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# **HISTORICAL UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL: RWANDAN GENOCIDE 1994**

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## **I. Introduction to the Committee: UNSC**

Under the Charter of the United Nations, the United Nations Security Council is one of the six main organs of the United Nations and is responsible for maintaining international peace and security. According to Article 25 of the Charter, all members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions made by the Security Council, of which makes the decisions of the Security Council legally binding. The very first session of the Security Council was held on January 17, 1946, at Church House, Westminster, London. Ever since the first session, the Security Council held the United Nations Headquarters in New York City as their permanent residence.

The United Nations Security Council consists of fifteen members, of which five are permanent members and ten are rotating in a two-year basis. Permanent members are namely France, People's Republic of China, Russian Federation, United Kingdom and the United States of America. Every member of the Security Council has one vote. However, five permanent members have the right to veto, which means without their consensus, a resolution would be destined to fail. This right to veto has risen controversy and critiques towards the Security Council due to its sensitive nature that may prevent swift action in case a conflicting political interest occurs with a permanent member and the current agenda of the Security Council. Therefore, this makes the discussions and collective action in the Security Council highly challenging. The United Nations Security Council holds the legitimacy to take action if international peace and security are at risk. In the moment of a crisis or a threatening situation, the Security Council may try to reach an agreement by peaceful means. If such action is not appropriate and/or non-resolving, the Security Council may take further action by issuing a ceasefire directive and/or military observation and peacekeeping force. Beyond this, the Security Council may enforce measures of economic sanctions, blockade and even a collective military action. Apart from the peace and security discourse, the Security Council recommends

to the General Assembly regarding the appointment of the Secretary-General and admission of new members to the United Nations. Additionally, the Security Council together with the General Assembly elects the judges of the International Court of Justice.

In today's world of rapidly developing international crisis and peace-threatening developments by states and non-state actors, members of the Security Council are being challenged more intensively than the years past. It is a demanding challenge to pursue international peace, security and collaboration while respecting sovereignty and tackling political agendas. In a globe with highly complex security threats and advancing methods of terrorism, the Security Council will be asked to resolve this proliferating nature of chaos.

## **II. Introduction to the Topic: Rwandan Genocide 1994**

Rwanda genocide of 1994 planned campaign of mass murder in Rwanda that occurred over the course of some 100 days in April–July 1994. The genocide was conceived by extremist elements of Rwanda's majority Hutu population who planned to kill the minority Tutsi population and anyone who opposed those genocidal intentions. It is estimated that some 200,000 Hutu, spurred on by propaganda from various media outlets, participated in the genocide. More than 800,000 civilians—primarily Tutsi, but also moderate Hutu—were killed during the campaign. As many as 2,000,000 Rwandans fled the country during or immediately after the genocide.

### **Rwanda Before Independence**

Pre-Colonial History Twa, Hutu and Tutsi are the three peoples who inhabit Rwanda. The Twa, who number less than 1% percent of the population and are pygmies. They preferred living in the forests where they lived by hunting and gathering. The Twa gave way when the Hutu arrived in the region and moved deeper into the forests.

The origin of the Hutu is unclear probably arriving in what is present day Rwanda and Burundi from the 5th to the 11th century. They were small-scale agriculturists whose social structure was based on the clan. Kings, or Bahinza, ruled over limited clan groups. The Hutu believed that the Bahinza could cause rain, protect crops from insects and cattle from disease. The Bahinza derived their power and status from this belief. The Tutsi first migrated into the area around the 14th century. It was probably not one large, sudden invasion but a slow process that was mostly peaceful. The Tutsi used their ownership of cattle, advanced combat skills to achieve economic, political, and social control over the Hutu. Eventually, land ownership was taken away from the Hutu and became the property of the Tutsi king, or Mwami.

Over time, Hutu-Tutsi relations took the form of a client-patron contract called the ubuhake. At first, the agreement meant that Hutu could use Tutsi cattle in exchange for personal and military service. Over time ubuhake became a feudal-type class system through which land and cattle, and therefore power, were in the hands of the Tutsi minority. The Hutu indentured themselves to a Tutsi lord giving him agricultural products and personal service in exchange for the use of land and cattle.

At the apex of the class system was the Tutsi king, the Mwami. The Mwami was considered to be of divine origin. A myth tells of three children born in heaven fell to earth by accident, and one of these children, Kigwa, founded the most powerful Tutsi clan. The Mwami trace their lineage to this divine founder. In the middle of the 16th century, Mwami Mibambwe I Mutabazi was able to centralize the monarchy and reduced the power of neighboring chiefs. Early in the 19th century, Mwami Kigeri IV established the borders that were in place when the Germans arrived in 1894.

