

SQUARE HYENA WAITING:

1050 And All That

In Interlacustrine Zone

Time past and time future
Are both, perhaps
Contained in time present

- T.S. Eliot

Mistah Kurtz. Him dead.

- **The Heart of Darkness**

Joseph Conrad

The undead talk.
And it is best to listen.

- Interlacustrine Saying

Rabbit, rabbit where are you going?
I am going out to kill the elephant.
Rabbit, rabbit can you really do that?
Well... I'll try.... and try again.

- Lake Proverb

Those who will not understand history
Are doomed to repeat it.

- George Santayana

If all time is eternally present
All time is irredeemable...
Redeem the time.

- T.S. Eliot

I.

FOUR PROPOSITIONS

1. The fall 1996 Zaire crisis is only intelligible in the ongoing context of the Interlacustrine Struggle whose roots go back 500 years.
2. External intervention has almost always been part of the problem (the Portuguese in SSA also go back 500 years) - but less often part of the solution.
3. Killing people is a bad thing. Inadvertence is a poor defence. Genocide is not negotiable... so one would hope.
4. There is no primordial reason Hutu and Tutsi people cannot live peaceably or even harmoniously together - vide Ankole and Kagera.

II.

TIME PAST....

1050 - Between The Lakes

(Victoria - Kivu - Tanganyika)

- Lush, forested, fertile, hill and mountain
- Hutu - short, stout, croppers
 - tiny proto states
 - retreated to hill country

1300 - Oromia

(Southeast Ethiopia)

- The peoples move out - Somalia and South
- Tutsi - tall, thin, pastoralists
 - large multi family clans
 - effective at war
- Other - e.g. Ganda?

1500 - Enter The Mwami... and the Europeans

- Tutsi after long wandering (and defeats?) conquer Interlacustrine Zone except Kivu
- 1700 (?) including Kivu
- Nowhere (except perhaps S. Kivu) over 25%
- Feudal system - pastoral Tutsi lords
 - cropping Hutu serfs
- Some intermarriage - later denied (à la Cape Coloured in South Africa)
- Some assimilated Hutu in Tutsi camp
- Sometimes one kingdom - under Mwami of Rwanda - sometimes four:
Kagera, Ankole, Burundi, Rwanda (plus Kivu)
- Last great Mwami of Interlacustrine Zone latter half 1800's
- At death battle for succession
 - loosing prince flees to Ankole where his descendants still seen as Banyarwanda (not Banyankole). Today one (Yuweri Museveni) is President of Uganda.

III.

MISTAH KURTZ....

Colonial Conquest 1900-1915

- To 1905 Deutsch Ost Africa (R-B-Kiv-Kagera)

British East Africa (Ankole)

Two Colonial Horror Eras

- Heritage of Congo Free State
- Heritage of German ruthlessness (over 1 German dead per kilometre of rail - how many Africans unknown)
- "The evil that men do lives after them"

1918-1955 - Belgium in R-B (R-U then)

- Tutsi = 10+ cattle/Hutu 10-

Initial census 1920's

- 1930's attempt to create loyal burgher class - defined by property set at 10 cattle (only common readily valued African asset)
- 1 Burgher = 10 Cattle = 1 Tutsi
(Mad Fleming Disease)
- Greater division and conflict/firm Belgian backing of Tutsi

1955-60 - To Independence B and R

- Burundi - Great statesman and non chauvinist Prince Louis Rwegasore
 - Mixed Cabinet Peaceful Transition
 - Assassination (by European) of Rwegasore
- Rwanda- 59/60 Jacquerie ("wretched of earth rise")
 - 50,000 (?) Tutsi die/350,000-400,000 to Uganda and Tanzania - 600,000 stay
 - Belgians switch to back Hutu

UK in Ankole-Kagera - erosion of division

- **Ankole** - clear divide remains but basically peaceful political struggle
- e.g. Grace Ibingira (Museveni's Tutsi/Hima mentor) sought to oust Obote, himself voted out by Basil Bataringaya (H)
- In 1980-82 Museveni's party low % support Ankole
- **Kagera** - much more erosion of division
- Wahaya becomes name for both Hutu/Tutsi
- Still political struggle (within TANU) - as much education/class as ethnic(?)

