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THE ROLE OF HISTORY AND POLITICAL STUDIES IN POST-GENOCIDE RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

Paul RUTAYISIRE and Charles KABWETE Mulinda

INTRODUCTION

This paper argues for complementarity between social sciences, such as history and political studies on the one hand, and science and technology on the other hand. It insists that Africa and Rwanda in particular need the discipline of history in conjunction with science and technology in order to teach knowledge that is complete and to target African renaissance, that is, sustainable development and sustainable peace.

It also makes an advocacy for History and Political Science disciplines because of particular crises that those programmes are currently facing at the National University of Rwanda (NUR). But it does also put those crises in a wider context by showing the trajectory of History since the postindependence period. It finally stresses the contribution that historians and political scientists at NUR have made for Rwanda since 1994 in the post-genocide reconstruction and in development.

1. A SHORT BACKGROUND OF THE CRISIS OF HISTORY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES IN POSTINDEPENDENCE AFRICA

After independence, History as a discipline in Africa shared its fate with African states and African universities. As a result, they have had highs and lows, ups and downs, fortunes and misfortunes depending on times, places, circumstances and agencies. In the 1950s as African countries were striving to conquer their political independence, early African intellectuals were also waging a war of assertion of history for Africa. Before that time, Africans were deemed as not appropriate to own history, since they did not have written sources before the arrival of Europeans on the African continent. In this regard, history of Africa was actually a history of European deeds in Africa. African agency was to be found only in oral traditions which were the main source of knowledge for African past.

It was only during the 1950s that the historical value of oral traditions was finally acknowledged, on Africa and elsewhere. The importance of oral traditions of Africa was

stressed in 1953 during the first international conference on African history and archaeology.¹ The second conference on African history and archaeology took place in 1957. In this conference, where no doubt existed on the historical validity of oral tradition, the participants asserted that “oral tradition is unquestionably the most important source for the historiography of black Africa.”² But they recognised that for each oral document, it was necessary to apply the historical critique in order to ascertain its value.³

Given the political context of the 1950s and 1960s, African intellectuals were reclaiming ownership of history for Africa but also political independence. No doubt they became part of the nationalist movement, and some of them became even first political leaders after independence. They produced a nationalist history for Africa, a history that was looking into past to seek glorious deeds that Africans had produced before the arrival of Europeans. They proved that Africa had empires, states and even nations. They demonstrated that Africans possessed enough knowledge in medicine, iron making, agriculture and breeding, religion and philosophy of life. They were writing that history at the moment when Africans were dreaming and even hoping for a better future as they were about to lead themselves following political independence. African historiography at this moment was actually a back and forth process from present to past in order to recover the African past and therefore to access positive legacy; and from present to future in order to pave a way for transformation of life conditions. This nationalist historiography also produced a history in singular, that is, a unifying history. It did not address multiple divisions among African nations, cultures and agencies where they existed.⁴

Schools of African history emerged and were strengthened: the Ibadan school, the Dakar school, the Dar es Salaam school and some others. Authors such as Kenneth Onwuka Dike, Cheikh Anta Diop, Alexis Kagame and many more subsequently produced a wide corpus of works that influenced African students and political leaders up to the 1980s when the hope for a better Africa began to fade away.⁵ After independence, African countries increased

¹ Roger Heremans, *Introduction à l'histoire du Rwanda*, Kigali, Ed. Rwandaises, 1971, p. 5.

² Jan Vansina, “La deuxième conférence sur l’histoire et l’archéologie africaines (Londres, 16-18 juillet 1957) » in *Zaire*, Vol. XI, 8, octobre 1957, pp.865-870, p. 866.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 897.

⁴ Frederick Cooper, “Africa’s Pasts and Africa’s Historians”, *African Sociological Review*, 3, 2, 1999, pp.1-29, p.11; Arnold Temu, “Not Telling: African History at the End of the Millenium”, *South African Historical Journal*, 42, May 2000, pp. 2-10, p. 3, Amina Mama, “Is it Ethical to Study Africa? Preliminary Thoughts on Scholarship and Freedom”, *African Studies Review*, Vol. 50, No. 1, April 2007, pp. 1-26, p. 8.

