

**OUT COMES OF THE YOUTH COMPETITION ORGANISED BY THE
NEVER AGAIN ASSOCIATION IN COMMEMORATION OF
THE 10th ANNIVERSARY OF THE RWANDAN GENOCIDE**

Theme of the competition:

“BASED ON THE HISTORY OF RWANDA, WHAT CAN WE THE YOUTH
DO SO THAT GENOCIDE SHOULD NEVER HAPPEN AGAIN”

AIM OF THE COMPETITION :

PROMOTE DISCUSSIONS RELATING THE PAST AND PRESENT TIMES WITH
AN AIM OF SHARING THOUGHTS ON THE ROLE AND THE WELFARE OF THE
YOUTH IN THE FUTURE.

September, 2004

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In commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the genocide that took place in Rwanda, the association “Never Again International-Rwanda chapter” in conjunction with the Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sport and Rwanda Genocide 10, with the aid of DFID organised a youth competition with the theme as “Based on the history of Rwanda, what can we the youth do so that genocide should never occur again”.

“Never Again” is a youth association composed of students and university graduates with an aim of sharing thoughts and experience so as to prevent conflicts and provoke peace.

“Never Again” has branches in five countries across the world (United States of America, the United Kingdom, Canada, and Rwanda); in all these countries, “Never Again” organised different international conferences among which we may cite the Rwandan International Fora on genocide that were held in London and Chicago.

The competition that was organised by “Never Again” is one of the activities aimed at approaching the youth so as to play a role in the establishment of a platform for sharing thoughts among the Rwandan youth on issues regarding the genocide that took place in Rwanda basing on events that characterised Rwandan history and the youth in particular.

This competition had an aim, before all, of encouraging the Rwandan youth to reflect on the history that characterised them as well as on the conflicts that characterised Rwandan society so as to play a role in building peace, unity and reconciliation as one of the tools to aid in setting up a long term framework for the development of our country.

One of the ways to achieve this goal was found to be giving the youth a platform through an essay, poem and song writing competition. At this juncture, the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Rwandan genocide was found to be a particular occasion for our sharing thoughts on our history and our future.

THE AIMS OF THE COMPETITION:

The main aims of the competition were the following:

- to give the Rwandan youth an opportunity to play a role in the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Rwandan genocide as well as to give them a means of expressing their thoughts and opinions on the Rwandan genocide.
- To sensitise the youth to play a more active role in taking decisions regarding issues that concern them and the whole country at large.
- To instil the culture of initiative amongst the Rwandan youth.
- To promote cultural education as well as responsible social human behaviour.
- To give suggestions to the different governing levels of the country for them to take decisions with the aid of the essay writing poem and song competition.

This competition was organised with the aim of soliciting different opinions from the Rwandan youth based on the way the Rwandan history might be explained

culminating in the genocide of 1994, and also to express their thoughts about this history as a means of making “Never Again” a firmly rooted principle.

This competition was beneficial in that it acted as a conduit for finding out what the Rwandan youth of today think about genocide and the means through which it can be prevented so that the welfare of Rwanda and Rwandans in the future will be without any strife so as to strive for durable peace.

As the Rwandan youth, we believe that the future of Rwanda and Rwandans in general is in our hands; this competition is a means of thinking and asking ourselves about the following issues:

1. How can we put aside segregation based on ethnic groups as a basis for the implementation of genocide?
2. What role can history play in the modelling of a responsible Rwandan citizen?
3. Is it or is it not possible that there is something we can do so that Rwandans themselves may build a new image of Rwandan culture that promotes social relations devoid of any strife within the country?
4. In view of the consequences of genocide, is it right that the issues which sow discord, characteristic of the history taught to Rwandans, to remain to be held as truths?

THE PARTICIPANTS IN THIS COMPETITION :

The participants in this competition included secondary school students and those from higher institutions of learning who are between 16 and 30 years of age.

The youth (or a youth group) who participated in this competition exposed the following issues in their works :

1. The role and the welfare of the youth during the pre-genocide period.
2. The role and the welfare of the youth during the genocide period.
3. The role and the proposals of the youth in building the country and in fighting the genocide ideology.

STRATEGIES AND THOSE WHO HELPED IN THIS EVENT:

- For this event to be possible, a panel of judges was set up; that is to say those who examined the submitted works at all levels and aspects of the competition;
- Those who participated in the competition received pertinent information across the media on radio, television, news papers and public posters;
- This competition was held over a period of one month according to the dates mentioned below;
- In organising this competition, “Never Again” worked hand in hand with the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) (particularly the directors of secondary schools), Ministry of Local government (MINALOC), Ministry of Youth Sports and Culture (MIJESPOC), the National Unity and Reconciliation commission (Province Coordinators), students’ Associations as well as other youth;
- Others.

ACHIEVEMENTS:

The youth got the time and the opportunity to express different thinking and opinions that will help in the country to strive for unity and reconciliation as well as durable peace. Furthermore, bringing together those thoughts and opinions will be a well-meaning strategy for the decision making powers in the future.

Another important issue is that the youth played an active role in the events of commemorating the tenth anniversary of the Rwandan genocide by stating guidelines aimed at preventing genocide in our country.

PARTICULARS OF THE COMPETITION:

Since it was necessary to do preliminary competitions, selection of the best compositions was done at three levels (District (zone) level, Province level, National level) in the following way:

- Preliminaries at zone level (District) : 12-18/07/2004
- Preliminaries at Province level : 22-25/07/2004
- Preliminaries at National level: 6/08/2004.

The competition was done in three aspects of composition which are :

- Essays not more than 5 pages;
- Songs not longer than 5 minutes;
- Poems not longer than 6 minutes.

Examining the different compositions was done by a panel of 3 judges at each level of competition; those who made up the panels were selected by the committee in charge of organising the competition in the province based on the following criteria:

1. Being honest and impartial;
2. Having experience in examining such composition;
3. Having sufficient knowledge about Rwandan history.

¹ Each zone was composed of 14 secondary school including higher institutions of learning or universities in that Province.

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF YOUTH WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE ESSAY WRITING, SONG AND POEM COMPETITION.

Province	Number of schools	Number of Participants	Number of Troupes	Type of composition		
				Essays	Songs	Poems
Cyangugu	26	56	38	50	41	69
Ruhengeri	36	311	42	229	54	179
Kibuye	24	106	31	68	44	37
Gitarama	44	377	84	220	123	135
Byumba	21	160	71	148	71	71
Kibungo	31	120	36	32	17	19
Kigali Ngali	27	265	41	83	39	127
M.V.K	31	338	19	138	78	141
Gikongoro	23	98	24	74	23	37
Umutara	15	134	15	74	26	56
Butrare	41	321	53	168	75	133
Gisenyi	41	525	63	294	117	209
Total number	360	2810	517	1578	708	1210

The following below were the best ten Essays, Poems and Songs respectively and the rest are kept in the Never Again archive:

**MAHINYUZA JEAN PAUL
KIBOGORA CYANGUGU**

When we observe properly, we find that the genocide that occurred in Rwanda has a relation to the history that characterised our country. It is thus that I find that there is something the youth can do so that genocide never happens again especially since they are the future of Rwanda and in large, they are the strength and power of the country.

When one breaks down the facts, you find that the genocide was a result of some bad periods in the history of Rwanda such as bad politics and bad governance,

divisionism based on segregation, illiteracy and working under threats, poverty, moral decentralisation, lack of patriotism. This would all lead to conflicts and the persecution of some Rwandans. Thus some of these Rwandans ceased to view Rwanda as their motherland leading to divisions among the Rwandan society culminating into the genocide.

In general, we find that the history of Rwanda is divided into three periods based on the changes, welfare and the perspectives of our ancestors, namely:

- before colonisation
- during colonisation
- after independence

* Before colonisation, the Rwandans were united, with one language and one culture, ... the youth, in particular, were taught the Rwandan culture how to conserve their culture, how to fight off the enemies of Rwanda once attacked, patriotism, how to expand their motherland. They were also trained in other skills that would help them in their later life. The youth at this time were united, they followed the advice given to them by parents and also worked together for the development of the country.

* When the white men arrived in Rwanda, they found the Rwandans were a united people. They could not find a way of ruling the Rwandans without disuniting them because they were united and respected each other. That is when they came up with the weapon of ethnic groups based on wealth so as to show the Rwandans that they were unequal socially. They were successful in their aim and in fact some of the Rwandans believed this theory and even passed it on to their offspring who were the youth at that time. As time went on, the issue of ethnic groups reached dangerous heights until it culminated into the genocide which started in 1958 based on ethnic belonging.

Even before the white men arrived in Rwanda, the Rwandans had clans such as the “**Abasinga**”, “**Abazigaba**”, “**Abega**”, but this did not affect their unity in any way but instead served to work together so as to conserve the sovereignty of their country. The Germans were the first white men to arrive in Rwanda with a policy of “Divide and Rule”. They started by reducing on the powers of the king but they did not achieve their goals due to eruption of the First World War and they were replaced by the Belgians. The Belgians took the divisions among Rwandans to greater extremes “ethnic based favouritism”. A Rwandan who had great wealth was considered to be Tutsi by ethnicity; one who was of average wealth was considered Hutu by ethnicity; while if one made a living by pottery then he was a Twa by ethnicity. This theory was passed on as a legacy from parents to offspring who grew up with this ideology. But this theory did not take root immediately because for example during the assessment of wealth, one would be counted as a Hutu then later the status changes to a Tutsi because his wealth had accumulated. The Belgians saw that their theory was not taking effect and thus they introduced the first national identity cards in 1931, which stated one’s ethnic belonging to the Hutu, Tutsi or Twa ethnic groups, and decreed that any child who is born be given the parent’s ethnicity. They even reached the extent of preaching that it’s only the Tutsis who are born intelligent and Hutus are born ignorant. They did all this with an aim of turning Rwandans into their puppets.

This divisionism based on ethnicity had ill-fated effects on the understanding of youth such as hatred, oppression, having bad ideologies as well as illiteracy. This did stop the Rwandans from living normal lives: These two ethnic groups still intermarried, invited each other and still fulfilled their roles of master and subject without any ill-will since one's master was almost like a parent. After some time, this issue of ethnicity destabilised the welfare and understanding of the youth when the white men established schools that were limited to only the children of wealthy Tutsis while others were mixed. This led to the division of the youth who developed hatred especially since some of them were pampered by white men and they oppressed other youth.

This issue of ethnicity caused divisions not only among the Rwandans but also among the white men themselves for example among the religious men; Bishop Derided was in support of the Hutus whereas Bishop Classe supported the Tutsis. The disagreement in the church over this issue of ethnicity caused wrangles among the white men for example in 1950 when they fought among themselves. For this issue of ethnicity to reach dangerous heights, one could say that the Rwandans themselves also had a role to play in they did not do anything tangible to fight against this diversionist ideology. The people who were in power at that time instead used it to consolidate their positions in power, they comported themselves like gods or goddesses and suppressed the rights of others.

The youth really suffered at this time since they were deprived of their rights such as the right to education. This did not sit well with the youth especially since most of them were poor and illiterate. The genocide actually started in 1958 when the "Hutu manifesto" was introduced by those who had studied in the seminary. At the helm of this group was GITERA, KAYIBANDA. As a way of capturing the interest of the youth, ethnic-based political parties were introduced for example UNAR, PARMEHUTU, APROSOMA. The genocide killings since started on 1st November 1959 when MBONYUMUTWA, on his way from prayers, killed some Tutsis in Byimana and Kabyayi, the killings continued on 2nd November 1959 when Tutsis in Kigali were killed and also on 3rd November 1959 when Tutsi were killed in Kibuye and Gisenyi.

This was the beginning of the genocide and the youth were oppressed at this time because they were killed, looted, raped. And those who survived fled to the neighbouring countries. These dates mentioned above are not the only ones when people were killed, there are other dates when Tutsis were killed in small groups. In March 1960, some Tutsis were again killed in Ruhengeri; Kibungo) and in Cyangugu. A large portion of the youth participated in these killings especially in the horrendous genocide of 1994 when the Tutsis were deprived of their right to live. During the time of fighting independence, the ethnic-based political parties which were largely made up of the youth started conflicting with each other, each party talking for its own ethnic group or those they worked together. After gaining independence, the killings did not end. Immediately after the independence, the first leader of the government was MBONYUMUTWA who did not change the situation in any way but instead promoted divisionism based on ethnicity and regions: developing especially his home region of Gitarama.

He was replaced by KAYIBANDA who also did not do anything to change the situation. In 1973, HABYARIMANA carried out a coup d'Etat with his gang of 13 and many Hutus and Tutsis were killed during this time. During his reign, many youth suffered because, like his predecessors, he promoted divisionism based on ethnicity and regions so much that, in schools, the army and in government there was a lot of segregation especially since one's ethnicity was registered in one's national identity card. They affiliated all the political parties under one umbrella, the movement he called MRND, and he brought the youth closer to himself in this way. At this time, they were very many youth suffering outside the country as refugees; even those who wanted to return were refused as HABYARIMANA told them the country was full. These youth who wanted to return and were stopped decided to join hands and return home using the force of arms especially since even the regime at that time seemed to be a dictatorship regime which did not help even those who were in the interior of the country.

When the RPA attacked the country in 1990, the leaders at that time were fearful that their plans of genocide were not yet fulfilled so they decided to establish numerous political parties under the guise of democracy.

All those parties that were officially permitted to work such as MRND and CDR set up youth wings for example the "*interahamwe*" *impuzamigambi*" and other groups that were given military training and other ways of killing. In April of 1994, the leaders at that time were handed the chance of finalising their plans of genocide, using the youth political wings that they had set up; they killed, looted, destroyed houses and raped other youth. Within a period of less than three months, over a million people had been killed but the RPA managed to stop these killings on the 4/7/1994.

Although, this genocide was stopped, it appears that the genocide ideology still exists in the minds of some people who even still spread it among other Rwandans and this is evident in churches, in schools as well as in government affiliated or non-governmental organisations.

There is a lot that we the youth can do so that genocide never happens again in Rwanda. Among what we can do, we have:

- Condemning and fighting all those who still continue to spread the genocide ideology;
- Being tolerant and eradicating ethnic-based divisionism and fight against any person who wishes to sow discord and divisions among Rwandans;
- Cultivating the culture of patriotism, integrity, courage as well as coming to the aid of one another;
- Giving testimonies and acting as witnesses in the local jurisdiction courts, saying the truth of what we saw and as we know it and fighting against nepotism of any kind;
- Participating actively at all decision-making levels; fighting for transparency, tolerance and mutual sharing among Rwandans;
- Fighting against illiteracy and poverty by creating income-generating projects and not waiting for hand-outs from the international community. We should strive for development using our strength and intelligence;

- Joining hands for the achievement of unity, reconciliation and reconstruction of our Rwandan society.

In my opinion, if these strategies are put into action by the youth who are force of Rwanda, then we shall attain our main goal of preventing another genocide in Rwanda and in the world as a whole. We shall then live in a country devoid of divisions and other conflicts since fighting the genocide ideology and other issues mentioned above is a fundamental pillar of attaining unity, democracy and the development envisioned in the Rwanda vision 2020.

