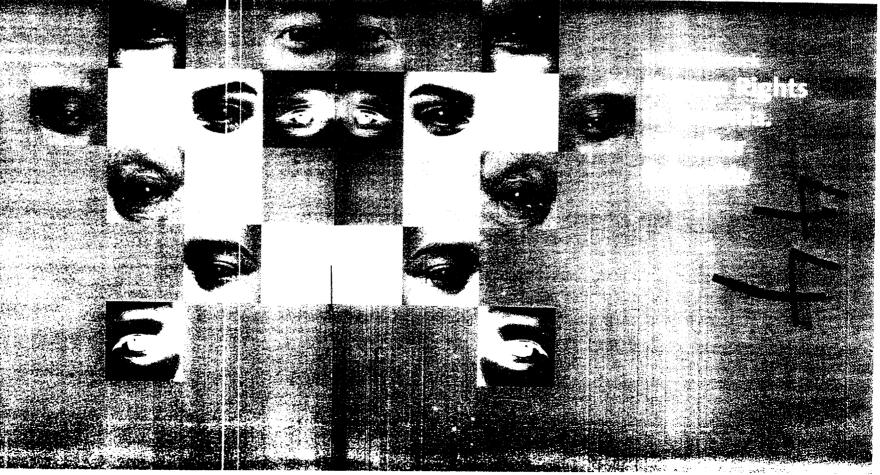
Pontifical Mission Society
Human Rights Office
Dr. Otmar Oehring (Editor)
Postfach 10 12 48
D-52012 Aachen
Tel.: 0049-241-7507-00
Fax: 0049-241-7507-61-253
E-Mail: humanrights@missio-aachen.de
© missio 2003

ISSN 1618-6222 missio Order No. 600 249

CASE NO. TELE-98-44-111
EXHIBIT NO. DATE ADMITTED. 13.5. 2005
TENDERED BY DESTRUCTOR NAME OF WITNESS. 14. 316.75

Meischenrechte Droits de l'Homme

Human Rights



The Human Rights Office aims to promote awareness of the human rights situation in Africa, Asia and Oceania. In pursuit of this objective we are actively involved in human rights networking and foster exchanges between missio's church partners in Africa, Asia and Oceania and church and political decision-makers in the Federal Republic of Germany. This Human Rights series comprises country-by-country studies, thematic studies and the proceedings of specialist conferences.

The present brochure examines human rights in Rwanda. In 1994, the country witnessed a genocide of the Tutsi population accompanied by serious violations of human rights by the victorious Western-backed rebel army and, in 1996, the expulsion of Hutu refugees from camps in Eastern Congo. In late 2002 / early 2003, the country was still ruled by a transitional government of the military victors united in the Rwandan Patriotic Front (FPR), the other political parties having been placed under close supervision.

The negotiated withdrawal of the FPR troops from the Congo at the end of 2002 has provided a fresh opportunity for peace and the building of democratic systems in Central Africa. After the years of political turmoil Christians, and the Catholic Church, in particular, have a special role to play as defenders of human rights during the work of reconstruction. This brochure describes the historical background to Rivarida's development into a 'Catholic country' and the international complications – also affecting the Church – that led to the turmoil of the 1990s.

The prevailing Western interpretation of the Tutsi genocide as being planned by Hutu extremists is examined in conjunction with the as yet unresolved murder of the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi on 6 April 1994. The chaos in Rwanda took its occurse when, on 21 April 1994, the United Nations Security Council refused to allow the UN blue helmets stationed in Rwanda to provide military protection for the endangered Tutsis. The world became a "spectator of genocide" (Samantha Power).

Helmut Strizek (b. 1942 in Groß-Gerau / Hesse) has spent most of his professic na life since 1973 working on development co-operation programmes in and with Africa. He lived in Rwanda from 1980 to 1983 and was involved in German development co-operation projects from 1987 to 1989. Since 1992, he has taken a close unofficial interest in events in the Great Lakes region of Central Africa. Rwanda and Burundi were the subject of the doctorate he took at Hamburg University's Institute of Political Studies in 1996. In 1998, he published a book that put the First Congo War (1996/1997) into the overall Central African context, particularly as regards relations with Uganda and Sudan, and illustrated its international ramifications. Since 1994, the author has written articles on Central African issues primarily for the journal, INTERNATIONALES AFRIKAFORUM.

