

Who Must Die:

The State of Exception in Rwanda's Genocide

by

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## ABSTRACT

The state of exception in Rwanda did not spontaneously occur in Rwanda, it was initially developed by German and Belgian colonizers, adopted by two successive Hutu regimes, and nurtured and fed for 35 years of Rwandan independence until its final realization in the 1994 genocide. Political theory regarding the development of the "space devoid of law" and necropolitics provide a framework with which to analyze the long pattern of state action that created a milieu in which genocide was an acceptable choice of action for a sovereign at risk of losing power. The study of little-known political theories such as Agamben's and Mbembe's is useful because it provides a lens through which we can analyze current state action throughout the world. As is true in many genocidal regimes, the Rwandan genocide did not just occur as a "descent into hell." Rather, state action over the course of decades in which the subjects of the state (People) were systematically converted into mere flesh beings (people), devoid of political or social value, creates the setting in which it is feasible to seek to eliminate those beings. A question to be posed to political actors and observers around the world today is at what point in the process of one nation's creation of the state of exception and adoption of necropolitics does the world have a right, and a duty, to intervene? Thus far, it has always occurred too late for the "people" in that sovereign to realize their political and social potential to be "People."

## DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the nearly one million Rwandans killed in the summer of 1994, and to the millions of Rwandans working to live today. May we learn.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank John Johnson, who chaired my committee, traveled to Rwanda with me in 2010, and generally provided me with the kindest and most supportive guidance that one could ever hope for, in a PhD program, or in life. Professor Johnson's knowledge about genocide is impressive; his ability to communicate it to me in a way that expanded my understanding was incredibly helpful. I wrote this dissertation in what many would consider less than ideal circumstances – but John's patience with me juggling work, politics, teaching, campaigning, and writing a book about genocide and political philosophy helped me through every step.

The rest of my committee deserves great thanks and appreciation as well. Their support and understanding of the circumstances in which I completed this dissertation helped me feel as if I really could get it all done. I thank Professor Quan for first introducing me to Giorgio Agamben and the state of exception. I thank Professor Gomez for expanding the world of the state of exception to include Foucault, Mbembe, Schmitt and others. I continue to be fascinated by the sovereign's ability to suspend the rights of its people. These scholars provide a cogent warning for those of us in the world of politics – a warning we must heed. I also thank Professor Gomez for encouraging me to push at the limits of the philosophy offered by others who have written before me. I thank Professor Doty for her application of the state of exception to other occurrences – it was her

writing about the state of exception in a recent book that helped me consider the application to the Rwandan genocide.

I am grateful to the School of Justice and Social Inquiry, in particular to Nancy Winn, who ensured that I made deadlines and turned in the proper paperwork. Without her assistance, I would be ABD forever.

In the Preface, I express gratitude to the many people who assisted me in the research phase of this dissertation; without extraordinary access and help, I would not have had the primary materials needed to complete this work.

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## PREFACE

I am indebted to a number of people and institutions for assisting me in the process of gathering data about Rwanda's genocide and the laws and policies implemented in Rwanda during the nearly 35 years prior to the genocide. In the summers of 2010 and 2011, I traveled to Rwanda, Tanzania, London, and Wales to locate documents relating to Rwanda's political history. Here, I describe how I gained access to the documents utilized in this dissertation, as I was able to review documents not easily available to the general public.

On my first trip to Rwanda in August 2010, ASU professor John Johnson, chair of my committee, accompanied me. We visited all of the seven major genocide memorial sites in the country during this trip, starting with the Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre and ending with the Bisesero site, home of the greatest Tutsi resistance movement in the country. Our visit to Murambi will be forever sealed in my memory; hundreds of Tutsi corpses lie stacked in rows in classrooms of the technical school, preserved in lime. Over 45,000 Tutsis were killed at this site of refuge. Our guide was one of the two survivors from that massacre. These memorial site visits were a fitting, though difficult introduction to my research. While in Kigali, we met Honore Gatera, the manager of the Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre, who provided great assistance to me the following summer. We also spent hours poring over Rwandan presidential declarations and

acts of the National Assembly in the Rwandan Parliament library, thanks to Augustin Habimana.

In the fall of 2010, while I was assisting Teri Murphy, a former instructor Arizona State University's School of Justice and Social Inquiry, she recommended an ASU West campus undergraduate student to me as a potential intern for the summer of 2011. Chris Fowler had traveled in the summer of 2010 to South Africa as an intern for Teri. Chris decided to complete his ASU studies as an intern with me in Rwanda. He spent his final semester of school in Rwanda, assisting me in researching Rwandan propaganda. Chris's work in analyzing and categorizing broadcasts from RTLM, Radio Rwanda, *Kangura*, and other propaganda publications helped form the basis for my findings in Chapter 2. Additionally, Chris pored over the criminal records of a number of génocidaires facing charges at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and helped me prepare to conduct targeted research at the ICTR in Arusha in May 2011.

My friend Jill Hanauer, executive director of Project New West in Denver, Colorado, introduced me to her friend David Akerson. Another friend, Alice Madden, former state representative in Denver, also connected me to David. From 1999-2000, David served as the Chief of the Information and Evidence Section at the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). David in turn generously referred me to Hassan Jallow, the Prosecutor for the ICTR and Richard Karegyesa, the Chief of Prosecution. Richard treated me with the utmost

kindness and hospitality. He directed his staff to assist me in locating the documents I sought from the office of the OTP. The Office of the Prosecutor (OTP) has an office in Remera, Kigali, and I met with Stephen Thambikeni in early May 2011. He graciously provided me with cds of all the propaganda utilized in the famed media trials at the ICTR. These cds included transcripts of RTLM broadcasts and copies of *Kangura* translated into English. These translations were not available via the ICTR online database, and would have been incredibly difficult to locate without the OTP's assistance. In addition, Jonas Mutwaza, the ICTR librarian in Kigali, granted me access to their facility and also shared a number of documents with me from the ICTR media trials.

Further, Richard invited me to Arusha to spend a week at the ICTR in the Office of the Prosecutor, and I gladly went. During that time, I received incredible assistance from Frederick Nyiti and his staff. The entire office treated me as a valued visitor, setting up an office for me to research and review documents, and granting me access to the ICTR building at my convenience. During my visit at the ICTR, I was permitted to witness the sentencing in the Military II trial, concerning Augustin Bizimungu, former chief of staff of the Rwandan Army; Augustin Ndindiliyimana, former chief of staff of the Rwandan police force; Francois-Xavier Nzuwonemeye, former commander of the reconnaissance battalion of the Rwandan Army; and Innocent Sagahutu, his deputy. Several days later, I attended the staff meeting where OTP team members involved in the

prosecution of the Military II trial discussed the case and celebrated the team's work. This is an experience I could hardly have imagined, and I am incredibly grateful for the privilege to spend time with such quality attorneys and witness history in the making.

In Kigali, the capital city of Rwanda, I am indebted to Mr. Augustin Habimana, the Parliamentarian for the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate in the Rwanda Parliament. Mr. Habimana granted me full access to the Parliament's library in both August 2010 and May 2011, and graciously answered all my questions over those two summers. Ms. Diane Uwimana, the documentalist in the Rwanda Parliament, not only assisted me by dragging out countless bound copies of the Rwandan national register day after day, but also provided me with hundreds of pages of copies upon my request. Her patience knows no boundaries. Her assistant, Kampire Angele, was also of great help to me in 2010 and 2011 as I slowly pored over decades of Rwanda's national register in French. Much of the source material in Chapter 4 comes from the records I found in the Parliament library.

Honore Gatera, manager of the Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre, offered assistance to me in August 2010 and May 2011. In May 2011, he graciously asked his staff to assist me in reviewing documents in their archive and granted Chris Fowler and I access to all propaganda materials the Centre had collected over the years. In addition, Honore allowed us the liberal use of the Centre's

library to review materials not accessible in the United States. A number of documents retrieved from the Centre are referenced in Chapters 1 and 2.

I am grateful to Ishmael, who works at the National Commission for the Fight Against Genocide in Kigali. He met with me in August 2010 and May 2011 and provided Chris and me with access to propaganda materials utilized in the Rwandan genocide. Some of these materials are referenced in Chapter 2.

While in Rwanda, I contacted Linda Melvern, a British journalist who has written two exhaustive books about the Rwandan genocide. She happened to be on her way to Rwanda at the time she received my email, and she graciously met with me on two occasions in Kigali. During our second meeting, she invited me to London to visit her personal archives. In July 2011, I spent several days at her home in London, reading over a number of her archived documents. I also visited the Linda Melvern Rwanda Archive, located at the University of Wales, Abersytwyth. This archive contains, among other things, documents detailing the Rwandan government's purchase of weapons during the civil war of 1990-1993. These archives lay out a chilling case of a planned buildup of weaponry for the genocide to come. Much of what I learned while reviewing her archived documents is detailed in Chapter 1.

While I feel extraordinarily lucky to have been granted access to documents in Rwanda, Tanzania, London and Wales, my position as an Arizona State Representative in 2010 and Arizona State Senator in 2011 likely allowed me to

gain access to people and places that I would have struggled to access as a private citizen. The privilege of holding public office allowed me to communicate readily and easily with both the Rwandan Parliament and the ICTR. In addition, my personal relationships with individuals connected to the ICTR allowed me to communicate directly with the OTP leadership.

## Chapter 1

### PRELUDE TO GENOCIDE

September 29, 1990. In New York City, the United Nations general assembly sat quietly as Juvenal Habyarimana, President of the tiny African country of Rwanda, announced that his country was too small and too poor to allow the Rwandan diaspora to return to the country.<sup>1</sup> Less than twenty-four hours later, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), a group of mostly Tutsi Rwandans<sup>2</sup> living in Uganda, crossed the border from Uganda into Rwanda, traveled through the Akagera Park, and reached within 50 miles of Kigali, the capitol city of Rwanda before encountering major resistance from government forces. Over the coming days, the Rwandan Armed Forces (RAF), aided by French, Belgian, and Zairean forces, fought the RPF rebels in central Rwanda, and eventually into the capitol city itself.

The October 1, 1990 incursion into Rwanda by the RPF wasn't the first time that Tutsis living abroad had organized, planned or executed a military attack on the Rwandan government. Ever since the Hutu revolution of 1959, after which

the Hutu elite, claiming to represent the majority people, led pogroms to massacre and push into exile many of the country's Tutsis, elements of the diaspora had worked to re-enter the country and force an upheaval of the political system through military might. The first incursion started in December 1963, with subsequent attempts in 1966 and 1972. In each instance, reprisals against Tutsis living within the country occurred within days of the rebels' incursions. Thus began a pattern of targeted massacres of Tutsis dating from shortly after the 1959 revolution through the 1970s, with casualties ranging from 13 Tutsis killed in Kibingo commune (October 1960) to 10,000 Tutsis killed in Bugesera (December 1963).<sup>3</sup>

From the late 1970s to 1990, massacres were halted and Rwandan Tutsis lived in relative calm, although severely restricted in their ability to participate in government, military service, or higher education. In the late 1980s, political pressure from international sources began mounting on President Habyarimana to address the growing issue of Rwandan refugees living in exile, anxious to return. Neighboring countries such as Uganda, Burundi, and others had absorbed between 600,000 and 700,000 Tutsis into their communities as a result of Rwandan political policies and repressive military action towards the minority population.<sup>4</sup> In 1988, President Habyarimana and President Museveni of Uganda formed a joint international ministerial committee to discuss the issue of Rwandan refugees living in Uganda.

By this time, Uganda was home to over one million Tutsis, some of whom had joined the Ugandan military in an effort to gain access to greater rights and benefits in Uganda, and for others, as a useful and free training opportunity to wage a military battle back home in Rwanda when the time was ripe.<sup>5</sup> Over the thirty-plus years in which Rwandan Tutsis had lived in Uganda, Uganda denied citizenship, property ownership rights, and other benefits of Ugandan life to Rwandan refugees. Naturally, many began to turn their thoughts towards returning to the homeland. At the same time, political pressure was mounting on the Ugandan government to send Rwandans back to their country – Ugandans were souring on the refugees who'd lived in the country for so long, some of whom had risen to prominence within the state's military structure. In early 1989, the joint ministerial committee held its first meeting to discuss the return of Rwandan refugees to their homeland.

International pressure was also mounting on the President and his government to modernize the Rwandan political system by allowing the development of multiple political parties. Just three weeks prior to the first Rwanda-Uganda meeting on refugees, President Habyarimana announced that he would transition the country's political system from a one-party system in which all Rwandans were enrolled into upon birth, to an open system where multiple political parties would be free to organize and campaign. On July 5, 1990, President Habyarimana announced the implementation of multipartyism in



Rwanda. Additionally, he abdicated his role as the President of the MRND, the party he established in a constitutional change instituted in 1978, while continuing his role as President of the country.<sup>6</sup>

The dual pressures of the refugee crisis and the push for liberalization of laws regarding political activity, combined with economic struggles in the country due to the fast fall of the price of coffee, growing famine, and rapid population growth within a tiny country all weighed heavily on the government. Tutsis outside the country, joined in some cases by Hutu opponents of the Habyarimana regime, continued to push hard against the government for reforms. Meanwhile, the RPF continued preparations for a military solution, not believing that promised reforms would ever be implemented.

President Habyarimana's announcement at the United Nations that Rwanda couldn't accommodate returning Tutsi refugees wasn't the trigger for the RPF incursion on the night of September 30, 1990, but it surely added to the urgency felt by the region's diaspora. The RPF force, largely comprised of Tutsis who served in the Ugandan army, entered the country with the intent of recapturing the capital city of Kigali, overthrowing the Habyarimana government, and installing a broad-based transitional government that would end the system of legalized discrimination against Tutsis within the country and provide immediate opportunity for all Rwandans living abroad to return to Rwanda. The battle lasted only a week before the RPF retreated, with external military assistance

provided by Rwandan government allies France and Belgium, and some additional assistance from Zaire.

Rwandan authorities exacted retribution on Tutsis living within the country immediately following the RPF incursion in October 1990, and continued to commit targeted massacres of Tutsi and Hutu opponents from the fall of 1990 through the spring of 1994. Episodes of targeted killings corresponded with RPF military advancements and significant milestones in the process towards a peace agreement and enactment of political reforms that would shift power within the country. Throughout this three and a half year period, the Rwandan government also executed a number of arms agreements with Egypt, France, South Africa, and China, diverting much of the foreign aid the country received into purchasing weapons and preparing for a civil war, and eventually, the genocide.

The Rwandan government's reaction to RPF advancement in the northeastern part of the country and the threat of a military and, therefore, political loss to the mostly-Tutsi rebels was one of intentional, targeted massacres of the Tutsi minority and Hutu moderates who opposed the Habyiramana regime, a 'practice' of the organization and execution of the genocide that would follow. The stockpiling of light arms and traditional weapons, along with the organization of 'civilian self-defense' teams laid the organizational structure for mass murder in April 1994.

The Rwandan Patriotic Front

The RPF was created in 1987, during the seventh congress of the Rwandese Alliance for National Unity (RANU), a politically motivated group within the Rwandan diaspora. Since 1980, RANU members had periodically discussed the diaspora's desire to return to Rwanda, but without taking much action. However, during the early 1980s, Ugandan President Obote and his military personnel persecuted Rwandan refugees in the country, looting their camps, raping and killing people, and stealing cattle. Tens of thousands of Rwandan Tutsis fled to the border, attempting to re-enter Rwanda. They were repelled by Rwandan government forces, and thousands died in refugee camps on both sides of the border. For the next several years, Tutsis living in Uganda were subject to periodic persecution. Hatred of President Obote increased, as did support of Museveni, who led rebel forces in the country against the Obote regime. Thousands of young Tutsis joined Museveni's National Resistance Army (NRA) and successfully ousted Obote in 1986. Museveni had long utilized Tutsi soldiers in his guerilla forces, with leaders like Paul Kagame (now president of Rwanda) and Fred Rwigyema rising to high ranks over the years.<sup>7</sup>

In the early days of Museveni's rule, Fred Rwigyeme held the post of deputy minister of defense and deputy army commander in chief, Kagame was promoted to deputy head of military intelligence,<sup>8</sup> and promises were made to Rwandan Tutsis that naturalization and citizenship would be offered. Those pledges were never kept, as powerful Ugandans resented the prominence of

Rwandan Tutsis in military, government, and economic spheres. In the late 1980s, President Museveni removed Fred Rwigyema from his positions in the government, blocked career advancement for Tutsis in the military, and withdrew much of his public support for Rwandans living in Uganda. It was at this time that the RPF was formed, and talk of a military strategy to return to Rwanda became a reality. From 1987 to 1990, the RPF recruited young Rwandans in Uganda into the military and began building a clandestine guerilla force within the ranks of the NRA.<sup>9</sup> Shortly after President Habyarimana's statement to the United Nations, the RPF launched their first attack.

#### Politics and Pogroms, 1990 through 1994

##### *October-December 1990*

Immediately after the October 1 RPF incursion began, retribution in targeted areas by local Hutu government officials and residents followed. On October 4, Rwandan authorities staged a fake attack in Kigali, complete with gunfire and explosions throughout the city. It is believed that the government staged the fake attack to engender support for the government and encourage local Hutus to 'turn in' their Tutsi neighbors. Over 8,000 Tutsis and Hutu opponents of the government were arrested in Kigali.<sup>10</sup> The first reprisal attack occurred on October 5, five days into the fighting. Local Tutsis in the Kibilira area of Gisenyi (northern Rwanda) were massacred. On October 7, twenty-eight people in the Murambi commune of Gisenyi were sent to the Myumba military camp and

burned. On October 8, between 500 and 1,000 Tutsi and Hutu opponents of the government were killed in Mutara (in Myumba region) by the RAF military. Between October 11 and 13, 350 Tutsi were killed in Kibilira and 3,000 were evicted from their homes.<sup>11</sup> Rwandan authorities had told locals in Kibilira that the month's *umuganda*<sup>12</sup> would be devoted to massacring Tutsis.<sup>13</sup>

By mid-October, the bulk of the fighting between government forces (FAR and international allied forces) and the RPF had ended. The RPF suffered major losses, including the early death of RPF leader Fred Rwigyema, and quickly retreated back into Uganda. The Rwandan government declared the civil battle over at the end of October and massacres of local Tutsi in the northern region of Rwanda subsided for a short time.

In mid-November, President Habyarimana repeated his intention to implement multipartyism and announced that the country would stop marking ethnicity on state issued identity cards. (The implementation of new identity cards never occurred; the cards were ordered and delivered, yet never distributed to the public. At the time of the genocide, ethnicity-based identity cards were still in use).<sup>14</sup> In mid-December, the RPF advanced back into the northern part of Rwanda, taking over Kaniga (north of Byumba) and then the border post of Kagima.

Shortly after the RPF incursion, the government mandated civilian patrols in affected communities and instituted civilian-staffed roadblocks, as had occurred

in the 1960s when the *inkotanyi* had attempted incursions before. However, these mandated civilian self-defense measures ended along with the fighting. In December 1990, a group of professors from the Butare campus of the National University of Rwanda sent a memo to the Minister of Defense suggesting that a civilian self-defense program be established for all male adults in the country, particularly in the interior regions (as the military was preoccupied at the border regions). The professors proposed that soldiers train civilians in the communes to utilize traditional weapons such as machetes, hammers, hoes and the like because rifles and warfare weapons were prohibitively expensive.<sup>15</sup> The idea was discussed but not implemented. It would be reintroduced just a few months later by high-ranking government officers.

*January – March 1991*

On January 22, 1991, the RPF attacked the prison at Ruhengeri and freed nearly two thousand prisoners, many of whom had been jailed for political reasons. That same day, Tutsis and Hutu opponents of the government were killed at Rwandan authorities' direction in the prefectures of Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, Kibuye and Byumba. Three days later, local authorities killed Tutsis in Bagogwe in retaliation for the prison action taken by the RPF. And on January 27, the burgomaster of Kinigi, Thaddée Gasana, took thirty Tutsis of Bagwoye descent to the main street of the commune and ordered them killed.<sup>16</sup>

The following week, the killings of Tutsis in the Bagogwe region spread to Gisenyi, where seventeen people were killed.<sup>17</sup> On that same day, February 2, 1991 French Admiral Lanxade warns the President of a ‘new offensive’ by ‘Ugandan Tutsis’ coming towards Ruhengeri the following day. On February 3, Rwandan officials launched a fake attack on the Bigogwe military camp. The next day, over 300 Tutsis and members of the opposition were killed near the camp. On February 5, 1991, seven suspects of terrorism were condemned to death without evidence, 4,000 others were imprisoned without trial by Rwandan authorities. For nearly a month after the spate of reprisals, skirmishes between the RPF and FAR continued, without local massacres. However, on March 4, 1991, in the middle of the night, local Rwandan authorities waged another attack against the Bagogwe. Two hundred seventy-seven Tutsis and Hutu opponents died during that attack.<sup>18</sup>

*June 1991 – February 1992*

In the summer of 1991, Colonel Augustin Ndindiliyimana, minister of defense and security (later during the genocide, he served as chief of staff of the gendarmerie, Rwanda’s state police force), proposed a civilian self-defense force be created, as compulsory military service was prohibitively expensive.<sup>19</sup> In a seven-page memo to President Habyarimana, Ndindiliyimana laid out the problem facing Rwanda after the October 1990 RPF incursion, the state’s limited finances to address the military deficit, and a proposal to mobilize targeted civilians in the

population to aid in self-defense.<sup>20</sup> Shortly thereafter, Colonel Döogratıs Nsabimana proposed in a letter to the Minister of Defense that the military train and arm one adult male for every ten households in the country. His proposal was detailed, including a proposal that the individuals be chosen by the communal council, be married, patriotic, between the ages of 25 and 45, and bear “high moral character.” Nsabimana believed the civilian self-defense forces should continue to live in their homes and communities and be ready to serve when ordered to do so by the gendarmerie or local militia.<sup>21</sup>

On June 10, 1991, mulitpartyism was officially legalized in Rwanda, with the adoption of a revised constitution. Political parties quickly formalized, with a number of minority parties joining to create a ‘consultation committee’ that operated in opposition to the MRND, the President’s controlling party. On November 17, the first public demonstration by opposition parties occurred – over 10,000 people congregated in Kigali. One week later, the MRND rallied 20,000 in Kigali in support of the government. A week after that, the RAF broadcast a notice on Radio Rwanda blaming the RPF for sowing discontent in the country and using newspapers and opposition parties to incite the population “to revolt against the current government.”<sup>22</sup> Throughout the first half of December, the RPF engaged in attacks against the RAF in northern Rwanda, with limited casualties.



On December 30, a new government was formed, made up almost exclusively of MRND officials loyal to President Habyarimana and the one-party rule system. Protests in Kigali and Butare followed, boasting between 60,000 and 100,000 participants against the new MRND-dominated government. All opposition parties demanded that the President and the MRND resume negotiations to create a transitional government more representative of Rwandans' political affiliations. Negotiations resumed on February 11.

Meanwhile, the Rwandan government met with RPF officials in Paris to seek an end to the continuing military affront. During the course of the meetings, Paul Dijoud, French director of the Africa desk at the Quai d'Orsay, said to Kagame "if you do not stop this fight, if you take this country, you will not find your brothers and your families because they will all have been massacred."<sup>23</sup> One month after this meeting, President Habyarimana traveled to Egypt to negotiate an arms deal.<sup>24</sup>

#### *March-July 1992*

On March 3, 1992, Radio Rwanda broadcast a warning from ORINFOR (Rwanda's state media agency), supposedly sent from a human rights group based in Nairobi, Kenya, that Tutsi in Bugesera were planning to attack local Hutus. The communiqué was manufactured, as no attack was planned. However, local Rwandan officials utilized the broadcast as a tool to organize local Hutus to attack

and murder Tutsis in the region. Hundreds of Tutsis were killed, and nearly 15,000 Tutsis and Hutu opponents of the government fled the area.<sup>25</sup>

The RPF renewed attacks in Byumba and Ruhengeri, engaging with FAR soldiers. The fighting spread to Gashenyi, Rukomo, and Mulindi from mid-May through early June. The RPF took Byumba, Gashenyi and Rukomo, all in the northern part of the country. FAR soldiers began to mutiny due to defeat and casualties, and they retreated in the face of RPF advances. The RPF victories lead the Rwandan government to renew interest in pursuing a cease-fire and peace agreement. During the first week of June, peace negotiations between RPF and the coalition government resumed in Paris. An agreement including the MRND and opposition parties was made, and the Rwandan government and RPF signed a cease-fire agreement on July 12, 1992, intended to go into effect on August 1.<sup>26</sup>

#### *August-December 1992*

The Rwandan government and RPF delegates signed a draft agreement regarding the rule of law in Arusha on August 18, which caused concern amongst Hutu extremists within Rwanda, as it represented yet another step towards a transition of power that would eventually include currently exiled Tutsis. Two days later, MRND and CDR party members killed 85 Tutsis and Hutu opponents of the regime in Gishyita and Rwamatamu (in Kibuye), 200 people were injured, and homes are burned throughout the Kibuye region.<sup>27</sup>

In mid-September, the President's Chief of Staff wrote a letter to the Rwandan government's delegation in Arusha, requesting that they return to Rwanda and abandon the peace process. Several days later, Colonel Döogratias Nsabimana, head of the armed forces in Rwanda, distributed a memo to all military personnel from the commission formed in December 1991 to develop a strategy to defeat the enemy. The memo explicitly targeted Tutsis "within and outside" the country as the principal enemy.<sup>28</sup>

On October 26, President Habyarimana announced on Radio Rwanda that he supported the Arusha Accords. Days later, the Rwandan government and RPF signed the first portion of the agreement concerning power-sharing in the transitional government.

By November 5, the President's political party, the MRND, had denounced the power-sharing agreement signed by the government and alleged that the head of the Rwandan delegation to Arusha was "in league with the RPF."<sup>29</sup> And during a speech in Ruhengeri on November 15, President Habyarimana declared the Arusha Accords "a scrap of paper" and approvingly talked of the *Interahamwe* and their recent actions.<sup>30</sup> Exactly one week later, Léon Mugesera called for the extermination of Tutsis and their accomplices during a speech to the Gisenyi MRND membership. Mugesera served as the vice-president of the MRND at the time, and worked in the Ministry of the Family and the Promotion of Women. This famous speech exhorted fellow MRND members that the

Tutsi's home was in Ethiopia and that the Hutu "are going to send you back there quickly, by the Nyabarongo River."<sup>31</sup>

On December 6, Martin Bucyana, president of the radically right party CDR, in a speech in Butare, said "the Tutsi and their accomplices will be exterminated."<sup>32</sup> At the end of the month, pogroms against the Tutsi and Hutu opponents occurred in Kibilira and the Gisenyi region.

#### *January-March 1993*

On January 7, 1993, the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH), an international non-profit organization that protects rights articulated in the United Nation's Universal Declaration of Human Rights, arrived in Rwanda to investigate alleged human rights violations. Local government officials halted the killings of Tutsis while the commission visits, but the massacres resumed once the commission left around January 21. During the commissioners' visit, on January 9, the second portion of the power sharing protocol was signed in Arusha, creating a timetable for the transition. One day prior to this agreement's conclusion, Bagosora stormed out of the peace negotiations, packed his bags, and prepared to leave. He remarked to fellow Arusha participants, "I am returning to prepare for the Apocalypse."<sup>33</sup> Several weeks later, in an official speech, President Habyarimana denounced the Arusha Accords which had just been signed in his name. The next day, January 26, massacres were carried out against Tutsis in the

Bugesera region by MRND and CDR. Over 300 Tutsis were killed in massacres nearly identical to those committed in March 1992.<sup>34</sup>

On January 20, just after the signing of the Arusha Accords, an anonymous group of military leaders writing under the acronym AMASASU<sup>35</sup> sent an open letter to President Habyarimana, threatening all supporters of the RPF: “how do you expect to stop us from delivering an exemplary lesson to traitors inside the country? After all, we have already identified the most virulent of them and will strike them like lightning.” The AMASASU also call for the establishment of a civilian self-defense force, with a “battalion of robust young men” in each commune that would receive local military training.<sup>36</sup> Around the same time, Colonel Théoneste Bagosora began sketching out the plans for a civilian self-defense force in the country. In his 1993 appointment book, he left pages of hand-written notes detailing his vision of a civilian self-defense force. Like other proposals, Bagosora proposed that civilians stay in their local communities after receiving training from local police. He also proposed that the recruits be married men who are “reliable,” chosen by the local governing authorities. He proposed sixty men to be trained in each commune (roughly similar to the one-to-ten ratio proposed earlier by Nsabimana). To begin implementation of this plan, Bagosora ordered the distribution of 500 firearms in five northern communes between late January and early February 1993. It appears that his orders were followed, as the burgomaster of Gituza commune

wrote Bagosora thanking him in early March 1993 for the delivery of weapons and praising the plan to implement a civilian self-defense force.<sup>37</sup>

On February 8, the RPF attacked Ruhengeri and Byumba in retaliation for the January massacres by government officials and soldiers. The RPF advanced within 18 miles of capital city Kigali, taking over more than double the land mass they held prior to the incursion. Roughly one million displaced persons descended on Kigali as a result of the RPF incursion.<sup>38</sup> Two weeks later, Rwandan military killed 5 Tutsi in Tumba, and within days the *Interahamwe* and the CDR committed massacres of Tutsi and Hutu opponents in Kigali, Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, Kibuye, and Byumba.<sup>39</sup> By the end of the month, all major opposition parties except the radical CDR begin negotiations with the RPF in Bujumbura.

With opposition parties negotiating directly with the RPF, the Rwandan government came back to the negotiating table and signed a new cease-fire agreement with the RPF on March 7, to be implemented on March 15, 1992. The agreement called for the removal of French troops and for a neutral international peacekeeping force to be deployed by the United Nations. Two days after the agreement was signed, the radical CDR party accused President Habyarimana of committing 'high treason' against the country for signing the agreement and called for the population to form a civil defense force to protect the country.<sup>40</sup> By the end of the month, interim Prime Minister Dismas Nsengiyaremye sent a letter to the Minister of Defense, protesting the government's recent practice of

distributing weapons to the general population, which had been happening quietly in several regions of the country.

*April-October 1993*

In early April, the new government continued to appoint new local officials, burgomasters to manage communes throughout the country. Almost all of the newly appointed officials hailed from the MRND and MDR parties. Between April 19 and 22, two bombs exploded in Butare and Kigali (the two largest urban centers in the country), wounding 20 and 15 people respectively. By early May, Mathieu Mgirumpatse had been chosen as the new president of the MRND, as President Habyarimana had resigned from the position in March as required by the new constitution instituting multipartyism. Within five days, the Gikongo leader of the MDR, Emmanuel Gapyisi and Kayibanda's son-in-law were assassinated. Both had been working to unite opponents of both the RPF and President Habyarimana.<sup>41</sup>

On June 9, the RPF and Rwandan government representatives signed an agreement at Arusha concerning the return of refugees and internally displaced persons. Two days later, a joint delegation of the RPF and Rwandan government requested that the Secretary General of the United Nations send a neutral international force to Rwanda to implement the peace agreement. Two weeks later, the Security Council approved a small international force to monitor the border between Uganda and Rwanda.<sup>42</sup>

In early July, the opposition party leaders in Rwanda rejected a proposal by MDR leaders to reappoint Dismas Nsengiyaremye as Prime Minister. The MDR, as the largest opposition party, held the Prime Minister position under the agreement made when the new government was formed. Instead, the opposition parties lobbied for Agathe Uwilingiyimana, a moderate MDR member who had recently abolished the controversial quota policy in the education system. President Habyarimana appointed Agathe Uwilingiyimana; the MDR party then revoked her membership in retaliation.<sup>43</sup> In response, the MDR sent a letter to President Habyarimana nominating Jean Kambanda as the future Prime Minister, to take office as outlined in the Arusha Accords when the broad-based transitional government (BBTG) was instituted. Unbeknownst to the MDR party, the former president of MDR, Faustin Twagiramungu, had previously informed President Habyarimana that he would assume the position of Prime Minister. The MDR revoked his membership along with Agathe Uwilingiyimana's.<sup>44</sup>

On August 4, the RPF and Rwandan Foreign Affairs Minister Athanase Gasana signed the final Arusha Accords, including the planned integration of the armed forces, the establishment of the BBTG, shared representation among the ministries, and the appointment of Faustin Twagiramungu as the BBTG Prime Minister. By mid-September, the United Nations had not taken action, so the RPF and moderate Rwandan officials appeared at the United Nations in New



York and demanded a neutral international peacekeeping force be formed and rapidly deployed.

Three weeks later, in early October 1993, the Security Council approved resolution 872 to create UNAMIR, a peacekeeping force of just over 4,000 personnel to be deployed to Rwanda to ensure implementation of the Arusha Accords.<sup>45</sup> On October 18, the CDR held a rally in Kigali to protest the Arusha Accords. Three days later, the president of Burundi, a Hutu, was assassinated by Tutsi military officers. Melchior Ndadaye was the first Hutu elected to President in Burundi's history, and his assassination prompted roughly 300,000 Burundians to flee to Rwanda. On October 23, two days after the Burundi assassination, the MDR-Power wing of the party held a march and demonstration in support of the Burundian Hutu. Froduald Karamira, a leader of the Power wing of the MDR, declared at the rally that the "Hutu must unite against the danger presented by the anti-democratic Tutsi."<sup>46</sup>

#### *November 1993 – January 1994*

On November 1, the first UNAMIR troops are deployed to Rwanda. Within days, the MDR – Power wing demonstrated again in Kigali against the Arusha Accords and the presence of Belgian troops. On November 17, forty people were killed in the Nkumba, Kidaho, Cyeru, and Nyamugali communes northeast of Ruhengeri. Lt. General Roméo Dallaire, UNAMIR commander, believed that the parachute commandos quartered at the Bigogwe camp committed

the murders, though no one was ever held responsible for the massacres.<sup>47</sup> Five days later, President Habyarimana presided at a meeting at the Hotel Rebero in Kigali, where grenades, machetes, rifles, and other weapons are distributed to the *Interahamwe* and the CDR youth militia.<sup>48</sup> On November 27, Monseigneur Phocas Nikwigize, Catholic Bishop of Ruhengeri, declared to President Habyarimana that “God would not accept that the minority rule the majority.” In the same meeting, Colonel Bagosora declared in a speech, “We cannot have peace in the country with a large number of Tutsis in the country. We must get rid of them, we must exterminate them.”<sup>49</sup> Two days after Bagosora’s speech, twelve people were murdered in the Mutura commune of Gisenyi.<sup>50</sup>

During the first week of December, just a month into UNAMIR’s mission in Rwanda, moderate FAR officers met with Lt. General Dallaire and disclosed the ‘Machiavellian plan’ of President Habyirama, created by military officials from the north who shared the *akazu*’s<sup>51</sup> extremist Hutu ideology. The plan was to stop implementation of the Arusha Accords by provoking the RPF to resume fighting. They planned to provoke the RPF by massacring Tutsis, moderate Hutus who negotiated the peace agreement, and the future Prime Minister Twagiramungu.<sup>52</sup>

In early January, the Rwandan army began distributing weapons to Hutus in villages throughout the northwestern part of the country (where many massacres had occurred over the past several years). On January 11, Dallaire sent

the infamous cable to New York, telling the United Nations that a former *Interahamwe* leader, 'Jean-Pierre' had warned of a plan for the systematic massacre of Rwandan Tutsi, and political opponents to Hutu Power extremists and the Habyarimana government. The informant disclosed that the militias formed by political parties over the past year were prepared to implement the massacres.<sup>53</sup> On January 16, the MRND party held a meeting at the Nyamirambo Stadium in Kigali and distributed weapons to many of the nearly 5,000 people in attendance. Hutu Power factions of the MDR and PL also participated in the meeting.<sup>54</sup> Three days later, interim Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyamana sent a letter to the MRND accusing Augustin Bizimana, Minister of Defense, of distributing arms to the population. She received no response.<sup>55</sup>

#### *February – April 1994*

On February 17, President Habyarimana met with a number of military officers. Several of them reported that they believed there would be a violation of the cease-fire agreement and that the war would resume. The President responded, "if the RPF starts the war, we have plans to deal with their accomplices."<sup>56</sup> Between February 22 and 26, the *Interahamwe* assassinated seventy people in Kigali and destroyed Tutsi homes during accompanying riots. During the assassinations, Robert Kajuga, one of the leaders of the *Interahamwe*, gathered the leaders of the *Interahamwe* and ordered them to create lists of Tutsis and to begin cooperating with the CDR and MDR militia wings. The day after the

assassinations end, government leaders gathered at the Hotel Rebero in Kigali and agreed to raise money to help the *Interahamwe* create a force capable of eliminating the Tutsi. Several days later, Major Stanislas Kinyoni convened all the heads of the army brigades throughout the country and instructed them to create lists of persons suspected to be accomplices of the RPF.<sup>57</sup>

In mid-March, Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana announced the names of the deputy ministers for the transitional National Assembly, and the Prime Minister-designate Faustin Twagiramungu announces the names of the BBTG, to be sworn in on March 25. However, the swearing-in ceremony was postponed due to the RPF's non-attendance. They had been warned of an ambush and chose not to travel to the ceremony. Meanwhile, the extremist elements of the government continued to prepare for increased massacres. On March 29, Deogratias Nsabimana, chief of staff for FAR, held a meeting to prepare and organize the elimination of Tutsi infiltrators and Hutu traitors within the country. The following day, Tharcisse Renzaho, the prefect of Kigali, sent a memo to Nsabimana, listing the reservists and others whom he recruited to form the self-defense team in Kigali and the surrounding area.<sup>58</sup>

On April 4, Colonel Théoneste Bagosora attended a reception organized by UNAMIR to celebrate the Senegalese national holiday (a number of the UNAMIR soldiers hailed from Senegal). At the reception, in the presence of UNAMIR commander Roméo Dallaire and UN Special Representative Jacques-

Roger Booh Booh, Bagosora stated that ‘the only plausible solution for Rwanda would be the extermination of the Tutsi.’<sup>59</sup> Two days later, President Habyarimana’s plane was shot down on his return to Kigali. Bagosora took control of the military shortly thereafter, and the genocide began within hours. Hutu extremists were ready for the ‘apocalypse’ promised earlier by Bagosora, as the government had spent three and half years purchasing and stockpiling weapons.

