

## **Sömürge Yönetimlerinin Ruanda'da Yol Açtığı İnsanlık Krizi \***

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### **Öz**

Ruanda Cumhuriyeti; kuzeyinde Uganda, doğusunda Tanzanya, güneyinde Burundi, batısında Kongo Demokratik Cumhuriyeti bulunan bir ülkedir. Engebeli bir arazi yapısına sahip olduğu için ülkeye, “Bin Tepe Ülkesi” anlamında Ruanda denilmiştir. Doğal görünümü bakımından tepelerin yüksekliği ve vadilerin derinliği ile dikkat çeken Ruanda'nın kuzeyinde volkanlar zinciri dikkat çekicidir. Ülkenin bu coğrafi dokusu adeta siyasi yapısına benzer hale gelmiştir. Coğrafi yükseltileri kadar tarih boyunca insanlık krizleri de yükseldikçe yükselmiştir. Batılı güçlerin bölgede sömürgelerini oluşturana kadar Ruanda oldukça sakin ve huzurlu bir ülkedir. Ülke toprakları önce Almanların, daha sonra Belçikalıların sömürge konumuna geldi. Almanlar da Belçikalılar da ülkede varlıklarını devam ettirmek adına ülke halklarını kamplaştırdılar, etnisiteye dayalı bir toplum modeli oluşturdular ve kitleleri birbiriyle çatıştırdılar. Bu çalışmada Alman ve Belçika sömürge dönemlerinde etnik çatışma zeminin hazırlanması, bağımsızlık dönemindeki resmi uygulamaların ülkede ayrışma ve toplumsal bozulmaya yol açması ve 1994 yılında gerçekleşen soykırımla acı sonucun yaşanması ele alınacaktır.

### **Anahtar Kelimeler**

Afrika, Ruanda, Hutular, Tutsiler, Belçika, Almanya

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## **The Humanity Crisis Caused by Colonial Administrations in Rwanda \***

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### **Abstract**

Republic of Rwanda; It is a country bordered by Uganda in the north, Tanzania in the east, Burundi in the south, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo in the west. Because of its rugged terrain, the country was called Rwanda, meaning "Land of a Thousand Hills." In terms of its natural appearance, the chain of volcanoes in the north of Rwanda, which attracts attention with the hills' height and the valleys' depth, is remarkable. This geographical texture of the country has almost become similar to its political structure. Throughout history and geographical elevations, human crises have increased as they rose. Rwanda was very and peaceful until the Western powers established their colonies in the region. The territory of the country became the colony of the Germans and then the Belgians. To maintain their existence in the country, the Germans and the Belgians divided the country's peoples, created a social model based on ethnicity, and clashed with the masses. I will try to deal with the subject in terms of four periods. I will try to dwell on the preparation of the ground for ethnic conflict during the German and Belgian colonies, the official practices in the independence period that led to disintegration and social disruption in the country, and the unfortunate result of the genocide that took place in 1994.

### **Keywords**

Africa, Rwanda, Hutus, Tutsis, Belgium, Germany

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## Introduction

The first known inhabitants of Rwanda are the two tribes. Later, Hutu natives dominated the Rwandan lands. After that, Tutsis started to take place in the region. This tribe expanded its territory considerably during the reign of King Ruganzu Bwimba, establishing the Kingdom of Rwanda.<sup>1</sup> The sovereign state in Rwanda between 1450 and 1890 is the Kingdom of Gisaka. The Kingdom of Gisaka, which continued its sovereignty by expanding from south to north, realized the course of agricultural development by cultivating its lands. The Kingdom of Gisaka, which preserved its economic power compared to the neighboring dynasties, gave importance to its military power in establishing the country's security.<sup>2</sup>

### 1. German Colonial Administration in Rwanda

During the division of Africa among the imperialist colonial states in the nineteenth century, Rwanda and Urundi were among the lands proposed to Germany, which wanted colonies to be given to itself after the German Union was achieved. In 1890, Germany created German East Africa, which included these two countries.<sup>3</sup> The policies implemented by Mwami Kigeri Rwabugiri, King of Gisaka, who accepted the German colony, brought the end of the dynasty. While Hutus and Tutsis lived together in the country until Mwami took the German mandate, King Mwami made a distinction between Hutus and Tutsis in terms of using the country's resources. He started not to distribute the country's resources equally between the two ethnic groups. The Germans, who saw the Tutsis as more docile and obedient, began to take a more privileged attitude towards them and marginalized the Hutus. So much so that only Tutsis were appointed to administrative duties in the dynasty. More taxes were taken from the Hutus, the animals of the Hutus who did not pay taxes to the Tutsi were confiscated, and the country's military defense was left to the Tutsi chiefs. In addition to these negativities, the famine that the country was exposed to in 1890 reduced soil fertility in the country. Both the problem of starvation and the separatist policy paved the way for the Germans to sow the seeds of separation in Rwanda.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ramazan Özey, *Afrika Coğrafyası* (İstanbul: Active Publications, 3rd Edition, 2006), 405-406.

<sup>2</sup> David Newbury, *Kings and Clans: Ijwi Island and the Lake Kivu Rift: 1780-1840* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 81-95; Volkan İpek, "Sahra-Altı Afrika'da Bir Devletçilik Mucizesi: 1994 Sonrası Ruanda Ekonomisi", *Dünya Siyasetinde Afrika 2*, ed. İsmail Ermağan (Ankara: Nobel Akademik Yayıncılık, 2015), 306.

<sup>3</sup> Numan Hazar, *Küreselleşme Sürecinde Afrika ve Türkiye-Afrika İlişkileri* (Ankara: Usak Publications, 2nd Edition, 2011), 99-102.

