

[2 CONFIDENTIAL]

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**Date: 29 September 1995**

**TO:** Mr. Kofi Annan  
Under-Secretary-General  
Department of Peace-Keeping Operations

**FROM:** Shaharyar M. Kan  
SRSg

**SUBJECT:** Letter from the Vice-President of Rwanda  
to the Secretary-General

*Shaharyar M. Kan*

1. As announced in my MIR 3357, please find attached the original of the letter dated 20 September 1995 from Major General Paul Kagame, Vice-President and Minister of Defence of Rwanda to the Secretary-General.
2. I should be grateful if you would kindly forward it to the Secretary-General.



CRN-332

OUTGOING CODE CABLE

TO: ANNAN/UNATIONS, NEW YORK

FROM: KHAN, UNAMIR, KIGALI

*Shaheryar Khan*

DATE: 25 SEPTEMBER 1995

NO: MIR 3357

NO OF PAGES: 1 OF 2

SUBJECT: LETTER FROM THE VICE PRESIDENT OF RWANDA  
TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

1. Please find attached a letter dated 20 September 1995 addressed to the Secretary General by Major-General Paul Kagame, Vice President and Minister of Defence of Rwanda.
2. This letter confirms that the question of the orderly return of the refugees and their smooth resettlement in their home communes is increasingly preoccupying the Rwandese leaders. Hopefully, the special emergency appeal to be launched soon will provide the resources needed to strengthen Rwanda's capacity to absorb the returnees.
3. I should be grateful if you would forward this communication to the Secretary General. The original is being sent by pouch.
4. Best regards

Reçu le 26 SEP. 1995

REPUBLIQUE RWANDAISE  
REPUBLIC OF RWANDA



LE VICE-PRESIDENT ET MINISTRE  
DE LA DEFENSE NATIONALE  
VICE-PRESIDENT AND MINISTER OF  
DEFENCE

20th September, 1995

**H.E Boutros Boutros-Ghali,  
Secretary - General  
United Nations Organisation**

**Excellency,**

**Please accept the expression of my gratitude for your letter and your concern for the people of Rwanda. Your visit to our country was a great boost to the efforts the Government is putting into the reconstruction of this country and the process of reconciliation already in progress.**

**You were able to see the various difficulties facing our country, and the goodwill of our Government to overcome them. This, I am convinced, will put you in a better position to mobilise the international opinion towards assisting us to overcome various obstacles hindering the progress of our efforts.**

**The smooth and voluntary return of refugees is an issue at the heart of our Government, but again here we can profit from the influence of the United Nations on our neighbours to assist in making it an orderly exercise. In this regard we would need special assistance to resettle the returnees into their home communes.**

**Finally, Your Excellency, let me take this opportunity to express our Government's commitment to the ideals of the United Nations, and the assurances of my personal consideration.**

**Kind regards,**

*Paul Kagame (MG)*



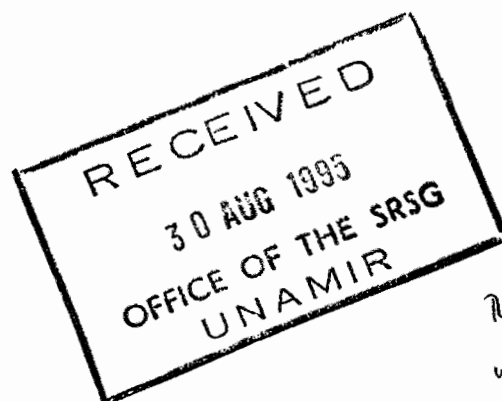
**NOTE TO THE SRSG**

**Subject: Resignation of the Prime Minister**

1. The attached note has been prepared by Mr. Shaka Ssali, at my request.
2. If you so wish, we may use it as a basis for another cable to New York on the subject.

WS

Wilfrid de Souza  
30 August 1995



we may send the note for inf.  
The facts are seemingly accurate. Mr. Senyashanga's  
views are, of course, his own. we must, however, state that  
we have no reports of 5 killings - by RPA.  
Shakya/DK  
368

ED

2. ...  
je vis...

