



Considerations From Rwanda Genocide

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Have You Seen a Film About Rwanda Genocide?

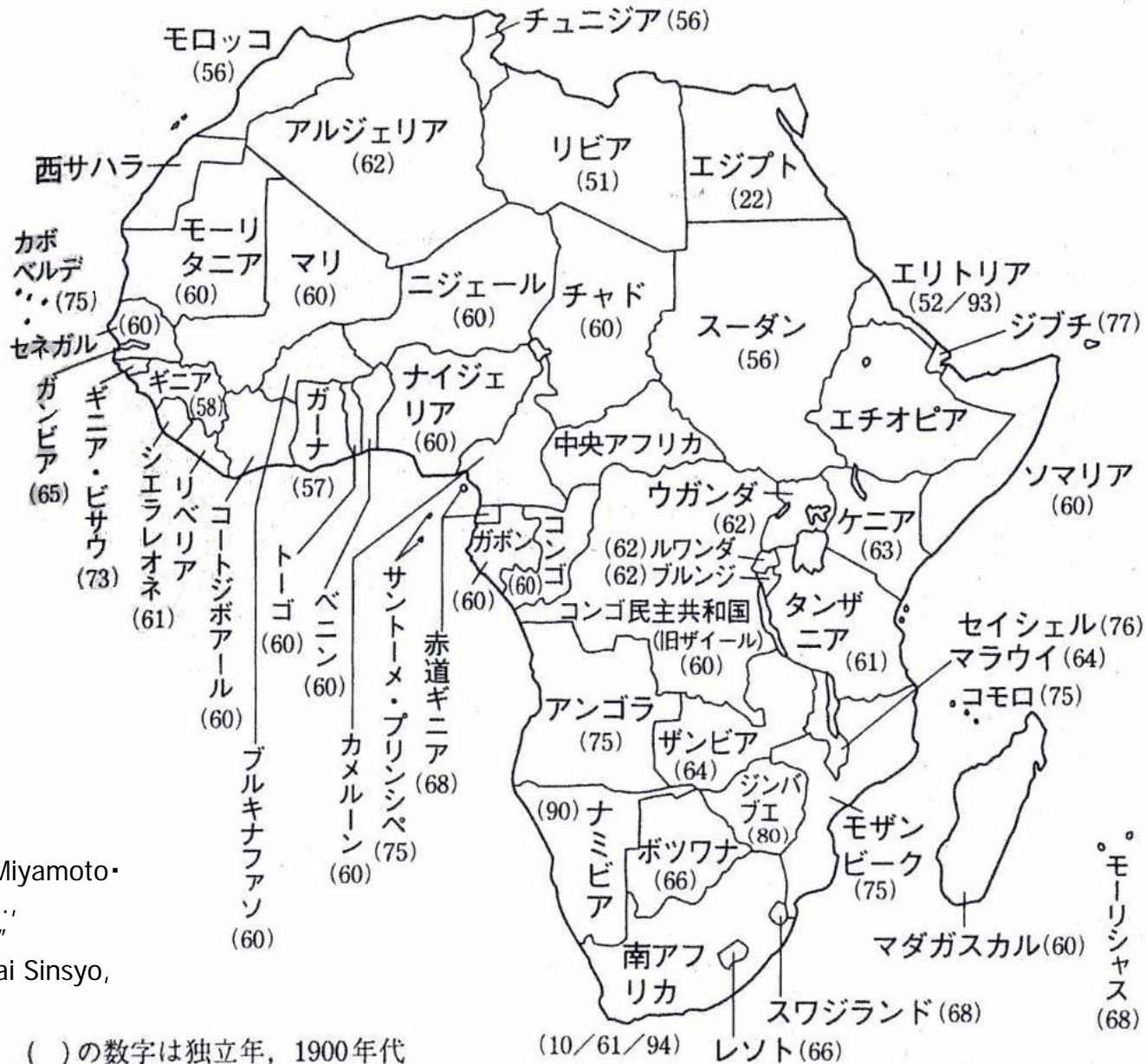
- *Hotel Rwanda* (US2005, Japan 2006)
- *Shooting Dogs* (UK2006, Japan 2007)
(*Shooting Dogs*)
- In April 2007, a Rwanda Film Festival was held



What Happened in Rwanda?