European Exploration and Annexation Several European explorers came close to Rwanda in the 19th century, but none penetrated into Rwanda. Sir Richard Burton and John Hanning Speke

in 1855 passed close to Rwanda in their search for the source of the Nile. Henry Morton Stanley, in 1876, also came into this region but did not go into Rwanda.

The 1885 Conference of Berlin declared the area that later became Rwanda and Burundi would be under German influence and control. It was 9 years after this conference that the first European traveled into Rwanda. This was the German Count von Götzen who later became the governor of German East Africa.

Rwanda and Burundi were located at the juncture of three empires and became the object of a diplomatic fight for possession. The Belgians and Leopold II, the Germans, and the British wanted possession of the territory. However, by 1910, an agreement handed control of Rwanda and Burundi to the Germans.

**German Colonial Rule** The Germans ruled indirectly through the political structure created by the Mwami. The Germans also conducted military operations against Hutu chiefs in the North that had not come under the Mwami's control. In the 1920s and 1930s the Germans ordered extensive coffee planting; they began to collect tax in cash, not in agricultural products in order to force the plantation of coffee. At his time the first missionaries also arrived in Rwanda. The White Fathers established missions and schools as early as 1903.

During World War I, the Belgians gained control of Rwanda and Burundi. After the war, on August 23, 1923, the League of Nations mandated Rwanda and Burundi under Belgian supervision.

**The Belgian Administration** Under Belgian administration, the power of the Mwami was curtailed. They modified the ubuhake system and eliminated the paying of tribute. With the formation of the United Nations the Belgian mandate changed. The Belgians retained trusteeship but were required to integrate the Rwandans into the political process. This led to limited political representation in the government. In 1952, Belgium implemented the Ten-Year

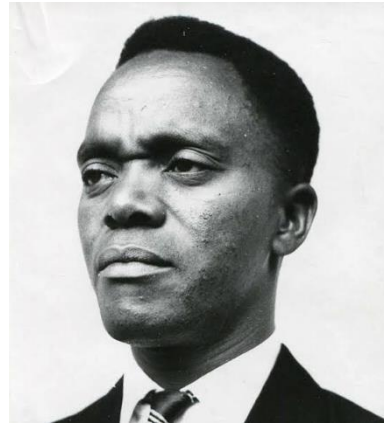
Development Plan, a series of broad socioeconomic reforms in order to promote political progress and social stability; however, this program subsequently granted the Tutsi minority political, economic and social domination over the Hutu majority. In 1959, after seven years of escalating civil unrest between the Hutu and Tutsi, the Belgian administrators declared a state of emergency and called in ground forces and paratroopers from the Congo to restore order. In the same year, administrators called for the new election of communal councils in hopes of diffusing the imbalance of Tutsi power. With the support of the UN General Assembly, the Trusteeship Council recommended that the future success of the region depended on the formation of a single united Rwandan-Burundi State. Following the premature election of 1960, Belgian authorities granted de facto recognition to the republican Rwandan State in order to avoid more social unrest. Belgium, according to the UN General Assembly, was still accountable for fulfilling their Trusteeship agreement and was asked to supervise elections to ensure the establishment of stable transitional governments in both Burundi and Rwanda. However, in April of 1962, both countries decided that a political union was impossible due to the unresolvable long-standing historical antagonism between their two republics. On June 27, 1962, the General Assembly voted to terminate the Belgian Trusteeship Agreement, and days later Rwanda attained independence.

### **Hutu-Tutsi Relations After Independence**

In 1961, a referendum was held by the pro-Hutu Belgians in which the country voted for the abolishment of monarchy. On 1 July 1962, Rwanda was separated from Burundi and gained



its independence. After independence, one person in particular emerged from the events of 1959. Grégoire Kayibanda, one of the signatories of the Bahutu Manifesto, became the first President of Rwanda in 1962.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, in May 1960, Kayibanda's Parmehutu party declared that "Rwanda is the country of the Bahutus (Bantu)".<sup>2</sup> The citizenship discourse of Parmehutu portrayed Hutu as native and Tutsi as foreigners.



