

THE RWANDAN GENOCIDE AND HOW BELGIAN COLONIZATION IGNITED THE
FLAME OF HATRED

A THESIS
SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE
TEXAS WOMAN'S UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

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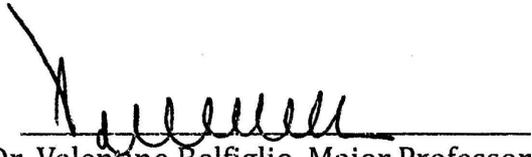
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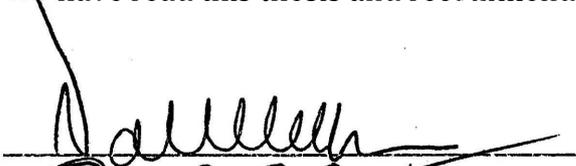
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I am submitting here with a thesis written by LaToya Matthews Burns entitled "The Rwandan Genocide and How Belgian Colonization Ignited the Flame of Hatred." I have examined this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts with a major in Government.

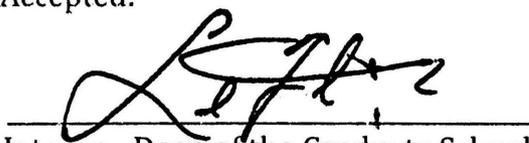

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DEDICATION

To my loving and supportive husband, Tony, without your encouragement and faith, I would have never even dreamed of accomplishing such greatness. Thank you for your love and your patience. Having you in my life is by far the best thing that has ever happened to me. To my daughter, Samantha, and any possible subsequent children that enter my life, please know that I did all of this for you. The axiom that states “you can accomplish anything you put your mind to” is very cliché but it is also very real. I want to be a good example for you and most importantly, I want you to be proud of me. There are no words that could possibly describe how much I love you guys. Thank you from the top of my head down to the tips of my toes.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Every faculty member I have encountered while attending TWU has been active in my mentoring and responsible for the expansion of my education. Their influence has allowed me to achieve accomplishments I never knew I could. To my committee chair, Dr. Valentine Belfiglio, I would like to thank you for your wisdom. Your classes allow for student expression and your input throughout my graduate career has been valued. To my committee members, Dr. Fanning, I appreciate your patience and feedback and hope that I have not bombarded you with too much in a short amount of time. Dr. Alexander, I cannot begin to express how grateful I am to you for joining my committee. Thank you for your time and patience. To Dr. Presnall, I would like to thank you for exposing me to the feminist aspect associated with political science. I have taken many of your classes and have taken with me many influential concepts that continue to shape my thoughts. Dr. Hoye, I would like to thank you for re-introducing me to the history of the genocide in Rwanda and sparking a passion that I will always carry with me. Finally, I would like to thank all of my friends and family for your editing abilities and patience when faced with my lack of computer technical skills. I am forever grateful to you all.

ABSTRACT

LATOYA MATTHEWS BURNS

THE RWANDAN GENOCIDE AND HOW BELGIAN COLONIZATION IGNITED THE
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MAY 2014

This thesis analyzes how racism was the underlying cause of the Rwandan Genocide of 1994, and investigates how racism was possible in a country that consists of one race. This thesis studies how western colonizers implemented race relations which then manifested into fear and became the driving force for the genocide. This study chronologically covers Rwanda's political system, beginning with colonization, through the psychology explaining why genocides are undefined until their conclusion, and ends with an analysis of Rwanda's ongoing recovery.

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CHAPTER I

WHY I WRITE

"Man is only great when he acts from passion."

-Benjamin Disraeli

In the spring of 1994, I was a sophomore in high school and my main focus was survival and graduation. At the age of 15, most of the news for which I held the most interest involved pop culture. At that time, politics and world events were boring and confusing to me. My only memory of the Rwandan genocide as it was occurring is seeing flashes of newsfeeds about people at war on the continent of Africa. I did not know why the fighting was taking place, but I do remember feeling as if it was a typical occurrence for them. Most vividly, however, I remember watching television and seeing a United States soldier's body being dragged through the streets of Mogadishu while onlookers cheered. It was heartbreaking to watch someone's son, who had voluntarily given his life to protect the lives of others, be tortured and disrespected in such a horrific manner.

Being so young at the time, watching such depressing events unfold on news reports seemed extraneous because there was nothing I could do personally to fix all the pain in the world. So, I continued living my life under the axiom of *Ignorance is Bliss*. It was not until later in adulthood that I realized how knowledge and

understanding of past and current events throughout the world has a great impact on my life and the lives of my descendants.

When I first started reading books about the Rwandan genocide, I was confused as to how I was able to go about my daily life so oblivious while such suffering was taking place. I was baffled by how hatred could cause an entire country to start killing friends, neighbors, and children. Most books and documentaries about the genocide educate readers about events of the actual genocide during the 100 days in which the most killings took place. I, however, was determined to find the root cause of the hate because I needed to understand how and why something so horrific could take place. I needed to understand not only the events of the genocide, but its origin.

As I researched deeper into Rwanda's beginnings, I was horrified to learn that colonization was where it all began. The arrogance of explorers taking over Rwandan society and implementing standards of superiority was not only appalling, but it was a standard that my own country, the United States, had been founded on many years ago. The hate that accompanied racism and socioeconomic dynamics was the same. The only difference was the century in which it all occurred.

It can be argued that genocide occurred in the United States against the Native Americans when they were forced out of their homes and onto reservations. If we look deeper into the development of many countries and governments, perhaps similar events have occurred.

For me, this thesis is not just a completion of a Master's degree. It is a passion that I have put into text for the purpose of my own understanding and hopefully as an educational aid to others. The Rwandan rivalry did not occur natively when two tribes came into conflict. It began when European colonizers set forth a standard that engendered racial tensions between two similar groups and it ended in genocide.

CHAPTER II

INTRODUCTION

"I refuse to accept that view that mankind is so tragically bound to the starless midnight of racism and war that the bright daybreak of peace and brotherhood can never become a reality...I believe that unarmed truth and unconditional love will have the final word."

-Martin Luther King, Jr.

The assassination of Rwandan president Juvénal Habyarimana and Burundian president Cyprien Ntaryamira shook the country of Rwanda and serves as an historical marker for the beginning of the Rwandan genocide of 1994. The two presidents were returning from peace talks held in Tanzania on April 6th, 1994, when their plane was shot down over the country's capital, Kigali, during landing preparations. The proceeding 100 days would consist of mass bloodshed resulting in the genocidal deaths of over 800,000 Rwandans. The cries of those murdered were heard throughout the world. The killings were not the simple spontaneous result of the assassination of two presidents. They were an accumulation of hatred that had festered for many decades between Hutus and Tutsis, the two main tribes within Rwanda.

From where did the animosity between these two groups stem? Why was the hatred so intense that it drove seemingly normal, typical citizens to carry out the

heinous murders of so many people? This thesis will begin with the birth of Rwanda as a nation-state in Africa. It will prove that the hatred within the country began when Europeans arrived. By analyzing the colonization process of the country and examining how discrimination practices were implemented, it will determine that the way in which the country was colonized led to severe hatred amongst Hutus and Tutsis, which was eventually manifested as The Genocide of 1994.

In the mid-nineteenth century, British explorers travelled throughout Africa in search for other civilizations. One such explorer was a man named John Hanning Speke. When Speke and the other explorers arrived in the area now known as Rwanda, they noticed a civilization consisting of three tribes. During their time in the country, they implemented the Hamitic Hypothesis (a theory which will be later explained in detail) in an attempt to rank the tribes in order of superiority. They took measurements of tribe members' heads, noses, and necks, all as a means of determining which tribe was paramount. Journal entries and diagrams made by the explorers will further illustrate the absurd methods they used in order to determine one's intelligence.

What was it that allowed the original Hutu and Tutsi tribal members to be subjected to such screenings? They were unaware of the significance of these categorizations and the Rwandans had no way of knowing that they were implementing intelligence testing that would forever shape their political future.

Most literary scholars who have written about the topic of the Rwandan Genocide agree that racism was forced upon the tribes in Rwanda through the colonist's use of the Hamitic hypothesis. This myth has biblical references and its overall presumption is that the Caucasian race is superior to that of darker skinned races. When John Hanning Speke explored Africa, he and his fellow explorers took great steps to further rank the "inferior" races of the various tribes in Rwanda, thus creating strong racial tension that would endure for subsequent generations. David Newbury is a scholastic writer of pre-colonial Rwanda. His articles and books touch upon the subject of race classification within Rwanda, but they do not fully elaborate the extent to which the people were humiliated. In his article, "Precolonial Burundi and Rwanda: Local Loyalties, Regional Royalties," Newbury notes on a broad spectrum, the issues that arose from the colonist's classification system. Mahmood's Mamdani's "A Brief History of Genocide," also considers the subject of race ranking during colonization, but does not elaborate in depth. Because so many scholars have the goal of spotlighting the more recent hatred between the Hutu and Tutsi tribes in Rwanda in order to concentrate on the genocide itself, very few articles have delved into the deeper levels where the hatred and conflict began. One of the goals of this paper is to look specifically at the way in which the colonizers documented physical differences between the tribal groups in an attempt to determine which "race" was superior. It will also combine the psychological aspect associated with race

discrimination while explaining how such violent acts of hatred can take place within a society.

Along with evaluating the colonization process, this thesis will also examine the psychological aspect of hatred that allowed so many people to be influenced for so many years. By combining the psychology associated with hate and persuasion, it will be determined how it was that the European colonization of Rwanda was allowed to occur, how hatred progressed between Hutus and Tutsis, and how the combination of these two factors led to the Rwandan genocide that consisted of 100 days of chaos.

For many viewers attempting to analyze the genocide from an outsider's perspective, the reality of the history that laid the foundation is often overlooked. My goal in writing this thesis is to look past the gruesome killings and answer the more fundamental question of "Why?" My hope is that my readers are able to recognize the significance our actions in the present have on subsequent generations. What we choose to do now, discover now, and speculate about now, will forever be documented as history, and will set the tone for the future.

CHAPTER III
PRE-COLONIAL RWANDA

"He is richest who is content with the least, for content is the wealth of nature."

-Socrates

It is difficult to trace ancestral lineage back to timeframes prior to written documentation. Historians rely mostly on artifacts as evidence, and at times, traditional stories that have been passed down through generations, in order to have a better understanding of how people lived in prehistoric eras. Rwandan history is not immune to the guessing game that African historians must play in order to piece together its beginnings.

Prior to human settlement, many people believe that the area known as Rwanda was covered in lush grasslands. According to Rwandan historian, David Newbury, the region consisted of "the eastern grasslands, the western highlands, and the Tanganyika shoreline" and the people were able to survive through tobacco trade, and livestock farming.¹ By looking at the archeological remains dating back many thousands of years, researchers such as David Schoenbrun, have concluded that cattle were in the Rwandan area no later than 1100 C.E. (prior to human

¹ Davis Newbury. "Precolonial Burundi and Rwanda: Local Loyalties, Regional Royalties." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 34, no. 2 (2001): 255-314.

settlement), thereby challenging the longstanding hypothesis that cattle herding was linked solely to the elite.²

Historians acknowledge three main groups of Rwandan people dating prior to colonization, who coexisted throughout the country: Hutus, Tutsis, and Twas. Labeling these groups is difficult, because they cannot be definitively classified as a race, clan, or tribe. For them to be considered separate races, they must possess different distinct physical traits. For some Rwandans, their background was known to them only through family stories that had been passed down from one generation to the next. Though they were fairly representative, the physical characteristics that Europeans used to define the groups were not concrete and were not exclusive only to one particular group. To be classified or considered a “clan”, the Tutsis, Hutus, and Twas would need to show interests independent of each other. This also was not the case, because they worked together as a whole civilization for the greater good of their society, despite their ancestral backgrounds. Writer Alain Destexhe quotes African historian Jean-Pierre Chretien as describing the Rwandan society as “tribalism without tribes.”³ A summary of Merriam-Webster’s definition of a tribe is the joint existence of clans and families sharing a common interest, character or

² Schoenbrun, David L. "We Are What We Eat: Ancient Agriculture between the Great Lakes." *The Journal of African History* 34, no. 1 (1993): 1-31. JSTOR (183030).

³ Destexhe, Alain. *Rwanda and Genocide in the Twentieth Century*. New York: New York University Press, 1995.

occupation.⁴ For each group to be truly defined as a “tribe”, they would have needed to work separately for the betterment of their own group. Again, this was not the case for the Tutsis, Hutus and Twas because they worked together as a whole for the betterment of them together as an entire society, not their solely for their heritage.

For the purpose of this paper, I will use the terms race, tribe, and clan very loosely when referring to these groups, while keeping in mind that the title of Tutsi, Hutu, or Twa is a heritage marker that became an arbitrary distinction used by European colonizers to separate Rwandans into socio-economic classes. It was an intentional separation of the groups that unfortunately led to animosity, hatred, and eventually genocide.

The Hutus, Tutsis, and Twas were not uncivilized groups of people, lacking discipline or stratification within their society. Institutions were in place to keep order within their communities. Major groups kept the people of Rwanda functioning as a society. *Ubwami* represented the monarchy and made certain that they were provided for comfortably. *Ubwiru* represented their Constitution and upheld the laws which had been established. *Ubusizi* kept oral traditions alive, *Ingabo* was their army, and *Ubucengeri* stood to represent patriotism.⁵ Much like governments of today, there was organization with order that everyone followed for the purpose of success as a community.

⁴ Merriam-Webster Online, s.v. “tribe,” accessed August 22, 2012, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/tribe>.

⁵ Rusagara, Frank K. "The Rwandan Dilemma Vis-a-Vis the Genocide." *Africa News Service*, September 2, 2006.

