

# Annotated Bibliography

## Primary Sources

### Articles

Meierhenrich, Jens, et al. "Murambi." *Through a Glass Darkly: Genocide Memorials in Rwanda 1994-Present*, Harvard Education, 2010, [maps.cga.harvard.edu/rwanda/murambi.html](http://maps.cga.harvard.edu/rwanda/murambi.html)

This website is part of a research project lead by Harvard that compiled data, photographs and interviews concerning the 1994 Rwandan Genocide to create digital memorials. The Murambi memorial, which this page focuses on, was the site of slaughter for 50,000 Tutsis and today graphically displays the remains of these victims. This page contains 77 original photographs of the memorial as well as interviews from survivors. The source was vital to our research be it revealed the sheer horror of the genocide.

---. "Ntarama." *Through a Glass Darkly: Genocide Memorials in Rwanda 1994-Present*, Harvard Education, 2010, <http://maps.cga.harvard.edu/rwanda/project.html>.

"Through a Glass Darkly" is a research project that archived materials from the Rwandan Genocide and made them available to the public digitally. This page focuses on the memorial site at Ntarama. Located in a church, this memorial reveals the brutality of genocide in relation to religion. Churches, thought to be a safe haven were a primary location of massacre during the 100 days. This source led us to investigate the role of the Church in Rwanda's tragedy.

---. "Nyamata." *Through a Glass Darkly: Genocide Memorials in Rwanda 1994-Present*, Harvard Education, 2010, [maps.cga.harvard.edu/rwanda/nyamata.html](http://maps.cga.harvard.edu/rwanda/nyamata.html).

This source is another piece of the *Through a Glass Darkly* series which focuses on archiving powerful testaments to genocide on a digital platform. This specific page outlines the massacre at Nyamata, a church located in a region occupied by many Tutsis who had been expelled from prominent cities after the 1959 revolution. The graphic images in this memorial page were extremely moving. A piece of information that deeply affected the way we approached this topic as researchers was a quote in Kinyarwanda on the church door that reads "If you had known me, and you had really known yourself, you would not have killed me." This source encouraged us to investigate the humanitarian dimension of genocide.

---. "Nyarubuye." *Through a Glass Darkly: Genocide Memorials in Rwanda 1994-Present*, Harvard Education, 2010, <http://maps.cga.harvard.edu/rwanda/nyarubuye.html>.

The web page describes massacres at Nyarubuye, which is an educational and religious center in rural southwest Rwanda. This site witness horrific acts during the 1994 genocide in which thousands of Tutsis and Hutu moderates were slaughtered in a sacred

space. The killings were orchestrated by Sylvestre Gacumbitsi , a local political leader whose trials at the International Criminal Tribunal was had read about previously. The nature of this massacre which was carried out almost exclusively by community members revealed how violent political agendas from the North were able to infiltrate areas deep in rural, southern Rwanda.

### **Artwork/Paintings**

Tutsi Artist. *Basket With a Lid (ibeseke)*. Mid-late 20th Century. Smithsonian National Museum of African Art, Washington D.C. *Smithsonian National Museum of African Art*, 2014.

This photograph from the Smithsonian Museum depicts a traditional plant fiber basket with is a cultural item from Burundi and Rwanda during the precolonial time. This object was mostly used by elite Tutsi women and therefore gave us insight toward Rwandan domestic lifestyle.

---. *Bracer (igitembo)*. 1890. Smithsonian National Museum of African Art, Washington D.C. *Smithsonian National Museum of African Art*, 2014.

This photograph from the Smithsonian Museum exhibits a wooden bracer which was created circa 1910 by a Tutsi archer to protect their wrists the recoil of bowstrings. As this object was used at the height of Tutsi colonial supremacy, we can assume these items were used by the highest members of the Tutsi elite. This object was influential in our understanding of Rwanda colonialism because it shows the lifestyle of Tutsi rulers.

Unknown. *Ceremonial Whisk*. 19th Century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. *THE MET*. 2000.

This source is a ceremonial object made of cow hair that was used during the colonial era to adorn Rwandan kings. The advanced craftsmanship, ceremonial significance and connection to spiritual cattle made this piece of art ideal for our investigation of the role of Tutsi kings in Rwanda. This source enhanced our understanding of the power dynamic in colonial Rwanda.

---. *Screen (Insika)*. Early 20th Century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. *THE MET*. 2010.

This source is an artifact that was recovered from the hut of an aristocratic Tutsi family in Rwanda. It is a decoration object made from cane and reed fibers that was used to enhance the domestic interiors of wealthy Tutsi. The concept and design of this object directly inspired the way we constructed our exhibit.

### **Books**

Barnett, Michael N. *Eyewitness to a Genocide the United Nations and Rwanda*. Cornell University Press, 2016.

Written by Michael Barnett, this book goes in-depth about the role of the United Nations in Rwandan history, in particular in the turbulent periods before, after and during the genocide in 1994. The United Nations has widely been criticized for not better preventing it, considering they had many troops and committees in Rwanda in the years leading up to the genocide which they promptly pulled out of Rwanda once the situation got dangerous. This book pieces together primary sources and accounts and was extremely helpful in understanding why the United Nations was a bystander to this genocide.

Dallaire, Roméo, and Brent Beardsley. *Shake Hands with the Devil: the Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*. Carroll & Graf, 2005.

*Shake Hands with the Devil* was written by Romeo Dallaire, the commander of the UN peacekeeping force in Rwanda during the genocide. Dallaire's book describes the events of genocide, civil war and racial hatred through an insider perspective while condemning the UN for their failure to intervene. We used this source to understand the thought process of UN members and closely analyze the decisions and failings of the international community with regards to the Rwandan genocide. When assessing the reliability of the source, it should be noted that Dallaire's tone is deeply emotional, personal and ridden with guilt and his account was written seven years after the fact.

Ilibagiza, Immaculée, and Steve Erwin. *Left to Tell: Discovering God Amidst the Rwandan Holocaust*. Hay House, 2014.

This book is the autobiography of Immaculée Ilibagiza, a Tutsi who was living in Rwanda at the time of the genocide. She survived the ordeal by hiding in a small room while all of her family and most of her community was killed. Ilibagiza's emotionally charged work gave us perspective as to the horrors of the genocide and the ways in which this event tore apart Rwandan society on every level. Additionally, the author's description of her community and the cultural values that shaped her experience gave us insight as to the factors at play in this conflict on a village level.

Keane, Augustus Henry. *Man, Past and Present*. Cambridge, The University Press, 1899. [Archive.org](https://www.archive.org/details/cu31924014120814), [archive.org/details/cu31924014120814](https://www.archive.org/details/cu31924014120814).

This book was written by Augustus Henry Keane, an ethnologist from Ireland in the late 19th century. Keane's work catalogues the different ethnicities of man and his origins in a Eurocentric and misguided fashion that claims certain African tribes including the Tutsis are Caucasian. We used this as a primary source to investigate how European scholars viewed Africans at the time of Rwandan colonization.

Seligman, Charles Gabriel. *Races of Africa*. Thorton Butterworth, 1930. *Archive.org*, [archive.org/details/RacesOfAfrica](https://archive.org/details/RacesOfAfrica).

This book was written by Charles Gabriel Seligman, a British ethnologist who was considered a leading expert on African studies in the 1930s. Seligman's text provides an extremely biased perception of African origins, describing the Tutsis as part of the Hamitic Hypothesis. We used this source to determine how the Belgians came to favor the Tutsis during colonization.

Speke, John Hanning. *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*. Harper, 1864. *Archive.org*, [archive.org/details/journaldiscover02spekgoog](https://archive.org/details/journaldiscover02spekgoog).

This source is a first hand account of John Hanning Speke, a British explorer who went to investigate the Great Lakes region of Africa in the mid 19th century. His descriptions of the geography, people, government and culture he encountered gives us insight about the scramble for Africa and the way European ideology was imposed on native populations. In particular, this source helped us understand the Hamitic Hypothesis.

Von Götzen, Gustav Adolf. *Durch Afrika Von Ost Nach West: Resultate Und Begebenheiten Einer Reise Von Der Deutsch-Ostafrikanischen Küste Bis Zur Kongomündung In Den Jahren 1893/94*. D. Reimer, 1895.

This book written in hardly comprehensible old German, details the experiences of Gustav Adolf von Götzen, a German man who explored the region encompassing Rwanda and later served as the governor of German East Africa. His work, which we were able to translate due to one of our member's fluency in German, describes his experience as a person of political power in Rwanda as well as his impressions of the country. This source provided a European perspective of Rwandan affairs and displayed the effects of early colonialism on African society. It was useful in our research because we were able to draw from Von Götzen's commentary when making our own conclusions about the connections between colonialism and genocide.

### **Correspondences**

ANNAN, UNATIONS, NEW YORK. "Contacts with Informant." Received by BOOH-BOOH/DALLAIRE, UNAMIR, *Frontline*, PBS, 11 Jan, 1994, [www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/evil/warning/unresponse.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/evil/warning/unresponse.html).

This fax correspondence was sent by the U.N. home office in New York City to peacekeeping forces in Kigali. In response to Dallaire's request to provide protection to victims of genocide, the U.N. office declares that they may not intervene. As a pivotal moment in the U.N. peacekeeping operation in Rwanda, this fax serves as a testament to U.N.'s failure to serve the people they were mandated to protect because they were held back by red tape.

Bagosora et. al. "Negotiations in Arusha from 22 November 1992 to 9 January 1993." Received by His Excellency the President of the Republic of Rwanda, 15 Jan. 1993. *United Nations Mechanism for International Criminal Tribunals*, KAREMERA%20ET%20AL%20-%20DOCUMENT%20TITLED%20NEGOTIATION S%20IN%20ARUSHA%20FROM%2022%20NOVEMBER%201992%20TO%209%20J ANUARY%201993.PDF.

This correspondence is from a representative of Habyarimana at the Arusha Accords updating the president on the status of the negotiations. In his letter, Bagosora expresses frustration with the way the GoR delegation is being treated by the international community. The source allowed us to see the Arusha process from the perspective of a Hutu hardliner.

BOOH-BOOH/UNAMIR/KIGALI. "EFFORTS TO INSTALL THE TRANSITIONAL INSTITUTIONS." Received by ANNAN/UNATIONS/NEW YORK, *Document Cloud*, National Security Archives, 19 Mar. 1994, [www.documentcloud.org/documents/1391863-footnote-39-mir-672.html](http://www.documentcloud.org/documents/1391863-footnote-39-mir-672.html).

The correspondence above is an outgoing code cable from UNAMIR director Booh-Booh to his home office in New York. In the brief message, Booh-Booh outlines the problems he has encountered on his arrival in Kigali, namely the tense political climate that is hindering implementation of the Arusha Accords. This source gave us the perspective of a UN informant in assessing the situation in Rwanda.

DALLAIRE/UNAMIR/KIGALI. "REQUEST FOR PROTECTION OF INFORMANT." Received by BARIL/DPKO/UNATIONS, *Frontline*, PBS, 11 Jan. 1994, [www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/evil/warning/cable.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/evil/warning/cable.html).

This source is a fax message sent by the UN forces stationed in Kigali to their home office in New York City. Written by General Dallaire of UNAMIR, the message asks for permission to take action in Rwanda and mobilize the limited resources available to protect civilians from genocide. This was an extremely important document in the genocide because it illustrates UNAMIR's intentions of providing aid to Rwanda.

Kanyarengwe, Alexis. "RWANDESE PATRIOTIC FRONT." Received by Mr. Francois MITTERAND, *The National Archive*, 28 Aug. 1993, [nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB461/docs/DOCUMENT%2040%20-%20English .pdf](http://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB461/docs/DOCUMENT%2040%20-%20English.pdf).

In this diplomatic correspondence, the president of the RPF, Col. Alexis Kanyarengwe thanks the French president for his dedication to the Arusha Peace Process and reassures France of the RPF's commitment to the negotiations. It appears as though Col.

Kanyarengwe is trying to make an ally of France even though they are closely aligned with the GoR. This source expressed the intentions of the RPF and their willingness to accept international support.

Lenaerts, Nyanza M. *Territoire De Nyanza. Rapport Etabli En Reponse Au Questionnaire Adresse En 1929 Par M. Le Gouverneur De Ruanda-Urundi a l'Administrateur Du Territoire De Nyanza M. Lenaerts*. George A Smathers Library, 1929. *University of Florida*, [ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00002255/00001](http://ufdc.ufl.edu/AA00002255/00001).

This document is a response to a survey given out by Belgian administrators to various provinces in Ruanda-Urundi (territorial name of Rwanda and Burundi at the time) at the beginning of their colonial rule. This response describes the political landscape of the Nyanza which was the epicenter of colonial power in the 1930s, when the document was written. In his response, royal administrator Nyanza M Lenaerts details the corrupt behavior of the Rwandan court and Mwambi (king) Musinga who apparently chose favorites among the royal elite. This source demonstrated the inner workings of colonial rule from the point of view of a Tutsi administrator.

Mitterrand, Francois. "Situation in Rwanda." Received by Juvenal Habyarimana, *Mitterrand Archive*, National Archive, 30 Jan. 1991, [nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB461/docs/DOCUMENT%2028%20-%20French.pdf](http://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB461/docs/DOCUMENT%2028%20-%20French.pdf).

In this correspondence, the President of France urges Juvenal Habyarimana to comply with the Arusha Peace Process because he views it as the only viable option to end the conflict. Mitterrand emphasizes the need to clear dialog, discussion and democracy in Rwanda while maintaining a friendly attitude and addressing Habyarimana as a close acquaintance. This source enhanced our understanding of France's diplomatic relationship with Rwanda.

### **International Reports, Conferences and Treaties**

General Assembles. "Proposed Trusteeship Agreement for the Mandated Territory of Ruanda-Urundi Submitted by the Belgian Government." *United Nations*, United Nations Digital Library, 1946, [digitallibrary.un.org/record/829001/files/A\\_159\\_REV.1-EN.pdf](http://digitallibrary.un.org/record/829001/files/A_159_REV.1-EN.pdf). This document is a transcript from the League of Nations, archived by the U.N. that details the mandate allowing Belgian control of the territory of Ruanda-Urundi. This marked a transfer of Rwanda governance from German to Belgian hands. Not only did this event have extensive political implications, but it also demonstrates the conflicting francophone and anglophone cultures in Rwanda. We used this source to understand the political roots of the genocide.

General Assembly. "Report of the Trusteeship Council: 2 August 1958-6 August 1959." *United Nations*, United Nations Digital Library, 1959, [digitallibrary.un.org/record/714348/files/A\\_4100-EN.pdf/](http://digitallibrary.un.org/record/714348/files/A_4100-EN.pdf/).

This U.N. document describes the situation in "Ruanda-Urundi" in the late 1950s when political tensions between members of the elite Tutsi and Hutu political reformers were at a peak. The transcript outlines the plans to incorporate democracy into Rwanda's government structure, thus giving oppressed Hutus a political outlet to voice their opinions. The report also included primary quotes translated into English. This source was vital to our understanding of the 1959 rebellion and the web of political conflict left in its wake.

Jones, Jim, comp. "General Act of the 1885 Conference of Berlin." *History 312*. West Chester University, 2014.

This source is the general act of the Conference of Berlin (1884-1885) which was an agreement between 14 European countries concerning the colonization of Africa's coastal and central interior regions. The document was imperative in shaping the governance and future of statehood because it divided the continent into arbitrary boundaries and created colonial territories. It is important to note that no African individual or state was present at this conference and the decisions made were therefore not reflective of the interests of Africa. The final agreement placed Rwanda and Burundi in the control of German.

National Legislative Bodies, *Peace Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front*, Peace Accords Matrix, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies [2015], [peaceaccords.nd.edu/sites/default/files/accords/Rwanda\\_Peace\\_Accord.pdf](http://peaceaccords.nd.edu/sites/default/files/accords/Rwanda_Peace_Accord.pdf). Arusha, signed 4 August 1993.