⁵ Amina Mama, *art. cit.*, pp. 9-10; Olutayo C. Adesina, “Teaching History in Twentieth Century Nigeria: The Challenges of Change”, *History in Africa*, Vol. 33, 2006, pp. 17-37, pp. 20-21; 24-25.

significantly the number of universities, since the tertiary education was believed to serve the continent's development agenda.⁶

However, towards the 1980s, the bulk of African countries underwent a significant economic crisis stemming to the drop of the price of several raw materials such as cash crops and minerals. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund imposed on them a Structural Adjustment Programme. This programme was advocating and even imposing a neo-liberal approach in both politics and economy. It favored the reduction of state expenditure in social services (health, education, infrastructure and others) and economic investment. It also suggested the liberalization of the economic sector, that is, the privatization of state's companies and businesses. In a number of countries, it went as far as to suggest the devaluation of the currency.

Although too much hope was put on this programme, it did not live up to expectations, because the economic and social situation of countries where it was implemented became even worse: unemployment rose sharply, the per capita income reduced, the purchasing power of the population decreased. All these difficulties caused difficult life conditions such as malnutrition and premature death.⁷ Zeleza, who was linking this programme to the development of universities in Africa wrote that "The era of structural adjustment programs (SAPs) threatened to undo the developmental promises and achievements of independence, to dismantle the postcolonial social contract, and to abort the nationalist project of Africa's renewal."⁸

This crisis of the 1980s had undoubtedly negative consequences on African universities and scholarship. As Africa became further marginalized in the economic arena, the marginalization reached even knowledge production. Africa became the continent that depends on others for knowledge consumption and produced less and less. Again, outsiders produced African scholarship more than insiders. More works of Africans were mainly critiques of globalization, of cold war politics and its destructive effects on Africans, as a result they were marginalized at international level.⁹ A bit before 2003, Africa's contribution to global knowledge was said to amount to no more than 0.5 percent of the world's scientific publications.¹⁰ As the middle class was not spared from this crisis, the 1980s coincided with

⁶ Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, "The Politics of Historical and Social Science Research in Africa", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, vol. 28, No. 1, 2002, pp. 9-23, p. 11.

⁷ Claude Ake, "Rethinking African Democracy", *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Winter 1991, pp. 32-44, p. 42.

⁸ Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, "What Happened to the African Renaissance? The Challenges of Development in the Twenty-First Century", *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 2009, pp. 155-170, p. 163.

⁹ See Olutayo C. Adesina, *art. cit.*, p. 24; Amina Mama, *art. cit.*, pp. 3-5.

¹⁰ Amina Mama, *art. cit.*, p. 4.

the time when Africa experienced more brain drain, as many African intellectuals were travelling to Europe and America in search of greener pastures.¹¹ One of the most dramatic signs of African dependence to outside skills was the increase of the number of expatriates: “By the late 1990s, there were an estimated 100,000 expatriates working in Africa – at a cost of \$4 billion – almost equal to the number of skilled Africans who had left.”¹²

In this crisis of the economy and the academia, the discipline of history was also seriously affected. The glorious time for history of the 1960s had been challenged as the nationalist hope for a better future was being proved wrong by the economic crises of the 1980s. In certain countries, History departments started to lose numbers of students enrolling in history. Worse, several students were reluctant to do graduate programme in history, which means that there would be lesser Africans to produce historical research for their communities. Elsewhere, students asked for a history programme that was more relevant to practical life, hence they wished to have history combined with other disciplines such as such as economics, international relations, tourism and other domains.¹³

2. IN RWANDA: HISTORY AS DESTRUCTIVE BEFORE 1994

In the postindependence period, Rwanda became the example of African intellectuals that got manipulated by authoritarian governments. Historians failed to criticize the civilian authoritarian regime of Kayibanda and the military regime of Habyarimana. They even supported and went far as to justify the structural violence that was implemented during those two regimes. To make matters worse, some of them even participated in the shaping of the ideology of the genocide against Tutsi.¹⁴ Arnold Temu warned against a historiography that would divide the Hutu and the Tutsi of Rwanda given their interaction for centuries.

The story of the Hutu and the Tutsi is always recounted as if the two groups were divided by an impregnable Chinese wall. Centuries of interaction between the two groups had not only produced a common language and similar cultural institutions and symbols but also a cultural and political space which made it possible for them to co-exist peacefully.¹⁵

¹¹ Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, “African Studies and Universities since Independence”, *Transition*, Issue 101, 2009, pp. 110-135, pp. 117 and 119; Olutayo C. Adesina, *art. cit.*, p. 31; Arnold Temu, *art. cit.*, p. 6.