The inhabitants of pre-colonial Rwanda viewed their Hutu, Tutsi, or Twa background as such—simply their background. Though the different groups did possess distinctive physical traits, it was not a way in which they segregated themselves, nor ranked themselves. Being Tutsi, Hutu, or Twa was simply a heritage identifier. They all spoke the same Bantu language and intermarriage between the different tribes was not an uncommon practice. Though wars did break out during pre-colonial Rwandan times, the wars were centered on “rival Tutsi power bases and were not ethnic wars.”⁶

Prior to European explorers discovering Rwanda, the three groups worked, ruled, and fought together. While their coexistence was not violent, there was somewhat of a hierarchy of order with kings, courts, and laborers within their respective communities. Historically, the Tutsis were associated with cattle herding. Hutus excelled in agriculture; and the Twas were known for their hunting abilities.⁷ It was not uncommon for a Tutsi king to have a Hutu chief within his monarchy, just as it was not uncommon for Hutus to rule a monarchy. Writer Gerard Prunier refers to these Hutu ruled monarchies as “micro-monarchies,” and acknowledges that even though many of these Hutu monarchies were assimilated by British royal

⁶ Khan, Shaharyn M. *The Shallow Graves of Rwanda*. (New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2001), 3.

⁷ Newbury, David. "Precolonial Burundi and Rwanda: Local Loyalties, Regional Royalties." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 34, no. 2 (2001): 255-314

government, some managed to thrive into twentieth century Rwanda.⁸

Unfortunately, the Hutu monarchies that resisted subjugation were viewed as rebels, thereby furthering the European beliefs that Tutsis were the more superior clan.⁹

Many theorists believe that Hutus were the first inhabitants of Rwanda and that the Tutsis migrated there perhaps from the area that is now Ethiopia. This theory, however, is simply that-a theory which is based on historical migration patterns and the physical features of the Tutsis and their resemblance to many Ethiopians. Though each group did have distinctive physical differences, these differences were not glamorized or used to classify each other in early times. In general, Hutus and Twas had short, stockier builds with darker complexions. Tutsis, on the other hand, were of taller, lankier builds and had a lighter skin tone than the Twas and Hutus. Their facial features were also more angular. These physical differences were simply physical genetic traits that played no role in socioeconomic status prior to colonization.

Unfortunately, when the colonizers arrived in the late nineteenth-century with their distorted philosophies on race relations, the dismissive, but understandable, way in which the Rwandans viewed their physical features would change the nation

⁸ Prunier, Gérard. *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 17

⁹ Appendix A is a map of Rwanda and its surrounding countries which was included to establish the size of Rwanda and its location in Africa.

to its own detriment and would forever be the root of hatred in the country amongst proceeding generations.

For the colonizers, identifying a Rwandan's background as Tutsi, Hutu, or Twa was at times a guessing game. As a result of cohabitation and mixed marriages, there were, and still are, many Tutsi descendants who possess short, thick builds; just as there are many tall and slender Hutu descendants. It was because of these obscure and mixed physical traits that the Belgium colonizers decided to issue identification cards to Rwandan citizens as a means of verifying their background. The decision on the part of the Belgian government to try to separate Rwandans into ethnic groups would be the first in a long line of mistakes that would forever alter the relations between previously peaceful coexisting countrymen, thus paving the way for the enduring hatred, culminating in genocide.

The genocide began when the colonizers implemented race relations and superiority views in Rwanda. They corrupted Rwandan's history and created hate for arbitrary physical reasons that had absolutely no scientific grounds to be classified as facts. The colonizer's actions were dangerous and should be recognized as such. Too many people view the genocide as a racial genocide where Hutus attempted to exterminate Tutsis. The roots as to why these two groups held such turmoil is what really needs to be addressed when speaking of the Rwandan genocide.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST EXPLORERS

*When the man with no skin
came over the hill, I said
to my brother: Hey. Look there.
That man has no skin. The man
walked closer. He raised his arms
in the air. He came closer still.
My brother said to me: No. I think
He has skin. But it's bright red.
Doesn't look like skin to me, I said.
We saw little suns where his eyes
Should be, the tortoise shell perched
on his head, saw that he had no toes
but walked on brown stumps instead.
Hi, said the man with no skin,
How's the news? Hi, we said.
The news is good, we said.
I come from far away, he said.
There are many more like me.
I want to see the King, he said.
We laughed. He couldn't speak very
well,
this man with no skin. Nobody sees the
King.
We laughed again and ran through the
city*

*shouting the news as we went.
The man with no skin wants to see the
King!
He wants to see the King!
Nobody sees the King.
People sprinted from their houses.
Torture him! Kill him! they shouted.
He wants to see the King!
String him up! Poke him with spears!
But he followed us to the palace,
too stupid to be scared,
and all the people followed him
the bright red man with no skin.
Nobody killed him.
And that was our first mistake.*

-Umuzungu Wambere (First White Man),

Derick Burleson

In the late 19th century, European countries began sending explorers eastward in search of new land to claim. In 1892, Dr. Oscar Baumann, an Austrian geographer, became the first European to set foot upon the land of Rwanda, followed by Count Von Gotzen, of Germany, in 1894. Their discovery of the Rwandan people opened the door for additional explorers and brought both positive and negative consequences.

Dr. Oscar Baumann made his living producing maps. His most notable work was his 19th century diagrams of the German East Africa area, which is modern-day Rwanda, Tanzania, and Burundi.¹⁰ Upon exploring these areas, Baumann's main goal was land exploration. During his expeditions, he made friends with and gained the trust of the natives living on the land. This allowed him to have a greater insight into the area's surroundings. His presence there never posed a threat to the natives and so they became trusting of him and of other explorers to follow.

The second European explorer to enter Rwanda was Count Adolf von Gotzen. His presence on the African lands was perhaps not as inviting as that of Dr. Baumann. When he arrived in Rwanda in 1894, the Rwandan people had unknowingly been living in German territory for approximately nine years because of the 1885 Berlin declaration of the Congo Free State, which gave control of most of The Congo to King Leopold II of Belgium and control of most of Rwanda and Burundi to the Germans.

¹⁰ Anderson, Charles H. "Choosing Genocide: Economic Perspectives on the Disturbing Rationality of Race Murder." *Defense and Peace Economics* 21, no. 5-6 (2010): 459-486.

Von Gotzen's goal upon arriving in East Africa was to make sure the inhabitants realized under whose rule they were now living. In 1905 von Gotzen led German forces during the successful efforts to suppress a rebellion by Tanzanians against colonization in the Maji Maji War.

Rwandans, however, did not endure the same oppression as their Tanzanian and Burundian neighbors. While the Tanzanians and Burundians were being forced into cotton fields for European profit, the Rwandan civil dynamics were instead being evaluated by the British explorer named John Hanning Speke. Speke's journals and analysis of the Tutsis, Hutus, and Twas of Rwanda was the commencement of racism in a country that consisted of people of one race.

John Hanning Speke was born on May 4th, 1827 to a wealthy English family. At the age of seventeen, he joined the Indian Army, which was part of the British colonial force. It was within this organization that Speke's passion for travel and exploration blossomed. John Hanning Speke entered East Africa in 1856 with fellow explorer Richard Burton. Burton, at the time, was on a mission sponsored by London's Royal Geographical Society for an expedition of Africa. The two had been travelling the Nile basin attempting to find the main water source for the Nile River and to gain a better understanding of the region's inhabitants.¹¹

Tutsis, Hutus, and Twas were not solely condensed in Rwanda. Early pre-exploration migration had allowed each group to branch out to neighboring areas,

¹¹ Anderson, Charles H. "Choosing Genocide: Economic Perspectives on the Disturbing Rationality of Race Murder." *Defense and Peace Economics* 21, no. 5-6 (2010): 485

including Tanzania, Uganda, and Burundi, in search of better living and bountiful trades. It was in these areas of his expeditions that Speke first made his analysis of the African indigenous people.

In his book, Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile, Speke writes of the arbitrary differences between Hutus and Tutsis while justifying his reasoning with the use of the Biblical character Ham. Upon studying the Rwandan people for a few months, Speke wanted to share his analysis of the Bible's story and how it related to them with the king.¹²

After many denials, Speke's request to speak with the African King Kamrasi of Unyoro was finally granted. Speke wanted to use the Bible to explain to King Kamrasi where his people originated and why they looked the way they did. He explained to Kamrasi that "...at one time the people of his race were half white and half black..." After the great Biblical flood, "Europeans remained white, retaining Japhet[h]'s blood; whilst the Arabs are tawny, after Shem; and the Africans black, after Ham."¹³ Because the king's physical features were more closely related to that of Europeans, Speke concluded that those with tall slender builds and thinner noses were the more superior of the blacks in Africa. He also believed their close resemblance to Europeans indicated that they were more civilized and more capable of being educated. Speke's writings and unfounded conclusions introduced

¹² Speke, John H. "The Discovery of the Source of the Nile." The Project Gutenberg. EBSCOhost (ebook).

¹³ Ibid.

a racial divide that would restructure the socio-culture dynamics of an entire country.¹⁴

According to Gerard Prunier's book The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide, Speke "decided without a shred of evidence, that these 'carriers of a superior civilisation' who were the ancestors of the Tutsi, were the Galla of southern Ethiopia."¹⁵ Other explorers and missionaries visiting Rwanda also held these views and opinions. Prunier further quotes in his book from *Dictionnaire Francais-Kirundi* by Rwandan missionary Father van den Burgt that the European observers could "see Caucasian skulls and beautiful Greek profiles side by side with Semitic and even Jewish features, elegant golden-red beauties in the heart of Ruanda and Urundi."¹⁶ This skewed perception initiated the detrimental presumption that Tutsi's were more capable of being educated because, other than their skin tone, they resembled white Europeans.

Speculations and theories related to African discovery were circulated as explorers competed with one another for the answers to questions about human beginnings. A few years after the discovery of Rwanda, Belgian administrator Count Renaud de Briey contended that Rwandans were actually descendants of the lost

¹⁴ Appendix B shows illustrations of how the nose calipers were used on the Rwandans. The facial expressions of the Rwandans appear to be that of trust. It would seem as if they were confident of falsities the Europeans were bringing into their culture and had no reason or evidence to argue against it.

¹⁵ Prunier, Gérard. *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 7

¹⁶ Ibid.

continent of Atlantis.¹⁷ “The [Tutsis] were meant to reign. Their fine presence is in itself enough to give them a great prestige vis-à-vis the inferior races which surround...It is not surprising that those good [Hutu], less intelligent, more simple, more spontaneous, more trusting, have let themselves be enslaved without ever daring to revolt.”¹⁸

While John Hanning Speke was on expedition to Africa, he reported back to the Europeans in such length with assertion, and confidence in his findings, that he became the source from which other explorers and administrators originated their similar ideas about the Rwandan people. However, had it not been for a competitive European society that was adamant about discovery and conformity, it is possible that the Rwandans would have been able to hold on to their culture, legacies, and identities, while still interacting with outsiders for things such as trade and communication. Instead, they were subjected to divisive race theories and competitive hypotheses. Speke and many other Europeans sought to change the Rwandans because they felt European views, religion, and way of life were correct and superior to all others.

Of course all anthropological presumption regarding how Hutus, Tutsis and Twas came to coexist in Rwanda is merely speculation. Anthropologists' research and hypotheses fortunately give current historians an understanding of the predilection

¹⁷ Ibid., 9.

¹⁸ Citation is according to Gérard Prunier. Pierre Ryckmans, also a Belgian administrator, is quoted by Prunier as saying in J.P. Chretien's, 'Hutu et Tutsi au Rwanda et au Burundi' Au Coeur de l'ethnie, Paris: La Deouverte, 1985, page 138.

explorers had for Tutsis and how animosity and resentment from the Hutus developed. The obsession with race and racial superiority that was so prevalent at the time Rwanda was discovered would continue to set the tone and haunt the nation for many years to come.

CHAPTER V
SPREADING THE RACISM

"Until the philosophy which holds one race superior and another inferior is finally and permanently discredited and abandoned...Everything is war."

-Bob Marley

Societies operate within groups. There seems to be a predisposition for humans and many animal species to place themselves into groups and within the groups to have a leader. Almost always within these groups there is the mentality of *us versus them*. It is an occurrence that psychologists refer to as *ingroups* and *outgroups*. People tend to group themselves in accordance with arbitrary differences. We separate ourselves by religion, demographic region, language, skin color, talent, physical abilities, financial wealth or the lack thereof, and we even separate ourselves in accordance to our favorite sports teams. Upon forming these groups, there is the propensity to believe that one's particular group is more superior, right, and just, while all other outgroups are inferior or "against them."

There have been many studies relating to the scientific aspect of a human's propensity to form groups. Many scientists spend their entire careers examining the human psyche and chemical interactions within the brain to draw hypotheses and

conclusions related to how humans think. For this paper, however, the focus will be geared toward the negative effects of group formation in terms of racism. While examining the racial aspect of the road leading to the Rwandan genocide, the question about how so many people were able to be influenced to kill fellow countrymen, their neighbors, and their children's playmates, will also be addressed.

Genesis Chapter 9 verse 25

*Cursed be Canaan;
A servant of servants shall he be
unto his brethren.
And he said,
Blessed be Jehovah, the God of Shem;
And let Canaan be his servant.
God enlarge Japhet,
And let him dwell in the tent of Shem;
And let Canaan be his servant.¹⁹*

The Bible is a very powerful book. Faith is not tangible; therefore, it cannot be proven or discredited. For the most part, passages within the Bible can be freely interpreted to accommodate the reader's own philosophies. The subjective interpretation is evident when it came to Europeans of the 17th and 18th centuries

¹⁹ 9 Gen. 5 (Chapter 9, verse 5 of the Bible as interpreted by the American Standard Version. Other versions have similar meanings, but use different wording with their translations.)

justifying the acts of slavery and their reasoning behind religious conformation during colonization.

