

Rwanda and The Holocaust:

Can the media incite violence?

Part 1: Propaganda, the Media and Incitement

Lesson 1: Propaganda, Bias and Stereotype

It is important to begin this unit with definitions of terminology. Depending on the age of the students, the first activity could be brainstorming the following ideas:

- What is propaganda?
- What is bias?
- What is stereotype?

For younger students, you may just want to give them the definitions, then discuss. For older students, have them generate their ideas, then give them the following definitions and discuss further.

- **Propaganda:** the spreading of ideas, information, or rumor for the purpose of helping or injuring an institution, a cause or a person; ideas, facts or allegations spread deliberately to further one's cause or to damage an opposing cause. (meriam-webster.com)
- **Bias:** a personal and sometimes unreasoned judgment (meriam-webster.com)
- **Stereotype:** a widely held but fixed and oversimplified image or idea of a particular type of person or thing (encyclopedia.com)

Using these definitions, discuss as a group, or in small groups, what techniques people use to get us to believe something? (Commercials, advertisements, political campaigns, parents, peers, propaganda techniques, such as bandwagon or appeal to reason) Keep a running list to refer to throughout the unit. Ask students to be more aware as you continue this unit and add to the techniques on the list.

Once students have a good sense of the terminology, have them brainstorm:

- What propaganda have they seen?
- When in their lives have they done or purchased something because of propaganda?
- When have they used propaganda to get someone to do, say or buy something?
- What bias have they seen?
- What bias do they have?
- What bias do people have about their age group?

Lesson 2: Hate Speech, The Media and Violence

What is hate speech?

“...speech that attacks a person or group on the basis of race, religion, gender, or sexual orientation.” (Dictionary.com)

In the US, currently, hate speech is protected under the first amendment and our right to free speech. However, there is growing controversy over whether or not hate speech should be allowed. Discuss hate speech, where they may have heard it, and whether or not they think it should be legal or illegal. If illegal, who decides what is and isn't hate speech?

Next, move into the idea of incitement.

- Can the radio/television/newspaper incite violence with hate speech?
- Just how much influence does the media have on us?
- If the media tells people to do something illegal, who is to blame? The person or the media? Why?

Set up either a debate or a Socratic seminar. Some topics could include:

1. The media has a right to say whatever they want.
OR
 2. The media does not have the right to use hate speech.
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1. Hate speech does cause violence.
OR
 2. Hate speech does not cause violence.
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1. The media can be blamed for violence.
OR
 2. The media cannot be blamed for what people do.

Part 2: The Rwandan Genocide

Following is some basic information about the genocide in Rwanda. The age of your students will dictate the depth to which you go into the details of the genocide. Also, you will find resources to supplement your teaching of this event.

- The Republic of Rwanda is a country in central Africa. (See map at end of unit.) It is a small, landlocked country whose economy relies heavily on agriculture.
- Before the genocide, the two major groups of people living there were the Hutu and Tutsi tribes.
- Throughout the centuries, there has been conflict between these two tribes of people.
- Although an agreement was signed in 1993, aimed at ending the civil war between the tribes, the worst violence was just around the corner.
- In April of 1994, the plane of the Hutu president, Habyarimana, and the Burundian president was shot down. It is unclear who was responsible, although it is believed that the Hutus were the perpetrators, as a way to incite war.
- The Hutus immediately and publicly blamed the Tutsis for the assassination, calling for the “systematic massacre of the Tutsis.” (BBC News - Timeline: Rwanda)
- Within 100 days, 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus were killed. (BBC News - Timeline: Rwanda)
- In 1995, the United Nations convened a tribunal with the intent of charging and sentencing people responsible for the massacre.

In the context of history, the Rwandan genocide is fairly recent. As we have learned with past genocides, it takes time for people to really understand the scope and magnitude of the event, and therefore to publish information about it. There are not a lot of resources as yet for the genocide. However, there are some great online resources which could help in teaching about it:

- **Rwanda: The Wake of Genocide**

<http://www.rwanda-genocide.org/multimedia.html>

This website has links to many audio and visual resources, such as testimony from survivors, and some great PBS and BBC projects.

- **United Human Rights Council**

http://www.unitedhumanrights.org/genocide/genocide_in_rwanda.htm

Basic information about the genocide.

- **Peace Pledge Union Information**

http://www.ppu.org.uk/genocide/g_rwanda.html

Good information about what led up to the genocide, as well as some survivor testimony.

- **Through the Eyes of Children**

<http://www.rwandaproject.org/>

Not a lot of information, but there are photographs taken by orphaned children, giving a great sense of the humanity of Rwanda today.

- **The National Security Archive**

<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/>

This site is home to documents containing information on the involvement of the United States in the genocide.

