

Debating the Rwanda Crisis (1994)

Elif Tac

Deputy Chair



#### **INTRODUCTION**

The Rwandan Genocide of 1994 remains one of the most devastating instances of human rights abuses in modern history claiming lives of estimated 800,000 people, just over a span of 100 days. This tragedy, driven by the tension between the two ethnic groups that make up most of Rwanda's population, Tutsi and Hutu groups, left the small African nation in shatters, having a significant impact on its population, political, economical and social structures. This multifaceted issue requires a comprehensive examination of the social, political and historical factors that were put in place that acted as a catalyst for the events that took place, which will be further explained in the General Overview.

The roots of this tension between the two ethnic group dates back to the colonial era, when European powers occupying the nation categorised Rwandans into racial groups, assigning economic and social privileges disproportionately to the Tutsi minority which made up one-seventh of the population whereas the Hutu population made up four fifths of the total population. This disproportion of privilege between the two ethnic groups led to a division which began to create tension between the two groups. When the nation gained its independence from the colonial powers, its internal power dynamics began to shift, which empowered the majority, the Hutu group but still magnified the tensions with the Tutsi, framing them as scapegoats for numerous economical and social grievances. The following decades saw repeated cycles of violence, discrimination and ethnic segregation which increased the divisions which ultimately staged the floor that provided the ground for genocide making it justifiable and conceivable in many's eyes.

There were a combination of factors predating the genocide that fueled the atrocities that occurred. Economical pressures, political instability and a climate of fear, following the 1990 invasion of the Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front (will be referred to as RPF from now on) added to the agitated atmosphere. Political elites within the Hutu-led government saw this as a threat to their power, and through the fear of losing their hold, capitalised on ethnic animosities such as scapegoating them for the issues of the country, spreading anti-Tutsi propaganda through state-controlled media, painting the ideology of Hutu supremacy. The trigger that immediately sparked the 100 days of genocide was the assassination of the President Juvenal Habyarimana in April 1994 unleashed coordinated attacks which then spiraled into genocidal violence, with the aim of cleansing the entire ethnicity, sanctioned by the government and executed by militias such as the Interahamwe as well as regular citizens.

The international community's response to the genocide has been heavily criticised for its inaction. Despite the clear escalation of violence being evident, many governments and international organisations hesitated to intervene due to the bureaucratic inertia, lack of understanding and political interests. The United Nations, although present in Rwanda, failed to intervene effectively and the genocide unfolded in the global spotlight without meaningful international resistance.

The country still suffers from the aftermath of genocide today, working towards reconciliation and development of the scars it beared from its recent past. This report will focus on the causes that led to the events that occurred, the key players within the nation but also external actors, the historical context of the genocide and how the (Historical) Security Council can effectively tackle and intervene this complex issue to minimise the lives affected by the genocidal violence.

# **Definitions of Key Terms**

Genocide - the deliberate killing of a large number of people from a particular nation or ethnic group with the aim of destroying that nation or group

Bureaucratic Inertia - Bureaucratic inertia refers to the tendency of large organisations with established bureaucracies to resist change and continue with existing procedures, even when those procedures may no longer be effective or relevant. In the case of the Rwandan Crisis, this is seen in the 'involvement' of international organisation such as the UN failing to intervene (more on that in the general overview)

Ethnic Cleansing - Systematic, forceful removal of of an ethnic, racial or religious group from a specific geographic area by a more dominant group, often involving intimidation, violence and human rights abuses

Propaganda - Biassed information to promote a certain agenda by manipulating the public opinion. In the case of Rwanda, the Hutu government used propaganda to incite violence against the Tutsis

Human Rights Abuses - violation of the basic rights of people by treating them wrongly. This can include Indiscriminate attacks in situations of armed conflict, rape and other sexual violence and torture and other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment.

Crimes Against Humanity - Crimes against humanity are acts committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population, such as murder, deportation, torture and rape.

Arusha Accords - A peace agreement signed in 1993 between the Rwandan government and the RPF aimed to end the civil war and share the power. Its failure and the assassination of the President triggered the genocide.