“LET IT NEVER HAPPEN AGAIN”

By: NYIRANTEZIMANA PRISCA

GISENYI

These words were said by the president of the Republic of Rwanda Paul KAGAME on the 7th April/2004 on the tenth anniversary of the commemoration of the Rwandan genocide in which over one million people lost their lives because of their ethnicity. These words meant that there should never be another genocide in Rwanda or elsewhere in the world.

Before the arrived of the colonialists in Rwanda, the Rwandans lived together in harmony because they all knew they were descendants of “Kanyarwanda” They would come to the aid of each other during times of sickness, visit the mothers who had given birth. The child who was born to a certain family world be a child to all and cared for by all, teaching the child the proper culture when the parents were absent. They would grow up in an environment of love, respect and devotion and would always strive to do what was developmental and beneficial to the society.

The parents would have an obligation of caring for teaching their children the proper culture. The child would be taught how to live with others in society in peace and instilled with patriotism to fight against anything that would threaten security of the country. When the child was old enough, he would be sent to the troops of the local chief to be given military training.

There is a proverb that says “he who never talks with his father never knows about the history of Rwanda as it was”.

This would develop in the children a sense of duty and they would grow up into courageous youth due to what they had heard and they would consider everyone as their brothers since they all shared the same culture, same language and same country.

Although Rwanda was a country that was a monarchy under the rule of the king, it was a country that was founded on the unity of Rwandans. The rule at that time as well as the welfare of the society in general was based on esoteric codes called "**Ubwiri**" which may be compared to the present –day national assembly.

When the white men arrived in Rwanda they found a land that was under the rule of the king, sharing unity and patriotism. This was very evident especially during the reign of the king MUTARA III RUDAHIGWA when the people united to fight against the white man calling him an enemy since he had a different culture, language and even different skin color. Although they first fought against the white man, they showed him that they could live with and be hospitable to all people as it was observed during the reign of king KIGELI IV RWABUGIRI when SHARANGABO welcomed Von GOETZEN and escorted him up to the royal court where he was shown good hospitality.

It was correctly said that "those the king welcomed with milk are the ones who turned a deaf ear to him". We showed them generosity, unity, hospitality and our love but they were not satisfied saying "these people can only be ruled if divided". They used the force of arms and deposed the king depriving him of all powers which were given to the colonialists. They saw that dividing us was the only way they could manage to rule us.

That is the time they started sowing divisionism among us, telling us that we were of different ethnicity, one was a Tutsi, the other a Hutu, others were Batwa. They even put this identification in our national identity cards. They did not stop here because they even divided us further basing on regions, districts and sectors; some were "**abanyenduga**" others were "**bakiga**" etc. They introduced inequality teaching that the Tutsi were born to rule, teaching to the Hutus that they had been oppressed and persecuted by the Tutsi rule so they should do everything possible to liberate themselves by fighting against this enemy (Tutsi) who was not even a native of Rwanda but rather a native of Ethiopia while the Hutu was a native of Chad yet they all spoke the same language.

Segregation then started in schools, in churches and in the government. This divisionism was everywhere in the country, it was taught to the youth at school and in their families where they were taught that a Tutsi was a person who was more evil than a snake. This all happened while the white man who had sowed this seed of discord was watching from the sidelines.

In 1959, there were demonstrations in which Tutsis were killed their houses were burnt and those who survived fled to neighboring countries. The Tutsis had been deprived of all their human rights; they had been labeled animals and made to abandon their motherland after being called foreigners yet they spoke the same language and had the same skin color as others.

The country flowed with blood, screams filled the hills and the country was covered by a blanket of grief.

In retrospect, we find that the youth were used as the engine power of all those killings and destruction of the country since they had been taught to kill their fellow Rwandans. In this period, many political parties were established and all these parties looked for party supporters among the youth. One may mention parties such as APROSOMA, MDR-PARMEHUTU, RADER and UNAR which was suppressed by MDR –parmehutu because it was claimed to be a Tutsi political party.

Between 1963 and 1973, MDR-parmehutu was the party in power. This party persecuted those who were not in accord with its policies; some were killed while others fled into exile. Tutsis were killed in Gikongoro under the supervision of the government and this is when a slogan came up: “accept be humble or flee”.

In 1973, the government was based on one political party, MRND which was led by Juvenal HABYARIMANA who took power through murder. MRND was founded on four principles: ethnic segregation, relational, nepotism and suppressing the opinions of the people.

During the era of HABYARIMANA, there was no freedom of speech; there was inequality in schools where entry was a privilege and not a right even though students would sit for entry exams.

In 1975, he consolidated his power, oppression and mass murder was widespread. In Bugesera and in Bigogwe, Tutsi were killed, houses burnt and their cows were looted all this under the watchful eye of the government which would reward the perpetrators or sometimes claim that this was a misunderstanding between some of the citizens.

In 1990, the R.P.F. started a war to liberate the country and its people from the dictatorship regime of HABYARIMANA which had oppressed Rwandans for a long time and to fight against the evil acts that were supported by the National Bank of Paris and the government of France which was giving arms to HABYARIMANA's government to kill Tutsis and moderate Hutus.

On 1st October 1990, the liberation war was started led by the late Fred GISA RWIGEMA and others. During this period, many other political parties such as CDR, MDR, PL, PSD, PDR, Were established in Rwanda. They all searched for party faithful from the youth.

These youth were given military training and arms so that they could annihilate their fellow youth. Each political party would find a name for its youth wing hence “*interahamwe*” for the MRND youth wing “*impuzamigambi*” for the CDR youth wing and “MDRpower” for the MDR youth wing. They started calling on each other to join hands since they had the same objective of massacring Tutsis, the enemy, a snake. Programs were broad cast on radio, meetings called for and public addresses given by leaders all calling for the massacre of the Tutsi. The plans were put into action when they started killing Tutsis slowly by slowly; the youth were taught that they were killing collaborators of the enemy, a snake, the enemy of the state.

Although people were being killed within the country, the youth who had sacrificed themselves for the liberation of the country did not lose heart; they continued with the war after the failure of the peace negotiations in Arusha.

In 1994, the killings attained another level when the war of bullets turned into a war of clubs, spears, machetes, with the media encouraging people to kill through RTLM, KANGURA, etc.. the youth were quick to act and in the night of 6th /April/1994, when the plane of the then president HABYARIMANA was shot down on his way from Arusha, the killings started. The genocide was underway, girls and women were raped, what had never occurred before in the world was seen in Rwanda.

One cause of sorrow is that, the strength of youth was used to destruct the country rather than to build it. The youth were given arms and teachings to kill after being promised heaven. The youth were killed by fellow youth, handicapped, those who survived fled; infrastructure such as schools, hospitals and roads were destroyed taking Rwanda backwards in development.

All this took place while the entire world was watching; even the UNAMIR that had the mandate to stop it did not do so. They had the power to fight for the human rights but instead helped the killers to ravage, for example the French soldiers. Due to this fact, over a million Rwandans were deprived of the right and opportunity of love, never again shall they hear their laughter, talk to them or even greet and hug them. We, the remaining ones should endeavor to see that this catastrophe never happens again.

When the youth lost most of their relatives, they became demoralized and desperate became they lost their parents, family members, some were raped, and infected with HIV/AIDS while others who were traumatized no longer lead normal social lives.

Though an uncountable number of people lost their lives, the RPF attained its goal of liberating the country and it managed to save lives of many others and stopped the genocide which countries supported. The R.P.F. set up a government of national unity so that it can help to give back the image of Rwanda that existed before the arrival of the white men, and treat the hearts of the Rwandans which were damaged during the genocide and to show all Rwandans wherever they may be the role they should play and their rights in the development of their country so that they may be proud to be called Rwandans.

The government of national unity has achieved most of these goals and has also eradicated the culture of impunity by introducing the "**Gacaca**" court jurisdictions, a fundamental pillar in uniting the victims with the perpetrators of genocide.

The youth were given a platform and full rights in the country: in schools; the right of studying, equality in schools and joining school is now on basis of passing national exams and is no longer a privilege of a few, all people are now equal before the courts of law and equal rights in society.

It is now ten years since the Rwandan liberation war ended and though there is security, Rwanda still needs donors to help it out of the problems it has especially aiding the youth since they were most affected by the genocide.

During the genocide, most of the crimes were perpetrated against the youth and some of them were seriously traumatized and their welfare destabilized. This is the reason why these youth should be approached and advised, calmed down and given a hope to live so that they may feel loved that they have someone to cater to their needs.

What the youth can do so as to attain their goal of eradicating genocide forever is to study the history of Rwanda starting with the history before the genocide, during the genocide and after the genocide through books recounting what took place. The youth should be taught that we are all Rwandans with bonds greater than blood ties.

The youth should fight the culture of impunity and promote the culture of peace and tolerance, participation in the “**Gacaca**” court jurisdictions, convincing those who committed crimes to confess and ask for a pardon and help the victims to learn how to forgive and this way the youth will have been a fundamental pillar in the unity and reconciliation of Rwandans as well a pillar for the development of a better Rwanda.

The youth should play a role in decision-making levels; this will develop the country and be beneficial to its citizens as well. In order to achieve this the youth should participate in public debates, sports and entertainment and study tours which bring together youth from different regions so as to learn from each others.

What is vital and of essence to the youth is to always remember what took place so that it never happens again. The youth should write books about our history for the next generation to understand and learn so that they do not repeat the same mistakes.

The youth should also fight against the genocide ideology and those who suppress the memory of genocide so as to attain unity and reconciliation. The youth are dedicated to conserving the sovereignty of the country by joining the army and other political organizations with an aim of developing the country.

The following are some of the things the youth need to do so that genocide never happens again in Rwanda or its borders:

- Set up or join organizations made up of youth with an aim of fighting against the genocide ideology and those who wish to suppress the memory of genocide;
- The youth should promote the culture of peace and strive for unity of all Rwandans since they are the future of Rwanda;
- The youth should correct the history that characterized our country by completely eradicating divisionism based on ethnicity, regions and the color of the skin;
- The youth should fight against illiteracy by striving to go to school and pass on the knowledge acquired as well as pick an interest in the current affairs of the country;

- The youth should not be materialistic because this is the origin of all the evil and corruption which leads to conflicts;
- Have the spirit of love for everyone without segregating based on ethnicity and region;
- The youth should use the arm of truth as a means of promoting unity and reconciliation of Rwandans. We have the obligation of helping the *Gacaca* court jurisdictions to complete the task of trying the accused in prisons so that those who are innocent may be released and those who are guilty may be punished and to completely eradicate the culture of impunity.
- The youth should strive for equality in schools where everyone feels he/she has the right to choose the course he/she wants to study based on the points he /she scored;
- Approaching the people at grass root level so as to get their ideas and opinions which could be developmental to the country;
- What is of essence to the youth is to always remember what happened not as a way of promoting divisionism and conflicts but rather as a way of fighting the genocide ideology so that it never happens again , we should remember where we came from,
Those of ours, who were killed,
Those you killed,
Those who were your neighbors, Those you did not help.

Let us know, work for and keep the memory of what happened so that it never happens again in Rwanda and elsewhere in the world. Let us live in peace, unity should be the goal of everyone and all of us together say “ let it never happen again”.

TUYISHIME Valentine
E.N.P / T.T.C KAVUMU
GITARAMA

YOUTH, NEVER AGAIN

In general, we all know that in Rwanda, there was a genocide perpetrated against Tutsis and moderate Hutus. This was a result of the divisions that the colonialists had sowed among us based on the ethnic groups; Tutsi, Hutu and Twa . This divisionism affected all areas of Rwanda but the youth were particularly persecuted; because of their ethnicity or their home region; in schools, at work or even their daily lives. This culminated into the April 1994 genocide which was perpetrated by a large number of youth and was also put to an end by other youth.

Basing on this history, Rwanda may be divided into three historical eras:

1. Rwanda before the genocide (From the Monarchy era –April 1994)
 - *Rwanda before the colonialists
 - *Rwanda during the colonial era
 - *Rwanda after the colonial era (01/07/1962-April 1994)
2. Rwanda during the genocide
3. Rwanda after the genocide

What history shows us is that this genocide was perpetrated by youth and was put to an end by youth. How did it all happen? What were the repercussions on the youth? What now can the youth do so that it never happens again in Rwanda, Africa or elsewhere in the world?

1. THE YOUTH IN THE HISTORY OF RWANDA

I.1. RWANDA BEFORE THE GENOCIDE (from the monarchy era -April1994)

Rwanda is a land of a thousand hills. Before the colonialists arrived, it was ruled by a king who had his chiefs. The Rwandans subsisted on agriculture and cattle keeping. They lived in harmony and were divided into three categories based on their wealth; the Tutsi, Hutu and the Twa.

This did not destabilize the Rwandan society at all because Rwandans respected each other, they exchanged cows; the children of the cattle keeper and those of the cultivator played and did most of their work together.

Like other kingdoms, Rwanda also had an army. It was made up of youth who loved each other, shared mutually and had the same passion of fighting for the sovereignty of their nation; in those days, the youth would get advice from their elders. Families exchanged brides and invited each other to special ceremonies.

As time went on, the relations among the Rwandans improved. In the year 1849, European explorers came to Africa and took back reports of a hidden paradise prompting the partitioning of Africa in a meeting that took place from the 15/11/1884 up to the 27/02/1885. The Europeans then came to Rwanda and introduced religion which we adopted but this did not stop the Rwandans from continuing to live in harmony and obeying each other; the White Fathers also followed our example of obeying rulers since they would not do anything without first asking permission from the chief.

Another group of Europeans came and when they saw that they could not divide the Rwandans, they decided to depose the king at that time; King MUSINGA; this was done on the 12/11/1931 when they killed him. They then started teaching the population, especially the youth who were hot-blooded and illiterate; that a Tutsi was a person who had a long nose, was tall and was a native of Ethiopia, had imposed himself in power; while a Hutu was a person who was short, a cultivator and was a native of Chad and who had been oppressed and had never ruled; while a Twa was the only true native of Rwanda.

These Europeans then used the youth and indoctrinated the youth with these theories while the latter absorbed them. They encouraged them to overthrow the monarchy of the Tutsi in 1959. The youth killed many Tutsis at that time saying they did not want a Tutsi to ever rule again. The Tutsis who survived fled to neighboring countries. They taught the youth to put their interests first before those of the nation.

On 1/7/1962, Rwanda obtained its independence but the white men still had influential positions in the government. They encouraged that the ethnicity of

everyone be written in their national identity cards; encouraged the establishment of political parties such as PARMEHUTU, APROSOMA and these parties were mostly made up of youths. This all happened while a part of some Rwandans were being persecuted, especially the Tutsi youth. Though during this period, there was an elected President KAYIBANDA Gregory who was later replaced by Major General Juvenal HABYARIMANA; the persecution of the Tutsis continued and the youth were especially used because of their strength, large numbers but were also illiterate so easily manipulated. Some of the youth were oppressed in schools; others were enrolled in the army, the same killed Tutsis in 1973 and some of them fled to neighboring countries like UGANDA, and BURUNDI where they lived in misery as refugees.

When these Tutsi youth who were living in exile could not bear anymore to see the oppression that was in their mother land, they decided to get their weapons and head for war in October 1990, striving to return peace and security in their homeland. Those who were in power at the time, planned the genocide of the Tutsis while lying to the international community that they were serious with the peace negotiations in Arusha.

