

## **Africa: Rwanda and Burundi in comparative perspective**

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Lectures: Thursday, weeks 3-8, 14:00–15:00, Alison Richard Building, Room SG1

(24 October, 31 October, 07 November, 14 November, 21 November, 28 November)

### **Course description**

This module aims to give students an understanding of state formation, identity politics, economic development and political evolution in Rwanda and Burundi.

These two countries constitute rich cases for comparative analysis given their many shared characteristics and key differences in their trajectories. Often referred to as “false twins” in the literature, the neighbouring countries are of comparable size and have similar ethnic make-up. Ruling over a densely populated territory, their pre and post-colonial states have had significant infrastructural power reaching deep down into society through densely stratified administrative structures. Rwanda and Burundi were part of the same administrative unit during Belgian colonial rule. Since independence, they both have experienced recurrent ethnic violence that resulted in the civil war in Burundi (1993-2005) and the civil war and genocide in Rwanda (1990-1994). Both countries are currently headed by rebellions-turned-ruling-parties.

At the same time, they bear significant differences. The salience of pre-colonial, and colonial ethnic identities in the two countries differed significantly. These identities produced different paths to independence that had lasting implications in the post-colonial era. Both states were ethnically dominated by a particular group, yet in an opposite manner. The Tutsi minority dominated the state apparatus in Burundi while it was the Hutu majority in Rwanda up until the 1990s. After the war, a symmetrical shift occurred: Rwanda became ruled by a Tutsi-led party and Burundi by a Hutu-led one. Yet, while ethnicity has been a significant factor underpinning political processes, it has not been the only one. Class and regional identities have also played an important role in the history of both countries.

Since the end of conflict, Rwanda and Burundi have also followed markedly different political, social, and economic trajectories. Rwanda has embraced an ambitious developmental agenda underpinned by a high modernist social engineering project while the government in Burundi has not engaged in such a transformative path. In terms of identity politics, the regimes have followed opposite approaches as well: Burundi has recognised ethnic identities as an integral part of formal powersharing institutions, while the government of Rwanda has promoted the disappearance of ethnic categories from the public sphere.

This module will provide students with a firm empirical grasp of these countries’ trajectory and contemporary politics. It will prompt students to engage with challenging and timely political questions: How might the different understanding of ethnicity have influenced

political competition over-time, and vice versa? How can we explain the resemblance and divergence of state formation process in Rwanda and Burundi? How can we understand the differences between each country's developmental project after the war? To what extent the nature of each rebellion turned ruling party, and their respective ideology, can explain current politics?

## Supervisions

There will be two supervisions for this module. The first question corresponds with the first three lectures, and the second with the last three. The two supervision questions are:

1. To what extent the colonial experience can explain cycles of violence in Rwanda and Burundi until today?
2. To what extent the nature of the rebellion that captured power after the war and the genocide can explain differences between Rwanda and Burundi's trajectory?

## Readings

Students are encouraged to skim through the general readings to get an overview of this module's two case studies: Rwanda and Burundi. Weekly readings are divided in essential and additional readings. Essential readings are compulsory as they give the necessary context to the lectures and the basic information to answer the supervision questions. The additional readings provide further information to students to answer the supervision questions and might be referred to in the lecture.

### General background reading:

Kimonyo, Jean-Paul. 2019 *Transforming Rwanda: Challenges on the Road to Reconstruction*. Boulder, Co: Lynne Rienner. (book mainly centred on the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)'s efforts to rebuild the state. Good section on the history of the RPF.)

Lemarchand, René. 1996. *Burundi: Ethnic Conflict and Genocide*. Cambridge University Press (book covering Burundi's history from independence until the civil war).

Prunier, Gérard. 1997. *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*. London: C. Hurst & Co. Publishers (mostly about the Rwandan genocide).

Reyntjens, Filip. 2013. *Political governance in post-genocide Rwanda*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (a critical book on Rwanda's trajectory since the genocide).

