

# POLI 120N: Contention and Conflict in Africa

## Professor Adida

Genocide

# What is genocide?

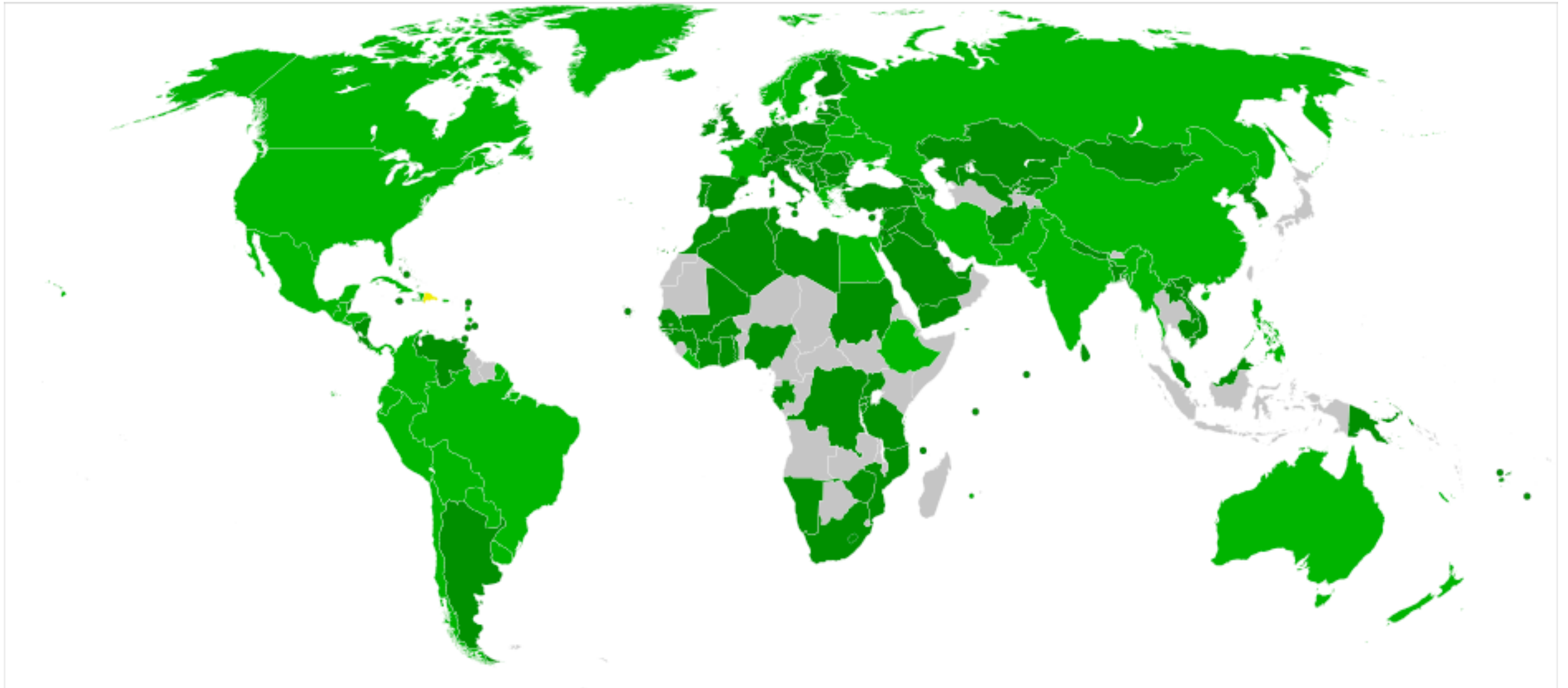
- Coined in 1943 by Jewish-Polish lawyer Raphael Lemkin:

- genos = race/tribe in Greek
- cide = to kill in Latin



- December 1948: UN Convention on Genocide
  - Defines genocide as “any of the following acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, as such: killing, causing serious bodily or mental harm, deliberately inflicting conditions of life calculated to bring about group’s physical destruction in whole or in part, imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group, forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.”

