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PAPER 1

Conflict and Intervention

Mike Wells and Nick Fellows

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Mike Wells and Nick Fellows

Series editor: Allan Todd

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Introduction

1

This book is designed to prepare students taking the Paper 1 topic, Conflict and Intervention (Prescribed Subject 5) in the IB History examination. It will examine the history of conflict and intervention in the late 20th century by looking at two case studies, from two different regions of the world. **Both** of these cases studies must be studied. The first case study focuses on the conflict and intervention in Rwanda; the second case study explores the conflict and intervention in Kosovo. Each case study will examine **three** main aspects relating to these two examples of conflict and intervention.

- Causes of the conflict and intervention.
- Actions/events of the conflict and intervention.
- Impact of the conflict and intervention.

In particular, these case studies will examine the significance of long-term causes of ethnic tensions and the impact of political change. In addition, the reasons for the growth of resentments among different groups, and the impact of policies followed by national and local leaders will be assessed. The reasons for international action and its impact not only on the affected areas but also on international relations and future policies will be considered. The impact of violent conflict on the countries involved – Rwanda and Kosovo/Yugoslavia – will be considered.

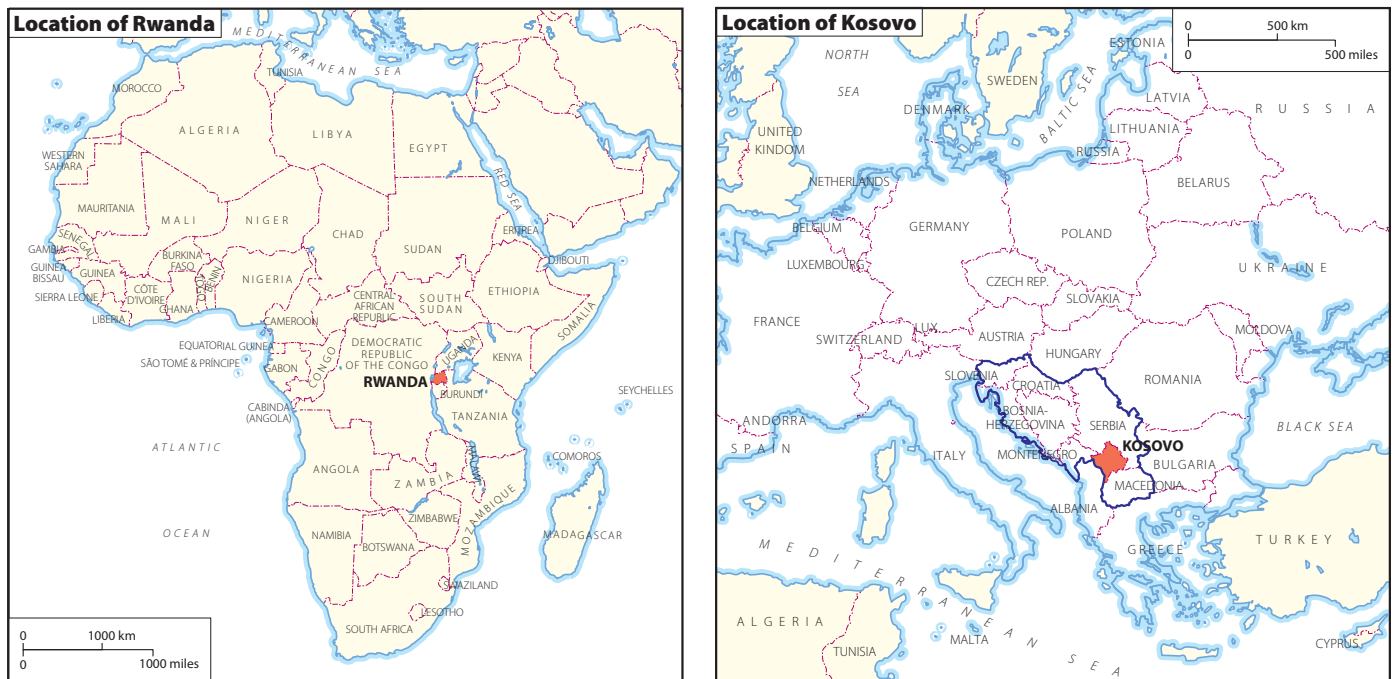


Figure 1.1 Maps showing the location of Rwanda and Kosovo. Yugoslavia began to break up after 1991–92 and Serbia and Montenegro formed the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY)

Themes

To help you prepare for your IB History exams, this book will cover the main themes and aspects relating to Conflict and Intervention as set out in the IB History Guide. The focus of the two case studies is on the major areas shown below:

- The historical background to the ethnic, political, economic and social problems of Rwanda, and how they developed particularly in the period after gaining independence in the 1960s.
- The development of ethnic tensions in the 1980s and the link to calls for political change from the international community.
- The impact of the death of President Habyarimana and how it led to the 100 days of genocide.
- The responses to the death of the president, both within Rwanda and from the international community.
- The scale and extent of the genocide.
- The impact of the Rwandan civil war on developments in Rwanda and neighbouring African states.
- The attempt to bring about reconciliation through the justice system in Rwanda and the International Criminal Tribunal.
- The historical background to the Kosovo crisis and the importance of Kosovo in the history of the Balkans.
- The effect of communist rule on Kosovo and the changes made after the end of the Tito regime.
- The impact of the constitutional changes made by Slobodan Milosevic and the rise of Kosovan-Albanian nationalism during the 1990s.
- The emergence of armed conflict between the Kosovo Liberation Army and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.
- The escalating conflict and the attempts of the international community to mediate, and the failure of the Rambouillet Conference.
- The reasons for NATO intervention and how far it was justified.
- The impact of the intensification of the conflict and the 78-day NATO bombing campaign on the region and why Milosevic stopped the conflict.
- The economic, social and political effects of the conflict and of the United Nations peacekeeping force.

Key Concepts

Each chapter will help you to focus on the main issues and compare the main developments relating to the two case studies. In addition, at various points in the

chapters, there will be questions and activities that will help you focus on the six Key Concepts – these are:

- Change
- Continuity
- Causation
- Consequence
- Significance
- Perspectives

Sometimes a question might require you to address two Key Concepts. For instance: ‘Examine the reasons for NATO’s attack on Serbia in 1999, and the immediate consequences of this action.’ It is immediately clear with this question that the Key Concept of Consequence must be addressed in your answer. However, it is important to note that although the word ‘causes’ does not explicitly appear in the question, words such as ‘why’ or ‘reasons’ nonetheless are asking you to address Causation as well.

To help you focus on the six Key Concepts and gain experience of writing answers that address them, you will find a range of different questions and activities throughout this book.

Theory of Knowledge

In addition to the broad key themes, the chapters contain Theory of Knowledge links to get you thinking about aspects that relate to History, which is a Group 3 subject in the IB Diploma.

At times, the controversial nature of this topic has affected the historians writing about these states, the leaders involved and the policies and actions taken. Thus, questions relating to the selection of sources, and to differing interpretations of these sources by historians, have clear links to the IB Theory of Knowledge course.

For example, when trying to explain aspects of the foreign policies followed by leaders, their motives and their actions, historians must decide which evidence to select and use to make their case – and which evidence to leave out. But to what extent do the historians’ personal views influence their decisions when they select what they consider to be the most important or relevant sources, and when they make judgements about the value and limitations of specific sources or sets of sources? Is there such a thing as objective ‘historical truth’? Or are there just a range of subjective historical opinions and interpretations about the past, which vary according to the political interests and leanings of individual historians?

You are therefore encouraged to read a range of books offering different interpretations of the different possible causes of the conflicts and the significance of the events and the debates about the nature of and justification for the interventions during the

Fact: Apart from historians having different historical approaches – such as emphasising the role of individuals or the significance of economic developments – many historians have political beliefs and approaches. For instance, historians might be strongly attached to liberal principles, see capitalism as the best system, or have Marxist beliefs.

Introduction

period covered by this book in order to gain a clear understanding of the relevant historiographies (see Further Information).

IB History and Paper 1 questions

Paper 1 and sources

Unlike Papers 2 and 3, which require you to write essays using just your own knowledge, Paper 1 questions are source-based. Whether you are taking Standard or Higher Level, the sources, the questions – and the markschemes applied by your examiners – are the same.

To answer these questions successfully, you need to be able to combine the use of your own knowledge with the ability to assess and use a range of sources in a variety of ways. Each Paper 1 examination question is based on four sources – usually three written and one visual. The latter might be a photograph, a cartoon, a poster, a painting or a table of statistics.

Captions and attributions

Before looking at the types of sources you will need to assess, it is important to establish one principle from the beginning. This is the issue of captions and attributions – these are the pieces of information about each source provided by the Chief Examiner.

Captions and attributions are there for a very good reason, as they give you vital information about the source. For instance, they tell you who wrote it and when, or what it was intended to do. Chief Examiners spend a lot of time deciding what information to give you about each source, because they know it will help you give a full answer, so they expect you to make good use of it! Yet, every year, even good candidates throw away easy marks because they do not read – or do not use – this valuable information.

Essentially, you are being asked to approach the various sources in the same way that a historian would approach them. This means not just looking carefully at what they say or show, but also asking yourself questions about how reliable, useful and/or typical they might be. Many of the answers you need to provide to these questions come from the information provided in the captions and attributions.

Types of source

Most of the sources you will have to assess are written ones, which are sometimes referred to as ‘textual’ sources. They might be extracts from books, official documents, speeches, newspapers, diaries or letters. Whatever type of source you are reading, the general questions you need to ask about them are the same. These questions concern the content (the information the source provides), its origin (who wrote or produced the source, when and why) and its possible limitations and value, as a result of the answers to those questions.

Although visual (or non-textual) sources are clearly different from written sources in some respects, the same questions and considerations are relevant.

Theory of Knowledge

History and evidence:

Winston Churchill (1874–1965) once said: *‘History will be kind to me, for I intend to write it.’* In trying to reconstruct the past, historians are faced with several problems: apart from too little or too much material, how useful or reliable are the pieces of evidence with which historians deal? As an example of the relative value of a source for finding out about a particular event, ask yourself this question: is a recent history book about an event more valuable than a speech made at the time of that event?

Approaching sources as a set

As well as developing the ability to analyse individual sources, it is important also to look at the four sources provided as a set. This means looking at them all to see to what extent they agree or disagree with each other.

This ability to look at the four sources together is particularly important when it comes to the last question in the exam paper – the one where you need to use the sources and your own knowledge to assess the validity of a statement or assertion, or to analyse the significance of a particular factor. Here, you need to build an answer – along the lines of a ‘mini-essay’ – which combines precise knowledge with specific comments about the sources. Try to avoid falling into the trap of dealing with all the sources first, and then giving some own knowledge (as an afterthought) that is not linked to the sources.

Exam skills

If all this sounds a bit daunting, don’t worry! Throughout the main chapters of this book, there are activities and questions to help you develop the understanding and the exam skills necessary for success. Before attempting the specific exam practice questions that come at the end of each main chapter, you might find it useful to refer first to Chapter 8, the final Exam Practice chapter. This suggestion is based on the idea that if you know where you are supposed to be going (in this instance, gaining a good grade) and how to get there, you stand a better chance of reaching your destination!

Questions and markschemes

To ensure that you develop the necessary understanding and skills, each chapter contains questions in the margins. In addition, Chapter 8 is devoted to exam practice. It provides help and advice for all Paper 1 questions and for Paper 2 essay questions, and sets out worked examples for Paper 1 judgement questions and for Paper 2 essays. Worked examples for the remaining three Paper 1-type questions (comprehension, value and limitations, and cross-referencing) are to be found at the end of Chapters 2–7.

In addition, simplified markschemes have been provided, to make it easier for you to understand what examiners are looking for in your answers. The actual IB History markschemes can be found on the IB website.

Finally, you will find activities, along with examiners’ tips and comments, to help you focus on the important aspects of the questions. These examples will also help you avoid simple mistakes and oversights that, every year, result in even some otherwise good students failing to gain the highest marks.

Background to the conflicts and interventions

To fully understand developments, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the background to both conflicts.

Introduction

Rwanda

Central Africa

Rwanda is situated in central Africa and is one of the smallest countries in both the area and on the African continent. The region contains a range of ethnic groups who have fought against one another over the past centuries.

Ethnic divisions

Rwanda is made up of three ethnic groups: the Hutu, Tutsi and Twa. It is the first two who make up the bulk of the population, with the Hutu consisting of some 90 per cent of the population and the Tutsi just 9 per cent.

European rule

In the late 19th century, much of Africa was ruled over by European states, particularly Britain, France, Germany, Belgium and Portugal. They drew up the present boundaries, which often cut across different cultures and resulted in strange combinations of people. They also brought in their own languages and religion, which means some states still speak English or French and are devoutly Christian.

Independence

In the 1960s, European powers began to leave Africa and the states were given their independence. This was often followed by armed struggles as different groups and tribes attempted to achieve political dominance. It was the Hutu who gained power and many Tutsi fled, often to Burundi or Uganda.

Expectations

Independence was warmly welcomed in the African states, but expectations were high now that freedom had been achieved. There was economic growth in the 1960s and 1970s with accompanied improvements in education, literacy and healthcare. At first, Rwanda appeared to fit into this pattern and gave the impression of being a well-run country, but there was discrimination and the Tutsi were gradually removed from influence. By the 1980s, the optimism had started to disappear and poverty was a common characteristic of many of the countries.

Political change

In July 1973, Juvénal Habyarimana, an army general, seized power. He established his own political party, the National Revolutionary Movement for Development (MRND) and they soon dominated every aspect of life in the country.

Opposition

Many Tutsi had already fled to Uganda, but with unrest there, many wanted to return to Rwanda. They had developed military skills fighting in the Ugandan civil wars and now founded an army, the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF), which was dedicated to returning the exiles to Rwanda.

Population growth

Many of the African countries have witnessed a rapid growth in population, Rwanda was no exception, and this has resulted in increased pressure on the land. With many

states, such as Rwanda, dependent upon agriculture, there was little industry to absorb the growing population and the result had been an increase in poverty. This was made worse in Rwanda by a collapse in the price of coffee, the staple product of the country.

Invasion and civil war, October 1990

The growing problems in Rwanda encouraged the RPF to launch an invasion in October 1990. Although the invasion was defeated, a ceasefire was agreed that allowed several hundred RPF fighters to remain in Rwanda.

Strengthening of the Rwandan army

After the invasion, the Rwandan government – with outside aid, particularly from France – began to increase its army. Not only did this strengthen government forces, but it was used to round up many of the remaining Tutsis.