Watt, Nigel. 2016. *Burundi Biography of a Small African Country*. London: Hurst. (an easy-to-read book giving an overview of the country's history)

## Lecture 1: Pre-colonial and colonial rule

### Essential readings:

Lemarchand, René. 1970. *Rwanda and Burundi*. New York: Pall Mall, pp. 13-46

Lemarchand, René. 1996. *Burundi: Ethnic Conflict and Genocide*. Cambridge University Press. Chap. 4, pp. 58-75

Mamdani, Mahmood. 2002. *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press. Chap. 2 and 3

#### Additional readings:

Newbury, Catharine. 1988. *The cohesion of oppression: clientship and ethnicity in Rwanda, 1860-1960*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Newbury, David. 2001. « Precolonial Burundi and Rwanda: Local Loyalties, Regional Royalties ». *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 34(2): 255-314.

Newbury, David, et Catharine Newbury. 2000. « Bringing the Peasants Back In: Agrarian Themes in the Construction and Corrosion of Statist Historiography in Rwanda ». *The American Historical Review* 105(3): 832-77.

Reyntjens, Filip. 1987. « Chiefs and Burgomasters in Rwanda ». *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 19(25-26): 71-97.

#### Background readings on pre-colonial history

Chrétien, Jean-Pierre. 2006. *The Great Lakes of Africa: Two Thousand Years of History*. New York, NY: Zone Books.

Des Forges, Alison. 2011. *Defeat Is the Only Bad News: Rwanda under Musinga, 1896–1931*. Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press.

Vansina, Jan. 2004. *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda: The Nyiginya Kingdom*. Madison, Wis: University of Wisconsin Press.

## **Lecture 2: state and nation formation after independence**

#### Essential readings:

Desrosiers, Marie-Eve. 2014. « Rethinking Political Rhetoric and Authority during Rwanda's First and Second Republics ». *Africa* 84(2): 199-225.

Lemarchand, René. 1996. *Burundi: Ethnic Conflict and Genocide*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 5 & 6.

Prunier, Gérard. 1997. *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*. London: C. Hurst & Co. Publishers. Chapter 2

#### Additional readings:

Mamdani, Mahmood. 2002. *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press. Chapter 5 & 6

- Mayersen, Deborah. 2015. « 'Fraternity in diversity' or 'feudal fanatics'? Representations of ethnicity in Rwandan presidential rhetoric ». *Patterns of Prejudice* 49(3): 249-70.
- Newbury, Catharine. 'Rwanda: recent debates over governance and rural development', in G. Hyden & M. Bratton (eds). *Governance and Politics in Africa*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 193-219
- Prunier, Gérard. 1998. « The Rwandan Patriotic Front ». In *African Guerrillas*, Christopher S. Clapham (ed.). Oxford: James Currey Publishers, 119-33.
- Watt, Nigel. 2016. *Burundi Biography of a Small African Country*. London: Hurst, pp.33-66.

### **Lecture 3: Mass violence and reconciliation**

#### Essential readings:

- Lemarchand, René. 2009. *The dynamics of violence in central Africa*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Chapter 9.
- Straus, Scott. 2008. *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapter 7 & 8.
- Vandeginste, Stef. 2014. « Governing Ethnicity after Genocide: Ethnic Amnesia in Rwanda versus Ethnic Power-Sharing in Burundi ». *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 8(2), 263-277.

#### Additional readings:

- Lemarchand, René. 1998. « Genocide in the Great Lakes: Which Genocide? Whose Genocide? » *African Studies Review* 41(1): 3-16.
- Ngaruko, F., et J. D. Nkurunziza. 2000. « An Economic Interpretation of Conflict in Burundi ». *Journal of African Economies* 9(3): 370-409.
- Prunier, Gérard. 1997. *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*. London: C. Hurst & Co. Publishers.
- Uvin, Peter. 1999. « Ethnicity and Power in Burundi and Rwanda: Different Paths to Mass Violence ». *Comparative Politics* 31(3): 253-71.
- Uvin, Peter. 2001. « Reading the Rwandan Genocide ». *International Studies Review* 3(3): 75-99.