1960-1992 - Burundi

- Tutsi hegemony becomes more violent - exclusivist-chauvinist
- Genocide under Micombero - Enter French military technical assistance
- Col. Buyoya late 80's seizes power - creates multiethnic cabinet and party
- 1992 runs for President - 40% of vote (15% Tutsi/25% Hutu) Hutu candidate wins (60% Hutu)
- Buyoya forces installation of winner (later assassinated in Tutsi officers' failed coup)

1960-1986 - Rwanda

- Uneven anti Tutsi/accommodationist periods
- Still higher % rich farmers/merchants/professional side of civil service/secondary and university students than Tutsi 15% of population (Malaysia or Tanzania "affirmative action" caps but - like T - above population share)
- 1976-86 relative H-T tranquillity - President Habuyamira's repression largely intra-Tutsi

1962-1983 - Ankole

- Little change/rivalry within system
- Clear cleavage/little violence

1961-1994 - Tanzania

- "One nation" policy succeeds
- Tanzanian first/Haya second/Tutsi or Hutu third (and perhaps half both with names of one group by families of other)
- Total end feudal remnants
- Split image of Haya nationally - Professors, Senior Civil Servants and Whores to 1988
- 1988 Amin invasion. 10,000 massacred. Furious upsurge national sentiment for Kagerans. "Bring back the head of the Great Snake" demonstrations
- Invasion topples Amin. One column led by Museveni and child soldiers. Emerges war hero - despite pointless sacrifice children's' lives in human wave assault on entrenched Libyans. Through Western Uganda past 1959-60 Tutsi refugee camps.

1960-1983 - Refugees in Uganda

- Most rotting in huge camps growing hate/building plots/newcomers when repression in R
- A few gained education and/or went to Europe

1960-1994 - Refugees in Tanzania

- Hutu (Burundi)/Tutsi (Rwanda) kept well apart/most not near borders
- Small camps/grow food - build new lives
- Integrationist - children born in T automatically citizens, about 2/3 refugees recorded as naturalised (about ½ actually receive cards)
- Treated as Wahaya e.g. one scholarships through PhD at LSE/Senior Lecturer/Board of Governors Bank of Tanzania

And In Zaire

- Growing tensions
- Mobutu divide and rule favours non-Tutsi in Kivus/denies 200-300 (S. Kivu) and 60 (N. Kivu) year resident families are citizens
- But uneven e.g. 1990's Prime Minister Wa Dondo Tutsi on mother's side

IV.

THE UNDEAD TALK

The Road Toward Hell - Rwanda 1986/94

- Fear on accession of Museveni to power with officer corps/crack troops dominated by refugee Tutsi (Banyarwanda not Banyankole)
- Increased surveillance/repression Tutsi
- Rejection Museveni initiative for refugee return (and Tanzanian rejection Rwanda proposal to send 1,000,000 Rwandans - including the refugees? - to Tanzania)
- **1990** - Rwanda Patriotic Army (ex core Uganda army) invades - Kigali 'saved' by French Foreign Legion intervention - 1/3 Rwanda RPA/RPF (so much for Earthwatch's soil depletion explanation for 30% fall official crop estimates)
- **1992** - False dawn - first Arusha Accord breaks down at once
 - UN 'Observer' force
- **1993** - renewed RPF advance/renewed talks
 - Habuyamira forms Radio Milles Collines (Goebbels in Central Africa substituting Tutsi for Jew) and Interahamwe
 - Habuyamira agrees free election

