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## Rwanda's Hutu Extremist Insurgency: An Eyewitness Perspective

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Prior to the signing of the Arusha Accords in August 1993, which ended Rwanda's three year civil war, Rwandan Hutu extremists had already begun preparations for a genocidal insurgency against the soon-to-be implemented, broad-based transitional government.<sup>2</sup> They intended to eliminate all Tutsis and Hutu political moderates, thus ensuring the political control and dominance of Rwanda by the Hutu extremists. In April 1994, civil war reignited in Rwanda and genocide soon followed with the slaughter of 800,000 to 1 million people, primarily Tutsis, but including Hutu political moderates.<sup>3</sup> In July 1994 the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) defeated the rump government,<sup>4</sup> forcing the flight of approximately 40,000 Forces Armées Rwandaises (FAR) and INTERAHAMWE militia into neighboring Zaire and Tanzania. The majority of Hutu soldiers and militia fled to Zaire. In August 1994, the EX-FAR/INTERAHAMWE began an insurgency from refugee camps in eastern Zaire against the newly established, RPF-dominated, broad-based government. The new government desired to foster national unity. This action signified a juxtaposition of roles: the counterinsurgent Hutu-dominated government and its military, the FAR, becoming insurgents; and the guerrilla RPF leading a broad-based government of national unity and its military, the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA), becoming the counterinsurgents.

The current war in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DROC), called by some notable diplomats "Africa's First World War," involving the armies of seven countries as well as at least three different Central African insurgent groups, can trace its root cause to the 1994 Rwanda genocide. In reality, some protagonists wage two wars simultaneously: the war by Congolese rebels supported by Rwanda and Uganda against the Kabila regime, and the Hutu Genocidal Insurgency waged by Rwanda against the Hutu extremist insurgents (EX-FAR/INTERAHAMWE)<sup>5</sup> supported by Kabila and, arguably, along with Zimbabwean forces, the backbone of Kabila's military. Since late 1996, Rwanda has intervened twice in Zaire/DROC, currently supporting the Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD) forces, earlier the 1996-1997 rebellion that ousted Zairian President Mobutu and installed Laurent Kabila as President of the

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Democratic Republic of Congo. Rwanda intervened in Zaire/DROC because of the EX-FAR/INTERAHAMWE use of Eastern Zaire/DROC as rear area training/supply bases for operations into western Rwanda. As long as the EX-FAR remain a viable threat against Rwanda, turmoil will continue in the Great Lakes region.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, the Rwandan government has stated on numerous occasions “its troops will remain in Congo as long as there is no guarantee of security on its borders and Hutu militias are able to launch raids.”<sup>7</sup>

Rwanda’s second insurgency, conducted by Hutu genocidal extremists, is the focus of discussion. Kitson defines insurgency as the use of armed force taken by one section of country to overthrow those governing the country at the time, or to force them to do things they do not want to do.<sup>8</sup> The EX-FAR objective is to return Rwanda to events in April 1994: complete the genocide and thus return to power.

The RPF 1990 invasion (see below) provided the root of this insurgency that began in August 1994. Cable, in “Reinventing the Round Wheel: Insurgency, Counterinsurgency, and Peacekeeping,” provides the model for assessing the insurgency; so far the government has the initiative and has had success.<sup>9</sup> He states that governments and insurgents alike have two tools to use when fighting for control of a country’s population: enhancement of perceived legitimacy and credible capacity to coerce.<sup>10</sup> The current government came to power through the barrel of the gun. Therefore, some would argue that it is not a legitimate government. However, since the key is enhancement of perceived legitimacy, the current government does have a fighting chance against the insurgents. Military force serves as the government’s primary means of credible capacity to coerce based on the societal view that legitimacy stemmed from the ability to coerce or inflict harm. This served as a double-edged sword. When the RPA conducted harsh reprisals against the civilian Hutu population, it had an adverse effect, because it played right into the Hutu extremist message of Tutsi oppression of the Hutu. Stability usually returned to an area after the RPA defeated or forced the EX-FAR to flee. The increased incorporation of former FAR into the RPA reduced reprisals and made the army a credible coercive force as it focused on protecting the civilian population and engaging the EX-FAR. At present the government has the upper hand, because it has forced the bulk the EX-FAR to flee into DROC, the primary source and conduit for external support. The Rwanda government and senior military leaders apparently have learned the lesson that external support plays a critical role in the success or failure of insurgent forces.<sup>11</sup> The RPA has intervened twice in Zaire/DROC to cut external support to the insurgents.

## **Background to Insurgency**

On October 1, 1990, RPF forces, composed primarily of 10,000 Tutsi exiles from Uganda's National Resistance Army, launched a conventional attack from Uganda into northern Rwanda. This invasion brought reprisals against Tutsis by the Habyarimana regime. Anyone who opposed the regime was viewed as an RPF supporter.

**Historical and Geographical Background:** Rwanda's history and geography help explain the causes of the civil war and the Hutu extremist genocide and insurgency. Despite the ethnic undertones of the conflict, economics plays a critical role in the violent history of post-independence Rwanda, one of the most densely populated and poorest countries in Africa. It is a small country with approximately 7.5 million people and about 10,000 square miles (the size of Maryland). Its economy is agriculture-based, relying on coffee and tea exports. Rwanda is a picturesque landlocked country: about 6,000 feet above sea level and just south of the equator giving it a pleasant subtropical climate (70-75 degrees Fahrenheit year round). It has open plains in the east, numerous rolling hills in the center, and volcanic mountains in the west along the Great Rift Valley.<sup>12</sup>

Rwanda is one of the few African countries whose modern borders resemble its feudal ones, except that the Kingdom at times extended its influence into modern eastern Congo and southern Uganda. Additionally, unlike most African countries, Rwanda has a single unifying language (Kinyarwanda) and culture. However, within that culture, the Rwandan population includes several broad social categories: Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa, as well as narrower identities of region, clan, and lineage. These classifications have been the source of great violence, including genocide, just prior to and since independence in 1962. In 1926 Belgium introduced a system of ethnic identity cards. Anyone holding ten or more head of cattle was deemed a Tutsi. In 1933, the Belgians conducted a census using these identity cards that is the source of the perceived percentages for each group: Hutu 85%, Tutsi 14%, and Twa 1%. During the 1970's, the percentage of Tutsi was smaller due to government discrimination and hence lack of material benefits for being Tutsi. No census has occurred following the 1994 Genocide, but the author estimates that the percentages are probably about 75% Hutu, 24% Tutsi, and 1% Twa.<sup>13</sup>

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Rwanda's social structure and history are intertwined, and one must understand the two to comprehend the Hutu extremist genocidal insurgency.<sup>14</sup> We will begin with what Hutu and Tutsi mean. Rwanda was a kingdom dating back almost one thousand years. This was a highly centralized kingdom ruled by the Mwami (king) using a feudal social system from which non-permanent social classes evolved. As in most feudal systems, there existed a feudal lord and serf, in this case Tutsi and Hutu, respectively.<sup>15</sup> However, their social relations were generally non-antagonistic. Tutsis tended to own more than ten head of cattle and Hutus cultivated the land. As time progressed, poor Hutu and Tutsi, especially in the northwest, were farmers. One must note, however, predominately Hutu northwestern Rwanda (modern day Ruhengeri and Gisenyi prefectures) remained virtually autonomous from the Mwami until the arrival of the Germans in the late nineteenth century. This helps explain the almost arrogant nature of northwestern Hutus toward other Hutus, especially during the Habyarimana regime, as the late President came from Ruhengeri Prefecture.

The average Rwandan, Hutu and Tutsi alike, living on the collines or hills, is a very poor subsistence farmer who requires peace to cultivate his small field. Approximately 90 percent of these peasants are illiterate. In the northwest there is little distinction between Hutu and Bagogwe Tutsi; both have few clothes and lack shoes, they have the same problems struggling to survive. From Rwandan independence up to 1994, little improvement occurred in the average Rwandan's life: the poor remained poor. People still cultivate in the same manner they did in 1958.<sup>16</sup> However, what did change prior to and until 1994 was that the intellectuals manipulated the perceived historical economic differences between Hutu and Tutsi to gain power. President Kayibanda, a southern Hutu, did not work to improve the country, but for his political class. President Habyarimana did not change the quality of life for peasants, even in the northwest, but enriched his and his wife's clan and other members of the Akazu, "small hut."

During the period of European colonialism Rwanda was part of German East Africa until the end of World War I. Belgium administered Rwanda as a League of Nations and then a United Nations mandate until independence in 1962. The Germans and then the Belgians promoted Tutsi supremacy. Following World War II, though, the Belgian White Fathers tended to promote Hutus, because they were the oppressed "majority," as the wave of self-determination began to sweep Africa.<sup>17</sup> In 1957, the Party for the Emancipation of the Hutus (PARMEHUTU) was organized. Two years later, the Mwami died, and Hutus with Belgian support ousted the Tutsi monarchy. Shortly afterward, a Hutu

“revolution” resulted in massacres of thousands of Tutsis and the creation of the Rwandan Tutsi Diaspora. Attempts by Tutsi exiles to launch insurgencies in the early 1960s failed, with Hutu backlashes against the internal Tutsi population. These events sowed the seeds for fundamentals of Hutu extremist ideology: exclusion, expulsion, and extermination.<sup>18</sup> Tutsi who remained inside Rwanda were excluded by the government, at times forced to leave due to violence, or outright massacred.

In 1972, another Hutu backlash against Tutsi occurred in response to Burundi Tutsi massacres of Burundi Hutus. Violence continued in 1973, and then Army Chief of Staff Juvenal Habyarimana seized power, pledging to restore order. Two years later Habyarimana formed the Mouvement Republicain National pour la Democratie et le Developpement (MRND). He began funneling government largesse to his Hutu homeland (five communes in Ruhengeri and Gisenyi Prefectures) in the northwest, excluding other Hutus and Tutsis.<sup>19</sup> Political liberalization swept Africa in the late 1980s, including Rwanda. This generated hope among elements in the Tutsi Diaspora that they could negotiate their return to Rwanda.<sup>20</sup> However, the Habyarimana government refused to accept a peaceful resolution of the status of expatriate Tutsi refugees.