<sup>4</sup> Toyin Falola - Atieno Odhiambo, *The Challenges of History and Leadership in Africa* (New Jersey: Africa World

Rwanda, which was made a colonial territory of Germany with the Berlin Congress, came under the colonial administration of Germany between 1890-1916. The essential practice in the German colony is the apparent position of privileges for Tutsis. The Germans received support from the Tutsi in suppressing the Hutu uprisings that emerged in the country. Another important step taken by the German colony in Rwanda, which continued between 1890 and 1916, was the coffee production they started in the country's lands.<sup>5</sup>

German colonialism started by revealing the underground and aboveground riches of the country as a whole. This region, where three tribes lived together under a king since the fifteenth century, caused a change in the internal balances in line with their ambitions with the occupation of the Germans. The Germans achieved significant success with the support of the missionaries they sent to the region the point of keeping this landlocked geography under control. It is pretty remarkable that the missionaries weave the geography of the country like a net; on the one hand, they carry out missionary activities, and on the other hand, they ensure the progress and control of the colonial powers.<sup>6</sup>

## 2. Belgian Colonial Administration in Rwanda

Rwanda, a part of German East Africa until the First World War, was occupied this time by Belgian colonial forces in 1916. Upon the defeat of Germany in World War I, all of its colonies were shared between the victorious states; at the same time, Rwanda and Urundi were given to Belgium by the Treaty of Versailles.<sup>7</sup> To make the administration functional, the Belgian Government combined the administration of the Belgian Congo and Rwanda geography in 1925.

The Belgian colonial administration, which united its colonies under a single administration, brought Tutsis to administrative duties in their administration, as in the German colony. The Belgian colonial administration started to grow products such as cassava, corn and Irish potatoes, increased food production and gave special importance to the education of farmers. The coffee production started by the Germans in 1905 was continued by the Belgians.<sup>8</sup> While the Germans mostly

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Press, 2002), 38; İpek, "Sahra-Altı Afrika'da Bir Devletçilik Mucizesi: 1994 Sonrası Ruanda Ekonomisi", *Dünya Siyasetinde Afrika* 2, 306.

<sup>5</sup> Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 23; İpek, "Sahra-Altı Afrika'da Bir Devletçilik Mucizesi: 1994 Sonrası Ruanda Ekonomisi", *Dünya Siyasetinde Afrika* 2, 307.

<sup>6</sup> Newbury, *Kings and Clans* 86-93; İbrahim Okur, *Afrika Zengin Ama Yoksul* (Bursa: Okursoy Books, 2009), 47.

<sup>7</sup> Hazar, *Küreselleşme Sürecinde Afrika*, 99-102.

<sup>8</sup> Rene Lemarchand, *The Dynamics of Violence in Central Africa* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 278; İpek, "Sahra-Altı Afrika'da Bir Devletçilik Mucizesi: 1994 Sonrası Ruanda Ekonomisi",

adopted indirect administration, the Belgians took direct administration as a basis in their colonies. Rwandans were required to work in coffee plantations and enforced strict rules such as whipping for non-workers.<sup>9</sup>

During this period, the force that Belgium leaned on in the region was the Tutsi tribe. To turn brother against brother, they forced the Tutsis with their own armed forces to commit crimes against the Hutu majority. They put forward a series of historical theories that justify the situation. Tutsi were asked to punish disobedient Hutus with whips. As the Tutsis committed crimes against the Hutu, who were ten times more numerous than themselves, they became more and more dependent on the support of the Belgians. They had to embrace their "lordship" more and became more "subordinate". As soon as Belgium arrived in the region, it handed people an identity card to make their ethnic identity differences visible. However, the people of the area did not care whether they were Hutu or Tutsi. Allegedly, the Tutsis were descendants of Ham, the son of the prophet Noah, who was believed to have come and settled in Ethiopia after the Flood. Therefore, they should have been considered superior to the Hutus. In other words, it could be none other than the Tutsi, the superior race of Africa. Therefore, they deserved to rule the country, because they were the "noble ones". But there was still a problem. Because how would they distinguish who was Hutu and who was Tutsi? The Belgians discovered the scientific method for this. To distinguish people, the nose structure would be looked at. The people were divided into two as those with long noses and those with flat noses. The long-nosed ones were the Tutsis.<sup>10</sup> The Belgians, who positioned the Tutsis as an aristocratic group superior to the Hutus due to their physical characteristics such as being taller and having light skin colors, formed a caste and class system based on these identities. In Burundi and Rwanda, Hutu and Tutsis are more loyal to their cognate communities in neighboring countries than to their own country and central government.<sup>11</sup>

The Belgians, who colonized lands rich in underground resources such as Congo, Rwanda and Burundi, seized the German colonies with the help of the British and tried to establish their sovereignty there. The strategies used by Belgium to govern Rwanda have almost become the main focus of the problems in Africa. Belgium divided the people of Rwanda into two and created artificial races. By describing Rwanda's short and dark people as Hutu, and the tall and blond ones

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*Dünya Siyasetinde Afrika 2*, 307.

<sup>9</sup> Özey, *Afrika Coğrafyası*, 405-406.

<sup>10</sup> Okur, *Afrika Zengin Ama Yoksul*, 48-49.

<sup>11</sup> Burcu Taşkın, "Afrika'da Azınlıklar, Topluluklar ve Siyasal Teslimiyet", *Dünya Siyasetinde Afrika 5*, ed. İsmail Ermağan (Ankara: Nobel Academic Publishing, 2018), 188.

as Tutsi, he led to the formation of artificial races. These artificial races, created by Belgium, were offended by each other and caused internal turmoil. The resulting turmoil crisis spread throughout the country quickly and turned into great massacres.<sup>12</sup>

Belgium has given Tutsis high-level positions in education, government and country administration. On the other hand, Hutus became a majority that reacted to the economic, political and social structure that humiliated them in the colonial administration. On the other hand, Tutsis also have minority populations in neighboring Uganda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

In Rwanda, which was ruled under the control of the Belgian colonial governor, the natives elected their chief, who ruled the country under the colonial governor. When it came to the Second World War, the Belgian forces, having difficulty in keeping the locals under control, had to make some concessions, albeit partial. An Assembly was formed to create the impression that the people represented themselves. Of the 45 members of the assembly, only 16 were natives. The elected native members were both nobles and appointed by the Belgian Colonial Governor himself.

