



Kigali and Phoenix: Historical Similarities between Pre-genocide Rwanda and Arizona's Anti-immigrant Wave

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Abstract

Historical events in Arizona, including very recent ones, are eerily similar to those of Rwanda. In this article, stories of Arizona's political history are relayed while recalling those leading to Rwanda's genocide. The stories include references to key roles education policy has played in the oppression of students labeled Tutsi and students labeled Mexican. These stories are then mapped with respect to Barbara Harff and Ted Gurr's checklist evaluating conditions that may portend impending oppression. Conclusions derived from the stories and the mapping suggest that Arizona's phenomena extend beyond its borders and into a Trump presidency, necessitating our obligation to be leaders by extending current technical conversations supporting multiculturalism to boisterous multilingual advocacy regarding any dehumanization of oppressed communities.

Keywords: *oppression, policy, bystanders, advocacy, documentation, repatriation*

These are the seeds of hate that we cannot let take root in our heart.
Barack Obama, April 23, 2012

Introduction

In April 2010, Arizona governor Jan Brewer signed Senate Bill (SB) 1070, the *Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act*. Critics like Colorado congressman Jared Polis linked the policy to attitudes resonating from pre-World War II Germany, exclaiming that laws requiring police to examine papers of suspected undocumented immigrants were reminiscent of the 1930s treatment of Jews (Hunt, 2010).

Such condemnation of the legislation, quickly nicknamed the "Papers please" law,¹ referred to the bill's language:

The legislature finds that there is a compelling interest in the cooperative enforcement of federal immigration laws throughout all of Arizona. For any lawful contact made by a law enforcement official...where reasonable suspicion exists that the person is an alien who is

1. Seth Meyers (2010) is quoted as saying, "I know there's some people in Arizona worried that Obama is acting like Hitler, but could we all agree that there's nothing more Nazi than saying 'Show me your papers?' There's never been a World War II movie that didn't include the line 'show me your papers.' It's their catchphrase."

unlawfully present in the United States, a reasonable attempt shall be made, when practicable, to determine the immigration statutes of the person. (Arizona State Senate, 2010)

During its implementation, numerous non-government organizations were similarly working to stem immigration from Mexico (Tacobino, 2010; Price, 2010), thus sparking labeling such organizations as “Nazis,”² and referring to the term *genocide* (Cintli Rodríguez, 2011; Al-Qaraz Ochoa, 2011). Such activity unleashed international condemnation, including protest from Mexico’s president Félix Calderón. In counter-response, Governor Brewer echoed her supporters: “We’re out here on the battlefield, getting the impact of all this illegal immigration, all the crime that comes with it” (Van Susteren, 2010).

A Facebook Chat

Such sniping among political leaders prompted a Facebook conversation with a fellow teacher. I, serving as a lecturer at the National University of Rwanda, sat at my laptop, chatting with Beth Witt, an elementary school teacher on the Navajo Nation in Arizona. I commented on the troublesome history of Rwanda and how the 1994 genocide affected my students, who were, at the time of the genocide, the age of Beth’s current students. In Beth’s case, she relayed the effects of Arizona legislation upon her job, her colleagues, her students, and their families.

Our discussion prompted a casual comparison of Arizona legislation, namely that of SB 1070, with Rwanda’s own pre-genocide history. At first, the comparison seemed unlikely. But quickly one Arizona phenomenon seemingly corresponded with another Rwandan one, and then another, and then another, ultimately converting the ironic into the frightening.

Our chat prompted me to examine how Arizona’s public attitude toward immigration was, as Jared Polis suggested, similar to a pre-genocidal condition. By comparing events leading to any genocide to those of modern Arizona, perhaps we might approach understanding the extent to which any genocide reference is merited.

Bystanding

In 2012, President Barack Obama visited the Holocaust Memorial in Washington. Referring to ongoing horrors in Syria, the president asserted, “The Syrian people are facing unspeakable violence, and we have to do everything we can,” suggesting that responsibility lay not only with adults: “We must tell our children,” decried the president; “[for] awareness without action changes nothing. In this sense, ‘never again’ is a challenge to us all—to pause and to look within” (White House, 2012).

We may easily recognize recently missed opportunities for doing “everything we can.” In terms of Rwanda’s 1994 genocide, former president Bill Clinton found himself, along with Belgian and United Nations officials (Organisation de L’Unité Africaine, 2000; British Broadcasting Corporation, 2000), apologizing for not having done enough when Rwanda was on the precipice of calamity (Bradshaw & Loeterman, 1999).

Scholars such as Power (2002), as well as Grünfeld and Huijboom (2007), posit that genocide is preventable so long as citizens don’t fall into a trap of *bystanding*. They argue Rwanda’s accrual of weapons in 1993 was *adequate* warning of an impending genocide, one meriting action

2. The Anti-Defamation League (2010) condemned use of the term *Nazi* within this argument.

from international troops. Such did not occur, and, as a result, the US government and allies found themselves labeled “complicit in the genocide” (Grünfeld & Huijboom, 2007, p. 18-19).

To understand academic inquiry into genocide, we might begin with the UN Genocide Convention (1948). Article II stipulates genocide as,

intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, or religious group as such:

- (a) killing members of the group;
- (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm,
- (c) deliberately inflicting...conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction,
- (d) imposing measures to prevent births, and
- (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to another group. (p. 280)

Stanton (1998) clarifies a description of genocide as a process rather than an event, arguing that escalating threats where activity described as *classification, symbolization, dehumanization, organization, polarization, and preparation*—are as much a part of genocide as the *extermination and denial of it* that ultimately transpires. Harff and Gurr (1998) similarly offer a checklist of evaluating conditions that may portend impending genocide called “Systematic Early Warning of Humanitarian Emergencies,” as seen in *Table 1*.