**The Rwandan Patriotic Front/Army Invades Rwanda:** On October 1, 1990 the Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA), the armed wing of the RPF, invaded Rwanda from Uganda. Shortly after the RPF invasion, the FAR, with help from French and Zairian troops, pushed the rebels back into Uganda. The Rwandan government soon asked the undisciplined Zairian soldiers to leave, as they spent more time looting than fighting. French paratroopers remained until December 1993. Then Major Paul Kagame took command of the RPA following the death of its commander, Fred Rwigema. Kagame reorganized the RPA to pursue a guerrilla war in northern Rwanda using the volcanic mountain chain along the western border. Government propaganda caused masses of Hutu peasants to flee RPA advances throughout the course of the civil war.<sup>21</sup> Through a series of offensives and subsequent negotiated withdrawals, the RPF gained control of about five percent of Rwanda along the border with Uganda before it signed the Arusha Accords in August 1993 with the Rwanda government.<sup>22</sup>

In response to the RPA invasion, the 5,000-man FAR rapidly expanded, with French training assistance, to nearly 30,000 by 1993.<sup>23</sup> The Presidential Guard and Hutu extremist militias (the MRND's INTERAHAMWE and the Coalition pour la Defense de la Republique [CDR]'s IMPUZAMUBAMBI), who

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comprised the main perpetrators of the genocide and preceding political violence, emerged during this expansion. France, Egypt and South Africa provided the bulk of the arms used to equip the expanded army and militias.<sup>24</sup> France had granted Rwanda the same status as its own former African colonies in the mid 1970s. Egyptian interest in Rwanda stemmed from its interest in safeguarding the source waters of the Nile found in Rwanda. South Africa's interest seemed to be purely business: the sale of weapons.

As the FAR increased its strength, so did its tendency to commit crimes with impunity. Massacre operations, especially those carried out by the Presidential Guard, became the order of the day.<sup>25</sup> The Presidential Guard, the regime's most trusted unit, consisted exclusively of Hutu extremists from the northwest, President and Madame Habyarimana's home communes.

**Creating Hutu Extremist Militias:** Rwanda's Hutu extremist genocidal insurgency's roots go back to 1992 with the creation of the armed youth wing of the MRND, the INTERAHAMWE, whose sole purpose was terrorizing the perceived enemies of the Habyarimana regime. The much smaller IMPUZAMUBAMBI was created later for the same reason. Although French troops may not have directly trained the militias and youth wings of the MRND and CDR, these elements received terrorist training at FAR bases throughout the country.<sup>26</sup> An Organization for African Unity (OAU) Neutral Military Observer Group (OANMOG)<sup>27</sup> officer stated, "Military officers out of uniform led extremist Hutu militia units and had an efficient system in place that could mobilize 500 plus youths in an hour to execute specific missions" (initially demonstrations, but later political violence and after 6 April 1994, mass murder).<sup>28</sup> Nationwide, the INTERAHAMWE and the IMPUZAMUBAMBI ranged between 10,000 and 30,000 members.

**The Arusha Accords and Transition Government:** Hutu extremist militia activity increased with the implementation of the Arusha Accords signed on August 4, 1993. The Accords ended three years of fighting and were supposed to pave the way for multi-party general elections. According to the treaty, the existing government would remain in office until a transitional government was set up within 37 days from the signing of the accords. All registered political parties were eligible to participate in the transitional government and were allocated ministerial posts. The CDR, a Hutu extremist party that advocated Hutu supremacy, opposed the negotiations and was excluded from the process due to RPF objections to its participation. Once the transitional government was in place, the two sides would integrate their militaries into a single 19,000

man national army. A Neutral International Force (NIF) would ensure security throughout the country during the transitional period. The NIF became the UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) when the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 872 on October 5, 1993. Finally, multi-party elections were to be held in 22 months. Both the Rwandan government and the RPF agreed that Faustin Twagiramungu, the president of the Mouvement Democratique de la Republique (MDR), would become prime minister of the broadly based interim government.<sup>29</sup> However, the Hutu extremists had other plans for the future Rwanda.

The Habyarimana regime lost little time in subverting the Arusha Agreement. According to Twagiramungu, the prime minister-designate, extremist soldiers, notably the Presidential Guard, wanted the president to resume the war with the RPF, while Habyarimana merely wanted to use delaying tactics by refusing to form the transitional government.<sup>30</sup> As time progressed, the tactic of political squabbling, which delayed establishing the transitional government, shifted to acts of violence and political assassination using Hutu extremist insurgent forces, namely the FAR-led INTERAHAMWE. Hutu Power, the extremist ideology championing the superiority of the majority Hutu, viewed genocide as a means of self-defense.<sup>31</sup> In January 1994, Twagiramungu accused the Defense Ministry of giving military training to more than 1,000 members of the INTERAHAMWE.<sup>32</sup> Violence escalated in February and March in an effort by the Hutu extremists to discern the reaction of the international community, which thus far had done little in response to previous Hutu militia attacks. The political impasse continued as violence increased, and the government and RPF prepared for renewed fighting. A well-informed source indicated that the RPF was reorganizing its military positions in northern Rwanda, while President Habyarimana was also reinforcing his army. Arms were widely available among the civilian population, especially in the northwest, the bastion of Hutu extremism and Habyarimana's home region, due to increased militia activity.<sup>33</sup>

**Civil War Reignites and Genocide Follows:** On April 6, 1994, Hutu extremists shot down Habyarimana's plane as it returned to Kigali from Arusha, Tanzania and then they began the systematic execution of Tutsi and moderate Hutus. The government used radio broadcasts and print media prior to and during the genocide to mobilize the Hutu population for what it saw as total war - the annihilation of all enemies of the state. Contrary to what the press reported at the outset of the genocide, the desire by the Hutu political elite for

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political supremacy, and not seething tribal hatred, generated the massive slaughter. The modern Hutu extremist political leaders deliberately chose to incite fear and hatred to keep themselves in power. “The Hutu authorities gave food, drinks, drugs, military uniforms, and small sums of cash to Rwanda’s hungry and jobless Hutu young people to encourage them to kill. Hutu farmers were given fields and encouraged to steal crops and animals from Tutsis while business owners and local officials were given houses, vehicles, televisions and computers to encourage their support and participation.”<sup>35</sup>

The civil war resumed as the RPA moved quickly to reinforce its 600-man battalion fighting for survival in Kigali and to stop the genocide. The international community evacuated its expatriates from Rwanda, and the UN Security Council voted to leave a token UNAMIR force in Kigali. As RPA forces advanced, the genocide stopped behind the lines; however, individual soldiers conducted reprisals against Hutus. International action occurred when France launched OPERATION TOURQUOISE “to protect those at risk,” from mid-June until mid-August 1994. The operation, headquartered in Goma, Zaire, moved into western Rwanda, creating a zone that included Kibuye, Cyangugu, and Gikongoro Prefectures in west central and southwestern Rwanda. The operation saved very few Tutsi lives, but rather facilitated the escape of many senior government officials (the leaders of the genocide) and the bulk of the FAR and Hutu militias, along with hundreds of thousands of Hutu civilians into eastern Zaire. The RPA captured Kigali on July 4, 1994. The RPA forces moved rapidly into the northwest and on July 17, 1994 the bulk of the FAR, along with about 800,000 Hutus, fled to Goma, Zaire. Refugee camps rapidly emerged along with a second humanitarian crisis. This time the victims were the *genocidaires*, their families, supporters, and Hutu hostages. The RPA insurgents now controlled Rwanda and the former government forces would begin their genocidal insurgency in August 1994 from the refugee camps of eastern Zaire.

## **Hutu Extremist Genocidal Insurgency**

**A New Insurgency Begins:** Senior former Rwandan government and military leaders lost little time launching their genocidal insurgency. The purpose was to continue the genocide, destabilize the new RPF-dominated, broad-based government and ultimately retake power. Like most insurgencies, this one started small and then gradually expanded in scope and scale. Initially,

small units infiltrated from the refugee camps in North Kivu into Gisenyi and Ruhengeri prefectures to conduct acts of banditry to gain resources (money and cattle) to purchase weapons and other military supplies, and to murder and intimidate local Hutus into not supporting the new government. UNAMIR daily situation reports noted these incidents, but the UN did not recognize these attacks as a budding insurgency.<sup>36</sup>

By October 1994, similar activity occurred in the humanitarian protection zone, the former zone TOURQUOISE, where UNAMIR forces relieved French forces in mid-August. RPA troops soon followed. As EX-FAR/INTERAHAMWE began to infiltrate into southwestern Rwanda from eastern Zaire, primarily across Lake Kivu from Idjwi Island and from northern Burundi, the Ethiopian contingent based in Cyangugu Prefecture engaged the rebels in fulfillment of its mandate to protect civilians at risk.<sup>37</sup>

While the EX-FAR/INTERAHAMWE conducted small-scale operations in western Rwanda in late 1994 and 1995, senior EX-FAR leaders reorganized their forces in the refugee camps and set up networks to acquire arms. The refugee camps provided an excellent external support base. Unlike other refugee crises, one could map Rwanda using the refugee camps, because refugees fled primarily by commune at the urging of their local political and military leaders. The humanitarian aid organizations used these same officials to govern the camps. The camps provided shelter, supplies, manpower, and a tax base for the EX-FAR/INTERAHAMWE. The MRND political leadership in the refugee camps created the Rally for the Return of Refugees and Democracy to Rwanda (RDR) as a means of disguising and legitimizing itself in the wake of the genocide. This organization included the EX-FAR. "The former commanders of the FAR, Rwandan Armed Forces, support us, ... Generals Bizimungu and Kabiligi, and the officers who were members of the general staff, but not militiamen. Only regular soldiers are part of the RDR."<sup>38</sup>

The reorganization used the EX-FAR units, officers, and soldiers in the camps as a foundation and incorporated the INTERAHAMWE and new recruits, males of military age in the refugee camps. The new organization called itself the Army for the Liberation of Rwanda (ALIR). EX-FAR officers and noncommissioned officers served as the cadres, while the INTERAHAMWE and new recruits served as the soldiers in new units. It was not uncommon for company grade (lieutenants and captains) to serve in field grade (major and lieutenant colonel) positions in the new battalions.<sup>39</sup>

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**Expanding the Insurgency:** By 1995, the EX-FAR had expanded its operations to include small raids against soft, non-military targets, as well as acts of sabotage, political assassination of local government leaders, murder of genocide survivors and witnesses, and ambushes along remote roads. At times, the EX-FAR also directly engaged small RPA units. An analysis of an RPA Army Headquarters log from January - August 1995 provided the following: Jan - 6 incidents, Feb - 16 incidents, Mar - 15 incidents, Apr - 9 incidents, May - 5 incidents, Jun - 4 incidents, Jul - 5 incidents, including the demolition of an electricity pole, Aug - 5 incidents including two acts of sabotage against a water line and power line.<sup>40</sup> In early 1995 most attacks occurred in southwestern Rwanda with some incidents in the northwest. By early 1996, attacks increased in the northwest as well.

