

UNAMIR

SPEECHES

6 OCT 1994 - [1 NOV 1995]

SRSG , RWANDAN PRESIDENT AND OTHERS

UNCLASSIFIED

EL/WG APR 2009

**PLEASE RETAIN
ORIGINAL ORDER**

UN ARCHIVES

SERIES S-1063

BOX 18

FILE 7

ACC. 1998/0278

TEXT OF SPEECH BROADCAST
OF THE HEAD OF STATE,
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMED
FORCES, GENERAL SANI ABACHA,
ON THE 35TH ANNIVERSARY
OF NIGERIA.

1.11
1.11

RECEIVED

01 NOV 1995

OFFICE OF THE SRCS
UNAMIR

FELLOW NIGERIANS,

TODAY MARKS THE 35TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF OUR COUNTRY. THIS LANDMARK COINCIDES WITH A PERIOD IN OUR NATION'S HISTORY DURING WHICH OUR VISION OF THE FUTURE HOLDS MANY QUESTIONS FOR US ALL. WE WHO ARE PRIVILEGED TO LIVE IN THESE TIMES MUST CONSIDER OURSELVES BLESSED. FOR OURS IS THE GENERATION WHICH HAS BEEN CHOSEN BY DESTINY TO LAY ENDURING FOUNDATIONS FOR A COMMON EXISTENCE FOR THE NIGERIANS OF FUTURE ERAS.

2. FELLOW NIGERIANS, I HAVE ALWAYS BEEN MINDFUL THAT THIS RESPONSIBILITY BESTOWS A SUPREME DUTY UPON US FOR WHICH WE SHOULD BE PROUD. IN THE THREE AND HALF DECADES THAT HAVE PASSED SINCE NIGERIA WAS PROCLAIMED A FREE AND SOVEREIGN STATE, OUR COUNTRY HAS TRAVERSED THE CHALLENGING AND DIFFICULT TERRAINS THAT AWAIT ALL YOUNG NATIONS. OUR GENERATION MORE THAN ANY OTHER HAS BORNE THE BURDENS THAT DEVOLVED UPON OUR YOUNG NATION. IT WAS OUR GENERATION THAT FOUGHT IN THE FIELD OF BATTLE AND BURIED ITS YOUNG TO KEEP NIGERIA ONE, OUR GENERATION THAT UNDERTOOK THE SENSITIVE TASK OF RECONCILIATION AND RECONSTRUCTION. TODAY, IT IS OUR GENERATION THAT IS TRYING TO FACILITATE THE POLITICAL REGENERATION OF OUR COUNTRY AFTER SEVERAL FAILURES AND MISDIRECTIONS.

3. WE HAVE LEARNED THROUGH THE SACRIFICES WE HAVE MADE AS A NATION AS WELL AS THROUGH THE PAINS WE HAVE SUFFERED AS A PEOPLE THAT THE PROCESS OF BUILDING A NATION REQUIRES TOLERANCE, FOREBEARANCE AND COMPROMISE. NO COUNTRY THAT HAS ACHIEVED GREATNESS AS A STATE, OR SUCCESSFULLY FORGED A NATIONAL COHESION FROM THE DIVERSITY OF ITS PEOPLE, OR RICHLY REWARDED THEIR EFFORTS WITH MATERIAL BENEFITS HAS DONE SO WITHOUT THE SWEAT AND SACRIFICE OF ITS PEOPLE.

4. IN OUR DESIRE TO REASSURE OUR PEOPLE THAT THEY TOO POSSESS THE METTLE TO ATTAIN SUCH HEIGHTS, I GAVE THE PLEDGE

.../2

OF THIS ADMINISTRATION THAT WE WOULD SET THE EXAMPLE BY OUR OWN ENDEAVOURS, THAT WE WERE PREPARED TO TRAVEL ANY DISTANCE, BEAR ANY BURDEN AND SEEK EVERY VALID AVENUE IN OUR UNDERTAKING TO LAY THE BEDROCK OF A LASTING DEMOCRACY FOR OUR COUNTRY.

5. IN KEEPING WITH THESE PROMISES, WE COMMITTED OURSELVES TO A CAREFUL SELECTION OF PRIORITIES. FELLOW NIGERIANS, HONOUR AND TRUE RESOLUTION ARE EASILY BETRAYED IF WE CONCENTRATE THE MIND UPON TRANSIENT EMOTIONS AND TEMPORARY ADVANTAGES.

6. THEREFORE OUR FIRST OBJECTIVE WAS TO DENY OURSELVES ANY FACTIONAL, REGIONAL OR SENTIMENTAL ATTACHMENTS IN ORDER TO ARREST THE THREAT TO THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF THE NATION. AT THE SAME TIME, AN ENVIRONMENT THAT WOULD PERMIT DIALOGUE IN PLACE OF STRIFE WAS QUICKLY ESTABLISHED. THE COOPERATION WHICH WE RECEIVED FROM THE VAST MAJORITY OF OUR PEOPLE WAS INDICATIVE OF THEIR DEEP DESIRE FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND UNDERSTANDING.

7. ON JUNE 27TH 1994, A NATIONAL CONFERENCE BEGAN SITTING. THROUGHOUT THEIR YEAR-LONG DELIBERATIONS, THE REPRESENTATIVES GATHERED PEACEFULLY TO CONDUCT A NATIONAL DIALOGUE AT THE END OF WHICH THEY PRODUCED A WORKING DOCUMENT OUTLINING THEIR RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE WAY FORWARD FOR OUR NATION.

8. THREE MONTHS AGO, I RECEIVED THE REPORT AS WELL AS A DRAFT CONSTITUTION PREPARED BY THE CONFERENCE. ON THAT OCCASION, I MADE A COMMITMENT THAT ON THE 1ST OF OCTOBER, 1995, I WOULD UNFOLD THE NEXT STAGE OF OUR POLITICAL PROGRAMME. SINCE THEN, WE HAVE EMBARKED UPON WIDE CONSULTATIONS DESIGNED TO COVER THE VARIETY OF OPINIONS REPRESENTING THE COMPLEXITIES AND VASTNESS OF OUR FATHERLAND. A SUBSEQUENT REVIEW COMMITTEE MET AND THEIR WORK ENRICHED SOME OF THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE.

9. SIMILARLY, A CONSTITUTION ANALYSIS COMMITTEE WAS ESTABLISHED TO EXAMINE THE PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION AND HIGHLIGHT THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE GOOD GOVERNANCE OF OUR COUNTRY. THE WORK OF THE ANALYSIS COMMITTEE WAS FOLLOWED BY MEETING OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AND

.../3

THE COUNCIL OF STATES. THESE CONSULTATIONS WERE CLIMAXED BY THE PROVISIONAL RULING COUNCIL IN SESSION. I WAS PARTICULARLY GRATIFIED BY THE FRANKNESS OF THE DELIBERATIONS WITHIN THESE LEVELS OF THE ADMINISTRATION. YET, IN ORDER NOT TO CONFINE OURSELVES TO INSTITUTIONALISED SOURCES, WE CAREFULLY STUDIED THE VIEWS WE RECEIVED FROM A WIDE RANGE OF OTHER CONTACTS. HAVING CONSIDERED ALL THESE VIEWS AND IN THE OVERALL NATIONAL INTEREST, THE PROVISIONAL RULING COUNCIL MADE SOME MODIFICATIONS IN THE 1995 DRAFT CONSTITUTION BEFORE IT GAVE ITS APPROVAL.

10. I CONGRATULATE MOST WARMLY OUR FELLOW NIGERIANS FOR MAKING THIS MAJOR BREAKTHROUGH IN OUR NATIONAL HISTORY. WE NOW HAVE TO CONSOLIDATE ALL THESE GAINS AND MOVE OUR NATION FORWARD. OUR CONSTITUTION IN WHICH BOLD ATTEMPTS TO REDRESS THE FACTORS AND FORCES THAT HAVE IMPAIRED OUR POLITICAL STABILITY AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION WILL CERTAINLY PROVIDE THE NECESSARY BASE.

ECONOMY

11. FELLOW NIGERIANS, AS WE APPROACH THE END OF THE 20TH CENTURY AND PREPARE TO BEGIN THE TRANSITION INTO THE 21ST MILLENNIUM THE COINCIDENCE OF NIGERIA IN TRANSITION SHOULD MOTIVATE US INTO FOCUSING MORE ON A VISION OF WHERE WE WANT TO BE IN ECONOMIC TERMS AT THE START OF THE NEW AGE. IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT WE CONSCIOUSLY ACQUIRE A SENSE OF PURPOSE. MAJOR TECHNICAL ADVANCEMENTS ARE ALREADY WITH US. AS THE WORLD GRADUALLY SHAPES INTO WHAT HAS BEEN CALLED A "GLOBAL VILLAGE" WE MUST EQUIP OURSELVES TO ENTER THE HIGHLY COMPETITIVE WORLD THAT IS ALREADY UPON US.

12. A STRONG POLITICAL SYSTEM IS NURTURED BY A SOUND STABLE ECONOMIC FOUNDATION. IN SPITE OF THE ENORMOUS RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO US AND DESPITE THE POTENTIALS FOR DEVELOPING THESE RESOURCES, WE CONTINUE TO FACE THE SAME SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS THAT HAVE HINDERED THE GROWTH OF OUR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT. FAILED ECONOMIC POLICIES ONLY PARTLY EXPLAIN OUR DILEMMA. AS A PEOPLE, WE MUST ADMIT THAT POOR PERFORMANCE AND THE FAILURES OF IMPLEMENTATION HAVE ACCOUNTED FOR OUR DISTURBING RECORD OF REPEATED FALSE STARTS. IF WE ARE TO BUILD A STRONG POLITICAL SYSTEM, WE

MUST REALISE THAT THIS MUST BE ANCHORED ON AN EQUALLY STRONG ECONOMIC SYSTEM.

13. THE BUDGET DEFICIT OF 1993 WHICH ROSE AS HIGH AS ₦90 BILLION WAS A DISTURBING SOURCE OF INFLATION. I AM PLEASED TO REPORT THAT AS A RESULT OF OUR DETERMINATION TO REDUCE THAT SCALE OF DEFICIT BUDGETING AND TO EVENTUALLY ELIMINATE DEFICITS ALTOGETHER FROM OUR NATIONAL BUDGET, THE SIZE OF THE NATIONAL DEFICIT AS AT 30TH JUNE 1995 DECLINED TO ₦16 BILLION. THE FURTHER GOOD NEWS IS THAT AFTER THE SUPPLEMENTARY BUDGET IS APPROVED, THE 1995 DEFICIT IS EXPECTED TO BE FURTHER REDUCED TO ₦13.08 BILLION OR 1.22 PER CENT OF THE GDP.

14. OUR POLICY OF FISCAL DISCIPLINE AND THE DEREGULATION OF THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET HAVE YIELDED PLENTIFUL DIVIDENDS. THE NAIRA EXCHANGE RATE TO THE DOLLAR HAS STABILISED FOR ALMOST A YEAR NOW.

15. OUR BANKING SECTOR HAD LARGELY BECOME ASSOCIATED WITH THE FREQUENCY OF DISTRESS AS A RESULT OF THE INDISCIPLINE, MISMANAGEMENT, FRAUD AND DEFAULT BY THE SUPERVISING AUTHORITIES. WE HAVE SINCE EMBARKED ON THE SANITISATION OF THIS SECTOR OF OUR NATIONAL ECONOMY. A DECREE WAS PROMULGATED AND A TRIBUNAL SET UP TO DEAL WITH THOSE WHO HID BEHIND CORPORATE MASKS TO PERPETRATE CRIMINAL ACTS AND DESECRATE OUR BANKING INSTITUTIONS. FELLOW NIGERIANS, I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT THIS EXERCISE WILL BE CONTINUED AND INTENSIFIED.

16. OUR ECONOMY'S OVERDEPENDENCE ON REVENUE FROM PETROLEUM PRODUCTS HAS BEEN A MAJOR HANDICAP. ACCORDINGLY, WE SET ABOUT THE TASK OF DIVERSIFYING THE ECONOMY THROUGH THE REVIVAL OF AGRICULTURE AND THE EXPLOITATION OF SOLID MINERALS. WITHIN THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION THEREFORE, GOVERNMENT WILL MAINTAIN A POLICY OF CONSOLIDATION OF THE ECONOMIC REFORMS WHICH HAVE HAD SUCH A REMARKABLE SUCCESS. THESE INCLUDE THE BROADENING AND STRENGTHENING OF OUR REVENUE BASE, CONTROL OF EXPENDITURE OF REDUCED FISCAL DEFICIT, REDUCTION OF THE RATE OF INFLATION, GUIDED DEREGULATION OF THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET, AND PROTECTION OF THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS TO SUPPORT ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES.

17. OUR FISCAL AND MONETARY POLICIES WILL FOCUS GREATER ATTENTION ON DEVELOPING THE PRODUCTIVE SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY

BY INCREASING CAPACITY UTILISATION OF OUR INDUSTRIES AND JOB CREATION. IT WAS TOWARDS THIS END THAT THE PETROLEUM TRUST FUND WAS ESTABLISHED EARLY THIS YEAR. THE TRUST FUND HAS BEGUN ITS OPERATIONS. I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THIS INNOVATION WILL GREATLY STRENGTHEN OUR QUEST FOR DIVERSIFICATION AND ENHANCE THE PRESENT JOB CREATION STRATEGIES OF THIS ADMINISTRATION.

18. **WITHIN** THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION, GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE APPROPRIATE STEPS TO PAY INTERNAL DEBTS AND CONTRACT LIABILITIES. EFFORTS HAVE BEEN MADE TO DISMANTLE ALL IMPEDIMENTS TO THE INFLOW OF FOREIGN INVESTMENTS INTO NIGERIA. WE REPEALED THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE ACT 1996 AND THE NIGERIA ENTERPRISES PROMOTION DECREE. AN INVESTMENT PROMOTION DECREE HAS NOW BEEN PROMULGATED TO CREATE A CONDUCIVE ENVIRONMENT FOR INVESTMENT.

19. **WE** CANNOT ACHIEVE A STABLE DEMOCRATIC POLITY IN THE MIDST OF DISHONESTY AND CORRUPTION. THESE VICES HAVE CRIPPLED OUR VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS WHICH OTHERWISE WOULD BE VIABLE ASSETS TO OUR ECONOMIC RECOVERY. IN THIS REGARD, WE HAVE IN THE LAST TWO YEARS STUDIED CAREFULLY THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS OF VARIOUS PUBLIC ORGANISATIONS AND PARASTATALS WHICH ARE BASIC TO THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF OUR NATION. A GOVERNMENT WHITE PAPER ON THE PANEL REPORTS ON THE NNPC, CENTRAL BANK OF NIGERIA, NIGERIAN CUSTOMS SERVICE, NITEL, NIGERIAN AIRWAYS, NIGERIAN PORTS AUTHORITY, NIGERIA AIRPORTS AUTHORITY, THE JUDICIARY, THE POLICE AND THE CIVIL SERVICE ARE BEING CONSIDERED AND WILL BE MADE PUBLIC SOON.

20. **THE** FEDERAL MINISTRIES HAVE ALREADY STARTED TO IMPLEMENT THOSE RECOMMENDATIONS WHICH ARE CONSISTENT WITH OUR POLICIES TO IMPROVE THE PERFORMANCE AND OPERATIONS OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR. THESE STRATEGIC ORGANISATIONS ARE IN THE HEART OF OUR ECONOMY AND OUR SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION.

21. **LET** ME SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO CONGRATULATE THE SECURITY SERVICES FOR THEIR BRAVE AND COURAGEOUS VIGILANCE WHICH HAS SEEN US THROUGH PERIODS OF STRESS. WHILE COMMENDING THEIR EFFORTS, I MAY ALSO ADD THAT DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD, PARTICULAR ATTENTION WILL BE PAID TO THE ORIENTATION OF THE MILITARY TO INCULCATE THE SPIRIT OF SUBORDINATION TO THE CIVIL AUTHORITY.

22. PRIORITY WILL ALSO BE GIVEN TO THE STRENGTHENING OF MILITARY PROFESSIONALISM THROUGH THE PROVISION OF SERVICE-ABLE EQUIPMENT AND ADEQUATE TRAINING. DUE ATTENTION WILL CONTINUE TO BE PAID TO THE WELFARE OF MILITARY PERSONNEL THROUGH THE PROVISION OF ADEQUATE BARRACKS ACCOMMODATION AND OTHER BENEFITS. BY THE END OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD, WE HOPE TO HAND OVER A CONTENTED AND COMBAT READY PROFESSIONAL MILITARY TO THE NEXT GOVERNMENT.

23. IN ORDER TO EQUIP THE POLICE FORCE TO COMBAT THE RISING CRIME WAVE, ATTENTION WILL BE PAID TO THE PROVISION OF POLICE BARRACKS, OFFICES, EQUIPMENT AND MODERN COMMUNICATION FACILITIES. DUE ATTENTION WILL ALSO CONTINUE TO BE PAID TO THE WELFARE OF POLICE PERSONNEL SIDE-BY-SIDE WITH THEIR COUNTERPARTS IN THE ARMED FORCES.

24. FELLOW NIGERIANS, GOVERNMENT IS AWARE OF THE MENACE OF ARMED ROBBERY IN OUR STREETS. IT IS INTOLERABLE THAT THESE GANGS OF CRIMINALS CAN ACTUALLY SEAL OFF A WHOLE AREA IMPUDENTLY HARASSING INNOCENT CITIZENS IN THEIR HOMES. GOVERNMENT IS DETERMINED TO STAMP OUT THIS PHENOMENON FORTHWITH. TO THIS EXTENT, A SPECIAL TASK FORCE EQUIPPED TO DEAL APPROPRIATELY WITH ARMED ROBBERS IS BEING CONSTITUTED WITH IMMEDIATE EFFECT.

1995 CONSTITUTION

25. IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION, COURAGEOUS DECISIONS HAVE BEEN TAKEN IN MANY AREAS INCLUDING POWER SHARING AND REVENUE ALLOCATION. I HAVE IN MIND THE FOSTERING OF ROTATIONAL POWER SHARING. SOME OF OUR POLITICAL CONTROVERSIES WHICH HAVE ALMOST BECOME PART OF OUR NATIONAL WAY OF LIFE ARE TRANSIENT IN NATURE. BUT OTHERS HAVE TO BE FACED AND TACKLED. THE COUNCIL IN ITS DELIBERATIONS UNDERSTOOD THE ORIGINS OF THE SYMPATHY FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF ROTATION WHICH WE ALL RECOGNISE AS A WAY OF SATISFYING THE FEARS OF MARGINALISATION.

26. AT THE END OF ITS CAREFUL STUDY OF THE ISSUE, THE PROVISIONAL RULING COUNCIL DECIDED THAT IN THE HIGHER AND LONG TERM NATIONAL INTEREST, THE PROPOSALS OF ROTATIONAL POWER SHARING SHOULD BE ACCEPTED. THIS OPTION WILL APPLY TO ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT. IT IS HOPED THAT WITH THE ADOPTION OF THIS SYSTEM, ALL SEGMENTS OF SOCIETY WILL FEEL A SENSE OF BELONGING.

27. THE PRC HAS ALSO ENDORSED A MODIFIED PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM IN WHICH SIX(6) KEY EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE OFFICES WILL BE ZONED AND ROTATED BETWEEN SIX IDENTIFIABLE GEOGRAPHICAL GROUPINGS. IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS PROVISION; THE COUNTRY HAS BEEN DIVIDED INTO SIX ZONES : NORTH-EAST, NORTH-WEST, NORTH-CENTRAL, SOUTH-WEST, SOUTH-EAST AND SOUTHERN MINORITY.

28. THE NATIONAL POLITICAL OFFICES WHICH WILL BE FILLED BY CANDIDATES IN A ROTATIONAL BASIS ARE : THE PRESIDENT, VICE-PRESIDENT, PRIME MINISTER, DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, SENATE PRESIDENT AND SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. THIS POWER SHARING ARRANGEMENT WHICH SHALL BE ENTRENCHED IN THE CONSTITUTION SHALL BE AT FEDERAL LEVEL AND APPLICABLE FOR AN EXPERIMENTAL PERIOD OF 30 (THIRTY) YEARS.

29. THE NEW NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF NIGERIA (NECON) IS EMPOWERED TO DRAW UP GUIDELINES WHICH WILL REQUIRE POLITICAL PARTIES TO COMPLY WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF ROTATIONAL POWER SHARING. NECON WILL CONTINUE TO INITIATE AND ENSURE CONTINUOUS DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND ALL POLITICAL PARTIES. IT IS ALSO EMPOWERED TO MAINTAIN CONSULTATION WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

REVENUE ALLOCATION FORMULA

30. WITH REGARD TO THE LONG STANDING ISSUE OF REVENUE ALLOCATION, GOVERNMENT HAS APPROVED THE RECOMMENDATION THAT A FIXED PERCENTAGE OF 13 PER CENT OF ALL REVENUE ACCRUING TO THE FEDERATION ACCOUNT DIRECTLY FROM NATURAL RESOURCES SHALL BE SET ASIDE AS DERIVATION. THIS IS TO COMPENSATE COMMUNITIES WHICH SUFFER SEVERE ECOLOGICAL DEGRADATION AS A RESULT OF THE EXPLOITATION IN THEIR AREAS.

MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM

31. GOVERNMENT NOTES THE OVERWHELMING DESIRE OF THE POLITICAL CLASS TO ABANDON THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM OWING TO THE ENDLESS ACRIMONY, INTRA-PARTY SQUABBLES AND INSTABILITY IT GENERATED. GOVERNMENT THEREFORE ACCEPTS IN PRINCIPLE THE MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM AS PROPOSED IN THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION. THE NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF NIGERIA (NECON) SHALL BE DIRECTED TO ENFORCE WITH VIGOUR AND STRINGENCY, GUIDELINES WHICH SHALL

ENSURE THAT POLITICAL PARTIES ARE TRULY NATIONAL IN CHARACTER.

FEDERAL CHARACTER COMMISSION

32. GOVERNMENT HAS ACCEPTED THE RECOMMENDATION FOR A FEDERAL CHARACTER COMMISSION TO BE ESTABLISHED. THIS WILL SERVE AS A POSITIVE STEP TOWARDS CORRECTING THE IMBALANCES WHICH HAVE DISADVANTAGED SECTIONS OF OUR CITIZENRY.

DEVOLUTION OF MORE POWERS TO STATES

33. IT IS OUR CONVICTION THAT THE COMPETITION FOR POLITICAL OFFICES AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL MAY BECOME LESS INTENSE, LESS ATTRACTIVE OR ACRIMONIOUS IF SOME FEDERAL POWERS ARE DEVOLVED TO STATES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS. DEVOLUTION WILL ALSO PROMOTE MORE RAPID DEVELOPMENT AT THE GRASSROOTS. GOVERNMENT THEREFORE INTENDS TO ESTABLISH A COMMITTEE WHICH SHALL WORK OUT MODALITIES AND GUIDELINES FOR DEVOLVING MORE POWERS AND FUNCTIONS TO THE LOWER TIERS OF GOVERNMENT ESPECIALLY, IN THE AREAS OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AGRICULTURE, ROADS AND HOUSING.

STATE CREATION

34. AS YOU ARE AWARE, THE ISSUE OF THE FINAL STRUCTURE OF OUR FEDERATION WAS AN ONGOING MATTER VIGOROUSLY CANVASSED AT THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE. IT IS CONSISTENT WITH OUR POLICY OF HAVING A BALANCED FEDERATION THAT THE ASPIRATIONS OF OUR PEOPLE FOR SELF DETERMINATION WHICH HAVE BEEN EXPRESSED IN THE DEMANDS FOR NEW STATES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS BE CONSIDERED ON THEIR INDIVIDUAL MERIT.