#### Arms Deals, 1990 - 1994

After the October 1 incursion by the RPF, the Rwandan government began aggressively pursuing the purchase of arms from friendly countries. While the government had begun talking to Egypt as early as August 1990, it wasn’t until after the surprising RPF advance in early October that acquisition of arms began in earnest. France provided military weapons to Rwanda after the 1990 incursion by the RPF in the northwestern part of the country.<sup>60</sup> Additional arms deals between Rwanda and the South African government occurred between the fall of 1990 and spring of 1991 with a large deal brokered in October 1992. The government also purchased small arms and weapons from the Chinese government, and Rwandan businesses, exempt from import taxes and licensing requirements, imported traditional tools such as machetes, hoes, axes, and hammers in shockingly large quantities.<sup>61</sup> These tools, particularly cheap machetes made in China, became a

visual symbol of the Rwandan genocide due to their widespread use throughout the country.

From October 1990 through the 1994 genocide, the Rwandan government diverted millions of dollars provided to the country for aid into arms purchases, focusing on small artillery like rifles and grenades, supplemented by large purchases of traditional weapons such as machetes, hoes, and the like.<sup>62</sup> Rwanda had recently been granted \$216 million in international aid from western allies like the US, Germany, France, and Belgium. While the funds were intended to fund Rwanda's involvement in the Structural Adjustment Program (administered by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund), Rwanda instead diverted some of the funds for arms contracts.<sup>63</sup> Over the course of three years, Rwanda spent \$112 million on arms, not including the traditional weapons imported by the government and Rwandan businesses.<sup>64</sup> The UN reported that 85 tons of weapons and munitions had been distributed in Rwanda prior to and during the genocide.<sup>65</sup> These numbers become even more significant when compared to Rwanda's history of arms spending – a mere \$5 million between 1981 and 1988.<sup>66</sup>

#### *Arms Deals with Egypt*

As the fighting ebbed in mid-October 1990, the Rwandan government entered into its first of a number of arms contracts with the Egyptian government, eventually purchasing millions of dollars worth of mostly small arms.<sup>67</sup> On October 16, the Rwandan ambassador to Egypt met with Boutros-Boutros Ghali,

who at the time served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Egypt. Ghali helped to secure the first arms deal with Egypt.<sup>68</sup> This purchase included over 4,000 rifles, 18,000 bombs, 60,000 grenades, millions of cartridges of ammunition, 1,600 rockets, and more.<sup>69</sup> The contract was for \$6 million.<sup>70</sup> The Egyptian government included two field ambulances in the deal, without charge.

At the end of December 1990, the Rwandan government ordered \$3.5 million worth of arms from Egypt, including over one million cartridges of ammunition, 15,000 mortar bombs, and 12,000 bombshells.<sup>71</sup> The government spent \$9.5 million in weapons contracts with Egypt in just three months. By April 1991, that amount was up to \$10.86 million. In August 1991, another contract was made for 5,000 bombs and half a million cartridges of ammunition.<sup>72</sup> In November 1991, another order was placed for 5,000 grenades, 12,000 bombs, and additional cartridges.<sup>73</sup>

As a result of the negotiations undertaken by President Habyiramana in February 1992, when he traveled to Egypt to personally request additional military support in the form of weaponry, the Republic of Rwanda signed a contract with Egypt for six million dollars worth of shipments of 450 Kalashnikovs, 2,000 rockets, three million cartridges of ammunition, and other arms at the end of March 1992.<sup>74</sup> In June 1992, another contract for \$1.3 million was signed to pay for ‘technical military equipment,’ including 1,400,000 cartridges and 22,000 bombshells.<sup>75</sup> In July, a supplemental order was placed for

over 500,000 cartridges and 900 rocket propelled grenades.<sup>76</sup> That November, another deal was made to provide Rwanda with 250 rifles and 25,000 cartridges of ammunition.<sup>77</sup>

Negotiations began again in February 1993, when the Rwandan government purchased 3,000 automatic rifles for \$750,000, and payed down a part of the March 1992 \$6 million deal.<sup>78</sup> Another deal made around the same time included 8,000 bombs, 1,000 bombshells, 1.6 million cartridges of ammunition, 10,000 grenades and 10,000 land mines.<sup>79</sup> This contract cost the Rwandan government \$2.6 million. The next deal, made in November 1993, included materials to repair weapons and military vehicles. The last recorded contract formed prior to the start of the genocide was in February 1994, when Egypt sold \$1 million worth of cartridges and mortar bombs to Rwanda.<sup>80</sup>

*Arms Deals with France, South Africa, China and private corporations*

In January 1994, just months before the start of the genocide, Human Rights Watch published a report on the rapid spike in arms imports in Rwanda since October 1990. The report detailed Rwandan government purchases of arms from the French government, beginning just after the October 1990 incursion. An early contract included artillery guns and mortars, and replacement parts to French-made armored vehicles carrying machine guns and cannons. The French also assumed responsibility for maintaining Rwandan-owned, French-made helicopters and armored personnel carriers for the Rwandan Armed Forces.<sup>81</sup>



In May of 1993, James Gasana, Minister of Defense, signed an arms contract worth \$12.2 million with Dominique Lemonnier, company manager for DYL-INVEST in France.<sup>82</sup> This private contract followed the government-to-government purchases between Rwanda and France that occurred in 1992 and early 1993.

On October 19, 1992, the Rwandan Ministry of Defense purchased \$5.9 million worth of arms from South Africa, including 20,000 rifles, 20,000 hand grenades, over a million cartridges of ammunition, machine guns, 20,000 grenades, and one hundred mortar bombs.<sup>83</sup> At the time, South Africa was an apartheid country and was prohibited from exporting arms via the United Nations Security Council.

The Rwandan government paid the Chinese government \$1 million for machine guns, mortars, grenades, and rocket launchers. Additionally, prominent Rwandan businessman Félicien Kabuga imported several tens of thousands of machetes, hoes, razors, and pickaxes into Rwanda through a contract with Oriental Machinery in China.<sup>84</sup> Because Rwanda had recently relaxed its import licensing system (due to World Bank and IMF requirements), Rwandan businessmen could easily and cheaply import goods without purchasing costly import licenses, and were able to import traditional tools without much outside scrutiny. Given the plethora of machetes utilized during the genocide (there were enough new machetes for one of every three adult males in the country to have received one),

this importation scheme was used fairly frequently. And at rock bottom prices, costing about one dollar per machete, a reasonable sum could finance a very large stock of a tool used by farmers and their families throughout the countryside.

After the genocide, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) funded an investigation into the pre-genocidal regime's finances at the request of the new Rwandan President. The investigators determined that, in 1993, \$4.6 million had been spent by the Rwandan government on agricultural tools such as machetes, hoes, axes, and hammers. Nearly 600,000 machetes were imported into Rwanda from China in one 1993 order, in addition to the large stocks of machetes and traditional tools imported in 1992.<sup>85</sup>

### Conclusion

In late 1990, the Rwandan government was struggling to protect its power structure under international political pressure to liberalize its political system and create a plan for the return of potentially millions of Rwandan Tutsis living abroad. Pressure was increasing, and President Habyarimana found himself acquiescing to political demands that would unavoidably reduce his and the *akazu's* hold on power. The RPF, which had been organizing a military offensive in earnest since Rwandan's fortunes in Uganda had soured significantly in recent years, took advantage of the opportune convergence of political uncertainty and invaded northern Rwanda. From that date onward, the Rwandan government reverted to tactics and strategies used in the 1960s and 1970s – targeted massacres

and reprisals against innocent Tutsis and Hutu moderates living inside Rwanda and the inscription of local Rwandan civilians into a make-shift civilian self-defense force. However, the government added a new component not utilized during past disturbances – the redirection of internationally provided relief and structural adjustment funds for the purchase of weapons and traditional arms for warfare. Over the course of just three years, the Rwandan government effectively ‘practiced’ the genocide via targeted pogroms with no repercussions or accountability, all the while building a larger militia base via civilian recruitment and training, and arming the military, militias, and civilian forces in preparation for a larger war and mass murder.

## Chapter 2

### RWANDAN GOVERNMENT AND PROPAGANDA

On December 4, 1991, President Habyarimana held a meeting of officers from the gendarmerie and the military. Over 100 officers were present, and it was reported at the meeting that the President seemed at a loss in terms of leadership and direction for the country in response to the growing RPF threat. There was widespread division amongst officers about the appropriate response to the RPF; hard-liners wanted a military solution, while moderates sought a political solution. Eventually, a military commission was created and the commission was tasked with creating policy to defeat the RPF “in the military, media, and political domains.”<sup>86</sup> The following September, the commission made its report to President Habyarimana, including a memorandum written by Colonel Dëogratias Nsabimana outlining ‘the enemy.’ The memorandum ordered that recipients circulate its contents widely, “especially on the sections relating to the definition of the enemy, identification of the enemy, as well as the groups within which the enemy is recruited.” The memo further instructed local leaders to inform the Colonel of the “impact made by the contents of this document on the men under your orders.”<sup>87</sup> The Colonel then goes on in the memorandum to define the enemy. The principal enemy is “the Tutsi inside or outside the country, extremist and nostalgic for power, who have NEVER recognized and will NEVER recognize the realities of the 1959 social revolution and who wish to reconquer power by all

means necessary, including arms.” It alleged that the enemy was being recruited among Tutsi refugees, Tutsi inside the country, foreigners married to Tutsi wives, among others. The memo noted that the enemy “predominated in business circles.” (Tutsis were largely banned from political and government positions, and had been largely excluded from the Catholic church’s leadership positions, so many had turned to private industry since the mid-1960s.) However, the memo also warned that the enemy had ‘infiltrated’ government through the lure of lucrative business deals. The memo used the term ‘Tutsi’ in the place of ‘enemy’ several times throughout the document, and made no effort to clarify that the RPF or the Tutsi public were two separate entities. The government had begun to intensify its strategy of defeating the RPF in the media domain; it did so in part by equating all Tutsi and Hutu opponents of the Habyarimana regime with the RPF or ‘the enemy.’

This strategy had already begun to be utilized in a local newspaper, *Kangura*, had been tested once on the state radio, Radio Rwanda, and quickly became standard operating procedure in the newly-created RTLM following the government’s directive in this memorandum.

### Radio Rwanda

Until June 1991, Rwanda functioned as a one-party state. Under intense international pressure, President Habyarimana opened the state to multi-partyism by legalizing the formation of multiple political parties and abolishing the law he

had established in 1976 that automatically enrolled all Rwandans, at birth, in the MRND political party, formed and headed by the President.<sup>88</sup> With the advent of multi-partyism in Rwanda, also came increased freedom of the press. Prior to June 1991, Radio Rwanda, the state-owned radio station, was virtually the only medium for Rwandans to access information about government activity and local community news. As such, it was largely used as a propaganda tool for President Habyarimana and the MRND.

On March 3, 1992, Radio Rwanda broadcast a warning, supposedly sent from a human rights group based in Nairobi, Kenya, that Tutsi in Bugesera were planning to attack local Hutus. The communiqué was manufactured; no attack was planned. However, local authorities used the communiqué as a tool to organize Hutu residents in striking a pre-emptive attack on local Tutsi in the area, killing hundreds of local Tutsis. This attack marked the first time media had been used as a direct tool for soldiers, the *Interahamwe*, and local residents to organize and carry out mass murder of innocents.<sup>89</sup> While internationals cried foul, eventually resulting in an international investigation,<sup>90</sup> there were never any arrests or accountability for the government officials or local residents who carried out the massacre, or for Radio Rwanda for broadcasting false, inflammatory information.

After the installation of the multi-party coalition government in April 1992 (a concession made by President Habyarimana and the MRND to continuing pressure from internationals to modernize and liberalize the country's politics),

Radio Rwanda became less of the President's mouthpiece. The MRND stalwart running Radio Rwanda, Ferdinand Nahimana, was dismissed and replaced by a leader from one of the opposition parties. No longer could Radio Rwanda be counted on to advance the hard-line political agenda of the MRND or Hutu extremists.

### RTL

About the time that Radio Rwanda began to shift away from functioning as a tool of the President, the hard-liners worked to start a new, privately owned radio station. As early as 1992, the planning for the creation of the station began. In April 1993, Radio-Télévision Libre des Milles Collines (RTL) was incorporated. By August 1993, RTL was broadcasting.<sup>91</sup>

RTL was envisioned by some Hutu government hard-liners as an integral part of a 'self-defense' plan to support the national army. When Colonel Théoneste Bagosora outlined the self-defense theory and plan in 1993, he included the use of radio as a tool to engage the citizenry in turning against the 'enemy,' which he defined as including all Tutsis living inside and outside of Rwanda. A notorious anti-Tutsi leader, he also suggested including Simon Bikindi, whose pro-Hutu music extolled the virtues of Hutu patriotism and vilified Tutsis.<sup>92</sup>

RTL was constructed by Ferdinand Nahimana, the former head of Radio Rwanda, and Joseph Serugendo, a technician for Radio Rwanda. The two men purchased equipment to create RTL in Brussels, then returned to Kigali to set

up the transmitter and begin broadcasting. While RTL M was ostensibly privately owned, with shares purchased by President Habyarimana (the largest single investor in the corporation), MRND officials, prominent business leaders, high-ranking government officials, and leaders from MRND and CRD political parties, it in reality was subsidized and supported by the government.<sup>93</sup> From 8-11 am daily, RTL M broadcast from Radio Rwanda's signal. In addition to Nahimana and Serugendo, announcer Noël Hitimana and editor-in-chief Gaspar Gahigi both came to RTL M from Radio Rwanda. The radio station's emergency source of power was said to come from the Presidential Residence, located across the street from RTL M's headquarters. In 1994, during the height of the genocide, RTL M actually broadcast from Radio Rwanda headquarters for some time after their station was bombed. The government paid the salaries of RTL M broadcasters and employees during the genocide.<sup>94</sup>

RTL M was designed to create a new style of radio in Rwanda; one less formal, and more connected to ordinary Rwandans. The broadcasts were mostly in Kinyarwanda, with only one broadcast per day in French (by Belgian Georges Ruggiu). RTL M interspersed news with popular music from Rwanda and neighboring countries. During broadcasts, RTL M eschewed Radio Rwanda's formal style of delivery, instead adopting a conversational, talk-show host style. The radio station encouraged listeners to call in to the show and report on local happenings, ask questions, and offer their opinions. The show regularly held



contests to keep listeners engaged. One contest included a quiz, with questions and answers corresponding to past issues of *Kangura*, the virulently anti-Tutsi publication (discussed below). RTLM allowed callers to share information, local gossip, and news from their communes, and the station's broadcasters never questioned the accuracy of claims professed on the station. In this way, RTLM became a highly popular source of gossip and an easy way to pass on false information to the public.

### *Kangura*

*Kangura* (meaning 'wake it up') was financed by MRND officers and members, military personnel, and one of the government's intelligence units.<sup>95</sup> Hassan Ngeze, the editor and owner of the magazine, began printing stories, headlines, and cartoons and pictures against the Tutsi in earnest following the October 1990 incursion by the RPF in northern Rwanda. A northerner from Gisenyi himself and an advisor to the extremist political party DCR, Ngeze published anti-Tutsi propaganda with a vengeance.<sup>96</sup> In what is perhaps *Kangura*'s most famous edition, its December 1990 number six issue, Ngeze published the Hutu Ten Commandments. The Hutu Ten Commandments were a virtual manifesto of Hutu Power. The Commandments covered most of the anti-Tutsi thematic messages of the day, from vilifying Tutsi women to admonishing Hutus to not engage in business with Tutsis, recommending that Tutsis not be allowed to serve in the military or armed forces, reminding Hutus of the 1959

Hutu revolution and Hutu ideology, and exhorting Hutus to stop having mercy on the Tutsi.<sup>97</sup>

*Kangura* also utilized cartoons, photographs, and drawings to make political points, often depicting Tutsis as cockroaches, snakes, hyenas, or gorillas. One issue pictured a machete next to the first post-colonial president Kayibanda (and leader of the 1959 Hutu revolution), with a caption saying “what arms can be used to defeat the cockroaches once and for all?”<sup>98</sup> Other images depicted the moderate interim Prime Minister in bed, as a prostitute, or Tutsis killing their Hutu neighbors.

*Kangura* sought to erase the passage of time from the emergence of Hutu Power in 1957 to the present time. By hearkening back to the end of the colonial regime and the nascent start of the Hutu Revolution, the paper argued that 1990-1994 Rwanda faced the same political struggles as it did in 1957-1961. Its articles, editorials, and cartoons/photos focused on this thematic message throughout its four years of publication prior to and during the genocide.<sup>99</sup>

### Propaganda Theories

In the National University of Rwanda library in Butare lies a text by Parisian psychologist Roger Muchielli, entitled *Psychologie de la Publicité et de la Propagande: Connaissance de Problème, Applications Pratiques*.<sup>100</sup> Published in 1972, the text is essentially a handbook that explains mass conditioning and the work required to create a mass movement. It discusses how to create indignation

amongst the public against the target, who becomes the scapegoat. Second, the text teaches the propagandist technique called ‘accusations in a mirror’ – the technique of blaming a target population for the actions which one is preparing to do him/herself. Hutu extremists were attracted to Muchielli’s text and adopted these techniques in disseminating propaganda via RTLM, *Kangura*, and other media mediums in the two years preceding the genocide.

In an undated memo found in Butare after the genocide, the author instructs others in the methods culled from Muchielli, Lenin, and Goebbels. The memo, entitled “Note Relative: la Propagande d’Expansion et de Recrutement,”<sup>101</sup> first argues that propagandists must have two aims: (1) to win over the uncommitted, and (2) create divisions amongst the opposition. He supports utilizing lies, ridicule, exaggeration, and innuendo in messaging against the targeted scapegoat. He argues that propaganda must convince the public that the opposition supports “war, death, slavery, repression, injustice, and sadistic cruelty.”<sup>102</sup>

Perhaps most importantly, the author of the memo proposes two methods later utilized by RTLM, *Kangura*, and other hard-line media outlets. One technique, from Muchielli’s work, was the ‘accusation in the mirror’ technique. In this technique, the propagandist accuses the scapegoat of engaging in the very activities that he and his allies intend to carry out. “In this way, the party which is using terror will accuse the enemy of using terror.”<sup>103</sup> The purpose of this

technique is to convince the public that they are under siege and therefore are justified in taking extreme actions to defend themselves. This strategy was used in the Bugesera massacre in 1992 and in the months leading up to the genocide in RTLM and *Kangura*.

The other technique discussed in the memo is to create events that support the propagandist message. For instance, media would tell Hutus in Rwanda that the enemy – RPF and Tutsi supporters – were planning to bomb an area, hiding weapons in urban areas to be used in warfare, etc. There was no evidence to support any of these claims, but the repeated reporting of such fictional events served to support the propagandist message that the Hutu people of Rwanda were under constant threat from the RPF and Tutsis who sought to re-establish an elitist hierarchy in the country via civil war or invasion.<sup>104</sup>

While the propaganda memo is undated and unsigned, it is clear that the tactics outlined and promoted in this memo were utilized effectively throughout Rwanda, starting in 1990 with *Kangura* and continuing through the genocide on the airwaves of RTLM and in the pages of *Kangura* and other extremist newspapers. An analysis of RTLM broadcasts and printed editions of *Kangura* show a pattern of propagandist messages intended to ‘prime’ the Hutu population for the resumption of civil war and ultimately to support the elimination of the Tutsi population within Rwanda. As has been shown above, RTLM and *Kangura*, while nominally privately-owned, were actually controlled financially

by the President himself, members of his cabinet, high-ranking government and military officials, and wealthy business leaders closely connected with the President, the administration, and the *akazu*.

### Messages Utilized

*Kangura* often printed the most obvious anti-Tutsi propaganda. Starting in December 1990, the Hutu Ten Commandments lumped all Tutsi together and posited them as a threat, like the rebel troops of the RPF, to the entire country of Rwanda. For example, Commandment Nine included a phrase that “The Hutu must be firm and vigilant against their common Tutsi enemy.”<sup>105</sup> While *Kangura* spoke in often quite direct terms, advocating for the complete subjugation and exclusion of Tutsis from political and social life in Rwanda, RTLM often used euphemisms and coded language, as was customary in Rwandan culture. Anti-Tutsi propaganda tended to coalesce around several major themes and messages, often utilized in tandem to set the stage for broad suspicion, jealousy, and outright hostility and hatred towards Tutsis by their Hutu countrymen.

### *Tutsis seek to restore the old regime*

*Kangura* focused on recalling the pre-colonial and colonial periods, when Tutsis reigned and Hutus were subjugated, abused, and excluded from participation in government, military, political, educational, and religious leadership positions. Prior to the 1957 Bahutu Manifesto, authored and championed by President Kayibanda, and the resulting Hutu revolution, Hutus

had indeed been maligned and oppressed, largely via the machinations of the reigning colonial Belgians (see Chapter 3). During the waning years of the colonial period, the Belgians shifted their support from the Tutsis to the majority Hutus, and ushered in democratic elections. The elections resulted in a rapid and massive shift in the balance of power, with almost all elected positions going to Hutus in the 1960s elections. Massacres of Tutsis quickly followed, with an exodus of Tutsis from the country over the next eleven years.<sup>106</sup> Once in power, President Kayibanda firmly implemented anti-Tutsi policies, excluding Tutsis from the very power structures that Hutus had historically been denied. During the four years leading up to the genocide, Rwandans were constantly reminded in *Kangura* of the hardship endured prior to the 1959 revolution, and the supposed Tutsi aim of restoring the Tutsi monarchy of years past. By hearkening to history, *Kangura* effectively reframed current issues as a repeat of past conflicts, erasing all differences of status, wealth acquisition, diffusion of power, and economic prowess that had developed in the intervening 40 years.

For Hutus who had lived through the colonial period and the 1959 revolution, the thought of Tutsis reclaiming the old regime and power structure was frightening. *Kangura* effectively negated Rwanda's current political economic reality in the minds of Rwandan Hutus by claiming that Tutsis, as they had in colonial times, controlled government, the economy, and educational access and that the RPF and Tutsi's goal was to re-establish the complete control of these

institutions. For a country in dire economic straits, with increasing levels of hunger, drought, poverty, and lack of access to education, the message was an easy one for Rwandans to buy.

In 1990, Radio Rwanda broadcast an interview with Professor Anaste Gasana, in which he reinforced the idea that Tutsis sought only to reinstate the historical feudal regime. This broadcast was played shortly after the October 1990 RPF incursion in the northern part of the country. In the interview, Professor Gasana alleges

In order to justify the attack they launched in Mutara, the enemies of Rwanda are in the habit of dramatizing the refugees' living conditions abroad. The actual reasons for the attack are not, however, the living conditions abroad. The actual reasons are rather political, based on monarchic and feudal regime that certain Rwandan refugees want to have restored in Rwanda whereas the majority of the people have objected to that regime . . . the Rwandan refugees never acknowledge the 1959 revolution, the democracy installed on 28 January 1961 . . . the Rwandan government has established since 1960 a ministry in charge of refugees; it has urged them to return, but they have of their own volition chosen to betray Rwanda and attack it since that year up until 1967.<sup>107</sup>

In 1993, *Kangura* evoked the history of the Tutsi regime in an article entitled "A cockroach cannot give birth to a butterfly." In this article, Ngeze evokes the Tutsi rebels of the early 1960s and equates them with the RPF rebels of the early 1990s. The article states

We began by saying that a cockroach cannot give birth to a butterfly. It is true. A cockroach gives birth to another cockroach . . . The history of the Rwanda shows us clearly that a Tutsi stays always exactly the same, that he has never changed. The malice,

the evil are just as we knew them in the history of our country. We are not wrong in saying that a cockroach gives birth to another cockroach. Who could tell the difference between the *inyenzi* who attacked in October 1990 and those of the 1960s. They are all linked . . . their evilness is the same.<sup>108</sup>

RTLTM repeatedly played one infamous Simon Bikindi song, “Father of the Cultivators.” In this song, Bikindi lauds the 1959 Hutu revolution, singing that it was “a heritage that should be carefully maintained . . . and transmitted to posterity” and that the “servitude, the whip, the lash, the forced work that exhausted the people, that has disappeared forever. You, the great majority, pay attention, and . . . remember this evil that should be driven as far away as possible, so that it never returns to Rwanda.”<sup>109</sup> This message clearly evokes the hardships endured by Hutus under the Tutsi monarchy and warns of it returning in the future. Similarly, a *Kangura* editorial in a 1990 edition argued that

the fact that the Batutsi are fighting to restore monarchy should incite a number of Bahutu to fight for democracy, to remember the roots of the 1959 revolution. If they do not fully appreciate this fact, then the revolution loses its purpose. And, as the majority people well know, the revolution was justified. They will have to live with the consequences.<sup>110</sup>

In the same paper, the editor claimed “Since the revolution of 1959, the Batutsi have not for one moment relinquished the notion of reconquering power in Rwanda, of exterminating intellectuals and of dominating Bahutu farmers.”

In February 1994, RTLTM spent significant time on the radio disparaging the Arusha Accords, and the power and stature that had been granted to the RPF in the agreement. Kantano Habimana tells the listeners that the RPF rebels, who



call themselves *Inkotanyi*, (a historical term for fighters) are also *inyenzi*, (which means cockroaches) and that they are seeking to take power from the Hutus and will ‘completely ignore’ the Hutus.<sup>111</sup>

On April 1, just several days prior to the start of the genocide, Noël Hitimana from RTLM read a letter from a Hutu on the air, who argued “that under no circumstances shall we allow our country to be ruled by the *Inkotanyi*, who unjustifiably massacred the majority and now want to come back and rule the country.”<sup>112</sup>

During the course of the genocide, this history was repeated over and over. In late May, a Hutu doctor was interviewed on state radio, Radio Rwanda. He stated

in reality, Rwanda, before it became what it is today, the majority of the population had lived through dictatorship and monarchy. For a long time, feudal leaders mistreated and oppressed people; they were at a loss as to what to do. Gradually, thanks to the then leadership, this stopped, as [the] feudal regime came to an end when the shared system was put in place. However, the monarchy continued to oppress people. The children of oppressed people subsequently got the opportunity to go to school and learn world history. They thus found out what goes on elsewhere and decided to fight for human freedom.<sup>113</sup>

These stories of Rwandan history and historic Tutsi rule were designed to remind the public of the past and fear the return of Tutsis to Rwanda. The stories served to perpetuate a myth that the Tutsis sought to re-establish the feudal regime and the monarchy.

*Tutsis are foreigners and do not belong in Rwanda*

Part of the mythology espoused by the Hutu extremists from 1979 through the 1994 genocide was built on the so-called Hamitic theory created by Belgian colonizers in 1933-1934 when they conducted a census, instituted the identity card system and transformed the cultural and occupational designations of Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa into ethnic and racial designations. The Belgians ascribed to John Hanning Speke's theory of the African man – namely that the taller, sharper-featured Africans were the harbingers of culture and civilization, descending from Ethiopia's King David. Speke's 'race science' posited that these Africans were superior in intellect, worth, and inherent ability than the 'native' Negroids. Upon Belgium's 'acquisition' of Rwanda, the people of Rwanda were subjected to Speke's race science, and heads, noses, and heights were measured to determine who the 'nobler' race was. As such, the Belgians argued that the Tutsis had migrated to Rwanda from Ethiopia and were a foreign, superior race to the Hutus.<sup>114</sup> This history was appropriated by Hutu elites during the 1957-1959 uprising; rather than seeking to dismantle the colonists' narrative about Rwanda's history and the people of the country, Hutu extremists adopted the narrative and used it as a tool to discriminate against and justify massacres of Tutsis. Throughout the four years leading up to the genocide, speeches from the late 1950 through the 1970s were recycled, reminding Rwandans about this version of history. Contemporary political speakers also evoked the Hamitic theory in painting Tutsis as foreigners who didn't belong in Rwanda.

For example, Rwanda is connected to Ethiopia via the Nyabarongo River; comments about Tutsi and the River hearkened back to the notion that Tutsis were foreigners in Rwanda, hailing from other places outside the country. As such, two years prior to the genocide, Léon Mugesera applied the ‘river’ statement to the Tutsis when he gave his infamous speech, saying “I am telling you (Tutsis) that your home is in Ethiopia, that we are going to send you back there quickly, by the Nyabarongo River.”<sup>115</sup>

In 1990, Radio Rwanda conducted an interview with Professor Anastase Gasana, in which he argued that the RPF incursion that occurred in October 1990 wasn’t led by Rwandan refugees living in Uganda, but indeed by Ugandans. Throughout the interview, he seeks to de-Rwandize the Tutsi rebels attempting to regain access and participation in Rwanda through military action.

If we go deeply into these issues, we will realize that Rwanda was attacked in reality by Uganda because the enemies who attacked it are members of the Ugandan army who receive their monthly salary from the Ugandan government, wear Ugandan army uniforms, use Uganda’s equipment like weapons, vehicles, and others, and are supplied weapons and provisions by the same country. . . . Considering the fact that they belong to the Ugandan army, we may wonder if they are Rwandans. We know that you first have to be a citizen of a country before you can join the army; I wonder, therefore, if the people who constitute, within the Ugandan national army, the group called *Inkotanyi* are still Rwandans if they belong to the Ugandan army.<sup>116</sup>

As early as February 1994, RTLM commentators referred to Tutsis as “com[ing] from the outside” to take power in Rwanda.<sup>117</sup> Within days of the start

of the genocide, RTLM continued the attack against the Tutsi as being foreigners from Uganda. In particular, commentator Kantano Habimana said

they are wrong to believe that people who in the country will be chased by people from other countries such as Uganda. We can never accept that a young man of 20, 23 years who has never been in Rwanda, comes with a gun to take what Rwandans have achieved. And never shall we accept that someone who has spent 40 years abroad, comes running to take our assets.<sup>118</sup>

Later, as the genocide wore on and the RPF came closer to seizing Kigali, the claims of their foreign heritage included references to the 1959 revolution. In late May, RTLM commentators argued that there is no country for the Tutsi, as they left in 1959 and do not belong in Rwanda.<sup>119</sup>

Towards the end of the genocide, RTLM commentators continued their discussion of Tutsis' foreign origins, stating that "no foreigners will ever rule Rwanda," that no true Rwandese have ever been excluded from participating in Rwandan government, and that no proof exists that the RPF or rebel fighters are Rwandan.<sup>120</sup>

#### *Tutsis control money and power in Rwanda*

Although the 1959 Hutu Revolution and legal mandates instituted by Kayibanda and Habyarimana blocked Tutsi participation in most government, political, military, and educational institutions, the Hutu extremists continued to tell the stereotyped story of Tutsi elitism, where Tutsis controlled all branches of government, civil service, education, the military, and economic life in Rwanda. While laws mandated that no more than 10% of public positions be granted to

Tutsis (including access to higher education), *Kangura* and RTL M continued to convince ordinary Hutus that Tutsis had sucked up all the prime positions of power in the country, encouraging envy and resentment amongst rural and impoverished Hutus. In 1991, *Kangura* printed an editorial in which it claimed that the Tutsi had taken over all these aspects of Rwandan life and community.

The Batutsi comprise 50 per cent of government officials, 70 per cent of private business employees, 90 per cent of staff in embassies and international organizations, and they hold prominent positions everywhere. However, this ethnic group comprises 10 per cent of the population. National wealth, trade and industry are in the hands of the Batutsi, who often use civil and military authorities as cover-up. It is to the Batutsi that banks award substantial loans, it is them who benefit from considerable tax exemptions, import and export licenses, etc.<sup>121</sup>

*Kangura* also argued that Tutsis had a monopoly in educational institutions in Rwanda, despite the 10% law that existed to prevent Tutsis from fully participating in secondary or higher education in the country. In a 1992 edition, the editor argues:

Supposing that statistics relative to teaching at all levels of secondary and superior education were carefully recorded, one would unfortunately be surprised to recognize that the Tutsi is omnipresent. Those who are in establishments of higher education well know the actual situation. Ethnic proportions are unequal and crystal-clear. In public and private affairs, power is undoubtedly secured. The minority managed to seduce Rwandan society and it is now clustered around its core. Some areas have become Tutsi strongholds, namely the Rwandan clergy.<sup>122</sup>

In another 1992 issue, the paper claims again that

regarding completed education, the minority remains in the lead. . . Through their cold and calculated expansion, the Tutsi managed to

so condition the Second Republic (Habyarimana's regime) that policies now privatized foreign student scholarships. It is obvious that it was not privatization of scholarships per se, but rather the unprecedented and official award of scholarships to the minority.<sup>123</sup>

Even when statistics and records refuted *Kangura's* claims, the magazine had an answer: Tutsis were falsifying their identity cards to appear to be Hutus in order to gain access to prominent positions. In 1991, the paper claimed

Due to the practice of identity falsification, the policy aiming for ethnic balance has failed. This explains why the Tutsi – those who kept their identity and those who modified it – now make up 80 per cent of staff in our schools. But who would be surprised by this? Those who should implement this policy are themselves Tutsi, pretending they are Hutu.<sup>124</sup>

*Hutus must be unified and stand in solidarity*

In June 1991, President Habyarimana was forced to accept a multi-party system in Rwanda, thanks to a constitutional amendment that had been pressed by a national commission of reform formed at the urging of international supporters. Over the next year, a plethora of political parties had formed, including the CDR (the Coalition for the Defense of the Republic - even more extremist than the President's MRND party), the MDR (Democratic Republican Movement - chief threat to the ruling MRND party), and a number of more moderate parties: the PL (Liberal Party), PSD (Social Democratic Party), and the PDC (Democratic Christian Party). After the formation of political parties, President Habyarimana was forced to accept minority parties into the leadership of the interim government in April 1992, which increased factions and weakened

his and the *akazu*'s power grip over the country. To combat this potential weakening of political and military power against the RPF and Tutsi minority, the government and its agents began intensifying propaganda messages that stressed Hutu solidarity and unity against the external enemy, the Tutsi.