From the outset of the insurgency, the local population in western Rwandan tended to support the insurgents, many of whom still had family inside Rwanda. A senior RPA officer explained how the insurgents mobilized the Hutu population to maintain support. The EX-FAR/INTERAHAMWE used various tactics to maintain support amongst Hutus. They continued to stress division, propagated under Habyarimana, rather than the new government's policy of integration and unity. The Hutu extremists used the psychology of fear and emphasized the divide between Hutu and Tutsi to build mistrust amongst the Hutu population in the refugee camps and western Rwanda toward the RPF-dominated government. Leaders played on the notion that being a Hutu equalled being a *genocidaire* in the eyes of the new government. The insurgents used terror to coerce support, with selective killing of collaborators. The RPA's heavy-handed counter insurgency operations exacerbated the situation, since the RPA tended to be less discriminating than the EX-FAR when it came to killing Hutu civilians. To further build mistrust, the insurgents used propaganda and the press to publicize any RPA negative action against the Hutu population.<sup>41</sup>

The EX-FAR not only continued to kill Tutsis in Rwanda but also targeted Tutsis living in Eastern Congo.<sup>42</sup> The EX-FAR sent elements into the Masisi plateau to gain support amongst the "Banyamasisi" Hutu and to eliminate the "Banyamasisi" Tutsi.<sup>43</sup> They used these operations to train new recruits. Masisi would become a rear area safe haven for the EX-FAR following the dismantling of the refugee camps in late 1996.

**Insurgents Operating in Eastern Zaire Refugee Camps Must Go:** Since late 1994, the new Rwandan government had asked the international community to do something about the refugee camps in Eastern Zaire to no avail. By the summer of 1996, the Hutu extremist genocidal insurgency seemed to be gaining steam, with no end in sight for the refugee problem in eastern Zaire, despite a few feeble attempts by the Mobutu regime to send refugees back to Rwanda. Furthermore, the EX-FAR had reorganized itself into two Divisions, one based in North Kivu, and the other in South Kivu. Plans were underway to launch a large-scale offensive to “liberate” Rwanda using a force in excess of 100,000.<sup>44</sup>

The Rwandan government could not allow this to happen and had begun planning its own pre-emptive operation to resolve the problem of the refugee camps. MG Kagame stated, “The decision to prepare for a second war was made in 1996, although rebels in Congo have said they were training for a year before the uprising began in October (1996). The impetus for the war, Kagame said, was the Hutu refugee camps. Hutu militiamen used the camps as bases from which they launched raids into Rwanda, and Kagame said the Hutus had been buying weapons and preparing for a full-scale invasion of Rwanda.”<sup>45</sup> The RPA had begun training Tutsis from Congo, primarily from the roughly 15,000 Banyamasisi Tutsi refugees living in a refugee camp in Gisenyi, who had been targeted by Congolese Hutus and the EX-FAR since 1995.<sup>46</sup>

In October 1996, fighting erupted in South Kivu as Zairian Armed Forces supported by the EX-FAR developed plans to attack Banyamulenge Tutsi. This was just the catalyst Kagame needed to launch his clandestine pre-emptive strike to resolve the EX-FAR and refugee camp problem. Rwanda had three objectives to accomplish in Zaire. “Kagame’s first objective was to dismantle the camps. The second was to destroy the structure of the Hutu army and militia units based in and around the camps either by bringing back the Hutu combatants to Rwanda and dealing with them here or scattering them. The third goal was broader — toppling Mobutu.”<sup>47</sup>

On November 15, 1996, the mass repatriation of Rwandan Hutus from Zaire began. The objective of the Rwandan government was to get the people back to their communes without establishing “displaced persons” camps. Little or no screening of the returnees occurred, a conscious decision on the part of the Rwandan authorities. Senior RPA officers recognized that Rwanda would face security problems in the future, but getting the majority of the people home as quickly as possible had priority. Among the returnees were many young men who seemed to be in excellent physical condition. Furthermore, they did not

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have defeat in their eyes.<sup>48</sup> Within ten days, the majority of the refugees who had returned from Eastern Zaire were in their communes. The remainder were fleeing/fighting westward across Zaire with EX-FAR. In early December, the refugees in Tanzania, the first to flee Rwanda in 1994, were moving home. Almost immediately, the government implemented a program to register all returning refugees, including EX-FAR, those in the army prior to their flight in 1994. The INTERAHAMWE did not have military status.<sup>49</sup> During this period insurgent activity inside Rwanda diminished, but the basic EX-FAR structure remained intact. Many insurgents used the refugee repatriation as means to infiltrate into their home communes.

**The EX-FAR Rebounds:** The shattering of the EX-FAR organization in eastern Zaire brought a brief period of calm to Rwanda. However, by January 1997, small groups renewed attacks against soft targets. This time western expatriates became targets, a new phenomenon. Although in June 1996 ALIR publicly put a price on the heads of American officials serving in Rwanda, no attacks occurred deliberately targeting Americans. Apparently, with the severe crippling of EX-FAR capability, the Hutu extremist insurgents resorted to terrorist type attacks that increased the spreading of fear throughout Rwanda, especially in the international community. Random ambushes along the Kigali-Ruhengeri-Gisenyi road increased. Attackers would separate the Hutus and the Tutsis, and then kill the Tutsis.

While the Zairian rebels supported by the RPA chased Mobutu's army and the EX-FAR west toward Kinshasa, other EX-FAR elements moved east toward the Masisi plain. By late April 1997, RPA units along the Rwanda/Zaire border reported infiltration by units ranging from 80 -100 men.<sup>50</sup> During the second week of May, serious fighting erupted involving EX-FAR battalion-size elements (300 - 500 men). The insurgents moved into villages and convinced the local population that the extremist rebels would soon "liberate" Rwanda. As result, the locals helped to fortify some of these villages. RPA units in the northwest were caught off guard and suffered heavy casualties, as the EX-FAR battalions attacked isolated platoons and companies in an effort to seize arms and supplies. According to a senior RPA officer, local commanders knew that the EX-FAR had increased its activity, to include movement of large elements in daylight, but the commanders failed to alert Kigali. The officer noted that one battalion commander believed the way to solve the problem was to eliminate villages that supported the insurgents. This commander was rapidly removed from and later forced out of the army.<sup>51</sup> The EX-FAR units had limited logistics

support, and only a third had firearms.<sup>52</sup> This increased fighting was serious enough to cause MG Kagame to go to the northwest to assess the situation.<sup>53</sup> Soon thereafter, COL Kayumba Nyamwasa, Gendarmerie Deputy Chief of Staff, went to Ruhengeri to take command of the situation. From mid-May until the end of June, RPA units fought battalion size EX-FAR units in conventional battles almost daily in Gisenyi and Ruhengeri Prefectures.<sup>54</sup> The situation was quite bad for the government.<sup>55</sup>

**The RPA Changes Tactics:** To counter the success of the EX-FAR's use of large units, Kayumba revised RPA tactics using Mobile Forces (300-500 man units equipped with armored vehicles) to find and fix the EX-FAR, then destroy them with superior firepower (artillery and, later, helicopter gunships flown by Eastern European contractors). Kayumba's strategy was to wage a war of attrition by creating conditions where the EX-FAR would mass in large formations to attack; the RPA would counterattack, forcing the insurgents to scatter: then Kayumba would repeat this in a different area. In July, Kayumba stated that the army had approximately six to eight months of hard fighting before it could contain the situation. This strategy would evidently shift initiative from the EX-FAR back to the RPA. Not only did the government have to reestablish control of the situation in the northwest, but it had to prevent the insurgents from expanding their operations east, to prevent the insurgency from growing and gaining increased support amongst Hutu. Additionally, some insurgent groups operated in the southwest using Congo and Burundi as rear bases.

The pitched battles usually resulted from organized attacks on commune headquarters, schools, and small RPA positions, or due to large-scale ambushes. The EX-FAR also conducted small raids against soft targets, ambushed lone vehicles on major roads, and assassinated local government officials and government collaborators. When they attacked a school, they would order students to separate into Hutus and Tutsi. They would do the same when they ambushed taxi-buses. They then killed the Tutsis and let the Hutus free. However, more and more frequently people refused to separate themselves, an indicator that people heard and believed the government's message of unification and national reconciliation. The frustrated genocidal guerrillas would then randomly fire at everyone, killing and wounding indiscriminately.

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**Escalating Insurgency/Counterinsurgency Dynamics:** The heavy fighting in the northwest produced several results. The EX-FAR had problems recruiting new members. More importantly, they lacked areas to train them and supplies for sustainment; therefore, untrained rebels became a liability. Still, the RPA had yet to defeat the core of the EX-FAR. While the EX-FAR caused much insecurity in the northwest, its actions allowed the RPA to confront and destroy it. The civilian population was disappearing, apparently moving with the Hutu extremist rebels into the forests and mountains. The EX-FAR ideology was the same as that of the Hutu extremists of 1994 and before, annihilation of the Tutsi. The insurgents arguably had no positive influence on sensible Rwandans, and those who supported them were the same people who supported the Genocide in 1994.

However, they had much support in the northwest for the following reasons: the majority of the insurgents came from the northwest; they knew the terrain and people; and their extended families and friends provided protection. When Habyarimana was in power, these people enjoyed the fruits and oppressed everyone else, Hutu and Tutsi alike. Finally, the EX-FAR leadership was unaware of the changes that the new government had started to implement, particularly that ethnicity was not the focus of current policy, and they believed that the old Rwanda remained.<sup>56</sup>

The EX-FAR was never able to control territory for long periods, although the population tended to support its forces directly or indirectly. The people provided food and shelter, served as messengers, and alerted the rebels when the army was near. Insurgent-distributed propaganda tracts became more common. The insurgents also convinced civilians, including women and children, to participate in attacks, especially against Tutsi-displaced persons or resettlement camps. The insurgents promised economic spoils in the form of property. A typical attack would unfold in the following manner. EX-FAR would conduct surveillance of an intended target to locate RPA positions and determine patrol patterns. At the time of an attack, EX-FAR elements with firearms would attack the RPA positions, while insurgents armed with machetes and other hand weapons (and the civilians) attacked the soft civilian targets. They would bang drums, blow whistles, and sing religious chants with genocidal themes. As the attack progressed, the RPA would send reaction units that would be delayed by roadblocks set along the route to the target area. An ambush might even be set depending upon the size of the attack. The civilians would loot the area and aid the insurgents in carrying off supplies.

