

Index

- abakada* (functionaries), 346
abiru (guardians of tradition), 200
 absolute destruction
 concept of, 130
 absolute domination
 concept of, 354
 practices of, 355
 Acemoglu, Daron, 663
 adaptive efficiency
 concept of, 676
 adversarial legalism, 6, 57
 adversaries
 and enemies, 59
 adversary
 concept of, 59
 affective government, concept of, 435
 affective injustice, 355
 concept of, 348, 546
 African Charter on Human and People's Rights, 108
 African Christianity, 217
 African Rights, 395
 "African time"
 derogatory cliché of, 464
 Agamben, Giorgio, 575, 704
 concept of "bare life" of, 103
 on the Foucauldian account of biopolitics, 73
 on guilt, 77
 Homo Sacer, 75
 on "legal civil war," 69
 on thanatopolitics, 73
 on violence, 71
 agency slack, concept of, 302
 Aghion, Anne, 294
 Ahmed, Sara
 on "affective economies," 183
 aidland, concept of, 292
 Akayesu, Jean-Paul
 trial of, 499
 Alexander, Jeffrey, 136
 on moral drama, 478
 Allen, Danielle, 577
 alternative dispute resolution (ADR), 233
 Althusser, Louis, 456
 American Bar Association, 424
 Amin, Idi, 679
 Amnesty International, 132, 155, 164, 704
 analytic eclecticism, 32, 43
 analytic ethnography, 31
 and photo-elicitation, 36
 analytic photography, 35
 annihilation
 versus assimilation, 332
 anthropophagic authoritarianism, concept of, 332
 Appiah, Kwame, 476, 602
 arboreal philosophy
 Cartesian image of, 415
 Arbour, Louise, 490, 502
 Arendt, Hannah, 294, 434, 471
 on dictatorship, 52
 distinction between "tyranny" and "total terror"
 of, 440
 on Franz Kafka, 52, 65
 on military extremism, 130
 totalitarian education and, 445
 Aristotle, 657
 phronesis and, 512
 Arjona, Ana, 344
 army
 as an agent of socialization, 685
Arusha Tapes, The, film, 483
 screening of, 483
 Asad, Talal
 on suspicion, 448
 assaultive speech, 529
 assemblage
 concept of, 417, 533
 violent, 428
 Assiel, Kabera, 231, 235

- assimilation
versus annihilation, 332
- Association des veuves du génocide Agahozo (AVEGA), 498
- Association rwandaise pour la défense des droits de la personne et des libertés publiques (ADL), 599
- associational life
pathologies of, 581
- asymmetric information
principle of, 672
- Atwood, Margaret, 575
The Testaments and, 697
- auctoritas, 704
- Auden, W. H., 47
- Austin, J. L., 455
on “performative utterances,” 219
- Autesserre, Séverine, 292
- authoritarian control
strategies of, 434
- authoritarian high legalism, concept of, 387
- authoritarian high modernism
concept of, 669
as a form of governmentality, 669
gacaca courts as an example of, 545
- authoritarian rule
institutional foundations of, 674
- authoritarian rule of law
concept of, 295
in South Africa, 425
theater of, 295
- authoritarianism
anthropophagic, 332
high modernist variant of, 127
ocular, 530
and temporality, 554
versus totalitarianism, 441
- authority
obedience to, 689
- autonomy, concept of, 302
- AVEGA
boycott of ICTR and, 498
- Avocats sans frontières (ASF), 166, 175, 321, 451
Mémoire des procès du génocide (MEMPROGE) of, 185
Recueil de jurisprudence contentieux du génocide of, 185
- Bagambiki, Emmanuel
trial of, 503
- Bagilishema, Ignace, 496
- Bagosora, Théoneste, 158
- Baines, Erin, 611
- Banyingana, Peter, 682
- Barayagwiza, Jean-Bosco
trial of, 491–500
- Barayagwiza, Jean-Bosco
extradition of, 491
judgment in trial of, 494
trial of, 9
- bare life
concept of, 73
- Barthes, Roland, 566
- Basominger, Albert, 250
- Bates, Robert H., 677
- Bauchau, Henri, 647
- Baudrillard, Jean, 289
and the concept of simulacrum, 289
strategy of the real and, 289
and war, 289
- Bauman, Zygmunt, 332
- Bayart, Jean-François, 560
- Bazabazwa, Deo
trial of, 182
- Becker, Howard
and visual ethnography, 37
- Beckett, Samuel, 566
- Begley, Larissa, 355
- Belgian Congo, 442, 679
- Belgium
colonial administration in Ruanda-Urundi of, 244, 323
colonial administration in Rwanda, 524
as colonial power, 202
King Leopold II of, 442
Palace of Justice in, 582
Rwandan diaspora in, 527
Rwandan independence from, 703
trial of the “Butare Four” in, 581
University of Antwerp in, 98
- Belhaddad, Souâd, 592
- Benedict, Ruth, 704
- Benjamin, Walter, 247
on Franz Kafka, 52
on law’s violence, 76
- Bentham, Jeremy, 28, 546
on law’s publicity, 521
panopticon and, 339
- Berlant, Lauren, 562, 652, 669
on slow death, 569
- Bertelsmann Transformation Index (BTI), 675
- Bikindi, Simon, 617
- Bimenyimana, Faustin
trial of, 161
- biopolitics, 71
Agamben versus Foucault, 74
- biopower

- concept of, 570
- and necropower, 78
- Birambo, district of, 365
- Bisesero, community of, 668
- Bizimana, Déogratias
 - trial of, 153
- Bizimana, Evariste, 268
- Bizimana, Jean-Damascène, 443
- Bizimungu, Pasteur, 133, 223, 231, 241
- Blair, Tony, 473
- bodies
 - disciplining of, 458
 - social versus lived, 564
- bodily, 419
- Bohannan, Paul, 253
- Bohley, Bärbel, 597
- Borneman, John, 608
- Bornkamm, Paul Christoph, 228
- Boston, 486
- Bouka, Yolande, 120, 138, 350, 587
- Bourdieu, Pierre, 195, 511, 565
 - on force, 574
 - on symbolic power, 475
- Boutros-Ghali, Boutros, 489
- Braeckman, Colette, 624, 636
- Braithwaite, John
 - on integrative shaming, 481
- Brantlinger, Patrick, 667
- Brauer, Jurgen, 672
- Brecht, Bertolt, 444
- Breed, Ananda, 514, 582, 695
- British East India Company, 635
- Brod, Max, 48
- Brounéus, Karen, 613
- Brudholm, Thomas, 623
- brute force
 - versus latent violence, 677
- Buckley Zistel, Susanne, 467
- Bugesera, community of, 668
- bula matari*
 - concept of, 441
- Bunyonyezi, Chris, 682
- Bunzazi, community of, 534
 - sector of, 625
- bureaucracy
 - Franz Kafka's critique of, 572
- bureaucratism
 - concept of, 695
- bureaucratization, process of, 295
 - and limits, 323
- Burnet, Jennie, 32
- Burundi, 422, 581, 629, 657
 - bashingantaha* councils in, 25
 - Tutsi refugees in, 679
- Bush, George W., 587
- Busingye, Johnston, 439
- Busoro, cell, 398, 404
- Busoro, market, 404
- Busoro, trading center, 397
- Butamire, Pan, 517
- Butare, 131, 199, 208, 224
 - bystanders to genocide in, 393
 - Hutu of, 393
 - Tutsi of, 392
- Butare, city, 581
- Butare, province, 334, 365, 391
- Butler, Judith, 49, 335, 456, 527, 584
- Bwagira, district, 365
- Byanafashe, Déogratias, 225, 229

- Calixte, Kanyemera
 - trial of, 584
- camera orientalis*, 665
- camp time
 - concept of, 564
- Campbell, Elaine, 700
- Card, Claudia, 136, 591, 646
- care
 - moral discourse of, 670
- Carina Tertsakian, 116
- Carney, J. J., 215
- Caro, Robert, 664
- Catholic Church, 218
 - complicity in 1994 genocide of, 525
 - Motu Proprio Justitiam et Pacem* and, 217
 - Second Vatican Council and, 217
 - theology of obedience of, 524
- Central Africa, 649
- Chakravarty, Anuradha, 19, 139, 262
- Chamayou, Grégoire
 - on the philosophy of manhunts, 110
- chambres spécialisées*, 519
- Chanock, Martin, 635
- China
 - social credit system in, 532
 - trial of the “Gang of Four” in, 425
- choiceless choice
 - concept of, 333
- Chouliaraki, Lilie, 670
- Chrétien, Jean Pierre, 629
- Chwe, Michael, 443
- Cicero, 537
- citizens
 - expendability of, 571
 - fungibility of, 571
- citizenship, 125
- Clairvaux, St. Bernard of, 604
- Clark, Phil, 197, 545, 578, 645

Clausewitz, Carl von, 57
 on warfare, 57
 cleavages
 between perpetrators and survivors, 432
 Clinton, Bill, 474, 487
 Codere, Helen, 693, 703
 coercive harmony, 3
 concept of, 636
 violence of, 636
 coercive memorialization
 concept of, 604
 coexistence
 and reconciliation, 608
 cognition and choice
 strategic model of, 678
 Cohen, Stanley, 140
 collective action
 problems of, 685
 collective guilt, 61, 136
 collective memory, 136, 514
 collective violence, 136
 Collier, David, 62
 Collier, Ruth Berins, 62
 Comaroff, Jean, 5, 78, 104
 Comaroff, John, 5, 78, 104
 on lawfare, 54
 commemoration
 violence of, 606
 commitment problems, 641
 common knowledge
 game-theoretical concept of, 443
 communicative authority, 446
 communicative rationality
 concept of, 410
 idea of, 216
 community service
 institution of, 264
 complex victimhood
 concept of, 611
 conflict
 strategy of, 676
 theaters of, 672
 Conquest, Robert, 538
 consent
 calculus of, 452
 Constable, Marianne, 580
 on Robert Cover, 59
 constitutional design
 as a lawfare tactic, 57
 constitutional dictatorship
 concept of, 145, 427
 consolidation of in Rwanda, 427
 post-genocide Rwanda as, 427
 contingency, 697

Copenhagen, 486
 Corey, Allison, 428
 corpses
 public display of, 605
 corruption, 594
 cosmologies
 totalizing nature of, 657
 cosmologies of the powerful, 656
 cosmologies of the powerless, 656
 cosmopolitan solidarity, 669
 court time
 concept of, 564
 courtroom
 seductive power of, 425
 Cover, Robert, 149, 295, 513, 514, 579
 humanistic approach of, 521
 on law's violence, 58
 on revolutionary constitutional understandings,
 82
 Craven, Wes, 440
 credible commitments, 703
 critical juncture
 concept of, 62
 cruel optimism
 concept of, 670, 694
 cruel pessimism and, 694
 panic and misrecognition as consequences of,
 670
 cruel pessimism
 concept of, 652, 694
 cruel optimism and, 694
 Cuba
 military training of Paul Kagame in, 680
 cultural trauma
 concept of, 136
 customary law, 227
 language of, 235
 mobilization of, 234
 neo-traditional, 635
 Cyanguu, 162, 182, 226
 diocese, 214
 préfecture, 503
 Cyanguu, province, 365
 Cyanzayire, Aloysie, 251, 254, 311
 Cyiza, Augustin, 668

 Damocles, 537, 690
 danger
 socialization of, 695
 Danish Centre for Human Rights, 166,
 175
 Danish Institute for Human Rights. *See* Danish
 Centre for Human Rights
 Darwin, Cjartles, 414

