



International
Baccalaureate

Extended essay cover

SAMPLE B

Diploma Programme subject in which this extended essay is registered: Human Rights
(For an extended essay in the area of languages, state the language and whether it is group 1 or group 2.)

Title of the extended essay: Did the United Nations Learn Anything
From Their Part in the Rwandan Genocide?

Candidate's declaration

If this declaration is not signed by the candidate the extended essay will not be assessed.

The extended essay I am submitting is my own work (apart from guidance allowed by the International Baccalaureate).

I have acknowledged each use of the words, graphics or ideas of another person, whether written, oral or visual.

I am aware that the word limit for all extended essays is 4000 words and that examiners are not required to read beyond this limit.

This is the final version of my extended essay.

Candidate's signature: _____ Date: 02-05-09

IB Cardiff use only:

A: 4389 B: ✓

Supervisor's report

The supervisor must complete the report below and then give the final version of the extended essay, with this cover attached, to the Diploma Programme coordinator. The supervisor must sign this report; otherwise the extended essay will not be assessed and may be returned to the school.

Name of supervisor (CAPITAL letters) _____

Comments

Please comment, as appropriate, on the candidate's performance, the context in which the candidate undertook the research for the extended essay, any difficulties encountered and how these were overcome (see page 13 of the extended essay guide). The concluding interview (viva voce) may provide useful information. These comments can help the examiner award a level for criterion K (holistic judgment). Do not comment on any adverse personal circumstances that may have affected the candidate. If the amount of time spent with the candidate was zero, you must explain this, in particular how it was then possible to authenticate the essay as the candidate's own work. You may attach an additional sheet if there is insufficient space here.

I have read the final version of the extended essay that will be submitted to the examiner.

To the best of my knowledge, the extended essay is the authentic work of the candidate.

I spent hours with the candidate discussing the progress of the extended essay.

Supervisor's signature: _____

Date: 8 February 2009

Did the United Nations Learn Anything From Their Part in the Rwandan Genocide?



Candidate Number

2,775 Words ✓
Extended Essay – Human Rights

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Abstract

Did the United Nations learn anything from their part in stopping the Rwandan genocide? It failed to protect important political figures as well as over 800,000 people from being killed. Funding for UNAMIR was cut towards the beginning of the mission, and not added onto again until it was too late to be used for anything helpful. After the debacle, the United Nations attempted to rebuild the war-torn country. This help was unwanted however, and a short while after rebuilding began the Rwandan government asked the United Nations to withdraw and leave the rebuilding to the Rwandans.

RRQ

The majority of the sources used in this research paper are documents from the United Nations itself, including speeches from the Rwandan genocide memorial convention ten years after the horror was ended. Although some of the speeches may be biased, the internal investigation held by the United Nations to see what went wrong in Rwanda was conducted by an unbiased third party. The one document not from the United Nations was used to show the present situation in Sudan.

How

Through research an analysis, it is concluded in this paper that the United Nations did not learn anything from their participation in the prevention of the Rwandan genocide. It appears that people knew what needed to be done to prevent the genocide, but there were political obstacles to cross. The Canadian prime minister noted at the memorial conference that there still wasn't enough political agreement to prevent genocide from happening today, as we can see from the current problems in Darfur. The United Nations has not learned how to maneuver around these political problems and has therefore only learned that they still cannot prevent genocide.

concl.

RRQ ✓
How ✓
con ✓

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Introduction

In the past century there have been many horrible events that led to the deaths of countless numbers of people. One of these events was the genocide in Rwanda, which started in 1994, where 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutu sympathizers were killed by two extremist militia groups. Other genocides have occurred in Sierra Leone and Yugoslavia. The United Nations officially came into existence in 1945 when China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States ratified the new charter. In the Charter of the United Nations, it was "determined to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights" and "in the dignity and worth of the human person" by "[practicing] tolerance and [living] together in peace" and "[uniting] our strength to maintain international peace and security" ("Preamble"). Unfortunately, this has not happened many times. Nearly one million people were killed in Rwanda alone. Has the United Nations learned anything from this horrible experience? Based on what it learned from the Rwandan example, is the United Nations prepared to prevent further genocide?