Table 1. Harff and Gurr’s (1998)
Systematic Early Warning of Humanitarian Emergencies

1. Life integrity violations by government or government-supported groups against targeted groups
2. Physical or verbal clashes between regime (or regime supporters) and targeted groups
3. Aggressive posturing or actions by opposition groups
4. Increase in size of or degree of cohesion in opposition groups
5. Threats of external involvement against governing elites
6. Increase in external support for politically active groups
7. Occurrence of violent opposition by kindred groups in neighboring countries. (p. 571)

Harff and Gurr point their research directly to Rwanda as an exemplar of how these warning signs, which brew for decades, might beget actual genocide.

The question here is how these factors are observable in Arizona, particularly those resembling any from pre-genocide Rwanda. And if we observe such similarity, then we may prepare ourselves to become advocates rather than bystanders.

A Comparison

In subsequent sections, I compare events of pre-genocidal Rwanda to those connected to Arizona’s political landscape. I relay two timelines applicable (or not) to the Harff and Gurr lens. First, I offer an account of Rwanda’s history leading to its 1994 genocide. Then I try to tell an Arizona story while recalling Rwandan phenomena the Arizona experiences may evoke, including

key roles policy has played in the oppression of people labeled *Tutsi* and *Mexican*. Finally, I chart how both Rwanda and Arizona narratives are seemingly juxtaposed within Harff and Gurr's scope.

Naturally, we should wonder if we can compare two sites separated by 9000 miles and differing cultural environments. One could suggest that Rwanda's majority took action against its own people, much as Germany did, whereas Arizona's problem is often described as an "immigrant problem." However, as Szkupisnki Quiroga's (2014) findings have shown that US-born citizens of Mexican heritage are as likely to experience the stress of SB 1070 type policies as undocumented citizens are, I submit that the treatment of Arizona's Latino communities is similarly an attack by US citizens upon its own compatriots.

By making these comparisons, I suggest the threat of death seen in previous genocides, more particularly that of Rwanda, approximates threats of what gives life meaning—education, shelter, health, wages, dignity, and family. If we see stripping away of humanity and political rights, as both Rwanda and Arizona have demonstrated, the obvious next step *is* to strip away life. Since the resemblances described here link modern day Arizona to events occurring *prior* to Rwanda's genocide, I argue that we must be concerned that numerous Arizonans are participating in *pre-genocide* behavior. In the case of Rwanda, the behavior festered for decades before it exploded. With respect to Arizona, we might ponder that the state's hatred is still festering.

Pre-genocide Rwanda

Rwanda's 1994 genocide is infamous: a story of two communities—the Hutus and the Tutsis—who occupy the environs of Lake Kivu. Unlike most African countries, Rwanda is united by one language: Kinyarwanda. And both Hutus and Tutsis, at least those in Rwanda, speak this language.

Rwanda's history (Gourevich, 1998) reaches to the earliest known days of mankind. Before colonization, Rwanda had a cooperative system supervised by a *mwami*. European colonialism touched Rwanda at the close of the 19th century with the arrival of the Germans and British soldier John Henning Speke. Speke is known for his proclamation that Tutsis were descendants of Christian Ethiopians and therefore superior to the Hutus. As a result, the Rwandan *mwami* was declared a Tutsi. However, genetics experts have traced the intermixing of the tribes well before 1850, suggesting racial distinctions between the tribes are mostly unintelligible—not really relating to the notions that Hutus came from the Bantus of the southwest, most likely agri-cultivators, and Tutsis came from the Nile north, most likely herdsmen.

World War I resulted in Germans losing control of the area to the Belgians, who perpetuated tribal distinctions. In the 1930s, the Belgians established an identity card system where citizens were designated Hutu or Tutsi as a calculation of height and nose width. Depending upon which Belgian measured whose nose, members of the same family could be divvied into either tribe. Approximately 85 percent of the population was designated Hutu.

Over the next three decades, Hutus remained at the mercy of minority Tutsi control. In the 1950s, independence swept across Africa, and Rwanda similarly considered such. Belgian colonel Guy Logiest argued however, in the name of a democratic "majority rule," that Hutus should have control. Leading the way for the Hutus was Grégoire Kayibanda, founder of the *Parmehutu* political party and one of nine authors of *The Hutu Manifesto* (Magnarella, 2002). As Rwanda shifted toward independence and a Hutu-led nation, deadly Hutu-Tutsi violence occasionally erupted. Many families with Tutsi IDs fled to neighboring countries, establishing a Rwandan Diaspora.

One particular three-year-old, a boy named Paul Kagame, belonged to one such family escaping to Uganda, a notably English-using nation (Waugh, 2004).

Rwanda declared independence in 1961, yielding Kayibanda the presidency. Cultural clashes persisted, so the president sent his major general, Juvénal Habyarimana, to assist in Tutsis understanding of their place in society. In 1972, this same general became president in a miniature coup. Upon achieving his seat, Habyarimana issued a moratorium on violence against the Tutsis, but not against control over them. He established a single party system and established restrictive rules on Tutsis, including the prohibition of Tutsis moving from one residence to another without permission. Another secondary school selection policy known as *Iringaniza* seemingly favored selection of Hutu youth over Tutsi into more advanced schools (Mills & Wiesemes, 2012).

Meanwhile, in Uganda, a grown Paul Kagame joined the government-defying National Resistance Army (NRA), led by current president Yoweri Museveni. The NRA successfully overthrew President Apolo Milton Obote in 1985, and Kagame became Museveni's military intelligence head (Mason, 2010).