Soon enough, in 1963, the Tutsis invaded Rwanda however were repelled. In vengeance, over 12,000 Tutsis were massacred by the Hutu, while countless Tutsis fled the country.<sup>3</sup> The following year, the economic union of Rwanda and Burundi was concluded; the Rwanda franc was introduced by Rwanda as its own national unit of currency. Kayibanda was reelected to a second four-year term in 1969. During the First Republic (1962-1973), the Tutsi refugees were invited to return the country. However, this goal was never reached. The Tutsi refugees never believed in the sincerity of the government. In the late 1963 and early 1964, new refugees left the Rwanda. After a coup d'état in 1973, Kayibanda's racist politics were replaced by Juvenal Habyarimana's quota regulations based on an ethnic census which

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<sup>1</sup> Susanne Buckley-zistel (2006) Dividing and uniting: The use of citizenship discourses in conflict and reconciliation in Rwanda, *Global Society*, 20:1, 101-113

<sup>2</sup> Chre'tien, op. cit., p. 59

<sup>3</sup> University of Pennsylvania . (n.d.). Rwanda History. In African Studies Center. University of Pennsylvania



severely restricted Tutsi access to public offices, although they could engage in private sector employment and local teaching, medical or agricultural work.<sup>4</sup>

The regime of the Second Republic laid claim to the revolutionary legitimacy of the previous regime: "Anxious to preserve the achievements of the Social Revolution of 1959, the MRND (Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement) intends to mobilize all the people of Rwanda under the banner of peace and national harmony by restoring a climate of confidence among the sons and daughters of the Nation".<sup>5</sup> Again, Tutsi were citizens of Rwanda and, like the rest of Rwandans, members of the MRND that was launched by Habyarimana in 1975 as the nation's sole political party. Habyarimana thus redefined Tutsi from race to ethnic group, that is "from a non-indigenous minority without political rights into an indigenous minority with political rights and with proportional representation in parliament, in embassies, in the cabinet, even in the army".<sup>6</sup> Moreover, in the 1980s, relations between Hutu and Tutsi developed and marriage between races increased. In spite of the improved integration of residential Tutsi into the Rwandan town Tutsi who had fled into exile in 1959, and following further massacres in 1962 and 1973, were refused the right to return. When Habyarimana made the first gestures to negotiate their return in the late 1980s, the number of Tutsi in the diaspora had reached an estimated 600,000.<sup>7</sup> A group of mainly Tutsi exiles frustrated by the marginalization and discrimination in most of their host countries

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<sup>4</sup> Catharine Newbury, *The Cohesion of Oppression. Clientships and Ethnicity in Rwanda, 1860–1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 75.

<sup>5</sup> (MRND, 1985)

<sup>6</sup> Mahmood Mamdani "African States, Citizenship and War: A Case Study" *International Affairs* Vol. 78, No. 3 (2002), p. 500.

<sup>7</sup> Susanne Buckley-zistel (2006) *Dividing and uniting: The use of citizenship discourses in conflict and reconciliation in Rwanda*, *Global Society*, 20:1, 101-113

invaded Rwanda from Uganda on 1st October 1990 under the name Rwandan Patriotic Front/Army, starting an rebellion which eventually led to the genocide of 1994. For many Hutu, the 1990 rebellion was a foreign invasion than a liberation that again portrayed Tutsi as the foreign, feudal occupants. Hutu propaganda stated clearly that Tutsi had no right to reside in Central Africa and that they had insidiously penetrated private and public life in Rwanda. After years of inclusion in the Rwanda towns, the Tutsi again became outsiders.

### **Rwandan Civil War**

On 1 October 1990, the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF), or more specifically its military wing,

RPA (Rwandese Patriotic Army), which consisted mostly of Tutsi refugees began to invade the north of Rwanda from Uganda. Eventually some 7,000 (Tutsi) troops crossed the border<sup>8</sup>.

Their goals was to overthrow Habyarimana and his Hutu government, and to return Tutsi exiles from abroad. From October 1990 onwards, RPF militants from Uganda returned to Rwandan territory and blended in with the Tutsi population. The militants called themselves Inkotanyi.<sup>9</sup> Habyarimana accused Tutsi residents as accomplices of RPF and arrested hundred of



<sup>8</sup> Sellstrom, T., & Wohlgemuthv, L. (n.d.). Historical Perspective: Some Explanatory Factors. In *The International Response to Conflict and Genocide: Lessons from the Rwanda Experience* (pp. 35–35).

<sup>9</sup> Haperen, M. van. (n.d.). *The Prelude to Genocide*. In *Rwanda Genocide, 1994* (pp. 101–107). essay.

Tutsi residents. In 1992, Tutsis succeeded occupying several Rwanda provinces and they had weakened the authority of Habyarimana. These attacks did not go unpunished. Government officials directed massacres of the Tutsi and killed hundreds of them. At this time, in 1993, the United Nations turned its attention to the region and two forces , Habyarimana and RFP leaders, start negotiating. They eventually signed 1993 Arusha Accords.

