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RWANDA A RAY OF HOPE

BUT WHO WAS BEHIND THE MASSACRES?

If the reasons are just, the massacres are justified. In war, you don't consider the consequences, you consider the causes. You cannot use that word genocide because there are numerous (Tutsis) surviving

François Karera, former prefet of Greater Kigali, August 1994.

The men (and a few women) who brought down the apocalypse on Rwanda are known. And, while some deny that any killing occurred, others are often shamelessly frank about their role and eager to justify genocide.

The killers include the professional interahamwe, soldiers, gendarmes, Presidential Guardsmen and local government officials who actually supervised and carried out the killings. Some of these people have been witnessed, with their clothes literally drenched in blood, at the scene of massacres or at roadblocks. And, above them, there are the architects of genocide - the men who held the highest offices in the land, who controlled the government, army and radio stations, and who planned and implemented the killings from on high.

Few of these people actually wielded machetes or even guns, but it was their policies and words that put guns and machetes in the hands of so many people in Rwanda. Some travelled the country inciting hatred, or spoke on the radio, others were active behind the scenes encouraging the extremists and lending them logistical,

financial, political or diplomatic support.



Habyarimana: Murdered by his own.

PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA'S FAMILY

President Juvenal Habyarimana was the first victim of the killings. This is deeply ironic, as perhaps more than any other individual, he was responsible for creating the organisations, ideologies and motives for the mass killing. However, it will be clear that by the time of his death, the President himself had become an obstacle to the progress of the extremist machine that he had done so much to set in motion.

Immediately around Habyarimana there was a circle of men and women who had divided the spoils of the country between them. Most were from the President's own hill and that of his wife, a group known as the Akazu. Close relatives of the President's wife, Agathe Habyarimana, were particularly prominent. Her brother, Col. Elie Sagatwa, a private secretary to Habyarimana, was known as a member of the "Network Zero" that was accused of co-ordinating killings before 6 April; he was killed in the plane

crash, apparently a sacrifice that the extremists were prepared to make.

***Madame Agathe Habyarimana** herself is one of those who played a central albeit unobtrusive role in the extremist tendency during the pre-6 April period. She is reported to have been present at important meetings where the activities of the "Network Zero" plans for eliminating the opposition were prepared. She was also active in supporting the extremist journal *Kangura* and was associated with the CDR. Immediately after 6 April, she was evacuated to France on a French flight.

In exile, Mme Habyarimana has been careful to cultivate the image of the apolitical widow whose principal concern has been the burial of her husband's remains. But the attempt to deflect attention from her role in the genocide cuts little ice with Rwandese where her dominant political role earned her the nickname of "**Kanjogera**", after a famous queen in Rwandese history, known for her domineering and highly political role.

Unfortunately for Mme Habyarimana, the launching of **Operation Turquoise** led to intense media scrutiny of the links between the French government and the Habyarimana family. She is so confident of her innocence that after accusations of her involvement began to become public, she immediately armed herself with the services of three expensive lawyers, in France, Belgium and Cameroon. The lawyer she has hired to defend her in Paris, Jacques Verges, is the lawyer who defended Claus Barbie, the Nazi war criminal known as the "Butcher of Lyons". Verges has

also been retained by Carlos, the man wanted in connection with a wide range of terrorist attacks worldwide.

Although international human rights organisations called upon Mme Habyarimana to use her personal authority with the interim government and Presidential Guard to condemn the killings and hence help to bring them to a halt, the Presidential widow was conspicuous by her silence. She is one of the four co-defendants in a case brought by the media pressure group, Reporters sans Frontiers, against individuals living in France who were closely associated with RTLM.

***Protais Zigiranyirazo** is a brother of Madame Habyarimana. He used to be prefet of Ruhengeri where he is held to have been responsible for widespread killings. His involvement in illegal tradings in endangered species and the murder of the American naturalist Dian Fossey was exposed by Nick Gordon in his book, *Murder in the Mist: Who Killed Dian Fossey?* He became a businessman with connections in Canada, but was deported from Canada in September 1993 after he had made death threats against members of the Rwandese community there. His business connections became intertwined with the President and the Canadian aid programme. He is one of the original shareholders of radio RTLM. Currently in exile in France, he has been named as one of the four co-defendants in the case brought by Reporters sans Frontiers against RTLM;

***Seraphim Rwabukumba** is also a brother of Madame Habyarimana. He was previously head of the Bank of Rwanda and later had his own import/export business. He has also been implicated in the activities of Network Zero. He is currently in exile in

France.

The Interim Government

The self-proclaimed interim government that was established on 8th April consisted entirely of extremists and their fellow-travelers. Though the ministerial portfolios were divided between five parties: MRND, MDR, PL, PSD and PDC. In a facade of continuity from the previous government, most cabinet positions were allocated to the party that had held them before. The CDR, in another gesture of continuity, held no cabinet position. Government spokesmen claimed that the new government was in conformity with the Arusha Accords. But, in violation of the Accords, in all cases the chosen politicians were selected from the pro-MRND or "Power" factions of their respective parties. Most of the others were murdered.

Some cabinet members in the interim government had no history of virulent extremism, merely opportunism - they were brought in, without real power, solely as a propaganda facade to establish the supposed broad base of the government. Nonetheless, their willing participation in a genocidal government makes them accomplices to the crime.

***Dr Theodore Sindikubwabo**, president and member of MRND. Qualified as a pediatrician, he is from Butare. For the first twelve days after the death of the President, Butare was peaceful. Sindikubwabo then visited and explicitly incited the population to violence, asking them not to "remain unconcerned" by what was happening in the rest of the country. He replaced the prefet who had until that moment been responsible for the calm prevailing. Prof. Rene Degni-Segui, the special rapporteur appointed by the UN commission on Human Rights, has singled out Sindikubwabo's visit

to Butare as the prelude to widespread killings in Butare. While in Butare, Sindikubwabo went to address a huge group of refugees who had fled the violence in Gikongoro. He accused them of having fled famine in Gikongoro and of having brought unease to Butare. He told them to leave Butare, adding "That it was unlikely they would leave" because "of all the free porridge you are getting". He then held separate meetings with the councillors. On 18 May, he visited Kibuye to urge Hutus to kill Tutsis and publicly congratulated the Hutu population for having done its "work". Recorded tapes from RTLM publicly thank the president for his visit to Kibuye;

***Felicien Kabuga**, founding shareholder and president of the board of directors of RTLM radio. Originally from Gisenyi, he is a very wealthy businessman with close connections to CDR. For a long time, he was an intimate of Habyarimana; his son is married to Habyarimana's daughter. At one time, he put one of his houses in Kigali at the disposal of the MRND.

In late May, after the rump government and its supporters were driven to seek refuge in Gisenyi, Kabuga set up a "Provisional Committee" to rally support for the regime and what it called the "bravery and sacrifice" shown by the armed forces in "persecuting the enemy and his people." Kabuga was president of the committee. Their decisions were recorded in a letter signed by Kabuga on 25 May in which it was decided to set up a Fund for National Defense (Ikigega Ndengeru-Gihugu).

MILITARY AND PARA-MILITARY OFFICERS

According to many Rwandese political observers, the interim government was essentially a front for

REPUBLICQUE RWANDAISE
MINISTERE DES AFFAIRES ETRANGERES
ET DE LA COOPERATION
B.P. 179 KIGALI

file: Gouvernement
du Rwanda

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Spokesman

COMMUNIQUE DE PRESSE.

Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères et de la Coopération, Dr. Anastase GASANA, a été reçu au petit déjeuner ce 26 juillet par le Vice-Chancelier Allemand et Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Son Excellence Monsieur Klaus KINKEL, en visite au Rwanda.

Le Ministre GASANA a brossé un tableau exhaustif à son Hôte de la situation socio-politique du Rwanda en mettant en exergue les efforts du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale dans le processus de réconciliation et de reconstruction du pays et ce, malgré la situation très difficile qu'il a hérité le 19 juillet 1994.

Le Chef de la diplomatie rwandaise a profité de l'occasion pour demander au Vice-Chancelier Klaus KINKEL le soutien de l'Allemagne pour l'application des recommandations du Sommet de Nairobi dont la principale est la séparation des réfugiés innocents des criminels, séparation considérée comme la clé du retour des réfugiés rwandais.

Concernant le problème de l'occupation illégale des maisons, le Ministre GASANA a sollicité le soutien allemand au programme de construction des villages destinés aux sans-abris pour ainsi libérer les propriétés d'autrui. Ainsi se trouveraient résolus et le problème de propriété et le problème d'harmonie entre la population évitant ainsi une nouvelle dichotomie conflictuelle anciens et nouveaux réfugiés.

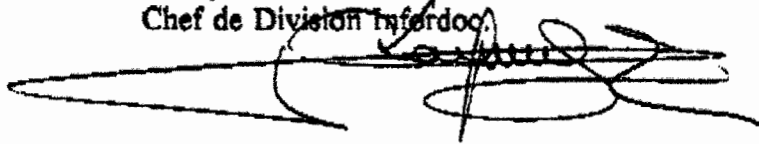
Dans sa réponse, le Vice-Chancelier Allemand a promis le soutien ferme et toujours accru du Gouvernement Allemand au Gouvernement rwandais dans tous ses efforts de reconstruction et de réconciliation nationales.

Concernant précisément le problème de la propriété et la construction des villages, le Vice-Chancelier Klaus KINKEL a trouvé l'idée très intéressante et a promis l'envoi de deux experts allemands pour approfondir davantage cette idée pour sa mise en pratique éventuelle.

Enfin le Vice-Chancelier Allemand a conseillé au Gouvernement et au peuple rwandais d'oeuvrer dans le sens de donner au monde une image d'un pays, d'un peuple qui a besoin et qui est digne d'être aidé.

Fait à Kigali, le 26 juillet 1995.

Télesphore KAGABA
Chef de Division Interdoc.



translation (original: French)

from: "Le Pétan", no.27.

headline:

"NSANZUWERA:... AND IF TOMORROW THERE WERE ANOTHER GENOCIDE ?"

text:

Press Conference

IPC [International press centre?] 11 May 1995, 2:00 pm

Mr François-Xavier NSANZUWERA,
President of CLADHO ("Collectif des Ligues et Associations de Défense des Droits de l'Homme au Rwanda" - Grouping of Leagues and Associations for the safeguarding of human rights in Rwanda)

RWANDA: AND IF TOMORROW THERE WERE ANOTHER GENOCIDE ?

Why hold this press conference? It is now a bit more than a month since I left Rwanda where I am Public Prosecutor at the Court of first jurisdiction of Kigali. I am also president of CLADHO [see above] until the next elections which are to be held in the course of this month.

I have decided to stay in Belgium for a year at least.

Today people ask me to speak, to speak of justice in Rwanda, of the human rights situation in Rwanda. Which is normal and even legitimate. But the problem is that I am subjected to pressures of all kinds.

The most enthusiastic supporters of the authorities in power in Rwanda today reproach me for having abandoned the pursuit of justice in difficult times, in which I was needed. The most extreme even accuse me of desertion.

Those who are nostalgic for the former, genocidal régime, consider my departure as a defection and ask me to make shattering declarations on present human rights violations. There are even attempts to drag me into revisionism of the genocide.

It is not only the Rwandan community that exercises such pressures but even Belgian or French friends or acquaintances. I am asked to take a position on the problematics of Rwanda.

On the 6th of April 1995 I was taking part in a debate in Paris organized by "Reporters without borders" on "The return of the media of hatred in Rwanda". I was staggered to observe in the audience Europeans who consider themselves more Hutu than the Hutu of Rwanda, others who

CLADHO [see above].

The conditions in which I was working and in which my assistants are still working are disastrous. Quite prosaically put, my office has no window panes. I have four assistants (examining magistrates) to process eight thousand cases. I have been awaiting, since October 1994, the arrival of foreign magistrates to help us. Is law not universal?

Today, the aid that Rwandans of good will were awaiting, is still wanting. I felt abandoned and betrayed.

I consider that I have a right to some rest. I lost more than half of my family in the genocide. My wife lost her entire family, her parents, six brothers and sisters. She only has one brother left. Don't we have the right to seek [some peace] a haven of tranquillity? That is why I accepted the offer of a scholarship from the University of Antwerp which ensures me and my wife a modest living but also makes it possible for me to continue to work, from Belgium, for the rehabilitation of the Rwandan judicial system.

Extremists from both sides claim to explain this difficult decision in their own way, indeed to use it to their own ends.

Rwanda today is going through a grave crisis and the most shocking manifestation of this was the events at Kibeho camp. Whatever the exact circumstances were, and they are as yet to be determined by the Commission of Enquiry, the controversy over the number of dead appears to me to be misplaced.

Another manifestation of this crisis: the disappearances have resumed. In a public communique released by CLADHO on the 10 of March 1995 I drew attention to the resurgence of this phenomenon, whereas the situation seemed to have improved in that regard.

Rights of property are not respected. It indeed does seem as though some arrests are really due to the struggle for property, land or houses.