- Das, Veena, 565, 656
- Dassault Falcon 50
and the assassination of President Habyarimana, 419
- Dauge-Roth, Alexandre, 648
- Davenport, Christian, 513, 674
- de Beauvoir, Simone, 566
- De Beer, Daniel, 150
- de Certeau, Michel, 654
- de Dieu Mucyo, Jean, 190
- de Figueiredo, Rui J. P., 677
- de Jonge, Klaas, 361, 451, 548
- de Lame, Danielle, 32, 199, 457, 664
- dead time, 567
- death
hermeneutical, 563
- decentralized despotism, concept of, 351
- decision making
under uncertainty, 672
- deformation
concept of, 428
in law and the social sciences, 428
permanence of, 428
in physics, 428
- Degni-Ségui, René, 102
- Del Ponte, Carla, 492
- delegation, concept of, 301
- delegation, dynamics of, 302
- Deleuze, Giles, 291, 414, 533, 557
and Achille Mbembe, 79
- Deleuze, Gilles, and Félix Guattari
on war machines, 79
- deliberative justice, potential for, 410
- Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), 442, 690
formerly Zaire, 130
perpetual war over, 429
warfare in, 196
- Derrida, Jacques, 626
- Des Forges, Alison, 32, 110, 220, 600
testimony in Thenis trial of, 529
Theunis trial and, 519
- description, methodological practice of, 288
- destruction
thesaurus of, 666
- destructive trial
concept of, 521
- development
demand for, 701
projects, failure of, 701
- developmental dictatorship, 411
- developmental state, concept of, 337
- Dewey, John, 561
- Dialogue* (journal), 518
- dictatorship
anatomy of, 425
contribution to the theory of, 706
East German, 440
institutional development of, 427
in Nazi Germany, 103
self-reinforcing logic of, 326
- didactic trial
concept of, 521
- difference
annihilation of, 439
- differentiation
process of, 197
- diminishing returns
principle of, 672
- Dionysius of Syracuse, 537
- disalienation, concept of, 333
- disciplinary power
concept of, 555
- discipline
concept of, 554
- discursive formations, 518
- disempowerment, process of, 336
- disgust, 624
- Disneyland, 292
- dispute resolution, 635
- distrust, 468
and mistrust, 639
- divide and rule
strategy of, 543
- documents, 288
hyperreality of, 287
- domination
in the modern world, 585
- domination, concept of, 354
and absolute domination, 354
- dossier (case file)
as a technology of power, 330
- Doughty, Kristin, 32, 552
- Douglas, Mary, 300, 679
- dual state
concept of, 109
- Dusingizemungu, Jean Pierre, 447
- East Berlin
1953 uprising in, 444
- Eco, Umberto, 291
- economic theory, 674
- Eichmann, Adolf, 422
- Elyachar, Julia, 630
- enemies
and adversaries, 59
blacks as, 60
communists as, 61

enemies (cont.)
 concept of, 59
 dissident peasants as, 61
 homosexuals as, 61
 Hutu as, 60
 Jews as, 60
 natives as, 60
 perpetrators, 60
 real versus imagined, 673
 terrorists as, 60
 witches as, 61
 enforced legal waiting
 socioeconomic costs of, 563
 Enlightenment, 415
 values of, 29
 episteme
 concept of, 585
 epistemic injustice, 445
 concept of, 584
 epistemic violence
 concept of, 585
 Eritrean People's Liberation Front, 682
 ethnic divisionism, criminalization of, 300
 ethnographic stance
 concept of, 631
 ethnography, 657
 European Union (EU), 650
 policy toward post-genocide Rwanda of, 85
 everyday lawfare
 concept of, 555
 everyday life
 militarization of, 695
 military norms and institutions in, 690
 presentation of law in, 704
 everyday violence, 585
 excessive moralism
 as a discursive formation, 644
 as a violation, 644
 existential harm
 concept of, 591
 expected marginal costs and benefits
 principle of, 672
 expressive choice
 logic of, 671, 677
 Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of
 Cambodia, 16
 extremist institutionalism, 26, 248, 671
 concept of, 146
 from perverse institutionalism to, 700
 Fassin, Didier, 50
 faux traditionalism
 in Rwanda, 517
 in South Africa, 517

fear
 violence of, 349
 Fédération internationale des ligues des droits de
 l'homme (FIDH), 497
 Feeley, Malcolm, 51
 felt injustice
 concept of, 598
 fetishizing the local
 methodological practice of, 436
 Fitzpatrick, Peter, 72
 Fletcher, George, 148
 Flyvbjerg, Bent, 657
 forced development, concept of, 331
 Forces armées rwandaises (FAR), 162
 Forces de libération nationale (FLN), 423
 forgiveness
 concept of, 624
 as a duty, 648
 institutionalized, 625
 rhetoric of, 624
 Foucault, Michel, 248, 294, 300, 458, 511, 533,
 546, 557, 657, 672, 705
 on biopolitics, 71
 on disciplinary power, 71
Discipline and Punish, 71
 and the insurrection of subjugated knowledges,
 658
 on "the model of Leviathan," 59
 on power as "continuous warfare," 249
 on technologies of rule, 72
 on violence, 71
 France
 revolutionary terror in, 426
 revolutionary trials in, 425
 Thermidorian Reaction in, 427
 Tribunal révolutionnaire in, 426
 Frazer, Jendayi, 420
 French Revolution
 Committee of Public Safety (Comité de salut
 public) in, 80
 Consulate, the military dictatorship led by
 Napoleon Bonaparte, in, 81
 Directorate (Directoire) in, 81
 Fricker, Miranda, 588
 Friedrich Nietzsche
 and *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, 248
 Fujii, Lee Ann, 12, 39, 609
 on meta-data, 468
 Furet, François, 426
 futurity, loss of, 552
 gacaca
 colonial reinvention of, 206
 facade, 388

- imperial, 201
- pre-colonial institution of, 201
- varieties of, 218
- gacaca* courts, 6
 - accusations versus confessions in, 534
 - affective injustice and, 546
 - agency slack in, 323
 - annulment of dissensus in, 453
 - appeals in, 276
 - archive of, 703
 - assaultive speech in, 529
 - as authentic fakes, 571
 - “authority-driven *gacaca*” and, 214
 - billboards for, 385
 - bribes in, 594
 - bureaucrats and lawyers in, 454
 - calculus of consent in, 452
 - calls for retrials in, 595
 - categories and penalties in, 279
 - cell jurisdictions of, 273
 - centralization of information about, 485
 - chilling effect of, 578
 - choiceless choices and, 468
 - civil claimants in, 275
 - and clientelism, 313, 535
 - coercive participation in, 545
 - and collection of testimony in pre-*gacaca*
 - hearings and, 375
 - compliance as simulation, 465
 - confession procedure as a paragon of
 - necropower, 545
 - contending logics of institutional designs for, 245
 - co-ordination committee of, 273
 - court time in, 564
 - courtrooms of as anterooms of justice, 567
 - dead time in, 567
 - defendants in, 286
 - denunciations and, 538
 - depression and PTSD symptoms and, 613
 - dialogical function of, 578
 - disciplinary power of, 555
 - disillusionment about, 461
 - dissimulation in, 430
 - district jurisdictions of, 273
 - docile bodies in, 590
 - elasticity of time in, 567
 - and election of judges, 385
 - and elections of *inyangamugayo*, 314
 - enforced legal waiting in, 553
 - enforced participation in, 547
 - epistemic injustice in, 445, 584
 - epistemic instability and, 584
 - epistemic practices of, 585
 - everyday forms of resistance in, 554
 - everyday resistance in, 465
 - excessive legalism and, 246
 - facade of, 10, 388
 - facadist exteriorization of, 657
 - fact finding and, 449, 452
 - fact finding of *nyumbakumi* in, 449
 - false compliance in, 430
 - fear and uncertainty in, 540
 - as a feat of hyperreality, 291
 - feigned ignorance in, 430
 - and field coordinators, 312
 - film and, 482
 - force of, 547
 - formulaic performances in, 463
 - and *Gacaca* Commission, 254
 - gacaca* day, 435
 - as a state of exception, 555
 - gacaca* events and, 569
 - gacaca nkirisitu* (Christian *gacaca*) and, 214
 - gacaca nshya* (new *gacaca*) and, 213, 214
 - general assembly of, 272
 - in Gishamvu, 448
 - gradual transformation of, 701
 - guilty pleas and, 535
 - half-truths in, 593
 - healing and, 646
 - hermeneutic of concealment in, 462
 - hermeneutical death and, 563
 - hermeneutical harm and, 563
 - as high-modernist institutions, 671
 - from hope to disillusionment in, 409
 - hyperreality of, 386
 - identity formation and, 325
 - indecent in, 646
 - informal economy of, 593
 - as an informal method of dispute resolution, 8
 - Inkiko Gacaca* magazine and, 482, 485
 - institutional antecedents of, 196
 - institutional borrowing, 241
 - institutional design of, 249
 - International Conference on Genocide,
 - Impunity and Accountability and, 221
 - international observers and, 671
 - interplay of spatiality and temporality in, 566
 - inyangamugayo* as agents of lawfare in, 327
 - inyangamugayo* in, 567
 - jurisdiction of, 255
 - Justice and Peace Commission of the Diocese
 - of Butare and, 217
 - as justice charade, 477, 542
 - kadogo* and, 689
 - and the Kafkaesque, 512
 - Kibuye’s “*gacaca* mission” and, 231
 - kikuyu* grass and, 226

gacaca courts (cont.)

le gacaca rénové and, 226
le gacaca traditionnel and, 226
 legalization stage of, 245
 legislation and, 271
 legislative foundations of, 258
 lists of accused in, 449
 Local Defense Forces (LDF) and, 367
 logistical challenges and, 312
 loss of earnings on *gacaca* day and, 560
 lustration and, 514
 management failures and, 325
 and Manuel explicatif sur la Loi organique
 portant création des juridictions *gacaca*, 322
 marketing of, 219, 481, 579
 media campaign and, 482
 micro-aggressions in, 454
 mistrust and, 464
 as a model of restorative justice, 8
 modernization stage of, 238
 muteness in, 462
 mythology of, 18
 necropower and, 536
 as *nomie* settings, 341
nyumbakumi and, 315
 Office of the Prosecutor General and, 360
 official logo of, 17
 omnipresence of the state and, 356
 as open-air theaters of law, 566
 opportunism in, 325
 opposition to pilot phase for, 191
 Organic Law No. 08/1996 and, 536
 Organic Law No. 40/2000 and, 231, 255, 553
 Organic Law No. 33/2001 and, 258
 Organic Law No. 16/2004 and, 278, 637
 Organic Law No. 10/2007 and, 283–286
 Organic Law No. 13/2008 and, 286
 organizational foundations of, 303
 and organizational hierarchies, 295
 original closure date for, 563
 oversight role of *inyangamugayo* in, 449
 parameters of truth-telling in, 439
 pardons in, 638
 participation as an empty universal, 445
 pay of *inyangamugayo* in, 594
 “peasant-driven *gacaca*” and, 214
pennisetum clandestinum and, 226
 performances of, 385
 permanent temporariness and, 565
 perverse institutionalism and, 327, 593
 pictorial and, 482
 pilot phase of, 360, 451
 as places of passivity, 292, 571
 plea bargaining in, 543

political intelligibility of, 701
 as political weapons, 677
 poverty and, 550
 poverty of participation and, 550
 practice of *ceceka* in, 550, 580
 practice of testimonial refusal and, 409
 pre-*gacaca* hearings and, 360
 pre-*gacaca* hearings in Butare and, 366
 Presidential Decree No. 26/2001 and, 264
 Presidential Directive No. 12/2001 and, 259
 pretense of reconciliation in, 653
 “prison *gacaca*” and, 542
 prisoner’s dilemma and, 537
 promotional booklet for, 363
 prototype for, 244, 249
 at the provincial level, 274
 and radio, 482
 redescription of, 124
 as regimes of consensus, 456
 reparation orders and, 447
 representation of spectators at, 387
 as a repressive form of justice, 409
rescapés and, 437
 as revolutionary justice, 429
 rhetoric of the grassroots and, 580
 rituals of, 547
 rules of procedure and evidence of, 450
 rules of the game and, 584
 and rumination, 613
 rumors and, 470
 Rwandanity and, 515
 Rwandans’ concerns over judges’ impartiality
 in, 514
 Rwandans’ lack of confidence in, 513
 sector jurisdictions of, 273
 self-sanctioning behavior in, 548
 self-suppression of speech in, 452
 and sensitization, 359, 376
 Service national des juridictions *gacaca*
 (SNJG) and, 249
 silence in, 431, 452, 578
 silencing effect of, 578
 as sites of micro-aggressions, 52
 slogans of, 579
 social death and, 564
 social imaginary of, 652
 as spaces of slow death, 569
 spatiality of, 438
 speaking subjects and, 462
 and speech acts, 457
 speech in, 460
 statistics about, 7
 and stigmatization, 481
 stimulation of demand for, 387

- structural deformation of the public sphere
and, 583
- structural violence of, 448
- subject positions in, 462
- suspected *génocidaires* serving in, 596
- technologies of, 29
- temporal logic of violence in, 564
- temporary suspension of, 455
- testimonial injustice in, 582, 585
- testimony in, 409
- timepass as a feature of, 553
- as total institutions, 564
- “traditional *gacaca*” and, 197, 213
- and training of *inyangamugayo*, 311, 319
- trauma of testimony in, 613
- trauma of truth-telling in, 613
- traumatisme* and, 462
- travaux d'intérêt général* (TIG) and,
264, 470
- truth telling and, 583
- umuganda* and, 573
- UNHCHR feasibility study and, 223
- unplotted strategy of lawfare and, 701
- untruths in, 593
- violence of as creatively destructive, 67
- violence of testimony in, 582
- violent performances in, 514
- visuality of, 386
- weather and, 567
- witnesses in, 567
- workload of, 275
- Gahima, Gerald, 153, 158, 168, 170, 182, 184, 186,
191, 222, 235, 238, 251, 420, 477, 486
- Galván-Álvarez, Enrique, 585
- Gandhi, Jennifer, 674
- garrison state
- bureaucratism and, 695
 - concept of, 129, 267, 695
 - as a developmental construct, 695
 - technocratic facade of, 695
- Garver, Newton, 556
- Gatanazi, Egide
- trial of, 153
- Gates, Bill, 473, 672
- Gatwa, Tharcisse, 448
- Geertz, Clifford, 34, 454
- genealogy, 657
- Geneva Conventions, 147, 493
- 1977 Additional Protocols to, 147
 - Additional Protocol II to, 494
- genocide
- affects of, 664
 - bystanders to, 393
 - cultural artifacts in representation of, 670
 - discourse of exoticism and, 670
 - framings of, 670
 - iconography of, 665
 - incitement to, 397
 - language of, 604
 - limits of representation, 670
 - marketing of, 471
 - misrepresentations of the logic of violence in,
671
 - rationality of, 668
 - resistance to, 397
 - soundscapes of, 603
 - survivors of, 270
- Genocide Convention (1948), 147
- génocide de proximité
- concept of, 609
- genocide ideology, criminalization of, 300
- genocide memorials, 436
- genocide's return
- fear of, 430
- Germany
- colonial administration in Ruanda–Urundi of,
244, 323
 - concentration camp universe in, 573
 - Deutsch Ostafrika* (German East Africa)
and, 629
 - Geschworenengericht* in, 244
 - Nazi dictatorship in, 573
 - Nazi genocide in, 668
 - Schöffengericht* in, 244
 - socialist dictatorship in, 440
 - Stasi* and socialist dictatorship in, 440
 - transition from authoritarian rule in, 597
 - Weimar Republic in, 563
- Gersony, Robert, 131
- Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit
(GTZ), 306
- Giesen, Bernhard, 479
- Gikongoro
- préfecture*, 484
 - province, 391, 392
- Gilead, 697
- Gisenyi, 166
- préfecture*, 689
 - province, 317, 365
- Gisenyo, 131
- Gishamvu, cell, 389, 404, 448
- Gishamvu, *commune*, 389
- massacres in, 398
- Gishamvu, community, 389
- accountability mechanisms in, 436
 - bourgmestre* of, 398
 - as a case-generating milieu, 389
 - corpses in, 391