According to Biblical text, after the great flood in which Noah built an arc to survive, Noah, his wife, and his three sons, along with their wives, arrived on land after living on the arc for many months.²⁰ Upon landing, Noah decided to plant a vineyard. One night, Noah became drunk, and in his drunken stupor, he decided to disrobe. Noah's son Ham entered the room in which Noah lay naked and summoned his other two brothers, Japheth and Shem to come mock and laugh at their father's nakedness. Japheth and Shem did not, but instead turn their heads and covered their father with a robe in order to maintain his dignity. After Noah becomes sober, he bestows a curse upon Ham's son Canaan which declares that he and his descendants will forever be servants to Ham's brothers.

As mentioned earlier, the Hamitic Hypothesis summarily states that blacks are the descendants of Ham and are thereby cursed to a lifetime of servitude. Though there is no mention of race throughout the Bible, but race arises in sixth century A.D. within the book of Jewish Biblical interpretations and oral laws called *The Babylonian Talmud*. According to the article *The Hamitic Hypothesis: Its Origin and Functions in Time Perspective*, by Edith R. Sanders, *The Babylonian Talmud* states that "...the descendants of Ham are cursed by being black, and [also] depicts Ham as a sinful man and his progeny as degenerates. Thus, early tradition identified the

²⁰ According to the Bible, it is believed that every member of society stems from these eight individuals.

Hamites with Negroes and endowed them with both certain physiognomical attributes and an undesirable character.”²¹

According to the authors of the book *Hebrew Myths, The Babylonian Talmud* translates the ninth chapter of Genesis as Noah saying to Ham: “And since you have disabled me...doing ugly things in blackness of night, Canaan’s children shall be borne ugly and black! Moreover, because you twisted your head around to see my nakedness, your grandchildren’s hair shall be twisted into kinks, and their eyes red; again because your lips jested at my misfortune, theirs shall swell...Men of this race are called Negroes, their forefather Canaan commanded them to love theft and fornication...”²²

It is unclear how or why the writers of *The Babylonian Talmud* translated this section of Genesis into such detail. It is clear, however, that the intention was to give an explanation for the origins of blacks in Africa and to perhaps justify their enslavement. The biggest question is whether or not the rabbis had knowledge of the damaging precedent they were setting by writing those words.

In the following centuries, there was a universal idea that European whites could not co-mingle with African non-whites because non-whites were inferior. When the European explorers arrived in Rwanda and witnessed them behaving in a civilized fashion, they needed an explanation for why the Africans were not behaving as wild

²¹ Sanders, Edith R. "The Hamitic Hypothesis; Its origin and Functions in Time Perspective." *The Journal of African History* 10, no. 4 (1969): 521-32. JSTOR (179896), 522.

²² Graves, Robert, and Raphael Patai. *Hebrew Myths*. (New York: Anchor Group Publishing, 1989.), 121.

animals. The ethnocentric attitudes that consumed the Europeans at this time automatically assumed that it was because they, more specifically- Tutsis, had “white blood” within their lineage.

For the Belgians, having black Africans such as the Tutsis become cultivated and educated would lead to them being more capable of trade and socialization with the whites. It would also give Belgium the opportunity to expand their population, land, resources, and income.

CHAPTER VI

RWANDA'S COLONIZATION

The Berlin Conference of 1884 allowed Germany to control the territory of Rwanda. When it came to ruling Rwanda, Germany was not obtrusive. They simply lent support to the civil dynamics that were already in place, with Tutsis holding power because of the standing theory that their "white features" made them the more capable authorities. In 1916, Belgium invaded Rwanda and after World War I, Germany lost control of its overseas territories, leaving Belgium in control of the tiny country of Rwanda.

Belgium was more aggressive than Germany when it came to colonizing Rwanda. The Belgians viewed Rwanda as an important part of their government and sought to develop it to Belgian standards so that the Rwandans could be a productive component of its empire. They institutionalized Catholicism as the national religion and French as the country's official language. In 1933, a team of scientists were sent to Rwanda to carry out what was originally John Hanning Speke's hypothesis of a superior race existing amongst the Tutsis and Hutus.

The period of time from 1876-1914 is often referred to as *The Scramble for Africa*. It was during this time in which European explorers were searching the continent of Africa for valuable resources, such as diamonds, gold, ivory, and rubber, that would further advance of the Industrial Revolution, which was taking place throughout the

Western world. After Germany lost control of Rwanda and Belgium took over rule, they soon realized that the raw materials that were plentiful throughout other parts of Africa were not as plentiful in Rwanda. Therefore, “humanitarian” efforts were made in order to “civilize” the Rwandans to Belgians standards in order to expand European nationalism.²³ The land of Rwanda may not have been full of riches, such as diamonds and ivory, but the people of Rwanda could be held responsible for things such as paying taxes and any future social and economic opportunities that may come.

In order for the Belgians to be certain they were dealing with the most intelligent of the Rwandans, they began carrying out the Social Darwinism theory that those with certain traits were more likely to succeed.

Dr. Franz Joseph Gall and his close associate, Dr. Johann Gaspar Spurzheim, were German physicians who are credited with the creation of phrenology. Though it is now considered a pseudoscience, many people in the late 18th century and into the 19th century used “medical” practice as a means of superior genetic recognition.

Though there are many primary sources to reference, most of Gall’s and Spurzheim’s work, most are written in German or French. One book however, *The Anatomy of the Brain with a General View of the Nervous System*, by Johann Gaspar Spurzheim, has fortunately been translated into English. This book is an

²³ Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold’s Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*(New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999), 26-27.

overabundance of information regarding brain and nerve function, but most importantly, it gives a small insight as to why the Rwandan's head were measured. Gall and Spurzheim mainly concentrated on the study of mental function. According to Spurzheim, they did many cranial comparisons of what he refers to as "lower" animals, as well as human cranial comparisons in terms of gender and age in order to draw conclusions about intelligence. Spurzheim states, "Anatomy, consequently, shews [sic] how it comes that individuals affected with dropsy²⁴ of the brain may manifest all their intellectual and affective faculties."²⁵ My interpretation of this statement translates to mean that the size of one's head is directly related to one's intellect.

This type of intelligence classification was not the sole idea of Gall and Spurzheim. Though an in-depth analysis of the history of cranial comparisons will not be discussed in this thesis, one book that I highly recommend for a more comprehensive look at the cranial comparison frenzy that was taking place in the 19th century is, *Labeling People: French Scholars on Society, Race, and Empire, 1815-1848*, written by Martin S. Staum. According to Staum, there were many scholars who helped influence European and non-European comparisons of humans. One such scholar was artist and physician Petrus Camper. Camper wrote a dissertation

²⁴ According to many internet searches, I've concluded that dropsy is an old medical term which is now known as edema, or swelling as a result of fluid build-up.

²⁵ Johann Gaspar Spurzheim, *The Anatomy of the Brain with a General View of the Nervous System* (Unknown: Marsh, Capen & Lyon, 1826), 174.

which compared the cranial profile of European, Asians, Africans, and orangutans.²⁶

In summary, his work declared that African cranial profiles were most similar to that of orangutans. Staum states that Camper's "...dissertation on human varieties...became the touchstone for many subsequent theories of hierarchical racial classification." ²⁷ Staum also believes that "...facial angle [was] a cornerstone of racial theory, a choice tool for geographers and explorers interested in reporting the advanced or retarded nature of peoples of Africa and the Pacific." Unfortunately, this popular scientific fad is the ideal that the Europeans took with them during explorations.

Upon the scientist's arrival, they began measuring the Rwandan's noses, height, necks, and head circumferences in an attempt to distinguish Tutsis from Hutus. Identity cards were issued to the Rwandans displaying their picture and "race." Though they were recognized as such on their identity cards, the existence of a Twa was somewhat obsolete to the Belgians because their population was so small and because their main focus was not to determine everyone's race, but to determine who was Tutsi.²⁸

The physical differences between a Tutsi and Hutu were sometimes so subtle, therefore the government required all Rwandans to carry their official identification

²⁶ One sketch of Camper's profile comparison can be seen on Appendix C

²⁷ Martin S. Staum, *Labeling People: French Scholars on Society, Race, and Empire, 1815-1848* (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 26.

²⁸ An example of what one of the identification cards looks like can be seen on Appendix D.

cards with them at all times. For those citizens who were of a “mixed race,” i.e. Tutsi mother and Hutu father, that person was classified according to the race of his/her father.

Belgian colonizers introduced “Christianity and ‘tidying up’ [of] Rwandan social groups” which then “created a monolithic division between Hutu and Tutsi identities and started to dissolve the ideological glue of Rwandan monarchial society.”²⁹ The Tutsis held government jobs and political offices, while Hutus were forced into labor positions and denied access to education.

David Newberry wrote in his article, *Precolonial Rwanda and Burundi* that “to European observers, each of these forms of differentiation-political, social, and economic-was related to presumed ethnic attributes; ‘Tutsi’ ethnicity was associated with power, pastoralism, and a distinctive physique-tall, thin, and often light-skinned; ‘Hutu’ were assumed to be linked to servitude, horticulture, and stockier build; and ‘Twa’ were seen as hunters or potters, living on the margins of political order, and with their own physical characteristics-short of stature, with stocky legs, round heads, broad noses.”³⁰

The Tutsis were propelled into political power with the help and guidance of Belgium colonizers. They were provided the best education, both within the country

²⁹ Hintjens, Helen M. "Explaining the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 37, no. 2 (1999): 254.

³⁰ Newbury, David. "Precolonial Burundi and Rwanda: Local Loyalties, Regional Royalties." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 34, no. 2 (2001): 258

of Rwanda and abroad. The blatant oppression of the Hutus over the next twenty-nine years would result in civil rights movements and eventually the explosion of the racial tension that had been brewing for many years.

The historical accounts that asserted Tutsis to be the elite group were fanatical stories conceived of by European administrators, anthropologist, and missionaries. It is comforting to believe there was perhaps no malice intended in the creation of these stories and that the stories were simply a way to describe the beginnings of a country that had no documented origin; however, this may not be the case. An example of an oral historical story is described in the book *The Debris of Ham: Ethnicity, Regionalism, and the 1994 Rwandan Genocide* by Aimable Twagilimana. It states that

...there was Kigwa, who fell from heaven and had three sons: Gatwa, Gahutu, and Gatutsi. When he decided to choose his successor, he entrusted each of the three sons a pot of milk to watch over during the night. At daybreak, Gatwa had drunk the milk; Gahutu had fallen asleep and in the carelessness of the sleep, had split the milk; and only Gatutsi had kept watch throughout the night, and only his milk pot was safe. So it was clear to Kigwa that Gatutsi should be the successor and by that fact should be exempt of any menial tasks. Gahutu was to be his servant. The utter unreliability of Gatwa was to make him only a clown in society. As a result, Gatutsi received cattle and command whereas Gahutu would acquire cattle only through the services to Gatutsi, and Gatwa was condemned to hunger and gluttony and would not acquire cattle.³¹

³¹ *The Debris of Ham: Ethnicity, Regionalism, and the 1994 Rwandan Genocide* by Aimable Twagilimana

One well-known storyteller of Rwandan origins was clergyman Alexis Kagame. According to Gerard Prunier, Kagame was “*the* native Rwandese intellectual, before the coming of age of the modern generation of semi-secularly educated academics.” Kagame put a European spin on Rwandan history, thus feeding into European stereotypes that involved aristocracy.³² Having a native Rwandan “insider” in support of European ideals was instrumental in the intellectual conquest of Rwanda.

Alexis Kagame was a Rwandan historian, Roman Catholic priest, and philosopher who was born in 1912 and died in 1981. He was therefore present during the time in which colonization was beginning to take a more concrete shape in Rwanda and was also witness to the creation of status lines within the country. Kagame was a Tutsi who believed in upholding Rwandan traditions. He was well educated and well respected throughout Rwanda and Belgium. His status as a Tutsi allowed him the ability to be propelled into such a prominent status through his ability to receive higher education. His family’s quick conversion to Catholicism can also be seen as quick compliance to the wishes of the Europeans. Kagame has a legacy that is one of respect and intellect, but the opinion of some is that he was a pawn used by the Belgians to showcase their support of education, religion, and growth within the country, while infusing it with western beliefs.

The Belgians needed someone who was Tutsi, capable of being educated, and someone who had the ability to influence in order to gain the support of the

³² Prunier, Gérard. *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 37

Rwandans by converting their traditions and concepts into European ideals, thus making Kagame the best source. Kagame took oral traditions and beliefs that were passed throughout Rwandan generations and translated them onto paper in Rwanda's original language of Kinyarwanda and also French. His oral tradition stories were about Rwandan monarchies, but they possessed a divergence that was European in nature and were used to "educate" Rwandans about their culture.

Anthère Nzabatsinda, author of *The Aesthetics of Transcribing Orality in the Works of Alexis Kagame, Writer of Rwanda*, states that "by consigning to the written word works that were initially transmitted orally, [Kagame] not only created other modalities of language, forms, and aesthetics, but in the process he also contributed to the opening up of Rwandan symbolic territory."³³

There are, as with most public figures, both supporters and critics of Kagame's translations. Those who support his translations feel as if Kagame merely took fables and put them onto paper with no harm being done. His critics however, believe that he embarked upon a dangerous act when he took Rwandan oral stories and turned abstract accounts into facts. His goal in translating oral traditions into writing collections was mainly to unify Rwanda and give it an identity. It is, regrettably, from many of these Kagame translations, including *Le code ésotérique* and *Le code des institutions*, in which Rwandans cite their pre-colonial "history."

³³ Nzabatsinda, Anthère, and R H. Mitsch. "The Aesthetics of Transcribing Orality in the Works of Alexis Kagame, Writer of Rwanda." *Research in African Literatures* 28, no. 1 (1997): 99.

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL UNRAVELING

For many years following its colonization, Rwanda operated with Tutsi supremacy despite the fact that the Hutu population outnumbered that of the Tutsi's. In the Catholic schools, students were taught the differences between Tutsis and Hutus based on the arbitrary conclusions of the colonial explorers. Tutsis were uplifted while Hutus were degraded. For the few Hutus who were allowed higher education alongside the Tutsi citizens, they were denied access to reputable employment in political offices upon graduation.