## *Rwanda's Hutu Extremist Insurgency*

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When the RPA moved into an area in force, the insurgents fled, either to a different part of the northwest or back to DROC to rearm and refit in the Masisi plain area, where they had cached weapons and supplies. Often RPA units would be heavy-handed with the predominately Hutu population in the northwest. These human rights abuses did little to win their hearts and minds; they supported EX-FAR claims that the RPA wanted to eliminate all Hutus. How the RPA treated the local population depended on the local battalion commander. Some understood that the best way to defeat the insurgents was to win over the population, and these commanders would spend much time mobilizing the population to the government's side. LTC Caesar Kayazali, 301st Brigade Commander in the Southwest, for example understood this, as did his battalion commanders. Their mobilization efforts paid dividends. Other commanders, who were harsh on their own soldiers, tended to have units that committed abuses against the civilian population.

While Kagame and other senior RPA leaders understood the key to success, battalion commanders continued to exercise a high degree of autonomy for several reasons. The RPA continued to transition from a guerrilla to a professional conventional army, a process that included professional officer training and equipment acquisition. Kagame and other high-level leaders remained reluctant to chastise and hold accountable selected senior officers who had endured the hardships as guerrilla fighters and fought well during the civil war.

In early October, a force of about 1,200 EX-FAR attacked Gisenyi town at around 5 o'clock in the morning. The battle raged until early afternoon, when the attackers withdrew back to DROC. The insurgents never entered the town, but they did seize parts of the ridge that overlooks Gisenyi from the northeast and established a roadblock at the Electrogaz power station. Ironically, they did not sabotage this key power station. The intent of the attack apparently was for propaganda and media attention rather than for military gain, to demonstrate that the insurgents could attack the prefecture headquarters and northwestern economic center. While the EX-FAR would continue to launch large-scale attacks, it was the last time that they would have limited success against a key town.

Around this same time period, the Hutu genocidal insurgents began attacking communal cachots, local prisons, to liberate their comrades and those imprisoned as suspected *genocidaires*. One would assume that the prisoners would welcome liberation. However, Rwandan society is so structured that

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everyone knows where he or she belongs. Prisoners, convicted or not, belong in prison. An interesting phenomenon occurred: usually, within a week of a mass prison break, most of the inmates would return. “In one attack Hutu rebels attacked the prison at Bulinga, Gitarama Prefecture on 2 December, freeing 630 prisoners, as part of a continued bid to recruit new troops. Half the freed prisoners turned themselves in by 9 December.”<sup>57</sup> According to the Gendarmerie Groupement Commander in Gisenyi, the prisoners quickly realized that they were better off living in prison, under harsh conditions, than traveling with the EX-FAR/ INTERAHAMWE. At least in prison they had shelter and food. Furthermore, the prisoners realized that the insurgents could not deliver on their political promises: “to liberate Rwanda.”<sup>58</sup> As a result, the insurgents increased intimidation during their attacks by killing those who resisted, as an example of what happens to collaborators. The government, after several months of these attacks moved the prisoners out of the communal cachots into enlarged prefecture prisons.

Beginning in November, the civilian population began disappearing. Some human rights groups accused the RPA of conducting an extermination campaign. Actually, as previously noted, the EX-FAR/-INTERAHAMWE had induced or coerced large numbers to flee into the forests and mountains, and even to DROC.<sup>59</sup> This phenomenon would continue until about mid-April 1998, when these people started to go back home. According to an RPA officer, the government’s hearts and minds campaign brought these people back to their villages. The Rwanda Military Information Platoon (RMIP) developed and implemented the program. The officer stated that people returned for the following reasons: they were hungry and sick, the EX-FAR/-INTERAHAMWE could not deliver on their promise to “liberate Rwanda,” as the RPA continually defeated them, and people were tired of running and of the fighting.<sup>60</sup>

The following typifies what happened:

In December 1997 a band of roughly 1,500 insurgents attacked a displaced persons camp and communal headquarters in Rwerere commune, Gisenyi Prefecture. Most of the 62,000 people living in the area are Hutu, but the target of the attack was the local government run by a Tutsi. The attackers killed five and released 103 prisoners, 67 of them genocide suspects. After the attack, all but 2,500 fled, many to live in the forest with the raiders, saying they feared violence from the Rwandan Army. The refugees also believed the INTERAHAMWE, who promised a revolution to restore Hutu rule. But slowly food began running out. The Tusti-controlled Government,

far from collapsing, began encouraging Hutu to abandon the militia in return for food, shelter and protection.<sup>61</sup>

The following typifies the situation in the northwest in late 1997: Reports from Gisenyi Prefecture say armed bandits (read EX-FAR) attacked Gasiza trading center in Giciye Commune on 13 November, in the morning, and killed more than 30 innocent civilians. Later they also attacked Rambura Girls Secondary School and killed two children belonging to the director of studies at the school. Reports further say many bandits were killed as security personnel in the area intervened. Meanwhile, security personnel continued to look for those who escaped into the Gishwati Forest. Gisenyi and Ruhengeri have been characterized by such attacks since the massive return of refugees from the former Zaire late last year.<sup>62</sup>

This radio report highlights how the Rwandan Government reported events. It criminalized the EX-FAR by referring to them as bandits or criminals, thus denying them any legitimacy as insurgents.

On 10 December, US Secretary of State Madeline Albright visited Rwanda. The EX-FAR launched two attacks to demonstrate its power and defy the Secretary's visit. One attack occurred early in the morning on 10 December as a force of almost one thousand insurgents attacked from Bukavu, DROC, across the Ruzizi River toward Cyangugu. RPA forces prevented the attackers from entering Cyangugu town. The Hutu rebels fled east toward the Nyungwe Forest. Over the next five days the RPA, assisted by the local population, would track and battle the group until they were either killed or captured.<sup>63</sup> This was the last major attack in southwestern Rwanda. The cooperation of the local population was a testament of the government's mobilization campaign in which local RPA battalions played a critical role.

The second attack occurred around 10:00 PM, when a force of hundreds of EX-FAR and Hutu civilians attacked the 17,000 Congolese Banyamasisi Tutsis in the refugee camp at Mudende, Gisenyi Prefecture, killing at least 270 and wounding 227. The attackers came beating drums and chanting hate and religious slogans. "The assailants invaded the camp, just as the inhabitants were asleep or preparing for bed, burning people in their plastic shelters and huts, hacking away with machetes and hoes, shooting until they got tired, one witness said."<sup>64</sup> The attackers also threw grenades into crowded buildings and conex shelters. The EX-FAR erected log roadblocks along the only road to the camp to delay the RPA reaction force. After attacking Mudende camp, some insurgents attacked the Mutura Commune headquarters and attempted to free prisoners.

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In this attack, at least four prisoners died. It was unclear who killed them.<sup>65</sup> By around 4:00 AM the attackers had fled. This was the second time that the EX-FAR had attacked Mudende; the EX-FAR/INTERAHAMWE had previously attacked in mid-August, killing at least 130 refugees. The refugees and local Bagogwe Tutsis went on a rampage for several days, killing Hutus and burning their houses, while the RPA did little to stop the civilian Tutsis.<sup>66</sup>

The Hutu rebels continued their attacks, hitting the Nkamira transit camp, where many of the survivors of Mudende resided, twice on 20 Dec, Kibuye and Gitarama Prefectures on 23 Dec, and a camp near Nykabanda, Gitarama Prefecture on 28 Dec. The attacks left 50 rebels, 98 civilians, and 2 soldiers dead.<sup>67</sup> Hutu rebels conducted several operations in the northwest in Gisenyi and expanding east into Gitarama Prefectures. They showed increasing sophistication by diverting RPA troops before striking their real objectives. The government in an attempt to contain the insurgency, called on 1 January 98 for civilians to not cooperate with the insurgents. On 10 January, MG Kagame reorganized the General Staff, with COL Kayumba being promoted to Brigadier General and appointed RPA Chief of Staff. The 211th Brigade operating in Ruhengeri and Gisenyi Prefectures with about one-third of the army under its control, split into two brigades. The 408th operated in Ruhengeri, while the 211th remained in Gisenyi.<sup>68</sup>

In mid-February, a large EX-FAR force of several 300-400-man battalions infiltrated through Gisenyi Prefecture east into Gitarama Prefecture, attacking several Communal Headquarters, including Bulinga. Some elements got as far east as Kayenzi Commune and the outskirts of Gitarama town, where they ambushed vehicles on the Kigali-Gitarama road. The insurgents had difficulty gaining support from the local Hutu population, due to the success of the Rwanda Military Information Platoon's (RMIP) leaflet and poster campaign to win support of the population for the government's national unity and reconciliation effort. The insurgents, on numerous occasions, were brutal in their attempts to intimidate and coerce Hutus to their cause. Over the course of three weeks the insurgents failed to gain a toehold in Gitarama Prefecture and by mid-March had withdrawn back into the northwest and DROC.<sup>69</sup> At this time, the RMIP split itself into four detachments: one each, operating in Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, and Gitarama Prefectures, and one in Kigali in reserve. These detachments went into the communes to talk to the people and assess the situation. When an attack occurred, the detachment responded with augmentation from Kigali. This swift action helped to build trust in the

government and military; their presence also prevented heavy-handed RPA retaliation. Additionally, the RMIP used the Rwandan Air Force's MI-17 helicopter to drop leaflets in DROC and in inaccessible areas to induce people who had fled with the insurgents to return home. These efforts, coupled with EX-FAR defeats, helped convince the population that had fled to return home.

**Government Reintegration of EX-FAR Turns the Tide:** In April, the first group of about 1,200 former EX-FAR completed reintegration/reeducation training in Ruhengeri prefecture. This was a six-week course emphasizing good citizenship, and the new government's philosophy. The group was responsible for its own security, i.e. some had firearms. The structure of the program was run along military lines. Upon graduation, about 300-400 were almost immediately integrated into the RPA in the northwest. These former insurgents did not have to go through any RPA basic training since they had received indoctrination during reintegration/reeducation training and all were former military. What RPA- specific training they needed was given in their new units. Many went to units in their own communes. Other courses soon followed, with more former rebels joining the RPA. The individuals had to have a clean record, including having not participated in the Genocide.<sup>70</sup> The new soldiers had a significant impact on RPA counterinsurgency operations in the northwest as the people realized that the army was not the enemy. Further, the former insurgents knew all the "tricks" of the EX-FAR, including terrain particulars. Those former rebels not inducted into the RPA served as auxiliaries, working for food and serving as unarmed guides.