In the 1980s, Rwanda gained notoriety for coffee. Indeed, coffee had become the most direct source of tax income for the Habyarimana government (Verwimp, 2003) and Habyarimana's wife, Agathe Kanziga, affectionately known as "Madame Agathe." However, in 1986, the world's coffee prices plummeted, extinguishing 82 percent of Rwanda's income (Kamola, 2008). The government lost its ability to satisfy its field workers or fund Madame Agathe's shopping sprees in Paris. Rwandan Coffee Club (2010) reported that many Hutus blamed Tutsis for the coffee crisis.

Meanwhile in Uganda, Kagame moonlighted as designer of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), a new militia composed of members of Rwanda's Diaspora wishing to invade Rwanda. A faction of the RPF attacked a northern village in 1990, thus accelerating tensions between Hutus and Tutsis. As a result, in 1991, the US Ambassador to Rwanda, Robert Flaten, suggested to Mr. Habyarimana that eliminating those omnipresent identity cards might be worthwhile. However, his French counterpart, M Georges Martres, refuted the idea, suggesting that doing so could sacrifice *Francophonie* support (Gourevich, 1998).

The Rwandan government advanced widespread denouncement of Tutsis, including a 1992 rally where public official Léon Mugesera pronounced, "I tell you that the Gospel has already changed in our movement. If someone gives you a slap, give them two in return, two fatal ones" (Article19.org, 1996). In response, a Tutsi periodical called *Kanguka* emerged, critiquing Hutu leadership with political cartoons. Madame Agathe counterpunched by hiring Hassan Ngeze to publish *Kangura*. Not only the name but also the magazine's look was so strikingly similar to *Kanguka* that readers often made incorrect purchases. In an initial *Kangura* issue, Ngeze offered the Hutu Ten Commandments, admonishing fellow Hutus that cavorting with Tutsis would yield them a label of "traitor" (Berry & Berry, 1999).

The success of *Kangura* generated the *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* (RTLM) network. Two RTLM directors were Ferdinand Nahimana, who campaigned to keep Tutsis out of Rwanda's universities, and Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza, who relayed his goal to "Crush the Tutsis." RTLM was unapologetic in its vociferous pursuit of Tutsis:

RTLM is a private radio! The reason why our radio surprises you is because you were not used to this type of talk on Radio Rwanda. We can understand, that is why you hear people complaining, "RTLM is talking about me!" It will say even more. Now we are just making you familiar. We will keep on increasing, increasing. (Article19.org, 1996, p. 53)

In 1993, Burundi's president Melchior Ndayaye was murdered, leading RTLM's Habimana Kantano to accuse Tutsis of the crime, evoking this proverb: "Even where the dog-eaters are few in number, they discredit the whole family" (Article19.org, 1996, p. 51). While the term *dog-eaters* is brutal enough, the most common epithet against Tutsis was *inyenzi*, meaning "cockroaches." Paul Rusesabagina, the Mille Collines hotelier of *Hotel Rwanda* notoriety, recalls his encounter with Father Wenceslas, a Hutu priest, reportedly saying, "I bring you my cockroach," referring to his Tutsi mother (Gourevich, 1998). The movie *Hotel Rwanda* regularly portrays use of *cockroach* (George & Pearson, 2004), and the document *Broadcasting Genocide*, detailing the RTLM emissions, mentions *inyenzi* 22 times (Article19.org, 1996).

As coffee prices decreased, young people found themselves unemployed. The government recruited boys for soccer clubs and militias, namely one called the *Interahamwe* (Gourevich, 1998). Recruitment enticements included flashy clothes, hip-hop style army drills, alcohol, drugs, firearms, and power. Homework given to *Interahamwe* included analyzing identity card records and establishing lists of Tutsis. Rwanda's police also teamed with Habyarimana's political party to establish its own sports club known as the *Impuzamugambi*, meaning "those with the same goal."

Over time, the RPF gained momentum with its invasion. Ultimately, under pressure from the United Nations, President Habyarimana began peace talks with the RPF in Tanzania, ultimately leading to a peace agreement allowing UN Peacekeepers to establish a transition government, an outcome not warmly welcomed by others in the Rwandan government.

During this time, a number of resisting community leaders stepped haphazardly into notoriety. The story of Paul Rusesabagina in the *Hotel Rwanda* has been documented and debated for years (Garrison, 2010). Another hotelier named Landoald "Lando" Ndasingwa became the minister of social affairs following the peace agreement signing. UN mission general Roméo Dallaire (2003) found Lando a man steadfast in his devotion to right over wrong. On one occasion, General Dallaire needed a voice to proclaim neutrality among all parties of the interim government. Only Lando accepted this role, an act likely leading to his murder. General Dallaire also reported a surprising but brief interaction with Rwandan army liaison, Ephrem Rwabalinda. Approximately six weeks into the genocide, Rwabalinda in a meeting with General Dallaire, suggested a message from the general could reduce vitriol spewing from RTLM, potentially assisting negotiations between the Rwandan government and the RPF. Rwabalinda was ambushed and killed while commuting to a subsequent meeting.

Perhaps the most dramatic example of resistance, though, came from students. A Belgian nun and 16 teenagers were murdered in a boarding school in Gisenyi (Gourevich, 1998). At least one man confessed to the crime, indicating in a television interview that he and *Interahamwe* cohorts had invaded the school one night, shocking the students out of their sleep in an effort to fold them into Hutu and Tutsi sides. This time, though, these students refused to split up. For this, all lost their lives.