- On April 6, 1994, triggered by the assassination of President Habyarimana, Rwandan genocide of Tutsis occurred within the Central African nation of Rwanda.
- Within 100 days, between 500 and 800 thousand people were killed (at that time, the Rwandan population was approximately 7.5 million. 70-80% of the Tutsi population was assumed to be killed.)
- UN PKO employed there was unable to cope with it, and they were forced to withdraw

Contemporary African Nations (1997, 6)



source: Masaaki Miyamoto·
Motoji Matuda ed.,
"History of Africa"
Koudansya Gendai Sinsyo,
1997, p.510.

()の数字は独立年, 1900年代

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What Does it Mean?

Some Questions

- WHY did it happen?
- WHY does ethnic conflict occur?
- WHY do conflicts often happen in Africa?



What Sort of “Ethnic Conflict” Was it?

- Tutsis were killed, because they were Tutsis.
 - Indiscrimination, genocide
- But, Hutus were also killed.
 - Prime Minister, Minister of Agriculture, Minister of Information, and ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs etc.
 - They belonged to the opposition party, and tried to implement a peace agreement with opponents of the Civil War (RPF, Rwandan Patriot Front).
 - Both Tutsis and Hutus were killed by being labeled as pro-RPF.



Tutsi, Hutu, Twa

- Several social groups make up the Rwandan population
- Population ratio. Tutsi (15%), Hutu (84%), Twa (1%)
- Nationalities are distinguished → reasons?
 - Language, religion, residence, work, body shape
 - History has distinguished them.



What is the RPF?

- The anti-government force that invaded from Uganda (North of Rwanda) in 1990. (In 1990, Civil War began)
- Tustis make up the core of this force.
- Children of refugees from Rwanda during conflicts for independence make up the core.
- Hutu also participated. (Having grievances against President Habyarimana)



What Are the Conflicts of Independence?

- Conflicts between supporters of UNAR (mainly Tutsis) and of PARMEHUTU (mainly Hutus) began to expand as the national strife grew in 1959 (Three years prior to independence).
- Hutu-centered party (PARMEHUTU) assumed the power under the colonial government. Tutsis became refugees.



Why Did Conflicts Occur at the End of the Colonial Period? (I)

Influence of Colonial Policies

- Differences and distinctions: to make ambiguous ethnic differences strict and rigid. Only Tutsi were hired as administrative officers
Complaints came from Hutu elites
- Influences of the European race theory (the Hamitic Hypothesis) :
“Hamitic race brought civilization in Africa”
“Tutsis are a Hamitic race”, “Hutus are an African Native race”
- Europeans tried to establish administrative structure by understanding Rwandan traditional society through a Europeans way of thinking.
- Ideas transformed into reality under asymmetrical power relationship of colonialism.



Why Did Conflicts Occur at the End of the Colonial Period? (II)

■ Influence of international politics

- Within international society after WWII, possession of colonies was never seen as justified.
- UN: demand to prepare independences
 - Criticism to minorities' occupation of power
- Belgium: Supported majority participation in politics
 - When the Tutsi party and the Hutu party collided politically, Belgium backed the Hutu. This determined the political regime after independence.



Rwanda After Independence

- Hutu's political elites occupied power
- Refugees never allowed to return
- RPF was established by the second generation of refugees grown up in Uganda. Some Hutus who had complaints against President Habyarimana also joined. Invasion (1990)
- Crisis feelings of keystones of Habyarimana power
Ethnic demagoguery. Organization of the militia triggered by assassination of Habyarimana, genocide was ordered

