A large crowd of people, likely Hutu extremists, gathered in Rwanda. The image is a high-angle shot of a dense crowd of people, many wearing light-colored clothing. The text is overlaid in the center of the image.

Hutu Extremists: The Interahamwe in Rwanda

AFP

Image obtained from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/1288230.stm>

Great Lakes Region

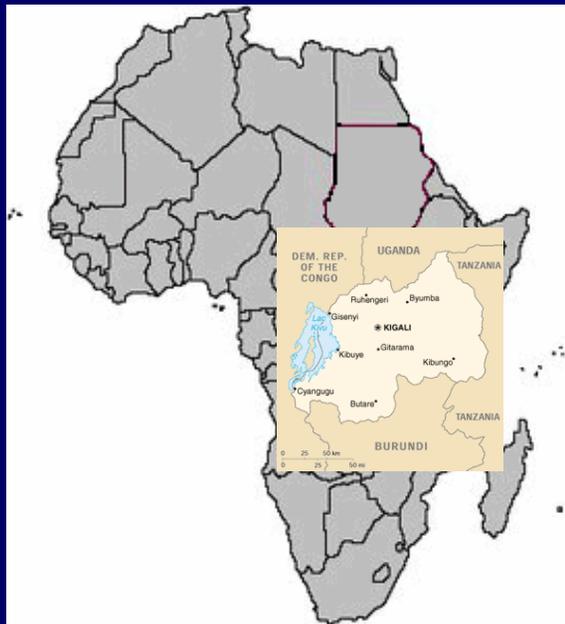
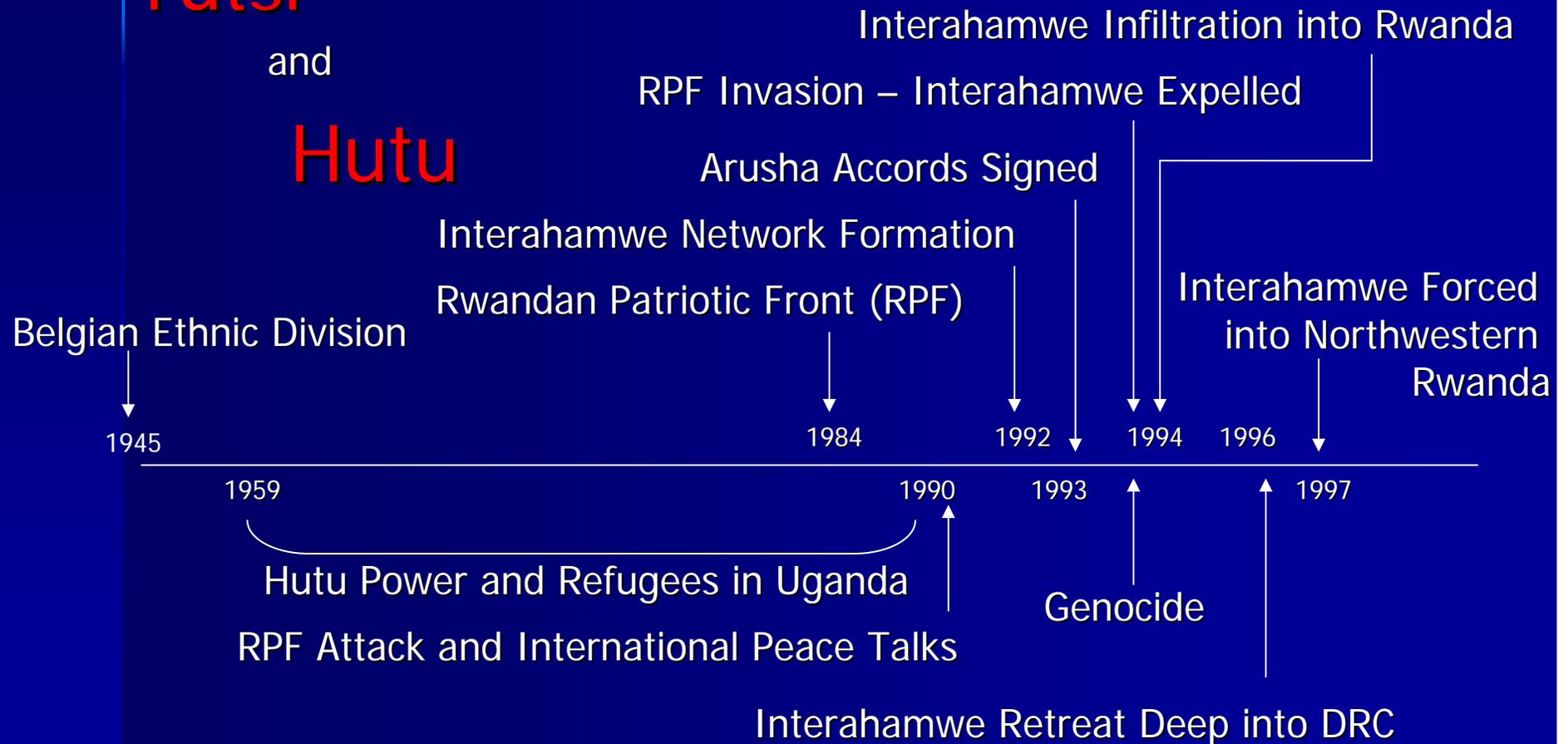