On April 6, 1994, an airplane transporting both President Habyarimana and Burundi's president Cyprien Ntaryamira to Rwanda from the peace talks was shot down, killing both presidents. A culprit has never been established, though the timing and placement of possible perpetrators on each side—the Rwandan government and the RPF—raise plausible suspicions. RTLM immediately blamed the RPF. The next day, Rwanda's prime minister, Agathe Uwilingiyimana (a Hutu), her family, and 10 Belgian guards were killed. Madame Agathe, however, was airlifted out of Rwanda this same day, and the genocide began in earnest.

Road blocks were set up. The *Interahamwe* patrolled the streets. Identity cards were checked. Tutsi card holders faced immediate execution. RTLM announced Tutsi whereabouts and killing instructions. Rhetoric on RTLM decried such tactics as peace promotion, a message not lost on Hutu students at The National University of Rwanda, who, while burning students in their dorms and hacking university staff, chanted "Peace at NUR!"

Evidence of cold-bloodedness has never been more on display than at Murambi (Burnet, 2012), a technological school outside the city of Gikongoro. When the genocide headed south to this region, numerous Tutsis went to a local church to hide. The church's bishop recommended that they move to Murambi, claiming French troops would protect them. After their arrival to the school, electricity and water were shut off. For some reason, the French soldiers disappeared, and the *Interahamwe* attacked the school. Hundreds of people died, most swept into mass graves on the compound. One particular burial site is known to have served as a volleyball court for the French soldiers upon their return.

As the Rwandan government spent resources on eliminating Tutsis, the RPF circled the country, issuing its own ruthlessness. Ultimately, the RPF moved into Kigali on July 4, effectively ending the genocide after 100 days and the death of perhaps 800,000 people (SURF Survivors Fund, 2008).³ Kagame would ultimately assume Rwanda's presidency in 2000, mandate English-only schooling in 2009, and establish Rwanda as an English-speaking member of the British Commonwealth.

Arizona's *Ola Antiinmigrante*⁴

Arizona is rooted historically in the 1848 Treaty of Hidalgo-Guadalupe, which ended the Mexican-American War and led to the US acquisition of approximately half of Mexico's territory. In an instant, Mexican citizens became *illegal* immigrants in their own birth homes. Thus, the story of Mexicans in Arizona and their levels of legalness have dominated sociopolitical terrains since the signing of this treaty.

As a region rich with resources, notably copper, many White US citizens moved to the 1863-formed Arizona Territory and requested statehood (Englekirk & Marín, n.d.). Statehood, however, was delayed as East Coast legislators argued against it because Arizona didn't resemble their own constituent Dutch or German population (Acosta, 2008).

Arizona gained statehood in 1913, coinciding with Mexico's own decade-long civil war. The US's own participation in World War I facilitated many Mexicans' movement into the US border states, including Arizona, where new residents could assist on farms. In the 1920s, policies described as *barrioization* emerged in cities and mining towns, forcing Mexican families to particular neighborhoods, thereby segregating schools by culture and language (Lucero, 2004). In 1924, the US Government established the Border Patrol, its work starting in earnest during the Great Depression as a large proportion of Arizona's estimated 60,000 undocumented foreigners

3. It should be noted that Rwanda's history of conflict didn't end with the end of the genocide. Instead, the exodus of Hutu communities west to the Democratic Republic of Congo, Tutsi/Hutu conflict developed into two Congo Wars, leading to the death of 4 million people over two decades (Prunier, 2011).

4. Translated into English as "Anti-immigrant Wave." The term has never caught on in English media; however, it is a regular term in Spanish media, used even in captions supporting newscasts as in <http://img9.catalog.video.msn.com/image.aspx?uuid=edc7a83a-faa4-4606-8e24-838482e9d72c&w=136&h=102>.

(Bresette, 1929) were expelled in the 1930s during a process known as *Mexican Repatriation* (Johnson, 2005).

As World War II unfolded, US president Franklin Roosevelt found revitalized need for Mexican workers and, in an accord with Mexican president Manuel Ávila Camacho known as the *Bracero* Program, invited immigrants to assist in farm and railroad work (Espinosa, 1999). However, just as Mexican Repatriation followed the World War I influx of Mexicans, so too did *Operation Wetback* of 1954 deport more undocumented Mexicans, this time by transporting people deep into Mexico rather than dropping them off at the border (Hernández, 2010). These drop-off points reportedly became targets for criminals, later known as *bajadores* (Fulginiti, 2008), who subjected returnees to violence.

In the 1960s, many Mexicans applied for US visas; however, a 1965 amendment to the Immigration and National Act (P.L. 89-236) capped the number of immigrants and bureaucratically stopped temporary visas for seasonal workers (US Government & Printing Office, 1965).⁵ Within a decade, waiting periods for visas increased to over two years (Rosenblum et al, 2012).

Meanwhile, Mexican-American students reported higher instances of corporal punishment, sometimes simply for speaking Spanish. Mexican-American Studies instructor Eduardo Olivas recalled his own high school experience: “Many Chicanos and Chicanas were being relegated to vocational classes, secretarial classes; in fact, I took four years of Air Conditioning at Tucson High, and not enough was done to get us into college” (on-camera interview, McGinnis, 2011). The students’ experiences were only part of a greater marginalization of the Latino communities in Arizona during this era. Nearly half of Tucson’s historic *Barrio Libre* was razed to make room for a convention center, and Phoenix’s Golden Gate community was flattened to create an airport. As a response, communities demonstrated against their local governments, and students staged walkouts (Fimbres, 2013; Golden Gate Center, 2014).