This source is the Arusha Peace Accords which was an attempted reconciliation between the Rwandan Patriotic Front and the Rwandan Government, signed in 1993. The treaty was a focal piece of our topic's connection to compromise and conflict. It was therefore crucial to our research that we review this document. The Arusha Peace accords allowed us to understand the internal conflicts that resulted in genocide.

Mwinyi, Hassan Ali, *The N'Sele Ceasefire Agreement between the Government of Rwandese Republic and the Rwandese Patriotic Front*, United Nations Peacemaker, United Nations [2014], [peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/RW\\_920712\\_N%27seleCeasefire.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/RW_920712_N%27seleCeasefire.pdf). Arusha, signed 12 July 1992.

This treaty is the first ceasefire between the Rwandese Government and the Rwandese Patriotic Front. It establishes a cessation of hostilities between the two parties and lays

the groundwork for future negotiations. The document provided insight as to how the Arusha Accords began.

Trusteeship Council. "Report on Ruanda-Urundi Together with the Relevant Resolution of the Trusteeship Council/ United Nations Visiting mission to Trust Territories in East Africa." *United Nations*, DAG Repository, 1957, repository.un.org/bitstream/handle/11176/304240/T\_1402-EN.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

This report documents the perspective of U.N. visitors in Ruanda-Urundi during the late 1950s when political cleavages arose between Hutu and Tutsi. In the report, U.N. representatives explain the positions of each party and provided English translations for key political texts from both opposition groups and the monarchy. We used this source to trace the beginnings of the conflict in Rwanda.

UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *The Dar es Salaam Declaration on the Refugee Problem*, 1991, [www.refworld.org/docid/4dde22d2.html](http://www.refworld.org/docid/4dde22d2.html).

This agreement was signed on February 19, 1991 as part of regional diplomatic efforts in Burundi and Zaire after the initial RPF invasion in 1990. International parties such as Belgium delegations, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and the OAU sponsored ceasefire agreements and organized a series of ad hoc summits to resolve the ongoing dispute between the RPF and the Government of Rwanda. This treaty which addressed the issue of Tutsi refugees living on the borders of Uganda and Zaire, was the first significant achievement of these submits and consequently served as a base for the Arusha Accords. The document was useful in our research because it allowed us to understand how international involvement emerged in the Rwandan Civil war and evolution of the Arusha Accords.

United States. Dept. of State. "Investment Treaty with Rwanda of February 9, 2008." pp.110-23. Government Print Office, 2010.

This source is a treaty between the U.S. and the Rwandan government that was signed in 2008. The agreement underscores trade relations between the two countries and demonstrates the U.S.'s positive relation with Rwanda. We used this source for understanding of how post genocide Rwanda interacted with the rest of the world.

### **Interviews (personal)**

Perry, Emily, et al. "Interview with Carl Wilkens." 1 Mar. 2018.

We secured this exclusive interview with Carl Wilkens, the only American to stay in Rwanda during the time of the genocide. During this interview we were able to ask some

of our most pressing questions such as how the genocide could have been prevented, how Rwandans felt about the Arusha Accords, and how Rwanda today compares to Rwanda in the past. From this interview, he also recommended several Rwandans that we could reach out to via email in order to hear the perspectives of Rwandans who lived through the genocide.

Sperber, Grace et al. "The Legacy of Genocide on Modern Rwanda: Interview with Rebecca Besant." 7 Jan. 2018.

This source is a personal interview that we conducted with Rebecca Besant, the Regional Director of East Africa for the organization The Search for Common Ground. She is stationed in Kigali, Rwanda, and she has hands on experience working with local people in order to resolve conflicts and other types of disputes. In our email interview, we asked her about the problems faced by Rwandans on the urban and rural level as well as the legacy that Rwandan Genocide has had on civil society. This interview provided our research with the perspective of someone who has first hand experience in post genocide Rwanda.

Tiemessen, Alana. "Interview with Alana Tiemessen on Justice Systems in Rwanda." 7 Feb. 2018.

This source is an email correspondence with with a professor at Endicott College who specializes in justice, human rights, and conflict resolution in international politics. She elaborated on the impact of Gacaca on Rwandan society as well as the effectiveness of Gacaca or Victor's Justice. We will use this interview to understand the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide.

### **Interviews (public)**

Annan, Kofi. "Ghosts of Rwanda: Interview." *Frontline*, PBS, 17 Feb. 2004, [www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ghosts/interviews/annan.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ghosts/interviews/annan.html).

This interview from PBS Frontline is with Kofi Annan who led U.N. peacekeeping operations in 1994. Annan speaks to the failure of the international community in effectively intervening in the genocide and cites lack of political will as the reasoning behind this failure. He also describes the practical and ideological faults of the U.N. using his experience. This source enhanced our research because it gave us insider perspective of U.N. operations and highlighted the role of the international community in Rwanda's genocide.

Beardsley, Brent. "Ghosts of Rwanda: Interview." *Frontline*, PBS, 15 Nov. 2003, [www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ghosts/interviews/beardsley.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ghosts/interviews/beardsley.html).

This interview serves as the first hand account of Brent Beardsley who was the executive assistant of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR). Beardsley exposes the various failings of this mission and reveals his own personal shortcomings and miss steps. This source helped us to visualize the atmosphere of pre-genocide Rwanda and understand the motive behind each action taken by the international community.

Celestin, Rukundakuvuga, et al. "Genocide Perpetrator Confessions." *Genocide Archive of Rwanda*, 25 Aug. 2005,

[genocidearchiverwanda.org.rw/index.php?title=Kmc00539/kmc00539\\_vid1.mp4](http://genocidearchiverwanda.org.rw/index.php?title=Kmc00539/kmc00539_vid1.mp4).

This video showed the confessions of three perpetrators of the Rwandan genocide. This was part of the Gacaca courts where the perpetrators confess their crimes and the community will determine their punishment. The crimes range from being a bystander to physically murdering young children. This is interesting to understand the thought process of the large populations of Rwandans that were urged to kill each other. It is also interesting to examine how the Gacaca courts were carried out, which were in many ways a compromise in order to bring hundreds of thousands of perpetrators to justice without sufficient resources and court systems in Rwanda to do this formally.

Dallaire, Romeo. "Ghosts of Rwanda: Interview." *Frontline*, PBS, 2003,

[www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ghosts/interviews/dallaire.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ghosts/interviews/dallaire.html).

This source is a PBS interview of General Romeo Dallaire where he is asked questions about his experience as part of the UN peacekeeping mission in Rwanda. This was interesting as he offered an emotional view of watching the Arusha Accords crumble and end in genocide. Something that we found interesting is that he suggested that the West would not help Rwanda partially out of racist tendencies in addition to the lack of political incentive. We do not entirely agree with this, as we feel it is the lack of connection to Rwanda, not racism, that prevented the West from helping. Still, it is interesting to see all the perspectives.

Des Forges, Alison. "Ghosts of Rwanda: Interview." *Frontline*, PBS, 1 Oct. 2003,

[www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ghosts/interviews/desforges.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ghosts/interviews/desforges.html).

This interview from PBS Frontline was conducted with Alison Des Forges, an African historian and member of the Human Rights Watch who played an active role with United Nations in negotiating peace before the genocide. Des Forges details the failings of the international community both before and during the genocide from an insider perspective.

Hatzfeld, Jean, et al. *Machete Season: the Killers in Rwanda Speak*. Picador, 2005.

*Machete Season: The Killers in Rwanda Speak* is comprised of interviews with men who have confessed to murder during the Rwandan Genocide. This book gives us insight into the mindsets and motivations that led normal people to kill.

Kagame, Paul. "Ghosts of Rwanda: Interview." *Frontline*, PBS, 30 Jan. 2004, [www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ghosts/interviews/kagame.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ghosts/interviews/kagame.html).

This source is an interview from PBS Frontline with Paul Kagame, the current President of Rwanda and key organizer in the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) during the genocide. In the interview, Kagame defends the actions of the RPF during and after the civil war as well as reflects on genocide's personal impact on him. Kagame's discussion provided us with an alternative perspective of Rwandan discourse and allowed us to evaluate the actions of RPF.

Karenzi, Theoneste. "A Testimony of Theoneste Karenzi." Interview. *Genocide Archive of Rwanda*. Aegis Trust, 29 Apr. 2011.

This 3 and a half hour video interview tells the story of Theoneste Karenzi, a survivor of the genocide from the Mbanza district. Karenzi describes in detail the events and warning signs in the Tutsi community leading to the genocide, as well as his experience during the genocide itself. This source gave us insight to Rwandan culture which is deeply rooted in religious values and emphasis on the family unit. In addition, Karenzi's account reveals the brutality of the massacre and how deeply it ripped apart families and communities.

Keane, Fergal. "Ghosts of Rwanda: Interview." *Frontline*, PBS, 19 Mar. 2004, [www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ghosts/interviews/keane.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ghosts/interviews/keane.html).

This interview from PBF Frontline documents the experiences Fergal Keane, a BBC correspondent who traveled with RPF forces through Rwanda during the genocide. During the interview, Keane describes the horrific events he witnessed and how they darkly altered his perspective of humanity and society. This source provided us with an outsider's perspective of the genocide and relayed the emotional and psychological damage the Rwandan genocide had on thousands of individuals.

Masabo, Alexis. "A Testimony of Alexis Masabo." *Genocide Archive Rwanda*, [genocidearchiverwanda.org.rw/index.php?title=IBUKA00015](http://genocidearchiverwanda.org.rw/index.php?title=IBUKA00015).

This hour-and-a-half long video interview is of Alexis Masabo, an inspiring Rwandan man who lived through the Genocide and did all he could to save Tutsi children and his own family. Alexis's powerful narrative gives personal insight into the political situation and conflicting groups existing in Rwanda before the genocide, as well as how many Rwandese were exiled and lost their homes during the genocide. Masabo bribed soldiers

5,000 francs and all of his property so that they would only injure and not kill two innocent Tutsi children whom he then took with him when he fled to Burundi. This was a very moving interview that demonstrated the incredible kindness of bystanders who gave up their lives to help the persecuted.

Nzabonimana, Manasse and Aegis. "A Testimony of Manasse Nzabonimana." *Genocide Archive of Rwanda*. [genocidearchiverwanda.org.rw/index.php?title=IBUKA00028](http://genocidearchiverwanda.org.rw/index.php?title=IBUKA00028).

This video interview from the Rwandan Genocide Archive is about Manasse Nzabonimana, a man who hid three Tutsis and helped them survive the Rwandan genocide. When Nzabonimana, a Hutu, came across a young Tutsi mother and her two small children hiding in his banana plantation during the early stages of the genocide, they thought he would kill them. Instead he decided to take them in, taking a huge risk that would cost him his and his family's lives to hide the three Tutsis. This story demonstrates incredible humanity and exposes the much less-heard narrative of Hutus who worked against the perpetrators in the Genocide.

PBS. "Carl Wilkens." *PBS*, 1 Apr. 2004,

[www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ghosts/interviews/wilkens.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ghosts/interviews/wilkens.html). Accessed 3 Mar. 2018.

This interview was conducted by PBS to gain insight into the life of Carl Wilkens, the only United States missionary to remain in Rwanda during the time of the genocide. This interview captured everything from Mr. Wilken's experiences during the genocide, his reasons for making the decision to stay, and his beliefs on how the conflicts in Rwanda culminated into genocide.

Rawson, David. "Ghosts of Rwanda: Interview." *Frontline*, PBS, 5 Oct. 2003,

[www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ghosts/interviews/rawson.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ghosts/interviews/rawson.html).

Conducted by PBS Frontline, this interview focuses on the experiences of David Rawson who was the U.S. ambassador to Rwanda before and during the genocide. In the interview, Rawson shares his experience and perspective on the conflict from the viewpoint of an international mediator. This source helped us to see beneath the calm and controlled facade of U.N. peacekeeping forces to reveal the sheer chaos beneath.

Rutayisire, Masengo, and Aegis. "A Testimony of Gilbert Masengo Rutayisire." *Genocide Archive of Rwanda*, 21 Dec. 2005,

[genocidearchiverwanda.org.rw/index.php?title=Kmc00006-sub1-eng-glifos](http://genocidearchiverwanda.org.rw/index.php?title=Kmc00006-sub1-eng-glifos).

This interview was of a Tutsi genocide survivor named Masengo Rutayisire. Masengo was a young man during the genocide, and successfully escaped from his hometown, though there were many very close calls with Hutus who wanted to kill him, and the rest

of his family was killed. Masengo goes on to describe the current situation in Rwanda- he feels that justice has not been served and the perpetrators have not sufficiently been punished. This testimony was moving and exposed how unfair and corrupt Rwanda is now, as well as how helpless the genocide survivors are.

“Rwandan Youth and Children's Testimonies Digital Collection.” *USF Libraries Holocaust & Genocide Studies Center*, University of South Florida, 2013, [genocide.lib.usf.edu/taxonomy/term/1435](http://genocide.lib.usf.edu/taxonomy/term/1435).

This source is a collection of eye witness accounts from 112 children and youths who experienced the Rwandan Genocide. Each handwritten testimony tells a unique story which details how the horrific events of the genocide altered the lives of millions of children in Rwanda. This source inspired us to investigate the effects psychological and physical effects genocide had on children who make up Rwanda’s future workforce and population.

"Survivor Testimonies." *Outreach Programme on the Rwanda Genocide and the United Nations*. Survivors Fund, 2013.

This source is a collection of 93 eye witness accounts describing the Rwandan genocide, detailed by survivors and made available to the public through the United Nations Survivors Fund. Each of these accounts tell a unique story about personal experience with genocide from the perspectives of Rwandans of different ages, regions, and social and economic statuses. Reading these testimonies and learning about specific tragedies that people encounters helped us gain a more whole understanding of what went on during the genocide.

Uwanyirigira, Masabo. “A Testimony of Mathilde Uwanyirigira.” *Genocide Archive of Rwanda*, 2007, [genocidearchiverwanda.org.rw/index.php?title=Kmc00033-sub1-eng-glifos](http://genocidearchiverwanda.org.rw/index.php?title=Kmc00033-sub1-eng-glifos).

In this video interview, genocide survivor of the Nyarugenge District Mathilde Uwanyirigira describes the experience of trying to protect herself and her two children during the Rwandan Genocide. This source provides a true insight into the time period and by providing examples of the atrocities that were committed and describing the conditions that the people were living in.

### **Maps**

AFP Photos. “Regional Effects of Rwandan Genocide: Migrants to DR Congo.” *BBC World News: Africa*, 7 Apr. 2014, [www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-26875506](http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-26875506).

This is a map of Rwanda and the countries neighboring it with emphasis on the advance paths the RPF took three separate times in April, May-June and July of 1994. This is when the RPF were fighting to combat the genocide and physically put an end to it. The

map also outlines the RPF- controlled area at the time, which was very small. It helps demonstrate the way the RPF were able to mobilize their military forces and navigate Rwanda from their small base near Uganda.

Department of Field Support Cartographic Section. "Rwanda: Map No. 3717." *United Nations*, United Nations, June 2008, [www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/rwanda.pdf](http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/rwanda.pdf). This map of Rwanda, created by the United Nations during their recent visit to Rwanda in 2008, demonstrates the provincial and international boundaries that make up the country. It is unique in the fact that it highlights elements of civil life in Rwanda including churches, villages and geographic features. The source supplemented our understanding of Rwanda's provincial anatomy.