The continued oppression resulted in violence throughout the country. Tutsis had been brainwashed for so many years to believe that they were the superior race of Rwanda. They killed Hutus in order to keep this mentality alive and in response, Hutus killed Tutsis to make sure it was understood that they would no longer stand for such oppression.

Following World War II, the conservative clergymen who led the Catholic Church in Rwanda were gradually "...replaced by clerics of humbler social origin..." These Flemish priests had witnessed oppression within their own country of Belgium and thus "...had no sympathy for aristocratic Tutsi and identified more readily with the

downtrodden Hutu.”³⁴ The new, more liberal clergy became advocates for the Hutus and assisted in their upheaval.

In order to combat the segregation and inequality within Rwanda, Hutus formed coalitions and embarked on a civil rights movement to end their oppression. In 1957, nine Hutus, with the aid of Belgium Flemish priests, banded together and issued a manifesto that demanded a change in the Rwandan political power structure.³⁵ The *Hutu Manifesto* stated that if the Hamitic myth was true, and if the teachings of the colonizers were correct, then the Hutus, (who were noted as the first occupiers of the land,) were actually invaded by the Tutsis, thereby making Hutus the rightful governors of Rwanda.³⁶

Civil wars and hostility were brewing in Rwanda for many years prior to the fighting being known or acknowledged by outside countries. On November 1, 1959, Hutu political activist, Dominique Mbonyumutwa was beaten to near death by a group of Tutsi political activists in the Rwandan province of Gitarama. False rumors followed that Mbonyumutwa had died as a result of the beating which resulted in the rampant killings of Tutsis as well as the burning of Tutsi homes. The violence was termed “the wind of destruction” and had the support of Belgian colonel

³⁴ Prunier, Gérard. *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 44.

³⁵ Gourevitch, Philip. *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will be Killed With Our Families*. New York: Picador, 1998.

³⁶ Saha, Santosh C., ed. *Ethnicity and Sociopolitical Change in Africa and Other Developing Countries*. (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008.), 116.

Guillaume “Guy” Logiest who had ironically been sent to Rwanda to assist with peace keeping strategies.³⁷

While in Rwanda, Guy Logiest began replacing Tutsi held political offices with Hutus. Perhaps it could be interpreted as a means of finally ending the oppression Hutus suffered with discrimination, but what actually occurred was the uprising of individuals who held deep scars and animosity toward Tutsis. By May 1960, Logiest and other Belgian military officers had helped to create a Hutu-dominated military guard in Rwanda.³⁸

After witnessing the progression of Hutus, and the violence that was taking over the country, Belgian officials then assisted with the organization of a new election that was more favorable for Hutus. In 1961, after winning its independence and becoming a republic, Rwanda officially had Hutus as the political majority. The Belgium government exited the country just as quickly as it had arrived, leaving it in the hands of a group, who had for many years, been held in ignominious disregard.

The result of the change in power was catastrophic backlash. Over the next decade, Tutsis were harassed and more than 20,000 were killed because of the roles they and/or their forefathers played in oppressing Hutus.³⁹ Hutus were no longer willing to be humiliated and subjected to sub-standard treatment by elite Tutsis.

³⁷ Ibid., Gourevitch.

³⁸ Prunier, Gérard. *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 49-58.

³⁹ Ibid., 150.

Hutu political freedom and liberation came with an abundance of animosity and vengeance. As a result of continued revenge killings, Tutsis began fleeing Rwanda taking refuge in surrounding countries such as Uganda.

In 1973, the Hutu army commander, Juvénal Habyariman became president of Rwanda and offered security to the Tutsis that were still living in Rwanda but ignored the needs of refugee Tutsis in Uganda and events taking place outside of Rwandan borders with displaced Tutsis. Thankfully, Uganda granted citizenship to Tutsis already living within Ugandan borders in 1986; however this offer was revoked four years later. Therefore, the Tutsis who had once found asylum in Uganda were left stateless.⁴⁰

On October 1st, 1990, the Tutsi led militia group, Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), which had been gathering and training in Uganda, invaded Rwanda thereby inciting a civil war. The fighting was brutal and the civil war was but only a small preview to a larger more horrific event. The RPF was a Tutsi led political organization whose main purpose was returning stateless Tutsi exiles back to their original home of Rwanda.⁴¹

The RPF's surprise attack was to their advantage for the first two days of the civil war, unfortunately their leader, Major-General Rwigyema, was killed on the second

⁴⁰ Ibid, 70.

⁴¹ Ibid.,73.

day of the invasion.⁴² In the following twenty-eight days, RPF fighters lost two additional military leaders, ran out of ammunition and supplies, and succumbed to battle wounds and starvation. The surviving members of the RPF retreated back to Uganda with Paul Kagame now acting as the RPF's military leader.⁴³ The invasion brought about increased hatred toward Tutsis, but the RPF now had the knowledge of what they were up against and left to better prepare.

According to Philip Verwimp, after the initial Civil War, the Rwandan government began preparing to fight with great intensity and refused to be "surprised" again. Verwimp states that the Rwandan government acquired a large arsenal which was a result of Colonel Nsabimana, chief of staff of the Rwandan army, ordering "guns, Kalashnikovs [which are also known as AK-47s], machine guns, grenades, and large quantities of ammunition." He also states that "machetes were shipped from Belgium to Rwanda with machetes hidden between sheets."⁴⁴ Preparations were obviously being made for violent conflict, but a trigger, such as the death of Habyarimana, was what it took for the violence to commence.

Not only were government officials preparing the military for the attack, they also took steps toward preparing and arming Rwandan civilians. "Realizing that the

⁴² His death has long been speculated to be the result of an argument with one of his own commanders; however, the RPF blames his death on him stepping on a land mine. Gérard Prunier states on page 96 in his book *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide* that this is a "remote possibility" because the government had no time to plant the land mines during the beginning stages of the war.

⁴³ Ibid., 96.

⁴⁴ Philip Verwimp, "Machetes and Firearms: The Organization of Massacres in Rwanda." *Journal of Peace Research* 43, no. 1 (2006): 5-22.

supply of firearms was limited, Colonel Nsabimana proposed that the civilian population should be instructed in the use of machetes, spears, swords, bows and arrows.”⁴⁵

Machetes were cheap because there was no need for the repeat purchase of ammunition. They were concealable when being shipped into the country because they were flat and light-weight. Machetes were accessible and easily dispensable, not only because of their cost, but because they were a quickly manufactured arm that could arrive and be rapidly handed out in bulk. Most importantly, the government’s ordering of machetes was masked as tools purchased for agricultural purposes.

According to Linda Melvern’s book, *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda’s genocide*, Rwanda made a series of arms purchases mostly from Egypt in the years, and more frequently, in the months leading to the genocide. The total cost to supply the perpetrators with weapons to carry out the genocide was approximately US\$112 million. The money was often obtained through fraudulent and manipulated bank records.⁴⁶ Assault rifles, grenades, and ammunition were amongst some of the arsenal being shipped from Egypt. In 1993, “...half a million machetes and other agricultural tools were purchased and distributed throughout the country, including hundreds and thousands of hoes, hammers and razor blades.”

⁴⁵ Ibid., 7.

⁴⁶ Linda Melvern, *A People Betrayed* (New York: Zed Books Ltd, 2000), 79.

The total cost of these supplies was US\$4.6 million.⁴⁷ Even though the World Bank, who oversees major financial transactions between countries, took a small notice in the monetary transactions, President Habyarimana was able to suppress their concerns by assuring the purchases were being made to defend the country in the civil war.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 77.

CHAPTER VIII

PROPAGANDA AND THE ROLE OF MEDIA

Even with the vast number of purchased weapons, there still had to be a motivator to get so many citizens to act as a single mass killing unit. There must have been a driving force for the motivation. One hypothesis that Verwimp suggests is that in order to recruit so many to participate in the genocide, organizers "...gave money and promised jobs and parcels of land..."⁴⁸ It is my opinion, however, that if this was the case, it was not the only provocation. Fear is the most likely essential driving force behind the genocide. Fear causes individuals to behave irrationally and when you have individuals who have seen ruthless killings over the course of centuries because of an ethnic divide, for many, the "kill or be killed" precept is very real.

One sociological theory that helps explain how humans make decisions is the Rational Choice Theory.⁴⁹ This theory states that human beings first analyze both the positive and negative outcomes of their actions prior to making a decision. In the case of Rwanda, this would mean that government officials first analyzed Rwanda's

⁴⁸ Philip Verwimp, "Machetes and Firearms: The Organization of Massacres in Rwanda." *Journal of Peace Research* 43, no 1 (2006): 8.

⁴⁹ Rational Choice Theory is also referred to as the Exchange Theory and was a theory first conceived by sociologist George Homans in the early 1960s to explain why humans make the decision to behave a certain way.

economic situation and concluded that action must be taken to prevent its economic decline, Tutsis must be eliminated thus preventing them from ever again coming into office.

Another sociological theory behind the motivation of genocide, and one that I feel is the most plausible, is the Symbolist Political Theory. Dr. Stuart Kaufman, a professor of Political Science and International Relations at the University of Delaware who specializes in ethnic conflict agrees that this theory was the driving force for the Rwandan genocide. He believes that through Symbolic Political Theory, "Rwanda's genocide [was] motivated by an exceptionally hostile, eliminationist Hutu mythology aimed against the Tutsi."⁵⁰ With this theory, genocide is the result of "group myths that justify hostility, fears of group extinction, and a symbolic politics of chauvinist mobilization."⁵¹ When using this theory to analyze the genocide in Rwanda it can be said that the myths associated with Hutus being inferior to Tutsis through the historical oral storytelling provoked a fear that Tutsis would attempt to regain control politically. Therefore, the Hutu led government used the myths and fears to manipulate the Hutu citizen's emotions, thereby motivating them to want to eliminate the Tutsi population. The country was already suffering from ethnic conflict and an unstable political system; therefore, the

⁵⁰ Stuart J. Kaufman, "Symbolic Politics or Rational Choice? Testing Theories of Extreme Ethnic Violence," *International Security* 30.4 (2006) 70.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 47.

process of manipulation was not a difficult one, and resulted in a collaborated effort to commit mass killings in a short amount of time.

The Hutus had been victim of racist subordination to the Tutsis in the past, and there was no way to guarantee that it would not happen again. To help spread that fear radio propaganda played the most active role when it came to reaching Rwandans.

An important question to ask when thinking about the numerous people who participated in the killings is, "How was a unified message of hate disseminated to so many people at once?" Technology was not very advanced in 1994, but radio and printed magazines made their hard impact upon the country.

In their December 1990 publication, the Rwandan politically extremist magazine, *Kangura*, printed a list entitled "The Ten Hutu Commandments" written by journalist Hassan Zgeze. The "commandments" were a set of rules for every Hutu to obey. In summary, Hutus were considered traitors if they married, befriended, employed or did any business transactions with Tutsis.⁵² Its purpose was to give written documentation of what was expected of a "good" Hutu while allowing fellow Hutus a source to reference so they could keep their own racial group accountable and cohesive. Other articles published in the magazine were written to incite fear in Hutus by alerting them that Tutsis were trying to take over the government. The

⁵² See Appendix E for a complete translation of *The Hutu 10 Commandments*.

magazine, *Kangura*, was littered with cartoon characters depicting these irrational views in order to further cater to the large illiterate population of Rwanda.

More effective than the cartoon characters in magazine publications was the use of radio to broadcast propaganda speeches. This method of propaganda was able to reach a larger audience, not only because of the high illiteracy rates, but because listeners were able to tune into broadcasts while engaging in other activities such as driving, working, or socializing with friends. Radical Hutus used the attraction of modern and hip music to lure listeners in, and then injected politically-charged, anti-Tutsi messages into the broadcasts by interlacing speeches within the music.

Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM) was a privately Hutu-owned radio station that was founded in order to escape the international regulations that restricted the government-owned station *Radio Rwanda*. The RTLM made statements insinuating that Tutsis were a dirty breed of “cockroaches” that must be exterminated to purify Rwanda. “By 5 May, the country must be completely cleansed of Tutsis” and “We will not repeat the mistake of 1959. The children must be killed too,” are two examples of the types of statements being sent across the airwaves.⁵³

Unity brought the extreme Hutus together and propaganda kept them together. As the airwaves filled with hate speeches and magazines were printed full of falsities, extreme Hutus united out of fear that if they did not take action first, they would soon perish at the hands of Tutsis and moderate Hutus.

⁵³ Jonathan Glover, *Humanity*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 121-122.

All day long, government owned radio stations would play modern and appealing music accompanied by hate messages. Journalist, Bill Berkeley interviewed Rwandan Hutu, Alfred Kiruhura who stated "I did not believe the Tutsis were coming to kill us, but when the government radio continued to broadcast that [Tutsis] were coming to take our land, were coming to kill the Hutus--when this was repeated over and over--I began to feel some kind of fear."⁵⁴

Fear is a very powerful emotion. It causes people to behave in irrational ways to protect themselves and the ones they care most about. In fact, there are laws within the United States that allow those in fear of their own lives, to legally take the life of the one they feel threatened by. So, it is obvious that fear of death can be considered reason enough for justifiable homicide; the clause in place is always only considered justifiable when there is imminent danger. For the Rwandan Hutus living in fear of oppression, political decline, and death, the message from their educated government officials was that they must act in order to survive. Hutus felt they needed to kill or be killed. They had to act before action is taken upon them.

The message of hate against the Tutsis was passed along radio airwaves and through magazine articles. Because of the prevalence of illiteracy in the country of Rwanda, government political messages were transmitted via radio. In the early part of 1992, Radio Rwanda was used to promote the killing of Tutsi. Hutus were

⁵⁴ Howard Adelman and Astri Suhrke, *The Path of Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire*, (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1999), 99.

warned that they were part of a plot to be killed by Tutsi and the only way to put a stop to it all was to be armed and kill first.