*Kangura* often referred to the importance of remaining unified as a Hutu majority, exhorting the public that “your unity, your mutual understanding, your solidarity are the certain weapons of your victory,” and “you understand that when the majority people is divided, the minority becomes the majority.”<sup>125</sup> The Hutu Ten Commandments, published in December 1990 in *Kangura*, evoke the need for Hutu solidarity by instructing Hutus not to marry Tutsi women, hire them as secretaries, not to engage in business deals with Tutsis, to exclude Tutsis from schools and military service, and more. One *Kangura* excerpt stated flatly “the war is between the Tutsis and the Hutus and the only solution is public awakening.”<sup>126</sup> Finally, Léon Mugesera’s famous 1992 speech included allegations that members of rival political parties were traitors for engaging in the peace process, negotiating with the RPF, and not supporting the MRND leadership structure.<sup>127</sup>

*Hutus will be exterminated by the Tutsis*

*Kangura* continually argued in its pages that the Tutsi sought to eliminate the Hutu population and regain control of the country and region. In its 1990 edition, one editorial said

Remember also, at the beginning of November 1959, the Batutsi provoked inter-ethnic massacres in trying to eliminate the Hutu elite who were calling for democracy and social justice for the benefit of the Bahutu masses, until then crushed under the feudal and minority power of the Batutsi . . . Since the revolution of 1959, the Batutsi have not for one minute relinquished the notion of reconquering power in Rwanda, of exterminating intellectuals and of dominating Bahutu farmers . . . The war declared against Rwanda in October 1990 is undoubtedly aimed at achieving what the Batutsi had attempted to accomplish through guerilla warfare and terrorism, from 1962 to 1967, harassing the Hutu population through nocturnal *Inyenzi* (cockroaches) attacks.<sup>128</sup>

In 1993, an argument was made that “we know that they have attacked us with the intention of massacring and exterminating 4.5 million Hutu and especially those who have gone to school.”<sup>129</sup> Propagandists sought to instill fear in Hutus by claiming that, unless they killed the Tutsis, all Tutsis would seek to kill them. The 1992 Radio Rwanda missive in Bugesera provides an excellent example – by claiming that Tutsi rebels planned an attack in the region, local officials were able to rally Hutus together to kill their innocent Tutsi neighbors in a pre-emptive move. In the midst of the genocide, RTLM commentators claimed that the RPF was killing everyone they met in Rwanda, except Tutsis.<sup>130</sup>

Radio Rwanda, having changed hands from opposition control to government control during the genocide, became a ‘sister’ organization to RTLM and often joined in the hate speech and rhetoric found on RTLM. In April 1994, during the second week of the genocide, Radio Rwanda broadcast a live debate between two political leaders. One leader claimed that Tutsis returning to Rwanda from the diaspora would “exterminate, exterminate, exterminate, exterminate.” He



claimed the Tutsi would “exterminate you until they are the only ones left in the country so that they can keep for a thousand years the power that their fathers had kept for four hundred years. . . You must not let up in your efforts.”<sup>131</sup> In early June 1994, near the end of the genocide, the RTLM claimed that the RPF are ‘decimating’ the Hutu population and that local communities must step up and fight back.<sup>132</sup> In these ways, the Hutu elite of Rwandan government effectively utilized the ‘accusation in a mirror’ strategy, convincing local Hutus that Tutsis were planning attacks against them, in order to incite those very attacks against Tutsis.

In early 1994, Frodouald Karuhije, a Hutu living in Gitarama, spent weeks digging large trenches on his land after having been told via RTLM and local leaders that the RPF were coming to massacre Hutus. Once the genocide began, Karuhije recognized that the massacre was one of the government and local Hutus against the minority Tutsi, the exact opposite of what he had been warned would happen. Karuhije used his trenches to hide fourteen Tutsis from his neighborhood throughout the genocide.<sup>133</sup>

From fall 1991 to the time of the genocide, local propaganda newspapers reported that the Tutsi sought to “clean up Rwanda . . . by throwing Hutu in the Nyabarongo,” that RPF soldiers had reported to Hutu government officials that they had come to “clean the country of the filth of Hutu” and that the RPF had begin distributing arms to the youth wings of their political party supporters.<sup>134</sup>

Prior to the genocide, Léon Mugesera applied the ‘river’ statement to the Tutsis when he gave his infamous speech, saying “I am telling you (Tutsis) that your home is in Ethiopia, that we are going to send you back there quickly, by the Nyabarongo River.”<sup>135</sup> During the genocide, the talk on the popular RTLM often included coded language for massacring Tutsis, including ‘cleaning the filth.’ Finally, the Hutu extremists provided military training for and distributed arms to the youth wings of the various parties, most famously the *Interahamwe*, the youth wing of the MRND.<sup>136</sup>

#### *Negative Imagery or Stereotypes of Tutsi*

In November 1993, RTLM commentator Noel Hitimana discussed the Arusha Accords and the mistake that he believes the government made when it signed the accords. He claimed that when the *inyenzi* catch a Hutu member of the local government, “they skin him alive.”<sup>137</sup>

Nearly four months before the genocide, RTLM broadcaster Kantano discussed the impending return of Tutsi soldiers to Rwanda as a result of the implementation of the Arusha Accords. He claimed that the *inkotanyi* were “getting ready to come here.” Kantano said that the prior day, the Minister of Defense, Bizimana, had said

get ready to live with *inkotanyi* soldiers in this town, Kigali. In reality, they are our brothers, but I don’t know whether those who have disemboweled women, hanged people, and killed with blunt hoes . . . for goodness’ sake, the *inkotanyi* should leave them in Uganda. They should pity us and demobilize them. Let only people of good behavior and morals come here, people with good

heart who have decided to live together with other people, but not with the aim of killing people with blunt hoes.<sup>138</sup>

In the same broadcast, Kantano alleged that Hutus are poor and Tutsis are, and have always, been very wealthy. He recalled the meeting of investors to set up the RTLM radio station, noting that there were more than one hundred people at the meeting to raise two million francs, but that setting up a Tutsi radio station would take only five Tutsis to raise one hundred million francs.

Just days before the start of the genocide, a RTLM broadcast discussed recent murders of two high profile Rwandans. The commentator alleged that the *inkotanyi* have murdered the men via disemboweling one man and severing the head of the other victim.<sup>139</sup> Gahigi Gaspard, the broadcaster, also argued that the president of the PSD party, a Tutsi, was stealing the land of local Hutus and utilizing it for his own benefit.

Less than a week after the start of the genocide, RTLM discusses the “fight against the cockroaches,” claiming that the RPF rebels started a war against the country and that the *inkotanyi* are using humans as shields to protect themselves during fighting. They also claimed that Tutsis hide inside houses after killing the Hutus within the house via machete and that they are thieves. The commentator claims that the RPF burns Hutu homes and starve the homeowners inside the house.<sup>140</sup> Later in the broadcast, the commentator discusses the Arusha Accords and discussions between the Hutu government and the RPF to implement the accords and stop the war. The commentator alleges that the RPF will bring

with them *ibizungerezi* (Tutsi women whose beauty drives men crazy) to control the meeting.

Before and during the genocide, extremist Hutus would remind the public of historic myths propagated by the Belgian colonialists about Tutsi superiority, sowing and nurturing discord and resentment among the public. One common refrain was to remind Hutus that Tutsis believed they were intellectually superior and “were born only to rule.”<sup>141</sup> Immediately after April 6 and throughout the genocide, RTLM broadcasters continued to allege, without evidence, that the RPF and Tutsis assassinated President Habyarimana by shooting down his plane in order to start the war again.

Hutu extremists argued throughout the genocide that the RPF rebels recruited young children, particularly street children, to assist in the war. One RTLM commentator said “it is indeed sad for the *inkotanyi* to drag twelve-year old kids to the frontline.”<sup>142</sup> In the same broadcast, RTLM commentators compared RPF soldiers to stray dogs and pigs, because they hide in holes and bushes throughout Rwanda.

The next day, an RTLM broadcaster claimed that Kagame had sought the advice of a soothsayer prior to attacking Rwanda in early April. The commentator also claims that Kagame and his soldiers were “disemboweling the survivors, killing them, [and] cutting off their breasts and genitals.”<sup>143</sup>

In mid-May, during the height of the genocide, Radio Rwanda, the official government radio station, broadcast an interview with a ten-year old Hutu child from Kimironko. The child and local residents had fled to Holy Family Church when the RPF arrived in the course of the civil war. The interviewer asks the child about the RPF, whom he called *inkotanyi*. The child tells this story

the *inkotanyi* came to our home, got hold of a female neighbor, split her womb open, removed a fetus, put it in a mortar, pounded it, and told the woman to go look for spices to fry it with the intention of making her eat it. She went to bring onions, but upon her return, when they tried to feed with the fetus, she instantly died.

The child then describes the RPF soldiers by saying “they looked like tar. . . they were wearing overalls and boots . . . very dark complexion . . . they were very tall. And their eyes were red burning like charcoal. . . They are like animals.”<sup>144</sup>

In late May, Gaspard Gahigi, a RTLM commentator, encouraged Hutus not to flee their homes from the approaching RPF soldiers, arguing that the Tutsi would loot and rob their homes if they left.<sup>145</sup> During the same broadcast, RTLM alleges that RPF soldiers are raping women, and that some soldiers carry AIDS.

In early June, RTLM commentator Valerie Bekeremi accuses RPF soldiers of raping small children, that they violate human rights generally, and that they are murdering unarmed Hutu citizens in the country.<sup>146</sup> She also claims that all Tutsi in the country are cockroaches, accomplices of the RPF rebels and that they have ‘decimated’ the Hutu population. Later in the same month, she claims that they were “created to drink Rwandan blood and to kill.”<sup>147</sup>

Towards the end of the genocide, RTLM broadcaster Habimana Kantano stated that the Tutsis cannot manage the country after killing Hutus and pushing them out of their land. He said, “we know it, Tutsis are lazy. You do not know how to farm.”<sup>148</sup>

*Advocating violence towards the RPF and Tutsi*

Perhaps the first recorded instance in the 1990s of a Hutu government official equating Tutsi Rwandans with the RPF rebels was shortly after the October 1990 invasion by the RPF. The Minister of Justice “declared that the Tutsi were *ibyitso*, or accomplices” of the RPF rebels.<sup>149</sup> Later in the fall of 1992, Léon Mugesera, in a speech in Gisenyi, in northern Rwanda, said to MRND supporters gathered for a party meeting and rally, “know that the person whose throat you do not cut now will be the one who will cut yours.”<sup>150</sup> And in *Kangura* edition 40, published in 1993, the editors recounted a story about interim Minister Twagiramungu differentiating between a deal signed with the RPF (self-named *inkotanyi*) and the negative slang term *inyenzi* (cockroach) in which the final line ends, “As you wish. But in reality, is there a difference between the *inkotanyi* and the *inyenzi*?”<sup>151</sup>

Seven months after the signing of the Arusha Accords, Ngeze published an editorial in *Kangura* claiming that

Those who reject the Accords will take it out on those soldiers and will massacre them; they will throw grenades at them and they will die each day. And it is after their departure that the blood will

really flow. All the Tutsis and the cowardly Hutus will be exterminated.<sup>152</sup>

In January 1994, Hassan Ngeze, editor of *Kangura*, published an editorial in which he stated

We ... say to the *inyenzi* that if they lift up their heads again, it will no longer be necessary to go to fight the enemy in the bush. We will ... start by eliminating the internal enemy ... they will disappear ... if they make the mistake of attacking again, there will be none of them left in Rwanda, not even a single accomplice.<sup>153</sup>

In March 1994, *Kangura* published an article claiming that the RPF (whom Ngeze always referred to as *inyenzi*, had compiled a list of 1,600 people who opposed the RPF rebels and who would be killed during the Tutsi takeover of the country. Ngeze claimed that the RPF called this document and plan ‘the Final Plan.’ The paper says “Moreover, the accomplices of the enemy are well known. Therefore the *inyenzi* should have the courage to understand that they are making a slight error, they shall be exterminated. They should realize that if they strike again, none of the accomplices will survive.”<sup>154</sup>

Shortly after the start of the genocide, RTLM broadcasters advised listeners to ‘flush’ out their Tutsi neighbors from their hiding places.<sup>155</sup> In the same broadcast, listeners are also instructed to find local Tutsis hiding in houses in the area and to carefully distinguish between Hutus and Tutsis. Finally, the commentators urged Hutus in Kigali to detain people at roadblocks who do not have identity cards, since they are likely Tutsis.

One week into the genocide, RTLM noted that the government was recruiting young men and women into the army to fight against the *inkotanyi* “until we defeat them completely.” The commentators noted that the RPF was headed towards Kigali to fight for the capitol – the response from the commentator was “let them come; we will finish them up; not one of them will survive. In any case Rwandans are waiting for them with their machetes and other kinds of arms available to them.”<sup>156</sup>

Two weeks into the genocide, RTLM broadcasters called for the RPF to surrender or their supporters (Tutsis) in Rwanda would be exterminated.<sup>157</sup> This of course, was what was already occurring throughout the country. On May 28, Kantano Habimana, the most popular RTLM personality, said

Wait until we get enough bullets to chase them away, they will regret what brought them here. They said they will kill all Hutus but what can they use to decimate Hutus? One Tutsi may kill one Hutu, but in the end 6 million Hutus can survive, then what ethnic group would be injured the most?<sup>158</sup>

In a RTLM broadcast towards the end of the genocide, in late May 1994, one commentator argued that all *inyenzi* must be killed and that loyal Rwandans should provide no exceptions, or accept bribes to keep Tutsis alive.<sup>159</sup> Gaspard Gahigi exhorts local Hutus to stay in their communes and fight to kill RPF and Tutsi, saying that they will “present and give medals to people who, in each sector, cell, will have stayed in town. We must continue fighting.” Shortly



thereafter, Kantano Habimana accuses Tutsi soldiers of raping women and killing children, then says to the listeners

If you are a cockroach you must be killed, you cannot change anything. If you are *Inkotanyi* you cannot change anything. No one can say that he has captured a cockroach and the latter give him money, as a price for his life, this cannot be accepted. If someone has a false identity card, if he is *inkotanyi*, a known accomplice of RPF don't accept anything in exchange, he must be killed.

This advice to the public followed a story Kantano told of an *Interahamwe* soldier who arrested a Tutsi merchant in the market who held a Hutu identity card. The man admitted that his mother was Tutsi, so they planned to kill him. Here, the Hutu extremists have demonstrated that they conflate all Tutsis or those with at least one Tutsi parent with the RPF and advocate killing all of them. (Historically, identification classification followed the father's designation, not the mother's. During the genocide, any person with a Tutsi mother or grandparent was in grave danger, regardless of the law regarding identity classification).

And on June 4, 1994, RTL M commentator Kantano Habimana exhorted Hutus in Rwanda to “look at one person, at his height and physical features, look closely at his cute little nose and then break it.”<sup>160</sup> He stated “the proof that we will exterminate them is that they represent only one ethnic group.” Coded references to the appearance of the Tutsi (considered by the Belgians to be taller, thinner, lighter skinned, with thin, small noses) were commonly used by media commentators in identifying the Tutsi ‘enemy.’

*Advocating the extermination of the Tutsis*

Prior to the start of the genocide, there was an attack on Justin Mugenzi's life. At the time Mugenzi was the president of the Liberal Party, a party largely aligned with the RPF and seen as a Tutsi party. Mugenzi transformed from an ally of the RPF to a virulently anti-Tutsi activist during the course of the months leading up to the genocide. After the attempt on his life in January 1994, RTLM discussed the failed attack. During the broadcast, the commentator Gahigi Gaspard read a statement by a Mugenzi ally in which he stated "we, all the Rwandans, have found out the truth. We found out who the enemies of Rwanda are and we all undertake to revenge all the innocent victims. Learn from what happened in Burundi."<sup>161</sup>

In mid-May, Simon Bikindi, the famous songwriter and singer aligned with Hutu extremists, and hired by RTLM to support the Hutu government's positions regarding the minority Tutsi, gave some 'advice' to the *inkotanyi*. The commentator remarked

He is warning them that they will all be wiped out, come what may, because all the sons of Sebahinzi (the historical father of the Hutus) are closely watching whatever has to do with the *inkotanyi*, fighting them and hunting them down. That is what is happening now, and the *inkotanyi* are on the verge of extinction.<sup>162</sup>

By the end of May, RTLM broadcaster Kantano Habimana stated that when the *inkotanyi* enter Kigali

they will all be exterminated there. . . You understand that we are in the process of exterminating the *inkotanyi* in Kigali village. Come and assist us in exterminating them so that the population will be

rid of this plague at all cost, for in Kigali-ville, we shall exterminate them. There is nothing else to do.<sup>163</sup>

In the same broadcast, he reiterates that Hutus are 90% of the population and Tutsis are only 10% of the population, and that

if all the Rwandans, if 90% of the Rwandans can rise like one person against everything that the *inkotanyi* represent, they will disappear forever and will no longer think of returning to Rwanda. If they maintain this suicidal behavior, they will completely die out.

In late June, RTL M commentators, preparing to flee the country as the RPF claimed victory, warned the Tutsis that they “will be exterminated” when the French arrive (for the implementation of Operation Turquoise). In predicting that Tutsis will flee the country at that time, Habimana claims that the countries Tutsis flee to will “hunt you in all the countries you live in – they will mistreat you. They will send you to us and we will strangle you and kill you. So, you will be exterminated.”<sup>164</sup> Around the same time, RTL M broadcaster Valerie Bekeremi said “we must take our revenge on the *nyenzi inkotanyi* and exterminate them as the whole youth is ready to do and has proved to us.”<sup>165</sup>

*Directing the public to engage in violence in a specific area*

The RTL M often passed on information to the public given to them by government officials, soldiers, party leaders, or the *Interahamwe*, regarding specific people to target for death, or specific areas where they wanted the Hutu population to join with the armed forces and *Interahamwe* to kill local Tutsi and fight the RPF.

On April 13, one week after the start of the genocide, RTLM announcers urged residents of Kigali to go into neighbor's houses to find Tutsis hiding within and to "flush them out." They warned Hutus to carefully distinguish between Hutus and Tutsis so as to catch only the Tutsis, and to "open those houses; track them down." They also encouraged the persons manning the roadblocks to "redouble your zeal; wait firmly for these *Inkotanyi* . . . they need to regret having come."<sup>166</sup>

In mid-May, RTLM urged Hutus in the Rugunga valley to go to Tutsi huts "next to the horse stables" and that the people tending the horses are *inkotanyi*. The broadcaster urges listeners to quickly surround the Tutsi in the horse stables and kill them before they listen to the RTLM broadcast and escape.<sup>167</sup> Around the same time, Kantano Habimana warned listeners that there was an impending attack on Nyamirambo, and encouraged local Hutus to take up arms and "be very vigilant at the roadblocks."<sup>168</sup>

At the end of May, RTLM encouraged listeners to "exterminate" the Tutsi living in Muhima, and the RPF who entered the area during the war.<sup>169</sup> The broadcaster then told the youth that weapons are now available, and that they should continue with their training and expect to get weapons "tomorrow or the day after at the latest." He then said

We would then go and flush out the *inyenzi* wherever they may be hiding. We will free Gatsata and chase out the small *inyenzi* there, those cowards. Yesterday, I saw them in a church I do not know what they were doing there. . . . When the weapons are available,

tomorrow or the day after, we shall fight these *inyenzi* and drive them as far as the Rusine (a body of water near Kigali). And then we shall return to our town.

In early June, Valerie Bekeremi invited a Hutu extremist from Byumba to join the broadcast, and together they encouraged people of Rwanda to go to Byumba.

We urge you to unite, come out of wherever you are ... committees have been formed for the purpose of gathering together all the civilians who have fled. These committees will gather all the young people who have fled, train the willing ones among them to defend themselves so they can collaborate with the armed forces.

They go on to say that this same organizing has already started and that 300 young people from the community have already joined the *Interahamwe* and have started training.<sup>170</sup>

One day later, RTLM encouraged the people of Mgobo commune to stay and fight in the same way that they encouraged people in Byumba to fight Tutsis and the RPF.<sup>171</sup> In this broadcast, the commentators urged all people to take up arms and fight, and to eliminate all RPF collaborators (Tutsis). The government of this community asked Hutus to sign up for training so that they can engage in ‘self-defense.’

Even once a cease-fire had been called, RTLM announcers continued to call for Hutu extremists to engage in violence. On June 15, RTLM told the Hutus working at roadblocks to beware of people heading back to Kigali, and to stop those who do not have Hutu identity cards. The commentator stated “Any

person who wishes to return to Kigali must be an individual whose identification is not dubious and not an RPF member trying to infiltrate.”<sup>172</sup>

On June 19, RTL M announcer Gaspard Gahigi encouraged the people of the Gisozi area to go to the Kabakene cellule and the “armed forces, the *Interahamwe*, you the youth” and kill all the *inkotanyi* there, “do not allow any *inkotanyi* to escape.” Gaspard also reminds that the commanders of the armed forces “must turn their minds to the same direction; they should think of nothing else but the war and ways of repelling those *inkotanyi* or even exterminating them.”<sup>173</sup>

#### *Accusations in the Mirror*

During and prior to the genocide and civil war, RTL M continually broadcast ‘accusation in the mirror’ stories and reports from the field, claiming that RPF rebels and Tutsis were slaughtering innocent Hutus throughout the country. In reality, government soldiers and gendarmerie, aided by the *interahamwe* and local Hutus were committing the very crimes alleged on the radio. Thus, the propaganda strategy of ‘accusation in the mirror’ continued throughout the war and genocide, to great effect on the Hutu public.

Shortly before the start of the genocide, RTL M interviewed an extremist Hutu, Mrs. Gaudence Nyirahabimana. She predicted that the RPF would

cause troubles on an ethnic basis. . . You really see that currently, RPF wants to launch the ethnic war, killing Hutu officials who have got constructive ideas in order to accuse the Tutsis of that. Then, Hutus will get angry and Hutus and Tutsis will exterminate

each other. So, RPF will alert the international community that the Tutsis have been exterminated while it is the one that started that.<sup>174</sup>

In Mid-May, after much of the killing of Tutsis and moderate Hutus had occurred within the country, RTLM reported that “all the people who were killed in the country are the victims of the RPF. It is the *inyenzi inkotanyi* who killed them and nobody else.”<sup>175</sup>

In late May, Radio Rwanda’s Hyacinthe Bicomumpaka interviewed a Hutu doctor who had recently returned from Kicukiro, where the genocide was no longer active, due to the RPF advance in the region. He told a lengthy account of the interaction between Hutu and Tutsi RPF in that region. In the story, he alleges that RPF soldiers and Tutsi sympathizers fired indiscriminately on over 100,000 innocent civilians, ‘unarmed refugees’ according to the doctor. He also alleged that the RPF dismembered people, and that the RAF soldiers who were shooting their guns in the region were doing so only to “simulate an attack to enable the people below to proceed.”<sup>176</sup>

On June 8, RTLM announced that a burgomaster in the Muhazi commune reported to the broadcasters that the

*inyenzi inkotanyi* killed people with small hoes after having tied their arms by behind. He revealed this and said ‘Even if we went now , I will show you how wicked the *inyenzi* are, how they are killers.’ We were told how the *inyenzi* struck on the heads of pregnant women with small hoes and then cut through their wombs and removed the babies. After, they would lay down the baby and kill it too, cutting it through. They would do this in front of other women to make them feel that the same fate was awaiting them.

You heard how they threw in Muhazi Lake women with their babies on their backs and their dead babies are reported to be flowing on that lake even now. I even told you that some dead bodies were carried by rivers especially by Akagera River which took them into Victoria Lake in Uganda. Some may even continue to flow in Nile River in such a way that European people may see them in the Mediterranean. So you understand that the wickedness of the *inyenzi* is unlimited. The *inyenzi*'s wickedness can only finish with their own end. It could only finish if all of them died.<sup>177</sup>

On June 20, as most Hutus were fleeing the country and the government was stationed in Gitarama, RTLM continued to allege that the RPF was massacring Hutus throughout the country. One commentator said "all those young men they want to throw into the Kivu. They will surely retaliate."<sup>178</sup>

#### Anti-Tutsi Propaganda Was Carefully Planned and Executed

While RTLM and *Kangura* were nominally privately-owned, it is clear that they and other anti-Tutsi publications were owned, operated, and controlled by President Habyarimana, the *akazu*, high-ranking government and military officials, and wealthy businessmen close to the President, the MRND and the CDR. From October 1990 up to and throughout the genocide, these media outlets, along with occasional assistance from the state-owned radio station, Radio Rwanda, aggressively marketed propaganda that sought to desensitize Hutu Rwandans to their Tutsi neighbors, friends, and even relatives.

Through the use of a variety of tactics and messaging strategies outlined in this chapter, the Hutu Power extremists controlling Rwandan government steadily built a sophisticated web of stereotypes and caricatures of Tutsis founded on



history, fear, and even hysteria. Their effective messaging dehumanized Tutsis both within and without Rwanda, creating a callousness, even hostility, in Rwanda towards the value of Tutsi life. As in other genocidal regimes, the use of propaganda was a critical element in creating the foundation for genocide to occur.

## Chapter 3

### PRE-COLONIAL RWANDA MEETS BELGIAN RULE

Understanding the origins and the making and remaking of the meanings attached to the designations Tutsi and Hutu are critical to understanding the 1994 genocide. While there is ample evidence that the designations Tutsi and Hutu existed in Rwanda long before the advent of colonialism, the meaning of each was drastically changed by colonialist powers. What in the past had been a designation largely associated with power, class, and profession, with the definition of what it meant to be a Tutsi or Hutu shifting and changing over time, became a racialized descriptor attached to a calcified system of privilege and deprivation under the Belgian colonizers. Prior to colonization, individuals in what is today Rwanda lived in a highly complex system of clientship and power-sharing, with flexibility to move between the designation of Tutsi and Hutu based on marriage, acquisition of wealth, cattle, or land, or by 'gift.' Indeed, as the pre-colonial state developed and increased in complexity, the meanings of Tutsi and Hutu also evolved. Belgian colonialists arrested that evolution and calcified the terms Tutsi and Hutu into a simplified, race-based immutable designation that profoundly impacted subsequent social and political life in Rwanda. Colonialist definitions of Tutsi and Hutu persisted in various forms through Rwanda's first thirty-five years of independence and had a major impact on both Hutu presidents' rule, and the 1994 genocide.

## The Origins of Hutu, Tutsi and Twa

No clear agreement exists on the origins of Hutu, Tutsi and Twa. Most scholars agree that at some point in history, the people now categorized as Hutu and Tutsi migrated from different places, as different peoples, probably at different times, to the Great Lakes region. It is generally believed that the Tutsi migrated to the region, arriving either after the Hutu (Bantu) peoples, or at least increasing in numbers via migration in the 15<sup>th</sup> century after the Hutu had largely completed migration to the area. The Twa, who make up one percent of the population, were hunters and gatherers; very little research or data is available on their origins. While Tutsis and Hutus intermarried, neither group mixed socially or intermarried with the Twa.<sup>179</sup> After this general consensus, various theories abound as to the development of the designations Hutu and Tutsi, and the meanings attached to those designations.

A famous Rwandan myth tells the history of Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa in terms designed to cement Tutsi superiority, but without distinction of origin. The myth starts with Kigwa, the son of Nkuba, the god of thunder. According to Rwandan mythology, Kigwa was the first God to live on earth. He had three sons: Gatutsi, Gahutu and Gatwa. One day Kigwa entrusted each of his sons with a jug of milk to watch over during the night. The next day, Kigwa visited each of his sons to learn of the milk's disposition. Gatwa drank his milk, Gahutu spilled his milk upon the ground, but Gatutsi kept his milk safe. Kigwa then

granted Gatutsi the power of dominion over his gluttonous and clumsy brothers, thus establishing the Tutsi dynasty. This myth, often told in Rwandan history, assumes the relationship between the three categories of Rwandans as homogenous, separated only by a divine ordination of superiority in governance.<sup>180</sup> While this popular myth makes a point about historical Rwandans' interpretation of their origins, data concerning the differences and similarities of the Tutsi and Hutu peoples tells a more complex story.

For the purposes of this chapter, we shall dispense with further discussion about the Twa, as they are a very small minority of the population and were not central to the development of the societal structure in Rwanda prior to the genocide. Instead, this chapter will focus on the development of the terms and meanings attached to Tutsi and Hutu, and the lasting impact that colonialism had on the country as a result.

There is some evidence to suggest that the Tutsi differ from the Hutu in genotype and phenotype – if not entirely or neatly, at least in an average sense. As one Sudanese official remarked in the mid-1990s when meeting with intellectual audiences in Rwanda, he “saw a few who were clearly Tutsis and a few who were clearly Hutus,” but most people appeared to be “somewhere in between.” When he asked a government official if the official could tell the difference between Hutus and Tutsis, the official responded, “yes but with a margin of error of 35 percent.”<sup>181</sup> Thus, any genotypal and phenotypal differences

that existed at one point in history faded over time through evolution, cohabitation, and intermarriage.

### *Phenotypal evidence*

Early colonialists found that there was an average 12 centimeter height difference between those designated Tutsi and the shorter peoples designated as Hutu.<sup>182</sup> Other differences noted included width of noses, broadness of the face, etc. Some concluded that these phenotypal differences proved that the Tutsi and Hutu were descended from distinct peoples. Others concluded that the differences, in particular of height, resulted from the very different lifestyles that Tutsi and Hutu led at the advent of colonization. Specifically, most Tutsi did not till the land; they were pastoralists whose diet depended on meat and milk from their herds of cattle. Hutus largely worked as agriculturalists, subsisting on more restricted diets. One social geographer noted the 12 centimeter height difference between Tutsi and Hutu matched the height difference between French nobility and serfs during the same period, implying that the difference was due to life circumstances rather than genetics.<sup>183</sup> While theories abound as to the genesis of phenotypal differences, many are based on the belief that Tutsis' lifestyles and eating patterns account for their height and that marriage and childrearing within the community maintained that difference over time.

### *Genotypal evidence*

Other, more recent studies have pointed to genotypal differences between the Tutsi and Hutu to support a claim that both groups migrated to what is now Rwanda from different areas of Africa. For example, Hutus are generally more likely to be lactose intolerant, while four of five Tutsis are able to digest lactose in great quantities. Throughout the continent, communities which are most likely to tolerate large amounts of lactose include the dairy-dependent nomadic desert populations in Africa. This evidence suggests that the Tutsis were at one time a nomadic peoples who migrated to the Great Lakes region, then began intermarry with Hutus over time. The intermarriage of Tustis and Hutus potentially explains why lactose intolerance amongst Hutus is less prevalent than other peoples within the Great Lakes region.<sup>184</sup>

Hutus in Rwanda contain the sickle cell trait at a rate commensurate with other populations in the Great Lakes region, while Tutsis are less likely to carry the trait. The presence of the sickle cell trait amongst a population is believed to indicate that the peoples of the community had survived malaria over many generations. The almost complete absence of sickle cell anemia amongst Tutsis suggests that Tutsi ancestors originated in an area of Africa not affected by malaria (a dry, desert area).<sup>185</sup> These two examples tend to suggest that, at one time, at least, the Tutsi and Hutu were two distinct peoples. Over time, however, those distinctions lessened as Hutu and Tutsi intermarried and reared children.

### *Marriage and Children*

Historically, designation of Hutu and Tutsi flowed patrilineally – a Hutu man and a Tutsi woman’s children were considered Hutu, and a Tutsi man and Hutu woman’s children were Tutsi. Children born out of wedlock were assigned the designation of the mother, though children born in a cohabitating family were assigned Hutu or Tutsi according to their father’s designation. There existed no mixed-status designation in pre-colonial Rwanda.<sup>186</sup> As intermarriage became more prevalent, more and more children of ‘mixed’ marriages claimed singular identities, regardless of their mother’s identity.

While children were assigned an identity according to marriage and relationship rules, a Hutu woman’s marriage to a Tutsi man allowed her to re-designate herself as Tutsi. It appears that intermarriage was common in pre-colonial times, particularly amongst women to men of higher social status (Hutu to Tutsi). As such, the designation of Tutsi and Hutu was more connected to the community’s patrilineal societal structure than to a biological structure. As intermarriage and cohabitation were quite common, the genotypical and phenotypical differences between early Hutus and Tutsis lessened over time, while the determination of who was Tutsi and who was Hutu, and *why* they were designated as such evolved as the social structure developed.

#### *Social Designation and Re-designation*

Just as a Hutu woman could become Tutsi by marrying a Tutsi man, so could a Hutu man become a Tutsi man, albeit not via marriage. Men could adjust

their status from Hutu to Tutsi via acquisition of wealth and cattle. While not frequent, this happened often enough for the community to define the process in Kinyarwandan – *kwi hutura*. Conversely, a Tutsi who lost cattle and wealth could be ‘downgraded’ in social status and de-Tutsified. Rwandans called this process *gucupira*, to denote the loss of one’s Tutsi (class-based) identity. The designation and re-designation of a person (and his lineage) based on wealth, acquisition of cattle, and resulting social status supports an argument that the connotations of Tutsi and Hutu were complex and not strictly based on physical or genetic characteristics. Indeed, through marriage (social mobility) and acquisition or loss of cattle (a sign of social status in Rwanda), Rwandans could adopt a new social identity in the community. This process of redefining wealthy Hutu as Tutsi also prevented the development of an elite Hutu population – by definition, wealthy Hutus were transformed into Tutsis and thus lost all motivation to identify with other, less wealthy or privileged Hutus.<sup>187</sup> Thus, classification as Hutu and Tutsi preserved a class distinction that operated separate and apart from distinctions of birth, ethnicity, or physical characteristics. In later years, European colonizers ignored the complexity with which Rwandans identified members of the community and created a calcified, highly simplistic and stratified system that denied Rwandans opportunities for social mobility.

