

# Table of Contents

<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS .....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>1 INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>11</b>
1.1 CONTEXT.....	11
1.2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES .....	16
1.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	17
1.4 LITERATURE REVIEW .....	20
<b>2 A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF RECONCILIATION .....</b>	<b>27</b>
2.1 RECONCILIATION AND COEXISTENCE .....	27
2.1.1 <i>Important aspects of reconciliation</i> .....	28
2.1.2 <i>Healing and the process of reconciliation</i> .....	32
2.2 KEY ISSUES OF RECONCILIATION .....	34
2.2.1 <i>The relationship between forgiveness and reconciliation</i> .....	34
2.2.2 <i>The importance of truth</i> .....	35
2.2.3 <i>The contribution of justice and dealing with the past to reconciliation</i> .....	37
2.3 RECONCILIATION IN THEORY: A CONCLUSION .....	39
<b>3 THE RWANDA CRISIS: INVENTING ETHNICITY...41</b>	
3.1 THE HISTORY OF ETHNITIZATION IN RWANDA.....	41
3.1.1 <i>Hutu and Tutsi in pre-colonial times</i> .....	41
3.1.2 <i>Colonial influence on perceptions of ethnicity</i> .....	44
3.1.3 <i>Developments after independence</i> .....	46
3.1.4 <i>The genocide and its impact on perceptions of ethnicity</i> .....	47
3.2 THE INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY ALONG ETHNIC LINES: MYTHS AND CHOSEN TRAUMA .....	49
3.3 ETHNICITY IN RWANDA TODAY .....	52
3.3.1 <i>Cleavages in modern Rwandese society</i> .....	52
3.3.2 <i>The ideology of national unity</i> .....	54
<b>4 DEALING WITH THE PAST AND RECONCILIATION IN AN AUTHORITARIAN POLITICAL CLIMATE.....</b>	<b>57</b>
4.1 THE DOMINATION OF THE RECONCILIATION PROCESS BY THE RPF REGIME.....	57
4.2 THE AUTHORITARIAN CHARACTER OF THE RPF REGIME.....	60
4.2.1 <i>The RPF as “Banyarwanda” and protector of all Tutsi</i> .....	60
4.2.2 <i>The slide towards authoritarianism</i> .....	61

4.3	MILITARY DICTATORSHIP AND ETHNOCRACY IN RWANDA AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR RECONCILIATION: CAN MINORITY RULE BRIDGE THE ETHNIC DIVIDE?.....	67
<b>5</b>	<b>LEGAL ANSWERS TO THE GENOCIDE: JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA.....</b>	<b>71</b>
5.1	TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE .....	71
5.1.1	<i>Retributive and restorative justice in transitional justice theory.....</i>	<i>72</i>
5.1.2	<i>The importance of justice in Rwanda: Ending the culture of impunity.....</i>	<i>74</i>
5.1.3	<i>A change in strategy: From conventional retributive to traditional restorative justice.....</i>	<i>76</i>
5.2	RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE IN RWANDA .....	77
5.2.1	<i>The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) – Can international justice contribute to reconciliation in Rwanda? .....</i>	<i>77</i>
5.2.2	<i>The national court system and its contribution to reconciliation.....</i>	<i>81</i>
5.2.3	<i>Assessment of the impact of formal retributive justice to reconciliation in Rwanda.....</i>	<i>84</i>
5.3	THE GACACA JURISDICTIONS: “AFRICAN JUSTICE FOR AFRICAN HEALING?”.....	86
5.3.1	<i>Turning to alternative methods: The Gacaca jurisdictions in Rwanda.....</i>	<i>86</i>
5.3.2	<i>Gacaca jurisdictions and reconciliation: A promising approach? .....</i>	<i>89</i>
5.3.3	<i>Assessment of Gacaca’s contribution to reconciliation.....</i>	<i>105</i>
5.4	DEALING WITH THE PAST AND RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA THROUGH TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE: OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF ALL THREE APPROACHES.....	106
<b>6</b>	<b>CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>109</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>	<b>115</b>
<b>8</b>	<b>ABBREVIATIONS.....</b>	<b>143</b>