FD 31/8/95



**CONFIDENTIAL**

**TO:** Ambassador Shaharyar M. Khan  
SRSB

**DATE:** 29 August 1995

**INFO:** Mr. W. De Souza  
ED

**FROM:** Shaka M. Ssali, Deputy Chief, Radio UNAMIR *Shaka M. Ssali*

**SUBJECT:** The Sequence of Events that led to the Rwandan Prime Minister's Resignation and the Interior Minister

According to both former Rwandan Prime Minister, Faustin Twagiramungu and former Interior Minister, Seth Sendashonga, their resignation from the broad-based Government of National Unity was sparked off by the following reasons:

- During our meeting earlier today (Tuesday August 29, 1995) at his residence in the Minister's Quarters, at Kimihurura, Mr. Sendashonga talked about what he characterized as last Friday's Cabinet crisis. The former Interior Minister said that he took the floor on that day and asked questions pertaining to the security situation in the country. He said that he had received reports from local authorities that members of the RPA have been killing at least five people a day. He said that that sort of behaviour has undermined confidence in the Government because the population thinks that the authorities condone the killings.
- Mr. Sendashonga said that he informed the Cabinet that he had written and forwarded over 700 letters complaining about the security situation to the Vice-President and Defense Minister, Major-General Paul Kagame. He said that General Kagame has never acknowledged any of the letters. The former Interior Minister said that on that day, however, the Defense Minister responded with both arrogance and intimidation. He said that given his position as the VP, he does not think that he must reply every letter addressed to him, so long as he takes the necessary measures to deal with the issues.
- Mr. Sendashonga informed me that the General then threatened to resign from his position as Defense Minister. He said that the VP immediately challenged him that if he is not satisfied with the

manner in which the Defense Ministry is run by General Kagame, he should take over as the new Minister of Defense. Mr. Sendashonga also said that the General stated that Mr. Twagiramungu can also take over the Defense portfolio if he is interested. The former Minister said he was surprised by such a statement from the VP because the former Prime-Minister had said nothing in that meeting to deserve the comments. But he thinks those comments were meant to pave the way for the resignation or dismissal of the Prime Minister. According to the Arusha Treaty regarding power sharing among the various parties - any Cabinet reshuffle requires an agreement between the President and the Prime Minister. Mr. Sendashonga said he was aware that the President had planned to drop some Cabinet Ministers but he had failed to secure the Prime Minister's support. The former Interior Minister said that the VP then stormed out of the Cabinet meeting leaving the President and the rest of the Cabinet behind.

- We have not been able to verify from independent sources whether indeed such was the behaviour exhibited by the General during that Cabinet session.
- Mr. Sendashonga said that he was of the view that tempers would have cooled off during the weekend and that he thought that the Cabinet deserved an apology from the Vice-President. **"Instead," he said, "The President and Vice-President started scheming about a Cabinet reshuffle."**
- On the morning of Monday August 28, 1995, President Pasteur Bizimungu called the heads of four of the five of the parties which form the Government of National Unity (RPF, PL, PSD and PDC) and informed them of his intention to fire the Prime Minister. It may be interesting to point out that the President of the Republic did not contact the Chief of MDR, the fifth partner in the Government, because it is former Prime Minister Twagiramungu who occupies that position.
- But Mr. Sendashonga said that the Prime Minister was informed through incontrovertible anonymous sources about the President's intentions. He said that the former Prime Minister immediately tendered his resignation to the Head of State by 12:00 noon, local time.
- In another development, the Rwandan Parliament met on the same day (Monday 28 August) at 3:00 p.m. in the National Assembly premises - to decide on whether Mr. Twagiramungu should be fired from the post of Prime Minister. Out of the 61 deputies present, 55 voted in favor and 6 abstained. All the 6 deputies were from the MDR - Mr. Twagiramungu's party. It has also been confirmed that out of 11 MDR deputies in the Assembly, 2 voted in favor of firing their boss and 3 were absent.
- It should be noted that the MDR party is reportedly split into two factions: One is led by Mr. Twagiramungu while the other is headed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Anastase Gasana. Mr. Gasana is viewed by the mainstream MDR as leaning towards the RPF. If true, he probably feels that he owes his life and position to the front because from late April 1994, upto the fall of the Rwandan Capital to the RPF, Mr. Gasana was under their protection in Mulindi, Northern Rwanda.
- What are the likely scenarios in terms of replacing Mr. Twagiramungu as Prime Minister?