Genocide Convention - The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the crimes of Genocide, adopted by the UN in 1948, after the events of WW2 leading to its creation. It defines genocide and obligates signatories to the convention to prevent and punish the acts of genocide. It is a fundamental document in international law.

Coup d'etat - A coup d'état is typically an illegal and overt attempt by a military organisation or other government elites to unseat an incumbent leadership

Peacekeeper - A person who tries to keep or maintain peace, especially a member of a force or organisation that actively works to stop or prevent conflict between nations or communities.

#### **General overview**

#### **Rwanda's Colonial Past**

In order to understand the (current) conflict of 1994, we must first understand the colonial past of Rwanda that put the division between the ethnic groups. In 1899, Rwanda was colonised by the German Empire as it was officially incorporated into

German East Africa. This was short lived as Germany was defeated in WW1 leading to its colony, Rwanda, being absorbed into the Belgian Colonial Empire, mandated by the League of Nations. Belgium controlled the country until its independence in 1962. The powers controlling Rwanda assumed that ethnicity could be clearly distinguished by physical characteristics and used the classifications of ethnic differences within their own countries to create a system where it drew lines on the ethnicities Tutsi and Hutu, clearly differentiating them without considering interethnic relations or similarities. The German colonial government pursued a policy of indirect rule that strengthened the dominance of the Tutsi Ruling class and its absolutism of its monarchy. This continued under the rule of Belgium after 1916. Some members of the Hutu tribe demanded equality and found sympathy from the Roman Catholic clergy and some Belgian administrative personnel which led to the Hutu Revolution. The revolution began in November 1, 1959 with an uprising, when a rumour of the death of the Hutu leader at the hands of Tutsi perpetrators led groups of Hutu to launch attacks on Tutsi. Hundreds of Tutsis were killed and thousands fled the country. A coup d'etat was carried out on January 28, 1961, with the approval of the Belgian colonial authorities, the Tutsi king was deposed (who had already fled the country in 1960 due to the escalating violence) and abolished the Tutsi monarchy. Rwanda transformed from a monarchy to a republic with an all-provisional Hutu national government. Its independence was proclaimed the following year in 1962 from the Belgian Colonial Empire.

#### **Escalation of Violence**

The transition from Tutsi to Hutu rule was not a smooth one. From 1959 to 1961, 2000 Tutsi were killed and many fled the country. Additional rounds of ethnic tension caused by the so-called 'Hutu Peasant Revolution' or 'Social Revolution' sharpened the end of the Tutsi domination. This started a mass attack on the Tutsi who were seen as superior in the colonial era. The new cycle of ethnic conflict began which resulted in Tutsi leaving to neighbouring countries, the refugees in Tanzania and Zaire (which was the previous name of DR Congo) seeking their former positions in Rwanda began staging attacks on Hutu targets and the Hutu government. Ten attacks occurred between 1962 and 1967 which led to the retaliatory killings of Tutsi civilians in Rwanda which created new waves of refugees.

### Refugees

Since the revolution began and the Hutus came to power, many were displaced due to the fear of persecution from the conflict that was brewing up. By early 1964, 150,000 Tutsis were in neighbouring countries. By the early 1980s, 480,000 Rwandans had become refugees primarily in Burundi, Uganda, Zaire and Tanzania. These refugees from neighbouring countries began to externally attack the country in order to take back the power. One example of this is the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) for short who is a Tutsi-led rebel group that invaded from Uganda. A cease-fire was negotiated between the two groups in early 1991 and negotiations began in 1992 between the RPF and the government of the president of Rwanda Juvenal Habyarimana. An agreement between the RPF and the government was signed in Tanzania, 1993 which called for the creation of a broad-based transition government which would include the RPF. The Hutu extremists were not pleased with the inclusion of the Tutsi within their government as it was against the anti-Tutsi agenda that had been brewing since the decolonisation of the country.