They then taught the youth who made up a large portion of the population and were illiterate, that a Tutsi was an enemy; be it a child, boy, girl and even the old. The youth were taught how to kill; weapons were bought and these youth also taught others. Most of the youth were deprived of their right to go to school and those who had the chance of doing so would not find employment after their studies, just because they were Tutsis. This prompted some to join the R.P.F rebels who were determined to liberate the country.

I.2. RWANDA DURING THE GENOCIDE

The night of 6/4/1994 was the climax; when the then President Major General Juvenal HABYARIMANA'S plane was shot down. The genocide started, an uncountable number of Rwandans were killed, most of them Tutsis and moderate Hutus and most of the perpetrators were youth. While these killings were going on, the young soldiers of RPF were advancing, trying to stop the Killings wherever and saving people.

It is to note that the youth were part of those killed, those who were killing and also those who were trying to stop the killings.

I.3. RWANDA AFTER THE GENOCIDE

After this catastrophe was put to an end by the R.P.F on the 4/7/1994, some Rwandans had died while others fled into exile in the neighboring countries. Who would rebuild the country since those who had remained had fled? They were now engaged in infiltrating activities with an aim of destabilizing the security of Rwanda.

The youth were then struck by the consequences of genocide including orphans, insecurity, lack of shelter and means of survival, epidemics caused by poor standards of living, AIDS and many of them were in prison. The youth did not give up inspite of all these problems since they make up the largest part of the population, they were

encouraged by the government of national unity to rebuild Rwanda. Those who had been deprived of the right of education were admitted in primary and secondary schools, vocational institutes through the help of human rights organizations, MINALOC, FARG, etc.

II. WHAT THE YOUTH CAN DO TO PREVENT ANOTHER GENOCIDE

II.1. PROMOTE THE CULTURE OF PEACE AMONG RWANDANS

We should promote the culture of peace that existed in Rwanda before the colonialists sowed divisions among us so that we may live again in fraternity and as the Bible teaches us to love one another as we love ourselves.

II.2. RESEARCH THE TRUTH ABOUT RWANDAN HISTORY

We should search for and understand the truth about Rwandan history, be it good or bad; to know the roots of the genocide and to teach others to participate in the “*gacaca*” court jurisdictions by saying the truth about what happened; encouraging those who committed genocide to confess and ask for forgiveness; this will help us to achieve unity and reconciliation in Rwanda.

II.3. FIGHT AGAINST THE GENOCIDE IDEOLOGY

We should have the spirit of patriotism in addition to fighting the genocide ideology of any kind and report to authorities any person who would wish to sow divisions among us.

II.4. HAVE A KNOWLEDGE OF WORLD HISTORY

We should have knowledge about other places in the world where genocide happened, its causes and the strategies they used so as to bring back tolerance and unity among their people.

II.5. STRIVE FOR PEACE

We should strive for peace, tolerance and unity in our country.

II.6. RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS

We should respect the rights of every one without oppressing one another and giving advice and testimony in countries with a genocide treat.

II.7. BE HARDWORKING

We should be hardworking because a country with poverty can not have peace. We shall achieve this by joining cooperatives and creating income generating projects. This will also help us to prevent another genocide since it was found out that most of the youth who were taught these diversionist ideologies were unemployed and idle and manipulated with promises of quick wealth.

II.8. PROMOTING THE CULTURE OF HELPING EACH OTHER

We should have the spirit of helping each other especially the destitute people who are a result of the genocide such as; the handicapped, the orphans, the widows and widowers, the traumatized, trying to listen to their problems, and aiding those who were raped then infected by the HIV.

II.9. PARTICIPATE IN THE GOVERNMENT

We should play a role in the leadership of our country by giving value to the opinions of the youth and supporting the decentralization policy.

II.10. TO FIGHT THE SUPPRESSION OF THE MEMORY OF GENOCIDE

We should not suppress or try to erase the memory of the genocide so that everyone remembers its consequences and hence try to look for ways to prevent it. This will be achieved if we reveal sites where victims were buried, maintaining and conserving the genocide memorial sites where the remains of victims were buried and properly honoring those heroes who spilt their blood so as to end that genocide.

We should use these strategies so as to rebuild a country filled with peace, unity and reconciliation. These strategies should help us to fight to ensure that what took place never happens again in Rwanda, in Africa or elsewhere in the world, with the help of God.

THE ROLE OF THE YOUTH IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF RWANDA

KAYIGEMA Vincent

Petit Seminaire KARUBANDA – BUTARE

In general, the youth are people who are not beyond thirty five years of age. When we look at the history of Rwanda, even before the arrival of the white man, we find that the youth were the main force in the development of the country.

Before the arrival of the white men, the youth in general, were taught how to be honest and respect from when they were young. The young man, when grown up would be taught the jobs of a man such as building, herding cattle, milking, shooting with a bow and an arrow etc .. so that he would grow up into an able man who would build a strong family and become a hero of the country. Since able-bodied young men would be soldiers of the country they would go to war when the country was attacked.

As for the young girl, she would be taught the woman's work e.g. the work that would make her able to lead a married life; such as sweeping, weaving mats and baskets, cooking, washing utensils, preparing milk and most of all she was taught how to humble herself. No girl would be allowed to move out of the house at night without an escort. The girls who would become pregnant would be drowned in the river so as to discourage sexual immorality.

This would not allow the youth to engage in their own activities but instead would engage in activities that would prepare them for their future lives and development of their country since they had all been given the same training when they were still young.

After the arrival of the white men, the situation changed after the youth were taught segregation based on ethnicity, regions and other ideologies.

In 1959, Hutu youth were encouraged to slaughter those they called their enemies.

The Tutsis yet they were all sons of "***Kanyarwanda***". This was a result of the bad leaders at that time who taught divisionism.

These divisionism ideologies were taught in schools; at work, there was regional segregation; the Tutsi youth would be considered enemies of the state when they succeeded to go to secondary school or university and deprived of their right to education.

These ideologies were taught for a long time since the government was led by people who were from the same region and had the same ideologies, this caused the youth

to be indoctrinated so much and were even the first to take up arms during the genocide when young men killed their mothers because they were Tutsi and husbands killed their Tutsi wives.

During the same time, another part of the youth, those who had been born outside the country where their fathers and grand fathers had fled when they were chased out of the country because they were Tutsis; joined hands and started a war to liberate Rwanda on 1st October 1990.

Although these young people had little means, hunger and thirst on their journey, and other hindrances; they persevered and sacrificed themselves because of the patriotism they had ; three would die and two would continue until on the 4th July 1994 when these youth liberated the country and put an end to the genocide that was being perpetuated against a mass of Rwandans due to their ethnicity or because they were not in support of the divisionism ideologies for example the Prime Minister Agathe UWIRINGIYIMANA.

Basing on what was mentioned above, we find that the youth are the source of strength for the development of the country when given the correct teachings at the right time to love their country and be hard working like the youth of pre-colonial Rwanda.

In these ten years since the genocide happened, the youth have achieved a lot. Any able youth can now go to school regard less of his / her ethnicity or region of origin but rather based on his / her capability. In the ideal districts of Rwanda, there is no more divisionism that is taught, instead they teach unity of Rwandans. The youth who were left destitute by the genocide belong to a fund which caters for their school and medical bills. The youth who are not able to go to school are also taught skills that help them to create income-generating projects and join or form cooperatives which are then aided by government.

A youth council was formed and representatives are elected from the sector level up to national level and in fact the youth are represented in the national assembly The national radio also broadcasts programs that encourage the youth to engage in activities that are developmental to them rather than sexual immorality.

All these achievement may be attributed to the government of national unity, which teaches and encourages us to avoid anything that would lead us into another genocide. The following are some of the things that the youth can do, in addition to the above mentioned, so as to eradicate completely the. The genocide ideology:

1. The youth may write three books about the genocide; one showing how the genocide was planned and put into action by its planners; the second containing testimonies of genocide victims from different provinces of Rwanda so that it shows the savageness of the atrocities that were committed across the country; the third containing the testimonies and confessions of those prisoners who confessed and accepted their crimes so that anyone who reads those books may see for him / herself the truth about what happened.

2. Introducing a course teaching the evil of genocide and its effects in all the primary and secondary schools;
3. Constructing durable genocide memorial sites so that the memory of genocide is never erased from the history of Rwanda; some of those that were built are now damaged for example the genocide memorial sites in Nyarubuye and Nyamata;
4. Giving exemplary sentences to those who played a role in the genocide; it is hurting to see someone who massacred many people being sentenced lightly, for example Obed RUZINDANA who finished off many Tutsis in Kibuye and was sentenced to a mere twenty years;
5. Parents should teach their young children about the dangers of genocide so that they may grow up knowing the truth about what happened and avoid the same mistakes;
6. The solidarity camps "**ingando**" should be organized not only for the youth who are joining universities but also for youth who are still in secondary school and those who do not go to school or even those who are still young since "a tree is shaped best when it is still young".
7. The youth should create income-generating projects, and we should avoid those who try to sow divisionism among us. We should strive for unity of all Rwandans and for the development of the country.
8. The youth engage themselves in the fight against AIDS so that we may live long since we are the future of Rwanda.
We must dedicate all these activities to God so that he might change the hearts of Rwandans so as to eradicate divisionism and hatreds completely; for liberty to overcome force, oppression; give birth to tolerance and give rise to intelligence and strength and Rwanda will flow with milk and honey.

NAME: TUYISENGE THEONESTE
TITLE : TO GETHER WE CAN MAKE A CHANGE
SCHOOL: COLLEGE ADEGI- GITUZA

Contents:

- How the Rwandans lived together before the genocide
- In the past what took place was supported by the leaders who indoctrinated the youth who are the strength of nation.
- During the conflicts among the Rwandans, what was the situation in the country? How did the youth comport themselves during this time ?
- Since the country was liberated by its own children who had been exiled outside, did it change anything ? Especially for the youth?
- Where Rwanda has reached currently we the youth plan to work together and set an example for the whole world!
- Let us continue from here and avoid what happened following this advice:
 - Loving all Rwandans, loving your country and making others love it
 - Conserving our Rwandan culture
 - Fight against all those who bring ideologies that are non-constructive to Rwanda.

Note Before: Due to the fact that the youth are the strength of the nation, we must be careful in whatever we do and fight against violent acts as well as avoid greed and corruption and also think twice before participating in any political events which cause:

- hatred between ethnic groups
- religious differences
- political violence
- greed (especially for money) which leads to hatred and wars.

HOW RWANDANS LIVED TOGETHER BEFORE THE GENOCIDE

A Rwandan was characterised by honesty and trustworthiness in both social life and in deeds and always had happiness devoid of regrets. The Rwandans loved each other as part of their culture, coming to the aid of any one whom tragedy befell, contributed to the festivities of each other and one would find that it was really pleasing to the eye and many foreigners were taken up by the way the Rwandans exchanged cows as well as brides. Basically, the social life of Rwanda was devoid of flaws. There was no divisionism of any kind; there was always peace and harmony among the Rwandan citizens.

All this was torn apart when Rwandans were despised that because they lived together without ethnic groups and then they themselves did not put any effort to confirm if the situation was really as they had been told. They assimilated it quickly without thinking twice.

What followed after is that nobody remembered themselves again as a Rwandan instead they saw themselves as Tutsis, Hutus, Twas and also as natives of such and a region. Did this benefit or bring a loss for the Rwandan in his /her social life? In view of the life Rwandans had before the introduction of ethnic groups or regions of origin, the Rwandans lost a lot because there followed general disagreements, oppression, lack of neighbourliness unless it was based on ethnic groups or religions only. This did not reap any benefits instead it happened like in the proverb "the wages of sin is death". What came to light is that Rwandans killed each other without anyone knowing their roots. For the youth, it was really dumb founding because the youth originally had the love they were taught but because they were later on taught how to hate, it's this hatred they expressed at that time.

IN THE PAST, WHAT USED TO TAKE PLACE WAS SUPPORTED BY THE LEADERS WHO INDOCTRINATED IT INTO YOUTH WHO ARE THE STRENGTH OF THE NATION

It was observed that many times, the events that took place were instigated by the leaders of the country, this being the reason why one could say on the role of the youth, they were innocent but meetings would take place where youth were indoctrinated and encouraged to the fullest with these ideologies of ethnic groups. They assimilated this rapidly and even put an effort to spread it, expressing it with all their strength two destroying the nation, in this way these leaders would reap their profits. Though the consequences are not visible to the youth, they are the ones who are most affected for example when setting up their families, traumatism, losing your family, being guilty or depressed due to what you did what was done to you.

DURING THE CONFLICTS AMONG THE RWANDANS, WHAT WAS THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY? HOW DID THE YOUTH COMPORT THEMSELVES DURING THIS TIME?

- During this time, the country did not know any peace at all in any part because both the attackers and the attacked did not get any sleep, even those who were not participating in the killings or the victims were always thinking of what their relatives are doing or what is being done to them and they would get no peace. The country was in a state of chaos (the looters, the looted, those who were keeping what was looted)
- On the part of the youth, due to what they were being taught as regards to the ethnic groups, they put in a lot of effort and strength in doing what they had been trained to do and it became visible to all Rwandans in general that what the youth had done was evil and caused Rwanda to be eliminated from the list of peaceful countries. In general, the youth did not comport themselves well.

SINCE THE COUNTRY WAS LIBERATED BY ITS OWN CHILDREN WHO HAD BEEN EXILED OUTSIDE, DID IT CHANGE ANYTHING ? ESPECIALLY FOR THE YOUTH?

- At national level, it was observed that there was a source of peace, harmony and togetherness combined with justice and which was in fact supported worldwide. Our country is not the first in the world to face such tragedies, but basing on its origin, it was very difficult to explain to Rwandans that it was bad ideologies as a way of reconciliation. This is the reason why we, the youth, must understand that we are the ones to tackle this problem because we are the future leaders of Rwanda.
- In the liberation of this country, it was again much observed that the strength of the youth was utilised because they had open minds that were favourable for the leaders of the struggle, so much that the youth were welcomed with shouts and praises. Today, the youth in general are living in harmony (entertainment, peace, no conflicts, all this through love devoid of hypocrisy).

WHERE RWANDA HAS REACHED CURRENTLY, WE THE YOUTH PLAN TO WORK TOGETHER AND SET AN EXAMPLE FOR THE WHOLE WORLD:

When we observe, for a large part, our country is developing and this could be the basis for one to state that Rwanda has taken a step towards unity. There is no reason at all for one to say that the youth may once again be indoctrinated with unfounded ideas because currently they are all far-sighted.

The youth should at least be meeting and discuss ways of joining hands for their development and establishment of projects and in this way develop our country so that it is known worldwide. This will give us pride instead of being called cursed and this will put Rwanda on a good stand worldwide instead of being known as a country that is always asking for aid.

LET US CONTINUE FROM HERE AND AVOID WHAT HAPPENED FOLLOWING THIS ADVICE:

- Love all Rwandans, love the country and make others love it. In general, Rwandans did not exhibit any love for each other so much that for the youth, it was like poking a stick into an anthill because they too did not exhibit any love for each other or their country. So there is no way the youth could make other love Rwanda since they themselves did not do so. But today, it is apparent that the Rwandan youth are satisfied with the life in their country and the activities in their country because there is peace.
- Conservation of our Rwandan culture. Emphasizing understanding well and playing a role in issues regarding our culture (through sports, plays, public debates, dances...) teaching the children in our homes (our parents for those who have them or our guardians) discussing with our neighbours so that we remove the old ideologies out of their minds and also to remember that the youth are the ones supposed to teach others regarding our culture before the genocide;
- Fight against all those who bring ideologies that are not constructive to Rwanda.