The Patriotic Army and the political officers ["commissars"] of the RPF, those who are known as ABAKADA, interfere in the running of the judicial system. Some judges are afraid of the Army. The report published in April by the FIDH [International Federation for Human Rights?] and Human Rights Watch is eloquent in this regard.

One year after the start of the genocide, democracy and justice are still being sought.

The phenomenon of impunity still exists.

None of those accused of genocide have been tried. The organizers of the genocide are still at large in Zaïre, Kenya, Cameroon, France and here in Belgium. The charging and taking into preventive custody of two Rwandans by the Belgian judiciary is a very positive move. It is a

concrete challenge to the International Tribunal and other judiciaries concerned. Belgium must continue in the same vein, and go even further

A month ago I denounced the resumption of massive arrests and false accusations. I wish to stress the fact that these arrests increased alarmingly after it was announced on national radio that the Chief Prosecutor of the International Tribunal would not begin prosecutions before the end of 1995.

If the situation in the prisons today is tragic, then the cynicism of the international community is partly responsible.

In December 1994, I was invited, with my friend the President of the Burundian league of human rights and Mrs STAINIER of FIDH, to appear before an inter-party group of the European Parliament in Strasbourg. Even there I asked that the Rwandan judiciary be given assistance; only the trying of the "genociders" could in any way help to achieve peaceful coexistence in Rwanda. I explained that: *"What happened in Rwanda in the course of April, May, June and July 1994 is an offence against humanity as a whole and demands that the international community take energetic measures without delay so as not to commit the same mistakes: the reign of impunity, the spread of violence, and indifference on the part of the international community"* and that: *"One of the sole means whereby the Rwandan people can again live in peace, work for national reconciliation and build democracy, is to reestablish confidence by setting up a true judicial apparatus and by setting in motion all legal procedures to release the innocent and to convict the guilty"*.

The required judicial apparatus does not exist. Many judges died during the genocide. Others are in Zaïre, either because they were implicated in the genocide or because they are afraid to return. Those who are still in Rwanda cannot dispense justice with serenity, not only because they must face incredible material difficulties but also because of the interference of the military and of the Abakada. In a plea for the rehabilitation of the Rwandan judicial apparatus, in January 1995, I asked the Minister of Justice to call on foreign jurists to establish a Group of international jurists to investigate the genocide, war crimes and human rights violations in Rwanda. I considered that the refusal to help the Rwandan judiciary is tantamount to denying the Rwandan people's right to the rule of law, its right to justice and to peace.

African and western jurists should mobilize to assist justice in this country so ravaged by genocide. There is an urgent need for serious investigations not only on the genocide but also on war crimes and on present human rights violations.

I should like to read you something written by a doctor, Claude AIGUESVIVES, a member of Médecins du Monde. He is known for his humanism but also for his discretion.

"Charge: a million dead."

They have arrived! Laptops, walkie-talkies, Human Rights Convention under their arm, behind

the wheel of their powerful Toyotas. At last ...how much time has been lost?

Shattered windows, ceilings starred by bullets, broken chairs, files on the floor; here is Monsieur the Chief Public Prosecutor of Kigali, trying desperately to find a taxi...

Monsieur the Public Prosecutor of Kigali has only one case; the charge is one million dead...

Messieurs the human rights advisors have a lot of work, a lot of people are in prison today, the situation is desperate, distressing, some of those in prison are certainly innocent...Something must be done?

Monsieur the Public Prosecutor of Kigali has only one case; the charge is one million dead...his case interests no one, and still no taxi.

A riot breaks out at Kigali prison, shots are fired, maimed corpses lie strewn about the floor, camera floodlights, the human rights advisors' fax machines whirr away.

There is considerable emotion. How can the victims of genocide behave in a similar way to that of their executioners? To have been massacred so would no longer serve to teach any lessons? Is violence of no consequence?

Monsieur the Public Prosecutor finally finds a taxi to go to the site of the riot, but it has already been shown on CNN, the human rights advisors confirm, Monsieur the Public Prosecutor departs.

We cannot understand a thing. A geopolitician explains to us the inexorability of these crimes which are perpetrated on racial groups by turns.

So they are like the others then, and impunity can thus confuse victim and executioner.

Devilish simplification of the ellipsis; but the devil is just what it's all about, as well as the Rwandan hell that the International Community does not wish to elucidate.

How can we judge evil when we fail to extricate it, to separate it from the ravaged community? Condemned to absorb it; is it perhaps our only humanitarian sacrament?

It is a difficult thing to digest; we will have to run, slide, zap to other places while affirming, without believing it, that history will not repeat itself.

Monsieur the Public Prosecutor of Kigali is finally admitted, he is given his chance to speak, all the representatives of the Universe are his audience. He is congratulated on his brief. It is then placed next to those of Cambodia, Bosnia and of Kurdistan.

One's impression since then is that nothing is happening."

I don't want to be that prosecutor.

If assistance is denied to the Rwandan judiciary the extremists (you can find them everywhere) will take over and it is justice that will be denied. All the prisoners will die because Rwandan prisons are overcrowded and the world will say: Rwanda, one more genocide. What cynicism! As if Rwanda were condemned to live in a logic of violence.

To deny assistance to the Rwandan judiciary is to contribute to the perpetration of a culture of impunity and to abandon the Rwandan judges to their fate. It is to strengthen the extremist elements that discourage today those who had hoped, after the defeat of the "genociders", in the advent of a new Rwanda in which human rights would be respected. To deny assistance to Rwanda judiciary is to strengthen those who today arbitrarily divide the population into two categories, the "pure" and the "assassins", according to the supposed ethnic origin of one person or another.

To deny assistance to the Rwandan judiciary is to raise the spirits of the assassins, the "genociders" who, in their camps in Zaïre, thus strengthen their grip on refugees who are innocent by telling them that there is no justice in Rwanda.

To deny assistance to the Rwandan judiciary is to abandon the members of the human rights' defense associations who are today denouncing courageously, as they did in the past, the violations and breaches of a person's rights. If a Rwandan judicial apparatus doesn't emerge, the risk is that in future these people will keep silent, so as not to betray the memory of the victims of the genocide and in order to survive if the extremists get the better of the moderates, and by their silence become accomplices.

The people have a right to the rule of law. They must be given their last chance. And if the international community does not want to be accused of moral fraud, it must act. It must act to strengthen the moderates. The victims of the genocide, in their eternal rest, are watching us all. They are dead, victims of a tyrannical regime. Their dream, for the survivors and the other groups that make up Rwandan society, is of a Rwanda where the rule of law prevails over brute force.

And I, in this welcoming land, I claim the right to be left in peace, to be understood even. There are in Rwanda Rwandans who see themselves as Rwandans and not as Hutu or Tutsi. I would like to be one of them. If tomorrow the international community that did nothing before the genocide, during the genocide and after the genocide does something by way of real assistance to the Rwandan judicial system, I am prepared to return to Rwanda and to return to my functions; to serve in complete independence and in the manner that I consider best befits that office.

Bruxelles, 11 May 1995
signed: François-Xavier NSANZUWERA.

NSANZUWERA: ...ET SI DEMAIN IL Y AVAIT UN AUTRE GENOCIDE ?

Conférence de presse
IPC, 11 mai 1995, 14:00 heures

Monsieur François-Xavier NSANZUWERA,
Président du CLADHO (Collectif des Ligues et Associations de Défense des Droits
de l'Homme au Rwanda)
Procureur de la République près le Tribunal de première instance de Kigali

RWANDA: ET SI DEMAIN IL Y AVAIT UN AUTRE GENOCIDE ?

Pourquoi cette conférence ? Cela fait un peu plus d'un mois que j'ai quitté le Rwanda où je suis Procureur de la République près le tribunal de première instance de Kigali. Je suis également Président du Collectif des Ligues et Associations de défense des droits de l'homme (CLADHO) jusqu'aux prochaines élections qui auront lieu dans le courant de ce mois.

J'ai décidé de rester en Belgique pendant une année au moins, dans mon pays d'origine.

Aujourd'hui, les gens me demandent de parler, de parler de justice au Rwanda, de la situation des droits de l'homme au Rwanda. Ce qui est normal et même légitime. Mais le problème est que je subis des pressions de tous genres.

Les plus fatigués du pouvoir rwandais actuel me reprochent d'avoir abandonné la justice dans des moments difficiles où l'on avait besoin de moi. Les plus durs m'accusent même de désertion.

Les nostalgiques de l'ancien régime génocidaire considèrent mon départ du Rwanda comme une défection et me demandent de faire des déclarations négatives sur les violations actuelles des droits de l'homme. L'on va même jusqu'à tenter de m'entraîner dans le révisionnisme du génocide.

Il n'est pas uniquement la communauté rwandaise qui exerce cette pression, mais même des amis ou des connaissances belges et français. L'on me demande de prendre position dans la problématique rwandaise.

En date du 6 avril 1995, je participais à Paris à un débat organisé par Reporter Sans Frontières, dont le thème était : "Le retour des médias de la haine au Rwanda". J'ai été sidéré de constater que dans l'auditoire il y avait des européens qui se considéraient plus hutu que les hutu du Rwanda, d'autres qui se considéraient plus tutsi que des tutsi du Rwanda.

Aujourd'hui, je suis écartelé entre ces deux courants.

Pour cette conférence, j'ai voulu proclamer haut mon droit à ne pas choisir la voie des extrémistes hutu ou tutsi ainsi que de leurs sympathisants réciproques ici ou là-bas. Je réclame mon refus de me voir classé dans tel ou tel courant. J'ai choisi la voie de la modération, de la justice et du droit.

J'ai décidé de prendre du recul avec le passé récent. Pourquoi ?

En 1990, j'étais Procureur de la République près le Tribunal de 1ère Instance de Kigali. J'ai connu les arrestations massives et arbitraires suite à l'attaque du FPR, le 1er octobre 1990. J'ai suivi la naissance, les faux pas et les dérapages du multipartisme au Rwanda. J'ai connu les manifestations sauvages des adhérents de l'ancien parti unique, le Mouvement républicain national pour le développement (MRND) et son allié, la Coalition de la défense de la République (CDR), parti extrémiste hutu.

En 1993, j'ai publié un livre intitulé : "La magistrature rwandaise dans l'état du pouvoir exécutif. La peur et le silence, complices de l'arbitraire". Au début de ce livre, j'écrivais : "Plus que jamais la peur est là, peu de gens osent dénoncer l'arbitraire. L'on se réfugie derrière le silence".

En janvier 1994 dans une lettre adressée au Ministre de la Justice et au Procureur Général, j'attirais l'attention sur le climat de psychose généralisé qui régnait dans la capitale rwandaise.

En février 1994, dans une émission radiodiffusée à laquelle participaient également le Préfet de la Préfecture de la Ville de Kigali et le Commandant de groupement de la Gendarmerie nationale, je déclarais qu'un climat d'insécurité généralisé régnait dans la Capitale, que l'Etat ne protégeait pas la population et que celle-ci ne savait à quel saint se vouer.

La date du 7 avril 1994 marquait le début du génocide des rwandais d'ethnie tutsi : les massacres des rwandais hutu de l'opposition, génocide et massacres qui ont pris fin avec la défaite des Forces armées rwandaises (FAR) et le départ au Zaïre du Gouvernement génocidaire du tandem Kambanda Jean - Sindikubwaho Théodore.

Pendant le génocide, j'étais réfugié à l'Hôtel des Milles Collines. Je fis partie du convoi de la MINUAR qui, lors d'une tentative d'évacuation le 3 mai 1994, fut bloqué par les miliciens Interhamwe et les para-commandos rwandais. Blessé lors de cette tentative d'évacuation, je suis resté à l'Hôtel des Milles Collines jusqu'à ce que je trouve refuge le 27 mai 1994 dans une zone contrôlée alors par le FPR.

Après le génocide et l'installation du gouvernement actuel, j'ai repris en juillet 1994 mes fonctions de Procureur de la République près le Tribunal de 1ère Instance de Kigali. J'ai également été élu Président du Collectif des Ligues et Associations de défense des droits de l'homme au Rwanda (CLADHO).

Les conditions dans lesquelles j'ai travaillé et dans lesquelles je continue de travailler mes adjoints sont désastreuses. Très prosaïquement, à l'heure actuelle, mon bureau n'a pas de vitres. Je dispose de quatre adjoints (magistrats instructeurs) pour traiter huit mille dossiers. Depuis octobre 94, j'ai eu en la venue de magistrats étrangers pour nous aider. Le droit n'est-il pas universel ?

Aujourd'hui cette aide que les Rwandais de bonne volonté attendaient fait toujours défaut. Je me suis senti abandonné et trahi.

J'estime que j'ai droit au repos. J'ai perdu plus de la moitié de ma famille dans le génocide. Mon épouse a perdu toute sa famille, ses parents, six frères et sœurs. Il lui reste un seul frère. N'avons-nous pas droit de chercher un havre de tranquillité. C'est ainsi que j'ai accepté une bourse d'études que m'a offerte l'Université d'Anvers qui me permet de vivre modestement avec mon épouse mais également de continuer à travailler, depuis la Belgique, à la réhabilitation de l'appareil judiciaire rwandais.