# Propaganda

Propaganda was a significant catalyst in the events that lead up to the Rwanda crisis of 1994. From the beginning of the decolonisation of the state from colonial powers, a rhetoric of 'Us' vs 'Them' was created by the Hutu majority towards the Tutsi minority. The power of propaganda stems from the widespread distribution of hate speech that the Hutu government used to empower their identity and the established government. This was done through news and radio outlets. Prior to the rigid system that was set by the country's colonisers, the two groups shared many similarities in terms of their culture, region and language. The favouring of Tutsi led to the division of the two groups, separating them further. This separation led to the creation of the rhetoric of 'Us' and 'Them' The animosity that the Hutu festered towards the Tutsi over the privileges they received from their colonisers grew into hatred which led to the creation of anti-Tutsi campaigns and groups to eliminate the entire group. The Hutus exploited the division that had been created with hate speech propaganda. The war propaganda created by the Hutus were labelled as 'news' which is often the case to manipulate masses into supporting the agenda. An example of this was a widely distributed military document published in 1992 (two years prior to genocide) which identified the 'enemy' as Tutsis inside and outside the country. The campaigns utilised fear to raise the tensions that were already present in the area and extremist groups even encouraged the retaliatory massacres against Tutsi following the attack of the RPF. Following the invasion of the RPF, media outlets such as the newspaper 'Kangura', 'Radio Rwanda' and in 1993 'Radio Mille Collines' became the tools of war by spreading mass propaganda. The sources portrayed extreme ethnic distinctions between the two groups, painting the Tutsi as the enemies, highlighting them as deceiving, clever, conniving by nature. The lack of other media outlets contributed to the attention that the mass propaganda received. It was effective as it simultaneously dehumanised and legitimised their extermination. One of the most infamous pieces of document regarding this is the 'Ten Commandments' which revived the historically divisive myths (See below in Further Readings). The tactics of propaganda were similar to those used in Nazi Germany against Jews as well as former Yugoslavia, which created deep-rooted ethnic tensions through the creation of division between the majority and the minority.

#### The Genocide

The genocide was triggered by the assassination of the president Juvénal Habyarimana, a Hutu, on April 6 1994, when his plane was shot down over Kigali, the capital of Rwanda. The genocide was put in place within hours driven by the fear of loss of power that the radical Hutu leaders had and the incited hate propaganda. The campaign was meticulously planned and the leaders quickly mobilised militias such as the Interahamwe and called upon Hutu civilians to carry out massacres against their Tutsi neighbours and Hutus that were moderate on the issue. The government was highly organised and coordinated by government officials, military, personnel, and police forces who worked together to establish roadblocks, conduct house-to-house searches and execute people based on their identity. Radio broadcasts further fueled the fire and escalated the conflict as they encouraged Hutu civilians to kill Tutsis, referring to them as "cockroaches" that needed to be exterminated. Estimatedly, 200,000 Hutu participated in the genocide, although some were willing and unwilling, consequently were forced to do so by the military organisations and militias. This systematic approach contributed to the rapid and horrific efficiency of the genocide, which resulted in the death of approximately 800,000 people over a period of 100 days.

As previously mentioned, the media had a drastic effect on the organisation and the execution of the genocide. Radio Télévision Libre des Collines (RTLM), a Hutu-controlled extremist radio station, became a tool of propaganda that dehumanised the Tutsi population and framed them as a threat to Hutu Supremacy. Through RTLM, Hutu leaders broadcasted hate-filled messages and provided specific instructions to civilians for targeting Tutsis, even naming specific individuals and locations. This climate of exterminating Tutsi was not just encouraged but it was also justified which led to ordinary citizens performing barbaric acts on Tutsis and moderate Hutus. Rape in conflict was also used as a weapon of mass destruction with thousands of women and girls regardless of their ages hat thousands of women were individually raped, gang-raped, raped with objects such as sharpened sticks or gun barrels, held in sexual slavery or sexually mutilated. These crimes were frequently part of a pattern in which Tutsi women were raped after they had witnessed the torture and killings of their relatives and the destruction and looting of their homes. According to witnesses, many women were killed immediately after being raped.