35. WE UNDERSTAND AND SYMPATHISE WITH THESE DEMANDS BECAUSE STATES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS HELP SPREAD RAPID DEVELOPMENT NATIONWIDE AND GIVE STABILITY TO OUR THREE TIER SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT. GOVERNMENT WILL SOON SET UP A COMMITTEE WHICH WILL VISIT THE VARIOUS SECTIONS OF OUR COUNTRY ON THIS MATTER. THEY WOULD BE REQUIRED TO SUBMIT A REPORT OF THEIR FINDINGS WITHIN THREE MONTHS FOR CONSIDERATION.

.../9

COUP PLOTTERS

36. IT IS A MATTER OF REGRET AND GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT THAT AT THIS PERIOD WHEN THERE IS A GENUINE ENDEAVOUR TO MOVE THE NATION TOWARDS AN ELECTED DEMOCRACY, THERE SHOULD BE UNPATRIOTIC NIGERIANS WHO WOULD WISH TO TAKE US BACK TO THE DARK DAYS OF UNREST AND UNCERTAINTIES. THE TREASONABLE ACT OF THOSE RECENTLY CONVICTED OF PLOTTING TO TAKE POWER BY FORCE CAN ONLY BE EXPLAINED BY THEIR DESIRE TO FULFILL THEIR URGE FOR NAKED POWER.

37. INVESTIGATIONS AND CONFESSIONS TAKEN AT THE TRIAL HAVE SINCE REVEALED THAT THE ACCOMPLICES INCLUDED SOME NIGERIAN FUGITIVES, SOME OF WHOM WERE IMPLICATED IN PREVIOUS COUPS AND ARE NOW RESIDING IN SOME EUROPEAN CITIES. THEY ALSO INCLUDED OFFICERS WHO HAD BEEN CONVICTED IN PREVIOUS COUPS ATTEMPTS BUT WERE RECENTLY RELEASED AFTER SERVING REDUCED JAIL TERMS.

38. THIS TRIAL UNLIKE OTHERS BEFORE IT, PROCEEDED CAREFULLY AND THOROUGHLY IN ORDER TO ASCERTAIN ALL THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE INCIDENT. THE INVESTIGATION WAS DETERMINED TO DISCOVER FULLY ALL THOSE WHO WERE INVOLVED AND TO DRAW USEFUL LESSONS ON WAYS OF BRIDGING THE CYCLE OF COUPS AND COUNTER-COUPS THAT HAVE PERENNIALY DOGGED THE EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS OF OUR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT.

39. IT IS A MATTER OF FURTHER REGRET THAT THERE WERE PEOPLE WHO WHEN THEY SOUGHT TO INTERVENE ON BEHALF OF THE COUP PLOTTERS SIGNIFICANTLY FAILED TO CONDEMN THEIR SINISTER INTENTIONS. THIS GLARING LAPSE NOTWITHSTANDING, I AM ENCOURAGED BY THE SUPPORT SHOWN TOWARDS THIS ADMINISTRATION BY THE VAST MAJORITY OF OUR CITIZENS WHO HAVE EXPRESSED THEIR OÙTRAGE. NIGERIANS HAVE LONG BECOME DISENCHANTED WITH THE COUP CULTURE. IT SURPRISES ME THEREFORE THAT THIS MESSAGE HAS STILL TO SINK IN WITH SOME PATENTLY AMBITIOUS AND SELF-CENTERED PERSONS. I WISH TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE CONCERNS OF THOSE WORLD LEADERS WHOM WE HOLD IN GENUINE FRIENDSHIP WHO APPEALED TO US TO SHOW CLEMENCY.

40. FELLOW NIGERIANS, WE ARE QUITE CAPABLE OF MAKING THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN FRIENDS WHO ARE GENUINELY CONCERNED FOR THE PEACE AND STABILITY OF OUR NATION AND OTHERS WHO HAVE

TRIED TO INTERVENE FOR THEIR OWN SELF-INTEREST. IT WOULD BE A BETRAYAL OF THE SACRED TRUST WE HOLD ON BEHALF OF OUR PEOPLE IF WE WERE TO COMPROMISE THE PEACE AND STABILITY OF NIGERIA. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE MUST NOT BY AN ACT OF OMISION OR COMMISSION, ENCOURAGE WILFUL LAWLESSNESS BY CONVENIENTLY LOOKING THE OTHER WAY WHEN THE HARD DECISION HAS TO BE MADE. THIS ADMINISTRATION WILL NOT COLLABORATE WITH A SYSTEM OF JUSTICE UNDER WHICH ONE SET OF RULES EXISTS FOR THE RICH AND POWERFUL AND ANOTHER FOR THE POOR AND THE WEAK.

41. NEVERTHELESS, NIGERIA CHERISHES HER CORDIAL RELATIONS WITH THE WORLD BEYOND OUR BORDERS. AS A MATURE PEOPLE, WE KNOW THAT EVENTS INSIDE OUR COUNTRY DO NOT GO-UNNOTICED AMONG THE FAR REACHES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. IN CONSIDERATION FOR THE EARNEST PLEAS OF OUR FRIENDS AND IN THE SPIRIT OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION WHICH HAS BEEN THE CENTREPIECE OF THIS ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY, GOVERNMENT HAS DECIDED TO COMMUTE THE SENTENCES ON THE COUP PLOTTERS. THIS SITUATION WILL BE REVIEWED AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME.

M.K.O. ABIOLA

42. THE CASE OF CHIEF M.K.O. ABIOLA WHO IS STANDING TRIAL FOR TREASON HAS BEEN WIDELY DISTORTED IN THE ORCHESTRATED CAMPAIGN TO MISLEAD THE WORLD. AN ACT OF TREASON IS AS SERIOUS AS IT IS GRIEVOUS. IT IS AN ASSAULT ON ONE'S COUNTRY AND A DEADLY AFFRONT TO ONE'S FELLOW CITIZENS. THOSE WHO DESCRIBE CHIEF ABIOLA AS A POLITICAL PRISONER SEEK TO TRIVIALISE THE GRAVE OFFENCE FOR WHICH HE IS CHARGED. CHIEF ABIOLA CANNOT BE IN ANY DOUBT WHATSOEVER THAT THE ELECTION WHICH HE CLAIMS TO HAVE WON WAS AN IN-CONCLUSIVE EXERCISE WHICH HAD BEEN DECLARED ILLEGAL BY A COMPETENT COURT OF LAW.

43. HE MUST ALSO BE AWARE THAT THE POLITICAL PARTIES WHICH CONTESTED THE ILL-FATED ELECTIONS HAD MUTUALLY AGREED TO THE FORMATION OF AN INTERIM NATIONAL GOVERNMENT HEADED BY CHIEF ERNEST SHONEKAN. THAT PATRIOTIC DECISION WAS MADE BY THEM NOT ONLY TO BREAK THE DEADLOCK OF THE PREVAILING POLITICAL STALEMATE BUT ALSO TO REMOVE THE RISK OF AN ESCALATION TOWARDS THE BREAKDOWN OF LAW AND ORDER. WHEN A DETERIORATION LATER SET IN TO WEAKEN THIS ARRANGEMENT, CHIEF ABIOLA NOT

ONLY PUBLICLY CALLED UPON THE MILITARY TO INTERVENE, HE ACTIVELY PARTICIPATED IN SELECTING THE BROAD-BASED CABINET OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

44. IT IS THE CONSIDERED VIEW OF THIS ADMINISTRATION THAT THE ON-GOING JUDICIAL PROCESS SHOULD CONTINUE ITS COURSE. THE COURTS EXIST TO DETERMINE JUDICIAL MATTERS BROUGHT BEFORE THEM AND UNTIL SUCH A TIME AS WHEN CHIEF ABIOLA IS JUDGED GUILTY OR INNOCENT OF THE CHARGES PROFFERED AGAINST HIM, IT WOULD BE WRONG AND A POOR PRECEDENT FOR THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM FOR WHICH WE ARE LAYING A FOUNDATION TO INVOKE EXECUTIVE FIAT IN A MATTER THAT IS STILL SUB-JUDICE.

45. THIS NATION HAS MOVED BEYOND THE CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING JUNE 12, 1993. WE CANNOT MAKE PROGRESS BY FLOGGING DEAD ISSUES OR BY PRETENDING THAT MATTERS WHICH HAVE LONG SINCE BEEN OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS SHOULD BE EXHUMED AND GIVEN FRESH BREATH. NIGERIA IS NOT STAGNANT NOR IS IT RETROGRESSING; ON THE CONTRARY, WE ARE MOVING FORWARD WITH A SET PURPOSE AND A CLEAR VISION.

TIME-TABLE

46. FELLOW NIGERIANS, YOU MAY RECALL MY PLEDGE THAT A POLITICAL TIME-TABLE OUTLINING THE TRANSITION TO CIVIL RULE WOULD BE MADE KNOWN AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME. WITH MY ANNOUNCEMENT TODAY OF THE NEW PHASE OF THE TRANSITION PROGRAMME, IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THE DURATION OF THE TIME-TABLE WILL BE DETERMINED BY THE TIME REQUIRED TO COMPLETE EACH PHASE OF THE PROGRAMME.

47. FOR EXAMPLE THE MAJOR COMPONENTS OF THE TRANSITION PROGRAMME ARE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PROPER INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL MACHINERY TO REGULATE PARTY FORMATION, DELINEATION OF CONSTITUENCIES AND VOTERS REGISTRATION AND THE RESOLUTION OF THE ISSUE OF THE CREATION OF NEW STATES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AS WELL AS BOUNDARY ADJUSTMENTS. WE ALSO HAVE THE IMPORTANT TASK OF ESTABLISHING A SOUND AND STABLE ECONOMIC BASE.

48. FELLOW NIGERIANS, IN ORDER TO PROPERLY ADDRESS THESE ISSUES AND TO ESTABLISH THE FOUNDATIONS OF DURABLE DEMOCRACY; WE ESTIMATE THAT THE TIME REQUIRED WILL COVER A PERIOD NOT MORE THAN 36 MONTHS.

49. A DETAILED AND CAREFULLY CONSIDERED PROGRAMME OF THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS THAT WILL LEAD TO THAT DEADLINE HAS BEEN WORKED OUT. THIS SEQUENCE WILL BEGIN WITH A STAGE-BY-STAGE, PHASED, HANDING-OVER AT THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT LEVEL. IT HAS BEEN CALCULATED THAT COMPLETION DATE, AT THE LEVEL OF THE PRESIDENT WHEN THE FINAL TIER OF A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED CIVIL GOVERNMENT SHALL BE INSTALLED SHOULD BE FEASIBLE FOR 1ST OCTOBER 1998. DETAILED BREAKDOWN OF THE TRANSITION TIME TABLE INDICATING EVENTS EACH QUARTER UP TO FINAL DISENGAGEMENT IS AS FOLLOWS :

50. 1995 LAST QUARTER-
OCTOBER-DECEMBER

1. APPROVAL OF DRAFT CONSTITUTION.
2. LIFTING ALL RESTRICTIONS ON POLITICAL ACTIVITIES.
3. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF NIGERIA (NECON).
4. CREATION OF ;
 - TRANSITIONAL IMPLEMENTATION COMMITTEE ;
 - NATIONAL RECONCILIATION COMMITTEE ;
 - FEDERAL CHARACTER COMMISSION.
5. APPOINTMENT OF PANEL FOR CREATION OF STATE, LOCAL GOVERNMENT, BOUNDARY ADJUSTMENT.

51. 1996 FIRST QUARTER-
JANUARY-MARCH

1. ELECTION AND INAUGURATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT COUNCILS ON NON-PARTY BASIS.

52. 1996 SECOND QUARTER-
APRIL-JUNE

1. CREATION OF STATES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.
2. COMMENCE PROCESS OF POLITICAL PARTY REGISTRATION.

53. 1996 THIRD QUARTER-
JULY-SEPTEMBER

1. REGISTRATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES.

2. DELINEATION OF CONSTITUENCIES.
3. PRODUCTION OF AUTHENTIC VOTERS REGISTER.

54. 1996 FOURTH QUARTER-
OCTOBER-DECEMBER

ELECTION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT COUNCILS AT
PARTY LEVEL.

55. 1997 FIRST QUARTER-
JANUARY-MARCH

1. INAUGURATION OF PARTY ELECTED LOCAL
GOVERNMENT COUNCILS.
2. CONSOLIDATION OF NEW POLITICAL PARTY
STRUCTURES.
3. TRIBUNAL SITTING AND CONDUCT OF ANY
LOCAL GOVERNMENT BYE ELECTIONS.

56. 1997 SECOND QUARTER-
APRIL-JUNE

1. PARTY-STATE PRIMARIES TO SELECT CANDIDATES
FOR STATE ASSEMBLY AND GOVERNORSHIP
ELECTIONS.
2. SCREENING AND APPROVAL OF CANDIDATES BY
THE NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF
NIGERIA.

57. 1997 THIRD QUARTER-
JULY-SEPTEMBER

STATE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS.

58. 1997 FOURTH QUARTER-
OCTOBER-DECEMBER

1. ELECTION OF STATE GOVERNORS.
2. SITTING OF STATE ELECTION TRIBUNALS
AND CONDUCT OF BY ELECTIONS.

59. 1998 FIRST QUARTER-
JANUARY-MARCH

1. INAUGURATION OF STATE ASSEMBLY AND STATE
GOVERNORS.
2. PARTY PRIMARIES TO SELECT CANDIDATES FOR
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS.
3. NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION CAMPAIGNS.

60. 1998 SECOND QUARTER-
APRIL-JUNE

1. NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS.
2. PRIMARIES TO SELECT CANDIDATES FOR
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.
3. COMMENCEMENT OF NATIONWIDE CAMPAIGNS
FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS.

61. 1998 THIRD QUARTER-
JULY-SEPTEMBER

1. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

62. 1ST OCTOBER 1998

SWEARING IN OF NEW ELECTED PRESIDENT AND
FINAL DISENGAGEMENT.

63. FELLOW NIGERIANS, THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS DEMONSTRATED A WILL TO MAKE THE HARD DECISIONS. ONLY THOSE DETRACTORS WHO DELIBERATELY PERSIST IN A BLINKERED VIEW OF US AND OUR EFFORTS FAIL TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF ALL THAT WE HAVE ACHIEVED IN SO SHORT A TIME. I SINCERELY APPEAL TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FOR SUPPORT IN OUR ENDEAVOURS. THIS ADMINISTRATION DOES NOT SHY AWAY FROM WELL-MEANING ADVICE ON POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL MATTERS.

64. WE ARE PREPARED TO LISTEN, BUT IF HAVING LISTENED, WE MAKE OUR DECISION, WE EXPECT OUR TRUE FRIENDS TO CONCEDE THAT RIGHT TO US. OUR COUNTRY IS FERTILE FOR TRADE AND INVESTMENT. WE HAVE NOT DESPAIRED THAT SOME OF OUR TRADITIONAL FRIENDS WHO HAVE NOT ALWAYS GIVEN US THEIR SUPPORT WILL YET BRING THEMSELVES TO ADMIT THAT THEY MAY HAVE BEEN WRONG AFTER ALL. I CAN ONLY REFER THEM TO FAVOURABLE COMMENTS AND ASSESSMENTS WHICH INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND OUR CREDITORS ARE FREELY GIVING OUT TO THE WORLD.

65. NIGERIA WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY HER TRADITIONAL ROLE IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM. IT IS OUR HOPE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WILL ALSO CONTINUE TO RESPOND POSITIVELY TO THE BOLD AND DETERMINED STEPS WE HAVE TAKEN. DESPITE THE MYTH PROPAGATED IN CERTAIN CIRCLES THAT NIGERIA IS NO LONGER WELCOME IN A LARGE NUMBER OF PLACES, THE FACT IS THAT OUR GREAT COUNTRY CONTINUES TO ENJOY RESPECT AND COOPERATION IN

- 10 -

LARGE AREAS OF THE WORLD WHICH HAVE BOTHERED TO STUDY OUR CONDITIONS AND POLICIES AT FIRST HAND.

66. THE GOVERNMENT WILL REMAIN COMMITTED TO WORKING WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO TERMINATE DRUG TRAFFICKING AND ORGANISED CRIME. SUBSTANTIAL AND NOTABLE PROGRESS HAS BEEN RECORDED BY THIS ADMINISTRATION DURING THE PAST AND MORE RESOURCES WILL BE COMMITTED TO THIS ISSUE IN OUR FUTURE PROGRAMMES. WE WELCOME THE CONTINUING ASSISTANCE AND ADVICE OF OUR FRIENDS IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THIS ADMINISTRATION IS COMMITTED TO BUILD UPON RECENT EFFORTS IN ENSURING AIR SAFETY OF OUR AIR SPACE AND SECURITY AT OUR AIRPORTS.

67. FOREIGN NATIONS WHICH WISH TO CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN CORDIAL RELATIONS WITH US MUST OBSERVE THE INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTED STANDARD WHICH HOLDS THAT DISSIDENTS SHOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO USE THEIR HOST COUNTRY AS BASES FOR SUBVERSION AND THE PLOTTING OF VIOLENCE. THIS ADMINISTRATION WILL NOT DEGRADE ITSELF NOR ABUSE THE DIGNITY OF OUR GREAT NATION BY SEEKING TO HARASS IN ANY WAY THOSE WHO HAVE CHOSEN TO OPT OUT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR FATHERLAND AND CHOSEN THE LUXURY AND SELF INDULGENCE OF THEIR COMFORTABLE RESIDENCE ABROAD.

68. INSTEAD, WE FAITHFULLY PLEDGE THAT ALL NIGERIANS CURRENTLY RESIDENT ABROAD WHO WISH TO RETURN TO THEIR FATHERLAND AND OFFER THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE NATIONAL EFFORT ARE WELCOME TO DO SO. AS LONG AS THEY ARE LAW ABIDING THEY SHOULD HAVE NO CAUSE FOR CONCERN. THERE ARE NIGERIANS WHO HAVE NOT FOUND IT NECESSARY TO LEAVE THEIR COUNTRY WHO FREELY EXPRESS THEIR DISSIDENT OPINIONS.

69. ANY FAIR-MINDED OBSERVER WILL TESTIFY TO THE FACT THAT OUR NEWS MEDIA WHICH DO NOT GO BEYOND THE LAW ARE FREE TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS EVEN SOMETIMES TO THE EXTENT OF ASTONISHING AND CONFUSING FOREIGN VISITORS WHO HAD BEEN LED TO BELIEVE, WRONGLY, THAT NIGERIA IS A POLICE STATE. MORE THAN 60 DAILY NEWSPAPERS ARE CIRCULATED IN NIGERIA. FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS ARE NEITHER CENSORED NOR RESTRICTED IN THEIR CIRCULATION DRIVES IN NIGERIA.

70. IT IS TRUE THAT AT A CERTAIN JUNCTURE IN OUR RECENT CRISIS, THE GUARDIAN, THE PUNCH AND THE NATIONAL CONCORD WHICH EMBARKED ON A DANGEROUS CRUSADE TO DESTABILISE THE

NATION BY AIDING AND ABETTING CIVIL DISORDER WERE PROSCRIBED. BUT FOLLOWING GUARANTEES RECEIVED FROM THE PUBLISHERS OF THE GUARDIAN NEWSPAPERS THAT THEY WOULD HENCEFORTH OPERATE WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE LAW, THEIR RIGHT TO OPERATE WAS RESTORED.

71. THE MEWSPAPERS PROPRIETORS ASSOCIATION OF NIGERIA AND THE NIGERIAN GUILD OF EDITORS HAVE MADE SEVERAL APPEALS DURING THE PAST MONTHS ON BEHALF OF THE SHUT MEDIA HOUSES. THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS NO INTEREST IN THE DESTRUCTION OF ANY MEDIA ORGANISATION BUT IT IS OUR DUTY TO CONTINUE TO PROTECT THE PUBLIC INTEREST. HOWEVER, IT IS OUR DESIRE AT THIS TIME TO GIVE ASSURANCE TO ALL NIGERIANS AND OUR FRIENDS ABROAD THAT WE MEAN WELL. CONSEQUENTLY, THE PUNCH AND NATIONAL CONCORD ARE HEREBY DEPROSCRIBED. IT IS HOPED THAT FOLLOWING THIS GESTURE, THESE MEDIA HOUSES WOULD NOW OPERATE RESPONSIBLY WITHIN THE LAW AND IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST.

72. FELLOW NIGERIANS, IT IS AN OLD SAYING THAT THERE IS NO PLACE LIKE HOME. ON THIS 35TH ANNIVERSARY OF OUR COUNTRY'S INDEPENDENCE, I COMMEND THE PEOPLE OF NIGERIA FOR THEIR TIRELESS EFFORTS TO BUILD A GREATER TOMORROW FOR THEMSELVES AND FOR THE GENERATIONS THAT WILL FOLLOW. IF WE HAVE HAD OUR PROBLEMS, WE HAVE ALSO HAD OUR ACHIEVEMENTS. THIS NATION IS RICHLY ENDOWED AND WE ARE IN A PROCESS OF LEARNING TO HARNESS OUR RESOURCES IN SUCH A WAY THAT WE CAN MAXIMISE THEIR USAGE, OUR GOALS ARE ACHIEVABLE AND WITH GOD'S GUIDANCE WE SHALL SUCCEED.

73. THE PERFORMANCE OF THE REPRESENTATIVES AT THE RECENT WORLD CONFERENCE IN BEIJING DID US ALL PROUD. THEY DEMONSTRATED THE PROGRESS WHICH HAS BEEN MADE BY WOMEN IN THE FEW DECADES SINCE OLD TRADITIONS BEGAN TO FADE AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES WERE OPENED TO THEM. THERE IS A LONG WAY TO GO, BUT BEIJING AND THE INCREASING ROLE OF WOMEN IN OUR NATIONAL AFFAIRS SHOULD INSPIRE OUR WOMEN TO COME FORWARD IN GREATER NUMBER AND TAKE THE RIGHT LEAD INTO THE POLITICAL AND BUSINESS ARENA WHERE I HAVE TO SAY THEY ARE ALREADY MAKING GOOD PROGRESS.

74. I WISH TO EXPRESS MY APPRECIATION TO THE WORKERS OF THIS NATION WHO OVER THE PAST MONTHS HAVE PERMITTED INDUSTRIAL

80. I ASK ALL THOSE WHO WISH TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS
PROCESS TO STEP FORWARD NOW WITH COURAGE, SINCERITY AND
COMMITMENT TO GIVE OUR COUNTRY A NEW LEADERSHIP.

81. LONG LIVE THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA.

82. MAY GOD BLESS YOU.

PEACE IN OUR COUNTRY. THIS ADMINISTRATION WILL CONTINUE TO ADDRESS SYMPATHETICALLY ALL MATTERS RELATED TO OUR WORKERS WELFARE. WE APPEAL TO OUR LABOUR ORGANISATIONS FOR THEIR MAXIMUM COOPERATION DURING THE PERIOD OF THIS TRANSITION TO ENSURE A HITCH FREE IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR PROGRAMMES.

75. FELLOW NIGERIANS, I AM AWARE OF THE LEVEL OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE COUNTRY AT THIS TIME. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCE, I DIRECT THAT THE EMBARGO ON EMPLOYMENT IN THE CIVIL SERVICE BE LIFTED FORTHWITH.