#### Clans (not Tribes)



While most African communities were organized by tribes, connecting people of similar heritage, cultural practices, religion, language, Rwanda's Hutu and Tutsi are not, and were never tribal communities. All Rwandans have historically shared the same cultural and religious practices, and speak the same language, Kinyarwanda. While Hutu and Tutsi denoted difference in the community, that difference was not one of tribe. As defined throughout this chapter, the difference was a social, economic, and political difference.<sup>188</sup>

Early Rwanda was organized loosely by clan rather than by tribe. Yet clan membership in Rwanda was unique as well, based on lineage for Tutsis and clientship and economic relationships for Hutu and Twa. Eighteen major clans existed throughout the country, and each clan included Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa in their respective memberships. For the most part, Hutus who worked for Tutsis either as clients working the land and/or tending to cattle, or as servants for wealthy Tutsi were considered members of the same clan as their patron.<sup>189</sup> As wealthy Tutsi would relocate within the country, the Hutu families in their employment would move with them. Additionally, Hutus who had a clientship relationship with a Tutsi family (where the powerful Tutsi would provide patronage and protection in exchange for a gift of cows) were also included in the clan.

The famous colonial-era Rwandan historian Alexis Kagame believed clans to be 'purely political' organizations, and most historians believe that the clans

were dynastic in nature (headed by a wealthy patron, comprising his lineage (exclusively designated as Tutsi, according to marriage and lineage customs described earlier) and their (usually Hutu) staff, clients and servants organized therein). While the wealthy and powerful heads of clans were Tutsi, the organization of the clan was not one of racial or ethnic division, but rather one of economic ‘belonging.’ Once colonialists arrived in Rwanda, however, the clan system gave way to a racialized definition of Tutsi versus Hutu within the country.

#### Division of Labor

Many believe that the terms Tutsi and Hutu denoted, at least in part, status and job description prior to colonization. Tutsi, meaning ‘rich in cattle,’ originally denoted powerful pastoralists but later came to describe the “elite group as a whole.” Conversely, Hutu originally meant a person in a subordinate position to another; later it was used to describe all ordinary people in the area, who were typically agriculturists.<sup>190</sup> While not all Tutsis were pastoralists and not all Hutu were farmers, it is true that the division of labor roughly hewed along these lines. However, there have always been so-called *petit Tutsis*, Tutsis who were poor, did not own cattle, and either farmed or subsisted via other means (working for others, etc.). It appears that the original meanings of the terms morphed over time to be a rough generalization, and then tracked the population largely via patrilineal inheritance.

Over time, Rwandans utilized three successive systems of clientship, with the changes between each system indicating the changing nature of relationships between the rich and the poor, Tutsis and Hutus. While clientship was typical in the region, Rwandan styles of clientship were unique and evolved over time. None of these systems were egalitarian, and the last one in place prior to the advent of colonialism deeply widened the divide between wealthy Tutsis and poorer Hutus.

#### *Umuheto*

First utilized in a northern region of the Rwandan kingdom, in which there existed a looser system of control and greater autonomy, *umuheto* was a clientship system in which clients gifted cattle to their patrons in return for protection for themselves, their family, and their lineage. This system demonstrated that cattle were not always reserved for the very wealthy and powerful – but the patronage system did exclude the poor who owned no cattle at all. The system also transferred wealth from the less wealthy to the more wealthy in regular intervals, increasing the disparity between peoples providing the protection and those receiving it. Over time, this system was replaced by *ubuhake*.<sup>191</sup>

#### *Ubuhake*

*Ubuhake* was a system of clientship wherein the patron (usually Tutsi) gave a cow to his client (usually Hutu). At the time, Hutu were generally not allowed to own cattle, as cattle denoted wealth and power. Thus, the gift of a cow

signified an increase in social and political status. As the cow matured, the client was required to share the largess of the gift (subsequent calves) with his patron. Over time, the Hutu who owned cows and subsequent calves could transform his status from Hutu to Tutsi (the Kinyarwandan term of Tutsification was called *kwihutura*).<sup>192</sup> Prior to the implementation of *ubuhake*, Hutu were not prohibited from owning cattle, but many did not have the wealth to acquire them. Hutu were often granted cows as gifts, for acts of bravery in battle, or for other service to the *mwami* or local authorities; these cows were ‘pure’ gifts, without any reciprocity required or expected in the future. Only with the implementation of *ubuhake* did the prohibition of cattle ownership by Hutu come into existence. *Ubuake* would not work effectively if Hutu could simultaneously gain cattle through pure gifts, after all. There was no lasting benefit to the patron in a ‘pure’ gifting relationship. The *ubuhake* clientship system involved the enrichment of the patron via the ‘gift’ of the cow to the client, but wealthy Tutsi patrons would only agree to such a system if the ‘free’ option were disallowed.

While this system granted cows (which translated to power and wealth) to Hutus, it was applied unevenly and capriciously. A generous Tutsi patron could grant his Hutu client a cow without extracting much in return, creating a path to independence, status and wealth for the Hutu. Conversely, a more truculent Tutsi could utilize the gift of a cow as a form of labor or other promissory extraction from his Hutu client, furthering the disparity of wealth and status between them.

Prunier posits that the original *ubukake* relationships existed between Tutsis, not between Tutsi and Hutu, but over time the systems altered and became relationships of power, privilege and class, impacting Tutsis positively and Hutus negatively.<sup>193</sup>

### *Ubureetwa*

Sometime in the first half of the nineteenth century, the *mwami* Rwabuguri altered the system governing possession and ownership of land, which resulted in a change to the country's clientship relationship. Prior to Rwabuguri's reign, land was passed from father to son via lineage, without interference or interruption from the monarchy. During Rwabuguri's reign, control of land was transferred to the *mwami*, who then passed control of the land to his designated authority figures at the local level. Lineage heads (often Hutu) no longer were guaranteed control over the lands in their respective communities, and power was transferred to the political allies of the *mwami*. As a result, clientship changed. The *ubureetwa* system permitted the landless to live and work on the land (that formerly was considered their property), but required a contribution of free manual labor for the chief, as 'payment' of the use of the government's land. Moreover, Rwabuguri imposed this requirement of forced labor on Hutus only, thus intensifying societal differences already in existence between the two groups. Hutus lost ownership of land, and simultaneously had less opportunity to grow wealth and prosperity, as they had to contribute more of their work to the ruling

chief. As Tutsis were exempt from *ubureetwa*, they had no such impediments to production and accumulation of wealth.<sup>194</sup>

Clientship evolved over time from a system that, at its start, largely existed between wealthy and middle class families, then between Tutsis and other Tutsis, and finally between Tutsi patrons and Hutu clients, with increasing disparity between the status of the patron and the client. These changes exacerbated differences of job status, power, and economic wealth between Tutsi and Hutu over time. While Hutu could at times become re-designated as Tutsi either through wealth and cattle acquisition or through marriage, such re-designation became more difficult during the final form of clientship (*ubureetwa*) prior to the arrival of Europeans.

#### Organization and Diffusion of Power

Pre-colonial Rwanda was a community of highly organized, yet diffuse power sharing. Historically a monarchy, the *mwami*, or king, played the central role. He was considered to be divinely appointed, and his power extended over the country in physical, social, and political forms.<sup>195</sup> The *mwami* was an inherited position, descending from the enthroned king to his designated son. While the *mwami* exercised great power, particularly militarily, there existed portions of Rwanda that were less subject to the monarchy's power than others. Historically, northern and southwestern Rwanda, and other smaller communities in the peripheral regions of Rwanda, operated only loosely within the monarchist

structure; they largely existed without paying taxes, participating in proscribed communal labor, or utilizing local authority structures as the rest of the country did. These areas maintained their own complex systems of authority and power, similar to the structure created and maintained by the *mwami*, but without the centralized control mechanisms in place.

Beneath the *mwami*'s authority, there existed a complex, internally competing leadership and authority structure for local communities. Each local area was governed by three chiefs, who controlled different aspects of life. The chief of the landholdings managed the distribution of land, collection of taxes, and production of agricultural products. The chief of men ruled the population in the area, managing disputes and enforcing rules of behavior. This chief also managed local recruitment for the *mwami*'s army. The third chief, chief of the pastures, controlled the lands reserved for grazing of cattle. These positions were often held by different individuals within one community, and the chief of the landholdings was often Hutu (due to the fact that most farmers were Hutu). The other two positions were typically held by Tutsis. In some instances, one person would hold all three positions simultaneously. More often, however, power and authority was diffused between a number of people. Additionally, each 'hill' was assigned a hill chief, who ruled over the daily life and functions in that small area. In certain instances, the overlap between the three positions varied by hill, with one chief of men covering an area simultaneously governed by multiple chiefs of

the land. This system was incredibly complex and ensured that competing factions and interests never gained an inordinate amount of power.<sup>196</sup> Chiefs were chosen by the *mwami* or by local authorities at a higher level, and positions at the local level were held by both Tutsi and Hutu men. At higher levels of authority, closer to the *mwami*, it was more difficult for a Hutu man to attain a powerful position; these were reserved for the Tutsis closest to the *mwami*.

Chiefs were tasked with managing and taxing the local population in their area of authority. Because there was no currency in pre-colonial Rwanda, taxation involved contributing to the chiefs' livelihood through a variety of measures: maintaining the properties of the three local chiefs, contributing a portion of one's agricultural product or working the chief's land to produce foodstuffs, and minding the chief's cattle. However, in stark contrast to western notions of conscription and taxation, none of the duties required of the populace were individual obligations. Instead, local communities were required to do a certain amount of work or produce a certain amount of product, and the members of the hill (*umusozi*) collectively determined how to fulfill the requirement. This changed dramatically with colonization, transforming from a collective requirement to an individual one.<sup>197</sup>

### The Germans

In 1885, Europe 'gave' Rwanda to Germany at the Berlin Conference.<sup>198</sup> At the time, no European had ever set foot in Rwanda. A German count, Gustav



Aldolf von Götzen, was appointed as Governor of the eastern region of Africa. Meanwhile, Rwandans were unaware of the colonial action until 1894, when the Governor first presented himself to King Rwabugiri. The German colonial reign began shortly there after in 1897, with a policy of indirect rule and a very light presence in the country. For most of the German colonial period, less than one hundred non-Rwandan Europeans resided in the country,<sup>199</sup> and only thirty of those Europeans represented the German government.<sup>200</sup> Instead, the Germans chose to reinforce existing power structures within the Rwandan monarchy. This afforded greater power to the *mwami* and the Queen Mother, a powerful and politically astute leader who amassed power behind her weak figurehead son to her own political advantage. The Queen Mother, who assumed power upon her husband Rutalindwa's death, first led a coup of the *mwami*'s son who had been bequeathed official title, and then installed her own birth son as a figurehead.<sup>201</sup> The Queen Mother carried on her late husband's strategy of centralization of power, and the German colonialists relied on this power structure to implement their own priorities in the country. As such, elite Tutsi leaders throughout the country became associated with colonialist power, and the centralization of power intensified with Germany's tacit support of the existing monarchy.

During the German colonial period, perhaps the greatest impact the colonialists had on cementing the division between Tutsis and Hutus was the establishment of elite educational institutions reserved for the Tutsi ruling powers.

Germans, like the Belgian colonialists who followed them, subscribed to so-called 'Hamitic' theories, postulating that Tutsis were 'less Negroid' and therefore closer to Aryans than the Hutu people. The German Duke of Mecklenburg once said "[The Watutsi] ways and their language were very distinguished. One had the impression of facing another class of men who had only their skin color in common with the 'Negroes'."<sup>202</sup> In line with their beliefs regarding Tutsi superiority in Rwanda, the White Fathers opened the first western educational institution in 1905, recruiting and admitting sons of Tutsi chiefs. Over the next several years, additional schools were opened throughout the country to accommodate more Tutsi chiefs' children. Father Lèon Classe, the eventual bishop of the Catholic Church in Rwanda, believed that the establishment of schools for the sons of Tutsi chiefs was a tool to train the Tutsi sons, whom he considered "born rulers," to become leaders within the church as well as the government. School construction for Tutsi elite increased throughout the early 1900s, cementing opportunities for wealthy and elite Tutsi youth in the future colonial administration.<sup>203</sup>

While education systems established for Tutsi elite certainly shaped the future of the country's power structure and imbalance between Tutsi and Hutu communities, the Germans' impact on Rwanda's monarchic structure was much lighter than what followed during the Belgian colonial period. By 1916, the Germans lost colonial power of the country to the Belgians via military conquest.

The Belgians' approach to colonial power was much more direct, with long-reaching impact on the country's future.

### The Belgians

After the defeat of Germany in World War I, a number of African provinces previously controlled by Germany were 'reassigned' to Belgium in the League of Nations mandate of 1919. During the first several years of Belgian colonialism, the Belgian administrators essentially continued the German strategy of supporting the existing monarchy structure via indirect rule. However, the Belgians began to implement a number of changes starting in 1922. First, Belgian colonialists appointed a 'special representative' to the *mwami*, which eroded the monarchy's independence and decision-making power. One year later, Belgians took over the *mwami*'s power to select chiefs to govern the various regions within Rwanda.<sup>204</sup> A series of small steps such as this continued until 1926, when Belgian administrators began to more forcefully transition from an indirect to a direct rule system in Rwanda. Between 1926 and 1929, Belgians eliminated the historical system of multiple chiefs ruling the same hill in a variety of arenas. This historically complex system divided power between Tutsi and Hutu communities, allowing residents an opportunity to maintain some access to power and justice regardless of social status.<sup>205</sup> The consolidation of the chiefs' positions assisted Belgian colonialists in concentrating power.

Altering the historic forms of clientship and gradual increases in requirements by Hutu Rwandans in forced labor also increased the imbalance of wealth and power between Tutsis and Hutus, and allowed Belgian administrators to garner support from the Tutsi population. Finally, the census of 1933-1934 cemented the designations of Tutsi and Hutu into calcified, inflexible designations that permitted the Belgians to further elevate Tutsis in civil service, education, and military service. The census also facilitated the administration's effort to concentrate power lines and divisions within the population, thus granting them more control over the economic production within the country.

#### Speke's Race Science Theory

John Hanning Speke, the famous explorer of the Nile, developed a race science theory to explain the difference between African peoples throughout the continent. Entirely without evidence, Speke wrote in his 1863 publication, *Journey of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, that the Tutsi monarchists in what is today Rwanda were 'carriers of a superior civilisation,' descended from the Galla of southern Ethiopia.<sup>206</sup> His 'theory of conquest of inferior by superior races' indicated that the Tutsi were a 'conquering superior race' over the Hutu. Other explorers of the time postulated that the Tutsis originated in Egypt, India, Tibet, or Asia Minor. All these men shared one core belief in their postulation of the 'Hamitic' theory – that Tutsis were superior to the Hutus because of their taller, finer features and supposed greater intellect. Further, they believed that the

foreign Tutsis had invaded the region and subjugated the less refined Hutus, largely due to the characteristics Europeans associated with their appearance and then-current status in Rwanda as the holders of the monarchy.<sup>207</sup>

Speke derived his racist views from a Biblical interpretation of the story of Noah and his son Ham. As the biblical narrative goes, Noah became drunk and passed out. His obedient sons Shem and Japhet sought to cover Noah's nakedness while not looking at their father, Ham failed to look away. Thus, God cursed him for this lack of fealty and respect, and he and his progeny were dark-skinned. In the nineteenth century, racist scholars adjusted the historical narrative to define Hamites as Caucasians under a black skin (on account of their heritage from Noah), while the descendants of Ham's brothers were Aryans (Japhet's progeny) and Semites (Shem's progeny). This adjustment allowed for the acknowledgement of similar ancestry, to accommodate Egyptians and other similar African peoples who were considered by the Europeans to be greatly superior to other Africans.<sup>208</sup>

Speke's theory of race science and the 'Hamite' designation of 'superior' Africans heavily influenced colonialists' assessment of the Tutsis and Hutus in Rwanda. Early missionaries such as Father Classe claimed in 1902 that the Tutsis were "superb humans," while Father François Menard remarked in 1917 that the Tutsis were "European[s] under a black skin." Around the time of Father Menard's reflection, the White Fathers of the Catholic Church in Rwanda created

a treatise on race science in Rwanda that served as a critical guide to the Belgian colonialists' attitudes towards and treatment of the Tutsis and Hutus.<sup>209</sup> And Canon Louis de Lacger wrote in 1939 that the Tutsis belonged to the white race, by virtue of their Hamitic roots:

Their supremacy is not to be contested. What does it rely on? Three elements: the first, racial, which is their physical superiority: they are tall and imposing people; with simple and semi-civilized people, height, bearing, and nobility of features are generators of prestige and ascendancy; the second is economic: they are magnates whose richness is constituted by herds of cattle; the third is political: they are men born for command, like the Roman in Virgil.<sup>210</sup>

### The Census and Identity Cards

While race science defined the Belgian's view of Rwandan civilization, the administration had difficulty enforcing their discriminatory policies for over a decade. While the Rwandan population knew who was Tutsi and who was Hutu based on family history and personal familiarity, Belgians were not able to always distinguish between the two classes of persons. The administration first started with a series of official decrees distinguishing between Tutsis and Hutus as early as 1917,<sup>211</sup> but were unable to implement differential treatment in all cases because of the lack of documented distinction between Tutsis and Hutus. The Belgians instituted a national census in 1933 and 1934. This census marked the formal calcification of Tutsi and Hutu classification, and later led to a series of colonial policies that permanently elevated the Tutsi population above the Hutus in Rwanda.

It is generally accepted that the Belgians differentiated between Hutu, Tutsi and Twa based on a variety of factors. The first factor was an analysis of physical characteristics, á la Speke's theory of race science. The Twa were easiest to classify; the pygmy people were easily distinguishable from the rest of the population, and there was little confusion because the Twa had never intermarried with the Hutu or Tutsi people. The Twa at the time (and still today) make up less than one percent of the population.<sup>212</sup>

However, Speke's theory didn't lend itself cleanly to the classification of Tutsi versus Hutu. There had been generations of intermarrying between Tutsis and Hutus, so physical characteristics were often less pronounced than Speke's theory would prefer. Additionally, the historic social classification system that allowed individuals to be re-designated as Tutsi or Hutu based on acquisition of wealth and status, or loss thereof, muddied the European's theories regarding 'Hamitic' superiority. And as noted earlier, marriage also led to the potential re-designation of women from Hutu to Tutsi and vice versa. Therefore, simple designation of the population as Tutsi or Hutu based on appearance was not feasible in many cases. The Belgian colonialists therefore also relied on a class structure – ownership of cattle, to determine who was Tutsi. This classification system recognized the historic practice of re-designation based on class status (*kwihutura* – a wealthy Hutu becoming Tutsi and *gucupira* – a Tutsi falling from social status to Hutu) by classifying those with more than ten cows as Tutsi.

Finally, the Belgians relied on the local Catholic church leaders and employees to help determine who, historically, was Tutsi and who was Hutu. Thus, the ultimate classification system combined race science with history and local knowledge. At the end of the census, the Belgians had classified roughly 85 percent of the population as Hutu, 14 percent as Tutsi, and one percent as Twa. These classifications were calcified; the Belgians eliminated the historic fluidity between the Tutsi and Hutu. From 1934 onward, Rwandans were unable to utilize job classification or acquisition (or loss) of social status to reclassify as either Tutsi or Hutu.<sup>213</sup>

Once the Belgians classified the population as Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa, the government issued identity cards to all Rwandans and required that all adults carry the cards in daily life.<sup>214</sup> Hutus and Tutsis continued to intermarry, but wives no longer adopted the designation of their husbands. Children continued to carry the designation of their father. The historically complex system of classifying and reclassifying Tutsis and Hutus ended, and the Belgians' treatment of Tutsis as superior cemented an imbalanced relationship between Tutsis and Hutus in the country.

#### Power - consolidation of leadership positions

Between 1926 and 1929, the colonial Governor Charles Voisin, as part of '*les réformes Voisin*' instituted a consolidation of local chiefly positions from the traditional three seats to one person. In the traditional three-chief system, the



Chief of the Land was usually a Hutu farmer. Under the consolidation scheme, the chiefs were almost exclusively Tutsi.<sup>215</sup> This change allowed Belgians to exercise greater control over local governance structures and circumvented Hutus' ability to utilize the three-chief system to their advantage. As the Belgians unilaterally removed and appointed new chiefs, they created an elite system of governance based on their own standards of acceptable leadership. Chiefs who failed to convert to Christianity (Catholicism) or readily follow the wishes of the colonialists were swiftly removed and replaced with more pliant community leaders. Many of the newly installed chiefs were the young Tutsi men who were sons of previous chiefs, educated in colonial educational institutions designed solely to prepare them for sub-colonial governance.<sup>216</sup>

By 1936, the transition regarding chief's power was nearly complete. A final change cemented the consolidation of power when the Belgians introduced the Native Tribunals. The Tribunals granted the local chief executive power not only to implement laws from the central government, but also the legislative power to create new local ordinances and laws. Thus, chiefs held near absolute power in a community to create new laws and exact compliance to existing laws with impunity. No process existed for community members to seek recourse if unhappy with a given law or its method of implementation.<sup>217</sup>

In 1931, Belgian colonialists took a significant step in consolidating their power over Rwandans; they deposed the king and installed his son in his place.

Mwami Musingi had resisted Catholicism and previously fought with the Germans against the Belgians. Under Mwami Musinga, most chiefs had also resisted conversion. While the king had been compelled by the colonialists to sign a law permitting the “liberty of conscience,” he made it difficult for the Church to gain access to elite Tutsis. Therefore, the Church found early success with Hutus and resistance from Tutsis. To deal with unruly or noncompliant chiefs, the Belgians had removed many chiefs for failure to convert, in some cases temporarily replacing them with Hutu converts (although the Church’s pressure caused the Belgians to quickly rectify those actions by installing Tutsi adherents who were considered superior and ‘well-born’).<sup>218</sup>

The colonial government and Church had long before determined that the king represented a threat to them, both due to his resistance to colonization and Christianization of the country. The Belgians removed him from office, exiled him to Congo, and summarily installed his son Mutara Rudahigwa as the new king. In doing so, the colonialists ignored the traditional Rwandan system regarding monarchic succession and simply pronounced him king. In due course, King Rudahigwa converted to Christianity, and the country largely followed suit.<sup>219</sup> Many elite Tutsis had noted with alarm the government’s commitment to the Catholic White Fathers and saw adherence to Christian principles as a path to success in the evolving colonial regime. The rapid conversion of the elite population to Catholicism, along with the compliance of a pro-western king,

allowed the Belgian colonialists and the fathers of the Catholic church to exercise extraordinary control over a population, both via laws and through the moral teachings and requirements of the church.

Traditional Systems – *ubuletwa*, *ubureetwa*, and *ubuhake*

In the latter portion of the nineteenth century, King Rwabugiri instituted a new form of mandatory labor, called *ubuletwa*. This program compelled Rwandans to contribute labor to ‘public works’ programs. This form of labor-taxation was frequently abused by the King and his centralized power structure, and it was widely disliked by Rwandans. As the Belgian colonizers learned of the system, its use and abuse increased.<sup>220</sup> The Belgians also altered the utilization of the system; where it had been a duty placed on a community residing on a given hill, with the residents of that hill determining collectively whom amongst the residents would complete the service requirement, the Belgians individualized the requirement, sometimes even including a requirement that women and children perform the ‘public service’ work. This transformation from a collective sense of responsibility and duty to an individual sense was foreign to Rwandans, and clearly a product of western values imposed by the Belgian colonialists.

In 1924, the Belgians codified the *ubureetwa* system, previously implemented by King Rwabugiri. The new law required 42 days per year of forced service by all Rwandan Hutus, with all Tutsis exempted from the requirement. This forced labor ranged from compulsory work on roads, ditches,

and clearing public lands, to working on a chief's private coffee plantation or in their fields growing and tending to crops.<sup>221</sup>

In a strange reversal of roles, but with a telling replication of the colonial structure regarding *ubuletwa*, President Habyarimana created a system of compulsory service to the state in February 1974 when he introduced compulsory *umuganda*. *Umuganda* required every Rwandan to work for the state on government projects like tilling government land, cleaning brush areas, building bridges, and reforestation. The program continued, despite opposition from poor farmers and workers throughout the country, until the early 1990s.<sup>222</sup> The President's requirement for public service was an individual requirement, not a communal requirement. While the opposition to and resentment of *umuganda* paralleled that of the *ubuletwa* system, there doesn't appear to be any record of citizens or dissidents noting the colonial roots of the *umuganda* system. Even more interesting is the fact that individual compulsory *umuganda* remains in place in Rwanda today, under the leadership of Tutsi president Paul Kagame.

Another shift implemented by Belgian colonialists involved the ownership of land and clientship between landowners and landworkers. Between 1926 and 1931, the colonialists created increased privatization of land via *ibinkigi*, grazing lands. Colonialists permitted those owning ten cattle or more to apply for *ibinkingi*, or private ownership of land marked for grazing. Often, the land that cattle-owning Tutsis acquired was land previously held collectively by lineages of

Hutu. The Belgian state nationalized the land, then redistributed it to Tutsis grazing cattle. This redesignation of land from collective ownership to private ownership also impacted the traditional *ubuhake* system of clientship, by changing the relationship between patrons who granted cattle to clients.

#### Tutsis in government and education

Shortly after gaining control of Rwanda's governance, the Belgian colonialists began a systematic replacement of all local Hutu chiefs. In the 1920s, the administration removed literally hundreds of local chiefs and replaced them with Tutsis raised in the Catholic missionary schools, until virtually every chief position in the country was held by a Tutsi who was both educated by the White Fathers and who had adopted the Hamitic theories of superiority.<sup>223</sup> Due to the consolidation of power, chiefs now held inordinate levels of power and control over local populations, and abused this power via clientship systems that required Hutus to engage in forced labor, forced growth of crops for local leaders and the administration, and the forced sale of goods.<sup>224</sup>

While the Belgian administration instituted forms of monetary taxation upon individuals for governance and the church, local leaders exacted additional, arbitrary monetary taxation in their spheres of influence. The administration required local Tutsi leaders to enforce exactions of forced labor (*corvée*) for colonialists' benefit, such as work on local government projects such as forest clearing and road creation. Local Tutsi chiefs often added their own requirements

for Hutus to work on the chief's own land. And during the 1920s, when Rwanda faced a famine, both Belgian colonialists and local Tutsi leaders required Hutu farmers to grow famine-resistant crops such as potatoes, then forced to sell the food at fixed prices, set by the government. Often, Tutsi leaders appropriated portions of the crops cultivated by the Hutus for their own personal use and financial benefit.<sup>225</sup> Thus, the installation of Tutsis in government via privatized education and undemocratic installation not only created political power for Tutsis, but led to aggrandizement of personal wealth by powerful Tutsis in government positions.

Once the replacement of chiefs was complete, the administration focused on hiring only educated Tutsis for civil service positions within the colonial administration. Thanks to the Belgian's dominance over education and the system in which Rwandan children and young people were educated, only Tutsis were eligible and qualified to serve in the civil service positions throughout the country.

The Catholic White Fathers created an educational system in Rwanda to train the sons of Tutsi chiefs. Within several years, these schools expanded to include additional Tutsis throughout the country, culminating in a large school in Rwanda's capital city (then called Astrida). In the Groupe Scolaire, enrollment was almost exclusively limited to Tutsi children. In some cases, Hutu children were allowed to enroll, but admission was tightly restricted and controlled, with less than half a percent of enrollment open to Hutu students.<sup>226</sup> Over time, the

government turned over complete control of the school system to the missions. Mission leaders permitted Hutu enrollment in limited instances, but created a bifurcated education system in those schools in which Hutus were allowed to enroll. Tutsi children were taught in French in separate classes from Hutus, and prepared specifically for roles in government. Hutu children were taught in the native language and not prepared (or allowed) for a future in civic service.<sup>227</sup>

#### Hutus flock to the church

Because educational systems were privatized and run by the Catholic Church, enrollment was limited almost exclusively to wealthy Tutsi children. As such, Hutus who sought educational opportunities for their children faced only one realistic option: enrollment in theology schools. The cities of Kabgayi and Nyikibanda both boasted seminary education, and Hutus were permitted to attend. However, after completing their theological education, these Hutus struggled to find appropriate employment.<sup>228</sup> Many Hutus continued their adult years in church life, as they were effectively barred from civil service or meaningful participation in the private economic sphere within Rwanda.

In later colonial years, the Catholic church and Belgian administration abruptly switched their loyalty and support to Hutus, supporting discriminatory action on the part of politically active Hutus against the historically powerful and elite Tutsis. Ironically, the very Tutsis targeted for retribution during the Hutu Revolution were the Tutsis supported during early years by the Catholic Church

and the Belgian administration. Hutus engaged in the revolution failed to hold the Catholic Church accountable for their role in creating decades of inequity, however, and continued their allegiance to the Catholic Church.

#### The lasting legacy of the Belgians

While the Belgian colonial regime officially ended in the early 1960s, the legacy of the government's actions left a lasting impression in the country. The Hutu Revolution brought an almost complete reversal in the Rwandan power structure, with most Tutsis either losing their local government and civil service positions or being undemocratically removed or ejected from said positions. When Hutus took control of the government structure, they maintained the use of identity cards and began to systematically deny Tutsi children opportunities to attend schools, secure civil service positions for Hutus, and close off private economic opportunities for Tutsi businessmen. While the Hutus turned the structure upside down, they adopted the essential elements of the system created by the Belgian colonialists. Rather than dismantle the systems of discrimination and oppression created by the outsiders who spent decades marginalizing them, the Hutus instead chose to make it their own.



## Chapter 4

### FROM KAYIBANDA TO HABYIRAMANA

Belgian rule had transformed the political and social structure in Rwanda over the course of just three decades. From the early years of reorganizing and restructuring the political hierarchy, to altering traditional structures of clientship, to finally instituting and enforcing a racialized, bifurcated classification system, the colonizers had fundamentally impacted Rwandan life. Between 1916 and 1945, the Belgian administration transformed a complex traditional governance structure with diffuse power by both Tutsis and Hutus in the country to a highly efficient and centralized government that elevated a chosen minority while systematically oppressing the majority of Rwandan peoples. As World War II ended, the international community began to view colonization projects in Africa with skepticism and an eye towards independence. But while a change towards independence was on the agenda for Rwanda, the institutional beliefs about power and race in Rwanda instilled by the Belgians were not.

#### Transition towards independence

While Belgium had controlled Rwanda via power granted by the League of Nations' charter of 1918, the United Nations in 1945 altered the League of Nations mandate and instead declared Rwanda a 'trust territory.' The United Nations granted management responsibility of the country to the Belgian administration in Rwanda, but pressed the Belgians to end the colonialist structure

within Rwanda and to modernize Rwanda's economic structure.<sup>229</sup> The slow push towards independence started.

Beginning in 1948 and continuing periodically through 1962, the UN Trusteeship Council sent missions to Rwanda and published a series of reports criticizing the Belgian colonial administration for their management of the Rwandan people.<sup>230</sup> The Belgians pledged to the UN trustees that they would enact a series of reforms, beginning with the abolishment of the dreaded and discriminatory practice of *ubuleetwa*. The Belgian administration began phasing out the clientship system of *ubuhake* in 1954, in the stated expectation that these reforms would right the imbalance of power between Tutsi and Hutu populations in the country. However, the gradual elimination of these two systems did not equalize power between the two social (now racialized groups). Whereas Hutu were formerly bound to their Tutsi patrons via clientship, now they were subject to renting access to pastoral and grazing lands from wealthy Tutsis. Thus, the imbalance of power and shift of resources from the lower socioeconomic classes to the wealthy classes continued.<sup>231</sup>

In 1952, the Belgian administrators announced elections for local positions throughout Rwanda. While couched as a move towards democracy, the elections were merely 'advisory' votes with a choice of candidates proposed by existing chiefs and subchiefs, who were almost all Tutsi elite. Thus, the result of the so-called elections merely cemented the power held by a small group of Tutsi elite:

the Hutus elevated to subchief positions were almost exclusively Hutus in former clientship relationships with powerful Tutsis. This farce of an electoral process merely led the Hutu intelligentsia to cement their growing consensus of opinion that revolution was required to create a democratic society where Hutu Rwandans could fully participate in civic and economic life.<sup>232</sup>

In 1956, Belgian authorities authorized another round of elections, claiming to institute greater self-determination for Rwandan peoples. However, in this round of elections, Belgian colonialists created a two-tier system for the elections, granting Hutus the right to vote directly for low-level subchiefs while reserving elections for higher level positions to the powerful Tutsi serving as chiefs throughout the country. The result was not surprising: Hutus dominated the subchief elections, while only Tutsis were elected to the higher councils (where real decision-making took place).<sup>233</sup>

The Hutu counter-elite found these pseudo-reforms disingenuous. Powerful Tutsi continued to hold the highest positions in the country, while Hutu were relegated to minor and often powerless positions in rural parts of Rwanda. A growing number of seminary-educated Hutu began agitating for a change to the colonial regime, and advocated for a reversal of roles amongst Tutsi and Hutu within the administrative and civil service structure. Interestingly, Hutu elites did not request independence. Tutsi leadership, including the *mwami* Rutahigwa, were discussing the desire for independence and the end of colonial rule.<sup>234</sup> Perhaps as a

response to the Tutsi monarchy's desire for independence (and thus a maintenance of monarchic rule), Hutus began to find common cause with those Belgians who preferred a distorted version of democratic rule to a continued Tutsi monarchic rule.

#### Hutu Manifesto of 1957 and the advent of political parties

In July 1933, the Catholic ministry created the first Kinyarwandan publication in Rwanda, called *Kinyamateka*. By 1956, the publication had hired GrÈgoire Kayibanda as its chief editor. Kayibanda was educated at the Catholic seminary in Nyakibanda, one of a handful of Hutu elite driven to seminary education due to the lack of educational opportunities through the privatized education system in Rwanda. He simultaneously was elected to run the agricultural cooperative TRAFIPRO, a structure focused on supporting the Hutu elite. Over the next three years, this network allowed educated Hutu to coalesce and organize for social revolution. Backed by increasing support from Flemish church leaders and a changing Belgian administration, a group of nine Hutu elite men published the infamous 'Hutu Manifesto' in March 1957, just one month after the Tutsi monarchists' High Council published their *Mise en Point*, arguing for immediate transfer of power to the Rwandan king and his council.<sup>235</sup>

The Hutu Manifesto argued against independence, which monarchic Tutsi elite were pushing for, along with the support of the United Nations Trusteeship. Educated Hutus saw independence as a step backwards. While they had recently

gained some support from Flemish church leaders and had begun to win over Belgian authorities wary of Tutsi agitation for independence, they saw independence as an immediate reversal to total Tutsi control over government, civil life, and the economic system in the country. The authors of the Hutu Manifesto argued against the repressive and imbalanced control that Tutsi elite wielded in Rwandan society, but couched their arguments in racialized terms, bred by years of Belgian rule based on Speke's race science. Indeed, the Hutu elite preferred not to dismantle the racial system created by Belgian colonizers; they sought instead to adopt and use that same bifurcated system to establish their own dominance over the minority Tutsi. Kayibanda thus wrote in the Manifesto:

The problem is above all a problem of political monopoly which is held by one race, the Tutsi; political monopoly which, given the totality of current structures becomes an economic and social monopoly; political, economic and social monopoly which, given the *de facto* discrimination in education, ends up being a cultural monopoly, to the great despair of the Hutu which see themselves condemned to remain for ever subaltern manual laborers and still worse, in the context of an independence which they will have helped to win without knowing what they are doing.<sup>236</sup> The *ubuhake* has been legislated away, but these monopolies have replaced it with an even stronger oppression.<sup>237</sup>

Hutu leaders had adopted and internalized the racialization of their society by Belgian colonizers. Rather than seek to dismantle the colonization's manufactured racial dichotomization of the population, Hutus instead planned to utilize the very tools created to oppress them over the past three decades in their

planned reversal of oppression towards the minority Tutsi. To wit, the Hutu Manifesto argued against the abolition of Belgian-instituted identity cards:

In order to monitor this race monopoly we are strongly opposed, at least for the time being, to removing the labels ‘Mututsi’, ‘Muhutu’ and ‘Mutwa’ from identity papers. Their suppression would create a risk of preventing the statistical law from establishing the reality of facts.<sup>238</sup>

The Hutu Manifesto provided the genesis for Kayibanda and Habyarimana’s future quota systems, which prevented Tutsis from gaining access to education, government service, military positions, and opportunity within civil life.