- Cabinet with majority "moderate" Hutu (anti H/including Prime Minister Agatha) and Tutsi majority
- Final Arusha Accord/"extreme" (very) Hutu Committee for Defence of Revolution believes H "selling out"
- Presidential plane shot down returning from Arusha - Habuyamira and President Burundi die
- 16 hours later genocide begins (Cabinet majority first - on phones to UN asking protection)
- about 600,000 die - 400,000 Tutsi, 200,000 moderate Hutu. Politico ethnic genocide
- Probably 10,000 leaders of genocide/50,000 fully active participants/400,000+ peripheral participants
- UN stands by, 'observing' and 'protecting' itself (except Ghanaian Lt. Col. who uses his 400 to save 10,000 lives/barely escapes court martial)
- Thus the words "If you have the UN to protect you... buy your coffin quick".
- RPA drives forward
- France intervenes to cover retreat army/Interahamwe clients to Zaire

- RPF government under Vice President/Minister of Defence Major General Paul Kagame (rank from Uganda Army as intelligence/security chief for Museveni 1986/90)
- Almost all positions of **power** held by returnee Tutsi (750,000 odd returnees by 1996 - Uganda/Kenya/Zaire/Europe but only about 25% of those in Tanzania) Hutu PM an assimilated neo-Tutsi and President an estimable "Holy Idiot" in an unreal (if better than real) world

'Give Me Kampala and I Will Give You Back Kigali?

- Tutsi refugees in W. Uganda camps form core of Banyarwanda Royal Prince and Ugandan President Aspirant Museveni's Army (1983-86)
- Failure M's initiatives for peaceful return (1987-89)
- Ugandans increasingly resent Banyarwanda role in army (1988 on)
- RPA invades with Uganda uniforms (less insignia), vehicles, arms, munitions, rations
- RPF drives to victory in July 1994 with same
- World Bank complains Uganda demobilisation (including all Banyarwanda - to RPA) savings and reintegration finance to Uganda diverted to other military uses (1996)

Holding Back the Tide - The Thin Black Line In Tanzania

- Tanzanian mobilisation to accommodate Burundi refugees (1993-94) switched to Rwanda (1994)
- Repeated (failed) efforts to negotiate coalition in R and re-establishment stability after first presidential assassination in Burundi
- 10,000 (later 20,000?) troops to border to ensure no overspill nor cross border raiding
- Arguments with UNHCR: 100 km from border rule (vs. stone's throw at Bonaco)/50,000 camp size limit (vs. 500,000 now at Bonaco/UNHCR welcome refugee organisation which was all too clearly Interahamwe/attempt to impose starvation rations by UNHCR-NGO's/letting Burundi-Rwanda via Burundi refugees into T when no guarantee of food for those already in
- Interahamwe role in Bonaco (10 killings a night) - 500 police enforce peace by day/no attacks on Tanzanians or expatriates
- First enforcement Tanzania's (colonial era) refugee laws to limit movement - deportations via Zaire to France of suspected IH leaders outside camps
- Attempt to educate border Prefects (Governors) in Rwanda of case for good governance/reconciliation

- The "dead boat" (1984 Tutsi/1994 on Hutu murder victims) on the Kagera and the mass grave

Burundi Compromise Erodes

- Army uneven loyalty (at best) to elected government
- Hutu extremist fraction flees to Zaire to found Radio Democracy and Committee for Defence of Democracy (Burundian Radio Milles Collines Interahamwe) preaching Genocide
- Second Presidential assassination (with Habuyamira at Kigali)
- Disintegrating consensus behind - two peoples/one country. Must live together or die together. Better live - line of Buyoya and the three presidents.

Zaire - Pawns and Pawnbrokers

- Interahamwe/ex Rwanda Army rearmed, trained (in Zaire, apparently also CAR, perhaps Cameroon)
- Burundi CDD/RD financed/train commandos (reportedly aided by Khartoum-Paris)

- France clears lines - drops Burundi (Tutsi) army continues links IH-CDD-Mobutu
- Mobutu uses Refugees to gain international support/re-establish control over Kivu/encourages their vendetta against Banyamulenge (S. Kivu) and Banyarwanda (N. Kivu) Tutsi Zairois

V.