Still, since the 1970s, the number of Mexicans in the US has doubled each decade, with undocumented immigrants accounting for much of the growth (Rosenblum et al, 2012). In 1990, another amendment to the Immigration and National Act facilitated the unification of many separated families, thus advancing even further immigration.⁶ From 1990 to 2002, the budget for the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS)—now known as Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)—more than quintupled, whereupon funds could be allocated toward building a fence along the Mexico/US border, increased Border Patrol presence, and technology for monitoring immigrant status (Meissner and Kerwin, 2009). Funds could also be applied to the construction of private for-profit detention centers like those of the Corrections Corporation of America (CCA), whose first contract was with INS in 1983 (CCA, 2013). With the bolstering of obstacles along the US/Mexico border, many would-be border crossers were then driven to inhospitable areas in the Arizona desert (DeLeón, 2013).

Arizona’s intercultural politics has been notorious. Symptomatic of such was when Evan Mecham, newly elected governor in 1988, immediately rescinded the state’s celebration of Martin Luther King’s birthday, an act leading to boycotts and his impeachment (Sullivan, 2008). Soon

5. See US Congress, House Committee on the Judiciary, Immigration, hearings on H.R. 2580, 89th Cong., 1st sess., 1965. This restriction remains in §203(b)(3)(A)(iii) of INA. <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/STATUTE-79/pdf/STATUTE-79-Pg911.pdf>.

6. Under INA §201(a), family-sponsored immigrants are subject to numerical limits, including adult sons and daughters of US citizens; spouses, children, and adult sons and daughters of lawful permanent residents; and siblings of US citizens. Under INA §201(b), spouses and children of US citizens are not subject to numerical limits. <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R42560.pdf>.

after, English as a second language (ESL) teachers became involved in state politics when non-English speaking families in the border city of Nogales took Arizona's Board of Education to court, suggesting that the school district had failed to teach their children English. The case lasted 17 years, first with the district court siding with the families by saying that funding was not allocated such that students could succeed, but later with the US Supreme Court overturning the decision, suggesting the state and district could focus on student outcomes rather than spending (*Horne v. Flores*, 2009).

Issues surrounding ESL students became even more pronounced when software developer Ron Unz brought Proposition 203, effectively outlawing bilingual education. Arizona voters passed the proposition in 2000. Subsequent education department rules led to a process known as Structured English Immersion (SEI), a program with a goal of teaching "children English so they can succeed in the 21st century world" (Center for Equal Opportunity, 2009) and purportedly aligned with the *Lau vs Nichols* (1974) ruling ensuring English learners full access to content.

Clark (2009) touted the program with having effective results, but the ESL child's day entails 170 minutes for ESL and 80 minutes for content:

Pronunciation and listening skills, 20 minutes.

Vocabulary, 30 minutes.

Verb tense instruction, 20 minutes.

Sentence structure, 20 minutes.

Integrated grammar skills application, 20 minutes.

English reading and writing, 60 minutes.

Math (specially designed academic instruction in English), 40 minutes.

Science, social science, P.E., 40 minutes. (p. 5)

In other words, English learners (ELs) spend only 32% of the day on content and the remainder on linguistics; meanwhile, their native English-speaking peers have all day to connect their lives to the academic content. Such flies in the face of substantial research indicating that school programs are more efficient when providing fulltime access to content (Goldenberg, 2008), either with effective dual language models, as established in the *Casteñada vs Pickard* (1981) ruling asserting sound bilingual practices, or appropriately applied ESL techniques.

Just as notable though is Gándara and Orfield's (2010) observation that SEI segregates and marginalizes ELs from native speakers, "putting these students at high risk for school failure and drop out" (p. 20). In other words, SEI seemingly a revived school-based *barrioization*, evoking Rwanda's *Iringaniza* policy. In the case of SEI, students are separated from native English speaking peers. Similarly with *Iringaniza*, Rwandan officials chose Hutu students over Tutsis to attend secondary schools. In both cases, majority students receive access to content at rates far outreaching those of the minority. Graduation rates reflect such differentiating as *Education Week* (Mitchell, 2016) reports Arizona as having the lowest EL graduation rate in the US.

In the meantime, in both Arizona and Rwanda, minority communities were blamed for economic woe. While such finger pointing is nothing new, both pre-genocide Rwanda and pre-SB1070 Arizona showcase notable moments whereupon blame placed on Tutsis or Mexicans was amplified. When coffee prices nosedived in 1986, Hutus blamed Tutsis for the resulting economic crash; similarly, when Arizona endured housing defaults in 2008 and a billion-dollar shortfall in its \$11 billion budget (Fletcher, 2008), columnists, including Michelle Malkin (2008), blamed undocumented immigrants for the mortgage crisis (McDonnell, 2011).

As *Kangura* and *RTL*M accused Tutsis for bringing about the country's financial struggles, Arizona also witnessed the rise of websites, videos, and publications charging undocumented immigrants with overtaking locals. Among such organizations was Against Amnesty, which issued this statement:

Illegal Immigration is being used to force Americans down and force Americans into economic and trade agreements we would never accept voluntarily. Since illegal immigration is being used to subjugate American citizens, one could easily say that illegal immigration is being used to enslave Americans. (Americans for Legal Immigration, 2010)

Much as *RTL*M equated Kagame's invasion to that of locally residing Tutsis, blogger and radio personality Dave Levine referred to illegal immigration as "the invasion from Mexico" (Levine, 2014). At one time, his website linked to an 8-minute video (US Border Patrol Yuma Sector, 2009) reporting crackdowns on illegal immigration by Yuma Border Patrol agents who made use of advances in technology, finances, and human resources to capture people crossing the Arizona/Sonora border (Levine, 2010).