76. IT IS OUR HOPE THAT OUR EFFORTS WILL RESULT IN A BETTER AND SAFER NATION FOR OUR FUTURE GENERATIONS. TO THIS END, WE WILL ENSURE THAT FACILITIES FOR THE HEALTHY AND FULL DEVELOPMENT OF OUR YOUTHS PARTICULARLY THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS RECEIVE OUR PRIORITY ATTENTION. I APPEAL TO ALL OUR YOUTHS TO BE HARDWORKING, LAW ABIDING AND DISCIPLINED. THEY SHOULD STRIVE ALL THE TIME FOR EXCELLENCE TO PREPARE THEMSELVES FOR THE HIGHLY COMPETITIVE WORLD THAT THEY ARE TO INHERIT.

77. I CALL UPON OUR ASPIRING POLITICAL LEADERS TO CONSIDER THIS PHASE OF THE TRANSITION PROGRAMME AS BOTH AN OPPORTUNITY AND A PERIOD OF RE-ORIENTATION. GREAT NATIONS ARE BUILT BY MEN WITH FLESH AND BLOOD WHOSE HEARTS BEAT WITH A SENSE OF MISSION AND A DESIRE TO SERVE WHATEVER THEIR POLITICAL COLORATION AND IDEOLOGY.

78. I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE ENTIRE NIGERIAN POLITICAL CLASS IS IN A CLASS OF ITS OWN AND THAT THIS IS LESSER THAN ITS COUNTERPART IN THE WORLD AT LARGE. BUT I DO BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE NOT ALWAYS GOT THE BEST FROM A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF THOSE WHO ASKED TO BE ALLOWED TO SERVE. THE PRESENT TRANSITION PROGRAMME WILL BE A TEST AND IT SHOULD BE A DISCOVERY THAT A NEW AND CHERISHED SPIRIT HAS EMERGED AMONG OUR LEADERS OF TOMORROW.

79. AS WE EMBARK ON THIS CRUCIAL PHASE OF OUR TRANSITION, THIS ADMINISTRATION IS FULLY COMMITTED TO THE TASK OF ITS IMPLEMENTATION. WE WILL SPARE NO EFFORT IN OUR COMMON DETERMINATION TO MOVE OUR NATION FORWARD.

UNITED NATIONS
HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
FIELD OPERATION IN RWANDA



NATIONS UNIES
HAUT COMMISSAIRE AUX DROITS DE L'HOMME
OPERATION SUR LE TERRAIN AU RWANDA

**With the compliments
of the Chief, Human Rights Field Operation in Rwanda**

**Avec les compliments
du Chef, du l'Operation des Droits de l'Homme sur le Terrain au Rwanda**

DRAFT

M C Naught
72939
Lee Woolyear

Excellencies, Ministers, Ambassadors, Distinguished Representatives, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On this occasion, I have the honour to be speaking on behalf of His Excellency, Shahariyah Khan, Special Representative for the Secretary General, and thus to convey to you a message on behalf, not just for the United Nations Human Rights Field Operation in Rwanda but for the entire United Nations system as well. It is a great privilege to be asked to contribute to this workshop. As you know, 1995 has been designated by the United Nations General Assembly as the Year of Tolerance. What more essential element could there be in Rwanda's courageous path towards national reconciliation, than the promotion of tolerance in your country. As affirmed in the United Nations Charter: "à pratiquer la tolérance, à vivre en paix l'un avec l'autre dans un esprit de bon voisinage", the practice of tolerance is one of the principles which must be applied in order to prevent war and maintain peace. Indeed, the development of a culture of tolerance is imperative for the promotion of respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all, irrespective of race, gender, language or religion throughout the world.

TSO
effort

This is a challenging task for all nations, but so much more so for a nation which has been torn by one of the most devastating attacks on civil society, and which has endured the most brutal and vicious, premeditated genocide of our time. How is it humanly possible for a nation to move forward in peace after such immense suffering? This is one of the most daunting of challenges that a nation can face, and the international community can only have

deep admiration and respect for a country, which, one year after the perpetration of this horrendous crime, decides to hold a workshop on the promotion of tolerance.

Copy
for

Tolerance, does not of course mean that justice must not be administered. It remains essential that justice be brought to bear on those who are responsible for the terrible crimes committed in Rwanda against humanity. This is a fundamental step in the healing process for Rwanda in its task of promoting peace and reconciliation. Indeed, bringing those responsible to justice is crucial in order to break the cycle of impunity. Without justice, There can be no reconciliation.

This is not an easy process and the people of Rwanda have before them perhaps one of the greatest challenges which a nation can be faced with. The political process of division that brought this country to the point where such a heinous crime could have been perpetrated on such a massive scale took several decades. Its reversal will require from each and every individual, a commitment to a respect for the human rights of the other person, so that Rwanda may see an end to violence and politically inspired hatred.

Rebuilding Rwanda is not only a political and a spiritual challenge. It is also a practical one. For instance, there is no question about the importance of the reestablishment of a functioning judicial system, and the challenge of developing ways for the eventual reintegration of those Rwandans who are presently refugees outside the country is one of the most obvious practical issues to be faced.

The international community remains ready and committed to help Rwanda in the process of establishing a civil society in any way possible, but ultimately, the responsibility for

rebuilding their country lies with the people themselves. This workshop will be seen as one of the first steps towards this difficult and painful process. Ambassador Khan wishes you success in your deliberations and discussions over the next four days. You have the admiration and support of the international community for this courageous initiative.

UNITED NATIONS
HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
FIELD OPERATION IN RWANDA



NATIONS UNIES
HAUT COMMISSAIRE AUX DROITS DE L'HOMME
OPERATION SUR LE TERRAIN AU RWANDA

**With the compliments
of the Chief, Human Rights Field Operation in Rwanda**

**Avec les compliments
du Chef, du l'Operation des Droits de l'Homme sur le Terrain au Rwanda**

DRAFT

Excellencies, Ministers, Ambassadors, Distinguished Representatives, Ladies and Gentlemen,

On this occasion, I have the honour to be speaking on behalf of His Excellency, Shahariyah Khan, Special Representative for the Secretary General, and thus to convey to you a message on behalf, not just for the United Nations Human Rights Field Operation in Rwanda but for the entire United Nations system as well. It is a great privilege to be asked to contribute to this workshop. As you know, 1995 has been designated by the United Nations General Assembly as the Year of Tolerance. What more essential element could there be in Rwanda's courageous path towards national reconciliation, than the promotion of tolerance in your country. As affirmed in the United Nations Charter: "à pratiquer la tolérance, à vivre en paix l'un avec l'autre dans un esprit de bon voisinage", the practice of tolerance is one of the principles which must be applied in order to prevent war and maintain peace. Indeed, the development of a culture of tolerance is imperative for the promotion of respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all, irrespective of race, gender, language or religion throughout the world..

This is a challenging task for all nations, but so much more so for a nation which has been torn by one of the most devastating attacks on civil society, and which has endured the most brutal and vicious, premeditated genocide of our time. How is it humanly possible for a nation to move forward in peace after such immense suffering? This is one of the most daunting of challenges that a nation can face, and the international community can only have

deep admiration and respect for a country, which, one year after the perpetration of this horrendous crime, decides to hold a workshop on the promotion of tolerance.

Tolerance, does not of course mean that justice must not be administered. It remains essential that justice be brought to bear on those who are responsible for the terrible crimes committed in Rwanda against humanity. This is a fundamental step in the healing process for Rwanda in its task of promoting peace and reconciliation. Indeed, bringing those responsible to justice is crucial in order to break the cycle of impunity. Without justice, There can be no reconciliation.

This is not an easy process and the people of Rwanda have before them perhaps one of the greatest challenges which a nation can be faced with. The political process of division that brought this country to the point where such a heinous crime could have been perpetrated on such a massive scale took several decades. Its reversal will require from each and every individual, a commitment to a respect for the human rights of the other person, so that Rwanda may see an end to violence and politically inspired hatred.

Rebuilding Rwanda is not only a political and a spiritual challenge. It is also a practical one. For instance, there is no question about the importance of the reestablishment of a functioning judicial system, and the challenge of developing ways for the eventual reintegration of those Rwandans who are presently refugees outside the country is one of the most obvious practical issues to be faced.

The international community remains ready and committed to help Rwanda in the process of establishing a civil society in any way possible, but ultimately, the responsibility for

rebuilding their country lies with the people themselves. This workshop will be seen as one of the first steps towards this difficult and painful process. Ambassador Khan wishes you success in your deliberations and discussions over the next four days. You have the admiration and support of the international community for this courageous initiative.

ALLOCUTION DU CHEF DU DETACHEMENT TCHADIE
A L'OCCASION DU 36^{EME} ANNIVERSAIRE DE LA REPUBLIQUE

BIRAMBO (Prefecture de KIBUYE)

- MONSIEUR LE REPRESENTANT SPECIAL DU SECRETAIRE GENERAL DE L'ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES.
- MONSIEUR LE GENERAL COMMANDANT DES FORCES DE LA MISSION DES NATIONS UNIES POUR L'ASSISTANCE AU RWANDA.
- MESSIEURS LES OFFICIERS DE L'ETAT-MAJOR DE LA MISSION DES NATIONS UNIES POUR L'ASSISTANCE AU RWANDA.
- MONSIEUR LE PREFET DE KIBUYE.
- MESSIEURS LES HAUTS CADRES DE LA MISSION DES NATIONS UNIES POUR L'ASSISTANCE AU RWANDA.
- MESSIEURS LES OFFICIERS, SOUS-OFFICIERS, ET HOMMES DE TROUPE DES CONTINGENTS.
- MESSIEURS LES OFFICIERS DE L'ARMEE PATRIOTIQUE RWANDAISE.
- MESDAMES, MESSIEURS,
- HONORABLES INVITES.

PERMETTEZ-MOI TOUT D'ABORD DE VOUS ADRESSER AUX NOMS DES OFFICIERS, SOUS-OFFICIERS, HOMMES DE TROUPE DU DETACHEMENT TCHADIE AUXQUELS S'AJOUTENT NOS COMPATRIOTES CADRES CIVILS ET MILITAIRES DE LA MISSION DES NATIONS UNIES POUR L'ASSISTANCE AU RWANDA NOS REMERCIEMENTS LES PLUS SINCERES ET CONFIAINT POUR VOTRE PRESENCE PARMI NOUS EN CETTE OCCASION SOLLENNELLE.

VOUS AVEZ BIEN VOULU PARTAGER AVEC NOUS LA JOIE DE LA FETE MARQUANT LE 36^E ANNIVERSAIRE DE LA REPUBLIQUE DU TCHAD, MALGRE VOS MULTIPLES OCCUPATIONS. CETTE MARQUE DE SOLIDARITE SI GRANDISSANTE NOUS VA TOUT DROIT AU COEUR. C'EST LE TCHAD TOUT ENTIER QUI EST HONORE.

EN EFFET, LE TCHAD ANCIENNE COLONIE FRANCAISE MEMBRE DE L'AFRIQUE EQUATORIALE FRANCAISE ETAIT PROCLAMEE REPUBLIQUE LE 28 NOVEMBRE 1958 PAR FEU NGARTI TOMBALBAYE PREMIER PRESIDENT DE LA REPUBLIQUE DU TCHAD EN PRESENCE DE MONSIEUR ANDRE MALRAUX REPRESENTANT DE LA FRANCE.

LE TCHAD A UNE SUPERFICIE DE 1.284.000 KM², SITUE EN AFRIQUE CENTRALE EST UN PAYS SAHELIE ET CONTINENTAL. SA POPULATION EST D'ENVIRON 8.000.000 D'HABITANTS COMPOSEE DE PLUS DE 250 ETHNIES. LE TCHAD EST UN PAYS LAIC. IL EST LIMITE AU NORD PAR LA LIBYE, A L'EST PAR LE SOUDAN, A L'OUEST PAR LE NIGERIA, LE NIGER, LE CAMEROUN, ET AU SUD PAR LA REPUBLIQUE CENTRAFRICAINE. L'AGRICULTURE ET L'ELEVAGE CONSTITUENT LES PRINCIPALES RESSOURCES. LE SOUS-SOL REGORGE D'IMPORTANTES RICHESSES NON EXPLOITEES A SAVOIR :

L'OR, L'URANIUM, LE MANGANESE, LE FER, LE COBALT.

QUANT AU PETROLE DONT LES RECHERCHES EFFECTUEES PAR ESSO PERMETTENT SON EXPLOITATION ET LA CONSTRUCTION D'UNE MINI RAFFINERIE.

MONSIEUR LE REPRESENTANT SPECIAL DU SECRETAIRE GENERAL DE L'ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES,

MONSIEUR LE GENERAL COMMANDANT DES FORCES DE LA MINUAR

LE TCHAD MEMBRE DE PLUSIEURS ORGANISATIONS REGIONALES, SOUS-REGIONALES ET INTERNATIONALES, MEMBRE A PART ENTIERE DE L'ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES, N'A PAS HESITE DE REPENDRE A L'APPEL DE CETTE ORGANISATION POUR VENIR EN AIDE A UN DES PAYS MEMBRES EN L'OCCURENCE LE RWANDA DANS LE DROME QUI LE FRAPPE. CETTE AIDE S'INSCRIT DANS LE CADRE PUREMENT HUMANITAIRE. LA PRESENCE DES MILITAIRES TCHADIENS EN TERRE RWANDAISE AU DELAS DE L'APPEL DE L'ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES EST LE SIGNE DE LA SOLIDARITE AFRICAINE

.../...

TRES CHERE AU PEUPLE TCHADIEN AU NOM DE LAQUELLE NOUS SOMMES CONDAMNES A NOUS
ASSISTER MUTUELLEMENT.
NOTRE SOUHAIT A NOS FRERES RWANDAIS DEMEURE LA PAIX DANS LES COEURS ET LES ESPRITS
POUR UNE UNITE INEBRANLABLE, GAGE D'UN RWANDAIS FORT ET PROSPER.
LE TCHAD A FOI EN L'ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES POUR LE RETABLISSEMENT D'UNE
VERITABLE PAIX DANS CE BEAU PAYS.

MONSIEUR LE REPRESENTANT SPECIAL DU SECRETAIRE GENERAL DE
L'O.N.U.

MONSIEUR LE GENERAL COMMANDANT DE LA FORCE DE LA MINUAR.

LE PRESIDENT DE LA REPUBLIQUE DU TCHAD, CHEF SUPREME DES ARMEES, LE COLONEL
IDRISS DEBY A MIS A LA DISPOSITION DE L'ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES POUR SA MI-
SSION DE PAIX AU RWANDA, LES SOLDATS D'UN DES REGIMENTS ELITES DE L'ARMEE NATIO-
NALE TCHADIENNE, JE VEUX CITER LE REGIMENT PARA-COMMANDO FIER DE SES TRADITIONS
ET SON HISTOIRE GLORIEUSE. A CE TITRE, CES SOLDATS DE PAIX SONT SOUS VOTRE COM-
MANDEMENT DANS L'HONNEUR, LA DISCIPLINE ET LA GRANDEUR POUR RETABLIR AVEC LES
AUTRES CONTINGENTS LA PAIX AU RWANDA.

JE NE PEUX PAS FINIR MON MOT SANS REMERCIER TOUS CEUX QUI NOUS ONT AIDES MORALEMENT
ET MATERIELLEMENT POUR LA REUSSITE DE CETTE CEREMONIE QUI RESTERA L'UN DE NOS SOU-
VENIRS DE LA MISSION.

UNE FOIS DE PLUS, JE VOUS REMERCIE.

(TRANSLATION)

SPEECH FROM THE CHIEF OF THE CHADIAN DETACHMENT AT THE 36TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CHADIAN REPUBLIC

BIRAMBO (Kibuye Prefecture)

- SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS
- FORCE COMMANDER OF THE UNITED NATIONS ASSISTANCE MISSION IN RWANDA
- OFFICERS OF THE STAFF OF UNITED NATIONS ASSISTANCE MISSION IN RWANDA,
- MISTER PREFECT OF KIBUYE
- THE HIGH OFFICIALS OF THE UNITED NATIONS ASSISTANCE MISSION IN RWANDA,
- COMMISSIONED AND NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS, AND SOLDIERS OF THE MILITARY CONTINGENTS
- OFFICERS OF THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC ARMY
- LADIES AND GENTLEMEN
- HONORED GUESTS

ON BEHALF OF THE COMMISSIONED AND NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS IN THE CHADIAN DETACHMENT AND IN THE NAME OF THE CHADIAN CIVILIAN AND MILITARY OFFICIALS WORKING IN THE UNITED NATIONS ASSISTANCE MISSION IN RWANDA, ALLOW ME TO BEGIN BY EXPRESSING OUR SINCERE THANKS FOR ATTENDING THIS MOST SOLEMN OCCASION.

YOU CAME TO SHARE IN THIS JOYOUS CELEBRATION MARKING THE 36TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CHADIAN REPUBLIC, DESPITE YOUR BUSY SCHEDULES. THIS SHOW OF SOLIDARITY IS AS SPLENDID AS IT IS HEARTFELT AND ALL OF CHAD IS HONORED BY YOUR PRESENCE.

ON NOVEMBER 28, 1958, CHAD, A FORMER FRENCH COLONY AND A MEMBER OF FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA, WAS PROCLAIMED A REPUBLIC BY FEU NGARTA TOMBALABAYE, THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE CHADIAN REPUBLIC IN THE PRESENCE OF MISTER ANDRE MALRAUX - THE REPRESENTATIVE FROM FRANCE.

CHAD WHICH COVERS A SURFACE AREA OF 1,248,000 KM², IS A CONTINENTAL, SAHELIAN NATION, IN CENTRAL AFRICA. IT HAS APPROXIMATELY 8,000,000 INHABITANTS COMPRISED OF OVER 250 ETHNIC GROUPS. CHAD IS A SECULAR COUNTRY. IT IS BORDERED BY LIBYA TO THE TO NORTH, SUDAN TO THE EAST, NIGERIA, CAMEROON, AND NIGER TO THE WEST AND BY THE CENTRAL AFRICA REPUBLIC TO THE SOUTH. AGRICULTURE AND STOCK HERDING CONSTITUTE THE PRINCIPAL RESOURCES. THE SOIL ABOUNDS WITH UNEXPLOITED WEALTH INCLUDING:

GOLD, URANIUM, MAGNESIUM, IRON, AND COBALT.

THE OIL EXPLORATION CONDUCTED BY ESSO HAS GIVEN RISE TO THE EXPLOITATION OF OIL AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF A SMALL REFINERY.

- MISTER SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS
- FORCE COMMANDER OF THE UNITED NATIONS ASSISTANCE MISSION IN RWANDA

CHAD, A MEMBER OF SEVERAL REGIONAL, SUB-REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, AND A FULL MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS, DID NOT HESITATE TO RESPOND TO THIS ORGANIZATION'S CALL TO COME TO THE AID OF ONE OF ITS MEMBER COUNTRIES - RWANDA - CAUGHT IN ITS DRAMA. THIS CALL FOR ASSISTANCE WAS PURELY HUMANITARIAN.

THE PRESENCE OF CHADIAN MILITARY PERSONNEL ON RWANDAN SOIL ABOVE AND BEYOND THE CALL OF THE UNITED NATIONS IS A SIGN OF THE AFRICAN SOLIDARITY WHICH THE CHADIAN PEOPLE HOLD SO DEAR AND IN THE NAME OF WHICH WE WILL CONTINUE TO HELP ONE ANOTHER MUTUALLY.

WE WISH FOR LASTING PEACE IN THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF OUR RWANDAN BROTHERS FOR AN UNBREAKABLE PEACE, A GUARANTEE FOR A STRONG AND PROSPEROUS RWANDA.

CHAD HAS FAITH IN THE UNITED NATIONS ABILITY TO REESTABLISH A TRUE PEACE IN THIS BEAUTIFUL COUNTRY.

- SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS
- FORCE COMMANDER OF THE UNITED NATIONS ASSISTANCE MISSION IN RWANDA

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHAD, THE SUPREME CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES, AND COLONEL IDRIS DEBY MADE AN ELITE REGIMENT FROM THE CHADIAN NATIONAL ARMY AVAILABLE TO THE UNITED NATIONS FOR ITS MISSION. I WISH TO MENTION THE PARA-COMMANDO REGIMENT WHICH IS PROUD OF ITS TRADITIONS AND GLORIOUS PAST. ON THIS NOTE, THESE PEACE-KEEPING SOLDIERS SERVE UNDER YOUR COMMAND WITH HONOR, DISCIPLINE, AND GRANDEUR TOGETHER WITH THE OTHER CONTINGENTS TO RESTORE PEACE IN RWANDA.

I CANNOT CONCLUDE THIS ADDRESS WITHOUT THANKING ALL THOSE WHO HAVE HELPED US MORALLY AND MATERIALLY IN THE SUCCESSFUL ORGANIZATION OF THIS CEREMONY WHICH WILL REMAIN ONE OF THE SOUVENIRS OF THIS MISSION.

ONCE AGAIN, THANK YOU.

ED me

Paul

S. Bro

MEMORANDUM SUR LA SITUATION POLITIQUE DU RWANDA,

ADRESSE PAR LE GOUVERNEMENT DE LA REPUBLIQUE

RWANDAISE EN EXIL, A LA COMMUNAUTE INTERNATIONALE.

L'évolution politique du Rwanda au cours des derniers mois, la situation tragique dans laquelle se trouvent les millions de rwandais (réfugiés ou non), l'insécurité qui règne sur tout le territoire contrôlé par le F.P.R., l'urgence d'une solution politique au conflit rwandais et la ferme volonté du Gouvernement Rwandais en Exil de contribuer à l'avènement d'une ère de paix et au retour pacifique de tous les réfugiés rwandais, ont nécessité une restructuration de ce Gouvernement qui ne compte actuellement que 9 départements ministériels au lieu de 20.

Dans la nouvelle équipe ne figurent que 4 anciens Ministres, les 5 autres étant de nouvelles personnalités. C'est dans le cadre de cette restructuration et de cet objectif de préparer le retour de tous les réfugiés rwandais dans notre pays, que le présent mémorandum a été conçu pour être adressé à la Communauté Internationale.

1. Le peuple rwandais est martyrisé, meurtri. Il offre un visage d'horreur et de désespoir et apparaît comme divisé entre groupes devenus ennemis héréditaires. Il est humilié dans sa condition d'homme.

2. Qu'ils soient à l'intérieur de notre pays ravagé, qu'ils soient parqués dans des camps de fortune, les survivants de la tragédie rwandaise ne doivent pas périr, car quelle que soit notre appartenance politique, nous serions coupables d'un crime contre l'histoire. Ces survivants méritent la paix. Ils méritent un toit, ils méritent la dignité.

3. Le Gouvernement Rwandais en Exil lance un appel à tous les Rwandais pour qu'ils enterrent leurs haches de guerre et leurs fusils. Il appelle à la fin de toutes les hostilités et à la fin de toutes les exactions. Mais pour cela, il a besoin du concours de la Communauté Internationale. Il appelle tous les Rwandais à la réconciliation nationale et à la reconstruction de leur pauvre pays détruit par une guerre de quatre ans.

? usage des Ants au regard de l'histoire rwandaise?

4. Le Gouvernement Légitime de la République Rwandaise, réfugié actuellement à l'étranger, est convaincu que seule une solution politique peut aider tous les Rwandais, de l'intérieur comme de l'extérieur, à se réconcilier avec eux-mêmes. Il est disposé à oeuvrer dans ce sens et est prêt à prendre ses responsabilités. Il prône le dialogue et la reconstruction démocratique. Il est convaincu que les Rwandais peuvent reconstruire une Nation pour les générations à venir.

implémenté

Après - Ash Betty

14 des made

18er - 24/09/94

5. Le Gouvernement Rwandais en Exil souhaite un retour rapide des réfugiés rwandais dans notre pays. Ce retour doit être cependant organisé et précédé de la mise en place de garanties suffisantes en matière politique, de sécurité et de droit à la propriété. Ces garanties sortiraient d'un dialogue entre Rwandais avec le concours de la Communauté Internationale.