The United Nations failed to uphold its charter when the crisis in Rwanda arose, and did not take action until it was proved to be absolutely certain that certain human rights violations had occurred. This late action was a result of a faulty political system within the United Nations. This is understandable because the United Nations is a relatively young governing body. This is not to say, however, that the United Nation's young age justifies the inability to peacefully resolve conflict. After a basic understanding of the events that occurred in Rwanda in 1993 and 1994 is attained, it is

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46 after
(convention)

over 60 years?

RQ ✓

possible to evaluate the preparedness of the United Nations to prevent genocide from occurring in the future.

History

The population of Rwanda before the genocide was divided into three different ethnic groups, the Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa. The Hutu consisted of the majority of the population, with about 14 per cent being Tutsi and one per cent being Twa. The three groups shared a similar language and culture, yet the Belgian colonial authorities required identification cards to show the ethnicity of an individual. The Tutsi population largely “dominated the political and economic life until 1959, when the Hutu ‘civil revolution’ put an end to the monarchy.” This led to much ethnic violence, and many Tutsis left the country afterwards and attempted to take their country back by military force approximately ten times (“Rwanda – UNAMIR Background”).

Major-General of the Rwandan army Juvénal Habyarimana took power in a military *coup d'état* and established “ethnic and regional balance,” allotting national resources according to “ethnic proportions” (about 10 per cent went to the Tutsis, even though they represented 14 per cent of the population). In October 1990, the Rwandese Patriotic Front, a group consisting mainly of Tutsi refugees living in Rwanda, launched an attack from the Ugandan-Rwanda border. This led to all Tutsis in the country to be labeled by the majority of Hutus as part of the Rwandese Patriotic Front, and racial tensions rose even further (“Rwanda – UNAMIR Background”).

Former United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan called for “an independent inquiry into the way it [the United Nations] reacted to the slaughter” of the Tutsi people. Because the Charter of the United Nations calls for the protection of human rights by the Organization, the United Nations should have done everything in its power to stop genocide from occurring in Rwanda. The purpose of the inquiry would be “to establish facts and to draw conclusions as to the response of the Organization to the tragedy.” The inquiry “[interviewed] any person having knowledge of the events in question, and [had] full access to United Nations records, including internal documents and cables” (“Security Council”). The results of the inquiry are as follows.

From April 8 to April 17, 1993, the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, Mr. Waly Bacre Ndiaye, observed massacres and many other human rights violations occurring in Rwanda (“Security Council”). These violations could have included murder and degrading treatment such as rape based on race (“Universal ? Declaration of Human Rights”). He was unable to decide at the time whether or not these violations were acts of genocide, but noted that because the Tutsi population was being targeted, it was a possibility. Although Ndiaye recommended a series of steps to be carried out by the United Nations, he was largely ignored. The independent inquiry does not mention why this was the case (“Security Council”).

On October 5, 1993, the Security Council unanimously voted to establish UNAMIR (United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda), whose original mandate can be summed up as monitoring the security situation leading up to elections and assisting with mine clearance and coordination of humanitarian assistance (“Security Council”).

Four phases were to be carried out starting with slightly fewer than 1,500 peacekeeping personnel in the first phase, with the approval of the Security Council required to continue with the next phases of the mission. The mandate was adjusted many times as the situation in Rwanda changed, varying the manpower allotted to the mission as well as its specific purpose ("Rwanda UNAMIR Mandate").