Cette décision difficile, les extrémistes des deux bords prétendent l'expliquer à leur manière, voire la récupérer.

Aujourd'hui, le Rwanda traverse une crise grave, dont la manifestation la plus choquante est celle des événements du camp de Kibeho. Quelles qu'aient pu être les circonstances exactes, qui doivent encore être déterminées par la Commission internationale d'enquête mise en place, la controverse qui porte sur le nombre des morts me paraît déplacée.

Après la manifestation de cette crise : les disparitions ont repris. Dans un communiqué rendu public par CLADHO le 20 mars 1995, j'attirais l'attention sur la résurgence du phénomène des disparitions, alors que la situation avait, jusqu'à présent, semblé s'améliorer à cet égard.

Le droit de propriété n'est pas respecté. Il semble bien que certaines arrestations trouvent en réalité leur source dans la lutte pour les biens, les terres ou les maisons.

L'Armée patriotique et les commissaires politiques du FPR, ceux que l'on connaît sous le nom d'ABAKADA, s'ingèrent dans le fonctionnement de la justice. Des magistrats ont peur de l'Armée. Le rapport publié en avril par la FIDH et Human Rights Watch est éloquent à cet égard.

Un an après le début du génocide, la démocratie et la justice se cherchent encore.

Le phénomène de l'impunité est toujours présent.

Aucun prévenu du génocide n'a été jugé. Les cerveaux du génocide sont toujours en liberté au Zaïre, au Kenya, au Cameroun, en France et ici en Belgique. L'impunité et la mise en détention préventive de deux rwandais par la justice belge constitue un geste très positif, et interpelle de manière concrète le Tribunal pénal international, et les autres systèmes judiciaires concernés. La Belgique doit poursuivre dans cette voie, et aller plus loin encore.

Il y a un mois, je m'élevais contre la recrudescence d'arrestations massives et de dénonciations calomnieuses. Je voudrais insister sur le fait que ces arrestations ont augmenté d'une manière inquiétante après l'annonce, à la radio nationale, que le Procureur Général du Tribunal International n'entamerait pas les poursuites avant la fin de l'année 1995.

Si aujourd'hui la situation dans les prisons est tragique, le cynisme de la communauté internationale y est pour quelque chose.

En décembre 1994, devant un Intergroupe du Parlement Européen à Strasbourg où j'avais été invité avec mon ami le Président de la Ligue burundaise des droits de l'homme et Madame Caroline STAINER de la FIDH, et même ici j'avais demandé qu'on aide la justice rwandaise, que seuls les jugements des "génocidaires" contribueraient à la cohabitation pacifique au Rwanda. J'avais expliqué que : "Ce qui s'est passé au Rwanda au cours des mois d'avril, mai, juin et juillet 1994 est une atteinte à l'humanité entière et exige que la Communauté internationale prenne des mesures énergiques dans les plus brefs délais afin de ne pas retomber dans les mêmes erreurs : règne de l'impunité, développement de la violence et indifférence de la Communauté internationale" et que : "Un de seuls moyens de permettre au peuple rwandais de retrouver la paix, d'œuvrer à la réconciliation nationale et de construire la démocratie, c'est de rétablir la confiance en mettant sur pied un véritable appareil judiciaire et en engageant toutes les procédures légales visant à l'élargissement des innocents et aux jugements de tous les coupables".

Cet appareil judiciaire n'existe pas. Beaucoup de magistrats sont morts pendant le génocide. D'autres se trouvent au Zaïre, soit parce qu'ils sont impliqués dans le génocide, soit parce qu'ils ont peur de revenir. Ceux qui sont sur place ne peuvent pas rendre justice dans la sérénité, non seulement parce qu'ils doivent faire face à des difficultés matérielles inouïes, mais aussi en raison de l'ingérence des militaires et des Abakada.

Dans un réquisitoire pour la réhabilitation de l'appareil judiciaire rwandais, au mois de janvier 1995, je demandais au Ministre de la Justice de faire appel à des juristes étrangers pour la création d'un Collectif de juristes internationaux pour enquêter sur le génocide, les crimes de guerre et les violations des droits de l'homme au Rwanda. J'estime que le refus d'aider la justice rwandaise revient à nier au peuple rwandais son droit au droit, son droit à la justice et à la paix.

Des juristes africains et occidentaux devraient se mobiliser pour aider la justice dans ce pays meurtri par le génocide. Il y a urgence à faire des enquêtes sérieuses.

non seulement sur le génocide mais également sur les crimes de guerre et les violations actuelles des droits de l'homme.

Je voudrais vous lire un texte écrit par un médecin, Claude AIGUESVIVES, membre de Médecins du Monde. Il est connu pour son humanisme mais également pour sa discrétion.

Chef d'inculpation : un million de mort.

Ils sont arrivés ! Ordinateur portables talkie-walkie en bandoulière, Convention des Droits de l'Homme sous le bras; voilà les observateurs des Droits de l'Homme au volant de leur Toyota puissante. Enfin... que de temps perdu ?

Verres cassés, plafond étoilé par les impacts de balles, chaises défoncées, dossiers même le sol; voici Monsieur le Procureur Chef de Kigali, il recherche désespérément un taxi...

Monsieur le Procureur de Kigali n'a qu'un dossier; chef d'inculpation un million de mort...

Meilleurs les conseillers des Droits de l'Homme ont beaucoup de travail, beaucoup de monde aujourd'hui en prison, la situation est désespérante, urgente, certains en prisons sont sûrement innocents... Il faut faire quelque chose ?

Monsieur le Procureur de Kigali n'a qu'un dossier; chef d'inculpation un million de mort.... Son dossier n'intéresse personne, et toujours pas de taxi.

Une émeute éclate à la prison de Kigali, coups de feu, corps mutilés qui jonchent le sol, lumière de caméras, crépitements des fax des conseillers des droits de l'homme.

La notation est importante. Comment des victimes de génocide peuvent-elles se porter comme leur bourreau ? Avoir été autant massacré ne servirait-il plus à rien ? La violence serait-elle gratuite ?

Monsieur le Procureur de Kigali trouve enfin un taxi pour se rendre sur les lieux de la prison, mais les images sont déjà sur CCN, les conseillers des Droits de l'Homme confirment, Monsieur le Procureur s'éloigne.

On ne comprend plus rien. Un géopoliticien nous explique l'inexorabilité de crimes qui tour à tour frappent une ethnie.

Les Rwandais étaient comme les autres; ainsi l'impunité pourra confondre victimes et auteurs.

Classification diabolique de cette ellipse; mais il est bien question du diable et de la communauté internationale ne souhaite pas élucider.

Comment juger le mal, quand nous sommes incapables de le retrancher, de le séparer de la communauté meurtrière. Condamné à l'absorber; il est peut-être le seul viatique humanitaire ?

La gestion est difficile il nous faudra courir, glisser, zapper sur d'autres lieux de la vie sans y croire que l'histoire ne recommencera pas.

Monsieur le Procureur de Kigali découragé est enfin reçu, il s'exprime devant tous les représentants de l'univers. Il est félicité pour son dossier. Il est posté à côté de celui du Cambodge, de la Bosnie ou du Kurdistan...

Depuis on a l'impression qu'il ne se passe rien.

Je voudrais ne pas être ce procureur-là.

Si l'on refuse d'aider la justice rwandaise, les extrémistes (il y en a partout) vont prendre le dessus et il n'y aura pas de justice. Tous les prévenus mourront en les prisons rwandaises sont surpeuplées et le monde dira : Rwanda: un génocide de plus. Quel cynisme ! Comme si le Rwanda était condamné à vivre dans une logique de la violence.

Refuser d'aider le Rwanda en matière de justice, c'est contribuer à la perpétuation de la culture de l'impunité, c'est abandonner les magistrats rwandais, c'est renforcer des groupes d'extrémistes qui aujourd'hui découragent ceux qui avaient espéré, après la défaite des génocidaires, l'avènement d'un Rwanda respectueux des droits de l'homme. Refuser d'aider le Rwanda en matière de justice, c'est renforcer ceux qui, aujourd'hui, divisent arbitrairement la population en deux catégories, celle des "purs" et celle des "assassins", selon l'origine ethnique supposée des uns ou des autres.

Refuser d'aider le Rwanda en matière de justice, c'est renforcer le moral des assassins, des génocidaires qui, dans les camps du Zaïre, renforcent leur emprise sur des réfugiés innocents en leur disant qu'il n'y a pas de justice au Rwanda.

Refuser d'aider le Rwanda en matière de justice, c'est abandonner les membres des associations de défense des droits de l'homme qui dénoncent aujourd'hui avec courage, comme ils l'ont fait par le passé, les violations, les atteintes aux droits de la personne humaine, mais qui risquent demain, si un appareil judiciaire rwandais ne naît pas, de se taire et de devenir ainsi complices par leur silence, pour ne pas trahir la mémoire des victimes du génocide et pour survivre si les extrémistes prennent le dessus des modérés.

Le peuple rwandais a droit au droit. Il faut lui donner sa dernière chance. Et la communauté internationale, si elle ne veut pas être accusée d'escroquerie morale, doit agir. Elle doit agir pour renforcer les modérés. Les victimes du génocide, dans leur repos éternel, nous regardent tous. Ils sont morts, victimes d'un régime tyrannique. Ils rêvent, pour les rescapés et les autres groupes composant la société rwandaise, d'un Rwanda où le droit a le dessus sur la force brutale.

Et moi, dans ce pays d'accueil, je réclame le droit à la tranquillité, même à la compréhension. Il existe au Rwanda des Rwandais qui se reconnaissent Rwandais, et non Hutu ou Tutsi. J'aimerais être de ceux-là. Si demain, la communauté internationale qui n'a rien fait avant le génocide, pendant le génocide et après le génocide fait quelque chose en aidant réellement la justice rwandaise, je suis prêt à repartir pour le Rwanda, pour y exercer mes fonctions en toute indépendance, et de la manière dont j'estime qu'elles devraient pouvoir y être exercées.

Bruxelles, le 11 mai 95.
François-Xavier NSANZUWERA.

translation (original: **French**)

from: "Le Partisan", no.27.

headline:

"Rassemblement pour le retour des réfugiés et la démocratie au Rwanda - (RDR) -["rally", or grouping, for the return of the refugees to, and democracy in, Rwanda]

Position of the RDR on the report of the "Independent international commission of inquiry on the events at Kibeho"

text:

The "Independent international commission of inquiry", set up by the RPF Government to investigate the massacres perpetrated by the RPF army at the displaced persons camp at KIBEHO between the 17th and 22nd of April 1995, submitted its report on the 18th of May 1995. The Kigali Government seems to be satisfied with the report's conclusions because it forthwith circulated it very widely. It believes that it has proven yet again its ability to manipulate international public opinion by exploiting to its advantage the tragedies it has unceasingly provoked in Rwanda since its invasion on the 1st of October 1990.

The RDR [see above] disputes the obliging conclusions of this report. It is an attempt to wash the blood of the innocent [victims] of KIBEHO from the hands of the Kigali Government in spite of the testimony of independent eye-witnesses who were present, on-the-spot at the time of the events, and of the statements made by members of the Kigali Government. The only guilty party is judged to be the RPF Army, even if its structural deficiencies, as enumerated in the report, seem to be considered to constitute extenuating circumstances.

The responsibility of the present Government is however seriously involved if one turns in particular to the penultimate paragraph of page 7 of the English version of the report, which says: " In support of the strategy to close the camps, at the request of the Minister of Rehabilitation and Social Integration and of the Minister of the Interior, and after consulting with the President, the Vice-President/Minister of Defense decided to deploy the armed forces to surround the Hutu in the remaining [*both the English and the French versions consulted by the translator to ensure consistency do not say this but say:...* to surround the remaining eight] IDP camps, including KIBEHO".

THAT IS THE CRUX OF THE PROBLEM! The Government must answer a series of fundamental questions including the following:

1) Why was the RPF Army - whose hostility towards the displaced persons, whom it considers as enemies, is known, without forgetting also that those people distrust it and consider it an army of occupation - used in a military operation to besiege a camp of more than one hundred thousand people all together, men, women, children and the aged ?

2) If the Government's intention was not to massacre these people, then why did it deploy arms as destructive as rocket launchers, machine-guns and mortars? Let us remember that the UN assistance mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) had already undertaken operations intended to seek out and confiscate hypothetical weapons that the Rwandan Government had said were stocked in the displaced persons' camps? It must be noted that the siege of the camps was accompanied by a drastic curtailment in the supply of food and water and other services provided to the displaced persons in order to force them to leave the camp (cf penultimate paragraph of page7 [*page 8?*] of the report) which only exacerbated tension in the camp.