- Gishamvu, community (cont.)
 demographics in genocide's aftermath in, 463
 Gasyankingi hill in, 396
 genocide in, 390
 looting by *génocidaires* in, 391
 razing of religious sites in, 391
rescapés in, 395
 surveillance in, 407
 Gishamvu, sector, 389
 Gishyita, district of, 365
 Gisovu, district, 365
 Gisovu Central Prison, 408
 Gitarama, 261, 268
 Gitesi, district, 365, 384, 633
 Glenn, Cheryl, 579
 global South, 669
 Goffman, Erving, 103, 564
 Goffman, Gerving, 685
 Goldstone, Richard, 157, 222, 490
 Gore, Martin Lee, 576
 Courevitch, Philip, 4, 198, 604, 669
 governmentality, 560, 634
 hallmark of, 335
 pathologies of, 231
 governmentality, concept of, 328
 governmentality, lineages of, 358
 Govier, Trudy, 589, 608
 Gramsci, Antonio, 359, 633
 grassroots
 metaphor of, 445
 rhetoric of, 580
 gray zone
 concept of, 657
 Great Lakes region of Africa
 coltan in, 515
 Green, Linda, 349
 Gribbin, Robert, 15
 Guatemala, 349, 350
 Guattari, Félix, 414, 533
 and Achille Mbembe, 79
 guerilla warfare
 governance of, 683
 Paul Kagame and, 683
 Guichaoua, André, 12, 32, 395, 666
 guilt
 international, 488
 guilty plea
 institution of, 535
 as a lawfare technique, 535
 as a technology of rule, 535
 Habermas, Jürgen, 410
 Habimana, Aloys, 25, 505
 Habyarimana, Juvénal, 667
 Haeckel, Ernst
 and the tree of life, 415
 Harerimana, Egide, 266
 harm
 concept of, 560
 existential, 591
 hermeneutical, 563
 types of, 560
 harmony
 performances of, 636
 harmony ideology
 concept of, 632
 example of, 216
 and *gacaca* courts, 388
 Harvard University, 355
 Hatzfeld, Jean, 139, 580, 602
 Hayman, Rachel, 676
 Hecatomb, 11
 Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, 533
 Herbst, Jeffrey, 673
 hermeneutic of concealment
 concept of, 462
 hermeneutical death
 concept of, 563
 hermeneutical harm
 concept of, 563
 high modernism
 concept of, 248
 ideology of, 701
 high modernist legalism, concept of, 388
 Hinton, Alexander Laban, 16
 Hirschman, Albert, 543
 historical institutionalism, 328, 678, 694
 Hobbes, Thomas, 11, 47, 415, 546
 Behemoth, 124
 Leviathan, 125
 on warfare, 53
 Hobsbawm, Eric
 on the invention of tradition, 247
 horror *vacui*
 concept of, 552, 562
 Hôtel des mille collines, 418
 Hudani, Shakirah E., 408
 Hull, Isabel V., 130, 691
 human remains
 exhumation of, 436
 Human Rights Field Operation (UNHRFOR), 224
 Human Rights Watch, 10, 422, 424, 513, 612, 704
 humanitarian imaginary
 concept of, 670
 humanity, 568
 and the distant needy, 702

- Hume, David, 663
humiliation
 concept of, 591
Huye, city, 581
Huye, district, 389
hybrid justice, rhetoric of, 428
hyperreality
 concept of
 as an authentic fake, 292
 media of, 704
 performance of, 571
 promotion of, 386
- Ibuka (“Remember”), 222, 236, 255, 268, 384, 477
 boycott of ICTR and, 498
 letter to UN secretary-general of, 502
 rescapés organized in, 563
igitero (attack group), 397
ihahamuka
 concept of, 611
ikinimicu (theater), 515
imagined enemies, 673
imidugudu
 nyumbakumi and, 328
increasing returns
 concept of, 675
India, 585
 Bhopal disaster in, 565
 British colonialism in, 635
 law’s four-part episteme in, 585
 panchayat courts in, 636
 panchayat justice in, 636
indigeneity
 false sense of, 446
indirect rule
 institution of, 323
 concept of, 301
 system of, 357
indirect rule 2.0, concept of, 352
information failures, 641
infra-law
 realm of, 554
ingando (reeducation), practice of, 299
Ingelaere, Bert, 19, 199, 207, 356, 652
injustice
 epistemic, 445, 584
 historic, 7
 overcoming of, 447
 passive, 597
 testimonial, 582
 transitional, 9
 unrecognized, 547
inkiko gacaca project
 affective responses to, 5
- Inkotanyi*, 343, 531, 625
inner emigration, concept of, 432
Institut de recherche scientifique et
 technologique (IRST), 224
institution
 total, 564
institutional change
 downstream processes of, 441
institutional development, 28, 679
institutional extremism, 355, 678
 concept of, 691
 as a mental model, 693
 and the rise of lawfare, 691
institutional rationality
 deontological conception of, 678
institutional selection
 theories of, 678
institutionalism
 extremist, 671
 historical, 678, 694
 perverse, 263, 536
 rational choice, 678, 694
institutionalization
 process of, 197
institutionalized arbitrariness
 concept of, 411
institutionalized forgiveness
 concept of, 625
institutions, 446
 facadist, 441
 politics of structural choice and, 676
 as weapons of coercion and redistribution,
 677
instrumental choice
 logic of, 671
intelligence
 invisible hand of, 348
International Committee of the Red Cross
 (ICRC), 104, 113, 115
international community, 488
 humiliation after the 1994 genocide of, 675
 metaknowledge and, 443
International Covenant on Civil and Political
 Rights (ICCPR), 109, 123, 477
International Criminal Court
 critiques of, 6
International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
 (ICTR), 133, 158, 393, 587, 484
 acquittals at, 503
 amicus curiae brief and, 493
 Appeal Chamber of, 492
 attitudes toward, 502
 Barayagwiza affair and, 491
 boycott of, 498

- International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (cont.)
 defense counsel at, 499
 dismissal of defense investigators at, 501
 expert testimony at, 667
 investigators of, 499
Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza v. Prosecutor and, 491, 503
 judges' laughter at, 498
 justice machinery of, 8
 legitimacy of, 487
 Office of the Prosecutor (OTP) of, 493, 587
Prosecutor v. Elizaphan and Gérard Ntakirutimana and, 668
Prosecutor v. Hormisdas Nsengimana and, 499
Prosecutor v. Ignace Bagilishema and, 496
Prosecutor v. Jean-Paul Akayesu and, 499
Prosecutor v. Simon Bikindi and, 617
 Registry of, 501
 re-traumatization and, 497
 rules of procedure and evidence of, 492
 Rwandan criticism of, 487
 shaming of, 494
 so-called Media Trial and, 493
 Statute of, 492
 survivor confidence in after "Weza affair," 502
 training visits of Rwandan judges to, 187
 victim attitudes toward, 496
 "Weza affair" at, 501
 Witness "TA" at, 497
- International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), 496
- international development, 21, 488
- international humanitarianism, 669
 pieties of, 623
- international justice, 488
 best-known experiment in, 466
- international law
 reparations in, 447
- International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg, 55, 425, 466
- International Monetary Fund (IMF), 21, 675
- International Rescue Committee (IRC), 96, 613
- Internews, 483
- interpellation
 concept of, 456
- interpretation
 violence of, 514, 516
- interpretive violence, concept of, 295
- intore*, 79
- inyangamugayo* (persons of integrity), 18, 207
 as agents of lawfare, 327
 elections of, 259, 314
 training of, 311
- Inyumba, Aloysia, 420
- iron cage of reason
 Franz Kafka and, 572
 Franz Kafka versus Max Weber on, 572
 Max Weber and, 572
- ironodos* (night patrols), 329
- Ismail, Salwa, 435
 on the rule of violence, 66
- Israel, 488, 685
- Itorero* (leadership training), 79
 practice of, 299
- Iwawa Island
 penal colony of, 123
- Jacobsen, John Kurt, 658
- Jallow, Hassan, 586, 587
- Jankélévitch, Vladimir, 624
- Jayasuriya, Kanishka, 24
- Jefremovas, Villia, 650
- jenocide*
 as a crime in Rwandan law, 157
- Jhering, Rudolph von, 635
Der Kampf um's Recht (1872), 53
- Johns Hopkins University, 482
 Center for Communications Programs (JHU/CCP) of, 317
- Joireman, Sandra F., 428
- Jung, Carl, 359
 as founder of analytical psychology, 414
- juridification, 7, 55
- jurispathic state
 concept of, 581
- justice
 in the anteroom of, 566
 assemblage of, 657
 and body counts, 121
 communal, 9
 cosmology of, 507
 customary, 24
 decentralized, 25
 demographics of, 593
 disruptive versus destructive, 507
 of evidence, 449
 facadist, 16
 fetishization of, 24
 folk, 8
 furnishings of, 651
 geography of, 406
 goddess of, 558
 grassroots, 6, 24, 507
 indigenous, 24
 labor of, 550
 local, 6, 218

- localized, 25
 machinery of, 578
 micropolitics of, 429
 miscarriages of, 466
 mythology of, 18
 participatory, 24, 547
 physicality of, 430
 place-based, 25
 of procedure, 449
 rhetoric of, 387
 theater of, 406
 traditional, 24
 of truth, 449
 in the vernacular, 387
 justice charade, 477
 justice facade, 16
 justice on the grass
 terminology of, 670
 Jyoni wa Karega, Joseph, 224, 228
- Kabanda, Charles, 11
 Kabarebe, James, 420
 Kabgayi, Major Seminary of, 390
 Kabgayi, site of, 351
 Kaboyi, Benoit, 563
 Kabuga, Félicien, 114
 Kabuye, Rose, 12
 Kacyiru, district of, 316
 Kafka, Franz, 91, 142, 294, 576
 “Before the Law,” 50
 The Castle and, 572
 drawings of, 49
 “In the Penal Colony” and, 577, 579
 on law’s violence, 50, 76
 “Man at Table,” 48, 577
 Max Weber and, 571
 on silence, 577
 sketchbook of, 48
 The Trial, 48, 512, 556, 566, 571, 581, 584
 and Michel Foucault, 51
 Kagabo, Philbert, 225, 228
 Kagame, Paul, 10, 198, 238, 240, 359, 412, 576, 663, 672, 682
 on the army as a leadership institution, 690
 cult of, 539
 dissolution of Local Defense Force and, 689
 guerilla warfare and, 680
 iconography of, 412
 on India as a model, 636
 military training in the United States of, 682
 neopatrimonial rule of, 539
 as one of the worst dictators in the world, 694
 plot to overthrow, 423
 Rambura speech, 475
 as a refugee in Uganda, 679
 as savior, 478
 sovereign gaze of, 575
 Theunis trial and, 520
 as *umutoza w’ikirenga*, 344
 as a violent entrepreneur, 412
 vision of a “New Rwanda” of, 84
 Kalyvas, Stathis, 48
 Kamatali, Marie, 495
 Kambanda, Jean, 390
 as architect of annihilation, 390
 Kambanda, Pascal, 395
 kangaroo courts, 477
 Kanzenze, community of, 385
 Karamira, Froduald
 death sentence of, 157
 trial of, 157
 Karegeya, Patrick, 14, 183, 413
 murder of, 419
 ouster of, 420
 Karekezi, Alice, 196, 201
 Karemera, Joseph, 420
 Karugarama, Tharcisse, 235, 242, 250, 420, 486, 529
 as norm entrepreneur, 244
katechon
 concept of, 441
 Kayitesi-Jozan, Annick, 644
 Kayove, community of, 619
 Keane, Fergal, 4, 669
 Kearns, Thomas
 on Robert Cover, 59
 Kelsen, Hans, 656
 Kennedy, David, 20, 647
 Kenya, 689
 Kibeho, 219
 massacre of, 13
 Kibungo, 131
 prefect of, 239
 Kibungo, district, 367
 Kibuye, 166, 199, 212
 “*gacaca* commission” of, 231
 prefect of, 231
 préfecture, 436, 668
 genocide’s aftermath in, 436
 town, 408
 Kibuye, province, 365
 Kigali, 186
 Kabusunzu neighborhood of, 563
 Kigali, city
 Kacyiru neighborhood in, 704
 Kigali Central Prison, 165
 Kigali City, district, 316
 Kigali-Rural, *préfecture*
 Rilima Security Area in, 114