Image obtained from <http://kcm.co.kr/mission/map/flags/Rwanda.jpg>.

Background

Tutsi and Hutu



Revolutionary Theory

Social Movement (Organizational) Theory

■ Political Opportunities

- Arusha Accords shift power and create this opportunity
- Hutus feel like they will lose power

■ Mobilizing Structures

- Extreme Hutu groups established throughout Rwanda ready to take advantage of power shift
- Propaganda

■ Framing Processes

- Belief that Hutus should have the power and that it is possible through violence
- Threat of death, false belief in Tutsi threat

Hutu Strategy, Typology, and Tactics

- Annihilation → Exhaustion
- High Profile → Low Profile
- Inside-Out → Outside-In
- Lenin → Mao
- Tactics
 - Both Indiscriminate and targeted killings
 - On Tutsi and moderate Hutus
 - Roadblocks in areas controlled by Interahamwe
 - Kidnappings, attacks on schoolchildren, attacks on local government commune offices
 - Constant anti-Tutsi propaganda
 - Increases recruitment and helps with support
 - Guerilla attacks on genocide survivors to force RPF to engage with an undisciplined army and drive wedge between people
 - Fight with us or die



Image obtained from <http://aroom4u.com/maps/map-rwanda.gif>.

US Special Forces

Unconventional Warfare Template

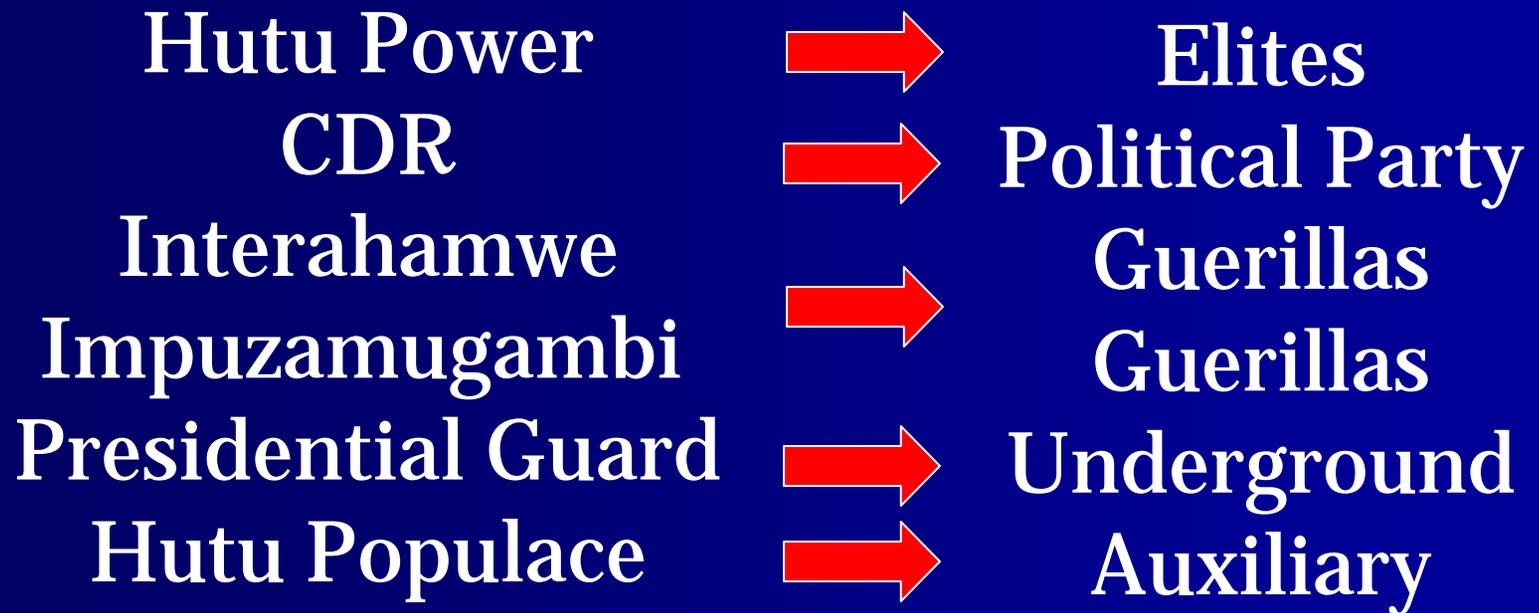


Image obtained from <http://www.rwandafund.org/sections/about/genocide.htm>.