Contents

- 2 General Informations on Rwanda
- 3 1. Introduction

6	2. Rwanda — the country and
	its people

7 3. The development of the country up to 1990

- 7 3.1 Rwanda up to 1962
- 3.2 The First Republic (1962-1973)
- 3.3 The Second Republic (1973-1990)
- 14 3.3.1 Military dictatorship
- 15 3.3.2 "Military democracy"

4. Democratisation, FPR invasion and civil war (1990 to July 1994)

- 17 4.1. Chronology of events
- 4.2 Democratisation in the international context
- 4.3 Democratisation and civil war in Rwanda 1990-1994

5. The fateful year 1994 and renewed military rule

- 26 5.1 The death of the Tutsis
- 27 5.2 Why were the Tutsis not saved?
- 29 5.3 The Hutu dead
- 30 5.4 The reasons for the mass killings
- 30 5.5 The role of the Catholic Church

32 6. Rwanda 1994-2002

- 6.1 Renewed military rule: the FPR state from July 1994
- 6.2 The refugee issue and the Congo Wars 1996-2002

36	7. Human rights in Rwanda
	at the end of 2002

- 36 7.1 Politics
- **38** 7.2 Justice
- 38 7.2.1 The Arusha Tribunal
- 39 7.2.2 Situation in the prisons
- 9 7.2.3 Gacaca
- 39 7.3 Economy and society
- **39** 7.3.1 'New elites'
- 40 7.3.2 Imidugudu habitat policy
- 40 7.4 Catholic Church
- 41 7.5 Freedom of the press

42 8. Prospects

Democracy as the pre-requisite for national reconciliation

14 9. Concluding remarks

- 46 Appendix 1: Bibliography
- 19 Appendix 2: List of abbreviations
- 2 Appendix 3: Excerpt from a conversation with Bishop Perraudin on 8 April 1995
- 53 Footnotes

General information on Rwanda

As per 2001/2002



Rwandese Republic

26,338 sq. km.

29°-31°O / 1°-3°S; landlocked country (1,200 km as the crow flies to the Indian Ocean and 2,000 km to the Atlantic Ocean) in the inter-lakes region (countries between Lake Victoria and the chain of lakes stretching from Lake Tanganyika to Lake Albert) Kigali, approx. 237,000 inhabitants

Ruhengeri, approx. 30,000 inhabitants; Butare, approx. 27,000 inhabitants; Gisenyi, approx. 22,000 inhabitants

8.1 million (2002 census); more than 80% Hutus; 15% Tutsis; approx. 1% Twa

6%

Approx. 2.5% (before the 1990 civil war approx. 3.5%) 52%

Kinyarwanda, English, French

Approx. 55% Roman Catholic; 20% Protestant, 5% Muslim; the rest do not belong to any faith (estimates; no reliable figures currently available)

Presidential Republic; President (since 2000) and FPR Chairman: General Paul Kagame

70-seat Assemblée Nationale de Transition (provisional parliament since December 1994)

12 prefectures divided up into 116 districts and municipalities 290 Euro

Rwandan Franc (RWF); exchange rate 13 December 2002: 1 Euro = 536 RWF (7 February 2003: 1 Euro = 554 RWF) Approx. 25,000 (child mortality 12.4%; average HIV rate among adults approx. 12%, in towns up to 30%)

1. Introduction

On 2 February 1900, the Catholic Bishop Jean-Joseph Hirth² of the Order of the Society of African Missionaries, called White Fathers because of their ankle-length white robes, arrived with a large retinue³ at the court of the Rwandan *mwami* (king), who regarded himself as the earthly representative of the divine being, Imana, from whom he derived the right to rule.

Bishop Hirth was determined to settle in the country and convert Rwanda to Christianity. Preaching the word of God would have been impossible without the support of the German colonial administration that had been established three years earlier; and the later triumphant advances made in Catholic missionary activities would have been inconceivable without Belgium as the mandatory power*.