Chiefs were authorized in sub-units under the president, who were brought to the country's administration on behalf of the Belgian Colonial Governor. Authorized chiefs collected taxes, provided seasonal workers, and maintained order in the region. The Belgian colonial administration paid these chiefs a salary at the rate of tax they managed. In order to continue the business and functioning of the colonial administration, private educational institutions were opened in 1929 to educate the children of noble families. For this purpose, the school opened in Astrida provided education to the nobility of the natives who would serve the white minority.<sup>13</sup>

In Rwanda, which was a Belgian colony, there were three separate groups: Tutsi, Hutu and Twa. While some researchers described them as different tribes, some researchers saw them as different social classes in the country. The Tutsi are similar to the Abyssinian anthropological type. They are already considered the descendants of the ruling powers that invaded the territory of Rwanda in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Tutsi, who are few make up only 10% of the population in the country. However, the feudal elements of the country mostly

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<sup>12</sup> Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 4-7; Cihan Daban, "Coğrafi Keşifler Sonrası Avrupalı Sömürgeci Devletlerin Afrika Politikaları", *Dünya Siyasetinde Afrika* 3, ed. İsmail Ermağan (Ankara: Nobel Yayınları, 2016), 78.

<sup>13</sup> Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 26-35.



emerge from this group. Therefore, Tutsis are considered a different group from other groups in terms of their ethnic structure and social status. Hutus, considered an extension of the Bantu, constitute 85% of the population. The third group, the Twa, make up only 5% of the country's population and are at the bottom of the social pyramid. Some of the Batwas live with the Hutu and some live with the Tutsis and work in the craft and service sectors. Batwas living in forest villages, on the other hand, are mostly engaged in hunting and fishing, collecting wild fruits, and generally live in primitive and communal order.

Before the German and Belgian colonization, a feudal structure was dominant in the territory of Rwanda. Livelihood was made by agriculture and animal husbandry. After the Second World War, the fate of the country's lands began to change. By 1961, Belgium had increased its export products such as cotton and coffee in Uganda thirty times compared to 1931. The cultivation of export-oriented crops came under the control of foreign companies such as L'Office de cafés indigènes du Rwanda - Urundi, which operates with mixed capital from the USA and Belgium.<sup>14</sup>

The ethnic conflict between Hutus and Tutsi brought Rwandan King Mwami V. Yuhi to the brink of rebellion. Mwami, who is aware of the fact that the people of the country are being hurt by each other even though he is a Tutsi, wanted to prevent these conflicts, tried to make the central government dominate in the country, appealed to the Hutu and Tutsi to avoid conflict with each other and to unite against the Belgians and create a common area of struggle. Mwami's call for unity led to his abdication in 1943. The Belgians, who were disturbed by the developments, provoked the Tutsis and made the Tutsis overthrow the king. Instead of Mwami V. Yuhi, another Tutsi leader, III. Mutara was elected king.<sup>15</sup>

The developments towards the end of the 1950s directly impacted the Rwandan economy. In 1957, when seven South American countries withdrew their coffee stocks from the international market to raise prices, Rwanda became the United States' number one business partner. At that time, there was high consumption of instant coffee called robusta in the United States. The withdrawal agreement made by the South American states has put the USA in a lot of trouble. America's interest in coffee in Rwanda increased so much that Travail Fidélité Progrés, a coffee cooperative, was established in Rwanda in 1957.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Türkaya Ataöv, *Afrika Ulusal Kurtuluş Mücadeleleri* (Ankara: Ankara University Faculty of Political Sciences Publications, 1977), 409-410.

<sup>15</sup> İpek, "Sahra-Altı Afrika'da Bir Devletçilik Mucizesi: 1994 Sonrası Ruanda Ekonomisi", *Dünya Siyasetinde Afrika* 2, 308.

<sup>16</sup> İpek, "Sahra-Altı Afrika'da Bir Devletçilik Mucizesi: 1994 Sonrası Ruanda Ekonomisi", *Dünya Siyasetinde*

The Rwandan Revolution, which broke out in 1959 and was initiated by the Hutu, was carried out against the Tutsis, who were in administrative positions in the country under the auspices of the Belgians. The aim of the Revolution is to overthrow Tutsi and Belgian domination and to bring Rwanda under Hutu rule. As soon as the Revolution started, the Hutus raided the homes of the Tutsi and used violence against the Tutsi.<sup>17</sup>

With its repression policies, strict colonial structuring, and extermination practices that cannot be erased from the memories, Belgium has become a European country that is fed the most from colonial activities and realizes its ambitions. As in other European countries, the Second World War caused significant traumas for Belgium. Like other European states, Belgium had to withdraw from its colonies. Belgium, which supposedly withdrew from its colonies and nominally approved its independence in the 1960s, did not take a course of breaking off its contact with the colonial territories, like other European powers. Recognized independences remained in words and Belgium's ambitions towards Rwanda continued disguised, not with direct colonialism but with indirect colonial method. Missionary activities, which took root in the colonial period with the economic wheels that were directly multiplied in the colonial administration, continued more professionally from where they left off.<sup>18</sup>

### 3. Country

The total surface area of the Republic of Rwanda, which gained its independence on July 1, 1962, is 26,338 km<sup>2</sup> and its population is 5,300,000 in 1981, 7,347,000 in 1993, 9,700,000 in 2005, 10,186,063 in 2008, and 12,661,733 in 2015. It is one of the most populated countries in Africa in terms of population density. There are 387 people per km<sup>2</sup>.<sup>19</sup> Today, among the ethnic groups in the country, it is seen that Hutu (Bantu) are 84%, Tutsis (Hamitic) are 15%, and Twas are 1%. Twalar are pygmy and are quite short in stature, while Tutsis are quite tall. Tutsis are also called Batutsi or Watutsi. The other name of the Hutus is Bahutu and the Twas are Batwa. The proportion of Muslims in the country exceeds 10%. According to 2001 data, 56.5% of the people of Rwanda have Catholic and 26% Protestant faith. The

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*Afrika* 2, 308.

<sup>17</sup> Andrew Brown, *Inyenzi: A Story of Love and Genocide*, Struik Publishers, 2007, 124; İpek, "Sahra-Altı Afrika'da Bir Devletçilik Mucizesi: 1994 Sonrası Ruanda Ekonomisi", *Dünya Siyasetinde Afrika* 2, 308.

