

Historical Security Council

The Rwandan Genocide, 1994



Forum	Historical Security Council
Issue:	The Rwandan Genocide, 1994
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Introduction

On the 6th of April 1994, Rwandan President Juvénal Habyarimana's airplane was shot down, killing him, the Hutu President of Burundi, Cyprien Ntaryamira. This incident sparked the most vicious genocide of the late 20th century.

The almost centuries of segregation and conflict between the Hutus and Tutsis has finally erupted. Hutu militant groups organized themselves, and ordered the mass killing of all Tutsis of Rwanda as well as politicians who called for cooperation between the two sides. This led to a veritable bloodbath. Between the 6th of April and the current date, it has been estimated that around 500,000 Rwandan, mainly Tutsis have been killed all throughout the country. This genocide was particularly devastating as militias and military personnel were not the only members taking part in the ethnic cleansing, radio broadcasts such as the Radio *Television Libre des Mille Collines* and local officials called for ordinary citizens to cleanse their neighborhood of the "Tutsi vermin". Pitting neighbour against neighbour and family against family.

At present a solution needs to be found in order to stop the killings and to rehabilitate the country post-conflict. The consequences that the extremist groups which caused and participated in the genocide have to face also need to be discussed. Peace and prosperity needs to return to Rwanda, and it is up to the security council to ensure it.

Definition of Key Terms

Hutu and Tutsi



The Hutu and Tutsi were originally two social classes in the Rwandan society before the colonization by the German empire in the 1890s. They are very similar genetically, culturally, linguistically, but their divide is often attributed to social status in society, originally, Hutu is thought to have meant peasant, while Tutsi meant noble, therefore defining their status in Rwandan society. The Tutsi therefore had access to better living conditions, which led them to be taller, healthier, and have a lighter skin tone than the working Hutu. When the Germans arrived, they identified the two social groups into races, and enforced their rule via the Tutsi minority, who they saw as superior, which paved the way for segregation and a clear division in the country.

FPR (French Acronym)

The *Rwandese Alliance for National Unity* (FPR) was main the Tutsi militant force run by Kigame. It started out as guerilla fighters exiled in Uganda, but evolved in the opposing force of the Hutu government during the civil war and the genocides of 1990-1994.

FAR (French Acronym)

The *Rwandan armed forces* (FAR) were the national forces of the Hutu government. After Rwanda became a Hutu-dominated republic in 1961.

Background Information / General Overview

Rwandan Kingdom around 1000s-1961

Not much is known about the early days of the early Rwandan kingdom, or where and why the division between Hutus and Tutsis arose. What we do know is that the minority Tutsi owned the land, and ruled over the Hutu, who worked the fields and all other “lower class jobs”.

German East-Africa (Colonization) 1885-1919

When the Germans arrived in their colony, they classified Tutsis and Hutus as different races. The colonizers then identified the Tutsis as the superior race, and, after having arranged a puppet government exclusively with Tutsis, they passed all decisions and legislature via the ruling class. They used the Tutsis to enforce their rule with an iron fist, and did not hesitate to repress and mistreat the working Hutu class.



Belgian Mandate 1919-1945

After the first world war, the German colony was given to the Belgian crown as a mandate, and intensified the segregation and division of the ethnicities. They measured physical and mental attributes to determine the ethnicity of a Rwandan, and stamped their ethnicity on their identification documents. Just like the Germans had done, they ruled via the Tutsis with an iron fist, and terrorized the Hutu population into farming coffee beans. They used methods such as torture and mutilation to oppress the Hutus, and as reprisals for not meeting the unrealistic expectations of productions from the Belgians.

As the second world war came to an end, the British and the UN had made it clear that Rwandan independence was inevitable, and warned that the new government would be a democratic majority rule, where laws were made for a majority. This made the Belgians suddenly switch their favors with the majority of the Hutus in the final year leading to Independence, and created a rift in the now mixed ethnic government.