The missionary work was brought to a 'victorious' conclusion on 27 October 1946 when *Mwami* Mutara III subordinated the country to Christ the King.

The Catholic Church was subsequently caught up in the maelstrom of political and social power struggles that shook the country before it achieved independence on 1 July 1962. The conflict of interests between the agriculturalist Hutus, who made up the majority of the population, and the minority Tutsis, who were politically and economically dominant up to 1959, erupted in what was called the social revolution between 1959 and 1962.

Christian penetration of the country continued beyond the end of the colonial period. In the two republics formed after independence in 1962 (First Republic 1962-1973 and Second Republic 1973-1994) the Catholic Church was the state church, so to speak. But the social conflicts were far from over, control over them being lost increasingly after 1990 and then completely after 1994.

The armed return on 1 October 1990 of the Tutsi nobility, who had been voted out of power in 1961, was the real cause of the disaster that befell the country in 1994, when the world sat idly by and watched the events unfold. Following the assassination of President Habyarimana in 1994, no-one was prepared to call a halt to the barbarity that began to emerge on both sides of the fighting lines in the civil war.

Even after the '1994 apocalypse', Christianity (the Catholic Church and the numerically smaller Protestant religious communities) remains a part of Rwandan culture and must make a contribution of its own to the process of national reconciliation.

Prior to 1930, the Catholic Church was more a 'Hutu church', but it became very much a 'Tutsi church' in the period up to 1955. Its attempts to become a

church for all the people following the foreseeable end of the colonial period after 1956 were crowned by no more than intermittent success. It became a national church after independence, but when the state increasingly began to assume the hallmarks of a 'Hutu state' after 1962, conflict broke out between the ethnic groups in the Church, too. The differences between the Hutus and Tutsis left its mark on discussions among the clergy. Nevertheless, efforts a: integration prevailed, as did attempts to overcome the 'ethnic' contradictions. It was only when civil war broke out in October 1990 that the wounds, which had almost healed, burst open again.

The meeting of two cultures in 1900 engendered a process of external challenges and internal responses that has continued right up to the present days and has changed the face of Rwanda for ever. Few other countries have experienced such a pronounced intertwining of missionary work and the transformation of traditional societys. A crucial step was the decision taken in 1925 by Belgium, a largely Catholic country, to hand over formal responsibility for the education system to the Church, as it did in Congo and Burundi, too.

The publication in July 1933 of the first edition of the journal Kinyamateka' printed by the Church in the language of the people was an historic landmark in the transition from a traditional to a contemporary nation. The Christian message transmitted in a 'modern' form of communication reached large sections of the population, firstly the Christian nobility and later on the rural population thanks to public readers from the ranks of the Hutu évolués*.

They thus heard for the first time of the right of people to participate in the administration of public affairs. Democratic ideas thus also found their way to this part of Africa. The written word changed people's awareness and - not long after – political reality, too. That every person has his own individual dignity as well as rights deriving from that dignity was a message that was readily understood and people soon began to call for those rights. They considered it a scandal that, in a letter to the king of 17 May 1958, an ultra-conservative group of the nobility should have denied the majority population the right to equality. The following statement transformed Hutu politicians, who had previously been loyal to the king, into revolutionaries: "Relations between us, the Tutsis, and them, the Hutus, have always been based on servitude (servage) and they remain that way right up to the present day; hence there is no foundation whatsoever for any brotherliness (fraternité) between them and us (...). Our kings have conquered the land of the Hutus, killed their kings and subjected the Hutus, so how can they now claim to be our brothers?" King Mutara III and his successor, Kigeri V, heeded the advice of these extremists, thereby wasting an opportunity to become kings of all the people on the basis of a constitution enshrining both rights and duties. The various aftershocks of the social revolution that was unleashed as a result have kept the country in a state of permanent upheaval – with the exception of a few periods of relative calm – ever since 1959. In situations of radical change both sides have repeatedly ignored fundamental human rights.

In 1994, the Catholic Church urged people to desist from violence, but its appeal was not strong enough to prevent the majority Catholic population in the area that was controlled by the interim government from engaging in the mass slaughter of the Tutsi population or from killing many Hutu inhabitants¹⁰ in the areas occupied by the FPR. However, the impact of the Tutsi genocide should not compel it to return to the status of a 'Tutsi church', which would be a retrograde step. In the long term this would be of no benefit to anyone, including the Tutsi population.