### **The International Community**

As the genocide unfolded, the international community failed to respond due to the bureacratic inertia and the reluctance of the global community and global powers to intervene. The United Nations had a peacekeeping force stationed in Rwanda, the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) which was led by the Canadian General Roméo Dallaire. The UNAMIR faced severe constraints due to a limited mandate that prevented the peacekeepers from taking active measures to protect the civilians. General Dellaire repeatedly requested additional support and resources as the situation deteriorated but his appeals were ignored by the larger international community. Instead, at the climax of the crisis, the UN ordered a reduction in peacekeeping troops, limiting UNAMIR's capacity to intervene effectively and prevent the genocide. The reluctance to intervene was particularly pronounced amongst western nations, more specifically the United States, France and Belgium. Political leaders in the US were cautious to intervene due to the public backlash and wary of financial and human costs that were associated with intervention, especially given the lack of strategic interest in Rwanda. Belgium, who had colonial ties with Rwanda, withdrew its troops after ten Belgian peacekeepers were killed, showing the unwillingness to take further risks in what was seen at the time as a high-stakes conflict.

France, which had political ties with the Hutu-Rwandan government, was initially supportive of the regime, complicating its stance on intervention. While it launched operation Turquoise, a controversial military intervention consisting of 2500 troops with 32 being from Senegal and the rest from France. The intervention aimed to create a safe zone in Southwest Rwanda, but it was argued that this intervention was too late and too limited. The Operation also face accusations of protecting fleeing Hutu perpetrators of genocide rather than stopping the mass killings.

The UN Security Council's delayed and limited response also enabled the conflict to cause more harm than it could have. The ineffectiveness of this response can be ascribed to bureaucratic inertia, member states' inability to arrive at a consensus, and inability to recognize the enormity of the scale of the horror. In addition, many member states hesitated to even mention the word "genocide" when defining the violence transpiring in Rwanda, as this would legally require them to intervene under the terms of the UN Genocide Convention signed in 1948. The caution characterising this inaction and competing political interests allowed the world to watch the genocide with minimal efforts to bring an end to the violence.

# Major parties involved

### **Rwandan Government (Hutu Led)**

The Rwandan government is at the heart of this conflict. Led by the president Juvénal Habyarimana until his assassination, the Hutu-dominated government played a vital role in planning and executing the genocide. High-ranking officials incited hatred and organised mobilisation of militias to systemically target the minority Tutsi population. Following Habyarimana's death, radical elements within the government, including military leaders and politicians who quickly coordinated mass killings, organising militias and instructing civilians to participate in the violence through the utilisation of mass media propaganda. Within the government, there were also government controlled media outlets such as the RTLM which was used as a tool of war to dehumanise the Tutsis with using phrases such as "cockroaches that need to be exterminated to further push the civilians to engage in the active erasure of the ethnicity.

### Belgium

Obsessed with France's involvement in the issues of Rwanda during, before, and after the genocide, it has vigor to burn with scrutiny and controversies. France was engaged politically, militarily, and economically with the Hutu-dominated government under President Juvénal Habyarimana, providing assistance soon enough in their desire to maintain influence on Francophone Africa on the whole. France had provided military assistance to the Rwandan government, arms, training, and advice, that gave mighty aid to the Hutu regime in its civil strife against the Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), before the genocide.

During the genocide, France ran a military operation codenamed "Operation Turquoise," ostensibly on a humanitarian basis, aimed at creating a "safe zone" in southwestern Rwanda. Though it did save lives, critics maintained that it was too late, pathetically limited in what it could reasonably hope to achieve, and relatively incoherent with regard to its objectives. Critics argue that Operation Turquoise may have provided a cover for Hutu extremists fleeing Rwanda, as it allowed many high-ranking genocidaires to escape into neighbouring countries, such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo (then Zaire), from where many regrouped into armed units that contributed to instability in the region. Added to accusations against France's intervention are the initial positioning close to Hutu power centres and a complete lack of any concerted effort to take on or disarm the militias, supporting the argument that France's motivations for intervening were strictly political, not humanitarian. Confronted with an avalanche of criticism, France is being accused of failing to dissociate itself from the Hutu-led regime soon enough to stop the ravages of genocide or for any active engagement.