3) Why did the Government choose, against the advice of some of its partners, the most radical of the five options proposed (cf page6 of the report) which was that of "closure (of the camps), as soon as possible and by all possible means", which it was well known would provoke the most resistance and, inevitably, violence by forcing people to return to their home communes when they still feared for their safety?

4) Why were the "policing" and security functions not entrusted to UNAMIR who has more than five thousand troops in Rwanda and whose mandate is precisely to " protect displaced persons against any threat, from whichever direction?"

In any case, it is not possible to disassociate the responsibility of the FPR Army, which is well established, from that of the Government, when one knows of the preponderance of the Army in all State institutions, in the Parliament and in the Government. Its supreme commander is none other than the Vice -President/Minister of Defence, who had announced on Radio Rwanda on the 28th of March 1995, at his return from China, that the displaced persons camps would soon be closed by whatever means necessary, and that the people concerned should be prepared for shock treatment!

The other question on which the Kigali Government would have liked to be cleared is that of the NUMBER OF VICTIMS OF THE KIBEHO MASSACRE. The Commission asserts that even if it was unable to determine the number THROUGH LACK OF TIME AND OF MEANS, it was higher than the official count at KIBEHO. It also states that "scientific proof has corroborated the testimony according to which corpses from the KIBEHO incident were buried outside KIBEHO".

This assertion corroborates other testimony according to which the RPF Army removed corpses by truck far from KIBEHO in order to bury them in previously dug, secret mass graves, with a view to minimizing the number of victims of the massacres of the 22nd of April 1995. In this regard, witnesses have allegedly counted 265 corpses buried in mass graves in MUSUNZU sector, Nshili Commune (Gikongoro Prefecture); the same type of operation was repeated in other Communes of Gikongoro, and even in neighbouring Butare Prefecture.

IN CONCLUSION, the report of the Commission of inquiry should satisfy no one and, for the truth to be revealed, the RDR requests that a truly INDEPENDENT, and especially NEUTRAL, International Commission of Inquiry be established under the aegis of the United Nations High

Commission for Human Rights, or of a well known organization such as Amnesty International. The Rwandan Government would have no other role than to answer the questions of the investigators. Indeed, it is unacceptable that the Government that is accused of having planned and executed the massacres at KIBEHO should continue to be a judge in its own case!

Indeed, one is entitled to cast doubt on the "independence" of the preceeding Commission because its establishment and composition were decided by the Rwandan Government who retained for itself a choice position on the Commission, going as far as choosing its Officers as demonstrated when the representative of Rwanda, Christine UMUTONI, Principal Private Secretary to the Minister for Rehabilitation and Social Integration, vetoed the Canadian delegate's proposal to appoint the French prosecutor Brisset-Foucault as Rapporteur (cf "Jeune Afrique" no.1793 of 18 to 24 May 1995, page 14). It appears that "she forthwith opposed it, referring to France's partiality"! It cannot be said that confidence reigned within the Commission.

Moreover, the report indicates that the Commission was assisted by representatives of various Ministries of the Rwandan Government in a consultant expert capacity and, to complete the picture, the Commission's terms of reference were dictated by the Rwandan Government (cf paragraph 2 of the report) in the form of four questions (cf the paragraphs 3 of the report [? the paragraphs on page 3 of... ?]).

The new Independent and Neutral International Commission of Inquiry should also be concerned with looking into the fate of the survivors of KIBEHO who are supposed to have returned to their home communes but many of whom, according to various testimonials, never arrived there; some were killed either by the Army or by the former, repatriated refugees who have occupied their property since last year, or by asphyxiation in commune prisons or in military camps.

Until this tragedy is fully investigated, the countries and organisations who have not been duped by the RPF's usual manipulations and who have indeed imposed sanctions on its Government, are urged to pursue the sanctions until this Government proves by its acts that it respects the rights of all Rwandan citizens, as much in regard to those who are in the country as in regard to the millions of refugees who wish to return and whose return to their country must take place, as the RPF must accept, in security and in dignity.

Ambassador Claver KANYARUSHOKI
Foreign relations spokesman.

SSEMBLEMENT POUR LE RETOUR DES REFUGIES ET LA DEMOCRATIE AU RWANDA (RDR)

POSITION DU RDR SUR LE RAPPORT DE "LA COMMISSION D'ENQUETE INTERNATIONALE INDEPENDANTE SUR LES EVENEMENTS DE KIBEHO"

La "Commission d'Enquête Internationale Indépendante" mise sur pied par le Gouvernement du FPR pour faire la lumière sur les massacres perpétrés par l'Armée du FPR dans le camp de personnes déplacées de KIBEHU entre le 17 et le 22 avril 1995, a déposé son rapport le 18 mai 1995. Le Gouvernement de Kigali semble satisfait des conclusions de ce rapport parce qu'il en a fait aussitôt une très large diffusion. Il croit qu'il a prouvé une fois de plus, sa capacité de manipulation de l'opinion publique internationale en exploitant en sa faveur les tragédies qu'il n'a cessé de provoquer au Rwanda depuis son invasion du 1er octobre 1990.

Le Rassemblement pour le
ur des Réfugiés et la Démocratie au
Rwanda (RDR) conteste les conclusions

complaisantes de ce rapport qui s'efforce de laver les mains du Gouvernement de Kigali du sang des innocents de KIBEHU, malgré les témoignages de témoins oculaires indépendants présents sur les lieux au moment des faits ainsi que les déclarations des membres du Gouvernement de Kigali. Seule l'Armée du FPR est jugée coupable même si le rapport semble lui trouver des circonstances atténuantes en énumérant ses déficiences structurelles.

La responsabilité de ce
Gouvernement est pourtant sérieusement
engagée si l'on se rapporte notamment
au contenu de l'avant dernier paragraphe
de la page 7 du rapport (version anglaise)
qui dit ceci: "En appui à la stratégie de
fermer les camps à la demande du
Ministre de la Réhabilitation et de

l'Intégration Sociale ainsi que du Ministère
de l'Intérieur, et après avoir consulté le
Président, le Vice Président/Ministre de la
Défense a décidé de déployer les Forces
armées pour encercler les hutu dans les
camps de personnes déplacées restants,
y compris celui de KIBEHU"

**LE NOEUD DU PROBLEME
EST LA !** Le Gouvernement doit répondre
à une série de questions fondamentales
dont celles-ci

1) Pourquoi l'Armée du FPR -dont on
connait l'hostilité qu'elle a toujours nourri
à l'égard des personnes déplacées qu'elle
considère comme des ennemis, sans
oublier aussi que cette population se
méfie de cette armée considérée comme
une armée d'occupation-, a-t-elle été

utilisée pour mener une opération militaire d'assiéger un camp de plus de cent mille personnes, hommes, femmes, enfants et vieillards confondus ?

2) La l'intention du Gouvernement n'était pas de massacrer les gens, pourquoi a-t-il déployé les armes aussi destructives que les lance-roquettes, les mitrailleuses et les mortiers ? Rappelons que la Mission des Nations Unies pour l'Assistance au Rwanda (MINUAR) avait effectué auparavant des opérations de recherche et de confiscation d'hypothétiques armes que le Gouvernement Rwandais disait être stockées dans les camps de personnes déplacées ? Il faut noter que le siège des camps s'est accompagné d'une réduction drastique d'approvisionnement en nourriture, en eau et d'autres services aux personnes déplacées pour les forcer à quitter le camp (cf. avant dernier paragraphe, page 7 du rapport), ce qui n'a fait qu'exacerber les tensions dans le camp.

3) Pourquoi le Gouvernement a-t-il choisi, contre l'avis de certains de ses partenaires, la plus radicale des cinq options proposées (cf. page 6 du rapport), qui est celle de "la fermeture (des camps), aussitôt que possible et par tous les moyens possibles", dont on savait bien qu'elle provoquerait le plus de résistances et inévitablement des violences en forçant les gens à retourner sur leurs collines d'origine alors qu'elles craignaient toujours pour leur sécurité ?

4) Pourquoi les tâches de "police" et de sécurité lors de cette opération de fermeture forcée des camps n'ont-elles pas été confiées à la MINUAR qui a plus de cinq mille soldats au Rwanda et dont la principale mission est justement de "protéger les personnes déplacées contre tous risques d'où qu'ils viennent" ?

De toutes façons, on ne peut pas dissocier la responsabilité de l'Armée du FPR qui elle est bien établie, de celle de son Gouvernement alors que l'on sait la prépondérance de cette Armée dans toutes les institutions de l'Etat: au Parlement, au Gouvernement et dont le Chef suprême n'est autre que le Vice-Président/Ministre de la Défense qui avait annoncé le 28 mars 1995 à Radio Rwanda, de retour d'un voyage en Chine, que les camps des personnes déplacées allaient bientôt être fermés de gré ou de force, et que ces personnes devaient se préparer à recevoir un traitement de choc!

L'autre question sur laquelle le Gouvernement de Kigali aurait souhaité avoir un quitus, c'est le NOMBRE DES VICTIMES DES MASSACRES DE

KIBeho. La Commission affirme que même si elle n'a pas pu déterminer ce nombre FAUTE DE MOYENS ET DE TEMPS, il était supérieur à celui qu'on a officiellement dénombré à KIBeho. Il est précisé aussi que "des preuves scientifiques ont corroboré d'autres témoignages selon lesquels des cadavres de l'incident de KIBeho ont été enterrés en dehors de KIBeho".

Cette affirmation corrobore d'autres témoignages selon lesquels l'Armée du FPR a transporté loin de KIBeho des cadavres dans des camions pour les enterrer dans des fosses communes secrètes préalablement creusées, dans le but de minimiser le nombre de victimes des massacres du 22 avril 1995. A ce sujet, des témoins auraient compté 265 cadavres enterrés dans des fosses dans le secteur MUSUNZU de la Commune Nshili (Préfecture de Gikongoro), la même opération a été répétée dans d'autres Communes de Gikongoro et même dans la Préfecture voisine de Butare.

EN CONCLUSION, le rapport de cette Commission d'enquête ne devrait satisfaire personne et pour que la vérité soit établie, le RDR demande qu'une Commission Internationale d'Enquête vraiment INDEPENDANTE et surtout NEUTRE soit constituée sous la direction du Haut Commissariat des Nations Unies aux Droits de l'Homme ou bien une organisation réputée comme Amnesty International, et dans laquelle le Gouvernement Rwandais n'aura aucun rôle, sauf celui de répondre aux questions des enquêteurs. Il est inacceptable en effet que ce Gouvernement qui est accusé d'avoir planifié et exécuté les massacres de KIBeho continue à être juge et partie !

En effet, l'on est en droit de douter de "l'indépendance" de la précédente Commission, parce que sa création et sa composition ont été décidées par le Gouvernement Rwandais, lequel s'est réservé une place de choix au sein de la Commission, jusqu'à décider de la composition de son Bureau, comme le démontre le veto opposé par le représentant du Gouvernement Rwandais, Christine UMUTONI, Directeur de Cabinet du Ministère de la Réhabilitation et de l'Intégration Sociale, contre une proposition du délégué canadien de nommer comme rapporteur le procureur français Brisset-Foucault (cf. Jeune Afrique n° 1793 du 18 au 24 mai 1995, page 14), il semble qu'elle "s'y est aussitôt opposée, en invoquant la partialité de la France". On ne peut pas dire que la confiance régnait au sein de la Commission.

De plus, le rapport précise que la Commission était assistée par des représentants de différents Ministères du Gouvernement Rwandais en qualité d'expert conseil, et pour compléter le tableau, les termes de référence de la Commission ont été dictés par le Gouvernement Rwandais (cf. paragraphe 2 du rapport) sous forme de quatre questions (cf. les paragraphes 3 du rapport).

La nouvelle Commission d'Enquête Internationale Indépendante et Neutre demandée devrait également s'intéresser au sort des rescapés de KIBeho qui sont censés avoir regagné leurs communes d'origine, mais dont divers témoignages indiquent que beaucoup d'entre eux n'y sont jamais arrivés, d'autres ont été tués soit par l'Armée, soit par les anciens réfugiés rapatriés et qui ont occupé leurs biens depuis l'année passée, soit par asphyxie dans les prisons communales ou dans des camps militaires.

En attendant que toute la lumière soit faite sur ce drame, les pays et organisations qui n'ont pas été dupes des manipulations habituelles du FPR et qui ont justement imposé des sanctions à son Gouvernement sont priés de maintenir ces sanctions jusqu'à ce que ce Gouvernement prouve dans les faits, qu'il respecte les droits de tous les citoyens rwandais, tant ceux qui sont dans le pays que les millions de réfugiés qui souhaitent rentrer et dont le FPR doit accepter que le retour dans leur pays se fasse dans la sécurité et dans la dignité.

Ambassadeur Claver KANYARUSHOKI
Chargé des Relations Extérieures.

BAPFUMBATWA N'IBYANA BY'IBI "POUPEES"!