The youth are the ones who meet various people because some like talking to young children, others enjoy talking to old people while others discuss extensively with young men and women; this means that they know the needs of all levels of Rwandan citizens. Therefore, some strategies need to be planned so as to change the minds of those who introduce non-constructive ideologies through the youth (the strength of the nation) and in fact for all Rwandans to be honest.

Note Before:

Because the youth are the strength of the nation, they must take care in whatever they do. By fighting against any violent acts, avoiding greed and also thinking twice before joining any political activities which are the main causes of:

- Hatred between different ethnic groups
- Religious differences
- Political violence
- Greed (especially for money), which leads to hatred and wars.

NAME : NIHABWIKUZO Gaudin
SCHOOL : LYCEE DES LUMIERES –REMERA

One of the great Rwandan authors who was killed in the genocide sat down and pondered about the act of remembering, as something, that would appear to break down the bad effects of forgetting what one should have remembered.

He said that “if remembering did not exist so that I could forget the memories that make me sad... forgetting, no it should not exist so that one forgets the good that was done him/her...”. Thinking carefully about the words of this author who was famous for his works, breaking them down thoroughly and trying to conceptualise them in this time of commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the genocide of April 1994 helps us to understand that remembering the victims is an obligation we have and not doing it would be negligent.

Basing on what happened, every native of Rwanda should know that planning for a future Rwanda that is devoid of conflicts is their obligation. Inequality and pride based on ethnicity that was chosen for us by foreigners should be rooted out from the hearts of each and every one so that we see each other as humans. Differences of any kind should be a source of unity (?) complementarity for us rather than a barrier of our happiness and human rights in this country of ours. We should understand that all of us have equal rights. What we were taught, that we have different value in this country, depending on who arrived first, should be given little importance.

Those who misdirected us convinced Gahutu that he was the owner of the country since he arrived first before Gatutsi, if we follow this as a truth; then in fact Gahutu would have to give priority to Gatwa who we hear came cutting bushes before the so

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called owner of the country ever thought of coming from Tchadi as the one who gave birth to divisions broke the country's back when he gave each ethnic group an origin,

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We should take our thoughts beyond where we usually do. The fact that Rwanda's History was characterised by conflicts culminating in the genocide does not mean that all the history of Rwanda was bad. Most of the history of Rwanda contains many facts that point to good relations, unity, patriotism, tolerance and love between the ancient Rwandans. The Rwandans were always wary of selfish people; they borrowed and lent from each other what they did not possess, they always came to the aid of whoever had problems, helped in organising festivities, gave each other cows and pieces of land. Those who were still travelling when night fell asked for shelter without any fear and those who accepted would do so without first asking ethnicity or region; feed, and lay the bed for the traveller and in the morning send him on his journey with peace and this encounter would sometimes develop into a strong friendship. The Rwandans used to exchange brides without regards to their differences; families would get together and share as one. The culture of blood ties was common and those who made the blood tie would take an oath and love respect and come to the rescue of each other. During periods of famine, Rwandans fed their neighbours without segregation. When a neighbour's, family member fell sick, others would help carry the sick person to hospital without demanding any pay. These are some of the examples which show us that the history of Rwanda as a whole is not bad instead it is some periods and parts of this history that were characterised by conflicts. In reality therefore it is these periods that we the Rwandans should sit and discuss and learn how to perceive them in the same light and see where the root cause of the problem lies instead of tearing at each other's throats. Some people would think that this is impossible due to the difficult times that Rwanda and the Rwandans passed through.

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We should never lose courage by thinking that the unity and reconciliation of Rwandans is as far away as the moon. We have a lot that we can base on to rebuild a new Rwandan society that has tolerance, I can cite:

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- The fact that there are some Rwandans of Hutu ethnicity who fought against the ideology of massacring Tutsis so much that they sacrificed their lives; this should make us understand that the hatred for Tutsis is not a seed that has been planted and has established its roots in every Hutu's heart;
- The fact that among the killers (whether encouraged or forced by bad leaders) there are some who have repentant hearts; this is an indication that people can change their views if at all they are taught well; the solidarity camps "ingando" being an example;
- The fact that there are some genocide victims who lost all their relatives and were left alone but who are now trying to overcome the grief in their hearts and bodies and forgive without provocation those who destroyed their lives is also an indication that unity in Rwanda is not a dream.
- The fact that some of the characteristics of the unity of Rwandans were not eradicated and are still seen in some areas even today; people still invite each other for festivities without selection of ethnic groups; they share; exchange cows, brides; people work at the same place; their children go to the same school,

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What can we do based on all these facts ?

Since in schools it was taught that the differences between a Tutsi and a Hutu are like those between a snake and a passer-by; the hatred between them being put in analogy with that between a cat and a rat, let us do everything possible with every means and effort available far greater than what was utilised by those who sowed this seed of hatred. This genocide that we are remembering for the tenth time but still seems to us as if it happened yesterday due to the grave consequences it left, should be a study guide for whoever would want to play bad politics of hypocrisy that put forward dividing Rwandans into groups. Showing the youth who are growing up the backbreaking problems that were caused by the genocide such as the countless number of widows, orphans; broken families; the excess number of prisoners, dire poverty in Rwandan families; the speed of the spread of epidemics; the spoilt image of Rwanda before the international community and many others..; would help the youth who did not witness the genocide to try and comprehend and grow up fighting against such ideologies.

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In teaching the youth, they should be shown the roots and the origin of conflicts that destroyed Rwanda, showing them the true history of Rwanda before it was twisted: According to the history of ancient Rwanda, before the colonialists took over the country, the youth were the strength and the backbone of the country. Through proper teachings of honesty and patriotism, the youth of Rwanda grew up with good behaviour, devoid of flaws and even one who strayed was brought back before “the water went beyond the banks” and he/she would also accept this advice given out of love. Be it in churches or at home, the youth were taught how to join hands, taught that no man is an island and the selfish were always seen as outcasts.

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The youth were taught that unity among Rwanda was the brave man’s weapon, who would not quiver before Rwanda’s neighbours, Rwandans who would be victors at war. The harvest that was reaped from these lessons was the security that was always present country-wide and the victories of the Rwandan soldiers for many years before the arrival of the colonialists.

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When the foreigners arrived in Rwanda, they realised, that there was no way they could take over the country without first destroying the unity they found among Rwandans. They first removed the leadership they found in Rwanda. The removal of this leadership that united Rwandans had a painful impact on regions and the way regions were distributed. The church also contributed when it removed taboos and beliefs.

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This path that was cultivated by the foreigners was then matured by some Rwandans who had their own interests at heart. The youth were then taught that Rwandans were not one, distracting the attention of Rwandans with the little that differentiates them and emphasizing scorn in them, are some of the teachings that were given in schools, in training leaders and even in some homes. The youth were taught that Rwandans are not the same, the Hutu child would grow up knowing that a Tutsi was an enemy and in fact some of the most evil did not hesitate in proclaiming a Tutsi, a snake, Rwanda’s enemy and other degrading names. During the genocide, the youth (belonging to different militia groups) had been given sufficient training. The training they had been given before of killing Tutsis in previous incidents in Kibirira, Nyamata, Murambi, Biseseero and elsewhere (and all these times killing was a heroic event

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where one was rewarded rather than punished) made them fearless to work with all the zeal and effort towards the aim of massacring Tutsi and Hutus who were not in support of the Tutsi massacres. During the genocide of April 1994, hatred had taken firm root in the hearts of many people in such a way that killing a Tutsi was no longer a crime, rather it was good, because it was getting rid of an enemy. The speed, force and ferocity of the manner in which the genocide was carried out truly revealed the strength of the youth when it is misused.

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If the youth had not participated in the plans, that they were involved in by their bad leadership, massacring over a million Tutsis and Hutus who did not support the killings in such a short time as it was done this would have been a stumbling block for the evil people who planned the killings. Especially since the youth compose the largest part of our country's population.

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This was again made easy because the genocide was planned with the highest intelligence and evil scheming (though some people have the audacity to say it was not planned). This is due to the fact that if the genocide had been an accident triggered by the anger of the masses, it would not have spread to all parts of the country, in such a short time and the same way (same methods, weapons and slogans were used).

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The hatred that some of the Hutus had for Tutsis did not start with their existence together; it has a time at which it started, an origin and certain issues it is based on. If it was based on the poor relations between these ethnic groups before colonialism, the colonialists would have found strong evidence of this hatred since it is said that the monarchy (which is said to have been assured by the Tutsis) oppressed the Hutus. At this juncture one could ask oneself the following questions:

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- Would the Hutus have been loyal to a government that is said to have oppressed them due to their ethnicity? (this does not mean to say that there are no errors this rule under the king could have committed, but still on all people and not based on ethnicity).
- Since going into exile was possible, when the whites arrived in Rwanda, how many refugees did they find outside of Rwanda ?
- The history of Rwanda talks of many incidents in which Rwanda attacked her neighbours and in fact in most cases the Rwandan army proved to be undefeatable. As it is very well known that this Rwandan army was made up of all classes of Rwandans and that the common people (those who came to be called the Hutus) made up the largest number how is it then possible that these sons of Rwanda would always sacrifice their lives (with so much courage according to history) for a reigning leadership that was purported to be oppressing them ?
- Before the arrival of the white men (if indeed they left the situation as they found it); how many times did the Hutus conflict with the Tutsis ?

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- The folk legends about the history of Rwanda are mostly based on wars that were fought by Rwandans; how many brave stories / poems talk of incidents where a Rwandan is boasting of having killed a fellow Rwandan ?

In truth then, our history is not to be blamed for the conflicts that have affected the Rwandan, society. The root cause is those who twisted the history and gave it an image they wanted. They taught hatred and spite for each other by first teaching the Rwandans that they were not the same. These scheming people taught those who had fed on the same breast how to hate each other so that they could get a tool to keep them in power forever. Should we then accept this at face value? We should not be helpless in the face of these problems. Each and every one of us should look back in time and remember the culture and ways of our ancestors before our culture was stained by those who separated us and learn how we can adopt it? The teachings that spoiled the relation between Rwandans should be put to light so that they are reviewed, the truth should be revealed and taught and just as the identity that had become an issue in the identity cards was removed, so means should be devised to completely eradicate all acts, thoughts and sayings that encourage segregation and any other methods of dividing Rwandans.

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We the Rwandans should know that it is we who are challenged with Rwanda's problems; no one will come from outside Rwanda to solve those problems for us. The fact that we know the problems ourselves and that we know the roots and origin of the difficult times we passed through that led us to the genocide, should cause us to understand that nobody can give us cause to head us; above all building on truth and respect and learning from our history. The courage that the Rwandans showed in stopping the genocide, in reviving the economy, in restoring security and in struggling with the problem of refugees are examples that speak for themselves. The crimes that were committed by individuals should be charged on them alone and they should be pardoned if they ask for forgiveness.

The culture of despising and being ungrateful should be uprooted because causing being grateful is also developmental and it contributes towards instilling the spirit of working better: Rwandans who had the courage not to give in to a sin that had become common to most, should be thanked so that those who claim they had no way out other than to kill know that their words are not taken as true. This is the teaching that we the youth should build on and start adopting the proper culture and ways rather than always ceding to those who destroyed the country.

Particularly, the aim of the youth is to avoid falling into the trap that our elders fell into; let us not be tools of anyone who would wish to use our hands for his own aims. We should struggle for our development, fight against idleness by creating jobs for ourselves because the youth of before in most cases, were easily seduced since they were idle and were deceived to be given jobs after they had massacred those who they were told were barriers to their getting jobs. Fighting oppression at all levels, striving for the existence of a good government that gives a platform and a role to the citizens, each time putting forward unity and reconciliation is another strategy that we vow to make a culture. All of these things will help us to build a nation based on laws, where every one sees his limitations with the laws and is able to be saved in times of oppression and everyone is equal before the justice.

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We very well know that tolerance is the strongest tool that will help us in living in harmony without suppressing each other: we truly believe that even when a person does not like the other, he/she should give him/her his/her rights and respect him/her and the fact that he/she is a human being who needs to live in peace. We request that the government continue to work for good relations with the neighbouring countries with the aim of seeing that all refugees are repatriated in peace to our motherland.

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“Never Again” would not be a reality for us without the eradication of the culture of impunity, which was the cause of our problems. This bad culture that had been given a seat is the one that caused people to kill each other knowing they would never be brought to justice. We the youth shall support the justice that is aimed at punishing but also at uniting Rwandans through the “Gacaca” court jurisdictions.

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We ask the leaders of our country to never repeat the same mistakes but instead continue to build a Rwanda where everyone plays a role. This heritage should not be a barrier to Rwanda for anyone who is born there; there is no doubt that if we do not hide the truth about what happened; make all Rwandans equals; teaching the truth about Rwandan history, confessing of those who committed crimes, avoid grudges and vengeance, pardon those who have asked for forgiveness shall we have a Rwanda that is devoid of genocide and its ideology.

When we achieve this, “Never Again” will be a fundamental principle; and this will only be achieved if we the youth take the first step. Let us, them, all together, stand up at once and learn from the history of our country, grasp forever the good eras learn from the bad eras and build a Rwanda that will never again witness a genocide. Safe journey to us all as we take this journey together towards durable peace in our country !

KANAMUGIRE EGIDE**G.S.Ste Bernadette Save****5^{ème} Bio-Chimie**

Based on the history that characterised our country we find that Rwandans were living together in peace before the colonization of Rwanda. Rwandans and the youth in general were devoid of hypocrisy and they lived together in peace, sharing their joys and sorrows and they had a complete Rwandan culture.

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During the era of colonization, after the arrival of the “bazungu”, the situation changed, the whites mixed up our social lives, they sowed in us the spirit of divisionism based on ethnicity and regions. Those who were our leaders at the time also followed the example and started instilling thoughts of ethnic divisions in the population. The youth were especially taken up by these ideologies since they are more easily convinced. The situation aggravated and the oppression of the Tutsis started, they were killed along with those who were opposed to the current government. These events continued until their culmination in the genocide in which a large number of people of the same ethnicity were massacred within a very short period. No place else in the world had such a thing ever happened especially since most of the killers were youth who had been given enough training.

When this tragedy was put, to an end by the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF – INKOTANYI), Rwandans and the government of national unity as well as the youth started searching for solutions that would lead them to unity and reconciliation so as to have peace in our country once again and also to prevent such an event from ever happening again not only in Rwanda but also elsewhere in the world.

THROUGH UNITY AND RECONCILIATION**THE ROLE AND THE WELL-BEING OF THE YOUTH IN THE PERIOD BEFORE THE GENOCIDE.**

In Rwandan history, Rwanda was called “Urwanda rwa GASABO”. There was no hypocrisy among the Rwandans. The youth lived in peace, were well-cultured and they helped their parents at home. The young man always followed in his father’s footsteps and occupation such as : cultivating, hunting, escorting the father in times of war, being the man of the house when the father had gone for courtship at the royal palace,.....

The young lady followed in the mother’s footsteps and occupation such as house hold keeping; weaving mats, baskets, cooking,...

