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*Memory And Justice In Post-Genocide Rwanda* by Timothy Longman (review)

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included the often gendered importance of sending artists into communities to create webs of influence through critical workshops. The new models were applied to navigate through the often collage-like funding, research, and pedagogical strategies that Berman and her organization applied in the later creation of Phumani Paper, a locally motivated arts organization focused on AIDS education.

Phumani Paper, linking APS further with the University of Johannesburg and the South African government, expanded out of the idea of paper prayers as similar to the AIDS quilt in the United States, offering emotional content to help overcome the stigma associated with AIDS disclosures. To explore the efficacy of APS and Phumani Paper, Berman offers microhistorical examples of individual artists' successes and failures. Out of the difficulties that Phumani Paper has met in working with the South African government, Berman displays how agency can emerge from the survival mechanisms that arise out of forced adaptability. Through a brief systems-theory analysis of Phumani Paper, she shows the positives and negatives of arts education by focusing on questions of sustainability and culture, whereby the conditions of local communities are vital to understanding the survival of artistic institutions. These summaries provide a way to engage questions of poverty alleviation, as the organization uses different forms of rural waste in making paper products.

Berman's work expands on the importance of finding spaces for arts education related to the role of women in developing countries. Where unemployment is high, especially for women in rural communities, arts education can help instill pride in individuals. Berman reads these forms of expanding individualism through different phases of the establishment of Cultural Action for Change, a four-year research program that focused on mixed-media personal messaging for educators in establishing Phumani Paper workshops. *Finding Voice* highlights the importance of self-criticism in activist projects, the goals of arts education and democratic change, and reducing the stigma of AIDS in the South African public sphere, a difficulty that persists after apartheid due to the failures of South African leaders.

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Longman, Timothy. 2017. MEMORY AND JUSTICE IN POST-GENOCIDE RWANDA. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 374 pp.

The genocide carried out in Rwanda between April and July 1994 may have been brief compared with other such atrocities, but with an estimated 80 percent of the minority population having been killed, it was one of the most severe. In *Memory and Justice in Post-Genocide Rwanda*, Timothy Longman, director of the African Studies Center at Boston University,

recounts and analyzes this event. Relying on personal experiences and field research gathered over more than a decade, he offers an unparalleled account of the killings and the processes that subsequently purported to achieve justice and shape the survivors' collective memory and social identity.

The book is divided into three parts. Part one, consisting of five chapters, provides a detailed account of the buildup to the genocide, the rise to power of the Rwandan Patriotic Front, and the transitional, political, and social efforts of the current political regime. Longman shows that history played a key role, as the rhetoric fueling the massacre drew on a historical, colonial narrative that saw Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa as clear and distinct ethnic and even racial groups. While it is today generally agreed that these categories did not reflect distinct ethnic demarcations in the modern sense, the missionaries and colonial administrators of that time, influenced by social Darwinianism, "saw the Tutsi as a superior Hamitic group, distant relatives of Caucasians[,] who were more intelligent than their fellow countrymen" (pp. 37–39, 46–50). Based on this ethnic differentiation, policies were put in place by the colonial administrators to fix group identities, eliminate their flexibility, and provide for historical imaginaries that ultimately fueled a narrative of distinct ethnic identities (pp. 39–40). After the Second World War, however, the colonial myth of Tutsi superiority gave way to the democratic principle of majority rule, which received yet another distorted interpretation in Rwanda, meaning rule by the Hutu ethnic majority (p. 40).

Ethnic tensions and violence, particularly between the Hutu and Tutsi peoples, were consequently rife since the late colonial period in 1959, and culminated in brutal attacks on the Tutsi in 1963 and 1973. Ultimately, with the assassination of Rwandan President Juvénal Habyarimana in a plane crash on 6 April 1994 and amid reemerging ethnic tensions in the early 1990s, extremist Hutu ethnonationalists armed and mobilized local Hutu to slaughter Tutsi and burn their homes. Thousands of Tutsi fled in search of refuge; for Hutu civilians, ethnic solidarity proved the easiest route to survival (p. 55): "In three months, more than 500,000 Tutsi and several thousand moderate Hutu were murdered, thousands of Tutsi women were raped, countless houses and other Tutsi-owned buildings were destroyed, and communities were devastated" (pp. 10–11). International response was slow, and ultimately the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), a rebel movement that had been attacking the country from October 1990 until an August 1993 peace accord, succeeded in stopping the genocide. Millions of mostly Hutu refugees fled into neighboring Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of Congo (then known as Zaire), while the RPF established itself as the ruling government of Rwanda (p. 11).

In subsequent years, the RPF embarked upon "an extraordinary far-reaching program of social engineering, surely one of the most extensive by any modern state" (p. 12). It is this program, with its primary goal to reshape the ways in which Rwandans understand their historical experience and move forward on the path to reconciliation and national unity, that Longman takes to task. He questions whether the primary goal of Rwanda's ruling

party is to avoid future ethnic violence, and suggests that it is tailored to preserving exclusive political power.