Similarly, vigilante groups such as the Minutemen Civil Defense Corps had emerged in the mid 2000s, broadcasting their goal to "secure the American border" with a "national citizens neighborhood watch" (Anti-Defamation League, 2005). Relaying *RTL*M-like messages that "immigrants are coming to get us," such groups posted ICE's "Report Suspicious Activity" hotline phone number and that of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on their websites. Phone lists also included the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Federal Employment Immigration Case Workers, the Social Security Administration, and the Internal Revenue Service (IRS).

The Southern Poverty Law Center at one time showed as many as 28 such groups on its website as prospective hate organizations (Keller, 2010). However, aside from State Representative Kyrsten Sinema's failed attempts to stop vigilante groups (e.g., HB 2286 introduced in the 2007 Arizona State Legislature), few efforts have been exerted by the Arizona government with respect to these groups' actions. One must wonder if the lack of comment regarding such paramilitary organizations is a silent endorsement of them, made—or really unmade—much in the same way Rwanda's main political party and police force maintained silence regarding the *Interahamwe* and *Impuzamugambi*, the paramilitary clubs who wielded so much genocide brutality.

Like *Kangura* publisher Hassan Ngeze, public figures and authors of anti-immigrant rhetoric have gained notoriety in Arizona and beyond. Perhaps the most polarizing figure is Maricopa County's sheriff, Joe Arpaio. In Arizona and on national television, Arpaio has reached star status, promoting himself as "America's toughest sheriff." Arpaio actually shares with Rwanda a current point of controversy regarding the garb that local prisoners wear: In both places—Rwanda and Maricopa County (which includes Phoenix)—the color is pink. Sheriff Arpaio was regularly re-elected to his office but was eventually accused of targeting Latinos for arrest (Lacey, 2011) and cited for contempt of court for doing so (Moore & Flaherty, 2017).

Similarly, Russell Pearce served as an Arizona state senator in 2010. Working previously as a deputy police officer for Maricopa County, as senator he looked to Kansas law professor Kris Kobach to pen SB 1070.⁷ However, they were not alone. Mr. Pearce generated the drafting of SB 1070 in a Washington hotel room in December 2009 along with members of the American

7. Both Joe Arpaio and Kris Kobach have been named as possible contributors to President Donald Trump's administration (Tashman, 2016; Viebeck, 2016).

Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) (Sullivan, 2010). Present at the meeting were members of the aforementioned CCA.⁸ When Mr. Pearce presented the bill at the Arizona legislature, it had 36 co-sponsors, 24 of whom were ALEC members, and 30 of whom garnered donations from prison companies.

As Mr. Pearce promoted this legislation, he became additionally known for his labeling of undocumented immigrants as “invaders on the American sovereignty.” Pearce is also renowned for his association with Minutemen Civil Defense Corps leadership (Gilman, 2011; Lemons, 2012) and the Ku Klux Klan (Arrocha, 2012).

Ultimately SB 1070 was signed in 2010, and we came to understand that the determining factor regarding whether one is considered “legal” or “illegal” is documentation; thus, police are now required to check should they suspect. The comparison between Rwanda and Arizona is compelling. In both instances, the agency is the police officer. The art of identification occurs in a traffic stop, and the onus is on the person stopped to provide appropriate government-issued ID to prove citizenship status upon request. In Rwanda, it was the *Ubwoko* identification card; in Arizona, it is now a passport or similar document. The failure to produce desired credentials can yield dire consequences. The fact that identification was required in the first place entails the notion that any officials, Rwandan or Arizonan, must guess their suspect’s identity.

The national response to SB 1070 was immediate, including the emergence of a campaign and corresponding web site known as “Do I look illegal?” On this website, one could doctor his own photo with a Mexican *lucha libre* mask, pointing out, “If anyone can look illegal, we all can.” A Facebook page called “Cuéntame” was even developed to sell “Do I look illegal?” teeshirts, soliciting funds to fight the legislation.

While fringe organizations have denounced immigrants, many mainstream newspapers and YouTube videos have also exhibited extreme hatred in the form of comments accompanying their online presentations. Just as Hutus referred to Tutsis as cockroaches, dissenting comments have included the word *leech* to describe immigrants as taking away Americans’ resources. This prototypical comment was posted May 10, 2010 by TNT93535 under a YouTube video (WeSupportJoe, 2010), supporting Governor Brewer's condemnation of President Obama’s description of what happens to Arizonans who don't carry ID:

First off, the US didn't TAKE shit from mexico. We BOUGHT IT!! Look up the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidlago!

Second, the vast majority of ILLEGALSÿ are hispanic. Comes from the fact that they can walk here much easier than people from asia or Europe.

Also, it isn't thousands of Australians marching in the streets DEMANDING "rights" that they actually have no right to!! It's the hispanics!

So no shit we're sick of you LEECHES!! (WeSupportJoe, 2010)

Still, a great deal of drama encapsulated in Arizona’s anti-immigrant wave occurred in schools. Concurrently with the SB 1070 signing came state provisions and bills to eliminate a program called Mexican American Studies (MAS), a prominent cross-cultural class offered in the Tucson Unified School District. Such began an aggressive campaign on Arizona’s schools to levy rules regarding dominant cultural lenses through which social studies curricula might be offered. Emily Gersema (2010) wrote the following description of a Tucson High School MAS classroom:

8. National Public Radio notes that CCA was not necessarily involved in the authorship of SB 1070 nor did it take a stand regarding its support or non-support of the legislation.