On the arrival of the white men (“abazungu”), they divided us basing on ethnic groups, and we started conflicting among ourselves; they used the then so-called leaders and then we started killing off each other, Hutus were taught to hate Tutsis. The leaders taught the youth, parents taught their offspring this hatred and

segregation. In 1959, the killing of Tutsis started in BUGESERA, GIKONGORO, the youth were participants in all these killings.

The first republic government of Grégoire KAYIBANDA lasted from 1/7/1962 to 5/7/1973. This man too, did not sit well with Tutsis. He taught the youth especially and instilled in them this hatred. They grew up with such ideas and these ideologies were spread to all the Rwandan youth that a Tutsi was an enemy.

In 1963, the Rwandans and the youth in general once again massacred Tutsis. These killings were repeated in 1968 and also in 1973. The youth especially had been infiltrated with the killing spirit.

The second republic government was installed after President Juvenal HABYARIMANA had overthrown KAYIBANDA. It lasted from 5/7/1973 to 5/4/1994 when HABYARIMANA'S plane was shot down. As soon as he took power, this man continued the hate campaign and the Rwandans in general got to really understand what ethnic divisionism was all about.

HABYARIMANA encouraged and taught the youth especially to hate the Tutsi ethnic group; that they should completely massacre whoever is called a Tutsi; parents were also encouraged to indoctrinate their offspring with this ideology as part of their heritage to their children. The youth were quick to catch on to these teachings, they grew up with them in their deeds, thoughts and daily words as part of the culture, passed on from their parents. There is nothing as hurting as seeing such youth who are the future of Rwanda, who will be the future leaders, who will give birth and nourish and bring up their children as Rwandans.

Where would such a Rwanda be heading? If not to a deep pit ?

At all levels of local government, in the general population, secret meetings, the youth were following everywhere. "Interahamwe" and M.R.N.D, C.D.R, M.D.R power; the French trained the youth how to comport themselves in times of war (killings).

This divisionism went on even in the national identity cards, the ethnic group Tutsi, Hutu or Twa was mentioned, no deceiving! The Hutu offspring felt that his / her ethnic group was better than the rest; they called the Tutsis "snakes", "Inkotanyi". These ideas were instilled in these children starting from their homes. This divisionism went on even in schools, the teachers who were learnt would order the Tutsis to move to one side, the Hutus the other, Twa on their own, so that they could be counted. How would such a child not grow up with these ideas ? When a Tutsi would pass his / her exams to enter secondary school, he / she would never study like the rest instead he / she would be replaced by a Hutus child for fear that this Tutsi child would one day become a leader (oppression)!

The youth were continuously given military training and later were given traditional weapons such as; machetes, axes, spears, clubs, swords and many other weapons like guns: being told that they were the ones who had fresh blood to kill, to seek hiding places, to loot and to destroy among others.

This is the time when the genocide erupted, during the massacres all the Hutu youths put into action what they had been taught and killed Tutsi in broad daylight without anyone stopping them. Radio stations such as R.T.L.M called upon people to cut

each other, individuals like KABANO and NGABO from BIKINDI composed songs teaching ways of killing and other kinds of human degradations.

THE ROLE AND WELFARE OF THE YOUTH DURING GENOCIDE:

Here in Rwanda, I think everyone knows of the tragedy that befell Rwanda and the Rwandans in general. When what was the month of April became, the month of blood, when the human being was deprived of his value, when the whole country was filled with pleading cries people screaming everywhere; smoke rising up from the hills; Tutsis being killed in unspeakable ways; when they sharpened the machetes, repaired the axes, clubs, swords, hoes; infants yelling, as they were dumped into pit latrines; thrown in lakes and rivers, wombs of pregnant women were cut open so they could remove the "snakes»; children were hit against walls, one would pay money so as to be shot by a bullet; when they took turns at raping the virgins, the old women; men were humiliated; dead bodies all over the hills; the scavengers fattened up. They died a humiliating death with no one to speak for them and yet the country was filled with watching people.

THE ROLE OF THE YOUTH IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY AND IN FIGHTING THE GENOCIDE IDEOLOGY :

Youth this is the time to make a flashback and see the pit from which our country is emerging, it was destructed enough, all things are at a stand still. What can we as the youth do? What does "never again" really mean? How can we fight the genocide ideology? How can we reconcile? For us to have peace, development, knowledge and technology. How can we achieve all this?

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We the youth are the future of Rwanda, the nation expects a lot from us. As the government of national unity has done all in its power to reconcile Rwandans, we should also support it in any way we can so that we may all travel the same rope again. How?

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In reconciling, we should first of all remember what took place (what happened to us) through discussions and reminding each other. We should especially fight whoever wants to suppress the memory of the genocide. I appeal to any youth who participated in the killings to have courage and confess their role, give names of those they were together, show where they buried the victims that they may be given a burial with respect, advise others so that they may also repent and also know that one who killed then confesses and admits his role, gets a reduced sentence, give testimony and others will follow your example.

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I do not doubt that, with the aid of the government, if these people are taken to solidarity camps (Ingando) this genocide ideology could be wiped out of their minds. But then, all of us who were victims of this tragedy need to know that those who wronged against us are part of us and need to reconcile if they ask us for forgiveness, not forgetting that God also forgives all kinds of sins.

But after all that, they say the good things are yet to come, we the youth having forgiven our fellow youth, we must always remember, discuss it, be it at home, in our villages, when sharing water, when playing football, when invited to wedding parties, by sharing our joys and grief's, with no hypocrisy among ourselves, everyone feeling free with the other and then we put our efforts together to build our country in peace and development. Once we achieve these, there will be no more genocide ideology.

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We the youth still have a big task ahead of us. We have war orphans, some of whom have nowhere to live, we should contribute towards the construction of houses for them; others feel desperate and rejected, we should approach them and make them feel like they are loved by someone; others are household leaders yet lack the means, we should at least set up a common fund for them so that they may live to see another day.

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We have a lot of widows, numerous handicapped, street children; we could convince our families to at least adopt one of these children so that he / she can be educated since like others he / she is the future of Rwanda.

Another, piece of advice to the youth is to take part in the local "Gacaca"; court jurisdictions. This is one of the best and quickest ways of finding out the truth about what happened in our country during the genocide and also for the accused to be tried on time.

You may ask yourself that how can, we the youth play a role in the "gacaca" courts. First of all "as a way of unity and reconciliation, we must attend the "gacaca" courts and give our own accounts of the events of that period. I especially appeal to the youth who are learnt to approach your fellow youth and others who are uneducated and still hesitant to testify, convince them that telling the truth is the most sensible way and reduce on their fears of testifying let us fight against those who move around threatening with death those who wish to testify, let us give our opinions without hindrance as a supplement to the survivors who know less. Since we are in a democracy one can say what one wishes as long as it does not go against any laws.

NEVER AGAIN; youth is there a solution? We the youth are the future of Rwanda and we possess extra-ordinary strength and potential. Let us acquire knowledge to think and plan ahead. Youth, here is the best advice, let us unroll in schools because education is the only way out of our problems. We the youth must have the knowledge to think twice and to choose between right and wrong, our country sees a future in us. The solutions to the problems must come from we the youth, no foreigner will come to solve our problems. We ourselves should decide what we shall be in the future.

We should have skills acquired from school. If we study well, it's for our own benefit. Right from primary to secondary school as well as in higher institutions of learning and universities, we should be taught about the genocide, how it was prepared and its ugliness so that even a child who will be born after 100 years will know about it. More memorials of the genocide victims should be built across the country. We should be taught according to a national model to know, talk about and fight against genocide. After such teachings, we shall grow up with pure minds devoid of ethnic hatred, whatever we had been taught by the likes of BUCYANA, KAYIBANDA, HABYARIMANA, M.R.N.D all forgotten then peace will reign in Rwanda.

- We also appeal to the refugees to return home, the rebels "**Interahamwe** in Congo" to lay down their arms and if they refuse then we shall remove them by force since we are capable.

- We should also discourage smugglers and corruption at all levels by arresting and punishing all those involved.

- We, the youth should always participate in elections and should vote people who are hardworking, trustworthy, capable and not ruled by emotions.

- We the youth should further emphasize the unity and reconciliation by joining co-operative societies; we should work hard so as to eradicate poverty, we are still young and strong. We must put together our ideas and start income generating projects such as :

- * modern animal husbandry (cattle, goats, pigs,...).
- * modern agriculture using fertilizers, better methods of farming,...
- * business and trading in various markets.

The youth should devise proper businesses since the investors are ready to give out money and in this we shall also bring our families out of poverty.

- We the youth should endeavour to make known what happened through different sports and entertainment activities for example organizing football matches in memory of the football players who were victims of the genocide, through plays, songs public debates poems, showing the role of the youth in the genocide and the fact that it will never happen again.

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- We the youth, me and you, are all being pursued by the deadly virus, HIV/ AIDS. We are all aware of the dangers of this virus and there can be no development if we do not fight against this virus. Many Rwandans have already been infected, especially the youth.

AIDS should be conquered since it causes poverty, makes people orphans, widows, ...

The best advice is to abstain from sex and if not possible then use a condom.

- We the youth should know that the situation changed, we should go into marriage at the proper time after having an HIV test with our future partners. We should produce the number of children we can take care of in the best way giving them proper education, medical treatment, balanced diet, cultural education and other responsibilities towards our children. This child will also be able to contribute to his family's and country's development as well for himself.

- The youth especially the young women should strive for gender equality after showing that they are capable of doing better and do away with the oppression by men. This is the time for you to express your opinions which are needed for the development of the country and you should know that you are no different from the males; study hard for your emancipation.

- All the youth together as one have to fight against an evil habit that is not fit for our Rwandan society and that is the rape and defilement of young children. We have the capacity of searching for those criminals and finding out what pushes them to do such evil acts; and here you will find that these are drug addicts, people who take crude liquors ("Kanyanga"); ignorant people who were convinced that by doing so they are curing themselves of AIDS or they are increasing on their life span; poverty or even mental illnesses are also some of the causes.

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We should join hands to fight such evil acts by reporting all criminals, and those who want to protect them, to the national police. I would like to conclude by giving advice to my fellow youth because if you do not love your fellow youth then you will never love anything / anybody else.

Youth, each one of us decides his/her own destiny. If you think you are not capable of doing something useful in your life then you will leave this world without anything. But if you think you "want to be a responsible man /woman then you will because you did not think any less of yourself. Strive for development and be characterized by courage and pride of who you are; love your occupation and most of all be patriotic and faithful to your nation, sacrificing yourself for it in whatever way. Be effortless, look another day has come; acknowledge God's existence; do not dream of being lazy at all; fight all evil and let peace reign forever.

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Youth, if you do all this then you will have success in everything you do.

Thank you all.

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"YOUTH ASPIRING TO HEROISM"

The Rwandan genocide, this carnage and cannibalism that was more than barbaric, that was organised for a long time by its planners and took the lives of more than one million people in less than three months, should arouse the memory of each and everyone.

It also requires the attentive reasoning of whoever it may be, to its near and distant motives as well as the measures to take so as to prevent its happening again.

As everyone is aware of the fact that this macabre event was made possible due to the participation of a non-negligible portion of the youth, it is necessary then, that its

role be examined especially concerning its moral perspective and counternature, its involvement in the genocide.

Equal attention should be accorded to the determination of the same youth in fighting genocide and its ideology as well as its role in the durable reconstruction of the country.

Wherever a genocide occurred in the world, there was always a group of people who, filled with discrimination, believed and were convinced that they had the right to exterminate another group of people.

Although this seemed to be the case with the Jewish genocide by the Germans under Hitler, the Armenian genocide by the Turks, the Rwandan genocide which falls in the same category also shows some other aspects which make it unique from the others: the direct involvement of Rwandans in the slaughter of their brothers and the speed at which the genocide was carried out.

We are a united people who are not easily defeated or reduced to slavery by another people however strong they may be. Rwandans being conscious of the importance of their unity lived for a long time being powerful socially, politically and militarily. During the succeeding dynasties in Rwanda, the so-called clans and ethnic groups lived together in irreproachable harmony until the arrival of the whites.

The King was above any ethnic belonging and was always preoccupied with enlarging his Kingdom. It is thus that this land called GASABO, which was only a few square kilometres at the beginning, on the arrival of the European colonisers, now covered twice its original area.

This expansion was not the result of a simple accident. It was the fruit of a faultless organisation and the long cultivated patriotism in every person.

In fact, every man from his early years was enlisted in the troops of the local chief. He received regular education in line with traditional dances, shooting games, the love for his country, politeness to everybody, etc.

As he grew up, he was initiated in the handling of arms on the shooting field. Hence, the country was rewarded with youth who were filled with bravery and patriotism and due to this; Rwanda was victorious in many wars due to the unity of its people who showed a perfect cohesion.

As for the Europeans, on their arrival, it would have been difficult for them if they had not utilised the policy of "Divide and rule", "Divide to rule". The procedure was to first deprive Rwanda of a large part of its territory, almost a half. The people who had hitherto enjoyed the advantage of having the same customs and the same language were forever divided by the famous borders of 1910. The colonialists after winning this first war against the people of Rwanda did not stop here. They opted for the complete disorganisation of all existing institutions and the restriction of the powers allotted to each local customary authority, military or civil. With the departure of the Germans in 1918, the Belgians went to greater heights to sow discord among the people with a stable of strongly contestable theories. As an example, they preached the fatal theory of ethnicity with an idea that those they called the Tutsis were the only ones capable of governing.

Note that the Indatwa school complex was founded in 1959 to groom only the sons of chiefs with the knowledge that would be necessary for them to succeed their fathers. In order to make their theory more consistent, they taught the myth of the Rwandan

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people and classed the Batwa as the first occupants of Rwanda, the Hutu second and the Tutsi as the last. Not only the Rwandan peoples as a whole, but the youth in particular, were going to be victims of a superiority complex on one hand and an inferiority complex on the other hand.

Although this theory had its ill-fated effects on the population such as suspicions and lack of trust, its initiators came up against the resistance of King YUHI IV MUSINGA who did not want to see the unity of the people, a legacy of his predecessors, smashed into fragments. Determined to fight whoever got in the way of their being the only master of the situation and the decision makers in the destiny of Rwanda, the colonialists had to oust this foolhardy King and replace him with his son. The deposed King was first exiled to Cyangugu then later to Congo Kinshasa.

As a consequence, the youth were no more in the service of the King and the population but were at the mercy of the colonialists. The army was from then on under the orders of the resident governor and his acolytes. All these trifles were not for nothing. That is why, in the fifty's after seeing that King RUDAHIGWA whom they considered their protégé, showed himself to be more and more not in agreement with their opinions since he did not take well good and worthy reforms such as the abolition of feudalism and the suppression of forced labour; they created a political opposition that conformed to their wishes, to ensure the transition of Rwanda from a monarchy to a republic.

They then did their best to diabolise the leading class so as to stir up ethnic hatred and dissension. The youth from then on knew the height of bitterness during this sensitive situation when the country got into a state of anarchy following the assassination in 1959 of King MUTARA III RUDAHIGWA in Bujumbura.

At that time, every young person who declared himself /herself not to be in relation with the Tutsis, was called to take part in the barbaric acts of burning houses and perpetrating the massacres of Tutsis by the politicians of then and their colonialist promoters, to hunt and banish forever the reign of Tutsis. That had as a consequence, the mass exodus of Rwandan refugees towards its bordering countries.