Image obtained from <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ghosts/themes/>.

7 Dynamics of Insurgency

■ LEADERSHIP

- Leon Mugesera: leading ideologue in Hutu Power
- COL Bagosora: leader of presidential guard and death squads

■ IDEOLOGY

- Hutu Power (Tutsi Extermination)

■ OBJECTIVE

- Tutsi-free Rwanda

■ ENVIRONMENT/ GEOGRAPHY

- Semi-urban environment utilized to trap victims en masse.
- Second insurgency utilized mountainous, volcanic, forested northern region to conceal activities.

■ EXTERNAL SUPPORT

- French arms aid, influx of disenfranchised Barundi youth, DRC training camps, weapons

■ TIMING

- Arusha Accord implementation, RPF staged to return

■ PHASING



Image obtained from http://www.trial-ch.org/trialwatch/profil_photo.php?ProfileID=153&Width=100.

Phases

- Phase II – Overt Guerilla Warfare
 - 1990-1993: 3,000 key Tutsis assassinated
- Phase III – Mobile Warfare
 - 1994: Mass genocide, war of movement, some direct conflict with RPF forces
- Phase I – reconsolidation in DRC
- Phase II – raids into Rwanda



Battlefield Operating Systems

- Command and Control / Intelligence
 - Radio et Television Libres des Mille Collines (RTLM)
 - *Kangura*
- Maneuver
 - Influence Hutu populace
 - Interahamwe forces cross national borders when RPF forces invade and continue to launch attacks from these neighboring countries.

Interahamwe Insurgency System

Annihilation
Genocide
Stage

Hutu Supporters
Regime Support
• Food
• Sanctuary
• Presidential Guard
• Road Network Control

Endogeny

Exogeny

Burundi Youth Recruits
French Aid
Weapons

Inputs

Conversion Mechanisms

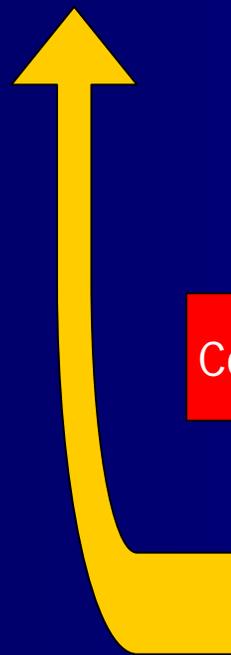
Outputs

RTLM Radio
Kangura

Fear
Greed
Death

Legitimacy

Control via Fear



Interahamwe Insurgency System

Exhaustion
Post-Genocide
Stage

Propaganda
Food
Medicine
Supporting Terrain
Local Hutu Supporters

Endogeny

Exogeny

DRC Sympathizers
• Sanctuary
• Weapons

Inputs

Conversion Mechanisms

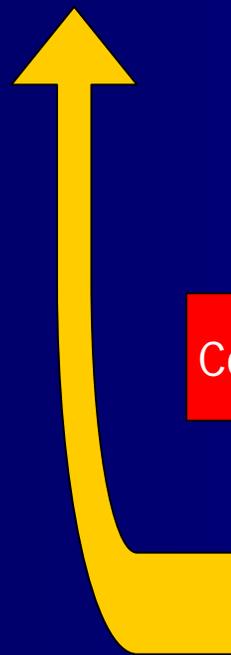
Outputs

DRC & Rwanda Training Camps
Violence Against Schoolchildren
Violence Against Commune
Offices

Fear

Legitimacy

Control via Fear



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Sources and Questions

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- Prunier, Gerard. *The Rwanda Crisis 1959-1994: History of a Genocide*. London: C. Hurst & Company Ltd, 1995.
- Umutesi, Marie Beatrice. *Surviving the Slaughter: The Ordeal of a Rwandan Refugee in Zaire*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000.



Image obtained from <http://www.suntimes.co.za/zapiro/1999/zapmarch7.jpg>.

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