Ntawe utazi ko twapfushije abantu benshi. Abasore na bashiki babo, abasaza, abakecuru n'abana. Ni ko bigenda: Nta ntambara isiga ubusa. Intambara ariko hari abo yigirijeho nkana. Ibatara ukwigunga bananirwa kwihangana. Ni mu ishuri ryisumbuye ry'abakobwa ry'i REMERA-RUKOMA, aho abanyeshuri bamwe na bamwe basigaye biraranira n'ibikinisho. Ngo icyo bapfumbatanye na byo bumva bimeze nk'ibyana byabo byazize itsembatsemba. Niba atari amakabyankuru y'ab'ubu birakabije kandi birababaje. Ndi abo bana nakwimenyereza ubundi bwoko. Inkundo ziratanganywe ariko hari ukuntu wabyitsindagiramo urukundo rukaza buhoro buhoro.

SRSG

CC: Amb. Conde
Ms. Rafii
Ms. Zelleke

BATIR UNE NOUVELLE ESPERANCE POUR LE RWANDA

"Salutaire déséquilibre, c'est par les problèmes que toutes les espèces évoluent; c'est par les solutions qu'elles se figent et s'éteignent. Est-ce un hasard si le pire crime de notre mémoire s'est intitulé "solution", et "finale"?"
A. MAALOUF: Le premier siècle après Béatrice.

95 JUN 17 17 53

SENDER
UNKNOWN:
SPA

19-6-95

IR

INTRODUCTION.

La crise sociopolitique majeure qui débuta le 6 avril 1994 a été marquée principalement par cinq faits majeurs : l'attentat à la vie du Président de la République, le massacre de populations innocentes, le génocide tutsi en particulier, la reprise de la guerre et les crimes massifs contre l' Humanité à l'endroit des populations civiles, l'exode de plus de deux millions d'habitants vers l'extérieur du pays, enfin la victoire militaire et la prise du pouvoir par le Front Patriotique Rwandais (FPR).

Depuis, le Rwanda est entré dans une phase d'incertitude politique marquée d'une part par la gestion non consensuelle du pouvoir par le Front Patriotique recherchant plus le ralliement des forces politiques que leur participation réelle et indépendante comme le stipulait les Accords d'Arusha, d'autre part par la mise au pas des partis politiques et de la société civile et par le refus de dialogue et de compromis politiques, tous générateurs, si nous ne recherchons pas dans l'immédiat de réponses appropriées, d'une probable deuxième "carrosserie" aux conséquences humaines aussi dramatiques que la première et qui pourrait mener à la désintégration totale du pays. La période d'état de grâce et de bénéfice du doute est bel et bien révolue, l'incapacité de gestion s'avère patente.

Se met en place un pouvoir répressif et totalitaire, au profit des extrémistes, caractérisé par l'incursion de l'armée dans le gouvernement, le parlement, l'administration civile. Se déploie à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur du pays une armada impressionnante constituée du réseau idéologique, politique et médiatique qui, contre toute initiative d'un projet allant dans le sens d'une paix des cœurs et de l'ouverture politique, monte en épingle un système alambiqué de preuves vernies et d'accusations gratuites de complicité dans le génocide. Et comme personne ne peut penser un seul instant qu'on n'oserait jouer cyniquement et machiavéliquement avec un crime aussi inommable, le tour est joué et la démonstration terminée, l'opinion publique est retournée. ~~Le constat~~ le constat est là; le génocide est bel et bien utilisé par l'aile politico-militaire la plus radicale comme un fonds de commerce pour justifier ses excès.

Le Rwanda s'engage objectivement à nouveau dans une voie sans issue qui, s'il n'est pas apporté une réponse politique urgente, condamnerait son peuple à revivre sous la coupole d'un régime totalitaire sans perspective humaine. A quoi auront servi les luttes pour l'Etat de droit et pour la démocratie, à quoi aura servi le sang coulé de tant d'innocents si, au sortir d'une dictature politique et d'une tragédie nationale sans nom, les survivants devaient connaître pour longtemps encore la même réduction drastique des espaces de libertés et le même désespoir que par le passé ou devaient replonger dans une guerre absurde, toujours de trop?

- 2 -

XX } Le discours, par trop justicier des nouveaux maîtres de Kigali, plus sensationnel, productif et davantage tourné vers le passé que vers l'avenir, révèle par ailleurs l'incapacité à proposer un projet de société dans lequel la nation se retrouverait. Les bruits de bottes entendus à l'extérieur et à l'intérieur du pays montrent le mépris profond des politiciens envers les populations et leur incapacité à résoudre pacifiquement les conflits. Le jugement tant attendu et combien nécessaire des responsables des crimes contre l'Humanité, du génocide tutsi en particulier, ne suffira pas à lui seul à redonner l'espoir à tout un peuple meurtri qui semble s'accrocher à nulle part. Même le partage du pouvoir ne suffira pas à lui relever la tête s'il n'est pas donné de réponses durables aux problèmes socio-économiques et politiques structurels qui ont conduit la majorité de la population à la marginalisation civique et à la misère, s'il n'est pas pris une option irréversible pour la paix et s'il n'est pas proposé une nouvelle frontière, plus exaltante, à conquérir.

Bâtir une nouvelle espérance pour les Rwandais, c'est d'abord redéfinir de nouveaux rapports entre le Citoyen et l'Etat en redistribuant les prérogatives en faveur de celui-là, c'est ensuite proposer un mode de gestion des ressources qui remette l'égalité des chances au coeur des préoccupations et des finalités de la Nation, c'est enfin affirmer les valeurs d'altérité et de liberté indispensables à la sécurité individuelle, à la cohésion sociale et à la solidarité nationale. Les grands enjeux nationaux d'aujourd'hui et de demain tourneront ainsi autour de la manière dont les cinq domaines majeurs pourront être maîtrisés. Il s'agit de :

- la démocratie consensuelle et l'Etat de droit
- la gestion des moyens de coercition publique
- le contrôle des ressources
- la réconciliation nationale
- le retour aux Accords d'Arusha.

Les réponses ou les questionnements certes modestes et incomplètes apportés et proposés pour un large débat, constituent néanmoins les principes fondateurs d'une plateforme destinée à reconstituer un large mouvement social, pluraliste, porteur d'un projet novateur dans lequel tous et chacun participent en vue de la maîtrise du destin individuel ainsi que celui de la communauté entière.

for Press (Government)
ED
Sd/Sd/Sd
Sd/Sd/Sd
11-6-95

MEMORANDUM

To: Force Comd
MGen Tousignant

From: Force PAO
Lt(N) Page

Date: 13 June 95

Subject: Transcript of MGen Kagame Press Conference

1. Sir. Today's press conference was attended by local and three international media (Reuters, The New Yorker and Frontline News). Kagame didn't make a statement, but simply responded to questions as follows (salient points only):

a. Ref rearming of FRGF in Zaire, he said:

I have spoken with the government and told them that this does nothing to preserve their own security let alone ours and that they must work together to find a solution to this problem.

b. Ref the Rwandan government not accomodating the return of refugees, he said:

We are doing everything possible to have them return, but a small group is intimidating the rest to stay outside the country to act as shields for them. What can we do that we haven't done? People tell us to reconcile while they are still trying those who committed war crimes fifty years ago in Germany, but we africans are just supposed to forget - even trees (which are cut down) have more rights to the international community to Rwandans (which are cut down). We are interested in prosecuting only those who are the authors of the genocide, the others who are simple and confused killers can be helped to show what they did was wrong - there is hope for them and we want them back. But, the authors of the genocide will face punishment including the death penalty.

c. Ref the fact that Rwanda needs the refugees back to help with the crops, he said:

We want them back not to work, but because it is their right to live in Rwanda and our responsibility to bring them back. To encourage them we must prosecute and see justice done to those responsible for the genocide, then we can talk of reconciliation - this is the best way to move forward. But as we have seen in the past, we cannot rely on the international community to do this - that would be a mistake.

d. Ref the fact that the Directeur de Cabinet for the Prime

Minister is said to have fled the country saying that he can no longer act as a mere observer to the RPA as they terrorize innocent locals and that the current government is no better than the former, he said:

He's a man running from the problem and therefore can't be sincere and if he really wanted to help the situation he wouldn't run. Furthermore, what is he guilty of that he has to run away from Rwanda - maybe he helped in the genocide. There are problems here, but its because we've inherited a bad situation that has built up over 30 years, so now we have to fix the problem but it can't be done overnight. Running away from a problem is no solution unless you are guilty.

e. Ref his agenda at the upcoming OAU Summit, he said:

He will stress the feeling of betrayal Rwanda has felt even by its African brothers who now provide refuge for those guilty of murdering one million people, but no one bothered to ask them what they did in the genocide. This is contrary to the spirit of the OAU and he will request the assistance of Tanzania, Burundi and Zaire to alleviate the problems of finding the authors of the genocide as well as helping convince the refugees to come back to Rwanda.

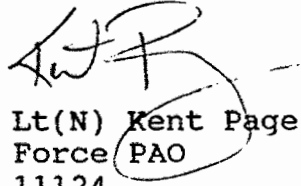
f. Ref the disparity in punishment between the International Tribunal which is going after the authors of the genocide (no death penalty) and the Rwandan judicial system which is going after the mere actors of the genocide (death penalty), he said:

Yes, there is a disparity, but even a life sentence is better than someone going free for what they have done and at least they will be held accountable for their actions. We will do our best to deal with people fairly, as I hope the International Tribunal will do also, however, I won't be surprised if the Tribunal doesn't find anyone guilty of anything.

g. Ref the new mandate changing the focus from peacekeeping to confidence restoring, he said:

It is an academic question which could be debated for days whether or not UNAMIR can or should assist with confidence restoring of the Rwandese. I don't think that it's their role or that they can do it or should do it. The Rwandese people can build up their own confidence, and should do so, without UNAMIR. However, we had to make compromises with the UN so we said, okay, fine, you can try to restore our confidence (laughs). There are negative aspects of UNAMIR being here such as the fact that with their previous security/protection role, even a common thief could steal, then run to UNAMIR and get protection just by saying that he was being oppressed because he was a Hutu and UNAMIR would protect such a thief turning a simple problem into a political one. Also during the anniversary of the genocide some UNAMIR soldiers passed the rumour that there would be a revenge genocide, so that people would run to them to seek protection. This was only done by them to justify their existence here in Rwanda and is another negative aspect of the previous security/protection role that UNAMIR had. But, at the same time,

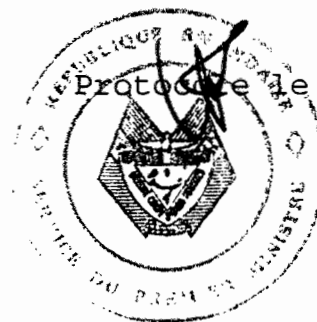
there are positive things about UNAMIR and we want them to be around still to help out with rehabilitation, reconstruction, reporting back to the international community, etc, so there is some good still in having UNAMIR in Rwanda.


Lt(N) Kent Page
Force PAO
11124

COMMUNIQUE DE PRESSE

Le Premier Ministre commente la démission
de son Directeur de Cabinet

- Le Premier Ministre déclare qu'il n'a pas encore reçu la démission en bonne et due forme de son Directeur de Cabinet, qui était attendu à l'aéroport de Kigali hier à 9h 45'.
- Il a appris la nouvelle par la presse, nouvelle qui l'a touché beaucoup, car ce collaborateur avait des qualités sur lesquelles il pouvait toujours compter dans l'accomplissement des Fonctions dévolues à la Primature.
- Technocrate de haut niveau et d'une capacité de travail encourageant, il était d'un grand apport pour le Premier Ministre qui avait d'ailleurs confiance en lui.
- Concernant les justifications de sa démission, on note malheureusement un vice de procédure pour un responsable de son rang et un manque de courage et de persévérance dans la situation socio - politique de notre pays qui est malgré tout évolutive.
- Le sectarisme et l'exclusivisme dont le démissionnaire parle n'est perceptible que chez quelques individus et le Gouvernement fait tout pour les redresser car leurs attitudes dans des forums, ou en postes ne peuvent pas nous assurer des lendemains meilleurs. Lui-même reconnaît d'ailleurs que même au sein du FPR il y a des cadres et des leaders modérés, qui peuvent contribuer à faire évoluer la situation actuelle dans le bon sens.
- Seulement, voilà que ceux qui devraient nous y aider et affronter ces difficultés de parcours inévitables par ailleurs, compte tenu de ce qui s'est passé dans ce pays, fuient leurs responsabilités, choisissant la voie de la facilité, et capitulent au moment où il faut conjuguer nos efforts.
- Le Premier Ministre reconnaît les difficultés qui existent, et est convaincu que les solutions des problèmes posés seront trouvées grâce à des réactions qui tiennent compte du réalisme politique et de la patience nécessaire à tout homme politique avisé.



Protocole le 14/6/1995.