The Arusha Accords, 1993

This led to calls from the international community for political change in Rwanda. In order to get aid, Habyarimana was forced to sign the Arusha Accords in August 1993, in which he promised to move towards multi-party elections and to integrate the RPF into the Rwandan army. The United Nations (UN) agreed to support these developments and sent a force of 2,500 men (UNAMIR). However, these agreements were unpopular with many of the president's supporters, who feared a return of the Tutsis to power. In 1994, the president signed a second agreement promising to bring the Tutsis into government. As a result, his supporters made the decision to get rid of him and it was his death that was the trigger for the genocide.

Kosovo

The Balkans

This was one of the most complex and fought-over regions of Europe. It was a battleground between Islamic and Christian forces as the Turks penetrated into Europe in the Middle Ages. The battle of Kosovo Plain in 1389 had enormous emotional significance for the region.

The Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire with its capital in Constantinople (Istanbul) extended from South-East Europe to the Middle East. Its conquests left a considerable Muslim population in the Balkans. In the 19th century, Greece and Serbia established their independence from the Ottomans and looked towards Russia as their protector. As the Ottoman Empire declined, the Balkan nationalities wanted to assert their independence. This was one of the major causes of conflict.

The Balkan wars of 1912–13

This led to an enlarged state of Serbia, which was supported by Russia but was a source of anxiety to Austria-Hungary, who supported the creation of an independent state of Albania as a counterbalance. Thus conflicts between Serbs and Albanians, which had a long history were made worse by the intervention of foreign powers.

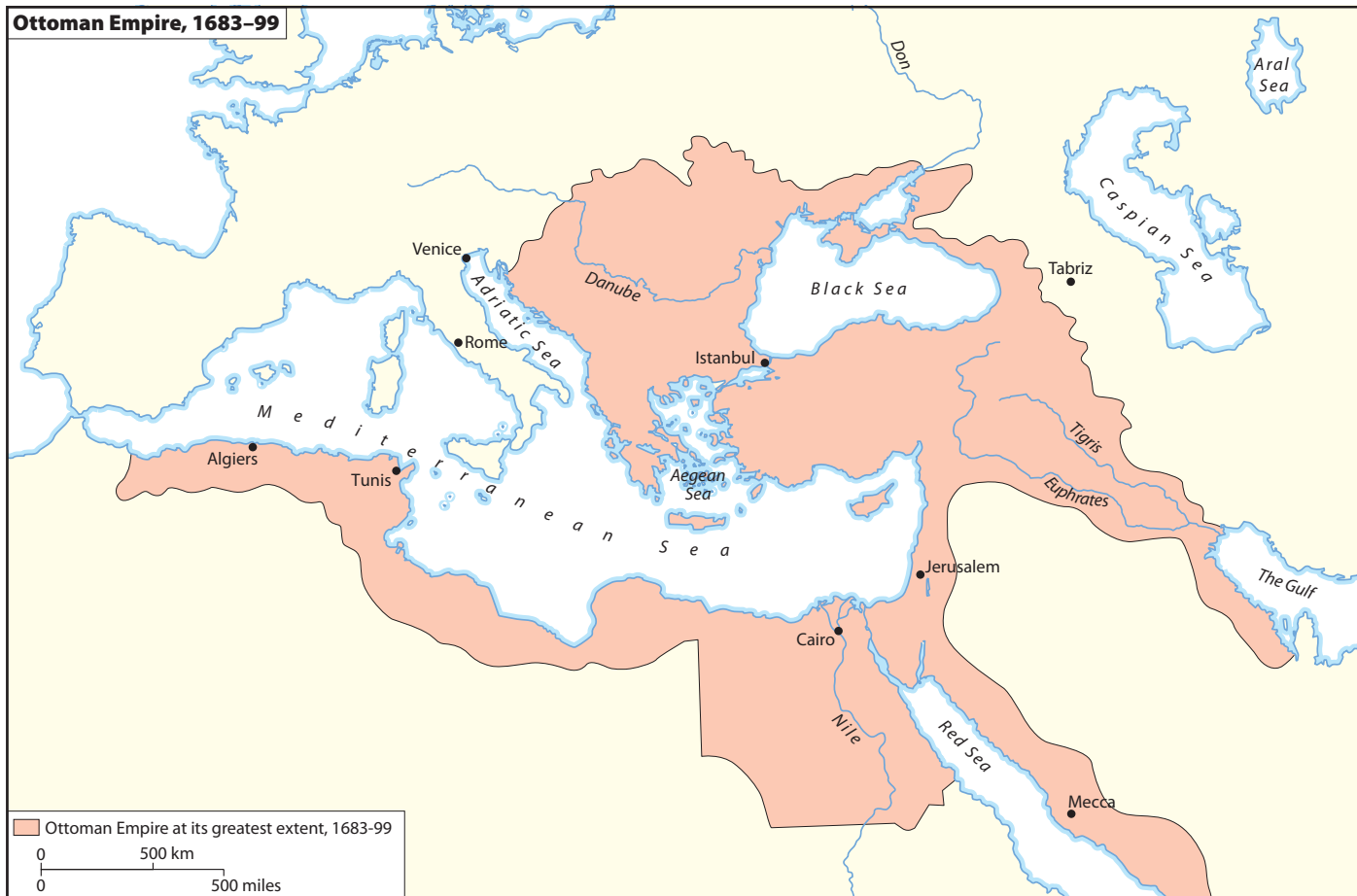


Figure 1.2 The Ottoman Empire

The First World War, 1914–18

Events in the Balkans set off the First World War, as a Serb assassinated the heir to the Austrian throne. Austria occupied Serbia and the Albanians living in Serbia were blamed. There was a great deal of ethnic violence during and after the war.

The impact of the new nation-state

The post-1918 peace treaties created a new state of Yugoslavia including Serbs, Croats, Albanians and Slovenes. Kosovo was part of this new kingdom. However, when Italy invaded Albania and Yugoslavia before and during the Second World War, ethnic conflicts increased, with bitter fighting between the different ethnic groups.

Communism

The post-war state of Yugoslavia was communist, but not dominated by the USSR. Marshal Tito, the ruler, maintained Yugoslavia's independence, and the federal structure established after 1945 reduced ethnic conflict. The individual parts of Yugoslavia got a large degree of local self-government.

The fall of communism in Eastern Europe during 1989, and then the collapse of the Soviet Union at the end of 1991, led to a revival of nationalism in former communist

states. This was exacerbated by the financial terms imposed by the Western banks and governments from which Yugoslavia had borrowed large sums during the 1980s. The nationalist revival was particularly strong in Serbia and led to renewed conflict in Kosovo where the Serbs were a dwindling minority. The Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic was eager to protect the Serbs and made changes to the Yugoslav constitution to restrict the rights of the Albanian majority in Kosovo. This led to a two-tier system – the official government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and an unofficial shadow administration for the Albanians under their moderate and peaceful leader Ibrahim Rugova.

However, the situation changed with the development of a more militant group – the Kosovo Liberation Army who favoured ‘direct action’, seen as terrorism by the Yugoslavs.

The Yugoslav civil wars

The old federal Yugoslavia fell apart thanks to the demands of the national groups – the Croats and the Bosnians – for self-government. Clashes with ethnic Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia led to bloodshed and international intervention. With the encouragement of Germany – but not the EU – Croatia and Slovenia broke away; finally, US pressure and military intervention led to the Dayton Accords and the independence of Bosnia in 1995. This did not make any arrangement for Kosovo.

Interventions

Before 1939, international intervention to keep the peace had been limited because the most significant international body, the League of Nations, had no army and the USA was not a member. For a large part of the League’s life, the USSR was also not a member and the expansionist powers, Italy, Germany and Japan all left during the 1930s. The UN – set up at the end of the Second World War – did not have those omissions, but the Security Council required unanimous support for intervention. Its major intervention had been the Korean War in 1950–3, made possible only by a temporary Russian absence from the Security Council and the heavy support given by the USA to defending South Korea from invasion by the communist North that, following the invasion by US/UN forces into North Korea, was supported by China.

Terminology and definitions

Communism

Communism refers to the far-left political ideology associated with Karl Marx (1818–83) and Friedrich Engels (1820–95), which aimed to overthrow capitalism and replace it with a classless communist society. Marx never referred to himself as a ‘Marxist’ – instead, he used the term ‘communist’, which indicated the ultimate ideal society.

Communism should not be confused with socialism. Although the two ideologies have some common aims, socialism focuses on achieving these aims by peaceful means, such as holding elections. Another difficult aspect to grasp as regards ‘communism’ is that the

Introduction

Table 1.1 Main UN interventions before 1999.

1948	Monitor ceasefire in Arab–Israeli war.
1949	Monitor ceasefire in Pakistan–India conflict in Kashmir.
1956	To supervise withdrawal of French, British and Israeli troops from Egypt.
1958	To stop troops and weapons entering Lebanon.
1960	Peacekeeping in Congo.
1962	To assist New Guinea transition from Dutch to Indonesian rule.
1964	To help end civil war in Yemen.
	To prevent conflict between Greeks and Turks in Cyprus.
1965	To keep peace in Dominican Republic civil war.
	Supervise India–Pakistan ceasefire.
1973	Supervise troop withdrawal from Sinai after Arab–Israeli war.
1974	To maintain Israel–Syria ceasefire.
1978	To help with restoration of local rule in Lebanon after Israeli withdrawal.
1988	To help enforce peace Pakistan–Afghanistan.
	Supervise Iran–Iraq ceasefire.
1989	Supervise Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola.
	Help Namibia’s transition to independence.
	Monitor ceasefire in Nicaragua.
1991	Enforce border between Kuwait and Iraq after Gulf War.
	Enforce ceasefire after Angola civil war.
	Enforce ceasefire after Nicaraguan civil war.
	Enforce ceasefire after El Salvador civil war.
	Prepare way for new UN transitional authority in Cambodia.
1992	UNPROFOR to protect minorities in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia.
	Monitor referendum for independence in Eritrea.
	Monitor ceasefire in Mozambique civil war.
1993	Assist with peacekeeping in Somalia.
	UNOMUR to enforce ceasefire between Rwanda and rebel group based in Uganda.
	Enforce ceasefire between Georgia and separatists.
	Enforce ceasefire in civil conflict in Liberia.
	Stabilise Haiti after civil unrest.
	UNAMIR to monitor ceasefire and help with relief efforts in Rwanda.
1994	Monitor Libyan withdrawal from disputed area in Chad.
1995	UNPREDEP military presence in Macedonia and monitor border with Albania.
1996	Supervise demilitarisation of disputed area in Croatia.
1997	Monitor ceasefire in Guatemala civil war.
1998	Monitor police activity in Croatia.
	Try to maintain stability in Central African Republic.
	Monitor disarmament in Sierra Leone.

term has meant – and still means – different things to different people: both to historians and to members and leaders of Communist Parties.

Although Communist Parties are seen as being ‘on the left’ in political terms, in practice Communist Parties – like all parties – are themselves divided into left, centre and right wings or factions. The origins of these latter political terms can be traced back to the early stages of the French Revolution in 1789. At this time, the most radical/revolutionary groups sat on the left side of the National Convention, while the most conservative ones sat on the right; the moderate political groups sat in the middle.

Whilst communism is seen – both by its adherents and by those opposed to this ideology – as being on the far left, communists view capitalism as being either moderate or far right, depending on the political circumstances and the prevailing forms of rule. For example, communists see both the modern USA and Nazi Germany simply as different forms of capitalism.

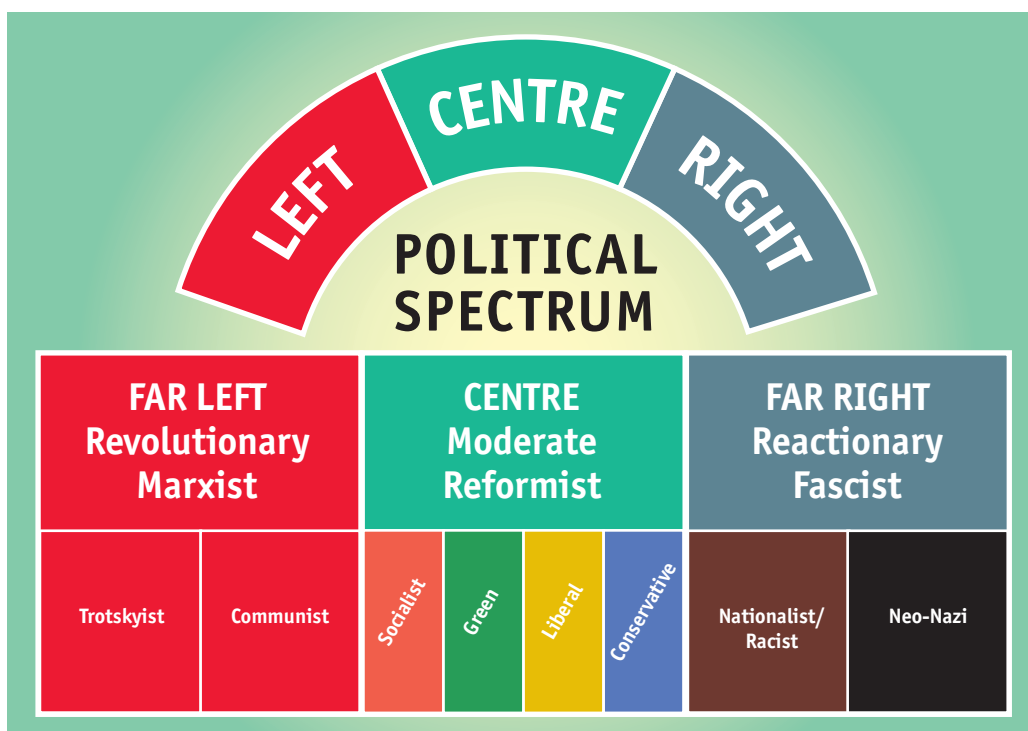


Figure 1.3 The political spectrum: left/centre/right

Capitalism

Essentially, this is an ideology that is based on the belief that the most important parts of a country’s economy – such as banks, industries and the land – should be owned and controlled by private individuals and/or companies. An important part of this belief is the view that the state, or government, should not be involved in the economy. In fact, in its early ‘liberal’ or ‘classical’ phase in the Industrial Revolution, it was believed that, apart from providing an army and (grudgingly) a police force, the government should not even provide social welfare. This, it was argued, helped ensure ‘freedom’. Consequently, some people refer to capitalism as a ‘free market’ or a ‘free enterprise economy’ – another term used to describe capitalism is a ‘market economy’.

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Although most capitalist states eventually developed as liberal political democracies, this was not always the case. Several capitalist states – such as Hitler’s Germany in the 1930s and 1940s, or Pinochet’s Chile in the 1970s and 1980s – were decidedly undemocratic. An indication of how capitalism can be undemocratic is provided by terms such as ‘state capitalism’, ‘bureaucratic capitalism’ or ‘authoritarian capitalism’.