6. Le Gouvernement Rwandais en Exil demande à l'ONU, à l'OUA et à toutes les Organisations humanitaires qui ont tant apporté au peuple Rwandais de l'aider à restaurer la confiance et la sécurité des Rwandais, mais aussi à calmer les esprits.

7. La Société et l'Etat Rwandais sont en crise grave. Cette dernière est caractérisée notamment par:

- a. L'échec du processus de paix d'Arusha;
- b. L'arrêt par le FPR du processus démocratique par la force des armes;
- c. Des massacres sans précédent de populations civiles, des assassinats politiques, des exécutions sommaires, des arrestations et des détentions arbitraires;
- d. Un exode massif de populations vers les pays étrangers ou leur déplacement à l'intérieur même du Rwanda;
- e. La destruction massive du patrimoine national;
- f. L'appropriation systématique de biens des réfugiés ou des personnes déplacées par des groupes comprenant des Rwandais, mais aussi des personnes étrangères; et,
- g. La présence de risques importants de destabilisation des pays de notre Sous-région.

8. C'est l'occasion pour le Gouvernement Rwandais en Exil de remercier les pays voisins qui ont accueilli avec générosité les réfugiés rwandais. Ces pays, et particulièrement le Zaïre, ont subi des dommages importants du fait de l'afflux massif des réfugiés.

9. L'absence de légitimité et de représentativité des institutions politiques mises en place au Rwanda par le FPR constitue une source importante d'instabilité. Ceci est d'autant plus vrai que sans un réel partage du pouvoir, sans constitutionnalité, sans l'instauration d'un Etat de droit et une Société civile active, tout effort pour résoudre le conflit rwandais serait vain, parce que d'autres conflits suivraient fatalement. D'où la nécessité d'une "démilitarisation politique" du Rwanda, de la promotion d'un Etat de droit et d'une véritable Société civile rwandaise.

10. Par "démilitarisation politique" du Rwanda, la Communauté Internationale en général, devraient refuser de consacrer la prise du pouvoir par la force des armes au bénéfice du FPR, et devraient mobiliser tous les moyens nécessaires pour l'avènement d'une solution politique durable qui consacre le partage du pouvoir, la démocratie et les droits de l'homme.



11. Un dialogue politique responsable constitue le passage obligé pour l'avènement d'une telle solution à laquelle devrait adhérer une grande majorité de Rwandais.

I. QUELQUES ASPECTS HISTORIQUES DE LA PROBLEMATIQUE RWANDAISE.

En développant un certain nombre d'aspects sociologiques et historiques du Rwanda, nous ne voulons pas "expliquer" le drame que connaît le Rwanda, car en effet, aucune explication rationnelle de ce drame ne peut être trouvée. Toutefois, une bonne compréhension de la Société Rwandaise sur les plans sociologique, historique et politique est indispensable si l'on veut contribuer à construire une nouvelle Société Rwandaise, une Société qui répondrait aux normes requises en matière de démocratie, de justice, de respect des Droits de l'Homme et de tolérance.

1.1. PEUPLEMENT ET MECANISMES DE DOMINATION POLITIQUE.

Le peuple rwandais se reconnaît dans ses trois composantes: les HUTU, les Tutsi et les TWA dont les rôles furent généralement différents dans la vie de la Société jusqu'à la Révolution sociale de 1959. Il est admis que ces trois ethnies qui constituent le peuple rwandais se sont introduites dans le pays par vagues successives. Les premiers occupants furent les TWA, principalement chasseurs nomades et potiers.

La seconde vague de migration fut constituée par les HUTU qui ont occupés progressivement la pays en s'adonnant principalement à l'agriculture. Au terme de cette occupation, le Rwanda offrait l'aspect d'une mosaïque de royaumes. Les TUTSI seraient arrivés au Rwanda entre le 12ème et le 15ème siècles. Peuple nomade, les TUTSI se seraient sédentarisés après plusieurs années d'occupation du territoire.

La conquête des royaumes Hutu par les Tutsi servit à justifier l'établissement des groupes héréditaires par lesquels les statuts des vainqueurs et des vaincus sont perpétrés, la groupe Tutsi adoptant l'idéologie d'inégalité ethnique qui en est le corollaire. Les rapports entre dominants et dominés trouvèrent leur cadre dans un système spécial d'asservissement appelé "UBUHAKE", destiné à justifier, stabiliser et renforcer la domination sociale, économique et politique de l'ethnie Tutsi.

Toute solution durable du problème rwandais actuel passe par la connaissance des relations qu'avaient entre-eux les trois composantes de la Société Rwandaise, tout au long de l'histoire de leur pays. Il n'y a pas de doute qu'une analyse politico-sociologique et historique fera découvrir à qui ne l'a pas encore fait qu'une des causes fondamentales du drame rwandais réside dans le fait que les trois ethnies rwandaises ont coexistés d'une manière générale, sans vraiment s'intégrer entre eux.

Sous le régime colonial allemand et belge, par le truchement de l'administration indirecte, le pouvoir et le mythe Tutsi furent renforcés, légitimant ainsi la domination d'une ethnie sur les autres. Dans l'ensemble, l'administration coloniale visa à décourager les deux autres composantes de notre Société de toute revendication politique, économique, culturelle et sociale. Ainsi les revendications sociales de ces dernières et les injustices commises à leur endroit par l'ethnie dominante minoritaire furent généralement ignorés par le pouvoir colonial. Les Eglises missionnaires y ont aussi une part de responsabilité.

La Révolution sociale de 1959 exprime la mutation sociale, la rupture provoquée et réalisée par une action du peuple pour mettre fin à la servitude. Par là, elle a marqué une fin apparemment absolue d'une période de son histoire et est devenue en même temps un commencement absolu et immédiat d'une ère nouvelle.

En tant qu'agent de rupture, la Révolution de 1959 a été initiatrice de nouvelles conditions d'existence et a fait surgir le discours caché par lequel elle exprime les changements que la vieille Société refusait de reconnaître. La République adoptée par Référendum le 25 septembre 1961 et organisé par l'O.N.U., est comme le symbole et la consécration de ces réalisations. La Révolution de 1959 est devenue ainsi le flambeau de la démocratie.

C'est en effet en date du 1er octobre 1990, que le Rwanda a été attaqué par une armée composée essentiellement de militaires de la National Resistance Army (N.R.A.), l'armée régulière ougandaise à laquelle s'était joint un certain nombre de réfugiés rwandais. Les assaillants qui se réclamaient d'un front baptisé "Front Patriotique Rwandais" étaient estimés au début à 10.000 soldats.

Assez rapidement, l'armée rwandaise a pu contenir cette attaque, puis a repris le dessus, mais l'appui massif dont le F.P.R. a continué de bénéficier de la part de certaines puissances étrangères, dont particulièrement l'Ouganda qui lui servait de base arrière, allait permettre au F.P.R. d'entreprendre des attaques de plus grande envergure; cela lui a permis de conquérir une partie du territoire rwandais.

L'ossature des forces d'agression était constituée d'éléments d'origine rwandaise, mais membres de la N.R.A.. C'est ainsi qu'ils portaient l'uniforme et l'armement de l'armée ougandaise. Le Président MUSEVENI lui-même devait le déclarer devant la presse, le 10 octobre 1990, en ces termes: "I doubt very much that the troops that are there (Rwanda) can defeat the rebel force. Some of them (the rebels) are our best people".

Sous l'intervention de l'ONU, de l'OUA et d'un certain nombre de pays, le F.P.R. devait accepter de négocier avec le Gouvernement Rwandais. Ces négociations, entrecoupées par

plusieurs violations de Cessez-le-feu par le F.P.R., ont abouti à la signature de l'Accord de paix d'Arusha en date du 4 août 1993.

Durant tout le déroulement de la guerre, il a été constaté que dans les rangs des agresseurs se trouvaient beaucoup de militaires de nationalité ougandaise, c'est-à-dire des citoyens ougandais à part entière, certains ayant la permission pour la période supposée couvrir la durée des combats.

1.2. DES CAUSES DU CONFLIT.

Le conflit rwandais trouve son origine dans une conjonction de plusieurs facteurs, les uns internes, les autres externes.

a. Les velléités hégémoniques du Président MUSEVENI d'Ouganda.

USC
mtr

Sans l'appui de l'Ouganda (Base arrière, aide matérielle, financière, logistique, politique et diplomatique...), le F.P.R. n'aurait pas non seulement menacé sérieusement la paix au Rwanda, mais aussi il n'aurait pas osé violer les différents accords successifs de Cessez-le-feu. Des preuves matérielles sur l'implication de l'Ouganda dans l'agression contre le Rwanda existent; nous pouvons citer notamment des armes et des camions de transport saisis.

Le Président MUSEVENI nourrit l'ambition de constituer un empire qui pourrait fédérer son pays l'Ouganda avec le Rwanda, le Burundi et l'Est du Zaïre. Pour ce faire, il s'appuie sur des groupes ethniques minoritaires très proches, à savoir les Tutsi et les Hima dont il est issu.

Le Rwanda étant d'ores et déjà occupé par le F.P.R., le Burundi étant déstabilisé; il ne reste que le Zaïre, du moins sa partie orientale.

b. Des enjeux géostratégiques, économiques et linguistiques inavoués.

USA?

Dans leur campagne d'agression contre le Rwanda, l'Ouganda et le F.P.R. ont bénéficié d'un appui massif de certaines puissances qui ont soit des intérêts stratégiques à défendre, soit veulent s'implanter durablement et massivement dans la sous-région. Sinon, comment expliquer que la plupart des grandes puissances anglosaxonnes n'ont ménagé aucun effort pour assurer la victoire au F.P.R.!

Le Rwanda est un petit pays pauvre, sans ressources naturelles significatives. Ce n'est donc pas ce pays qui en soi, intéresse ces grandes puissances. Le Rwanda occupe cependant une situation stratégique entre l'Afrique Centrale et Orientale et entre l'Afrique Australe et celle du Centre-Nord.

Il est ainsi situé dans une région qui abrite des pays aux immenses richesses tels le Zaïre, l'Angola et la Zambie. Si on considère leur potentiel humain, ces pays pourraient aussi constituer de grands marchés dans un avenir non lointain. }²

Anglo-Franc.

La crise rwandaise a révélé un conflit linguistique sans précédent dans la sous-région. Celui-ci oppose la francophonie et l'anglophonie. Les Rwandais sont ainsi victimes de luttes hégémoniques et des enjeux géostratégiques qui les dépassent de loin.

Amé.
Laur.

Comment expliquer en effet, l'intervention des soldats américains et britanniques à Kigali (Capitale du Rwanda) au mois de juillet dernier, sans aucun mandat international? Alors que le Rwanda reste toujours sous embargo décrété par le Conseil de Sécurité des Nations Unies, des quantités de matériels militaires ont été offertes au F.P.R., sans que la MINUAR puisse procéder à des contrôles comme il se doit. A quoi serviront ces matériels fournis au F.P.R. au moment où l'on a déjà proclamé la victoire militaire de ce dernier?

En effet, la revue "Executive Intelligence Review", après avoir effectué une enquête, a publié dans son numéro 33 Vol 21 du 19 août 1994, un article intitulé "The British hand behind the horror in Rwanda". Il convient de citer quelques extraits de cet article.

Museveni

Chalker

Ainsi, il est dit: "The annihilation of the country of Rwanda --the mass slaughter of hundreds of thousands of people, the dislocation of 5 million of its 7 million people in disease-ravaged refugee camps both inside and out the country--is the direct result of operations put into place by British intelligence. The key regional linchpin in the operation is Ugandan President Yoweri MUSEVENI, who for his own delusionary motivations, has been recruited to carry out British geopolitical ambitions in the region. The policy is being case-officered by Lynda CHALKER, Minister of Overseas Development, formerly the British Colonial office".

La même
revue

La même revue continue plus loin en disant: "Without effective intervention to bring a halt to British geopolitical designs for the destruction of the African nation-states and depopulation of the African continent, the horrific events that have taken place in Rwanda since early April 1994, will be repeated, on a far greater scale, in country after country".

Atwood
les réal.
au p. 6

Monsieur Brian ATWOOD, Directeur de l'USAID déclarait devant le Congrès américain, en date du 26 juillet 1994, ce qui suit: "the Rwanda debacle has the potential to destabilize the entire region. The massive movement of refugees and the continuing threat of renewed civil strife could trigger similar situations in Burundi, Zaïre, and Kenya, and could spill quickly accros borders throughout the Horn (of Africa) and Central Africa".

Or, au mois de janvier 1994, c'est-à-dire après l'échec de la première tentative de mise en place des institutions politiques dans le cadre de la mise en application de l'Accord de paix d'Arusha, des experts-stratèges du Département Afrique des services de Défense britanniques qui étaient basés en Angola ont été transférés à Mulindi, quartier général du F.P.R., dans le Nord du Rwanda.

Autant d'éléments qui démontrent l'existence d'enjeux importants, particulièrement dans le chef des pays anglo-saxons, le Rwanda constituant un tremplin pour ces derniers dans le processus de leur défense et/ou leur préservation.

Cela vise nécessairement une recomposition géopolitique planifiée par certains pays sans s'assurer de la volonté des populations de la Sous-région et en violation flagrante de la Charte de l'O.U.A., en ce qui concerne particulièrement le principe de l'intangibilité des frontières héritées de la colonisation! La sécurité des Etats de la Sous-région risque d'être fortement compromise si le conflit rwandais ne connaissait pas rapidement de solution politique durable.

c. L'Existence d'un nombre relativement important de réfugiés rwandais.

En octobre 1990, le Haut Commissariat des Nations Unies pour les Réfugiés (HCR) estimait le nombre de réfugiés rwandais à environ 500.000 personnes. Ces derniers sont la conséquence de la Révolution populaire et sociale de 1959 qui a mis fin à un régime minoritaire féodo-monarchique qui avait opprimé pendant longtemps le menu peuple.

Cette révolution fut marquée par des événements sanglants, suite à une politique de violence développée par le parti politique monarchiste UNAR (dominé par la classe dirigeante Tutsi). Elle a provoqué des déplacements de Rwandais à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur du pays. Ainsi prenait naissance le problème de réfugiés rwandais qui, en 1959 se comptaient à quelques milliers de personnes majoritairement d'ethnie Tutsi.

C'est suite à l'échec des attaques armées lancées, de 1960 à 1967, par ces réfugiés, que beaucoup d'autres Tutsi prirent le chemin de l'exil. Les responsables de la jeune République Rwandaise entreprirent des actions pour résoudre ce problème de réfugiés. Dans ce sens, un Ministère chargé du problème des réfugiés avait été créé. Mais malheureusement, l'intransigeance des réfugiés, leur esprit de revanche, leur refus de se réconcilier avec les autres Rwandais n'ont pas permis l'aboutissement d'une solution durable.

La guerre imposée au Rwanda par le F.P.R. à partir du 1er octobre 1990 a annihilé les efforts déployés par le Gouvernement Rwandais en vue de trouver une solution satisfaisante au problème des réfugiés rwandais. Le Rwanda avait déjà engagé des négociations avec l'Ouganda et le HCR, en vue de trouver une solution à ce problème.

L'attaque du F.P.R. montre que ce dernier ne souhaitait pas que le problème des réfugiés trouve une solution par des voies pacifiques.

d. Les velléités de reconquête du pouvoir perdu lors de la Révolution populaire de 1959.

La classe sociale qui a perdu le pouvoir en 1959 a toujours nourri des ambitions de reconquête par la force. Ces ambitions se sont traduites par des attaques armées successives menées contre la jeune République de 1960 à 1967. Entre 1967 et 1990, le mouvement de revanche s'est assuré de nouvelles alliances, notamment en se faisant recruter dans la guérilla de Yoweri MUSEVENI en Ouganda. L'attaque du F.P.R. du 1er octobre 1990 fut l'aboutissement d'une préparation à la guerre de revanche qui a duré 30 ans.

1.3. L'ASSASSINAT DES PRESIDENTS HABYARIMANA Juvénal DU RWANDA et NTARYAMIRA Cyprien du BURUNDI.

En date du 6 avril 1994 devaient périr leurs Excellences les Présidents Juvénal HABYARIMANA du Rwanda et Cyprien NTARYAMIRA du Burundi, dans un attentat contre l'avion du Président Rwandais, lequel a été touché par deux missiles alors qu'il amorçait un atterrissage à l'aéroport international de Kigali, dont la sécurité était assurée par les soldats de la Mission des Nations Unies pour l'Assistance au Rwanda (MINUAR).

Le Gouvernement de la République Rwandaise en Exil attribue la responsabilité de cet assassinat au F.P.R. qui possédait déjà plus de 600 soldats dans la Ville de Kigali.

Les deux Chefs d'Etat venaient de participer à une réunion au sommet des pays de la Sous-région qui, convoquée pour se pencher sur le problème politique burundais, s'est finalement attelé aux problèmes politiques rwandais. Il importe de rappeler que ladite réunion avait été convoquée par le Chef de l'Etat tanzanien, Facilitateur dans les négociations de paix d'Arusha, sous l'insistance du Président Yoweri MUSEVENI d'Ouganda et à la demande d'une délégation du Département d'Etat américain, de passage à Kampala.

L'assassinat du Président de la République, le 6 avril 1994, constitue le début d'une offensive armée du F.P.R. sur tous les fronts qui s'est généralisée dès le 7 avril. Cet assassinat a joué un rôle déterminant dans le déclenchement des massacres qui ont endeuillé le Rwanda pendant toute la guerre.

Le Gouvernement Rwandais qui fut mis en place le 9 avril 1994, c'est-à-dire trois jours après l'assassinat du Président et le déclenchement des massacres, n'a eu aucune responsabilité dans la planification et l'exécution de ces massacres qu'il regrette et qu'il n'a cessé de condamner fermement.

1
Au contraire, dès sa mise en place, le Gouvernement a déployé toutes ses énergies pour arrêter ce carnage. Mais, la pression de la guerre imposée par le F.P.R. sur tous les fronts était tellement forte qu'il ne restait plus suffisamment de moyens disponibles pour mettre fin à ces massacres.

Par ailleurs, il convient de souligner la responsabilité de la Communauté Internationale dans la tragédie rwandaise.

Wow! Premièrement, nous savons aujourd'hui que, non seulement l'Ouganda, mais aussi des puissances anglosaxonnes ont appuyé massivement le F.P.R. dans la préparation et la conduite de la guerre.

Deuxièmement, dès l'assassinat du Président de la République Rwandaise, et l'offensive généralisée du F.P.R., la Communauté Internationale et la MINUAR ont abandonné le Rwanda dans son isolement, alors que c'est à ce moment que celui-ci avait le plus besoin de leur assistance.

Le Gouvernement Rwandais en Exil est favorable à la mise en place d'un Tribunal international devant juger les auteurs des crimes qui ont endeuillé le Rwanda depuis le 1er octobre 1990, comme le stipule la résolution n° 918 du Conseil de Sécurité des Nations Unies. En effet, Il compte dans ses objectifs le renforcement d'un Etat de Droit au Rwanda et la mise en place, avec le concours de la Communauté Internationale, de mécanismes qui empêcheraient que des drames similaires à celui que connaît actuellement la Rwanda puissent se reproduire.

Le respect de cette résolution suppose que le tribunal en question devra juger non seulement les crimes commis dans la partie contrôlée par le Gouvernement Rwandais tout au long du déroulement de la guerre, mais aussi ceux commis dans la partie contrôlée par le F.P.R., avant et après sa "victoire militaire", ainsi que ceux commis dans la zone tampon sous le contrôle de la MINUAR.

1.4. LA "VICTOIRE MILITAIRE" DU FPR ET L'EXODE DU PEUPLE RWANDAIS.

La "victoire militaire" du FPR a ouvert les yeux de la Communauté Internationale sur la vraie réalité rwandaise. Depuis le déclenchement de l'offensive du FPR, le 1er octobre 1990, le peuple a choisi son camp en laissant au FPR le terrain conquis. Les méthodes militaristes du FPR, ses nombreuses violations des Droits de l'Homme, ses massacres de populations innocentes, ont provoqué d'abord des déplacements des centaines de milliers de personnes à l'intérieur du pays.

Rappelons qu'avant l'assassinat du Président de la République le 6 avril 1994, le Rwanda comptait environ un million de personnes déplacées qui avaient fui l'avancée du FPR. Le nombre de personnes déplacées par le FPR a beaucoup grossi après cette date, du fait que celui-ci a intensifié les massacres de populations innocentes à son passage.

113

La "victoire militaire" du FPR ne pouvait qu'amplifier le mouvement de fuite de la population qui n'a trouvé le salut de survie que dans l'exil. Le nombre de réfugiés rwandais, estimé à environ 4,5 millions de personnes, constitue une première dans l'histoire récente et mérite toute l'attention de la Communauté Internationale.

Rappelons aussi qu'environ un million de personnes n'ont pas pu fuir du Rwanda, à cause soit de la fatigue soit des longues distances à parcourir. Ces personnes sont l'objet de massacres du FPR et méritent également toute l'attention de la Communauté Internationale.

II- LES DEFIS ACTUELS DU PEUPLE RWANDAIS.

Pour survivre, le peuple Rwandais doit d'ores et déjà relever de grands défis dont les plus importants sont:

- 2.1. Le règlement de conflits qui lui sont internes;
- 2.2. Le règlement de la question des réfugiés Rwandais;
- 2.3. Le rétablissement de l'ordre constitutionnel;
- 2.4. Le renforcement des Droits de l'Homme et de la démocratie;
- 2.5. La création rapide de conditions d'un développement durable; et,
- 2.6. La reconstruction du Rwanda sous tous les aspects de la vie.

Toutefois, le Gouvernement Rwandais en Exil ne manquera pas de dire que la Société rwandaise traîne depuis des décennies, voire des siècles, une multitude de pesanteurs et de rigidités qu'il faut absolument extirper pour permettre l'éclosion d'une nouvelle Société qui donne suffisamment de place à l'imagination, à l'initiative privée, à la volonté d'entreprendre, bref à la participation de tout citoyen.

Cette action nécessite une révolution des mentalités pour un renouvellement des modes de pensée et des modes d'action des Rwandais en général. C'est le passage obligé si l'on veut vaincre les conservatismes et autres conformismes que nous relevons dans notre Société.

Cette dernière est prête à évoluer, à condition qu'elle se reconnaisse dans les objectifs qu'on lui propose, et que l'effort demandé à tous soit librement débattu et équitablement réparti. Baisser les bras et/ou ne rien faire serait condamner les Rwandais, ainsi que tous les autres peuples de notre sous-région.

Le peuple rwandais ne doit pas tomber dans la résignation, car il n'est pas victime d'une malédiction. Les Rwandais doivent se convaincre qu'ils restent et resteront maîtres de leur destin. Leur pays sera ce qu'ils auront voulu qu'il soit.

Un grand défi leur est donc posé, à savoir bâtir une nouvelle Société Rwandaise caractérisée par la solidarité, l'unité, la paix, la cohésion sociale, le progrès social et l'ouverture tous azimuts à d'autres peuples d'Afrique et du monde.

III- DES OBJECTIFS A ATTEINDRE.

Le Rwanda est à la dérive. L'objectif de sauver et de servir la Nation et l'Etat rwandais exige que les responsables politiques Rwandais parviennent à maintenir, au sein du peuple, la volonté de vivre ensemble et surtout qu'ils suscitent la participation de tout un chacun à cet effort. Ne pas reconnaître cette réalité, et donc ne pas s'engager dans cette voie, consisterait de la non-assistance à peuple en danger.