First revolution November 1959

With the independence of Rwanda being almost completed around 1960, the new calls for emancipation, Democracy and Equality, left the Tutsis fearing the reprisal sought after by the Hutus. The country needed to elect its first government in order to fully gain independence, which led to political parties such as the Hutu *Parmehutu* and the Tutsi *UNAR* offered the polar opposites of a Hutu-dominated Rwandan Republic, or a Tutsi Monarchy. It was at that time of extreme tensions that rumors of Tutsis murdering Hutus spread, and foreshadowed one of the worst Genocides in history.

In November 1959 Hutus then took to the streets and raped, looted, and committed arson. After victimizing the Tutsis, the Tutsi King Mwami called for a counter-attack, but was stopped by the Belgian government, who intercepted his plans and took back control of Rwanda. Belgium then announced that they would mediate election and would hold elections in 1961, elections that would decide Rwanda's future.



Independent Rwanda and first acts of killing and genocide

After the overwhelming vote for a republic, and the ongoing violence against them, over 300,000 Tutsis went into exile. Burundi and Rwanda became two separate states, and in 1962, the Rwandan republic was created (right).

The Ugandan refugees were the first to enter conflict against the newly formed *Rwandan armed forces (FAR)*. The neighboring Tutsi government in Burundi then killed nearly 200,000 Hutus in their new borders, in reprisal for Tutsi discrimination in Rwanda.

In 1973, Hutu president Juvénal Habyarimana (right) seized power in Rwanda, and turned it into a one party state. His surprising small effort to reconcile the two ethnicities with reforms and new laws were met with country-wide anger and disapproval, stopping all reforms and making him disliked among his people.

Exiled Tutsi leaders in Uganda such as Fred Rwigyema and Paul Kagame were part of *the Rwandese Alliance for National Unity*, initially attempted to incite reforms and to make Tutsis go into power to stop the segregation, but quickly became a militant group that would fight skirmishes with Hutus, they participated in the *Bush war of the 1980s* and became acclaimed leaders after their victories.

The *Rwandese Alliance for National Unity* (left) and went from a political entity seeking equality, to a militant group seeking to overthrow the Hutus from power. They were made up of veterans, and prepared a full-scale invasion of their country.

Invasion of Rwanda by the FPR and French intervention

On October 1st 1990, FPR forces crossed the border between Uganda and Rwanda and managed to get a foothold into the country by taking the FAR off guard. After a few days, commander Rwigyema was killed, and pushed Kagame (right) to leave his studies in the U.S to fight the war.



French troops arrived in Rwanda on the grounds that they were there to protect French Nationals, which meant French speakers. They wished to protect Rwanda and its Francophonie from outside threats such as British influence.

After the horrendous defeat and retreat into the mountains, the FPR started a new offensive in 1991 with tactics such as guerilla warfare. The FAR and the French army stood together against the insurrections.

France attempted to stop further escalation of the conflict between the ethnicities, and pushed Juvénal Habyarimana (president of Rwanda) to allow political freedoms, legislative equality between the Hutus and the Tutsis. Which led to the creation of opposition parties (that held no real power).

Hutu hardliners and the rise of Agathe Habyarimana

Agathe Habyarimana (right) was the Rwandan president's wife, she was a Hutu radical, and part of her own Akazu clique, a secret Hutu society that spread anti-Tutsi propaganda and called for discrimination and violence. This contestant harassment led the remaining Tutsis in Rwanda to radically turn to the FPR, abandon hope for peaceful resolution, and take arms.

In 1992, the presidents agreed to negotiate with the FPR after internal struggles amongst his cabinet. The negotiations ended with a ceasefire. The peace was very fragile, Akazu rejected the peace and continued their hate speech propaganda and attacks. The Akazu became very powerful in the Rwandan government.

The Arusha Accords

After months of the ceasefire, the Rwandan economy was in ruins, the FPR managed to race to the capital in weeks, and fight off the weakened FAR. The French then doubled their military presence in the area in order to strengthen their allies.

Fred Rwigyema then ceased his advance, and resumed peace talks. In August, the president sided increasingly with the FPR, and made concessions to the Tutsi instead of the radical Akazu. The Arusha accord where signed in August, and led to the creation of a unified armed forces, and shared power of the Tutsis and Hutus.