Welfare capitalism

In its early forms, capitalist firms and individuals argued that prices, wages and employment should be determined by ‘market forces’ or ‘supply and demand’, not by government policies. Yet at the same time, many industrialists pushed for laws that either banned or restricted the formation of trade unions by employees.

However, during the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, these views were gradually modified in most Western European countries, and states began to provide such public services as education, old age pensions, welfare benefits and a health service. After 1945, the term ‘Keynesian economics’ was often used to describe this form of partially regulated capitalism.

Neo-liberal capitalism

In the 1980s, a more extreme version of capitalism emerged, which rejected Keynesian economics and that, in several ways, harked back to the early form of ‘classical’ unregulated capitalism. In most Western states, the ‘welfare capitalism’ that had emerged by the mid-20th century came increasingly under attack. In opposition to the welfare state, a return to ‘liberal’ capitalism was called for instead.

These moves involved calls for a ‘small’ state – i.e., one that allowed private firms to take over the provision of various public utilities and welfare services; in which taxation of profits was reduced; and the rights of trade unions were restricted. At first, the economic policy associated with this ‘rolling back’ of the state was often called ‘monetarism’, and was quickly adopted by Reagan’s government in the US and by Thatcher’s in Britain.

Such policies were based on the ideas of Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman, and other theorists linked to the Chicago School of Economics, who increasingly argued for an unrestricted capitalism and the privatisation of most publicly owned social services. During the 1990s, these policies were applied in post-Soviet Russia (and in the former East European states), and were often called economic ‘shock therapy’.

However, the move to privatisation in Yugoslavia after 1991 was much slower than in other East European states – this was especially true of Serbia, the biggest and most economically advanced part of Yugoslavia. Since then, these kinds of ideas and policies have usually been referred to as ‘neo-liberalism’, and have been associated with the austerity and privatisation programmes in many Western states following the 2008 banking failures. These ideas have also been closely associated with the spread of economic globalisation.

Ethnic cleansing

This is generally applied to any forced evacuation of minority national, ethnic, racial or religious groups from a particular area – often accompanied by threats and/or violence.

For instance, the attempts to remove ethnic Albanians from Serb areas came to be known by this term.

Genocide

This is now taken to mean the intent/attempt to destroy, in whole or in part, any national, ethnic, racial or religious group. This definition is based on the Geneva Conventions of 1948–9, and has been taken up by the International Criminal Court (ICC), which was set up in 2002 – in large part as a result of the conflicts in Rwanda and Kosovo. Its purpose is to prosecute those considered guilty of genocide, ethnic cleansing, crimes against humanity and war crimes. To date, 123 countries have fully signed up to accept the ICC. Although the US has signed the agreement to join, this has still not been ratified by the US government: thus the US remains, in effect, a non-member and does not fully accept the jurisdiction of the ICC.

Nationalism

This means a sense of belonging to and identifying with a nation or country: this involves feeling linked to all the other people who are part of the same nation. It involves feelings of sharing a common history, culture, values and language. In addition, there is a strong belief that the nation should have political self-determination. However, on occasions, nationalism can lead to the belief that the nation has the right to expand its territory at the expense of other nations. This is most likely to happen at times of economic or political crisis – and is often linked to increased militarism.

NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization)

Originally set up in Western Europe as the Brussels Treaty Organisation in 1948, against a perceived threat from the Soviet Union, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was formed when the US joined in 1949. From then on, NATO has always been a US-dominated military alliance, and a cornerstone of US foreign policy – especially as regards Europe. However with the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the end of the USSR in 1991, its original purpose made it seem to be possibly redundant. After 1991, although the Soviet Union disbanded its military alliance (the Warsaw Pact) in that year, the US was determined that NATO should forge a new active role for itself in the ‘new world order’ – both within and beyond Europe.

Self-determination

This refers to the idea that national groups should be able to form their own independent countries. Although self-determination was applied to some of the ethnic and national groups from the former Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires after the First World War, the claims of others were ignored. An aspect of ‘self-determination’ that falls short of creating a fully independent and separate state is ‘autonomy’. This arrangement grants some rights of self-government to national or ethnic groups within a larger state – for instance, ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, which formed part of Serbia within the new federal state of Yugoslavia. A federal state is a national state within which different regions have certain powers and enjoy a certain degree of autonomy from the national government. The USA is a federal state – as were both the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

Summary

By the time you have worked through this book, you should be able to:

- Understand why there was so much ethnic, economic and political tension in Rwanda and why this led to conflict.
- Understand how the Hutus took advantage of the death of President Habyarimana to attempt to increase their control of the country by removing all the Tutsis.
- Assess the scale and nature of the genocide within Rwanda.
- Assess why large numbers of the population of Rwanda were involved in acts of genocide.
- Show an awareness of why the conflict initially led to a reluctance on the part of the international community to become involved and the impact of that decision on events in Rwanda.
- Understand the impact of the conflict on states in central Africa.
- Understand why the international community finally intervened and the impact it has had on bringing about reconciliation.
- Understand why there was so much ethnic tension in Kosovo and why this led to conflict and intervention.
- Assess how far the conflict was a result of Serbian nationalism and the policies of the Milosevic regime and how far it was a result of increased Albanian nationalism and the development of organised resistance by the Albanians.
- Understand why the internal conflict in Kosovo led to intervention and why it was NATO rather than the UN that led the armed intervention and the UN that took responsibility for administering Kosovo.
- Assess why NATO intervened and why the campaign led to the withdrawal of Serb forces from Kosovo after 78 days of bombing.
- Understand the impact of the conflict on Kosovo and the region in terms of economic and physical damage.
- Understand the impact of UN occupation and the subsequent political developments that led to a new Kosovan government and assembly and to de facto Kosovan independence.
- Assess the responsibility for the conflict and whether the legal proceedings against Milosevic were justified.
- Understand the long-term effects of the intervention in terms of international politics and armed humanitarian intervention.

Causes of the conflict in Rwanda

2

Chapters 2–4 deal with the events surrounding the conflict and experiences in Rwanda between 1990 and 1998. They begin with the ethnic tensions in Rwanda and end with the establishment of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and the International Criminal Court and the first guilty plea for genocide in 1998.

This chapter considers the long- and short-term causes of the conflict in Rwanda, placing the developments in the context of the country's move to independence and the long-term struggles between the two main ethnic groups within the country, the Tutsis and Hutus. It will consider the extent to which the conflict was the result of the long-term ethnic tensions or whether it was the result of political and economic developments, before assessing the role of the death of President Habyarimana, which was the trigger for the conflict.

KEY QUESTIONS

- What were the long- and short-term causes of the ethnic tensions in Rwanda between the Hutus and Tutsis?
- Why was there ethnic conflict in Rwanda in the period from 1960 to 1980?
- What was the significance of events in Uganda and other African states as a cause of conflict in Rwanda?
- Why had civil war broken out in Rwanda in 1990?
- Why did the Arusha Accords fail to solve the problems in Rwanda?
- What was the significance of the deaths of President Habyarimana of Rwanda and President Ntaryamira of Burundi?

Overview

- Rwanda was composed of two main ethnic groups, the majority Hutu and the minority Tutsi.
- There had been conflict between the two groups during much of the 20th century before civil war broke out in 1990 as the majority Hutu resented the subservient role they had often played in the country.

TIMELINE

- 1884** Conference of Berlin assigns territory to Germany.
- 1919** Rwanda becomes part of Belgian Empire after World War One.
- 1935** Belgium introduces identity cards.
- 1959 November:** Hutu riots and arson attacks against Tutsi homes, start of Rwandan Revolution.
- 1960** Local elections gave Hutu parties control of nearly all communes.
- 1961** Hutu leader, Grégoire Kayibanda declares Rwanda an autonomous republic.
- 1962** Rwanda gains independence.
- 1963** Inyenzi attack advances close to Kigali.
- 1973** Army General Juvénal Habyarimana seizes power, killing Kayibanda.
- 1987 December:** Tutsis in Uganda form the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF).
- 1988** Fred Rwigyema takes control of the RPF.
- 1990 1 October:** Uganda launches invasion of exiles.
2 October: Rwigyema killed.
15 October: Paul Kagame takes control of the RPF.
- 1991 March:** Ceasefire signed.
- 1993 August:** Arusha Accords signed in Tanzania.
- 1994 April:** President Habyarimana forced to sign second agreement promising to integrate Tutsis into his government.
6 April: Plane carrying President Habyarimana of Rwanda and Burundi President Ntaryamira shot down as it approaches Rwandan capital, Kigali.

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- The Tutsi were also often economically and financially better-off than the Hutu and this caused further resentment.
- Rwanda gained independence in 1962 and it was the majority Hutu who dominated the government. They saw this as an opportunity to seek revenge against the previously dominant Tutsi, with many Tutsi fleeing to neighbouring African states, particularly Uganda.
- The Tutsi refugees who had fled Rwanda formed their own organisation, which soon had the aim of returning to Rwanda and taking back power.
- The economic downturn of the 1980s which particularly hit Rwanda with the fall in coffee prices created opposition to the government and encouraged the rebel refugee army to launch an invasion.
- The invasion was further encouraged by developments in Uganda, where there was growing resentment of the refugees.
- The invasion was not very successful, but the unrest within the country and economic chaos meant that International organisations put pressure on the Rwandan government to share power with the Tutsi. The President of Rwanda signed an agreement to do this in April 1994, but his plane was brought down when returning from the meeting.
- His death unleashed a wave of killings within the country, mostly of Tutsi by Hutu and therefore the civil war continued and a war of genocide also began.

2.1 What were the long- and short-term causes of the ethnic tensions in Rwanda between the Hutus and Tutsis?

Background

Rwanda is one of Africa's smallest countries, situated just south of the equator. To the north it is bordered by Uganda, while in the west is the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire), to the south is the small state of Burundi and in the east there is a short border with Tanzania.

The country is home to three African peoples whose origins can be traced back a long way. The earliest inhabitants were the Twa group, who today make up just 1 per cent of the country's population. They were aboriginal pygmy hunter-gatherers who, it is believed, settled in the area at some time between 8000 and 3000 BCE. However, at some point between 700 BCE and 1500 CE, Bantu groups moved into the area and began to clear some of the forested land for agriculture. This forced the Twa out and into the more mountainous regions of the country.

There are a number of differing views about the arrival of the two main groups into the country: the Hutu and Tutsi. The first interpretation argues that the first



Figure 2.1 Map showing the location of Rwanda and the major cities within the country

Bantu settlers were the Hutus, with the Tutsis arriving later and therefore forming a distinct racial group. This view suggests that the Hutu were the native inhabitants, but became dominated by the Tutsis, who entered the country some time later. The second interpretation argues that the migration was a gradual process and that the groups integrated and did not conquer the existing society. This view would therefore suggest that the distinction between the Hutus and Tutsis came at a later date and is a class rather than racial distinction. This could be reflected in the economic difference between the two groups, with the Tutsis the cattle-owners, the main source of wealth in Africa, while the Hutus remained peasant farmers. A third view is that it was in the royal armies that the first real difference between the Tutsi and Hutus came about, for the cattle-rustlers were called Tutsi and the servants were called Hutu. A combatant was called a Tutsi and a non-combatant a Hutu. As non-combatants were farmers, the elite began to call them Hutus. Even at the court, members had called their servants Hutus, even if they were Tutsi, reinforcing the image of the Hutu as inferior. Whichever interpretation is accepted, the two groups came to speak the same language and culture, with intermarriage also occurring between the two groups.

There is one further explanation for the difference between Hutu and Tutsi, which is explained by Linda Melvern in her book, *A People Betrayed*.

2

QUESTIONS

What can we learn from the myth presented in Source A about the views of the Tutsis and Hutus?

Theory of Knowledge

History: perceptions and reality

How useful is the study of myths in understanding the culture of a country? Why do myths about the origins of a people have such appeal?

Fact: Slaves had been sold from Africa, particularly from the north and south-east to the Arabs during their period of conquest and this trade continued into the 19th century. It is estimated that between 650 CE and 1900, 18 million people were enslaved by Arab slave traders. The Atlantic slave trade involved European powers and saw slaves from West Africa taken to the Caribbean and the Americas to work on plantations and in mines in the south. This trade reached its height in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, with slaves being exchanged for goods, particularly metal goods and guns. It is estimated that approximately 12 million Africans were shipped across the Atlantic, but the death rate on the journey reduced this number by between 10 and 20 per cent.

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SOURCE A

There is a Rwandan dynastic myth which purports to explain the difference between Hutu, Tutsis and Hwa. It tells how the king of all the earth had three sons, Gatwa, Gahutu and Gatutsi. To test them he entrusted to each a churn of milk. Gatwa quenched his thirst, Gahutu spilt the milk but Gatutsi kept his intact so he was entrusted to command the others.

Linda Melvern (2009), A People Betrayed, London: Zed Books, p. 11.

The population had, by about 1700 developed into eight kingdoms, but it was the kingdom of Rwanda, ruled by the Tutsi Nyiginya clan, that became dominant in the mid-eighteenth century. The kingdom continued to expand through a process of both conquest and assimilation so that under King Kigeli IV, who ruled from 1853 to 1895, it reached its greatest extent, having expanded both west and north. However, he also introduced a number of administrative reforms that appear to have created further divisions between the Tutsi and Hutu people.

There had been contacts with European powers, particularly among West African kingdoms through the slave trade, which was probably at its peak in the 18th century. However, most European contact was confined to the coastal areas and the fortified coastal posts that were established. Just beyond these were many powerful African kingdoms, not just in the west of the country, but in the east and central regions, which prevented the Europeans from penetrating further inland to tap the gold that was there.

However, during the 19th century, the relationship changed and most of Africa came under European rule, and Rwanda would be no exception. Countries such as Britain and France, as well as Portugal – who had explored parts of Africa in the 15th and 16th centuries – were some of the earliest to establish empires on the continent, but as the century progressed this process sped up in what is known as the **'Scramble for Africa'**. The middle of the 19th century was a period of great exploration, with some explorers looking to spread Christianity, while others were geographers, naturalists or propagandists for expansion. Many of the explorers wrote of their travels and their activities became associated with the spread of European power, their works were often nationalistic and became concerned with stopping the spread of other powers. Moreover, European powers saw Africa as a place where they could trade goods and obtain raw materials, but there were also strategic considerations, as well as a growing belief that a 'great power' should have an empire to reflect its status. The new European countries of Germany and Italy were keen to show their power and influence, and wanted their 'place in the sun'. This ultimately led to the Conference of Berlin in 1884, at which much of Africa was divided up and boundaries were drawn that often ignored cultures and ethnic groups. The European powers also brought in their own languages – and that legacy is still present today with some English- and French-speaking countries – as well as introducing their own religion, Christianity.