Part 3: Print Media and Genocide

In this lesson, students will be evaluating how print media affected both the Rwandan genocide and The Holocaust.

Print Media in Rwanda

During the 1990's, the most influential print media was the bimonthly newspaper *Kangura*. It adamantly condemned and spouted hatred against the Tutsi people, as well as any Hutu who expressed any need for change. It's most well-known anti Tutsi publication is known as the "Hutu Ten Commandments."

1. Every Hutu should know that a Tutsi woman, whoever she is, works for the interest of her Tutsi ethnic group. As a result, we shall consider a traitor any Hutu who
 - Marries a Tutsi woman
 - Befriends a Tutsi woman
 - Employs a Tutsi woman as a secretary or a concubine.
2. Every Hutu should know that our Hutu daughters are more suitable and conscientious in their role as woman, wife and mother of the family. Are they not beautiful, good secretaries and more honest?
3. Hutu women, be vigilant and try to bring your husbands, brothers and sons back to reason.
4. Every Hutu should know that ever Tutsi is dishonest in business. His only aim is the supremacy of his ethnic group. As a result, any Hutu who does the following is a traitor:
 - Makes a partnership with Tutsi in business
 - Invests his money or the government's money in a Tutsi enterprise
 - Lends or borrows money from a Tutsi
 - Gives favors to Tutsi in business (obtaining import licenses, bank loans, construction sites, public markets, etc.)
5. All strategic positions, political, administrative, economic, military and security should be only to Hutu.
6. The education sector (school pupils, students, teachers) must be majority Hutu.
7. The Rwandan Armed Forces should be exclusively Hutu. The experience of the October 1990 war has taught us a lesson. No member of the military shall marry a Tutsi.
8. The Hutu should stop having mercy on the Tutsi.
9. The Hutu, wherever they are, must have unity and solidarity and be concerned with the fate of their Hutu brothers.

- The Hutu inside and outside Rwanda must constantly look for friends and allies for the Hutu cause, starting with their Hutu brothers.
 - They must constantly counteract Tutsi propaganda.
 - The Hutu must be firm and vigilant against their common Tutsi enemy.
10. The Social Revolution of 1959, the Referendum of 1961, and the Hutu ideology, must be taught to every Hutu at every level. Every Hutu must spread this ideology widely. Any Hutu who persecutes his brother Hutu for having read, spread and taught this ideology is a traitor.

Published in Kangura, December 1990
(Kangura: The Hutu Ten Commandments)

Print Media in The Holocaust

In 1940, Joseph Goebbels, the head of the Ministry of Propaganda, began a weekly newspaper called *Das Reich*. He wrote the lead article every week, generally attacking the Jews. Below is an excerpt from an article which was published on December 16, 1941, titled “The Jews are Guilty!” (Full text of the speech is available at www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/goeb1.htm)

Therefore, we must say again and yet again:

1. The Jews are our destruction. They started this war and direct it. They want to destroy the German Reich and our people. This plan must be blocked.
2. There are no distinctions between Jews. Each Jew is a sworn enemy of the German people. If he does not make his hostility plain, it is only from cowardice and slyness, not because he loves us.
3. The Jews are to blame for each German soldier who falls in this war. They have him on their conscience, and must also pay for it.
4. If someone wears the Jewish star, he is an enemy of the people. Anyone who deals with him is the same as a Jew and must be treated accordingly. He earns the contempt of the entire people, for he is a craven coward who leaves them in the lurch to stand by the enemy.
5. The Jews enjoy the protection of our enemies. That is all the proof we need to show how harmful they are for our people.
6. The Jews are the enemy’s agents among us. He who stands by them aids the enemy.
7. The Jews have no right to claim equality with us. If they wish to speak on the streets, in lines outside shops or in public transportation, they should be ignored, not only because they are simply wrong, but because they are Jews who have no right to a voice in the community.

8. If the Jews appeal to your sentimentality, realize that they are hoping for your forgetfulness, and let them know that you see through them and hold them in contempt.

9. A decent enemy will deserve our generosity after we have won. The Jew however is not a decent enemy, though he tries to seem so.

10. The Jews are responsible for the war. The treatment they receive from us is hardly unjust. They have deserved it all.

It is the job of the government to deal with them. No one has the right to act on his own, but each has the duty to support the state's measures against the Jews, to defend them with others, and to avoid being misled by any Jewish tricks.

The security of the state requires that of us all.

Have students review both sets of decrees and complete the following chart.

	Hutu Ten Commandments	“The Jews are Guilty!”
Who is considered the good group of people?		
Who is considered the enemy of the good people?		
What are some specific faults of the enemy?		
What are some things the enemy is trying to do to corrupt the good people?		
What are some specific things the good people need to do to stop the enemy?		
What propaganda techniques are used?		
Do you consider this hate speech? Why or why not?		
Why do you think people followed these guidelines?		