Lemur. "Map Showing the Advance of the RPF during the Rwandan Genocide of 1994." *Rwandan Genocide*, Wikimaps, 9 Feb. 2014, [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rwandan\\_genocide](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rwandan_genocide). This is a map of Rwanda and the countries neighboring it with emphasis on the advance paths the RPF took three separate times in April, May-June and July of 1994. This is when the RPF were fighting to combat the genocide and physically put an end to it. The map also outlines the RPF- controlled area at the time, which was very small. It helps demonstrate the way the RPF were able to mobilize their military forces and navigate Rwanda from their small base near Uganda.

Unknown. "1994 Massacres." *Human Rights - Rwandan Genocide*, The Event: Weebly, [humanrights-rwandangenocide.weebly.com/the-event.html](http://humanrights-rwandangenocide.weebly.com/the-event.html). This is a map of Rwanda and its major cities which details the size and scale of 1994 genocide massacres in each town. Stars represent places with very high death tolls during the genocide. These stars are spread out throughout most of the country, but with an extra high concentration in the East. This map showed us the locations of major killings so we could know where the majority of Hutu perpetrators targeted.

### **Newspaper Articles**

Baddorf, Zack. "Rwanda President's Lopsided Re-Election Is Seen as a Sign of Oppression." *New York Times*, 6 Aug. 2017, [www.nytimes.com/2017/08/06/world/africa/rwanda-elections-paul-kagame.html?rref=collection%2Ftimestopic%2FRwandan%20Genocide&action=click&contentCollection=world@ion=stream&module=stream\\_unit&version=latest&contentPlacement=1&pgtype=collection](http://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/06/world/africa/rwanda-elections-paul-kagame.html?rref=collection%2Ftimestopic%2FRwandan%20Genocide&action=click&contentCollection=world@ion=stream&module=stream_unit&version=latest&contentPlacement=1&pgtype=collection).

This recent article give insight into the current political situation of Rwanda. The re-election of Paul Kagame, who won at a 99% margin, suggests that the political environment in Rwanda is oppressive. While not directly related to the genocide, this

article is helpful for understanding the effects of the Rwandan genocide on the political situation today. ---"written or produced in the time period you are investigating" - so if we are investigating the effects does this count as a primary source?

Bariyo, Nicholas. "Critics of Rwanda's Leader Say He Is Falsely Charging Them With Crimes." *The Wall Street Journal*, Dow Jones & Company, 30 Oct. 2017, [www.wsj.com/articles/critics-of-rwandas-leader-say-he-is-falsely-charging-them-with-crimes-1509355801](http://www.wsj.com/articles/critics-of-rwandas-leader-say-he-is-falsely-charging-them-with-crimes-1509355801).

This source is a modern newspaper article from The Wall Street Journal detailing the alleged corrupt activities of Rwanda's president, Paul Kagame. Paul Kagame was the leader of the RPF and subscribes to an ideology that is deeply rooted in the country's history of genocide. The president's most recent actions suggest that he has imposed an oppressive regime on Rwandan Hutus and is therefore perpetuating the cycle of genocide. This article revealed the effects of genocide on the political development of a country.

Dedale, Francois Ben. "The Unity of the Holy Trinity Does Not Work in This World." *Kangura* Jan. 1992. Ed. Jake Freyer. *RwandaFile*. Web 28 Sept. 2017. [www.rwandafile.com/Kangura/k30s.html](http://www.rwandafile.com/Kangura/k30s.html).

This article was written in the *Kangura* which is an extremist pro-Hutu newspaper that instigated violence and ethnic conflict between Hutu and Tutsi. "The Unity of the Holy Trinity Does Not Work in This World" is an editorial piece which attempts to amend the obvious conflict between hate and murder of Tutsi and Christian teachings. Dedale claims that a Catholic God would condone such behavior and even uses the religion to justify his propaganda. This source revealed how ideology was manipulated in pre Genocide Rwanda to meet hateful needs and also relays the influence of media.

Destexhe, Alain. "Rwandans Die While the U.N. Procrastinates." *New York Times*, 23 May 1994,

[www.nytimes.com/1994/05/23/opinion/l-rwandans-die-while-the-un-procrastinates-167290.html](http://www.nytimes.com/1994/05/23/opinion/l-rwandans-die-while-the-un-procrastinates-167290.html).

This opinion article offers one perspective that the U.S. has an obligation to intervene in Rwanda. He compares this to other situations that the U.S. helped or did not help in order to further his argument that Rwanda needs the help of the West and United Nations. This article would be useful for finding powerful quotes to include on our exhibit, although we should be wary of the quotes that we include since much of this article was written from an emotional point of view and is opinionated. However, this is still extremely important for understanding perspectives not just in Rwanda but also among the West. It is also helpful in guiding our research by mentioning other terrible situations that were compared to Rwanda.

Gray, Jerry. "2 Nations Joined by Common History of Genocide." *New York Times*, 9 Apr. 1994, [www.nytimes.com/1994/04/09/world/2-nations-joined-by-common-history-of-genocide.html](http://www.nytimes.com/1994/04/09/world/2-nations-joined-by-common-history-of-genocide.html).

Published just two days after the start of the genocide in 1994, this article describes the relationship between Rwanda and Burundi, two nations which both suffered from ongoing ethnic tensions throughout history. While it offers a brief summary of the history of ethnic tensions in each country, it also compares the two in order to provide a comparison of the situations. This also helps to explain the causes of the genocide by comparing two countries in similar situations, the most prominent of which include ethnic tensions, political changes, overpopulation and poverty. We will use this article to outline the causes of the genocide and place the ethnic tensions in the context of the region as a whole.

Hicuburundi, Wilfrid. "I Am Warning the People of Burundi." *Kangura* Jan. 1992. Ed. Jake Freyer. *RwandaFile*. [www.rwandafile.com/Kangura/k30p.html](http://www.rwandafile.com/Kangura/k30p.html).

This article was written in the *Kangura*, an extremist pro-Hutu newspaper in Rwanda that facilitated the genocide by spreading propaganda. The purpose of the article is to persuade Hutus in Burundi to join the Palipehutu party to oppose the Tutsi regime in Burundi. This piece demonstrated how Tutsis were grouped with "white men" and "foreigners" and therefore labeled "other". The source helped us better understand how logical, moderate Hutus could be persuaded to defend his own kind by standing against the Tutsi.

Jehl, Douglas. "Officials Told to Avoid Calling Rwanda Killings 'Genocide'." *New York Times*, 10 June 1994, [www.nytimes.com/1994/06/10/world/officials-told-to-avoid-calling-rwanda-killings-genocide.html](http://www.nytimes.com/1994/06/10/world/officials-told-to-avoid-calling-rwanda-killings-genocide.html).

Published a few months after the beginning of the genocide, this article elaborates on the cautious approach of the Americans by staying out of the genocide. This meant that officials of the Clinton administration avoided calling it a genocide in order to relieve themselves of moral obligations to offer aid. This is important for understanding the background and reasoning for American and western response to the genocide, which resulted from exhaust from previous UN missions as well as an unwillingness to spend American lives and dollars. We will use this article to explore the question of whether other countries should be held accountable for ignoring genocide.

Ndekezi, Bonaparte. "Power Based on the Multiparty System Has Never Been in the Interests of the Tutsi." *Kangura* Jan. 1992. Ed. Jake Freyer. *RwandaFile*.  
[www.rwandafile.com/Kangura/k30v.html](http://www.rwandafile.com/Kangura/k30v.html).

In his long and complicated editorial, Ndekezi Bonaparte accused the Inkotanyi Tutsis of infiltrating the various political parties of Rwanda including M.D.R., P.S.D., and P.S.R. Bonaparte depicts the Tutsi as political saboteurs who intend to take over and restore their own power. This source made us aware of the complexity of the political climate of pre-genocide Rwanda and prompted us to further investigate the political parties and powers in Rwanda in order to gain a deeper understanding of the events.

Nyabyenda, Issa. "The Gitarama Hutu Refused to Demonstrate Together With the P.L. Tutsi." *Kangura* Jan. 1992. Ed. Jake Freyer. *RwandaFile*.  
[www.rwandafile.com/Kangura/k30r.html](http://www.rwandafile.com/Kangura/k30r.html).

This editorial piece by Issa Nyabyenda makes several inflammatory remarks about the Tutsi including painting them as power-hungry foreigners who wish to establish a feudal regime in Rwanda. Nyabyenda urges Hutu readers to follow the example of their leader Gregoire Kayibanda in uniting against the Tutsis. This source revealed the Hutu public's intense loyalty to "His Excellency" Kayibanda, which aided our understanding in how his assassination on April 4th 1994 was the catalyst for genocide.

Rubera, Papias. "When Will Kigali's Descendents Understand That Africa Has Said 'No' to the Rule of the Lie?" *Kangura* Jan 1992. Ed. Jake Freyer. *RwandaFile*.  
[www.rwandafile.com/Kangura/k30y.html](http://www.rwandafile.com/Kangura/k30y.html).

This newspaper article is from *The Kangura*, an extremist anti-Hutu Rwandan newspaper. The piece describes the history of Hutu and Tutsi relations in a skewed light, highlighting the Tutsi oppression of the Hutu majority through a feudal-monarchic regime. This source provided us with a Hutu perspective of Rwandan history which we could compare to other sources.

Rubin, Alissa J., and Maia de la Baume. "Claims of French Complicity in Rwanda's Genocide Rekindle Mutual Resentment." *New York Times*, 8 Apr. 2014,  
[www.nytimes.com/2014/04/09/world/africa/claims-of-french-complicity-in-rwandas-genocide-rekindle-mutual-resentment.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/09/world/africa/claims-of-french-complicity-in-rwandas-genocide-rekindle-mutual-resentment.html).

Written only 4 years ago on the 20th anniversary of the Rwandan genocide, this article describes how modern France refuses to take partial responsibility for the genocide, causing tensions between Rwanda and France to arise again. While Kagame still blames France and Belgium for the genocide, France fiercely defended itself. This article is useful for understanding the current relations because those groups that were involved in the Rwandan genocide.

Smyth, Frank. "The French Don't Look Neutral in Rwanda." *New York Times*, 6 July 1994, [www.nytimes.com/1994/07/06/opinion/l-the-french-don-t-look-neutral-in-rwanda-598801.html](http://www.nytimes.com/1994/07/06/opinion/l-the-french-don-t-look-neutral-in-rwanda-598801.html).

Written near the end of the genocide, this opinion article offers the suspicion of one writer that the French were not neutral in the Rwandan genocide. This offers some details on the actions of the French that favored one side over another. It also offers insight into the information concerning French involvement that was available to the U.S. during the time of the Rwandan genocide. We will use this article to understand French involvement and guide further research in this area.

Ngeze, Hassan. "A Cockroach (Inyenzi) Cannot Bring Forth a Butterfly." *Kangura* Feb. 1993. Ed. Jake Freyer. *RwandaFile*. [www.rwandafile.com/Kangura/k40r.html](http://www.rwandafile.com/Kangura/k40r.html).

This anti-Tutsi propaganda in the form of a newspaper article clearly dehumanizes Tutsis, labeling them "cockroach" and "snake". This source demonstrated how Hutu extremists used ethnic identity, tribal history and even ill founded genetic research to support their message. We used this piece to understand the culture and symbolic meaning behind Hutu metaphors and propaganda.

---. "On Your Marks, Hutus." *Kangura* May 1992. Ed. Jake Freyer. *RwandaFile*. [www.rwandafile.com/Kangura/k35d.html](http://www.rwandafile.com/Kangura/k35d.html).

Written as a newspaper article for the *Kangura*, an extremist pro-Hutu organization, this article makes a unique case for Hutu domination. Unlike his counterparts on the radio station RTLM, the author pleads for a "mental revolution" where Hutus would use education and economic power to defeat the Tutsis. This source revealed to us that not all Hutus were in favor of violence. The argument made by the author also prompted us to look into the educational advantages of the Tutsis during the colonization period.

---. "A Sister Who Exposed Herself!" *Kangura* Jan. 1992. Ed. Jake Freyer. *RwandaFile*. [www.rwandafile.com/Kangura/k30k.html](http://www.rwandafile.com/Kangura/k30k.html).

This brief article is a form of anti-Tutsi propaganda from the *Kangura*, a nationalist Rwandan newspaper written in French before the genocide. The accusatory piece describes a certain Therese Mukabacondo, a Tutsi nun who is accused of conspiring with the RPF and showing disdain toward others not in her ethnic group. We used this source to shed light on the way Tutsi women were sexualized and abused during the genocide.

---. "The Wickedness and Provocation of the Tutsis of the P.L." *Kangura* Jan. 1992. Ed. Jake Freyer. *RwandaFile*. [www.rwandafile.com/Kangura/k30o.html](http://www.rwandafile.com/Kangura/k30o.html).

This editorial piece is from the *Kangura*, an anti-Tutsi propaganda newspaper written before and during the genocide. The article outlined the intrinsic evil of all Tutsis who conspire against the government and plan to kill the Hutus as well as urging Hutu citizens to “organize demonstrations to protect their properties”. The dehumanizing and inflammatory names for the Tutsis used by the writer of this article showed us the hatred and fear Hutu extremists had for the Tutsis. It helped us better understand what motivated an entire population to kill during the genocide.

Wynne-Jones, Ros. “Rwanda Heroes: 17 Years On.” *The Guardian*, 21 June 2011, [www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jun/21/rwanda-heroes-reunited](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jun/21/rwanda-heroes-reunited).

This article describes how Carl Wilkens was united with Jean-Francois Gisimba, two men who saved over 400 children and hundreds of adults from the extremist Hutus. 17 years later at the time that this article was written, the men reunite. We used this article for background information about Carl Wilkens and all of the amazing things that he did to help Rwandans.

### **Photographs**

AFP. “How the Rwandan Genocide Was Carried out: with Meticulous Organization.” *Rwanda Genocide: 100 Days of Slaughter*, BBC Africa News, 7 Apr. 2014, [www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-26875506](http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-26875506).

This photo shows three Rwandan Hutu militia men who were part of the first wave of the genocide. Such men were ordered to kill lists of government opponents in a most organized fashion. The men are all in camo outfits and are armed with hand weapons and guns. They stand outside a relatively upscale Rwandan house, likely a sort of headquarters. It was rather disturbing to see the perpetrators and “bad guys” of the genocide in this photo, but it was a good reference for what they were like.

"Bodies of Rwandan Refugees." *Modern Genocide: Understanding Causes and Consequences*, ABC-CLIO, 2018, [moderngenocide-abc-clio-swb.orc.scoolaid.net/Search/Display/1704499](http://moderngenocide-abc-clio-swb.orc.scoolaid.net/Search/Display/1704499).

These powerful and gruesome image shows the bodies of Rwandan refugees who were killed in the genocide. This photograph conveys the tragedy that took place as a result of failed compromise. This is helpful for visualizing the full effect of the genocide and how many people lost their lives over political skirmishes.

Bouju, Jean-Marc. “Rwandan Patriotic Front Rebel Walks by Plane Wreckage .” *AP Images*, Associated Press, Kigali, 22 Mar. 2007, [www.apimages.com/metadata/Index/Watchf-Associated-Press-International-News-Rwan-/6787e4dff30b4ebdae544cc87cba86db/3/0](http://www.apimages.com/metadata/Index/Watchf-Associated-Press-International-News-Rwan-/6787e4dff30b4ebdae544cc87cba86db/3/0).

This photograph depicts a member of the Rwandan Patriotic Front inspecting the wreckage of Habyarimana's plane outside of the former president's private residence. The photograph was taken on May 23, 1994 after an invasion by RPF forces. Not only did this image show us the physical remains of the airplane, but it also showed us the soldier's expression while looking at the rubble, and therefore the RPF's perception of Habyarimana.

---. "Rwandan Refugee Children Plead with Zairean Soldiers to Allow Them across a Bridge Separating Rwanda and Zaire Where Their Mothers Had Crossed Moments Earlier before the Soldiers Closed the Border." *National Geographic Photography*, Nat Geo Proof Sites, 31 Mar. 2014, [www.nationalgeographic.com/photography/proof/2014/03/31/revisiting-rwandan-genocide/](http://www.nationalgeographic.com/photography/proof/2014/03/31/revisiting-rwandan-genocide/).