The United Nations was made aware by an informant through Romeo Dallaire, the Force Commander of the new mission, that a large force capable of exterminating 1,000 Tutsis in 20 minutes was being created, as well as a major weapons store. The informant (later identified as Mr. Faustin Twagiramungu, the Prime Minister Designate of Rwanda during the genocide) also revealed that he was told to register all Tutsis in the city of Kigali, most likely for extermination purposes. It was determined that the information was inconsistent in some places, so Dallaire was told not to take action ("Security Council").

On April 6, 1994, the airplane carrying President Habyarimana was shot down and exploded as it was about to land in Kigali. This allowed the racial tensions that had been mounting to snap, with many people placing the blame for the Hutu President's death on the Tutsis. Although Colonel Théoneste Bagosora insisted that there was no *coup d'etat*, Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana's authority was dismissed and she was not allowed to address the public as Dallaire insisted. Efforts by UNAMIR to reach the crash site were blocked, as was a patrol sent to rescue the Prime Minister after she escaped from her house with her family. Mrs. Uwilingiyimana was shot at the back of the United Nations Volunteer compound by Rwandan soldiers from the Presidential

Guard. This was the beginning of the massacre of many other politicians in Rwanda, all of whom were being guarded or were supposed to have been protected by UNAMIR guards or Rwandan police officers. Some of the officers ran away when the Presidential Guard came, and there were times when UNAMIR reinforcements were supposed to come but never did ("Security Council").

About 2,000 men, women, and children at the Ecole Technique Officielle were massacred by waiting Rwandan troops when Belgian troops left the building after evacuating the expatriates staying there. After the other expatriates in Rwanda were evacuated, the Belgian contingent of UNAMIR was withdrawn completely. The rest of UNAMIR was nearly disbanded by the Security Council as well. In May, UNAMIR II was approved, increasing its manpower. This increase took a long time however, and was too little, too late ("Security Council"). If there had been more political willpower in the beginning supporting the deployment of troops to Rwanda some of the killing could have been prevented, especially during the political massacre.

On July 17, 1994, it was reported that one million Rwandan people had fled into Zaire. On July 18, a Government of National Unity was created in Rwanda, as well as a cease-fire agreement. Approximately 100 days after its beginning, the Rwandan genocide had come to an end, along with the lives of more than 800,000 people ("Security Council"). Although exact figures are not available, it is likely that most of these people were Tutsis and the minority of them were moderate Hutu sympathizers.

After the end of the genocide, it was necessary to find and prosecute those who had carried out the horrible acts. Rwanda's prisons became highly congested, and the cost of feeding and clothing prisoners began to hurt the economy. There were not enough lawyers, judges, or prosecutors to handle all of the cases. To help ease the overload of cases, crimes of genocide were categorized so that local tribunals could handle lesser cases ("Genocide & Justice").

Even though the genocide was over, memories of the pain continued. The Memorial Conference on the Rwanda Genocide was held on March 26, 2004. The Secretary General of the United Nations at that time, Mr. Kofi Annan, gave a speech during which he stated that "the international community failed Rwanda," and that "we can by no means be certain we would" be able to respond effectively if confronted with a new genocide. He also talked about how the criminal tribunal in Tanzania "handed down pioneering verdicts," including rape and journalism as acts of genocide. During the genocide, journalism was used to "[help] create the state of mind in which thousands of people could set aside the most fundamental moral instincts of all human society, and embark on the wholesale massacre of fellow human beings." During his speech, Annan also designated April 7 as the International Day of Reflection on the Genocide in Rwanda ("Rwanda Genocide 'Must Leave Us Always...").

At the conference, Annan announced his Action Plan to Prevent Genocide. He laid out five headings for the plan, including "preventing armed conflict," the "[protection of] civilians in armed conflict," "ending impunity," "early and clear

warning," and "swift and decisive action." He also shared his deep concern regarding human rights abuses and the humanitarian crisis in Darfur, Sudan ("Secretary-General Observes International Day of Reflection...").