<sup>18</sup> Newbury, *Kings and Clans*, 87-91; Ebru Çoban Öztürk, "Toplumsal Yapılar ve Şiddet: Ruanda Örneği", *Ankara Üniversitesi Afrika Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1/1 (2011), 70-73; Daban, "Coğrafi Keşifler Sonrası Avrupalı Sömürgeci Devletlerin Afrika Politikaları", *Dünya Siyasetinde Afrika* 3, 78.

<sup>19</sup> Özey, *Afrika Coğrafyası*, 408-409.

rest are Adventists with indigenous beliefs.<sup>20</sup> The country's official languages are Kinyarwanda (Bantu language) and French and English. It is seen that Kiswahili (Swahili) language is among the languages used in commercial centers. Cyangugu, Gisenyi and Kibuye centers appear to be the main ports and terminals.<sup>21</sup> The most developed city of the country is the capital, Kigali. Kigali was established as a German colony in 1907 and became the capital in 1962. The city was built between four hills and valleys. Other important cities are: Butare, a cultural center, and the resort towns of Giseyni, Kibuye and Cyangugu around Lake Kivu.<sup>22</sup> PARMEHUTU (Mouvement Démocratique Républicain), UNAR (Union Nationale Rwandaise), APROSOMA (Association pour la Promotion Sociale des Masses), RADER (Rassemblement Démocratique Rwandais) parties seem to be influential in the political life of the country. Potatoes, ignam, cassava, maize, peanuts, tea and coffee are the main production sources of the country. Livestock, forest products, mines such as cassiterite, wolframite and beryl are the main income sources of the country.<sup>23</sup>

Rwanda is generally a mountainous and highland country cut by deep valleys. While the elevations on the shores of Lake Kivu are around 1500 m, it reaches almost 4500 m in the Virunga Mountains as one approaches the west. These mountains separate the Nile basin from the Congo basin. The country's highest point is Mount Karisimbi at an altitude of approximately 4505 m. Although Rwanda is very close to the equator, it has a temperate climate due to its height. Its climate is quite mild. Except for some seasonal changes, the annual average temperature is around 18°C. Lake Kivu and its surroundings are the hottest and humid region of the country. The country's average annual precipitation ranges from about 1000 to 1300 mm. Heavy rains occur between February and May. The Kagera, Akanyaru, Ruzizi and Nyewarongo rivers traverse the country are very important. Covering Rwanda's west and the country's largest lake, Lake Kivu forms part of its border with the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Almost all of the western region of Rwanda is filled with green vegetation. At the same time, this region has very suitable agricultural and animal husbandry lands. The eastern part is usually filled with savannas. Some areas are treeless grassy; some are covered with acacia trees, maquis and bamboo forests. In high mountain regions, there are mostly banana trees and malaria trees. Growing in

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<sup>20</sup> Özey, *Afrika Coğrafyası*, 408-409.

<sup>21</sup> Özey, *Afrika Coğrafyası*, 410-411.

<sup>22</sup> Özey, *Afrika Coğrafyası*, 408-409.

<sup>23</sup> Hıfzı Topuz, *Kara Afrika* (Ankara: Milliyet Publications, 1971), 333.

Kagera National Park, which has green vegetation; zebra and antelopes, various gazelle species, African gazelle (impela), gazal, wild cattle, lion, leopard, hippopotamus, crocodile and hundreds of different kinds of birds are extremely striking.<sup>24</sup>

#### 4. Rwanda's Independence

In the country where the German and Belgian colonies paralyzed the country, which tried to suppress other groups and maintain their hegemony by using and arming the Tutsis, the Hutu Bahutu peoples published their own manifestos in 1956 and demanded their basic rights. Civil war broke out in 1959 and Tutsi rule came to an end. When Mwami V. Kigeli, a Tutsi King, fled out of Rwanda, Belgians held local elections in 1960 and political parties under Hutu rule won the elections and established the Independent Republic of Rwanda in 1962 with the approval of Belgium. At the end of the revolution, which ended with the murder of 345,000 Tutsis, a Hutu leader named Gregoire Kayibanda was elected the first president of the independent Republic of Rwanda.<sup>25</sup> The Hutu nationalist Parmehutu Movement (Hutu Freedom Movement) came to power. From the moment they came to power, with the support of the Belgians, an intimidation operation was launched against the Tutsis, who were considered an extension of the old administration, between 20,000 and 100,000 Tutsi were killed, and 160,000 Tutsi had to take refuge in neighboring countries such as Tanzania and Uganda. This time the Belgians supported the Hutus and suppressed the Tutsis. 90% of the people living in the country at that time were Hutu, 9% Tutsi and 1% Pygmy. The Belgians who clashed with Hutus and Tutsis saw this as a way to keep Rwanda under control. In order to keep this conflict culture alive, they gave some privileges based on race to the Tutsis, although they were in the minority during the colonial period. With the rights gained, the Tutsis had much better-living conditions than the Hutu and worked in more distinguished jobs. While universities closed their doors to Hutu almost completely, Tutsis benefited from high levels of education rights and social opportunities. Belgium, which had a policy of keeping Tutsis superior to Hutus until the 1950s, turned to support Hutus because of their numerical superiority after independence.

The Parmehutu administration, which came to power in Rwanda after the independence, followed a Hutu nationalist policy with a single-party government.

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<sup>24</sup> Özey, *Afrika Coğrafyası*, 404-405.

<sup>25</sup> John May Mukamanzi & Monique-Marcel Vekeamaz, "Family Planning in Rwanda: Status and Prospects", *Studies in Family Planning* 21/1, 20-32; İpek, "Sahra-Altı Afrika'da Bir Devletçilik Mucizesi: 1994 Sonrası Ruanda Ekonomisi", *Dünya Siyasetinde Afrika* 2, 309.