Criticism of the ruling party—whether forthcoming from the international community or the Rwandan peoples themselves—is often equated to genocide denial. With regard to the local-level *gacaca* courts, which draw on principles underpinning restorative justice and truth commissions, Longman notes that the apparent noble purposes of rendering justice, promoting rule of law, acknowledging victims' suffering, encouraging dialogue, and promoting reconciliation have been supplanted by political goals, particularly those of the authoritarian state and certain social groups (pp. 102 and 120). Longman explains: "Excluding RPF attacks from judicial consideration and focusing solely on crimes of genocide made ethnicity the defining characteristic for determining which crimes were to be adjudicated and which were to be excluded. In effect, Hutu who committed crimes against Tutsi were to be held accountable, while Tutsi who committed crimes against Hutu were unlikely ever to face judgment" (p. 127).

The exposition of the first five chapters of part one is supplemented, in the three chapters of part two, with three case studies from the Rwandan communes of Buyoga, Mabanza, and Ngoma. These communes offer geographically dispersed locales through which Longman critically assesses, together with complementary data, the RPF's project of knowledge construction and the creation of a new collective memory. Part two is therefore particularly insightful in gauging the impact of the Rwandan government's transitional justice initiatives, including its efforts to shape the historical narrative, achieve justice through judicial action, and forge national unity and reconciliation. Here, Longman finds that much of the positive potential of transitional justice efforts in Rwanda is derailed by the ruling government's heavy-handed implementation of many programs that seemingly serve only to further consolidate political, social, and economic control, as well as the interests of the elite. For example, sound policy reasons may exist for regulations forbidding people from baking bricks and roof tiles in traditional ovens, or from sharing reed straws when drinking sorghum and banana beers, yet these forms of radical social engineering, pursued by the Rwandan government to create "new Rwandan citizens," often breed feelings of alienation rather than solidarity (pp. 182–86).

Part three of the book concludes on a gloomy note. Longman observes that the transitional justice efforts in Rwanda have paradoxically heightened and reinforced ethnic differences, rather than promoted reconciliation. This is because access to political and economic opportunity, despite the government's efforts to promote ethnic unity, is still dictated by identity, including ethnic identity, and by personal connections, reinforcing the importance of family, region, origin, and ethnicity (p. 26). Moreover, the RPF's rule, having ended the genocide and established a multiethnic, multiparty government, has become almost sacrosanct. Its orthodox version of history makes short shrift of dissenting voices and opinions and often brands these as belonging to genocide-denying discourse. Longman foresees that in "an authoritarian

context in which people are unable safely to express dissent or organise opposition, the long-term effect of Rwanda's growing inequality is to lay the seeds for future violence" (p. 26).

Thus, despite numerous accomplishments, which include having mobilized a higher percentage of women in parliament than any other country, it remains to be seen whether the RPF will succeed in creating a coherent collective memory, one that erases ethnic identity from the public consciousness and rewrites a historical narrative that promotes reconciliation and transformation. Longman suggests that while the people of Rwanda have generally embraced the official narrative on the more remote past (before 1994, depicting the colonizers as the source of ethnic divisions and relieving Rwandans of responsibility for what ultimately happened), the official narratives, about more recent history, the genocide, and the RPF's liberation of the country, are often challenged—albeit discreetly—with personal anecdotes, perspectives, and recollections (pp. 264–67). Longman warns that “people pretend that all is well and publicly do as authorities tell them, but privately their anger continues to build” (p. 269).

Timothy Longman's *Memory and Justice in Post-Genocide Rwanda* offers a critically rich and interwoven text, reflecting the complexity of lived experiences in the wake of conflict and violence.

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Amtaika, Alexius, ed. 2017. SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA: CHALLENGES AND DIMENSIONS. Austin, Texas: Pan-African University Press. \$45.00 (paper).

*Socio-Economic Development in Africa: Challenges and Dimensions* is a collection of essays that discusses the historical, political, social, and economic ramifications of development policies on the African continent. Its first two chapters discuss the theoretical concepts of development and the role of the state, cultural and political development theories, modernization theory, Rostow's five stages of economic growth, and the countertheories that emerged to critique these linear and simplistic models of socioeconomic progress, such as dependency theory, which asserts that the international economy functions to disadvantage developing countries, regardless of aid and support. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund's structural-adjustment programs (SAPs), based on neoliberal theories of privatization, free trade, and governmental retrenchment, are discussed in several chapters of the book.

The rest of the book uses case studies to discuss implications of the ways that theories and policies like SAPs have affected the plight of Africans and the legitimacy and power of their governments. Ben Weiss's chapter on