- Kigembe, community
 pre-*gacaca* hearing in, 367
- Kigombe, 228
- Kimonyo, Jean-Paul, 391
- King Rwabugiri
 as war maker and state maker, 699
- Kinzer, Stephen, 686
- Kirchheimer, Otto, 326, 359, 425, 537
- Kirkby, Coel, 270
- Kivumu, community, 617
- Kivumu, district, 365
- Kleinman, Arthur, 563
- Kracauer, Siegfried, 562, 566
- Krebs, Ronald, 685
- Kristeva, Julia, 460
- Kubwimana, Célestin, 395
- Kundera, Milan, 357, 577
- labor
 violence of, 267
- Laclau, Ernesto
 on empty universals, 445
- Langer, Lawrence, 333
- Lasswell, Harold, 129, 267, 695
- law
 changing character of, 62
 deformation of, 428
 demand and supply of, 359
 destruction of, 93
 epistemic concept of, 521
 force field of, 528
 force of, 448
 as instrument of terror, 427
 language games and, 521
 as a medium of injustice, 50
 open-air theaters of, 566
 oversupply of, 385
 performativity of, 424
 presentation in everyday life of,
 704
 rhetoric of, 656
 rhizome of, 418, 466
 sacralization of, 705
 spirit of, 432
 subjectivating reprimand of, 541
 supply of, 447
 as a system of rules, 57
 and its totalizing force, 68
 valorization of, 705
 violence in the shadow of, 555
 violence of, 41
 weaponization of, 673
 law, striking power of, 537
 law of others, the, 404
- lawfare, 28
 antecedents of, 692
 causal mechanisms of argument about,
 671
 concept of, 53
 as continuation of politics by other means, 61
 as continuation of war by other means,
 671
 cunning of, 555, 565
 defining attributes of, 54
 economies of, 671
 and “the English mode of warfare,” 29
 everyday, 555
 everyday forms of resistance to, 554
 evolutionary versus revolutionary effects of,
 62
 expressive function of, 539
 expressive mechanisms and, 678
 guilty plea as a technique of, 535
 hallmark of, 546
inkiko gacaca as the epitome of, 705
 institutional extremism and the rise of, 691
 as an instrument of policy, 63
 instrumental function of, 539
 instruments of, 673
 as an “irregular system of warfare,” 29
 and legal imperialism, 78
 and legalism, 55, 58
 from legalism to, 700
 legislation as a tactic of, 249
 localized, 202
 longitudinal analysis of, 699
 machinery of, 300
 macrofoundations of, 63
 microdynamics of, 570
 onset of, 676
 path-dependent explanation of, 698
 political economy of, 29, 671, 699
 as a prestige strategy, 63
 rationalist explanation for, 672, 677
 rise of, 664, 671
 in eighteenth-century France, 426
 and social death, 135
 strategic argument about the rise of, 672
 as a strategy of conflict, 30, 61
 structured contingency of, 701
 substitution for warfare of, 570
 tactics of, 673
 techniques of, 63
 transition from warfare to, 677
 unplotted strategy of, 701
- law’s rhizome, 414, 466
 concept of, 430
 in Rwanda, 430

- Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, 98
layered domination, concept of, 301
legal development, 28, 703
 twenty-first century demand for, 701
legal exceptionalism
 in Rwanda, 109
legal imperialism
 and lawfare, 78
legal orientalism, 20
legal pluralism, 24, 487
legal revolution
 in Rwanda, 676
legalism
 concept of, 55
 crude, 187
 as a diversionary strategy, 63
 as “the English mode of warfare,” 29
 excessive, 246
 idyllic, 218
 and lawfare, 55, 58
 magical, 651
 as militarism, 126
 participatory, 22, 234
 really existing, 387
 transition to lawfare from, 62, 700
 violent, 57, 388, 426, 521, 664
 and warfare, 691
 wasteful, 561
legality
 habit of, 703
 instrumentalization of, 290
 power over, 476
 republican, 426
 and temporality, 554
legalization, 55
 codification as process of, 249
 process of, 270
 rationalization as a process of, 249
 tedium of, 288
legislation
 as a lawfare tactic, 249
legitimation crisis, concept of, 290
Lemarchand, René, 12, 32, 358
Lemke, Thomas, 565
leta (state), concept of, 332
Levi, Margaret, 427
Levi, Primo, 657
Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 3, 332
 anthropophagic strategy and, 332
Leviathan, 11
Levi-Strauss, Claude, 3, 332
 anthropoemic strategy and, 332
 anthropophagic strategy and, 332
Lewis, C. S., 569
Li, Tania Murray, 634, 700
liberation movements, 682
liberation struggle, 678
liberation theology, 474
lieux de mémoire, 471
lieux d'oubli
 concept of, 646
life
 power over, 477
lifeworlds, 459
Ligue rwandaise pour la promotion et la défense
 des droits de l'Homme (LIPRODHOR),
 26, 101, 180, 451
Local Defense Forces (LDF), 329
local justice
 world's largest experiment in, 466
logic of appropriateness, 671
logic of expressive choice, 30
logic of instrumental choice, 30
logos, concept of, 296
Lonely Planet, 471
Longman, Timothy, 19, 248, 569
longue durée
 argument from, 83
 concept of, 697
Louis, Roger, 201
loyalty
 concept of, 543
 violence of, 537
Lugard, Lord, 29
Luhmann, Niklas, 555, 640
Lukes, Steven, 337
Mabanza, district of, 365
Magaziner, Dan, 471
Magnum, photo agency, 665
Mahoney, James, 27
majority
 tyranny of, 543
Malawi, 635
Malaysia, 430
 authoritarian developmental state of, 636
Malinowski, Bronisław, 630
Malkki, Liisa, 657
Mamdani, Mahmood, 25, 31, 146, 646, 684
 on the logic of “nativism,” 207
Mandela, Nelson, 624
manhunts
 philosophy of, 110
 in post-genocide Rwanda, 110
Maquet, Jacques, 686
Maraba, district of, 625
Marx, Karl, 294
mass mobilization, 434

- Massion, Jean, 518
 Mathiesen, Thomas
 on synopticism, 533
 Mbarashimana, Jean-Marie, 360
 Mbembe, Achille, 91, 511, 570
 and Agamben, 77
 concept of “death-worlds” of, 103
 and Foucault’s concept of biopower, 77
 on necropolitics, 77
 on violence, 71
 Mbonyintege, Smaragde, 201, 224, 228, 229, 235
 media
 sociality of, 481
 memorialization
 state-led efforts of, 606
 violence of, 605
mémorisation forcée
 concept of, 605
 mental model, concept of, 338
 mental models
 military norms and institutions as, 690
 mentalities
 governance of, 350
 Merat, Zarir, 142
 Merelles, Andreu, 586
 meta-data, 467
 Lee Ann Fujii on, 468
 probabilistic value of, 470
 methodological limitations, 705
 methodology
 meta-data and, 467
 oral data and, 469
 purposive sampling and, 658
 redescription and, 702
 study of micropractices, 658
 Mexico
 Sierra Madre mountains of Oaxaca in, 632
 Meyer, Hans, 628
 militarization, 688
 military
 as an institution, 687
 military culture, 678
 military institutional prerogatives
 concept of, 687
 military intelligence, 680
 military necessity
 doctrine of, 685
 military organizations
 as total institutions, 685
 military socialization, 685
 elite-transformation hypothesis and, 685
 military strategy
 study of, 672

 Mill, John Stuart, 696
 Miller, Ruth, 513
 Miller, William Ian, 556, 592
 and the “fist-meets-face view of violence,” 66
 on violence and representation, 70
 MINILOC, 688
 ministerial directives
 as a lawfare tactic, 57
 Minow, Martha, 4
 Mironko, Charles, 213
 Misago, Augustin
 trial of, 525
 mistrust, 463, 464
 concept of, 603
 and distrust, 639
 repertoires of, 640
 Mobutu, Joseph-Désiré, 412
 modernity, 572
 exteriorization of, 457
 Moe, Terry, 56, 676
 monumental didactics, concept of, 425
 Moon, Maryann Crescent, 697
 Moore, Sally Falk, 387, 576
 moral drama
 concept of, 478
 morality
 performances of, 475
 power over, 476, 477
 Morrill, Constance, 652
 Morrison, Toni
 on the violence of representation, 528
 Morton Stanley, Sir Henry, 442
 Moussalli, Michel, 100, 255
 Mouvement démocratique républicain (MDR), 107, 108, 157
 Mouvement rwandais pour le changement démocratique (MRCDD), 423
 Mpambara, Jean
 trial of, 503
 Muberanziza, Aloys, 225, 230
 Muboni, cell of, 404
 Mubuga, district of, 365
 Mucyo, Jean de Dieu, 240, 250, 486
 death of, 184
 Mugesera, Antoine, 202, 518
 Mugiraneza, Assumpta, 604
 Muhoza, Ernest
 trial of, 186
 Mujawayo, Esther, 592, 604
 Mukagasana, Yolande, 646
 Mukamurenzi, Beatrice, 423
 Mukantaganzwa, Domitilla, 308, 449, 595
 Mukarwego, Immaculée, 643
 Murama, sector, 626

- Murambi, district, 316
 Murphy, Jeffrie, 608
 Museveni, Yoweri, 680
 support for Rwandan Patriotic Front of, 684
 Musoni, Protais, 239, 420
 Mutaboba, Joseph, 492
 mutism
 anatomy of, 582
mwami (king), 200, 203, 227
 Mwendo, district of, 365
 mythico-history, 473, 657
- Nachtwey, James, 4, 665
 Nader, Laura, 3, 632
 Nahimana, Ferdinand, 493
 Nancy, Jean-Luc, 73
 narrative
 hegemonic, 452
 National Compensation Fund, 447
 National Resistance Army of Uganda (NRA)
 revolutionary struggle of, 680
 National University of Rwanda, 224
 nation building, 445
 Navenethem, Pillay, 498
 Nazi Germany, 425
 Ndagiza, Fatuma, 239
 Ndayisaba, Fidel, 598
 Ndora, 209
 necropolitics
 the everyday life of, 135
 specter of in Rwanda, 128
 necropower
 and biopower, 77
 concept of, 534, 570
 negative social capital
 concept of, 581
 neopatrimonial rule, 539
 New Institutional Economics, 21
 New York City, 486
 Newbury, Catharine, 15
 Newbury, David, 15
 Ngarembe, Francois Xavier, 422
 Ngeze, Hassan, 493
 Ngoga, Martin, 587
 Nietzsche, Friedrich, 248, 657
 nihilism
 ideology of, 439
 Nino, Carlos, 238
 Nisbet, Robert, 439
 Nkubito, Alphonse-Marie, 94, 221
nomos, concept of, 295
 nonmorality, 333
 norm entrepreneurs, 479
- North, Douglass, 32, 676
 Nsabimana, Sylvain, 392
 Nsanabaganwa, Straton, 195, 218
 Nsengimana, Hormisdas
 trial of, 499
 Nshamihigo, Siméon. *See* Weza, Sammay Bahati
 Ntaganda, Faustin
 trial of, 161
 Ntakirutimana, Évariste, 604
 Ntampaka, Charles, 202
 Nteziyayo, Faustin, 122, 123, 254
 Ntirushwa, Faustin, 598
 Ntongwe, community of, 362
 pre-*gacaca* hearing in, 380
 Nyabarongo river, 385
 Nyabikenke, 266
 Nyabisindu, 361
 community of, 593
 prosecutor general of, 384
 Nyakibanda, Major Seminary of, 390, 395
 Nyakizu, district, 389, 406
 Nyamirambo stadium
 public executions in, 419
 Nyamwasa, Kayumba, 183, 196, 421
 Nyarugenge, district of, 323
 Nyiramasuhuko, Pauline
 trial of, 498
 Nyiramazayire, Elisabeth
 trial of, 162
 Nyumba parish, 395
nyumbakumi (ten-house groups), 207
 and election of *inyangamugayo*, 260
 Nyungwe Forest National Park, 422
 Nzabamwita, Joseph, 474, 527
 Nzakira, Innocent
 trial of, 161
 Nzamwita, Eric, 215
- objectivist fallacy, 658
 Obote, Milton, 679
 National Resistance Army of Uganda (NRA)
 overthrow of, 680
 ocular authoritarianism, concept of, 417
 ocular control, concept of, 343
 Odin, 590
 Office of the United Nations High
 Commissioner for Human Rights
 (OHCHR), 96, 236
 ontological destruction
 threat of, 141
 opportunism, concept of, 302
 opportunity costs
 principle of, 672