The disasters of the past put the Christians under a strong obligation to embody the unity of all Rwandans and to point the way in a spirit of brotherliness to a future beyond the ethnic divide.

The message of brotherly love brought to Rwanda by the missionaries in 1900 is the only viable message for the future and it is one that applies in the secular sense, too. Only through strict observance of human rights will there be the prospect of achieving reconciliation, national unity and a bright future. This will be possible if the international community ensures that no firebrands are hurled into the country from outside.

By advocating religious freedom as an integral part of human rights, the churches will be helping to secure the defence of all human rights, including the right to education.

2. Rwanda – the country and its people

Rwanda currently has around eight million inhabitants living on a territory covering 26,338 sq. km. (comparable to the size of Belgium or the German state of Hesse). This makes it one of the most densely populated areas in the whole of Africa. With the exception of a small section of the population living in towns, the inhabitants engage in subsistence agriculture in scattered settlements in the countryside. Banana growing (plantains, sweet and beer bananas) is widespread in this mountainous country. Rwanda lies in the area between the lakes near the western foothills of the African rift valley to the north of Lake Tanganyika. It is often referred to as the 'Land of a Thousand Hills', since apart from a few marshy valley bottoms there are virtually no plains allowing machinery to be used in farming. The average altitude is 1,500 m above sea level. Its location along the Equator gives the country a temperate climate. The limit for farming is 2,000 m above sea level. Precipitation increases from east to west and totals 1,100 to 1,200 mm a year. (The main rainy season is between February and May). The hills are flatter in the south but become steeper towards the north, culminating in the Virunga volcanic chain that runs from east to west and acts as a natural border with Uganda. The highest - snow-covered - volcano is the Karisimbi (4,507 m above sea level). The best volcanic soils are to be found mostly in the steep areas of the north. The western border is formed by Lake Kivu, the deep layers of which contain deposits of methane gas. The mountain chain running along the eastern banks of Lake Kivu forms the Nile-Congo Divide. The country is bounded in the east by the Kagera River. Extensive stretches of the southern border are formed by the Akanyaru, one of the tributaries of the Kagera. The main tributary of the Kagera is the Nyabarongo, which winds its way through the country in a large south-north-south bend. It is one of the headstreams of the River Nile. Rwanda borders on the Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly Zaire), Uganda, Tanzania and Burundi. With the exception of the westward relocation of the border with Uganda the country - including the partly autonomous North - now comprises the territory of the former kingdom of Rwanda that the Europeans found when they arrived at the end of the 19th century.

3. The development of the country up to 1990

3.1 Rwanda up to 1962

It was agreed at the Congo Conference held in Berlin in 1884/85 that the then largely unknown countries of Rwanda and Burundi should be incorporated into Germany's sphere of influence. The visit paid to the country in 1894 by Count Gustav Adolf von Götzen during his travels through Africa marked the end of indigenous sovereignty. King Kigeri had no more than an inkling of the significance of this visit, having been informed by the kings' regional information network in the inter-lake region that people with enormously effective weapons had penetrated into his kingdom.11 He was unable to fully comprehend the consequences of von Götzen's presence and his death in 1895 spared him the experience of being forced to effectively share power with the intruders. This fate was reserved for his next-but-one successor¹² Musinga after 1897. Musinga was a child when he acceded to the throne. Acting as regent was Kabare, the brother of his mother, who stemmed from the Bega clan. Kabare co-operated with the Germans and managed to gain their acceptance of Musinga's claim to power in the crisis over succession. Musinga was thus in an ambivalent position in assuming the position of king. Out of consideration for his German protectors he could not expel the missionaries from the country, although they were beginning to call his God-Kingdom into question.

The first Europeans to come into contact with the country (the Austrian geographer, Oscar Baumann, in 1892, the colonial officer, Count Gustav Adolf von Götzen, in 1894 and the German doctor and researcher, Richard Kandt, in the same year) were astonished at the sophisticated organisation of the state with a *mwami* (king) at its head, the symbol of whose power was the royal drum, the *kalinga*. The impressive royal herd of longhorn cattle was the expression of a cattle cult that left its mark on the life of the entire people.