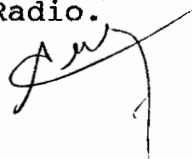
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A M. LE DIRECTEUR EXECUTIF

Veillez trouver ci-joint la transcription integrale de la partie en anglais de la conference de presse donnee hier par M. le vice president et ministre de la defense, general PAUL KAGAME.

A votre haute appreciation,

ZOUAOUI BENAMADI,
Chef de la Radio.



212 983 824 6

2 June 1995

A Press Conference was held today by General Kagame, Vice President and Minister of Defence of Rwanda at the Ministry of Defence, to give his views and through him the views of the Government on the recent report by Human Rights Watch.

QUESTION: A question was asked by a reporter concerning the Human Rights Report which suggested that UNAMIR's new mandate should cover the refugee camps in Zaire. Since the Rwandan government wanted a reduction in UNAMIR's troops, he wondered what the Vice-President thought about that suggestion.

KAGAME: Well my view on that is that first of all we have requested the UN to create a force that can go to these camps both in Zaire and Tanzania primarily to separate these groups, the militias and the former government forces from the rest of the population in the camps. Here we are looking at the possibility of the easy return of the refugees once they are freed from the influence of these groups that have been keeping them outside even many times by force. Well at first it seems that it was a good idea by the UN. They turned out later to say that they would not be able to create, there was no country willing to provide a force and they did not have the resources so they resigned it to leaving that task to the UNHCR and the host government forces to be the ones to deal with the questions. But here they are not dealing with the question of separating these groups they are only dealing with the question of simply stabilizing the situation in the camps perhaps for the convenience of the Non-governmental Organizations or other agencies working within the camps not really solving the problem of separating these groups. To us that remained a big problem, there was a lot lacking in terms of dealing with the specific problem of dealing with refugees the way you deal with refugees, give them the liberty, give them the freedom to make a decision to come back to the country and isolate these other criminal groups so they can be dealt with in terms of bringing them to courts of law, to be able to hold them accountable for the crimes they committed in the country. So we still think this was the best thing to do. There is absolutely no good reason why inside Rwanda there should be a force of 5,600 troops. Because you see here they have chosen to be in a place that is secure, which means it is in a place that has less problems that actually requires their presence in terms of providing security. So they should be doing that in the camps. This is where the problem is. The problems we have here are the responsibility of the Government and the Government institutions. They shouldn't be the ones to deal with such problems. And I think just out of logic that you would simply remain with a small force if any force at all inside the country to simply play the monitoring role, the role to observe and inform the international community what is happening on the ground in Rwanda. But I don't find them responsibility for UNAMIR in terms of protection or security inside the camp because problems are outside there. And this is why you have now a problem of refugees, carrying out military

training, regrouping, receiving arms. They are doing it with a lot of freedom and I wonder how the international community can miss the opportunity to be informed about this, to look at this, to deal with this kind of situation and simply keep focussing inside Rwanda where the people, the Government in the country can deal with the problems we have. But all we need is just support to enable us to carry out our responsibilities. So I think it's important that UNAMIR realizes or UN realizes that there is more work to do in the refugee camps outside Rwanda than inside the country. This is my feeling about it.

QUESTION: Noting that the Human Rights Watch report stated that the UN should tighten their resolution concerning the arms embargo against Rwanda. The Vice President was asked if he did not think that the Government and the Ministry of Defence should defend the Rwandese people?

KAGAME: Well that is true. It seems these days we live in a world where logic doesn't serve any purpose. First of all there was an embargo on Rwanda which was passed in May during the time we were fighting. Here it made sense because the idea was to prevent the escalation of fighting, perhaps of killing. But here really the killings were done by people who were armed with the machetes, not mainly with guns. So even putting an embargo did not really serve very useful purpose. But at least the idea was that and it made sense. So after the war when genocide was stopped, up to now there is still an arms embargo on Rwanda. Again, this is a different situation that does not call for an arms embargo on the country of Rwanda. But secondly it does not make sense because we have people outside Rwanda who are being armed free. They are being armed through the host countries, who've wished to do so. So the arms embargo in effect has not really served the purpose. So those who are keeping an arms embargo on Rwanda should see this. That it's not simply talking about an arms embargo that matters, it's effectiveness that matters. So it clearly has not served its purpose. And it has really been unfair on top of that to keep an arms embargo on Rwanda because the situation inside the country is totally different from that which was used to impose an arms embargo on the country. So maybe the international community, the UN has got to review the whole thing. So to come to your point certainly it creates problems for us. We are not able to equip our soldiers, we are not able to train them properly, we are able to carry out our responsibilities because we have our hands tied by this embargo. We've got to deal with the problems we have in a different way. We've got to face it the hard way but this does not mean in any way that we are not capable of handling the situation properly. We are certainly in a position to deal with the situation in a manner that cannot run this country into chaos even with the threat from outside.

QUESTION: Replying to a question as to why the Government of Rwanda was not arresting people suspected in last genocide as the Government of Belgium was doing, Mr. Kagame responded:

KAGAME: Well first of all it's good that the Belgian Government has done that. They have done the right thing. Maybe they should do more. They should even go ahead and do the same event to the people who are inside the Belgian soil^A(?). They have issued an for Bagasora who may be in Zaire or Cameroon but they also have people in Belgium who should be arrested I think in connection with the genocide that transpire in Rwanda. But they have done a good thing, at least we should recognize that. Maybe they should also set an example for other countries to do the same. As regards to why Rwanda hasn't done that I inform you that we still have a lot of problems. In our justice system there are lots of inadequacies. There is a lot lacking in terms of appreciating exactly what should be done. I imagine it will take a bit of time before we put things in order but as you know we haven't even been able to try those who we have already arrested, let alone issuing arrest warrants to people who are outside the country. But some discussions are going on. We are trying to put our house in order as far as the judicial process is concerned. So we hope soon the Minister of Justice will be able to come out with something that satisfies the people of Rwanda in terms of meeting the justice requirements as regards bringing those responsible for the genocide to.....In effect there is a problem. There is a problem and we think we shall have to discuss it and look into the matter and collectively we should be able to help the Minister of Justice to deal with the immense problems we are faced with in a situation where they have no means, they have no magistrates. Perhaps even the lack of vision on the part of individuals that have different responsibilities. But as you know we are in a process of really rebuilding the country not only in terms of its infrastructure but also in terms of making people understand the history of these problems we have and how to deal with them.

QUESTION: A journalist stated that according to the Human Rights Watch report Various countries were accused of helping the militia of the former government in Zaire. In light of information held by the Vice President, and in light of the denial of France and South Africa, what was he doing to investigate the situation?

KAGAME: What I can tell is that when you learnt about the arms supplies to the refugees in Zaire and elsewhere, we brought this to the attention of the international community to the UN. Even to the countries that are being alleged to have the responsibility of allowing such arms shipment into their countries for these refugees. This is what we tried to do. But the fact that some people are denying any responsibility does not really mean they have no responsibility over this. In any case I don't expect anybody to just come up and say, yes, I am the one who has been supplying arms. They expected the responses that everybody is going to deny having a hand in doing that. But the fact is that arms have been flowing into Zaire. They must be coming from somewhere. Whether the governments are directly involved or not they still have responsibility in the sense that even if these are private companies that are doing it they must

be doing it on their territories. So they must have responsibility to deal with such situations that originate from their territories. It doesn't matter whether it is a private company operating from France or from South Africa or from elsewhere, it still is the responsibility of these governments to make sure that these companies don't do so. So I think somewhere there lies the responsibility. So we can still go farther and work out the details as regards who has the responsibility, and how the governments that have been mentioned can help to deal with the situation but for sure I think they must do something. Not only are they contravening the arms embargo resolution that was passed by the UN, they are also causing problems for the country of Rwanda and for the whole region. Because I think the situation that may develop out of these arms shipments and then subsequent use of them to destabilize our country we have spill overs in other countries in the region. I am sure it works in nobody's interests.

QUESTION: Asked if the government forces were able to defend the country in case of attack, and pursue the attackers from the former government wherever they may be, Mr. Kagame stated:

KAGAME: Well what we can say here is that we have the capacity to deal with the problem. How we deal with the problem is a different matter, whether it involves hot pursuit or something else. That will come when the problem unfolds. But you have the liberty, you have the capacity to respond appropriately to any such threat should it become a reality. We have the capacity, we have the freedom to operate appropriately in response to anything that will come out of the situation. So that will involve a lot of options.

QUESTION: General Kagame responded to a question about The European Community's announcement yesterday that they were considering resuming development aid to Rwanda which was frozen after the Kibeho killings, and that resumption of aid would depend on the consequences that would come from the findings of the Investigating Committee. The Vice President was asked what were the consequences taken by the government as a result of that report.

KAGAME: Well I think there are many things to look at for us even before that report came out, we were already carrying out our own investigation to find out if there are any individuals who acted contrary to the instructions that were given to them at the time of the operation to close the camps. And we are soon coming out with the conclusions of our investigations maybe in a week and if the responsibility lies on the shoulders of anybody then they will be held accountable. But this is as far as the Government and the Government forces are concerned. But I think in the report they also talked about the responsibility of the NGOs, they also talked about the responsibility of UNAMIR. So I would like to ask those presenting such views to know who is going to handle that side. We also would want to have somebody to have somebody handle the other side, the side of the NGOs and

UNAMIR that were also equally implicated as far as having responsibilities was concerned.

QUESTION: A journalist stated that after the victory on the battle field last year the RPA was the only organized body left in Rwanda and was therefore left in charge of running the country. Now that things were slowly going back to normal, did the Vice President think that the RPA should concentrate on purely military duties and return to their barracks:

KAGAME: Well you more or less describe the situation the way it is. I think the RPA initially had responsibility to fight the forces that were here killing the people of Rwanda. We have been in the process of trying to restore total normalcy and establish civil administration and I think we've gone a long way in doing that. The military is remaining only in terms of the security where depending on the threats that still hang outside, from Zaire, from Tanzania. We still our soldiers operatingin different areas, in the communes, to deal with the problem of the situation, to deal with more or less even covering the vacuum that was created by this transition, where in some areas there was not any civil administration based at the local level. You would find troops operating in such areas but mainly for the purpose of keeping security in the area and as we restore the local administration, and as we deal with the security problems in the entirety, it is well understandable that as long as the threat is reduced then the army continues to confine itself to its specific duties of national defence and security. Where there have been overlaps it's because either there has been a vacuum or it's because of the security problem that drags them into carrying out such responsibilities. But on the biggest part, I think the ... has been restored, and the civil and local administrations are being established and have been established, so the reverse kind of situation is really taking place, but that will depend on how fast we can deal with the security aspect that is likely to emanate from outside the country.

QUESTION: The Vice President was asked if there was any pressure from the international community to grant a general amnesty to most of the population who participated in the acts of genocide.

KAGAME: Well I think they have, whether you call them pressures or misunderstandings or simply misrepresentation of our own situation. The international community has certainly had in some cases the approach that is not compatible with the kind of situation that we have in our country. To give you an example there have been all sorts of suggestions of saying release from prison women and children who murdered. You see they simply go on those sentiments that so and so is a woman so it doesn't matter whether she killed 100 people, maybe she should be released from prison because she is a woman. We have had this kind of suggestion from the international community. We have of course had disagreements as to what comes first, whether it is

reconciliation or whether it is justice. Our view is that reconciliation does not simply come about without certain factors being in place to contribute to that. And these factors are actually that people must see justice being done and that will ease the conscious of reconciliation. You cannot simply tell the people who are agrieved, seriously agrieved in the case of Rwanda to just reconcile with murderers. I think you would try the murderers and then the process of reconciliation ... in other cases. So there have been misunderstandings, I think to some extent we even think there has been a situation where people have become unreasonable. Maybe they think in the situation of Rwanda having lost one million people doesn't really mean much, something you can just forget and move forward. And I think the people of Rwanda will have the right to think that this is an insult. It's an insult in the sense that we value the lives of our people as much as other people value the lives of their people. I was even giving an example to some people recently when they had been pushing that argument of reconciliation, it seems that you cannot unite Hutus and Tutsis, you know they are so simplistic in their thinking. They think the question is the Hutu and the Tutsi, they've never seen the problem as being political. They've never seen the problem as being a mismanagement of the political affairs of the country, that has really brought about this kind of situation. And I was giving them an example why do they think it is easy to forget about the killings that were carried out in Rwanda, yet people are commemorating incidents of situations of this nature that took place 50 years ago. So this is why I get the reading that actually people think our lives are worthless, theirs mean a lot. That's why they come around and tell us forget the lives of people that were lost here hundreds of thousands. So I think it's our mistake, maybe we shouldn't over rely on what other people can do for us. We should not over rely on the international's solutions to our problems. We should be the ones to be at the forefront in doing all that we can to solve our problems. And then the international community can simply play a supportive role. But if we want them to solve our problems, surely they'll come here and tell you to forget what happened. They'll say, a million people is nothing, just forget them. So it's up to us to know how to go about the problem and then arrest the supporters.

QUESTION: Members of the Government are not united in the issue of reconciliation and the granting of general amnesty. Would you comment on that.