# UN Genocide Convention



# Examples

Hereros and Namaquas by German colonialists



Armenians by Ottoman Empire

# Examples

Jews by Nazi Germany



Tutsis by Hutus



# Naming

- Genocide in Rwanda
- Genocide in Darfur

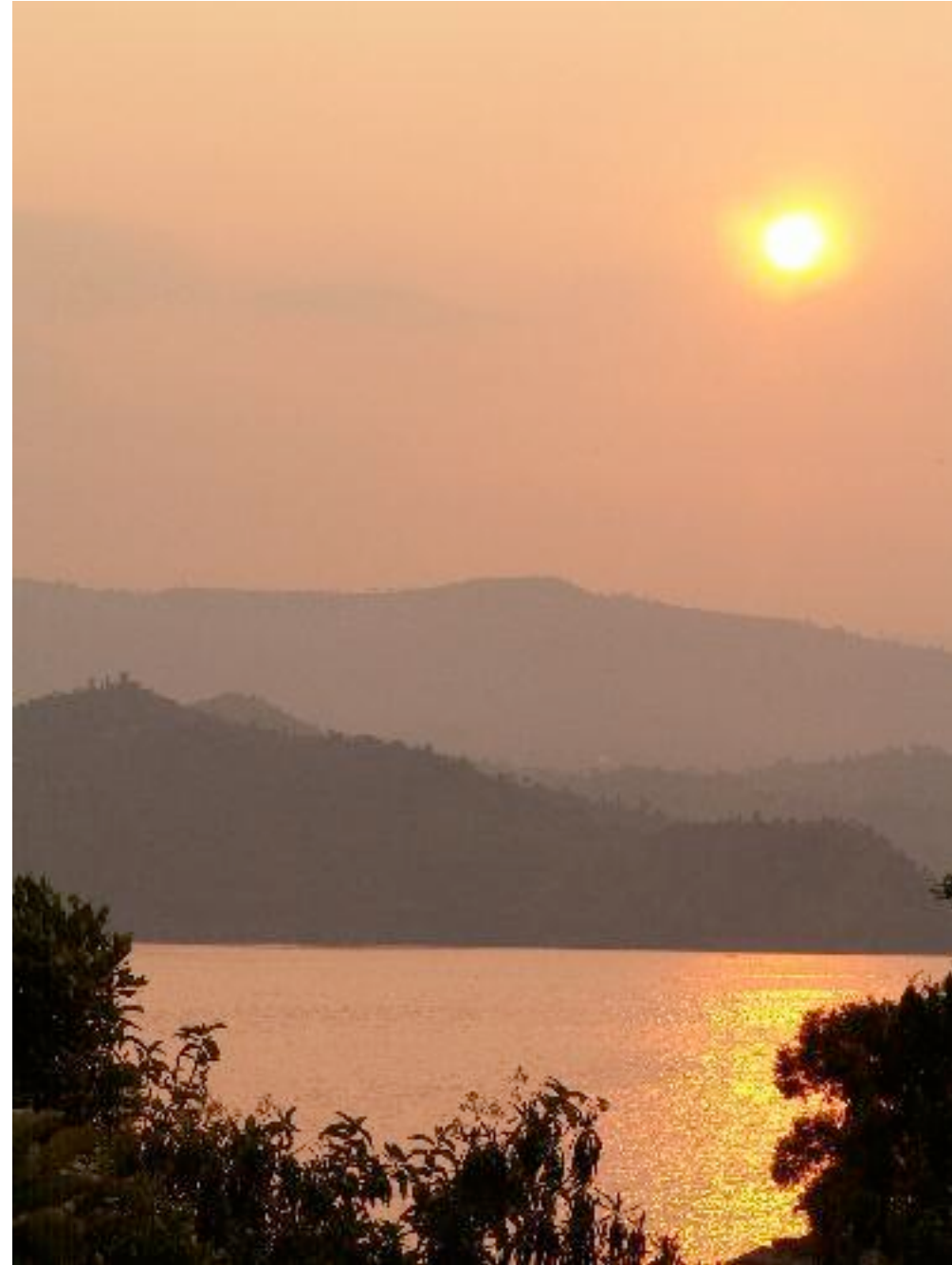






















# Genocide in Rwanda

- April-June 1994: 800,000 Rwandans killed in 100 days
- Most of the dead: Tutsi
- Most of the perpetrators: Hutu

# Rwanda: precolonial background

- Tutsi (14%), Hutu (85%), Twa (1%)
- Socio-economic status: cattle-wealth
- Stratified social hierarchy