#### **France**

The involvement of France in Rwanda before, during, and after the genocide has been the subject of intense scrutiny and controversy. France had armed political, military, and economic ties with the Hutu-led government under President Juvénal Habyarimana, supporting it as part of a broader strategy to maintain influence in

Francophone Africa. Before the genocide, France had given military assistance to the Rwandan government, providing arms, training, and advisory support that fortified the Hutu regime in its civil conflict with the Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF).

During the genocide, France launched a military intervention known as "Operation Turquoise," apparently on a humanitarian platform, to establish a "safe zone" in south-western Rwanda. Although the operation did save some lives, it was heavily criticised as being too late, limited in achievable objectives, and ambiguous in purpose. Critically argued, Operation Turquoise may have provided cover for Hutu extremists in their flight from Rwanda, since it facilitated the escape of many high-ranking genocidaires into the neighbouring countries, including the Democratic Republic of the Congo (then Zaire), where they later reconstituted armed groups that contributed to regional instability. Accusations against France's intervention were further bolstered by such factors as proximity to Hutu power centres and lack of any concerted attempt to confront or disarm militias, suggesting that France's motivations for intervention were politically, not humanitarian. Many accuse France of not distancing itself from the Hutu-led regime soon enough to forestall the ravages of genocide or turn into an active opponent of the RPF, which they perceived as a threat against French dominion.

#### **The United States of America**

Partly in reaction to the recent American failure in Somalia, where American peacekeepers had been killed in 1993, the U.S. also steered clear of direct involvement in the genocide. Little political will existed for further intervention in Africa, and the U.S. was hesitant to use the term "genocide," which would have required action on its part under the Genocide Convention. Since then, the U.S. role in delaying and limiting UNAMIR's mandate has been severely criticised.

#### Interahamwe

Meaning 'the people who attack together', was the Hutu militia that executed much of the ground violence. It was established as the youth wing of the then ruling party, MRND (National Republic Movement for Democracy and Development). The Interahamwe, well-armed and organised, committed many of the murders, hunting down Tutsi civilians (as well as moderate Hutus) en masse and slaughtering them in coordinated efforts with the Rwandan army.

### Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International and other NGOs

Human rights organisations, notably Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, documented the violence taking place, spearheaded campaigns for intervention, and created a public record of atrocities in Rwanda. Some of these warnings date as far back as the early 1990s when reports of ethnic violence and discrimination were well-publicised in Rwanda. The focus was particularly on the increasing persecution of Tutsis and the highly dangerous trend in anti-Tutsi propaganda.

Human Rights Watch and a bouquet of other bodies of NGOs were very instrumental in the collection of information on the ground, often risking the lives of their staff to document massacres, atrocities and the planned nature of the violence. Their reports were some of the very few credible sources of information available to the

international community and were very instrumental in sharing news of the genocide with the world.