Part 4: Radio and Genocide

Radio in Rwanda

The major source of the spread of propaganda and hatred in Rwanda was RTLM - Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines. It was supported by the government controlled Radio Rwanda. It has been largely blamed for spreading the violent hatred and anti-Tutsi ideology to the Hutus in Rwanda. This topic is one that is central to the study of the Rwandan Genocide. Many believe that it was the RTLM who are to blame for the incitement of violence in Rwanda, and many were tried for crimes against humanity based on their broadcasts. However, since this is such a new topic, there are not many English translated transcripts of RTLM broadcasts. As the years pass, more and more will be translated and available to the public.

Some important information RTLM:

- RTLM was especially popular among the youth, because it played up-to-date music from Zaire.
- RTLM was especially effective in Kigali, where it issued instructions to be violent at roadblocks, gave names of escaped Tutsis and their hiding places, issued threats to Tutsi youth, issued lists of “accomplices” to kill and encouraged listeners to “get rid of the dirt.”
- During the genocide, RTLM was used to coordinate the movement of police, army and militia units.

Below are some translated broadcasts for students to analyze.

Tutsi are nomads and invaders who came to Rwanda in search of pasture, but because they are so cunning and malicious, the Tutsi managed to stay and rule. If you ally the Tutsi-Hamites to come back, they will not only rule you in Rwanda, but will also extend their power throughout the Great Lakes region.

December 2, 1993
(Mironko)

At RTLM, we have decided to remain vigilant. I urge you, people of Biryogo, who are listening to us, to remain vigilant. Be advised that a weevil has crept into your midst. Be advised that you have been infiltrated, that you must be extra vigilant in order to defend and protect yourself. You may say: “Gahigi, aren’t you trying to scare us?” This is not meant to scare you. I say that people must be told the truth. That is useful, a lot better than lying to them.

I would like to tell you, inhabitants of Biryogo, that one of your neighbors, named Manzi Sudi Fadi, alias Bucumi, is no longer among you. He now works as a technician for Radio Mahuabura. We have seized a letter he wrote to Ismael Hitimana, alias Safari... Ismael Hitimana, alias Safari, heads a brigade of Inkotanyi there the in Biryogo area, a brigade called Abitganda. He is their coordinator. It's a brigade composed of Inkotanyi over there in Biryogo.

Our investigations indicate that brigades like this one exist in other parts of Kigali. Those living in the other areas of Kigali must also be vigilant. But, for those who may be inclined to think that this is not true – normally, I'm not supposed to read this letter on RTL M airwaves, because we respect the confidentiality of those documents – but let me tell you that in this letter – I'll read you a few excerpts just to prove that the letter is not something I made up – Manzi Sudi Fadi, alias Bicumi Higo, wrote: “The young people within Abatiganda brigade, I, once again, salute you..., you the young people who aspire for change in our country, and who have come together in the Inkotanyi FPR family, I say to you, “Love one another, be ambitious and courageous.” He asks: “How are you doing in Biryogo?”...Such is the greeting of Manzi Sudi Fair, alias Bicumbi to the young members of the brigade in Biryogo. As you can see, the brigade does exist in the Biryogo area. You must know the man called Mazi Sadi is no longer among you, that the brigade is headed by a man named Hitimana Ismael, co-coordinator of the Abatiganda brigade in Biryogo.

March 14, 1994

(Transcript of Tape 0340e)

*You can also get a sense of the hate speech by watching clips from Hotel Rwanda. The opening credits are run while a broadcast from the radio is played, for example. It is translated into English, but it is a good example of the kinds of things they were saying on the radio. The movie is easily accessible through libraries. You may even be able to find a clip online, depending on the security of your server.

Radio during the Holocaust

Feeling that the radio would be an invaluable asset to the spreading of Nazi ideals (including but not exclusive to racial ideology), the Nazis created a new radio that could be easily and inexpensively purchased by the average German citizen.

- In 1933, Goebbels aligned all radio broadcasts according to the new ideology in the country.
- The Nazis determined that a simple radio device was all that was needed to receive the major broadcasts over the entirety of Germany.

- The Nazis created and distributed a cheap radio set, called the Gemeinschaftsempfänger, at about half the price of a normal, cheaper radio at the time. The price decreased over the next several year.
- In some cases, radio sets were given on loan by the Dr. Goebbels Radio Fund for families who could not afford a radio.
- Listening to foreign radio stations was strictly forbidden.

On August 18, 1933, Joseph Goebbels made a speech concerning the radio and its place in the Nazi regime. This speech can be accessed from the Calvin College Propaganda Archive - <http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/goeb56.htm>. (This is copyrighted, so it is not included in this packet.)