C'est pourquoi le Gouvernement Rwandais en Exil invite solennellement la Communauté Internationale, à partager un certain nombre d'objectifs en vue de rendre au peuple rwandais sa dignité et l'aider à se réconcilier et à reconstruire son pays. Il s'agit notamment des objectifs ci-après:

- 3.1. Servir et contribuer à sauver la Nation et l'Etat Rwandais;
- 3.2. Contribuer au règlement rapide de la question des réfugiés rwandais;
- 3.3. Contribuer à donner de l'espoir au peuple rwandais en montrant à ce dernier que la situation tragique qu'il vit actuellement n'est en aucun cas définitive, car rien n'est encore perdu d'une manière définitive pour le Rwanda; et,
- 3.4. Contribuer à la réinstauration d'une véritable démocratie au Rwanda.

La question du règlement du problème des réfugiés rwandais est considérée comme une priorité absolue à laquelle tout doit être subordonnée. Cette question est beaucoup plus importante que la réalisation d'objectifs tels que la reconstruction, la croissance économique, la maîtrise de l'inflation ou la réduction des déficits public et extérieur. La résolution de ce problème constitue ainsi un investissement, à terme, hautement rentable.

Le Gouvernement du F.P.R. auquel la Communauté Internationale, le Gouvernement Rwandais en Exil et les réfugiés rwandais en général, ont demandé de donner des garanties suffisantes pour un retour des réfugiés rwandais dans leur pays en toute sécurité, pratique une politique de deux poids deux mesures. En effet, ce Gouvernement déclare vouloir le retour au Rwanda de tous les réfugiés rwandais. Mais en réalité, il n'encourage que le retour des anciens réfugiés Tutsi qui, une fois arrivés au Rwanda, s'approprient sauvagement les maisons et les terres des nouveaux réfugiés.

Il s'agit donc d'une politique de discrimination ethnique ou raciale et on voit mal comment des personnes dont les domiciles sont occupés par les tenants du pouvoir ou leurs protégés, peuvent espérer rentrer et retrouver leurs biens en toute sécurité. Déjà, des milliers de réfugiés Hutu qui se sont décidés à rentrer au Rwanda, et qui ont osé vouloir retrouver leurs maisons, ont été enlevés puis assassinés par les soldats du F.P.R., sous prétexte qu'ils étaient impliqués dans les massacres de populations civiles.

Les villes rwandaises ne sont pratiquement occupées que par d'anciens réfugiés rwandais rentrés principalement du Burundi et de l'Ouganda, mais aussi de citoyens ougandais et burundais. On parle à Kigali beaucoup plus de Swahili, d'Anglais, de Kirundi et du Kiganda que de Kinyarwanda ou de français, les deux langues officielles rwandaises.

Or, il faut reconnaître que les Rwandais ne peuvent pas sortir de la crise dans l'état où ils y sont entrés. C'est dans ce cadre que notre Gouvernement lance un appel pour que les Rwandais établissent entre eux un véritable "Contrat de progrès", un Contrat politique et social, un Contrat de solidarité pour une réconciliation nationale et une reconstruction commune de leur pays.

IV- DU ROLE DE LA COMMUNAUTE INTERNATIONALE.

Sans le concours de la Communauté Internationale, le problème rwandais risque de ne pas trouver de solution durable.

Le conflit rwandais s'est notamment caractérisé par des interférences étrangères et il apparaît que des enjeux géostratégiques non-encore avoués se cachent derrière ce grave conflit. C'est pourquoi, une action responsable de la part de la Communauté Internationale est indispensable en vue de permettre l'avènement d'une solution politique issue du dialogue. Cette intervention se caractériserait principalement par la mise en application des actions suivantes:

- 4.1. ✓ Déploiement rapide d'observateurs des droits de l'homme en nombre suffisant, dans toutes les Communes rwandaises, soit un minimum de 500 personnes;
- 4.2. ⑦ Redéfinition du mandat de la MINUAR qui serait restructurée et redynamisée en conséquence, de manière à supprimer les faiblesses et les défaillances dont elle fait toujours preuve;
- 4.3. *Communauté internationale* Organisation rapide d'un dialogue entre, d'une part, les Nations Unies, l'OUA, l'Union Européenne et les représentants des pays observateurs aux négociations de paix d'Arusha, et d'autre part, les représentants des Réfugiés rwandais dont une majorité se trouve au Zaïre en vue d'évaluer ensemble la possibilité d'une solution politique au conflit rwandais;
- 4.4. *4* Tenue d'une "Conférence internationale" sur le Rwanda qui rassemblerait des représentants des réfugiés rwandais, les principaux acteurs politiques rwandais, des

représentants de l'ONU, de l'OUA, de l'Union Européenne, et ceux des pays qui ont été "observateurs" aux négociations d'Arusha (Tanzanie).

Cette conférence qui se tiendrait dans un pays africain sur financement de la Communauté Internationale aurait pour mandat d'étudier la nature du conflit rwandais et ses conséquences sur la sécurité dans la Sous-région, en mettant un accent particulier sur le problème des réfugiés et de formuler des recommandations dont les plus pertinentes seraient mises en exécution avec la garantie de la Communauté Internationale.

La résolution du conflit rwandais nécessiterait une enquête sociologique et historique du peuple rwandais, si l'on veut aboutir à une solution durable.

- 4.5. Se référant aux recommandations émises par la Conférence Internationale sur le Rwanda, élaboration d'un plan d'action sous la responsabilité de la Communauté Internationale et sa mise en exécution.

Cette démarche devrait logiquement aboutir à:

- a. Asseoir la paix et la tranquillité dans le pays;
- b. Garantir la sécurité à tous les Rwandais, sur tout le territoire national et à l'extérieur;
- c. Rapatrier les réfugiés et les rétablir dans leurs biens;
- d. La mise en place d'un Gouvernement de large consensus et formation d'une Armée d'Union Nationale;
- e. Permettre aux citoyens rwandais de se choisir démocratiquement leurs dirigeants;
- f. Garantir l'égalité des droits et l'égalité des chances pour tous les Rwandais;
- g. Instaurer une justice sociale sans faille;
- h. Réconcilier les citoyens avec leur justice par une réforme approfondie de la magistrature;
- i. Amener les responsables politiques et administratifs à assumer la responsabilité de leurs actes (moralisation de la vie publique);
- j. Garantir la cohésion nationale et la solidarité entre les Rwandais aussi bien dans le temps que dans l'espace.

Le Gouvernement Rwandais en Exil profite de cette occasion pour lancer un appel à la Communauté Internationale pour qu'elle prenne des initiatives destinées à favoriser une solution politique durable à la crise rwandaise et à permettre aux différents peuples de notre Sous-région de vivre dans la paix et la concorde.

Le Gouvernement Rwandais en Exil lance aussi un appel pour une aide à la relance de la scolarisation des enfants des réfugiés rwandais et pour un meilleur encadrement de ces derniers. Il évalue les jeunes rwandais réfugiés à scolariser à environ 1.000.000 de personnes.



Ces centaines de milliers de jeunes rwandais ont droit à l'enseignement. Parmi eux figurent ceux du cycle primaire, ceux du cycle secondaire et ceux de l'enseignement supérieur.

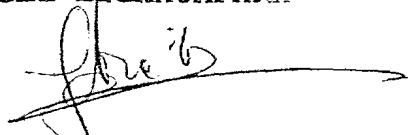
La survie des réfugiés rwandais et donc celle du Rwanda dépend en grande partie de la sauvegarde et du développement de ces ressources humaines. Ainsi, nous pensons que la Communauté Internationale pourrait prendre en charge la formation d'une partie de cette jeunesse selon des formules à convenir!

Le Gouvernement Rwandais en Exil sollicite donc la solidarité Internationale pour que cette jeunesse, qui constitue le Rwanda de demain, ne soit pas sacrifiée par l'injustice et le fait accompli.

Fait à BUKAVU (REPUBLIQUE DU ZAIRE), le 14 octobre 1994.

Pour le GOUVERNEMENT RWANDAIS EN EXIL:

Jérôme BICAMUMPAKA



Ministre des Affaires Etrangères et de la
Coopération.

UNITED NATIONS 50TH ANNIVERSARY

Addressed by

Ambassador Shaharyar M. Khan

Special Representative of the Secretary General for Rwanda

24 October 1995

We celebrate, today, the 50th Anniversary of the United Nations. The celebration of this momentous occasion in the history of mankind has a special meaning in Rwanda. For, it was in this country that the United Nations went through the acid test of its commitment and its capability. There were failures of expectation, highlighted in the world media. There were also many achievements that have passed unheralded. We need to learn from the failures and to build on the positive and the constructive.

Over the past three days, we have celebrated the 50th Anniversary with our Rwandese brothers and sisters. Here, in the Amahoro Stadium, the joy of common celebration, the brotherhood of nationalities joined in healthy competition, the linking of arms in common pursuit has personified the close cooperation between the Rwandese people and the United Nations family represented in Rwanda. In athletics, football, table tennis, volleyball and a host of competitive games we have seen a bonanza of friendship and cooperation. Today the hope of the future, the children of Rwanda mingle in joyous abandon with UNAMIR blue helmets. These forces who come from all over the world, from Latin America, from Africa and Asia, from the developed countries of Europe, the Pacific and North America - to help Rwanda turn back from the horror of last year and to build permanent peace, harmony and stability.

This is the very stadium where, fifteen months ago, 20,000 Rwandese citizens threatened by genocide had taken refuge. Guarded by a handful of courageous UNAMIR soldiers they had found shelter and succour against the most inhuman assault on innocent citizens in living memory. In July, last year, this country stood shattered and ravaged by the genocide. Not a soul could be seen on the streets, not a house had been left unlooted. No markets, no transport, no shops and in the communes, ghost villages, no fields being ploughed, nearly every hut looted and shattered. Of course there was no water, no electricity, no communications, no airport and no transport. Above all hundreds of thousands of families destroyed and traumatised by genocide.

In over a year, the scene has changed dramatically. As we look around, there is a return to stability and normalcy. Shops are open, markets are thriving, 80% of the pre 1994 agriculture output is restored, industry is not far behind. There are traffic jams, over a million children go to school in clean uniforms, there is bustle in the streets and smiles on people's faces. This remarkable progress has been achieved through the efforts of the resilient and energetic people of Rwanda. The United Nations role has been to support the people of Rwanda in achieving this return to normalcy and stability. We have worked with the government of Rwanda to restore water, power and communications; to construct transit camps and way stations for the refugees to return home, to build housing and agricultural projects so that those whose lives were shattered by genocide can start a new life for themselves. We have helped to clear mines and to train your gendarmerie and police. We have helped to open the airport and to repair roads, bridges and to repair the infrastructure. 80% of health care, water supplies and sanitation facilities that existed before 6th April 1994 have been restored. The UN and its agencies are in the field assisting orphans, children and families of the survivors of genocide. They deserve to be given the highest priority. Above all, we aim to help provide, with the government of Rwanda, the security, justice and stability without which normalcy cannot be achieved.

As we celebrate 50 years of the UN, the way ahead is surely that the UN should be given a more direct role in preventing crises. It should have the capability to act quickly and decisively to prevent wars and human tragedy, and once it is in the field, it must have the mandate and capacity to provide direct assistance to the affected countries. Over 150 leaders of the world including President Bizimungu, have gathered in New York for the 50th Anniversary. They will address the issues and problems faced by the world today. In fact, the UN faces the most serious financial crisis in its history. And although, the United Nations may be flawed in many respects, it remains the main hope for mankind. The nations of the world - large and small, rich and poor - must resolve to correct these flaws so that the UN can respond effectively to the expectations of its Member States. The example of Rwanda points to what needs to be done and what can be achieved.

Before I close and as a token of our appreciation to the Government of Rwanda, I have the honour of presenting these two vehicles to the Ministry of Youth and Sports. I wish to thank the Government of Rwanda for enabling us to use this stadium for our celebration; the Prime Minister for allowing a half-day holiday so that the people and the children can participate in our celebration and all these sportsmen, spectators and organizers who have made this celebration such a success.

Once again, I am privileged to share with the people of Rwanda, this joyous 50th Anniversary of the UN. I hope our close cooperation will bring to the people of Rwanda the peace, progress and harmony that they deserve.

Dear Colleagues
Ladies
Gentlemen

It is for me a pleasure and a welcome task to be here with you today to celebrate, in the spirit of brotherhood and sisterhood, the EID BAYRAM which marks the end of Ramandan.

As we all know, it is during the course of this holy month that the Al Kor'an was revealed as a guide and evidence of good direction and perfect judgement. During this ninth month of the Islamic lunar calendar, devout muslims fast in faithful obedience to the will of Allah and out of gratitude to him for having aided them in accomplishing the SAWM.

The ID AL FITR or the corban BAIRAM which unites us here today is celebrated on the first of the month SHAWWAL and is one of the most important and sacred of Muslim celebrations.

We represent the family of the UNITED NATIONS which has proclaimed its faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and the value of human life, in equal rights for women and men as well as for all nations large and small. This place is a crossroads of multiple denominations. It is thus in the name of all the personnel working with the United Nations in Rwanda that we send on this solemn day our most sincere best wishes to all of our fellow Muslims, civilian and military, who for an entire month have communed in the fervor of their faith. We also take this opportunity to salute

and thank all the non-Muslims who have enhanced this celebration with their presence. We would also like to send our best wishes to the citizens of Rwanda, our host country, who, during this month, fasted along side their partners in faith all around the world. Let us also take this opportunity to thank the people of Rwanda and their government not only for their hospitality but also for their understanding in our cooperation.

The fast is one of the five pillars of Islam. It allows us to acquire self-discipline and to restrain passions and desires which Allah planted in human nature. But it also reminds us of those who suffer from hunger and hardship. It thus aims at reinforcing our personalities by allowing us to surpass ourselves. It is that process of self-perfection which is of interest not only to Muslims but to all human beings concerned with justice, brotherhood, and peace.

And it is this message that I wish all of you here - Muslims and Non-Muslims - to carry away with you today.

Happy EID BAYRAM and thank you very much.

Mes chers collègues,
Mesdames,
Messieurs,

C'est pour moi à la fois un plaisir et un agréable devoir d'être des vôtres pour fêter ensemble dans la fraternité l'Eid-Bayram qui marque la fin du Ramadan.

En effet, et nous le savons tous, c'est au cours de ce mois saint qu'a été descendu l'Al Qur'an comme guide et comme preuves évidentes de la bonne direction et du discernement parfait. Pendant ce mois, le neuvième de l'année lunaire islamique, les fidèles musulmans jeûnent dans un esprit d'obéissance au

commandement d'Allah et de gratitude envers Lui pour les avoir aidés à accomplir le devoir de SAWM.

Le Id-Al Fitr ou le corban Bairam célébré le premier du mois Shawwal et qui nous réunit ici aujourd'hui est l'une des fêtes musulmanes les plus importantes et les plus sacrées.

Nous représentons ici la famille des Nations unies qui a proclamé sa foi dans les droits fondamentaux de l'Homme, dans la dignité et la valeur de la personne humaine, dans l'égalité de droits des hommes et des femmes ainsi que ceux des nations grandes et petites. Elle est aussi un lieu privilégié de

rencontres multiconfessionnelles. C'est donc au nom de l'ensemble des travailleurs des Nations unies au Rwanda que nous adressons en ce jour solennel nos sincères félicitations à tous nos collaborateurs musulmans civils et militaires qui ont pendant tout un mois communié dans la ferveur de leur foi. Nous saisissons également cette opportunité pour saluer et remercier tous ceux qui, non musulmans, sont venus rehausser de leur présence cette célébration. Les citoyens du Rwanda, notre pays d'accueil, qui ont le long de ce mois pris part aux côtés de leurs co-religionnaires du monde entier au jeûne du mois de Ramadan voudront aussi accepter nos meilleurs vœux. Nous en

profitons pour remercier leur peuple et leur gouvernement pour non seulement leur hospitalité, mais aussi leur bonne compréhension pour l'aide qu'ils nous apportent dans l'exécution de nos tâches.

Le jeûne est l'un des cinq piliers de l'islam, il permet d'acquérir une discipline sur soi-même, de réprimer les passions et désirs qu'Allah a plantés dans la nature humaine. Mais il nous rappelle aussi ces nécessiteux qui souffrent de la faim et de la privation. Il vise ainsi à raffermir nos personnalités en les menant à un effort de dépassement. C'est là une démarche de perfectionnement qui ne concerne pas seulement les musulmans seul mais tous

les êtres humains soucieux de justice, de
fraternité et de paix.

Et c'est ce message que je
souhaite vous voir tous, musulmans et non
musulmans retenir aujourd'hui.

Bonne fête et je vous remercie.

Kigali, le 2 mars 1995

* * * * *

* * *

*

F. / ①

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellency President Daniel arap Moi
Your Excellencies distinguished Presidents of Burundi,
Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Zaire and Zambia
Your Excellencies Ladies and Gentlemen

It is a special privilege and honour for me
as special representative of the UN Sec. Gen. and in Rwanda
to address this august gathering. It is appropriate that
this conference of regional leaders should be held in
your beautiful ~~capital~~ country ^{from} where the call of Union
~~has~~ lit the torch of freedom for so many people across
the world. Today, we meet to dedicate ourselves again to
the same call of freedom for over 2 million refugees
from Rwanda to return to their homes in dignity
safety and honour. Allow me ^{Mr. Chairman} to express my profound
appreciation at the courtesy and welcome extended to me
and my delegation by the govt of Kenya in your spacious capital


Mr. Chairman

The initiative to hold this regional summit
is most welcome and opportune. It will provide an
impetus to the regional conference on refugee-related issues
which is ~~to be held under its auspices~~ being sponsored
by UNHCR and OAU ^{to be held} in Banjul next month.
The appalling tragedy in Rwanda not only ravaged
that country but also spread its devastation to its
neighbouring countries where over 2 million refugees
have wrought ecological havoc, political tensions,
social and economic degradation. The ^{people and govt's} ~~populations~~ of these
countries have made deep sacrifices in receiving
these ^{refugees} and deserve not only ~~to be provided~~ political

(2)

support to ~~overcome~~ resolve the problem but economic compensation ~~from the international community~~ for the economic and ecological damage to their countries. The time has come to make every possible effort to seek reconciliation and peace, harmony and stability throughout the region so that the refugees return home voluntarily and in security.

Mr Chairman

To achieve this objective, the single most important ~~factor~~ ^{event} is the ^{voluntary} return of Rwandese refugees to their homes in ~~security~~ ^{with justice} and with justice. Considering the trauma of genocide that Rwanda has only recently lived through, this is not an easy task. ~~to attain~~ But, it is an objective that ^{needs to be} pursued with determination and commitment by the regional states, the OAU and the international community represented by the UN, UNHCR and its sister agencies. There must be an end to intimidation in the camps so that the refugees are free to exercise their ~~right~~ choice to return. There must be a genuine welcome for the returning refugees as they step back ^{into their homeland} with appropriate guarantees of security, ~~human~~ ^{justice} and property rights. The UN ~~and its agencies~~ must play ^{their} full part in assuring ~~the~~ ^{the dignity and security of} the returning refugees. 

Mr Chairman,

The safe return of refugees to their homes is the fundamental base on which the edifice of regional ~~operating~~ stability, harmony and cooperation can be built. With sincerity, dedication and commitment from the international community, I am convinced this objective can be achieved in the near future.

Only a few days ago Mr Chairman, I had the honour of visiting Zaire and Tanzania where I was received by their distinguished leaders.

(3)

On behalf of the UN Sec-Gen I conveyed to the distinguished leaders, the UN's ~~strong~~ support for the early return of refugees to Rwanda. I underlined the need for a combined and synchronised effort between Rwanda, the neighbouring countries hosting the refugees and the United Nations to induce the voluntary return of the refugees. As ~~the~~ co-ercion and tension builds up in the camps, the need to take immediate steps has become all the more urgent.

This combined action requires that the refugees be unshackled from the fear of intimidation in the camps where coercion and militarisation has grown to dangerous proportions. The intimidation which prevents refugees from returning must be controlled and neutralised by the host ^{efforts} ~~gates~~ with the help of the international community.

Simultaneously, in Rwanda, the process of reconciliation at all levels — grass-roots, military, political which has already been set in motion, must be encouraged. Refugees in camps, fearful of revenge and retribution must have their doubts allayed ^{not only} through ~~effective~~ ~~guarantees~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~authorities~~ assurances by the leadership but ~~also~~ through actions at the ground level. In order to provide this safety and security to returning refugees the concept of safety zones, welcome centres and security corridors may be ~~accepted~~ clearly defined and accepted as part of essential confidence building measures.

~~With~~ The United Nations and its agencies are prepared to play their full part in assisting the host country's effort at ~~controlling~~ controlling intimidation and militarisation in the camps as also in supplying

in accordance with its mandate to provide security in safe zones and through its sister agencies supply food and assistance for returning refugees. It ensure the UN could provide as many possible assistance in effecting the voluntary return of refugees to their homes in security and dignity.

Before I close, I would like to emphasize that in Rwanda every day Kai passes sees an improvement in the general conditions prevailing in the country. The security and safety has spread from the Kigali into the towns and villages. There is no armed movement in Rwanda. Markets, shops and restaurants have re-opened. People are going back to work in their fields and in the fields. ^{children have gone back to school} There are cases of summary justice, torturing and illegal occupation of property. Today Rwanda needs the means to implement its own commitments. It needs to provide justice and fair play to its people and particularly to the returning refugees. The capability to provide housing and lands to the displaced who return after war, fears abroad and tools to ensure that security and order prevail in the pursuit of stability. ^{The UN and particularly UNHCR stand ready to support (within its means) measures for the early return of refugees to their homes. It also has much to contribute to ensure, safe and with all fears of retribution banished from their minds. May your efforts be crowned with success.}

I thank you

F

Message à l'attention de l'Institut de formation

JE SUIS HEUREUX D'AVOIR LA POSSIBILITÉ DE VOUS RENCONTRER. JE REPRÉSENTE L'ONU DANS SON INTÉGRALITÉ AU RWANDA ET AI POUR MANDAT LA RECHERCHE DE LA PAIX, DE LA STABILITÉ, DE LA NORMALISATION, DE LA RÉCONCILIATION ET DE LA SÉCURITÉ POUR TOUS LES CITOYENS DU RWANDA. IL DOIT ÊTRE BIEN CLAIR QUE L'ONU N'A AUCUN RÔLE POLITIQUE À JOUER. NOUS SOMMES ICI DANS LE SEUL BUT D'AIDER LE PEUPLE RWANDAIS ET L'ÉTAT RWANDAIS À VIVRE EN PAIX ET DANS LA DIGNITÉ.

LES MASSACRES PERPÉTRÉS DANS UN PASSÉ TRAUMATISANT ENCORE TRÈS PROCHE HANTENT LA MÉMOIRE DE CHACUN. ILS NE SAURAIENT ÊTRE BALAYÉS DU JOUR AU LENDEMAIN. MAIS LA SEULE SOLUTION PASSE PAR LA RÉCONCILIATION, LE PARTAGE D'UN IDÉAL COMMUN ET LA STABILITÉ. IL INCOMBE À CHAQUE CITOYEN RWANDAIS DE PRENDRE CES PRINCIPES ET CES IDÉAUX À COEUR AFIN DE SOUTENIR NOS EFFORTS POUR PROMOUVOIR COMPRÉHENSION MUTUELLE ET TOLÉRANCE. JE TIENS À VOUS RAPPELER QUE PENDANT DES SIÈCLES, DES PEUPLES D'ORIGINE ETHNIQUE DIFFÉRENTE ONT RÉUSSI À VIVRE ENSEMBLE EN HARMONIE AU RWANDA. IL NOUS FAUT RETROUVER CE FIL CONDUCTEUR POUR FONDER ENSEMBLE UNE SOCIÉTÉ EMPREINTE D'UNE PLUS GRANDE SAGESSE.