¹² Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, *art. cit.*, 2009, p. 116.

¹³ For the case of Nigeria, see Olutayo C. Adesina, *art. cit.*, pp. 17-18, 27-28, 31, 35-36. For South Africa and Africa, see Arnold Temu, *art. cit.*, p. 6; Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, *art. cit.*, 2002, pp. 9-10.

¹⁴ Amina Mama, *art. cit.*, p. 10.

¹⁵ Arnold Temu, *art. cit.*, p. 4.

He insisted that history should not be used to divide ethnic groups, especially in societies where division can produce devastating effects: “the plurality of voices in the production of our collective pasts should be approached in a manner that would preclude the privileging of particular actors/groups against others especially in volatile bipolar polities like Rwanda and Zimbabwe.”¹⁶

The case of Rwanda became an illustration of the failure of intellectuals in general and historians in particular to make a difference in face of bad politicians, bad in the sense of destroying a portion of their own population. Professor Ferdinand Nahimana was a prominent historian who took part in the construction of the ideology of genocide against Tutsi and in the execution of that genocide. He was tried at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in Arusha. He is serving his sentence in Mali. The African scholar Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, after lamenting the case of Ferdinand Nahimana, wrote the following: “The authoritarian Rwandan state, dominated by a narrow-minded ethnic elite, felt threatened by popular insurgent democratic forces, and so it cynically and desperately abused the past, unleashing the pathology of genocidal violence.”¹⁷

After the genocide against Tutsi, the discipline of history entered into a crisis of legitimacy. On the one hand, the Rwandan history that was taught in primary and secondary schools was full of dividing ideas about Rwandan ethnic identities. On the other hand, there was for the new historians, the need to reread, rewrite and correct versions that were openly flawed. But they taught history at university levels. Both at the National University of Rwanda and at the Kigali institute of Education History of Rwanda was taught. It was only few years ago that elements of the Rwandan history started to be taught in primary and secondary schools.

3. FOCUS ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AFTER 1994 AND THE WEAKENING OF HISTORY AND POLITICAL STUDIES

After 1994, the Rwandan government noticed that students in the humanities and social sciences (Economics, Management, Public Administration, sociology, etc.) exceeded those enrolled in Sciences and Technology. Yet all over the world the focus on sciences and technology was being spread. When the policy of supporting sciences and technologies more than social sciences started to be implemented, it produced at the National University of Rwanda (NUR) negative effects on an unequal basis on human sciences (Languages, and History) and social sciences (Sociology, Social Work, and Public Administration). Economics

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Laurent Nkusi referred to in Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, *art. cit.*, 2002, pp. 20-21.

and Management seemed to keep their stability in terms of annual intakes. The last time the History Department enrolled more than 60 students in First year was in 2000. Since then, annual intakes for History have been reducing year by year. In 2007, the Department of History did not have intakes in First year. Since then it did not have four classes from First Year up to Forth Year of Bachelors degree. The staff too was not improved since 1999. The last young assistant lecturer was recruited that year. In 2008, it lost two highly qualified Professors who retired. These were not replaced by new staff. This means that the History programme is loosing its strength. In 2009, the History department was merged with the Department of Political Science and Public Administration. These three formed one Department called Department of Political Science. In Political Science, the shortage of students in First year was witnessed also in 2011 when only around 30 students were enrolled in first year, whereas this programme used to receive more than a hundred students in First Year in previous years.

Yet the crisis that the teaching of Rwandan history is undergoing is in stark contradiction with the current social demand for history. Indeed, history of Rwanda is reclaimed by leaders, intellectuals and the public in order to offer explanations about the Rwandan tragedy. In this context of resorting to history as a way of legitimizing current practices and discourses, certain personal interpretations are more favoured than acute reference to primary sources collected and interpreted more professionally. Therefore, there is a danger that ‘improvised histories’ may replace ‘the discipline of History’.

These developments occurred despite the numerous achievements of Historians and Political Scientists since the end of genocide and despite the high social demand for the above subjects.