The Akazu, disapproved of the accords, prepared for a new war, they stockpiled guns, explosives, and machetes. At this point, the United Nations had set up a mission to called UNAMIR, and focused on keeping the peace achieved by the Accords, peacekeepers, mostly Belgians, were set up under the command of Canadian General Romeo Dallaire.

The Genocide begins. “Cut The Tall Trees”

On April 6th 1994, the plane carrying President Habyarimana was blown up, and the Akazu used their Hutu nationalist radio station to call upon the Hutu militias to round up and kill Tutsis. The codeword was “cut the tall trees”.

The prime minister inherited presidential powers, and organized a UN escort to protect her from the Akazu in the government. The Akazu had prepared their own militia called the *Interahamwe* (right), and was the main driving force of the Tutsi purge. The new united army of the country was unable or unwilling to stop the murders, and was seen joining at certain points. The UN and the international community was unable to take any real action under their promise of Neutrality, and could only watch as hundreds of thousands of Rwandans were murdered in the streets.

The FAR then seized the opportunity to kick out the UN forces stationed in the country, by ambushing the Prime Minister and her, they killed the prime minister and took 10 Belgian Peacekeepers as hostages, who were brutally tortured for weeks and were finally hacked to death with machetes.

American, Belgian and French troops then mobilized to save and evacuate expats and foreigners. Only France was willing to take in Rwandans, American and Belgian soldiers had received order to send back any Rwandan seeking to leave the country (even the Tutsis who wanted to escape the genocide).

The percussion of Tutsis has been going on for 40 days, with no end in sight, it has been observed that ordinary citizens and militias are being guided by radio broadcasts and Hutu leaders, and ordered to seek and kill all Tutsis they can find. The UN still refuses to acknowledge that there is a **genocide** going on, and have called back peacekeepers instead of attempting to quell the killings with military force.

Major Parties Involved

France



France's involvement in Rwanda has polarized opinions. On one hand, France is the only country in the entire international community that came into the armed conflict in Rwanda, and works towards peace negotiations and to proclaim equality amongst the ethnicities, such as when they pushed the Rwandan president to pass laws allowing opposition and declaring equality. Contrary to the UN, they pushed the Hutu to discourage segregation and racial discrimination. They were also the only country to take in (few) Rwandan refugees.

Yet, operation Turquoise (name of the French operation in Rwanda) is suspected by some to be a tool to increase French influence in Rwanda.

The United Nations

The United Nations mediated the talks during the Arusha Accords, but were inefficient in keeping the peace. The UN deployed thousands of peacekeepers in Rwanda in the mission UNAMIR, under the command of General Romeo Dallaire (Canadian). The mission was to discourage racial violence and prevent the country from going into civil war. In 1994, they were unable/unwilling to act militarily, as that would have been seen as an infringement on Rwanda sovereignty. After the brutal death of the peacekeepers bodyguards of the Prime Minister, the UN demobilized all peacekeepers and left the country.

Akazu

The Akazu were the radical Hutu organization run by the President's wife, they called for a total extermination of the Tutsi, and armed several of their own militias such as the *Interahamwe*. They were the main faction to lead the Hutus in Genocide by using radios and racist propaganda.

FPR

The *Rwandese Alliance for National Unity* (FPR) was main the Tutsi militant force run by Kigame. It started out as guerilla fighters exiled in Uganda, but evolved in the opposing force of the Hutu government during the civil war and the genocides of 1990-1994. They protected the Tutsi, but also committed several war crimes and crimes against humanity during the civil war such as their own genocide along with rape and torture. However, they have yet to face charges.