EN NOTRE QUALITÉ DE REPRÉSENTANT SPÉCIAL DU SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL DES NATIONS UNIES, NOUS NOUS SOMMES ENGAGÉS AUPRÈS DU PEUPLE RWANDAIS À OEUVRER AVEC VOUS DANS CE SENS. NOTRE PRÉSENCE NE SE BORNE PAS À APPORTER VIVRES, TENTES, EAU POTABLE ET SOINS SANITAIRES AUX SANS-ABRIS ET AUX DÉSHÉRITÉS, MAIS VISE AUSSI À VOUS AIDER À RECONSTRUIRE VOS VILLES DÉVASTÉES EN RÉPARANT VOS

1/

CENTRALES ÉLECTRIQUES, VOS RÉSERVOIRS EN EAU, VOS INFRASTRUCTURES ET OUVRAGES ROUTIERS, À FOURNIR SEMENCES ET OUTILS D'EXPLOITATION À VOS AGRICULTEURS, AINSI QUE D'AIDER À RÉINSTALLER LES SANS-ABRIS REVENANT AU PAYS. AVANT TOUT, NOUS SOMMES ICI POUR VOUS AIDER DANS LE CADRE DU PROCESSUS DE RÉCONCILIATION ET CE, À TOUS LES NIVEAUX.

C'EST DANS CE CONTEXTE QUE MA VISITE DANS CE CAMP REVÊT TOUTE SON IMPORTANCE. COMME JE L'INDIQUAIS PLUS HAUT, LA PREMIÈRE ÉTAPE DE MON MANDAT EN TANT QUE REPRÉSENTANT SPÉCIAL ET RESPONSABLE DE LA MINUAR CONSISTE À RECHERCHER LA RÉCONCILIATION. JE SUIS SINCÈREMENT CONVAINCU QUE LA CRÉATION D'UNE ARMÉE UNIQUE ET INTÉGRÉE CONSTITUE L'ÉLÉMENT CLÉ DE CE PROCESSUS DE RÉCONCILIATION. CE PRINCIPE FAIT PARTIE INTÉGRANTE DES ACCORDS D'ARUSHA. C'EST POURQUOI JE ME FÉLICITE DE CE PROCESSUS ET TIENS CE GESTE VOLONTAIRE DE VOTRE PART COMME L'EXPRESSION LA PLUS MANIFESTE PORTÉE À MON ATTENTION DE VOTRE VOLONTÉ DE RÉCONCILIATION. CERTES, VOTRE DÉCISION N'A PAS DU ÊTRE FACILE À PRENDRE ET MÉRITE QUE L'ON RENDE HOMMAGE À VOTRE ACTION AU NOM DE L'UNITÉ. L'EXEMPLE QUE VOUS DONNEZ, DANS L'INTÉRÊT DE L'UNITÉ ET DE LA STABILITÉ, SERVIRA DE SYMBOLE À BIEN D'AUTRES.

VOUS N'ÊTES PAS SANS SAVOIR QUE LE DEVOIR D'UNE ARMÉE, EN TEMPS NORMAL, EST D'ASSURER LE RESPECT DE L'INTÉGRITÉ TERRITORIALE. OR, DANS LE CAS PRÉSENT, L'ARMÉE EST ÉGALEMENT CHARGÉE DE LA SÉCURITÉ À L'INTÉRIEUR DU PAYS, ENTRE AUTRES EN ARRÊTANT LES RESPONSABLES D'ACTES CRIMINELS, EN ÉRIGEANT DES BARRAGES ROUTIERS ET EN FAISANT DES PERQUISITIONS. CECI NOUS RAPPELLE QUE, SI LA SITUATION DANS LE PAYS EST EN VOIE DE

NORMALISATION, IL N'EN RESTE PAS MOINS QU'ELLE N'EST PAS ENCORE TOTALEMENT STABLE.

ALORS QUE VOUS VOUS APPRÊTEZ À VOUS METTRE À LA TÂCHE, RAPPELEZ-VOUS QUE VOS RELATIONS AVEC LE PUBLIC FERONT L'OBJET D'UNE EXTRÊME ATTENTION DE LA PART DE LA PRESSE ET DES ORGANISATIONS NON-GOUVERNEMENTALES. C'EST POURQUOI VOUS DEVEZ GAGNER LA CONFIANCE ET LE COEUR DU PUBLIC EN AYANT UNE ATTITUDE AMICALE ET COURTOISE. LE RÔLE DES MILITAIRES EST DE SERVIR LE PEUPLE DONT VOUS CONTRIBUEZ, VOUS AUSSI, À ASSURER LA PROTECTION AU COURS DE CETTE PÉRIODE INTÉRIMAIRE.

DANS L'EXERCICE DES TÂCHES POLICIÈRES, N'OUBLIEZ JAMAIS LE RESPECT QUE VOUS DEVEZ À L'ÉTAT DE DROIT AFIN QUE LE PUBLIC SACHE QUE VOUS SERVEZ LA JUSTICE SANS ABUSER DE VOS PRÉROGATIVES.

LA MINUAR A ASSURÉ LA FORMATION D'UN NOUVEAU GROUPE DE GENDARMES QUI S'APPRÊTENT, À LEUR TOUR, À SERVIR D'INSTRUCTEURS POUR LA CRÉATION DE LA NOUVELLE GENDARMERIE RWANDAISE. NOUS ESPÉRONS QUE LES FORCES ARMÉES SERONT EN MESURE DE RETOURNER À LEUR FONCTIONS MILITAIRES PREMIÈRES LE PLUS TÔT POSSIBLE, UNE FOIS QUE LA GENDARMERIE AURA PRIS LE RELAI.

LA MINUAR SE PRÉOCCUPE ÉGALEMENT DU SORT DES RÉFUGIÉS À L'EXTÉRIEUR DU RWANDA ET RECHERCHE DES SOLUTIONS POUR ENCOURAGER CEUX QUI REVIENNENT AU PAYS EN LEUR REDONNANT UN SENTIMENT D'ASSURANCE ET DE SÉCURITÉ. L'UNE DES NOUVELLES TÂCHES INCOMBANT À L'ARMÉE CONSISTERA À TRANSMETTRE DES MESSAGES DE BIENVENUE À CES PERSONNES DE MANIÈRE À LEUR RENDRE CONFIANCE. VOUS ÊTES

D'AILLEURS LES MIEUX PLACÉS POUR APPORTER CE SENTIMENT DE
CONFIANCE DANS LA MESURE OÙ, ÉTANT RÉFUGIÉS REVENUS AU PAYS VOUS-
MÊMES, VOUS CONNAISSEZ LES SENTIMENTS D'INCERTITUDE QUI ANIMENT
LES PEUPLES QUI ONT ÉTÉ TRAUMATISÉS PAR LA GUERRE.

MAINTENANT PLUS QUE JAMAIS, TOUS LES RWANDAIS DOIVENT ÊTRE
INTIMEMENT CONVAINCUS QU'IL Y A UN FOYER POUR CHACUN D'ENTRE EUX
ET QUE TOUS PEUVENT REVENIR AU PAYS DANS L'ASSURANCE DE RETROUVER
UN FOYER EN TOUTE CONFIANCE ET EN TOUTE SÉCURITÉ.

TALKING POINTS FOR RETRAINING SCHOOL

I WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO MEET YOU. I REPRESENT THE UN IN RWANDA IN ITS TOTALITY AND MY MANDATE IS TO SEEK PEACE, STABILITY, NORMALIZATION, RECONCILIATION AND SECURITY FOR ALL CITIZENS OF RWANDA. LET IT BE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT UN HAS NO POLITICAL ROLE TO PLAY. WE ARE HERE ONLY TO HELP THE RWANDESE PEOPLE AND THE STATE OF RWANDA TO LIVE IN PEACE AND DIGNITY.

THE MASSACRES OF THE RECENT TRAUMATIC PAST WILL LIVE WITH EVERY CITIZEN. THEY CANNOT BE WASHED AWAY. BUT THE ONLY PATH AHEAD IS OF RECONCILIATION, COMMON CAUSE AND STABILITY. IT IS INCUMBENT ON EVERY RWANDESE CITIZEN TO PLEDGE HIMSELF TO THESE PRINCIPLES AND IDEALS, TO HELP SUPPORT OUR EFFORTS IN SEEKING NEW WAYS TOWARDS UNDERSTANDING, AND TOLERANCE. LET ME RECALL THAT FOR HUNDREDS OF YEARS PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS HAVE LIVED IN RWANDA PEACEFULLY TOGETHER. WE MUST FIND AGAIN TOGETHER THIS COMMON THREAD AND FORGE AHEAD A WISER SOCIETY.

AS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-GENERAL WE BRING TO THE PEOPLE OF RWANDA A COMMITMENT TO WORK WITH YOU TO ACHIEVE THESE OBJECTIVES. WE ARE HERE NOT ONLY TO PROVIDE FOOD, SHELTER, DRINKING WATER, HEALTH CARE FOR THE HOMELESS AND DEPRIVED BUT ALSO TO HELP REBUILD YOUR DEVASTATED CITIES BY REBUILDING YOUR POWER STATIONS, YOUR WATER RESERVOIRS, YOUR ROADS AND BRIDGES, TO PROVIDE SEEDS AND FARM IMPLEMENTS AND SETTLEMENTS FOR THE HOMELESS RETURNEES. ABOVE ALL WE ARE HERE TO HELP IN THE

PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION AT ALL LEVELS.

IT IS IN THIS CONTEXT THAT MY VISIT TO THIS CAMP IS SIGNIFICANT. THE FIRST PART OF MY MANDATE AS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AND HEAD OF UNAMIR IS AS STATED BEFORE TO SEEK RECONCILIATION. I BELIEVE, SINCERELY, THAT THE MOST SUBSTANTIVE ELEMENT IN THE PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION LIES IN THE EMERGENCE OF A SINGLE, INTEGRATED ARMY. THIS PRINCIPLE HAS BEEN AGREED TO IN THE ARUSHA ACCORDS. ACCORDINGLY, I WELCOME THIS PROCESS AND CONSIDER YOUR VOLUNTARY EFFORT AS THE MOST EVIDENT SIGN TOWARDS RECONCILIATION THAT I HAVE WITNESSED. YOUR DECISION COULD NOT HAVE BEEN EASY BUT DESERVES THE HIGHEST COMMENDATION IN THE CAUSE OF UNITY. YOUR EXAMPLE WILL BE A SYMBOL FOR OTHERS TO FOLLOW : THE INTEREST OF UNITY AND STABILITY.

AS YOU ALL KNOW THE NORMAL DUTY OF AN ARMY IS SECURITY OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. IN THIS CASE, HOWEVER, THE ARMY IS BEING CALLED TO PROVIDE INTERNAL SECURITY AS WELL, AS FOR EXAMPLE, TO ARREST THOSE WHO COMMIT CRIMES, ESTABLISH ROAD BLOCKS, CONDUCT SEARCHES ETC. WHICH INDICATES THAT THOUGH THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY IS MOVING TOWARDS NORMALISATION IT HAS NOT YET TOTALLY STABILIZED.

AS YOU APPROACH THESE TASKS YOU MUST REMEMBER THAT YOUR RELATIONS WITH THE GENERAL PUBLIC WILL BE SUBJECT TO SCRUTINY BY THE PRESS AND BY NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS. THUS YOU MUST WIN

THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF THE PUBLIC BY BEING FRIENDLY AND COURTEOUS IN YOUR ATTITUDE. THE MILITARY ARE SERVANTS OF THE PEOPLE WHOSE PROTECTION YOU HAVE NOW ALSO ASSUMED TEMPORARILY.

WHEN CARRYING OUT POLICE WORK, YOU MUST NOT FORGET THAT YOU SHOULD ABIDE BY THE LAW IN ORDER TO CONVINCE THE PUBLIC THAT JUSTICE IS BEING MAINTAINED AND NOT ABUSED.

UNAMIR HAS BEEN TRAINING A NEW GROUP OF GENDARMES WHO NOW WILL BECOME TRAINERS FOR A NEW RWANDESE GENDARMERIE. WE HOPE THAT AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE, THE ARMED FORCES WILL RETURN TO TRADITIONAL MILITARY DUTIES AS THE GENDARMERIE TAKES OVER.

UNAMIR IS ALSO CONCERNED WITH THE SITUATION OF REFUGEES OUTSIDE RWANDA AND IS SEEKING WAYS TO PROVIDE A SENSE OF SAFETY AND SECURITY TO THOSE THAT RETURN. IT WILL BE PART OF THE NEW MILITARY DUTIES TO CONVEY A MESSAGE OF WELCOME TO THE RETURNEES THUS PROVIDING THEM WITH A MEASURE OF CONFIDENCE. IN FACT YOU ARE IN THE BEST POSITION TO COMMUNICATE A FEELING OF CONFIDENCE SINCE BEING RETURNEES YOURSELVES YOU ARE FULLY AWARE OF THE FEELINGS OF UNCERTAINTY THAT ACCOMPANIES THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN TRAUMATIZED BY WAR.

MORE NOW THAN EVER EVERY RWANDAN MUST FEEL THAT EACH HAS A HOME AND THAT EACH CAN RETURN TO A HOME IN SAFETY AND SECURITY.

TALKING POINTS FOR RETRAINING SCHOOL

I WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO MEET YOU. I REPRESENT THE UN IN RWANDA IN ITS TOTALITY AND MY MANDATE IS TO SEEK PEACE, STABILITY, NORMALIZATION, RECONCILIATION AND SECURITY FOR ALL CITIZENS OF RWANDA. LET IT BE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT UN HAS NO POLITICAL ROLE TO PLAY. WE ARE HERE ONLY TO HELP THE RWANDESE PEOPLE AND THE STATE OF RWANDA TO LIVE IN PEACE AND DIGNITY.

THE MASSACRES OF THE RECENT TRAUMATIC PAST WILL LIVE WITH EVERY CITIZEN. THEY CANNOT BE WASHED AWAY. BUT THE ONLY PATH AHEAD IS OF RECONCILIATION, COMMON CAUSE AND STABILITY. IT IS INCUMBENT ON EVERY RWANDESE CITIZEN TO PLEDGE HIMSELF TO THESE PRINCIPLES AND IDEALS, TO HELP SUPPORT OUR EFFORTS IN SEEKING NEW WAYS TOWARDS UNDERSTANDING, AND TOLERANCE. LET ME RECALL THAT FOR HUNDREDS OF YEARS PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS HAVE LIVED IN RWANDA PEACEFULLY TOGETHER. WE MUST FIND AGAIN TOGETHER THIS COMMON THREAD AND FORGE AHEAD A WISER SOCIETY.

AS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-GENERAL WE BRING TO THE PEOPLE OF RWANDA A COMMITMENT TO WORK WITH YOU TO ACHIEVE THESE OBJECTIVES. WE ARE HERE NOT ONLY TO PROVIDE FOOD, SHELTER, DRINKING WATER, HEALTH CARE FOR THE HOMELESS AND DEPRIVED BUT ALSO TO HELP REBUILD YOUR DEVASTATED CITIES BY REBUILDING YOUR POWER STATIONS, YOUR WATER RESERVOIRS, YOUR ROADS AND BRIDGES, TO PROVIDE SEEDS AND FARM IMPLEMENTS AND SETTLEMENTS FOR THE HOMELESS RETURNEES. ABOVE ALL WE ARE HERE TO HELP IN THE

ROUTING SLIP		FICHE DE TRANSMISSION	
TO: A: <i>SAS</i>			
FROM: DE: <i>isa</i>			
Room No. - No de bureau		Extension - Poste	Date <i>24-10-94</i>
FOR ACTION		POUR SUITE A DONNER	
FOR APPROVAL		POUR APPROBATION	
FOR SIGNATURE		POUR SIGNATURE	
FOR COMMENTS		POUR OBSERVATIONS	
MAY WE DISCUSS?		POURRIONS-NOUS EN PARLER ?	
YOUR ATTENTION		VOTRE ATTENTION	
AS DISCUSSED		COMME CONVENU	
AS REQUESTED		SUITE A VOTRE DEMANDE	
NOTE AND RETURN		NOTER ET RETOURNER	
FOR INFORMATION		POUR INFORMATION	

Sent for Translation

Isel
En

PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION AT ALL LEVELS.

IT IS IN THIS CONTEXT THAT MY VISIT TO THIS CAMP IS SIGNIFICANT. THE FIRST PART OF MY MANDATE AS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AND HEAD OF UNAMIR IS AS STATED BEFORE TO SEEK RECONCILIATION. I BELIEVE, SINCERELY, THAT THE MOST SUBSTANTIVE ELEMENT IN THE PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION LIES IN THE EMERGENCE OF A SINGLE, INTEGRATED ARMY. THIS PRINCIPLE HAS BEEN AGREED TO IN THE ARUSHA ACCORDS. ACCORDINGLY, I WELCOME THIS PROCESS AND CONSIDER YOUR VOLUNTARY EFFORT AS THE MOST EVIDENT SIGN TOWARDS RECONCILIATION THAT I HAVE WITNESSED. YOUR DECISION COULD NOT HAVE BEEN EASY BUT DESERVES THE HIGHEST COMMENDATION IN THE CAUSE OF UNITY. YOUR EXAMPLE WILL BE A SYMBOL FOR OTHERS TO FOLLOW : THE INTEREST OF UNITY AND STABILITY.

AS YOU ALL KNOW THE NORMAL DUTY OF AN ARMY IS SECURITY OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. IN THIS CASE, HOWEVER, THE ARMY IS BEING CALLED TO PROVIDE INTERNAL SECURITY AS WELL, AS FOR EXAMPLE, TO ARREST THOSE WHO COMMIT CRIMES, ESTABLISH ROAD BLOCKS, CONDUCT SEARCHES ETC. WHICH INDICATES THAT THOUGH THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY IS MOVING TOWARDS NORMALISATION IT HAS NOT YET TOTALLY STABILIZED.

AS YOU APPROACH THESE TASKS YOU MUST REMEMBER THAT YOUR RELATIONS WITH THE GENERAL PUBLIC WILL BE SUBJECT TO SCRUTINY BY THE PRESS AND BY NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS. THUS YOU MUST WIN

THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF THE PUBLIC BY BEING FRIENDLY AND COURTEOUS IN YOUR ATTITUDE. THE MILITARY ARE SERVANTS OF THE PEOPLE WHOSE PROTECTION YOU HAVE NOW ALSO ASSUMED TEMPORARILY.

WHEN CARRYING OUT POLICE WORK, YOU MUST NOT FORGET THAT YOU SHOULD ABIDE BY THE LAW IN ORDER TO CONVINCE THE PUBLIC THAT JUSTICE IS BEING MAINTAINED AND NOT ABUSED.

UNAMIR HAS BEEN TRAINING A NEW GROUP OF GENDARMES WHO NOW WILL BECOME TRAINERS FOR A NEW RWANDESE GENDARMERIE. WE HOPE THAT AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE, THE ARMED FORCES WILL RETURN TO TRADITIONAL MILITARY DUTIES AS THE GENDARMERIE TAKES OVER.


UNAMIR IS ALSO CONCERNED WITH THE SITUATION OF REFUGEES OUTSIDE RWANDA AND IS SEEKING WAYS TO PROVIDE A SENSE OF SAFETY AND SECURITY TO THOSE THAT RETURN. IT WILL BE PART OF THE NEW MILITARY DUTIES TO CONVEY A MESSAGE OF WELCOME TO THE RETURNEES THUS PROVIDING THEM WITH A MEASURE OF CONFIDENCE. IN FACT YOU ARE IN THE BEST POSITION TO COMMUNICATE A FEELING OF CONFIDENCE SINCE BEING RETURNEES YOURSELVES YOU ARE FULLY AWARE OF THE FEELINGS OF UNCERTAINTY THAT ACCOMPANIES THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN TRAUMATIZED BY WAR.

MORE NOW THAN EVER EVERY RWANDAN MUST FEEL THAT EACH HAS A HOME AND THAT EACH CAN RETURN TO A HOME IN SAFETY AND SECURITY.

(YOU COULD OPEN THE FLOOR FOR QUESTIONS)

ISEL RIVERO
24/10/94

OUTGOING FAX:
MIR NO:
MISC NO:

TO: Ms. Elizabeth Lindenmayer United Nations, New York USA	FROM: Isel Rivero SA/SRSG, UNAMIR Kigali 
FAX NO: (212) 963-6460	PHONE: 212-963-3582 FAX NO: 212-963-3090
ORIGINATOR: I. Rivero EXT: 11080	DATE: 12 July 1995
SECTION: OSRSG, UNAMIR, RWANDA	

For your information attached is a copy of the Speech of H.E. The Vice-President and Minister of Defence at a dinner for the Round-Table Conference delegates (7th July 1995).

All in all is a very conciliatory piece of work. Note paragraphs on pages 5, 6, and 7.

Best regards.

SPEECH OF H.E. THE VICE-PRESIDENT AND MINISTER OF DEFENCE AT A
DINNER FOR THE ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE DELEGATES
(7th JULY 1995)

Heads of Delegations,
Organizers and Participants in this Conference,
Distinguished Guests,

UP's speech. P/ send
1. NY with a copy
10/10/95
ED
Isel
SGL
127

It gives me great pleasure to have you as our guests tonight. You are warmly welcome. Although you are approaching the end of your stay, I would also wish to take this opportunity to welcome you to Rwanda. The Government of Rwanda appreciates the fact that you chose to come here for this meeting. It is indeed the appropriate venue for this mid-term review. Your coming here has enabled you to physically evaluate what is taking place in Rwanda and to see for yourselves the efforts being made by the Rwandese people, with your assistance, to reconstruct and rehabilitate this shattered nation. In the course of this Conference you have been able to interact with Rwandese from various fields and, I am sure, you have learnt more than you would have learnt from just reports maybe sent to Geneva if that was the venue that had been chosen. I hope that you will hold even the future reviews of our partnership in rebuilding this nation here in our country, as it will facilitate us to make a more realistic and accurate assessment of our achievements and needs.

We are very grateful to the organizers, particularly the UNDP, for its continued effort in drawing International attention to the plight of our people and country. Rwanda is reeling from the after effects of the worst catastrophe in the second

half of this century, and is slowly staggering back to its feet, but still far from sufficient socio-economic recovery.

The Government of Rwanda is extremely grateful to donor countries and agencies for their generous pledges at the Geneva Round-Table Conference in January 1995. We were also pleased that since January, contributions pledged by the International Community had increased from \$ US 586 m. to \$ US 768 m. If the amounts pledged however, at Geneva, were to be promptly delivered, it would make a very big difference to the reconstruction and rehabilitation of this country.

Six months after the Geneva Round-Table Conference, it is however a bit disappointing to note that of the total lot I have mentioned, 18% of the Geneva pledges may have been delivered to Rwanda and made the impact that was intended. I say "MAY" because, often, it is difficult to pinpoint where and how these funds have been used. We are told, for instance, that of the funds supposed to have been delivered, \$ US 80.7 m. has been used to finance the activities of the International Tribunal for Rwanda, UNREO, UNHCR, and World Food Programme. On the whole, when one compares Performance records of the Government with the performance of the NGOs, the UN Agencies and others, it is clear that the capacity of such organizations to provide for the Rwandese population by far surpasses that of Government. As it is, the Government, starved of cash and thus in a sense marginalized, is seen by the people as having surrendered its responsibility for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the country to, say, these agencies. Great efforts should be made to co-ordinate all assistance with the Government instead of, in some cases, trying to bypass the Government, because ultimately, in my view, it is the Government of Rwanda that is going to be held accountable to its people.