The long-term causes of ethnic tensions in Rwanda

Unlike most of Africa, the future of Rwanda and the area around the Great Lakes was not settled at the Conference of Berlin, but was instead decided at the Brussels Conference of 1890. This conference gave both Rwanda and Burundi to Germany



Figure 2.2 A map showing colonial powers in Africa in 1870

in return for renouncing all claims to Uganda. However, the poorly drawn maps left Belgium with a claim to the western part of the country and as a result there were a number of border skirmishes until the final boundary line was resolved in 1900. At first Germany did little to change the region, but in 1897 colonialists and missionaries arrived. There were divisions in Rwanda as to how to react to this arrival, with some seeing the Germans as a better alternative to the Belgians and, as a result, a pro-German government was installed. Although the Germans did not encourage modernisation, they did introduce the collection of cash taxes, rather than on agricultural goods and this increased the cultivation of coffee, a cash crop, which would have serious implications

Scramble for Africa: This is the term used to describe the invasion, occupation and colonisation of Africa by Europeans in the period known as New Imperialism, which ran from 1881 to 1914. It is also sometimes called the Partition of Africa. As a result of this only 10 per cent of Africa (Liberia and Abyssinia) was not under European control by 1914.

Fact: The Conference of Berlin took place between 1884 and 1885; it is also sometimes known as the Congo Conference. Its purpose was to regulate both trade and the colonisation of Africa during the Scramble for Africa. It was called for by Portugal, but was organised by the German chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, and came at a time when Germany was emerging as a major power. The race for colonies by powers such as Britain, France and Belgium was now joined by other countries, such as Germany. The conference attempted to establish the principle of 'effective occupation', which meant treaties with local leaders, flying the flag, an administration to govern it and a police force to keep order. The power could also exploit the land economically. However, the principle was contested, and the powers were allowed to conquer Africa but do as little as possible to administer or control it.

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for Rwanda in the period before the civil war of the 1990s (see Section 2.3, ‘Rwanda and its problems in the 1980s’).

As with many other European powers, the Germans were interested in the concept of race and this also had an impact on life in Rwanda. The Germans believed that the Tutsi ruling class were a superior race to the Hutus, in part because of their taller stature, but also because they were ‘more honourable and eloquent’. The Tutsi were also favoured by the Roman Catholic Church as they were more willing to convert.



Figure 2.3 Map showing the extent of colonial control in Africa in 1914

As a result, it was the Tutsis who were given the dominant roles in governing the newly formed principalities.

The situation was changed as a result of the First World War, whose ending saw Germany lose her colonies and Rwanda was given, along with Urundi (Burundi), as a mandate to Belgium.

The Belgian authorities also assumed that the kingdom was divided into 'self-evident' categories of Hutu, Tutsi and Twa, and that the Tutsis, although a minority, ruled over the majority. This implied that the Tutsis had superior military skill and intelligence. There was also a belief that the two groups possessed different physiologies; that the Tutsi were the pastoralists. Thus, even outside Rwanda itself, there developed a view that the racial distinction between the two groups was associated with superior cultural and moral characteristics and this was reflected in contemporary comments during the period, as shown in Source B.

SOURCE B

Contemporary comments about the peoples of Rwanda.

1895: [Tutsi are] Hamitic pastoralists [from] Ethiopia [who have subjugated a] tribe of Negro Bantus.

Count von Gotzen, German governor.

1902: The Batutsi are superb men, with fine and regular features, with something of the Aryan and the Semite.

Leon Classe, vicar apostolic from 1927.

1917: The Tutsi is closer to the White man than the Negro. He is a European under a black skin.

Francois Menard, Roman Catholic missionary.

1925: Gifted with a vivacious intelligence, the Tutsi displays a refinement of feelings which is rare among primitive peoples. He is a natural born leader, capable of extreme self-control and of calculated goodwill.

Belgian colonial report.

1931: The Batutsi were destined to reign over the inferior races that surround them.

Pierre Ryckmans, Belgian governor.

1939: [The Tutsi] are a ruling minority. Their supremacy is not disputed [for three reasons, political, economic and racial], their superiority of physical type, a people of tall imposing appearance [which] to the simple and half-civilised generates prestige and influence. [The Tutsi] who are they and where do they come from? When we go from upper Egypt of the plateau of Abyssinia to Rwanda, we recognize them as follows: tall men, on average reaching 1.79m, their limbs are long and lanky, with regular features, noble bearing, grave and haughty. They are the Caucasian type like the Semite of Asia.

Louis de Lacger, Roman Catholic missionary.

Adapted from Neil Eltringham (2004), Accounting for Horror, London: Pluto Press, pp. 16–17.

The Belgians therefore continued to rely on Tutsi power to run the country, leaving the Hutus disenfranchised and showed a similar view to the Germans about the Rwandan people.

QUESTIONS

What can we learn from the Western contemporary comments presented in Source B about their views of the peoples of Rwanda? Why do you think they might have had such views? In what ways did these views help to reinforce attitudes towards the ruling of the country?

QUESTIONS

What according to Source C was the view of the Belgians about the Tutsis? On what grounds was this view based? What, according to the author, was the Belgian view of the Hutus? Is there any evidence in this section to support his view?

SOURCE C

A European view of the Tutsi and Hutu peoples in the 1920s.

The Belgians, who ruled Rwanda from 1919 to 1962, saw the Tutsi and the Hutu as entirely separate peoples, with the Tutsi the natural overlords of the Hutu. This view froze the two peoples into different roles and did much to create the hostility between them that followed independence. According to a Belgian administrator of the 1920s, Pierre Ryckmans:

'The Tutsi were meant to reign. Their fine presence is in itself enough to give them a great prestige vis-à-vis the inferior races which surround them. It is not surprising that those good Hutu, less intelligent, more simple, more spontaneous, more trusting, have let themselves be enslaved without ever daring to revolt.'

Taken from Charles Freeman (1998), Crisis in Central Africa, Hove: Wayland Publishers, p. 16. Quoted in Gérard Prunier, The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide, London: Hurst & Co., p. 11.

The Belgians also attempted to diversify and modernise the Rwandan agricultural economy and introduced cassava, maize and even the potato, as well as further encouraging the growth of coffee. This was important as the country would face two devastating periods of drought and famine in 1928–9 and again in 1943–4.

Perhaps the most important contribution the Belgians made towards the future troubles was the introduction of identity cards in 1935. This was done through a census in which Belgian officials classified the whole population. They counted and measured every Rwandan: their height, length of their noses and shape of their eyes. Although it was not always possible to determine ethnicity solely on physical appearance, everyone was labelled as either a Tutsi, Hutu, Twa or Naturalised. Some were given a Tutsi card simply because they had more money or cattle, reinforcing the stereotypical view of the Tutsi being more successful. Prior to this, therefore, it had been possible for a wealthy Hutu to become an honorary Tutsi, suggesting that the boundaries between the two groups had not previously been rigid. However, after the introduction of the cards, this was no longer possible and it prevented any further movement between the two groups. Although the initial purpose of the cards had been administrative, they simply reinforced the ethno-racial divide. The children would inherit the identity on their father's card, further reinforcing the division. The census that was used for the ID cards was, therefore, the high point of the racialisation of Rwandan society and the identities that resulted from it were seen as racial.

These divisions were reinforced by the introduction of education, dominated by the Catholic Church. Those who benefited the most from the new provision were Tutsis; for example, when a school opened in Astrida (now Butare), out of the 447 students who attended between 1945 and 1954 only 16 were Hutu. Even those Hutu who did get an education found that there were fewer jobs for them, or they had to work in lower administration or become tradesmen. Education in this period simply reinforced the creation of a ruling class dominated by Tutsi, which in turn served only to increase the resentment of the Hutu. However, the Catholic Church's support for the Tutsi ended after the revolution of 1959 and they began to favour the Hutu, with all the consequences that resulted (see Section 3.2, 'Religion and the Church').

After the Second World War, the United Nations replaced the League of Nations and sent five missions to Rwanda between 1948 and 1968. Each mission produced a report that was ever-more critical and called on the Belgian authorities to introduce a programme of democratisation. There were some electoral reforms, but each time the Tutsi administration dominated. It was only in 1957, when faced with the prospect of another UN visit, that a group of Hutu published a manifesto that demanded emancipation and majority rule. This helped to unite the Hutus and was a rallying point for revolution, describing the basic problem as domination by one race, the Tutsi. The issue was now certainly one of ethnic discrimination.

2.2 Why was there ethnic conflict in Rwanda in the period from 1960 to 1980?

Revolution in Rwanda

The situation changed in dramatic fashion on 25 July 1959 when the 46-year-old Tutsi king, Mutara III died in suspicious circumstances in hospital. Belgian doctors claimed he had died due to an allergic reaction, but there were rumours among the Tutsi that he had been killed by the Belgian doctors, with Hutus in on the plot. The response was brutal, with an extremist group determined to destroy the Hutu leadership and this resulted in a series of assassinations. These tensions increased in November when a group of Union Nationale Rwandaise (UNAR) members – a mainly Tutsi party – attacked the leader of the Hutu **Parmehutu**. Violence soon spread. Hutus, incensed at the lack of justice and with a sense of inferiority, attacked Tutsi homes and large numbers of Tutsi fled the country. Other Tutsi sent petitions to the UN asking for help.

SOURCE D

The officials report that the fighting is between two groups of inhabitants which is not true. For a long time they have been living together, mixed up, killing and burning are being done during the daylight sometimes in the presence of so-called police. How can people with no proper communication have organized such a thing? Please help innocent people from this destruction.

Tutsi petition from B.K. Kavutse, from Kigeri High School, Kigezi, Uganda. Quoted in Linda Melvern (2009), A People Betrayed, London: Zed Books, p. 17.

However, the Tutsi leadership soon organised a counteroffensive, ordering the army to arrest Hutu leaders, who having been captured were usually tortured. In response, the Belgians declared that the trouble was due to racial problems and placed the country under military rule, bringing in **Guy Logiest**, an officer in the Force Publique in the Congo. He re-established law and order and also began a programme of promoting the Hutu elite, replaced many Tutsi chiefs with Hutus and gave the king only figurehead

Parmehutu was the acronym of the French Parti du Mouvement de l'Emancipation Hutu. The party believed in the right of the majority ethnic group within Rwanda to rule. They played a crucial role in the revolution of 1959–61, which ended Tutsi dominance and brought the Hutu to power, leading to Rwanda becoming a republic and then independent. It was founded by Grégoire Kayibanda in 1957 and was a nationalist party which wanted the emancipation of Hutus from Tutsi dominance. Once they came to power, they discriminated against the Tutsi, with repeated massacres.

QUESTIONS

What can we learn from the petition in Source D about the causes of the unrest? Was the author in a position to know about the unrest? What is the purpose of the petition? How reliable is the source as an account of the causes of unrest?

Guy Logiest (1912–91)

was a Belgian military officer who spent his career in the forces. He was the top-ranking colonial official in Rwanda, the special military resident from 1959 to 1962. It was under him that Rwanda became a republic and gained its independence. He helped to establish an administrative structure in the country for the period after its independence.

2

KEY CONCEPTS QUESTION

Significance:

How important was the history of colonial rule in the development of racial tensions within Rwanda?

QUESTIONS

What view does Prunier give of Rwanda in Source E? How far is his view supported by your knowledge of events in Rwanda in the 1960s, after the revolution? Prunier is an academic, does this mean his view is likely to be reliable? Explain your answer.

Grégoire Kayibanda (1924–76)

was the first elected president of Rwanda. A member of the Hutu, he led Rwanda's struggle for independence and when the monarchy was dissolved in 1961 he was elected president. He remained president until he was overthrown in a coup in July 1973.

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status, which resulted in him fleeing the country. Although there was still some violence, the Belgians organised elections in 1960 and this resulted in Hutu parties gaining control of nearly all communes, which brought an end to what could be described as a revolution. In 1961, Logiest declared the country an autonomous republic and in 1962 it became independent.

The consequences of the revolution

As a result of the revolution some 336,000 Tutsi left Rwanda. Most went to the four neighbouring states of Burundi, Uganda, Tanzania and Zaire. A large number went to Burundi, which had also just gained its independence, but was ruled by a Tutsi government. Uganda may have received up to 200,000 Tutsi. These countries viewed them as refugees and soon the Tutsi were agitating to return to Rwanda. Some established armed groups, known as *inyenzi* (cockroaches) who, from the mid-1960s, launched attacks into Rwanda. However, these attacks often encouraged others to leave Rwanda as the government there responded with further attacks on the Tutsi who were still in Rwanda. The most notable attack was in 1963 when Tutsi forces got close to the capital, Kigali, where, poorly equipped, they were defeated. The government followed this up with the slaughter of an estimated 10,000 Tutsi in Rwanda, which destroyed the *inyenzi* threat.

The Hutu continued to dominate Rwanda for the next decade and they appeared to bring about stability and some economic progress, with the country rising from third bottom in the world's poverty league to nineteenth.

SOURCE E

The French academic Gérard Prunier describes the situation in Rwanda in the 1960s.

Everything was carefully controlled, clean and in good order. The peasants were hard working, clean living and suitably thankful to their social superiors and to the benevolent white foreigners who helped them. There was almost no crime, the few prostitutes were periodically rounded up for re-education and the church successfully opposed any attempts at birth control despite the fast growing population.

Gérard Prunier, The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide, London: Hurst and Co., p. 81.

Despite this there was still violence, particularly against the Tutsi who remained. Some of this was justified by developments in neighbouring Burundi, which had also gained its independence in 1962 and where a Tutsi minority also dominated the majority Hutu. There was an attempted coup in 1972 by Hutu but in response some 200,000 were killed, in what has been described as an act of genocide, which particularly targeted the Hutu elite. As a result of the massacres it was estimated that at least 200,000 mainly Hutu fled to Rwanda. **Grégoire Kayibanda** used this to justify a further crackdown against the remaining Tutsi, with large numbers ordered out of their jobs simply for being Tutsi.

The regime of Kayibanda did not tolerate dissent and justified their rule through the slogan 'demographic majority and democracy'. Hutu rule had witnessed a return to the style of government associated with the pre-revolutionary feudal monarchy. As the period progressed, Rwanda became more isolated and divisions developed within the Hutu elite, which ultimately resulted in a coup.

In 1973, **Juvénal Habyarimana**, who was a senior army commander, organised a coup in which the leader of the ruling Parmehutu party, Grégoire Kayibanda was captured. As a result, Habyarimana became the new president. He was from the north of Rwanda and under his rule it was Hutus from the north of the country who were favoured over those from other regions and gained positions of power. Kayibanda had been from the south of the country and the policy of Habyarimana simply reinforced the regional rivalry by excluding from office those who had come from the former president's power base there. He also established his own political party, the National Revolutionary Movement for Development (MRND), which soon had a stranglehold over every aspect of life within the country, so that it was one of the most tightly controlled nations in the world.