The installation of the republic contributed nothing to the restoration of the moral values, which would put in place adequate education for the youth. Contrarily, the republic supported ethnic segregation, which had just accumulated its victims, by adding regional segregation and marginalisation of those who did not have the same socio-political ideology like that of the core members of the first republic.

In addition to this was the deportation of Tutsis to unhealthy regions of Rwanda like Bugesera, which was infested with Tsetse flies. It is difficult to discern if those in power at that time had any positive vision. They did not care for the global training of the youth; they declared themselves as possessing the right of expelling anyone they found undesirable from Rwanda. All this disorder coupled with the political misdeeds served as a pretext for those who carried out the coup d'état of 1973, at the helm of which was HABYARIMANA JUVENAL.

The beginning of his regime was characterised by concretisation of the segregation disguised under the label of ethnic and regional balance. This was a system that consisted of determining a quota of those who would pass from the primary to the secondary schools, of those who would be employed by the government and other agencies basing on ethnicity, and with total exclusion of Tutsis from the national army. The youth suffered the most because education remained the privilege of some and one's intellectual capacity was worthless in gaining access to the opportunity of a better life by getting an education and a good job.

In addition to holding back the development of the youth, the ethnic and regional balance limited those who had to join secondary school to a small number and reduced to unemployment, banditism, poverty and all sorts of immoral behaviour, the Rwanda youth as a whole whose future seemed uncertain.

While discord, poverty and discrimination reigned in the country, there was born from its borders, a vigorous and firm will to liberate it, in those who had been repulsed by the successive events.

It is in this context that broke out the war of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (R.P.F), which coincided with the birth of political parties. The holders of power, held in a cross-fire between the R.P.F. and the political opposition within the country, resolved to train the youth to defend a cause that was not theirs. A large number was hastily enlisted into the government army. The remaining ones, subjected to poverty and desolation of all kinds could not resist the attraction of the political parties, which wanted to exploit these youth by enlisting them, for all political parties without exception, as militias.

From this period, the youth were as if they had been washed up by a wave in an ocean without shores. Each youth, by means of a certain amount of money, or, less still, by other simple promises, thought they could do away with poverty or unemployment by searching for whatever political party that would guarantee them the necessary minimum without worrying about the means of acquiring it : looting people's property, wrecking the residences and houses of others, armed robbery, murder,

Debauchery was given place of honour by the youth who were under the service of different malintentioned politicians. It is mostly by capturing the goods of others and the shield of impunity that these politicians managed to incite the youth into the involvement in the unspeakable acts of genocide that were observed in Bugesera and other regions where genocide took place between October 1990 and April 1994. Front the 7th of April 1994, under the pretext of the crash of the plane that was carrying the then president HABYARIMANA, the insurmountable level of human folly was overstepped.

A lot of the young people, due to the incitation by the local governors and other influential people, took part in the human carnage, pillage and destruction and rape that had never been seen in human history, all this similar to what Voltaire had predicted in his book CANDID, "----during this heroic butcher, old men saw their wives dieing with their throats slit (----) there, girls and women with their wombs split open after having assuaged the natural needs of some heros ; took their last breaths", to say but the least. No one could understand how, the youth who, before the coming of the whites could not dare to commit adultery ; who held the rape of women as a taboo while girls and boys used to walk bare-chested; could manage to slaughter their victims after having raped them.

The genocide continued in the same way across the country until the army of the R.P.F., a faction armed for the liberation of the country, conquered the country by the defeating the planners and the perpetrators of the genocide.

With the liberation of the nation which coincided with the take-over of the capital, Kigali, the nightmare of Rwandans was over.

Since then, was lit a flaming torch of reconciliation and national unity, of true and dignified independence, of peace and human rights and of an acknowledged combat against any divisionist spirit which had led to the genocide.

Once rid of this yoke of dictatorship and genocide, the youth managed great achievements at giant steps.

In the wink of an eye, with the aid of the government of national unity, the youth climbed the scales up to decision making levels like the parliament. Some mechanisms were established for the positive training of both sexes. The participation of the youth in assuring peace and democracy was exemplary in the elaboration of the constitution, its referendum and during the elections from the grassroots up to the parliamentary and presidential elections, which were held in total harmony.

A particular emphasis was placed on the participation in the "GACACA" court jurisdictions. A large number of the youth are jurists and integrated in these courts, a cornerstone of the proper working of these courts, especially since the laws governing these courts allow anyone who is above 18 years the possibility of joining them.

The youth consider GACACA to be an efficient way of eradicating the culture of impunity and forever banish genocide.

The young people of Rwanda affirm and are convinced that in order to energetically combat the genociders, the means of arms is very necessary, so as to put them in a headlong flight, as the is the truth to put to light their ignoble acts an everlasting memory.

It is in this context that the Rwanda youth take and will take the way forward for the maintenance of the existing genocide memorial sites and the establishment of new ones.

For them, it is necessary to forgive but one should never forget. This is indicated by the pilgrimages of thought and meditation to the memorial sites and the establishment of associations with an aim of carrying on the memory of the genocide.

The progress that the youth have made during these past ten years gives them an unwavering confidence of victory over the genocide ideology mostly due to the engagement of the conscience and the observation of the harmful consequences of the genocide. The role of the constitution, which stipulates in its article 48 that "every citizen is unbound to the duty of obedience when the order received from a superior authority constitutes a serious undermining of the rights of the person", is salutary.

The engagement of the conscience serves as a springboard to attain an objective analysis of the history of Rwanda and leads to this conviction that the precolonial history of Rwanda is rich with examples which are valuable to the unity of Rwanda, patriotism and peaceful cohabitation of all the inhabitants of Rwanda. Nothing hinders

us from reaching these goals, considering the achievements made within this period after the genocide.

Rwandans are evidence of a united people which is at the height of the international community and surprises the international community which can not manage to subjugate them -as is the wish of some countries- Although colonisation destabilized national unity, which facilitated the genocide, one of the lessons the Rwandans got from it is that fratricidal conflicts and wars can never benefit any Rwandan. Everyone is a loser. The future will be based on this indelible finding because no one would be content of losing.

This same objective analysis of history makes one realise that the history of the colonial period contains many unfortunate mistakes and less plausible hypotheses. The theory of the origins of the population of the country, the inequality of the ethnic groups and the practices which had no aim other than to enslave forever Rwanda by its divisionist doctrines, are some of the proof.

It is praiseworthy to note that ethnic belonging does not appear anymore in one's identification and that one's socio-political promotion requires personal merits inherent in one's own capacity.

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The youth are of the opinion that the obscure moments of our history continue to be the object of a constructive research which attempts to give a true account of each historic event, so as to condemn with the strongest voices, the subversive acts that tainted our national history. I appeal to each and everyone to consider as his / her own the commitments of the youth, who are buckled down with the reconstruction of their country, the love of their motherland ; to play an active role in national unity and reconstruction ; to be convinced in their hearts that having Rwandan nationality is above all other identifications that we make or create ourselves ; to fight against poverty and the genocide ideology, knowing that this is a stain that is not only on the survivors but also on the whole Rwandan community firstly and the international community as a whole.

NIYONSENGA Aimable
B.P. 430 GISENYI

The Rwandan genocide is one of three genocides that took place in the world and it was exceptional in that very many people were killed within a short time.

It is high time the youth of Rwanda contributed by playing a role in the government of national unity and by explaining their welfare before and after the genocide even during the genocide. It is now ten years since the genocide took place in Rwanda ;

Our main role as the youth is to base on the history of Rwanda and search for what can be done so that the genocide never happens again.

In general, we the youth of Rwanda should know the role, the contribution, the welfare, the obligations and the ideas expected of us as Rwandans with an aim of loving and constructing our country in unity, reconciliation and complete tolerance.

The youth should be given teachings about the history that was poorly taught, the role they played in this history and its contribution to the development of Rwanda.

During the colonial era, the colonialists introduced ethnic groups and caused hatred, bad governance, which affected the youth especially, until the reign of the second republic which emphasized the ethnic divisionism which culminated into the genocide.

All these factors should serve as lessons for us the youth so that we may change our ideologies, our thoughts, our behaviours and our actions daily lives.

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This obligation of searching for what to do so that the genocide never happens again in Rwanda will help us as the youth to properly understand the value of a person and a human being who has the undeniable right to live.

1. The role and the welfare of the youth in the period before the genocide:

So as to understand properly the role and welfare of the youth in the period before the genocide, we may divide it into three periods:

- the period before colonialism (1200-1900)
- the period during colonialism (1900 – 1962)
- The period during the reign of the republics (1962 – 1994)

Due to the fact that there were different leader who governed the youth depending on their interests, the role and welfare are also different.

In the pre-colonial period, the role of the youth was to help their parents and to go to war in case the country was attacked, herd cattle, cultivating, they would help each other in all this work and obey their parents. The youth were always occupied and were not allowed or given the time to get together for entertainment or other leisure activities, the parents would think for them and the youth felt they could not think for themselves; they lived in poverty and extreme illiteracy since they all depended on their parents. In general the youth were not contributing in any way to the development of their country.

During the colonial era, the role of the youth did not change, they continued helping their parents with work as usual to which was added the construction of roads, schools, hospitals and working for the white men for their interests. Concerning the welfare of the youth, they were made unequal with regards to their education, some were made more special than others who they claimed were born to rule. The youth were indoctrinated with diversionist ideologies and they lived in hypocrisy and suspiciousness.

During the reign of the republics, Rwanda was led into the tragedy that happened, the youth were indoctrinated with the genocide ideology. The role of the youth was to be used by the then leaders in Killing and other conflicts that took place from 1959 in the genocide.

As regards to their welfare, some of the youth were continually oppressed in schools, where some of them were taught diversionist ideologies based on ethnicity and history that had been distorted. This was all due to bad leaders who had their own interests. Some of the youth started fleeing to neighbouring countries, being pursued

by fellow youth, where they became refugees and orphans since most of them had lost their parents to the Killings.

2. The role and the welfare of the youth during the genocide.

It is important that the youth know their true role and welfare during the genocide because a country that does not know its history is on the path of becoming forgotten. It was during the reign of the second republic when the youth who had been indoctrinated with the genocide ideology put it into action. Many of the youth participated in these killings during the genocide after they had been given military training to kill those they grew up with and played with, the youth looted, destroyed the property of those killed, they killed old women and infants, pregnant women, they burnt houses, raped and committed many other atrocities against fellow human beings.

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The youth led a very bad life due to the divisionist ideologies, illiteracy and not differentiating what was good or bad for them. This was all a result of the bad governance at that time. Some of the youth helped those who were being persecuted by showing them the way to escape, giving them drinking water and food and also hiding some of them and other good deeds. Other youths who were being hunted tried to fight back and protect their parents but all was in vain since those who were hunting them had superior weapons they had been given by the government.

As regards to their welfare, the youth were being killed like ants being hacked to death, Killed by stones, slaughtered like animals in an abattoir, raped, boys were forced to rape their sisters and other evil deeds. Those who fled were killed by hunger if they did not meet killers who would sometimes take them into their homes to be treated as whores in exchange for good, some of these girls got infected with AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases.

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One could say that the youth were not living during the course of the genocide.

3. The role and the ideas of the youth in the development of Rwanda and in fighting the genocidal ideology.

When we talk of building the country it means building the relations between the citizens: especially we the youth. This is the reason why everyone especially we the youth should have the spirit of brotherhood, respect and help each other since one wall can not hold a house. For this to be achieved, the youth who committed crimes should confess their crimes and ask for forgiveness and tell the truth about what happened and those who committed crimes so that they may be punished. This will be part of our contribution towards the development of Rwanda.

The youth of Rwanda were manipulated and made to kill, they were oppressed in schools and many other atrocities. The youth who survived have a big role to play in the development of the country. For the youth to achieve this they need to be helped to treat their trauma, put back into schools and given the energy to develop the country.

We the youth of Rwanda are determined to fight and condemn anyone who wishes to suppress the memory of the genocide and speed the genocide ideology. We can achieve this if we strive for the spirit of truth, courage, tolerance, intelligence, unity and patriotism. We should always follow this advice and put it into practice in whatever we do so as to develop Rwanda.

We should join hands and avoid anything that would take Rwanda backwards in development or spoil the image of Rwanda, not pillage our country and condemn all those who pillage it and continue fighting against illiteracy and poverty among the youth. The youth should do everything in its power to avoid repeating the same mistakes and other bad things committed by the past regimes, explain the true history of Rwanda. We must demonstrate and convince people that different ideologies can be brought together and complemented to build Rwanda. We must strive for security and sovereignty of the country and in particular avoid anything that would lead to internal displacement of people within the country or refugees outside the country or anything that would destabilize the security of the country and its people.

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After seeing the role and the welfare of the youth in the past as well as our role and ideas in the development of our country and in fighting the genocide ideology, we found that the youth were given the wrong teachings of ethnic based divisionism, murder, hatred and other atrocities. Other youth were oppressed in schools, they became refugees were killed, all this being the result of the bad leaders at that time.

What is evident is that knowing how the youth lived before, during and after the genocide is important so that the youth from all walks of life know the role and strategies they should use so that the genocide never happens again.

There is no country that develops if it does not respect human rights and does not follow its constitution and treat all citizens equally. It must learn from its history and to map the way for its picture and give special attention to the youth and lay strategies and plans for its development.

Let us then, the youth, all rise up as one and fight against anything or anyone that might cause the genocide to happen again, by refusing to listen to those who preach divisionism so that we may develop our motherland and give pride to it across the world for our Rwanda to shine, all attributable to the sons and daughters of Rwanda who are we the youth.

**SEHEMA EMMANUEL
BISESERO – KIBUYE**

I. THE HISTORY OF THE YOUTH BEFORE THE GENOCIDE :

1. THE HISTORY OF THE YOUTH BEFORE THE MONARCHY ERA :

Along time ago in Rwanda, the youth were well off, they shared with each other and entertained each other through sports and other kinds of leisure. This was all done in a spirit devoid of any jealousy or hypocrisy or even any ethnic issues. The youth had an obligation of obeying their parents and helping them with all the work at home with the girls doing the less strenuous work like sweeping, cooking. The girls would then be married off at the right age and the boys were given the heavier work like going to collect firewood or looking after the cattle.

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2.THE HISTORY OF THE YOUTH DURING THE MONARCHY ERA:

Not long around 1000 AD, Rwanda got its first King, KIHANGA I NGOMIJANA created Rwanda. The youth conserved their integrity based on a culture of tolerance. The King, GIHANGA, lived in GASABO and expanded his territory and the rights of the youth were conserved in all ways.

3.THE HISTORY OF THE YOUTH DURING THE COLONIAL ERA:

When the white men arrived in Rwanda, they started teaching the youth dividing them into Hutus, Tutsis and Twas and teaching them that they had different origins. Saying the Tutsis were not true Rwandans but instead were natives of Asia who came following the river Nile then settled in Ethiopia where they started rearing cattle. They then moved on in search of pasture for their cattle which they finally found in Rwanda and an they settled here. The colonialists taught the youth that the Tutsi are people who are characterized by great intelligence, long noses, tall and are cattle keepers while the Hutu are identified by their short large noses, are cultivators and those who do not own fields are serfs or subjects of someone else, some rear cattle and they are the original Rwandans. The Batwa were said to have arrived in Rwanda as hunters. The colonialists taught that the Batwa were also potters and did not own cattle since they love meat. The colonialists introduced this theory of ethnic groups in Rwanda indoctrinating it into the youth, the parents not knowing since they had gone to study religion.