OF RABBITS AND ELEPHANTS

The heart of darkness cannot be defined Geographically, Ethnically nor Culturally.

Joseph Conrad "The heart of darkness lies in the heart of man"

is correct - not his superficial readers who appear to think he saw it as in Central Africa.

As it happens, his three dominant vignettes from hell:

- The French battleship shelling the Congo jungle to put down the rising against the Comte de Brazza's failed economy and life destroying concession policy.
 - The African prisoners in chains building the Matadi-Leopoldville Railway for the 'reformed' Belgium colonial regime (stock capital for oligopolists/oligopsonists)
 - The avenue of posted skulls leading to the late Kurtz's trading post (failed monopoly concessionaire of Societe Anonimee de Roi Leopold - otherwise Congo Free State)
- are all European darkness in Africa.

Central Africa is hardly unique:

Bosnia... East Timor... West Irian... Chechnya

The Elephant At Bay

Nor is it unchangeable, primordial, immutable that Hutu hate Tutsi and Tutsi fear Hutu with the same murderous outcome.

- 200,000 moderate Hutu (i.e. believers in two peoples alive in one country) died in the genocide
- Tutsi vengeance (oddly, perhaps, more for 1959-60 than 1997) has not been remotely comparable to the 1959-60 deaths let alone the 1994 genocide:
 - ✓ Kibeha Camp was genocide - but one off with clear warnings repeaters would face court martial and firing squads
 - ✓ Assassinations unequivocally linked to hard core RPA/RPF fraction are few (both IH and hard core do assassinate what Hutu moderate leaders still live - to purist fanatics in both camps they are ultimate enemy)
 - ✓ Many Tutsi leaders (army and civilian) really are national - in the geographic sense - rebuilders for whom, e.g., universal primary health care or sound fiscal and monetary policy are more personally compelling themes than Tutsi-Hutu divisions

Ankole - whatever its tensions - has never under British or Ugandan rule been strife riven to the point of being a killing field.

Where The Rabbit Killed The Elephant

But the ultimate rebuttal is Kagera Region - all but 1 or 2 of 7 districts coming from old Kagera Tutsi/Hutu Kingdom

Tanzanian first - Haya second - Hutu/Tutsi third (and often both)

'Mixed' civil society (villages in some cases, churches, public service, medical service, commercial sector)

"We do not understand them. They are so violent to each other" - border Haya on refugees

Militantly national - police, army, flag, Provincial and District Governor welcomed - respected - saluted

Where a border (down a road/near hill scarp/across a scrub field) means something - life behind the thin black line under the diagonal flag or death in confused battle

These are as Central Africa people as those of Eastern Zaire and as Hutu/Tutsi as those of Rwanda or Burundi

And their social relations are as much Hutu-Tutsi as the chilling words of Msgri the *de facto* Vicar General of Interahamwe:

- Gun in hand we left our country.

Gun in hand we shall return.

- The problem of Rwanda is that too many Tutsi are still alive. We must return and finish the job.
- In the name of The Father and of The Son and of the Holy Spirit I christen thee - Revenge.

VI.

THOSE WHO WILL NOT UNDERSTAND

Things Fall Apart...

- Burundi toward Rwanda 1994?
- Rwanda danger counter-genocide
- Zaire implosive explosions
- No coherent international view

Save lives? Whose?

Disarm IH (and CDD?) - How?

Refugee Return? Or Refoulement?

Ensure Sanctity of Borders? Whose?

Risk no (intervenor) lives - spend little money - get out quick

- The Light Brigade only charged once but...

Somalia 1993-5

Rwanda 1991-5

Rwanda/Zaire 1996?