### **Lecture 4 : Post-conflict developmental ambitions**

#### Core readings

- Ansoms, An. 2009. « Re-Engineering Rural Society: The Visions and Ambitions of the Rwandan Elite ». *African Affairs* 108(431): 289-309.

Booth, D., et F. Golooba-Mutebi. 2012. « Developmental Patrimonialism? The Case of Rwanda ». *African Affairs* 111(444): 379-403.

Rufyikiri, Gervais. 2016. *Grand Corruption in Burundi: a collective action problem which poses major challenges for governance reforms*. Antwerp: University of Antwerp. Working Paper.

#### Additional readings:

Ansoms, An, Esther Marijnen, Giuseppe Cioffo, et Jude Murison. 2017. « Statistics versus livelihoods: questioning Rwanda's pathway out of poverty ». *Review of African Political Economy* 44(151): 47-65.

Ansoms, An. 2018. « The Rwandan Agrarian and Land Sector Modernisation: Confronting Macro Performance with Lived Experiences on the Ground ». *Review of African Political Economy* 45(157): 408-31.

Behuria, Pritish. 2016. « Centralising rents and dispersing power while pursuing development? Exploring the strategic uses of military firms in Rwanda ». *Review of African Political Economy* 43(150): 630-47.

Chemouni, Benjamin. 2018. « The Political Path to Universal Health Coverage: Power, Ideas and Community-Based Health Insurance in Rwanda ». *World Development* 106: 87-98.

Dawson, Neil M. 2018. « Leaving no-one behind? Social inequalities and contrasting development impacts in rural Rwanda ». *Development Studies Research* 5(1): 1-14.

Gökgür, Nilgün. 2012. *Rwanda's ruling party-owned enterprises: do they enhance or impede development?* Antwerp: Universiteit Antwerpen, Institute of Development Policy (IOB). IOB Discussion Paper.

International Crisis Group (2018). *Helping the Burundian People Cope with the Economic Crisis*. Africa Report N°264. Brussels: International Crisis Group. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/burundi/264-soutenir-la-population-burundaise-face-la-crise-economique>

Mann, Laura, et Marie Berry. 2016. « Understanding the Political Motivations That Shape Rwanda's Emergent Developmental State ». *New Political Economy* 21(1): 119-44.

Nkurunziza, Janvier (2018). *The origin and persistence of state fragility in Burundi*. London: LSE-Oxford Commission on State Fragility, Growth and Development. <https://www.theigc.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Burundi-report-v2.pdf>

Straus, Scott, et Lars Waldorf (ed.) 2011. *Remaking Rwanda: state building and human rights after mass violence*. Madison, Wis: The University of Wisconsin Press.

## **Lecture 5: State and Politics**

### Core readings

Bouka, Yolande, 2017, 'Burundi: Between War and Negative Peace', in G. Khadiagala (ed.), *War and Peace in Africa's Great Lakes Region* (London: Palgrave Macmillan): 17–31.

Chemouni, Benjamin. 2014. « Explaining the Design of the Rwandan Decentralization: Elite Vulnerability and the Territorial Repartition of Power ». *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8(2): 246-62.

Reyntjens, Filip. 2013. *Political governance in post-genocide Rwanda*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press., chapter 3

#### Additional readings:

Alfieri, Valeria. 2016. « Political parties and citizen political involvement in post-conflict Burundi: between democratic claims and authoritarian tendencies ». *Civil Wars* 18(2): 234-53.

Ingelaere, Bert. 2014. « What's on a Peasant's Mind? Experiencing RPF State Reach and Overreach in Post-Genocide Rwanda (2000–10) ». *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8(2): 214-30.