### **United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR)**

The United Nations active involvement in Rwanda started in 1993, when Rwanda and Uganda requested the deployment of military observers along the common border to prevent the military use of the area by RPF. The Security Council in June 1993 established the United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR) on the Ugandan side of the border to verify that no military assistance reached Rwanda.<sup>10</sup>

Meanwhile, a peace agreement Arusha Accords was signed in August 1993. Both sides requested United Nations to assist in the implementation of the peace agreement. In the early stages of August 1993, NMOG 1(Neutral Military Observer Group 1) was replaced by an expanded NMOG 2 force. In October 1993, the Security Council, by its resolution 872 (1993), established another international force, the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), to help the parties implement the agreement, monitor its implementation and support the transitional Government. UNAMIR's demilitarized zone sector headquarters

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<sup>10</sup> Rwanda Unamir Background . UN Peacekeeping. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/mission/past/unamirS.htmAa>

was established upon the arrival of the advance party and became operational on 1 November 1993, when the NMOG II elements were absorbed into UNAMIR.<sup>11</sup>

UNAMIR was led by the Canadian General Romeo Dallaire. He learned about Hutu Power movement and plans for the mass elimination of Tutsi. Moreover, he was informed about secret weapon caches. He requested to raid them yet it was turned down by the DPKO (UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations).<sup>12</sup>

UNAMIR's duty and effectiveness in peacekeeping was prevented by President Habyarimana and Hutus. By April 1994, the Security Council threatened to terminate UNAMIR's mandate if it did not make progress.<sup>13</sup> The peace process began to spoil and on 6 April Rwanda's president was killed. UNAMIR peacekeepers were among the victims. Dallaire attempted to reestablish peace and stop the prolongation of the civil war. Sides were not interested in peace and most of UNAMIR's Rwandan staff were killed in the early stages of the genocide.<sup>14</sup> This situation limited its ability to operate and therefore seem as in the beholder role.

One of the most significant success of UNAMIR was to provide shelter and sanctuary for thousands of Tutsi and moderate Hutu at its headquarters in Amahoro Stadium as well as to help with the evacuation of foreign nationals. On 12 April, the Belgian government, after UNAMIR lost ten soldiers protecting the Prime Minister Uwilingiyimana, announced that it

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<sup>11</sup> Rwanda Unamir Background . UN Peacekeeping. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/mission/past/unamirS.htmAa>

<sup>12</sup> Dallaire, Roméo (2005). *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*. London: Arrow Books. ISBN 978-0-09-947893-5, p. 146.

<sup>13</sup> Dallaire 2005, p. 219-220.

<sup>14</sup> Dallaire 2005, p. 247.

has withdrawn and reduced the force's effectiveness even further.<sup>15</sup> The Security Council, by adopting resolution 918 (1994) of 17 May 1994, imposed an arms embargo against Rwanda, called for urgent international action and increased UNAMIR's strength, which would known as UNAMIR 2, to up to 5,500 troops. But it took nearly six months for Member States to provide the troops.<sup>16</sup> By the end of the genocide, the role of UNAMIR 2 was mainly maintaining security and stability until its termination in 1996.

### Hutu Power Movement

In the early stages of Juvenal Habyarimana's regime, there was an economic prosperity and a more moderate attitude to Tutsis. There were many figures of hardline anti-Tutsi remained yet the president relied on them to sustain his regime. When the RPF invaded in October 1990, Habyarimana and the hardliners started a propaganda against Tutsis which became known as Hutu Power. It was mainly a racial ideology that asserted the ethnic superiority of Hutu. As a consequence of this ideology and propaganda, Tutsi were viewed with suspicion. On October 1990, a pogrom was organized in a commune, killing 383



Tutsi.<sup>17</sup> Kangura(Wake up), an influential Rwandan newspaper, were founded by a group of military officers and government members. The newspaper published the Hutu Ten Commandments which aimed to convince the Hutu population that the Tutsi were their

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<sup>15</sup> Melvern 2004, p. 197

<sup>16</sup> Rwanda Unamir Background . UN Peacekeeping. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/mission/past/unamirS.htmAa>

<sup>17</sup> Guichaoua 2015, pp. 34–36.

enemies. The propaganda evoked images of war, slavery, oppression, injustice, death and cruelty.<sup>18</sup> Although Kangura distributed not much, it reached a wide audience. Other newspapers and magazines copied reports and texts that appeared in Kangura. Despite the fact that only 66% of Rwandans could read, the propaganda was highly effective.<sup>19</sup> In 1992, Hutu created the CDR party (Coalition for the Defence of the Republic), a more right-wing of the ruling party.