The colonialists indoctrinated this theory of divisions among Rwandans starting with the leaders whom they had installed themselves. They deposed the then King MUSINGA and replaced him with his son MUTARA III RUDAHIGWA whom they ordered to rule as they wished. This he accepted but he had a secret within him because after some time he condemned their policies and he called for a meeting in 1957 based on a document he called the "Mise au point". When the Belgians heard of it, they decided to replace the Tutsis in power with some Hutus who had fought with them in the first world war and in this way they encouraged ethnic based divisionism. The Hutus who were placed in power emphasized the issue of ethnicity,

teaching the youth that the Tutsis were evil people and enemies of Rwanda thus playing a direct role as Rwandans in teaching segregation to the youth.

The white men later went back to their homeland leaving behind divisionism, cultural degeneration, no more taboos and leaving the youth in a state of slavery where they were forced to do strenuous work without pay, and other humiliations. At that time, RUDAHIGWA, who wanted independence for Rwanda, died after he had been deposed. After his death, those who wished to set up political parties did so, so that they could release the poison of divisionism they had swallowed. Many political parties were set up such as RADER, APROSOMA, M.D.R. PARMEHUTU... with an aim of finally massacring those they had oppressed for so long.

These political parties preached divisionism across the country, pitting Rwandans against each other by teaching that the Tutsis were snakes and evil and should be massacred. They taught this to the youth over a long time until in 1959 when the youth were told to put into practice what they had been taught. Tutsis were killed, their houses destroyed, all through the strength of the youth which ravages a lot when misused but if used well, can build a lot. The youth killed their fellow youth and those who survived death fled into exile.

The white man was overseeing all this and saw the fulfillment of his plans. The United Nations came to the rescue and asked the Rwandans to decide between the monarchy and the republic and they chose the republic. The youth were then given back some hope of sharing mutually as in the past days. The leader at this time before the republic was properly installed was MBONYUMUTWA Dominic. The colonialists then left Rwanda in 1962 after this referendum.

4. THE HISTORY OF THE YOUTH DURING THE REIGN OF THE FIRST REPUBLIC

In 1962, KAYIBANDA Gregory was elected to be the President of Rwanda. The youth who had fled the country due to the conflicts were not permitted to return and some of those who had hoped to see peace in the country after independence were killed because they belonged to a certain ethnic group they did not choose. Many other youth were indoctrinated with divisionist theories based on ethnicity and oppression of their fellow youth. One of the political parties at that time, M.D.R PARMEHUTU was empowered then more Tutsis were killed as if they had a great sin they had committed.

In 1963, the Tutsis were again hunted, killed and others fled into exile; the youth were deprived of their rights by their fellow youth who had been trained to kill. This was happening in most parts of Rwanda especially in the Province of GIKONGORO and those who did not die or go into exile stayed in Rwanda living a destitute life.

5. THE HISTORY OF THE YOUTH DURING THE SECOND REPUBLIC.

In 1973, the first republic was replaced by the second, which was led by HABYARIMANA Juvenal who had won the presidential elections. His reign was marked by greater hatred and divisionism and continuous oppression of the Tutsis at all levels of security, politics, government, in schools and in the judiciary.

These youth of Rwanda were persecuted because of their ethnicity. HABYARIMANA increased divisionism based on ethnicity, region and the leaders of government were all natives of the same region. He imprisoned many who had different opinions from his and many youth could not express their point of views. He then started planning the genocide by teaching the youth and telling them they knew who they were supposed to fight. In 1975, he set up the MRND political party and other small parties to give the impression that there was an opposition. The youth were taken up in this band wagon without thinking of where it was heading, divisionism was spread, the youth were taught some war songs and we danced, not knowing the significance of it all. The cars were decorated with flags and filled with singing youth, machetes were bought, spears forged, clubs were sculpted, all to kill the Tutsis in their motherland. In BUGESERA, KIBIRIRA, BIGOGWE, Tutsi youths were killed by their fellow youth who had been veiled and destroyed Rwanda ferociously beginning on the 6/4/1994, the day HABYARIMANA died.

II. THE HISTORY OF THE PLIGHT OF THE YOUTH DURING THE GENOCIDE.

After the death of HABYARIMANA, those who were his cronies decided not to abandon their plans and so they distributed machetes, spears, clubs, guns to the youth who killed many Rwandans who were Tutsis and the genocide was underway. The youth would be found hiding in bushes and banana plantations, in sorghum fields, they spent rainy and cold nights in the hills where they were hiding, dead bodies all over the place; they were killed by hunger, they spent nights among the corpses of their relatives and most of them lost all their relatives and other such tragedies.

The other part of youth engaged in looting activities, they killed those they had been going to school with, sharing with, playing with and many others. They raped and killed women who were old enough to be their mothers, razed down houses, stole and slaughtered their neighbors cows and many other unspeakable acts. Those who were in power were pleased that their plans had been fulfilled. They had eliminated any opposition that would have been there during the elections that were scheduled to take place as stipulated by the ARUSHA Accord signed on 4/8/1993.

III THE HISTORY OF THE PLIGHT OF THE YOUTH AFTER THE GENOCIDE

1. THE TAKE OVER OF THE COUNTRY BY THE R.P.F

The perpetrators who were led by SINDIKUBWABO Théodore heard that the brave young men of R.P.F. had taken over a large part of the country and were advancing on Kigali, when they decided to flee to neighboring countries. They took with them a part of the Rwandan youth into the forests where they continued to teach them how to hate this new Rwanda supplying them with guns and bullets to destabilize it.

The other part of the youth were still in hiding for those who had survived. When they heard that the R.P.F. had taken over the country, they were filled with relief. The soldiers of R.P.F. took most of them to nearby hospitals and buried the dead, they gave hope of life to many who had given up.

Those who were being trained in the forests in Congo were sent to attack Rwanda; they wreaked havoc in GISENYI but they were later repulsed.

2.THE HISTORY OF THE YOUTH UNDER THE REIGN OF THE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY.

On the 19th /7/1994 a government of national unity was sworn in led by Pasteur BIZIMUNGU who ruled until 2000, Paul KAGAME replaced him. The youth were given liberty and the rights such as being equal before the courts of law, in schools, those who did not join school were taught to create their own income generating projects, then a fund was set up to cater for the education of those who had lost their families.

The government of national unity encouraged those youth who were still rebels in the forests of Congo to return home to their motherland.

There is total security for everyone and the youth who returned home as former rebels were taken to solidarity camps for rehabilitation.

WHAT WE THE YOUTH CAN DO TO PREVENT ANOTHER GENOCIDE

One of the strategies of preventing genocide is for us the youth to speak out the truth as we know it and work hand in hand with the local jurisdiction courts so as to build unity and reconciliation for a better Rwanda. We must fight against and condemn anyone who wishes to spread the genocide ideology, try to unite the perpetrators with victims and teach the spirit of forgiveness, we must create jobs for ourselves and appreciate what we have.

Let us condemn all those foreigners who wish to manipulate us, we must use our strength in developing Rwanda and make it an example in the eyes of other nations; we must teach the elder women and men in our villages to fight against whoever wishes to introduce theories which are not complementary to the era our country is in today.

I would like to request the Rwandan youth to join me in great appreciation to President Paul KAGAME who managed to make the Rwandans share again and who introduced good governance that is accommodating to every one. He fights against the genocide that happened in Rwanda; as he says in English, and so we say together with him, "NEVER AGAIN".

POEMS

Poem : THE YOUTH RESPONSIBLE FOR A BETTER FUTURE

By : Jean Paul CYIMANA CYITARE
Grand Séminaire de
Nyakabanda
B.P. 85 BUTARE

God of our fathers
God that I adore
Hear me I cry out
May you inspire me

With a beautiful voice of wisdom
Filled with tenderness
So I may address you
In all my youth

Some youth
With villain behaviours
They are guilty
Of ignoble acts

Participating in the genocide
The extreme homicide
They profoundly murdered
Our beautiful mother land

A retrospective view
Avails itself as imperative
To real the motives
The relative stakes

For some the past
Is well and good
But a people who forget their past

Run the risk of ruining its people

For years and years
The youth were dominated
By a feeling of unity
This is the veritable truth

They were like brothers
Descendants of the same father
With the same glory at heart
Protecting their land together

The arrival of the foreigners
Shattered and destroyed all
Mixed and changed all
Put everything in danger

Our values overturned
Our culture shattered
Our history falsified
Our being sacrificed

They did not look down on
In their dirty work
To divide and rule
And they succeeded

With their ethnicity
In addition to their extremism
Hatred took root
In less pure souls

The two republics
Without care for civility
Divided their citizens
By the same means

Apart from all convergence
Before all the divergences
Those were their preferences
Their priority wish.

From the year fifty-nine
Nothing new
The situation deteriorated
Hatred accumulated

What division !
 What vision !
 In the schools
 In the same formula !

To those in primary schools
 As well as in universities
 They gave this teaching
 Of arguments without foundation

That the "Tutsi" is cunning
 Is crafty, a villain
 Wicked persecutor
 Shrewd seducer

Waiting for the ripe moment
 To unleash the malice
 Reduce to slavery
 Their brothers on the journey.

Thus diabolised
 Also symbolised
 By a venomous serpent
 A dangerous cockroach

An enemy to be exterminated
 An undesirable to be eliminated
 Waiting only for the hour
 Of the great misfortune

The war in October
 The plane covered in opprobrium
 Burnt in the shadow
 Fallen into disorder

ETC....

Served as a pretext
 To finalise the text
 After seeing the context
 Of all their tests

Thus happened the genocide
 This ignoble homicide
 This ignoble planned act
 Very rapidly put into action.

The youth trained
 To exterminate
 Inflicted the atrocities

In full impunity

A wise old man
Under the weight of age
Unclothed by a kid
Tortured by this assassin!

A small baby
The blood of her mother soaked
Instead of consoling her
They set out to mutilate her

All the force put at work
To chase the people
The dogs sent in the bushes
The youth with batons

The nailed clubs
The piercing spears
What wickedness
What atrocities!

Thanks to the young patriots
Who stopped this tragedy
Hats off to them,
A gift, A herd of cattle.

Orphans with a bitter life
Without a father or mother
Oh! A blow to his heart
No more brothers no more sisters.

In the wink of an eye
The whole county in bereavement
Nothing of its kind ever seen
Under our sun!

Mothers raped
Property burglarised
Bodies collapsed on the ground
The dead dragged on the ground

A blow of the machete
Another with the sword
A bayonette
Then thrown into the latrines!

All sorts of cartridges,
Small hatchets
Cutting stones
Sharp-edged swords

Thanks to the Lord
To the young men of heart
For having helped them escape
Many a survivor

But the consequences
Without many coincidences
The widows, without children
Destitute, suffering.

Young Rwandans
 We are obliged
 To take up this motto
 "Out of the crisis"

An obligation to donate
 To the orphan, the bread he wants
 To the widow, a dwelling place
 To all, consolation.

Justice for the persecuted
 To the innocent, freedom
 Reconstruct peace
 Uproot discord

Youth, let us unite
 Let us not wear masks
 For our mother land
 That was deeply hurt

Youth, all together
 As we come together
 Against divisionism
 All kinds of extremism.

The population divided
 The unity bruised
 The wounds bleeding
 The situation alarming

Speak out our opinions
 Of accomplishing our role
 In the reconstruction
 The true reconciliation.

The truth on our lips
 All truth is obedience
 To bring back unity
 Renew the solidarity

Keep the memory
 Of all our trials
 Of all the victims
 Of all these crimes

Hand in hand
 Let us think of the future
 Against the temptation
 Of any extermination.

Let us rise up our plan
 Towards a new Rwanda
 Which has decided
 "NEVER AGAIN THE GENOCIDE".

POEM : TOGETHER, LET US BUILD RWANDA

**By : UWIRINGIYIMANA Donatien
I.J.W./KIBOGORA**

I demand the explanation
I demand the history
I demand why, so as to lay strategies,
I demand the cause, so as to plan the future.

I renew the fraternity of Rwandans

And reminisce about the past days
 And talk of the evil white man
 Who came covered in a sheep's skin
 Who came into our homeland without fear.

He came with religion
 So as to trap us
 He used what was Rwanda as a ladder
 He climbed and declared himself chief
 He took what was Rwanda's and left us in misery.

He lived in peace back in his homeland
 He introduced schools and they appreciated
 Those who went there became intelligent
 They learnt a lot and became vigilant
 They then started asking how he had arrived.

He intimidated them
 He introduced the ideology of ethnicity
 Though he had peace in his homeland
 He knew colonising Rwanda would not be an easy task
 Except by dividing its people.

He envied our culture
 I remember my grandfather before his passing
 He told me of a beautiful Rwanda
 A Rwanda of peace
 A Rwanda with a united people

Rwanda was home to everyone
 Rwanda was fertile and home to many animals
 The buffaloes, rhinoceros shared pasture
 The youth were united
 They exchanged cows in Nyanza and in Kiyaga

In Nyanza, cows were exchanged for brides
 This is the fraternity that existed in Rwanda
 He brought hatred, he is a war-monger
 He brought ethnicity,
 He named he who kept cattle Tutsi.
 He named he who cultivated Hutu
 He who moulded clay was named Gatwa
 We adopted this ideology
 We taught it to our offspring
 We passed it on as a heritage in our families

We feel the consequences

Rwanda my motherland
Rwanda that loves me
Rwanda that I love
Rwanda that I exalt

Rwanda that I dream of
Allow to talk about you
Talk of hatred and fight against it
Mix our ideas and create a solution
Preach fraternity and build Rwanda

Awaken, we the force of tomorrow
Rwanda of our ancestors
The culture of the whites weighs on you
Hatred is everywhere
What will be your future.

In fifty nine is when the cries started
In sixty three you anguished your own
In seventy three the same story
In eighty two I arrived
In love with you and wanting to unite you.

I wished to get to know your people
I wished to share my all with them
I remember the day I was born
I cried at seeing the look on your face
At hearing the laugh of an enemy.

That those you want are not the ones born
I thought it was all a joke
My mother calmed me down
Hush little one, we shall be alright
As I grew up.

I wished to know you better
You showed your other side
As you shouted out with loud voices
You became an enemy without pity
What evil regimes!

What youth of that time!
What devaluing of the human being
He was taught to devour his own
I saw a lot in a few days
I will remember so as to lay strategies

Let me remember for the tenth time
When the spear was thrown
When the sword persecuted many
When the machetes and clubs
Slaughtered and massacred the son of man.

Let me ask myself and lay strategies
I recall when the situation got worse
The spears were being sharpened
The plans were finalised
The neighbour became the hunted

The enemy of the state
The foreigner who has no home
Let me remember and promote fraternity
So that it never happens again
So is my contribution to the nation

Let me live in Rwanda in security
Let me remember those who were the youth
Who were used as tools of the evil regime
Through unceasing meetings
Through provocative songs.

Through distracting dances
They had the same objective
They trained here and there
Those youth full of strength
Who are training to devour each other.

While waiting in ambush
While waiting for the signal
To massacre that enemy
The boys hunted down those who were their own
The girls were applauding.