- oral tradition
 in Great Lakes region of Africa, 198
 in Rwanda, 226
- ordinary legislation
 as a lawfare tactic, 57
- Organization of African Unity (OAU), 199, 218
- orientalism, 5
 visual and textual tropes of, 670
- Ortner, Sherry, 34, 631
- Orwell, George, 584
- Osler, Sir William, 704
- Othmani, Ahmed, 451
- Oxfam, 232
- Pager, Devah, 139
- pain
 testimonial rhetorics of, 669
- Palmer, Nicola, 190, 578
- panopticism, 411
- panopticon, institution of, 339
- PARMEHUTU, 134
- Parti pour la démocratie au rwanda (PDR-
 Ihumure), 423
- participant observation, 35
 visual ethnography as an underutilized form
 of, 35
- participation
 as affectively meaningless, 545
 coercive, 545
 as effectively meaningless, 545
 enforced, 547
 as involuntary servitude, 434
 poverty, 550
 quantity versus quality of, 551
 as a sovereign command, 548
 violence of, 545
- “parusiah”
 concept of, 478
- Pascal, Blaise, 22, 247
- passive injustice
 concept of, 597
- path dependence
 concept of, 427, 697
- Patterson, Orlando, 136, 585, 591, 646
- peacebuilding
 post-conflict, 609
- peaceland, concept of, 292
- Penal Reform International (PRI), 451, 537
- penalty
 analysis of, 546
- peoplehood
 concept of, 516
- Peress, Gilles, 4, 665
The Silence and, 666
- performance
 quality of, 478
 social, 478
 theatrical, 478
- permanent temporariness
 concept of, 565
- perpetrators
 satisficing, 536
- perverse institutionalism, 263, 409, 593
 to extremist institutionalism, 700
 and *gacaca* courts, 327
 in Kafka’s *The Trial*, 572
- Peskin, Victor, 494
- phases (*étapes*), 276
 judicial deliberation in, 278
 pre-trial phase of, 277
- phatic communion
 concept of, 630
- phatic labor
 concept of, 630
- phenomenology, 437
- photography
 and analytic ethnography, 35
 Christian eschatology and, 666
 decontextualized, 666
 orientalist gaze of, 666
 and physical defilement, 666
 in post-genocide Rwanda, 35
 as a research tool, 35
- phronesis
 concept of, 657
- Pierson, Paul, 427
- Polisi, Denis, 131
- politics
 as a continuation of civil war, 546
- positive feedback, concept of,
 427, 697
- Posner, Eric, 55
- post-conflict time
 concept of, 552
- post-genocide subjectivities, 146
- Potemkin villages, 16
 as architectural landscapes, 16
- potestas*, 704
- Pottier, Johan, 32, 476, 485, 586
 on the RPF’s knowledge construction,
 219
- Pound, Roscoe, 589
- poverty
 destructive signature of, 565
 an enforced state of, 568
 structure of, 594
- power
 absolute, 552

- anthropology of, 341
- broadcasting of, 545
- camp, 564
- economics of, 341
- exercise of as a civil war, 546
- microphysics of, 337, 341, 630
- textual rhetorics of, 669
- powerlessness, 624
 - feeling of, 538
- practice theory, 654
- pragmatic institutionalism, 167
- president of Rwanda
 - assassination of, 391
- presidential decrees
 - as a lawfare tactic, 57
- principal–agent framework, 302
- principal–agent theory, 300
- prisoner’s dilemma, concept of, 537
- productivity
 - and technology, 674
- Prosper, Pierre-Richard, 505
- proteophobia*, concept of, 334
- Proust, Marcel, 573
- Prunier, Gérard, 111, 131, 684, 691
- public executions, 418
- public sphere
 - structural deformation of, 583
- punishment
 - as the art of sounding silence, 577
 - ethnography of, 51
 - history of, 418
- punitive society
 - concept of, 546
- punitive state
 - concept of, 546
- Purdeková, Andrea, 32, 522
- racialized ethnicity
 - cleavage of, 429
- raison d’état*, concept of, 330
- Rancière, Jacques, 453, 456, 458
- rational choice institutionalism, 301, 678, 694
- rational choice theory, 65
 - and culture, 40
- rationality
 - approximate, 536
 - governmental, 339
 - repressive form of, 248
- Raz, Joseph, 28
 - on the concept of a legal system, 58
- rebelocracy
 - concept of, 344, 432
- reciprocity, 463
- recognition
 - as abstract utopia, 609
 - and coexistence, 607
 - cohabitation and, 651
 - concept of, 584
 - cost of, 608
 - demeaning, 647
 - discourse of, 453
 - as gospel, 606
 - and the language of *ubwiyunge*, 607
 - mundanity of, 217
 - paternalism and, 644
 - performances of, 531
 - real and imagined stories of, 70
 - reconciliation, 583
 - religious-redemptive vision of, 216
 - rhetoric of, 128, 387
 - as rule, 637
 - and rules, 584
- reconstruction and development
 - stories of, 351
- REDRESS, 495
- Reed, Cyrus, 680
- refusal, 436
- reparations, 447
 - international law of, 447
- representation
 - violence of, 528
- repression
 - lethality of, 676
- republican legality
 - concept of, 427
 - perversion of, 427
- Réseau de citoyens* (RCN), 99, 173, 187, 364
- responsibility
 - moral discourse of, 670
- restorative justice, 487, 635
- re-traumatization, 497
- retribution
 - fear of, 388
- Rettig, Max, 549, 581
- Reus-Smit, Christian, 678
- revenge
 - acts of in post-genocide Rwanda, 128
- Reyntjens, Filip, 12, 32, 83, 128, 198
- Rice, Susan, 420
- Riles, Anneliese, 288
- Robinson, James, 663
- Rose, Laurel, 233
- Rose, Nikolas, 634
- Rossiter, Clinton, 145
- Ruanda–Urundi
 - colonial territory of, 202
- Rubaru, district, 135

- Rudasingwa, Emanuel, 499
- Rudasingwa, Theogene, 183, 344, 413, 420, 488, 650, 654
 autobiography of, 488
 performances on the international stage of, 489
- Rudolph, Lloyd, 658
- Rugirangoga, Ubald, 214, 217
- Ruhengeri, 166, 228, 361
- Ruhengeri, *préfecture*, 689
- Ruhengeri, province, 600
- rule
 affectivity of, 435
 economics of, 675
 emotionalities of, 700
 institutions of, 689
 in the name of humanity, 702
 neo-patrimonial, 411
 sociologies of, 634
 subjects of, 563
 technologies of, 4, 332
- rule of law
 enterprise of, 22
 field of, 26
 “local turn” in promotion of, 20
 as a political weapon, 28
 promotion of, 20
 as a strategy of development, 487
- rule of law assistance, 218
- rule of violence, *see* violence, rule of
- rules
 concept of, 584
 and recognition, 584
 system of, 57
- rules of the game, 451, 584
- rumination
 concept of, 613
- Rurungwa, Ephrem, 213
- Rusagara, Frank, 343, 420, 517
- Rusesabagina, Paul, 421
 complicated biography of, 423
 hero status of, 422
 rumors about, 422
 trial of, 422
- Rusizi, district, 594
- Rutagambwa, Elysée, 217
- Rutaremara, Tito, 166, 235, 237, 250, 412, 420, 486
 in exile, 681
- Rutazana, Francine, 602
- Rutsiro, district of, 135, 365
- Ruzibiza, Abdul Joshua, 12
- Rwabugiri, King, 204
- Rwamatamu, district of, 365
- Rwamucyo, Ernest, 14
- Rwanda
 1994 genocide in, 215
abakene (poor) in, 444
abatindi (destitute) in, 444
abatindi nyakujya (abject poor) in, 444
 absolute domination in, 355
 adaptive efficiency of authoritarian regime in, 676
 administrative reforms in, 336
 “affective economy” of, 184
 affects of genocide in, 664
 aid-dependence of, 676
akarere (districts) in, 331
 allegations of genocide ideology in, 423
 alternative to compensation in, 447
 Amahoro Stadium in, 648
 anatomy of dictatorship in, 425
 annual Week of Mourning in, 605
 antecedents of lawfare in the nineteenth century in, 692
 “Anti-Corruption Week” in, 598
 Apostolic Vicariate of Southern Nyanza and, 523
 arbitrary arrests and unlawful detentions in, 107, 123
 army as a leadership institution in, 690
 army as an agent of socialization in, 685
 Arusha Accords in, 107
 assassination of President Habyarimana in, 667
 Association des femmes pour le développement rural (AFDR) in, 639
 associational life in, 387
 attempted assassinations of genocide survivors in, 612
 attribution of collective guilt in, 516
 authoritarian high modernism in, 669
 AVEGA in, 462
 Bahutu Manifesto in, 525
banalisation (banalization) of 1994 genocide in, 644
 banishment as a practice in, 201
 Bar Association, 174, 185
 Bashumba-Nyarare chiefdom in, 389
 Belgian colonialism in, 201, 524
 Belgian rule in, 200
 Bertelsmann Transformation Index (BTI) and, 675
 betrayal confessions in, 541
 biopower in, 570, 630
 Bishop of Gikongoro in, 525
 body politic in, 547
bourgmestres in, 107
brigades (detention centers) in, 116
 broadcasting of power by Local Defense Force in, 688

- Bureau du consultation et de défense (BCD)
in, 175
- Butare Central Prison in, 375, 542
- buzzwords of transitional justice in, 387
- Byumba Tribunal of First Instance in, 170
- cachots* of Kigembe in, 116
- calculus of confessions in, 540
- call for National Compensation Fund in, 447
- canton courts in, 96, 212
- and Carl Schmitt's concept of the political, 83
- case load of *chambres spécialisées* in, 181
- categories of Organic Law No. 08/1996 in, 147
- Catholic Church in, 214, 523
- cells in, 271
- centralization of transitional justice in, 444
- challenges of defense lawyers in, 164
- challenges of field research in, 467
- chambres spécialisées* in, 95, 96, 142
- child soldiers in, 343
- chosen amnesia in, 651
- circulation of emotion in, 183
- civil law tradition in, 497
- civil war, 3
- class cleavages in, 562
- clemency scheme in, 544
- clientelism redux in, 535
- Coalition pour la défense de la république (CDR) in, 492
- Code of Criminal Procedure in, 122
- coercive memorialization in, 604
- cognitive dissonance and, 451
- collapse of law's infrastructure in, 94
- collective guilt in, 61
- colony of Ruanda-Urundi and, 201
- comite y'abunzi* (mediation committees) in, 43, 213
- commemoration of the genocide in, 604, 648
- commemorative practices in, 475
- commitment problems in, 603
- communication in, 481
- community elders in, 261
- community police in, 329
- compensation in, 160
- concept of *ihahamuka* in, 611
- conditions of prisons and *cachots* in, 105
- confession and guilty plea procedure in, 167
- confession and guilty plea procedure of Organic Law No. 08/1996 in, 149
- confessions as big business in, 515
- Congregation of Missionaries of Africa ("White Fathers") in, 518
- Constitution of 1991, 108, 145
- Constitution of 2003, 108
- Constitutional Court of Rwanda in, 108
- constitutional dictatorship in, 427
- constitutional law (*Loi fondamentale*) in, 98
- constitutional referendum in, 94, 676
- corporeal violations in, 437
- cosmology in, 125, 436
- Council of Ministers in, 254
- counterinsurgency warfare in, 667
- Court of Cassation in, 94
- courts of appeal, 94, 96
- courts of first instance in, 94, 96, 143, 173
- creation of "death-worlds" in, 104
- creation of the Rwanda National Police (RNP) in, 119
- Criminal Code of, 186
- criminalization of minor transgressions in, 600
- crisis ordinariness in, 569
- critical junctures in, 196, 698
- criticism of International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in, 487
- crops in, 114
- cultural predilection for secrecy and consensus in, 458
- culture of *ubwenge* in, 515
- cumulative radicalization of state-led violence in, 667
- customary law courts in, 202
- customary law in, 224, 227, 233
- Cyangugu Appeal Court in, 182
- Cyangugu Central Prison in, 182
- Cyangugu Court of First Instance in, 162
- defense witnesses in, 181
- demand for confinement in, 105
- demand for transitional justice in, 461
- and Democratic Republic of Congo, 429
- demographic differences between low-level and mid-level government officials in, 339
- denunciations in, 538
- despotic character of kingship in, 358
- destruction of law in, 93
- detainees in, 363
- developmental dictatorship in, 411
- dignity in, 437
- diminishing returns from warfare in, 673
- disappearance in, 428
- disciplining of bodies and speech in, 575
- "disciplining violence" in, 128
- discourse of exoticism about 1994 genocide, 670
- disempowerment in, 336
- dissolution of Local Defense Force in, 689
- District Administration Security Support Organ (DASSO) in, 336
- districts in, 271
- distrust between Hutu and Tutsi in, 468
- distrust between survivors and perpetrators in, 383

Rwanda (cont.)