#### *Political Parties in Rwanda*

Shortly after the issuance of the Hutu Manifesto, political parties were formed within Rwanda. Kayibanda, the chief architect of the Manifesto, founded the MSM (Hutu Social Movement) in June 1957. Within five months, a Hutu business leader named Joseph Gitera created APROSOMA, Association for the Social Promotion of the Masses. This political party was not Hutu-specific, as Kayibanda’s was, but because it focused on class distinction, it attracted Hutus and served as a coded reminder that Tutsi were elite.<sup>239</sup>

The Tutsi ruling party responded within a number of months, forming the UNAR political party (Rwandese National Union), a monarchic institution comprised solely of elite Tutsis agitating for immediate independence and the expulsion of the Belgian colonizers. The Belgians viewed UNAR as a direct threat

to their colonial rule, and the fact that UNAR accepted financial support and assistance from communist regimes only added to their hostility. In response, the Belgians supported the development of RADER (Rwandese Democratic Union) just one month later, in September 1959. RADER was a centrist party of mostly Tutsi moderates. RADER never gained much traction, as monarchist Tutsi saw the party as a Belgian plant and Hutus didn't trust Tutsis at all.<sup>240</sup>

In October 1959, Kayibanda transformed his MSM party to become the PARMEHUTU party. This party was based in Gitarama and Ruhengeri, and continued to focus on Hutu emancipation. APROSOMA continued to grow as well, but was focused in the Astrida region (capitol city).<sup>241</sup> The development of factional political parties throughout the country increased political tensions between Tutsi and Hutu elite, and created an incredibly tense climate in Rwanda.

#### Guy Logiest and the Belgian Switch

While early church leaders had been firmly committed to the superiority of the Tutsi people, later Belgian faith leaders identified with the Hutu peasants. Reflecting a change within the White Fathers themselves, who over time sent more working-class fathers to Rwanda of Flemish origin, the church's leaders in Rwanda began to express sympathy with the oppressed Hutu. At the same time, the Tutsi elite expressed increasing desires to be free of colonial rule, which threatened the position of both Belgian colonial leaders and the Belgian church leaders

simultaneously. Creeping, both the Belgian administrators and the church tilted their support from the Tutsi elite to the Hutu counter-elite.<sup>242</sup>

While the Belgian administrators had switched their support to Hutu intellectuals while creating and supporting pseudo-Tutsi political organizations such as RADER, the potential firestorm in Rwanda continued to build. Hutu agitators within APROSOMA and PARMEHUTU sought a 'democratic' regime in which a 'majority rules' philosophy would surely result in Hutu elite dominance and Tutsi subjugation. Tutsi monarchists sought to protect their wealth, status, and tight control over governance, civil life, and power. Apart from quietly supporting the anti-monarchist forces on the ground, the Belgians did little to address the mounting pressure cooker that had become Rwanda. It was virtually inevitable that political conflict would transform to physical violence.

The tensions began to mount when King Mutara Rudahigwa suddenly died in Bujumbura, allegedly as a result of an allergic reaction to an antibiotic injection given by a Belgian doctor to treat a venereal disease. Tutsi elitists in Rwanda maintained that the King had been poisoned in a plot devised by the Belgians and Hutu counter-elite.<sup>243</sup> The monarchists immediately appointed the King's half-brother, a weak-minded monarchist named Kigeri Ndahindurwa.<sup>244</sup> This transfer of monarchic power, handled in secret without consultation of the Belgian authorities or standard ritualistic practices, prompted Kayibanda and his supporters to



transform the MSM movement into the PARMEHUTU party and to prepare for a revolution.<sup>245</sup>

On the first day of November in 1959, one of the Hutu sub-administrators in Rwanda, a member of the PARMEHUTU party, was beaten by Tutsi political agitators from UNAR. A rumor that the sub-chief, Dominique Mbonyumutwa, had been killed in that attack quickly spread throughout the country, and Hutus retaliated by attacking Tutsi officials, burning Tutsi homes, and engaging in target murders of Tutsis.<sup>246</sup> Belgian authorities took no action, allowing Hutu radical factions to engage in a spree of violence. The UN later published a report detailing the deaths of 200 Tutsis within Rwanda. By November 6, the Tutsi-dominated court retaliated by arresting and torturing Hutu leaders of the uprising.<sup>247</sup>

Belgian colonel Guy Logiest arrived in Rwanda three days after the beating of Hutu Dominique Mbonyumutwa. Colonel Logiest stood firmly in support of the Hutu people, and instructed Belgian troops to stand silently by as massacres, home torching, and attacks against Tutsi elite occurred. Logiest later defended his decision not to protect Tutsis murdered during the Hutu-led attack by stating [t]he time was crucial for Rwanda. Its people needed support and protection.<sup>248</sup> By November 11, Belgian placed Rwanda under military rule. And on November 14, the Belgians arrested over 900 Tutsi and 300 Hutu for their participation in the dual attacks of violence.<sup>249</sup>

Logiest began replacing Tutsi chiefs with Hutu counter-elites, and announced to Belgium that the colonialist administration's position would be to favor Hutu from that point forward. Logiest believed that support of the Tutsi was support of independence from colonial rule – and Hutu support instead created a democratic regime under Belgian control.<sup>250</sup> In January 1960, he said “because of the force of circumstances, we have to take sides. We cannot remain neutral and passive.”<sup>251</sup> He later stated

Some among my assistants thought I was wrong in being so partial against the Tutsi and that I was leading Rwanda on a road towards democratisation whose end was distant and uncertain. ... No, the time was crucial for Rwanda. Its people needed support and protection. My role was essential and it was important that I could play it till the final verdict which would come from the communal elections. Today, twenty-five years later, I was myself what was it that made me act with such resolution. It was without a doubt the will to give the people back their dignity. And it was probably just as much the desire to put down the *morgue* and expose the duplicity of a basically oppressive and unjust aristocracy.<sup>252</sup>

Neither Logiest nor his Belgian compatriots ever noted the irony in their opposition to the very elite that colonial policies had created. It was Logiest's predecessors who created a lopsided aristocracy favoring Tutsis over Hutus, eliminating all traditional systems which allowed for socioeconomic fluidity between the two social groups. Decades later, during the 1994 genocide, the rigidity with which Belgians had classified Rwandans – the identity cards – would be used as a primary tool to eliminate the Tutsi minority population. Even more disastrous was the racialization of the Hutu population, which created the

political framework for institutional discrimination between the two groups of, essentially, the same people.

### Democratic Elections and the Hutu Revolution

Logiest stood firmly on the side of Hutu people, even during outright massacres and political confusion and unrest throughout the countryside. In July 1960, Logiest organized communal elections, for the first time granting direct democracy to the Rwandan public. UNAR, the monarchist party, officially boycotted the elections, and PARMEHUTU dominated, winning over 70 percent of the seats nation-wide. Meanwhile, Tutsis continued to face sporadic killing and home burning. Massive numbers of elite Tutsis fled the country to neighboring Uganda, Congo, and Burundi, amounting to over 130,000 people by the end of 1963.<sup>253</sup>

The UN Trusteeship favored granting outright control of the country to the Tutsi leadership that had 'ruled' under the Belgian colonial regime, but Logiest resisted the UN's direction. In December 1960, the United Nations issued two resolutions directing the Belgian colonizers to engage in a process of national reconciliation, a process that Logiest opposed. A failed National Reconciliation Conference held in January 1961 confirmed the Tutsi and Hutu factions were so polarized that reconciliation was impossible. Within weeks, newly elected Hutu leaders gathered in Gitarama and reorganized the country's government, with quiet support from Logiest, who sought to end the United Nation's interference. The

monarchy was dissolved and Rwanda proclaimed a republic. A president was duly elected, GrÈgoire Kayibanda was elected as prime minister, and the President promptly tasked Kayibanda with forming the next government.<sup>254</sup>

The United Nations Trusteeship Commission issued a report within months of the January 1961 rogue political reorganization of the country. The authors of the report concluded, with a foreshadowing of future events

The development of these last eighteen months have brought about the racial dictatorship of one party. ... An oppressive system has been replaced by another one. ... It is quite possible that some day we will witness violent reactions on the part of the Tutsi.<sup>255</sup>

In September 1961, a round of legislative elections were held, in which the PARMEHUTU increased their support to 78%. In this same election, over 80 percent of Rwandans voted to end the monarchy and declared Rwanda a republic.<sup>256</sup> This vote of confidence supported the *Gitarama icoup* enacted months earlier. The Belgian colonel Logiest noted that the 1961 elections served as the consecration without appeal of the November 1959 revolution, the total and definitive victory of the Rwandese people.<sup>257</sup> The Hutu Revolution had been successfully completed.

The United Nations General Assembly established a commission in February 1962 to assist Rwanda in both establishing an authentic independent state and create an opportunity for (mostly Tutsi) refugees to return to the country, after fleeing due to violence enacted during the two year Hutu Revolution. The UN estimated over 135,000 Rwandans were living in Congo,

Burundi, Uganda, and Tanganyika. On a site visit to Rwanda, the commission determined that Tutsis were subject to social and political exile, that roadblocks existed to prevent free travel between provinces in the country, and that racism against the Tutsi minority was rampant. The commission warned Kayibanda, the acting Prime Minister, that the regime's behavior jeopardized fundamental human rights. A few months later, on July 1, 1962, Rwanda was formally declared an independent nation and Kayibanda declared president. The deposed King Ndahindurwa decamped to Uganda, never to return to Rwanda.<sup>258</sup>

The next local elections were held in August 1963, one year after President Kayibanda and his coalition government took control of the country. Kayibanda's party, the PARMEHUTU, dominated the communal elections, earning 97.9% of the vote.<sup>259</sup> The dominance of the Hutu Power party in Rwanda was cemented.

#### Tutsi Massacres, 1959 to 1962 – Necropolitics in Rwanda

At the heart of the Hutu Revolution lay violence. From the fall of November 1959, when PARMEHUTU leader Dominique Mbonyumutwa was beaten, until shortly before independence was formally declared on July 1, 1962, a series of massacres against Tutsi people (elite Tutsi and *petit tutsi* alike) occurred throughout the country. Logiest and the Belgian regime chose, as a matter of policy favoring the Hutu population, to stand by and do nothing to protect either the Tutsi elite or *petit tutsi* targeted in these massacres.

#### *Necropolitics*

Mbembe has defined necropolitics as

The ultimate expression of sovereignty resides, to a large degree, in the power and the capacity to dictate who may live and who must die. Hence, to kill or allow to live constitute the limits of sovereignty, its fundamental attributes. To exercise sovereignty is to exercise control over mortality and to define life as the deployment and manifestation of power.<sup>260</sup>

In the period of the Hutu Revolution, the Belgian colonialists did not engage in the individual, physical act of killing Tutsi citizens. Instead, Colonel Logiest instructed his Belgian staff to watch passively as Hutu elite, the soon-to-be leaders of the country, orchestrated and carried out, sometimes with their own hands, more often via supervision of local leaders, massacres against Tutsi residents.

Prior to colonialism, targeted pogroms such as this did not exist. Physical skirmishes and even small wars had occurred in pre-colonial times, usually revolving around land, cattle, and local control. Never before the Hutu Revolution had targeted, unprovoked killings occurred – and never targeted towards a racialized minority. In racializing the Hutu and Tutsi people in the 1920s, the Belgians created a race distinction between two peoples where none had previously existed. Speke's race theory in action forty years later led to a manufactured race struggle.

Foucault has argued that race struggle defines one race, the superrace, as the race that is portrayed as the one true race, the race that holds power and is entitled to define the norm and the subrace as those whom the superrace must

defend society against.<sup>261</sup> In post-colonial Rwanda, the Hutu elite defined themselves as the one true race, having internalized the Belgian ‘story’ of Tutsis being non-indigenous peoples from other regions of Africa. After years of subjugation from the Tutsis at the hand of the Belgians, Hutu elites seeking power adopted the belief that Hutus and Tutsis were indeed separate races and that the Tutsi race presented a threat to the sanctity of the future state of Rwanda.

*Necropolitics in action – Massacres of Tutsi in Rwanda*

Over the course of nearly three years, Hutus sought a revolution – not to be free from the Belgian colonialists – but to be free from domination by the Tutsis and to invert that relationship so the Hutus would take on the attributes of Foucault’s superrace and the Tutsi the subrace, considered a threat to the state and therefore fair game for subjugation and persecution.

In Gitarama, on November 2, 1959, one day after the beating of PARMEHUTU leader Dominique Mbonyumutwa, a number of Tutsi local leaders were killed, and thousands of Tutsi homes were burned in the surrounding area. Within two days, the attacks had spread to Nyanza, where looting and burning of homes continued. By November 5, the fires and rampant looting extended to Ruhengeri and then Gisenyi and Kibuye the following day. On November 7, nearly 200 Hutus traveled from the northern part of the country to Rubengera and engaged in massive looting and home burning. The violence spread to Byumba and Kigali that same day. The next day, the violence spread to the

northern end of the Ruhengeri region, including Mulera and Rwankeri. Tutsis were killed and a number were injured. The fighting continued to spread to Butare by November 10. On November 11, Colonel Logiest declared a state of emergency and placed Rwanda under military rule.<sup>262</sup> After the declaration of a military state, the Belgian authorities restricted Rwandans' movement and exercise of civil liberties. The massacres, looting, and burning of Tutsi homes stopped for over six months.

Shortly before the summer local elections of 1960, targeted violence and massacres of Tutsis started once again. On June 6, 1960, 70 Tutsi homes were burned down in the Gikongoro region. Within one week, 70 additional Tutsi homes in Kigali were burned, while 1,165 Tutsi homes were burned in Gikongoro and Ciyanka. Two weeks later, the Belgian administration sent central security forces to the Bufundu area prior to the local election. The forces killed 10 Tutsi members of UNAR, the monarchist political party.<sup>263</sup> Later that fall, in October, local authorities killed 13 Tutsis in Kibingo commune after a local Tutsi man refused to present his identity pass to a local police officer.<sup>264</sup> And in Astrida (now Butare) between September and October 1961, around 150 Tutsis were killed, 3,000 houses burned and 22,000 Tutsis were displaced.<sup>265</sup>

In February and March of 1962, shortly before the Kayibanda coalition government assumed office, Tutsi monarchists who had fled the country during earlier programs conducted two raids in the Byumba prefecture (the northeastern



border region of Rwanda). These raids were swiftly followed by severe government reprisals on local Tutsi populations. Somewhere between 1,000 and 2,000 Tutsi residents were killed in the day following the *inyenzi*<sup>266</sup> March raid. Witnesses reported that women and children were massacred in broad daylight, huts burned, and personal property of the deceased shared amongst the local Hutu population.<sup>267</sup>

During the violence of the revolution, Tutsis fled the country in masses. Intellectuals, priests, students, civil servants, wealthy business leaders, and those with financial means left for neighboring Burundi, Uganda, and other countries in the Great Lakes region by the hundreds of thousands. By 1962, over 135,000 Tutsis had left Rwanda. By 1964, this number had grown to nearly 340,000.<sup>268</sup> The Hutu Revolution's violence had succeeded in reducing the Tutsis to an even smaller minority, and had firmly established the Hutu the superrace within Rwanda. Necropolitics would remain the order of government for the next 30 years.

#### The Kayibanda regime – a state of exception

President Kayibanda assumed official control of Rwanda on July 1, 1962, the day independence was recognized by the Belgian colonialists. Within three months of independence, Kayibanda orchestrated the creation and implementation of a national constitution, granting himself executive power over the legislative and judicial branches of government. A newly established National

Assembly, in which only PARMEHUTU members were allowed to run for office, was subject to his veto power. The Council of Ministers were similarly under his jurisdiction. Kayibanda's government granted him exclusive control to nominate and remove judicial officers, military officers, ministers, and state agency heads.<sup>269</sup> Several years into the First Republic's regime, legislative elections were held. On October 3, 1965, the PARMEHUTU candidates won all 47 seats on the ballot.<sup>270</sup> They were the only party allowed to run candidates. Kayibanda was overwhelmingly elected President in 1965, as he was the only candidate on the ballot. In 1969, he was re-elected with 100% of the vote. Once again, the single-party state did not allow other parties to form or run for office. Several years later, in May 1973, the Rwandan constitution was amended so that President Kayibanda could serve seven years per term, and to permit him to stand for a third term.<sup>271</sup> In the First Republic, Kayibanda's will ruled supreme.

### *The State of Exception*

Agamben has stated that "the state of exception appears as a threshold of indeterminacy between democracy and absolutism."<sup>272</sup> Kayibanda's newly established regime, billed as a democracy to the world, was in actuality structured to allow Kayibanda to wield concentrated power over the state. Every branch of government, every agency, every function of the state, was subject to his will. While Kayibanda was democratically elected by a majority of the Rwandan people (although it was not legal to run candidates against him), his government

was one of absolute control, one that eschewed the checks and balances necessary to a functioning democracy. Carl Schmitt famously stated the “sovereign is he who decides on the exception.”<sup>273</sup> In this respect, Kayibanda himself served as the sovereign of Rwanda, as he alone was vested with the power to ultimately determine the law.

The “state of exception” describes a sovereign’s suspension of the rule of law, often via the “provisional abolition of the distinction among legislative, executive, and judicial powers.”<sup>274</sup> First articulated in 1922 by Schmitt, the state of exception referred to a sovereign’s power to suspend law in “a case of extreme peril, a danger to the existence of the state, or the like.”<sup>275</sup> More recently, Agamben has argued that the state of exception has become the norm – that rather than used solely in times of emergency or threat to the state, sovereigns have declared a state of exception, then continued the suspension of the juridical order indeterminately in order to make the suspension of law the norm.<sup>276</sup> The First Republic established a state of exception at the inception; this carried on through the regime’s duration.

#### *Amnesty for Hutu extremists*

One of Kayibanda’s first acts as President was to grant amnesty to civilians who had engaged in ‘political infractions’ between April 1 and December 1, 1961. Shortly before official independence was declared, Belgian Colonel Logiest had granted amnesty for political crimes committed between October 1959

and April 1961.<sup>277</sup> Kayibanda's National Assembly established a Political Amnesty Commission to grant amnesty for crimes committed from October 1959 (the start of the Hutu Revolution) to December 1961.<sup>278</sup>

The amnesty decrees permitted Hutu extremists who had committed crimes of murder, pillaging, arson, and theft to escape accountability. Many of these individuals continued to serve in local and state positions in the Kayibanda regime. While the legal system created in Kayibanda's constitution established a penal code, the President's grant of amnesty exempted Hutu extremists from the penalties and responsibilities attached to that code. The sovereign suspended the rule of law to grant them freedom from that law; the extremists acted with impunity. The periodic grant of amnesty to those Rwandans who had engaged in clearly unlawful activity – murder, looting, arson, theft, and more – maintained the suspension of law for Hutus supporting the regime's hostile views towards the minority Tutsi.

#### *Education, Government and Civil Life*

In the early years of Kayibanda's regime, the higher education system, controlled by the Catholic church, continued to enroll and matriculate mostly Tutsi students. Prior to the revolution, wealthy Tutsis were the only people in the country who could afford the private education, and the Church had long shown a preference for educating elite Tutsi. While Church leaders had shifted their loyalty to Hutu political leaders and had ensured that primary and secondary

schools were enrolling mostly Hutu students, the university system had remained largely unchanged since the 1920s.<sup>279</sup>

In August 1966, Kayibanda instituted a major change in Rwandan educational law. In response to growing criticism that the university system was too partial to Tutsi students, the President altered the entire education system by placing it under state control. The law first stated that all school buildings constructed with the use of state dollars were now owned by the state. The state took over control of hiring and firing all school employees, and granted the state oversight for admissions, expulsion, and promotion of students in the school system. The state also asserted authority to determine curriculum and choose textbooks. Catholic-led schools now submitted to Rwandan state control and oversight. This change allowed the state to ensure that Hutu students dominated in all levels of education in Rwanda.<sup>280</sup>

Several years later, Kayibanda established a strict quota system for Tutsi participation in government and civil life. In 1969, the PARMEHUTU Congress established a law creating 'ethnic equilibrium' in secondary schools, universities, and civil service.<sup>281</sup> Enrollment in schools was limited to 9% for Tutsi children, based on the census conducted around the time of independence. Within civil service, no more than 9% of employees were allowed to be Tutsi. The 9% quota was even implemented within private industry and other sectors of employment.<sup>282</sup> The effect was immediate. In the 1972-73 school year, no Tutsi

students were accepted to any secondary schools in the nation, and not one Tutsi student was admitted into the National University of Rwanda.<sup>283</sup>

### *Committees of Public Safety*

While the new policies were certainly effective in isolating Tutsis within the country, the outbreak of violence in Burundi in early 1972 exacerbated the peril in which Rwandan Tutsi lived. On April 20, 1972, the neighboring Tutsi-led Burundi government engaged in a brutal series of killings of Hutu Burundians. Over 200,000 Hutus were killed by the government, including every Hutu cabinet member, half of the Hutu teachers, many civil servants, and all of the Hutu army officers. The government sought to kill every Hutu male over the age of fourteen. Over 200,000 Hutu survivors fled Burundi and settled in Rwanda, seeking protection from the heavily pro-Hutu Rwandan government.<sup>284</sup> President Kayibanda utilized this situation as an opportunity to start a crackdown in the country against Tutsis within the education, government and private industry systems.

From the fall of 1972 through the spring of 1973, educated Hutu groups conducted evaluations of these sectors to ensure that the ethnic quota system was being followed.<sup>285</sup> Calling themselves ‘Committees of Public Safety’, future genocide leaders Pasteur Bizimungu, Ferdinand Nahimana, and Lèon Mugesera (among others) posted lists of Tutsi students in all secondary schools and universities throughout the country to purge them from the institutions. Their

movement was replicated in government and private industry, and wealthy Hutus and European expats were instructed to fire their Tutsi house help.<sup>286</sup>

Several hundred Tutsis were killed and their huts burned down in Gitarama around this same time (Gitarama was President Kayibanda's home region). As the violence spread, President Kayibanda established a commission to inspect schools and enforce the quota system on March 22, 1973.<sup>287</sup> The violence ended at that time, but the purging of Tutsis from industry, education, and government continued. It is widely believed that the government orchestrated and supported the Committees of Public Safety, as the lists were posted – and Tutsis expelled – in government-controlled areas such as schools, government agencies, and civil services sectors such as state-owned hospitals.

In the state of exception, “the state continues to exist, while law recedes.”<sup>288</sup> Kayibanda's First Republic existed for eleven years, while law was routinely suspended, ignored, or adjusted to meet the sovereign's desire to retain ultimate power and control over its people. Moreover, Kayibanda's regime sought to redefine the concept of its people via a process of political dehumanization.

### People v. people

In Kayibanda's sovereign, Tutsi Rwandans were members of Foucault's subrace – the lesser race that the superrace must defend society against. As a people who had been artificially separated from the population as a whole by the Belgian colonialists, and over time seen as a threat to the political and social

success of the Hutu population, the First Republic sought to maintain the distinction between Hutu and Tutsi. Specifically, the sovereign sought to maintain a distinction that defined the Tutsi as a threat to the Republic. To achieve this distinction, the First Republic began the process of removing political and social rights from the Tutsi subrace in Rwanda. In effect, the sovereign sought to transform the Tutsi from People to people.

Agamben articulates the biopolitical split between People and people. *People* are juridical beings, those who have social, political and legal rights within a society. *People* are the humans who retain their biopolitical selves, with the power and ability to engage in civil and political life. They have the ability to influence the social life in which they reside and interact. On the other hand, *people* are the naked life, individuals who have only their physical body and life. They live without social, legal or political value. *people* are those human individuals without the ability to exercise political or social agency within the community.<sup>289</sup>

Under this theory, *people*, once rendered as such by the sovereign, are subject to the state of exception without recourse. The sovereign can act with impunity towards the *people* because they have no biopolitical value or power. As Agamben says, “The state of exception, which is what the sovereign each and every time decides, takes place precisely when naked life . . . is explicitly put into question and revoked as the ultimate foundation of political power.”<sup>290</sup>

Kayibanda’s First Republic enacted laws and policies that, over time, sought to



reduce the Tutsi to *people* – bodies with human life, but no political, social, or civic power.

During the 1959 revolution, Kayibanda, then the leader of the Hutu power movement, declared that Rwanda should be segregated into two separate sub-countries. He believed that the Hutu and Tutsi should live as “two nations in a single state” and that the Hutu and Tutsi should live in Rwanda with “no intercourse and no sympathy, who are as ignorant of each other’s habits, thoughts, and feelings as if they were dwellers of different zones, or inhabitants of different planets.”<sup>291</sup> While he later softened his rhetoric in response to the United Nations’ intervention and the creation of the New York Accord, his beliefs about segregation between the two communities certainly formed his practices as the first Rwandan president; he enacted a series of reforms, presidential decrees, and policies and practices that separated the Tutsi people from the majority Hutu in political, social, and civic spheres.

The New York Accord, signed by Kayibanda and Tutsi leaders shortly before formal independence, had created a framework for a coalition government that shared power between Hutus and Tutsis. Many Tutsis who fled during the Hutu Revolution returned to Rwanda after the signing of the Accord in order to serve in the coalition government. For a short time, the Accord appeared to be in place, although power rested almost exclusively in the hands of President Kayibanda. While violence against Tutsis occurred in Ruhengeri during 1962, the

rest of the country was fairly peaceful during this short period. However, after the Tutsi invasion from Burundi in late 1963, Kayibanda abandoned accommodationist behavior and returned to a state position of the active persecution of Tutsis.<sup>292</sup>

### *Threats of Extermination*

In a March 1964 speech in Kigali directed to Rwandan refugees living in neighboring Burundi, Uganda, and other neighboring countries, President Kayibanda announced that if Rwandan rebel troops were to invade the capital, their actions would lead to “the total and sudden end of the Tutsi race.”<sup>293</sup> It was clear that Kayibanda intended to return to his earlier views of the Tutsi subrace, as articulated in the Hutu Manifesto and pre-presidential statements about the Tutsi minority. It was at this time President Kayibanda moved quickly to designate Tutsi as *people* in Rwanda via the successive passage of decrees, laws, and policies that stripped the Tutsi population of the ability to hold positions of power in government, civil service, or education.

In the same March 1964 speech, President Kayibanda answered charges that his administration had committed a genocide against the Tutsi people in the reprisals of late 1963 by blaming the government’s massacres on the Tutsi refugee attackers. Kayibanda claimed that the Tutsi refugee attackers ‘knew’ that their incursions into Rwanda would prompt a violent response by Rwandan Hutus against local Tutsi residents. He said “Who is guilty of genocide? Who organized

genocide? Who came looking for genocide? Who wants genocide?”<sup>294</sup> It was during this seminal speech that the sovereign’s belief about the biopolitical power of the Tutsis was made clear; the First Republic saw the Tutsi minority as *people* – those without value in the political and social sphere. As a perceived threat to the integrity of the Republic, the Tutsi were categorized (identity cards), marginalized (quotas, removal from positions), and prevented from political participation (one-party rule, limited to Hutu members of PARMEHUTU).

#### Camps (forced relocation and restriction of movement)

As noted earlier, a key platform of the Hutu Manifesto was the retention and utilization of identity cards. Established by the Belgians to differentiate between the ‘Hamitic’ Tutsi and the ‘Negroid’ Hutu, and used as a tool of repression against Hutu for over 40 years, the Hutu elite who ascended to power in the early 1960s sought to utilize the very system of oppression used against themselves as a tool of oppression against the Tutsi. The cards were swiftly put into use as a tool for the First Republic to marginalize the Tutsi in education, government, and civil life. As such, they were an extremely useful tool in the process of dehumanizing the Tutsi and transforming their status in Rwanda from *People* to *people*. In 1964, President Kayibanda increased the utilization of the identity cards to include Rwandans’ domicile, further restricting the biopolitical power of the Tutsi people.

In the early 1960s, Kayibanda enacted the practice of *paysannat*, a policy that required ‘compulsory villagization’ within less densely populated portions of the country.<sup>295</sup> The system granted land to nuclear families living in a specific village area, with a grant of land for agriculture surrounding their habitation. For peasants, this was often the only way to get access to land and, thus, livelihood.<sup>296</sup> *Paysannat* was only implemented in parts of the country, but its impact was the concentration of Tutsi communities in certain regions.

The policy forced Tutsis to relocate from the northern part of the country in Ruhengeri (where land was fertile and drought and famine less likely to strike) to the Bugesera region, south of Kigali. The Bugesera region is arid and infested with the tsetse fly, so it was sparsely inhabited until the government’s forced relocations during the 1960s. It is said that the Kaybianda regime forced Tutsis to this region in the hopes that they would be unable to find arable land on which to live, and would not survive.<sup>297</sup>

Kayibanda enacted a law in 1964 that required Rwandans to register their domicile on their identity cards. If a Rwandan wished to move his or her residence, the state required that s/he notify the local communal authorities prior to moving, and inform the authorities the precise location of the new domicile. Citizens were also required to provide proof that the communal authorities in the Rwandan’s new domicile had granted permission for them to move into the new community.<sup>298</sup> This practice allowed the Republic to restrict movement within the

country; Tutsis who had been forcibly relocated to the least habitable areas of the country were not permitted to leave.

For Agamben, the camp is the essence of the state of exception – it embodies the state of exception in its purest and strongest form. In a camp, the sovereign can commit any act it chooses and engage in any behavior it wants to, without any recourse from the people – because the people have ceased being *People* and exist as only *people*, the naked life. He states that “[t]he camp is the space that opens up when the state of exception starts to become the rule. ... In other words, if sovereign power is founded on the ability to decide on the state of exception, the camp is the structure in which the state of exception is permanently realized.”<sup>299</sup> Kayibanda’s policies that displaced, restricted, and monitored the movements of the Tutsi minority in Rwanda created a sort of camp within the country; people who were neither free to move nor make decisions about their livelihood.

#### Pogroms of 1962-1973 – Necropolitics continued

Much of the violence occurring during Kayibanda’s regime followed the pattern established in the Hutu Revolution years, as the President and PARMEHUTU party leaders were consolidating power and preparing to monopolize government after independence. The regime’s use of necropolitics continued.

During the First Republic, the sovereign utilized the power of death as a tool of control and repression over the minority Tutsi, as they had begun during the revolutionary years. As Mbembe said, “the ultimate expression of sovereignty resides, to a large degree, in the power and the capacity to dictate who may live and who must die. ... To exercise sovereignty is to exercise control over mortality and to define life as the deployment and manifestation of power.”<sup>300</sup> And for Mbembe, like Foucault, that decision-making power on the part of the sovereign is regulated by racism. “In the economy of biopower, the function of racism is to regulate the distribution of death and to make possible the murderous functions of the state. It is, he says, ‘the condition for the acceptability of putting to death.’”<sup>301</sup> As the superrace, the Hutu elite of the Kayibanda regime utilized the ultimate power of the state to determine who lives and who dies. In every case of violence over the eleven years of the First Republic, the Tutsi died.

The violence began in Kayibanda’s home region of Gitarama (in central Rwanda, south of capitol city Kigali) and was strongest in PARMEHUTU strongholds such as Ruhengeri and Gisenyi in the northwestern portion of the country. Ruhengeri was a particularly active region for Hutu oppression in 1962. On July 4, the Ruhengeri local government executed 100 young Tutsi men. On December 1, 1962, the same government enacted a summary execution of 14 young Tutsi men suspected of being *inyenzi* activists. And on Christmas Eve that year, all opposition parties in Ruhengeri were executed. The local government

leader in Ruhengeri, Barthazar Bicamumpaka, was a PARMEHUTU leader and ally of President Kayibanda.<sup>302</sup>

In November and December 1963, Tutsi refugees living in Burundi invaded the Bugesera region, coming within twenty miles of the capitol city of Kigali. Burundi, home to 50,000 Tutsi refugees, was the most common staging ground for military attacks in Rwanda. In addition to its proximity and large refugee population of Tutsi refugees, Burundi was already home to a large and powerful Burundian Tutsi population.<sup>303</sup> The invasion was not well planned and the Tutsi soldiers lacked proper equipment and weaponry (they were mostly bearing spears, bows and arrows),<sup>304</sup> but they advanced quickly due to the surprise nature of the attack and the Rwandan government's lack of preparedness. However, the Kayibanda government quickly regrouped and pushed back the invasion. The retaliation against local Tutsi was swift and brutal.

In Cyangugu, over 80 Tutsi were shot in the woods.<sup>305</sup> In Gikongoro and Nyanza, 10,000 Tutsi were killed.<sup>306</sup> Over the course of four days, families were killed with clubs, bodies were thrown into the local river; local government officials had encouraged the residents of the region to engage in the mass killing.<sup>307</sup> The local prefect, André Nkeramugabe, reportedly speaking at a rally of PARMEHUTU party members and burgomasters (local appointed officials), said "we are expected to defend ourselves. The only way to go about it is to paralyze the Tutsi. How? They must be killed."<sup>308</sup> After decimating the local Tutsi

population, the government then executed all remaining Tutsi politicians in the country.<sup>309</sup>

Between 1964 and the fall of 1966, local prefectures engaged in sporadic violence against the Tutsi population. On January 18-19, 1964, local Tutsis were massacred in retaliation after Tutsi refugees from Burundi attempted to enter the country.<sup>310</sup> It is unclear whether these massacres were initiated by Kayibanda's central government structure, or if they were merely tolerated by the President's office as a part of the government's overall hostility towards Tutsi and support of vigilante violence as a tool of repression. However, in November 1996, a series of summary executions were held in Cyangugu, Gisenyi, and Kibungo, and a number of additional Tutsis were arrested, including women and children.<sup>311</sup> Following this round of summary executions, pogroms faded. By this time, more than 20,000 Tutsis had been killed at the hands of state and local government actors, and over 300,000 Tutsis were living abroad as refugees.<sup>312</sup>

Between 1966 and February 1973, local communities continued the intermittent killing of Tutsis. These incidents were small, infrequent, and yet no one was ever held accountable for the killings. In February 1973, attacks on *petit* Tutsis began once again in the countryside. Tutsi priests and nuns were killed, Tutsis were killed, their houses burned, and their belongings shared by Hutus in the community.<sup>313</sup> These killings continued through March 1973, at which time



President Kayibanda established formal commissions (Committees of Public Safety) to purge Tutsis from education and civil life.