4. NUR HISTORY AND POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENTS ACHIEVEMENTS IN POST-GENOCIDE RWANDA

4.1. In Research

Lecturers of the History Department at the NUR produced a number of substantial researches as their contribution towards the reconstruction and development of Rwanda. First they revisited the historiography of Rwanda and produced a number of works that gave a new direction to the interpretation of Rwandan history. From 14 to 18 December 1998 they organised a Seminar on Rwandan history in Butare. On 29 and 30 October 1999, they organised another History Workshop in Butare. From those two conferences, they produced a two volume book entitled: “*Les défis de l’historiographie rwandaise*”, edited by Déo Byanafashe in 2004 (*Tome 1: Les faits controversés* and *Tome 2: La “Révolution de 1959, mythe ou réalité”*?). From 2007 up to 2011, the members of the History Department of NUR

also collaborated in a project to rewrite a Synthesis of the History of Rwanda. This synthesis was achieved in 2010. The first publication of it was released a month ago. We intend to translate it into English and Kinyarwanda and disseminate it all over the world.

The members of the History Department and the Department of Political Science undertook other research projects together or separately and produced several works on the genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda, on the collection of oral testimonies of genocide witnesses, on colonial chiefs and subchiefs, on the revisiting of precolonial and colonial history, on the ideology of genocide against Tutsi in secondary schools, on elections, on good governance, on corruption, on identity conflict or political or social conflicts, etc.

Lecturers produced articles and published them in several scientific journals and in collective books both in Rwanda and abroad. They participated in – or organised – conferences, workshops and seminars in order to disseminate knowledge and contribute to community service.

4.2. In Teaching

The programme of History and Political science, as other departments within the institutions of higher learning, contributed significantly in the reconstruction of post-genocide Rwanda in several ways. They produced laureates who went to fill the gap in the employment sector. Students who graduated in those fields went to work in the public administration, in the civil society, in the education sector and elsewhere. They helped stabilize the country that was torn apart following the genocide against Tutsi.

5. PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE

The progress that Rwanda has registered in the post-genocide period proved that a good combination of Science and Technology and Social Sciences is needed.

In a seminal paper, Max Singer explained how the USA and other western rich countries reached the level development. They used a good dose of productivity for wealth creation, but also made sure to establish and strengthen democracy and sustainable peace. Drawing from the western experience, Singer argued that there is a connection between wealth, democracy and peace. Concerning productivity, he explained that “A key part of the process that has

already changed so much of human life is societies' learning how gradually and continually to increase the productivity of their work."¹⁸

He further contended that material or economic productivity stems from both technological skills and the culture of love for work. In other words, how people behave at workplace, how they are trained, equipped, prepared and given more or less freedom to implement innovations determines the quantity and quality of assets they will produce in a given span of time and the value they will attribute to those assets.¹⁹ This point helps us emphasize the conjunction between sciences which enable us to multiply things, that is, science and technology; and sciences that produce culture, that is, social sciences (Philosophy, History, Anthropology, Sociology and Cultural studies to name a few).

Max Singer again reminded us about the well-known belief that wealth is about human agency more than it is about the gift of natural resources or raw materials:

At any one time, increased productivity comes from better use of existing technology. [...] Natural resources like oil are also often used to explain wealth, and it is true that oil can make a person or a small country rich. But for most of the world natural resources make little difference. [...] The fastest growing countries – Japan and the East Asian tigers, South Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Taiwan – all have little arable land and few natural resources per person. [...] The real limit on how fast productivity – and therefore income and wealth – can grow is the amount of change society can accept, because increased productivity cannot come without change, and change is hard to make.²⁰

He concluded that "...people, not things, are the source of wealth."²¹ Needless to remind that change²² draws from culture, history and beliefs, but also from capacity for innovation. Social Sciences accompany Science and Technology in its efforts to making innovation a possibility, by constantly defining new needs and new ways of satisfying them:

¹⁸ Max Singer, "What is Happening in History", in *Political Science and Politics*, Vol. XXX, No. 3, March 1997, pp.27-34, p. 28.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² It is worth that this concept of change has been emphasized Max Singer and many other scholars but that it is the presidential campaign of President Barack Obama that popularized it.

The main requirement for a society to become more and more productive is its ability to generate and use very large numbers of new ways of doing things. Innovation and adaptation become important when they spread throughout the society because they are widely adopted. And the people not making changes themselves have to respond to the changes made by others. [...] A society that waits for change to come from the top will not be competitive. Change must be initiated at all levels. And the many successful changes come from many more ideas that are tried and failed.²³

Concerning democracy and lasting peace, Max Singer made two points that are very important for us: first that democracy has become the rule rather than the exception in a world where in most cases advanced countries are also democracies and therefore they are the models for other advancing countries. Second, lasting peace stems from not just military power but also from good diplomacy. But he hastened to wonder whether countries that have succeeded to become democratic will remain democratic, whether to be democratic is an eternal feature or not. His answer makes it clear that in order to remain democratic, democratic countries must keep on believing in the goodness of democracy and strive to keep it, so that no opportunist leader should come and destroy what has taken centuries to build.²⁴ It is social sciences that can help people believe in democracy and thus make it possible, keep it alive. In other words, they are able to instill a democratic culture.