Rich in cattle —————→ Tutsi

Subordinate —————→ Hutu

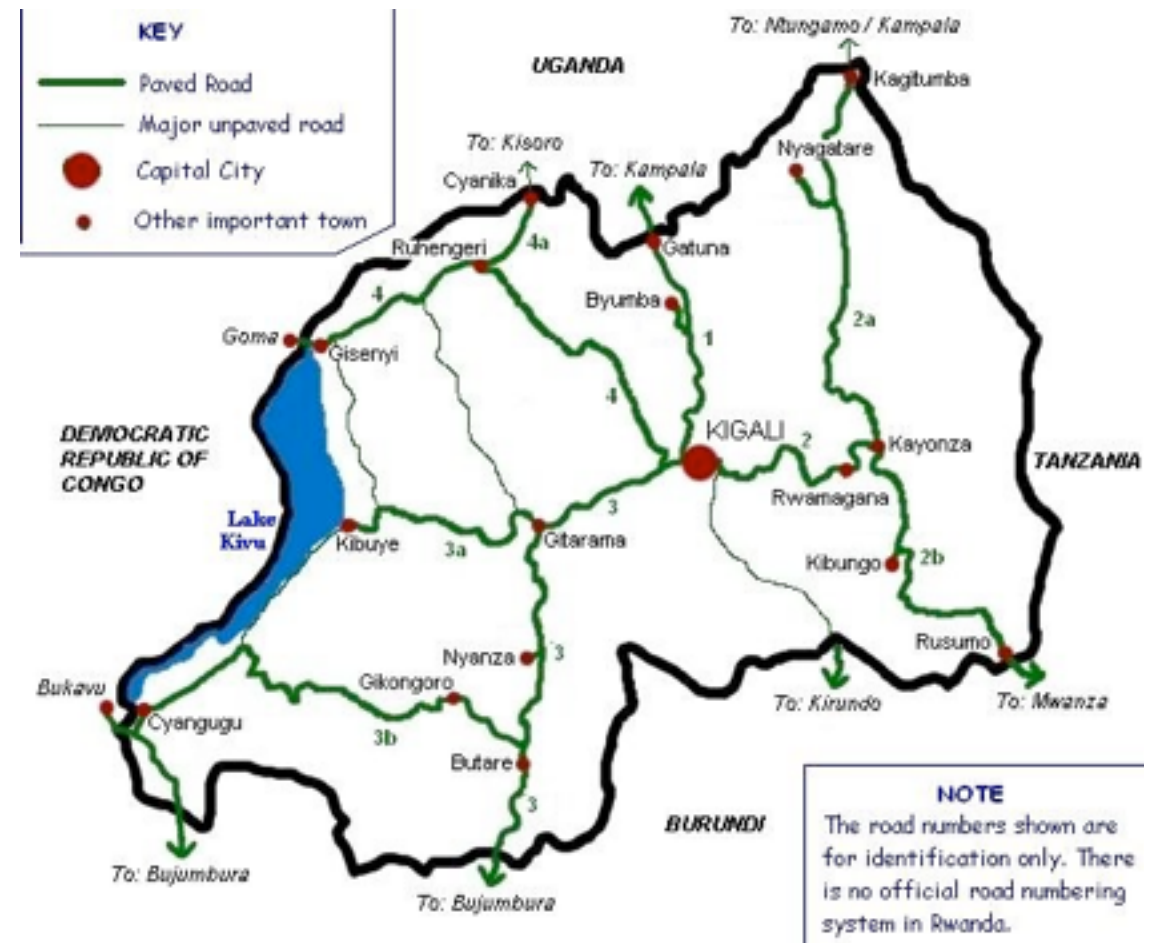


# Rwanda: colonialism and independence

- Political dominance of Tutsi monarchy, even before colonization
- Colonial rule (German and Belgian): monarchy continued; forced Hutu labor; violence against Hutu; Hamitic hypothesis
- Hutu mobilization in 1950s; PARMEHUTU vs. UNAR
- 1961: Hutu Revolution: Hutu overthrow monarchy and establish Hutu power; persecute Tutsi
- 1962: Independence from Belgium
- 1973: Juvénal Habyarimana seizes power in a coup; Tutsi exile.

# Rwandan Civil War

- July 5, 1990: President Habyarimana announces democratization process; Tutsis mobilizing in Uganda (RANU; RPF)
- Oct 1, 1990: RPF invades from Uganda
- 1993: Arusha peace agreement creates power-sharing; UNAMIR