KAGAME: My views have been very clear, I am being very clear to you now. Let somebody in the government who thinks differently come out very clear and tell us what he thinks. But as long as nobody comes out to present different views from what I am presenting, people have reason to believe that we are united. Other than that we may be assumed to be divided. ...If there is anybody in the Government who thinks the justice is not the first thing to be carried out in order to facilitate reconciliation, they should come out and put them clearly.

2 June 1995

Conférence de presse du Général Kagame, vendredi le 2-6-95

A la question de savoir comment il a reçu le dernier rapport de Human Rights Watch, le Général Kagame a répondu, je cite : " Nous n'avons pas été surpris par ce rapport, parce que nous savions déjà que les anciennes forces gouvernementales parmi les réfugiés rwandais se trouvant dans les camps au Zaïre et en Tanzanie procédaient aux entraînements militaires et recevaient des armes de certains pays avec l'objectif d'attaquer le Rwanda. Nous avons informé les autorités Zaïroises et Tanzaniennes. Puisque cela est maintenant confirmé par d'autres sources, nous espérons que ces pays prendront des mesures appropriées pour mettre un terme à ces préparatifs. Les pays cités par ce rapport devraient aussi arrêter d'armer ces réfugiés; dans le cas contraire, ils devraient savoir que ce n'est pas seulement le Rwanda qui subira les conséquences de la guerre, mais aussi ses pays limitrophes et même toute la région entière. Fin de citation.

Est-il vrai que ces réfugiés rwandais qui veulent attaquer le Rwanda ont des complices à l'intérieur du pays ?

Cela est bien possible mais je n'ai pas encore d'éléments qui me permettent de confirmer ces informations, a précisé le Général Kagame. Il a rappelé toutefois que le Gouvernement a le pouvoir et les prérogatives de poursuivre les personnes qui se rendraient coupables de tels actes. Nous ferons une enquête à ce sujet. Cependant, je dois indiquer qu'en général il n'y a pas de quoi s'inquiéter et que la sécurité est bien maîtrisée sur tout le territoire du pays, a rassuré le Vice-président rwandais.

Est-ce que le Gouvernement rwandais n'a pas en quelque sorte une responsabilité dans les préparatifs d'attaque contre le Rwanda, sinon comment expliquer que l'actuel ambassadeur du Rwanda au Zaïre est connu comme l'un des fondateurs de la milice Interahamwe ?

Le Général Kagame a répondu qu'il n'était pas informé des relations entre le nouvel ambassadeur du Rwanda au Zaïre et les Interahamwe mais espère que si cela était vrai, l'ambassadeur aurait changé et se serait désolidarisé des miliciens.

A la question sur la collaboration entre les réfugiés rwandais et le Palipehutu du Burundi, le Général Kagame a indiqué qu'il avait reçu plusieurs informations sur la collaboration entre les Interahamwe et le Palipehutu dans les attaques qu'ils mènent contre leurs pays. Il a aussi signalé que parmi les personnes qui s'étaient infiltrées récemment dans la région de Cyangugu en provenance du Zaïre étaient des personnes qui ont été identifiées comme des Burundais. Cette question sera examinée avec les

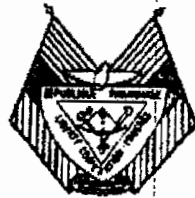
autorités burundaises pour résoudre les problèmes de sécurité à la frontière commune, au cours de la visite que le Ministre des affaires étrangères et le premier ministre rwandais doivent effectuer au Burundi, a ajouté le Général Kagame.

Un journaliste a demandé au Général Kagame de commenter sur le problème des autorités qui sont accusées de protéger les Interahamwe, et à titre d'exemple, le Bourgmestre de la commune de Musambira qui a arrêté plusieurs Interahamwe et qui a été arrêté lui-même ?

Le Général Kagame a précisé qu'il n'était pas sûr qu'il ne s'agissait pas de rumeurs, mais que si cela était vrai, c'était un problème qu'il fallait résoudre au plus vite.

A la question de savoir ce qu'il en était des informations selon lesquelles des véhicules de la MINUAR auraient été interceptés avec des chargements d'armes et de munitions non enregistrées, le Général Kagame a indiqué que les gendarmes avaient intercepté 7 ou six camions de la MINUAR avec des chargements de munitions non-enregistrées et que la MINUAR avait ensuite produit des documents attestant que ces chargements étaient bel et bien les siens. Les gendarmes poursuivent encore leur enquête pour en savoir plus et la population sera informée des résultats de l'enquête.

REPUBLIQUE RWANDAISE



000347

New York, 30th May 1995

No. MP/96/16.06/E/03

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INCOMING MAIL* Action by: ELInfo copy to: (1) SIR (2) HA* Please return original to Central/other: (3) KALCINFAHis Excellency Boutros
Boutros-Ghali
Secretary General of
the United Nations

NEW YORK

Your Excellency,

On the 9th June 1995, the present mandate of UNAMIR comes to an end. It is in my duty to communicate to you the instruction of my Government on the future role of UNAMIR before the matter is discussed in the Security Council.

It is probably useful to recall that since the 5th October 1993, when the United Nations Security Council by resolution 892 created UNAMIR I, the mandate of UNAMIR was revised. A number of times to cope with the realities on the ground. The original mandate of UNAMIR was:

- a) Contribute to the security of Kigali inter alia within a weapon secure area established by the parties in and around the city;
- b) To monitor observance of the Cease-fire Agreement, which calls for the establishment of cantonment and assembly zones and the democratization of the new demilitarized zone and other demilitarization procedure;
- c) To monitor the security situation during the final period of the transitional government's mandate, leading up to the elections;

1. Government of Rwanda
2. Joint Govt/UNAMIR
Commission: mandate

30 MAY 1995
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- d) To assist with mine clearance, primarily through training programmes;
- e) To investigate at the request of the parties or on its own initiative instances alleged non-compliance with the provisions of the Arusha Peace Accord relating to the integration of the armed forces, and pursue any such instances with the parties responsible and report thereon as appropriate to the Secretary General;
- f) To monitor the process of repatriation of Rwandese refugees and resettlement of displaced persons to verify that is carried out in a safe and orderly manner;
- g) To assist in the coordination of humanitarian assistance activities of the gendarmerie and police;
- h) To investigate and report on incidents regarding the activities of the gendarmerie and police.

At the material time the arrival of and presence of United Nations Forces gave great hope to the Rwandese people who saw the forces as a contributory factor to the then engaged peaceful solution to the Rwandese conflict.

That hope was nonetheless dashed when the United Nations Forces became mere onlookers during the obvious preparations for genocide in Rwanda. It even became worse when on the 6th April 1994 UNAMIR, hiding behind a vague mandate refused to intervene and save the victims of the genocide. The withdraw of UNAMIR at that material time has left a very vivid dark image in the minds of most Banyarwanda vis-a-vis UNAMIR. Cries and pictures of innocent citizens who were being killed having sought protection in UNAMIR compounds, are still very fresh in their memories.

The reaction of the United Nations Security Council at the time, was to adopt resolution 91/1994 on the 21st April 1994 withdrawing the bulk of United Nations troops and leaving only a token figure of 270 men primarily to protect the United Nations personnel. That same resolution adjusted the UNAMIR mandate as follows:

- a) To act as an intermediary between the parties in an attempt to secure their agreement to a cease fire;

- b) To assist in the resumption of humanitarian relief operations to the extent feasible;
- c) To monitor and report on developments in Rwanda including the safety and security of the civilians who sought refuge with UNAMIR. With this mandate and a number of troops, genocide continued unabated.

At a time when then Rwandese Patriotic Army was engaging the genocidal regime and its armed gangs, the United Nations adopted resolution 918/1994 on the 17th May 1994 expanding the UNAMIR force level up to 5,500 troops expanding also its mandate to:

- a) Contribute to the security of displaced persons, refugees and civilians at risk in Rwanda including through the establishment and maintenance where feasible of secure humanitarian areas;
- b) Provide security and support supplies and humanitarian relief operations.

Surfice for me to add that at the same time, a blanket arms embargo was imposed on Rwanda which embargo is still applied at the moment. The 5,500 United Nations troops did not foot in Rwanda until long after the genocide and the war had ended. Since that large force was deployed, it has played some positive role particularly during the transition in Zone Turquoise and other humanitarian activities. My government is cognisant of this and appreciates it. UNAMIR's mandate was again revised on the 30th November 1994, with the following mandate:

- a) To contribute to the security and the protection of displaced people, refugees and civilians faced with danger in Rwanda, thanks notably to the creation and the maintenance, where this is possible, of protected areas for humanitarian purposes;
- b) To assure security and support to the distribution of emergencies and humanitarian assistance operations;
- c) To use its good offices to facilitate national reconciliation according to the Arusha Peace Agreement;
- d) To contribute to assuring the security of International Tribunal staff for Rwanda and the specialists of Human Rights in Rwanda, notably to protect the prosecutor's office and to plan escort to assure security of missions carried out outside of Kigali town;

- e) To help to establish and to teach a new integrated police.

As we now come to review the usefulness of UNAMIR, I am under instructions to point out the following:

- I. UNAMIR is in Rwanda because the Rwandese Government approves of its presence and any of its activities must have the full blessing of the Sovereign State of Rwanda;
- II. The efforts of the International Community in assisting Rwanda in its reconciliation and reconstruction efforts are highly appreciated;
- III. The size of UNAMIR must be commensurate with the mandat assigned to UNAMIR.

It is the considered view of my Government, that time has come that UNAMIR must immediately cease to be seen as a parallel force in Rwanda, with a mandate to ensure "security and protection" for anybody on the Rwanda soil. The National Security Services are capable and have full responsibility to carry out this task. It is also important that our friends in the International Community understand that the argument for the continued presence of United Nations forces as a confidence building measure is not founded. On the contrary, the presence of a massive foreign military personnel continues to create a false impression of a state of insecurity. It further compounds the reconciliation process as their presence all over the country is interpreted by some, as a lack of confidence in our Security Services.

My Government therefore is of the view that a very substantially reduced military component of UNAMIR is a must. My Government is also prepared to cooperate with UNAMIR as long as it is clearly understood that their mandate is limited to the following:

- a) UNAMIR can assist in observer capacity in the process of voluntary and safe repatriation and resettlement of refugees;
- b) UNAMIR will assist the Rwanda government in providing logistical support for the distribution of relief supplies;
- c) The Special Representative of the Secretary General will continue his diplomatic work by using his good offices in the process of national reconciliation with the framework worked out by my Government;

- d) UNAMIR will provide some protection to the United Nations installations and personnel including the International Tribunal personnel;
- e) UNAMIR could assist Rwanda Government in such activities as demining when so requested by Rwanda Government.

In light of the above, and it being understood that after the 9th of June 1995, the UNAMIR presence will no longer pretend to deal with matters of security. The size of the military component will be reduced to only a reasonable number that can handle the above mandate. The exact figure will be communicated to you in due course. The position of my Government has been arrived at, after lengthy and constructive consultations between us and your Special Representative and we do hope that they will meet with the understanding of the entire membership of the Security Council.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest considerations.



Manzi BAKURAMUTSA
Ambassador
Permanent Representative of
Rwanda to the United Nations

cc: H.E. Mr. Jean-Bernard
Mérimee
President of the
Security Council

NEW YORK



PSE RUSH REPENT

THIS FAX

COMMUNIQUE DE PRESSE.

Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères et de la Coopération, Dr. Anastase GASANA, a offert un dîner le 17 mai 1995, à l'Hôtel des Mille Collines, à l'honneur de Madame Karol STEIN, Directrice à Mayence du Jumelage-Coopération entre la Rhénanie Palatinat et le Rwanda ainsi qu'à la délégation allemande qui l'accompagnait, et qui comprenait notamment l'Ambassadeur d'Allemagne au Rwanda, Monsieur August HUMEL, Le Responsable du Jumelage -Coopération Rhénanie Palatinat/Rwanda, Monsieur Rudolf FISCHER et le Chef de la Coopération Technique Allemande au Rwanda (GTZ), Monsieur PISTOL.

Au cours des toasts échangés, le Ministre GASANA a loué les excellentes relations de coopération entre l'Allemagne et le Rwanda et a exprimé à la délégation allemande la satisfaction du Gouvernement pour l'aide humanitaire, après la guerre, le génocide et les massacres, en faveur de la population rwandaise, fruit de l'amitié entre le peuple allemand et le peuple rwandais.

Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères et de la Coopération a exprimé la reconnaissance du Gouvernement et du peuple Rwandais pour les engagements de l'Allemagne à la Table Ronde de Genève qui placent l'Allemagne en tête ~~de en tête~~ de classement des donateurs pour la reconstruction et la réhabilitation du Rwanda.