And the Government is willing and ready to fulfill its responsibilities, but obviously it will need the stated assistance to be able to do that.

Here, I also wish to take the opportunity to accept the responsibility we have in our own Government. Also in perhaps making this coordination process a problem. I think we have a problem ourselves. It's very clear. But we shall also try to do the best we can to make sure that something is done about it. I don't know; we discuss it with our colleagues. Maybe... I hope it's not a culture where something has got to stink all over and, once somebody realizes there is something stinking around, that's when he starts cleaning the place. So, maybe here we can say it has started stinking and we have got to do some cleaning of our own side. But here I also appeal to the others to help us to be able to achieve that.

It is the wish of the Government of Rwanda to quickly restore Rwanda to full normalcy, but without resources we cannot perform miracles. We are encouraged ,however, that in this mid-term review, donors have committed themselves to doing everything possible, including possible adjustment of procedures, to facilitate prompt delivery of funds to our country. The Donor Community should also understand that the situation in Rwanda is far from being normal and requires a different approach from that used for normal and ordinary situations. It is only a year after war and a brutal genocide in which more than a million people lost their lives, and 2 million others ended up in exile. And the whole scenario has created a very complex situation that requires complex solutions. Here, I would also want to bring out clearly that sometimes it's again frustrating because, given the complexity of the situation we have here and perhaps sometimes in wanting to apply simple solutions to the problems that are complicated, we have in some cases even gone to the extent of turning the victims into culprits; sometimes we blame the victims.

We fail to identify the culprits in the actual situation and, perhaps if we could clearly identify what the real problems are, maybe we could get to grips with the problem. In Rwanda there are no easy solutions and so people should be prepared to put up with tough solutions.

We have problems of survivors of genocide who have lost relatives and properties and are very clearly traumatized. We have problems of refugees who are in various categories; there are those who have returned and need to be resettled; those in refugee camps in neighbouring countries who are being held in those camps by some of the groups that were responsible for committing crimes against humanity here; and others who do not come for various reasons, but we shall have to examine each category and what can be done to make sure that this problem can be properly addressed. There is the problem of rehabilitating the justice system in order to bring to trial those suspected or known to have committed genocide, as well as deal with other cases that may infringe on law and order in our country. There is obviously the fact that our economy is shattered and industrial production almost non-existent. All these problems are linked, and therefore, will require a well co-ordinated and integrated approach in order to solve them.

On our part as the Government of Rwanda, we are prepared to do all that is necessary to work with our partners in the International Community to reconstruct and rehabilitate this country. Our Government is open to suggestions and proposals as to how we can approach the problems of this nation. And as partners, however, in order to maximize the positive effects of our efforts, it is imperative that we understand the problems of this country properly so that we can administer appropriate and effective remedies. Regular meetings, such as this, will enable us to exchange ideas, assess our progress and make sure we are always going in the same and right direction.

On the question of Rwandese Refugees in neighbouring countries, I wish to restate that this Government, since its establishment, has made the repatriation of refugees its major preoccupation. Rwanda's borders are and will remain open. It is every Munyarwanda's right, in our view, to come and live in this country without any hindrance, and in peace. But of course this will take us a lot of efforts to achieve and it's not a very easy task.

In addition to keeping the borders open, the Rwanda Government has also made other efforts to persuade refugees to come back. Government officials have visited refugee camps where security permits and groups of refugees themselves have been encouraged and facilitated to come and assess the situation in Rwanda so as to encourage their fellow refugees to come home. Inside the country mechanisms to receive and resettle refugees have been put in place. Committees have been set up to sort out property problems whenever such problems arise. And to avoid property disputes reaching crisis proportions, there is great urgency to establish compensation mechanisms, in our view, among other things, and make available funds, if possible, to compensate those who have been deprived of their properties in various circumstances throughout the years.

We are concerned that the International Community and host countries of refugees have, so far, in a way not been able to separate suspected perpetrators of genocide from genuine innocent refugees, and these perpetrators continue to hide behind these refugees and prevent them from returning home. This situation is particularly acute in Zaïre where the militias and former government forces and politicians who were in government in the past continue to organize and rearm themselves freely in order to destabilize our country. If the world wishes to help us end the refugee crisis, I would

suggest that one practical action to take is to separate or apprehend the criminals so that the innocent refugees can be encouraged to come home. For so long as these criminals exercise influence on these poor refugees, this situation will continue to be a burden to the International Community and a source of instability in the whole region.

In Rwanda, national reconciliation is an inevitable process. It is the responsibility of our government to work towards this objective. The Rwandese people have, throughout history, been a unified people with a common culture, religion and language. It is in many ways the shallow-minded and self-seeking politicians who were responsible for creating divisions among the Rwandese people to the extent that divisions in this country had come to include, in addition to tribes, regions, clans and even families. The Government has embarked on a task to restore the unity of Rwandese people. We realize this is not an easy task but we have seriously started the process; we intend to continue and to succeed in recreating a unified nation. A key element in the process of reconciliation is certainly justice. For decades Rwandese have been killed by other Rwandese with impunity and, more recently, some attempted to exterminate an entire section of the population. We are determined to break this cycle of impunity by bringing to justice those who have committed crimes against the Rwandese and humanity. We obviously realize that it might be a very difficult or impossible task to try all those who participated in these crimes given the different degrees of involvement, but we intend to categorize their degree of criminality in order to be able to manage this kind of situation. Priority will certainly be given to the masterminds and hard core groups who planned and executed genocide. I think some of these people responsible can or should never escape justice while others can be made to undergo a process to make them realize that

certainly they were involved in wrongdoing but maybe they should never do it again.

For national reconciliation to take place, justice has to be seen to be done if our people are to feel that they have equal rights and opportunities to life. The Government, with the support of the International Community, has, therefore, the responsibility of putting a judicial system in place so as to protect the basic freedoms of its people. This dictates the strengthening of administrative structure as well as the Gendarmerie or the Police for that matter, but it also calls for the swift trial of pending cases in order to decongest prisons, and to try the cases of genocide. We appeal to the International Community to enable the International Tribunal for Rwanda to commence its work as soon as possible. I'm sure on our part again I say we have a problem which we are yet to resolve and that is the problem of appointing the Judges. Let me hope ... I will promise you that we will put every effort in place to try and resolve this matter so that the justice system can start operating. This is a problem we also have to solve on our part and hope again with all our colleagues responsible for that we shall be able to resolve it very soon. We realize the urgency of that.

Finally, apart from a few attempts at incursions by the former Government forces across the border from Zaïre, especially, our forces have been able to stabilize or create a stable situation in a sense of security, all over the country despite the meagre or no resources at all to help us deal with the basic requirements in dealing with this kind of situation. Due to an unfortunate embargo still operating and imposed on our country, we still find difficulties in being able to obtain certain basic requirements so that we can come to grips with the whole situation in terms of providing security and we would like to improve security in this country given this opportunity, but we need assistance

in this field, among other things, to be able to deal with that situation properly. You should keep in mind the fact that all the nice programmes and projects you have been discussing here in these past two days, can be realized if also the element of security was put into consideration given that the success of all these programmes in one way or the other depends really on the total security situation in this country and I hope in one way or the other we could find ways of also how we can perhaps make some contributions to creating a stable security situation by making inputs in the particular areas where these inputs can bring the whole situation into the way we'd like. We have, as I said, done our best with limited resources and we shall continue to do our best. And I would suggest that it is possible for us to sit here this evening without hearing a shot; a gunshot anywhere on the streets of our capital and I'm sure this is not by accident, it's because of these efforts we have employed given the limitations that we have managed to create this kind of stable environment in which you can meet, discuss and work together. That we have not even had a curfew since we took over this town even for a single day is not really by accident, it is again because of the design of these efforts and I will again appeal to you if in some way we could be assisted in training our gendarmes in providing equipment and training all the forces that can make a difference in terms of providing security for our people and the whole country.

Again, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen, I invite you to move, when you find time, out of Kigali and visit other parts of the country to see for yourselves, what we have, or the little we have been able to achieve in a short period and under difficult circumstances. And I wish to express my special thanks to all those countries that have been of great help and specifically and particularly those who have worked directly with the Government or closely with the Government to try and deal with most of these difficult problems.

Let me conclude by appealing to you all once again to work together with the Government and co-ordinate our activities so that we can quickly rebuild this nation.

I want to end up by thanking you very much, and, if you don't mind, I would propose that maybe we put something in our glasses and I would like to propose a toast to the good health of everyone and the nation.

Thank you.

*An important
statement by the
in this
Del
14-10*

Mister President,

*26/10/94
make a copy
Track Return
Confidential to Nancy
etc*

On behalf of the delegation from the Republic of Rwanda and on my own behalf, I would like to add my voice to the speakers who came before me to congratulate you on your election. I am confident that under your enlightened guidance, we will make some progress towards alleviating the plight of the refugees. My best wishes are also addressed to the Vice-President and to the Rapporteur of this Executive Committee.

Mister President
Madame High Commissioner,
Distinguished Delegates

The Rwandan government of national unity would also like to take this opportunity to express its gratitude to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and the international community for the help they gave the Rwandan people during the very difficult period it recently went through.

I need not remind you that the first UNHCR office in Africa was set up in Bujumbura in the early sixties to deal with refugees from Rwanda. This support has not been withdrawn to this day and for this we are very grateful. My delegation also recognizes the devotion shown by the UNHCR toward the Rwandan refugees over the past three decades. Nevertheless I am deeply saddened when reminded of the suffering and deprivation that our people have known over the past 35 years. It is our government's conviction that, with the support of the international community, we can - and must - end the cycle of violence, as well as bring peace and reconciliation to the people of Rwanda.

The last 35 years have been marked by a refugee problem caused primarily by the manipulations of a colonial system founded on the principles of division but also by the methods employed by dictatorial governments wherein the interests of the leaders preceded those of its citizens. The civil conflict which erupted between two social groups in 1959 and the massacres that ensued in the early sixties pushed 350,000 Rwandans into exile. The number of refugees - the majority of which settled in border countries - had increased to close to 1,000,000 by the time war broke out in October 1990. This war forced an estimated additional 20,000 persons out of the country into Uganda and displaced 300,000 others within Rwanda's borders during the first days of the conflict. Regional efforts were made in order to resolve the refugee problem. The Dar ès Salaam Declaration made in February 1991 with the aim of finding a lasting solution to the problem of Rwandan refugees was unable to fulfil this ambition because of the ongoing war. Negotiations between the Rwandan government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front in 1992 and 1993 were concluded with the Arusha Peace Accord which included a protocol concerning the repatriation and integration of Rwandan refugees and the return of displaced persons to their lands.

Before the Arusha Peace Accord could be implemented, the people

of Rwanda were decimated by a genocide. The genocide was carefully prepared by the political leaders and the armed forces of the government whilst President Habyarimana was still alive. The result was as follows: 1,000,000 dead (and not 100,000 as seems to be indicated in the UNHCR document) and 2,000,000 refugees whilst an entire people found themselves on the road.

You all know that 1,000,000 Rwandans live in camps in Zaire and 500,000 in western Tanzania. These people, most of which were forced to run by political or military authorities, are still being held hostage by the evil forces responsible for the genocide in Rwanda. They are the same who continue to terrorize the crowds and threaten the humanitarian personnel sent by the international community to help. You all know that the members of the former government still exercise authority in the refugee camps with a hierarchical model and based on the structures in place in Rwanda before their flight. The criminals who committed unbelievable atrocities continue to lead this population at will and are put in charge of security in the camps. These facts run counter to the methods which govern the organization and the protection of refugees and are in contradiction with conventions on this subject.

These murderers are at the head of those groups responsible for intimidating and liquidating all persons who attempt to return to Rwanda. The negative influence of this situation on repatriation efforts is clear. But there is more. The members of the former government who maintain the same authority continue to threaten to attack Rwanda and, once there, to kill anyone in sight. Such utterances have, in recent weeks, driven a number of persons to flee the country.

The repatriation of long-term Rwandan refugees in Uganda, Burundi and Tanzania began nine months ago. More than 400,000 refugees, in exile for the past 35 years, returned to northern and eastern Rwanda. Their haphazard unplanned return led to a greatly disordered resettlement. The situation was such that many persons settled wherever shelter and food could be found. Many of these places often consist of houses abandoned by recent refugees and displaced persons. The problems that this situation will inevitably cause were brought to the attention of the UNHCR and the international community. Unfortunately few efforts were made to offer a solution that might insure an appropriate response to present need for planned resettlement. Many repatriated persons continue to lack shelter and other basic necessities such as water.

The plight of long-term refugees in Northern Kivu in Zaire is distressing and warrants your attention. Here, more than 400,000 exiled Rwandans live under the siege of the former Rwandan army which continues to prevent them from returning to their homes. Those who attempt to do so are killed before they reach the Rwandan border.

The lack of a resettlement program due to limited funds is a source of instability and conflict, particularly given that

people are haphazardly claiming lands that are the property of others. In the long run, such actions threaten the chances of a national reconciliation we so urgently need.

The national economy has collapsed. Most of the recent refugees have lost their belongings or seen their homes destroyed. The lack of a concerted effort on behalf of the international community to respond to the basic needs of the rural population or repatriated persons in the urban zones is plunging them deeper into extreme poverty and could become the source of even greater instability.

Madame High-Commissioner, the Rwanda government requests that you solicit the aid of the international community to help you bring about change for the refugees in the region. These changes should be geared toward facilitating the process of reconciliation and national unity as well as creating conditions favorable to economic progress and recovery. Our government proposes that urgent measures be taken to disarm all members of the armed forces and militia in the refugee camps; that the administrative and military infrastructure used by members of the former government in the camps be dismantled; that the former soldiers and militia be separated from the civilian population and that persons who have chosen to request asylum be moved far from the border in accordance with the 1969 OAU Convention on Refugees.

It is also vital that procedures for transit and reception be organized in order to insure a safe return and a more orderly resettlement. The UNHCR should play a major role in the mobilization of resources for both resettlement and socio-economic integration. Due to the scarcity of arable land, it may be necessary to establish resettlement sites on semi-arid and thus less fertile lands in the eastern and southern regions of the country. These regions are without infrastructure and water is scarce. Thus, a considerable amount of infrastructure and development work will be required before these regions will be capable of absorbing a significant number of repatriated persons and their livestock. At this time, our government is incapable taking up this challenge.

In order to promote cooperation between our government and those United Nations agencies working with refugees, we propose the immediate establishment of a commission incorporating representatives from the UNHCR, the Rwandan government, and the OAU as provided in the Arusha Peace Accord. Three-party commissions with the regional governments might also be established to support the repatriation process. We believe that these commissions will be useful in steering the information campaigns as well as in lifting the barriers to a harmonious return. We believe that the international community should support these same efforts.

Our government would like to restate our commitment to observing the conventions on the protection of refugees which guarantees the safety of those seeking refuge in our country. We are committed to collaborating with the governments and United

Nations agencies in the repatriation of all Rwandan refugees. In order to restore confidence particularly among the more recent refugees, the government of Rwanda has permitted the unrestricted deployment of international security personnel and human rights observers throughout the Rwandan territory. The Rwandan government for national unity would like to take this opportunity renew its appeal to the United Nations High-Commission for Refugees and to the international community for its indispensable assistance in relieving the suffering of the Rwandan people.

Thank you Mister President.

REPUBLIQUE RWANDAISE



PRESIDENCE DE LA REPUBLIQUE
CABINET DU PRESIDENT

ALLOCUTION

DE

S.E. M. PASTEUR BIZIMUNGU

Président de la République

49ème session de l'Assemblée générale
de l'Organisation des Nations Unies

New York, le 6 octobre 1994

(Vérifier au prononcé)

**ALLOCUTION PRONONCEE PAR SON EXCELLENCE LE
PRESIDENT DE LA REPUBLIQUE RWANDAISE LORS DE
L'ASSEMBLEE GENERALE DE L'ONU
NEW YORK LE 06/10/1994**

MONSIEUR LE PRESIDENT
EXCELLENCES
MESDAMES
MESSIEURS

COMME LES ORATEURS QUI NOUS ONT PRECEDE DEVANT CETTE AUGUSTE ASSEMBLEE, NOUS TENONS D'ABORD A VOUS ADRESSER NOS VIVES ET CHALEREUSES FELICITATIONS POUR VOTRE ELECTION A LA PRESENTE SESSION, ELECTION QUI TEMOIGNE DE LA CONFIANCE ET DE L'ESTIME QUE LA COMMUNAUTE INTERNATIONALE RECONNAIT EN VOS EMINENTES QUALITES ET EN VOTRE COMPETENCE ET A TRAVERS VOUS UN HOMMAGE SOLLENNEL A VOTRE PAYS , LA COTE D'IVOIRE, PAYS FRERE ET AMI, POUR SON ROLE PREPONDERANT DANS LE CONCERT DES NATIONS, ET SA FERME DETERMINATION A CONTRIBUER AU RENFORCEMENT CONSTANT DE LA COOPERATION . NOUS VOUDRIONS VOUS ASSURER QUE LA DELEGATION RWANDAISE N'EPARGNERA AUCUN EFFORT POUR APPORTER SA MODESTE CONTRIBUTION A LA REUSSITE DE VOTRE TACHE. NOUS SAISISSEZ AUSSI CETTE OCCASION POUR RENDRE UN VIBRANT HOMMAGE A VOTRE PREDECESSEUR SON EXCELLENCE SAMUEL INSANALLY DE LA GUYANNE, POUR LA COMPETENCE , LA SAGESSE ET LA DILIGENCE AVEC LESQUELES IL A DIRIGE LES TRAVAUX DE LA 48EME SESSION DE L'ASSEMBLEE GENERALE DE NOTRE ORGANISATION.

NOUS TENONS PAR AILLEURS A REMERCIER, LE SECRETAIRE GENERAL DE L'ONU, SON EXCELLENCE BOUTROS BOUTROS GHALI, POUR LES EFFORTS INLASSABLES QU'IL DEPLOIE AFIN DE RENFORCER LE ROLE DE L'ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES , EN TANT QU'INSTRUMENT DE PROMOTION DE LA PAIX ET DE LA SOLIDARITE ENTRE LES PEUPLES.

NOUS VOUDRIONS AUSSI EXPRIMER NOS VIFS SOUHAITS DE BIENVENUE DANS LA VASTE FAMILLE DES NATIONS UNIES LA REPUBLIQUE SUD-AFRICAINE, NOUVEAU MEMBRE, QUI VIENT D'HONORER LES IDEAUX DEMOCRATIQUES EN ABOLISSANT LE SYSTEME ODIEUX DE L'APARTHEID.

CERTES, L'AVENEMENT D'UNE AFRIQUE DU SUD UNIE, DEMOCRATIQUE ET NON RACIALE, PAR LE BIAIS DES ELECTIONS LIBRES ET DEMOCRATIQUES, MERITE D'ETRE SALUE SUR LA TRIBUNE DE CETTE AUGUSTE ASSEMBLEE.

MONSIEUR LE PRESIDENT,
EXCELLENCES,
MESDAMES,
MESSIEURS,

CETTE TRIBUNE DES NATIONS EST POUR NOUS UNE OCCASION PROPICE POUR EXPOSER LE PROBLEME DU RWANDA QUI N'A CESSÉ DE DEFRAIER LES CHRONIQUES.

ON NE PEUT PARLER DU PROBLEME RWANDAIS SANS EVOQUER LE ROLE QUE L'ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES A JOUE ET CONTINUE DE JOUER DANS L'HISTOIRE DE NOTRE PAYS. L'HISTOIRE DE NOS LIENS EST BIEN CONNUE; L'ON SE RAPPELLERA QUE LE RWANDA AVAIT ETE PLACE, DEPUIS A PEU PRES LE DEBUT DE CE SIECLE SOUS LE REGIME DE MANDAT D'ABORD, PUIS SOUS LE REGIME DE TUTELLE, QUI NOUS A CONDUIT A L'INDEPENDANCE.

CETTE HISTOIRE EST EMAILLEE DES MALHEUREUX EVENEMENTS AUXQUELS LA COMMUNAUTE INTERNATIONALE A ASSISTE, ET DONT LE DERNIER EN DATE EST LE GENOCIDE QUE VIENT DE VIVRE LE RWANDA, GENOCIDE QUI RIVALISE QVEC L'HOLOCAUSTE NAZI DES ANNES QUARANTE.

CE GENOCIDE EST EN QUELQUE SORTE UN PARADOXE CAR DEPUIS LA FIN DE LA SECONDE GEURRE MONDIALE, LA COMMUNAUTE INTERNATIONALE S'EFFORCE DE CONSTRUIRE UNE CIVILISATION DONT LES FONDATIONS REPOSENT SUR LE RESPECT DES DROITS FONDAMENTAUX DE LA PERSONNE HUMAINE.

ALORS QUE LA COMMUNAUTE INTERNATIONALE CONJUGAIT SES EFFORTS POUR METTRE FIN AU RACISME ET A LA DISCRIMINATION RACIALE, PLUS PARTICULIEREMENT A L'APARTHEID EN AFRIQUE DU SUD, DONT LA PARTICIPATION A LA 49EME SESSION AUJOURD'HUI EST UN HEUREUX EVENEMENT, UNE IDEOLOGIE DU MEME GENRE SE DEVELOPPAIT DANS NOTRE PAYS.

CETTE IDEOLOGIE PROFESSAIT PUBLIQUEMENT PAR LE POUVOIR PLUS PARTICULIEREMENT PAR LES PARTIS MRND ET CDR D'U FEU PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA, A FRAYE LA VOIE AU GENOCIDE. LES PLANS

D'EXTERMINATION ONT ETE ELABORES PENDANT LONGTEMPS AU GRAND JOUR SANS REDOUTER QUOI QUE CE SOIT PARCE QUE LE POUVOIR AVAIT DEPUIS LONGTEMPS INSTITUTIONNALISE LA VIOLATION DES DROITS FONDAMENTAUX DE LA PERSONNE. C'EST POUR CETTE RAISON QU'UNE OPPOSITION ARMEE - LE FRONT PATRIOTIQUE RWANDAIS - AVAIT CONFRONTE LE REGIME DES 1990. DES PARTIS POLITIQUES D'OPPOSITION VERRONT LE JOUR EGALEMENT EN 1991 A LA FAVEUR DE LA PRESSION EXERCEE PAR LE FPR.

LES PAYS DE LA SOUS-REGION, SOUS L'EGIDE DE L'OUA - INITIERENT UN PROCESSUS DE PAIX AUQUEL S'ASSOCIERA AUSSI PLUS TARD L'ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES AINSI QUE PLUSIEURS PAYS OCCIDENTAUX. NOUS SAISISSEZ CETTE OCCASION POUR REMERCIER LES UNS ET LES AUTRES DE LEURS INLASSABLES EFFORTS AFIN DE FAIRE ABOUTIR LES NEGOCIATIONS D'ARUSHA. PENDANT PLUS D'UNE ANNEE, LES RWANDAIS ONT NEGOCIE L'ACCORD DE PAIX D'ARUSHA DONT LES PRINCIPALES CONCLUSIONS SONT L'INSTAURATION D'UN ETAT DE DROIT AU RWANDA, LE RESPECT DES DROITS DE LA PERSONNE, LE PARTAGE DU POUVOIR, LA CREATION D'UNE ARMEE NATIONALE SANS DISCRIMINATION, LA CONSTRUCTION D'UNE SOCIETE BASEE SUR LE RESPECT DES PRINCIPES DEMOCRATIQUES ET SUR LA RECONCILIATION NATIONALE. *Le retour des réfugiés*

LA COMMUNAUTE INTERNATIONALE A ETE TEMOIN DE L'INTRANSIGENCE DU REGIME MRND-CDR QUI, QUALIFIANT CET ACCORD DE CHIFFON DE PAPIER, CONCOCTAIT LE PLAN D'EXTERMINATION QUE L'ON CONNAIT ET QUE LE MONDE ENTIER RECONNAIT AUJOURD'HUI COMME GENOCIDE. LES PROJECTEURS INTERNATIONAUX BRAQUES SUR CETTE BARBARIE ONT MONTRE LES MOMENTS D'UNE RARE CRUAUTE. LA MILICE ENTRAINEE DU MRND-CDR APPUYEE PAR LA GARDE PRESIDENTIELLE, AINSI QUE PAR CERTAINS AUTRES ELEMENTS DE L'ARMEE, EGORGEAIENT FEMMES, VIELLARDS, HOMMES ET ENFANTS. ALORS QUE LE PAYSAGE RWANDAIS ETAIT JONCHE DE TAS DE CADAVRES, NOS RIVIERES ELLES CHARRIAIENT DES MILLIERS DE CORPS. DES EGLISES ET DES ECOLES TRANSFORMEES EN VERITABLES ABBATOIRS, SENTENT MEME A L'HEURE ACTUELLE, LA CHAIR HUMAINE DES MILLIERS D'INNOCENTS QUI AVAIENT ESPERE Y TROUVER REFUGE. LES FOSSES COMMUNES DES VICTIMES DE LA FOLIE D'AVRIL SE COMPTENT PAR MILLIERS.