- This document could be used as a great discussion tool.
- Have students read through the speech and make note of the things that Goebbels believes the radio will improve or highlight in the Nazi regime.
- What are the positive things the radio can accomplish?
- How could the radio be used in a negative way?

Also available on the Calvin website are numerous radio speeches made by Goebbels. Although they do not use the radio to blatantly call for action against the Jews, the rhetoric is most definitely apparent.

- Have students read through some of the Christmas Eve speeches. What is Goebbels intent?
- How does the radio become an integral part of the rallying of Germans to the side of the Nazis?

Students can analyze the Rwandan and Nazi speeches and complete the following chart.

Nazi and Rwandan Radio – Compare and Contrast

	Rwanda	Nazi
What is the tone of the radio speeches?		
What is the intent of the speeches?		
Who was the targeted audience of the speeches?		
How did the regime target the people they wanted to hear the message?		
How did the radio play a part in the genocide?		

Part 5: Culpability

Now that students have analyzed and learned the media and how it played a role in both The Holocaust and the Rwandan Genocide, it's important to come back to some earlier questions:

- What is hate speech?
- Can the radio/television/newspaper incite violence with hate speech?
- Just how much influence does the media have on us?
- If the media tells people to do something illegal, who is to blame? The person or the media? Why?
- **How should the perpetrators be held accountable?**

The Nuremburg Trials

The Nuremburg Trials were held between 1945 and 1949 with the intent to prosecute the prominent members of the Nazi Party during The Holocaust.

- The main trial started on October 18, 1945 where indictments were entered against 24 major war criminals and six criminal organizations – the leadership of the Nazi Party, the SS and SD, the Gestapo, the SA and the “General Staff and High Command.”
- There were 12 subsequent trials, including The Doctors’ Trial, The Einsatzgruppen Trial and the IG Farben Trial, indicting one of the companies which operated mainly on free slave labor from the camps.
- During the main trial, each defendant was brought up on any or all of the following charges:
 - Count 1: Participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment of a crime against peace
 - Count 2: Planning, initiating and waging wars of aggression and other crimes against peace
 - Count 3: War crimes
 - Count 4: Crimes against humanity
- It is important for students to know that Joseph Goebbels, head of the ministry of propaganda was not tried because he committed suicide.

Have the students use the following website to analyze the defendants, their crimes, and their sentences.

Assign each student a defendant to study. They should write down:

1. Defendant's name
2. IQ and why that is important (Be sure to tell them that average IQ should be 100.)
3. At least one interesting quote from the defendant
4. Basic information about who the defendant was and what role they played in the Holocaust (info to the left of the picture)
5. Sentence

Come together as a group and discuss the defendants.

- What do these men have in common?
- Who seemed to get harsher sentences, i.e. death, and who got easier sentences? Why?
- Do the students think they should have been held accountable for their role in The Holocaust?
- What do they think would have happened to Joseph Goebbels had he been tried?
- What is "fair" punishment for crimes against humanity?
- *Be sure to give special attention to **Julius Streicher**, who was the founder of *Der Sturmer*, the Nazi propaganda newspaper, and **Alfred Rosenberg**, who is considered one of the main authors of the key Nazi ideological creeds *Lebenstraum*. How did they incite?

International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

Since the end of the genocide, several actions have begun in order to prosecute those responsible. Beginning in 1996, the government of Rwanda began trying people for war crimes. In 2001, the UN set up the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, which has jurisdiction over high level members of the government and armed forces. Rwanda itself is still responsible for prosecuting lower level leaders and local people.

Again, because this is a very current event and the trials are ongoing, there is less information available in English about these trials. However, there are 3 men who were tried and convicted for dissemination of propaganda during the genocide:

Leaders of RTLM:

Ferdinand Nahimana

Jean Bosco Barayagwiza

Publisher of *Kangura*
Hassan Ngeze

Students can research these three men and answer the same questions as they did for the defendants of the Nuremburg Trial.

Once students are familiar with Nuremberg and the Rwandan War Tribunal, discuss the following questions:

- What types of things have perpetrators been tried for?
- What types of sentences did they get?
- Do you think they should have been tried?
- Did they get fair, impartial trials?
- What types of crimes against humanity do you think should be prosecuted in court?
- Who should prosecute these people? The leaders of their countries or the leaders of the world?

Final Questions

- Whose job is it to protect people? Their neighbors? Their community? Their state? Their country? The world?
- How do we prevent hate speech?
- What power do words have?
- Should people be held criminally responsible for hate speech?
- If you incite violence, are you as guilty as those actually committing the violence? Less guilty? More guilty?



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