Simon Bikindi was a popular singer and songwriter during the times leading up to the genocide. His songs were known for their modern sound and anti-Tutsi messages. Along with radio disc jockey, Kantano Habimana, the pair would take to Rwandan airwaves through RTLM to belittle, verbally attack and instigate hate toward Rwandan Tutsis.⁵⁵ On June 4th, 1994, Kantano Habimana stated to RTLM listeners in regards to Tutsis: "Look at the person's height and his physical appearance," "Just look at his small nose and then break it."⁵⁶

Rwandan teacher, Innocent Rwililiza, spoke to journalist, Jean Hatzfeld to recount his analysis of the radio propaganda that was present just prior to the genocide. Hatzfeld quotes Rwililiza as stating:

[Simon Bikindi and Kantano Habimana] were famous artist, great comic virtuosos. What they said was so cleverly put, and repeated so often, that we Tutsis as well, we found them funny to listen to. They were clamoring for the massacre of all the cockroaches, but in amusing ways. For us, the Tutsis, those witty words were hilarious. The songs urging all the Hutus to get together to wipe out the Tutsis- we laughed out loud at the jokes. Same thing for *The Hutu Ten Commandments*, which vowed to do us in. We got so used to these things that we didn't listen to the horrible threats anymore.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Darryl Li. "Echoes of violence: considerations on radio and genocide in Rwanda." *Journal of Genocide Research* 6, no. 1 (March 2004): 9-27. Taylor & Francis Group.

⁵⁶ "Three Media Leaders convicted for Genocide. *International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda*. Dec. 3, 2003. <http://www.unictr.org/tabid/155/Default.aspx?ID=226>.

⁵⁷ Jean Hatzfeld, *Machete Season*, trans. Linda Coverdale (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003), 55.

In the International Law publication of the Harvard Law Review Association, writer Anita S. Bryant states that following the genocide, the United Nations Tribunal that was responsible for holding individuals accountable for their participation, found that the RTLM dispatched murder by “manipulating and revealing the movements of Tutsis to facilitate their slaughter at the hands of the Hutu populace.”⁵⁸

According to the website of the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), on December 2nd, 2008, Simon Bikindi was found guilty of a “single count of direct and public incitement to commit genocide based on public exhortations to kill Tutsis.” As of the year 2013, he is currently serving a 15 year sentence having been granted a seven year reduction for prior time served.⁵⁹ Though his many songs and radio broadcasts were not part of his ultimate conviction, they were the means through which a spot-light was cast upon his behavior and actions which ultimately resulted in justice being served. His sidekick, Kantano Habimana, died in 2002 and was never convicted for his role of inciting genocide.

⁵⁸ Anita S. Bryant, "International Law- Genocide- U.N. Tribunal Finds That Mass Media Hate Speech Constitutes Genocide, Incitement to Genocide, and Crimes Against Humanity. - Prosecutor v. Nahimana, Barayagwiza, and Ngeze (Media Case), Case no. ICTR-99-52-T." *Harvard Law Review* 117, no. 8 (June 2004): 2769-76.

⁵⁹ "Appeals Chamber Affirms Bikindi's Conviction and Sentence, Reduces Nchamihigo's Sentence." *International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda*. March 18, 2010. <http://www.unicttr.org/tabid/155/Default.aspx?ID=1126>.

RTLM co-founder Ferdinand Nahimana was also found guilty of participating in inciting genocide. Nahimana once described the avenue of radio usage as a “complement to bullets,” during a radio interview on April 25th, 1994. During his sentencing, Judge Pillay referenced this particular interview and told Nahimana, that, “You were fully aware of the power of words, and you used the radio-the medium of communication with the widest public reach- to dissemination hatred and violence...Without a firearm, machete or any physical weapon, you caused the death of thousands of innocent civilians.”⁶⁰

How was it that speeches and songs were able to evoke such fear into people that neighbors, teachers, and government officials would resort to killing those who they once worshipped next to on Sunday mornings, or waved to in the evenings upon arriving home? How was it that the power of propaganda created the fuel needed to allow once seemingly normal, functioning humans the ability to slaughter innocent men, women and children without hesitation? Most importantly, why did it take so long to be recognized; not only within the country of Rwanda, but by Western civilizations who watched the horror in denial? The power that incases fear is the answer to all of these questions.

⁶⁰ “Three Media Leaders convicted for Genocide. *International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda*. Dec. 3, 2003. <http://www.unictt.org/tabid/155/Default.aspx?ID=226>.

CHAPTER IX

RELUCTANCY

We come here today partly in recognition of the fact that we in the United States and the world community did not do as much as we could have and should have done to try to limit what occurred.⁶¹

-President Bill Clinton, March 25, 1998

These were the apologetic words then United States President, Bill Clinton as he spoke to the large gathering of Rwandan citizens and officials in Rwanda, four years after the genocide. During his speech, Clinton stated that "...all over the world, there were people like me sitting in offices, day after day after day, who did not fully appreciate the depth and the speed with which you were being engulfed by this unimaginable terror."⁶² His sincerity was coupled with acknowledged ignorance of what was taking place during the spring of 1994. Were the United States and the rest of the world truly oblivious to the mass shipments of machetes being imported into Rwanda? Were they truly oblivious to the desperate cries for help being sent to the United Nations Council by Major General Romeo Dallaire and other

⁶¹ *Text of President Clinton's address to genocide survivors at the airport in Kigali, Rwanda, as provided by the White House.*

⁶² *Ibid.*

peacekeeping officials? Did they just simply not know, or did they not know because they chose to turn a blind-eye in hopes that the problem would resolve itself? The United States' reluctance to quickly intervene in Rwanda was the direct product of contemporaneous failures in the African country of Somalia.

In August of 1992, the United Nations embarked on "Operation Provide Relief." It was a mission to prevent the deaths of hundreds of thousand lives in Somalia at the hands of clan leaders who were preventing food and supplies from being distributed to the poor. Somalia, which has been in an on-going civil war since 1991 when clan leaders overtook the government, had citizens dying in mass numbers due to drought and the lack of food. Unfortunately, these efforts by the UN to prevent famine resulted in assaults on aid workers and the hijacking of food and supplies. After seeing that their efforts were unsuccessful, the UN then asked members to assist the efforts.⁶³

Having been defeated for re-election by incoming President Bill Clinton on November 3rd, 1992, President George H. W. Bush perhaps saw the opportunity to help the Somalis as one last heroic humanitarian effort for his administration. The world looked up to the United States as a "superpower" and President Bush may have wanted to uphold this reputation. Therefore, on December 4th, 1992, the 41st United States President, George H. W. Bush, deployed approximately 25,000 United

⁶³ Frontline. "Ambush in Mogadishu," 1998 Written, produced and directed by William Cran season 16 episode 13.

States Army troops to Somalia in a humanitarian effort to prevent starvation through the mission called "Operation Restore Hope."

The 41st President's intentions were to make the Somali mission quick, while avoiding their ongoing civil war by focusing solely on the famine crisis and making food available to Somalis. His vision was to have the deployed troops home before the incoming 42nd president, Bill Clinton, was sworn into office that following January. Unfortunately, the mission which should have lasted only a couple of months ended up being the most deadly and humiliating humanitarian effort in United States history.

While simultaneously dealing with the crisis occurring in Somalia, the UN was also receiving correspondence regarding the crisis taking place in Rwanda. To outsiders analyzing the turmoil in Rwanda, it seemed to mimic those in Somalia. Each had fallen government officials. Each was dealing with rebels. Each was labeled "civil wars" and had innocent citizens dying. For Somalia, innocent lives were being lost because rebels were preventing food from being delivered. Food was being stolen while in transit to the needy was used as monetary access to weapons and payment for clan loyalty to fight the war. In Rwanda, however, innocent lives were being lost because they did not physically conform to the qualities of being Hutu. In Rwanda, people were being murdered because they were seen as tainted by their ancestry.

Watching the Rwanda chaos unfold from a distance were member states of the United Nations (UN), an international organization that was founded after the World War II in an effort to maintain international peace and minimize international conflict. Some of the countries loosely monitoring the Rwandan Civil War since it began in October of 1990 were the United States, Tanzania and France.

The civil war began when the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) invaded Rwanda in an effort to return Tutsis and moderate Hutus back to Rwanda after being exiled to Uganda. Those monitoring the events taking place in the country were doing so without major intervention in hopes the fighting would cease once the Rwandan government and RPF were able to regain control of the situation through peace talks.

After three years, it was apparent that the Rwandan government and RPF were not going to be able to reach a compromise without the aid of third party intervention. Many governmental meetings and documents were drafted and signed in Arusha, Tanzania in the year 1993, with the purpose of restoring peace in Rwanda. None however, were fully upheld or taken seriously and therefore the fighting continued.

On August 4th, 1993, the *Peace Agreement Between The Government of The Republic of Rwanda and The Rwandese Patriotic Front*, more commonly known as the Arusha Accord, was signed in the presence of UN officials by Rwandan President,

Juvénal Habyarimana, and RPF Chairman, Alexis Kanyarengwe.⁶⁴ The purpose of the eight page document was to declare an end to the Rwandan Civil War, enforce previously signed peace documents, and implement a transitional government that would oversee the execution of power-sharing between the Rwandan Hutu-led government and the Tutsi-led group RPF.

To the world, President Juvénal Habyarimana, who had once promoted anti-Tutsi movements, exile and hate, and whose family owned the radio station RTLM, seemed to display friendliness toward Tutsis. For the Hutu extremists, the Rwandan president's signature on the Arusha Accord was regarded as an ultimate betrayal to his country, to his and race, and was seen by many Hutu radicals as traitorous.

Preceding the peace talks and the Arusha Accords of 1993, UN peacekeepers were sent to Rwanda. Their purpose was to "patrol a cease-fire and assist in demilitarization and demobilization as well as help provide a secure environment, so that exiled Tutsi could return."⁶⁵ The group was called the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), and its Force Commander was Canadian Major General, Romeo Dallaire. Dallaire had very little data regarding the occurrences taking place in Rwanda, and according to his executive assistant, Major Beardsley, the UNAMIR was "...under the impression that the situation was quite

⁶⁴ "Peace Agreement Between The Government of The Republic of Rwanda and The Rwandese Patriotic Front." *United Nations Peacemaker*. April 8, 1993. http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/RW_930804_PeaceAgreementRwanda-RwandesePatrioticFront.pdf.

⁶⁵ Samantha Power, *A Problem From Hell, America and the Age of Genocide* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2002), 336.

straightforward: There was one cohesive government side and one cohesive rebel side, and they had come together to sign the peace agreement and had then requested that [the UNAMIR] come in to help implement it.”⁶⁶

According to Alison Des Forges, who once served as the senior advisor at Human Rights Watch for the continent of Africa and author of *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda*, a U.N. military expert made the suggestion that the UNAMIR send at least 8,000 soldiers to Rwanda. General Romeo Dallaire requested 4,500. The United States, who was entangled with the civil war in Somalia and who was also attempting to cut peacekeeping funds, made the suggestion of 500 soldiers. It was finally decided by the U.N. that 2,548 soldiers be sent to Rwanda with Dallaire to assist with the peacekeeping efforts.⁶⁷ According to Des Forges, “The delay in funding [for UNAMIR], in addition to other administrative problems, resulted in the force not receiving essential equipment and supplies, including armored personnel carriers and ammunition.”⁶⁸

On October 3rd of 1993, Americans watched in horror as the body of a United States soldier was dragged through the Somalia capital, Mogadishu, while the Somalis, which they were there to aid, cheered. The world was outraged. Americans were distraught and infuriated that the United States government failed to protect these soldiers by sending them into such tumultuous conditions and for such an

⁶⁶ Ibid., 340.

⁶⁷ Alison Des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda*(Human Rights Watch, March 1999), 99.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 100.

extended period of time. Therefore, on October 7th, 1993, President Bill Clinton made the decision to have all United States troops out of Somalia in five months. On March 25th, 1994, his promise was fulfilled.

On April 6th, 1994, only twelve days after the United States' military departure from Somalia, President Juvénal Habyarimana was returning to Rwanda along with Burundian President Cyprien Ntaryamira after additional peace talks in Tanzania. Just as their plane descended upon the Rwandan capital of Kigali, it was violently shot down. Hutu extremists blamed Tutsis for the incident while Tutsis claimed the assassinations were an act of Hutus who felt beguiled by their Hutu-led government.

Regardless of the responsible party, this event and date have come to serve as the significant marker for the commencement of the Rwandan genocide. It was the day that the chaos escalated. It was the day that in which the small amount of hope held by the Tutsis incinerated along with the plane.

With U.S. troops finally back home after an unsuccessful humanitarian mission, political analyst and mainstream media focused on determining why things went drastically wrong in Somalia. Americans wanted answers for the reasons why United States soldiers, who were sent to Africa for a noble purpose, were sent home in caskets. Americans wanted to know why they were interfering with a war in which they had no interest. Therefore, leaving one African country who did not benefit from U.N. and U.S. presence and immediately entering another could have not only cost additional military lives, but could have also proven to be the demise

of Clinton's administration. Unfortunately, the only significant action the U.N took immediately after the presidents' assassinations was to protect foreign workers within the country by removing them from Rwanda.