Within the country, a positive propaganda campaign helped to secure his position both at home and abroad.

SOURCE F

A description of President Habyarimana's propaganda campaign.

Habyarimana's smiling face beamed down on his people from posters in shops and homes, on badges and T-shirts and massive roadside advertising sites. His quintessential bouffant haircut and tall, upright figure cut a dash in the streets of Brussels and Paris where his regime increasingly looked to make representations. Rwanda was small and lacking in raw materials but by playing the francophone card the President made the most of his European ally. Kigali cemented its position in 'la Francafrique' by hosting the Franco-African Conference in 1979. Three years earlier, in 1976, Rwanda became a co-founder of the *Communaute economique des Pays des Grands Lacs*, a French run organization promising possible new trade routes and business deals.

Andrew Wallis (2004), Silent Accomplice, London: I.B. Tauris, pp. 16–17.

Certainly the president had been able to win the support and confidence of the French President Mitterrand as the comment in Source G, made by the French ambassador to Rwanda makes clear.

SOURCE G

I knew President Habyarimana personally. He was a man who expressed himself very well in French, who had an interesting political vision, who gave the impression of a great morality. President Habyarimana prayed regularly, assisted regularly at mass. I'm not saying that these were the elements that brought about the support of President Mitterrand but I believe that in general the face that President Habyarimana and his family presented to President Mitterrand was received in a favourable manner. I do not think I am mistaken in arriving at this judgement.

Georges Matres, French ambassador to Rwanda, interview given to BBC Panorama in 1995. Taken from Andrew Wallis (2004), Silent Accomplice, London: I.B. Tauris, p. 16.

Juvénal Habyarimana (1937–94)

was the army chief of staff who came to power through a military coup in July 1973. He remained in power until 1994, when he was killed in a plane crash. When in power he created the MRND. At first his rule was based on the military, but in 1978 a new constitution was brought in and he was elected president, as the only candidate. He was also returned unopposed in both 1983 and 1988. Initially, his rule was welcomed by both Hutus and Tutsis, but gradually he followed a policy that favoured certain Hutus and this resulted in others joining with Tutsis to weaken his power. His position was challenged by an invasion from Uganda by an army of the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF), which plunged the country into civil war. He made promises to reform the country, but there was little change. He was supported by forces from France and Zaire, but was pressured to accept a ceasefire and sign the Arusha Accords in 1993. His death in a plane crash, as he returned from a summit, was suspicious, with some arguing it was due to the actions of the RPF, while others said it was due to extremists in his own party who did not approve of his agreement to bring in reform.

QUESTIONS

According to Source F, why might France have supported Rwanda? To what extent does Source G offer a different view as to why France supported Rwanda? Georges Matres knew Habyarimana personally, how might this affect the reliability of Source G? Using Sources F and G and your own knowledge, in what ways was French support for Rwanda important? How might it have encouraged the developments that took place within the country? The book from which Sources F and G is taken is called *Silent Accomplice*, why do you think that was chosen as the title and what does the phrase imply?

Fact: There was civil war in Sudan from 1983 until 2005; in Ethiopia the Eritrean War of Independence lasted from 1961 to 1991; civil war raged in Mozambique from 1977 to 1992 and in Angola from 1975 to 2002.

2.3 What was the significance of events in Uganda and other African states as a cause of conflict in Rwanda?

Problems on the African continent

Although we must be careful with making generalisations about the situation in Africa, it would be fair to suggest that by the early 1980s the euphoria and optimism that had greeted independence was on the wane. Much of Africa faced similar problems and Rwanda would be no exception. These problems included:

- a fast-growing population;
- dwindling land resources in light of the fast-growing population;
- lack of industrial growth;
- lack of funds for healthcare.

As a result of these problems, many governments lost popularity and were challenged by those who felt excluded, and the continent witnessed a large number of civil wars in this period, most notably in Angola, Mozambique, Sudan and Ethiopia.

These problems were made worse by changes in international trade and these changes had a particularly severe impact on Rwanda. The changes in international trade resulted in the collapse of prices for many cash crops, one of which was coffee – on which Rwanda had become increasingly reliant. At the same time, the price of goods that these countries had to import, such as oil, rose quickly and the combination of these two elements plunged many African countries into debt.

Rwanda and its problems in the 1980s

Rwanda was no different from the other countries in Africa in terms of the problems it faced in the 1980s. The underlying problem was the rise in population. The population rate rose at 3.2 per cent per year and this meant that Rwanda became the most densely populated country in Africa and, after Bangladesh, the most densely populated country in the world. By 1992, its population was estimated to have reached 7.5 million and a density of 400 people per square kilometre of land.

The other major problem that Rwanda faced was the collapse in the price of coffee on the world market. About three-quarters of Rwanda's earnings from exports were derived from coffee and therefore the collapse had a massive impact on the country. As a result of the collapse, Rwanda had little money left with which to buy the oil and industrial goods that it needed.

These two developments served only to add to the tensions within the country and increase poverty. Those who were excluded from power became increasingly resentful of Habyarimana and his northern Hutu clique who dominated government, and this encouraged some excluded Hutus to support the Tutsi. However, the collapse in prices also hit the Hutu elite, who demanded even greater power so that they could access the foreign aid that was being provided.

The most powerful of the elite were the family of the president's wife, Agathe Habyarimana. The family were known as the 'clan de Madame' and in 1988 they carried out the murder of Stanislas Muyuya, who was a close political ally of the president and was seen by many as his possible successor. As a result, Habyarimana became even more reliant on a small clique for advice. However, the reduction in the price of coffee had meant that it had become essential for the country to reduce its budget, which hit those who were already struggling and increased the level of poverty, and therefore the level of opposition to the president. In order to continue to receive foreign aid, the president was forced to agree to introduce multi-party politics, but this threatened the position of the 'clan de Madame', who disagreed with the policy and the president therefore failed to introduce it. But this in turn caused student protests, so that by 1990 the country was in crisis.

SOURCE H

Written by a French academic who has worked widely in Africa. He describes the situation in Rwanda before the civil war.

Rwandese peasants are like large-scale gardeners and, apart from the remaining forested areas, the whole country looks like a gigantic garden, meticulously tended, almost manicured, resembling more the Indonesian or Filipino paddy fields than the loose extensive agricultural pattern of many African landscapes. The first explorers who reached the Rwandese highlands after crossing the vast malarial and war-torn expanses of the Tanganyika bush felt that they were reaching a beehive of human activity and prosperity. Every hill is dotted with dozens of settlements. Tutsi and Hutu, the notorious rival twins of Rwandese society, live side by side, on the same hilly slopes, in neighbouring settlements – for better or for worse, for intermarriage or for massacre.

Gérard Prunier, The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide, London: Hurst and Co., p. 2.

Although Habyarimana, having gained power, appeared to stress national unity and appeal for an end to the racial killings, the northern Hutus, who he represented, were fierce ethnic chauvinists. He may not have murdered the Tutsis with the same degree of ferocity as his predecessor, but he was just as relentless in his use of Tutsis as scapegoats for the problems Rwanda faced.

SOURCE I

A journalist comments on the situation in Rwanda during Habyarimana's rule.

While he [Habyarimana] and his family and friends filled foreign bank accounts with the country's wealth, the position of the Rwandan peasantry went from bad to worse. Vast sums of aid sent by foreign governments and agencies went either directly or indirectly into the pockets of senior government ministers and officials. Habyarimana's party, the National Revolutionary Movement for Development, dedicated itself to the enrichment of the northern Hutu elite while the peasants were encouraged to blame the Tutsi for their problems. There are echoes of the Nazis scapegoating of the Jews in the thirties. While the President and his cronies grew fat the economic situation steadily worsened.

Fergal Keane in Christina Fisanick (ed.) (2004), The Rwanda Genocide, Farmington Hills: Greenway Press, pp. 23–4.

It would be impossible to deny that there were long-term racial problems in Rwanda, as the massacres of both Tutsi and Hutu by the other group has shown. However, this was

QUESTIONS

What view does Source H give of the situation in Rwanda before the outbreak of the civil war? Using the information in this section, how far does it support the view put forward in Source H? Why do you think Source H gives a different view of the situation? Why might Gérard Prunier, the writer of Source H, have such a view? Prunier is an academic, does that mean his view is likely to be more accurate?

QUESTIONS

According to Source I what was a major cause of Rwandan poverty? What was the advantage for the government of blaming the Tutsi for the peasants' problems? How far is Keane's view of the cause of economic difficulties supported by the information in this section?

2

Fact: The Nazi Party under Adolf Hitler, which came to power in Germany in 1933, used the Jews as a scapegoat for all of Germany's problems. They blamed them for Germany's defeat in the First World War, the humiliating peace treaty at Versailles and the economic problems that hit Germany at the end of the 1920s and in the early 1930s. Once in power, the Nazis were then able to justify the harsh anti-Jewish policies that they implemented during the 1930s, which included excluding Jews from certain jobs, prohibiting intermarriage between Germans and Jews and depriving Jews of their German citizenship. The anti-Jewish policy would ultimately culminate in the Holocaust and the extermination of some 6 million Jews, although historians differ over the exact number.

KEY CONCEPTS ACTIVITY

Causes and Consequences:

Draw up a chart to show the main consequences of the problems Rwanda faced in the 1980s. What were the most important immediate consequences of the problems?

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not the only cause of conflict within the country. This section has also shown that there were divisions, particularly towards the end of the period, among the Hutu that resulted in some supporting the Tutsi opposition because they felt excluded. Political division did therefore not always stick solely to ethnic lines. There were also economic divisions, which at times followed ethnic lines, but again not always. There is also evidence, particularly in the period before identity cards were introduced, when it could be considered inappropriate to distinguish between the two groups, who often worked together, suggesting that the ethnic division was artificial and was the result of the policy of the Belgians.



Figure 2.4 This French cartoon makes clear the long-term ethnic problems in Rwanda. The patient is asked what is wrong and he says he is ill, it is the Tutsis

The Rwandan civil war 1990

On 1 October 1990, the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) invaded Rwanda from Uganda. Initially it made good progress, but its commander was killed and the invasion ended in defeat and confusion. However, in January 1991, a guerrilla war started, which created a climate of fear within Rwanda. A ceasefire was signed in March 1991, but low-intensity fighting carried on with neither side able to inflict a major defeat on the other. Further attempts were made at arranging ceasefires, but they did not hold and the fighting continued until 13 July 1992, when a ceasefire was signed in Arusha, Tanzania after two and a half years of fighting. Despite talks and negotiations, little was achieved and following reports of a massacre of Tutsi, the RPF launched a major offensive in February 1993. This was more successful and forced the government back, which caused panic in Paris, who sent troops and equipment to the Rwandan government. However, with the RPF within 30 kilometres of the capital Kigali, they declared a unilateral ceasefire that lasted until April 1994.

Developments in Uganda

In the previous section, it was noted that a large number of Tutsi refugees, following the Hutu seizure of power went to Uganda. Many of these refugees joined the Ugandan rebels and Yoweri Museveni's Front for National Salvation and the Tanzanian army

in toppling the regime of the Ugandan dictator **Idi Amin** in 1979. This provided many with military experience, including Fred Rwigyema and Paul Kagame, who would later play crucial roles in the invasion of Rwanda by the RPF.

Although they succeeded in bringing about the downfall of Amin, the man who then assumed the presidency, **Milton Obote**, began persecuting and discriminating against the Rwandan refugees. The refugees who had fled there were not only stateless, but they had also created the largest refugee problem in Africa. At the same time, the Rwandan government denied the refugees the right to return, but they were also denied the right of full settlement in Uganda. Moreover, their presence angered many locals who believed that the refugees were denying them jobs and in October 1982 they were attacked by native Ugandans and there were reports of looting and rape. Some Rwandans attempted to return home, with some success, before the border was closed.

Yoweri Museveni had been appointed a member of the transitional government after the fall of Amin, but he disputed the results of the 1980 election that brought Obote back to power and he, Rwigyema and Kagame withdrew their support from Obote's government and formed the National Resistance Army (NRA), whose aim was to remove Obote, and began the Ugandan Bush War.

In response to the persecution of Obote, the Rwandans formed the Rwandan Refugees Welfare Association, which became the Rwandan Alliance for National Unity (RANU) in 1979. Obote continued his policy of hostility towards the refugees and RANU went into exile in Nairobi in 1981. Attacks continued against Rwandan refugees and this encouraged even more of them to join the NRA. The NRA continued to grow in numbers and in 1986 they captured the capital, Kampala, having been able to raise a force of some 14,000, of which more than 500 were Rwandan. The victory of the NRA brought Museveni to power as president and he appointed both Kagame and Rwigyema as senior officers in the new Ugandan army.

The roles of Kagame, Rwigyema and the Rwandan Patriotic Front

Kagame and Rwigyema had gained considerable influence of guerrilla fighting during the Bush War and saw the possibility of using similar tactics to attack Rwanda. They therefore began to build up a network of Tutsi refugees within the Ugandan army, who could be trained and used as the basis for an attack on Rwanda.

The arrival in power of Museveni meant that the government in Uganda was more sympathetic to the Rwandan refugees and therefore RANU moved back to Kampala from Kenya and at its 1987 convention renamed itself the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) and transformed itself into an organisation dedicated to returning the Rwandan refugees home. It made it clear that it was not a Tutsi organisation and this appeared to be reflected in the membership of its executive committee, which was made up of 11 Tutsi and 15 Hutu. Despite this, there were many in Rwanda who remained suspicious. However this did not stop the movement from publishing an eight-point programme that included:

- ending Rwanda's ethnic divide and the use of identity cards;
- the creation of a self-sustaining economy;
- an end to the misuse of public office;
- the establishment of social services;
- democratisation of the armed forces;
- a progressive foreign policy;
- the end to 'a system that generates refugees'.

Idi Amin (c. 1925–2003)

was president of Uganda from 1971 to 1979. He was a member of the army and had risen to the rank of major general and then became commander before seizing power in January 1971, overthrowing Milton Obote. His rule witnessed the abuse of human rights, with oppression, ethnic persecution, killings, corruption and economic chaos. It is estimated that his rule witnessed the deaths of between 100,000 and 500,000 people. In 1972 he had introduced what he called an 'economic war', in which he seized properties owned by Asians and Europeans. He went on to expel 80,000 Asians. By 1978, his support was dwindling and he accused the ruler of Tanzania of waging war against him and launched an invasion of that country. This led to a counterattack, which also involved Ugandan exiles, and Amin was driven into exile.

Milton Obote (1925–2005)

was a socialist, led Uganda to independence in 1962 and served as prime minister from 1962 to 1966 before becoming president from 1966 to 1971, when he was overthrown by Idi Amin. Although he regained power after Amin's downfall, his second period in office witnessed repression and civil war.