Jowell, Marco. 2014. « Cohesion through Socialization: Liberation, Tradition and Modernity in the Forging of the Rwanda Defence Force (RDF) ». *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8(2): 278-93.

Kimonyo, Jean-Paul. 2019 *Transforming Rwanda: Challenges on the Road to Reconstruction*. Boulder, Co: Lynne Rienner.

Leclercq, Sidney. 2018. « Between the Letter and the Spirit: International Statebuilding Subversion Tactics in Burundi ». *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 12(2): 159-84.

Nicaise, Guillaume. 2019. « Local power dynamics and petty corruption in Burundi ». *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, forthcoming.

Reyntjens, F. 2004. « Rwanda, Ten Years on: From Genocide to Dictatorship ». *African Affairs* 103(411): 177-210.

Thomson, Susan M. 2013. *Whispering truth to power: everyday resistance to reconciliation in postgenocide Rwanda*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Van Acker, T., Muhangaje, J. and Magerano, O.-A. (2018), 'Partisan Identity Politics in Post-War Burundi', in A. Nyenyezi Bisoka, A. Ansoms and S. Vandeginste (eds), *Conjonctures de l'Afrique centrale* 2017 (Paris: L'Harmattan).

Wilén, Nina, Birantamije, Gérard. and Ambrosetti, David (2017), 'The Burundian Army's Trajectory to Professionalization and Depoliticization and Back Again', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 12(1): 120–35.

### **Lecture 6: Longue durée and political agency: making sense of Rwanda and Burundi today**

#### Core readings:

- Burihabwa, Ntagahoraho Z., et Devon E. A. Curtis. 2019. « The Limits of Resistance Ideologies? The CNDD-FDD and the Legacies of Governance in Burundi ». *Government and Opposition* 54(3): 559-83.
- Chemouni, Benjamin, et Assumpta Mugiraneza. 2019 « Ideology and interests in the Rwandan Patriotic Front: Singing the struggle in pre-genocide Rwanda ». *African Affairs*.
- Reyntjens, Philip. 2018. « Understanding Rwandan politics through the longue durée: from the precolonial to the post-genocide era ». *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 12(3): 514-32.

Additional readings:

- Cheeseman, Nicholas., Collord, Michaela and Reyntjens, Filip. 2018, 'War and Democracy: The Legacy of Conflict in East Africa', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 56(1): 31–61.
- Curtis, Devon (2015), 'Development Assistance and the Lasting Legacies of Rebellion in Burundi and Rwanda', *Third World Quarterly*, 36(7): 1365–81.
- Desrosiers, Marie-Eve, et Susan Thomson. 2011. « Rhetorical Legacies of Leadership: Projections of 'Benevolent Leadership' in Pre- and Post-Genocide Rwanda ». *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 49(3): 429-53.
- Guðrún Sif Friðriksdóttir (2018) Ex-combatants as social activists: war, peace and ideology in Burundi, *Conflict, Security & Development*, 18:1, 1-16
- Nindorera, Willy, 2012, 'The CNDD-FDD in Burundi: The Path from Armed to Political Struggle', *Berghof Transitions Series No. 10* (Berlin: Berghof Foundation).
- Purdeková, A., Reyntjens, F. and Wilén, N. (2018), 'Militarisation of Governance after Conflict: Beyond the Rebel-to-Ruler Frame – the Case of Rwanda', *Third World Quarterly*, 39(1): 158–74.
- Rufyikiri, Gervais. 2017. « The Post-wartime Trajectory of CNDD-FDD Party in Burundi: A Facade Transformation of Rebel Movement to Political Party ». *Civil Wars* 19(2): 220-48.
- Wittig, Katrin 2016, 'Politics in the Shadow of the Gun: Revisiting the Literature on "Rebel-to Party Transformations" through the Case of Burundi', *Civil Wars*, 18(2): 137–59.