This graphic picture shows a group of Rwandan children who have their hands up in a gesture of surrender and plea. They stand on the border between Rwanda and Zaire where they had hoped to escape and find refuge. Soldiers have just closed off this border, separating the boys from their mothers who have crossed. This photo is from August of 1994, right during the genocide. It conveys the emotion and devastation that the genocide brought as it separated so many families.

Curtis, Ben. *Performers Re-Enact Some of the Events Enter a Public Ceremony to Mark the 20th Anniversary of the Rwandan Genocide, at Amahoro Stadium in Kigali, Rwanda*. Kigali, Rwanda, 7 Apr. 2014,

[www.boston.com/bigpicture/2014/04/the\\_rwandan\\_genocide\\_20\\_years\\_later.html](http://www.boston.com/bigpicture/2014/04/the_rwandan_genocide_20_years_later.html).

This image is of the 20th year commemorative celebration of the 1994 Rwandan genocide that took place in 2014 in the Amahoro stadium in Kigali, Rwanda. In the photo, a line of Rwandans dressed in white march in a line with hands over their hearts in front of a packed stadium. This was an emotional time for so many Rwandans, and the fact that they hold a celebration like this shows us that the country is making an attempt to heal from their collective wounds together and move forward while remembering the past.

Davenport, Christian. "Political Violence at a Glance." *Measuring, "Denying" & "Trivializing" Deaths in the Case of Rwanda*, 24 Oct. 2014, [politicalviolenceataglance.org/2014/10/24/measuring-denying-trivializing-deaths-in-the-case-of-rwanda/](http://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2014/10/24/measuring-denying-trivializing-deaths-in-the-case-of-rwanda/).

This is a photo of a collection of skulls and bones located at the Rwandan Genocide Museum in Kigali, Rwanda. This photo does not include the full extent of the bone collection, as there are actually thousands at the museum. They are all the body parts of

victims of the 1994 genocide who are being commemorated in the exhibit. This picture was at first shocking and then enlightening about the extent of the carnage and killing in the genocide.

Jackson, Lawrence. "U.S. President Barack Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama With World Leaders at the Metropolitan Museum in New York." *Flicker*, Yahoo, Washington D.C., 23 Sept. 2009, [www.flickr.com/photos/statephotos/3949313849/](http://www.flickr.com/photos/statephotos/3949313849/).

This photograph was obtained from a collection representing official photos archived by the U.S. Department of State. The image depicts President Barack Obama and his wife posing with Paul Kagame, President of the Republic of Rwanda, during a reception at the Metropolitan Museum in 2009. This demonstrates the amiable relationship between the U.S. and Rwandan despite the human rights abuses that had been made public during the time. The source aided in our understanding of how the international community interacts with post-genocide Rwanda.

Getty Images. "A Genocide Survivor Accuses a Prisoner during a Gacaca Hearing in February 2003 near Gikongoro." *Rwanda: Mixed Legacy for Community-Based Genocide Courts*, Gikongoro, 31 May 2011, [www.hrw.org/news/2011/05/31/rwanda-mixed-legacy-community-based-genocide-courts](http://www.hrw.org/news/2011/05/31/rwanda-mixed-legacy-community-based-genocide-courts).

This images shows a genocide survivor accusing a prisoners during a Gacaca trial. This hearing took place in February 2003 in southern Rwanda. It shows the perpetrator, who is wearing a pink shirt, while the genocide survivor describes the crimes of this person. The people sitting on the grass are the community who will decide his punishment and whether they are to forgive him.

History.com Staff. "The Rwandan Genocide." *History.com*, A+E Networks, 3 Jan. 2018, [www.history.com/topics/rwandan-genocide](http://www.history.com/topics/rwandan-genocide).

This image shows a busy Rwandan road during the time period directly after the genocide. Many children walk, carrying bags and there are huge military vehicles patrolling the street. This photograph helped us to understand the extent of foreign military presence in Rwanda after the genocide, as well as the citizens' disdain toward them.

"How Rwandan Genocide Happened." *The Guide Throughout Rwanda*, About Rwanda, 2016, [www.aboutrwanda.com/how-rwanda-genocide-happened/](http://www.aboutrwanda.com/how-rwanda-genocide-happened/).

This photograph shows a lonely boy standing near a field of destruction filled with dead bodies and garbage. The boy is clearly very poor, and is wearing nothing but a rag. This image showed that the boy (who symbolizes all of those left orphaned by the genocide)

does not know what to do next.

"Hutu Woman from Rwanda." *Modern Genocide: Understanding Causes and Consequences*, ABC-CLIO, 2018,  
[modern-genocide-abc-clio-swb.orc.scoolaid.net/Search/Display/1703955](http://modern-genocide-abc-clio-swb.orc.scoolaid.net/Search/Display/1703955).

This photograph of a Hutu Woman gave us a small window into the lives of Rwandans. From this photo we were able to see both the everyday attire and typical facial features of the average Hutu woman.

Iaccino, Ludovica. "Rwandan Genocide: Lest We Forget." *Words in the Bucket*, Rethinking World Thinking, 7 Apr. 2015,  
[www.wordsinthebucket.com/rwanda-genocide-lest-we-forget](http://www.wordsinthebucket.com/rwanda-genocide-lest-we-forget).

This is a graphic photograph of a young teen, a victim of the Rwandan genocide whose whole face has been slashed several times by a machete. The genocide left physical scars which disfigured the poor boy's face and will remain a reminder of the ordeal for the rest of his life. This picture was not pleasant to look at, but made us realize that the events of the Rwandan genocide will be remembered vividly by those who lived through it for the rest of their lives.

Joe, Alexander. "President Kagame's Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) Is Credited for Ending the Genocide in July 1994." *Germany's Role in Rwanda's Genocide*, Deutsche Welle, Rwanda, 17 June 2015,  
[www.dw.com/en/germanys-role-in-rwandas-genocide-see-no-evil-hear-no-evil/a-18522377](http://www.dw.com/en/germanys-role-in-rwandas-genocide-see-no-evil-hear-no-evil/a-18522377).

This image depicts a RPF official, possibly leader Paul Kagame himself, armed with a heavy gun and standing guard outside a base protecting many Rwandan people. This photo shows that Kagame and the RPF had a very direct role in the genocide and were very much in touch with what was happening. Now, Kagame is accused of exaggerating his role in the genocide, but this photo provides concrete proof that he definitely was physically involved.

"Kibuye: Land of a Thousand Islands, in the Land of a Thousand Hills." *Rwandan Genocide*, Notes from Camelid Country, 23 Nov. 2013,  
[notesfromcamelidcountry.net/category/rwandan-genocide-2/](http://notesfromcamelidcountry.net/category/rwandan-genocide-2/).

This is a photo of a pile of the clothes of dead victims of the 1994 Rwandan genocide. The clothes they died in were all donated or sent to the Nyamata church in Rwanda where they lie on a pile that serves as a sort of memorial and reminder for the visitors of the church. This photo showed us that the Rwandans are making active efforts to remind people of the horrors of the genocide.

"Kofi Annan Visits Rwanda Burial Site." *Modern Genocide: Understanding Causes and Consequences*, ABC-CLIO, 2018,

[modern-genocide-abc-clio-swb.org.scoolaid.net/Search/Display/1704503](http://modern-genocide-abc-clio-swb.org.scoolaid.net/Search/Display/1704503).

This photograph of the then-secretary-general of the United Nations visiting a graveyard of 1998 gives us a chilling insight into the effects of the genocide. In this photo we are shown just a small portion of a graveyard filled with the corpses of genocide victims. Even in this small section, the rows of crossed wooden grave markers gives viewers a tragic sense of the losses brought about by the genocide.

"Machetes and Bullets, Rwanda." *Modern Genocide: Understanding Causes and Consequences*, ABC-CLIO, 2018,

[modern-genocide-abc-clio-swb.org.scoolaid.net/Search/Display/1704502](http://modern-genocide-abc-clio-swb.org.scoolaid.net/Search/Display/1704502).

This photograph features a pile of machetes, bullets and other dangerous-seeming materials resting on the ground near the country's border in Gisenyi during July of 1994. This photo draws attention to the casual nature in which such violent tools have come to be treated with in Rwanda. It allowed us to realise what many people would be terrified to come across, Rwandans have become indifferent to and simply throw to the ground.

"Orphaned Children from Rwanda Rest in Refugee Camp." *Modern Genocide: Understanding Causes and Consequences*, ABC-CLIO, 2018,

[modern-genocide-abc-clio-swb.org.scoolaid.net/Search/Display/1704498](http://modern-genocide-abc-clio-swb.org.scoolaid.net/Search/Display/1704498).

This image shows orphaned children from Rwanda who are resting in a refugee camp. Putting an image to the children who lost their parents during the genocide can be a powerful method of conveying the effects of the genocide. It is important to remember how drastic the effects of a failed compromise can be, especially one that ends in genocide.

Quest Garden. "Pope Seeks Forgiveness for Catholic Church's Role in Rwanda Genocide."

*Premium Times*, Agency Report, Kigali, Rwanda, 20 Mar. 2017,

[www.premiumtimesng.com/foreign/africa/226627-pope-seeks-forgiveness-catholic-churchs-role-rwanda-genocide.html](http://www.premiumtimesng.com/foreign/africa/226627-pope-seeks-forgiveness-catholic-churchs-role-rwanda-genocide.html).

This image is a well-known one of the Rwandan genocide, having been printed in many newspapers during the time period directly after the genocide. It shows an earthen bank, on which a long line of covered dead bodies lie. Near them is a crowd of alive, but clearly grieving people who are going to bury or honor their dead. This image was saddening and reminded us of how devastating the genocide was for those who survived it.

"Refugee Children from Rwanda." *Modern Genocide: Understanding Causes and Consequences*, ABC-CLIO, 2018,  
[modern-genocide-abc-clio-swb.org.scoolaid.net/Search/Display/1704495](http://modern-genocide-abc-clio-swb.org.scoolaid.net/Search/Display/1704495).

This image is of refugee children from Rwanda who were forced to leave their homes and flee the dangers of the genocide. It is really moving to see images placed with the events that unfold, so that we can both read and see for ourselves the effect of the genocide. We would like to use this image in our exhibit to demonstrate the aftermath of the genocide.

"The Rwandan Genocide - United to End Genocide." *EndGenocide.org*,  
<http://endgenocide.org/learn/past-genocides/the-rwandan-genocide/>

This photograph depicts a dirty Rwandan boy in tattered clothing, standing sadly in front of a graveyard with hundreds of graves. While likely staged, this image is a very poignant reminder of the death toll of the genocide and the way that it ruined the lives of children.

"Rwandan Refugees at a Camp in Burundi." *Modern Genocide: Understanding Causes and Consequences*, ABC-CLIO, 2018,  
[modern-genocide-abc-clio-swb.org.scoolaid.net/Search/Display/1749883](http://modern-genocide-abc-clio-swb.org.scoolaid.net/Search/Display/1749883).

This photograph shows lines of refugees seeking aid at a Camp in Burundi. This photograph gives us a small window into the tragic conditions people in Rwanda were forced to resort to. The ability to see the seemingly endless masses of people has affected the way we see these events and allowed us to develop an emotional connection to them.

"Rwandan Refugees Return Home, 1996." *Modern Genocide: Understanding Causes and Consequences*, ABC-CLIO, 2018,  
[modern-genocide-abc-clio-swb.org.scoolaid.net/Search/Display/1704504](http://modern-genocide-abc-clio-swb.org.scoolaid.net/Search/Display/1704504).

This photograph portrays groups of people returning to their birthplace of Rwanda from Tanzania, in which they were seeking refuge. The focus of the photograph is a man who has attached his child to a string to avoid losing him in the masses. This fact, as well as the images of people carrying all of their belongings in gas tanks and paint buckets allows us to view the true poverty and desperation of the people daring to return to their homes.

Salt, Jonathan. "Refugees Cross the Rusumo Border into Tanzania from Rwanda." *The Telegraph*, Telegraph Media Group, Rwandan Border, 16 Oct. 2014,  
[www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/letters/11164125/The-BBC-distorted-reality-of-the-Rwandan-genocide.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/letters/11164125/The-BBC-distorted-reality-of-the-Rwandan-genocide.html).

This image depicts a huge throng of people exiting Rwanda by foot. There is a seemingly never-ending line of people carrying bundles of their belongings on their heads, all looking weary. This picture put into perspective the extent and magnitude of the

Rwandans fleeing their own country for refuge during the genocide and turbulent times before and after it.

"Tutsi Refugee Family in Rwanda." *Modern Genocide: Understanding Causes and Consequences*, ABC-CLIO, 2018,  
[modern-genocide-abc-clio-swb.org.scoolaid.net/Search/Display/1703966](http://modern-genocide-abc-clio-swb.org.scoolaid.net/Search/Display/1703966).

This photograph shows a Tutsi refugee family in Rwanda, having fled their home in wake of the horrible genocide. Visuals of Rwanda, a country so distant from the U.S. in many ways, will be important in order to connect our audience to this historical event. One of the main reasons that the genocide was allowed to happen is that the U.S. and the international community were mostly disconnected from Rwanda and felt no obligation or responsibility to protect its people.

"Un Soldier Speaks with Rwanda Patriotic Front Soldier." *Modern Genocide: Understanding Causes and Consequences*, ABC-CLIO, 2018,  
[modern-genocide-abc-clio-swb.org.scoolaid.net/Search/Display/1704496](http://modern-genocide-abc-clio-swb.org.scoolaid.net/Search/Display/1704496).

This photograph pictures a group of RPF soldiers casually conversing with the troops sent in by the United Nations. The nonchalant expressions of all of the soldiers make it clear that UN forces grew to be closely acquainted with those of the rebel Tutsi class.

Unknown. "Postage Stamp of Belgium Congo Overprinted for German East Africa Occupied by Belgium." *World Library, World Heritage Encyclopedia, East Africa*, 2017,  
[www.worldlibrary.org/articles/ruanda-urundi](http://www.worldlibrary.org/articles/ruanda-urundi).

This source is a photograph of a stamp from the Belgian Congo that is overprinted by the local administration of colonial East Africa. The stamp depicts an outline of a naked African native with his weapon aimed at an elephant. The artist's portrayal of African lifestyle signifies the commonly held belief that natives were primitive. This source revealed the way colonial powers viewed the African people.

"Zairian Rebel Soldier Checks Identity Cards." *Modern Genocide: Understanding Causes and Consequences*, ABC-CLIO, 2018,  
[modern-genocide-abc-clio-swb.org.scoolaid.net/Search/Display/1704520](http://modern-genocide-abc-clio-swb.org.scoolaid.net/Search/Display/1704520).

This photograph shows a Zairian rebel soldier checking the identity cards of civilians as they cross the border into the Rwandan rebel-held city of Bukavu. This allows us to see the desperate measures people were taking to ensure they were keeping out their oppressors during this devastating time.

Warren, Jon. "Tutsi Pastor Anastase Sabamungu (Left) and Hutu Teacher Joseph Nyamutera Visit a Rwandan Cemetery Where 6,000 Genocide Victims Are Buried." *World Vision*,

Kigali, Rwanda, 2008,

[www.worldvision.org/refugees-news-stories/rwandan-genocide-facts](http://www.worldvision.org/refugees-news-stories/rwandan-genocide-facts).

This image depicts two Rwandan men squatting together in a graveyard full of crosses marking graves. It is Tutsi pastor Anastase Sabamungu alongside Hutu teacher Joseph Nyamutera who are visiting a Rwandan cemetery where 6,000 genocide victims are buried. The sheer density of the graves was shocking and was a reminder of just how many dead victims there are. The fact that a Tutsi and Hutu man are visiting this together and putting past divisions behind them is also symbolic of the Rwandan progress and the country coming together.