Many Tutsi were killed or exiled in the so-called pogroms of 1964 and later 1974. With a coup in 1973, the loss was replaced by Juvenile Habyarimana. In Rwanda, which became a democratic, social and independent republic in 1962, the National Congress was again elected in 1976. The new constitution prepared in 1978 passed a referendum and General Juvenal Habyarimana was elected president. Habyarimana, who became president in 1973, abolished Trafibro as soon as he took office and a planned economic liberalism began in the country. Habyarimana changed the name of his party to le Mouvement Nationale Pour le Development. During the Habyarimana period until 1994, Rwanda received foreign investment and monetary support from western countries. At the same time, many government institutions have been privatized by Habyarimana. Since Habyarimana was himself a Hutu from Northern Rwanda, state property was purchased by northern Hutus and these Hutus gained significant socioeconomic power within the country. These northern Hutus, especially given the right to buy land, left the rural population without land. In the same way, northern Hutus, who took over coffee production, determined the price of coffee according to themselves, not the market, in 1965, and the domestic demand for coffee in the country was cut. When the price of coffee, which was 75 Rwandan francs per kilogram in the business market in 1963, was increased to 120 Rwandan francs by northern Hutu in 1965; Coffee is no longer a domestic market, but a product that the Rwandan economy sells to foreign markets. All arable land in the country, where America's interest in Rwandan coffee continues, is devoted to coffee production. During this period, Habyarimana also went to a population planning and established the National Population Agency in 1981. This institution was later attached to the Ministry of Health. By 1982, almost 82% of Rwanda's land was used for coffee production. Since Habyarimana monopolizes coffee production, the money coming from here has not been used as efficiently as in previous years. Rwanda, which has indexed its entire economy to coffee, experienced a significant economic crisis when coffee prices began to fall worldwide. In this case, the Republic of Rwanda; started to take loans from the world bank and its external debt increased by 34% between 1985-1989. In 1985, Rwanda's annual coffee revenue fell to 14 billion Rwandan francs. Between 1987 and 1989, Rwanda's net export revenues fell by 50%, and in 1989, one in six people in Rwanda reached the poverty line.<sup>26</sup>

President Habyarimana, who took the initiatives to solve the problems in the

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<sup>26</sup> İpek, "Sahra-Altı Afrika'da Bir Devletçilik Mucizesi: 1994 Sonrası Ruanda Ekonomisi", *Dünya Siyasetinde Afrika* 2, 309.

country, tried to determine his priorities for the Rwandan economy. He listed these as imports, a solid economic performance, transportation, sales in the domestic market and exports of agricultural products. At the end of 1987, Habyarimana declared its national food strategy to fight hunger. According to the announced national food strategy, Rwandan agriculture was wanted to be supported, agricultural production was accelerated, agricultural productivity was ensured, priority was given to the development of markets and loans were started to be provided to farmers. As a result of the national food strategy, the country's banana farming development has been achieved. Beyond these, when no development could be achieved and the problems could not be resolved, the problem of the north and south peaked in the country, the tension between the Hutulat and the Tutsi increased, the coffee economy collapsed and the state in Rwanda went bankrupt. While salaries were not paid to many civil servants then, some wages were as bananas. In 1989, the IMF extended a loan of 1 billion dollars to Rwanda, and in November 1990 and June 1991, the state had to devalue its national currency first by 40% and then by 15%. These developments led to the explosion of inflation in the country. All schools in the country were closed indefinitely, the Rwandan Patriotic Front led by Paul Kagame came from Uganda in 1990 and entered Rwanda, and a new civil war started after the 1959 Revolution. In the same year, when coffee prices in the world fell by 20% and Rwanda asked for support from the IMF, the IMF offered to give Habyarimana \$ 15 billion in exchange for his transition to multi-party rule, under pressure from the United States. In addition, the World Bank and UNDP stated that they would extend a total of 643 million dollars credit to Rwanda in return for establishing an infrastructure that will provide economic stability and initiate peace talks between Hutus and Tutsis. In order to benefit from these supports, Rwanda adopted a multi-party system at the end of 1991, but Habyarimana used 12 billion dollars of this money by purchasing weapons from France and China. In 1992, Rwanda's foreign debt, which was close to 20 billion dollars with interest, had to deal with a severe drought and a bacterial invasion brought by this drought that affected potatoes and cassava, and the agricultural sector completely collapsed. Again in 1992, Rwanda, which had to devalue its money by 15% in order to pay its debts, this time started layoffs in the public sector. When the Rwandan Government had no other choice, in July 1992, the spokesmen of the two sides signed the Arusha Agreement as the basis for the peace talks between the Tusi and the Hutus. The aim of this agreement is to revive the Rwandan economy, which is in deep crisis, with foreign aid. At the end of the agreement, the United States provided \$6 billion in aid, but

when this money was spent on the personal needs of the executives, the Rwandan economy, which was already out of whack, was also reflected in the country's political course. In 1994, President Habyarimana's plane was shot down and the Tutsi killings, which have been taking place since 1959, started to take the form of genocide.<sup>27</sup>

The Hutus, who did not see the Tutsis as real Rwandans, claimed that the Tutsis had constantly humiliated themselves throughout history, that they were the props of the westerners who exploited their country, and that they were relatives of the occupying powers. They claimed that the fertile lands held by the Tutsis actually belonged to the Hutu and seized these arable lands.<sup>28</sup>

### 5. Rwandan Genocide

From January 1, 1990, to 1992, when they left their camps in Uganda and started an armed struggle with the Government in Rwanda, the rebels began a civil war. Tutsis and moderate Hutus were tagged by establishing local semi-military organizations called Interahamwe, all the way down to the most remote villages. Since the country's economy is not suitable for purchasing weapons, hundreds of thousands of lines have been ordered to China. On April 6, 1994, one of the bloodiest massacres in history began with the announcements made on the radio. That day, the head of state's plane, a Hutu, was shot down. Taking advantage of the chaos in the country, the members of the Interahamwe looked at the lists in their hands and started massacres, especially among educated Tutsi and moderate Hutu.<sup>29</sup>

The desire of the ruling powers to hold the political power, the fact that Habyarimana, who has the administration, does not hesitate to use all kinds of racism and violence to protect his interests, the limited resources despite the excessive population growth, the existence of a social structure that feeds ethnic conflict in the country for a century. Among the main reasons.<sup>30</sup>

The event that sparked the genocide was the shooting down of the plane that brought President Habyarimana to the capital Kigali in 1994. The fact that Habyarimana, the eternal president of Rwanda, was killed on his way back from

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<sup>27</sup> Regine Andersen, "How Multilateral Development Assistance Triggered the Conflict in Rwanda", *Third World Quarterly* 21/3, 441-456; İpek, "Sahra-Altı Afrika'da Bir Devletçilik Mucizesi: 1994 Sonrası Ruanda Ekonomisi", *Dünya Siyasetinde Afrika* 2, 310-311.