# Genocide: the Trigger

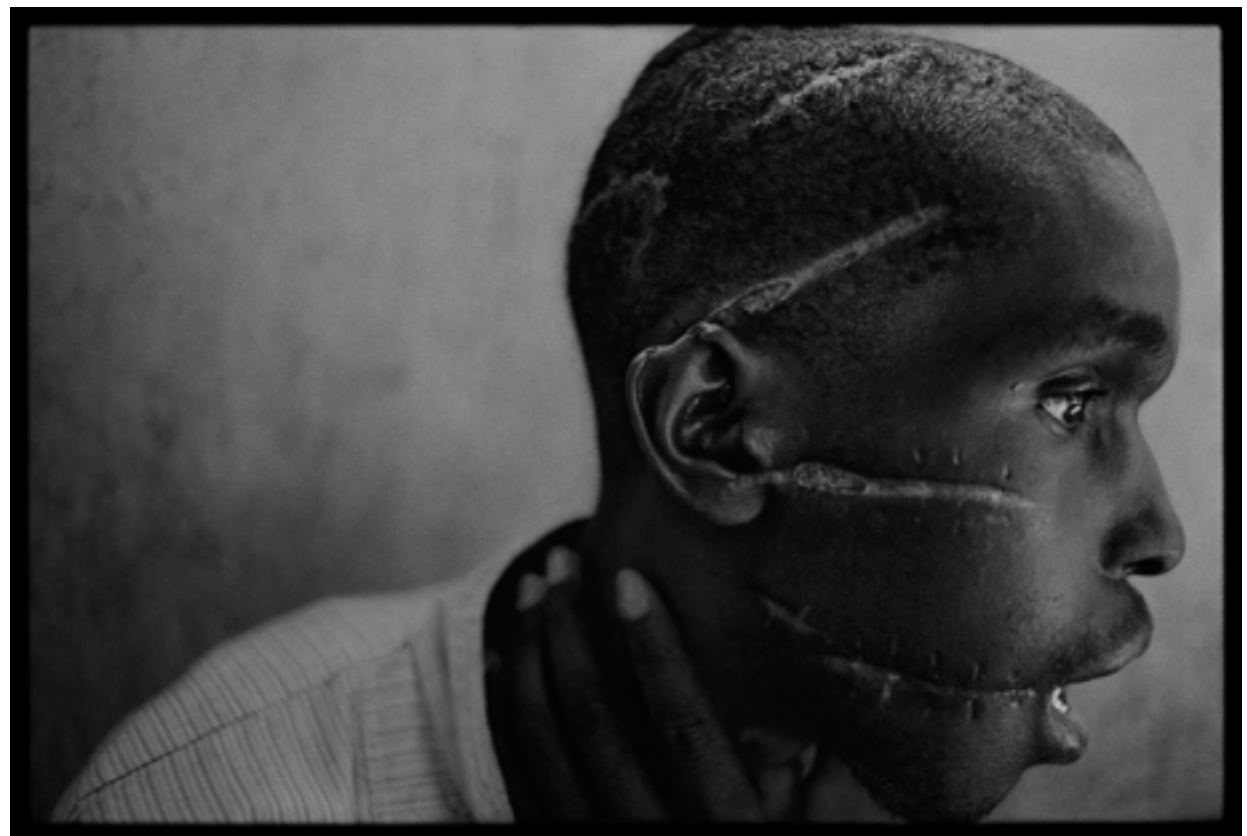
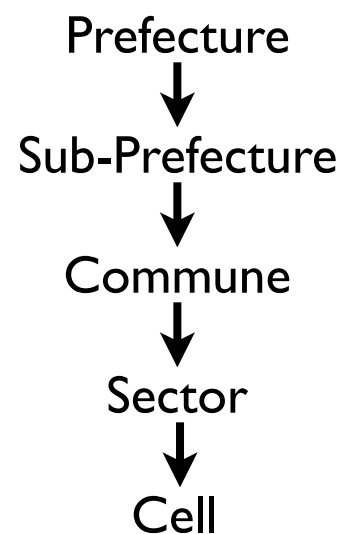
- April 6, 1994: Airplane carrying Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi is shot down
- Both Hutu and RPF suspected
- Catalyst for the genocide: within hours, a campaign of violence spreads throughout country; lasts 3 months
- Interahamwe = “those who attack together”

# Genocide: the Mechanics

- Average 5,000-10,000 people killed per day
- Total at least 500,000 dead and 2 million forced to flee (mostly Hutu fearing retribution)