To preface the fact that the U.N. had been aware of the potential bloodshed, in January 11th, 1994, a facsimile was sent by General Dallaire, the subject line read: "Request for Protection for Informant." This fax contained information General Dallaire had received from a top Rwandan governmental official regarding the suspected intent to kill thousands of registered Tutsis as well as Belgian peacekeepers. The Rwandan informant gave Dallaire information regarding mass weapons that were being stowed for easy access once the killings were to begin and even provided information as to why Dallaire considered the informant a trusted source. The memo requested that the UN supply passports for the informant along with his wife and four children so that their lives may be spared upon divulging the intended killing. General Dallaire ended the memo with the quote "Peux ce que veux. Allons-y," which loosely translates to mean: "Where there's a will, there's a way. Let's go."⁶⁹

Unwilling to be as eager as Dallaire with taking action, Iqbal Riza, the deputy to the then U.N.'s Peacekeeping Operator, Kofi Annan, immediately wired back to Dallaire rejecting his intentions to take action in Rwanda. According to Samantha Power, Riza's response was "Not Somalia again" and commanded the General not to take

⁶⁹ See Appendix F for a copy of the actual fax sent by General Dallaire

action.⁷⁰ Dallaire's persistent pleas to act fell upon deaf ears and as time passed on and spring approached, Dallaire and his troops had to simply watch the killings escalate, while they concentrated on protecting their own lives.

⁷⁰ Ibid. Power. 344.

CHAPTER X

WATCHING GENOCIDE FROM AFAR

A genocide is a conspiracy aimed at the total destruction of a group and thus requires a concerted plan of action. The instigators and initiators of a genocide are cool-minded theorists first and barbarians only second. The specificity of genocide does not arise from the extent of the killings, nor their savagery or resulting infamy, but solely from the intention: the destruction of a group.

-Alain Destexhe

When the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi were assassinated in the late evening hours of April 6th, 1994, the official beginning date for the genocide was marked. Mass ethnic killings and assassinations of officials, however, had been taking place long before the plane was shot down. In 1972, approximately 100,000 Hutu were massacred in Burundi when Hutus attempted to gain political control.⁷¹ On October 21st, 1993, the previous Burundian president, Melchior Ndadaye-a Hutu, was assassinated and reportedly tortured by Tutsi officers after just four months in office. This time was different because UNAMIR personnel were present on Rwandan ground, having knowledge of what was about to take place, and with what

⁷¹ Burundi is an African country located south of Rwanda which has a very similar ethnic make-up as Rwanda. In 1962, Tutsis lost political control to Hutus in Rwanda; however, Tutsis remained the controlling ethnic group in Burundi. It was not until June of 1993 in which the first Hutu, Melchior Ndadaye, was elected into political office.

Armenians into what is present-day Syria. En route to Syria, over half of those being deported, died having suffered from rapes, beatings, exhaustion, dehydration, and starvation. According to Power, "In January 1915, in remarks reported by the *New York Times*, Talaat said that there was no room for Christians in Turkey and that their supporters should advise them to clear out."⁷³ Talaat also later told a reporter: "We have been reproached for making no distinction between the innocent Armenians and the guilty. But that was utterly impossible, in view of the fact that those who were innocent today might be guilty tomorrow."⁷⁴

Henry Moregenthau Sr. was appointed by President Woodrow Wilson as the United States' ambassador to the Ottoman Empire (which included Turkey) in 1913. When the killings first started in January 1915, Moregenthau was both skeptical and reserved with his opinion as to what was actually taking place. However, later in July, after receiving many accounts of similar stories from distraught Armenians, Moregenthau requested an intervention from the United States to halt what he termed as "race murder."⁷⁵ Unfortunately, the Wilson administration opted not to act because American rights were not being violated; therefore, the United States held no interest in the horrific events.

⁷³ Ibid., Power, 2.

⁷⁴ Ibid., Power, 8.

⁷⁵ Ibid., Power, 6.

Moregenthau did not relent, yet continued to campaign for the lives of innocent Armenians when he wrote:

I earnestly beg the Department to give this matter urgent and exhaustive consideration with a view to reaching a conclusion which may possibly have the effect of checking [Turkey's] Government and certainly provide opportunity for efficient relief which now is not permitted. It is difficult for me to restrain myself from doing something to stop this attempt to exterminate race, but I realize that I am here as Ambassador and must abide by the principles of non-interference with the internal affairs of another country.⁷⁶

Fortunately for Morgenthau, he was a long time friend of the *New York Times* publisher. This allowed Morgenthau's accounts to reach the American people through press, the only and most credible method for news to reach Americans. After reading headlines that described "massacres" and "slaughters," Americans were determined to assist the Armenians even though their government would not. Money was raised by non-government organizations in the United States to aid in the efforts to save Armenian lives, however their efforts were not enough.

Morgenthau left Turkey in 1916 feeling defeated. He stated that "My failure to stop the destruction of the Armenians had made Turkey for me a place of horror—I had reached the end of my resources."⁷⁷ The crimes that Talaat committed could not be identified as such because there were no international laws forbidding leaders from massacring people within their own nation. It was from this event that Rafael

⁷⁶ Cited by Samantha Power as a cite from *Stay the Hand of Vengeance* p. 346. This was one of many cables sent from Henry Morgenthau to the U.S. Secretary of State, Robert Lansing on August 11, 1915 pleading with the United States to assist the Armenians.

⁷⁷ Cited by Samantha Power p. 13 from Morgenthau's autobiography *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, p. 385.

Lemkin established his determination to not only bring the act of mass killings to the forefront of international politicians, but to give it the definable term of *genocide* so it could be recognized and prevented in the future. Unfortunately, there would be future acts of genocide and future hesitations to act quickly.

Ukrainians

Over an eighteen month span from 1932 to 1933, the countryside of Ukraine was plagued by the *Holodomor*, which translates in Ukrainian to mean “death by hunger.” It was a systematic starvation of between 7 and 10 million people through an artificially inflicted famine created by the Soviet Union’s de facto leader Joseph Stalin and his Communist Party.

Stalin had great plans of achieving mass scales of industrialization. In 1928, approximately four years after Stalin entered into power over the Soviet Union, he began implementing a system of collective agriculture in Ukraine. His desire was to disallow private farmers the sole proprietorship of their land, farming equipment, livestock and crops. He instead created a system where the farmer’s labor and all that enveloped their farming opulence would become government property. Quotas were set for the production of the crops which were to be used to feed those city workers assisting with his industrialization efforts, while the exportation of various crops would bring in money needed to fund his industrialization visions. A minimal

amount of the crops would be returned to the commonwealth to keep them nourished enough to continue working.⁷⁸

The government was met with resistance from the farmers who had been accustomed to independent control of their land and money. In protest, many farmers began killing their own livestock to prevent the government from benefiting from it. This unfortunately, only resulted in their production quotas being raised. In 1932, Stalin became so enraged that quotas were not being met that he ordered all crop harvests be removed from the countryside and prevented the importation of food to the country-people. While they continued to work on the now government owned crops, they were forbade from consuming or removing any of the crops to which they attended. Doing so would result in their preauthorized execution.

Bodies began piling up throughout the country of Ukraine in communal graves. Proper burials for the deceased were not allowed. Though many creditable outsiders were aware of the enforced famine taking place and the deaths, few did anything to stop it. Those who were brave enough to speak up were libeled as “anticommunist.” It has been noted that famed science-fiction writer H.G. Wells, playwright George Bernard Shaw, Pulitzer Prize winner Walter Duranty, and British Prime minister Winston Churchill were perhaps all aware of what was taking place in Ukraine but did not advocate for the famine’s recognition or ceasing.⁷⁹ Their

⁷⁸ Slako Nowytski and Yuriy Luhovy. 2004. International Historic Films, Inc. *Harvest of Despair: The Unknown Holocaust The Great Famine in Ukraine* (DVD).

⁷⁹ Ibid.

views remained neutral in public as they chose to not allow Ukraine's occurrences to affect their daily lives.

Perhaps these individuals were afraid of losing their lives had they spoke out against Stalin's empire. Perhaps their social intellect caused them to interpret the occurrences as an inevitable part of nationalism that took place centuries prior and would continue to exist for centuries in the future. Either way, they each took a passive and non-interfering view as to how Stalin was causing the deaths of millions.

Jews

The failure to acknowledge mass murders continued on with the most infamous of genocides- the Holocaust. The Holocaust refers to the mass race murders during the period of time when Adolf Hitler became Chancellor of Germany on January 30, 1933 until World War II ended in Europe on May 8th, 1945. During this time frame, the Hitler-led German government and the National Socialist (Nazi) Party carried out what they wanted to be the complete extermination of the Jewish race. At the end of the war, a total of "...some 6 million Jews and 5 million Poles, Roma, Communists, and other 'undesirables' had been exterminated."⁸⁰

It was this horrific incident and the many years of Raphael Lemkin's efforts that finally pushed forward international laws that defined and outlawed genocide. On December 9th, 1948, the United Nations adopted the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crime of Genocide* which defined the meaning of genocide, listed

⁸⁰ Ibid. Power, 47.

the types of crimes that would be punishable in regards to genocide, and states that those charged with genocide would be "...tried by a competent tribunal of the State in the territory of which the act was committed..."⁸¹

Though laws were now in place, mass killings with the purpose of eliminating a specific group later occurred in Cambodia, Iraq and of course Rwanda.⁸² The communist leader Pol Pot exterminated 2 million intellectually elite Cambodians that he saw as threats to his regime while Saddam Hussein exterminated Kurds living in Iraq through the use of chemical weapons.⁸³

The problem with quickly identifying genocide in its incipient stage is the fact that it is usually entangled in an existing war and is driven by fear that a particular sector will take over. Those not directly involved in the war attempt to stay neutral in hopes that things will resolve within a reasonable timeframe. When onlookers see the killings, they tend to be viewed as casualties of war rather than victims of genocide. In all of these cases, recognition and acknowledgement of what was actually taking place occurred too late. Collectively, millions upon millions of lives were lost as a result of genetic hatred and organized killings.

⁸¹ *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide Article 6*, Resolution 260(III) A of the United Nations General Assembly

⁸² Ibid. Power, 87-154.

⁸³ Though the Cambodia incident was never formally recognized as a genocide, many scholars argue that it was indeed such. Pol Pot's mission was to cleanse the country of Cambodia of modern thinkers and intellectuals. He wanted the country to return to its foundation therefore he ordered the killings of monks, artists, and those with an education level of above Grade 7. He removed any type of modern technology used by the Cambodians and implemented indigenous methods along with forced labor camps. Included in the count of 2 million executed are those starved to death and those from which medical attention was withheld due to Pol Pot's rule.

CHAPTER XI

RWANDA

When the genocide occurred in Rwanda, most outside countries viewed the deaths as unfortunate results of civil war. It was difficult to look past the war and see that innocent civilian lives were being taken. The killings were the product of calculated plans to extinguish an entire ethnic group and its supporters as a result of the implemented ancient idea of race amongst those of the same ethnicity. The racist classifications of the Hutus, Tutsis, and Twas which were implemented by the earliest Rwandan explorers in an effort to create order ironically, caused chaos.

The genocides that occurred against the Armenian, Ukrainians and Jews, occurred over a span of years. The Rwandan genocide was quite rapid. In a mere 100 days, 800,000 people lost their lives because of the maniacal and unreasonable differences. Individuals who sought refuge in schools and churches were lead there only to allow for their quicker extermination. Hutus went door to door, seeking out Tutsis and their supporters to slaughter them with machetes. Their bodies were left where they fell-on streets, in door-ways, and in fields. Women and girls were mostly mutilated and raped with their lives only being spared for the purpose of repeated rapes. When the genocide ended, women comprised 70% of the population with

only between 25%-30% of the Tutsi population surviving.⁸⁴ The killing was massive. 800,000 people killed in 100 days translates to 8000 people killed per day, and just over 333 people killed every hour.

Dead bodies filled the lakes and polluted drinking water. Roadways were cluttered with corpses which were crushed by passing vehicles. When personally viewing photos and videos of the genocide aftermath, the bodies thrown about the city seem unrealistic. I cannot fathom the smells from the decomposing corpses or the sounds of those barely alive moaning, or the feel of driving a car over thousands of bodies just to get through town. I will never know what it must have felt like to be a child abandoning other family members to run as fast as possible to hide from the violence, all while hearing the cries of loved ones being killed. I will never fully comprehend what it must have been like for the children who took refuge beneath the mounds of dead bodies in order to be perceived as dead, thereby saving their own life.

The scene that remained after the genocide was definitely the reality of Rwandans and the cleanup efforts became their immediate life. The dead bodies throughout the country and the contaminated water caused additional deaths to occur as a result of cholera. The churches and schools which would have served as shelters after a disaster were unavailable because they had previously been used as mass slaughtering buildings. They were all full of rotting corpses and disease.

⁸⁴ The death toll of the Rwandan Genocide: A detailed analysis for Gikongoro province

A majority of the slaughtered Rwandans were buried in mass graves. Some had family members who were able to identify them and add their name to memorial markers. In other cases, entire families were murdered, leaving no one to identify bodies. Rather than being a country which embraced its heritage and diverse cultural backgrounds, they were Rwandans fighting Rwandans because of arbitrary racism was implemented at the time of their colonization. At the end of the 100 days of murder, the RPF took control of the Rwandan capital of Kigali, which ended the slaughtering and allowed for the placement of a reformed government.

The genocide prompted massive amounts of disease, heartache and poverty across an already ill-stricken nation, while also leaving unequal gender lines. In 1994, immediately following the genocide, females comprised 70 percent of Rwanda's population. With women as the vast majority, there was no room adherence to traditional gender roles when mobilizing the national recovery efforts that needed to take place. Women filled positions and roles that were generally sanctioned for men. They were responsible for burying the numerous deceased, finding homes for over 500,000 orphans, and building shelters. These increased responsibilities boosted Rwandan women's confidence in leadership roles.⁸⁵

Rwanda's Parliament now goes to great lengths to advocate a quota system for the insurance of women representation. In 2003, Rwanda's constitution

⁸⁵ Powley, Elizabeth. "Strengthening Governance: The Role of Women in Rwanda's Transition." *United Nations Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women*. Ed. Glen Cove. United Nations, Jan. 2004. Web. 17 Mar. 2011.

implemented a quota system requiring 30 percent of its parliamentary seats to be designated for women. Because of their quota system, questions exist as to whether or not Rwanda can be considered a true democratic nation, and if the large number of female political representation promotes equality within the country. Most analysts support the increased female membership within the Rwandan governance; however, some take issue with how they acquired their positions and even if their presence makes a difference for Rwanda. It seems important to determine if governmental quota systems are beneficial considering that it is becoming a trend for many African country. Five contributors to this subject, Claire Devlin, Robert Elgie, Jennie E. Burnet, Elizabeth Powley, and Gretchen Bauer, researched and examined whether or not quota systems and heightened female presence, specifically in Rwanda's parliament, help alleviate gender inequality. Through the use of conceptual research methods, the main question asked by these researchers is "Does a quota system within the Rwanda Parliament contribute to gender fairness within the country and whether or not such systems are effective?" Though some believe quotas benefit female progression and the overall ambiance of the government, there are also those to oppose enforcing quotas due to its ability to promote discrimination.