I24 News. "A French Soldier Monitors a Hutu Army Recruitment Exercise during the Rwandan Genocide." *French Soldiers Accused of Participating in Rwandan Genocide*, Fredrick Ngugi, POLITICS, Rwandan Border, 2 Nov. 2016,

[face2faceafrica.com/article/french-soldiers-accused-participating-rwandan-genocide](http://face2faceafrica.com/article/french-soldiers-accused-participating-rwandan-genocide).

This photo is of a French soldier walking briskly alongside a long line of Rwandan people. The French soldier is armed, but stands a few paces away from the group and doesn't appear to be helping them at all. This demonstrates the accusation that the French soldiers did not do enough to help the Rwandan genocide victims, and have even been accused of participating in the killing in some cases.

### **Political Manifestos**

Kagame, Alexis. *Le code des institutions politiques du Rwanda précolonial*. Institut Royal Colonial Belge, Bruxelles, 1952.

This book was written by Alexis Kagame, a member of the Tutsi elite during the colonial era of Rwanda who greatly benefitted from his country's colonial structure because it granted him an education, a high social status and the official post of court historian. He is often considered the intellectual leader of Tutsi culture because his book defended the colonial system and client relations. Kagame's ideology influenced the Tutsi power movement and was later adopted by leaders of the RPF. This source which is written in French, was extremely important to our research because it epitomizes the social and political conflicts between Tutsi and Hutus at the time.

Mifizi, Christophe. "Massacres au Rwanda: Le réseau Zéro du Général-Président." *Monde on Rwanda*, 1993. *UT Libraries*, [hdl.handle.net/2152/14127](http://hdl.handle.net/2152/14127).

This document is an open letter written by Christophe Mifizi who had run the Information Office of Habyarimana for 14 years under his oppressive regime. In his letter, published through a French journal, Mifizi exposes the oligarchy from the North that had taken hold of Rwandan politics. He also warns the people that democracy will never be possible unless Habyarimana's centralized state is destroyed. This publication

was perhaps the most unique perspective represented in our research: it expressed the sentiments of a power Hutu government elite who gave up his position of power to inform his people about Rwanda's corruption.

Nsengiyaremye, Dismas. "To Ensure Compliance with the Arusha Peace Accords and Success of the Democratic Process in Rwanda." *Brussels*, 1993. *United Nations Mechanism for International Criminal Tribunals*, BIZIMUNGU%20ET%20AL%20-%20AN%20ANALYSIS%20BY%20DR.%20DIS\_RIME%20MINISTER,%20ON%20THE%20ARUSHA%20PEACE%20ACCORDS%20AND%20THE%20DEMOCRATIC%20PROCESS%20IN%20RWANDA%20(2).PDF. This is a political manifesto by Dr. Dismas Nsengiyaremye who was the vice-chairman of the MDR opposition party. In his work, Nsengiyaremye urges his party members to fully support the implementation of the Accords while criticizing Habyarimana. The source allowed us to see the point of view of opposition party members concerning the Arusha Accords.

### **Speeches**

Dobbs, Michael. "Speech of President Habyarimana ." MRND Meeting. MRND Meeting, 15 Nov. 1992, Ruhengeri, *Document Cloud*, Rwanda, [assets.documentcloud.org/documents/1391811/footnote-26-speech-of-habyarimana-english.pdf](https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/1391811/footnote-26-speech-of-habyarimana-english.pdf).

This source is a speech by President Habyarimana to his party members at a meeting in 1992. The text was found in English in the National Archives. During his speech, Habyarimana criticizes the Arusha Accords and reveals his lack of commitment to upholding them. This source provided us insight to Habyarimana's perspective on the negotiations with the RPF.

Clinton, William. "President Clinton's Address to Genocide Survivors." White House Records. Airport Address, 25 Mar. 1998, Kigali, Rwanda, [www.cbsnews.com/news/text-of-clintons-rwanda-speech/](http://www.cbsnews.com/news/text-of-clintons-rwanda-speech/).

This source is an address given by former President Bill Clinton to genocide survivors in an airport in Kigali, Rwanda. In his speech, Clinton apologizes for the U.S.'s failure to effectively intervene during the genocide which would have saved hundreds of thousands of lives. Clinton also explains the inability of the U.S. to reconcile every international dispute. This source provided us with perspective on how the U.S. views affairs in Rwanda.

Kagame, Paul. "Paul Kagame Council Speech on Foreign Relations, Rwandan Genocide."

United States Institute for Peace. 2004, Washington, DC, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

This source is an original speech given by Rwandan President Paul Kagame to the United States Foreign Relations and Peace Institute Council in Washington, DC. In this speech, Kagame addresses the Rwandan genocide at length, including the events leading up to it. He then focuses on the aftermath and how Rwanda is striving to rebuild and come back together as a country, promote peace and prevent genocide in the future. The inspiring words spoken by Paul Kagame gave us insight to the image he tries to present of himself to the international community, though it seems questionable through his actual actions if he is keeping to these motives.

Kagame, Paul. "Paul Kagame's Speech On The 7th Commemoration of Genocide against Tutsi." Genocide Remembrance. 11 Sept. 2003, Rukumberi, [genocidearchiverwanda.org.rw/index.php?title=Kmc00750/kmc00750](http://genocidearchiverwanda.org.rw/index.php?title=Kmc00750/kmc00750).

This video recording is of the President Paul Kagame of Rwanda's speech on the 7th commemoration of Genocide against Tutsi in Rukumberi, Eastern Province. He raises issues of National security, National identity, and challenges of the international community on the human rights issues. This source was very useful as it told us Kagame's perspectives when he was a fairly new leader, compared to speeches he made later in his political career when he may have been more corrupt.

Kagame, Paul. "Transcript: Rwanda President Paul Kagame." *Financial Times*, FT Limited 2018, 27 Aug. 2017, [www.ft.com/content/0ec9dc4e-8976-11e7-8bb1-5ba57d47eff7](http://www.ft.com/content/0ec9dc4e-8976-11e7-8bb1-5ba57d47eff7). Accessed 16 Jan. 2018.

This source is a transcript of an interview conducted with Paul Kagame, three-term president of Rwanda. In this, he discusses his early life and the transformation of the east African country of Rwanda after the 1994 Genocide. He addresses how he attempted the monumental task he calls "the rebirth of a nation", giving deep insights into his goals and why he made important leadership decisions he did. This was very useful, but all the while we had to question his sincerity as it seems as though he is consolidating power and turning into a dictator of the nation.

Mitterrand, Francois. "The La Baule Speech." The National Archive, 20 June 1990, La Baule, France, [nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB461/docs/DOCUMENT%203%20-%20English.pdf](http://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB461/docs/DOCUMENT%203%20-%20English.pdf).

In his televised speech, President Mitterrand of France outlines the goals of France in providing technical and humanitarian aid to developing central African nations.

Mitterrand emphasizes that France does not plan to directly intervene in foreign affairs,

but rather wishes to aid its African counterparts by supplying diplomatic resources in the event of conflict. The speech allowed us to understand France's motivations for intervening in Rwanda and its general policy on foreign affairs.

### **TV/Radio**

“Radio Muhabura Transcripts.” *Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies*, Concordia University,  
[migs.concordia.ca/links/RwandaRadioTranscriptsRadioMuhabura.htm](http://migs.concordia.ca/links/RwandaRadioTranscriptsRadioMuhabura.htm)

The Concordia University Database provided 5 radio transcripts in French and English from Radio Muhabura which was the official media station of the Rwandan Patriotic Front. Unlike their Hutu extremist counterparts, Radio Muhabura promoted peace and unity between Tutsi and Hutu. This source was useful for comparing the perspectives of Hutu and Tutsi during the height of their ethnic tensions.

“Radio-Télévision Libre Des Mille Collines Transcripts .” *Texas Scholarworks*, University of Texas at Austin, 2015, [repositories.lib.utexas.edu/handle/2152/7166](http://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/handle/2152/7166).

The University of Texas database provided 271 radio transcripts in French, English and Kinyarwanda from a popular extremist pro-Hutu radio station before and during the genocide called Radio Télévision des Milles Collines (RTL M). The use of radio propaganda to fuel racial tensions was an important factor in the start of the Rwandan Genocide. Reading these radio transcripts allows us to read the viewpoints of the commentators, and understand the propaganda the Rwandans were being exposed to.

### **Videos/Films**

RTL M. “Excerpts from RTL M Broadcasts during the Genocide in 1994.” YouTube, YouTube, 28 Apr. 2014, [m.youtube.com/watch?v=VNbUeLnxQEI](http://m.youtube.com/watch?v=VNbUeLnxQEI).

This video provides audio from various RTL M radio broadcasts in 1994 in the original Kinyarwanda. The video also provided an English translation. We selected this audio as media for our exhibit because it allows the viewer to place themselves in the environment proceeding the genocide in which propaganda played a large role in daily life. We complimented the audio with a vintage Panasonic radio which was a popular brand of radio in Rwanda at the time.

*Ghosts of Rwanda: Frontline*. Dir. Greg Barker. Perf. Madeleine Albright and Gromo Alex. PBS, 2004. DVD.

This source is a documentary from PBS Frontline that documents the horrors of the Rwandan genocide with an emphasis placed on the involvement of the United Nations. We thought the film should be considered a primary source because it includes interviews with key government officials and diplomats, real footage of burial sites and eyewitness

accounts. This source aided our understanding of the topic because it showed the progression of the genocide and a way that mimicked the telling of a story.

History.com Staff, director. *Rwanda: Remembrance and Reconciliation*. *History*, A+E Networks, [www.history.com/topics/rwandan-genocide/videos](http://www.history.com/topics/rwandan-genocide/videos).

This moving video describes the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide. This is interesting because we can not only hear about the aftermath but also see the aftermath in visuals and in interviews. We plan to use a clip showing an interview of one man's perspective of the Gacaca trials, the local court systems for genocide perpetrators.

TEDx Talks, director. *Why I Stayed in Rwanda - Carl Wilkens - TEDxUrsulineCollege*. *Youtube*, 29 Jan. 2016, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=ghnWArGbD-c](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ghnWArGbD-c).

This video is a recorded Ted Talk given by Carl Wilkens, the only American to stay in Rwanda during the time of the genocide. In this talk, Mr. Wilkens describes his reasons for staying in Rwanda, and tells the story of how he devoted his life to helping those in Rwanda and saving people during the genocide.

### **Website**

Wilkens, Carl. "About Us." *Worldoutsidemys shoes.org*, Carl Wilkens, [www.worldoutsidemys shoes.org/about-carl](http://www.worldoutsidemys shoes.org/about-carl).

This website was created by Carl Wilkens, the only missionary from the United States to stay in Rwanda during the genocide. This about page contains an autobiography of Carl Wilkens, which we used to gain more information about his life before our personal interview with him. This website also contained other information such as his speaking schedule and published book. We also used this website as a bridge to other sources that were linked on this website, such as a PBS interview with Carl Wilkens.

### **Secondary Sources**

#### **Articles (Online)**

"Aftermath." *Confront Genocide*, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2015, [www.ushmm.org/confront-genocide/cases/rwanda/rwanda-aftermath](http://www.ushmm.org/confront-genocide/cases/rwanda/rwanda-aftermath).

This article describes the Aftermath of the Rwandan Genocide. It specifically explains the punishments faced by those who perpetrated and killed during the Genocide. We will use this article as a brief overview of court proceedings before reading in depth transcripts of court sessions.

"After Rwanda's Genocide." *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 8 Apr. 2014, [www.nytimes.com/2014/04/09/opinion/after-rwandas-genocide.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/09/opinion/after-rwandas-genocide.html).

This article describes Rwanda's progress since the genocide in 1994. While the racial

tensions and political/social climate in Rwanda have improved, this article describes the changes that still have to be made. It specifically describes the infringement on freedom of speech and press in Rwanda, as well as France's questionable role in the genocide. This article provided us with an understanding of how the Rwandan Genocide has shaped politics in present day Rwanda.

Berman, Ari. "Dictator in Disguise: Rwandan Paul Kagame." *Harvard Political Review Dictator in Disguise Comments*, 22 Apr. 2016, [harvardpolitics.com/world/your-friendly-neighborhood-dictator/](http://harvardpolitics.com/world/your-friendly-neighborhood-dictator/).

This article describes the role of Paul Kagame, the current Rwandan president in the Rwandan genocide and how he quietly turned his regime into a dictatorship. Kagame is largely credited to have played a major role in ending the genocide, leading the Tutsi Rwandan Patriotic Front to take control of the country during chaos. Kagame constantly references this event whenever his authority is questioned, using his role in the genocide as a facade, behind which he can usurp all Rwandan power. This article helped us to understand the current political situation in Rwanda and its origins.

Biro, Yaëlle. "Tutsi Basketry." *The MET: Timeline of Art History*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Mar. 2011, [www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/tuts/hd\\_tuts.htm](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/tuts/hd_tuts.htm).

This article explains the significance of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's collection of basketry artifacts created by elite Tutsi women in Rwanda and Burundi. Yaëlle placed these artifacts in their historic and cultural context and emphasized their value as symbols of pre colonial identity. This work provided us with a deeper understanding of Rwandan culture and a lens for observing the museum's artifacts.

Bower, Bruce. "A Look at Rwanda's Genocide Helps Explain Why Ordinary People Kill Their Neighbors." *Science News*, 9 Aug. 2017, [www.sciencenews.org/article/rwanda-genocide-psychology-murder](http://www.sciencenews.org/article/rwanda-genocide-psychology-murder).

This article explains scientific views on how propaganda motivated Hutu people to viciously kill their friends, neighbors, colleagues etc. This article describes that it was not necessarily a ideology of following the actions of everyone else, but people were instead motivated to protect their country from the people perceived as enemies. This article provided us with an insight into the minds of killers in the Rwandan Genocide, and how they were motivated to commit such atrocities.

Brankamp, Hanno. "Rwanda: To What Extent Did the Hamitic Myth Prepare the Ground for 1994?" *Pambazuka News: Voices For Freedom and Justice, Pan-Africanism*, 18 June 2014, [www.pambazuka.org/governance/rwanda-what-extent-did-hamitic-myth-prepare-ground-1994](http://www.pambazuka.org/governance/rwanda-what-extent-did-hamitic-myth-prepare-ground-1994).

This article by expert in African studies Hanno Brankamp discusses the many effects of the Hamitic Hypothesis on Rwandan colonization and the radicalization of Hutus in the 1980s. The piece gave us perspective on how writers of history not only frame events in the eyes of future generations but also changes history as it occurs. We used Brankamp's analysis to formulate our own argument about the effects of Eurocentric scholarship and ideology on African societies.

Cotler, Irwin. "The Worst Thing About the Rwanda Genocide Is That It Was Preventable."

*HuffPost Canada*, HuffPost Canada, 7 June 2014,

[www.huffingtonpost.ca/irwin-cotler/rwanda-genocide\\_b\\_5093644.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/irwin-cotler/rwanda-genocide_b_5093644.html).

This article provides a brief overview on preventable nature of the Rwandan Genocide. It compares it to other genocides such as the Holocaust, and explains how the Rwandan Genocide was different. This article provided us with a new perspective on the Rwandan Genocide, and the actions the world could have taken to prevent it.

Florance, Charlotte. "22 Years After the Rwandan Genocide." *The Huffington Post*,

*TheHuffingtonPost.com*, 7 Apr. 2016,

[www.huffingtonpost.com/to-the-market/22-years-after-the-rwanda\\_b\\_9631032.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/to-the-market/22-years-after-the-rwanda_b_9631032.html)

This article summarized the improvements and changes that have been made in Post Genocide Rwanda. It highlighted the positive changes: Women have gained a substantial amount of rights and Rwanda has improved their economy through the tourism industry. Despite Paul Kagame's laws that violate human rights, Rwanda's economy and standard of living is continuously improving. This article expanded our knowledge on Rwanda's economy and standard of living today.