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In 1988, Fred Rwigyema took control of the party and became its president, with Kagame becoming vice-president.

It was developments within Uganda that ultimately forced the RPF to invade Rwanda. Many in Uganda had become critical of the decision to give senior positions within the army to Rwandan refugees and in response to complaints, Kagame and Rwigyema were demoted. Kagame and Rwigyema had been planning to use Rwandans who had been trained in the Ugandan army to lead an attack into Rwanda and their demotion simply hastened their decision to act.

SOURCE J

By now an RPF guerrilla force had been built within the Ugandan army and it included key brigade and battalion commanders. These RPF militants secretly comprised a well-trained, disciplined rebel force with much combat experience.

Linda Melvern (2009), A People Betrayed, London: Zed Books, p. 33.

This decision was further accelerated by other developments within Uganda in 1990. A land dispute in the south of Uganda between Rwandan squatters and Ugandan ranch owners resulted in a debate within Uganda about the status of the Rwandan refugees. The result was that they were labelled as non-citizens. This meant that their position – and that of all refugees within Uganda – was very precarious. Moreover, there were growing numbers of refugees within Uganda who wanted to return to Rwanda and these developments, along with the situation within Rwanda itself, encouraged Kagame and Rwigyema to act.

The previous section on ethnic tensions in Rwanda also outlined the particular problems that the country was facing before 1990, and these also played a crucial role in convincing the RPF leadership that it was an ideal time to launch an attack. Knowledge of developments within Rwanda had been provided by two members of Rwanda's political elite who had fled to Kampala. They described a country that was on the verge of collapse and split between the north and south, as a result of the policies of Habyarimana, who favoured the northern Hutus, and also drained by corruption given the excesses of the president's wife's family. According to their view, the people of Rwanda would support anyone who was prepared to overthrow the regime.

QUESTIONS

According to Source K, how serious were the problems in Rwanda in the early 1990s? How far is the view of Rugenera supported by the information in this section? Was Rugenera in a position to know the situation? How might this affect the reliability of his comments? What do you think was the purpose of Rugenera's comments? How might this affect the reliability of Source K?

SOURCE K

The Rwandan minister of finance explains Rwanda's situation in the early 1990s.

Those of us who were trying to run the country had serious problems to contend with. As Minister of Finance, my responsibility was the country's financial situation. And believe me, it was catastrophic. I knew the difficulties of paying salaries at the end of each month. I was aware of the famine which had ravaged parts of the country, the difficulties of maintaining the army and paying for the necessary imports. International donors had made continued assistance dependent on progress towards democracy.

The Rwandan minister of finance, Marc Rugenera in an interview with the organisation African Rights. Taken from Charles Freeman (1998), Crisis in Central Africa, Hove: Wayland Publishers, p. 22.

It is very likely that the Ugandan president knew of the plans, although he announced years later that the invasion had gone ahead ‘without prior consultation’. He also claimed that the soldiers had stolen their Ugandan uniforms and equipment, but international observers did not believe him. His denial is made even more unlikely because it appears that the RPF had unlimited access to ammunition, food, artillery and logistics. It is also very likely that the Rwandan authorities were aware of a likely attack. The Rwandan ambassador to Zaire had warned his country that there was going to be an attack. There is also the possibility that the French were also aware of the likelihood of an attack, as during 1989 they increased arms supplies to Rwanda. The French news agency in Nairobi also picked up a warning that troops were gathering on the Uganda-Rwanda border. Given these developments it seems very unlikely that the Ugandan president was not aware of the attack. It had the advantage of easing the pressures he faced at home to deal with the refugee problem, and he would therefore have been unlikely to prevent it. It is also unlikely that the Rwandan government was unaware and they probably hoped that an attack would bring the refugee problem to a head and be solved, but with a minimum number returning from Uganda.

KEY CONCEPTS QUESTION

Causes and Consequences: What were the causes of the Rwandan civil war? Complete the following chart to help you answer the question.

What evidence is there to support the view that the invasion was due to events in Uganda?	What evidence is there to support the view that the invasion was due to developments in Rwanda?

Why do you think the invasion took place on 1 October 1990? Write a couple of paragraphs to explain what you believe to be the main trigger for the invasion.

2.4 Why had civil war broken out in Rwanda in 1990?

The early events of the Rwandan civil war

On 1 October 1990, at around 2.30 pm, about 50 RPF rebels left their Ugandan army posts and crossed the border into Rwanda, killing a border guard. They were followed by more rebels, wearing Ugandan uniform and with Ugandan weapons. It appears that about 2,500 of the 4,000 Rwandans in the Ugandan army took part.

The timing was also well-planned as both the president of Uganda and the president of Rwanda were out of their respective countries, attending a UN Summit in New York. Although the Rwandan Armed Forces (FAR) were larger than the RPF, with some 5,200 soldiers, and also possessed both armoured cars and helicopters provided by France, the RPF made considerable advances in the first few days, taking the military town of Gabiro,

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which was some 60 kilometres inside the country. The RPF appear to have benefited from an element of surprise, but also popular support. The Ugandans did establish roadblocks to prevent further desertions, but also to prevent the rebels from returning to Uganda.

However, initial success soon turned to disaster as on 2 October, the leader of the RPF, Fred Rwigyema, was shot and killed. There is some debate as to the actual causes of his death. The official line of Kagame's government is that he was killed by a stray bullet. However, Gérard Prunier in his 2009 book *Africa's World War* has argued that it was likely that Rwigyema was killed by his sub-commander Peter Bayingana following an argument over tactics. Prunier argues that Rwigyema wanted to advance slowly and attempt to win over the Hutu in Rwanda before attacking Kigali, whereas Bayingana wanted a quick assault and seizure of power. The shooting was apparently witnessed by another senior RPF officer, Stephen Nduguta, who informed the Ugandan president, who sent his brother to investigate. Bayingana and the other sub-commander were arrested and later executed.

At the time of the invasion, Kagame was in the United States, but on hearing of the news of Rwigyema's death, he departed immediately and returned to Uganda, where he was allowed to pass through Entebbe Airport as the authorities had no specific orders to arrest him. By 15 October he had crossed into Rwanda and taken over command.

French intervention

The previous section considered French support for the Rwandan president, and when they, and Belgium, heard of the invasion they sent troops to Kigali to assist the government. Belgian intervention did not last as its troops were forbidden from assisting in a civil war, but the French gave significant military and financial aid. France claimed that it had intervened to protect its citizens, but its troops blocked the RPF advance towards the capital and airport. France was not the only country to assist Habyarimana, as Zaire sent troops from its elite division, who went onto the frontline to fight the RPF.

On the night of 4 October, the Rwandan government staged a fake attack on the capital with gunfire and explosions heard around the city. The French believed that the RPF were responsible and, as a result, increased their troop numbers from 125 to 600. The 'attack' also allowed the government to increase its anti-Tutsi propaganda and encouraged Hutu citizens to arrest Tutsi who were suspected of supporting the rebels. This process would continue throughout the duration of the war as Fergal Keane argued (see Source L).

SOURCE L

A journalist describes the propaganda campaign against the Tutsis.

When guerrillas of the Tutsi-dominated RPF staged their offensive in 1990 the Habyarimana regime seized the opportunity for a major and dangerous exercise in scape-goating. Aware of mounting discontent in the countryside, the president and the entire organizational machinery of the MRND and military began to actively foment fear and hatred of the Tutsis. The theory behind the anti-Tutsi propaganda was simple: rather than lose power to a growing opposition movement led by Hutu moderates and including Tutsis, the MRND would drag the old bogey out of the closet and direct the anger of the poor in the direction of the Tutsis. This would provide the people with a pressure valve and remove, literally, any potent opposition to MRND rule. Privilege would be maintained albeit at the expense of fomenting ethnic hatred.

Fergal Keane in Christina Fisanick (ed.), 2004, The Rwanda Genocide, Farmington Hills: Greenway Press, pp. 24–5.

This propaganda is most clearly illustrated in Source M below.

SOURCE M

This notice was seen on the border between Rwanda and Zaire in April 1992. The name 'Bantu' was the name generally used for the native African peoples of southern Africa, to distinguish them from outsiders.

Attention Zaireans and Bantu people! The Tutsi assassins are out to exterminate us. For centuries the ungrateful and unmerciful Tutsi have used their powers, daughters and corruption to subject the Bantu. But we know the Tutsi, that race of vipers, drinkers of untrue blood. We will never allow them to fulfill their dreams.

Taken from Charles Freeman (1998), Crisis in Central Africa, Hove: Wayland Publishers, p. 24.

QUESTIONS

According to Keane in Source L, how did Habyarimana's government exploit the RPF invasion? What is Keane suggesting about the origins of the later mass killings?

The end of the first phase of the civil war and RPF recovery

Rwigyema's death and the aid from both France and Zaire allowed the Rwandan government to regain the land that it had lost. The RPF were pushed back towards the Ugandan border. Some members of the RPF deserted, others hid in the Akagera National Park, while Kagame withdrew what soldiers he could to the Virunga mountains. As a result, the government in Kigali announced that they had won the war, which allowed them to continue their propaganda initiative outlined above.

In some ways, Kagame's decision to withdraw had been tactical. He was aware that his soldiers were demoralised and therefore he believed that the best tactic would be to regroup. By taking his troops to the mountains, they were protected from possible attacks. However, he also left behind some troops who conducted a guerrilla-style campaign. These forces acted as a decoy, as the Rwandan forces did not realise that the majority of RPF forces had left. The conditions in the mountains were very harsh and the RPF lacked supplies. For some two months, no major offensives were launched against the Rwandan army, but Kagame used the time well. The number of fighters grew as his forces were joined by Rwandan refugees from Burundi and Zaire, as well as Uganda. The forces were put through a strict programme of training and a series of rules for their conduct were introduced, so that soldiers had to:

- pay for goods purchased in the community;
- avoid the use of drugs or alcohol;
- uphold standards of behaviour.

There were also severe punishments for certain crimes. All of these policies helped to improve the reputation of the RPF among the local community. At the same time, Alexis Kanyarengwe, a Hutu colonel who had been a member of Habyarimana's forces but had gone into exile, now joined Kagame. He was appointed chairman of the RPF and this allowed Kagame to claim that the force was inclusive and not just for Tutsis.

The RPF also launched a large-scale fundraising programme. Money was received from Tutsi exiles and even from businessmen within Rwanda who had fallen out with the government. Although the sums generated were not large, it still allowed the

2

QUESTIONS

What does Museveni mean when he states that it 'would not have been good for Uganda's stability'? Museveni's comments were an attempt to justify Uganda's support to the outside world; how might that affect the reliability of his comments?

Mobutu Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu Wa Za Banga (1930–97)

was president of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which he renamed Zaire, from 1965 to 1997. He was put into office largely through the efforts of Belgium and the USA and ruled in an authoritarian manner. He built up a vast amount of personal wealth, purged the country of colonial influences, but maintained support from many in the West because of his anti-communist views. The country was a highly centralised, single-party state, which became known for its corruption, nepotism and abuse of human rights. It also suffered from serious economic problems, particularly rampant inflation and debt, despite its natural resources. In 1991, he agreed to share power, but delayed its implementation until 1997, when he was driven out of the country by rebel forces.

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RPF to increase their operations. They were able to acquire weapons from a range of sources. The end of the Cold War meant that there was a significant amount of military hardware available on the open market, while it is also likely that officers within the Ugandan army made clandestine supplies, as Source N demonstrates.

SOURCE N

The Ugandan President Museveni explains their involvement in the civil war.

Faced with a fait accompli situation by our Rwandan brothers [Uganda went] to help the RPF materially, so that they are not defeated because that would have been detrimental to the Tutsi people of Rwanda and would not have been good for Uganda's stability.

Quoted in Mahmood Mamdani (2002), When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Guerrilla warfare

The war restarted in January 1991. RPF forces attacked the town of Ruhengeri, which was not only situated near the Virunga mountains, the hideout of the RPF, but was also a stronghold of Habyarimana's regime. The RPF captured the town and held it for one day before retreating back into the mountains. However, the seizure had been important for a number of reasons:

- it created a climate of fear in Rwanda;
- the RPF captured weapons;
- they freed political prisoners from the town's jail.

This raid set the pattern for warfare over the next 18 months as the RPF ran a hit-and-run, **guerrilla**-style war. The RPF also established a radio station in Uganda that broadcast into Rwanda and in light of future events, it is significant that the RPF accused Habyarimana's government of genocide as early as January 1993. How credible this claim was will be considered in the next chapter, but obviously any evidence of mass killings was valuable propaganda for the RPF, but we need to be careful in accepting such claims at face value.

There were attempts at ceasefire during this period, but little was achieved until July 1992, when an agreement was finally reached at Arusha (see below).

The government response and outside support

From the time of the initial defeat of the RPF invasion and throughout the period, Habyarimana used the invasion as an excuse to strengthen his position within Rwanda. However, as the country was very poor, this was done largely with the help of foreign aid, particularly from France.

Although Rwanda had not been a French colony, France had maintained close links with French-speaking countries in Africa in order to maintain their influence.

Previously the French government had given support to President **Mobutu** in Zaire, despite the nature of his rule.

The funds provided allowed the Rwandan army to grow quickly in size, going from just 5,200 men in October 1990 to 50,000 by mid-1992. Not only did France supply funds, but it also supplied weapons and training support, which turned the army into a well-trained and disciplined force. France was not the only foreign country to provide the government with aid. Egypt, which had previously refused to sell it arms, changed its policy. Although it is difficult to explain this change, it is possible that this was due to the vast amount of foreign aid that was made available to Rwanda – US\$216 million. Although Rwanda's economy was now under the control of the **World Bank** and the **International Monetary Fund (IMF)** to try and prevent further economic chaos, it appears that not all the funds were used as intended. It appears that 'a sizeable portion of quick-disbursing loans was diverted by the regime towards the acquisition of military hardware. And the military purchases of Kalashnikov assault rifles, field artillery and mortars were made in addition to the bilateral military aid package provided by France.' (Melvern, *A People Betrayed*, p. 37).

