Armed Forces (FAR) and the interhamwe set up roadblocks and went from house to house, killing Tutsis and moderate Hutus. While thousands died the first day, UN forces stood by, as they were forbidden to intervene (intervention meant breaching their monitoring mandate). The RPF launched a major attack to end the genocide the next day (April 8),

and managed to rescue 600 of its troops, who were being held in Kigali (the troops were based in Kigali under the terms of the Arusha Accords). A few weeks later, the UN decreased its forces from 2500 to 250 in response to the murder of ten Belgian peacekeeping forces assigned to the moderate Hutu prime minister's guard duty (Agathe Uwiliyingimana). The prime minister was killed, and the Belgians disarmed, tortured, shot, and hacked to death, all while obeying orders of avoiding violent resistance of any sort dictated by their mandate.

Oddly, the UN refused to take deterministic action against these events. The Security Council Resolution passed on April 30, 1994 condemning the actions intentionally avoided the word "genocide", since otherwise the UN would be legally obliged to "prevent and punish" the perpetrators. Meanwhile, refugees fled into Tanzania, Burundi, and Zaire. In this single day, over 250,000 Rwandans (mainly Hutus fleeing the advance of the RPF) fled into Tanzania. On May 17, the UN sent 6800 troops to Rwanda with the power to defend civilians. The deployment of African UN forces and armored vehicles were delayed because of arguments over who should shoulder the costs of arming the troops and providing necessary supplies. On June 22, the Security Council deployed French troops in southwest Rwanda, where the government still remained in control. Genocide continued in the region, but some killings were avoided by the presence of the French troops. As the French mission was replaced by Ethiopian UN troops in July, the RPF captured Kigali, and the Hutu government fled to Zaire, followed by tens of thousands of refugees. An interim government was set up by the RPF, while conflicting reports about RPF troops carrying out retaliatory killings surfaced.

Meanwhile, a cholera epidemic swept refugee camps in Zaire, where the killing of Tutsis continued.

IV. Repatriation and the Trials Tribunal

As Rwanda become arguably more stable, the interim government agreed to trials before an international tribunal, which the Security Council established in November. Then, at the beginning of 1995, UN plans with Zaire and Tanzania were finalized, which detailed the return of over 1.5 million refugees to Rwanda over the next five months. Shortly thereafter, western governments pledged \$600 million in aid to Rwanda. However, by mid-May, tension arose between the Rwandese government and the UN – the government was growing resentful of the lack of international financial aid. On June 10, at the request of Rwanda to withdraw forces, the UN cut more than half the number of troops in Rwanda. Then, in August 1995, the Security Council lifted the arms embargo on Rwanda until September 1, 1996. On December 13, the UN ruled to extend the peace-keeping mission for another three months, but downsized the number of troops once again.

For the following year (1996), UN and Rwandese efforts concentrated on capturing suspects believed to be responsible for the genocide. Finally, in December 1996, the trials began for Hutus involved in the 1994 genocide. Over the course of the next few years, several Rwandans were tried, convicted, and sentenced for their roles in the genocide. However, the trials did not run smoothly; several hundred witnesses and potential witnesses were murdered, and the trials were criticized for being run

inefficiently. At one point Kofi Annan intervened in the process and replaced the chief administrator and deputy prosecutor of the trial tribunal.

Currently, the main political pressure group with substantial influence is IBUKA, and association of genocide survivors.

CURRENT GOVERNMENT

Currently, the government of the Rwandese Republic (formally known as the Government of National Unity of the Republic of Rwanda) is a multi-party democracy with seven political parties. The parties are: [1] Front Patriotique Rwandais (FPR or RPF, leader: Paul Kagame), [2] Parti Social Démocrate (PSD, leader: Vincent Biruta), [3] Parti Libéral (PL, leader: Prosper Higiro), [4] Parti Démocrate Centriste (PDC, leader: Alfred Mukezamfura), [5] Parti Démocratique Idealiste (PDI, leader: Andre Bumaya), [6] Parti Socialiste Rwandais (PSR), and [7] Union Démocratique du Peuple Rwandais (UDPR, leader: Adrien Rangira). All ethnicities, regions, and religions are represented in the government, and women are represented at the cabinet level, in Parliament, in civil service and in local and regional governments. The nation is divided into twelve administrative divisions known as prefectures (please refer to the CIA World Factbook for all twelve districts).