In Africa where dividing politics such as ethnicity and religious fundamentalism still prevail, African historians and intellectuals call for a new Africa where diverse ethnic identity should not hamper shared and prospective useful values such as democracy, protection of human rights, freedom, solidarity and tolerance.²⁵ They turn to “usable pasts” as a way to making history useful for present and future life.²⁶ The concept and reality of usable past has its strengths and weaknesses: weaknesses due to the possibility that it offers to distort or manipulate the past; strengths coming from the utilization of a wide and rich range of past practices and beliefs that can still be recycled and used for present and future welfare for society.

African’s hope for a better future also stems from the formulation of visions by African leaders in conjunction with African intellectuals. Those visions show clearly the link between the need for material welfare and the satisfaction of moral needs such as values and peace of

²³ Max Singer, *art. cit.*, p. 31.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

²⁵ Bethwell A. Ogot, “Rereading the History and Historiography of Epistemic Domination and Resistance in Africa”, *African Studies Review*, Vol. 52, No. 1, April 2009, pp. 1-22, pp. 15, 17, 19; Archie Mafeje in Mamadou Diouf, “Des historiens et des histoires, pourquoi faire? L’historiographie africaine entre l’Etat et les Communautés », *Revue Africaine de Sociologie*, 3, 2, 1999, pp. 99-128, p. 103.

²⁶ Bethwell A. Ogot, *art. cit.*, p. 10; Mamadou Diouf, *art. cit.*, p. 106.

mind. African leaders such as President Thabo Mbeki championed the drive for ‘African renaissance’ which is believed to bear – or to lead to – both economic development but also political reforms such as democracy, constitutionalism, and regional integration.²⁷ President Paul Kagame on the other hand chose to be the advocate of dignity for Africans. His call for Africans’ self-respect and self-development has echoed all over the world. His continuous emphasis on human values and hard work illustrates the point we are making here: that what human beings achieve materially must go hand in hand with who they are or who they want to be.

As we saw above, historians played a great role in the building of African nationalism. In fact, the need of history for national consciousness or nation-building has been asserted since long ago. For example, in the second half of the nineteenth century, three historians, Johann Gustav Droysen, Heinrich von Sybel and Heinrich von Treitschke from what was to become Germany were pivotal in producing the unification of Germany and in instilling patriotism. These three historians believed that “the study of the past was meaningful only in so far as it was made relevant to contemporary problems and their solution. They believed that knowledge only becomes learning [...] when it reaches beyond learning for its own sake and ‘helps to ennoble life in its totality’ ...”²⁸ Perhaps the historian and the political scientist of today in the East African Community should play this role. Not just teach fundamental knowledge and research, but adjust this knowledge to the practical life of the citizens of his region. Amina Mama is right to say that most African countries did not put much effort on the building of national identities even if that drive was alive in the 1960s:

In much of Africa, national identities have remained poorly established, continuously contested, and less successfully hegemonic in the face of the multiethnic, multilingual, and multireligious clamor of life on the continent. In short, national identities have remained very much in the making, less homogenous, less *clearly imagined*, more precarious than, say, “Englishness” or “German-ness.”²⁹

This is what social scientists in Africa must work on. The historians and the political scientists should be the educators of the national identity. They should also, as we mentioned above, accompany science and technology in making economic productivity and innovation an African culture.

²⁷ For an extensive overview of this idea of African renaissance, see Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, *art. cit.*, 2009, pp. 155-170.

²⁸ Herbert Flaig, “The Historian as Pedagogue of the Nation”, *History, The Journal of Historical Association*, Vol. 59, No. 195, 1974, pp. 18-32, p. 21.

²⁹ Amina Mama, *art. cit.*, p. 16. Emphasis in original.