Gendron, Sarah. *Exploiting the Hutu/Tutsi Divide: The Relationship between Extremist*

*Propaganda and Genocide in Rwanda*, Academic Conferences International Limited,

Reading, 2010, *ProQuest Central; Research Library*,

[search-proquest-com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/docview/869507001?accountid=10226](http://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/docview/869507001?accountid=10226).

This article examines the use of radio propaganda to divide Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda and cultivate racial hatred in the population. Several examples of appalling encouragement from radio channels for Hutus to kill Tutsis and moderate Hutus were included in the text. Even more shocking was the amount of concern shown by the international community with efforts to restrict hate speech in Rwanda, meanwhile there was little involvement or concern during the actual genocide. This article is helpful for understanding the process through which citizens in Rwanda were motivated to kill each other, and also gives some insight into the involvement (or lack of involvement) of other countries.

Ginneken, Jeroen K. van, and Margreet Wieggers. "Various Causes of the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda With Emphasis on the Role of Population Pressure." *Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute*, 2005, [paa2005.princeton.edu/papers/51066](http://paa2005.princeton.edu/papers/51066). While many papers focus on the role of the west in the Rwandan genocide, as well as the political situation in Rwanda, one crucial factor that is sometimes overlooked is population pressures. This paper offers a variety of visuals including charts and maps which describe the desperate situation that Rwanda was in, suggesting that perhaps the blame for the genocide cannot be passed off to mere politics. Instead, the main reason might be simply because 90% of the country was in poverty.

History.com Staff. "The Rwandan Genocide." *History.com*, A+E Networks, 2009, [www.history.com/topics/rwandan-genocide](http://www.history.com/topics/rwandan-genocide).

In this article general information is given about the Rwandan genocide, as well as the events leading up to it and the international response. This article was helpful for understanding the ethnic tensions between the Hutus and the Tutsis, and the disappointing role played by western countries. We will use this article to gain general knowledge of the Rwandan genocide before proceeding to examine primary sources and read longer texts.

"Justice and Reconciliation Process in Rwanda." *Outreach Programme on the Rwandan Genocide and the United Nations*, United Nations, 2013, [www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/rwanda/about/bgjustice.shtml](http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/rwanda/about/bgjustice.shtml).

This article gives a detailed explanation of the court systems in Rwanda responsible for trying those responsible for the genocide, as well as the programs implemented to rebuild its identity. Three court systems were implemented to put genocide suspects on trial: the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda for the most serious crimes, the National Court System to try those who planned the genocide or were accused of rape, and the Gacaca courts to locally try low-level suspects. This article gave insight into the full justice system and the way that the country as well as International Community dealt with trying and/or convicting the many people convicted of genocide.

King, Alex. "How Rwanda's 'Genocide Liberator' Paul Kagame Became an Absolute Dictator." *Center for Research on Globalization*, 16 May 2016, [www.globalresearch.ca/how-rwandas-genocide-liberator-paul-kagame-became-an-absolute-dictator/5548934](http://www.globalresearch.ca/how-rwandas-genocide-liberator-paul-kagame-became-an-absolute-dictator/5548934).

This article describes the way that Rwanda's current president Paul Kagame became an absolute dictator and why the international community nevertheless continues to fund and support his regime. Foreign embassy officials are well aware that Kagame is paving the way to dictatorship, but have found him to be a reliable ally who is able to successfully

implement their aid programs, so will therefore continue to support his regime. This source gave us useful insight about the current political situation of Rwanda and its relationship with the international community.

Lemarchand, Rene. "Rwandan Genocide." *Modern Genocide: Understanding Causes and Consequences*, ABC-CLIO, 2018, [modern-genocide-abc-clio-swb.orc.scoolaid.net/Topics/Display/10?cid=41](http://modern-genocide-abc-clio-swb.orc.scoolaid.net/Topics/Display/10?cid=41).

This series of database articles gives us a very thorough overview of everything leading up to, during, and following this period of violence in Rwanda. The investigation of these articles allowed us to gain a very solid understanding of the chronology of the build up in tensions, exertion of angers and attempted compromises to hopefully aid such issues.

Lyon, Meghan. "Radio in the Rwandan Genocide." *The Devil's Tale*, Duke University Libraries, 1 May 2017,

[blogs.library.duke.edu/rubenstein/2013/05/10/radio-in-the-rwandan-genocide/](http://blogs.library.duke.edu/rubenstein/2013/05/10/radio-in-the-rwandan-genocide/).

This online article, provided by Duke University Libraries analysed the RTLM radio transcripts which are available in Duke's archives in a unique context. The author emphasized how RTLM broadcasters sought to write history and monopolize the truth. This perspective caused us to realize an underlying historical problem and Rwanda that has actively fueled political tensions for decades: because early Rwanda as no written history, political groups who take power are able to construct their own version of the past and transmit it to the people. The lens in which Lyon framed her argument enhanced our understanding of Rwandan politics.

Melvorn, Linda. "United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda II (UNAMIR II)." *United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda II (UNAMIR II) : The Oxford Handbook of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations - Oi*, Oxford, [oxfordindex.oup.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199686049.013.44](http://oxfordindex.oup.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199686049.013.44).

This article outlined the participation of the United Nations in Rwanda. More specifically, it described the formation, implementation and actions of foreign forces in Rwanda.

Monks, Kieron. "French Officials 'Complicit' in Genocide." *CNN*, Cable News Network, 13 Dec. 2017, [www.cnn.com/2017/12/13/africa/french-officials-rwanda-genocide/index.html](http://www.cnn.com/2017/12/13/africa/french-officials-rwanda-genocide/index.html).

This article describes the ongoing tensions between Rwanda and France. An investigation completed by Rwanda concluded that French officials provided weapons to Hutus; aware that they would be used to kill Tutsis. The french government disputes these claims. This article provided us with an awareness on the debated involvement of the international

community in the Rwandan genocide as well as the ways the genocide is still affecting Rwanda's international relations to this day.

Moore, Jina. "Rwanda Accuses France of Complicity in 1994 Genocide." *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 13 Dec. 2017, [www.nytimes.com/2017/12/13/world/africa/rwanda-france-genocide.html?rref=collection/timestopic/Kagame,Paul&action=click&contentCollection](http://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/13/world/africa/rwanda-france-genocide.html?rref=collection/timestopic/Kagame,Paul&action=click&contentCollection)  
This article describes Rwanda's belief that France has an important and influential role in the Rwandan Genocide. Rwanda is specifically frustrated that France has not legally punished officials believed to have taken part in the Rwandan Genocide. This article provided us with understanding of the tensions between Rwanda and France and how the Rwandan Genocide caused these tensions.

Muvunyi, Fred. "Opinion: She Tried to Run against Rwandan President Paul Kagame. Now She's Looking at 20 Years in Prison." *The Washington Post*, WP Company, 29 Sept. 2017, [www.washingtonpost.com/news/democracy-post/wp/2017/09/29/she-tried-to-run-against-rwandan-president-paul-kagame-now-shes-looking-at-20-years-in-prison/](http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/democracy-post/wp/2017/09/29/she-tried-to-run-against-rwandan-president-paul-kagame-now-shes-looking-at-20-years-in-prison/).  
This article tells the story of Diane Shima Rwigara, a political opponent of Paul Kagame who was arrested in September. This article displays the lack of freedom of speech/press given to the Rwandan people despite Paul Kagame's claims. It helped us to understand the progress Rwanda has made, as well as the work that still needs to be done.

Ngoyo, Mangovo. "African Nations and Territory Identity: The Dismantlement of African Land and Nations and the Artificial Construction of the 1872 Colonial Africa C. -1960 C." *Africa Federation*. Federation of the Free States of Africa, [www.africafederation.net/Berlin\\_1885.htm](http://www.africafederation.net/Berlin_1885.htm).  
This article details the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 in the context of European exploration and colonization. Using several international documents, Ngoyo describes the "scramble for Africa" in the late 19th century where European powers such as Germany, Belgium, France and England fought for control of African land and resources. The author highlights how this process resulted in the dismantlement of African land and the elimination of African cultures. This source was useful in our research because it altered the way we approached European colonial documents.

Nyirubugara, Olivier. "Juvenal Habyarimana : A President Who Died in Sadness." *Www.olny.nl*, Apr. 2007, [www.olny.nl/RWANDA/Lu\\_Pour\\_Vous/Dossier\\_Special\\_Habyarimana/Habyarimana\\_Mort\\_Malheureux\\_EN.html](http://www.olny.nl/RWANDA/Lu_Pour_Vous/Dossier_Special_Habyarimana/Habyarimana_Mort_Malheureux_EN.html).

This source is all about Juvenal Habyarimana, the highly influential and worldly former President of Rwanda in the turbulent period as the country led up to a genocide, with frequent outbreaks of violence and ever-increasing tensions. Within this highly informative source are speeches by Habyarimana that reveal his stances on foreign policy and the civil disarray of Rwanda. It also details his death in a the mysterious and highly-publicized plane crash that is blamed for directly starting the genocide. This source gave us great insights into what kind of a leader Habyarimana was, which we can contrast to present day Paul Kagame.

*PBS*, Public Broadcasting Service,

[www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/rwanda/etc/cron.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/rwanda/etc/cron.html).

This article briefly describes events starting in 1918 and ending in 1999. Every event relates to the Rwandan Genocide and in some form contributed to it. This article provided us with an overview on the events that heightened ethnic tensions in Rwanda, ultimately leading to the Genocide.

Rever, Judi. "What Remains Hidden in Rwanda: The Role of Tutsi Civilians in Killing Hutus."

*Foreign Policy Journal*, FPJ, 3 June 2016,

[www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2016/06/03/what-remains-hidden-in-rwanda-the-role-of-tutsi-civilians-in-killing-hutus/](http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2016/06/03/what-remains-hidden-in-rwanda-the-role-of-tutsi-civilians-in-killing-hutus/).

This article describes the role that Tutsis played in the killings during the genocide, crimes which are less known after the RPF came to power and covered up their suspected crimes. This offers another perspective and reminds us that there are two sides to this fight, and although more Tutsis died in the genocide, neither group was more willing to compromise. We will use this article to consider how the current government in Rwanda and compare it to situations that have happened in the past.

"Rwanda: A Brief History of the Country" *Outreach Programme on the Rwandan Genocide and the United Nations*, United Nations, 2013,

[www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/rwanda/education/rwandagenocide.shtml](http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/rwanda/education/rwandagenocide.shtml).

This source gave a brief history of Rwanda, about its tribes, European colonization, civil war and finally genocide. It then explained the involvement of the United Nations in stopping the genocide and trying suspected perpetrators in the Gacaca court series. This document gave a helpful overview and put into perspective what Rwanda has been through as a country, both leading up to the genocide and the aftermath.

"Rwanda: Gacaca Court." *Modern Genocide: Understanding Causes and Consequences*,

ABC-CLIO, 2018,

[moderngenocide-abc-clio-swb.ora.scoilaid.net/Search/Display/1704159](http://moderngenocide-abc-clio-swb.ora.scoilaid.net/Search/Display/1704159).

This website describes the causes of the Rwandan genocide and the use of the Gacaca Courts. This is important for understanding the modern situation in Rwanda and how the aftermath of the genocide is being taken care of.

“Rwanda Genocide: 100 Days of Slaughter.” *BBC News*, BBC, 7 Apr. 2014, [www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-26875506](http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-26875506).

This article provides an overview on the events leading up to the Rwandan Genocide, as well as the motives that people to kill their own neighbors. This article was important for us to establish a preliminary understanding on the motivations behind the brutal killings in the Rwandan Genocide.

“Rwanda: How the Genocide Happened.” *BBC News*, BBC, 17 May 2011, [www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13431486](http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13431486).

This website offered a brief explanation of the causes and effects of the genocide. It outlines the key events that we will be researching in the future to clearly understand the genocide. This was important for understanding the backstory and also the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide. We will use this article as a starting point for our research so that we can gain a strong understanding of the genocide.

“Rwanda's Paul Kagame: Visionary, Despot, or Both?” *Times LIVE*, [www.timeslive.co.za/news/africa/2017-08-01-rwandas-paul-kagame-visionary-despot-or-both/](http://www.timeslive.co.za/news/africa/2017-08-01-rwandas-paul-kagame-visionary-despot-or-both/).

This article examines Paul Kagame’s rise to power in Rwanda, and as well as his positive and negative attributes. He has helped Rwanda grow economically and ended the genocide, but he limits freedom of speech. This article provided us with information that allowed us to understand Paul Kagame’s reign and how his reign was influenced by the Rwandan Genocide.

“Rwanda's Paul Kagame - Visionary or Tyrant?” *BBC News*, BBC, 3 Aug. 2017, [www.bbc.com/news/10479882](http://www.bbc.com/news/10479882).

This article describes the political climate in Modern day Rwanda. While Paul Kagame has been applauded for repairing Rwanda after their 100 days of genocide, this article describes the ways in which Paul Kagame violates civil liberties and his habit of preventing any political opposition to his rule. This article helped us comprehend the characteristics of Paul Kagame's rule, the positive and the negative.

“Rwanda: The Failure of the Arusha Peace Accords.” Edited by Emily Willard, *The National Security Archive*, [nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB469/](http://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB469/).

This document provides a description of the Arusha Peace Accords, focusing mainly on the brief yet crucial section describing the integration of armed forces of the Rwandan Patriotic Front and the Rwandan Government. It provides an overview on the formation of these documents and focuses on the ways in which the conflicts between the major groups forming these treaties prevented it from succeeding.

“Rwanda: The Art of Remembering and Forgetting.” *National Geographic*, National Geographic Society, 8 Apr. 2014,

[news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2014/04/140407-rwanda-genocide-today-anniversary](https://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2014/04/140407-rwanda-genocide-today-anniversary)

This National Geographic Article details the experience of Gaston Bizimana, a tutsi who survived the genocide. It includes details of his personal experience that helped us understand the feelings and thoughts of a person who lived through such horrific events. This article also describes Rwanda’s method of moving on from the genocide, while still honoring and remembering the dead. This article also provided us with information on Rwanda’s unique healing process.

Specia, Megan. “How a Nation Reconciles After Genocide Killed Nearly a Million People.” *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 25 Apr. 2017,

[www.nytimes.com/2017/04/25/world/africa/rwandans-carry-on-side-by-side-two-decades-after-genocide.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/25/world/africa/rwandans-carry-on-side-by-side-two-decades-after-genocide.html).

This article describes the ways Rwandan people have begun to heal and ease ethnic tensions after the genocide. It specifically describes a process called “Umuganda”, a service held once a month where people work together to improve public projects. This article allowed us to understand the specific ways in which Rwandan people are able to heal, and especially forgive their neighbors who took part in the killings.

Stanton, Gregory H. “10 Stages of Genocide.” *Genocide Watch*, The Alliance Against Genocide, 2016, [genocidewatch.net/genocide-2/8-stages-of-genocide/](http://genocidewatch.net/genocide-2/8-stages-of-genocide/).

This source is a website article by Genocide Watch that details the stages and progression of genocide which includes: classification, symbolization, discrimination, dehumanization, organization, polarization, preparation, persecution, extermination, and denial. Stanton’s summary of this process, which applies to thousands of tragedies in the world, helped us identify the events that led up to the Rwandan Genocide. Additionally, this article made us realize the possibility of another genocide in modern Rwanda under the oppressive government of Paul Kagame.