The legal system, meaning the civil law systems and customary laws, of Rwanda is based upon that of its colonizing nation, Belgium. Legislative acts are subject to judicial review in the Supreme Court, not unlike the United States' system. It is important to note that Rwanda has not yet accepted compulsory ICJ jurisdiction.

The executive branch consists of a head of government, chief of state, and cabinet. The chief of state is currently President Paul Kagame¹, who entered office April 22, 2000, and won re-election on August 25, 2003 (Kagame won the first direct popular vote with over 95% of the vote). The Head of Government is currently Prime Minister

¹ Note that Kagame is the head of the RPF, which was the Tutsi rebel group during the Hutu Regime and Genocide. In other words, as the Cabinet, we are more sympathetic to the Tutsis, and most probably, we all are Tutsi.

Bernard Makuza, who has held this office since March 8, 2000. The Rwandese cabinet is the Cabinet of Ministers, in which the chief of state appoints all ministers.

The legislative branch of the government is a unicameral assembly, the Assemblée Nationale. The last election was held on September 29, 2003, and the 53 seats are distributed as follows: RPF – 40, PSD – 7, PL – 6.

NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES AND INTERNAL CONFLICT

The aftereffects of the genocide have not completely worn off. Nonetheless, Rwanda has managed to remain in a state of peace with its neighboring countries. The Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly Zaire) and Tanzania granted sanctuary to refugees during the genocide, and patiently waited for Rwanda to regain stability before repatriating the refugees. In fact, 37,691 Rwandese refugees remain in DR Congo to this very day. DR Congo also provided troops, along with France, during the guerrilla invasion from Uganda. Although Uganda harbored the RPF guerrillas, The Ugandese government remains on relatively good terms with Rwanda. Although it lost its chief of state in a terrorist killing in Rwanda, Burundi has also had patience with Rwanda and is not deemed a current threat.

Internally, Rwanda still suffers from political and ethnic tension. There remains 4,158 IDPs (Internally Displaced Persons) in the northwest of the country who were displaced from the Hutu rebel incursion (1997-99). The Tutsis, Hutus, Hemas, and Lendus remain in ethnic conflict, a tension that has not worn off from the country's colonial days. Several associated political rebels and armed gangs continue fighting and terrorizing certain regions of the country. Various government forces remain in combat in the Great Lakes Region in hopes of gaining control of populated lands and natural resources. This had led to border conflict with DR Congo, Burundi, and Uganda. However, the Rwandese government does not advocate these troops actions or intent; in fact, the government heads have pledged to end this conflict. Unfortunately, localized violence continues, despite the presence of UN peacekeeping forces.

GEOGRAPHY AND ECONOMY

Rwanda is a landlocked African nation, just south of the equator. The country is slightly smaller than Maryland (26,338 km²). The terrain consists of grassy upland and hills, with a mountainous relief (altitude declines west to east). Natural resources consist of gold, tin ore, tungsten ore, methane, hydropower, and arable land (40.54%). Rwanda is fortunate enough to avoid natural disasters for the most part, with the exception of periodic droughts and the volcanic Virunga mountains in the northwest (potential hazard, shared with DR Congo). Rwanda faces typical third world environmental degradation, including deforestation, overgrazing, soil exhaustion and erosion, and poaching.

Rwanda also faces a typical third-world economy. Roughly 90% of the population engages in subsistence agriculture. Being landlocked, Rwanda is crippled in international trade, and the secondary sector for industry and manufacturing is rather small. The effects of the genocide have decimated the economy, but the government has worked hard at curbing inflation and raising GDP. Unfortunately, the government faces tension with international aid organizations because of the country's high defense expenditures. Current GDP is roughly \$10.11 billion (\$1,300 per capita). This makes it hardly surprising that the 60% of the population lives beneath the poverty line. Rwanda is \$1.3 billion in debt, even after receiving \$372.9 million in aid in 1999.