The classroom walls are covered with posters of revolution and civil-rights icons —the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., César Chávez and Emiliano Zapata Salazar, leader of the Mexican Revolution. Other posters feature Aztec symbols associated with Mexican history, such as the circular calendar, and messages from past movements, such as the United Farm Workers strikes and the 2006 immigration marches, including the still-repeated Chávez cry: "*¡Sí, se puede!*" (Yes, we can!). (*The Arizona Republic*)

In fact, the Tucson Unified School District (2010) offered the following description of its Mexican-American Studies courses:

- Advocating for and providing culturally relevant curriculum for grades K-12.
- Advocating for and providing curriculum that is centered within the pursuit of social justice.
- Advocating for and providing curriculum that is centered within the Mexican American/Chicano cultural and historical experience.
- Working towards the invoking of a critical consciousness within each and every student. (American Renaissance, 2010)

Campbell (2010) admonished us that a “lack of history of self does not commit students to democratic participation in the society.” The MAS approach seems a powerful attempt to rectify ages of marginalization, offering a means, as he later suggests, of providing “an accurate history [that] can provide a sense of self, of direction, of purpose, and make schooling more relevant, realistic, and worth pursuing” (Campbell, 2016).

Classes were principally taught in English, and students labeled at risk for not graduating were attracted to them. Cabrera, Milam, and Marx’s analysis (see McGinnis, 2011) of MAS student test scores found that students taking MAS classes were between 64 and 118 percent more likely than non-MAS attending peers to pass Arizona’s high stakes exams. Furthermore, they were between 46 and 150 percent more likely to graduate than non-takers of MAS classes. In addition, Tucson’s school district reported that one year 93% of enrolled MAS students graduated and 85% continued on to college.

Still, Arizona’s education superintendent Tom Horne complained: “These kids should be taking an American history course and getting American history in depth... Instead, they're getting propaganda and an ideology that teaches them to resent the United States” (Gersema, 2010). As a result, House Bill 2281 was composed and passed into law. The bill declares that schools may not include instruction that “promotes the overthrow of the United States Government, promotes resentment toward a race or class of people, is designed primarily for pupils of a particular ethnic group, or advocates ethnic solidarity instead of the treatment of pupils as individuals” (Arizona House of Representatives, 2010). The following year, the new education superintendent John Huppenthal found MAS in violation of the law, forcing the Tucson school district to shut down the program temporarily (Modern Language Association, 2012).

A number of MAS students resisted,⁹ much in the spirit of the Gisenyi teenagers standing up to their *Interahamwe* executioner. At one school district meeting, students handcuffed

9. Mexican-American Studies students were hardly alone in their protests. Extensive protests throughout Arizona have persisted, particularly each year on April 23, the anniversary of Governor Brewer’s signing of these laws (Puente Movement, 2015; Tomaiko, 2015).

themselves to chairs (KGUN, 2012) to protest the elimination of MAS courses and non-renewal of their teachers' contract. On another occasion, students walked from Tucson to Phoenix, a distance of over 100 miles, to protest the bill (McGinnis, 2011). Following Tucson's closing of MAS, numerous students staged walk-outs from the schools (Biggers, 2012). Referring to one protest, Tom Horne described the demonstrators: "That's the students protesting the bill, and teachers as well, dressed up as revolutionaries in masks, sunglasses, berets, brown shirts. I think this demonstrates the militant aspect of the course that we're dealing with" (Brown, 2010). Such comment suggests that Horne believes the protesters are as revolutionary as he says the class teaches them to be, and that the protest validates program closure. Such evokes RTLM announcer Valérie Bemmeriki's comment regarding the plight of the Tutsis: "All the people who were killed in the country are the victims of the RPF. It is the *Inyenzi-Inkotanyi* who killed them and nobody else" (RTLM, 1994).

A clear concern of Rwandan officials, and indeed its *Francophonie* supporters, was that an RPF invasion would likely extend a shift in the governing colonial language from French to English. Similarly, Arizona officials have expressed concern regarding the degree to which the current language of power is implemented in its schools. In Spring 2010, Arizona's education department stated that, in compliance with the *No Child Left Behind* Act, it would start auditing pronunciation schemes of ESL teachers. Those deemed to have heavily accented or ungrammatical speech would have to find other positions in their school or a different job (Jordan, 2010).



Letters of protest were sent to the Arizona Department of Education by the University of Arizona Linguistics department, as well as the English language teacher professional association TESOL:

For decades the field of English language teaching has suffered from the myth that one only needs to be a native English speaker in order to teach the English language. The myth further implicates that native English speakers make better English as a second language (ESL) or English as a foreign language (EFL) teachers than nonnative English speakers because native English speakers are perceived to speak "unaccented" English and understand and use idiomatic expressions fluently. The distinction between native and nonnative speakers of English presents an oversimplified, either/or classification system that is not only misleading, but also ignores the formal education, linguistic expertise, teaching experience, and professional preparation of educators in the field of English language teaching. (TESOL International Association, 2010)

The Writing on the Wall

Are there seeds of hate or even genocide planted in Arizona? If we apply Harf and Gurr's schema (as summarized in *Table 2*), comparing Arizona's anti-immigrant wave to that of pre-genocide Rwanda, we have plenty to worry about. We can understand that the policies levied by the state leadership mirror that of pre-1994 Rwanda in far too many ways, particularly when summarizing both histories within a scope of Harff and Gurr's early warnings of humanitarian emergencies. Of the seven criteria Harff and Gurr note regarding Rwanda, five seemingly apply to Arizona. In other words, there may indeed be enough for us to call current Arizona conditions a *humanitarian emergency*.

Table 2
 Application of Harff & Gurr’s (1998)
 Systematic Early Warning of Humanitarian Emergencies to recent histories in
 Rwanda and Arizona.