In a country that experienced genocide such as Rwanda, the building of national identity is even a priority. It helps to reconstruct the country, fight against the ideology of genocide against Tutsi and against any other form of discrimination. Indeed, the study of Bevernage on transitional justice and the perception of history and memory in South Africa and Sierra Leone, in the aftermath of apartheid and civil war respectively, has demonstrated the prominence of history and memory in social debates among perpetrators, victims and the state.³⁰

That is why in Rwanda, the discipline of history in general and history of Rwanda must be given enough value. Members of the History Programme took this need seriously and wrote a memorandum in January 2011.³¹ Here are the recommendations that they formulated for the National University of Rwanda and the Rwandan government:

- To teach a module of the History of Rwanda to all First year students of all faculties of NUR (Social Sciences, Economics and Management, Pure Sciences, Applied Sciences, Medicine, etc.), since these students do not know enough about our past. It becomes difficult for them to understand the policies of today. This module helps them learn some elements of History in order to grasp the background of what they will learn in their faculties and to link what they will learn with their cultures, identities, beliefs, and values.
- That module will be proposed to all other institutions of higher learning once it has been experimented at NUR.
- The History programme members suggest the following content outline for this 200 hour module:
 - 1) Precolonial Rwandan dynamics: political, social and economic developments of Rwanda up to the 19th century.
 - 2) Rwandan past in relation to the 19th century imperialism: The contact between Europe and Africa including the Rwandan kingdom.
 - 3) The destructive impacts of colonialism in Rwanda (1900-1962)
 - 4) The First and Second Republics: Ethnic politics
 - 5) The 1900-1994 war
 - 6) The genocide against Tutsi

³⁰ Berber Bevernage, "Writing the Past Out of the Present: History and the Politics of Time in Transitional Justice", *History Workshop Journal*, Issue 69, Spring 2010, pp. 111-131.

³¹ Members of the Programme of History, *Memorandum Concerning The Future Of The History Programme At NUR*, Huye, 4 January 2011.

- 7) Negationism and revisionism
- 8) The impact of the genocide against Tutsi in the Great Lakes region
- 9) The post-genocide reconstruction in Rwanda
- 10) Rwanda in the East African Community

- This module can enable students to have a comprehensive understanding of the remote and recent past of Rwanda, in order to appreciate what the government and the people of Rwanda are doing to rectify our past.
- In order to strengthen the History programme in Rwanda, students should be encouraged to choose the History subject since Secondary School.
- The History Departments in university level should have enough intakes, and therefore enough lecturers and researchers in future.
- We believe that if the History Programme is strengthened, new historical research can continue to correct the Rwandan history that has been falsified all along the 20th century. This can contribute in the country's unity, reconciliation, and sustainable development.

Political Science lecturers of NUR also formulated some recommendations in order to strengthen their programme.³² These recommendations are also in line with satisfying the country's needs for human resources in order to reach democracy, lasting peace and development. Students who have graduated in that programme are expected to serve in following areas: National, and local government, Urban and rural planning, Foreign affairs, Journalism, Elections, Education, Legal profession, Public Advocacy, Public Relations, International Organizations and Regional Integration, and in Interest groups activities.

CONCLUSION

Rwanda cannot afford to drop a History Programme that produces historical research, given the social need of History, as knowledge of the past. The Rwandan historians also cannot engage in luxurious topics and forget the themes relevant to reconstruction, material welfare, democracy, human rights, good governance, values and ethics. Political science and philosophy are also crucial in order to teach critical thinking, governance, administration, political participation, political socialization and many more skills.

³² **Members of Department of Political Science, *Rationale on why Political Science and Public Administration must exist*, Huye, 28 March 2011.**

Just as the Rwandan government has made it a priority to develop education in Rwanda, it should also prioritize the History of Rwanda and social sciences in general. The recommendation of Arnold Temu is worth reminding here:

There cannot be any African renaissance without a history of Africa produced by Africans resident in Africa. [...] [T]he demand for such a control over our history is necessary because it constitutes a precondition for any renaissance in the next millennium. No group of people in the world have suffered the kind of indignities that the majority of Africans have suffered and continue to suffer. No people in the world would continue to tolerate intermediaries representing and interpreting them to 'others' as 'other'. The minimum precondition for the survival of African history, that is, a history written by Africans and for Africans, is that its dominant practitioners would have to be Africans. This is the challenge of the next millennium, a *sine qua non* for our collective regeneration as a people.³³

Indeed, if we keep on relying on external scholarship even for writing and teaching our history and social experiences, this will definitely have a negative impact on our development.

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³³ Arnold Temu, *art. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

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