### Habyarimana coup

Taking advantage of the confusion, division, and civil unrest in the country, army chief General Juvénal Habyarimana staged a ‘bloodless coup’ on July 5, 1973, unseating President Kayibanda.<sup>314</sup> Because Habyarimana had been the chief architect of the 1972-1973 Committees on Public Safety, it is widely believed that he instigated the civil unrest in order to create a climate conducive to a coup.<sup>315</sup>

Kayibanda and his wife were imprisoned and starved to death, allegedly because Habyarimana harbored a superstitious belief that murdering his former boss would bring him harm.<sup>316</sup> Kayibanda died on December 15, 1976.<sup>317</sup> Habyarimana’s chief of security, Théoneste Lizinde, orchestrated the murder of sixty-five former officials in the Kayibanda government.<sup>318</sup> In 1974, Lizinde oversaw the summary execution of former PARMEHUTU dignitaries from Gitarama (Kayibanda’s home region).<sup>319</sup>

On July 5, 1973, the day he staged the coup, Habyarimana declared “we can no longer tolerate ethnic discrimination.”<sup>320</sup> He declared the day one of “peace and reconciliation”<sup>321</sup> and claimed the coup was a ‘moral revolution.’<sup>322</sup>

Habyarimana’s coup was seen with relief by Tutsis and many Hutus within the country, as he promised peace, unity and industry. After months of turmoil and,

for Tutsis, years of living in fear of physical harm or murder, the idea of peace and unity was a godsend. Habyarimana promised an end to the violence against Tutsis in Rwanda and a focus on stabilizing the country's precarious economic situation. From 1973 to 1990, Tutsis lived in relative peace. Protests stopped and home burnings and lootings ended. However, Habyarimana's idea of peace did not include political or economic security or participation for Tutsis in Rwanda. Instead, Habyarimana established a system of discrimination based on both ethnicity (Tutsis) and geography (partiality towards his home region in the north, discrimination against Kayibanda's region in the south).<sup>323</sup>

Upon declaring himself President, Habyarimana dissolved the National Assembly.<sup>324</sup> He established a National Committee for Peace and Unity, which was comprised of civilians and military officials loyal to him. The Committee had no real power; he appointed and removed all members and the committee was answerable to him.<sup>325</sup> In June 1974, President Habyarimana established a court martial system and sentenced Kayibanda and seven other members of the First Republic's regime to death.<sup>326</sup>

Habyarimana ruled without a Parliament for three years, and in 1976 when he created a new legislative body, he called it the National Council for Development (rather than an Assembly or Parliament), to denote its focus on economic development, and granted it very little legislative power.<sup>327</sup>

Habyarimana's decision to abolish the Parliament and maintain total control over the state extended the First Republic's state of exception. Notes Agamben, "One of the essential characteristics of the state of exception – the provisional abolition of the distinction among legislative, executive, and judicial powers – here shows its tendency to become a lasting practice of government."<sup>328</sup> Although power changed hands violently between the First and Second Republic, the lasting practice of the state of exception held steady.

#### Habyarimana regime and legal changes (state of exception cont'd)

Habyarimana promised an end to killings and to bring unity and peace to the country. Under his reign, pogroms against the Tutsi minority did cease. Systematic discrimination against Tutsi, however, continued in a different form. While Rwandan Tutsis could live free from random physical persecution and killings, they were subject to political and civil exclusion in society. Habyarimana continued Kayibanda's policy of preventing Tutsi from biopolitical participation in Rwandan life; they remained *people* in the Second Republic. Habyarimana included only one Tutsi in his nineteen-member cabinet; only one prefect in the country was Tutsi; not a single burgomaster was Tutsi; only one ambassador was Tutsi; and only two deputies in the national assembly (out of 70) were Tutsi. Tutsis were not allowed to serve as officers in the army, and Hutu army members were not allowed to marry Tutsi women.<sup>329</sup>

*Umuganda*

In February 1974, President Habyarimana established *umuganda*, a program that required every Rwandan to engage in forced labor on Saturdays to benefit the state. This compulsory labor usually meant that Rwandans had an individual duty to assist the state in creating public projects like reforestation, bridge building, and agricultural measures to stop erosion. The President explained the compulsory work to Europeans by saying “First the population must get down to work – the Government and myself want to emphasize the value of work on the land. Thus we shall devote each Saturday to tilling the soil with hoes in our hands.”<sup>330</sup> In practice, Hutu elite were exempt from the practice, but the work was exacted from the poor Hutu and the *petit Tutsi* who had no political say in governance, state or local.

#### *Amnesty for Hutu extremists*

Like Kayibanda, Habyarimana granted amnesty to Hutus who had engaged in violent massacres against Tutsis. On November 22, 1974, the President issued amnesty to those engaged in violence on September 18-19, 1968.<sup>331</sup> The President would continue to periodically grant amnesty to perpetrators of murders against Tutsis in Rwanda. Regardless of Rwandan law that called for legal punishment of crimes enacted by Hutu extremists, the law was once again suspended for Hutus engaging in extralegal activities on behalf of the Republic and the regime. Repeated incidents of murder, arson, theft, robbery, assault and other crimes were acceptable under the state of exception.

### *Camps, continued*

The President carried on Kayibanda's requirement that Rwandans gain approval from local commune leaders prior to moving within the country. Generally, Rwandans were only allowed to move within the country to attend a secondary school or university, or if they had been hired at a job in another area within the country. Rwandan identity cards continued to list a person's home address, so that Rwandans would not travel far or often.<sup>332</sup> This practice allowed the President to 'keep tabs' on Tutsis (largely located in the south and southwest, and northwest) and Kayibanda's Hutu elite (in the Gitarama region).

Commune leaders were required to submit monthly reports of births, deaths, and lists of who moved in and out of the commune between reports. Local leaders informed superiors about 'suspicious' people within the district, and high ranking government officials were required to take military training courses in order to better report information about Rwandans to the central government.<sup>333</sup> The Second Republic expanded Kayibanda's camps to include even greater control over the subjects within.

### *Education, Government and Civil Life*

In 1975, Habyarimana revised and applied the Rwandan policy of ethnic equilibrium. He also revised the policy to enact what he called regional equilibrium.<sup>334</sup> What this meant, in effect, was that the discrimination against Tutsis in the civil service, government, and educational systems remained in place,

but that additional discrimination was also carried out against southern Hutus who were loyal to the Kayibanda regime.

In 1985, Habyarimana revised the Rwandan educational policy. Under the new law, at least 85% of all educational slots available in the country were reserved for Hutu, between 10 and 14 percent were reserved for Tutsi, and one percent reserved for the Twa.<sup>335</sup> That same year, the President revised quota policies for civil service positions. Contrary to Kayibanda's regime, where the official policies discriminated against the Tutsis alone, Habyarimana's policies discriminated between northerners and southerners first, then between Tutsi and Hutu. For example, the new policy reserved 60 percent of civil service positions for northerners and 40 percent for southerners. Within these populations, the positions were further divided between Hutus earning 90 percent of positions and the Tutsi and Twa splitting the remaining 10 percent.<sup>336</sup> The practical result of this stratified quota system was that Tutsi in the south (where most Tutsi lived) would have access to only 4 percent of civil service positions.<sup>337</sup>

#### *Total Control of the Sovereign*

In July 1975, Habyarimana created a new political party, the MRND. From the time he took office in July 1973 to the summer of 1975, there were no political parties in Rwanda. With the establishment of the MRND, there was one. Other political parties were not permitted to form.<sup>338</sup> In 1976, Habyarimana created a new constitution declaring all Rwandans were, upon birth, members of

the MRND.<sup>339</sup> Under the revised Rwandan Constitution, prefects and burgomasters were appointed directly by the President. In Kayibanda's regime, these positions had been ones of popular local elections.<sup>340</sup> Several days later, President Habyarimana held national elections for the office of President. He was the only candidate to stand for election, and he was overwhelmingly re-elected.<sup>341</sup> The state of exception continued, well after the coup had settled. It had become the norm, the standard practice in Rwanda.

In 1980, one of Habyarimana's former staffers, Major Lizinde, was arrested along with thirty other northern Hutus, and accused of plotting a coup against the President. Lizinde, who had served as the Rwandan head of security, was tried along with 46 other individuals in 1981 of conspiracy to overthrow the government. He was sentenced to death. Some seven months later, President Habyarimana pardoned Lizinde and commuted his sentence from death to life in prison. While in prison, Lizinde was brought on new charges, accused of murdering patriots of the First Republic under Kayibanda, and was once again sentenced to death.<sup>342</sup> Habyarimana exacted total control and decision-making power over the courts, implementation of laws, and the power of life and death of the citizens of Rwanda.

Habyarimana was re-elected to a third term in December 1988 with 99.98% of the vote.<sup>343</sup> Once again, he was the only candidate on the ballot. The constitution remained unchanged, and Habyarimana's micromanaged control over

local government continued unabated. And In 1989, Habyarimana granted amnesty to approximately 3,000 individuals imprisoned throughout the country. On September 7, 1990, he granted additional decrees of amnesty to individuals accused of engaging in massacres of Tutsi civilians.<sup>344</sup>

### *State of Siege*

Just weeks after his last grant of amnesty to Hutu government officials and civilians who had previously attacked and killed Tutsis, the Rwandan Patriotic Front launched its October 1990 attack. President Habyarimana responded by declaring a state of siege and suspending law within the country.<sup>345</sup> The state of siege was sustained in Rwanda from the fall of 1990 through the three month genocide in spring 1994. The state of siege created military rule of law in the country and permitted military officers to arrest civilians for historically domestic infractions, such as setting items on fire, destroying objects, trees, plants, monuments, and more.<sup>346</sup> While the Second Republic had implemented the state of exception from 1973 through 1990, the formal declaration of the state of siege removed all remaining vestiges of the rule of law in Rwanda.

### The Akazu

Habyarimana descended from a Hutu family of questionable lineage – rumors persisted that his grandfather had immigrated to Rwanda from either Zaire or Uganda. Regardless of the truth of the rumor, it was well established that his ancestry was neither large nor powerful. In order to rule Rwanda closely and



tightly, the President needed a network of supporters. Accordingly, he relied heavily on his wife's family and friends to cement support and wield power in the country.<sup>347</sup> President Habyarimana's wife, Agathe Kanziga, was a powerful woman from a lineage of northern Hutus who had long resisted efforts of pre-colonial Tutsi kings to corral the north within their circle of control and influence. Her family resided in Bushiru, in the northeastern region of the country. Many in Rwanda nicknamed her 'Kanjogera' after the Rwandan King Musinga's powerful and scheming mother.<sup>348</sup>

It is said that Madame Agathe created a small, powerful shadow group of decision-makers who controlled President Habyarimana and much of the country's political, economic, and power dynamics. The *akazu*, meaning 'little house' was headed by the First Lady and her family members: her three brothers Colonel Pierre-Célestin Rwagafilita, Sèraphin Rwabukumba (owned La Centrale, a major business in the country), and Protais Zigiranyirazo (prefect of Ruhengeri); cousin Elie Sagatwa (Habyarimana's personal secretary), and colleagues Noël Mbonabaryi and Colonel Laurent Serubuga.<sup>349</sup> Individuals who would prove to be responsible for the genocide in later years were also involved in the *akazu*; Colonel Théoneste Bagosora, Major Leonard Nkundiye, and Captain Pascal Simbikangwa.<sup>350</sup>

The *akazu* ensured that power rested almost exclusively in the hands of northern Hutus; Hutus from Gisenyi and Ruhengeri made up a disproportionately

large percentage of the leaders established in government posts. Nearly a third of the most important posts within Rwanda's government were held by Hutus from one prefecture – Gisenyi.<sup>351</sup>

The *akazu* was reportedly also responsible for a death squad in the country, called 'Zero Network' – this network was exposed in 1992 by a former member, Christophe Mfizi, in an open letter to the President.<sup>352</sup> The Zero Network included high-ranking officials in the Habyarimana government, including Lieutenant Colonel Tharchisse Renzaho, Kigali prefect; Lieutenant Colonel Anatole Nsengiyumva, head of army intelligence; François Karera, Kigali deputy prefect; Zigiranyirazo, Ruhengeri prefect and Habyarimana's brother-in-law; and Sagatwa, Habyarimana's secretary and head of the President's security system.<sup>353</sup> The Zero Network orchestrated massacres of the Bagogwe Tutsi people in 1991, over 300 Tutsi civilians in Bugesera in 1992, then shortly thereafter committed another round of massacres in Kibuye.<sup>354</sup>

The *akazu* was responsible for ensuring that the country's power remain vested in the hands of the President, his wife, and her family and friends. At one point in the late 1980s, President Habyarimana appeared to be grooming a friend, Colonel Stanislas Mayuya, as a potential presidential successor. The *akazu* orchestrated the murder of Mayuya in April 1988. Shortly thereafter, the sergeant who shot Mayuya was killed while in jail, and the prosecutor assigned to the case was also murdered.<sup>355</sup> Journalists in the country who attempted to write about the

government's abusive practices or to expose the *akazu*'s illegal activity were also arrested and sometimes killed.<sup>356</sup>

#### Drought, famine, coffee collapse

Famine, which hit Rwanda in the late 1980s, was not a new phenomenon. In 1916-17, around the time the Belgians wrested control of the region from the Germans, the country faced a great famine. Famine hit again in 1928-29, but the worst famine in Rwanda's colonial history occurred in 1943-44, when nearly 300,000 Rwandans died of starvation.<sup>357</sup> For over 40 years after the 1940s famine, Rwanda struggled with massive poverty and poor health outcomes for its residents, but famine was staved off. That changed in 1989.

In 1989, global coffee prices plummeted by 50% when the International Coffee Agreement dissolved.<sup>358</sup> Around the same time, coffee trees in Rwanda were afflicted with disease, radically decreasing production. Rwandan farmers responded to the diseased trees by cutting down some 300,000 of them, without replacement. Overnight, the coffee export industry, which made up 75 percent of Rwanda's export income, fell dramatically. Income from coffee exports dropped over \$110 million in a handful of years, from over \$144 million in 1985 to \$30 million in the early 1990s.<sup>359</sup> Drought and famine in the south and southwestern parts of Rwanda increased during this time, the famine increasing in severity as the coffee crisis hit the national market.<sup>360</sup> Between 1988 and 1989, roughly 300

Rwandans died of famine, while many others fled to Tanzania searching for food.<sup>361</sup>

Tin prices also collapsed in the late 1980s, leading to the shut down of Rwanda's tin mining industry. In earlier years when coffee was struggling, tin exports had increased to pick up the share lost by coffee. When the tin industry collapsed, Rwanda was left with virtually no export income.<sup>362</sup>

At the same time, the international community implemented a Structural Adjustment Programme through the International Monetary Fund. This devalued Rwandan currency by two-thirds in 1990, and put coffee farmers in an even tighter squeeze. The national deficit increased from 12 to 18 percent in just three years. The IMF required the government to end any subsidization of coffee production in the country; doing so would have caused farmers to endure even greater privations and poverty. The Rwandan government enacted some subsidization of the farmers, and quickly faced the wrath of the IMF. The international community refused to give Rwanda its second installation of aid, pointing out that the deficit had increased, not reduced as required, and that the government continued to aid coffee growers. The IMF failed to note the absurdity of requiring Rwanda to stabilize its deficit and economy while simultaneously allowing its greatest export to fail. As a result of the lost aid, Rwanda's GDP fell by over 40%, and more of the population fell into extreme poverty.<sup>363</sup>

Meanwhile, the Second Republic began diverting international aid money to purchase weapons for the civil war instead of utilizing those dollars to increase the standard of living for Rwandans, or to feed hungry families. Between 1989 and 1992, Rwanda increased its spending on weapons to nearly 8 percent of GDP.<sup>364</sup> This diversionary spending increased the poverty rates in the country, squeezing families out of food, access to land, and sustainability.

#### International pressure – threats to Hutu Power

In late 1989, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) began to flourish in Rwanda. These organizations were almost all international organizations, funded by European efforts. It is estimated that, “by the beginning of the 1990s, Rwanda had one of Africa’s highest density of NGOs.” One European NGO administrator commented at the time that “there was approximately one farmer’s organization per 35 households, one cooperative per 350 households, and one development NGO per 3,500 households.”<sup>365</sup>

Foreign aid made up a growing percentage of Rwanda’s annual GNP. By 1986, it was 11% of NGP and in 1991 was up to 22%.<sup>366</sup> Along with this aid came some measure of international pressure on Habyarimana to enact democratic reforms. In 1990, while attending a summit in France, President Habyarimana was urged by French President Mitterand to allow a multi-party system in Rwanda.<sup>367</sup> Less than a month later, the President declared his commitment to establishing a multi-party system in the country.

One year later, in June 1991, President Habyarimana introduced a new constitution that permitted political parties to form.<sup>368</sup> Despite this, the new government formed in December 1991 was made up almost exclusively of MRND officials and those loyal to President Habyarimana.<sup>369</sup> As civil war continued in Rwanda, international bodies became more and more involved. By August 1992, the Habyarimana government and the RPF rebels had met on several occasions and signed a draft agreement establishing a new rule of law for Rwanda. Yet signs were clear that the Hutu extremists in Rwanda had no intention of sharing power with Tutsi rebels. In January 1993, Bagosora, who was negotiating on behalf of the Rwandan government, stormed out of negotiations and headed to Rwanda to continue preparations for a war and genocide.<sup>370</sup> While negotiations continued, there was great tension within the country about the peace agreement. Not only did the agreement require power sharing, it did not grant amnesty to part perpetrators of crimes against Tutsi people, as all former administrations from Belgian Logiest to Kayibanda to Habyarimana had previously granted.<sup>371</sup> The pressure was intensifying on Rwandan President Habyarimana to accede to power sharing while the pressure from the *akazu* and the Hutu Power factions within the Rwandan government increasingly feared a loss of power and potentially damning repercussions for committing past atrocities.

By the time United Nations forces were deployed to Kigali with a mandate to assist in the implementation of the August 1993 Arusha peace agreement, Hutu

extremists in the Rwandan government had laid all the groundwork necessary to enact a swift and organized genocide of the Tutsi people. For many of them, they saw genocide as a natural extension of the oppression committed against Tutsi over the last several generations, and a reasonable solution to the presenting possibility of loss of power.

## Chapter 5

### GENOCIDE

The start of the genocide on the evening of April 6<sup>th</sup> was a temporary shock to the nation; while rumors of the President's demise had been circulating on hate radio and in popular hate magazines for months, most Rwandans were surprised to learn of the President's death. It is clear by the actions of Hutu Power extremists in the minutes, hours, and days following the President's assassination, however, that his demise was not a surprise to all. Within moments of Habyarimana's death, the state of exception was expanded within Rwanda. From the suspension of the implementation of the Arusha Accords, to the establishment of an Interim Government, to the execution of a well-planned and efficiently executed genocide of over three quarters of the country's minority Tutsi, the Hutu Power extremists in Rwanda created a total state of exception in Rwanda.

#### Plane Crash

On the morning of April 6, President Habyarimana left Kigali for Dar es Salaam to attend a regional summit. While the summit was intended to cover a number of regional topics, the main focus was in actuality the Rwandan peace process and regional leaders' concerns about the impact that the growing tensions would have on regional stability. The President's plan was to return to Kigali that evening via plane, then hold a nighttime meeting with leaders of the major political parties in the country. The President took the both head of the Presidential Guard



and the Army Chief of Staff with him to the summit – many believe that he did this for his own security, as rumors of his demise had swirled on RTLM radio and hate propaganda magazines for months. That morning, before leaving, the President had given instructions to his staff to prepare a swearing-in ceremony for the transitional government on April 8.<sup>372</sup> This ceremony had already been postponed a number of times since late 1993.

The regional summit included Rwandan President Habyarimana; the President of Tanzania, Ali Hassan Mwinyi; Burundian President Cyprien Ntariyamira; Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni; Kenyan vice-president George Saitoti; and the Organization of African Unity's Secretary-General, Salim Ahmed Salim.<sup>373</sup> The meeting was tense; the regional leaders pushed Habyarimana to move forward with the Arusha Accords and the peace process for the region's stability and security. The meeting ended late, and as Habyarimana left, he offered a ride home to Burundian President Ntariyamira.<sup>374</sup> Ntariyamira accepted; Habyarimana's plane was newer, faster, and more comfortable.

The President's plane was full as it approached Kigali. In addition to giving a ride home to Burundian President Ntariyamira, President Habyarimana also brought his private secretary, Colonel Elie Sagatwa; Major General Dèogratias Nsabimana, the army chief of staff; Major Thaddée Bagaragaza, the Presidential Guard commander; Dr. Emmanuel Akingeneye, the President's personal doctor;

and Juvènal Renzaho, his political advisor. Additionally, the Burundian President brought two of his cabinet ministers on the plane.<sup>375</sup>

Sometime around 8:20 pm, the President's plane neared the Kigali International Airport. As the plane headed towards the runway, a missile was launched towards the plane, hitting one of the wings. Immediately after, a second missile hit the rear of the plane, engulfing the plane in flames. The plane hit down the presidential palace garden grounds, missing the runway entirely.<sup>376</sup>

At 9 pm that night, Colonel Bagosora and others convened a so-called Crisis Committee at the Rwanda Government Forces headquarters. The Crisis Committee included all the top military leaders in the country still alive. The Committee had no legal authority in the country; neither the constitution nor the Arusha Accords provided for a Crisis Committee to obtain control in an emergency.<sup>377</sup> Recognizing this, the Committee invited UNAMIR Force Commander Romèò Dallaire to the meeting, in order to assure both him and the international community that the meeting and establishment of a Crisis Committee was not a coup.<sup>378</sup>

The Committee chose Colonel Lèonidas Gatsinzi, who was not present at the meeting, as the Chief of Staff of the Crisis Committee, after rejecting Bagosora's proposal that the military take control of the country. UNAMIR Force Commander Dallaire had warned the Crisis Committee that the UN force

would withdraw entirely if the military claimed control of the country; that would have constituted a coup and was a direct violation of the Arusha Accords.<sup>379</sup>

According to Rwandan law, interim Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana should have assumed power as the temporary head of state. However, the military leaders in the Crisis Committee refused to grant her control of the state. They claimed she lacked credibility with the Rwandan people.<sup>380</sup> Later that evening, Bagosora had a meeting with the UN Special Representative to Rwanda, Jacques Booh-Booh and Lieutenant General Romeo Dallaire, the UNAMIR mission chief. During this meeting, Booh-Booh reminded Bagosora to respect the Arusha Accords and acknowledge Agathe Uwilingiyimana as the interim Prime Minister. Bagosora refused, claiming that the “military would not accept this” and that she had been “rejected by the members of our government and by the Rwandan people.”<sup>381</sup>

During the Crisis Committee meeting, Bagosora received a phone call from Lieutenant Colonel Anatole Nsengiyumva, the commander of military operations in the Gisenyi sector. Within minutes of that phone call, Nsengiyumva had given orders to begin massacres of Tutsis in Gisenyi.<sup>382</sup>

By 9:15 pm, roadblocks had been established by the National Guard around the perimeter of Kigali, beyond those normally put in place for the President’s customary travel from the airport to the presidential palace. United Nations peacekeepers who left headquarters to head towards the site of the crash

were stopped by Presidential Guard members at a roadblock and taken captive to the airport. The Presidential Guards took the UN soldiers' weapons from them.<sup>383</sup>

Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana planned to address the Rwandan people via Radio Rwanda on the morning of April 7. UNAMIR troops were scheduled to escort her to the radio station in the morning, and UNAMIR troops were providing her with protection at her home the night of April 6. However, Bagosora had instructed a battalion of soldiers to travel to the Prime Minister's house in the middle of night, and had made it clear to them that no one was to make it to Radio Rwanda. Agathe never made it out of her home; she was killed the next morning around 8:40 am while trying to escape via her backyard. Presidential Guards had surrounded her home, prevented her from going to Radio Rwanda, and eventually entered the compound and killed her.<sup>384</sup>

By this time, the Presidential Guard and the *interahamwe*, at Bagosora's direction, were fanning out through Kigali. The genocide had begun, and it would continue relentlessly for the next ninety days.

#### The Arusha Pressure Cooker

The genocide was well-planned and executed in an orderly fashion, with military, army, militia members, local government leaders, and community leaders all working in an efficient, organized manner to kill opposition leaders and Tutsis throughout the country. As seen in earlier chapters, the climate was ripe for genocide thanks to years of colonial rule followed by two governments dominated

by the state of exception. Genocide is never inevitable; the choice of a government to kill its people is always a choice that can be made at any given moment in time. However, as seen in Rwanda, governments can take a series of actions over time that make a climate ripe for genocide to occur. The years of civil war in Rwanda and the development of the Arusha Accords to end that war exacerbated an already political fraught situation. It was clear during the Arusha negotiations that the state of exception, which had become the rule in Rwanda, was not tolerated by international bodies or by the RPF rebel forces.

While there is no one starting moment to point to in the Arusha process, one could start with the first major 'request' from a western power to President Habyarimana. For years, Rwanda had been the beneficiary of western aid; this aid came with economic and structural change requirements but no requirements for liberalization of political policy. Rwanda failed to accede to a number of the structural adjustment programs' socioeconomic change requirements, and the response from the international community was tepid.<sup>385</sup> It appeared that Rwanda could continue its programs of economic discrimination without much threat of outside interference.

However, France's President Mitterand approached President Habyarimana in early July 1990 and told him that future aid and assistance would require a liberalization of political policy; namely, the institution of a multi-party democratic system. In response to this pressure from France, President

Habyiramana announced on July 5, 1990 that he would separate the state and party structures from each other and that a multi-party system would be implemented in Rwanda.<sup>386</sup>

The first significant invasion by the RPF into Rwanda occurred on October 1, 1990. The Rwandan government's response was brutal and swift; the RPF retreated quickly once the Rwandan troops (RAF) were mobilized. Heavy losses were incurred by the RPF. On March 29, 1991, the RPF and RAF signed a ceasefire agreement. By this time, the fighting had quieted down, but reprisal attacks against Tutsis in Rwanda had been frequent and brutal.<sup>387</sup>

Rwanda implemented a new constitution in June 1991 that permitted the creation of multiple political parties. Since 1975, only the President's MRND party had existed, and all Rwandans were, upon birth, registered as party members. With the advent of multiple parties, three major opposition parties quickly formed. The MDR (Republican Democratic Movement) party, started by First Republic President Kayibanda's son-in-law Faustin Twagiramungu, was a moderate Hutu-dominated party. The PSD (Social Democratic Party) and PL (Liberal Party) parties were both somewhat liberal parties, with membership of both Hutu and Tutsi included. All three opposition parties were interested in creating a future broad-based government that excluded Hutu Power extremists.<sup>388</sup>

### *Transitional Governments*

Three transitional governments were created in succession over the next several years. The first transitional government took office in December 1991. The newly created position of Prime Minister was held by Sylvestre Nsanzimana. However, the MRND retained control of all but one cabinet position, and the PDC (Christian Democratic Party) held that seat. The PDC was a party closely connected to the MRND.<sup>389</sup> It was clear that this transitional government did not change much, if anything, about the power structure in Rwanda or the concentration of control held by Habyarimana.

After heavy opposition from minor parties was voiced and major protests were held in Kigali, on February 11, 1992, the Rwandan government and the opposition parties opened negotiations regarding the formation of a new transition government. An agreement was signed on March 13, 1992 and Dismas Nsengiyaremye was named the new Prime Minister on April 2. Nsengiyaremye was a member of the MDR, the chief opposition party. As a result of the second transitional government agreement, the MRND was granted nine cabinet positions and the opposition parties ten between them.<sup>390</sup>

Just as the negotiations began, a new political party was created, the CDR (Coalition for the Defense of the Republic). This party was an extreme Hutu Power party, even farther to the right than the President's power-wielding party, the MRND.<sup>391</sup> It is believed that the party was formed to provide rightward pressure on the MRND to keep it from acceding too much to the more moderate

parties and factions within the country. The CDR was openly against any reconciliation with the RPF rebel forces and avowedly anti-Tutsi. Within a month, the Rwandan government and the RPF began negotiations and set a time-table for a peace agreement negotiation. By August 1, 1992, the RPF rebels and the government had agreed to implement the cease-fire that had been signed on July 12 that year.<sup>392</sup>

### *The Accords*

On August 18, the Rwandan government and RPF representatives signed the first Accord at Arusha, the accord establishing the rule of law. At this point, Hutu extremists within Rwanda became even more hostile to the peace agreement. The President's Chief of Staff was so upset by the government's actions in Arusha that he wrote a letter requesting that the Rwandan government representatives be recalled from Arusha to Kigali.<sup>393</sup> The rule of law portion of the accords did not grant amnesty for past atrocities; it also established a legal order that would have prevented and/or punished future acts such as the ones committed by Hutu Power activists over the past forty years.

By October 30, 1992, the first portion of the power sharing agreement was signed in Arusha.<sup>394</sup> Two weeks later, under significant pressure from the *akazu* and the extremists elements within his government, President Habyarimana described the Arusha Accords as 'shreds of paper' and congratulated the *interahamwe* for their recent (illegal) activity.<sup>395</sup> The Prime Minister, a moderate



Hutu, responded to the President's statement by noting that "such a declaration, on the part of an official of your rank, casting doubt on the government's commitments, constitutes a barely disguised repudiation of the Accords and opens the way for the relaunch of hostilities."<sup>396</sup> It was clear that the Arusha Accords were on shaky grounds; the portion of the Accords that called for power sharing would have greatly diminished the power of the President, the *akazu*, and the existing government power structure altogether. After the Prime Minister submitted his letter to the President, Habyarimana dismissed Nsengiyaremye from his position as Prime Minister. Nsengiyaremye later fled the country, in fear of his life.

On January 9, 1993, the second part of the power sharing agreement was signed – this portion included the protocol for power sharing and a timetable for the transition of government authority. On January 25, President Habyarimana denounced the Accords which his government had just signed.<sup>397</sup> The President saw himself squeezed into an ever-tightening vice grip – on the one side, international pressure to sign the Accords and accede to peace, which would surely reduce the *akazu*'s hold on power and subject them all to criminal punishment for past atrocities, and on the other side, the increasingly intense pressure from the *akazu*, the CDR, elements of the MRND party, and all those enjoying the spoils of the Second Republic who had no intention of letting that power and control slip away. The President had few choices.

He continued to move forward in a schizophrenic manner; his administration negotiated and signed provisions of the peace agreement, while he renounced them back in Kigali. Thus, on June 9, the government and RPF signed the portion of the Accords that governed the right of return for refugees and displaced persons.<sup>398</sup>

On July 18, 1993, President Habyarimana agreed to allow Agathe Uwilingiyimana to become the Prime Minister until the Arusha Accords were completed and implemented. Uwilingiyimana had been nominated as the interim Prime Minister by the president of the MDR party, Faustin Twagiramungu.<sup>399</sup> Both were subsequently banned from their own party, as the MDR believed they were too moderate and accommodationist towards the RPF. On August 3, the final portion of the Arusha Accords were signed, the protocol for the integration of the armed forces of the RAF and RPF.<sup>400</sup>

On August 4, 1993, President Habyarimana and the RPF signed the complete Arusha Accords. The Accords included five major components:

(1) Rule of law. This portion of the accords required all political parties represented in the accords and the new government to follow the rule of law and respect human rights.

(2) Power sharing. This provision required that all elements of the government be reformed. A transitional government that included representation of all political parties (save the CDR, the extreme Hutu Power party) would be

established, pending elections. The President would become a less powerful position, with a true balance established between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government.

(3) Refugees and displaced persons. This section allowed all Rwandan refugees the right of return – something vigorously opposed by President Habyarimana since 1973. It also outlined the resettlement of internally displaced persons, mostly those who had fled the northern areas of Rwanda during the 1990-1993 civil war.

(4) Armed forces. This provision outlined the merger of the RPF (Tutsi rebel force) and the RAF (Rwandan Armed Forces) into one army. The provision required that forty percent of the ranks, and fifty percent of the officers be RPF members in both the army and the regular police force (Gendarmerie). The Presidential Guard, the lethal force that reported directly to President Habyarimara (considered responsible for many past atrocities), would be evenly split between the current force and RPF forces. This provision was very controversial, and many Hutu Power adherents in the Second Republic were just as concerned about this provision as they were about power sharing in government.

(5) Final provisions. This portion included a variety of smaller agreements and wrapped up the accords.<sup>401</sup>

The Accords provided that the RPF begin to prepare for the transitional government. In order to provide security for the RPF political delegates, the RPF moved six hundred RPF soldiers into Kigali. The transitional government was scheduled to take office on September 10<sup>th</sup>, 1993 in Kigali.<sup>402</sup> That date came and went, with no action. In fact, the United Nations was so slow to take action that the UNAMIR fact-finding mission had barely completed its first visit to Rwanda by that date. The United Nations Security Council did not approve the UNAMIR mandate until October 5, 1993. UNAMIR would not have boots on the ground for months.<sup>403</sup>

Faustin Twagiramungu had been named as the Prime Minister of the new government, with Agathe Uwilingiyamana serving as the interim Prime Minister until the transition ceremony occurred. On January 4, 1994, President Habyarimana was sworn in for another term of office, but the installation of the new government and National Assembly was postponed. On March 18, 1994, the Prime Minister to-be, Faustin Twagiramungu announced the members of his government. Delay continued.<sup>404</sup>

Time and time again, the members of the transitional government prepared for a swearing-in ceremony; time and time again, the ceremony was delayed. Finally, on April 3, President Habyarimana met with the ambassadors from Germany, France and Belgium. They urged immediate establishment of the transitional government. International monetary assistance had been blocked by

the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) since December 1993. The President had run out of places to turn; he had to accede control. The *akazu*'s absolute grip on power in Rwanda was coming to an end, whether or not the President was ready.<sup>405</sup>

On the morning of the President's assassination, he gave instructions to staff that morning to prepare for a transition ceremony on April 8. That evening, his plans were derailed and the genocide began instead. For the *akazu* and Hutu Power extremists, the prospect of power sharing and being held accountable for past atrocities committed against Tutsis in Rwanda were great threats posed by the implementation of the Arusha Accords. These provisions would upend the political power structure in Rwanda and end the reign of the state of exception in Rwanda.

#### *Power sharing as a threat to Hutu Power*

During the Second Republic, Habyarimana maintained almost absolute control over governance in Rwanda. As detailed in Chapter 4, the President ruled without a national assembly for years, and once he established an assembly, he granted it very limited rights and powers. As President, Habyarimana appointed all prefects and burgomasters, and approved the selection of subprefects personally. Literally every government officer in the country was hand-picked by President Habyarimana. They served at his pleasure and could be removed at any time by him. The President appointed cabinet ministers, court officers, and

virtually every administrative position in the country. The Arusha Accords changed the entire structure, eviscerating President Habyarimana's control over Rwanda and re-establishing a legal structure with checks and balances. The state of exception in the hands of Habyarimana was slated to end upon the implementation of the Accords.

Under the Arusha Accords, Habyarimana would lose veto power over the National Assembly. He would lose the ability to stop Cabinet Council orders. He would retain the ability to declare war only upon the "decision of the Cabinet and after authorization by the National Assembly." Declaration of war would require an unanimous vote by the Cabinet.<sup>406</sup>

The Prime Minister, not the President, would be granted the power to select Cabinet members. The Prime Minister would have the power to appoint prefects, subprefects, and burgomasters. Importantly, under the Arusha Accords, it would be the Prime Minister who retained the ability to declare a state of siege or state of emergency.<sup>407</sup>

Perhaps most threatening to the Hutu Power faction within the Second Republic, Article 46 of the power-sharing portion of the Arusha Accords stated

As a matter of urgency and priority, the Broad-based Transitional Government shall rid the administrative apparatus of all incompetent elements as well as authorities who were involved in the social strife or whose activities are an obstacle to the democratic process and to national reconciliation.<sup>408</sup>

This article sounded as a death knell for the *akazu* extremists who had, for years, controlled Habyarimana and all of Rwanda's governance.