Following the 1992 ceasefire agreement, numerous extremists were worried that Tutsi was included in government, thus started plotting against the president. The president Habyarimana made attempts to remove some hardliners from the army but was only partially successful, Augustin Ndindiliyimana and Théoneste Bagosora<sup>20</sup> being remained in powerful positions. During 1992, the hardliners carried out campaigns of local killings of Tutsi, culminating in January 1993, in which extremists and local Hutu murdered around 300 people.<sup>21</sup>

In the mid-1993, the Hutu Power movement represented a third primary force in Rwandan politics. Except for the CDR, there was no party that was particularly part of the Power movement. Various radical youth militia forces emerged which were attached to the Power wing. These forces began constant massacres across the country, killing Tutsis.

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<sup>18</sup> Haperen, M. van. (n.d.). The Prelude to Genocide. In Rwanda Genocide, 1994 (p. 106). essay.

<sup>19</sup> Haperen, M. van. (n.d.). The Prelude to Genocide. In Rwanda Genocide, 1994 (p. 106). essay.

<sup>20</sup> Prunier 1999, p. 167.

<sup>21</sup> Prunier 1999, p. 173-174.

## **Prelude of Genocide**

### **Assassination of President Habyarimana**

On 6 April 1994, the airplane which was carrying the Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana and the Hutu President of Burundi Cyprien Ntaryamira was shot down as it was landing in Kigali. They were coming back from a meeting of heads of states from the region. Nobody in the plane survived the crash. Both RPF and Hutu extremists were accused of the attack.



After Habyarimana's death, on the evening of 6 April, a crisis committee was formed and UNAMIR's General Dallaire went to the Rwandan Army headquarters where he met a Hutu hardliner Colonel Theoneste Bagosora and a number of other army officers. Dallaire stated that Habyarimana's death Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana had automatically become the legal President. However, Bagosora refused this claiming that Uwilingiyimana did not enjoy the confidence of the Rwandan people and was incapable of governing the nation.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Dallaire 2005, p. 224.

## **Killing of Moderate Leaders**

An escort of ten soldiers were sent by UNAMIR for Prime Minister Uwilingiyimana in order to transport her to the Radio Rwanda offices to address the nation. However, this plan did not happen. Later in the morning, numerous soldiers and a crowd of civilians overwhelmed the Belgian escorts who were guarding Uwilingiyimana and forced them to yield their weapons. The prime minister Uwilingiyimana and her husband were killed despite their children were rescued by an UNAMIR officer, Mbaye Diagne.<sup>23</sup> The ten Belgians were abducted and killed.

Additionally, the extremists spent the night of 6–7 April moving around the houses of Kigali with lists of prominent moderate politicians and journalists, on a mission to kill them. Some of the victims of that night were President of the Constitutional Court Joseph Kavaruganda, Minister of Agriculture Frederic Nzamurambaho, Parti Liberal leader Landwald Ndasingwa and his Canadian wife, and chief Arusha negotiator Boniface Ngulinzira.<sup>24</sup> A few moderate leaders survived at that night, yet the plan was largely successful.

## **Killing of Twa**

It has been known that Twa (or Batwa) made up about the 1% of Rwanda's population. They have been described as people who lived in forests and off lands. Twa were not directly targeted during the genocide however, an estimated 10,000 of a population of 30,000 were

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<sup>23</sup> Dallaire 2005, p. 245.

<sup>24</sup> Dallaire 2005, p. 230.



killed.<sup>25</sup> Due to this, they are often referred as the “forgotten victims” of the Rwandan Genocide. In the months leading to genocide, Hutu accused Twa of helping RPF and the survivors of Twa described Hutu fighters as threatening to kill them all.<sup>26</sup>

### **Points that Resolution Should Cover**

Our committee sessions are going to simulate a timeline before the Genocide, and we are expecting delegates to find solutions to these questions:

- How can we establish a ceasefire in Rwanda to prevent killings?
- What are the problems of UNAMIR? How can we strengthen UNAMIR?
- What is the role of colonialism in this event? How can we criticize colonialism effectively?
- What are the shortcomings of the United Nations in these events? What can we do to improve the effectiveness of United Nations?

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<sup>25</sup> Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) (25 March 2008). "Batwa". Archived from the original on 2 April 2014. Retrieved 19 November 2015.

<sup>26</sup> "Rwanda's forgotten tribe which was nearly wiped off by genocide". News Africa. Archived from the original on 23 March 2017. Retrieved 22 March 2017.

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