<sup>28</sup> Özey, *Afrika Coğrafyası*, 407-408.

<sup>29</sup> Özey, *Afrika Coğrafyası*, 407-408.

<sup>30</sup> Orhan Önder, *Birleşmiş Milletler Ruanda İçin Uluslararası Ceza Mahkemesi* (Ankara: Bilge Publishing, 2006), 18-25; Hazar, *Küreselleşme Sürecinde Afrika*, 99-102.

peace talks about his country, led to the explosion of genocide. Hutus, who carried out large-scale massacres of Tutsis, saw Habyarimana, who they saw as the eternal chief, as an ineffective, passive and weak person. Thinking of transitioning to a multi-party system brought to the schedule that the Hutus sacrificed Habyarimana and planned a assassination against him in 1992.<sup>31</sup> The Hutu ethnic group started the massacre, citing that the Tutsis carried out the incident. Hutus brutally murdered all Tutsis in the country, regardless of women, children or the elderly, and groups called moderate Hutus opposed this policy of Hutus. During these events, the massacre grew to such an extent that thousands of Tutsi who escaped and took refuge in the church were killed by church priests and nuns by informing them to the Hutu, and the churches turned into places where mass murders were committed.<sup>32</sup>

France began to fill the vacuum left by Belgium, which lost its influence in the post-independence period. In Rwanda, a member of the community of French-speaking countries, France tried to be effective by supporting one or the other side from time to time in line with its interests.<sup>33</sup> The western powers, who remained a spectator to what happened during the German and Belgian colonial period, and to the ethnic cleansing activities in Rwanda under the guidance of Belgium and the USA, attempted to become apostles of humanity after 1 million lives were killed in the 1994 genocide. On the other hand, the United Nations Organization deliberately remained silent in the face of what happened, even though it was aware of the Hutus plans to exterminate the Tutsis in early 1994. Following the events up to that time from afar, France, after the genocide started; He took action by saying, "There is genocide in Rwanda, we will intervene to stop it." It is a fact that everyone knew and watched that the United Nations did not decide to intervene and acted together with Belgium until the armed Tutsis appeared and chased the Hutus. Among the other criticisms knew about the assassination attempt on Habyarimana, but did nothing. After these developments, Rwanda left the Community of French-Speaking Countries and French education was terminated.<sup>34</sup> France's biggest mistake was that it failed to grasp the deep division between Hutus and Tutsis and the deadly power it caused. Another grave mistake of the French authorities is their friendly relations with the perpetrators of

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<sup>31</sup> Hazar, *Küreselleşme Sürecinde Afrika*, 99-102.

<sup>32</sup> Ramazan Özey, "Afrika Kıtasının Panoraması: Siyaset, Toplum ve Ekonomide Farklılıklar ve Benzerlikler", *Dünya Siyasetinde Afrika 1*, ed. İsmail Ermağan (Ankara: Nobel Academic Publishing, 2nd Edition, 2019), 13.

<sup>33</sup> Hazar, *Küreselleşme Sürecinde Afrika*, 99-102.

<sup>34</sup> Hazar, *Küreselleşme Sürecinde Afrika*, 99-102.



genocide. According to the report of the Investigation Commission of the French Parliament, the commanders of the French military units, as well as being in close contact with the genocide, fueled the fire in terms of the oppressive policies of the Hutu.<sup>35</sup>

Taking action to stop the genocide, the first thing France did was to arm the Hutus against the Tutsis. With the launched operation, they named the region stretching from Kigali to Congo "Turquoise". They banned entry and exit to the turquoise zone. They did not intervene in the genocides that took place in the massacre area. Here, the conflicting parties continued to kill each other.<sup>36</sup> In the 100 days from April to mid-July 1994, 800,000 Tutsis and 200,000 Hutu were killed.<sup>37</sup> Poverty peaked in Rwanda, leaving no stone unturned, anything that moved was subjected to fire. It was plundered on all sides. Fearing the Tutsis would return to avenge what had happened, some 2,000,000 Hutu left their homeland and took refuge in the Congo forests. Neither a cultivated field nor a live animal was left unchanged.

If we specify with the determinations of Okur; "At that time, there was a United Nations Peacekeeping Force of 5,000 people under the leadership of Kofi Annan in the country. Armed to the teeth and equipped with the latest systems, the unit commander called Kofi Annan said, 'The genocide has begun, we can stop it'. Annan instructed the commander: 'Unless they attack you, do not interfere.' In the meantime, we should also mention that the Hutus killed 10 Peace Corps soldiers. The commander insisted on intervention, but his request was flatly denied. That didn't stop though. Peace Corps soldiers were instructed to leave the area. The United Nations soldiers, armed with automatic weapons and armored vehicles, withdrew in front of the men with machetes, and the massacre began. Call after call for the massacre was made on the state radio saying 'kill the insects.' The dead began to pile on each other along the roads. With an international agreement signed in 1948, the United Nations, which decided to intervene in every region where there was a genocide, did not allow the use of the word 'genocide' in the reports written about what happened in Rwanda to avoid responsibility. Upon the onset of the massacre, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) mobilized from its camps in Uganda and Tanzania. As they were armed and highly educated, they marched to the capital Kigali, putting the genocidal Hutus in front of them. In the meantime,

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<sup>35</sup> Hazar, *Küreselleşme Sürecinde Afrika*, 99-102.

<sup>36</sup> Okur, *Afrika Zengin Ama Yoksul*, 52-54.