Having failed to spread the insurgency east into Gitarama due to the lack of support from the population and decisive RPA combat operations, the EX-FAR attempted to move into Byumba and Kigali Rurale Prefectures beginning in May and ending in July. Several insurgent units attacked communes in the western part of these Prefectures. Instability in these areas increased. However, the RPA was able to reassert control through aggressive military action coupled with programs by the Rwanda Military Information Platoon to ensure local popular support for the army and government. The Hutu extremist insurgents again failed to expand their insurgency.

**External Support to the EX-FAR Causes RPA Intervention:** On 11 July, the night of the World Cup final, a group of EX-FAR attacked a hotel bar killing 34. Many perished in the intense heat of the fire set in the viewing hall. When questioned, the owner described uniforms that were worn by the Congolese military. The author also picked up some AK assault rifle shell casings that had

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Arabic letters and numbers. In another major confrontation in Gisenyi Prefecture, the RPA G-3 commented that the RPA captured from the EX-FAR a new type of Rocket Propelled Grenade (RPG) and new crates of ammunition. The brigade commander in Byumba noted that EX-FAR killed in recent fighting wore Congolese uniforms. Additionally, insurgent attacks seemed to be better executed. All this suggested that the EX-FAR had received external support to include training. Circumstantial evidence suggested that the Hutu extremists were getting support from elements of the Congolese military. Others suggested that Sudan might have provided some assistance as well.

In fact, while the insurgency continued in the northwest, with new infiltration from DROC, relations between Rwanda and DROC deteriorated. On the surface, the crux of problem centered on the continued presence of RPA troops and advisors in DROC. During the week of 22 July President Kabila publicly stated that he was replacing COL James Kabare as the Army Chief of Staff and that all RPA soldiers had to leave his country. On 29 July, the last planeload of RPA soldiers landed in Kigali. On the night of 2 August the Forces Armées Congolaises (FAC) 10th Brigade, headquartered in Goma, rebelled. The RPA 211th Brigade worked closely with the 10th to contain the EX-FAR. Over the course of the next few days other units followed suit. Kabila immediately accused Rwanda and Uganda of invading DROC and requested help from the Southern African Development Community (SADC), of which DROC was a member. Zimbabwe, Namibia, and Angola provided assistance, which stopped the rebel advance from the west on Kinshasa. Kabila rapidly brought together EX-FAR elements from Congo Brazzaville, Central African Republic, and Sudan, pledging to support them in conquering Rwanda. The second Congo Rebellion continues; however, EX-FAR attacks decreased significantly as the rebels and RPA advanced westward. Most Hutu insurgents went to DROC. They and Zimbabwean National Army (ZNA) became the backbone of Kabila's forces.

The war in DROC has benefited Rwanda internally. The RPA increased by incorporating many unemployed former EX-FAR. Many of these almost exclusively Hutu battalions fought in Congo until the Rwandan Defence Force withdrew its forces. The RPA conducted successful counterinsurgency operations in the Masisi plain, resulting in an increase in returning Rwandan refugees. In March 1999 Radio Rwanda reported, "Over 110 people, who had left to join the INTERAHAMWE Hutu militiamen in North-Kivu region, returned to Gisenyi yesterday from Masisi Zone, DROC. Twenty-seven others, who had

disassociated themselves from the INTERAHAMWE militiamen, also arrived in Gisenyi, from Rutshuru Zone, North-Kivu. It is to be noted that more than 300 others have already returned over the last three weeks. They were from Rutshuru Zone. All the returnees were immediately taken to their home communes with the help of commune and prefecture authorities.<sup>71</sup>

While Rwanda has benefited from the war in DROC, so has the EX-FAR. Rwanda has experienced increased stability, especially in the northwest, despite periodic attacks from North Kivu. Additionally, Rwanda has reaped economic benefit due to the exploitation of Congolese resources in rebel-controlled territory. The EX-FAR/INTERAHAMWE, though, became legitimized by the Congo conflict. Specifically, the Kabila government initially brought together EX-FAR elements from surrounding countries, then trained and provided arms to create new and better equipped units. "The EX-FAR/-INTERAHAMWE, once defeated and dispersed remnant, has now become a significant component of the international alliance against the Congolese rebels and their sponsors, Rwanda and Uganda. .... The new relationship has conferred a form of legitimacy on the EX-FAR/ INTERAHAMWE. This is a profoundly shocking state of affairs."<sup>72</sup> In addition to being legitimized, the EX-FAR/INTERAHAMWE received significant amounts of equipment and training from the DROC government and its allies. Rebel sources indicated that many EX-FAR/INTERAHAMWE apprehended or killed were found to have new arms with them. Furthermore, both Rwandan military officials and Rally for Congolese Democracy (RCD) rebel commanders commented that the level of tactical sophistication of these insurgent forces had increased. Reports indicated that significant numbers of EX-FAR/ INTERAHAMWE trained in Kamina (Katanga Province) and a location near Kinshasa (Buluku). It is said that training in the Kamina base of these groups started well before the commencement of the current conflict.<sup>73</sup> Rwanda's Hutu genocidal insurgency expanded in scope and scale despite relative peace inside Rwanda. It was far from over, since Kabila has vowed to assist the EX-FAR to retake Kigali. Furthermore, despite cease-fire and peace initiatives to resolve the war in DROC, little has occurred to either reduce the capabilities and threat of the EX-FAR, except continued RPA operations against the insurgents albeit in DROC. Following the peace accords establishing the Congolese transition government, the Kabila (son) government formally ceased supporting the EX-FAR and its various offshoots, however, they continue to receive support from within the government. Major defections have occurred, but the EX-FAR remains a threat in eastern DROC.

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## Insurgency Assessment

Larry Cable writes, “All contests in insurgent environments focus upon the first part of the hyphenated term, ‘politico-military.’ The real battle is between the political wills of two or more clashing entities.”<sup>74</sup> In this case these are the Rwandan government and the EX-FAR/INTERAHAMWE together with its political organization People in Arms to Liberate Rwanda (PALIR). Cable continues, “Military operations, lethal or otherwise, are important only insofar as they directly and materially affect the political wills of the competitors...the terrain upon which the operation is conducted is constituted not so much by the physical geography as by the human topography represented by the minds of the contending entities and the vast uncommitted population.”<sup>75</sup>

Cable states that:

All competitors in an insurgency, including interveners, have two tools at their disposal: enhancement of perceived legitimacy and the credible capacity to coerce. The first tool is by far the more important. He defines legitimacy “as the conceded right to exercise authority over and on behalf of a population. Functional legitimacy is the perceived ability to understand the hopes, fears, needs and aspirations of a population or of a major constituency of that population. The emphasis here is upon perceptions. In short, appearances are more critical than realities. Enhancing perceived legitimacy is a zero-sum game.”<sup>76</sup> Internal enemies can never defeat a responsive government. Furthermore, psychological warfare (PSYWAR) is a critical component of this first tool. PSYWAR is used to trick, harass, and confuse an enemy, to raise his fears, to expose his weaknesses.<sup>77</sup>

Shifting to the second tool, the credible capacity to coerce, Cable notes the following:

Two important caveats exist.... First, the recipient, never the inflicter, defines coercion. Second, actions meant to be coercive might, if improperly defined be either ineffectual or flatly provocative.... the most effective coercive mechanisms have been careful to constrain lethality; they have focused upon the progressive reduction of the enemy’s political will to continue resistance.”<sup>78</sup>

Additionally, Harry Summers states:

Clausewitz made the common-sense observation that if the enemy is to be coerced, you must put him in a situation that is even more unpleasant than the sacrifices you call upon him to make... you must make him literally defenseless or at least put him in a position that makes this danger possible.<sup>79</sup>

The old adage still has meaning: find, fix, and finish the enemy. It is the “finding” and “fixing” that has new meaning in wars of insurgency, given that the people are the terrain where the war is won or lost. The analysis will take each tool and look at it from the government and then the insurgents perspectives.

The current government came to power through the barrel of the gun. Therefore some would argue that it is not a legitimate government. However, the key is enhancement of perceived legitimacy. The current government has done well, although it got off to a questionable start. Initially, the government relied almost exclusively on the RPA to combat the insurgents. Applying military force did little to win the hearts and minds of the population.<sup>80</sup> One observer remarks, “If it is impossible to capture the INTERAHAMWE, it is acceptable to liquidate civilians assumed to be associated with them. While this approach may be effective in terrorizing the citizenry, it does little to enhance the legitimacy of the current regime or give it strong roots in the rural population.” However, in 1997 the Ministry of Defense improved its military justice capacity by creating the Auditorat Militaire as a separate department headed by LTC Andrew Rwigamba, former Ministry of Defense Director of Cabinet. The military started holding officers and soldiers accountable for their human rights abuses. This was critical in gaining the support of the population in the northwest.

From the outset, the government sent senior leaders into the countryside to mobilize the population. Mobilization included explaining what the government’s policies were and why it is important for the individual citizen to support them. The government never gave up on its mobilization campaign despite cool responses, especially in the northwest. Whenever a major EX-FAR attack or the RPA committed serious human rights abuses, senior civilian and military leaders went to the scene to mobilize the population. When the refugees returned en masse in November 1996, President Bizimungu and his cabinet were present, which facilitated the rapid return to the communes of the refugees.

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Another positive trend that enhanced the government's perceived legitimacy was the holding of local elections at the cellule and sector level in March 1999. This action reinforced the ideas put forth during the various mobilization efforts, especially the notion that the local population had to play a role in key decisions. Overall, the population generally viewed the elections positively, and they were successful. The government followed the elections by providing training for newly elected officials. Elections at the commune and prefecture level are likely to occur soon.