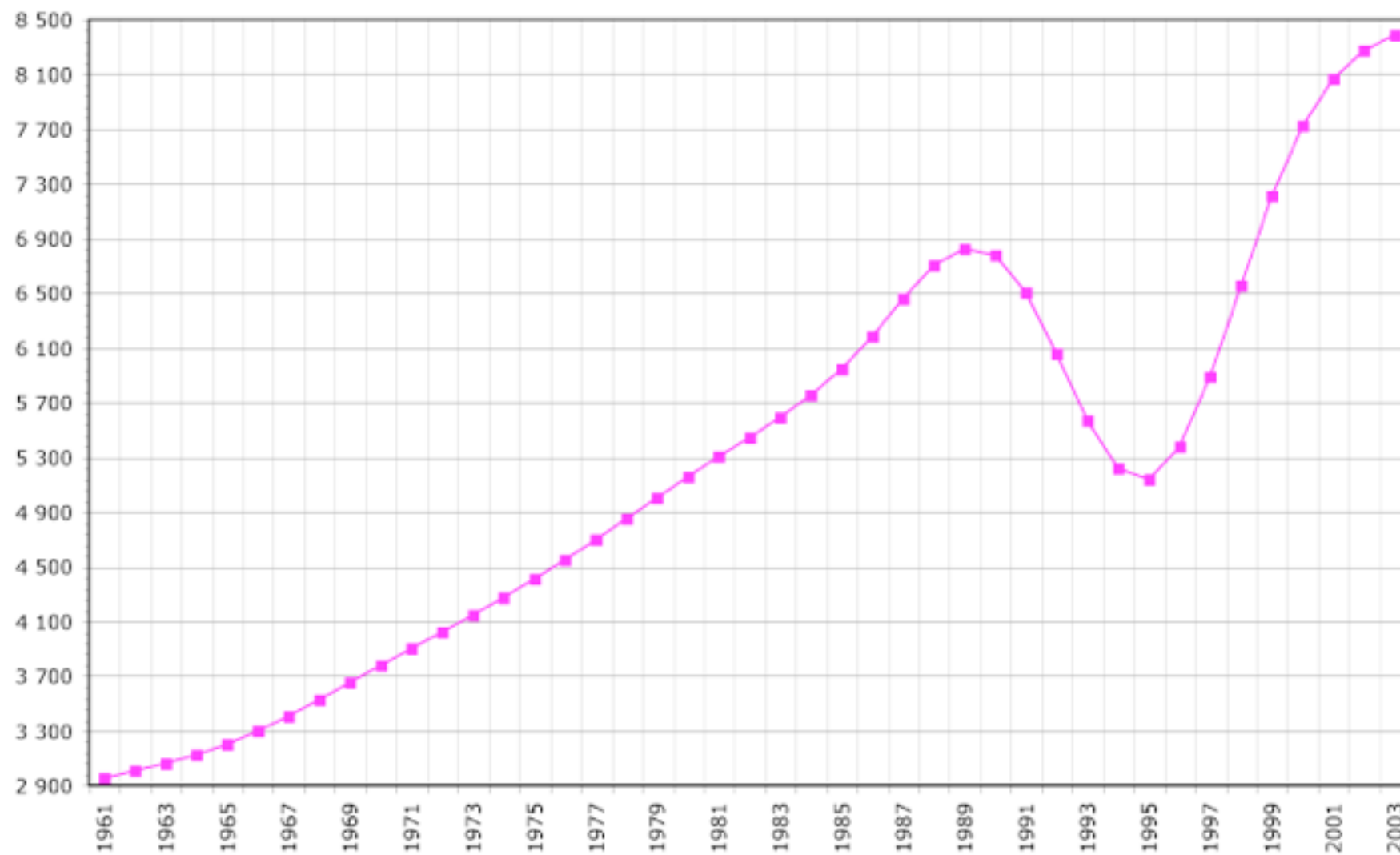
- Weapons:

- Machetes
- Media
- Organization



Time Magazine; James Nachtwey

# Genocide: the Effects



FAO 2005

# Political aftermath

- In July 1994, RPF captures Kigali; government collapses; ceasefire declared
- Multi-ethnic government set up:
  - Bizimungu as President (Hutu)
  - Kagame as Vice President (Tutsi)
- But pair doesn't last long: Bizimungu charged and jailed on charges of inciting ethnic violence; Kagame becomes president in 2003
- Tutsi government has invaded DRC twice to wipe out Hutu militias



# Failure of international community

- April 9-10, 1994: France and Belgium send troops to rescue their civilians; American civilians airlifted out. No Rwandan civilians rescued
- April 14: one week after 10 Belgian soldiers are killed, Belgium withdraws from UNAMIR
- April 21: UN Security Council votes unanimously to withdraw most of UNAMIR troops, from 2,500 to 270
- April 30: UN Security Council passes resolution condemning the killing, but omits the word “genocide”.
- May 17: UN finally agrees to send 5,500 troops to Rwanda. Security Council resolution says, “acts of genocide may have been committed.” But deployment of mainly African UN forces is delayed because of arguments over who will pay the bill and provide the equipment
- May 25: At a State Department briefing, spokesperson Christine Shelley is asked, “How many acts of genocide does it take to make genocide?”
- June 22: Still no sign of UN deployment: French forces deployed “Operation Turquoise”; create safe area but killing of Tutsis continues in safe area
- March 25, 1998: Clinton apologizes to victims of genocide

# Explaining the Genocide

# TIME

Monday, Apr. 18, 1994

## Descent into Mayhem

By MARGUERITE MICHAELS; Clive Mutiso/Nairobi and Mark Thompson/Washington

Alarming as they were, the first, unconfirmed reports turned out to be understated. "We are lying prone on the floor," Christian Georlette, an aid worker for Oxfam, managed to phone back to the British aid group's headquarters on Thursday. "Every window in the house has been shattered by shrapnel and machine-gun fire, and soldiers are attacking the house next door with grenades. The fighting is really bad." Only later, however, would the full carnage of the latest ethnic violence in Rwanda be confirmed: the streets littered with corpses; the thousands killed in less than three days; the murder of 10 Belgian peacekeepers and groups of Catholic priests. And it would be Saturday before the French air force could land at Rwanda's Kigali airport and most of the country's 255 Americans could be reported as close to joining 330 Marines in the relative safety of neighboring Burundi.