They destroyed the churches and raped their own
Their motherland was filled with screams of terror
Their strength spilt blood
The survivors fleeing across the world
I am remembering so as to lay strategies

They killed as many as they could
They killed infants and those still in the womb
They killed old men and those who were praying
They killed old women and singers
They killed reverends and servants.

They killed nuns and Belgians
 Rwanda was swept into tragedy
 Orphans grew up with sorrow
 The youth of Rwanda
 I abstain from talking.

I would suffer to mention all those killed
 I would sweat to recount all that happened
 I would talk of ours and remember the young
 No, the youth of tomorrow
 Let us fight against hatred in Rwanda.

Here comes the "GACACA" court jurisdictions
 Humble yourself and be open
 Strive for intelligence and fight divisionism
 Do everything possible to
 Strive for knowledge and be proud.

Never again should it happen
 Retrieve our dignified image
 Sensitise the youth of tomorrow
 Let there be no dominant ethnic group
 Let there be equality.

Let us take a step beyond grief
 Let Rwanda regain its respect
 Youth of my generation
 Let us together say "this is what to do"
 Reconstruct our fraternity and build Rwanda.

All of us, without basing on ethnicity
 Without jealousy, without hunger
 With the same objective
 Let us say together "this is what is right"
 Democracy, this is what is right.

Technology, this is what is right
 Unity and reconciliation, this is what is right
 This is what is right
 I am grateful to the government of national unity.

We are following you with all our strength
 Continue with the objective of uniting us
 So I may rejoice like the other day
 When I saw Gatwa carrying a pot
 With the sons of Gahutu following behind

Heading towards Gatutsi's home for a bride

When I saw the Rwandans
 Sharing the word in ceremonies
 I danced with joy
 I am proud of them.

I appreciate those who had the idea
 To ban divisionism in Rwanda
 Let those in the Diaspora return home
 Let us build Rwanda and share mutually
 Without any hindrances.

I am the poet UWIRINGIYIMANA Donatien
 I love Rwanda and its people
 I love God and I love life
 Not only mine but also the life of others
 Not only the people of Rwanda but also others.

Not only the people of Rwanda but also foreigners
 Long live all human beings
 On this tenth commemoration
 Let us remember and say to ourselves
 Let it never happen again.

POEM : CRY OF THE PROPHET
BY : NIRERE Jeannine
Lycée Notre Dame de Citeaux
KIGALI.

I exalt the good soul, the good arm
 I talk of peace in our home
 This happiness of Rwanda
 Youth, let us fight the source of genocide
 This source that destroys, loots and devalues

Let this genocide never happen again
 When it was all beginning
 The whites came putting on white
 They divided us into three groups saying
 Tutsi, Hutu, Twa

They built it and it became a principle
 The succeeding regimes adopted it
 The youth were taught about it in schools
 The youth lived with this malediction
 The youth spread it everywhere

Some were banned from schools
 Others were killed saying they were spies
 The old indoctrinated it into the young
 The leaders taught it to their subjects
 The parents taught it to the youth

Rwanda was filled with hatred
 The shining name me became tainted
 The genocide happened every where
 Old men, women, infants were killed

Houses of God became houses of slaughter
 Those who planned
 They distributed machetes
 They planned for Rwanda
 They were pleased with their work
 They sat and crossed their legs.

They ate while we died of hunger
 We went to sleep with empty stomachs
 We planted and they harvested
 While they shared ours
 Oh what a shame !

Where are you now the youth?
 Come and help me repulse
 This evil genocide
 This genocide that destroys and loots
 This genocide will never again happen

Are you listening to me, the youth?
 Do you permit me to ask you a question?
 Since we know our creator is up yonder,
 He gave us the world
 Intelligence and extreme strength

To rule over all the world and everything in it
 And now? Where do the ethnic groups come from?

And the genocide ideology
How were they given priority over
The human rights, answer me?

Come let us go find them
Come let us show them the right path
Those who still have those evil plans
Those who still have the genocide ideology
If we must take them ourselves

Those in charge should advise them
To drop the genocide ideology and
To uproot it Rwanda is big enough
Fight against greed and corruption
Rwanda is big enough if we join hands

The skin of a rabbit can cover five people
Come then let us fight this genocide
This genocide that destroys and loots
Never again in Rwanda
Come let us join hands and fight against it

Let us sow the seed of reconciliation in Rwanda
And spray it with unity and love
So that it grows with its flowers
And spread its roots to everyone
And its branches spread everywhere

Youth, the years are passing by
Those who were in Rwanda saw it
Those who were outside were told of it
Genocide destroys, not constructs
Let us pray to God, share and prosper

Repair all that the genocide destroyed
You the leaders of sectors and cells
The leaders in private and government schools
Approach those you lead and teach them
Genocide should never happen again in Rwanda

Teach the children to prevent it
Teach the children to condemn it
Teach the children to avoid ethnic segregation
You who pray, let us pray to our creator
For genocide never to happen again in Rwanda.

Then Rwanda will prosper again
Then Rwanda will be habitable again

The foreigners will be surprised
They will call it a paradise
They will all be told of Rwanda

Dear sons of Rwanda
This is the cry of the
Prophet from **Lycée Notre Dame de Citeaux**
KIGALI.

POEM : OH RWANDA, SPILL NO MORE BLOOD

By : NZABANDORA Fabian

TYAZO Secondary School

Almighty Father
All eyes of the world are on you
You who created all living things
You gave to man a heart
You made intelligence supreme
Rwandans were the best

I now talk demanding
 I leave the trouble that befell us
 I go back into the past
 I talk about the religion
 And you stay behind
 I do not know how to end.

During the reign of Gihanga
 Peace reigned in the land of Gasabo
 Rwanda was as brilliant as pearls
 The hoe marked your territory
 Your summit was seen from afar
 Sharing equally among all people

Benefiting all in the adoration
 The drum Kalinga stayed an emblem
 Your crown stayed in the royal court
 From Kigeli to Ruyange
 Passing on to Rwabugiri

Possessing secrets they could not release
 Peace did not reign for long
 No thing to stop them
 After sharing at the same table
 Bringing all kinds of food
 Beers flowing in the gourds

Grand father, Grandmother
 This was the family in Rwanda
 The grand father came to visit us
 The old man told me before he left
 He told me of the happenings in Nyaruguru
 He went to Kigali and he was eaten

Lightning filled the whole country
 Kindness disappeared like Nyomberi
 Those who shared their roots
 Killing and fighting each other
 Nothing to stop the screams; let me say
 "It will not always be this way

Calm down Rwanda, spill no more blood"
 Cries were everywhere
 Savagery was exaggerated
 Rwanda who was pierced in the throat
 You who was in security
 Your people shared the milk.

Your gardens were devoid of conflicts

Collecting firewood together
 Our father was Kanyarwanda
 Should I say everything of Rugari?
 Should I hide from those of tomorrow ?
 Should I not talk about those conquerors?

Who came rowing boats
 With gowns of flowing white
 While in the hearts a reigning darkness
 Those corrupt merchants
 Stealing our wealth while dividing us
 Our unity was broken apart threefold
 Calm down Rwanda, spill no more blood

They came saying they were missionaries
 They hid Jesus and taught about the nose
 Their tongue talking sweetly to the ears
 They talked of heights with Kamonyi crying
 They called the short ones "Hutu"

While the tall ones became "Tutsi"
 They talked of the "Batwa" with thick necks
 The colonialists promoted the habit of
 Treating us like rubbish
 Fires were lit here and there
 Grief filled all hearts.

We have many years of experience
 That is history of conflicts
 In fifty nine smoke rising over the hills
 They got the spears and sharpened them
 PARMEHUTU saying let me burn them all
 They were many refugees
 They slaughtered the livestock

Everywhere bodies were left to the crows
 Very few survived and fled to Uganda
 In sixty two it struck again
 The youth were annihilated
 Their faces erased forever
 In seventy three it exploded again

Infants were burnt alive
 Even those in the wombs
 Inzirabwoba cut them out
 The young were taught
 They became tools of Bishingwe
 Those of Bisangwa became heroes.

They refused the flag of the white man

Who brought poison covered in religion
 We all followed his teachings
 Nineteen ninety four
 When it all came to a climax
 Fires raging in plantations

On the seventh of April
 The period of disaster started
 Here and there rivers flowed with blood
 The ears produced ringing sounds
 The black smiths made clubs
 The powerful youth blocked the roads

The father would scold he who did not want
 Encourage him to fill his number
 They wanted to empty the market
 The UNAMIR closed its eyes
 KANTANO saying send everyone
 My mother fleeing towards the church

The holy father sending her back
 Go and change your nose; I handed myself to God
 My playmates were all taken away
 I would sneak out to go and visit them
 I found they had all been finished
 When I come to this other Side I saw Karungu

The evil men had what to say
 They all sharpened their teeth
 The young men of "Inkotanyi" came to the rescue
 They saved a few from the grave
 You have now rested for ten years
 Calm down Rwanda, spill no more blood

They stopped the genocide
 They saved Rwanda, long live to them
 No, never again, never again
 There is a lot that can sustain us
 The development has a foundation
 Security, unity and reconciliation

All the youth, tomorrow's Rwanda
 Let us create jobs and do away with laziness
 Since the old man Rwema gave us the land
 And taught us how to fight for it
 Let us lay strategies of overcoming
 And build walls that are universal

Teachings were given

The youth were sensitised
 I plead for durable peace
 Let he who is accused ask for forgiveness
 So as to eliminate the culture of impunity
 Let him help to kill this hungry snake

Take it into the forest of Gishwati
 Let your light make you popular
 Let Rwanda be filled with pride and integrity
 We should not go to sleep
 Let us participate in the "Gacaca" court jurisdictions
 Let us study and give advice in schools.

Teach in the churches
 Start in our home cells
 Let us appeal to the refugees to return
 Do away with hunger and suffering
 Do away with the culture of begging
 Not forgetting you who is still in Congo !

You say you want to take over Rwanda?
 Does the anthill contain stones?
 Take care of yourself then or
 Return to your home to rebuild it
 There is no more bush land
 The strategy above all others

So as to create Ruganintwari
 Is to cut off the ears that do not want to hear
 And everyone among Rwandans
 To refuse the dictates of the Europeans
 After everything else, peace in our motherland

SONGS

GROUP: BROTHERS
ADDRESS: KIE(KIGALI INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION)
SONG: NEVER AGAIN

Chorus : Dear youth, let us get up
 We are one, let us put our strength together
 Genocide should never happen again in Rwanda
 We are brothers (never again, plus jamais)

Verse 1 : In the period of colonialism
 The situation of the youth changed

The bad seed that was planted sprouted into hate
Among those who were brothers
They divided them in guise of destroying the monarchy
This produced social inequality
Genocide was given roots
We the youth were not left out (never again).

Chorus :

Verse 2 : An idea was brought up
That Rwandans are different
The teachings were spread around
The youth took up machetes, guns and clubs
They did not fear to kill infants
They did not fear, it is prohibited (never again)

Chorus ::

Verse 3 : The youth, let us all unite
And fight against the genocide ideology
So Rwanda may never lose again, that is the prize
Let us all sow the seed of love, do away with
Hate and the culture of impunity

Chorus :

LET IT NEVER HAPPEN AGAIN**BY NZAMURAMBAHO Héhémie**

Chorus: 2 people : Villain genocide x 3
All : Villain genocide x 2
We condemn you from a far x 1

1. The youth were happy before the genocide x 2
 They loved and helped each other x 2
 They did their work with sacrifice x 2
 All this in favour of unity
2. The villain genocide ravaged Rwanda x 2
 It maltreated us in ways we did not expect x 2
 Because of the bad government at that time x 2
 Which also involved the youth x 2
 Brotherhood turned into killing each other x 2
 The then government was in charge x 2
 And we the youth implemented x 2
 Let that never happen again x 2
3. What we the youth or Rwandan can do x 2
 To fight and prevent that calamity x 2
 Is to love and sacrifice ourselves for our country x 2
 Let us fight against divisionism among Rwandans x 2
 Through encouraging unity and development x 2

SONG: BE CALM RWANDA, IT WILL NEVER HAPPEN AGAIN
BY: MURUNGI BETTY
ADDRESS: KIGALI INTERNATIONAL ACADEMY

Choms : Be strong Rwanda, calm down, our motherland ;
 We the youth have come determined,
 that genocide will never again happen in Rwanda

1. We the youth were once full of courage,
 We all strived to expand our country,
 We loved and came to the aid of each other,
 We shared all our joys and sorrows,
 We were really brothers,
 But what brought the genocide destroyed it all.
2. We were given a warning at the start,
 We fled from bravery and love,
 We taught evil and did evil, we were struck with
 Jealousy, grudges and other ignoble acts
 All the youth were divided basing on ethnicity we
 Killed each other, we killed those we called ours
 Dear God, let it never happen again.
3. We traded the good culture of Rwanda, we adopted
 Habits that brought us evil, we spilt the blood of the
 Innocent, we plundered a lot in the country, oppressed many,
 And deprived them of their human value,
 Now is the time, the future of Rwanda, to bring back
 Peace in our motherland.
4. Let it never happen again in Rwanda,
 Fight against bad governance, turn deaf ears
 To those who what to minimise the genocide,
 Strive for unity and reconciliation
 Fight against the genocide ideology, all of us
 Together strive for durable peace in Rwanda.

GROUP: THE JOYOUS
ADDRESS: APEFE-MWYA
TEL: 540472
SONG: YOUTH COME TOGETHER

We the youth are against it,
Never again in our homeland,
We ban the genocide,
Never again in our homeland (X3)

1. Youth of Rwanda, come together
Let us detest the genocide, its causes
and its consequences, especially those
we see; divisionism, orphans, the handicapped,
Widows, widowers and tombs (X2).

2. We the youth are fed up with use of violence,
It happened in fifty nine by Killing each other, it
happened in sixty two when we overdid it, the massacres
happened again in ninety four when we massacred the Tutsi,
We are fed up with those ideologies that sow discord
Divisions among Rwandans,
All of us, the youth, are against it.

SONG: YOUTH, LET US GET UP**BY: INGUFU Z'URUBYIRUKO**

- Youth let us get up hastily and
Say no to divisionism in the country
So that our Rwanda that once flowed
With blood, may now flow with milk and honey
- Before the tragedy that took many Rwandans
We were the strength of the nation and did all the
Good work together, then one day segregation
Came and destroyed it all.
- We the youth were the first to take up arms and kill
And slaughter each other. We cut the old, their
Relatives, infants were killed.
- We destroyed buildings that had been standing for years,
Looting was a game among others, holding a machete,
A club was a source of pride for the youth
- We the Rwandan youth, let our strength that destroyed it
Reconstruct it; let us be exemplary in behavior and leave
Behind an ideal heritage for the future Rwanda.
- Let us think before acting in whatever we do, let us avoid
Thoughtless acts, not be driven into evil and let the
Culture of peace reign in Rwanda.
- Let us condemn any kind of segregation and forget about our noses,
our height and our views and turn the names
Hutu, Twa, Tutsi into "Kanyarwanda".
- Let us confess the truth in jurisdiction courts, help those who
Are victims of the tragedy that occurred especially since
Our contribution in actions and thoughts is important.
- Let us then, the youth come together and unite and avoid
Anyone who would wish to separate us so that tragedy never
Occurs again in Rwanda.

