

compromise with the Tutsi guerrilla forces—the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF)—in October 1993, Chege says, had it not been “for the determination of a group of Hutu intellectuals and extremists to keep the Tutsis out of power at all costs.”

Working with the extremist Akazu faction of the ruling Hutus, Chege says, Leon Mugesira and Ferdinand Nahimana, both professors of history at Rwandan National University at Butare, along with another member of the faculty, Vincent Ntzipimana, “manufactured doctrines of Hutu ethnic supremacy depicting all Tutsis as a malignant cancer in the nation’s history that deserved to be excised once and for all.”

Shrill calls for the extermination of the Tutsis, broadcast on Rwandan radio and carried in print, mobilized Hutu peasants, militias, and the urban unemployed for murder. After the massacres, Emmanuel Bugingo, the new rector of the university’s Butare campus, lamented that “all the killing in Rwanda was carefully planned by intellectuals and those

intellectuals passed through this university.”

After the Tutsi RPF seized the capital of Kigali in May 1994, Prime Minister Paul Kagame’s government provided human rights groups with the names of 463 surviving ringleaders of the 1994 genocide. Many of them have been traced to Kenya. At the University of Nairobi’s Chiromo campus, for example, Charles Nyandwi—number 35 on the Rwandan list of war criminals—was appointed in 1995 to teach applied mathematics.

“Professor Nyandwi and his colleagues are in good company,” Chege writes. “The Kenyan government has been repeatedly accused by Amnesty International of the systematic torture of its political opponents.” Academics there, too, have joined the regime in fanning ethnic hatred (against the Kikuyu minority). Genocide is also a real possibility in Zaire, Nigeria, and elsewhere in Africa. Hatemongering by African intellectuals, Chege warns, must not be tolerated by Africans—or by Western aid givers.

The Asian Arms Race

“East Asia’s Arms Races” and “East Asia’s Militaries Muscle Up” by Michael Klare, in *The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (Jan.–Feb. 1997), 6042 S. Kimbark Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60637.

With the decline and fall of the Soviet empire, global military spending has plunged, from \$1.3 trillion in 1987 to \$840 billion in 1994. But in East Asia, military expenditures have climbed—from \$126 billion (in constant 1994 dollars) annually during the 1984–88 period to \$142 billion between 1992 and ’94. This trend, warns Klare, who heads the Five College Program in Peace and World Security Studies in Amherst, Massachusetts, could lead to war.

China began to transform its military in 1985, when it shifted its strategic focus from an all-out “people’s war” with the Soviet Union or another invading power to smaller regional conflicts. It has reduced its ground force from four million to three million active-duty troops—still the world’s largest army—while beefing up its air and naval arms. Japan, Taiwan, Indonesia, South Korea, Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore have been taking similar steps.

The East Asian nations have become “avid consumers” of sophisticated military gear

produced in the United States, France, Russia, and elsewhere. Between 1985 and 1994, they spent about \$67 billion on imported arms, including air-to-air and air-to-ground missiles and other high-tech weapons. Taiwan now has 60 Mirage-2000-5 and 150 F-16 jet fighters, and even Malaysia, though not yet in the same league, has 20 MiG-29 and eight F-18 jet fighters.

This binge is partly a product of affluence, Klare points out. Chronic regional disputes, including those between China and Taiwan and between South Korea and North Korea, along with more recent quarrels (such as that among China, Taiwan, and Vietnam over the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea), have also whetted the appetite for arms.

With the chief exception of China, East Asia’s arms industries “are still embryonic,” Klare says. As long as that remains true, the East Asian nations “will be subject to some degree to the political wishes of their principal suppliers.” But as they become more self-sufficient, Klare fears, the threat to peace in the region could grow.