Warnings	Resemblance		
1. Life integrity violations by government or government-supported groups against targeted groups	Economic downturn	1986 Coffee crash blamed on Tutsis	2008 Housing crisis blamed on undocumented immigrants
	Segregation laws	<i>Ubwoko</i> identification cards	SB 1070
	Inability to detect genetic differences between the OKs and the not-OKs	Measurements of noses and height lead officials to judge differing tribes within families	“Do I look illegal?” controversy
	Abject disrespect for the education of all children	<i>Iringaniza</i> policy	Proposition 203 Prohibition of Mexican-American Studies program
2. Physical or verbal clashes between regime (or regime supporters) and targeted groups	Media-based vitriol	<i>Kangura</i> RTLM	Against Amnesty David Levine Show
	Peace narratives	“RTLM is talking about me!” NUR students shout Peace	Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act
	Allusions to parasites	<i>Inyenzi</i> or cockroaches	Leeches
	Rise to fame via racism	Hassan Ngeze Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza	Joseph Arpaio Russell Pearce Kris Kolbach
	Bull Connor: “I’ve never seen anyone look for trouble who wasn’t able to find it.”	Valerie Bemeriki: “All the people who were killed in the country are the victims of the RPF. It is the <i>Inyenzi-Inkotanyi</i> who killed them and nobody else.	Tom Horne: “And as you can see, they’re dressed up as revolutionaries with berets, sunglasses, masks, brown shirts.”
3. Aggressive posturing or actions by opposition groups	English language as one end of a linguistic tug-of-war	François Mitterand: The RPF invasion is an Anglophone plot to create Tutsi-land.	Margaret Dugan: “Our job is to make sure the teachers are highly qualified in fluency of the English language. We know districts that have a fluency problem.”
4. Increase in size of or degree of cohesion in opposition groups	Neglect on the part of government to issue criticism of splinter militant groups	<i>Interahamwe</i> <i>Impuzamugambi</i>	Cochise County militia American Patrol
5. Threats of external	Support from	Paul Rusesabagina	Mexican-American

involvement against governing elites	sympathetic individuals	Fautsin Rocogoza Vianney Higiroy Joseph Matata	Studies students TESOL community
	Troops sent	United Nations send in blue caps to monitor situation and establish new government in 1993	President Obama sends 1200 National Guard troops Was accomplished at the request of Arizona leadership.
6. Increase in external support for politically active groups	Outside exertion	United Nations established peace talks in Arusha, Tanzania	<i>Perhaps not yet applicable, in spite of</i> Mexican president Félix Calderón comments against SB 1070.
7. Occurrence of violent opposition by kindred groups in neighboring countries.	Invasions from neighboring countries	RPF invades from Uganda	<i>Not applicable;</i> however, several suggest that an invasion from Mexico is possible and in many respects already occurring.

As one examines how a state may achieve genocide, one sees that that it must strip away a community's humanity and political rights. If left unchecked, it may then strip away actual lives. In many countries, a democratic tendency may diffuse power to several political entities rather than just one, thereby preventing a national genocide policy. Furthermore, the more diverse the communities, the harder it is to demonize a single group. Such may be Arizona's systematic saving grace that has prevented bloodshed in light of such abundant hatred. Pre-genocide Rwanda, with its single political party and its focus on one community, had no such preventative structure.

There seems, however, to be enough hatred initiated through Arizona leadership to suggest that Grunfield and Huijboom's notion of early action would not actually be too early. In other words, *not* to act now could be construed as bystanding.

Therefore, we actually have an immediate role to play. We may take our motivation from youthful sources and their mentors: the massacred girls at the Gisenyi boarding school and the Tucson High students who zip-tied themselves to school district chairs. As established by the letters offered to Arizona's Department of Education by linguistics professionals, many teachers in Arizona support their students, documented or undocumented, standing resolutely upon the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), which reserves Article 26 exclusively for education as a human right. They too advocate in an ongoing committed fashion, much as successful colleagues have before (Díaz-Rico et al, 2009), by advancing ethnic studies curricula and materials, marching, petitioning, blogging, connecting with political organizations, collaborating with community officers, donating, and working with numerous members of the media—and doing so multilingually.

Still, our advocacy may be thin. My Education community offers mostly technical arguments for maintaining bilingualism, multiculturalism, and immigration: long-term benefits to the brain, critical thinking, academic prowess, and participation in the global economy (Agirdag, 2014; Bialystok, 2001; Goldenberg & Wagner, 2015; Xu et al, 2015). By doing so, as Bartolomé (2006) scoldingly reminds us, we

Forget that our work with linguistic minority students—most of whom are poor and nonwhite—is political work and not purely a pedagogical undertaking. We [forget] this

fact when we [advocate] for bilingual education as a technical issue and [defend] it using arguments based on research findings and statistics designed to disarticulate politics from education. Fundamentally, our arguments in defense of linguistic minority students should point to (1) the ideological nature of education that produces (2) the psychological violence that (3) fractures cultural and linguistic identities. (p. 31)

Are we doing “everything we can?” Idling leaves us only as bystanders, leaving Beth’s students and my Rwandan colleagues vulnerable as they address their own challenges. After all, the experiences relayed here have less to do with pedagogical and economic development than with ripping apart families and demeaning them should they refuse to be, as Bartolomé suggests, domesticated. Indeed, we must wonder if our lack of direct comment, cloaked in academic rhetoric, ends up being an inadvertent silent endorsement of *cockroaching* students. Instead, we are obliged to cry out that *pre-genocidal* behavior is expanding, well beyond Arizona’s border. With the election of Donald Trump, who touts participants in the Arizona story as contributors (Tashman, 2016; Viebeck, 2016), these resemblances are palpable, as Bill Maher (2016) observes:

You’ve gotten to this point where like Rwanda was in the ‘90s, where the other is such vermin, like Hitler called the Jews and the Slavs, that when you take power, you’re doing God’s work by eliminating your enemies. That’s where we are.

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