Agricultural products are restricted to coffee, tea, insecticide, bananas, beans, sorghum, potatoes, and livestock. Meanwhile, Rwanda has established industries in cement, agricultural products, small-scale beverages, soap, furniture, shoes, plastic goods, textiles, and cigarettes. Rwanda exports over \$73 million-worth of coffee, tea, hides, and

tin ore, mainly to Indonesia (39.2%), Germany (4.6%), and China (3.9%). On the other hand, Rwanda imports \$245.8 million-worth of foodstuffs, machinery, equipment, steel, petroleum products, cement, and construction materials from Kenya (23.3%), Germany (7.5%), Belgium (6.4%), Uganda (6.4%), and France (5%).

DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

Rwanda is undoubtedly a third-world country, making it rather unsurprising that it has the largest population density in Africa – this rather small country supports a population of 7,994,013. The composition of age structure and infant mortality rates also confirm Rwanda's status as a developing country.

Rwanda places very little importance on education. The national literacy rate is 70.4%, and it is not uncommon to attend very little schooling. This can be attributed to the simple life led by a vast majority of the population, who use subsistence farming as a means of supporting a family. Predictably, higher education is rarely pursued.

This overall degree of infectious disease risk is rated by international health organizations as very high; typhoid fever and malaria are rather widespread in the area. It can be expected that health care is not sufficient in Rwanda based on the life expectancy of 39 years for the average Rwandan. Infant mortality is just over 100 deaths per 1000 live births, or over 10%. The HIV/AIDS prevalence rate is approximately 5.1%. In 2003, a quarter-million Rwandese were diagnosed with AIDS, and 22,000 AIDS-caused deaths were recorded.

Currently, more than five million Rwandans live beneath the poverty line, and frequently suffer from malnutrition and starvation. Although international aid organizations have played a major role in aiding these individuals, funds and supplies run low to provide for all five million in need.

CABINET MEMBERS*(for PICSim use)*

The following positions are to be represented in our crisis committee during PICSim. Please find a more detailed description of each ministry's responsibilities and goals at <http://www.gov.rw/government/governmentf.html><http://www.gov.rw/government/governmentf.html>. Please note that despite the position assigned to a delegate in the Cabinet, all Ministers and members are expected to contribute to the decision-making process, both as a representative of their ministry and as a Rwandan citizen, aspiring for only the best courses of action for their country.

1. **President:** His Excellency Paul Kagame
The chair will play the role of H.E. Kagame (Chief of State)
2. **Prime Minister:** Right Honourable Bernard Makuza
The director will play the role of Rt. Hon. Makuza (Head of Government)
3. **Minister of Defense & National Security:** Major General Marcel Gatsinzi
A delegate will play the role of Maj. Gen. Gatsinzi. This role entails the command of the Rwandese Armed Forces. The delegate will be responsible for giving advice on any militaristic issue, including defense, security, and warfare.
4. **Minister of Foreign Affairs & Cooperation:** Dr. Charles Murigande
A delegate will play the role of Dr. Murigande. He/she will be expected to be knowledgeable in any foreign matter, and specifically with countries and organizations that will be present at PICSim. Past and present relations with neighboring countries should be thoroughly understood. (Note: If the Permanent Representative to the UN position is not filled, this delegate will be contacted and expected to be familiar with UN happenings concerning Rwanda).
5. **Minister of Commerce, Industry, Investment Promotion & Tourism:** Professor Manase Nshuti
A delegate will play the role of Prof. Nshuti. This role dabbles in the economy of Rwanda (expect frequent interaction with the Minister of Finance & Economic Planning). The delegate should be educated with regards to the investment prospects in Rwanda, especially in the post-genocide era. Although it is doubtful

tourism will be a subject of discussion, it is recommended that the delegate researches all responsibilities held by his/her ministry.

6. **Minister of Education, Science, Technology & Scientific Research:** Professor Romain Murenzi

A delegate will play the role of Prof. Murenzi. He/she should concentrate on researching the promotion of education in such a third world country, and ponder the role that science and technology can play in improving the country from several aspects, including, but not limited to, national defense and security, health, economy, and agriculture.