Under the agreement made in the Arusha Accords, the MRND would retain control of only five cabinet positions, including the Ministry of Defense. The President of the country would be a member of the MRND party. The RPF would hold an equal number of portfolios, including the Ministry of Interior and Communal Development. The Deputy Prime Minister would be a member of the RPF party. The MDR, the main Hutu opposition party, was granted control of four Ministries, including the position of Prime Minister and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation. The other opposition parties split the remaining portfolios amongst themselves.<sup>409</sup> The Ministry of Interior controlled the infrastructure of the administration and, under RPF control, would result in a serious loss of power for the central MRND members. Existing MRND members were slated to lose their jobs to RPF members under this arrangement.<sup>410</sup>

The Transitional National Assembly would seat seventy members, with the MRND, RPF, MDR, PSD, and PL each maintaining 11 seats. The PDC was granted 4 seats, and the remaining 11 seats would be portioned out, one seat per minor opposition party.<sup>411</sup> Until this agreement, the MRND had controlled every seat of the First Republic's National Assembly and every seat of Habyarimana's National Council of Development.

The Arusha Accords split the MRND's power into shards; under the power-sharing agreement, the *akazu* would have no more power than any of the major opposition parties, and in fact, could easily find itself as a minority in the new government if the opposition parties joined together in coalition against the MRND. The prospect of moving rapidly from a system in which one operated total control over the sovereign to a system in which no one party or group wielded a majority of the power spelled out the end of the Republic's regime.

It was clear that this agreement posed an unacceptable threat to the *akazu* and its allies. Near the end of March 1994, the intelligence chief of the Rwandan army told a group of Belgian military advisors that "if Arusha were implemented, they were ready to liquidate the Tutsi."<sup>412</sup>

#### *Accountability for former atrocities*

Many in the Habyarimana regime were concerned about the peace accords and the mandated transition to a broad-based coalition government for an additional reason – accountability. Since 1959, and in particular between the years 1990-1993, government agents had ordered, committed, witnessed, authorized, and presided over literally thousands of murders of Rwandan Tutsis. Recent international delegations had visited Rwanda to investigate these atrocities and submitted damning reports. The International Commission of Inquiry into Human Rights Violations in Rwanda since October 1990 published a report in March 1993 that detailed great responsibility by the Habyarimana administration and its



local leaders. This report listed names of those responsible for inciting and organizing the violence that occurred in various communities. It identified individuals involved in the actual killing of fellow Rwandans. The investigators even exhumed bodies from mass grave sites that were created after local massacres. The report was direct in assigning responsibility to Habyarimana's government, concluding "The Rwandan government has killed or caused to be killed about two thousand of its citizens . . . . Authorities at the highest level, including the President of the Republic, have consented to these abuses."<sup>413</sup>

The United Nations Center for Human Rights also sent an investigator to Rwanda in 1993, and the report was equally damning. The Human Rights Watch published reports during this period noting the government's increased expenditures on weaponry and local massacres of Tutsis at the hands of local Hutu leaders.<sup>414</sup> As reports continued to detail human rights abuses, murders, and massacres at the hands of the government, President Habyarimana and the *akazu* tightened their grip on the country. Dissidents were jailed, killed, and driven to suicide.<sup>415</sup>

In February 1994, as the transitional government once again prepared to take control, President Habyarimana proposed once again that past crimes and atrocities should go unpunished via an amnesty program. This time, however, he also proposed that similar crimes in the future, committed under the to-be-formed Unity government, also be granted amnesty.<sup>416</sup> The United Nations did not agree.

When UNAMIR was formed in 1993 as part of the Arusha Accords, amnesty was not granted. In fact, the UNAMIR mandate included a directive that the UN mission investigate allegations of human rights abuses, murders, and politically-motivated assassinations. The evidence was fairly easy to detect; the Presidential Guard was behind a number of the assassinations in question, and local leaders who oversaw massacres of Tutsis were acting at the behest of national government agents.<sup>417</sup>

It was in the great interest of the existing leadership that they be granted amnesty for past crimes. Reports from international committees as well as the possibility of thousands of individuals providing first-hand testimony about past atrocities would not only mean that Hutu Power leaders would likely lose their comfortable and privileged positions in Rwandan government upon implementation of the Accords, but many of them would also face very serious criminal penalties, including the prospect of the death penalty for some. For a group of elites who had escaped responsibility for so many years, the reality of a future in prison or state-sponsored death was anathema. Thus, eliminating the entire Tutsi population was considered by many of these Rwandans to be a realistic alternative to their own day of reckoning.

### Genocide

Starting about 90 minutes after the President's death, the Presidential Guard began evacuating prominent MRND cabinet members and government

officials from their homes, moving them to party and military headquarters and safe houses. Surviving members of the opposition reported that the Presidential Guard came to the homes of the MRND members in the Kimihurura neighborhood and evacuated their families to Presidential Guard's compound all throughout the night of April 6. At the same time, the Presidential Guard was approaching homes of opposition ministers and requesting that the ministers 'evacuate' with the Guard. By 3:30 am on April 7<sup>th</sup>, three ministers who were members of opposition parties had been killed by the Presidential Guard during and after such 'evacuations.' By 4:30 am, all MRND members had been safely evacuated from the neighborhood, and the Guard had completely surrounded the neighborhood. The remaining opposition leaders were trapped; the killings began in earnest.<sup>418</sup>

Beginning in the early hours of April 7<sup>th</sup>, opposition leaders were systematically killed in Kigali by Presidential Guard members and the Gendarmerie. The two candidates for National Assembly President, Fèlician Ngango and Landoald Ndasigwa were both executed. Soldiers also killed the president of the Constitutional Court, Joseph Kavaruganda. Kavaruganda was the officer of the court who would have sworn in all the transitional government appointees.<sup>419</sup> Dèo Havugimana, a MDR official who worked in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was killed in the middle of the night, along with three additional opposition ministers.<sup>420</sup> Frederic Nzamurambago, the president of the PSD

opposition party and Minister of Agriculture, was killed along with his family in the early morning.<sup>421</sup>

Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana was killed on April 8 by the Presidential Guard as she tried to flee from her backyard. The order to kill her was given by the Presidential Guard officer present; the Gendarmeries who had previously surrounded her house shot and killed her. The ten Belgian peacekeepers who had arrived at her home to escort her to Radio Rwanda that morning were disarmed, transported to Camp Kigali and killed by the Presidential Guard.<sup>422</sup>

#### *Tutsi massacres begin*

The members of the *akazu* met at 11 pm on the night of the President's death; by 6 am the next morning, the para-commandos were sweeping Kigali neighborhoods near Camp Kanombe, with orders to kill anyone with a Tutsi identification card. According to the *akazu*, Tutsis were the natural accomplices of the RPF rebel fighters – the terms *inyenzi* (cockroach) and *inkotanyi* (fighter, warrior) had become interchangeable and encompassed both RPF rebels and the general Rwandan Tutsi population.<sup>423</sup>

Years later, during the Military One trial at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, one of the para-commandos who participated in this earliest of killing missions noted that the first Kigali operation lasted until the early afternoon, and that the battalion killed upwards of 500 Tutsis in the neighborhood

closest to Camp Kanombe that day. He recalled that he and other commandos had been warned in 1993 of this possibility – the military’s plan to respond to an RPF invasion was to kill all the local Tutsis, since the RPF rebels would be invading from the north and be too far away to fight.<sup>424</sup>

That morning, military commanders and officers from the Gendarmerie police force were called to a meeting by Bagosora. In that meeting, the group agreed to the formation of a Crisis Committee and Bagosora continued to lead the group in an unofficial capacity. After the meeting, Bagosora was overheard talking to a small group of officers: those who headed up the para-commando battalion, the reconnaissance battalion, the Presidential Guard, and head of military operations in northern Rwanda. It is said that Bagosora gave them instructions to ‘go about it systematically from one place to another,’ a term in Rwanda often used to describe tilling the land or harvesting the crop.<sup>425</sup> Throughout the genocide, agrarian terms would be used as euphemisms to describe the killing of Tutsi.

Around 4:15 pm on the afternoon of April 7, the RPF soldiers who were living in a compound in Kigali broke out of their barracks and began an attack against the Presidential Guard headquarters and the police base in Remera (in Kigali) in response to the massacres the Presidential Guard and now the *interahamwe* were committing.<sup>426</sup> By this time, a number of opposition leaders had been killed along with their families, and the attacks on local Tutsis numbered well over 500 deaths.

*Jean-Pierre proved right*

UNAMIR Force Commander Dallaire had learned of the deaths of his Belgian peacekeepers when he passed by their bodies on the side of road while en route to the Military School. Bagosora was briefing military and police leaders around mid-morning on April 7 at the military school. Dallaire asked to stop and see about his soldiers whose bodies were lying on the side of the road, but his escorts refused to stop, citing safety concerns. Throughout the day, Dallaire was kept away from Camp Kigali, where his peacekeepers had been killed. It wasn't until late that evening that Dallaire saw the bodies of his ten Belgian peacekeepers. They had been killed shortly after the Prime Minister was murdered that morning.<sup>427</sup>

Dallaire realized that 'Jean-Pierre,' the *interahamwe* leader who had warned UNAMIR of the coming genocide as early as January 10, had accurately predicted what would occur in Rwanda. Jean-Pierre, a senior leader in the *interahamwe* militia and elected leader within the MRND party, had previously been responsible for arming the militia and supervising the militia's training in Kigali. He had armed men throughout the capitol, and in January he told UNAMIR that his cells (small groups of individuals organized by neighborhood) could each kill up to 1,000 people every twenty minutes. He managed nearly 30 cells himself. Jean-Pierre told UNAMIR that he was comfortable with his position when he believed the work was intended to secure the country from RPF

invaders; however, in December 1993, he had been instructed to create lists of every Tutsi living in every cell under his control. When informed that the lists were intended to facilitate the extermination of all Tutsi in the country, he withdrew. His own mother was Tutsi.<sup>428</sup> Jean-Pierre also told UNAMIR that a part of the *gènocidaires*' strategy was to kill a number of Belgian soldiers early in the conflict, because the *akazu* believed that this would prompt the UN mission to withdraw. His information was on good authority – interim Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana had told a Belgian journalist in December 1993 that ten Belgian peacekeepers would be murdered to convince the UN to leave Rwanda.<sup>429</sup>

Based on the UN's behavior in Somalia in October 1993, the Hutu Power extremists had good reason to predict that the murder of a handful of Belgian peacekeepers would indeed end the UN's presence in Rwanda, allowing the genocide to proceed without interference.

Jean-Pierre's claims and predictions were accurate: lists of Tutsi and opposition leaders had been made, opposition leaders were being killed, weapons had been distributed to the populace, innocent Tutsi were being massacred in the city, and now ten Belgian peacekeepers had been killed by the Presidential Guard.

### *Interim Government*

On April 8, Bagosora convened a meeting of party leaders to establish an interim government. Opposition leaders slated to hold positions of power and authority in the transitional government had been executed according to plan; very

few moderate party leaders from any of the parties remained alive. Accordingly, the interim government was created via a coalition of the Hutu Power factions of the major political parties. Prior to the genocide, President Habyarimana and the *akazu* had worked to create divisions within the opposition parties, so that virtually every party contained a moderate faction and a Hutu Power faction. With the moderate faction's leaders all massacred, the Hutu Power factions of each party now joined together in common cause to defeat the RPF and eliminate the Tutsi population within Rwanda.<sup>430</sup>

The group designated an elderly pediatrician, Thèodore Sindikubwabo, as interim President. He was a MRND figurehead, unlikely to interfere much in the activities already set in motion by Bagosora and the *akazu*. Jean Kambanda, a businessman from the southern city of Butare, was nominated as Prime Minister, even though he was not present at the meeting and was not a high ranked MDR official.<sup>431</sup> The rest of the cabinet was filled with Hutu Power extremists, most of whom were loyal to Bagosora and none of whom were interested in a broad-based government that would seek peace with the RPF or implementation of the Arusha Accords. The Crisis Committee accepted the appointments of Hutu Power extremists to government positions, completed the meeting, and never met again. The work of the civil war and the genocide was more important than political infighting.<sup>432</sup>



The interim government was sworn in on April 9. The state of exception, long at play in Rwanda, expanded to a greater extent than ever before. The rule of law, established by the Arusha Accords, was simply set aside. Absent any juridical authority, Bagosora and extremists within the Rwandan government set aside the existence of law and created the absence of law. Once this space opened up, the interim government set to work on necropolitics – the extermination of the Tutsi minority people in Rwanda.

On April 12, the government evacuated Kigali and established its offices in Gitarama south of the capitol.<sup>433</sup> The interim government did little more than give speeches in local communes to urge local Hutus to ‘continue the work.’ Bagosora and the members of the *akazu* directed the actions of local government leaders and militia.

### *The killing spreads*

On April 7, massacres of Tutsis were occurring in Kigali, Gisenyi (stronghold of the *akazu*), Murambi, Cyangugu, and other smaller communities throughout Rwanda.<sup>434</sup> By April 11, nearly 20,000 Rwandans had been killed. This number included Hutu opposition leaders and those who dissented from the Hutu Power philosophy, but the vast majority of the dead were Tutsi civilians in Kigali and the northern Gisenyi region. Jean Kambanda, the interim Prime Minister, was instructed to hold a meeting with the country’s prefects, the regional leaders who had been appointed to their positions by President

Habyarimana. Five prefects attended the April 11 meeting – one had been killed by the RPF in Ruhengeri days before, several positions were vacant, and two prefects did not show at the meeting. While nothing conclusive happened at the meeting, it was clear that the government was to allow the killings to continue.<sup>435</sup>

By April 12, party and interim government leaders were broadcasting messages of solidarity and support on RTLM and Radio Rwanda, exhorting local Hutus to join with the military and the government in killing their Tutsi neighbors. Hutu Power leaders within opposition parties sent messages to their party members to put aside political differences and instead focus on the task at hand – killing Tutsis. Frodauld Karimara from the MDR opposition party encouraged MDR listeners on Radio Rwanda to “not fight among themselves, but to assist the armed forces to finish their work.”<sup>436</sup> On that same day, Kigali prefect Renzaho urged Kigali Hutus to conduct patrols in their neighborhoods, but instead of the typical patrols, the exhortation now included murder:

They must close ranks, remember how to use their usual tools and defend themselves ... I would also ask that each neighborhood try to organize itself to do *umuganda* to clear the brush, to search houses, beginning with those that are abandoned, to search the marshes of the area to be sure that no *inyenzi* have slipped in to hide themselves there ... so they should cut this brush, search the drains and ditches ... put up barriers and guard them, choosing reliable people to do this, who have what they need so that nothing can escape them.<sup>437</sup>

To more effectively execute large numbers of Tutsis, the local government began urging and even forcing Tutsi to evacuate to local ‘safe houses’ such as

churches, hospitals, schools, and universities during the week of April 11. In Kibuye and Cyangugu, local authorities directed Tutsis to the sports stadiums. In Kivumu, the burgomaster sent all Tutsi to the Nyange church. In Kigali, Tutsis were herded to the Technical College. In Butare, they were sent to the hospital and the university. In smaller communities, churches were the most common places of refuge and, later, massacre.<sup>438</sup>

Once Tutsis were gathered in these enclosures, the local authorities would wait for the military or police officers to arrive, who would generally start the killings with grenades and gunfire. Local civilian self-defense teams and the *interahamwe* would follow up with individual massacres of those who had survived the first round of attacks. In this fashion, the *gènocidaires* could kill anywhere between 40-50 people in a small church to literally hundreds and even thousands assembled in large university and secondary school compounds.<sup>439</sup>

#### *Prèfecture by Prèfecture*

Some *prèfectures* began killing Tutsi immediately, while others took action only later when pressured by the government to do so. In Kigali City and Greater Kigali, Prefects Tharcisse Renzaho and Francois Karera were actively engaged in the preparation for and execution of the genocide, starting as early as April 7.<sup>440</sup> The killings in Kigali were the earliest of the genocide, and most of the Tutsi killed in these two *prèfectures* had been killed within a week.

The Cyangugu préfecture engaged in killings almost as quickly as Kigali; the prefect, Emmanuel Bagambiki, was close to Colonel Bagosora. Killings in this prefecture were swift and brutal. The prefect sealed the border on the morning of April 7 to prevent Tutsis from fleeing to safety. Most of the killings occurred rapidly at the beginning of the genocide, but a large massacre at the Cyangugu stadium on April 27<sup>th</sup> killed about 5,000 people who believed they were protected by international law in the center of refuge. It is estimated that as many as ninety percent of Tutsis in this region were killed.<sup>441</sup>

In Byumba, the interim prefect Aloys Muhire began the massacres on April 9. The local community already had a well-established local militia, formed as early as 1991 in response to former RPF incursions. For two days following the President's plane crash, local militia and government leaders marked Tutsi homes for murder. Then the work started, but didn't last long. Because of its proximity to the border, the RPF quickly overwhelmed the *interhamwe* in this area and took control of the prefecture within a week and a half.<sup>442</sup>

The killing in Gikongoro began immediately after the President's plane crashed. In fact, the massacres happened so quickly that most Tutsi did not have time to run or even congregate together in churches or schools. Damien Binga, the sub-prefect of Gikongoro, was actively involved in orchestrating local killings and is believed to have committed a number of murders himself.<sup>443</sup>

Massacres in Kibungo started on April 7<sup>th</sup>, with *interahamwe* systematically going from house to house to kill Tutsi. Larger scale massacres were organized between April 9 and 12 in churches, seminaries, and schools. Group massacres ranged from several hundred to over five thousand murdered at one time. The majority of killing in this prefecture was completed by April 13, less than one week after it began.<sup>444</sup>

The Kibuye prefecture was home to some of the largest mass killings in the country. The prefect, Clément Kayishema, gathered tens of thousands of Tutsis at the local stadium and in churches in the town of Kibuye before bringing in the *interahamwe* to begin the massacres. Kayishema started holding meetings with burgomasters in the local communes to prepare the Hutu population to join in the killings; those who resisted were also killed. The killing started on April 9 and continued through April 17<sup>th</sup>. A French officer stationed in Kibuye during Operation Turquoise investigated the killings at Kibuye stadium and surrounding churches and concluded that “between eighty and ninety-five percent of the Tutsi population [was] destroyed in this area.”<sup>445</sup>

Gitarama was a stronghold of MDR opposition to the MRND ruling party, and the local community resisted the genocide. It wasn't until Callixte Nzabonimana, the Youth Minister, visited the prefecture and admonished the local population for not doing its 'work.' In a meeting organized to mobilize the community, the Minister (who hailed from Gitarama) asked those in attendance

“why were the people of Gitarama sitting with their arms crossed while elsewhere others had already eaten the cows of Tutsis?”<sup>446</sup> Eventually, local burgomasters fled and were replaced by more active local officials. The government trucked in military and militia members to carry out the mass executions of Tutsi. Locals began to participate, under pressure from burgomasters and national political and military figures.<sup>447</sup>

In the Butare prèfecture, killings did not begin immediately. The prefect of Butare, Jean Baptiste Habyalimana, had refused to participate in killings and refused to direct his burgomasters to organize local massacres. In fact, he welcomed internally displaced people fleeing neighboring prefectures and provided them with safe harbor for nearly two weeks. Habyalimana was the only Tutsi prefect in the country. He was removed from his position on April 18 because of his refusal to orchestrate killings of Tutsi in his prèfecture; he was replaced by Sylvain Nsabimana. The massacres began in earnest on April 19 and were some of the most rapidly executed in the country. Habyalimana was subsequently murdered.<sup>448</sup>

The national daily death rate was over 11,500 per day for the first two months of the genocide. On some days, the death rate was as high as 45,000. This averaged one murder every two seconds.<sup>449</sup> The total estimate of Rwandans murdered is around 800,000 Tutsi and 10,000 Hutu.

### *Camps*

Camps were established throughout the ninety-day genocide. Most camps were created by local burgomasters, who rounded up Tutsi and brought them to churches, seminaries, schools, and stadiums. In these instances, Tutsi were kept in the camps for no more than several days, while local leaders waited for the military or *interahamwe* militia to arrive and start the mass execution. In these camps, most Tutsi anticipated death, but hoped for rescue. In some cases, the local population was told that the death camp was actually a sanctuary, a place of refuge. In a few instances, the Tutsi population believed their local government officials.

The Hutu Power extremists formed these temporary camps as holding cells to allow mass execution to occur quickly and cheaply. Agamben noted that the camp is the space that opens up when the state of exception starts to become the rule.<sup>450</sup> In Rwanda, camps were established in almost every part of the country – some for hours, others for several days, and a few camps existed for months.

The Hotel des Milles Collines is a famous example of a camp that existed for almost the entire duration of the genocide. Wealthy Tutsi, Hutu opposition survivors, and Tutsi orphans lived inside the Mille Collines for months, existing at one point on the water in the pool at the luxury hotel. While there had been several attempts for some to leave the Mille Collines and travel to safety, RTLM radio had alerted *interahamwe* to the convoy and the Tutsi had all been returned to

the hotel under threat of death.<sup>451</sup> The Milles Collines was a camp; the Tutsi inside had been reduced by the government to *people* devoid of political or social capital, subject to physical death at any time the Hutu Power extremists and *interahamwe* chose to impose that death.

Another notable camp during the genocide included the Amahoro Stadium in Kigali, which was protected by UNAMIR soldiers. While gÈnocidaires could not get into the stadium to kill Tutsis, they arrived on a regular basis with execution lists and would extract targeted Tutsis for selected killings. Within the stadium, many people died of disease and starvation, for they could not leave to get food or medical attention.<sup>452</sup>

While some survived the camps at Milles Collines, Amahoro Stadium, and churches like St. Famille, St. Croix, and St. Paul, other camps were abandoned early by UN protectors. In those instances, military and militia entered the camps almost at the same time as the UN left, killing every person inside. One example is the Official Technical School in the Gatenga neighborhood of Kigali. Over 2,000 Tutsis were sheltered at the school when Belgian peacekeepers left to assist Europeans evacuate the country on April 11. As the UN peacekeepers left, *interahamwe* entered and killed every person in the compound.<sup>453</sup>

Agamben claims that “it is only because the camps constitute a space of exception – a space in which the law is completely suspended – that everything is truly possible in them.”<sup>454</sup> During the Rwandan genocide, Tutsis in camps were



shot, clubbed, burned, raped, cut, and mutilated. The Hutu Power extremists had stripped the Tutsi of all their power; only their bodies remained. The camps represent the ultimate transformation of *People* into *people* in Rwanda.

### Organization in the Execution

Many westerners believe that the genocide was a surprise ‘descent into hell,’ a chaotic setting in which frenzied killers attacked victims based on old hatreds and ethnic strife. This picture of the genocide is based on western racist notions of African communities, and displays a profound lack of understanding of the highly organized structure within Rwandan society both before and during the genocide. The Rwandan genocide was carefully planned and prepared for, and the speed and efficiency with which it was executed serves as chilling truth.

On April 4, just two days before the start of the genocide, Théoneste Bagosora stated to Lt. General Romeo Dallaire and others gathered at an UN reception, “the only plausible solution for Rwanda would be the extermination of the Tutsi.”<sup>455</sup> This statement was one of many that foreshadowed what was to come. It came as no accident. Within 45 minutes of the President’s death, roadblocks had been established around the city. Executions of those on the death lists began shortly thereafter.<sup>456</sup>

### *Priority Death Lists*

Beginning as early as September 1992, and continuing through the fall of 1993, local burgomasters compiled lists of suspected *inkotanyi*<sup>457</sup> from their local

communities. Prefects instructed local burgomasters to create lists of all young males who had left the community recently without permission. At this time, it was still impermissible for Rwandans to move from one area of the country to another without notification to and permission from the local authorities in both the region of residence and the new location one wished to move towards. As numbers of young Tutsi men left communities, their names were added to local government lists, their registration cards pulled from the large community file and held in a separate area, and the 'security' lists were sent back to prefects and ultimately to the central government in Kigali.<sup>458</sup> These lists were referenced by Léon Mugesera in a speech he gave in November 1992 in Gisenyi. Mugesera was the vice-chair of the MRND party in Gisenyi, a hotbed of violence against the minority Tutsi. Mugesera said of the lists

Why do we not arrest these parents who have sent their children away and why do we not exterminate them? ... I would like to tell you that we are now asking for those people to be put on a list and for them to be brought to court so that they can be judged before us. If [the judges] refuse ... we should do it ourselves by exterminating this scum.<sup>459</sup>

In the fall of 1992, the army began creating lists of all suspected accomplices of the RPF. Although the Prime Minister protested against this action and issued a decree that all lists created to date be turned over to the Ministry of Justice, his request was ignored.<sup>460</sup> The former Governor of the Central Bank of Rwanda declared during the genocide that he had personally seen lists of those slated for massacre prior to the start of the genocide. He noted that

one list he saw in April 1993 contained 500 names, but that the list had grown to over 1,500 for Kigali city alone by February 1994. He also reported that the lists continued to grow after that date.<sup>461</sup>

Survivors and witnesses recall the use of the lists in the early days of the genocide. While lists were especially important in organizing the deaths of Hutu opponents and dissidents, they were also used when killing mass numbers of Tutsis. One survivor noted that, prior to one mass killing at a hospital in Kibuye, the *gènocidaires* first read out a list of prominent Tutsis over the loudspeaker to ensure that they were of the group killed that day.<sup>462</sup>

#### *Military Organization*

As the genocide began, there was confusion and dissension amongst military leaders in Rwanda. While most agreed that force should be used to defend the country against the RPF rebel forces when or if such an attack would occur, not everyone believed that military, police, and militia forces should be used to massacre local Tutsi in the community. However, the extremist forces within the government had for several years organized both youth militias such as the *interahamwe* and local civil-defense (sometimes called *auto-défense*) militias to prepare for just such an action. As military officers in Kigali debated the appropriate reaction to the President's murder of April 6, the extremist elements within the government took action.

Bagosora had several thousand troops under his control. The Presidential Guard had previously reported to Colonel Elie Sagatwa, the President's private secretary. Sagatwa was killed in the plane crash; Bagosora took control of the Guard after his death. Bagosora also controlled the paracommando battalion and the reconnaissance battalion, the two strongest and deadliest forces in the nation. Finally, he wielded great power over the *interahamwe* militia groups established through the MRND. While other officers controlled the Gendarmerie and regular RGF forces, their forces were less organized, poorly armed, and likely to join the more elite forces' activities on the ground, regardless of the orders from superiors.<sup>463</sup>

The driving force behind the organization of the genocide was Bagosora; he acted as the chief ideologue and informal commander of the organized massacre across the country. A number of military leaders followed Bagosora's lead and organized their soldiers at his direction. These groups included the head of the Presidential Guard, Major Protais Mpiranya; Paracommando Battalion leader Aloys Ntabakuze; and Reconnaissance Battalion leader Major Francois-Xavier Nzuwonemye.<sup>464</sup> While the Gendarmerie were not technically under Bagosora's control, they often fell into step with the Presidential Guard and assisted in massacres rather than restoring order or protecting victims. The military, outfitted in uniforms and carrying a presence of state authority and control, were often the first to arrive in communes where large groups of Tutsi had been assembled. They

started the massacres with weapons such as rifles and grenades, then moved on to other areas, leaving the local militia and civilian self-defense teams to complete the ‘work.’

*Political Leaders and the Militias*

Robert Kajuga and George Rutaganda, leaders of the MRND-based *Interahamwe*, joined with the presidents of the two most extreme political parties, the MRND and the CDR. Mathieu Ndirumpatse and Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza, respectively, operated at the direction of Bagasora and directed local leaders to participate in rounding up and executing Tutsis throughout the countryside.<sup>465</sup> Prior to the President’s plane crash, militia membership numbered somewhere around two thousand strong in Kigali, with smaller groupings in other cities. After the genocide began, the militia’s ranks grew to between 20,000 and 30,000.<sup>466</sup>

Prior to the genocide, the militia had been divided by party, with each party having trained its own youth wing. In the first several days of the genocide, the militias skirmished with each other, seeking to gain the upper hand and control of various communes. Once political leaders broadcast messages of unity on April 12, however, the skirmishes ended at the militia groups essentially became one.<sup>467</sup>

The militia acted at the behest of the government and military leaders. The *Interahamwe* leader Kajuga explained the hierarchy in this way:

The government authorizes us. We go in behind the army. We watch them and learn ... We have to defend our country. The government authorizes us to defend ourselves by taking up clubs, machetes, and whatever guns we could find.<sup>468</sup>

The militia traveled around the country, providing ‘assistance’ to local communities that were unable to kill their local Tutsi population quickly or easily. In some cases, the militia was bused in to kill Tutsis sequestered in churches and hospitals. In other cases, they were brought from across the country to deal with resistant Tutsi, like the case of the Bisesero Tutsi who hid on the hilltop and resisted massacre until nearly the end of the genocide.<sup>469</sup>

*Prefects and burgomasters, and local civilian self-defense teams*

Eventually, all prefects and burgomasters in the country but one participated in the organized killing. In some areas, local leaders were galvanized and acted quickly. In the north, in particular, local leaders were close to the *akazu* and began implementing the plan to massacre all Tutsi almost immediately. Colonel Anatole Nsengiyumva, head of the Gisenyi prefecture, began organizing the killing of Tutsi civilians the night of April 6<sup>th</sup>. Tharcisse Renzaho, Kigali prefect and colonel in the military, moved into action immediately, establishing roadblocks, distributing previously drawn up lists of Tutsis to subordinates, and encouraging the massacre of Tutsi civilians in the hours and days immediately following the President’s plane crash.<sup>470</sup>

Prefects were responsible for setting the tone in their region; ensuring that burgomasters and local commune leaders attended ‘security’ meetings, requiring regular reports on the ‘security situation,’ and disseminating proclamations from

national leaders about doing the ‘work’ and encouraging the population to “track the enemy wherever he is to be found and wherever he hid his arms.”<sup>471</sup>

Burgomasters, who reported to prefects, had been responsible for checkpoints and nighttime patrols prior to the genocide. Now they were responsible for mobilizing volunteers to man checkpoints, conduct sweeps to get Tutsi to report to central locations such as churches, hospitals, and schools, and sign up the local male population for ‘shifts’ to carry out the ‘work.’<sup>472</sup> Those who refused to show up for their fair share of the ‘work’ were beaten and sometimes killed. Adult male Hutus were expected and required to participate in the killing of their friends, neighbors and family members. No Tutsi were spared, and ‘weak-hearted’ Hutu were punished if they attempted to avoid or resist the killings.

Much of the citizen mobilization had been done well in advance. Many Hutus in Rwanda were primed to kill. For years, the government had been forming civilian self-defense groups throughout the country, providing some minor training and distributing traditional weapons like machetes, spears and clubs. Local prefects were required to report on their recruits and training progress in the self-defense program. On March 30, just one week before the start of the genocide, Tharcisse Renzaho, prefect of Kigali sent a letter to the Chief of Staff Major General of the Army Dèograt Nsabimana detailing a list by cell, sector, and commune, all the reservists prepared to fight for the civil defense force.<sup>473</sup>

Burgomasters permitted local Hutus to loot the homes of Tutsi victims, and divided up Tutsi land amongst those who had done the ‘work’ to ‘earn’ that land. They were also responsible for the disposal of bodies. Finally, burgomasters were often the last line of hope for those wishing to avoid death – the burgomaster determined who was Hutu and who was Tutsi in situations where identity cards were lost or challenged.<sup>474</sup>

Many have wondered how ordinary Rwandans could take up machetes and clubs to kill their neighbors. In some cases, Hutus were compelled to do so under threat of their own demise. More often, however, Hutus had been exposed to such a deep level of dehumanization of the Tutsi people in Rwanda that, for them, Tutsis were no longer *People*. Tutsis were considered a threat to the very existence of the Hutu people, and therefore, must be stopped at all costs. In this way, the government and the propaganda machine of the Hutu Power elite transformed the Tutsi minority into *people*, mere bodies without human, social or political value.

Finally, Rwandan Hutus were convinced that the Tutsi planned to exterminate them entirely and reassert complete authority over Rwanda. The Hutu Power extremists in Rwanda told an age-old story, one explained by Foucault: “if you want to live, the other must die.” This story, along with a promise that the extermination of the enemy actually improves one’s own life, was an attractive promise to many Rwandan Hutus. As Foucault stated, “the fact that the other



dies does not mean simply that I live in the sense that his death guarantees my safety; the death of the other, the death of the bad race, of the inferior race ... is something that will make life in general healthier: healthier and purer.”<sup>475</sup>

### RTL M and Radio Rwanda as Genocidal Guides

Chapter 2 details the propaganda strategies utilized by the Hutu Power extremists in the four years leading up to the genocide. Radio played an integral part in the process of dehumanization of the Tutsi and preparation for massacre; as most Rwandans were not literate and lacked access to newspaper and magazines, radio was the most popular and effective mode of communication. Radio as the principal mode of communication became even more important during the genocide – it was one of the most effective tools utilized to encourage, organize, and continue the genocide throughout the country. It was particularly useful in rural communities, where peasants had long-lasting relationships with their Tutsi neighbors and were presumably more hesitant to engage in killings.

In the months leading up to the genocide, there were signs of what was to come in the media. *Kangura*, the most popular and virulent publication in circulation at the time, published several op-ed articles from publisher and owner Hassan Ngeze in which he predicted that President Habyarimana would be killed in March 1994 by Hutus.<sup>476</sup> The magazine also published hints of the coming genocide, such as this statement in January 1994, “Who will survive the March war? The masses will rise with the help of the army and the blood will flow

freely.” And in February 1994, a smaller but incredibly extreme publication, *La Medaille Nyiramacibiri*, ran a headline stating “By the way, the Tutsi race could be extinguished.”<sup>477</sup> While these types of media foreshadowing comments were increasing in intensity in the weeks leading up to the genocide, they had existed since 1990. In March 1993, for example, a Kinyarwandan publication called *Umuranga Mubangutsi* reported “machetes are being sharpened in preparation for D-Day.”<sup>478</sup>

RTLM, the so-called ‘independent’ radio station, owned by President Habyarimana and other Hutu Power government extremists, broadcast Léon Mugesera’s infamous November 1992 MRND rally speech in the Gisenyi region. Mugesera said “the fatal mistake we made in 1959 was to let [the Tutsi] get out ... .They belong in Ethiopia and we are going to find them a shortcut to get there by throwing them in to the Nyabarongo River. I must insist on this point. We have to act. Wipe them all out!”<sup>479</sup>

Moments later, he recounted a conversation with a Tutsi Rwandan in which he told the man “your home is in Ethiopia and we will dump you in the Nyabarongo [river] for you to arrive quickly.”<sup>480</sup> While this type of inflammatory speech was typical between 1990 and April 1994 on RTLM and Radio Rwanda, the intensity of the broadcasts increased as the President’s death neared.