“double language” in, 650
 dual structure of the colonial state in, 206
 eastern Congo and, 515
 ebb and flow of disappearances in, 134
 economic growth in, 568
 economy of hate in, 184
 enactment of a moral community in, 515
 enforced legal waiting in, 553
 essentialist readings of, 5
 everyday deprivation in, 566
 excesses of Local Defense Force in, 688
 excessive paternalism in, 127
 execution of petty thieves in, 84
 exhumations of human remains in, 436
 extrajudicial killings in, 130
 extremely zealous killers in, 431
 extremist institutionalism in, 671
 failure of material restoration in, 447
 fear in, 615, 620
 female parliamentarians in, 678
 financial redress in, 447
 financial responsibility of the state in, 159
 fines and “obligations” in, 331
 food insecurity in, 568
 food shortages in prisons and *cachots* of, 115
 forced development in, 331
 forced labor in, 268, 270, 615
 foreign lawyers in, 167, 177, 178
 framings of the 1994 genocide in, 670
 full story of authoritarian high modernism in, 699
Gacaca Commission in, 254
gacaca facade in, 578
 garrison state in, 129, 695
 Gendarmerie nationale versus Communal Police versus Judicial Police in, 119
génocidaires in, 270
 genocidal strategy in, 667
 genocidal trauma in, 612
 genocide denial in, 620
 “genocide ideology” in, 187
 genocide memorials in, 436, 605
 Genocide Survivors Support and Assistance Fund (FARG) of, 444
 genocide tax in, 488, 675
 German colonialism in, 201
 Gitarama Central Prison in, 105, 113, 124
 global corporations in, 426
 glorification of militarism in, 353
 Google in, 426
 government’s request for international judicial assistance, 96
 gradual transformation of *gacaca* courts in, 701

Grand Seminary at Nyakibanda in, 224
 group trials (*procès groupés*) in, 167, 170
groupes mobiles in, 167, 168
 guilty majority versus fearful minority in, 426
 Hamitic hypothesis in, 524, 629
 hardliners in, 668
 harsh politics of reconciliation in, 647
 hierarchy of chiefs in, 358
 High Court Chamber for International and Cross-border Crimes in, 425
 High Court Chamber for International Crimes in, 422
 High Court of, 519
 high-modernist institutions in, 446
 high-modernist legalism in, 388
 historical authoritarianism in, 358
 history of liberation struggle in, 678
 history of social engineering in, 700
 HIV in, 590
 Hôtel des mille collines in, 221
 humanitarians in, 5
 humiliation of the international community after the 1994 genocide in, 675
 “Hutu Power” in, 519
 Hutu Revolution of 1959 in, 524, 614, 693
 hyperreality of, 290
ibipinga (opponents) in, 134
 Ibuka in, 447
 iconography of the 1994 genocide in, 665
 idea of *agachacha* in, 235
 ideology of high modernism in, 701
 ideology of Rwandanity in, 517
 ideology of *ubumwe* in, 517
 imagined legalities in, 196
imerenge (sectors) in, 331
imidugudu (villagization), policy of, 271, 699
imihigo (performance contracts) in, 532, 699
 imperative of state-building in, 245
 imperatives of Tutsi power in, 694
imudungu (villages) in, 331
 incitement to genocide in, 397
 independence from Belgium of, 703
 independence of the judiciary in, 122
 indiscriminate aggressiveness of dictatorship in, 441
 indoctrination in, 479
 infrastructural power of the state in, 337, 470
ingando (solidarity) camps in, 126, 538, 688
Inkeragutabara in, 135
 institution of the *cachot* in, 119
 institution of the Communal Police in, 119
 institution of the Gendarmerie nationale in, 119
 institution of the Judicial Police in, 119
 institution of the *kadogo* (child soldier) in, 689

- institutional continuity across the centuries
 in, 689
- institutions of rule in, 689
- insurgency in the northwest in, 688
- intara* (provinces) in, 331
- intellectual foundations of invented traditions
 in, 446
- intelligence service in, 196
- Interahamwe* in, 519, 589
- intermarriage in, 639
- International Conference on Genocide,
 Impunity and Accountability in, 221
- International Monetary Fund (IMF) and, 675
- intore* companies in, 353
- intra-Tutsi power struggles in, 693
- invention of *jenocide* in, 157
- invention of *ubumwe n'ubwiyunge* in, 441
- irondos* (night patrols) in, 329
- irregular armed forces in, 683
- Iwawa Island in, 123
- Iwawa Rehabilitation Centre in, 125
- jenocide yakorewe abatutsi* ("genocide against
 the Tutsi") in, 649
- journalism in, 599
- judicial defenders in, 174
- judicial delays in, 190
- judicial hierarchy in, 242
- judicial incompetence in, 182
- judicial institutions in, 211
- judicial personnel in, 96, 99
- judicial salaries in, 101
- judicial system in, 144, 154, 205
- judiciary in, 100
- judiciary violence during the reign of King
 Rwabugiri, 692
- jurisdiction of *chambres spécialisées* in, 146
- Justice and Peace Commission of the Diocese
 of Butare in, 217
- justice charade in, 477
- justice without reconciliation in, 646
- Kabgayi massacre in, 351
- Kabgayi parish in, 587
- Kamarampaka stadium in, 504
- Kanombe airport in, 472
- Kibeho massacre in, 687
- Kigali Central Prison in, 535
- Kigali *chambre spécialisée* in, 171
- Kigali Court of Appeal in, 186
- Kigali Genocide Memorial in, 471
- Kigali Public Prison in, 112
- King Rwabugiri in, 323, 692
- Kinyarwanda neologism *amahano* in, 215
- komeza* (army of walkers) in, 114
- kwibuka* as sovereign command in, 637
- Lake Kivu in, 125
- as a landscape of suffering, 141
- language of customary law in, 235
- language of divisionism in, 519
- language of genocide ideology in, 519
- language of genocide in, 604
- law of damages in, 159
- Law Reform Commission of, 242
- lawfare as a continuation of war by other
 means in, 671
- lawfare in precolonial times in, 692
- layered despotism in, 337
- layered despotism in the history of, 358
- Legal and Constitutional Commission of, 237
- "legal civil war" in, 86
- legal development in, 703
- legal revolution in, 676
- from legalism to lawfare in, 700
- legislation in, 271
- leta* (state) in, 332
- lieux de mémoire* in, 438, 471, 605, 619
- Ligue rwandaïse pour la promotion et
 la défense des droits de l'homme
 (LIPRODHOR) in, 480, 496
- living with genocide as a struggle in, 609
- Local Defense Force (LDF) in, 314, 336, 688
- long-run consequences of violence in, 86
- long-standing grievances in, 432
- makeshift nature of *cachots* in, 105
- mandataires en justice* in, 174
- manhunts in, 110
- manufacturing of consent in, 360
- mass incarceration in, 113
- meaning of communication in, 457
- meaning of *umuryango* in, 531
- Memorandum of Agreement on the Rule of
 Law of August 18, 1992 in, 108
- mémorisation forcée* in, 605
- mental models in, 690, 698
- micro-power in, 554
- militarism in, 474
- militarization of *ingando* in, 690
- militarization of society in, 126, 688
- military culture of Nyiginya kingdom in, 692
- military discipline in, 689
- Military High Court of Kanombe in, 517
- military socialization in, 685
- military training in, 690
- Ministry of Defense (MINADEF) in, 309
- Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) in, 309
- Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning
 (MINECOFIN) of, 562
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MINAFFET) in,
 311, 491

- Rwanda (cont.)
- Ministry of Gender and the Promotion of Women (MIGEPROFE) in, 311
 - Ministry of Health (MINISANTE) in, 311
 - Ministry of Internal Affairs (MINITER) in, 311
 - Ministry of Justice (MINIJUST) in, 97, 98, 106, 167, 220, 240, 254, 272, 303, 479
 - Ministry of Local Government (MINALOC) in, 232, 239, 311
 - Ministry of National Unity and Civic Engagement (MINIBUMWE) of, 443
 - Ministry of Youth, Sports, and Culture (MIJESPOC) in, 311
 - misrepresentation of 1994 genocide in, 4
 - missionaries in, 523
 - mistrust in, 463, 620
 - mobilization of excesses of Local Defense Force in, 688
 - modernity of the genocide in, 666
 - morality in, 474
 - mortuary practices in, 437
 - mouvance présidentielle* in, 667
 - Mouvement républicain national pour la démocratie et le développement (MRND) in, 519
 - Mulindi military prison in, 126
 - Mushaka Parish in, 215
 - mwami* Musinga in, 522
 - mwami* Ndori in, 353
 - mythico-history in, 441
 - mythology of “unity of Rwandans” in, 219, 687, 688
 - nation building in, 445
 - National Assembly in, 221, 254
 - National Commission for Human Rights of, 523
 - National Commission for the Fight against Genocide (CNLG) of, 240, 444
 - National Commission of Unity and Reconciliation (CNUR) in, 311
 - National Council of Magistrates (Conseil national de la magistrature) in, 98
 - National Electoral Commission (NEC) in, 260, 314
 - National Heroes Memorial in, 682
 - National Human Rights Commission (CNDH) in, 311
 - National Itorerero Commission (NIC) of, 444
 - National Liberation Museum Park in, 473
 - National Rehabilitation Service (NRS) in, 124
 - National Security Service of, 527
 - National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) of, 239, 384, 444, 627, 649
 - National University of Rwanda (UNR) in, 98, 311, 484
 - necropower in, 570
 - network of persecution in, 441
 - networked power of the state in, 337
 - Nkanka *gacaca* appeal court in, 594
 - norm entrepreneurs in, 479
 - Ntarama church in, 615
 - number of court clerks in, 94
 - number of defendants in group trials, 171
 - number of detainees in, 111, 189
 - number of *grands génocidaires* in, 431
 - number of judicial institutions in, 94
 - number of judicial police inspectors in, 94
 - number of magistrates in, 94
 - number of prosecutors in, 94
 - nutritional shortfalls in, 568
 - Nyabarongo river in, 139
 - Nyabisindu commune in, 499
 - Nyamata *chambre spécialisée* in, 171
 - Nyamata Church in, 614
 - Nyanza in, 499
 - Nyaruguru chiefdom in, 390
 - Nyiginya kingdom in, 353
 - Nyumba church in, 391
 - nyumbakumi* (ten-house groups) in, 271
 - obedience to authority in, 689
 - obstacles to reconciliation in, 447
 - Office for the Promotion, Sale, and Import of Agricultural Products (OPPROVIA) in, 114
 - Office of the President in, 221
 - Office of the Prosecutor General of, 170, 360
 - onset of lawfare in, 676
 - ontological destruction in, 507
 - oral tradition in, 226
 - orchestrators of the 1994 genocide in, 667
 - orientalist view of, 665
 - as a parameter to choice in, 85
 - participation as a civic duty in, 545
 - path to genocide in, 668
 - path-dependent explanation of lawfare in, 699
 - pathological effects of *imihigo* (performance contracts) in, 532
 - pathologies of governmentality in, 231
 - performance of public executions in, 426
 - performing morality in, 475
 - period of authoritarian renewal in, 167
 - permanent state of exception in, 86
 - persecution by prosecution in, 422
 - from perverse institutionalism to extremist institutionalism in, 699
 - petty crime in, 135
 - physical versus symbolic violence in, 673
 - Plan of Action for Justice in, 97

- planners of the 1944 genocide, 668
- police forces in, 119
- policy of national unity and reconciliation in, 548
- policy of reconciliation as demeaning in, 647
- political economy of lawfare in, 699
- political parties in, 107
- politics of space in, 438
- polysemy of social encounters in, 552
- population of, 438
- population of prisons and *cachots* in, 104
- as a postcolony, 78, 524
- post-genocide *nomoi* in, 521
- post-genocide regime of as a terror formation, 79
- post-genocide state as behemoth, 124
- from postmodernity to premodernity in, 26
- potential for interethnic co-operation in, 603
- poverty in, 375
- practice of *ceceka* in, 550
- practice of *gutunga agatoki* (pointing with fingers) in, 111
- practice of *gutwerera* in, 352
- practice of *umuganda* in, 270
- pragmatic institutionalism in, 167
- precolonial history of, 686
- préfectures* in, 95, 97
- premise of inequality and, 693
- presentation of detainees in, 363
- presidential and parliamentary elections in, 82, 94, 196, 347, 414, 676
- Presidential Decree No. 26/2001 in, 264
- Presidential Directive No. 12/2001 in, 259
- presidential elections in, 352
- pretrial detention in, 124
- preventive detention, 122, 182
- principle of legality in, 157
- prisons and *cachots* (community lock-ups) in, 103, 104, 189, 375, 408, 534
- privileged signifiers in, 445
- process of bureaucratization in, 295
- process of mobilization in, 359
- process of sensitization in, 295
- propaganda in, 690
- Prosecutor General offices in, 362
- Prosecutor v. Pauline Nyiramasuhuko et al.* and, 498
- provinces in, 271
- provisional release of detainees in, 110, 190
- psychosocial consequences of the 1994 genocide in, 611
- public display of corpses in, 605
- public executions in, 418
- public shaming in, 532
- Public Transport Authority (ONATRACOM) in, 114
- pull of Christianity in, 523
- purges in, 344
- racialization of Tutsi in, 523
- Radio Rwanda in, 689
- Radio télévision libre des mille collines (RTL) in, 491, 599
- ranking-and-monitoring in, 532
- rationality of the 1994 genocide in, 668
- rearrests of detainees in, 169
- reconciliation as skin-deep in, 639
- reconciliation in, 268, 461, 603
- reconciliation *téléguidé* in, 626
- reform of judicial system in, 308
- refusal to co-operate with *gacaca* courts in, 436
- reign of *mwami* Rwabugiri in, 443
- reign of terror in, 599
- Rekeraho* Military Tribunal in, 160
- relationship between war making and state making in, 351
- release of detainees in, 169, 408
- religious communities in, 217
- religious network in, 525
- remembering to forget, 579
- remnants of Falcon 50 presidential jet in, 473
- repertoires of legal violence in, 64
- representationally reductive photography of the genocide in, 666
- reprisal killings and disappearances in, 123
- responsables* and reconciliation in, 627
- responsables* in, 318, 329
- returnees in, 316
- revenge fantasies in, 622
- revenge in, 128
- revenues of, 676
- rhetoric of divisionism in, 600
- rhetoric of forgiveness in, 624
- rhetoric of genocide ideology in, 600
- rhetoric of home-grown solutions in, 446, 670
- rhetoric of liberation in, 687
- rhetoric of “New Rwanda” in, 445
- rise of totalitarianism in, 439
- RPA atrocities in, 587
- RPF version of the history of the genocide in, 476
- Ruhengeri central prison in, 361
- Ruhengeri Court of Appeal, 161
- Ruhengeri Court of First Instance in, 161
- rule of violence as a modality of government in, 85
- rule of violence in, 82, 126
- rules of the game in, 451
- as rural panopticon, 348
- rural poor in, 550, 612
- rural population in, 436