In the two small Central African nations of Rwanda and Burundi, where politics is still dominated by the ancient rivalry between the predominant Hutu and minority Tutsi tribes, pure tribal enmity was behind the bloodshed. Last week's violence exploded after a plane carrying Presidents Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda and Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi, both Hutus, crashed Wednesday night on the approach to Kigali airport, killing both leaders. Witnesses reported hearing heavy weapons fire moments before the plane went down. "What happened was not an accident but an assassination," said Jean Damascene Bizimana, Rwanda's ambassador to the U.N. The two leaders were returning from a conference in Tanzania. Its topic: the ending of decades of Hutu-Tutsi savagery.

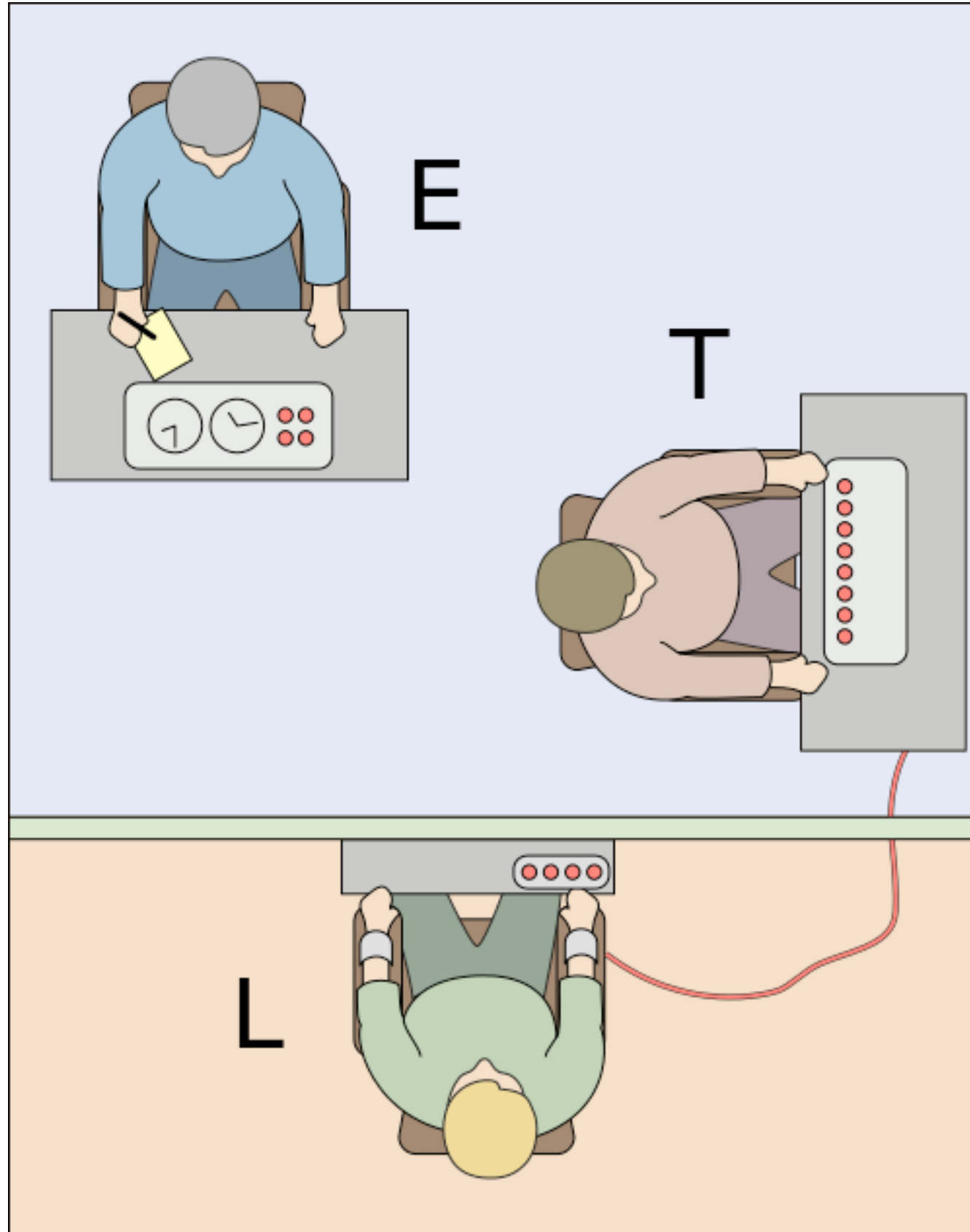
# Rwanda bucks blind obedience

For a decade, genocide survivors have been reluctant to finger perpetrators; that's slowly changing.

