

Lecture 16
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- I. Introduction
- II. The sources of this sort of war:
 - A. “With more than 800,000 people slaughtered in 100 days the Rwandan genocide stands as one of the most horrific mass murders of the past century. In the middle of the horror was a Canadian peacekeeper whose efforts to avert the tragedy were thwarted by political apathy and incalculable evil. CBC Digital Archives looks back at this sad chapter in Africa's history and how Lt.-Gen. Roméo Dallaire managed to survive to become Canada's most famous casualty of war.” CBC documentary description
 - B. Powers: “Before Rwanda achieved independence from Belgium, in 1962, the Tutsi, who made up 15 percent of the populace, had enjoyed a privileged status. But independence ushered in three decades of Hutu rule, under which Tutsi were systematically discriminated against and periodically subjected to waves of killing and ethnic cleansing. In 1990 a group of armed exiles, mainly Tutsi, who had been clustered on the Ugandan border, invaded Rwanda. Over the next several years the rebels, known as the Rwandan Patriotic Front, gained ground against Hutu government forces. In 1993 Tanzania brokered peace talks, which resulted in a power-sharing agreement known as the Arusha Accords. Under its terms the Rwandan government agreed to share power with Hutu opposition parties and the Tutsi minority. UN peacekeepers would be deployed to patrol a cease-fire and assist in demilitarization and demobilization as well as to help provide a secure environment, so that exiled Tutsi could return. The hope among moderate Rwandans and Western observers was that Hutu and Tutsi would at last be able to coexist in harmony. Hutu extremists rejected these terms and set out to terrorize Tutsi and also those Hutu politicians supportive of the peace process. In 1993 several thousand Rwandans were killed, and some 9,000 were detained. Guns, grenades, and machetes began arriving by the planeload. A pair of international commissions—one sent by the United Nations, the other by an independent collection of human-rights organizations—warned explicitly of a possible genocide.”
 - C. Seeds of Genocide: http://archives.cbc.ca/war_conflict/peacekeeping/topics/1686-11594/ 5:40
 - 1. “For generations the majority Hutu and minority Tutsi populations lived and worked amongst each other in the small African country of Rwanda. That changed in 1917 when the country fell under Belgian rule. The new Belgian authorities favoured Tutsis for government jobs, helping breed resentment among the shut out Hutus. This CBC Television documentary looks back at the roots of Rwanda's past and how it paved the way for the genocide Dallaire would witness first-hand.”
 - D. On Edge of Horror: http://archives.cbc.ca/war_conflict/peacekeeping/topics/1686-11595/ 11:32
 - 1. “When Lt.-Gen. Roméo Dallaire arrives in the Rwandan capital of Kigali in October 1993 he has high hopes for what he believes will be a textbook case of international peacekeeping. But as he prepares to help broker a shaky peace, Hutu extremists are secretly putting the pieces in place for a widespread massacre of their hated rivals, the Tutsis. This CBC Television documentary looks back at Dallaire's growing concern as grave warnings surface within a country that reporter Brian Stewart says is “on the very edge of unimaginable horror.”
 - E. All Hell Breaks Loose: http://archives.cbc.ca/war_conflict/peacekeeping/topics/1686-11596/ 4:57
 - 1. “On the evening of April 6, 1994, a plane carrying the Hutu presidents of Rwanda (Habyarimana) and nearby Burundi is shot down. As news of the presidents' deaths spreads, armed Hutu extremists launch a calculated campaign of terror and begin killing hundreds of Tutsis and politically moderate Hutus. In this clip from CBC Radio's *As It Happens*, a shaken Roméo Dallaire describes the scene from Kigali, saying Hutu militias have “gone on a rampage” of “killing, destroying, massacring [and] mutilating.”
 - F. Killing Continues: http://archives.cbc.ca/war_conflict/peacekeeping/topics/1686-11620/ 6:15
 - 1. “It's one month after the initial killings, and Roméo Dallaire is trying to salvage some sort of peace in Rwanda. Isolated from his UN bosses who withdraw most of his troops, Dallaire is forced to stand helplessly as the genocide explodes around him. As global interest in Rwanda wanes, Dallaire explains in this CBC Television report what he hopes to do for Rwandans and why “I don't think walking out of here is an option.””
 - G. Evil on Trial http://archives.cbc.ca/war_conflict/peacekeeping/topics/1686-11624/ 8:49
 - 1. “More than a decade after he first arrived in Africa, Roméo Dallaire is back to testify against his old enemies. Under heavy security, Dallaire arrives at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

where he will face down the alleged ringleaders of the 1994 genocide as a witness. This CBC Television documentary looks at the 2004 trial and Dallaire's emotional time on the stand."

III. Sources of it

- A. Original tribal/ethnic differences
- B. Colonial exacerbation and reinforcement of those differences
- C. NGOs, governments, etc. try to raise concern about the problem
- D. What are the reasons for non-action?
- E. What role for the UN
 1. UNAMIR: United Nations Assistance Mission For Rwanda (October 1993 – March 1996). UNAMIR was originally established to help implement the Arusha Peace Agreement signed by the Rwandese parties on 4 August 1993. UNAMIR's mandate and strength were adjusted on a number of occasions in the face of the tragic events of the genocide and the changing situation in the country. UNAMIR's mandate came to an end on 8 March 1996
- F. Why does the US not take action -- this is what all of Powers article is about
 1. Bureaucratic inaction
 2. Business as usual
 3. Politics
 - a) "Why did none of these things happen? One reason is that all possible sources of pressure— U.S. allies, Congress, editorial boards, and the American people—were mute when it mattered for Rwanda." Powers.
 4. Racism
 - a) Susan Rice, "stunned a few of the officials present when she asked, "If we use the word 'genocide' and are seen as doing nothing, what will be the effect on the November [congressional] election?"" Powers. Rice is now U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations

IV. Some questions worth asking

- A. What is the morality of Acts of omission (NOT going into Rwanda and leaving Hutu to slaughter Tutsi) vs. acts of commission (going into Rwanda and having American or UN soldiers kill Hutu)
- B. How should we evaluate American deaths vs. other deaths
- C. Alternative actions
 1. What could we have done in the short run when it was already upon us?
 2. What could we do now to avert this in countries where it is occurring today?
- D. When is intervention appropriate

V. How should we respond to wartime rape and female genital mutilation

- A. Support for feminist view of IR
 1. Rape not considered a crime at Nuremberg
 2. Low-profile given to rape during and after war
 3. Failure to see rape as systematic tool of war
- B. What do you make of Carpenter's argument about norms and human rights?
- C. Questions
 1. Are the following similar or different, and what should we do in each case?
 - a) A particular government's military commits systematic rape during war
 - b) A particular government fails to take actions to prevent rape when it is known to be a systematic problem in society during peacetime
 - c) A particular government punishes those who do not follow certain reproductive rules
 - d) A religion punishes those who do not follow certain reproductive rules
 - e) Government forces young women to submit to genital mutilation
 - f) Men in society force young women to submit to genital mutilation
 - g) Women in society force young women to submit to genital mutilation
 2. If we think we should do something, what should we do?
 - a) Education? Is it bi-directional (do Westerners get educated as well as educate)? Are our minds open to change?
 - b) Social change and mobilization?
 - c) Diplomacy?
 - d) Sanctions? Military force?
 3. Should we be concerned about the homogenization of world culture?