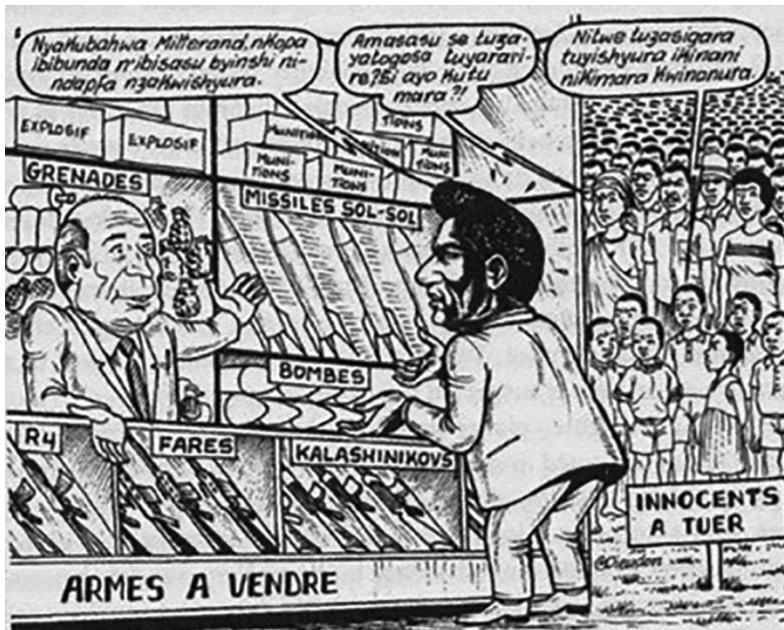


Figure 2.5 This cartoon appeared in an opposition newspaper, Kanguka, on 30 June 1992 and makes it clear that the French President Mitterrand was arming President Habyarimana. Habyarimana is saying that he will pay Mitterrand a lot of money if he survives. The people behind the counter are described 'Innocents to be killed'

However, although the aid had helped to create a very efficient army, foreign powers may or may not have known the purpose for which it was used. The army was now being used to round up the remaining Tutsis in Rwanda, with the president's own bodyguard involved in the selective killing of Tutsis. They were not the only group involved in killings, as in the past peasants were persuaded to join in and local officials were also told that this was part of the traditional communal work, with their targets often the poor and pastoral Tutsi. A human rights group collected the testimony shown in Source O.

Guerrilla warfare: This is where the regular army of a country is involved in fighting against unofficial or irregular forces. The guerrilla forces are usually much smaller than the regular army, but are often difficult to defeat because they know the geography of the area well and avoid full-scale battle, using tactics such as ambush or hit-and-run against their enemy to achieve victory.

The World Bank is in part connected to the UN; however it is dominated by the US and its Treasury Department. It provides loans to developing nations for major programmes, with the aim of reducing world poverty. Since the early 1990s, it has been criticised for implementing the 'Washington Consensus', which imposes 'structural adjustment' programmes based on promoting privatisation and cuts in social welfare spending.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is, like the World Bank, an international organisation, based in Washington, DC, which is largely dominated by the US. It is made up of more than 180 countries and their aims are to foster global monetary cooperation, bring about financial stability, reduce poverty and to encourage international trade, high employment and sustainable growth. The IMF works to improve the economies of its member countries and makes financial resources available to its members so that they can meet their balance-of-payments needs.

SOURCE O

A human rights group report on the killings.

M ... saw his wife and six children killed. He hid because he thought it would be like 1959 and 1973 when everything was stolen and when only some of the men had been killed ... [this time] he saw his neighbor cut off the head of his wife with one machete blow, in front of his children, while the wife of his neighbor killed a child on the back of a victim ... this woman killed this child, while she herself was carrying a child of the same age on her own back.

ADL, Rapport sur les droits de l'homme au Rwanda, Kigali, December 1992. Taken from Linda Melvern (2009), A People Betrayed, London: Zed Books, pp. 39–40.

However, the killings were also conducted on a much larger scale as the Source P suggests.

SOURCE P

A human rights report on the killings.

The old *bourgmestre* ... found a much more effective way of liquidating undesirables. He invited all the men from the area to a political meeting. Once arrived, the victims were given to the killers by the *bourgmestre*.

ADL, Rapport sur les droits de l'homme au Rwanda, Kigali, December 1992. Taken from Linda Melvern (2009), A People Betrayed, London: Zed Books, p. 41.

Not only were the president's bodyguards involved in the killings, but they were aided by the *interahamwe*, who were gangs of armed killers and who would play an even greater role in events after the death of Habyarimana.

SOURCE Q

The *interahamwe* are trained military killers. It has been said in many quarters that the MRND government is training *interahamwe* in commando tactics such as the use of knives, machetes, rope trapping and binding of victims and silent guns so as to kill people. Training places are Gishwati [a forest area] in Gisenyi, Rukari in Nyanza, Commune Bicumbi, and in the Mount Kigali forest.

A Rwandan newspaper, Umuranga Mubangutsi, report from March 1992. Quoted in African Rights (1995), Rwanda: Death, Despair and Defiance, London: African Rights.

A furious anti-Tutsi campaign continued in the country with the vice-president of the MRND addressing party militants as shown in Source R.

ACTIVITY

Compare the scope of the killings as illustrated in Sources O and P, which are from a human rights group. Then write a few paragraphs to explain:

- What Source P suggests about the nature and organisation of the killings.
- How far Source P supports the view of the RPF that genocide had already started in Rwanda.
- Whether the fact that these sources are from a human rights group means they are more or less likely to be reliable.

SOURCE R

The MRND vice-president attacks the Tutsi in a speech.

What about those accomplices here who are sending their children to the RPF ... we have to take responsibility in our own hands ... the fatal mistake we made in 1959 was to let them [the Tutsi] get out ... they belong in Ethiopia and we are going to find them a shortcut to get there by throwing them into the Nyabarongo River. We have to act. Wipe them all out.

Leon Mugesera, speech in Giysenyi, 22 November, 1992. Taken from Linda Melvern (2009), A People Betrayed, London: Zed Books, p. 55.

ACTIVITY

Write a couple of sentences to explain the message of Mugesera's speech, and its possible purpose. Then briefly explain its likely impact, given the situation within Rwanda at the time.

2.5 Why did the Arusha Accords fail to solve the problems in Rwanda?

International pressure and the Arusha Accords

On 12 July 1992, in Arusha, Tanzania, a ceasefire was agreed. This also fixed a timetable to end the fighting and for political talks that were to result in power-sharing. It also authorised a neutral military observer group, under the auspices of the **Organisation of African Unity**. Talks began in September, but little progress was made and following further reports of massacres of Tutsis, the RPF launched a major offensive in February 1993.

The advance was rapid and soon the RPF were closing in on the capital. In response, the French sent several hundred troops and ammunition for FAR, this changed the military situation and it also made it clear to the RPF that if the advance continued, not only would they be fighting FAR but also French troops. The RPF declared a unilateral ceasefire on 20 February and gradually pulled their forces back, but by that time some 1.5 million Hutu had left their homes.

Although peace had been established, tensions remained. With Rwanda's economic and political position deteriorating, international pressure on Habyarimana to broaden his government increased, so that other political parties and Tutsi were involved in government. Moreover, both the World Bank and the IMF threatened that the desperately needed funds were dependent upon the introduction of democracy. Without funds, the country would collapse and therefore Habyarimana would not survive unless he accepted the terms of the Arusha Accords.

Although – or perhaps because – Habyarimana was about to begin negotiating the integration of the RPF into the Rwandan army, the RPF launched a large-scale offensive involving some 8,000 troops. This was probably to demonstrate to the Rwandan government how strong the RPF was so as to get a greater share in the new Rwandan army. Militarily it was a success, gaining large amounts of ground, but it had a terrible impact on the people.

The **Organisation of African Unity** was established in 1963, but was replaced in 2002 by the African Union. It had a number of aims, including promoting the unity and solidarity of African states, defending the sovereignty of those states, increasing cooperation between members to improve the life of people in Africa and eradicating all forms of colonialism. It also wanted to ensure human rights, raise living standards and settle disputes in a peaceful manner between members.

SOURCE S

The impact of the RPF advance on the people of Rwanda.

Driving back government troops and creating a new wave of terrified people fleeing south, adding to the misery of those already displaced by civil war. By now 1 million people were homeless – one seventh of Rwanda’s population – living in huge camps where children were dying of starvation and dysentery. The people in the camps were dependent upon massive food aid for their survival. As a result of the exodus from fertile land, and fears that the next harvest could be down by 40%, there were predictions of famine.

Linda Melvern (2009), A People Betrayed, London: Zed Books, p. 65.

QUESTION

What was the impact of the attack on Rwanda and its people? What was the likely impact on the international community? To what extent were military developments responsible for Habyarimana signing the Arusha Accords?

These developments and the resultant increase in pressure from the international community put further pressure on Habyarimana and, therefore, in August 1993 he signed the Arusha Accords and agreed to move towards multi-party elections and integrate the RPF into the army. The UN supported the agreement and provided a force of some 2,500.

The agreements angered many of Habyarimana’s supporters, particularly the Presidential Guard and the *interahamwe*. They were very concerned about the return of the Tutsi, given what had happened particularly in the previous few months, and Hutu who wanted a multi-party government. Not only would they lose their power and influence, but they also feared for their lives. They continued to increase violent anti-Tutsi propaganda, using the newspaper *Kangura* and through the radio station Milles Collines. They denounced the Tutsi as outsiders, echoing the words of Mugesera in Source R, calling the Tutsi ‘cockroaches’ who wanted to come back as overlords.

2.6 What was the significance of the deaths of President Habyarimana of Rwanda and President Ntaryamira of Burundi?

The deaths of Presidents Habyarimana and Ntaryamira

Two questions need to be addressed when analysing the deaths of Presidents Habyarimana and Ntaryamira: *why* they were killed and *who* killed them.

Their deaths took place on 6 April 1994. The plane that was carrying them back from Dar es-Salaam, the capital of Tanzania, was brought down by a missile as it approached the airport at the Rwandan capital of Kigali. The two men were returning from a

conference that had been discussing the future of Rwanda and how the majority Hutu and minority Tutsi population of the country could be integrated after years of strife and civil war. The previous section has shown that Habyarimana was reluctant to allow the Tutsis a share in government and that many of the president's supporters were even more strongly opposed to this as they feared that not only would they lose power, but it would give the Tutsi the opportunity for revenge after their treatment in recent years. Many of the president's supporters did not want him to agree to the demands being placed on him, but in the end Habyarimana was forced to agree to the demands of power-sharing and the granting of full democratic rights to the Tutsi. It was on his return from signing the second agreement that his plane was shot down.

The very presence of the Burundian president on Habyarimana's plane returning from Dar es-Salaam suggests that the Rwandan president was aware that his life may have been under threat. Therefore when Ntaryamira asked for a lift home, as his plane was slower and less comfortable than Habyarimana's, it was willingly accepted as it would give the Rwandan president extra protection.

As the plane approached the airport, a series of missiles were fired at the plane from Masaka Hill, which is a high piece of ground near the perimeter of the airport. The missiles were probably Russian SAM anti-aircraft missiles, which are relatively easy to buy on the world market. Accounts as to what happened next vary, some suggest that one missile went under the plane, one over and the third hit, while others suggest that two missiles hit. Whichever account is correct, what happened next is not disputed; the plane burst into flames and exploded, everyone on board was killed, including many of the president's closest advisors.



Figure 2.6 Inspecting the wreckage of the plane in which Presidents Habyarimana and Ntaryamira were killed

Historical debate

Most commentators and journalists accepted the initial view that President Habyarimana's plane was shot down by government forces or the *interahamwe* as they feared losing their positions in power if the Arusha Accords were implemented. The speed at which blockades were erected and arrests and killings of opponents began also seems to support this view. The government enquiry that followed also blamed Hutu extremists in the Rwandan army. This appeared to be confirmed by a French investigation in 2012, which verified that the line-of-fire of the missile could not have come from a base occupied by Tutsi supporters. However, there have been suggestions – and not just from Hutus – that it was the RPF or Tutsis who brought the plane down. This view was supported by a BBC documentary in 2014 *Rwanda: The Untold Story*. In this documentary, Christian Davenport from the University of Michigan and Allan Stam from the University of Dartmouth argued that the RPF shot the plane down. This was further supported by Emmanuel Mugisha, a former Rwandan soldier, who said he had evidence that Kagame had ordered the shooting down of the plane. He was abducted hours before he was due to give evidence to the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, raising further issues about the responsibility.

Who fired the missiles?

It has not been officially ascertained who fired the missiles. The government claimed that it was the Tutsis who, so the Hutu government argued, were determined to get rid of all Hutus, but this seems very unlikely. The evidence suggests that it was members of the *interahamwe*, and others, probably from the Presidential Guard, who were responsible as they considered the president a traitor for signing the Arusha Accords. This view is supported by much of the evidence and the events that occurred over the next few hours.

The comments of the air traffic controller certainly appear to support this view. He had already noticed that members of the Presidential Guard were in and near the control tower and after the plane came down and he had called the emergency services and airport duty manager:

QUESTIONS

Why might the Presidential Guard be present at the airport? Why might the member of the Presidential Guard have wanted to kill the air traffic controller?

ACTIVITY

Write a couple of paragraphs to explain the extent to which Source T supports the view that it was members of the *interahamwe* and the Presidential Guard who were responsible for the bringing down of the president's plane.

SOURCE T

Events at Kigali Airport in the moments the president's plane crashed.

Almost immediately a Presidential Guard put a gun to his head, telling him he was going to kill him. The Presidential Guard was dissuaded by the Director of Civil Aviation, who had arrived in the tower, and said that the air traffic controller would be needed for interrogation.

Linda Melvern (2009), A People Betrayed, London: Zed Books, p. 135.

This view is further supported by one of President Habyarimana's ministers, Francois Xavier Nsanzuwera.

SOURCE U

As soon as I heard the news I knew instantaneously that the President was murdered by his own entourage. They would rather see the country disintegrate than lose their power and privileges. They killed the President to be able to kill everybody else. My sense is that President Habyarimana was in favour of killing his political opponents but not the general public, that is women and children ... At an international level he would not be able to explain away wholesale massacres of women and children ... but this was the aim of the Hutu fanatics ... They had to kill the president in order to be free to kill everyone else they considered an obstacle ... they would rather plunge the country into chaos than see their power and privileges diminish.

Quotation from Francois Xavier Nsanzuwera, one of President Habyarimana's ministers. Taken from Charles Freeman (1998), Crisis in Central Africa, Hove: Wayland Publishers, p. 7.

The involvement of the *interahamwe* and the Presidential Guard appears to be confirmed by the events that followed the downing of the presidential plane. There were four Belgian members of the army present at the airport and they have stated that within minutes of the crash there were sounds of heavy-weapon fire. Belgian peacekeepers who were on their way to meet a transport plane bringing in supplies were prevented from entering the airport by members of the Presidential Guard, who also took the

keys to their vehicles and they became hostages. Another Belgian officer whose group patrolled the interior of the airport was told that the pilot had issued a distress call.

SOURCE V

The perimeter of the airport was sealed by an impenetrable cordon of troops from the nearby Kanombe barracks. In Kimihurura, a residential area, there were roadblocks manned by Presidential Guard, established earlier. In Kigali, a rural capital spread over many hills, a maze of tree-lined roads connects at strategic roundabouts – and some roadblocks were now in place.