- Rwanda (cont.)
- Rwanda Art Museum in, 472
 - Rwanda Governance Board in, 354
 - Rwanda Trading Company in, 114
 - Rwandan Defense Forces (RDF) in, 527
 - Rwandan Office of Information (ORINFOR) in, 482
 - Rwandan Patriotic Front's invasion of, 682
 - Rwanda's Office for Industrial Cultivation (OCIR) in, 114
 - RWANDEX warehouses in, 114
 - sans-dossiers* (detainees without case files) in, 169
 - "Saturday Meetings" in the Office of the President of, 241
 - screening of *The Arusha Tapes* in, 483
 - scripted performances of reconciliation in, 609
 - Second Republic of, 260, 688
 - secondary burials in, 436
 - sectors in, 271
 - self-abasement in, 541
 - self-limiting behavior in, 337
 - self-reinforcing logic of dictatorship in, 326
 - sensitization as a technology of rule in, 627
 - sensitization in, 479
 - Service national des juridictions *gacaca* (SNJG) in, 249
 - settlement patterns in, 439
 - Seventh-day Adventists in, 241
 - shadow of violence in, 85
 - shaming of population in, 480
 - shortage of defense counsel in, 165
 - silencing of political opposition in, 674
 - Sixth Chamber of the Supreme Court of, 384
 - socially dead in, 77
 - sociopsychological interventions in, 437
 - versus* South Africa, 702
 - sovereign dictatorship in, 85
 - sovereign power in, 549
 - sovereign state in, 626
 - Sovu *gacaca* court in, 549
 - spoiled identities in, 591
 - Starbucks in, 426
 - starvation in, 550
 - state in, 329
 - state of siege in, 81
 - state strength in, 337
 - state-led efforts of memorialization in, 606
 - statistical data about *chambres spécialisées* in, 188
 - strategic self-harm of Hutu in, 538
 - structural deformation of the public sphere in, 583
 - structured contingency of lawfare in, 701
 - subjectivity of Hutu in, 541
 - subterfuge associate with, 5
 - supply of *Codes et lois du Rwanda* in, 97
 - Supreme Court of, 100, 122, 185, 187, 242, 249, 272, 668
 - as surveillance state, 339, 346, 458, 530
 - survivor guilt in, 438
 - system of ocular control in, 343
 - targeting of non-denominational churches in, 525
 - targeting of Rwandan dissidents in the United Kingdom and, 14
 - technocratic facade in, 695
 - thanatopower in, 570
 - thanatourists in, 5
 - thanopolitics in, 182
 - theater of reconciliation in, 630
 - theater of transitional justice, 547
 - theaters of conflict in, 672
 - theaters of sovereignty in, 334
 - Theunis trial and the "New Rwanda" in, 528
 - threat of ontological destruction in, 141
 - "topographies of cruelty" in, 104
 - topography of, 340
 - tradition of violence in, 460
 - training of judges in, 152
 - training seminars for judges in, 187
 - transformation of *mentalités* in, 444
 - transformation of strategy of conflict in, 676
 - transition from a commissarial dictatorship to a sovereign dictatorship of, 82
 - transition from genocidal rule to authoritarian rule in, 691
 - transitional injustice in, *see* injustice, transitional
 - transitional justice as a leading cause of social death in, 702
 - transitional justice as a political weapon in, 677
 - transitional justice imaginary in, 151
 - Transitional National Assembly (TNA) in, 107
 - travaux d'intérêt général* (TIG) in, 264
 - triage commissions (*commissions de triage*) in, 167
 - triage committees in, 167
 - Tribunal de chefferie in, 203
 - Tribunal de Parquet in, 205
 - Tribunal de territoire in, 203
 - Tribunal du mwami in, 203
 - trust in, 639
 - Tutsi, 31
 - Tutsi supremacy in, 692
 - "Tutsification" of the state in, 649
 - ubiquity of violence in, 85
 - ubuhake* in, 699
 - uburetwa* (system of coercive prestation) in, 267, 270

- ubwiyunge* as harmony ideology in, 633
Ukurikiyimfura Military Tribunal in, 160
umuganda (system of coercive voluntarism) in, 270, 699
 UN Human Rights Committee and, 528
 uncivil society in, 581
 uniforms of security forces in, 688
 United Nations Commission of Experts and, 666
 United Nations Committee against Torture and, 14
 Unity and Reconciliation Summit in, 526
 unplotted strategy of lawfare in, 701
urugwawa (banana beer) in, 628
 use of Pegasus spyware in, 440
utugari (cells) in, 331
 Vatican and, 522
 violence as a rational ritual in, 443
 violence as common knowledge in, 443
 violence of commemoration in, 606
 violence of confinement in, 138
 violence of dislocation in, 135
 violence of memorialization in, 605
 violence of *ndi umunyarwanda* in, 649
 violent entrepreneurs in, 669, 695
 violent specialists in, 431, 698
 violent way of doing things in, 673
 Virunga mountains in, 475
 Vision 2020 for, 354, 562
 “war of the *cachots*” in, 122
 weapons of the weak in, 430
 weight of the state in, 355
 Western gaze on, 5
 Rwanda Diaspora Global Convention, 527
 Rwanda National Congress (RNC), 183
 Rwandan countryside
 fear and loathing in, 9
 Rwandan Patriotic Army (RPA), 12, 134, 196, 681
 Directory of Military Intelligence of, 12
 international arrest warrants for forty high-ranking officers of, 586
 Kibeho massacre and, 687
 organizational and personal differences between RPF and, 681
 responsibility for international crimes of, 442
 Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF)
 as an alien body, 693
 calculus of conflict of, 671
 calculus of rule of, 542
 Declaration of July 17, 1994, 107
 disinformation campaign by, 586
 doctrine of military necessity and, 685
 dragnet approach to guilt of, 110
 excessive moralism of, 644
 exclusionary *nomos* of, 297
 as a fighting organization, 691
 as guardians of the state, 571
 fundamental assumptions about post-genocidal power of, 31
 and *gacaca* courts, 241
 guerilla strategy of, 684
 guerilla warfare and, 680, 683
 history of the genocide of, 476
 imposition of forgiveness by, 648
 institutional extremism of, 678, 693
 institutional history as a military organization of, 679
 institutional transformation in exile of, 681
 invention of tradition by, 248
 as *ishaka*, 531
 Kibeho massacre and, 687
 leadership of, 690
 liberation theology of, 474
 massacres of, 130
 and meaning of *Umuryango FPR-Inkotanyi*, 343
 military culture of, 678, 686, 687
 military institutional prerogatives of, 687
 military norms and values of, 685
 military socialization and, 685
 National Executive Committee (NEC) of, 518
 new *nomos* of, 514
 nomos of, 671
 organizational and personal differences between RPA and, 681
 organizational culture of, 682, 683, 691
 performance of necropower by, 104
 playbook of, 683
 presence in the countryside of, 341
 propaganda by, 690
 as a rebel organization, 682
 from rebels to rulers, 687
 reformation in the Virunga mountains of, 683
 from refugees to rebels, 679
 responsibility for international crimes of, 442
 and the rhetoric of liberation, 687
 rhetoric of reconciliation of, 128
 Rwandan Alliance for National Unity (RANU) and, 681
 strategy of victimhood of, 515
 swerve toward extremist institutionalism of, 694
 transformation from a revolutionary to a governing party of, 82
 Tutsi exiles and, 683
 as *umuryango*, 531
 unity-machine of, 299
 use of disciplinary power and biopower, 127
 violent entrepreneurs of, 132
 violent way of doing things of, 134
 waiting game of, 567

Rwandanicity, 7, 198, 476
 “Rwandanness,” 7
 Rwasamanzi, Gaston, 527
 Rwigyema, Fred, 132, 682, 686
 Ryan, Jr., Allan A., 222

Saint-Just, Louise Antoine, 426
 Sarat, Austin, 28
 on Robert Cover, 59
 Scarry, Elaine, 587
 Schabas, William, 183
 Schelling, Thomas, 663, 671
 theory of conflict of, 677
 Schmitt, Carl, 47
 concept of the political of, 60
 on constitutional dictatorship, 145
 distinction between commissary and
 sovereign dictatorship of, 82
 on French Revolution, 80
 on governmental violence, 81
 theory of dictatorship of, 80
 scientificity
 and subjectivity, 658
 Scotland, 446
 Scott, James C., 3, 248, 430, 669
 Scullier, Caroline, 188
 security dilemmas, 641
 Sekamana, Dénys, 500
 self
 technology of, 536
 self-extminating savage
 stereotype of, 665
 self-reinforcing dictatorship
 concept of, 87
 logic of, 87
 in post-genocide Rwanda, 87
 Sendashonga, Seth, 689
 assassination of, 689
 sensitization
 euphemism of, 479
 strategies of, 376
 as a technology of rule, 627
 sensitization, process of, 295
 Service national des juridictions gacaca
 (SNJG), 249, 303
 agents of, 563
 organizational hierarchy of, 323
 replacing the Département des juridictions
 gacaca, 307
 Seventh-day Adventists
 mobile baptistry of, 241
 Sezibera, Richard, 344
 shaming
 concept of, 481

Shapiro, Ian, 702
 Shapiro, Martin, 250, 359
 on the function of courts in the countryside,
 63
 Shepsle, Kenneth, 236
 shirking, concept of, 302
 Shklar, Judith, 142, 597
 on injustice, 50
 on legalism, 55
 show trial, concept of, 425
 Shyaka Mugabe, Aggée, 447
 Sibomana, André, 342, 598
 Sierra Leone, 139
 signification, 446
 silence, 455
 cartography of, 576
 Franz Kafka on, 577
 methodological turn to, 588
 as multivocal, 577
 rhetoric of, 432, 577
 as self-reinforcing, 578
 structuring effect of, 578
 walls of, 432
 wounds of, 646
 silent war
 concept of, 672
 Simbarikure, Assiel, 395
 Simburudari, Theodore, 268, 563
 Simon, Herbert
 on approximate rationality, 536
 simulacrum
 from below, 465
 concept of, 289
 and Gilles Deleuze, 291
 and transitional justice, 290, 386
 Sindikubwabo, Théodore, 392
 Singapore
 authoritarian developmental state of,
 636
 Skinner, Stephen, 41
 slippage, concept of, 302
 Slovo, Gillian, 606
 slow death
 concept of, 569
 state of exception and, 570
 Smelser, Neil, 197
 Smith, Stephen, 693
 social death, 77, 564
 concept of, 135, 585, 702
 and lawfare, 135
 and ontological destruction, 68
 social performance, 478
 social spacing, concept of, 332
 socialization

