

Rwanda timeline

- 1959 Independence from Belgium, Hutu uprising
- 1973 Habyarimana coup, oligarchic control (by akazu) of one-party state
- 1990-93 Rwandan Civil War
 - Economic decline in Rwanda & growing problems for refugees in Uganda leads Kagame's RPF to invade Rwanda in 1990
- 1993 Arusha Accords, followed by UN Force to oversee implementation
- “Third force”? Interahamwe & Impuzamugambi
- April 6, 1994: Assassination of Habyarimana
- Genocide until mid-July: ~800,000 killed
 - “Great Lakes Refugee Crisis” (>2M refugees)
 - First Congo War, Second Congo War (>4M dead)

Ongoing conflict



Explaining Rwanda

- Security dilemma? NO
 - There were real security concerns, about RPF invasion & about Tutsi's re-taking control, and especially after pres assassination...
 - But security threat to population was not main cause for genocide (which Jones calls the “political war,” done to stay in power)
 - In “military war”, no security dilemma: exile group wants to take over & government response
- Strategic antagonism? YES
 - ethnic antagonism & insecurity played up by oligarchy to maintain power
 - Hutu extremists were worried about loss of political power
 - And willing to engage in ethnic cleansing... not just “strategic” antagonism

Avoiding “political war”

- Given situation by April 1994, could “political war” have been avoided? Would Akazu have accepted any power-sharing deal?
- It’s not clear that anything short of international intervention could have stopped onset of genocide
 - Extremists had the surprise advantage, quickly killing moderates
 - Militias had been government supported
 - Targeted were unarmed & unorganized
 - Public ill-informed about motives & threat of RPF and Tutsi’s
- Blame the extremists in leadership, who stoked ethnic tensions, equipped and trained extremist militias, and were willing to start ethnic cleansing
- Moderates, Tutsis, & international community failed to see the organizational build-up and/or anticipate the threat it posed

Why not free ride?

- Manipulation: “The critical tool in setting the stage for the genocide was propaganda that cast the civil war in ethnic terms.... Like all good propaganda, the ... message had a kernel of truth.” (Jones 125-6)
- Fear of being killed: “Anyone who had the idea of not killing for a day could get out of it.... But anyone with the idea of not killing at all could not let on, or he himself would be killed” (MS 76)
- Selective incentives:
 - “Participants were often given incentives, such as money or food ... [or even] appropriate the land of the Tutsis they killed.” (BBC)
 - “Whoever got caught shirking was punished with a fine. Ordinarily it cost 2000 francs... some were even fined a goat.” (MS 73)
 - “If a neighbor noticed you had sneaked off, he might come see you that evening and ask for a small sum, under threat of denouncing you to the judge the next day and making you pay a heavier official fine.” (MS 74)

Why not free ride?

- No punishment:
 - “if you must obey the orders of the authorities... if you see that the killing will be total and without disastrous consequences for yourself, you feel soothed and reassured. You go off to it with no more worry.” (MS 48)
- “Momentum”:
 - “Man can get used to killing, if he kills on and on. He can even become a beast without noticing it. Some threatened each other when they had no more Tutsis under the machete. ... others were frightened or sickened... so some drank overmuch to stop thinking about their cowardice.” (MS 49)

International Failure

- Partisan interventions were enablers
 - France propped up akazu from RPF threat
 - Uganda propped up RPF
- Political indifference → international community's inability to prevent and then respond to genocide
 - akazu got Belgium to run
 - US resistance to serious US force
 - Mistaken assumption that all parties were on board with Arusha, so no enforcement & intelligence was needed
- UN International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
 - Only 10 convictions in first 10 years

Post-conflict politics & reconciliation

- Military victory → government controlled by former RPF members
 - Accused of being too authoritarian, but up against giant task of fighting Hutu militias, complete reconstruction, reintegration & reconciliation
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Reconciliation:

1. Elimination of ethnic cards, with penalties for “divisionism” & “genocide ideology”
2. “Re-education” & reintegration of Hutu’s into society
 - Former fighters in Congo go through two month course on patriotism, history, cooperation, etc.
 - Get \$200 to start a business
3. Justice, punishment
 - Eased by abolishment of death penalty
 - Administered by *Gacaca*, 9-member community courts; usual punishment is community service