By Abraham McLaughlin, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor | APRIL 9, 2004

KANOMBE, RWANDA — To understand the significance of this story there's something you must know about Rwandans: They're famously willing to follow orders given by authority figures.

Leaders were once - and are sometimes still - thought to be divinely ordained. When they order, people act. Ten years ago, extremist officials told Rwanda's Hutus to "do their work" and kill their neighbors. Up to 500,000 did so. They used machetes and guns to slaughter nearly 1 million people.



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# Explaining the Genocide

# Setting the stage

Mod. 3



**Ubwoko** (Hutu, Tutsi, Twa, Naturalisé)  
Ethnie

**Aho yavukiye** ...  
Lieu de Naissance

**Itariki yavutseho** ...  
Date de Naissance

**Umwuga** ...  
Profession

**Aho atuye** ...  
Lieu de domicile

**Amazina y'uwo bashakanye**  
Noms du Conjoint

**N° C.I.**

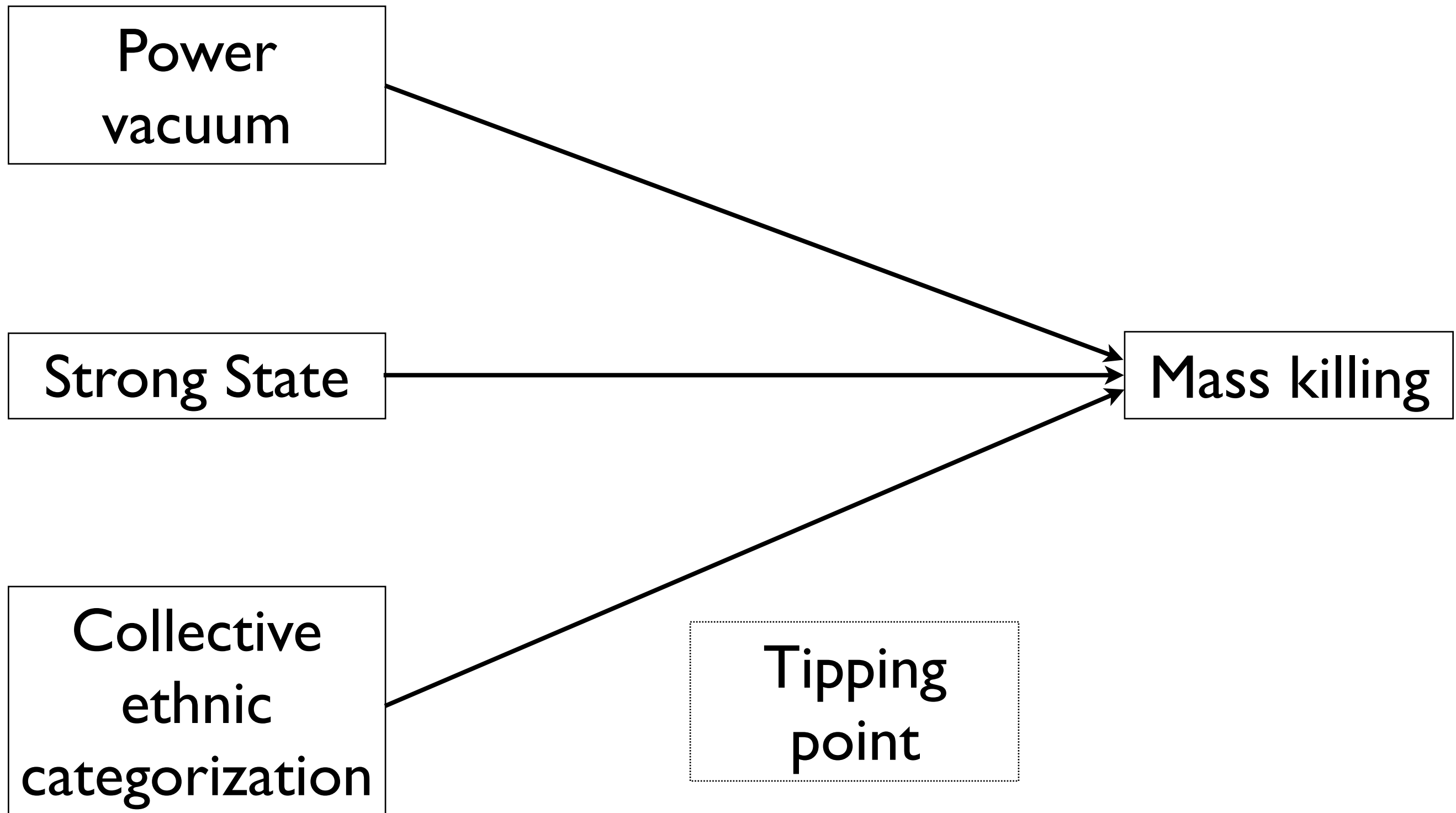
**Umukono cyangwa igikumwe cya nyirayo**  
Signature ou l'empreinte du titulaire