Voting in Rwanda now uses of a three ballot system that consists of a general ballot, a women's ballot, and a youth ballot. The general ballot has an education requirement; therefore, candidates, such as district mayor Florence Kamili Kayiraba,

who is mentioned in Elizabeth Powley's article, opt to run on the general ballot, thus leaving an opening for another female candidate on the woman's ballot. During Powley's interview with Kayiraba, the district mayor explains that despite the quota system, some women are still reluctant to run for office due to the fear associated with campaigning.

Elizabeth Powley's article, *Strengthening Governance: The Role of Women in Rwanda's Transition*, notes Rwanda's government as "determined that women must be central to the process of governing, reconciling, and rebuilding the country."⁸⁶ Reasons for this belief have to do with the fact that the Rwandan people cite women as the lingering victims of the genocide. During the genocide, many women witnessed their husbands, brothers, and other male figures in their lives be senselessly slaughtered. The women however, were raped and/or injured only to the point where they would suffer slow agonizing deaths. This torment coupled with a woman's biological predisposition to be the more compassionate sex is why, according to Powley, that Rwandans strive to have women in their political forefront. This thought also illustrates why women are less likely to invoke and partake in conflict. Powley also acknowledges that the country recognizes gender differences and translates them into a positive attribute for their government.

The Effect of Increased Women's Representation in Parliament: The Case of Rwanda, by Claire Devlin and Robert Elgie, highlights the fact that Rwanda has the

⁸⁶ Ibid., 5.

“highest proportion of women representation in the world.”⁸⁷ In 2008, when the article was written, women occupied 48.8% of government seats. Currently, the total is 56.3% according to Rwanda’s governmental website.

In opposition to the quota system, Jennie E. Burnet’s article, *Gender Balance and the Meanings of Women in Governance in Post-Genocide Rwanda*, makes several viable points about why quota systems may *not* be ideal for parliaments. Burnet states that many women who were elected into governmental positions were not “well equipped to advocate on contentious women’s issues” and that some “lacked critical experiential knowledge of how to lobby a non-democratic government” and were also unable to negotiate at a political level.⁸⁸

Burnet implies that the current Rwandan president, Paul Kagame, and his RPF background have produced a government that is more authoritarian and less democratic. Burnet notes that having women involved in the governmental sector of the country detracts from their involvement in civil society organizations, thereby leaving these groups with “fewer experienced female leaders.”⁸⁹ Women’s presence seems to be for “show” with the ultimate decisions being made by Kagame’s personally selected cabinet and his RPF mentality. Having increased female representatives also establishes RPF loyalty and it seems as though the members of

⁸⁷ Claire Devlin and Robert Elgie, “The Effect of Increased Women’s Representation in Parliament: The Case of Rwanda.” *Parliamentary Affairs* 61.223, 238.

⁸⁸ Jennie E. Burnet, “Gender Balance and the Meanings of Women in Governance in Post Genocide Rwanda.” *African Affairs* (May 2008), 379.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 380.

parliament simply decide what has already been decided by the RPF. According to Burnet, “representatives who fail to toe the RPF line are forced to resign.”⁹⁰

Viewpoints about the quota systems can also be seen within the article written by Gretchen Bauer, entitled *Fifty/Fifty by 2020*. Though she acknowledges that many women in Parliament are university educated, she also states that their voice is simply an echo of the views established by the RPF because, “reserved seats are ‘given’ in exchange for loyalty to the president or ruling party.”⁹¹ The main question Bauer asks is whether or not the increase of women has any impact on legislature? The answer is most likely yes. Bauer writes that Rwandan women parliament members have accomplished revising inheritance and rape laws, and also assisted in banning discrimination. She also states that the female members of parliament are more likely than their male counterparts to bring up women’s issues for review by parliament. Despite how these women are placed into office, Bauer feels as though there still needs to be “strong autonomous women’s movements and traditions of political advocacy” for effective political influences to take place.⁹²

“Genocide and Mass Killing: Origins, Prevention, Healing and Reconciliation” by Ervin Staub is an article describing the events that lead to the genocide, the events of the genocide, and the ways in which the country is aiming toward prevention of another senseless mass killing of its citizens. Staub presents the least political view

⁹⁰ Ibid., 381.

⁹¹ Gretchen Bauer, “Fifty.Fifty by 2020 Electoral Gender Quotas for Parliament in East and Southern Africa” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 103. 2008,358.

⁹² Ibid., 361.

and focuses on the psychological effects before and after genocide. His article illustrates how groups can heal the mental pain of such events. Staub states that those involved in the Rwanda genocide “need to reestablish connections to other human beings, both within and outside their group” and that “acknowledging their pain and offering support can be important to healing.”⁹³ This necessary compassion is why Rwandans feel gender quota systems will help prevent another genocide occurrence.

In some instances, the Rwandan people are using traditional Gacaca courts and are shying away from the politics associated with a legal system, when seeking justice for genocide related crimes. Gacaca courts are basically community tribunals used in favor of traditional criminal prosecution. Gacaca courts not only ease the crowdedness of the judicial system, but it allows for traditional justice which had been taken away as the result of colonization. Gacaca courts “find an appropriate balance between denouncing the abuses committed by the former regime, consolidating the new regime, and achieving reconciliation.”⁹⁴ Gacaca courts use the system of having community elders and other citizens hear the accused crimes and determine whether or not the accused are remorseful. Punishment is generally community service related and helps rebuild communication and trust among all

⁹³ Ervin Staub, *The Roots of Evil: The Origins of Genocide and Other Group Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 376.

⁹⁴ Jeremy Sarkin, “The Tension Between Justice and Reconciliation in Rwanda: Politics, Human Rights, Due Process and the Role of the Gacaca Courts in Dealing With Genocide” *Journal of African Law*, 45, 2 (2001), 148.

the citizens. The Rwandan government now emphasizes that their people are Rwandans rather than having a Hutu or Tutsi designation. Though it is difficult for generations to dismiss their heritage, it would seem this is the most effective way to erase the ethnic divide which has plagued the country.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

"...The world must deeply repent this failure. Rwanda's tragedy was the world's tragedy. All of us who cared about Rwanda, all of us who witnessed its suffering, fervently wish that we could have prevented the genocide. Looking back now, we see the sign which then were not recognized. Now we know that what we did was not nearly enough—not enough to save Rwanda from itself, not enough to honor the ideals for which the United Nations exists. We will not deny that, in their greatest hour of need, the world failed the people of Rwanda..."

Kofi Annan

Former U.N. Secretary-General

Rwandans are no longer legally classified by their background of Tutsi, Hutu, or Twa. However, regardless of who has a majority charge of the Rwandan government, the pain of ethnic racism which has plagued the country is still fresh for many of its citizens. If racism is still present in the hearts of those unable to forgive the perpetrators of the genocide, they remain oppressed. The challenge that now faces Rwandans is the need to recognize the genocide without having it stir hate amongst those who may silently hold grudges. The country relies on future generations to get them past the ethnic hate. In some aspect, it would seem as if

forgetting about the racism would help suppress the anger; however, doing such poses a risk of recurrence.

The Rwandan genocide was quick and massive. It took many years of hate which then led to fear in order for so many people to unite in the commission of such murderous acts. The Rwandan genocide should stand as proof that fear can be incited through the use of propaganda, because radio media was how most of the hate was spread throughout Rwanda.

It is utterly revolting how early explorers were able to enter a country and completely change its dynamics, not only for those at the time but for all future generations. Unfortunately, this occurrence is not an isolated one and can be seen with colonization all over the world, specifically in terms of colonizing the United States. Establishing government systems and the act of invading for empirical gain is not new, nor will it ever probably become old. It is something that has been taking place since the beginning of documented civilizations and it is sadly, how humans function.

Forgetting is not an option. Learning from the mistakes of previous societies however, could prove to be a remarkable feat for future generations. One cannot help but wonder what the explorers and colonizers of Rwanda would think if they were able to see that their actions eventually led to genocide. I wonder if they would perhaps do things differently or if they would just attempt to “scientifically” justify the genocide with additional bogus philosophies.

Regardless of what happened in Rwanda's beginnings or the events that set forth the hate, everyone is able to learn valuable lessons from these events. Worldwide, people should all be able to take away the fact that "race" is arbitrary and should never be used to rank one's status. Everyone is born of a different background and that background should be used for historical purposes and not classification purposes.

We should also all be made aware of how genocide hides behind war. It is one thing when an individual decides to act as a hero, but there will also be conflict when a leader must make the choice to have his military act as a hero. This is why it is important for all individuals to stay informed of world events and political dynamics of other countries, so their own country will have support when the decision to intervene is made. It is not solely the duty of government officials to recognize the potential for genocide, but everyone who has the desire to live as a free individual.

I once read that in order to forgive someone, you must no longer be internally affected by the actions of that person. It is almost impossible for this to be the case in Rwanda. Forgiveness would have to be defined differently by each individual in order for the country as a whole to heal. Perhaps some forgive because they are scared not to, others perhaps forgive because their religion requires them to. Either way, I believe that acknowledging the reasons why racism and hate were present in Rwanda and recognizing it as absurd, is most important in moving past the pain of

the genocide. Racism and hate are quite powerful and can cause the human psyche to dismiss actual scientific reasoning. As long as the two trends of hate and racism exist, there will always be a risk of genocide in any country.

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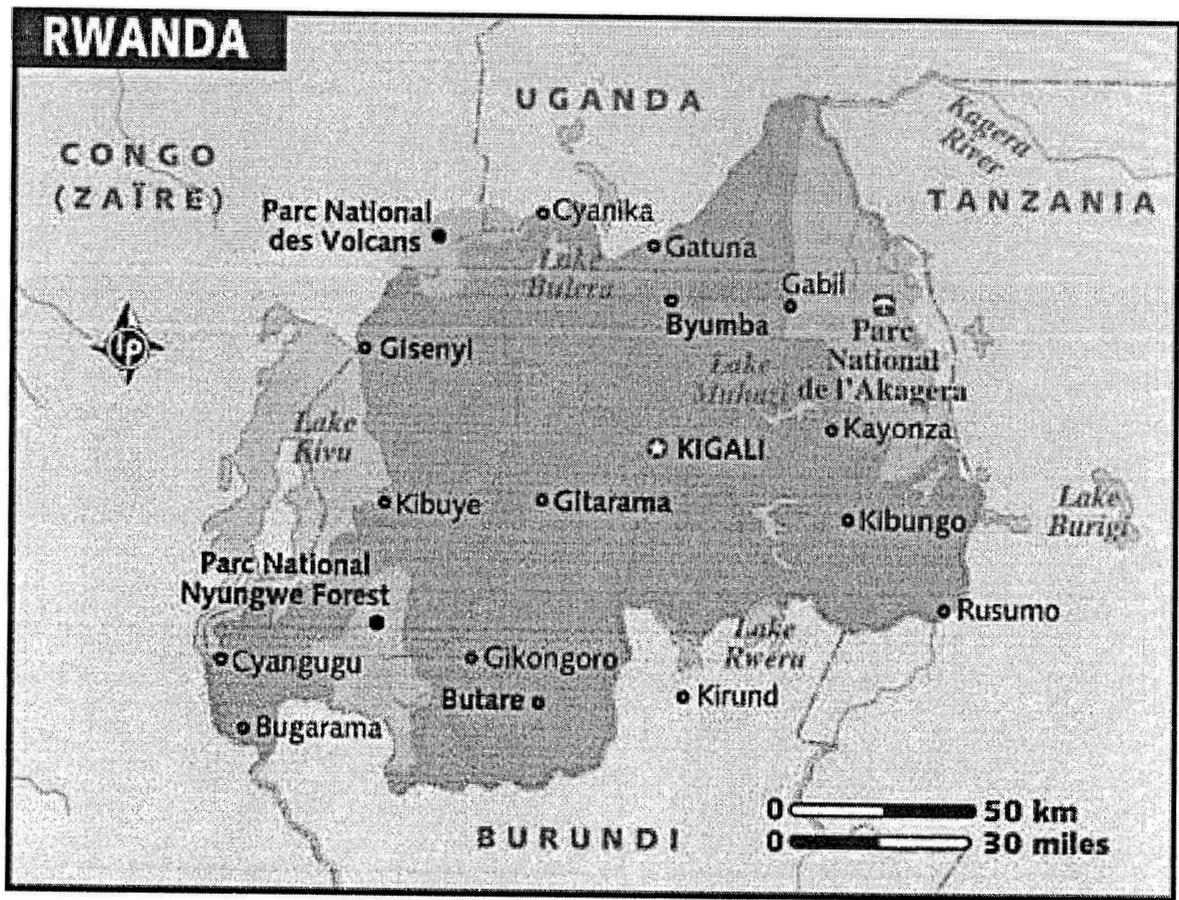
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APPENDIX A
Map of Rwanda