Since April 1998, the RPA has recruited more former FAR into its ranks. This has helped to change the perception that the RPA was exclusively Tutsi. The RPA, from the very beginning, was not exclusive, accepting anyone willing to fight for the ideals of the Rwandan Patriotic Front. However, during its guerrilla days, most of the officer corps came from the Ugandan National Resistance Army, then expanded to include other primarily Tutsi from the diaspora. However, whenever the RPA conquered territory, it began to mobilize the population to understand the RPF's political program. Many Hutus joined the RPA as soldiers as a result. In late 1994, several groups, totaling about 2,000, of former FAR returned to Rwanda. They went to Gako military camp for reeducation training.<sup>81</sup> The first group of 1,011, including 81 officers, was integrated into the RPA on January 25, 1995. At the ceremony, several former FAR officers assumed high positions in the defense forces: COL Deogratias Ndirwami became Chief of Staff of the Gendarmerie, COL Marcel Gatsinzi became the Deputy Chief of Staff of the RPA, COL Balthazar Ndengeyinka became commander of the 305th Brigade, LTC Laurent Munyakazi took command of the 99th battalion, and LTC Emmanuel Habyarimana became an RPA member of parliament and the director for training in the Ministry of Defense.<sup>82</sup>

Ndirwami has since retired, with Gatsinzi replacing him as Gendarmerie Chief of Staff and being promoted to Brigadier General, one of the four active duty general officers in the military. Gatsinzi, since promoted to Major General, headed all Rwandan Intelligence Services as Director of Security. He became the Minister of Defense in late 2002 replacing Emmanuel Habyarimana. Ndengeyinka is highly respected even among the Ugandan RPA "old guard." He has proven to be instrumental in pacifying the Masisi plain, in Congo, since he grew up there. He is now one of the six RPA Members of Parliament. However, in March 2003 he and Habyarimana fled Rwanda fearing for their lives. They currently live in Sweden as political refugees. Munyakazi has spent his entire

RPA service in the northwest. In late 1996, he became Deputy Brigade Commander of 211th Brigade and in January 1998 became its commander. He played a critical role in the government's winning support of the population in Gisenyi Prefecture. He is now one of the two Rwandan representatives to the Joint Military Commission, established by the Lusaka Accords to bring peace to DROC. Habyarimana was promoted to Colonel and held a minister level position as the Secretary of State for Defense. As MG Kagame assumed more political duties associated with his position as Vice President, Habyarimana oversaw the daily functions of the Ministry of Defense. When Kagame became President in April 2000, Habyarimana became the Minister of Defense. As stated above, Gatsinzi replaced him as the Minister of Defense in late 2002.

From the beginning of its coming to power, the government attempted to lure more EX-FAR out of the refugee camps in surrounding countries, with little success. It was not until after the massive return of refugees in late 1996 following military defeat in Zaire that more EX-FAR expressed the desire to join the army. Initially, the Ministry of Defense was not very receptive, taking the position that these former soldiers had their chance and opted to fight as insurgents. However, since the RPA in general lacked technical skills some former EX-FAR with clean records who had these skills were integrated. Additionally, as a result of the almost continuous fighting in the northwest, the government realized that it could not totally destroy all the insurgents and that the best way to defeat them was to co-opt those not guilty of genocide and integrate them into the RPA. Thus in early 1998, Kigali established solidarity camps for former EX-FAR, as already mentioned, to integrate some into the army and the rest as productive members of society.<sup>83</sup> On April 16, 1998, a group of about 1,200 EX-FAR, including former insurgents, graduated from a solidarity camp in Nkumba commune, Ruhengeri Prefecture. MG Kagame, COL Habyarimana, and BG Kayumba, as well as local field commanders and civilian political leaders attended. During part of the ceremony, MG Kagame heard grievances from the trainees. Most of the complaints centered on recovering lost houses and other reconciliation issues.<sup>84</sup>

Newly integrated former EX-FAR went to battalions located in their home communes. Almost immediately, the RPA reaped the benefit of having these former insurgents in their ranks. The local population now had proof that the RPA was not an occupying force but actually there to defend them. Furthermore, the new soldiers knew how and where the EX-FAR operated. The RPA won several battles that resulted in large numbers of insurgents turning

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themselves in. Thus the RPA enhanced the perception that it was the legitimate army of Rwanda.

As a result of the war in Congo, the RPA has relied heavily on former EX-FAR to increase its ranks. These troops have acquitted themselves well on the battlefield and have actually proven that all Rwandans have a role to play in the new Rwanda. The following anecdote highlights the point: During fighting at Kindu in October 1998, a former EX-FAR Major from Gisenyi was wounded. Tutsi soldiers evacuated him as they would any soldier. One must remember that during the civil war FAR troops often only evacuated those from their home prefectures, especially those from Gisenyi and Ruhengeri. While the officer recovered from his wounds in the military hospital in Kigali, he remarked that when he returned home he personally would insure that no INTERAHAMWE operated there.<sup>85</sup>

With its perceived legitimacy enhanced, the government took steps to bring remaining Hutu refugees home from the DROC. This special campaign uses letters and previous returnee envoys, who can return to refugee sites and describe to remaining refugees the current security and open arms policy approach extended by prefecture and local officials.<sup>86</sup>

Rwanda is among the poorest countries in the world; as such the government lacks resources to provide basic services, especially in the underdeveloped countryside, thus negatively impacting on the population's perception of government legitimacy. Additionally, Kigali early on was reluctant to build schools and clinics in the northwest only to have them destroyed by the EX-FAR, thus wasting already scarce resources. Eventually, the government developed a program of resettlement sites to bring basic services to the population, who lived scattered on the hillsides. By the end of January 1998, an estimated 80 percent of the displaced population had resettled in new resettlement villages or in their homes. Solidarity camps assisted in improving security.<sup>87</sup> "Several critics of the Rwandan Government have begun to wonder if in fact the resettlement program has the added effect of allowing soldiers to keep a tighter control of the Hutu in the region. Certainly the EX-FAR branded those who returned as collaborators and rather than killing only Tutsi, turned their violence on some fellow Hutu."<sup>88</sup>

## *Rwanda's Hutu Extremist Insurgency*

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Turning to the insurgents' ability to enhance perceived legitimacy, one must remember that Rwanda is a highly ordered society where people respect authority due to the power to exert harm. The Habyarimana regime used this phenomenon coupled with absolute control over nationwide political structures, to control the population. Much of the population, especially in the northwest, perceived their leaders as legitimate, even as the leaders extolled the people to kill their Tutsi neighbors. This literally put blood on everyone's hands; when the leaders told everyone to flee the advancing RPA, they did. Therefore, at the beginning of the insurgency, much of the population of Rwanda sympathized with the rebels. The EX-FAR indoctrinated its captive population in the tenets of Hutu genocidal extremism in the refugee camps. In late 1996 when the refugees returned to their home communes, the extremist rebels had a support base that saw them as legitimate. Rwandan military brutality enhanced the perceived legitimacy because it demonstrated that the EX-FAR's ideology was correct, that the government intended to kill and subjugate all Hutus. In 1997, when the insurgency flared in the northwest, the guerrillas propagated this message through leaflets and underground newspapers. Soon Hutu extremist tracts were found throughout the northwest.

Time and relative peace eroded the EX-FAR's perceived legitimacy, especially in central and eastern Rwanda. Military defeats at the hands of the RPA, first in the southwest, then in the Hutu extremist heartland in the northwest, further reduced the insurgents' perceived legitimacy because of the average Rwandan's perception that power had to be legitimate. Since the EX-FAR could not defeat the RPA, it could not fulfill its political promise of returning the Hutu to power, further degrading the population's perception of legitimacy in favor of that of the government.

Shifting to the second tool, the credible capacity to coerce, military force initially served as the government's primary means of credible capacity to coerce, based on the societal view that legitimacy stemmed from the ability to coerce or inflict harm. This served as a double-edged sword. Stability usually returned to an area after the RPA defeated or forced the EX-FAR to flee. However, when the RPA conducted harsh reprisals against the civilian Hutu population, this had an adverse effect because it played right into the Hutu extremist message of Tutsi oppression of the Hutu. The increased incorporation of former FAR into the RPA reduced reprisals and made the army a credible coercive force as it focused on protecting the civilian population and engaging the EX-FAR.

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Judicial systems also are supposed to serve as a credible coercive force to ensure compliance with the rule of law and hence ensure stability. The Genocide destroyed the justice system when most lawyers, magistrates, and judges either fled with the EX-FAR or were killed. The government has made valiant efforts to improve the justice system and remove impunity from society. However, Rwanda has roughly 130,000 people in its prison system the majority accused of genocide or genocide related crimes.

During mid-1998 the government used food distribution in the northwest as a credible means to coerce. Large portions of the Hutu population needed food, because they had missed the planting season while hiding with the EX-FAR. Local officials and military leaders would announce dates and locations for food distribution. If the EX-FAR attacked or operated in an announced area, distribution did not occur. If an area remained calm, food distribution went as scheduled. During the distribution, leaders spoke about those areas that had instability. Word spread quickly, as people wanted to eat, and areas soon stopped supporting the rebels.

The Habyarimana regime used violence selectively to keep the population in check. The EX-FAR too used violence and terror to force those reluctant to support their cause to do so. They used political assassination to dissuade Hutus from supporting the government as local leaders. The insurgents murdered collaborators. Violence worked well, especially when coupled with the RPA's seemingly random use of violence against the Hutu civilian population. However, violence and terror lost effectiveness as more and more people began to support the government or, at a minimum, stopped assisting the genocidal insurgents.

Another facet of the EX-FAR's credible capacity to coerce was the historic loyalty and extended family system of Hutus in the northwest. The insurgents could move into an area and induce support from their relatives. Additionally, the Hutus of the northwest historically had held out against Tutsi domination during the feudal era. This source of pride provided the foundation for Hutu extremism during the latter days of the Habyarimana regime and probably remains an underlying current despite the relative stability currently in the northwest.

## **Conclusion**

At present, Rwanda experiences relative calm. Insurgent attacks were virtually non-existent from late 1998 until the summer of 2000, because the majority of the EX-FAR were fighting for Kabila in DROC. By mid-summer 2000, sporadic attacks and infiltrations from DROC by small EX-FAR groups resumed in the northwest. In May 2001 the EX-FAR attempted a major offensive into Ruhengeri and Gisenyi Prefectures. After several weeks of heavy fighting, the Rwandan Defense Force (RDF) restored stability capturing many fighters. Sporadic attacks into southwestern Rwanda and in the northwest continue, but unlike in the past, the local population overwhelmingly supports the government and often tips off government forces about rebel movements.

The government apparently is winning its fight against the Hutu extremist genocidal insurgency. It has done this by enhancing its perceived legitimacy with the majority of the population, especially in the northwest. Additionally, the government, primarily through the army, has a credible capacity to coerce which has been aided by the integration of former EX-FAR. Conversely, the insurgents have a significantly reduced perceived legitimacy, even among their core supporters in the northwest. They still have the capacity to use terror, but it is doubtful that violence can coerce large portions of the population to again support the Hutu extremist genocidal insurgency for the average Rwandan Hutu has little to gain from participating in the genocide. Moreover, the average Rwandan Hutu has gained due to the relative peace the current government has installed throughout most of the country.