**Amazina y'abana n'igihe bavukiye**  
Noms, prénoms et date de naissance des enfants

Amazina Noms et Prénoms	Yavutse kuwa Né le	Igitsina Sexe
1. NZILISHEMA	18/11/81	F.
2. ....	.....	.....
3. ....	.....	.....
4. ....	.....	.....
5. ....	.....	.....
6. ....	.....	.....
7. ....	.....	.....
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10. ....	.....	.....
11. ....	.....	.....
12. ....	.....	.....

<http://genocidearchiverwanda.org.rw>

# Dynamic of killing (Straus)





# Explaining the Genocide

- Ethnic categorization (colonial policies)
- State strength
- Radio
- Political Competition during a security vacuum

Q: Characterizing participation in genocide in Rwanda as a tipping point means



- a. Genocide began after someone tipped a sleeping cow
- b. Individual Rwandans chose to participate in genocide based on how many others they believed were participating
- c. Former colonizing powers tipped off the Hutus about a possible Tutsi rebellion



# The Darfur Conundrum



# Identity cleavages

Arabs	Africans
Habania, Beni Hussein	Fur, Zaghawa, Massalit
Pastoralists	Farmers
Muslims	

# Background roots of conflict

## I .Ecological

- Darfur is ecologically fragile - desertification
- Nomadic vs. sedentary communities
- 1970s-1980s droughts; mid-1980s famine

# Background roots of conflict

## 2. Political

- Domestic: neglect of Darfur continues after independence
- International: Chad/Libya/Sudan

# Who is involved?

- February 2003: JEM and SLA attack
- Different actors involved:
  - Rebel forces: JEM and SLA
  - Government forces: military; popular defense forces; irregular forces
  - Other armed groups taking advantage of turmoil: armed bandits, criminal gangs from both sides of the Chad-Sudan border

# Janjaweed

- Amalgamation of Arabic words for outlaw, horse and gun
- Armed Abala and Baggara (Sudanese Arab groups) herders whom government had begun directing in suppression of a Massalit uprising in 1996-9.
- Part of government's counter-insurgency strategy
- But the word is loaded



# What are the causes?

Big question: “what was it that turned limited, low-intensity conflicts between, and within, the pastoral and arable farming groups in Darfur into a well-organized, well-armed and well-resourced rebellion?” (Hoile, p. 15)



# Summarizing the causes

- Racism
- Underdevelopment
- Political marginalization of groups
- Fear of secession
- Political Competition in Khartoum

# Darfur Peace Agreement

- 2006 Darfur Peace Agreement, or Abuja Agreement, signed by Sudan Liberation Movement and Sudanese Government
- 2011 Doha Agreement signed between Liberation and Justice Movement and Sudanese Government
- Continued conflict

# Darfur: was it genocide?

- US called Darfur genocide in 2004
- But UN panel in 2005 found no genocide but that “crimes against humanity” had been committed in a “counterinsurgency” operation
- Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch stopped short of calling it genocide
- In 2009 the ICC charged al-Bashir with crimes against humanity and war crimes, not genocide
- In 2010, ICC issued a second warrant for Bashir for genocide
- “Applying the definition of genocide... to a real life situation is exhausting. “Intent” is a hard thing to figure out.” (Sharma)

# The problem with “Genocide”

- How do you know/prove it's genocide?
- Geostrategic considerations determine whether or not it's genocide
- Political groups (e.g. Communists) excluded
- Pedestrian usage (de Waal)
- Detracts from solutions (Kasfir)

# Do these semantics matter?

- The label compels a response
- But
  - Not the case in reality
  - Responsibility to Protect doctrine should override this
- Symbolic value of the word

Q: Which of the following factors explain genocide in both Darfur and Rwanda?

- a. Strong state
- b. Political competition
- c. Radio
- d. Ancient ethnic hatred



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