Timeline of Key Events



Date	Description of event
1885	Rwanda becomes a German colony
1918	Rwanda becomes a territory of the Belgian monarchy
1955-1961	Rwanda under Hutu rule is declared, finally independent in 1961
November 1959	Rumors of Tutsi murdering Hutu, counter-attack by the Tutsi king is stopped by Belgium.
1961	Rwanda is officially independent and Belgium leaves.
1962	Mass exiling of Tutsis, Rwandan Republic is created.
1962	FAR formed, 200,000 Hutus die in newly formed Burundi.
1980s	Bush wars between FAR and exiled Tutsis in Uganda (FPR).
October 1st 1990	FPR forces crossed the border between Uganda and Rwanda and managed to get a foothold into the country by taking the FAR off guard. After a few days, commander Rwigyema was killed, and pushed Kagame to leave his studies in the U.S to fight the war.
October 1990	French troops arrive in Rwanda
1992	In 1992, the presidents agreed to negotiate with the FPR after internal struggles amongst his cabinet. Ceasefire and DMZ are created. Akazu are by now very powerful in the country
1992-93	UN forces arrive in Rwanda
April 6th 1994	Genocide is declared by the Akazu over the radio "Cut the Tall Trees" 100 days of murder follow, until June-July. UN forces leave.
April 21st 1994	The UN cuts the level of its forces in Rwanda by 90% to just 270 troops. The IRC estimates the dead could now number over 100,000.
April 30th 1994	The UN agrees a resolution condemning the killing but omits the word 'genocide'. Tens of thousands of refugees flee into



	neighboring Burundi, Tanzania and Zaire.
May 1st-16th	It has been estimated that over 500,000 Rwandans have been killed.

UN Relevant Resolutions, Treaties and Events

- United Nations Security Council Resolution 812, March 12th, 1993 (S/RES/812)
- United Nations Security Council Resolution 846, June 22nd, 1993 (S/RES/846)
- United Nations Security Council Resolution 872, October 5th, 1993 (S/RES/872)
- United Nations Security Council Resolution 909, April 5th, 1994 (S/RES/909)
- United Nations Security Council Resolution 912, April 12h, 1994 (S/RES/912)
- United Nations Security Council Resolution 918, May 17th, 1994 (S/RES/918)

Previous Attempts to solve the Issue

The Rwandan Genocide is a special case in where the international community, including the UN, is unable and sometimes unwilling to come to the aid of the victims of genocide.

The previous attempts have first been made by the French, who mediated talks between Hutu and Tutsi leaders, and pushed for the democratization and the prevention of racial violence, and managed to get a few laws passed that possibly delayed the genocide. The UN had sent around 5500 UN peacekeepers, but were ineffective as they did not intervene during the actual genocide. They did mediate talks with the Hutu and Tutsi during the civil war, and send out multiple UN demands for the genocide to be stopped, but to no response.

Possible Solutions – Think outside the box and don’t be scared to be bold!

Nothing we can do now will ever change the fate of the current 500.000+ victims of the genocide, and the response from the international community and Hutu leaders is unforgivable, yet, we must find an solution to firstly stop the genocide. With regular killings still occurring, an



international response needs to be organised. Secondly it is vital to prepare Rwanda for what happens next. Implementing systems to prevent the polarisation of ethnic groups in the area and thus preventing future crises. The UN and the international community also needs to improve their protocol with regards to their response to future genocides and crises to prevent a blind eye being turned to atrocities such as the Rwandan genocide.

Possible ideas for clauses are:

- Intervention of any sort that could stop the genocide, for example supporting the FPR or sending peacekeepers for intervention and protection of civilians.
- Making the UN and its relevant bodies more effective in terms of military or diplomatic intervention.
- Raise awareness about the killings, and educate the international community on the dangers of racial discrimination and the spread of radical ideas. (perhaps incorporating it into school curriculums?) As studies show that the younger generations have little to no knowledge about any modern genocides after WW2.
- Create a commission to monitor conflicts within in between countries that could lead to genocide. Preventive measures can take place to avert such conflicts from escalating. That is, early intervention could certainly de-escalate tension and mitigate conflicts. For example, early intervention in Rwanda could have prevented the genocide against the Tutsis. As the General Romeo explained in a note he sent to the UN Headquarters in New York, known as “the genocide fax”.
- Increase the ability for the UN peacekeepers to properly intervene in conflict and change the UN’s protocol to be more effective in these situations.

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Here are some good videos to watch at the start of your research!

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