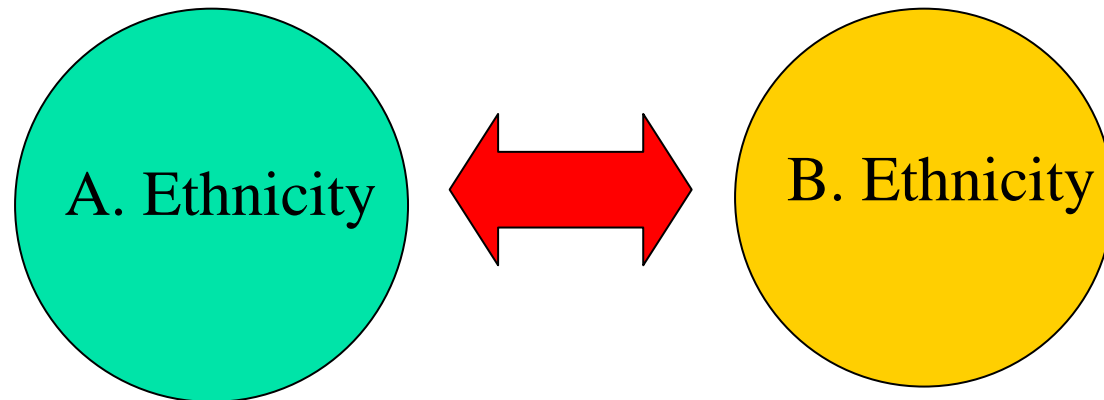


“Ethnic Groups” in Africa

- They transformed themselves during the colonial era.
 - Tutsi and Hutu in Rwanda: groups’ boundary became strict, creating antagonism
 - Luhya, Kalenjin (Kenya): organized mainly by college students in 1930s, and high school students in 1940s. (trans-nationalization)
- Connections with the center of government
 - How are boundaries of “ethnicity” determined?



Image of “Ethnic Conflicts” 1



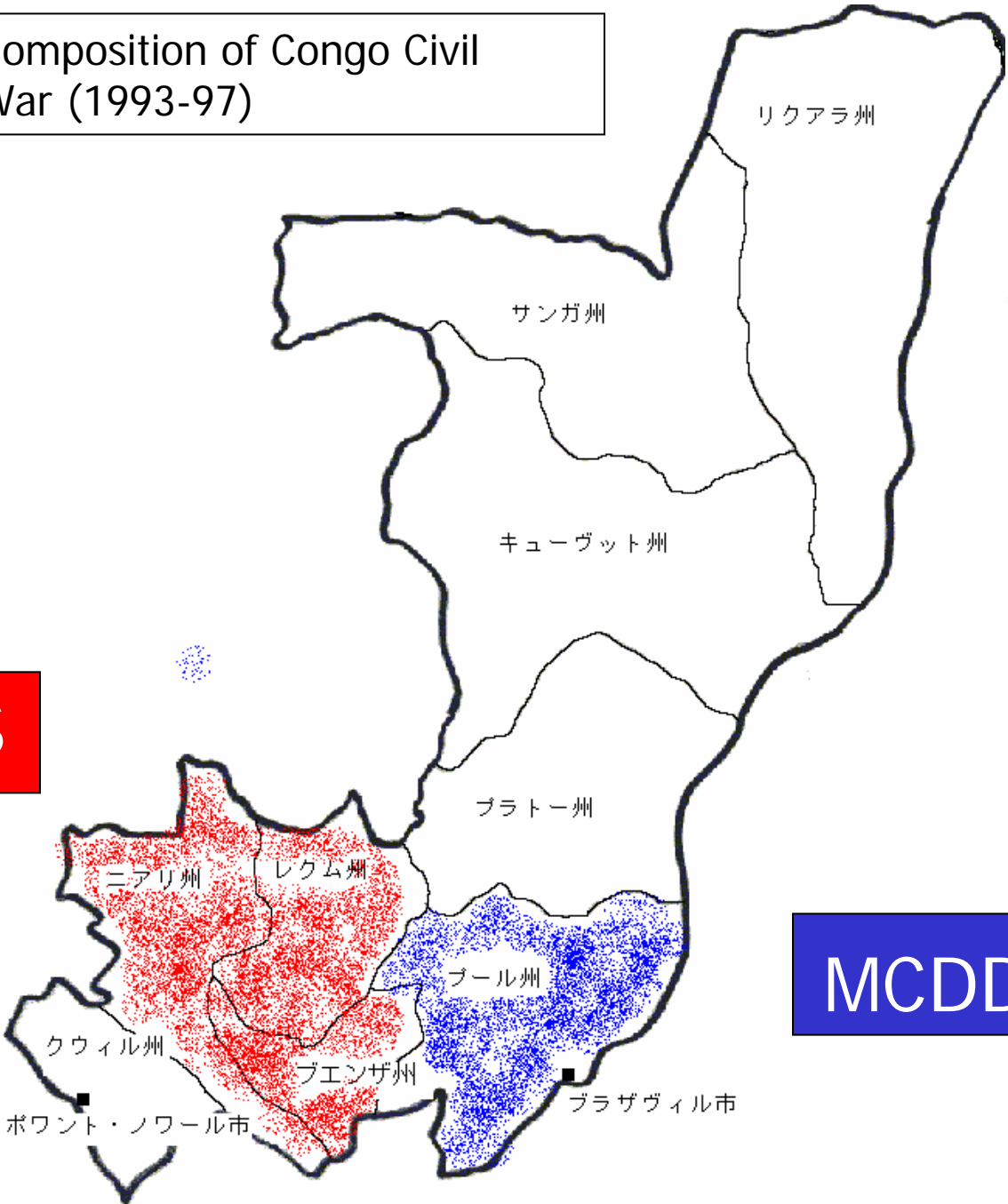
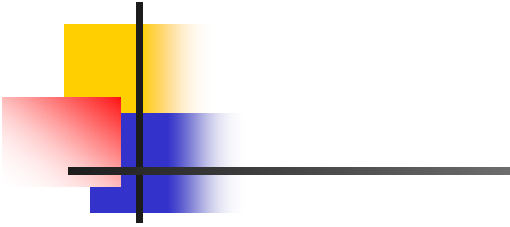
Sources: Takeuchi,S.