<sup>37</sup> Hazar, *Küreselleşme Sürecinde Afrika*, 39.

they did not interfere with the Hutu who were not involved in the genocide.”<sup>38</sup> The United Nations, whose mission is to prevent genocides and eliminate conflict environments, was silent on the Rwandan genocide under the leadership of the USA and France. The only concern of the USA and France was to control the precious metals in the eastern regions of Congo. Westerners could not control if people did not fight each other in these densely populated areas. It is a fact that France itself provided the training of the gangs that committed genocide in Rwanda. Although France denies that it trains the militias each time, General Thierry Prugnaud, who was on duty in the region at that time, admitted that they gave shooting training to the Rwandan civilian militias in 1992 and said: “France has always denied it, like anything else. But it doesn't matter, I'm confirming.” The words of Bruno Delaye, the African adviser to the French president, who held secret meetings with the genocidal rulers in Paris, were another expression of this truth: “You cannot deal with Africa without getting your hands dirty.”<sup>39</sup>

The massacre ended with the overthrow of the Hutu-dominated government by the forces loyal to the Tutsi-supported Rwandan Patriotic Front leader Paul Kagame. Afterward, hundreds of thousands of Hutus, who were afraid that the Tutsis, who took power from the government, would attack with the excuse of revenge, took refuge in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The United Nations intervened in the genocide, albeit belatedly, and the genocide was stopped. The United Nations Security Council established the International Criminal Court for Rwanda on December 18, 1994, to try the perpetrators of genocide. The ICTR, which holds the jurisdiction on acts violating Article 3 of the Geneva Convention signed in 1949, crimes against humanity and genocide, is called the first "genocide court" in the world.<sup>40</sup> There is also a Turkish judge in ICTR, which continues its work on files in Arusha, Tanzania.<sup>41</sup> A Turkish judge also served in the Court of Appeal for Rwandan criminals in The Hague.<sup>42</sup>

The genocide that ended in July 1994 destroyed Rwanda, traumatized hundreds of thousands of survivors, the entire infrastructure of the country was devastated, and more than 100,000 criminals were imprisoned. The balance of the entire Central African region was disturbed because of the genocide. The Democratic Republic of Congo has been a battleground of armed conflict since 1996 between

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<sup>38</sup> Okur, *Afrika Zengin Ama Yoksul*, 51.

<sup>39</sup> Okur, *Afrika Zengin Ama Yoksul*, 52-54.

<sup>40</sup> Orhan Önder, *Birleşmiş Milletler Ruanda İçin Uluslararası Ceza Mahkemesi* (Ankara: Bilge Publishing, 2006), 34; Hazar, *Küreselleşme Sürecinde Afrika*, 99-102.

<sup>41</sup> Aydın Sefa Akay, *Legal Advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs*.

<sup>42</sup> Retired Ambassador Mehmet Güney.

the post-genocide Government in Rwanda and the victims who migrated to the country after the genocide. Governments established after the genocide tried to rebuild the country's infrastructure, but uneasiness still persists in Rwanda. Repetitive traumas due to the events they experienced led the rest to struggle with endless troubles. Many survivors are in poverty and grappling with health problems such as HIV/AIDS as a direct result of the violence perpetrated by the perpetrators during the genocide. For many of the surviving Tutsi minority, the atmosphere of fear still prevails. All survivors in Rwanda are trying to rebuild their lives with the perpetrators of murder and rape.

According to the statistics in the UN's Human Development Reports, most of the African countries at the lowest level within the framework of the human development index criteria have been states that have experienced conflicts or been under the influence of conflicts for a long time. It is accepted by the UN that armed conflicts are negatively and closely related to human development in the long run. The genocide in Rwanda in 1994 is the clearest example of this situation.<sup>43</sup>

### **6. Rwanda's Restoration Government After Intervention**

The Government established after the genocide followed a policy of unity and reconciliation in the country, and established people's courts called Gacaca in the name of local law, which took its source from tradition, to deal with hundreds of thousands of people accused of crimes committed during the genocide. Through legal reforms, the Government has sought to increase economic growth and stability by encouraging women to take office in the state, prioritizing women's empowerment and adopting the new constitution.<sup>44</sup> The Rwandan Government overcame the tragedy of 1994 "by choosing to be together, accountable and thinking big". It is illegal in Rwanda today to declare one's ethnic identity, which was the source of the problems in 1994. The universal human rights principles of "equality, fraternity and freedom" are in force. Rwanda now upholds the values of inclusivity, fraternity and respect.<sup>45</sup> Convicted on September 2, 1998, Jean-Paul Akayesu was convicted for the crime of genocide and crimes against humanity he participated in and directed while he was the mayor of the town of Taba.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Gonca Oğuz Gök, "Birleşmiş Milletler Düzleminde Afrika: İnsan Güvenliği Meselesi ve Somali Örneği", *Dünya Siyasetinde Afrika 1*, ed. İsmail Ermağan (Ankara: Nobel Academic Publishing, 2nd Edition, 2019), 323.

<sup>44</sup> Özey, *Afrika Coğrafyası*, 407-408.

<sup>45</sup> Sedat Aybar, "Küresel Ekonomi Politik Perspektifinden Afrika'nın Yeniden Paylaşımı ve Türkiye", *Dünya Tarihinde Afrika 4*, ed. İsmail Ermağan (Ankara: Nobel Academic Publishing, 2017), 53.

<sup>46</sup> Özey, *Afrika Coğrafyası*, 407-408.

Rwanda returned to normal in 2000 and a new constitution was prepared in the country. The Constitution stipulates that 30% of the seats in the parliament should be reserved for women. Paul Kagame became president on April 22, 2000. On March 8, 2000, Bernard Makuza became Prime Minister. Rwanda, which has shown a fairly stable picture under President Paul Kagame, is still very high in poverty and the country is still dependent on foreign aid.

In Rwanda, which had a hard time due to the genocide, the 2003 elections were also tricky, but the proportion of women deputies in the parliament increased. The 2007 "Women in National Parliaments" report of the IPU (Inter-Parliamentary Union) also shows that Rwanda ranks first with 48.8% among 189 countries ranked according to the representation of female MPs in their parliaments. After Rwanda, Sweden, Finland, Costa Rica, Norway and Denmark occupy the top positions.<sup>47</sup> In this context, especially the security rights given to women have enabled Rwandan women to pursue a strong non-governmental organization since 1995. These non-governmental organizations, Haguruka enabled women to contribute to the Rwandan economy after 1994 by receiving vocational training very early. Thus, women have come to important positions in the business world and politics of Rwanda.