- If the RPF wants to retain the appearance of a broad-based Government of National Unity, Mr. Gasana is the more likely candidate for the job, because of his MDR constituency.
- If the movement wants to consolidate power and wants to appease the radicals in its ranks whose argument is that they won the war and therefore are entitled to rule the country, the Chairman of the RPF and Vice-Prime Minister and Minister for Public Services, Col. Alexis Kanyarengwe, a Hutu, is likely to be elevated to Prime Minister.
- The third and last scenario, is that the Government might decide to abolish the position of Prime Minister - by arguing that there is duplication of office, given the existence of what some observers characterize as the **"executive"** Vice-Presidency.

Finally, Mr. Sendashonga said that the Government is losing support among the majority population on a daily basis. He says that even many among the genocide survivors - both Hutus and Tutsis - have lost confidence in Government's ability to be fair. He says that peasants in the country-side are afraid of cultivating their land because they live in a climate of insecurity. **Some of them feel," the former Interior Minister says," that another round of genocide might just be around the corner."** He said that if the Government does not take immediate steps to reassure the population at large, his country is likely to experience a long period of social upheavals and famine.

Mr. Sendashonga says since yesterday 3:00 p.m. Mr. Twagiramungu's telephone has been cut off and he has since been under house arrest. Mr. Sendashonga's telephone was also disconnected today.

Asked about his opinion as to who is in charge of the Government and the country, he said your guess is as good as mine - the General. **"What about the President of the Republic,"** I inquired? Mr. Sendashonga replied that in his view, President Bizimungu is a major political hostage!

**NB:** Please find attached herewith the list of members of Government upto yesterday 28 August 1995.



# LIST OF MEMBERS OF GOVERNMENT IN RWANDA

1.	President of the Republic : Mr. Pasteur Bizimungu	FPR < Hutu
2.	Vice-President & Minister of Defence: Major-General Paul Kagame	FPR Tutsi
3.	Prime Minister : Mr. Faustin Twagiramungu	MDR Hutu
4.	Vice-Prime Minister & Minister of Public Function: Colonel Alexis Kanyarengwe	FPR Hutu
5.	Minister of Foreign Affairs & International Cooperation: Dr. Anastase Gasana	MDR Hutu
6.	Minister of the Interior & Communal Development: Mr. Seth Sendashonga	FPR Hutu
7.	Minister of Justice: Mr. Alphonse-Marie Nkubito	* Hutu Independent
8.	Minister of Agriculture and Livestock Breeding: Dr. Augustin Iyamuremye	PSD Hutu
9.	Minister of Primary & Secondary Education: Mr. Pierre Célestin Rwigema	MDR Hutu
10.	Minister of Higher Education, Scientific Research & Culture: Dr. Joseph Nsengimana	PL Tutsi
11.	Minister of Finance: Mr. Joseph Rugenera	PSD Hutu
12.	Minister of Information: Mr. J. Baptiste Nkuliyingoma	MDR Hutu
13.	Minister of Commerce & Industry: Mr. Prosper Higiro	PL Tutsi
14.	Minister of Planning: Mr. J. Berchmans Birara	* Hutu
15.	Minister of Health: Dr. Colonel Joseph Karemera	FPR Tutsi
16.	Minister of Transport & Communications: Mrs. Immaculée Kayumba	FPR Tutsi
17.	Minister of Labour & Social Affairs: Mr. Pie Mugabo	PL Tutsi
18.	Minister of the Environment & Tourism: Mr. J. Népomuscène Nayinzira	PDC Hutu
19.	Minister of Public Works: Mr. Charles Ntakirutinka	PDC Hutu
20.	Minister of the Family and Promotion of Women Ms. Aloysie Inyumba	FPR Tutsi
21.	Minister of Youth & Cooperative Movements: Mr. Patrick Mazimpaka	FPR Tutsi
22.	Minister of Rehabilitation and Reintegration Dr. Jacques Bihozagara	FPR Tutsi

\* No political affiliation