The Action Plan to Prevent Genocide also called for the position of Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide, who determines what is considered to be genocide. A genocide must not only "[contain] all the elements of a crime against humanity by definition, but [include] the aggravating element of the intent to destroy a group in whole or in part for characteristics that are intrinsic to its members' being, such as their race, ethnicity, religion, or national origin" ("Office of the Special Adviser...").

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights outlines the rights that should be guaranteed to all people, and that all people should be held equal. The problem is that the document is simply a Declaration. In the words of Eleanor Roosevelt, first chairwoman on the Commission of Human Rights, "It is not a treaty; it is not an international agreement. It is not and does not purport to be a statement of law or legal obligation." ("On the Adoption of the Universal Declaration...") Although everyone is encouraged to follow these guidelines, they are simply that. There is no legal requirement for the enforcement of these guidelines, so the world must rely on the United Nations and its Member States to uphold them.

It is possible that the genocide could have been prevented if there had been more freedom of the press in Rwanda. When a Canadian journalist was teaching a class at Radio-Rwanda, the state-owned newsroom, he found that the students there would only lead with official stories. When confronted about this between classes (there was a

things
changed
since
1948

Rwandan supervisor in the classroom), the students admitted that they would fear for their lives if they told more "scandalous" stories. "The students shared their belief that the violence that had erupted between the Tutsis and the Hutus since the 1950's could have been avoided, or greatly diminished, if members of each group had been better informed about what was actually happening in their country" (Rivard).

Bill Graham, Foreign Minister of Canada, remarked at the conference that "the international community, while it [has] learned what [needs] to be done, still [lacks] political agreement to prevent" another genocide. Dallaire also attended the conference and said that "the Mission [UNAMIR] had been a 'last priority' for the international community. It had no budget and no structure at the time the killing began" ("Memorial Conference on Rwanda Genocide...").

Analysis ✓

The United Nations learned several lessons from the terrible genocide at a high cost, which it discovered with the independent inquiry. UNAMIR seemed to always be behind what was actually happening in Rwanda, never prepared for what was happening at the time. The strength of UNAMIR was decreased in the beginning, when manpower was needed the most, and not increased again until after it was too late to stop most of the killings from occurring. After the genocide was finished, UNAMIR helped with the reconstruction of the country's judicial system, telecommunications network, and bridges. However, the Rwandan government felt these efforts were inadequate and on March 8, 1996, at the government's insistence, the mandate of UNAMIR was terminated ("Lessons Learned From United Nations...").

Although there were lessons learned from the handling of the genocide in Rwanda, it is possible that not enough was learned. There is currently a war in Darfur, Sudan (called genocide by many because of the human rights violations occurring) that has caused the deaths of an estimated 200,000 people and displaced at least two million more. Although the mandate for UNAMID (United Nations Assistance Mission for Darfur) is much clearer than that of UNAMIR and allows for more to be done to prevent human rights violations from occurring, there are still many atrocities (“Defending Human Rights Worldwide”). These include “the use of indiscriminate aerial bombardments and ground attacks on unarmed civilians” during “what appears to be an ethically-based rebellion [that] has been met with an ethically-based response, building in large part on long-standing... tribal rivalries” (“UN finds Sudan has carried out...”).

Darfur There were also political issues in 2003 with the handling of the situation in Darfur. The original priority was the negotiations in Naivasha, and the quick settlement from those talks that “[changed] the overall political situation in Sudan may have caused some member states to discount the warning signs of a growing crisis in Darfur.” In order to prevent the talks from falling apart, the issue of the “serious violence and human rights abuse” in Darfur was discussed minimally (“Defending Human Rights Worldwide”). If there had been more talk in the beginning of the conflict, many killings could have been prevented. Politics were a key factor in the lack of help for Darfur, as well as Rwanda. “The [independent] inquiry concluded that the overriding failure in international community’s response was the lack of resources and political will, as well

as errors of judgement as to the nature of the events in Rwanda” (“Rwanda – UNAMIR Background”).