These actions suggest that the whole affair had been carefully planned and this is certainly supported by the events that followed, with one survivor recalling:

‘I ran as fast as I could. Even before the president died, the consciousness of the Hutus in our area had already been awakened ... they had been given a very clear idea. Hutus on our hill were always being called to secret meetings with the *bourgmestre*, councillors and other officials.’

Linda Melvern (2009), A People Betrayed, London: Zed Books, pp. 135–6. Statement made to African Rights (1995), Rwanda: Death, Despair and Defiance, London: African Rights.

According to accounts, there was soon sporadic gunfire and explosions, and roadblocks were quickly established. As all Rwandans had to carry their identity cards, it was easy for those manning the roadblocks to check whether people were Hutu or Tutsi. One critic of the government commented that he saw a checkpoint where ‘The checkpoint had been reinforced by people armed to the teeth ... cars were passing by full of people with machetes. Some even had guns ... my telephone was cut shortly after midnight. It was clear massacres were about to begin.’ As the Ghanaian deputy commander of UNAMIR commented ‘Things happened very rapidly, as if they had been rehearsed’ (Anyidoho, *Guns Over Kigali*, p. 23).

This view appears to be confirmed by the comments of a civil servant at the Ministry of Agriculture, as shown in Source W.

SOURCE W

A civil servant, Denis Kanywabahizi, describes the tensions that arose immediately after the president's death.

On the evening of the 6th I had been watching a football match and then went to have a drink with a friend. At about 9.30 a friend gave me the news about the plane crash. I decided to head for home straightaway. Shortly after 9:30, I saw that a roadblock had already gone up near my home. A soldier stopped my car and shouted angrily at me. ‘The president is dead and you are in a car? Get out!’ I left on foot. I reached the Hotel Chez Lando. There was a vehicle full of soldiers. One soldier told me to get inside. I refused, saying ‘When people get into your cars they don’t come back’. He hit me with the butt of his rifle; I fell to the ground. I tried to run. He fired and the bullet hit me in the leg. They put me in their car and broke my glasses. We drove around and around until 2.00 am until they left me on the street near my home.

Taken from Charles Freeman (1998), Crisis in Central Africa, Hove: Wayland Publishers, p. 6.

QUESTIONS

Would the minister have been in a position to know about events? This was written by a member of Habyarimana’s government, does this make the source more or less reliable? What evidence is there to support the minister’s claim that the president was ‘in favour of killing his political opponents’? What might be the purpose of the former minister’s writing? How might this affect its reliability?

QUESTIONS

To what extent does Source W appear to confirm the view expressed above by the Ghanaian deputy commander? How typical is what happened to Denis Kanywabahizi? What does that suggest about the extent to which the murder of the president and the massacres that followed were planned rather than spontaneous?

Rwanda 1990–98

Many others were set upon and killed. The soldiers rounded up many politicians, particularly Hutus, who had spoken out in favour of civil rights and the reconciliation of Hutus and Tutsi. Even the prime minister, Agathe Uwilingiyimana, who was being protected by ten Belgian soldiers, was killed. However, within a few days the targets changed and it was Tutsi who were being massacred throughout the country (see the next chapter), which further supports the view that the assassination of the president had been the signal to start a carefully orchestrated attack on the Tutsi. Over the next three months, the RPF estimate that some 937,000 were killed, the target of the killings was the Tutsi population, although some moderate Hutu also perished. At first the nature of the killings was not apparent to foreign observers, but even in April, the correspondent for the BBC News commented as shown in Source X.

SOURCE X

Look, you have to understand that there are two wars going on here. There's a shooting war and a genocide war. The two are connected, but also distinct. In the shooting war, there are two conventional armies at each other (the Rwandan army and the RPF), and in the genocide war, one of those armies, the government side with help from civilians, is involved in mass killings.

Mark Doyle, BBC News, April 1994.

End of chapter activities

Summary

You should now be aware of the causes of conflict in Rwanda, particularly the ethnic tensions between the Hutu and Tutsi, the reasons for the outbreak of civil war in 1990 and the impact of the deaths of Presidents Habyarimana and Ntaryamira on the situation. You should understand that the ethnic tensions were longstanding and deep-rooted, although they really came to the surface only after the introduction of identity cards in 1934, and understand that these clearly identified the different ethnic groups and therefore allowed discrimination to take place. In particular, you should recognise the developments that took place after Rwanda gained its independence in 1962 and how this allowed the majority Hutu to gain power and exact revenge for the years they had been excluded.

You should be able to explain how developments in other neighbouring countries, particularly Uganda, had an impact on events in Rwanda and how the training of a number of Tutsi refugees in Uganda led to the formation of the RPF and helped precipitate the invasion in 1990. You should now be able to explain why international developments in trade and the economic problems facing Rwanda encouraged the RPF to launch an invasion in October 1990.

You should be able to explain how international pressure for change within Rwanda and the government's desperate need for financial aid brought about the Arusha Accords, which led to opposition from some Hutu, who took the anti-Tutsi campaign further and committed acts of violence against Tutsi who were still in Rwanda. Finally, you should be able to explain the impact of the assassination of Habyarimana on the situation in Rwanda and consider the evidence for the planning of genocide even before his plane had been brought down.

In light of all these issues, you should be able to start to explain why genocide was possible within Rwanda, and consider the relative importance of a range of factors in bringing it about.

Summary activity

- Copy the chart below, then complete it to show the causes of conflict in Rwanda.

Causes of the conflict	Evidence to support the factor	Evidence that challenges the factor
Ethnic tensions within the country		
Economic problems within Rwanda		
Developments within Uganda		
The coming to power of the Hutu and Habyarimana in Rwanda		
The actions of the International community		
The assassination of Habyarimana		

- Then, for each of the factors in the chart above, consider their importance and rank them in order of importance in bringing about conflict. Write a paragraph to explain your order.
- Using the information in this chapter, and any other sources available to you, write a couple of paragraphs to show what evidence there is to support the view that the Rwandan genocide had been planned before the death of Habyarimana.

Paper 1 exam practice

Question

What message is conveyed by Source A?

[2 marks]

Skill

Comprehension of a source

SOURCE A

Look, you have to understand that there are two wars going on here. There's a shooting war and a genocide war. The two are connected, but also distinct. In the shooting war, there are two conventional armies at each other (the Rwandan army and the RPF), and in the genocide war, one of those armies, the government side with help from civilians, is involved in mass killings.

Mark Doyle, BBC News, April 1994

Before you start

Comprehension questions are the most straightforward questions you will face in Paper 1. They simply require you to understand a source and extract two or three relevant points that relate to the question. Before you attempt this question, refer to Chapter 8 for advice on how to tackle comprehension questions and a simplified markscheme.

Student answer

The message of Source A is that not only is there a conventional civil war going on in Rwanda, but there is also a second type of war, namely genocide. Secondly, Source A is also saying that the government forces are carrying out the acts of genocide; however, it also states that the government forces are acting with some civilian groups, such as the interahamwe, to carry out these killings. Doyle also suggests that the two wars are linked because in both wars it was the Tutsi who were being attacked by government and civilian forces, in the conventional war the RPF was largely composed of Tutsi and it was the Tutsi who had remained in Rwanda who were largely being singled out in the genocide.

Examiner comment

This is a very thorough answer, which identified more than two points from Source A. The answer recognises that there are two wars in Rwanda, explaining the two, but also notes that government forces are involved in both. The student uses their own knowledge to support the explanation put forward; this is acceptable as the material is clearly used to explain the message of the source. The answer does not rely on large amounts of text copied out without showing an understanding of the passage. The answer shows a clear comprehension of the views offered in the source. As a result of making at least three relevant points based on the source, this would be awarded the maximum number of marks.

Activity

Look again at the question, the student answer above and the examiner comment. Now try to write an answer that would score full marks but using different points.

Paper 2 practice questions

- 1 Evaluate the reasons for the civil war in Rwanda in 1990.
- 2 'Ethnic tensions in Rwanda were the result of government propaganda and not due to long-term ethnic differences.' To what extent do you agree with this statement?
- 3 'It was events in Uganda that triggered the Rwandan civil war.' To what extent do you agree with this statement?
- 4 Examine the consequences of international aid on Rwanda in the period from the 1980s to 1994.
- 5 Examine the challenges facing President Habyarimana in 1994.

3

Course and interventions of the conflict in Rwanda

TIMELINE

- 1993 October:** United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) arrive in Rwanda.
- 1994 6 April:** Death of President Habyarimana.
- 7 April:** Genocide starts. Kagame warns the crisis committee and UNAMIR that he will restart civil war unless killings stop.
- 9 April:** UN troops witness massacre of children at a Polish church in Gikondo. European troops arrive to escort civilian personnel out of the country.
- 11 April:** Belgian UNAMIR forces withdraw from the Official Technical School, Kigali.
- 12 April:** Belgium announces withdrawal.
- June:** Arrival of UNAMIR 2. France launches Operation Turquoise.
- 3 July:** Fall of Kigali.
- 13 July:** Surrender of Ruhengeri.
- 18 July:** Gisenyi falls.
- Mid-July:** Genocide ends. Establishment of a coalition government in Rwanda.
- 25 August:** Presidential election.
- 29 September:** Legislative elections.

Introduction

This chapter will consider the developments in Rwanda that followed the death of President Habyarimana. The main focus will be on the mass killings or genocide of the Tutsis that took place in the 100 days after the president's death and before the RPF victory in the civil war. It will also consider the international response to these events, explaining why the international community was slow to take action, even withdrawing its forces from the country when the genocide started. There will be particular focus on the role of the United Nations (UN), the USA and France, all of whom have been accused of a dilatory response or aiding the massacres.

KEY QUESTIONS

- How did the Rwandan government respond to the death of President Habyarimana?
- How extensive was the genocide?
- What was the role of the media during the genocide?
- What was the response of the international community to the acts of genocide?

Overview

- The shooting down of President Habyarimana's plane as it returned from Dar es-Salaam unleashed 100 days of killing that most people now accept should be seen as genocide as a planned attempt was made to wipe out the Tutsi population of Rwanda.
- The killings started almost immediately as news of the president's death was known, which suggests that preparations had been made well in advance, involving members of the government.
- The killings were carried out by members of the Presidential Guard, militias and the *interahamwe*, but also by ordinary Hutus. The task was made easier by the existence of ID cards, which allowed them to identify Tutsis.
- The large-scale killings prompted Kagame to restart the civil war and the RPF made rapid advances into Rwanda, which brought an end to genocidal acts in areas they captured.

- The nature of the genocide varied from shootings to the use of machetes, but there were also large-scale killings where Tutsi who had fled to supposed places of safety were killed en masse.
- The international community was slow to act. Its first decision was to withdraw the aid force it had sent to Rwanda. It also continued to deny that genocide was occurring and this meant that they were not forced to act by the United Nations Convention on Genocide.
- The United States was reluctant to get involved because of its recent experience in Somalia, where a number of American troops had been killed during peacekeeping duties, while the UN was more concerned by events in Bosnia.
- The French sent help in late June through Operation Turquoise, supported by the UN, but many have questioned their motives and the results.
- It was the victory of the RPF in the civil war that ultimately ended the genocide.

3.1 How did the Rwandan government respond to the death of President Habyarimana?

The impact of the death of President Habyarimana

Within a short time of the downing of the president's plane, the killings began. In order to carry out the killings on the scale that Rwanda witnessed, there has to be planning – and this supports the view that preparation for the elimination of the Tutsi in Rwanda was already underway before the president's death. There had already been large amounts of propaganda issued both in newspapers and particularly through radio stations to spread both fear and hatred of the Tutsi. The amount of planning required also supports the view that the Presidential Guard and members of the *interahamwe* were behind the downing of the president's plane, as it would provide them with the opportunity to put their plans into action.

SOURCE A

A BBC journalist comments on the impact of the death of President Habyarimana.

The murder of the president would provide the perfect pretext for implementing the final solution of the Tutsi problem, as well as for the destruction of moderate Hutu opposition politicians. The army and the militias were ready with lists of their enemies; the extremist radio stations and newspapers had already created an atmosphere of anti-Tutsi hysteria. All that remained was for the signal to be given. No sooner had Habyarimana's jet been shot down than the killings began in earnest. The one hundred days of genocide had been launched.

Fergal Keane in Christina Fisanick (ed.) (2004), The Rwanda Genocide, Farmington Hills: Greenway Press, p. 28.

QUESTIONS

What evidence is there in Source A that the murders that followed the death of President Habyarimana had been planned before his death? Using the information in the previous chapter, what evidence is there to support Keane's view?

Rwanda 1990–98

Historians and commentators have put forward a number of explanations for the genocide that followed the death of Habyarimana:

- The rule of Habyarimana provoked genocide by encouraging the decades-long conflict between Hutus and Tutsis and by supporting anti-Tutsi propaganda.
- The Presidential Guard and the *interahamwe* were terrified of the return of the Tutsi and Hutus who supported multi-party government as it would weaken their position.
- The long-term ethnic divisions between Tutsi and Hutu made the genocidal actions more likely.
- The economic conditions within the country after 1985 made it more likely that those who felt excluded would attack those who were better-off.
- Support from some within the international community for Habyarimana's government made it more likely that they could carry out such actions.
- Roman Catholic missionaries within Rwanda had, in the period before 1950, favoured the Tutsi, which further heightened discord between the two groups. However, after the 1950s, the Roman Catholic Church supported the Hutus.
- Rwanda's lack of resources and extreme poverty created desperation, which spurred many to take part in the killings.

The following Sources B and C offer different views as to why the genocide started. Read them carefully and then answer the questions that follow.

SOURCE B

A university academic comments on the reasons why the genocide started.

The so-called spontaneous violence can be shown to have been systematic and cold-blooded. It did not arise out of ancient hatreds but through overt political manipulation, ruthlessly orchestrated by a bankrupt political elite. Factors such as the growing landlessness, disparities between rich and poor, the ambitions of an increasingly ruthless elite losing their grip on power, regional politics, and regional dynamics played a central role in the genocide and political slaughter. As the killings gained momentum, the violence became more complex and less linked to purely political ends. There was outright robbery. Personal vendettas were settled. Property under dispute could be appropriated by one claimant from another on the basis of accusations. People who had excited the jealousy of their neighbours by being marginally more affluent were attacked.

Villa Jefremovas in Christina Fisanick (ed.) (2004), The Rwanda Genocide, Farmington Hills: Greenway Press, p. 39.

SOURCE C

A political scientist comments on the reasons why genocide occurred in Rwanda.

The post-1985 economic crisis that affected most Rwandans played a rapid spread in promoting genocidal ideology. Hatred of 'the other' provided a buttress for the low self-esteem stemming from chronic unemployment and frustrated aspirations. Such feelings