### **Timeline of Key Events**

- **1885** European colonialism : Rwanda falls under the Congo Free State at the Berlin Conference, thus opening up the space for European colonialism in the region.
- **1916** Belgium replaces Germany: Amid World War I, Belgium replaces Germany in Rwanda; later, this possession is legalised by the League of Nations mandate in 1923. The Belgian principle of colonialism further deepens ethnic animosity between Hutus and Tutsis.
- **1933** Beginning of the division between the two ethnicities: Belgium introduces identity cards based on ethnicity, labelling Rwandans as Hutu, Tutsi, or Twa, thereby deepening divisions and officially endorsing ethnic discrimination.
- **1959-1962** The Hutu Revolution: The "Hutu Revolution," with the expulsion of the Tutsi monarchy. Independence for Rwanda in 1962, with a Hutu-dominated government that marginalises the Tutsi population.
- 1973 Juvénal Habyarimana becomes president: Major General Juvénal Habyarimana takes power in a military coup, becomes president, and takes the reins of a one-party, Hutu-led regime that deepens the structural exclusion of Tutsis from positions of power.
- 1990 The invasion of Rwanda: The invasion of Rwanda by the RPF, a rebel group dominated by Tutsis, from Uganda starts a civil war between the RPF and the government composed of Hutus.
- August 1993 Arusha Accords: The Arusha Accords, signed between the RPF and the Rwandan government to end the civil war and agree on a power-sharing arrangement. The terms also included deploying a United Nations peacekeeping mission to supervise the ceasefire and help in the political transition process.
- October 1993 Establishment of UNAMIR: United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) established by UN Security Council Resolution 872 to oversee the implementation of the Arusha Accords. It is thin in mandate and resources despite subsequent strong pleas for a stronger peacekeeping presence.
- October 1993 Establishment of UNAMIR: United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) established by UN Security Council Resolution 872 to oversee the implementation of the Arusha Accords. It is thin in mandate and resources despite subsequent strong pleas for a stronger peacekeeping presence.
- **April 6, 1994 -** Assassination of Juvénal Habyarimana: The plane of the president of Rwanda is shot down near Kigali, killing him and triggering the start of the genocide.
- April 7, 1994 Genocide officially begins: The genocide begins with Hutu militias, forces of the government and civilians carry out mass killings. Radio broadcasts are made to incite individuals to violence and the government uses the Interahamwe to carry out the violence.

April 21, 1994 - The UNSC reduces aid: The Security Council votes to reduce UNAMIR's forces from 2500 to approximately 270, despite the evidence of widespread violence.

May 17, 1994 - UNSC adopts Resolution 918: The resolution recognises the genocide and authorises the UNAMIR's strength. The international intervention continues to remain slow.

June 22, 1994 - France launches Operation Turquoise: The military intervention was authorised by the UN to create a 'safe zone' in Southwestern Rwanda. Many argue that it allowed Hutu perpetrators to flee to Zaire (now DR Congo).

July 4, 1994 - The RPF captures Kigali: The RPF captures the capital, marking the end of the genocide. The RPF takes control over Rwanda and approximately 2 millions Hutus, including many perpetrators of the genocide flee to neighboring countries.

# Previous attempts to solve the issue\_

Several initiatives to resolve the ethnic and political drivers of violence occurred before the Rwandan genocide but were unsuccessful prior, thus paving a path towards mass violence. . A civil war broke out in 1990 when the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), a Tutsi-led rebel group invaded neighbouring Uganda, intensifying anti-Tutsi sentiment. The most serious attempt at peace, the Arusha Accords of 1993, tried to create a power-sharing government but Hutu extremists fought against its implementation and provisions for incorporating the RPF into the national army. While the Accords were monitored by the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), which was then deployed to monitor them; due to a limited mandate and lack of resources, in practice, UNAMIR had been rendered powerless when it came to enforcing peace. The consequences for Kikuyu, the northern Luos and other apparent supporters of Oginga Odinga were immense: exiled or pushed into hiding, victims of random violence (later described as 'ethnic cleansing) without any effective international response, let alone intervention -- a situation that caused great hesitation in the international community after an unsuccessful peacekeeping operation in Somalia not long thereafter. The genocide of 1994 was the result of these failed peace efforts, and ignored warnings – but Rwanda and its people were not alone in this tragedy, as it would soon reveal the cost that inaction has over humanity.

### **Possible solutions**

To limit and stop the genocide, the international collaboration to intervene and early action is crucial. Providing the peacekeeping forces such as the UNAMIR with a mandate to protect the civilians and deploying additional peacekeepers rapidly in response to the crisis. Furthermore, major powers such as the United States, France and Belgium can commit to multinational humanitarian interventions, leveraging their resources to disrupt the organised massacres of the Hutu government. Additionally, enforcing strict arms embargoes on Rwanda and freezing financial assets to connected Hutu leaders and militias to put pressure to restrict the capacity to carry out widespread violence and put an end to the crisis. An early detection of the impending atrocities and early intervention to the genocide by putting pressure on the

resources of the Hutu government to carry out the genocide can delimit their capacity and the scale of destruction they can carry out.

