

## Contents

<i>List of Photographs</i>	<i>page</i> xiii
<i>List of Figures</i>	xv
<i>List of Maps</i>	xvii
<i>List of Tables</i>	xix
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xxi
<b>PART I INTRODUCTION</b>	1
<b>1 A Justice Facade</b>	3
A Daring Experiment	4
Truncated Empiricism	6
The <i>Gacaca</i> Facade	10
Hecatomb	11
The Interior of Justice	16
Legal Orientalism	20
Fetishizing the Local	23
Extremist Institutionalism	26
“An Irregular System of Warfare”	28
Analytic Ethnography	31
Inside Rwanda	32
Visual Ethnography	35
A Jurisprudence of Violence	40
<b>PART II A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK</b>	45
<b>2 The Violence of Law</b>	47
Sketching the State	48
Defining Lawfare	53
Legalism to Lawfare	55
Warfare to Lawfare	58

A Strategy of Conflict	61
Violence without Agency	65
Violence, Performative	66
Violence, Perspectival	69
Violence as Rule	71
Biopolitics	71
Thanatopolitics	73
Necropolitics	77
A State of Exception	80
From Commissary to Sovereign Dictatorship	82
Violently Structured Contingency	85
<b>PART III THE EMERGENCE OF LAWFARE</b>	89
<b>3 Bending the Law</b>	91
Legal Remains	93
Infrastructure	94
Agents	95
Legal Appearances: “A Plan of Action for Justice”	97
Claustrophobic Liminality: Two Vignettes	102
A Carceral Universe	103
Manhunts	110
The <i>Cachots</i> of Kigembe	116
In the Penal Colony: Iwawa Island	123
All the Missing Souls	128
Absolute Destruction	129
<i>Ab legibus solutus</i>	132
Blood Papa; or: The Violence of Dislocation	135
<b>4 Chambres Spécialisées: From Legalism to Lawfare</b>	142
Define and Rule: Organic Law No. 08/1996	143
Legislative Foundations	143
Postgenocidal Subjectivities	146
Inside the <i>Chambres Spécialisées</i>	152
An Illustration from Kigali	157
An Illustration from Ruhengeri	161
An Illustration from Cyangugu	162
The Shoulders of Justice	166
Legal Triage	167
Roving Investigators: <i>Groupes Mobiles</i>	168
Group Trials	170
Confessions	173

*Contents*

ix

Judicial Defenders	174
Bringing the Foreigners Back In	178
In the Shadow of Violence	180
Affective Economies	182
<i>Livres Verts</i>	184
<i>In Culpa Esse</i> : Crude Legalism	187
<b>PART IV THE EVOLUTION OF LAWFARE</b> 193	
<b>5 Varieties of <i>Gacaca</i>; or: The Invention of Tradition</b>	195
Imagined Legalities	196
<i>Gacaca</i> in the Mist	199
Imperial <i>Gacaca</i>	201
<i>Gacaca</i> in the Postcolony	207
An Illustration from Ndora	209
An Illustration from Kibuye	212
<i>Gacaca Nkirisitu</i>	214
Idyllic Legalism	218
Thinking through Law	219
A MINIJUST Proposal	220
The 1995 Kigali Conference	221
A 1996 UNHCHR Feasibility Study	223
The Idea of <i>Agacaca</i>	235
Governing the Exigency	236
All Kinds of Preferences	237
The Saturday Meetings; or: “Three Different Sorts of <i>Gacaca</i> ”	241
Lawyers, Everywhere	245
<b>6 Violent Legalization</b>	247
“A Sort of Silent War”	248
Rationalizing <i>Gacaca</i>	250
Codifying <i>Gacaca</i>	252
Founding <i>Gacaca</i> : Organic Law No. 40/2000	255
A Perverse Institutionalism: Organic Law No. 33/2001	258
The Election of <i>Inyangamugayo</i>	259
The Violence of Labor: <i>Traveaux d’Interêt Général</i>	264
A Judicial Hierarchy	270
Rightsizing <i>Gacaca</i> : Organic Law No. 16/2004	278
Fewer Jurisdictions	278
Fewer Categories	279
Fewer Judges	281
A Violent Trajectory	283