In March 1994, just before the start of the genocide, Radio Rwanda broadcast a speech by Jerome Bicamumpaka, the foreign minister of the interim

government, in which he exhorted Rwandans to “support your government and your army. ... Victory is very close. No one can fight seven million people. ... A message for the RPF: Stop fighting this war if you do not want your supporters living inside Rwanda to be exterminated.”<sup>481</sup>

Other government allies repeated this warning to the RPF and Tutsis within Rwanda in the days leading up to the genocide. Rafiki Nsengiyumva, the Minister of Public Works and Energy for the interim government, said during an interview with Radio Rwanda in March 1994

The enemy is one, the RPF, that wants to take the fruit of the 1959 revolution away. ... These people are at the origin of it all, let them put their weapons down, talk to this government and see if the war foes not end. Otherwise, if they carry on attacking, their people will be exterminated and they themselves exterminated.<sup>482</sup>

On April 3, RTLM Radio broadcast a foreshadowing of the genocide. Noheli Hitimana, one of the most popular RTLM broadcasters said “On the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, and 5<sup>th</sup>, heads will get heated up. On 6 April, there will be a respite, but ‘a little thing’ might happen. Then on the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 8<sup>th</sup> and the other days in April, you will see something.”<sup>483</sup> During this same broadcast, Hitimana stated

The people are the actual shield. They are the truly powerful army. ... On the day when people rise up and don’t want you Tutsi anymore, when they hate you as one and from the bottom of their hearts, when you’ll make them feel sick, I wonder how you will escape.<sup>484</sup>

Other previous broadcasts had hinted at the President's coming demise as well, as a trigger to a larger conflict with the RPF and Tutsis living in Rwanda. These hints grew in frequency as the President's plane crash drew nearer.

On the night of the President's plane crash, RTL M was in the middle of a broadcast, informing listeners that the President's plane was approaching the runway. Suddenly, the broadcast was interrupted and classical music began playing.<sup>485</sup> Within hours, the station was back on the air, announcing the President's death at the hand of Tutsi rebels, and urging Rwandans to first stay where they were.<sup>486</sup> Later, the radio began issuing exhortations and directives to join roadblocks, kill Tutsis at specific locations, or generally to 'continue the work.'

Within hours, the radio had transformed from a tool of propaganda to a very practical tool of the genocide. At first, RTL M and Radio Rwanda taught Rwandans the euphemistic language of genocide. As an agrarian society, the stories told about the genocide were almost all based on farming and the land. Hutus were told to 'cut down the tall trees' and 'do the work,' referencing the age-old practice of communal work, *umuganda*.

One broadcast typical of the time said

Fight the *iyenzi*, pound them. Stand up. Keep away from lies and rumors. If they pound you with heavy artillery, bombs, go into bunkers. Then after that you take your spears, clubs, guns, swords, stones, everything, sharpen them, hack them, those enemies, those cockroaches, those enemies of democracy, show that you can defend yourselves – support your soldiers.<sup>487</sup>

Perhaps the most famous phrase from the RTLM broadcasts during the genocide was “the graves are only half full – who will help us fill them?” In the same vein, RTLM spent time celebrating the massacres committed by Hutus throughout the country. In one broadcast, the commentators openly discuss filling graves with Tutsis:

There is however a thing [the RPF] did not foresee. What they had not foreseen was very obvious. They thought that by the time they entered the city, they would see their supporters here and there, etc. ... [But] the population reacted swiftly in communes, prefectures and the *Inkotanyi* brigades were overrun. Those who had dug holes to bury Hutus in were the same people to be buried in them. That is how things went – fast!<sup>488</sup>

During the genocide, popular broadcasters and journalists, both those working at RTLM and Radio Rwanda, and those running other publications, would often give long soliloquies on the radio exhorting the Hutu population to kill the Tutsi, and providing lengthy, historically-based justifications for doing so. One example was Gaspard Karemera, the editor of *Imbaga*, a Kinyarwanda circular. In one interview, he identified all Tutsi Rwandans as accomplices of the RPF and therefore a danger to the security of the country. He would remind Hutu Rwandans to ‘clear up’ the villages by killing all the remaining Tutsi.<sup>489</sup>

Radio Rwanda, which in 1992 had incited Hutu civilians to engage in massacres against Tutsis in Bagogwe, now invited political leaders and government officials to speak on the radio program during the genocide. These leaders utilized

the radio pulpit to encourage Hutus to continue the massacres in their communities.

One leader said that the Tutsi were intending to “exterminate you until they are the only ones left in the country so that they can keep for a thousand years the power that their fathers kept for four hundred years ... You must not let up in your efforts.”<sup>490</sup> The interim President of Rwanda, Jean Kambanda, appeared on Radio Rwanda encouraging Hutus to kill Tutsis as part of their responsibility at Rwandans, arguing that those not willing to do their ‘work’ should be killed by other patriotic Hutus, the ‘good workers who want to work’ for Rwanda.<sup>491</sup>

RTL M broadcaster Hitimana used the radio as a means to encourage reluctant Hutu to join their more enthusiastic Hutu neighbors who were actively engaged in the killings by congratulating those who did the ‘work’:

... the population is very vigilant, except in certain sectors ... where people are still downcast; otherwise, everywhere else, they have sacked all the houses, the rooms, the kitchens, everywhere! They have even torn out all the doors and windows in all the uninhabited houses, and in general they find *inkotanyi* hidden inside. They have searched everywhere! ... If the [*inkotanyi*] get hungry, they’ll all come out before you arrive. That is why you must act very fast! Force them to come out! Find them at whatever cost!<sup>492</sup>

The radio stations were used to target specific individuals and groups for massacre. Both RTL M and Radio Rwanda acted as guides for Rwandan génocidaires. In some cases, the radio broadcasters would announce the arrival of

Tutsis at a church or other building for shelter, and encourage listeners to go to the location and ‘clear the brush’ of the Tutsis hiding there. One example is the Nyamirambo massacre in a mosque, sheltering over 300 Tutsis. Within minutes of the broadcast, the displaced persons seeking refuge there were killed.<sup>493</sup>

In other instances, RTL M announced the names and addresses of targets to be killed. In Kigali, this tactic was used in the early days of the genocide to eliminate political enemies of the Hutu Power regime. An April 8 broadcast directed listeners to the homes of Joseph Kahabaye and Antoine Sebera. Both men and their families were killed that day. Additional broadcasts identified Tutsi hideouts and Tutsi traveling in vehicles near Kigali checkpoints. One famous broadcast was the alert that Tutsis leaving the Hotel des Milles Collines were escorted by UNAMIR officers in a convoy. The convoy was ambushed on the road and barely made its way back to the hotel.<sup>494</sup>

Radio Rwanda was utilized to send messages to military personnel and *interahamwe* militiamen to travel to cities in Rwanda, attend meetings, or convene at stated locations. The radio station was used to solicit volunteer drivers to drive dump trucks and bulldozers to dig mass graves and to bury dead left on the sides of checkpoints and roads.<sup>495</sup>

From the early days of the genocide throughout the three month-long massacre, RTL M continued to legitimize the killings of Tutsi by government

actors, and portrayed killings by Hutu residents as part of one's duty or work, and inevitable. In mid-May, RTLM broadcast

The Tutsi are very few. They were estimated at 10 percent. The war must have brought them down to 8 percent. Will these people really continue to kill themselves? Do they not risk extermination if they persist in this suicidal behavior of throwing themselves against far more numerous people?<sup>496</sup>

Rural génocidaires, who participated in the massacres in their local communities day after day, later reported that RTLM utilized agrarian metaphors to encourage farmers to kill their Tutsi neighbors and relatives. Examples of common euphemisms include: 'clear the bushes;' 'separate the grass from the millet;' and 'pull out the poison ivy together with its roots.'<sup>497</sup>

By early June, it was common to hear RTLM broadcasters discussing the completion of the extermination of the Tutsi people. One RTLM announcer called for the total extermination of the Tutsi on June 3, stating "the cruelty of the *inyenzi* can be cured only by their total extermination."<sup>498</sup> RTLM commentator Habimana said in a June 4 broadcast, "The proof that we will exterminate them is that they represent only one ethnic group. Look at one person, at his height and physical features, look closely at his cute little nose and then break it."<sup>499</sup> During that same time, another RTLM broadcaster predicted that the effort "would exterminate the Tutsi from the globe ... make them disappear once and for all."<sup>500</sup>

During the middle of the genocide, in May 1994, the United Nations sent out a commissioner for human rights to evaluate the massacres on the ground.



Prior to the arrival of the UN team, RTLM Radio asked Hutus to stop killing Tutsis while the UN commissioner visited. After the visit concluded, the radio let Rwandans know to begin their ‘work’ again. Towards the end of the genocide, when the French government was considering providing additional assistance to the interim government (it ultimately chose instead to provide safe haven to the gÈnocidaires via Operation Turquoise), RTLM took to the airwaves to ask Hutu gÈnocidaires to behave in a more ‘civilized’ manner by hiding dead bodies away from the roads and roadblocks, and to avoid the appearance of enjoying massacres at roadblocks.<sup>501</sup> The public listened, as they had for years earlier. Radio was indeed a powerful tool in both preparing the populace to commit genocide, and later to guide them in the commission of genocide itself.

#### State of Exception Fully Realized

The years of planning and preparation from 1990-1993, the repeated small-scale massacres carried out during those years, the mass training and arming of the rural population, the increased military preparation in terms of soldiers and arms, the effective use of propaganda to prepare ordinary Rwandans for mass violence against the Tutsi, and the effective dehumanization of Tutsis via years of discriminatory laws and policies allowed the extremist elements of the government to create the ultimate state of exception – where not only was there no government law or policy prohibiting the mass murder of one’s Tutsi neighbors, friends, and even spouses, but there was a directive from government and

government-controlled outlets to engage in necropolitics (deciding who lives and who dies).

In genocidal Rwanda, the exception to the rule – murder with impunity – became the norm. For years, certain Rwandans had engaged in targeted killings and pogroms with impunity because of their privileged status in the Hutu Power elite or *akazu*, and because the target of their killings were Tutsi, regarded as less than human. Now during the genocide, the killings were planned and executed by the government, military, militia, and supported by the local population.

In Rwanda, Tutsi had been transformed from *People* to *people* – mere bodies without agency or political power. The necropolitics of the sovereign expanded to include every corner of the country during the genocide – and the power of the state to determine who would live and who would die expanded to include not just government operatives, but the militia, the clergy, the farmer in Kibuye, and the teenager in Kigali. The power to determine who would live and who would die was the ultimate power during the summer of 1994 in Rwanda; it was exercised at the rate of nearly one time every two seconds.

Schmitt stated that, “in the state of exception, the state continues to exist, while law recedes.”<sup>502</sup> In Rwanda, the state committed a genocide while law disappeared.

## Chapter 6

### CONCLUSION

Over the course of just ninety days, extremists in the Rwandan government executed a highly organized plan to exterminate the country's entire Tutsi minority population. They very nearly succeeded; it is estimated that over three-fourths of all Tutsis living in Rwanda in 1994, roughly 800,000 people, were killed before the end of the summer.<sup>503</sup> The genocide was successfully executed not simply because a large portion of the Hutu population participated – but because the political groundwork had been laid out carefully over the course of many years to create a unique political climate in which extremists in government and a large portion of the population agreed that the elimination of an entire minority population was an acceptable answer to a political problem.

Prior to colonialism, Hutu, Tutsi and Twa lived together in Rwanda via a complex social order. While the community was not strictly egalitarian, Hutu and Tutsi shared much together, including language, religion, family, land, and food. German and the Belgian colonizers create false and ever-more calcified distinctions between the Hutu and the Tutsi. Using race science theory and a self-serving method of discrimination, the Belgians created an ethnic divide between Hutu and Tutsi, then elevated the Tutsi to privilege while oppressing the Hutu population.

Over time, oppressed Hutus sought to end the colonial structure that had created such an imbalanced system of governance and life. However, during the

Hutu Revolution of 1959, Hutu elite fought not to upend the colonial power structure, but to simply reverse it. They did so successfully, and the independent First Republic established Hutu rule over the minority Tutsi. During two successive Hutu regimes, the Hutu elite instituted the state of exception in Rwanda to create a sovereign that created permanent permission to avoid the rule of law, and in that space, abuse the minority Tutsi with impunity.

During both the Kayibanda and Habyarimana regimes, the Tutsi people were marginalized and legally prohibited from participating in legal, social, and political life in Rwanda. Hutu elite and government agents routinely engaged in unlawful murders and pogroms of Tutsi people with impunity. Presidential decrees and laws were promulgated to ensure the continued marginalization and dehumanization of Tutsis. The ethnicization of the designations Tutsi and Hutu created a superrace of the Hutu, and a subrace of the Tutsi. As such, the superrace sought continued oppression and destruction of the subrace, who they perceived as a threat to their existence and dominance.

President Habyarimana refused refugees the right of return to their homeland. Those within the country's boundaries lost their land and livelihoods, and were forcibly displaced within the country to less habitable locations, both so that favored Hutus could have their mineral-rich land, but also to control their movement within the country.

As Tutsis in the diaspora began to prepare for a civil war in order to return to their homeland, Hutu Power factions within the Habyarimana regime utilized propaganda to effectively dehumanize the Tutsi minority. Once dehumanized, the idea of extermination of the subrace threat, that already lived as *people* without social or political rights in the community, was not difficult to imagine. And as the international community agitated for a peaceful solution to the civil war rocking Rwanda in the early 1990s, the options facing the Hutu Power elite were grim indeed. In order to pacify the international community, the sovereign would be required to submit to a great loss of power, an establishment of the rule of law and the end to the state of exception.

The idea that extermination of an entire portion of one's population as a solution to the problems a sovereign faces is rooted in Agamben's concept that the state of exception creates an atmosphere wherein a sovereign (government) strips its citizens of their sociopolitical being – where *People* are reduced to *people*, 'naked people' devoid of social political capital or value. For the Hutu Power faction in Rwanda, Tutsi were not *People*. They were simply a threat to the existing power structure, a structure that had operated since independence without regard to the juridical order.

The powerful Hutu in Rwanda chose genocide over the restoration of law. The very thought that the state of exception – which had become the rule in Rwanda – was to be eliminated and the sovereign returned to a juridical order

answerable to the people of the sovereign was too threatening for the *akazu*. The price was simply too high. And so, the genocide ensued.

The Rwandan genocide is notable for its swiftness, brutality, and intense efficiency. Nearly one million people were killed in less than 100 days. No other genocide in modern history has been as effective in attaining its goal of extermination of a minority people. And yet, the world stood by and took no action. Westerners largely ignored the genocide, or, if they noticed it, commented that ‘Africans will have their tribal wars.’ These facile assessments of the Rwandan genocide fail to recognize the pattern – the very long pattern – of the state of exception at play in Rwanda. The Rwandan genocide was not inevitable, but it certainly was predictable.

After a genocide, bystanders and observers often note with disgust and horror that seemingly ordinary people picked up weapons and killed their fellow human beings. They wonder aloud how such a thing could have happened? How could someone do such a thing to another? Agamben posited that

The correct question regarding the horrors committed . . . , therefore, is not the question that asks hypocritically how it could have been possible to commit such atrocious horrors against other human beings; it would be more honest, and above all more useful, to investigate carefully how – that is, thanks to what juridical procedures and political devices – human beings could have been so completely deprived of their rights and prerogatives to the point that committing any act toward them would no longer appear as a crime.<sup>504</sup>

The government's long history of necropolitics, started during colonial times and continuing until 1994, laid out a clear picture of how genocide occurred. In a society where the state of exception is the norm, where a minority people are considered *people* without biopolitical power, where necropolitics is the preferred solution for the sovereign's troubles, genocide is no surprise. What is concerning is that we choose not to notice.

## ENDNOTES

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- <sup>1</sup> Jacques Morel, *La France au Couer de Genocide des Tutsi*. Izuba, 2010.
- <sup>2</sup> The leadership of the RPF included eleven Tutsis and fourteen Hutus, and the RPF strenuously claimed not to be a “Tutsi” organization. In reality, the majority of the soldiers in the RPF were Tutsi, and much of the financial support for the organization came from the Tutsi diaspora spread around the world. Linda Melvern, *A People Betrayed*. Zed, 2000.
- <sup>3</sup> Gérard Prunier, *Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*. Columbia, 1995. (p.53)
- <sup>4</sup> Gérard Prunier, *Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*. Columbia, 1995. (p.63)
- <sup>5</sup> Gérard Prunier, *Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*. Columbia, 1995 (pp. 62-4); Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers*, Princeton, 2001.
- <sup>6</sup> Jacques Morel, *La France au Couer de Genocide des Tutsi*. Izuba, 2010. Roughly one year later, a new constitution was enacted which instituted a multiparty system in Rwanda. *Id*.
- <sup>7</sup> Gérard Prunier, *Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*. Columbia, 1995.
- <sup>8</sup> Linda Melvern, *A People Betrayed*. Zed, 2000.
- <sup>9</sup> *Id.*; Gérard Prunier, *Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*. Columbia, 1995.
- <sup>10</sup> Emmanuel Viret, *Rwanda: A Chronology (1867-2010)*. Online Encyclopedia of Mass Violence, 2010.
- <sup>11</sup> Jacques Morel, *La France au Couer de Genocide des Tutsi*. Izuba, 2010.
- <sup>12</sup> *Umuganda* is the historic practice of community service that was instituted in pre-colonial times, exploited for Belgian and wealthy Tutsi landowner gain during colonialism, and now utilized as a once-monthly required four hour period of community action. In today’s Rwanda, *umuganda* is determined locally, takes place on one Saturday per month, and is required for all people living in the country. Mahmood Mandani, *When Victims Become Killers*, Princeton, 2001.
- <sup>13</sup> Emmanuel Viret, *Rwanda: A Chronology (1867-2010)*. Online Encyclopedia of Mass Violence, 2010.
- <sup>14</sup> Jacques Morel, *La France au Couer de Genocide des Tutsi*. Izuba, 2010.



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<sup>15</sup> Alison DesForges, *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda*. Human Rights Watch, 1999. (p 102)

<sup>16</sup> Emmanuel Viret, *Rwanda: A Chronology (1867-2010)*. Online Encyclopedia of Mass Violence, 2010.

<sup>17</sup> *Id.*

<sup>18</sup> Jacques Morel, *La France au Couer de Genocide des Tutsi*. Izuba, 2010.

<sup>19</sup> Linda Melvern, *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide*. Zed, 2000. (p.74)

<sup>20</sup> Note to His Excellency the President. Subject: Study of the means necessary for the defense and to allow the population to counter an attack from inside or outside the country. Colonel Augustin Ndindilyimana. Undated (context suggests summer 1991). Author's archive.

<sup>21</sup> Alison DesForges, *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda*. Human Rights Watch, 1999. (p 102)

<sup>22</sup> Emmanuel Viret, *Rwanda: A Chronology (1867-2010)*. Online Encyclopedia of Mass Violence, 2010.

<sup>23</sup> Jacques Morel, *La France au Couer de Genocide des Tutsi*. Izuba, 2010.

<sup>24</sup> *Id.*

<sup>25</sup> Jacques Morel, *La France au Couer de Genocide des Tutsi*. Izuba, 2010; Emmanuel Viret, *Rwanda: A Chronology (1867-2010)*. Online Encyclopedia of Mass Violence, 2010.

<sup>26</sup> Jacques Morel, *La France au Couer de Genocide des Tutsi*. Izuba, 2010; Emmanuel Viret, *Rwanda: A Chronology (1867-2010)*. Online Encyclopedia of Mass Violence, 2010.

<sup>27</sup> Jacques Morel, *La France au Couer de Genocide des Tutsi*. Izuba, 2010.

<sup>28</sup> Emmanuel Viret, *Rwanda: A Chronology (1867-2010)*. Online Encyclopedia of Mass Violence, 2010.

<sup>29</sup> Jacques Morel, *La France au Couer de Genocide des Tutsi*. Izuba, 2010.

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<sup>30</sup> Emmanuel Viret, *Rwanda: A Chronology (1867-2010)*. Online Encyclopedia of Mass Violence, 2010.

<sup>31</sup> Léon Mugesera speech, November 22, 1992. Author's archive.

<sup>32</sup> Jacques Morel, *La France au Couer de Genocide des Tutsi*. Izuba, 2010.

<sup>33</sup> *Id.*

<sup>34</sup> Emmanuel Viret, *Rwanda: A Chronology (1867-2010)*. Online Encyclopedia of Mass Violence, 2010.

<sup>35</sup> AMASASU stood for the Alliance of Soldiers Provoked by the Age-Old Deceitful Acts of the Unarists. The word *amasasu* means "bullets" in Kinyarwanda. Alison DesForges, *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda*. Human Rights Watch, 1999. (p 103)

<sup>36</sup> Alison DesForges, *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda*. Human Rights Watch, 1999. (p 103-4)

<sup>37</sup> Alison DesForges, *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda*. Human Rights Watch, 1999. (p 107-8)

<sup>38</sup> *Id.*

<sup>39</sup> Jacques Morel, *La France au Couer de Genocide des Tutsi*. Izuba, 2010.

<sup>40</sup> *Id.*

<sup>41</sup> Emmanuel Viret, *Rwanda: A Chronology (1867-2010)*. Online Encyclopedia of Mass Violence, 2010.

<sup>42</sup> Jacques Morel, *La France au Couer de Genocide des Tutsi*. Izuba, 2010.

<sup>43</sup> Emmanuel Viret, *Rwanda: A Chronology (1867-2010)*. Online Encyclopedia of Mass Violence, 2010.

<sup>44</sup> *Id.*

<sup>45</sup> Emmanuel Viret, *Rwanda: A Chronology (1867-2010)*. Online Encyclopedia of Mass Violence, 2010; Jacques Morel, *La France au Couer de Genocide des Tutsi*. Izuba, 2010.

<sup>46</sup> Jacques Morel, *La France au Couer de Genocide des Tutsi*. Izuba, 2010.

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<sup>47</sup> Romeo Dallaire, *Shake Hands With the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*. Da Capo, 2003.

<sup>48</sup> Jacques Morel, *La France au Couer de Genocide des Tutsi*. Izuba, 2010.

<sup>49</sup> ICTR-98-41-T, June 11, 2004. Prosecutor questioning of Witness XXY.

<sup>50</sup> Jacques Morel, *La France au Couer de Genocide des Tutsi*. Izuba, 2010.

<sup>51</sup> *Akazu*, meaning little house, was the term used to describe the President's wife and her family, who hailed from the northern part of the country. The *akazu* ensured that Rwandan resources were directed to their region, that government positions were given to northern Hutus, and that the President's government eschewed closely to their desire to retain power and control of the country. See Linda Melvern, *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide*. Zed, 2000. (Chapter 4)

<sup>52</sup> Jacques Morel, *La France au Couer de Genocide des Tutsi*. Izuba, 2010. See also Linda Melvern, *Conspiracy to Murder: the Rwandan Genocide*. Verso, 2004. (p 111)

<sup>53</sup> Romeo Dallaire, *Shake Hands With the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*. Da Capo, 2003.

<sup>54</sup> Emmanuel Viret, *Rwanda: A Chronology (1867-2010)*. Online Encyclopedia of Mass Violence, 2010.

<sup>55</sup> Jacques Morel, *La France au Couer de Genocide des Tutsi*. Izuba, 2010.

<sup>56</sup> *Id.*

<sup>57</sup> *Id.*

<sup>58</sup> *Id.*

<sup>59</sup> Romeo Dallaire, *Shake Hands With the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*. Da Capo, 2003.

<sup>60</sup> Human Rights Watch, *Arming Rwanda - The Arms Trade and Human Rights Abuses in the Rwandan War*, 1 January 1994, A601, available at: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6a7fc8.html> [accessed 30 August 2011].

<sup>61</sup> Linda Melvern, *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide*. Zed, 2000. (pp. 77-79)

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<sup>62</sup> Linda Melvern, *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide*. Zed, 2000. (p 37)

<sup>63</sup> Linda Melvern, *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide*. Zed, 2000. (p 37)

<sup>64</sup> *Id.* at 79.

<sup>65</sup> Linda Melvern, *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide*. Zed, 2000. (p 75)

<sup>66</sup> Human Rights Watch, *Arming Rwanda - The Arms Trade and Human Rights Abuses in the Rwandan War*, 1 January 1994, A601, available at: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6a7fc8.html> [accessed 30 August 2011].

<sup>67</sup> Jacques Morel, *La France au Couer de Genocide des Tutsi*. Izuba, 2010.

<sup>68</sup> Letter to Rwandan Minister of Foreign Affairs, December 12, 1990. This letter notes that “the personal intervention of Foreign Minister Jacques Boutrous-Boutrous Ghali” in the formation of the arms deals. Linda Melvern Rwanda Archive, University of Wales.

<sup>69</sup> Contract No. Cairo Row/1 – 90, Appendix A, October 27, 1990. Linda Melvern Rwanda Archive, University of Wales.

<sup>70</sup> Payment of Equipment Acquired From the Minister of Defense – Cairo, October 31, 1990. Linda Melvern Rwanda Archive, University of Wales.

<sup>71</sup> Order of arms and ammunition, Rwandan government to Egypt, December 31, 1990. Linda Melvern Rwanda Archive, University of Wales.

<sup>72</sup> Offer from Cairo to Rwanda, August 28, 1991. Linda Melvern Rwanda Archive, University of Wales.

<sup>73</sup> Fax to Colonel Sami Said of Egypt from Colonel Rusatira, Secretary-General of the Ministry of National Defense. November 6, 1991. Linda Melvern Rwanda Archive, University of Wales.

<sup>74</sup> Jacques Morel, *La France au Couer de Genocide des Tutsi*. Izuba, 2010; Memo to Bank MISR from National Bank of Rwanda, Subject: Issue of a Guarantee, March 30, 1992. Linda Melvern Rwanda Archive, University of Wales.

<sup>75</sup> Offer from Egypt Ministry of Defense to Rwanda Ministry of Defense, June 17, 1992. Fax to Egyptian Minister of Defense from Rwandan Ministry of Defense,

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Subject: Delivery of the military equipment, June 22, 1992 (supplemental order). Linda Melvern Rwanda Archive, University of Wales.

<sup>76</sup> Fax from Rwandan Ambassador to Cairo, July 21, 1992. Linda Melvern Rwanda Archive, University of Wales.

<sup>77</sup> Linda Melvern, *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide*. Zed, 2000. (p. 77)

<sup>78</sup> Memo from James Gasana, Rwandan Minister of Defense, to Egypt Brigadier Sami Said Mohamed, Subject: Confirmation of Order, February 18, 1993. Linda Melvern Rwanda Archive, University of Wales.

<sup>79</sup> Fax to the Egyptian Ministry of Defense from Rwandan Embassy in Cairo, February 16, 1993. Linda Melvern Rwanda Archive, University of Wales.

<sup>80</sup> Linda Melvern, *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide*. Zed, 2000. (p 78)

<sup>81</sup> Human Rights Watch, *Arming Rwanda - The Arms Trade and Human Rights Abuses in the Rwandan War*, 1 January 1994, A601, available at: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6a7fc8.html> [accessed 30 August 2011]

<sup>82</sup> Jacques Morel, *La France au Couer de Genocide des Tutsi*. Izuba, 2010.

<sup>83</sup> Human Rights Watch, *Arming Rwanda - The Arms Trade and Human Rights Abuses in the Rwandan War*, 1 January 1994, A601, available at: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6a7fc8.html> [accessed 30 August 2011]

<sup>84</sup> Jacques Morel, *La France au Couer de Genocide des Tutsi*. Izuba, 2010; Emmanuel Viret, *Rwanda: A Chronology (1867-2010)*. Online Encyclopedia of Mass Violence, 2010. Kabuga is considered to be the principal private funder of the genocide. Linda Melvern, *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide*. Zed, 2000. (p. 76)

<sup>85</sup> Linda Melvern, *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide*. Zed, 2000. (p 76)

<sup>86</sup> Linda Melvern, *A People Betrayed*, 2009, p. 68; Alison Des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story*, 1999, p. 62.; Transcript of Defense Cross-Examination, Prosecutor of the ICTR v. Bagosora, November 19, 2002, p. 59.

<sup>87</sup> Col. Déogratias Nsabimana to Liste A, September 21, 1992. Translated from French. Also cited in Alison Des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story*, p. 62.

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- <sup>88</sup> Semujanga, Josias. *Origins of Rwandan Genocide*. Humanity Books: New York, 2003. (23)
- <sup>89</sup> Alison Des Forges, Call to Genocide: Radio in Rwanda, 1994, (p.42) in Allan Thompson, ed. *The Media and the Rwandan Genocide*, 2007.
- <sup>90</sup> International Commission of Inquiry into Human Rights Abuse in Rwanda, 1993.
- <sup>91</sup> RTLM papers of incorporation, author's archive.
- <sup>92</sup> Alison Des Forges, Call to Genocide: Radio in Rwanda, 1994 (p.43).
- <sup>93</sup> RTLM shareholder list, author's archive.
- <sup>94</sup> Linda Melvern, *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide*. Zed, 2000.
- <sup>95</sup> Media trial transcripts.
- <sup>96</sup> Jean-Marie Vianney Higiho, Rwandan Private Print Media; Eve of the Genocide (p.78), in Allan Thompson, ed. *The Media and the Rwandan Genocide*, 2007.
- <sup>97</sup> *Kangura*, no. 6, December 1990. Author's archive.
- <sup>98</sup> *Kangura*, December 1993. Author's archive.
- <sup>99</sup> *Kangura*, no. 13, 1991; no. 39, 1993. Author's archive.
- <sup>100</sup> Translation: Psychology of Publicity and Propaganda: Understanding the Problem, Practical Applications.
- <sup>101</sup> Translation: Note Concerning Propaganda of Expansion and Recruitment.
- <sup>102</sup> Alison Des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story*, p. 66.
- <sup>103</sup> *Id.*
- <sup>104</sup> *Id.* See also Note Concerning Propaganda of Expansion and Recruitment, author's archive.
- <sup>105</sup> *Kangura*, no. 6, December 1990. Author's archive.
- <sup>106</sup> Gerard Prunier, *Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*. Columbia, 1995.

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- <sup>107</sup> Radio Rwanda, October 21, 1990. Author's archive.
- <sup>108</sup> Alision Des Forges, Leave None to Tell the Story, pp. 73-74. *Kangura*, March 1993. Author's archive.
- <sup>109</sup> Alison Des Forges, Leave None to Tell the Story, p. 77.
- <sup>110</sup> Marcel Kabanda, *Kangura: The Triumph of Propaganda Redefined* (p.64) , in Allan Thompson, ed. *The Media and the Rwandan Genocide*, 2007. *Kangura* no. 6, 1990.
- <sup>111</sup> RTLM, February 2, 1994. Author's archive.
- <sup>112</sup> RTLM, April 1, 1994. Author's archive.
- <sup>113</sup> Radio Rwanda, May 25, 1994. Author's archive.
- <sup>114</sup> Philip Gourevitch, *We Wish to Inform You that Tomorrow We Will be Killed with Our Families*, 1998.
- <sup>115</sup> Léon Mugesera speech, November 22, 1992. Author's archive.
- <sup>116</sup> Radio Rwanda, October 21, 1990. Author's archive.
- <sup>117</sup> RTLM, Feb 2, 1994. Author's archive.
- <sup>118</sup> RTLM, April 12, 1994. Author's archive.
- <sup>119</sup> RTLM, May 28, 1994. Author's archive.
- <sup>120</sup> RTLM, June 4, 5, 19, 1994. Author's archive.
- <sup>121</sup> Marcel Kabanda, *Kangura: The Triumph of Propaganda Redefined* (p.65) , in Allan Thompson, ed. *The Media and the Rwandan Genocide*, 2007. *Kangura*, 1990. Author's archive.
- <sup>122</sup> *Kangura*, 1992. Author's archive. Also in Marcel Kabanda, *Kangura: The Triumph of Propaganda Redefined* (p.64) , in Allan Thompson, ed. *The Media and the Rwandan Genocide*, 2007.
- <sup>123</sup> *Kangura*, 1992. Author's archive.
- <sup>124</sup> *Kangura*, 1991. Author's archive.

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<sup>125</sup> *Id.* at 82.

<sup>126</sup> *Kangura*, 1991. Author's archive. Translation provided by Office of the Prosecutor, International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.

<sup>127</sup> Alison Des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story*, at 84-85.

<sup>128</sup> *Id.* P. 64 (from *Kangura*, 1990 pp.6-7).

<sup>129</sup> Chrétien et al, *Rwanda, Les Médias*, pp. 159-160.

<sup>130</sup> RTLM, May 15, 1994. Author's archive.

<sup>131</sup> Radio Rwanda, April 24, 1994. Author's archive.

<sup>132</sup> RTLM, June 4, 1994. Author's archive.

<sup>133</sup> *Jenoside*, Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre, 2010.

<sup>134</sup> Alison Des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story*, p. 79.

<sup>135</sup> Léon Mugesera speech, November 22, 1992. Author's archive.

<sup>136</sup> Alison Des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story*, p. 56.

<sup>137</sup> RTLM, November 30, 1994. Author's archive.

<sup>138</sup> RTLM, December 17, 1993. Author's archive.

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<sup>141</sup> *Id.*

<sup>142</sup> RTLM, May 17, 1994. Author's archive.

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- <sup>149</sup> Alison Des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story*, at 50.
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- <sup>158</sup> Mary Kimani, RTLM: The Medium that became a tool for Mass Murder (p.111), in Allan Thompson, ed. *The Media and the Rwandan Genocide*, 2007. RTLM May 28, 1994. Author's archive.
- <sup>159</sup> RTLM, May 28, 1994. Author's archive.
- <sup>160</sup> Jean-Pierre Chréteïn, RTLM Propaganda: the Democratic Alibi (p. 57), in Allan Thompson, ed. *The Media and the Rwandan Genocide*, 2007. RTLM, June 4, 1994. Author's archive.
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<sup>188</sup> Alison DesForges, *Leave None to Tell the Story*, Human Rights Watch: New York, 1999.

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<sup>190</sup> Alison DesForges, *Leave None to Tell the Story*, Human Rights Watch: New York, 1999 (32).

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<sup>265</sup> Prunier, Gérard. *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*. Columbia University Press: New York, 1995. (53)

<sup>266</sup> *Inyenzi* means cockroach in Kinyarwanda. The term was originally used to describe the Tutsi monarchists who engaged in nighttime raids in the border regions of Rwanda shortly after the 1959 revolution. In later years, the term was applied by Hutu propagandists to all Tutsi living within and outside of Rwanda. See Chapter 2 for greater detail.

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<sup>493</sup> African Rights. *Rwanda: Death, Despair and Defiance*. African Rights: London, 1994. (75)

<sup>494</sup> DesForges, Allison. “Call to Genocide: Radio in Rwanda, 1994” in Thompson, Allan, *The Media and the Genocide*, Pluto Press: London, 2007. (49)

<sup>495</sup> DesForges, Allison. “Call to Genocide: Radio in Rwanda, 1994” in Thompson, Allan, *The Media and the Genocide*, Pluto Press: London, 2007. (49)

<sup>496</sup> RTLM Radio, May 13, 1994. Author’s archive.

<sup>497</sup> Mironko, Charles. “RTLM’s Rhetoric of Ethnic Hatred in Rural Rwanda”, in Thompson, Allan, *The Media and the Genocide*, Pluto Press: London, 2007. (133)

<sup>498</sup> RTLM Radio, June 3, 1994. Author’s archive.

<sup>499</sup> RTLM Radio, June 4, 1994. Author’s archive.

<sup>500</sup> DesForges, Allison. “Call to Genocide: Radio in Rwanda, 1994” in Thompson, Allan, *The Media and the Genocide*, Pluto Press: London, 2007. (48)

<sup>501</sup> DesForges, Allison. “Call to Genocide: Radio in Rwanda, 1994” in Thompson, Allan, *The Media and the Genocide*, Pluto Press: London, 2007. (49-50)

<sup>502</sup> Schmitt, Carl. *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1922. (12)

<sup>503</sup> Gérard Prunier, *Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*. Columbia, 1995. (264-65)

<sup>504</sup> Agamben, Giorgio. *Means Without End: Notes on Politics*. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 2000. (41)