“Thousands of Women Were Raped during Rwanda's Genocide. Now Their Kids Are Coming of

Age.” *The Washington Post*, WP Company,  
[www.washingtonpost.com/sf/world/2017/06/11/rwandas-children-of-rape-are-coming-of-age-against-the-odds/?utm\\_term=.440bdb3fa37](http://www.washingtonpost.com/sf/world/2017/06/11/rwandas-children-of-rape-are-coming-of-age-against-the-odds/?utm_term=.440bdb3fa37).

This article describes the sexual violence against women during the Rwandan Genocide. Nearly 50,000 women were raped during the genocide, and 20,000 children were born as a result of this. This article includes survivor stories as well as interviews from children who were born as result of rape, and the resentment they often feel from their mothers. This article provided us with an insight into the violence women were subjected to and the they and their children were effected by this.

“UNAMIR: United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda.” *United Nations Peacekeeping*, United Nations, [www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unamirS.htm](http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unamirS.htm).

This article gave the full history of the United Nations’ involvement in Rwanda both leading up to the genocide and in its aftermath. It focuses on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), a program that was present in Rwanda throughout the genocide but was of little help. While many now criticize the United Nations for not having prevented the genocide, this article gave a contrasting perspective by presenting the events from the UN’s point of view.

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. “Rwanda: The First Conviction for Genocide.” *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, [www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007157](http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007157).

This article from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, outlines the trial faced by a specific perpetrator in the Rwandan Genocide named Jean-Paul Akayesu. Akayesu’s case was significant because it marked the first internationally supported use of the word genocide to describe the actions of a single guilty party. The article highlighted the significance of what occurred in Rwanda in the context of international justice and trial. We used this source to understand how the world responded to Rwanda after its crisis.

---. “The Rwandan Crisis Seen through the Eyes of France: Part I.” *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, [www.ushmm.org/confront-genocide/cases/rwanda/turning-points/france-part-i](http://www.ushmm.org/confront-genocide/cases/rwanda/turning-points/france-part-i).

This article explains the Rwandan crisis from the French perspective which offers insight into why they intervenes before and during the genocide. The main reason, according to this article, is that the French were unwilling to give up one of their few allies in Africa, which would be the French-speaking Hutus. It is important to analyze the motives of each political group to determine how this all boiled into a genocide.

“What On Earth Were They Doing?” *New Internationalist*, 5 July 2017,

[newint.org/features/1994/12/05/doing](http://newint.org/features/1994/12/05/doing)

This article describes the actions taken by the United Nations to stop the Rwandan Genocide, specifically when the killings began in Kigali. It describes not only the United Nations forces failure to becoming involved, but *why* they were unable to do so. This article provided us with an understanding of why the United Nations Forces stood by as the “100 Days of killing” began.

“Women in Post-Genocide Rwanda Have Helped Heal Their Country.” *National Geographic*, National Geographic Society, 4 Apr. 2014, [news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2014/04/140404-rwanda-genocide-parliament-kigali-rwandan-patriotic-front-world-women-education/](http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2014/04/140404-rwanda-genocide-parliament-kigali-rwandan-patriotic-front-world-women-education/).

This article describes the role woman have played in shaping Rwanda into a progressive country, and the ways women have influenced Rwanda’s habits when dealing with their violent past. It specifically describes Rwanda’s step against sexual violence, domestic abuse, and rape. This article helped us understand the RPF’s view on women, as well as how they found newfound respect from the majority male government when the Rwandan genocide ended.

### **Books**

Bentley, Jerry H., et al. “States and Societies of Sub-Saharan Africa.” *Traditions & Encounters: a Global Perspective on the Past*, McGraw-Hill Education, 2016, pp. 382–401.

This source provided a broad view of precolonial sub-Saharan Africa by detailing the political, economic, religious and social structures at play. Although this source did not mention Rwanda specifically, it was an excellent starting point for our pre colonial research. The contextual background examining historical trends within this area gave us a basic framework in which we could build our research.

Clark, Janine Natalya. “Between Theory and Practice: Conflict and Resolution in Rwanda.” *Conflict Management in Divided Societies: Theories and Practices*, edited by Stefan Wolff and Christalla Yakinthou, Routledge, 2011.

This book chapter explains the role of international facilitators in the mediation and implementation of the Arusha Accords. Clark discusses the role of each actor and the effect of their collective presence during the peace talks on the outcome of the Accords. Clark’s work illuminated the possibilities and dangers presented by third party intermediaries and their role in international diplomacy.

Longman, Timothy. *Christianity and Genocide in Rwanda*. Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Timothy Longman's book explores the role of the Catholic Church in the Rwandan Genocide, following its effects as a political institution and part of civil society in Rwanda. Longman details Church's encouragement of ethnic hatred by supporting racist ideology and legitimizing authoritarian regimes. This source gave us a fresh perspective on the social, religious and ideological factors that fueled the genocide.

Lund, Jeremy. *Why We Were Not There: American Intervention Policy and the Failure to Act in Rwanda*. Dissertation, Iowa State University, 2011.

This graduate school dissertation discusses the U.S.'s role in the mediation and implementation of the Arusha Accords. The text places international intervention in the Rwandan Civil war in the context of post-Cold War diplomacy in which western superpowers were expected to provide their moral prestige and economic resources for promoting democracy. Lund argues that perhaps the failure of American to provide military support in Rwanda is due to the pervasive faults of diplomatic structures in the 1990s and the Clinton administration was simply the victim of hindsight. This source deepened our knowledge of our own country's connection to the Rwandan Genocide.

Mamdani, Mahmood. *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism and the Genocide in Rwanda*. Princeton University Press, 2001.

In this source, a Ugandan scholar criticizes previous studies of Rwanda that were conducted through an imperial lense, painting the genocide as a random and unfounded occurrence. In his work, Mamdani identifies the underpinnings of the conflict, particularly the effects of colonialism on the social foundations of African society. Mamdani places the Rwandan conflict into the context of post independence violence in Africa left in the wake of European settlers. We used this source to investigate how Tutsi-Hutu identities were constructed and impacted by colonialism.

Melvorn, Linda R. *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide*. London: Zed, 2009. Print.

*A People Betrayed: the Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide* by Linda Melvorn documents international intervention in Rwandan affairs preceding the genocide, namely, the United Nations' mission "UNAMIR" and France's "Operation Turquoise". In her book, Melvorn creates an intriguing dialogue about the underlying political and economic incentives behind the involvement of western powers in Rwanda. Additionally, the author draws conclusions about the effects outside mediation has had on central African affairs for the better and for the worse. This source provided a clear outline of the political parties and national entities at play during the conflict and was an excellent introductory source.

Newbury, Catharine. *The Cohesion of Oppression: Clientship and Ethnicity in Rwanda, 1860-1960*. Columbia Press, 1988.

This source provided an extensive history of Rwanda leading up to the Hutu Revolution that details precolonial and colonial political structures. This piece of scholarship is unique in the fact that it was written before the genocide and therefore offers a less interpretation of events that is not tainted by hindsight. We used this source to contextualize the genocide and investigate the effects of colonial institutions on a local level.

Stettenheim, Joel. "The Arusha Accords and the Failure of International Intervention in Rwanda," in *Words over War: Mediation and Arbitration to Prevent Deadly Conflict*, ed. Melanie Barton, John H. McGuinness, and Margaret E. Greenberg. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000, pp. 213–226. 11.

This source is a book chapter written by Joel Stettenheim which examines hows the mediation of the Arusha Accords set the stage for genocide. While highlighting the faults of the peace process and the players involved, Stettenheim sheds light on the complicated political dynamics of Rwanda. This source gave us insight as to how peace is negotiated between parties and the necessity of a third, neutral party.

### **Encyclopedia Articles**

Lemarchand, Rene, and Ellen Kahan Eggers. "Burundi." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 6 Oct. 2017, [www.britannica.com/place/Burundi#ref467602](http://www.britannica.com/place/Burundi#ref467602).

This article describes Burundi, a country neighboring Rwanda who also suffered from similar ethnic tensions. It describes the ethnicities in Burundi and what defines them, including Hutus and Tutsis. It is important to explore how the same ethnic groups functioned in a separated but similar society. We will use this as background to support further research.

The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica. "Hutu." *Britannica*, Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 15 Feb. 2016, [www.britannica.com/topic/Hutu](http://www.britannica.com/topic/Hutu).

This article describes the Hutu groups of people in Rwanda. It offers the available history about the Hutu people which is very limited because Rwanda had only oral history up to the 20th century. However, it is still interesting to learn about what defines this group and compare the differences of the Hutu to the Tutsis. This also offers insight into their background and how the genocide was enabled to happen by this. One example of this is how Hutus are agriculturalists, so during the genocide they had incentive to kill their neighbors and gain more land.

---. "Tutsi." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Encyclopedia

Britannica, Inc., 10 June 2016, [www.britannica.com/topic/Tutsi](http://www.britannica.com/topic/Tutsi).

This encyclopedia article give great background on the Tutsi people without going into too much detail. This was perfect as a introductory source in order to understand the different ethnicities in Rwanda at the time and also how their backgrounds affected the course of ethnic tensions which ultimately led to the genocide. For example, this article mentions that Tutsis were able to gain power over the Hutus due to their cattle and superior military technology. We will use this article as background and context to consider when making our exhibit.

Lemarchand, Rene, and Daniel Clay. "Rwanda." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 19 Dec. 2017, [www.britannica.com/place/Rwanda](http://www.britannica.com/place/Rwanda).

Offering a broad range information about Rwanda, this article briefly describes several aspects of Rwanda including its land, people, economy, government, society, cultural life and history. This is perfect for sorting the background information of Rwanda before diving deeper into sources that address specific time periods and events. We will use this as an outline of important information and a tool to find topics to research further.

### **Films**

George, Terry, et al. *Hotel Rwanda*. United Artists, 2004.

Based on the true story of a hotel concierge, Paul Rusesabagina, who saved thousands of lives during the genocide by hiding refugees in his hotel. While this film does not go into depth about the complicated relationship between Hutu, Tutsi, and governments, it offered an interesting perspective of the genocide from the point of view of Tutsis and moderate Hutus.

### **Journal Articles**

Baisley, Elizabeth. "Genocide and Constructions of Hutu and Tutsi in Radio Propaganda." *Race & Class*, vol. 55, no. 3, 2014, pp. 38–59. *Sage Pub*, The Institute of Race Relations. [journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0306396813509194](http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0306396813509194).

This article details the use of radio propaganda leading up to and during the Rwandan Genocide. It identifies the different major radio stations in Rwanda, and their specific role in encouraging racial tensions. It also examines the origins of racial tensions in Rwanda: beginning with the Hutus' role as farmers and the Tutsis' role of working with cattle. This source provided us with an understanding of the important role the radio played in Rwandan Genocide.

Clapham, Christopher. "Rwanda: The Perils of Peacemaking." *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 35, no. 2, 1998, pp. 193–210. *JSTOR*, JSTOR, [www.jstor.org/stable/425520](http://www.jstor.org/stable/425520).

This article by Christopher Clapham examines the application of typical post-Cold War conflict resolution mechanisms on Rwanda and studies the outcome. Clapham emphasizes the influence contemporary international affairs had on the Rwanda peace process and highlights its ultimate failure. This source expanded our knowledge of peace making and revealed to us the intentions behind international intervention.

Gourevitch, Philip. "After the Genocide." *The New Yorker*, The New Yorker, 19 June 2017, [www.newyorker.com/magazine/1995/12/18/after-the-genocide](http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1995/12/18/after-the-genocide).

This article was written as a narrative after the author interviewed multiple genocide survivors about their experience in Rwanda. Gourevitch's writing contained many first hand quotes and provided vivid imagery of the sequence of events from the perspective of Thomas Kamilindi, a moderate Hutu who worked for Radio Rwanda. The story was a compelling description of the genocide which enabled us to place ourselves in the shoes of those who experienced the tragedy.

Hussein, Jeylan W. "DISCURSIVE AND PROCESSUAL SOCIALIZATION OF THE MASS INTO ACTS OF VIOLENCE: THE CASE OF RWANDAN GENOCIDE." *Ethnic Studies Review*, vol. 36, no. 1, 2013, pp. 77-100, *Ethnic NewsWatch*, [search-proquest-com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/docview/1853297437?accountid=10226](http://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/docview/1853297437?accountid=10226).

This article investigates the atmosphere of pre-genocide Rwanda through a social psychological lens. Jeylan Hussein illustrates how destructive ideologies are responsible for motivating an entire population to kill their own. The author argues that the Hutu dominated government of Rwanda mobilized linguistic, cultural and institutional resources to carry out mass slaughter, while highlighting the importance of ignorance/lack of education and mob mentality in the fulfillment of hate speech and propaganda. This source was helpful in outlining the steps and patterns of genocide including dehumanization, propaganda and scapegoating which can be seen throughout history. Hussein's article shaped our argument and perception of the genocide, framing it within the context of human nature and psychology.

King, Elisabeth. "Memory Controversies in Post-Genocide Rwanda: Implications for Peacebuilding." *Genocide Studies and Prevention*, vol. 5, no. 3, 2010, pp. 293-309., <http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1095&context=gsp>.

This source details the challenges Rwandans have faced in the aftermath of the genocide, specifically the challenges faced by Hutus. The article argues that preserving Tutsi memories of the genocide while neglecting the Hutus' memories is a strategy used by the government to maintain power. The experiences of Hutus who refused to kill or aided the Tutsis are not recognized. This article inspired us to research the effects of the Rwandan Genocide on both Hutus and Tutsis in more detail.

Orth, Rick. "Four Variables in Preventive Diplomacy: Their Application in the Rwanda Case." *The Journal of Conflict Studies*, vol. 17, no. 1, 1997, journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/jcs/article/view/11733/12487.

This article explains how the genocide unfolded and the many internal factors that led up to it. The pre-genocide situation including political and ethnic tensions were explained in detail. It explains that it was not solely the ethnic tensions that cause genocide to erupt, rather the manipulation of ethnic tensions by Hutu extremist groups unwilling to give up their power and revenue in the state. In addition to this, diplomats from the international community were unwilling to use force to enforce the accords, especially after Somalia. Political and economic influences were not enough to force the Hutu extremists to abide by the peace accords.

Pearn, John. "History, Horror and Healing: The Historical Background and Aftermath to the Rwandan Civil War of 1994." *Health and History*, vol. 1, no. 2/3, 1999, pp. 202–208. *JSTOR*, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/40111344.

This scholarly article written by John Pearn detailed the Rwandan Civil War in three phases: background, bloodshed and reconciliation. By placing the genocide within the context of the civil war, Pearn argues that war has become progressively more civilian based and therefore more morbid. The author calls for the international community to amend the regulations for warfare in order to shield innocent people from the belligerent acts of warfare. This source aided in our understanding of the Rwandan Civil War by explaining its motives and context.

Reed, Cyrus. "Exile, Reform, and the Rise of the Rwandan Patriotic Front." *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 34, no. 3, 1996, pp. 479-501. *JSTOR*, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/161382.

This source details the history and ideology of the Rwandan Patriotic Front. We found this source to be unique in our research because it was one of the few articles that revealed the shortcomings of the RPF. The RPF dominates all aspects of civil life in Rwanda currently and therefore tightly regulates the distribution of its documents. This source was vital to our understanding of the underlying ideology of the RPF.

Reyntjens, Filip. "CONSTRUCTING THE TRUTH, DEALING WITH DISSENT, DOMESTICATING THE WORLD: GOVERNANCE IN POST-GENOCIDE RWANDA." *African Affairs*, vol. 110, no. 438, 2011, pp. 1–34. *JSTOR*, JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/41240167.

This article details the current president of Rwanda, Paul Kagame, and his campaign to rewrite the history of the Rwandan genocide through censorship and propaganda. Filip

Reyntjens explains the danger in victimizing one part of the population and criminalizing the other, especially in light of the 1994 genocide. This source aided in our exploration of the “compromise” between the RPF, the Hutu Government and the international community that shaped post-genocide Rwanda. Reyntjens’ argument was essential in developing our own perspective on modern day Rwanda, and placing our subject in the theme of “compromise and conflict”.