- State of Extreme Febrile Fluidity

May knock IH/CDD out (or westward)

Allows (forces) some refugee return

Makes quick fix international force even less wise

Does not resolve any of basic tensions

The Last Few Days

- "In the south of France an evil man lies dying..."

- Anti Mobutu risings

S. Kivu Banyamulenge + Others

(Uvira/Bukoba Fall)

N. Kivu Banyarwanda + Others (probably including RPF/RPA)

(Goma Falls)

- The Insurrection Zone - Kivu East

Blast out IH/CDD

Push refugees home (at least in northern half)

Halt transborder raids

Chase Mobutu's men out

(largely accomplished)

Build alliance with Kasai/Shaba elements (which?)

To Kisangani and Gbadolite(?)

- Peril to some refugees reduced

Perhaps 10,000 dead - no imminent danger to returnees

500,000 en route Rwanda (Goma) - 'safe'

300,000 somewhere N to NF Kivu - at grave risk

500,000 somewhere S. Kivu - at potential risk

- Rwanda no resources to reintegrate (calls for return apparently not expected to work - no international mobilisation of resources (attempted) - no land to go back to (750,000 returning Tutsi on most of it) - no trust that no ex-IH or accomplices are infiltrating
- International force unwelcome to Zaire Insurrection/Rwanda/Burundi - welcome Zaire only if restores Mobutu's rule to border
- French goals not compatible smashing IH/CDD/compatible Mobutu's
- Burundi crisis has not gone away
- No evident containable/clear/attainable goal for small international command not able/willing to wage war
- Possible use impartial (preferably African) armed police to help supervise return/reconciliation and avert clashes of 'get defence in first' kind. Not very welcome/maybe negotiable in B and watered down monitor/liaison variant R
- Burundi crisis still there. Eased to extent CDD has lost Uvira area bases
- Tanzania IH camp rule remains as documented in captured IH HQ Archives (T unwilling to shell camps to break)

- Security burdens R-T-B remain (perhaps lessened)
- Making lives whole again for Z/T 'hosts' remains undone

There Are No Neutrals Here

- Mobutu - Yes or No?
 - If Yes - secure airports for his reentry
 - If No - bar him from them
- Genocide - Yes or No?
 - If No - no deal with Interahamwe or Committee for Defence of Democracy
 - If Yes - set up a Hutustan under IH/CDD control and feed/service it (the mixture as before?)
- A Chance for Peace in Rwanda/Burundi?
 - If Yes - Finance reintegration screened refugees
 - create conditions for new (non IH/CDD) refugee leaders
 - require them and Bujumbura/Kigali to negotiate phased return/reintegration
 - in interim relocate in 20,000-50,000 camps 100 km. from border where able to grow food (not hate) and build new lives (not plots)

- provide finance for Rwanda to rehabilitate
- require Burundi to create a workable Tutsi/Hutu moderate govt. (Buyoya + x e.g. ex-President) **and** provide force to see off CDD and hard line Tutsi officers (non-aligned African force - e.g. Tanzania, Mali, Ethiopia, South Africa, Congo **not** France, Cameroon, Belgium, UK, Canada, USA) as well as finance
- Make the Genocide Tribunal work and require/enable Rwanda to provide fast fair trials or releases (presumably not for all 500,000 potential defendants???)

If No Concern - pull out

- let the (bloody) market decide
- force all non-regional states to stay out
- help innocent bystander neighbours with spillover costs
- hope you (the outsiders) and R-B-Z are mutually isolated islands

To seek to provide instant food for all IH-CDD-Eastern Zaire Insurgents-Zaire Civilians-Mobutu Forces and to deal with R-B-IH-CDD-EZI-MF-Ta amiably at once is madness.

AND SO TO.... REDEEM THE TIME?

Palm pat of plodding bear

Puss purr of prowling leopard

Square Hyena waiting

For laughter, laughter, laughter...

The Lords of Hell are here.

Or

We who are only undefeated

Because we have gone on trying.

?

R.H. Green
Lewes
November 1996