La Directrice du Jumelage-Coopération Rhénanie Palatinat / Rwanda, Mme Karol STEIN a souhaité que tout soit fait pour sauvegarder et maintenir les bonnes relations d'amitié et de coopération entre l'Allemagne et le Rwanda et a exprimé ses encouragements au Gouvernement et au peuple rwandais pour les efforts entrepris pour la reconstruction du pays. Evoquant les actions de jumelage-coopération Rhénanie Palatinat / Rwanda, elle a exprimé au Ministre GASANA la volonté de la Rhénanie Palatinat de continuer les actions positives pour un meilleur avenir du Rwanda.

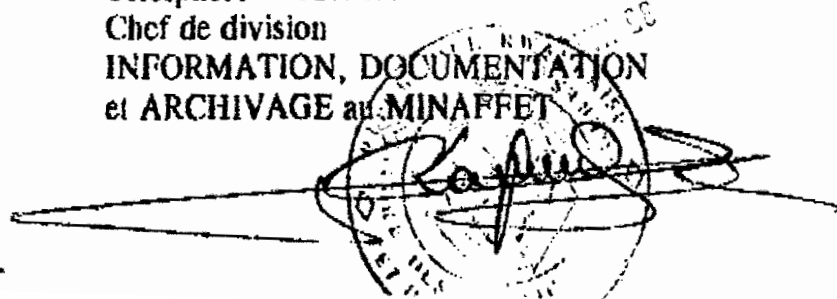
Le Chef de la Coopération Technique Allemande (GTZ) au Rwanda, Monsieur PISTOL, a souligné les résultats positifs de la récente commission mixte de coopération germano-rwandaise et a souligné que l'Allemagne suit d'un oeil attentif l'évolution de la situation socio-économique du Rwanda. Il s'est félicité de l'intérêt de la population rwandaise dans différentes communes du pays pour les actions de la coopération technique allemande et a souhaité que cela puisse aller toujours de l'avant. Monsieur PISTOL a informé le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères et de la Coopération que la phase d'aide humanitaire d'urgence par l'Allemagne est prévue de se terminer au mois de septembre 1995 et il a exprimé ses espoirs pour un avenir prometteur pour le Rwanda.

Fait à Kigali, le 18 mai 1995

Télesphore KAGABA

Chef de division

INFORMATION, DOCUMENTATION
et ARCHIVAGE au MINAFFET



Amir A. P. 1995

INFORMATION BULLETIN FROM UN RADIO/RWANDA

Below are excerpts from an editorial published in the Rwandese Weekly "Le Messenger" in the issue No 48 of 19 January 1995.

Title: "What is the use of the penalisation policy?"

"As we are waiting for details on what is known as the armed attack on Nyamasheke commune, and when we are still expecting clarifications on the regrettable incidents that occurred at Nshili, in Gikongoro prefecture, where so-called Interahamwe are reported to have massacred people, and this strangely leading to the arrest of the military commander in charge of that area, Major Philbert Rwigamba, we certainly believe without doubts that the other acts of killings of people attributed to ordinary Interahamwe may have been carried out by the "New Interahamwe". The ordinary Interahamwe were accused, but UNAMIR and eyewitnesses in Gikongoro were shocked to see the RPF soldiers massacring people in broad daylight. Those killings would be still attributed to Interahamwe if the UNAMIR had failed to issue a report incriminating those soldiers for the massacre, because UNAMIR was there this time. We heard that Major Rwigamba was arrested just because when they came to ask for his help, he was flirting in Butare town."

"On the day following the Nyamasheke attack, which left only fishermen killed, a search for collaborators, soldiers and weapons, took place in Kigali since early in the morning. Soldiers prevented us from leaving our homes, and many of us suspected that a Government dignitary had been assassinated and some of us were going to pay for it as it happened following the death of President Habyarimana. After the Nyamasheke attack, Radio Rwanda reported that it was just an act of banditry, while the foreign media reported that it was an attack by the soldiers of President Habyarimana. Which of them is lying and what is his interest in so doing? On the following day, they started searching everything, every piece of paper, the roofs, under the mattresses, causing panic among the population. They had no legal paper attesting that they were mandated by the Government and even the Interior Minister Seth Sendashonga knew the news of the search operation when he arrived at the Ministry headquarters at 8 hours. What sort of search operation is that, that the Ministry of Interior is not informed about? The Minister for Public service as well as private citizens were not informed about the operation."


"It is strange that the international community was told that the operation aimed at arresting deserting soldiers and that weapons were seized. Were soldiers hiding in those pieces of paper soldiers searched and read? "

"If it is true that the soldiers of Habyarimana attacked, what strategies do we have? Are we going to fight to the last man? What strategies do we have to ensure that nobody will be wrongly accused of being a collaborator? "

"Who has the solution to the problem of security and refuses to reveal it? Our leaders will have no profit in that war even if they can win it. Except for the defense of the country's sovereignty? The defense of the country's sovereignty requires first the insurance of the people's security. What is the use of such hasty decisions as impoverishing the population by refusing to exchange their old banknotes for new banknotes on the pretext of penalising the Rwandese refugees in Zaire, or elsewhere? What is the use of the policy of penalisation? Much money was lost and it is unfortunate that people worked hard for years to save money, and you come and say that you will exchange banknotes in two days time and beyond that period, no more."

"With the exception of the military operations, such operation of banknote exchange cannot succeed anywhere else in two days time. The banks have not yet opened in areas other than the capital Kigali. In some prefectures of the country, the banknotes that were not exchanged are as many as the exchanged banknotes. I visited the Cyangugu area. The population lost everything. And that meant that the former Rwandese Government members were penalized. Who was silly enough to keep Rwandese banknotes in Zaire or elsewhere? The members of the exiled Government exchanged their banknotes for US dollars and it was only the population inside the country that was penalised. What is the aim of this policy? "

"What do you plan to make justice for those people and business men whose banknotes were not exchanged? Saying that all is over is not enough. People normally have the right to accuse the Government. ..How can you govern the population this way? You should try to be fair with the population because some time you will need them, and I hope that you will not ask something to anybody you denied his due."

Translation by Manasse 
Broadcast Journalist
UN Radio/ Rwanda

CC: SRSG
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Spokesman
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INFORMATION BULLETIN FROM UN RADIO/RWANDA

Below are excerpts from an article published in the Rwandese Independent Bimonthly "IMBONI" in the issue No 003 of January 1995.

Title : "Do these two men speak the same language?"

"In this article, we talk about the two men (Rwandese Prime Minister Faustin Twagiramungu and Rwandese Vice-President and Minister for Defense Major-General Paul Kagame) you see on the photographs."

"Both are Rwandese. Both fought against Ikinani (Unbeatable, ironical nickname for former President Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda) and dictatorship. On the battlefield, one used words and the other used guns. At the height of the fighting, the one with words became exhausted and the other with guns continued the fighting."

"One is a supporter of MDR party (Democratic Republican Movement) which was formerly called PARMEHUTU (Party for the emancipation of Hutus) and the other is a member of the political family RPF. This PARMEHUTU forced the other to flee the country when he was only a baby who fled without knowing what was happening and without ever doing anything wrong in this country. This PARMEHUTU caused him to stay outside his country until he decided to take up weapons. This PARMEHUTU fathered MRND (National Republican Movement for Democracy and Development, party of President Habyarimana) which also kept him outside the country. This long stay in exile of this man and all the problems related to dictatorship forced the creation of the RPF which waged the war, in the absence of Twagiramungu, who had become speechless, while Ikinani was chasing him. When the RPF won the war, it did not restore dictatorship, and called for the Rwandese who had not taken part in massacres to work together to put things back in order."

"It was at this time that Mr. Twagiramungu reappeared on the scene. However, he is saying now that Dictatorship is still in power. It is clear now that he was hoping to defeat Ikinani with the use of words and to win everything he wanted. He is saying now that the RPF replaced Ikinani, and it is becoming clear that he will fight the RPF the way he fought Ikinani to win everything."

"When the Prime Minister some weeks ago came back home from his international tour, at Kanombe International Airport, he surprised many Rwandese, to the extent that people wondered whether it was Ikinani who had resurrected or Twagiramungu as we knew him, who was used to telling the truth, or to fighting against ethnic discrimination, and who was courageous. He exaggerated too much and laughed at those who survived the genocide. He said "everlasting sorrow!" I would like to ask him : "when does sorrow end up? The Jews are still sorrowful after a 50-year period. says that after three months he is no longer sorrowful, I + that he had no sorrow at all."

think

"One of the two men was crowned by the Arusha Peace Agreement. The Agreement has now become the weapon of Twagiramungu. The authors of the Arusha Agreement were trapped. They intended to strip the power from Ikinani and to hand it over to Twagiramungu. That Agreement has no other use than to restore the style of Ikinani dictatorship. That Agreement did not prevent the war while it was intended to bring an end to that war. It did not prevent the genocide...."

"One of the two men wrote a document which was critical of the Government and the other said that the document was groundless. That document is funny. The Government is criticising the Government."

"What appears to be true is that it is not easy to share power with those who have monopolized power since the 1960's until now. The other thing to be true is that the MDR party fought against Ikinani without parting with the tradition of PARMEHUTU, founded on the policy of ethnic discrimination, that party alleging to be the spokesman for the ethnic majority."

"One is French-speaking and the other is English-speaking. You should not however forget that Francophonie is the cause of the genocide in Rwanda. Why should we kill one another because of that French spoken by president Mitterrand. French as well as the French are not indispensable here. Vietnam chased the French and there was no consequence..."

"The party of one of the two men includes those accused of genocide while the party of the other includes those accused of revenge killings and illegal seizure of private property. Twagiramungu is the leader of MDR party. The MDR party fought against Ikinani by use of political rallies and demonstrations."

"You should know that MDR is the father of MRND which was born in 1973. Instead of accusing MRND of the genocide, we should in fact blame the MDR party which has encouraged the massacres since 1959."

"This man Twagiramungu is now at a turning point. And I think this is the reason why he is losing his traditional courage and true speech."

"One of the two men is looking for political rallies while the other is looking for the unity of all Rwandese."

"Twagiramungu has now started teaching the Holy Gospel. What is sad is that he transformed the Ten Commandments of God into only one "Do not lie or denounce wrongly your neighbour." You can easily understand that he is trying to attract the criminals on his side to increase the number of his supporters, to win elections, and then ask for their amnesty after their trial."

IMBONI

Translation by Manasse Mugabo
Broadcast Journalist
UN Radio/ Rwanda



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MESSAGE

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POUR:		
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for your information.

we must send a
report/analysis on this paper, as
also on President's speech on 25/11

ED/Sammy (Sammy) Lee

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**SPECIAL
RWANDA**

TUZA

**SPECIAL
RW'UBU**

Editeur: Barthelemy NYARWAYA - SEPTEMBRE 1994 - Imprimerie de Bujumbura - N° 1 - 300 FRW

EDITORIAL TUZA

Ibyabaye byarabaye, ahasigaye "tuza", uturane neza n'abandi. Shyira hasi ibigutera hejuru byose, utekereze uko amahoro y'ukuri n'ubwiyunge, byagerwaho. TUZA, ni ikinyamakuru gishyashya, gishobora wenda kuzageza ubwo gihagarara. kuko ubutumwa gifite, ari nko kuziba icyuho cyatewe n'itambara yashenye ibintu byinshi, birimo za imprimenes, ku buryo gusohora ikinyamakuru mu Rwanda bitoroshye na mba Ntaho tubogamiye muri politiki. Tuzaagera aza gutanga

BAMWE MU BATEGUYE UBWICANYI MU RWANDA.

Nakindi kivugwa muri iyi minsi, uretse gucira imanza abagize uruhare rugaragara mu bwicanyi, bwayogoye u Rwanda nyuma y'urupfu rwa Perezida Habyalimana. Biragoye kuzamenya, ndetse no gufata turiya twa mayibobo twose, bahaye gereda imihoro n'ibindi bakazishorera zikajya kwica. Turabagezaho hano, iliste y'abantu bagera kuri 220, bavugwa ko, bari mu bateguye ubwicanyi. Bikaba byashoboka, urebye uko bamenyaga amabanga ya MRND n'uko bakoranye.

THE LIST OF PEOPLE MASTER MINDED RWANDA GENOCIDE AND MASSACRES

(The list is not exhaustive)

A. ADMINISTRATORS

NAMES

REMARKS

IBIHE TURIMO

Intambara y'amasasu mu Rwanda, irasa n'aho yacogoye, ariko ishobora kongera ikubura, igihe cyose intambara ya politiki izaba idakemuye ibibazo. icyo tuyitezeho kandi, ni uko yarangirakemuye impanvu zose zatumye habaho intambara y'amasasu. Ibyo birasaba yuko imishyikirano itaziguye yahuza impande zombi. Ni ukuvuye guverinoma ya Kambanda na guverinoma y'i Kigali. Bagomba guhura, bakabwirana ukuri, bagahana ibiganza, bagasabana imbabazi, kuko buri ruhande rufite uruhare mu byabereye mu Rwanda. Ibihe turimoro, birakomeye, kuko igihe u Rwanda rwagarutse n'abahoze