Schubert, Moritz. "THE POLITICS OF KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION IN POST-GENOCIDE RWANDA." *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, vol. 35, no. 1, 2013, pp. 78-92, *International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS)*; *ProQuest Central*; *Social Science Database*; *Worldwide Political Science Abstracts*, [search-proquest-com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/docview/1510298592?accountid=10226](http://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/docview/1510298592?accountid=10226). This article details President Kagame’s regime in Rwanda in terms of censorship and government’s active effort to rewrite the Rwanda’s history. The regimes attempts to restore order to society, it has victimized part of the population and criminalized the other, creating an explosive situation that could easily erupted into violence. This source gave us perspective on the modern Rwanda and demonstrated the cyclic nature of genocide.

Scorgie, Lindsay. “Rwanda’s Arusha Accords: A Missed Opportunity.” *Undercut*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2004. *African Portal*, South African Institute of International Affairs, [dspace.africanportal.org/jspui/bitstream/123456789/23742/1/Rwandas%20Arusha%20Accords%20A%20Missed%20Opportunity.pdf?1](http://dspace.africanportal.org/jspui/bitstream/123456789/23742/1/Rwandas%20Arusha%20Accords%20A%20Missed%20Opportunity.pdf?1) This paper, written by Lindsay Scorgie, examines the factors at play during the Arusha peace negotiations that resulted in their unlimited failed implementation. Scorgie argues that institutional barriers within the Government of Rwanda’s internal structure as well as the failure of the international community to sustain interest in the accords during its implementation are responsible for the horrific conflict that took place. This source provided an alternative perspective on the Arusha proceedings and allowed us to make our own conclusions as to the reasons behind Arusha’s failure.

Stedman, John Stephen. “Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes.” *International Security*, vol. 22, no. 2, 1997, pp. 5-53. *MIT Press*, JSTOR, [www.jstor.org/stable/2539366](http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539366). This source provides an analysis of “spoilers” in peace making processes, that is, leaders and parties who perceive peace agreements as a threat to their power and undertake violent measures to prevent their implementation. Stedman compares the events in Rwanda to a similar case two years prior in Angola and underlines the commonalities between the two that allowed for such violence to erupt. The article enhanced our

understanding of international peacekeeping by demonstrating the importance of creating infrastructure for protecting peace and managing spoilers.

Storey, Andy. "Structural Violence and the Struggle for State Power in Rwanda: What Arusha Got Wrong." *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, vol. 12, no. 3, 2012, pp. 7–32.

*Sabinet*,

[journals.co.za.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/docserver/fulltext/accordr/12/3/accordr\\_v12\\_n3\\_a2.pdf?expires=1507507380&id=id&acname=58216&checksum=D957D06CD962F189A4E7B9011F1BE276](http://journals.co.za.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/docserver/fulltext/accordr/12/3/accordr_v12_n3_a2.pdf?expires=1507507380&id=id&acname=58216&checksum=D957D06CD962F189A4E7B9011F1BE276).

Multiple causes of the failure of the Arusha Accords in creating peace in Rwanda are identified and examined in this article. Claims are made that the Arusha peace process allowed elites to pursue state power, while no group was willing to give up power for peace. The accords also did nothing to alleviate the extreme poverty levels which became the source of anger towards Tutsi elites. Arusha also allowed the RPF and legitimize their claim to the power. This article is a helpful analysis of how the Arusha Accords, although intended to unite the Rwandan population and share power between different groups, were meaningless when political groups in the Rwandan government were not willing to compromise.

Tiemessen, Alana Erin. "After Arusha: Gacaca Justice in Post-Genocide Rwanda." *African Studies Quarterly*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2004, pp. 57-76. *University of Florida*, [asq.africa.ufl.edu/files/Tiemessen-Vol8Issue1.pdf](http://asq.africa.ufl.edu/files/Tiemessen-Vol8Issue1.pdf).

This article describes the justice systems in post-genocide Rwanda. There were two major systems of justice: the ICTR, which is retributive justice that resembles western courts, and Gacaca, based on restorative justice that functions on a community level to reintegrate victims and perpetrators into a society. This article describes the benefits and drawbacks of each system, as well as potential issues with government involvement in Gacaca. It should be noted that this article was written over 10 years ago and further research will be needed to fully understand post-genocide justice in Rwanda.

Uvin, Peter. "Difficult Choices in the New Post-Conflict Agenda: The International Community in Rwanda after the Genocide." *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 22, no. 2, 2001, pp. 177–189. *JSTOR*, JSTOR, [www.jstor.org/stable/3993405](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3993405).

Peter Uvin's article details the various international aid problems being implemented in Rwanda that focus on issues such as justice, governance, security and reconciliation. Uvin describes a new breed of post-conflict agenda which, created in the wake of genocide, focuses on reforming social and political institutions in recipient countries. This source details the implications of this involvement and highlights the need for

conflict prevention as a diplomatic strategy. This source shed light on the dynamics of modern international involvement and its effect on Rwandan society.

Verwimp, Philip. "Peasant Ideology and Genocide in Rwanda under Habyarimana." *Genocide in Cambodia and Rwanda: New Perspectives*, edited by Susan E. Cook, New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers, 2006.

This source is an academic journal article concerning the Rwandan peasants and the underlying ideology that was fed to them by President Habyarimana that shaped their participation in the genocide. Verwimp analyses speeches and interviews conducted by the present where his target audience is the common folk of Rwanda. The author's research is aimed at understanding how Habyarimana exploited the economic conditions of his country to secure power for himself. This source enabled use to understand how the Hutu regime was able to infiltrate the peasant class and gain momentum in every corner of society.

Wagner, Michele. "Culture of Impunity? Discretionary Justice in Rwanda's History." *Outre-Mers. Revue d'histoire*, no. 324-325, 1999, pp. 99-123. *Persee*, Persee, [www.persee.fr/doc/outre\\_0300-9513\\_1999\\_num\\_86\\_324\\_3742](http://www.persee.fr/doc/outre_0300-9513_1999_num_86_324_3742).

This article by Michele Wagner explains what she dubs a "culture of impunity" in Rwanda or failure to expose human rights violations and to hold their perpetrators accountable. In her work, Wagner castigates the record of unpunished crime, climate of increasing political violence in Rwanda, while drawing shocking parallels to the colonial administrator of 100 years ago. She argues that Rwanda has always been entrapped by political climate that is plagued with cyclical violence which is neither addressed nor punished by its leaders. This source emphasized the cyclic nature of power and corruption in Rwanda which was essential to the thesis of our exhibit.

Yanagizawa-Drott, David. "Propaganda and Conflict: Evidence from the Rwandan Genocide." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. 129, no. 4, 2014, pp. 1947-1994, *Oxford Academic*. doi-org.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/10.1093/qje/qju020.

In his paper, David Yanagizawa-Drott investigates the effect of mass media influence during times of conflict, using radio propaganda broadcasts during the Rwandan Genocide as a case study. Yanagizawa-Drott spent three years gathering village level data in order to prove the correlation between radio coverage and number of persons who participated in violence during the genocide. The study was able to quantitatively conclude that exposure to propaganda via radio broadcast in an area had a definitive effect on overall violence that area during the genocide. We found this source to be significant to our research because it provided a science-based approach to the topic.

Additionally, we were able to interpret and find flaws in Yanagisawa-Drotts' data using our own background knowledge about Rwandan culture and demographics.

### **International Reports**

Africa Watch, International Federation of Human Right Leagues, Interafrican Union for Human and Peoples' Rights, and the International Center for Human Rights and Democratic Development. "*The International Commission of Investigation on Humans Right Violations in Rwanda: Final Report.*" 1990.

[www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/intlhrviolations393.pdf](http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/intlhrviolations393.pdf)

At the request of the coalition of Rwandan Human Rights Association, for international human rights organizations and 10 leading experts in social sciences, law and medicine formed a commission to investigate violations in Rwanda since the beginning of the war in October 1990. The commission gathered evidence from hundreds of eyewitnesses, excavated two mass graves and investigated three major massacres. Their 50 page final report provided us with a comprehensive review of the events of the genocide, eyewitness accounts, interviews, and a list of human rights abuses executed by both the Rwandan government and the RPF.

Hague Institute for Global Justice. "*International Decision Making in the Age of Genocide: Rwanda 1990-1994.*" 2014, *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.*

[nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB508/docs/Rwanda%20Final%20Transcript%20Day%201.pdf](http://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB508/docs/Rwanda%20Final%20Transcript%20Day%201.pdf)

This source is an annotated transcript from a panel discussion held from June 1-4 in the Netherlands with world class experts on the Rwandan Genocide. The Panels each represented a party involved in the Arusha Agreements including Belgium, Germany, the U.S. France and the United Nations. Some panels had been active participants in the creation of the Arusha Accords while other were scholars and experts. This source provided an incredible lens at which to look at the peace processes in Rwanda because it represented the perspectives of nearly every international party.

Human Rights Watch. "*Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda.*" 1999.

[www.hrw.org/reports/pdfs/r/rwanda/rwanda993.pdf](http://www.hrw.org/reports/pdfs/r/rwanda/rwanda993.pdf)

This 800 page report was written primarily by Alison Des Forges from the Human Rights Watch with the research of seven different experts in their respective fields. The documents provides a detailed summary of the entirety of the genocide from context to aftermath while emphasizing the various transgressions on human rights along the way. We used this source to supplement our other sources as this report drew from thousands of primary sources and presented us with the full story.

International Federation of Human Rights (FIDH) et al. “*Report of the International Commission of Investigation on Human Rights Violations in Rwanda since October 1, 1990.*” 1993. [www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/intlhrviolations393.pdf](http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/intlhrviolations393.pdf).

This report was created by a group of international human rights experts from ten countries who traveled to Rwanda in 1990 and spent three years collecting testimonies and reviewing official documents. The final report reveals serious human rights abuses in Rwanda under Habyarimana’s regime including the targeted killing and exile of Tutsi. Despite these blatant atrocities, no federations used the term “genocide” to describe the events occurring in Rwanda for fear that the word was too highly charged. In retrospect, international experts wonder whether this report’s failure properly address Rwanda’s situation condoned the genocide. We used this source to understand the structurally violent society of pre-genocide Rwanda and identify the warning signs of genocide.

International Panel of Eminent Personalities. “*Rwanda: The Preventable Genocide.*” 2000. [www.refworld.org/pdfid/4d1da8752.pdf](http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/4d1da8752.pdf).

This 300 page report was commissioned by the Organization of African Unity and written by a panel of seven experts on Rwanda from around the world. The comprehensive report provides a summary of the background, events and effects of the genocide. Most importantly, claims culpability of several groups including the International community and the Catholic Church in failing to prevent genocide. It was important to note during our review of this source that the research was in fact funded by a prominent international organization that was heavily involved in Rwandan peace processes at the time of the genocide. It is therefore likely that the report exhibits some biases. However, this source was important for our research because it enabled us to see the events leading up to the genocide from the perspective of international mediators.

### **Podcasts**

Apelzin, David. “The Genocide in Rwanda - 1994.” *The Podcast of Doom*, 25 Nov. 2013, [www.thepodcastofdoom.com/home-page/](http://www.thepodcastofdoom.com/home-page/).

This podcast describes the Rwandan genocide, a tragedy that cause 800,000 people to lose their lives. It describes the violent struggle where ordinary civilians were pitted against each other based on ethnicity. This important for understanding the causes of the genocide. It is also interesting to learn about the genocide through the form of a video so that we can get a better picture of how it unfolded.

Benda, Richard, and Alex Burd. “20 Years After the Genocide: Religion and Reconciliation in Rwanda.” *Podacademy*, 8 May 2014, [podacademy.org/podcasts/rwanda-genocide-1/](http://podacademy.org/podcasts/rwanda-genocide-1/).

This podcast shows the recovery of Rwanda during the 20th year after the genocide. It features Dr. Richard benda who is a genocide survivor. In this interview he discusses the

steps that local Rwandans have taken to recover from the genocide. We will use these interviews to get a better understanding of the genocide from a survivor's perspective.

Hugh Hartford and Banyak Productions, et al. "Piecing Together Rwanda's Past." *iTunes*, 24 June 2009, [itunes.apple.com/us/podcast/piecing-together-rwandas-past-video/id390417087?mt=2](https://itunes.apple.com/us/podcast/piecing-together-rwandas-past-video/id390417087?mt=2). This podcast argues that the history of early Rwanda is false and has been used several times throughout history by politicians to pursue political goals. For example, they believe that Tutsis, Hutus, and Twas are actually the same people and they use archaeological evidence such as a cow's tooth from 3rd century CE to show that Tutsis were not the first to introduce cattle. They further argue that the entire history as taught by foreigners and used to alienate certain ethnicities during the genocide, is actually false. It is an intriguing idea, however, their evidence is limited.

### **Political Cartoons**

Chappatte, P. "Shada's Take on Leadership." *Political Cartoon*, Cagle, 7 Apr. 2014, [www.cagle.com/2014/04/rwanda-20-years-after/](http://www.cagle.com/2014/04/rwanda-20-years-after/).

This political cartoon pokes fun at the lack of effort and help of the United Nations during the Rwandan genocide. For the 20th year memorial, a speaker in the UN says in front of an empty room that they again "won't do anything". This cartoon was very pointed but not wrong in accusing the UN of not doing their part to help Rwanda in the genocide, and still not giving them enough aid or commemorating the genocide enough internationally.

Adebambo, Gbenga. "How to Prevent a Repeat of the Rwandan Genocide." *NaijaGists.com*, 17 Aug. 2017, [naijagists.com/october-1st-deadline-avoid-repeat-rwandan-genocide-nigeria/](http://naijagists.com/october-1st-deadline-avoid-repeat-rwandan-genocide-nigeria/). This political cartoon was about the causes of the Rwandan genocide and how to prevent those in Nigeria. It gave us great insight into the clashing of the parties that led to the genocide, and how these have a cyclical nature.

Unknown. "Waving Rwanda." *Rwandan Genocide of 1994: Political Cartoon*, Weebly, [rwandangenocideag.weebly.com/political-cartoon.html](http://rwandangenocideag.weebly.com/political-cartoon.html).

This is a political cartoon pointed at the relationship between the Rwanda and the international community of other nations. Rwanda is depicted as a dying woman on the ground with her hand up gesturing for help. In the cartoon, people representing the other nations stand far away in a cluster, misunderstanding Rwanda's cry for help and doing nothing. This accurately represents what actually happened, because the United Nations has widely been criticized for not doing enough to help the Rwandans in their time of need during the genocide when they easily could have.

## Websites

Higginbotham, Meghan. "I'm Not Leaving': A Q&A with Carl Wilkens, an American in Rwanda during the Genocide." *The Enough Project*, 11 July 2012, [enoughproject.org/blog/not-leaving-qa-carl-wilkens-american-rwanda-during-genocide](http://enoughproject.org/blog/not-leaving-qa-carl-wilkens-american-rwanda-during-genocide). This website offers information about Carl Wilkens, including select questions from an interview. It begins by briefly describing his life and how he stayed in Rwanda to protect his friends during the genocide. Then it offers a few questions about his life his his responses to them. This website was helpful for learning about Mr. Wilkens before we interviewed him over Skype.

United to End Genocide. "About Carl Wilkens." United to End Genocide, [endgenocide.org/who-we-are/programs/wilkens\\_fellows/about-carl-wilkens/](http://endgenocide.org/who-we-are/programs/wilkens_fellows/about-carl-wilkens/). This website was created by an organization with the aim of ending genocide. One of their pages has a brief biography of Carl Wilkens, the only missionary from the United States to remain in Rwanda during the genocide. We used this writing to learn more about Mr. Wilken's life and his views concerning the Rwandan genocide.