Case: Congo Conflict (Brazzaville)

- The Presidential election in 1992. New president was elected.
- Parties of new president, and parties of former president.
- The new and the former president were supported by specific regions (tribes) respectively
- Due to conflicts growing, militia was organized in the capital. Human connection which put powerful politicians atop was formed (Patron Client Network).
- Conflicts led by militia. A look of coldness at urban area.

Composition of Congo Civil War (1993-97)

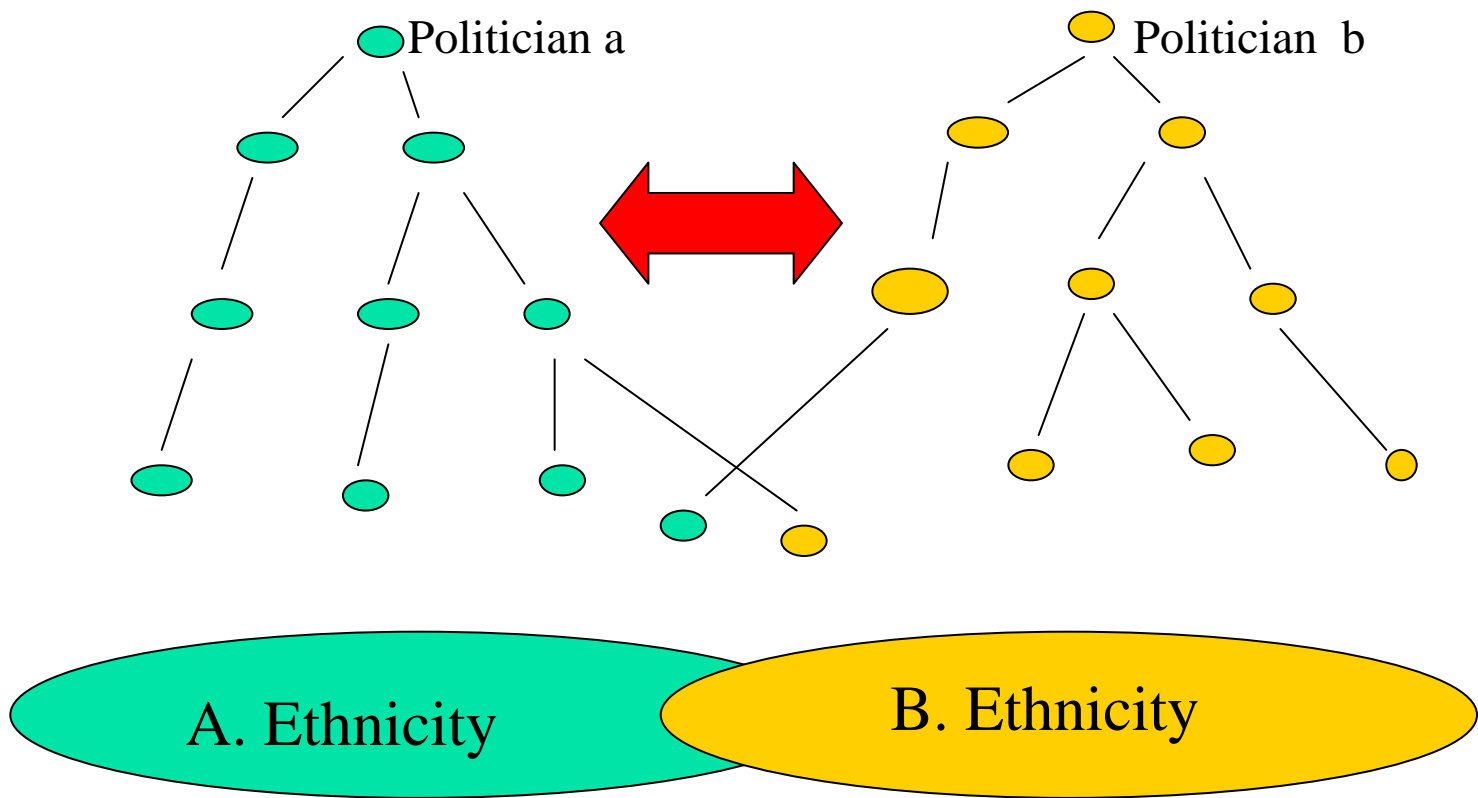


UPADS

MCDDI

source: Takeuchi, S.

Image of “Ethnic Conflicts” 2



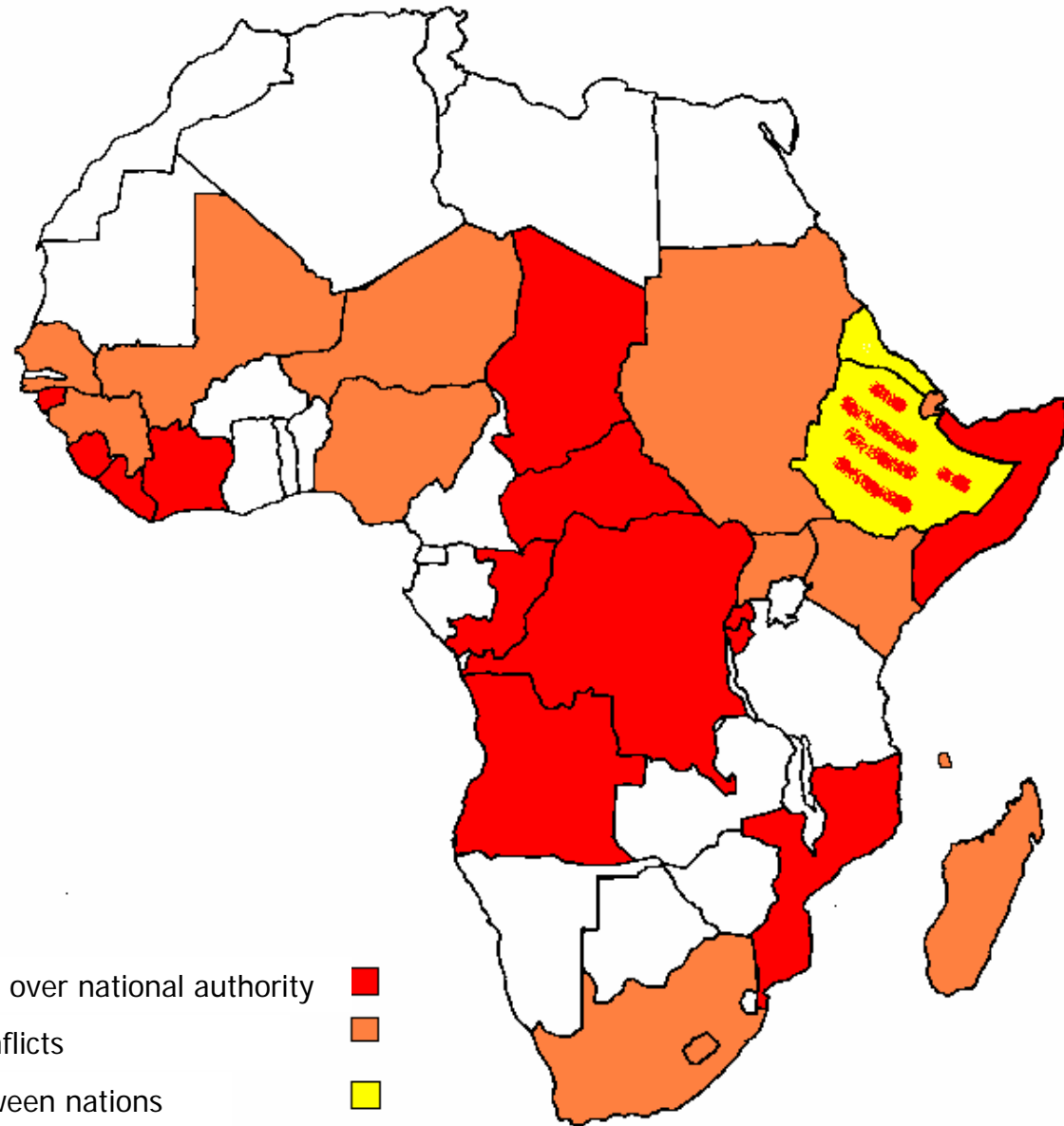
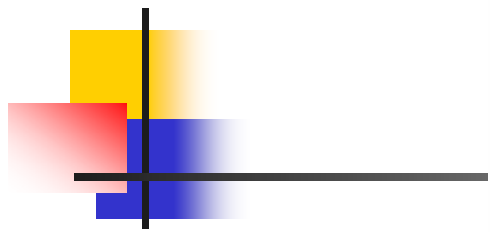
Source: Takeuchi, S.