However, the various offshoots of the EX-FAR, while reduced in military capability, still threaten stability in the Great Lakes region. The Rwandan government officially withdrew its forces from DROC in late 2002, but maintains proxy forces through RDC-Goma, and has sent its troops on missions of short duration when threatened by the genocidal insurgents. Prior to the peace accords that established the Transitional Government, the Rwandan government had stated that it would remain in DROC as long as its security interests were not sufficiently addressed. In late April 2004, the official Rwandan Military Spokesman stated that perhaps Rwanda should have remained in Eastern DROC until it had accomplished its mission. To date, no one except the RPA/RDF has taken on the challenge of neutralizing the genocidal EX-FAR, which, as long as it goes unchecked, poses a major security

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threat to Rwanda: the survival of the current regime. Furthermore, the war in DROC served as a unifying force for all Rwandans, especially those who were or could be insurgents. While it appears that the government has won the insurgency inside Rwanda, it must uphold victory by winning the peace, which will prove a daunting challenge for economically poor and underdeveloped Rwanda.

## Appendix of Key Terms

1. President Juvenal Habyarimana - Hutu Colonel and Army Chief of Staff who came to power in a 1973 coup. He was from the northwest. Hutu extremist elements presumably assassinated him on April 6, 1994.

2. MRND - Mouvement Republicain pour la Democratie et le Developpement (National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development), national party established by Habyarimana.

3. Forces Armees Rwandaises (FAR) - The Hutu Rwandan Army that fled in 1994 to Zaire and Tanzania after its defeat by the RPA.

4. INTERAHAMWE - "*Those who stand/fight together.*" The armed wing of the MRND, trained in insurgent/terrorist tactics. Primary force used in the genocide. United with the former FAR in the Zairian refugee camps in 1995.

5. Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) - Formed in 1988 by Rwandan Tutsis living in exile in Uganda. Open to all Rwandans who desired to build a new Rwanda based on common identity, respect for human rights, and political and economic freedoms.

6. Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) - Armed wing of the RPF, which invaded Rwanda on October 1, 1990 as a guerrilla army. Defeated the FAR in mid July-1994. Now the RPA is the national army of Rwanda.

7. Arusha Accords - A negotiated power sharing agreement between the MRND-led Government, various Hutu opposition parties, and the RPF, signed in August 1993. Remains the foundation of the current Rwandan government, although its influence is waning.

8. UNAMIR - United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda, the Chapter VI peace-keeping operation established in October 1993 to help implement the Arusha Accords.

9. EX-FAR - Former Hutu Rwandan Army that began a Hutu extremist genocidal insurgent war against the RPF-dominated, broad based government in late 1994. United with the INTERAHAMWE in 1995 to form the Army for the Liberation of Rwanda (ALIR).

10. ALIR - Army for the Liberation of Rwanda, the armed wing of People in Arms for the Liberation of Rwanda (PALIR). Created in the Zairian refugee camps in 1995 by members of the MRND from the united forces of the EX-FAR and the INTERAHAMWE.

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## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Disclaimer: The views expressed in this paper are those of the author alone and do not represent the policies or views of any agency or department of the United States Government. The author spent 26 months as the Defense Attaché in Rwanda from August 1996 until October 1998; much of the information in this paper comes from his personal observations and experience. He served as the Defense Attache to Uganda from May 2003 until July 2005.

<sup>2</sup> See MAJ Rick Orth, "Four Variables in Preventive Diplomacy: Their Application in the Rwanda Case," *The Journal For Conflict Studies*, (Spring 1997, University of New Brunswick) for details on Hutu Extremist preparations for the 1994 Genocide.

<sup>3</sup> See Gerard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide (1995)* and Philip Gourevitch, *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed With Our Families: Stories from Rwanda (1998)* for detailed histories of Rwanda's genocide.

<sup>4</sup> Following the assassination of President Habyarimana on 6 April 1994, Hutu extremists took control of the Rwandan Government.

<sup>5</sup> The EX-FAR are the former Forces Armees Rwandaïses who fled Rwanda in July 1994. The INTERAHAMWE "those who stand/fight together" was the

armed wing of the Movement National Republicain pour la Democratie et le Developpement (MRND). By 1995 these forces had melded to together to form the Army for the Liberation of Rwanda (ALIR).

<sup>6</sup> The EX-FAR played a critical role in 1995 facilitating Hutu insurgency in Burundi by providing leaders, personnel and arms. Following the Zaire rebellion in 1996 and subsequent removal of the refugee camps in Eastern Zaire their role in Burundi diminished, however, with the signing of the Lusaka Cease-fire Accords in the summer of 1999, their role may be increasing which would change the dynamics of the Burundi's insurgency at topic that deserves study, but not in this paper.

<sup>7</sup> Colette Braeckman, "The Rwandans Affirm it: His Allies will Drop Kabila," Brussels Le Soir, in French, 23-24 January 1999, p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Taken from the Syllabus Focus Studies Low Intensity Conflict, Old War/New War, Dr. Paul Melshen, instructor US Armed Forces Staff College, January 2000.

<sup>9</sup> Larry Cable, "Reinventing the Round Wheel: Insurgency, Counterinsurgency, and Peacekeeping," *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 4/2 (Autumn 1993).

<sup>10</sup> Larry Cable, *ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> History has proven that successful insurgencies, ones that have ousted sitting governments, have had significant and maintained external support: the North Vietnamese/Vietcong victory against South Vietnam, Khmer Rouge against the Lon Nol government in Cambodia, the National Resistance Movement/National Resistance Army in Uganda, and the RPF/RPA in Rwanda serve as examples. While failed insurgencies either lacked sufficient external support throughout or had it cut by counter insurgent forces: the Malaya insurgency, Mau Mau in Kenya, HUK in the Philippines, to name a few. Frank Kitson's *Low Intensity Operations* and *Gangs and Counter-gangs*; Stanley Karnow's *Vietnam: A History*; Napoleon Valeriano and Charles Bohannon's *Counter Guerrilla Operations: The Philippine Experience*; and Robert Thompson's *Defeating Communist Insurgency* and *Make for the Hills* demonstrate the importance that external support plays in an insurgency.

<sup>12</sup> David Newbury, "Understanding Genocide," *African Studies Review*, 41, no.1 (April 1998), p. 78.

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<sup>13</sup> Figures are based on author's discussions with senior Rwandan Government officials in 1995 - 1998.

<sup>14</sup> See Rene Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*, (1972) for an excellent history of Rwanda.

<sup>15</sup> CPT Francis Mutiganda, Rwandan Patriotic Army, "Civil Military Relations in Rwanda Enhancement Program," a paper written for the 1997 African Civil Military Seminar for Internal Development, Hurlburt Field, Florida, (1997).

<sup>16</sup> Conversation with a senior Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA) officer May 1998. He is a Hutu from Byumba Prefecture who served as an officer in the National Gendarmerie, attended Belgian Ecole Militaire, and fled to Zaire in 1994 with the FAR, then returned to Rwanda in late 1994. He went through integration training and joined the RPA in January 1995 as a battalion Commander and has served his entire time in the RPA in the northwest where he is now one of the six brigade commanders in the RPA. Old guard Ugandan Tutsi RPA senior officers, including the RPA Chief of Staff, speak highly of this integrated officer. Also see Orth, "Four Variables..." for more detail on the *Akazu*.

<sup>17</sup> Belgian administrators and missionaries, thus exacerbating divisions rather than unifying Hutus and Tutsis may, have either consciously or unconsciously super imposed Belgium's ethnic cleavages between the French speaking Walloons and the Flemish, on Rwanda and Burundi.

<sup>18</sup> The senior Hutu RPA officer used the three "e"s to succinctly describe Hutu extremist ideology during his conversation with the author in May 1998.

<sup>19</sup> Department of Public Information, United Nations, *The United Nations and Rwanda, 1993-1996*, New York, The United Nations (1996).

<sup>20</sup> In 1986 exiled Rwandan Tutsis living in Uganda assist Museveni in overthrowing Milton Obote in Uganda after four years of insurgency. A small nucleus of young men had joined Museveni in the bush with the intent of one day fighting their way back to Rwanda. Shortly, thereafter they formed the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) and include moderate Hutus in the organization - Conversations with senior RPF insider Jan 1995 and Dec 1995. Other senior RPA officers confirmed this.

<sup>21</sup> Gerard Prunier, "Intellectuels Africains," *Politique Africaine* 51, CNRS, Center for African Research, DIA translation, 9 July 1994, p. 19.

<sup>22</sup> Numerous senior RPA officers commented to the author throughout his tour in Rwanda that had they not withdrawn back to Mulindi near Byumba who knows how many thousands of Rwandans would have survived the Genocide. Mulindi is roughly 60 kilometers from Kigali and in February 1993 the RPA advanced to within 15 kilometers of Kigali. This lesson drives Rwandan strategic thinking especially in Congo: never give up territory for political concessions with a less than sincere adversary.

<sup>23</sup> "Arming Rwanda: The Arms Trade and Human Rights Abuses in the Rwanda War," *Human Rights Watch Arms Project* (New York and Washington DC, January 1994).

<sup>24</sup> "Rwanda/Zaire: Rearming with Impunity International Support for the Perpetrators of Rwanda Genocide," *Human Rights Watch Arms Project* (New York and Washington DC, January 1995).

The FAR continued to receive arms shipments via Goma, Zaire after the UN imposed an arms embargo on May 1994.

<sup>25</sup> Joan Kakwenzire and Dixon Kamukama, "The Development and Consolidation of Extremist Forces in Rwanda: 1990-1994," (Kampala, Uganda: Department of History, Makerere University, November 1995, p. 43.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. p. 43. Additionally, a highly reliable military source told the author that the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) staff officers reported seeing French trainers at Kanombe Barracks, the Para-Commando base near Kigali International Airport, after French troops departed in December 1993. These instructors trained the Para-Commandos in terrorist and insurgent methods and tactics. Therefore, the EX-FAR had a small trained and disciplined insurgent force when it fled to Zaire in July 1994.

<sup>27</sup> The 54 man OAUNMOG had been created in August 1992 to monitor the cease-fire between the FAR and RPA.