# **Further Readings**

- i. <u>www.rwanda-nogreaterlove.com/hutu-10-commandments</u> The Hutu 10 commandments published in the newspaper Kanguri to separate the Hutus from the Tutsis
- ii. <a href="https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/197563?ln=en&v=pdf">https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/197563?ln=en&v=pdf</a> Resolution 918 of the Security Council recognising the genocide against the Tutsis.
- iii. <u>www.hrw.org/reports/1999/rwanda/Geno15-8-02.htm</u> Human Rights Watch report on acknowledging the genocide taking place in Rwanda and the international intervention
- iv. <u>www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/rwanda/historical-background.shtml</u> UN timeline on the historical background of the crisis
- v. <u>www.hrw.org/legacy/summaries/s.rwanda969.html</u> Human Rights Watch document on the sexual violence that occurred during the mass violent attacks
- vi. //iccforum.com/genocide-convention The Genocide Convention (1948)

# **Bibliography**

BBC (2019). Rwanda genocide: 100 days of slaughter. *BBC News*. [online] 4 Apr. Available at: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-26875506.

Clay, D. and Lemarchand, R. (2018). Rwanda | history - geography. In: *Encyclopædia Britannica*. [online] Available at: <a href="https://www.britannica.com/place/Rwanda">https://www.britannica.com/place/Rwanda</a>.

Coglan, L. (2021). France's Role In The 1994 Rwandan Genocide. [online] Human Rights Pulse. Available at:

https://www.humanrightspulse.com/mastercontentblog/frances-role-in-the-1994-rwandan-gen ocide.

Eltringham, N. (2006). 'Invaders who have stolen the country': The Hamitic Hypothesis, Race and the Rwandan Genocide. *Social Identities*, 12(4), pp.425–446. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630600823619.

Encyclopedia Britannica (2016). Rwanda genocide of 1994. In: *Encyclopædia Britannica*. [online] Available at: <a href="https://www.britannica.com/event/Rwanda-genocide-of-1994">https://www.britannica.com/event/Rwanda-genocide-of-1994</a>.

Human, R.W. (1999). *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda*. [online] Refworld. Available at: <a href="https://www.refworld.org/reference/countryrep/hrw/1999/en/97537">https://www.refworld.org/reference/countryrep/hrw/1999/en/97537</a>.

Lower, M. and Hauschildt, T. (2014). *The Media as a Tool of War: Propaganda in the Rwandan Genocide - Human Security Centre*. [online] Human Security Centre. Available at: http://www.hscentre.org/sub-saharan-africa/media-tool-war-propaganda-rwandan-genocide/.

South African History Online. (2018). *Rwanda*. [online] Available at: <a href="https://www.sahistory.org.za/place/rwanda">https://www.sahistory.org.za/place/rwanda</a>.

UN, P. (n.d.). *UNAMIR*. [online] peacekeeping.un.org. Available at: <a href="https://peacekeeping.un.org/mission/past/unamirFT.htm">https://peacekeeping.un.org/mission/past/unamirFT.htm</a>.

University of Minnesota (2024). *Rwanda*. [online] College of Liberal Arts | University of Minnesota. Available at:

https://cla.umn.edu/chgs/holocaust-genocide-education/resource-guides/rwanda.

Zaken, M. van A. (2014). *The International Criminal Court (ICC) - International peace and security - Government.nl*. [online] www.government.nl. Available at: <a href="https://www.government.nl/topics/international-peace-and-security/international-legal-order/t">https://www.government.nl/topics/international-peace-and-security/international-legal-order/t</a> <a href="https://www.government.nl/topics/international-peace-and-security/international-legal-order/t">https://www.government.nl/topics/international-peace-and-security/international-legal-order/t</a> <a href="https://www.government.nl/topics/international-peace-and-security/international-legal-order/t">https://www.government.nl/topics/international-peace-and-security/international-legal-order/t</a>