“Ethnic Conflicts” Happen by the National (political) Race for Power

- Africa after 1990s: Frequent Conflicts
 - Rwanda, Liberia, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Kinshasa), Burundi, Somalia...
 - Rwandan Genocide was an ultimate form of “ethnic conflicts” that happened in Africa during 1990s.
 - Civil War, domestic conflicts
 - Conflicts over who will assume national authority

Conflicts of Sub-Saharan Africa Post Cold-War Period



Conflicts over national authority



Local conflicts



War between nations



Source:
Takeuchi, S.



Nations in Africa

- Before conflicts occurred, what sort of nations (political authority) was there?
- On African research, discussions over the nation was piling up.
 - Neo-patrimonial state
 - Post-colonial state (violence)
 - Quasi-state



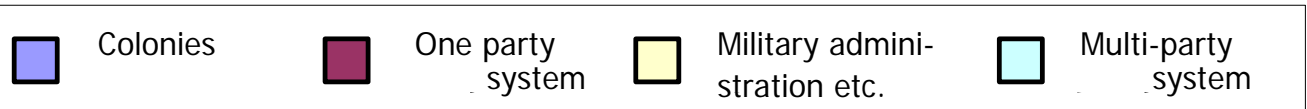
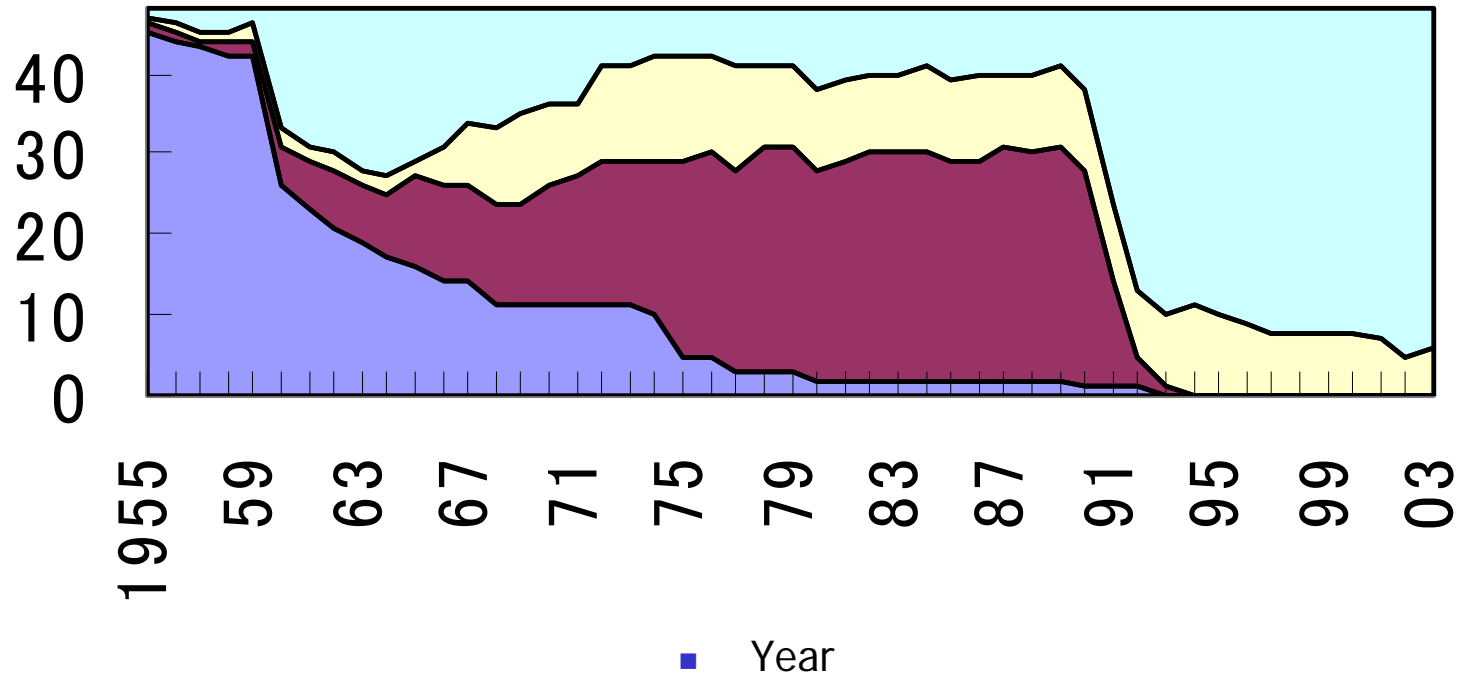
Impact on Governance

- Change after 1980s
- Economic crisis
- Liberal economy (structural adjustment policy)
- Political liberalism policy: the end of the Cold War and change of assistant policy

Any policies act to weaken Patron-Client Network

■ Figure 1. Changes of Political Regimes in the Countries of Africa

■ The Number of Countries



Sources: Shiniti Takeuchi, *Political Changes Over Africa at Pre- cold war – Political Freedom and Conflicts* "International Politics" , vol.140, p.91.



Why Did Conflict in Africa Happen Frequently in the 1990s?

- One important factor is that Patron-Client Network which conventionally backed up African nations from the inside was weakened by its impact, and its impact made governances unstable.
- Along the race of political power, “ethnicity” was mobilized through Patron-Client Network.

Mystery of Rwandan Genocide

— Why were so many people mobilized
by this genocide? —

- Hatred between ethnicities
 - Ex) radio. But, this is tended to be denied.
- Poverty, interests
 - To steal land and property.
- Fear of PRF
 - PRF will deprive them of their land and property.
- Fear of higher authority
 - Various harassment can be predicted



Genocide Research

- Why Did “Normal People” Join in Slaughtering Others ?
 - Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*
 - Stanley Milgram, *Obedience to Authority: An Experimental View* (subjection to authority)
 - Daniel J. Goldhagen, *Hitler’s Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*. (ethnic hatred)
 - Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (fellow feeling)



The End

– And, If You Have Further Interest...

- There are so many great teachers at the Tokyo University Komaba campus!
 - Theory of International Relationship, African Studies, Genocide Studies, and Peace Building studies
- Please refer to this following website of the Institute of Developing Economies Approaches to “developing” issues
<http://www.ide.go.jp/Japanese/>
Come visit the library.