<sup>28</sup> Interview with a Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) officer who served as the Secretary to OAUNMOG concerning his role as military observer and his comments on conditions in Rwanda, specifically along the demilitarized zone created by the August 1992 cease-fire (November 1994).

<sup>29</sup> Orth, "Four Variables in Preventive Diplomacy" (1997) p. 82

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<sup>30</sup> *FBIS LONDON UK*, Paris Radio France International, in French, 0545 GMT, 22 April 1994.

<sup>31</sup> Gourevitch, (1999) pp. 66, 69.

<sup>32</sup> *FBIS ABIDJAN IV*, Paris AFP, in English, 1440 GMT, 31 January 1994.

<sup>33</sup> *FBIS BRUSSELS BE*, Brussels BELGA, in French, 1444 GMT, 16 March 1994.

<sup>34</sup> Philippe Gaillard and Hamid Barrada, "The Story Direct from the Habyarimana Family," *Jeune Afrique*, 29 April 1994, pp. 12-19. Although no formal investigation has occurred, nor is one likely, UNAMIR eyewitnesses and an informal investigation by several UNAMIR Headquarters staff officers state that Hutu extremists, probably elements of the Presidential Guard, shot down the plane.

<sup>35</sup> Irwin Arief, "Focus - Rwandan Genocide Seen Driven by Raw Politics," *Reuters*, Paris 31 March 1999.

<sup>36</sup> The author served as a liaison officer between UNAMIR and the American embassy in Kigali from mid October - mid November 1994.

<sup>37</sup> MAJ Rick Orth, "African Operational Experience in Peacekeeping," *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, 7/ No. 3 (Winter 1996) p. 319. The Ethiopian contingent was the only UNAMIR force to engage the EX-FAR insurgents.

<sup>38</sup> *FBIS BRUSSELS BE*, Brussels Le Soir in French, "Refugee Leader Admits Support of Militia, Former Army, 30 Oct 95 p. 2.

<sup>39</sup> In June 1997 the author met an EX-FAR second lieutenant that had just turned himself in to local authorities in Gisenyi Prefecture. The officer at the time of his surrender was a battalion operations officer, a position usually held by a senior captain or major.

<sup>40</sup> RPA logs for the months of January - August 1995.

<sup>41</sup> Conversation with a senior Hutu RPA officer May 1998.

<sup>42</sup> Banyarwanda refers to Kinyarwanda speaking peoples, Hutu and Tutsi. In North Kivu there are the Banyamasisi who live predominately in the Masisi Plateau. In South Kivu there are the Banyamulenge who are Tutsi cattle herders who had lived in Zaire for several hundred of years.

<sup>43</sup> Jeff Drumtra, "Where the Ethnic Cleansing Goes Unchecked," *The Washington Post Weekly Edition*, (July 22-28, 1996) p 22.

<sup>44</sup> Conversation with a senior Hutu RPA officer in Jan 1997 and author's review of EX-FAR documents taken from Mugunga Refugee Camp in November 1996 by the UN International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (UNICTR) which included the invasion plans and order of battle.

<sup>45</sup> John Pomfret, "Rwandans Led Revolt in Congo," *Washington Post*, (July 9, 1997) p A01.

<sup>46</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> The author was in Gisenyi, the day the mass repatriation began and talked to several returnees. He was with the local Gendarmerie Groupement Commander who stressed that the most important thing was to get the Rwandans home first, then deal with the security issue. Additionally, the author made a mental note that these young men would pose a significant security problem in the future.

<sup>49</sup> The author visited three separate communes to observe registration and to talk to EX-FAR returnees. All those interviewed acknowledged participating in military training in the refugee camps, but none admitted to having conducted insurgent activity inside Rwanda.

<sup>50</sup> Conversation with RPA Captain working in the northwest May 1997.

<sup>51</sup> Interview with a senior RPA officer and RPF insider, 27 Oct 99.

<sup>52</sup> Interviews with senior RPA officers fighting in the northwest and debriefings of captured EX-FAR soldiers June 1997.

<sup>53</sup> Discussion with Mr. Roger Winter, Director US Committee for Refugees and personal friend of Kagame, who happened to be in Rwanda at the time. Winter noted that when he met Kagame he was in uniform, May 1997.

<sup>54</sup> Information based on author's frequent travel to the northwest during June 1997.

<sup>55</sup> Interview with a senior RPA officer and RPF insider, 27 Oct 99.

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<sup>56</sup> Meeting with senior Gendarmerie officer, who also served on the Presidential Refugee Repatriation Commission, Jul 97.

<sup>57</sup> “Rwanda: Mudende Attacked Again,” *For Your Eyes Only*, Issue Number 437 22 Dec 97 p. 437-6.

<sup>58</sup> Interview with Gisenyi Gendarmerie Groupement Commander, Nov 97.

<sup>59</sup> In Nov 97 the author traveled to Giciye Commune, Gisenyi Prefecture, an area he had been to several times previously. He noted an absence of people except for around the commune headquarters where the EX-FAR had launched a large attack about a week prior. The situation was strange.

<sup>60</sup> Interview with an RPA G-5 officer, Apr 98 and May 98.

<sup>61</sup> Ian Fisher, “Rwanda’s Huge Stake in Congo’s War,” *The New York Times International*, Sunday December 27, 1998, p. 1/8.

<sup>62</sup> FBIS ABIDJAN IV, “Rwanda— Armed Bandits Attack Gisenyi, Over 30 Killed,” Kigali Radio Rwanda in English 0515 GMT 15 Nov 97.

<sup>63</sup> Interview with senior RPA officers assigned to Cyangugu on 8 Jan 98.

<sup>64</sup> Stephen Buckley, “Rekindling the Horror in Rwanda,” *The Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, December 22-29, 1997, p. 15.

<sup>65</sup> The author visited Mudende Refugee Camp and Mutura Commune Headquarters on 12 December. The dead had already been buried. Brigadier General Kayumba Nyamwasa, RPA Chief of Staff, provided a detailed description of the attack. The author traveled to Mutura Commune Headquarters unescorted and surveyed the situation. He noted bloodstains, grenade blasts and shell casings in the cachot. In one small room four prisoners apparently died from shots from the outside.

<sup>66</sup> Interview with Rosamind Carr, an American who owned a flower plantation and ran an orphanage in Mutura until Dec 1997 when she moved her orphanage to Gisenyi town for security reasons at the urging of the American Embassy in Kigali.

<sup>67</sup> “Rwanda: Conflict Builds,” *For Your Eyes Only*, Issue 438 5 Jan 98, p. 438-7.

<sup>68</sup> “Rwanda: Rebels Resurgent,” *For Your Eyes Only*, Issue 439 19 Jan 98, p. 439-6. From Jul 1994 until December 1997 the RPA had six brigades as designated in the Arusha Accords: 402nd in Kigali and Kigali Rurale Prefecture; 201st in Kibungo, Umatura, and Byumba Prefectures; 301st in Butare, Gikongoro, and Cyangugu Prefectures; 305th in Gitatama and Kibuye Prefectures; and 211th in Gisenyi and Ruhengeri Prefectures. The brigades boundaries mirrored the political administrative boundaries which often complicated military operations. In December 1997 the Rwandan cabinet approved the creation of an additional brigade, the 408th and a redefinition of brigade boundaries to facilitate combat operations. The RPA during this time period had roughly 40,000 – 50,000 members, including the 5,000 man Gendarmerie. Brigades had no set number assigned battalions. Usually, a brigade had three to five battalions, others were either added or subtracted dependent on combat requirements. The war in DROC in 1998 caused the RPA to expand to roughly 60,000 and increase the number of brigades which are assigned to combat operations in DROC. The seven brigades mentioned above remain headquartered in Rwanda, with some exercising operational control inside DROC.

<sup>69</sup> Interview with an RPA G-5 officer, Apr 98 and daily Radio Rwanda News Reports in English Feb - Mar 98.

<sup>70</sup> Interview with the RPA Chief of Staff on 16 April following the graduation of EX-FAR in Nkumba Commune, Ruhengeri Prefecture.

<sup>71</sup> FBIS RESTON VA “Rwanda: Over 300 ex-Hutu Militiamen Return From DR Congo”, Kigali Radio Rwanda in French 10 March 1999

<sup>72</sup> Final Report by the International Commission of Inquiry (Rwanda), to the UN Secretary-general, dated 18 November 1998, paragraph 87, p 18.

<sup>73</sup> Catherine Farnsworth and Charles Petrie, “Initial Reflections from the Field on Possible Steps to Address the Conflict in the Kivus,” unpublished paper, 1 March 1999, p 2.

<sup>74</sup> Larry Cable, “Getting Found in the Fog: The Nature of Interventionary Peace Operations,” reprinted from *Small Wars and Insurgencies in Special Warfare*, Spring 1998, p 33.

<sup>75</sup> *ibid.*

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<sup>76</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> Chaplain (COL) Cecil B. Currey, USAR, "Edward G. Lansdale: LIC and the Ugly American," *Military Review*, May 1988, p 57.

<sup>78</sup> Cable p 33.

<sup>79</sup> Harry Summers, "Flight from the quagmire," *Washington Times*, November 19, 1998, p 19.

<sup>80</sup> Catherine Newbury, "Ethnicity and the Politics of History in Rwanda," *Africa Today*, 45, 1 (1998) pp. 16-17.

<sup>81</sup> Robert Block, "A Delicate Merger of Warring Armies," *The Independent*, 30 Dec 1994.

<sup>82</sup> FBIS ABIDJAN IV, "Rwanda Army Integrates First Batch of Former Government Troops," Kigali Radio Rwanda in English 1145 GMT 25 Jan 95 and FBIS ABIDJAN IV, "Rwanda Former Government Army Officer Appointed Gendarmerie Chief," Kigali Radio Rwanda in French 1800 GMT 25 Jan 95.

<sup>83</sup> Since the middle of 1997 the government had run solidarity camps and seminars for the Hutu returnees, mandatory for employment. The thrust was to reeducate these people, who had undergone extensive indoctrination in Hutu extremist ideology in the refugee camps, in the government's policies of national reconciliation and unity.

<sup>84</sup> The author was the only representative from the international diplomatic community to attend this milestone event.

<sup>85</sup> The RPF Secretary General recounted the story to the author during a visit to Washington DC, Dec 1998.

<sup>86</sup> State Department Cable from AMEMBASSY KIGALI, Subject Aidoffs Visit Ruhengeri Displaced and Resettlement sites in Ruhengeri, unclassified 291416Z JAN 98.

<sup>87</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> Ian Fisher, *ibid.*