Organic Law No. 10/2007	283
Organic Law No. 13/2008	286
The Hyperreality of Documents	287
Transitional Justice as Simulacrum	290
<b>7 Lineages of Governmentality</b>	294
Performing <i>Nomos</i>	295
Law's Stories	297
Principal-Agent Theory	300
Layered Domination	301
Violent Principals	303
DJG and SNJG	303
Aiding Violence	311
Violent Agents	312
Why <i>Inyangamugayo</i> Matter	314
Agency Slack	323
From <i>Nyumbakumi</i> to <i>Responsables</i>	327
A Rural Panopticon	330
Anthropophagic Authoritarianism	332
State/Space	334
The Microphysics of Power	337
<i>Ibiros</i> and <i>Abakada</i>	343
Indirect Rule 2.0	352
Affective Injustice	355
<b>8 The Supply and Demand of Law</b>	359
The Presentation of Law in Everyday Life	360
The “Pre-gacaca” Hearings	360
An Illustration from Kigembe	367
An Illustration from Ntongwe	380
Performing <i>Inkiko Gacaca</i>	385
The Pilot Phase	385
An Illustration from Gishamvu	389
Three Courts, One Courtroom	404
A Natural Experiment	410
Law's Rhizome	414
Public Executions: An Excursus	418
A Critical Juncture	426
At the Grassroots	429
Arendt in Africa	434
Tyranny to Terror	441
Annihilating Politics	453
Violence in the Margins	460

## Contents

xi

Meta-data	467
The Underneath of Things	469
<b>9 The Marketing of Genocide</b>	471
The Power over Life	472
Mythico-history	473
The Justice Charade	477
A Moral Drama	478
Shaming the Country	479
The Sociality of Media	481
The <i>Inkiko Gacaca</i> Media Campaign	482
Blaming the World	486
It's the Colony, Stupid!	486
The Genocide Tax	488
The Assault on International Law	490
The Barayagwiza Affair	491
Witness "TA"	495
The Weza Affair	501
In the Marketplace of Ideas	505
Law, Everywhere	505
<b>PART V THE EFFECTS OF LAWFARE</b>	509
<b>10 In a Field of Pain and Death: Lawfare in the Countryside</b>	511
The Violence of Interpretation	512
Violent Performances	514
A Media Trial	517
Guy Theunis and <i>Ubumwe</i>	522
Assaultive Speech	529
Ocular Authoritarianism	530
<i>Agencement/Assemblage</i>	532
Fessing Up: Necropower	534
Clientelism Redux	535
The Violence of Loyalty	537
A Great Terror	540
"Prison Gacaca"	542
The Violence of Participation	545
A Punitive Society	546
The Poverty of Participation	550
Waiting for the State; or: <i>Horror Vacui</i>	552
An Excursus on Violence	555
The Violence of Waiting	559

Court Time	564
In the Anteroom of Justice	566
<b>11 A Cartography of Silence</b>	576
The Rhetoric of Silence	577
A Hermeneutic of Concealment	579
<i>Ceceka</i> ; or: That Temptation of Mutism	580
A Jurispathic State	581
An Illustration from Sovu	581
The Violence of Testimony	582
The Wrong of Testimonial Injustice	583
Lament in Lies	588
“Humiliation with a Big H”	591
The Informal Economy of <i>Inkiko Gacaca</i>	593
Coercive Reconciliation	602
<i>Tuzabatsebatsemba</i> to <i>Ubwiyunge</i>	603
What Reconciliation Is ... and Is Not	607
Reconciliation <i>Téléguidée</i>	626
Mistrust/Distrust	639
The Violence of <i>Ndi Umunyarwanda</i>	649
“Magical Legalism”	651
Phenomenology of Transitional Justice	654
Violent Practices	654
Cosmology to Causality	655
<b>PART VI CONCLUSION</b>	661
<b>12 The Political Economy of Lawfare</b>	663
The Affects of Genocide	664
<i>Camera Orientalis</i>	665
A Structure of Feeling	669
Economies of Lawfare	671
A Logic of Instrumental Choice	672
Expected Marginal Costs and Benefits	672
Diminishing Returns	673
A Logic of Expressive Choice	677
Military Culture	678
Institutional Extremism	691
A Critique of Black Reason	694
<i>Logos/Nomos</i>	694
A Relative Truth	696
<i>Index</i>	707