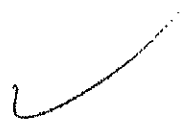
“Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations Jean-Marie Guéhenno said there has been ‘a deeply disturbing’ recent deterioration in the security situation” in Darfur. Another “major cycle of violence” is on the horizon unless parties step down from their “recent state of confrontation.” UNAMID currently has less than half of the personnel that it is supposed to, making it very important that United Nations Member States support the mission with both actual troops and political support. Without this, “the mission will not have the capabilities to provide practical benefits for those suffering in Darfur” (“Darfur conflict threatens...”).

Conclusion

Imagine that everyone in the state of Delaware was killed by one racial group. How would the United States public react? Plenty of resources would be made available to stop the group responsible. The country as a whole would do everything in its power to seek justice. Countries such as Rwanda do not have the same resources that countries such as the United States do. This is why the countries of the United Nations need to do everything they can to help people who are being persecuted. More economically developed countries need to the less economically developed countries that are not able to handle a violent situation themselves by providing all assistance possible to the United Nations.

The United Nations failed its peacekeeping mission in Rwanda and does not seem to have learned enough from the horrible murder of more than one million people during

the genocide in Rwanda and in humanitarian crises afterwards. The Canadian Foreign Minister acknowledged this directly and the former Secretary-General questioned the preparedness of the United Nations to prevent genocide from occurring. Although there have been fewer deaths caused by genocide in recent years, the United Nations has failed to prevent those genocides in the first place. This shows that the United Nations has not learned enough from the atrocity of the deaths of more than 800,000 people in Rwanda to fully prevent genocide from occurring.



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Secondary Source

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Any Books? ✓

Assessment form (for examiner use only)

Candidate session number	
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Assessment criteria	Achievement level		
	First examiner	maximum	Second examiner
A research question	<input type="text" value="2"/>	2	<input type="text"/>
B introduction	<input type="text" value="2"/>	2	<input type="text"/>
C investigation	<input type="text" value="2"/>	4	<input type="text"/>
D knowledge and understanding	<input type="text" value="3"/>	4	<input type="text"/>
E reasoned argument	<input type="text" value="3"/>	4	<input type="text"/>
F analysis and evaluation	<input type="text" value="2"/>	4	<input type="text"/>
G use of subject language	<input type="text" value="3"/>	4	<input type="text"/>
H conclusion	<input type="text" value="2"/>	2	<input type="text"/>
I formal presentation	<input type="text" value="2"/>	4	<input type="text"/>
J abstract	<input type="text" value="2"/>	2	<input type="text"/>
K holistic judgment	<input type="text" value="3"/>	4	<input type="text"/>
Total out of 36	<input type="text" value="26"/>		<input type="text"/>

Sample B: Examiner's comments on the individual criteria :

- A 2/2 The research question is clearly and precisely focused, and stated in both the abstract and the introduction.
- B 2/2 The introduction puts the topic in context.
- C 2/4 The student uses too many Internet sources (although these are reliable) but no books. Most of the research is focused on the Rwandan genocide with little on human rights theories and practices.
- D 3/4 Even though the sources are limited, the student shows a good knowledge and understanding of the topic.
- E 3/4 The essay is structured in a logical and coherent manner: the introduction, historic background, analysis and conclusion are fine, though the history is perhaps too long and narrative.
- F 2/4 Under the title "Analysis" the student makes a comparison with another, similar, situation, and demonstrates some interesting premises, though this section could have been clearer.
- G 3/4 The language is on the whole appropriate, with occasional lapses.
- H 2/2 The conclusion is clearly stated.
- I 2/4 The "table of contents" is ridiculous, so 2 is the highest mark given.
- J 2/2 The abstract has the three elements needed.
- K 3/4 Even though the essay is averagely good, it shows clear evidence of intellectual initiative (the main idea is to show how the UN didn't learn from the errors of Rwandan genocide, as demonstrated in TV reports from Darfur).