Source: www.lonelyplanet.com

APPENDIX B

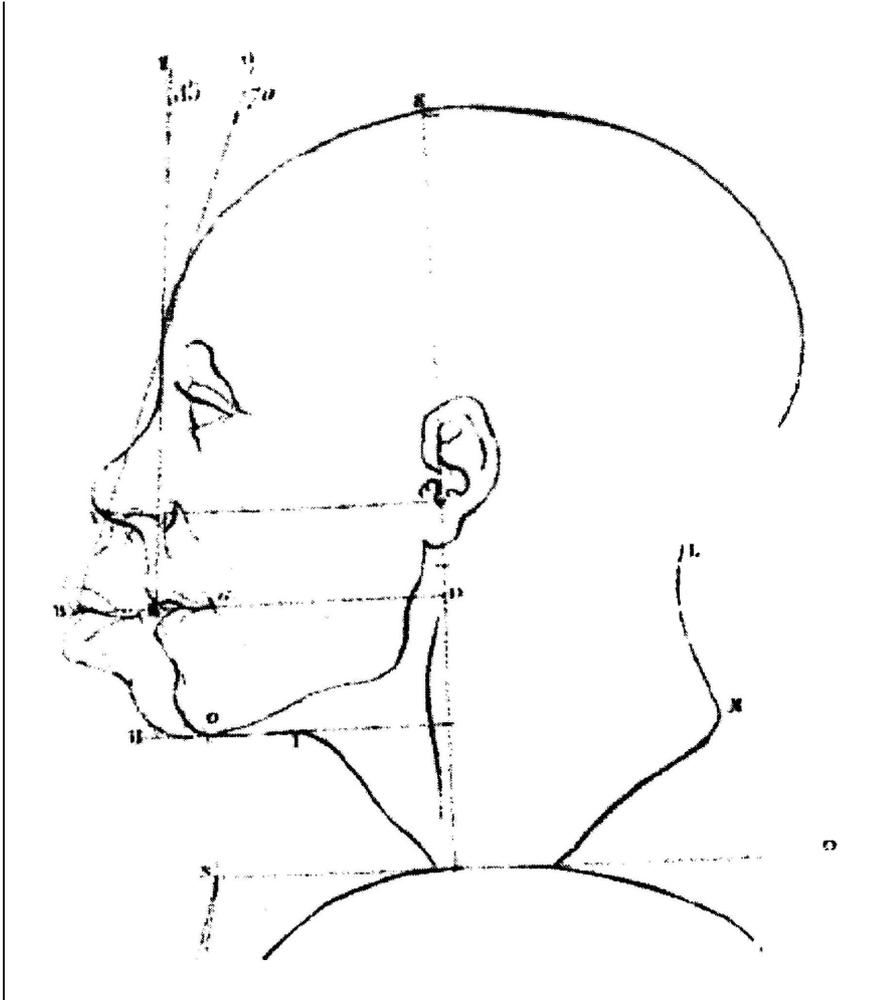
Image of Nose Caliper



Source: Kigali Genocide Memorial Archival Documents

APPENDIX C

Petrus Camper's Sketch of Cranial Comparisons



Source: Martin S. Staum's *Labeling People: French Scholars on Society, Race, and Empire, 1815-1848*

APPENDIX D
Image of Identification Cards

igihwe urutako... 2015
 (Iminsi itaraye mu...)

Bakorewe... 1992

Umukoro wa... 1979

P/O... 1979

Komisi ya... 1979

Umukoro w'uruhawe

[Signature]



Nyewe BIBOMIERA T. PIERRE
 Burugumesitiri wa Komini ya NYARUGENDE
 nemejye ko KAYONGA ROISE
 ufite iranga-muntu n' 4378
 Komini MASANGO
 mwene GITSINBANYI
 na B.A.G. IRIVABO
 ahawe uruhukwiza rwo guchoka muri
 Komini ya NYARUGENDE
 Perefegitura ya KIGALI VILLE
 Impamvu imujyanye AKAZI K. UWUBATSI
KIBALI GITABARA BUTARE KIBUNGO
KIBUYE

Vol. 3



Uwoko (Hutu, Tutsi, ya nyarokorewa)
 Erega:

Aho yakuye Nyamansange
 (Lieu de Nécessaire)

Itariki yavutseho 1968
 (Date de Nécessaire)

Umunyacyaha Nyamansange
 (Profess)

Aho atuye Nyamansange
 (Lieu de domicile)

Amazina y'awo bashatanywe
 (Noms du Conjoint)

N° C.I.

Umukoro cyangwa igikumwe cya nyirayo
 (Signature ou l'empreinte du titulaire)

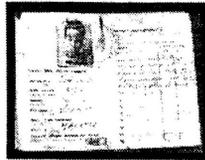
Amazina y'abana n'igihwe bavukiyeho
 (Noms, prénoms et date de naissance des enfants)

Amazina Noms et Prénoms	Yavutse kuwa Nd a	Igitinya Sexe
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		
7.		
8.		
9.		
10.		
11.		
12.		

Source: Kigali Genocide Memorial Archival Documents

APPENDIX E

List of Hutu 10 Commandments



genocide in rwanda

The 'Hutu Ten Commandments'

as published in *Kangura*, No. 6
(December 1990)

1. Every Hutu must know that the Tutsi woman, wherever she may be, is working for the Tutsi ethnic cause. In consequence, any Hutu is a traitor who:
 - Acquires a Tutsi wife;
 - Acquires a Tutsi concubine;
 - Acquires a Tutsi secretary or protégée.

2. Every Hutu must know that our Hutu daughters are more worthy and more conscientious as women, as wives and as mothers. Aren't they lovely, excellent secretaries, and more honest!

3. Hutu women, be vigilant and make sure that your husbands, brothers and sons see reason.

4. All Hutus must know that all Tutsis are dishonest in business. Their only goal is ethnic superiority. We have learned this by experience from experience. In consequence, any Hutu is a traitor who:
 - Forms a business alliance with a Tutsi
 - Invests his own funds or public funds in a Tutsi enterprise
 - Borrows money from or loans money to a Tutsi- Grants favors to Tutsis (import licenses, bank loans, land for construction, public markets...)

5. Strategic positions such as politics, administration, economics, the military and security must be restricted to the Hutu.

6. A Hutu majority must prevail throughout the educational system (pupils, scholars, teachers).

7. The Rwandan Army must be exclusively Hutu. The war of October 1990 has taught us that.
No soldier may marry a Tutsi woman.
8. Hutu must stop taking pity on the Tutsi.
9. Hutu wherever they be must stand united, in solidarity, and concerned with the fate of their Hutu brothers. Hutu within and without Rwanda must constantly search for friends and allies to the Hutu Cause, beginning with their Bantu brothers.
Hutu must constantly counter Tutsi propaganda.
Hutu must stand firm and vigilant against their common enemy: the Tutsi.
10. The Social Revolution of 1959, the Referendum of 1961 and the Hutu Ideology must be taught to Hutu of every age. Every Hutu must spread the word wherever he goes. Any Hutu who persecutes his brother Hutu for spreading and teaching this ideology is a traitor.

Source: [trumanwebdesign.com](http://www.trumanwebdesign.com)

APPENDIX F

Image of Fax sent by General Dallaire

OUTGOING CODE CABLE

DATE: 11 JANUARY 1994

MIR 47

TO: BARIL\OPROUNATIONS
NEW YORK

FROM: DALLATIA ONAMIR/KIGALI

FAX NO: MOST IMMEDIATE-COOS
CABLE-212-963-8632
INMARSAT:

FAX NO: 011-250-84273

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR PROTECTION FOR INFORMANT

ATTN: MGEN BARIL

ROOM NO. 2032

TOTAL NUMBER OF TRANSMITTED PAGES INCLUDING THIS ONE:

1. FORCE COMMANDER PUT IN CONTACT WITH INFORMANT BY VERY VERY IMPORTANT GOVERNMENT POLITICIAN. INFORMANT IS A TOP LEVEL TRAINER IN THE CADRE OF INTERHAMWE-ARMED MILITIA OF MRND.
2. HE INFORMED US HE WAS IN CHARGE OF LAST SATURDAY'S DEMONSTRATIONS WHICH AIMS WERE TO TARGET DEPUTIES OF OPPOSITION PARTIES COMING TO CEREMONIES AND BELGIAN SOLDIERS. THEY HOPED TO PROVOKE THE RPF EN TO ENGAGE (BEING FIRED UPON) THE DEMONSTRATORS AND PROVOKE A CIVIL WAR. DEPUTIES WERE TO BE ASSASSINATED UPON ENTRY OR EXIT FROM PARLIAMENT. BELGIAN TROOPS WERE TO BE PROVOKED AND IF BELGIANS SOLDIERS RESORTED TO FORCE A NUMBER OF THEM WERE TO BE KILLED AND THUS GUARANTEE BELGIAN WITHDRAWAL FROM RWANDA.
3. INFORMANT CONFIRMED 48 RCF PARA GDO AND A FEW MEMBERS OF THE GENDARMERIE PARTICIPATED IN DEMONSTRATIONS IN PLAIN CLOTHES. ALSO AT LEAST ONE MINISTER OF THE MRND AND THE SOUS-PREFECT OF KIGALI WERE IN THE DEMONSTRATION. RCF AND INTERHAMWE PROVIDED RADIO COMMUNICATIONS.
4. INFORMANT IS A FORMER SECURITY MEMBER OF THE PRESIDENT. HE ALSO STATED HE IS PAID RF180,000 PER MONTH BY THE MRND PARTY TO TRAIN INTERHAMWE. DIRECT LINK IS TO CHIEF OF STAFF RCF AND PRESIDENT OF THE MRND FOR FINANCIAL AND MATERIAL SUPPORT.
5. INTERHAMWE HAS TRAINED 1700 MEN IN RCF MILITARY CAMPS OUTSIDE THE CAPITAL. THE 1700 ARE SCATTERED IN GROUPS OF 40 THROUGHOUT KIGALI. SINCE UNAMIR DEPLOYED HE HAS TRAINED 300 PERSONNEL IN THREE WEEK TRAINING SESSIONS AT RCF CAMPS. TRAINING

2/2
 FOCUS WAS DISCIPLINE, WEAPONS, EXPLOSIVES, CLOSE COMBAT AND TACTICS.

6. PRINCIPAL AIM OF INTERHAMWE IN THE PAST WAS TO PROTECT KIGALI FROM RPF. SINCE UNAMIR MANDATE HE HAS BEEN ORDERED TO REGISTER ALL TUTSI IN KIGALI. HE SUSPECTS IT IS FOR THEIR EXTERMINATION. EXAMPLE HE GAVE WAS THAT IN 30 MINUTES HIS PERSONNEL COULD KILL UP TO 1000 TUTSIS.

7. INFORMANT STATES HE DISAGREES WITH ANTI-TUTSI EXTERMINATION. HE SUPPORTS OPPOSITION TO RPF BUT CANNOT SUPPORT KILLING OF INNOCENT PERSONS. HE ALSO STATED THAT HE BELIEVES THE PRESIDENT DOES NOT HAVE FULL CONTROL OVER ALL ELEMENTS OF HIS OLD PARTY/FACTION.

8. INFORMANT IS PREPARED TO PROVIDE LOCATION OF MAJOR WEAPONS CACHE WITH AT LEAST 135 WEAPONS. HE ALREADY HAS DISTRIBUTED 110 WEAPONS INCLUDING 25 WITH AMMUNITION AND CAN GIVE US DETAILS OF THEIR LOCATION. TYPE OF WEAPONS ARE G3 AND AK47 PROVIDED BY RPF. HE WAS READY TO GO TO THE ARMS CACHE TONIGHT-IF HE GAVE HIM THE FOLLOWING GUARANTEE. HE REQUESTS THAT HE AND HIS FAMILY (HIS WIFE AND FOUR CHILDREN) BE PLACED UNDER OUR PROTECTION.

9. IT IS OUR INTENTION TO TAKE ACTION WITHIN THE NEXT 16 HOURS WITH A POSSIBLE 8 HR OF WEDNESDAY AT DAWN (LOCAL). INFORMANT STATES THAT HOSTILITIES MAY COMMENCE AGAIN IF POLITICAL DEADLOCK ENDS. VIOLENCE COULD TAKE PLACE DAY OF THE CEREMONIES OR THE DAY AFTER. THEREFORE WEDNESDAY WILL GIVE GREATEST CHANCE OF SUCCESS AND ALSO BE MOST TIMELY TO PROVIDE SIGNIFICANT INPUT TO ON-GOING POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS.

10. IT IS RECOMMENDED THE INFORMANT BE GRANTED PROTECTION AND EVACUATED OUT OF RWANDA. THIS HQ DOES NOT HAVE PREVIOUS ON EXPERIENCE IN SUCH MATTERS AND URGENTLY REQUESTS GUIDANCE. NO CONTACT HAS AS YET BEEN MADE TO ANY EMBASSY IN ORDER TO INQUIRE IF THEY ARE PREPARED TO PROTECT HIM FOR A PERIOD OF TIME BY GRANTING DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY IN THEIR EMBASSY IN KIGALI BEFORE MOVING HIM AND HIS FAMILY OUT OF THE COUNTRY.

11. FORCE COMMANDER WILL BE MEETING WITH THE VERY VERY IMPORTANT POLITICAL PERSON TOMORROW MORNING IN ORDER TO ENSURE THAT THIS INDIVIDUAL IS CONSCIOUS OF ALL PARAMETERS OF HIS INVOLVEMENT. FORCE COMMANDER DOES HAVE CERTAIN RESERVATIONS ON THE SUDDENNESS OF THE CHANGE OF HEART OF THE INFORMANT TO COME CLEAN WITH THIS INFORMATION. RECCE OF ARMED CACHE AND DETAILED PLANNING OF RAID TO GO ON LATE TOMORROW. POSSIBILITY OF A TRAP NOT FULLY EXCLUDED. AS THIS MAY BE A SET-UP AGAINST THE VERY VERY IMPORTANT POLITICAL PERSON. FORCE COMMANDER TO INFORM SRSG FIRST THING IN MORNING TO ENSURE HIS SUPPORT.

13. PEUX CE QUE VEUX. ALLONS-Y.