The Rwandan Patriotic Front's 1994 inquiry the second step that enabled the development of the Rwandan economy was the imidugudu program launched in 1997. The Imidugudu program can be seen as a reflection in Rwanda of the social policies implemented in Tanzania in 1967, in Ethiopia in 1975, and in Mozambique in 1977. According to this, the people of Rwanda were resettled in a particular village, so that the land was used more productively. At the same time, this villager movement, which started with the Hutu Revolution in 1959 and continued with the genocide in 1994, solved the problem of how about 2.5 million Tutsi who immigrated from Rwanda to the surrounding countries would be resettled when they returned to Rwanda. The imidugudu movement, which started in 1997, settled the people of Rwanda in a total of 85,000 villages by 1998. At the end of this resettlement movement, the land disputes between the Tutsis who did not leave Rwanda and the Tutsis who returned to Rwanda were resolved and the state ended the housing in the lands that could be considered fertile for agriculture and started to use those lands for agricultural development. At the same time, Rwanda has succeeded in turning certain lands into national parks and making the country an important tourist center. Since 2005, when tourists from foreign countries paid

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<sup>47</sup> Özey, *Afrika Coğrafyası*, 405-406.

375 dollars per person to see these parks, which are famous for their gorillas, the country started to earn 3 million dollars a year from these parks alone.

The third step taken by the RPF in developing the Rwandan economy after the 1994 genocide was the Vision 2020 Document prepared in July 2000. The Vision 2020 Document, prepared under the leadership of RPF leader Paul Kagame, who was elected president in 2000 and is also seen as "New Rwanda" or "Rwandan Renaissance", mainly focused on six issues. These are respectively; To develop good governance, to contribute to the development of human resources and to create a knowledge-based economy, to encourage the private sector, to invest in infrastructure development, to develop producer and market-oriented agriculture, and to ensure regional and international economic integration of Rwanda.

The Vision 2020 Document envisioned a technocratic government to promote good governance. Accordingly, politicians who knew the economy and business would play an essential role in developing the Rwandan economy after 2000. The state of such men would be transparent, respect the rule of law, and develop democratic institutions while at the same time developing the Rwandan economy. Technocrat state staff accomplished essential works between 2000-2010. In the Doing Business report published by the World Bank, Rwanda was ranked 67th out of 143 countries. Meanwhile, the technocratic state, which has taken concrete steps on transparency, has largely managed to prevent corruption in Rwanda, which could not be prevented in Sub-Saharan Africa. The technocratic state succeeded in placing Rwanda among the top 50 countries in terms of government efficiency. Decentralization in state institutions, which president Habyarimana had highly centralized had highly centralized had highly centralized had highly centralized before 1994.

The Vision 2020 document announced by RPF also showed a successful performance in promoting the private sector. According to the document, the state's aim in this matter was to raise Rwandan businessmen and expand the Rwandan economy by driving these businessmen to the international market. The Rwandan state created 8,810 jobs per year between 2006 and 2010, and workers in these jobs depended on state-created businessmen.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> An Ansoms - Donatella Rostagno, *Rwanda's Vision 2020 Halfway Through: What the eye does not see*, Universite Catholique de Louvain, 2012, 433; İpek, "Sahra-Altı Afrika'da Bir Devletçilik Mucizesi: 1994 Sonrası Ruanda Ekonomisi", *Dünya Siyasetinde Afrika* 2, 312-313.

## Conclusion

Experienced tragedies, genocides that took place before the eyes of the modern world, and ethnic conflicts triggered in Rwanda are issues that need to be carefully considered. We need to re-evaluate the wicked history of the country, which should be self-sufficient with its underground and surface resources.

In our review, we tried to draw attention to the behind-the-scenes of the human drama experienced in Rwanda. During the five centuries between 1450 and 1890, when the Gisaka Kingdom was dominant, the lands of Rwanda were not approached to conflict, depression and mass problems. It draws our attention as a self-sufficient country in its traditional social structure for five centuries. The tribes that make up the people of today's Rwanda have been living on the same lands for centuries. Like other African peoples, regional relations, social contacts, commercial and political interests have always existed in Rwanda.

Western powers, which occupied every part of Africa like the arms of an octopus with the Berlin Conference, deeply affected the continent's fate. The German colonial powers, who occupied the territory of Rwanda, tried to design the region through the Tutsis. After the First World War, the Germans, who had to withdraw from the part of Rwanda after the defeat, handed over the region to the Belgian forces. Belgian colonial powers divided the people into two different ethnic groups in Rwanda, cooperated with Tutsis, provoked Tutsis against Hutus, and tried to hold the administration directly in the country until the independence process. After the Second World War, he had to accept the demands of the local people for independence against Belgium, which had a hard time and difficulties in maintaining dominance in the region. To allow Rwanda, which has gained its independence, to ensure its future, Belgium has started to intervene indirectly, this time, not directly in the administration in Belgium.

Rwandan Hutus took a hard line against Belgium, which had mortgaged the future of the Rwandan people both before and after independence. Hutus, who tried to get rid of Belgium's protection and cooperate with French-speaking African countries, became victims of France this time. The main reason for the genocide in 1994 was that Germany, Belgium and France always kept the conflict environment alive in the country to exploit the regional resources. The ruling powers that held the administration from 1962 to 1994 abused the country's resources. While the Tutsis, who were a minority before independence, did not live in the country, the Hutus in the majority did not live in the country. Still, after independence, the situation was reversed and the majority Hutus attacked the minority Tutsis with a vengeance. The ruling powers also supported these events and deprived the Tutsis

of all basic rights. 1 million Rwandans suffered genocide in front of the eyes of the UN and western powers, who have been spectators for years. Conflict in Rwanda was averted by belated intervention after it was too late. It is a pity that the gains of the western powers in the Congo basin were sought to be preserved even while the war and massacre were prevented. The Rwandan government, which was established after the intervention, tried to rebuild Rwanda in the developing process and made Rwanda a powerful African country.

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