MONSIEUR LE PRESIDENT,
EXCELLENCES,
MESDAMES,
MESSIEURS,

LES TUERIES QUI ONT EU LIEU DANS NOTRE PAYS AVAIENT POUR BUT ET ONT EU POUR EFFET, LA DESINTEGRATION DU PEUPLE RWANDAIS. NOUS DEVONS PROPREMENT REBATIR LA NATION RWANDAISE. FAIRE COEXISTER LES

DIFFERENTES COMPOSANTES DE LA POPULATION, LEUR REDONNER UN MEME ESPOIR, UN DESTIN COMMUN DEVIENT, APRES CE QUI S'EST PASSE, UNE TACHE ARDUE MAIS INDISPENSABLE. NOUS AVONS DEJA DEMANDE AU HAUT COMMISSAIRE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME D'ASSISTER NOTRE GOUVERNEMENT DANS SES EFFORTS D'APPRENTISSAGE AUX RWANDAIS DES NOUVELLES VALEURS, FONDEES SUR LE RESPECT DES DROITS FONDAMENTAUX DE LA PERSONNE.

IL N' Y AURAIT PAS EU DE GENOCIDE SI LE SYSTEME MRND-CDR AVAIT ADHERE A L'ESPRIT D'ARUSHA. MAIS MRND-CDR NE POUVAIENT PAS ADHERER A L'ESPRIT D'ARUSHA PUISQUE CES NAZIS RWANDAIS SONT PARTISANS DE LA "SOLUTION FINALE", DE L'EXTERMINATION. CONTRAIREMENT A LA MORALE ET AU BON SENS, AUX VALEURS DANS LESQUELS NOUS CROYONS TOUS AU SEIN DE CETTE ASSEMBLEE, AUX PRESCRITS D'ARUSHA EN PARTICULIER, LES PERSONNES INSENSIBLES A NOS MALHEURS DEMANDENT POUR CES PARTIS NAZIS LE DROIT D'EXERCER LE POUVOIR. JAMAIS AU COURS DE CAS PAREILS DE GENOCIDE CONNUS DANS L'HISTOIRE, ON A SOLLICITE POUR LES AUTEURS ORGANISES DU CRIME UN TEL PRIVILEGE SCANDALEUX. DE TELLES REQUETES FONT BON MARCHE DE NOTRE DIGNITE EN TANT QUE PERSONNE HUMAINE. NOUS NE POUVONS ACCEDER A DE TELLES DEMANDES QUI SONT CONTRAIRES A L'ESPRIT ET A LA LETTRE DES PRINCIPES QUI FONDENT CETTE AUGUSTE INSTITUTION DES NATIONS UNIES : A SAVOIR LES DROITS FONDAMENTAUX DE LA PERSONNE.

EN DECOURAGEANT LES PULSIONS A LA VENGEANCE ET DANS L'ATTENTE D'UNE JUSTICE TRANSPARENTE, APPUYEE PAR LA COMMUNAUTE INTERNATIONALE, NOTRE GOUVERNEMENT A PU CONTENIR UNE SITUATION MARQUEE COMME IL SE DOIT APRES UN TEL DRAME PAR DES TENSIONS ET DES RANCOEURS. CONTRAIREMENT AUX DENIGREMENTS SANS FONDEMENTS NOTRE GOUVERNEMENT AGIT SANS FAIBLESSES ET A FORTIORI SANS COMPLAISANCE EN CAS D'INFRACTION A LA LOI.

NOTRE GOUVERNEMENT A CONTINUE A COLLABORER TRES ETROITEMENT AVEC LA FORCE ONUSIENNE, ET A FACILITER SON TRAVAIL. AVEC DES MOYENS PLUTOT DERISOIRES, NOTRE GOUVERNEMENT A ENTREPRIS DE REBATIR UN PAYS SOCIALEMENT DESINTEGRE, MORALEMENT ET PHYSIQUEMENT RAVAGE. LA MISSION HUMANITAIRE DE LA MINUAR RESTE POUR NOUS UN ATOUT INDISPENSABLE DANS L'ENTREPRISE DE LA REHABILITATION.

CETTE BARBARIE SANS NOM, CE GENOCIDE A ETE CONSOMME DEVANT LES YEUX DE LA COMMUNAUTE INTERNATIONALE. NOUS SOMMES RECONNAISSANTS ENVERS LES PAYS QUI ONT GENEREUSEMENT MIS LEURS TROUPES A LA DISPOSITION DE LA MINUAR - MISSION DES NATIONS UNIES POUR LE MAINTIEN DE LA PAIX AU RWANDA, SANS OUBLIER LES CONTINGENTS AFRICAINS DU

GROUPE D'OBSERVATEURS MILITAIRES NEUTRES (GOMN). NOUS LEUR EXPRIMONS NOS SINCERES REMERCIEMENTS POUR L'ESPRIT AVEC LEQUEL ILS ONT APPORTE LEUR CONTRIBUTION. LES TROUPES, ABUSEES PAR LES AUTEURS DE L'APOCALYPSE QUE SONT LES AUTORITES RWANDAISES D'ALORS ONT ETE HELAS AU LIEU DE VIGILES DE LA PAIX ET DE LA CONCORDE ENTRE LES RWANDAIS - LES TEMOINS PIEGES DU CARNAGE. NOUS REGRETTONS QUE LEUR MANDAT LES A EMPECHES D'ETRE EFFICACES AU MOMENT DU DRAME. QU'IL NOUS SOIT PERMIS, A PARTIR DE CETTE EXPERIENCE, D'ENCOURAGER LES NATIONS UNIES A FOURNIR AU TRIBUNAL INTERNATIONAL A CREER AU RWANDA, LES MOYENS DE FONCTIONNER NORMALEMENT AFIN DE NOUS EPARGNER D'AUTRES DEBOIRES ET D'AUTRES DRAMES.

A LA DEMANDE DU RWANDA ET APRES LE RAPPORT D'ENQUETE DE M. DEGNI - SEGUI AINSI QUE CELUI DE LA COMMISSION D'EXPERTS MISE EN PLACE PAR LA RESOLUTION 935(1994) DU CONSEIL DE SECURITE DU 01 JUILLET 1994, IL EST PLUS QU'URGENT DE METTRE SUR PIED CE TRIBUNAL INTERNATIONAL.

CE TRIBUNAL PERMETTRA DE TRADUIRE EN JUSTICE LES REponsABLES DU GENOCIDE EN TOUTE TRANSPARENCE. NOTRE MOTIVATION EST QUE NOUS VOULONS UN INSTRUMENT DE JUSTICE SANS FRONTIERE ETANT DONNE QUE LA PLUPART DES CRIMINELS ONT TROUVE REFUGE DANS PLUSIEURS COINS DU MONDE. BIEN PLUS, LA NATURE DES FAITS REPUTES CRIMES CONTRE L'HUMANITE MERITE LA COALITION DE LA COMMUNAUTE INTERNATIONALE POUR LEUR REPRESSION.

C'EST POUR CETTE RAISON QUE NOUS CONTINUONS D'ENCOURAGER L'ADOPTION D'UNE RESOLUTION DU CONSEIL DE SECURITE QUI FACILITERAIT L'ARRESTATION ET LE JUGEMENT DES RESPONSABLES DU GENOCIDE SE TROUVANT DANS DES CAMPS DES REFUGIES A L'EXTERIEUR DE NOS FRONTIERES. NOUS RAPPELONS AU DEMEURANT QUE LA PLUPART DE CES CAMPS SONT D'ABORD DES CAMPS MILITAIRES OU LES MILITAIRES ET LES MILICES TOUJOURS EN POSSESSION DE L'ARMEMENT LOURD ET LEGER TIENNENT EN OTAGE DES CENTAINES DE MILLIERS D'INDIVIDUS.

CETTE RESOLUTION DEVRAIT SE BASER SUR LE CHAPITRE VII DE LA CHARTE DES NATIONS UNIES ET DEVRAIT COMPORTER ENTRE AUTRE :

UNE AUTORISATION ET UNE DEMANDE AUX ETATS MEMBRES DES NATIONS UNIES DE DETENIR DES PERSONNES SE TROUVANT SUR LEUR TERRITOIRE SUR LESQUELLES PESENT DES PRESOMPTIONS SOLIDES POUR LEUR PARTICIPATION DANS LES ACTES DE GENOCIDE.

LA CONSTRUCTION D'UNE NOUVELLE SOCIETE FONDEE SUR LA JUSTICE SOCIALE ET LE RESPECT DES DROITS FONDAMENTAUX DE LA PERSONNE NE

SERA POSSIBLE QUE SI LES RESPONSABLES DE LA TRAGEDIE RWANDAISE SONT TRADUITS EN JUSTICE. AUJOURD'HUI, SIX MOIS APRES QUE LES PREMIERS CRIMES AIENT ETE CONSOMMES, IL IMPORTE DE COMMENCER A AGIR. LE RETARD DANS LA MISE EN ROUTE DES PROCES PROVOQUE DES FRUSTRATIONS COMPREHENSIBLES DE LA PART DES VICTIMES QUI DESESPERENT DEJA D'UNE SOCIETE SANS JUSTICE. DE LEUR PART, LES VICTIMES ONT TENDANCE A CONSIDERER CETTE RELATIVE IMPUNITÉ COMME ^{conçues} UNE SANCTION DE LEURS CRIMES.

UN AUTRE PROBLEME EPINEUX AUQUEL FAIT FACE NOTRE PAYS ET SUR LEQUEL NOUS VOUDRIONS APPORTER DES ECLAIRCISSEMENTS EST CELUI DES REFUGIES.

LES REFUGIES RWANDAIS SE RANGENT DANS DEUX GROUPES : LES ANCIENS AUXQUELS LE POUVOIR DICTATORIAL AVAIT REFUSE LE DROIT AU RETOUR DANS LA MERE PATRIE, LES PLUS RECENTS QUI ONT DU FUIR LE RWANDA SUITE AUX DEVELOPPEMENTX CI-HAUTS EXPOSES. LA POLITIQUE DE NOTRE GOUVERNEMENT VA DANS LE SENS D'ENCOURAGER TOUS LES REFUGIES SANS DISCRIMINATION AUCUNE, A REVENIR DANS LEUR PAYS.

A CE SUJET, NOUS NE CESSONS PAS DE MULTIPLIER DES APPELS A NOS CONCITOYENS AU-DELA DE NOS FRONTIERES POUR QU'ILS NOUS REJOIGNENT AFIN DE BATIR UN RWANDA NOUVEAU. DES MILLIERS DE CEUX-LA ONT DEJA REGAGNE LEUR TERRE NATALE, MAIS BEAUCOUP D'AUTRES RESTENT. NOS APPELS S'ADRESSENT AUSSI AUX MILITAIRES AFIN QU'ILS VIENNENT - S'ILS LE DESIRENT ENCORE - CONTINUER LEUR CARRIERE AU SEIN DE L'ARMEE NATIONALE RWANDAISE.

LE RWANDA - CE PAYS EST LE LEUR, IL APPARTIENT DE FACON INDISPUTABLEMENT EGALE A TOUTES SES FILLES ET FILS, AVEC SES POSSIBILITES, SES LIMITES, LES SEQUELLES DE L'HISTOIRE DONT CELLES DE LA DERNIERE TRAGEDIE QU'IL NOUS FAUT TOUS ASSUMER.

NOTRE GOUVERNEMENT A PRIS LE PARI D'AGIR DANS LA TRANSPARENCE. LE DEPLOIEMENT SANS RESTRICTION DE LA MINUAR AINSI QUE D'AUTRES OBSERVATEURS DU RESPECT DES DROITS DE L'HOMME DEVRAIENT RASSURER TOUT LE MONDE ET NOTAMMENT LES REFUGIES, SUR LA FERME VOLONTE DU GOUVERNEMENT, DE RESPECTER L'ETAT DE DROIT.

NOUS ENCOURAGEONS LES NATIONS UNIES DE CONTRIBUER A LEVER TOUS LES OBSTACLES AU RETOUR DES REFUGIES ET NOTAMMENT :

- QUE CESSE LA VIOLENCE DANS DES CAMPS A L'EGARD NOTAMMENT DE CEUX QUI DESIRENT RENTRER.

- QUE CESSE LA MAINMISE DES MILICES DE L'ANCIENNE ARMEE ET D'AUTRES AUTEURS DU GENOCIDE SUR LE RESTE DES GENS.

C'EST LA RAISON POUR LAQUELLE NOUS IMPLORONS L'ASSISTANCE DE LA COMMUNAUTE INTERNATIONALE POUR SURMONTER TOUS LES DEFIS LIES AU RETOUR DES REFUGIES.

MONSIEUR LE PRESIDENT,
EXCELLENCES,
MESDAMES,
MESSIEURS,

DES PAS CONCRETS ONT ETE CERTES FRANCHIS, MAIS BEAUCOUP RESTENT A FAIRE POUR QUE NOTRE PLANETE SOIT TOTALEMENT DEBARASSEE DE CES ARMEMENTS, QUI ONT ETE DANS LE PASSE, SOURCES DE GRAVES TENSIONS DANS DIFFERENTS COINS ET QUI ONT DEGENERE EN CONFLITS ARMES.

BIEN QUE LA DETENTE EST-OUEST AIT BEAUCOUP CONTRIBUE A LA RESOLUTION DE CERTAINS CONFLITS, NOTAMMENT EN INDOCHINE, EN AMERIQUE LATINE AINSI QU'AU MOYEN-ORIENT, IL EST REGRETTABLE QU'AILLEURS, COMME EN EX-YOUGOSLAVIE, UN CERTAIN NOMBRE DE PAYS AFRICAINS, LE TORCHON CONTINUE A BRULER.

LE RWANDA APPUIE SANS EMBAGES, L'EFFORT DE LA COMMUNAUTE INTERNATIONALE DANS LE RESPECT DES ENGAGEMENTS AYANT TRAIT AU REGLEMENT PACIFIQUE DES DIFFERENDS ET LA NON-PROLIFERATION DES ARMES NUCLEAIRES ET D'AUTRES ARMES DE DESTRUCTION MASSIVE. NOTRE PAYS EST D'ORES ET DEJA PARTIE AU TRAITE SUR LA NON-PROLIFERATION DES ARMES NUCLEAIRES ET NOUS REITERONS NOTRE ENTIERE FIDELITE AUX OBJECTIFS QUE LA COMMUNAUTE INTERNATIONALE S'EST ASSIGNEES POUR L'AVENIR DU DESARMEMENT ET DU CONTROLE DES ARMEMENTS.

CES OBJECTIFS, QUI VISENT A REDUIRE LES RISQUES DE GUERRE, LIMITER DES DESTRUCTIONS EN CAS DE CELLE-CI, FACILITER L'ARRET DE LA GUERRE, A UN STADE PRECOCE, EDIFIER LA SECURITE INTERNATIONALE DANS LE SOUCI DE LA PROSPERITE ECONOMIQUE, TRANSFERER DES FONDS ECONOMIQUES GRACE AU DESARMEMENT VERS LES PAYS EN VOIE DE DEVELOPPEMENT SONT UN VERITABLE TREMPLIN VERS L'EPANOUISSEMENT DE TOUTES LES NATIONS.

MONSIEUR LE PRESIDENT,
EXCELLENCES,
MESDAMES
MESSIEURS,

QUOIQU'IL Y AIT DES PROGRES TANGIBLES AIENT ETE REALISES DANS LE DOMAINE DU DESARMEMENT, LE NOUVEL ORDRE MONDIAL RESTE COMPROMIS PAR LE FOSSE SANS CESSER DE CROISSANT ENTRE DES PAYS PAUVRES ET LES NATIONS LES PLUS NANTIES.

A LA LUMIERE DES DEUX PUBLICATIONS ONUSIENNES SUR LA SITUATION ECONOMIQUE ET SOCIALE DANS LE MONDE POUR LES ANNEES 1993 ET 1994, LES TENDANCES ECONOMIQUES ACTUELLES DANS LE MONDE FONT ENTREVOIR DES PERSPECTIVES SOMBRES A COURT ET A MOYEN TERME, NOTAMMENT POUR NOMBRE DE PAYS DU TIERS MONDE.

LA DELEGATION RWANDAISE SOUHAITE QUE CETTE 49EME SESSION REAFFIRME L'IMPORTANCE ET LA VALIDITE TOUJOURS ACTUELLE DE LA DECLARATION SUR LA COOPERATION ECONOMIQUE INTERNATIONALE, PLUS PARTICULIEREMENT LA RELANCE DE LA CROISSANCE ECONOMIQUE ET DU DEVELOPPEMENT DANS LES PAYS EN VOIE DE DEVELOPPEMENT.

NOUS INVITONS SOLENNELLEMENT, LA 49EME SESSION DE L'ASSEMBLEE GENERALE DE L'ONU DE PRENDRE CONSCIENCE DU DROIT FONDAMENTAL AU DEVELOPPEMENT, ENONCE DANS LA DECLARATION DE VIENNE, ET ADOPTEE PAR LA CONFERENCE MONDIALE SUR LES DROITS DE L'HOMME, ET DU LIEN ENTRE PAIX ET DEVELOPPEMENT. LE RESPECT DES DROITS DE L'HOMME ET DES LIBERTES FONDAMENTALES ET LE DEVELOPPEMENT SONT INTERDEPENDANTS ET SE RENFORCENT MUTUELLEMENT. LE RWANDA ET L'AFRIQUE ENTIERE, ATTENDENT BEAUCOUP DE LA MISE EN PLACE DE L'AGENDA DES NATIONS UNIES POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT ET LA MISE EN APPLICATION RAPIDE DES REVISIONS PROPOSEES AU PLAN D'ACTION; DES REVISIONS SANS NULLE DOUTE QUI PERMETTRAIENT DE REDRESSER L'ECONOMIE DE NOS PAYS.

IL IMPORTE ABSOLUMENT QUE LES NATIONS UNIES, DONT LE SEUL OBJECTIF RESTE LA PROMOTION DE LA PAIX, LA SECURITE ET LE DEVELOPPEMENT S'ADONNENT A DES ACTIVITES QUI CADRENT BIEN AVEC CES OBJECTIFS.

APRES CINQUANTE ANS D'EXISTENCE, DEPUIS LA CHARTE DE SAN FRANCISCO, LE MONDE A CONNU BEAUCOUP DE MUTATIONS. DE NOUVELLES PUISSANCES SE SONT DEVELOPPEES, LA CARTE DE LA GEOPOLITIQUE MONDIALE A CHANGE, L'AFRIQUE S'EST EMANCIPEE AINSI QUE D'AUTRES PAYS DU TIERS MONDE, LA GUERRE FROIDE A PRIS FIN ... C'EST DIRE COMBIEN NOTRE ORGANISATION MERITE D'ETRE REVUE POUR REpondre AUX EXIGENCES NOUVELLES.

C'EST DANS CE CADRE QUE LE RWANDA SE SOUCIE DES EXIGENCES DE LA NOUVELLE GEOPOLITIQUE MONDIALE AINSI QUE DU ROLE NOUVEAU ASSIGNE A L'ONU POUR CONTRIBUER A L'AVENEMENT DU NOUVEL ORDRE MONDIAL.

A CET EGARD, UNE ATTENTION PARTICULIERE SE PORTE SUR LA RESTRUCTURATION EN COURS DU SYSTEME DES NATIONS UNIES NOTAMMENT AU NIVEAU DU CONSEIL DE SECURITE.

CONCERNANT CET ORGANE TRES IMPORTANT DU SYSTEME ONUSIEN, LA DELEGATION RWANDAISE EST D'AVIS QU'IL FAUT ACCROITRE LE NOMBRE DE SES MEMBRES AUSSI BIEN PERMANENTS QUE NON PERMANENTS, EN VEILLANT SCRUPULEUSEMENT SUR LA REPRESENTATION GEOGRAPHIQUE EQUITABLE ET SUR L'EFFICACITE VOULUE.

DANS LE MEME ORDRE D'IDEES, LA RESTRUCTURATION EN COURS DU SYSTEME ONUSIEN DEVRAIT PERMETTRE AUX PETITS ETATS DE JOUIR DAVANTAGE DE SECURITE ET DE POUVOIR SIEGER AU CONSEIL DE SECURITE SANS ENTRAVE.

IL SIED DE SOUHAITER QUE LA NOUVELLE CONFIGURATION DU CONSEIL DE SECURITE REFLETE LE PRINCIPE D'EGALITE ENTRE TOUS LES ETATS MEMBRES ET QUE CETTE REFORME RESPECTE LES REGLES DE DEMOCRATIE ET DE TRANSPARENCE.

MR THE PRESIDENT,
YOUR EXCELLENCIES,
LADIES AND GENTLMEN,

MAY I CONCLUDE BY STATING BEFORE THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS THAT YOU REPRESENT THAT:

1. THE TASK THAT WE HAVE SET OURSELVES IS ENORMOUS, BUT THE WILL AND DETERMINATION OF THE RWANDESE PEOPLE TO BUILD A NEW SOCIETY IS UNFLINCHING.
2. TO ALL THOSE RWANDESE WHO BECAME VICTIMS OF THE MACHINE OF GENOCIDE AND RECENT MASSACRES, WE SHARE YOUR DEEP WOUNDS AND RE-ITERATE OUR DETERMINATION TO BRING THE CULPRITS TO JUSTICE.
3. TO THOSE RWANDESE WHO WERE BLINDLY MANIPULATED TO JOIN THE BANKRUPT POLITICS OF DIVISION AND SUPPRESSION, WE CALL UPON YOU TO COME BACK TO YOUR SENSES AND JOIN US IN BUILDING A NEW SOCIETY BASED ON TOLERANCE AND RECONCILIATION.
4. TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, I PLEDGE OUR RESOLVE TO ENSURE THAT NEVER AGAIN SHALL RWANDA BE A TERRAIN ON WHICH IS SOWN POLITICS OF DENIAL OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS TO ANY OF ITS CITIZENS.

YOUR ROLE IN HELPING US TO PICK UP THE PIECES OF THE COMPLETELY SHATTERED FABRIC OF OUR SOCIETY NEED NOT BE EMPHASIZED. WE SHARE THIS MORAL DUTY, IT BEING UNDERSTOOD THAT BY FAR, THE MAJOR BURDEN OF THIS RESPONSIBILITY LIES WITH THE RWANDESE PEOPLE THEMSELVES.

I THANK YOU.