- army as an agent of, 685
- of danger, 695
- society
 - “primitive” versus “civilized,” 332
- Sofsky, Wolfgang, 552, 564, 572
- South Africa, 196, 669, 703
 - reconciliation without justice in, 646
 - rhetoric of truth and reconciliation in, 606
 - Rivonia Trial in, 425
 - versus Rwanda, 703
 - Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)
 - of, 448, 606
 - truth-and-reconciliation model of transitional justice in, 536
- sovereign
 - absolute authority of, 702
- sovereignty, 218
 - colonial and postcolonial forms of, 79
 - performance of, 127
 - theaters of, 334
- Soviet Union, 425, 444, 538, 540
- Sovu
 - community, 549, 581
 - sector, 625
- Special Rapporteur of the UN Commission on Human Rights, 109
- specialization
 - process of, 197
- speech, 460
 - self-suppression of, 452
- speech acts, 457
- Spivak, Gayatri, 585, 586
- spoiled identities
 - concept of, 591
- Srinivasan, Amia, 348
- Stalin, 540
- Stam, Allan, 513
- state
 - concept of
 - versus concept of government, 342
 - versus concept of regime, 342
 - predatory, 338
 - formation of, 53, 351, 353, 671, 674, 698
 - idea of, 248
 - jurispathic, 581
 - punitive, 546
 - rightsizing of, 335
 - roots of, 531
 - Tillyean logic of, 671
 - waiting for, 552
- state making
 - as organized crime, 675
- state of emergency
 - psychosocial, 349
- state of exception
 - Agamben’s argument, 74
 - concept of, 74
 - and French Revolution, 80
 - idea of, 80
 - Mbembe on, 77
 - mnemonic, 477
 - permanent, 419
 - Schmitt’s concept of, 74
 - slow death and, 570
 - temporary versus permanent, 80
- state of siege
 - Mbembe on, 77, 81
- state-building
 - imperative of, 245
- Stepan, Alfred, 687
- stigmatization, 481
- strategic dilemmas, 641
- strategic innovation, 674
- structural differentiation
 - concept of, 197
- structural violence, 71, 295, 664
- structure of feeling, 18, 700
 - concept of, 669
- structured contingency
 - concept of, 85, 196, 701
- subaltern experience, 571
- subaltern subjectivities
 - concept of, 585
- subjectivation
 - dissensual, 453
- subjectivity
 - and scientificity, 658
- substitution
 - principle of, 672
- subterfuge
 - photography and, 387
- Sudanese People’s Liberation Movement, 682
- suffering
 - memory of, 540
 - signs of, 665
- Sundaram, Anjan, 424, 577
- Sundberg, Molly, 341
- sunk costs
 - concept of, 672
- Sunstein, Cass, 270
- Supreme Court of Rwanda
 - Department of Courts and Tribunals of, 185
 - Département des juridictions gacaca* (DJG)
 - of, 249
 - President of, 272
 - Sixth Chamber of, 384

- surveillance
 coercive, 440
 communities, 458
 concept of, 339
 daily exercise of, 411, 546
 “high-tech” and “spy-tech” technologies of, 533
 and NSO Group, 440
 panoptical, 533
 societies, 458
 synoptical, 533
 as a technology of rule, 339
- surveillant assemblage
 concept of, 534
- survival
 social performance of, 648
- Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation,
 232
- symbolic violence, concept of, 296
- symbols, commodification of, 290
- synod idasanzwe* (synod extraordinaire), 215
- synopticism
 concept of, 533
- Syria
 emplotted horror in, 434
- system
 concept of, 57
- tabulation
 technology of, 532
- Tamanaha, Brian, 24
- Tanzania, 657
 Tutsi refugees in, 679
- Tapscott, Rebecca, 411
- Taylor, Christopher
 on the poetics of violence, 67
 on violence performances in Rwanda, 67
- technology
 and productivity, 674
- Teitel, Ruti, 27
- temporality
 and legality, 554
- terror
 cultural face of, 442
- Tertsakian, Carina, 111, 538
- testimonial injustice
 concept of, 582, 588
 synchronic and diachronic dimensions of, 588
 as a wrong, 583
- testimony, 469, 477
 violence of, 582
- thanatopolitics, 73
- thanatopower
 concept of, 570
- Thelen, Kathleen, 27
- Theunis, Guy, 202
 trial of, 517
- Thomson, Susan, 19
- Tilly, Charles, 298, 475, 663, 671, 675
 bellicist theory of state formation of, 53, 351
 on warfare, 53
- time
 camp, 564
 court, 564
 elastic, 567
 elasticity of, 573
 at the grassroots, 574
 polychronic attitude to, 464
- timepass
 concept of, 553
- Tocqueville, Alexis de, 697
- total institution, 685
 concept of, 564
- total terror
 concept of, 440
 Hannah Arendt on, 440
- totalitarian education
 Hannah Arendt on, 445
- totalitarianism
 versus authoritarianism, 441
 hallmark of, 438
 Hannah Arendt and, 438
 rise of, 439
 surveillance assemblages in, 438
- tradition
 enforcement of, 207
 invention of, 195
- transitional education, 354
- transitional injustice, 6, 9, 564, 664, 671
 administration of, 249
 theater of, 514
- transitional justice, 3
 abyss of, 466
 administration of, 126, 295
 apology and, 447
 as bargaining power, 664
 behavioral logics and, 671
 bloodless violence of, 702
 buzzwords of, 387
 compensation and, 447
 daring experiment in, 4
 dark sides of, 124, 588
 decolonization of, 6
 demand for, 152, 461
 dialogical requirements of, 216
 end times of, 6
 experience of, 560
 experiment in, 670
 expressive function of, 458

- genealogical method and, 705
 imposition of, 507
 as international justice, 466
 and interstitiality, 655
 as leading cause of social death in Rwanda, 702
 the lifeworlds of others and, 437
 as local justice, 466
 lustration and, 514
 marketing of, 448
 performativity of, 475
 phenomenology of, 40, 653, 705
 as political weapon, 677
 presuppositions about, 705
 reality of, 290, 387
 simulacrum of, 290, 386
 social imaginaries of, 25
 socioeconomic determinants of, 569
 talking cure and, 453
 teleology of, 655
 theater of, 455, 547
 toolbox of, 239
 transfiguring tropes of, 387
 and transitional justice imaginary, 151
 truth-and-reconciliation model of, 536
 utopic degeneration of, 292
 in the vernacular, 4, 670
 violence of, 6
- transitional justice imaginary, 291, 458
- traumatisme*, 462
- Travaux d'intérêt général (TIG), 264
 original institutional design of, 265
- trials
 destructive, 520
 didactic, 521
- Trocaire, 95
- truncated empiricism, 8
- trust
 as a commodity, 463
- trustworthiness, 463, 532
- truth
 commodification of, 600
 concept of, 696
 dialogical, 388
 relative versus absolute, 705
 restorative function of, 653
 rhetoric of, 387
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa, 7, 250
- truth finding, 497
- truth telling, 583
 routinization of, 613
 trauma of, 613
- Tulloch, Gordon, 15
- Tutsification, process of, 429
- Twagiramungu, Noel, 428, 496
- Twahirwa, Ladislav, 225, 227
- Twain, Mark, 697
- tyranny
 concept of, 440
 Hannah Arendt on, 440
- U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), 110, 232
 and the promotion of *gacaca* courts, 363
- U.S. Department of State, 14, 419
- U.S. House of Representatives, 10
- ubumwe*
 as an invented tradition, 517
 rhetoric of, 298, 300
- ubuntu*
 as an invented tradition, 517
- ubutabere bwunga* (justice that bridges gaps), 18
- ubwiyunge*
 violence of, 624
- Uganda, 411
 complex victimhood in, 611
 Luwero stronghold of RPF in, 681
 Luwero Triangle, 684
 National Resistance Army of Uganda (NRA), 679
 origins of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) in, 679
 Paul Kagame and military intelligence in, 680
 Paul Kagame as a refugee in, 679
 refugee camps in, 238
 Rwandan Alliance for National Unity (RANU) in, 681
 Tutsi community in, 681
 Tutsi refugee in, 679
 Uganda National Liberation Army and, 684, 685
- umuganda*, policy of, 388
- umunyinya* (a type of Acacia tree), 18
 symbolism of, 18
- umuryango* (family, lineage), 343
 idea of, 346
- Umutara, province of, 316
- umutware w'imiryango* (head of family), 213
- UN Commission on Human Rights, 114
- UN General Assembly, 133, 255
- UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, 306
- UN Human Rights Committee, 528
- UN Human Rights Field Operation in Rwanda (UNHRFOR), 306
- UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR), 223
- UN secretary-general, 502
- UN Security Council, 132, 587, 666
- UN Special Rapporteur of the Commission for Human Rights, 99, 102

- UN special representative of the Commission of Human Rights, 195, 239, 255
- uncertainty
 - decision making under, 672
 - relative versus absolute, 536
- unfreedom
 - space of, 438
- United Kingdom
 - M15 warnings in, 14
 - Rwandan dissidents in, 14
- United Nations (UN), 487
 - Gersony report and, 489
- United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR), 114
- United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 610
- United Nations Commission of Experts on Rwanda, 666
- United Nations Committee against Torture, 14
- United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, 95
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 98
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 93, 96, 131
- United Nations Human Rights Field Operation in Rwanda (UNHRFOR), 95, 99
- United Nations Trust Fund for Rwanda, 97
- United Nations World Food Programme (UNWFP), 568
- United States, 486, 650, 685
 - administration of George W. Bush of, 587
 - Department of Homeland Security in, 413
 - Department of State of, 505
 - House of Representatives of, 505
 - jury system in, 242
 - military training of Paul Kagame in, 682
 - National Public Radio in, 8
- United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 96, 305
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 108
- universal jurisdiction
 - principle of, 581
- utilitarianism, 245
- Uvin, Peter, 220
- Uwamugira, Chantal
 - trial of, 162
- Uwibambe, Jean Pierre
 - trial of, 182
- van Tuyll, Hubert, 672
- Vanhove, Julien, 203
- Vansina, Jan, 32, 198, 251, 353, 692
- Vatican, 522
- Vaughan, Diane
 - and analytic ethnography, 31
- vengeance
 - culture of, 426
- Verpoorten, Marijke, 3
- victimhood
 - fear of, 624, 641
 - imagery of, 488
 - strategy of, 488
- Vidal, Claudine, 12, 605
- Vietnam War, 12
- violation
 - idea of, 556
 - and violence, 556, 568
- violence
 - agentic, 514
 - basic structure of, 69
 - categorical, 668
 - as common knowledge, 443
 - continuum of, 19
 - covert, 419
 - cumulative radicalization of, 667
 - discursive, 129
 - of dislocation, 135
 - epistemic, 585
 - essence of, 555
 - etymology of, 556
 - euphemized, 557
 - everyday, 561, 585
 - excursus on, 555
 - expressive logic of, 67
 - fist-meets-face view of, 556
 - as generative force, 20
 - governmental, 443
 - idea of, 556
 - inhibitions to, 440
 - institutional, 559
 - interpretive, 295, 516
 - intimacy of, 665
 - Kafka on, 50
 - of labor, 267
 - large-scale, 419, 673
 - latency of, 677
 - latent, 677
 - long-run consequences of, 86
 - low-grade, 454
 - in the margins, 460
 - memories of, 604
 - modern, 695
 - monopoly on the use of, 361
 - neighborly, 609
 - nonquantifiable features of, 71

- as ontological feature of law, 61
- organizational culture of, 299
- over the *longue durée*, 697
- overt, 419
- performative, 66
- personal, 559
- perspectival, 69
- physical, 673
- quiet forms of, 556
- quite, 566
- as rational ritual, 443
- revolutionary, 586
- rule of, 71, 599
- rule of in Rwanda, 66
- rule of in Syria, 66
- small-scale, 419
- socialization of danger and, 695
- structural, 295, 448, 514
- symbolic, 296, 334, 419, 673
- taxonomies of, 564
- temporal logic of, 564
- through and against knowledge, 585
- tradition of, 460
- varieties of, 66, 417, 546
- and violation, 556, 568
- and violent entrepreneurs, 132
- withholding of, 677
- without agency, 65, 513
- violent amateurs, 673
- violent display, 397
- violent entrepreneurs, 300, 669
- violent legalism, 57, 426
- violent legalization
 - process of, 197
- violent performances, 67
- violent practices, 428
- violent specialists, 673
- violent speech acts, 528
- Virunga mountains, 421
- visual ethnography, 35
 - and the methodology of the social sciences, 37
- Wagner, Michele, 116, 224
 - and the invention of *gacaca*, 232
 - as a norm entrepreneur, 232
- Wagner-Pacifci, Robin, 651
- waiting
 - as accelerant of suffering, 566
 - as dead time, 567
 - as discipline, 554
 - generative and oppressive dimensions of, 552
 - and hyperreality, 571
 - sociality of, 554
 - violence of, 559
 - as violent habit, 555
- Waldorf, Lars, 19
- Walzer, Michael, 427
- war
 - American way of, 12
 - internal and external, 673
 - silent, 672
- war, simulation of, 289
- war crimes trials
 - didactic functions of, 506
- war machines
 - Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari on, 79
- war making
 - as organized crime, 675
- warfare
 - counterinsurgency, 667
 - decline of, 673
 - diminishing returns from, 673
 - guerilla, 683
 - internal and external, 673
 - irregular system of, 546
 - and legalism, 691
 - transformation of, 671
 - transition to lawfare from, 677
- Washington, D.C., 486
- ways of seeing
 - privileged versus subjugated, 658
- Weber, Max, 253, 351
 - ideal types of authority of, 351
 - ideal types of rule of, 55
 - Kafka and, 571
- Wedeen, Lisa, 456
- Weimar Germany, 562
- Weingast, Barry R., 32, 677
- Weinstein, Jeremy, 683
- Weza, Sanny Bahati *alias* Nshamihigo, Siméon, 501
- Whitehead, Alfred North, 511
- Wieseltier, Leon, 579
- will to improve
 - concept of, 700
- will to punish, 50
- Williams, Raymond, 18, 669
- Windows software, 672
- within-case comparisons, 697
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig, 91, 428
- World Bank, 21, 426, 487
 - World Development Report, 22
- Wrong, Michela, 79, 413, 473, 488
- Yemen, 456

740

Zaire
 refugee camps in, 490
Zambia, 635
Zarembo, Alan, 119
Zelizer, Barbie, 665

Index

Žižek, Slavoj, 530
Zorbas, Eugenia, 606
Zuboff, Shoshana
 and the information panopticon,
 340