7. **Minister of Finance & Economic Planning:** Dr. Donald Kaberuka

A delegate will play the role of Dr. Kaberuka. It will be of great assistance if the delegate is proficiently knowledgeable in economic issues (but not mandatory). This delegate will assume the role of a treasurer in a sense, in which he/she will judge whether decisions made by the Cabinet are financially feasible. The delegate should also examine all debate from an economic perspective, as Rwanda's recent history has all but destroyed the economy. The delegate should be prepared to give advice on economic development in Rwanda, seeing that nine-tenths of the nation's labor force is involved in subsistence agriculture.

8. **Minister of Health:** Dr. Jean Damascene Ntawukuriryayo

A delegate will play the role of Dr. Ntawukuriryayo. The delegate should research diseases plaguing the country, including AIDS, malaria, and typhoid fever, and have reasonable courses of action if necessary. Note that this ministry is in charge of the Rwanda Red Cross, amongst others. As in the case of the other ministers, this delegate should be able to give insight into the health repercussions a potential decision can have on the Rwandan people.

9. **Minister of Internal Affairs:** Mr. Christophe Bazivamo

A delegate will play the role of Mr. Bazivamo. The delegate will be responsible for researching internal conflict present in Rwanda today, including rebel groups, political groups, and ethnic tension. Given that in the past, the Rwandan government has made decisions that disrupted internal peace and led to armed conflict not unlike a civil war, the delegate should expect to give insight into the effect a decision could have on local security. This delegate will be working frequently with several other Cabinet members.

10. **Minister of Justice & Institutional Relations:** Mrs. Edda Mukabagwiza

A delegate will play the role of Mrs. Mukabagwiza. The delegate must realize that this role entails the prosecution of genocide suspects and any political or rebel groups charged with any offense. This delegate will work closely with the Minister of Interior should a campaign to eliminate localized violence and relieve ethnic tension be pursued.

11. Minister of Lands, Resettlement & Environment: Mrs. Drocella Mugorewera

A delegate will play the role of Mrs. Mugorewera. The delegate should be proficient in two main topics (but must become informed on all responsibilities held by the ministry): [1] the environmental degradation plaguing the country in several forms, and [2] the location and repatriation of refugees and internally displaced people.

12. Permanent Representative to the UN, New York: Mr. Stanislas Kamanzi

A delegate will play the role of Mr. Kamanzi. He/she will be expected to research all UN involvement in Rwanda and its neighboring countries. This delegate will work closely with several other Cabinet members due to the fact that several UN humanitarian missions and peace-keeping forces are currently located in Rwanda.

Other Cabinet Members:

- **Minister of Education, Science, Technology & Scientific Research:** Professor Romain Murenzi
- **Minister of Gender & Women in Development:** Mrs. Valerie Nyirahabineza
- **Minister of Infrastructure:** Mr. Evariste Bizimana
- **Minister of Local Government, Rural Development & Social Affairs:** Mr. Protais Musoni
- **Minister in the Office of the President:** Mrs. Solina Nyirahabimana
- **Minister in the Office of the Prime Minister in Charge of Information:** Professor Laurent Nkusi
- **Minister of Youth, Culture & Sports:** Mr. Joseph Habineza
- **Central Bank Governor:** Mr. Francois Mutemberezi
- **Ambassador to the US:** Mr. Zac Nsenga
- **Minister of Public Service, Vocational Training, Skills Development & Labor:** Mr. Andre Habib Bumaya

USEFUL LINKS

- *Frontline: Rwanda Chronology* – a timeline of Rwandese armed conflict.

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/rwanda/etc/cron.html>

- *Afrika.no: the Index on Africa: Rwanda* – information on agriculture, culture, education, health, news, security and conflict, tourism, companies, economy, human rights, politics, and sport in Rwanda.

<http://afrika.no/index/Countries/Rwanda/index.html>

- *CIA World Factbook: Rwanda* – general information and statistics.

<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/rw.html>

- *Gov.rw* – the official Rwandese government website.

<http://www.gov.rw/>