The state was administered by groups of the nobility who called themselves Tutsis. Ownership of cattle was a right that was reserved for them. The agriculturalist majority of the population calling themselves Hutus were only able to acquire cattle utilisation rights, which were granted to them after a special ritual and an undertaking to render certain services. The third group comprising no more than 1% of the population were the pygmoid Twa, who lived from hunting and pottery making and provided the royal guard at court. Most historians describe the Twa as an ethnic group. This is a categorisation that is generally rejected for the Hutus and Tutsis since both groups – like the Twa – speak the

national language Kinyarwanda, worship the same God and jointly recognise the authority of the mwami.

The Tutsis and a group of Burundian and French historians deny that the distinction between Hutus and Tutsis can be attributed to different ethnic immigration movements. They claim that both sections of the population form social categories and are not, therefore, ethnic groups. In contrast, the historian, Bernard Lugan (LUGAN 1997), argues plausibly that both ethnic groups have their origins in the major, post-Ice Age, African migration movements that took place after the Sahara had once again dried up. The inhabitants of the Sahara (cattle breeders) had made their way southwards and finally up the valley of the Nile, whereas West African Bantu groups (farmers) had made use of the corridor that had emerged between the rain forest and the savannah to migrate firstly to the east and then through the African rift valley to the south. After both migration movements had met, there was a series of assimilation processes, about which very little is known. Kinyarwanda and Kirundi, which is related to it, are clearly Bantu languages. The system of rule perfected by the cattle breeders in Rwanda and Burundi also contains elements of the systems operated by the Bantu kingdoms in the Congo basin. The cattle cult, meanwhile, is an indication of influences that could have spread to the inter-lake area from the Mediterranean via the River Nile.

The answer given to the question about harmony between the population groups in royal Rwanda depends on whose interests are involved. Whereas the Hutu complained about their Tutsi masters to Richard Kandt, the outstanding German explorer and later imperial resident, at the end of the 19th century¹³, the group of historians referred to above mostly adopt the view that the social structure rested on a balanced give-and-take relationship that remained intact up to the colonial age. Other historians, especially Catharine Newbury (NEW-BURY 1988), have pointed out that the Hutus developed a form of ethnic awareness during the long repressive rule of King Kigeri IV (1853-1895)14 of the Nyiginya dynasty, which ended in a crisis of succession that had far-reaching consequences for relations between the two population groups. Mibambwe IV, the successor laid down by Kigeri IV, was overthrown by the Bega family. The child Musinga, who was enthroned by Kanjogera, one of the king's widows, was formally a Nyiginya and the rules of patrilinear succession were thus heeded, but in actual fact power had been taken over by the Bega family during the 'coup of Rucunshu' in 1897 and Kanjogera, now the Queen Mother, was able to exercise great influence at court - in some cases to the detriment of her Nyiginya son. This power struggle continues to influence Rwandan domestic policy right up to the present day. (The last Nyiginya king, Kigeri V, is living in exile, whereas

Paul Kagame, the head of the Bega family, succeeded in seizing power as a kind of 'republican *mwami*' in 1994 and has since made no effort to bring the king back.)

This dynastic dispute also had an impact on the social fabric as a whole, since the widow Kanjogera and her brother Kabare succeeded with the help of the Germans in placing those areas under the control of the central government in which the Hutu kings¹⁵ had been able to maintain a considerable degree of autonomy (which in some cases – after armed conflicts – was tantamount to independence).

The social and political weight of the Hutus and Tutsis shifted in favour of the latter under the German colonial administration. This process was intensified under Belgian sovereignty in 1925 by an administrative reform, which deprived the Hutus of the influence they had previously enjoyed.

At the start of German colonial rule at the end of the 19th century, which built on the existing Tutsi power structures, the *White Fathers* provided the Hutus with a kind of counterweight in the central areas of the kingdom, since they were able to record their first missionary successes among the poor rural population. The Catholic Church headed by Bishop Hirth was initially a 'Church of the poor'. As this situation led to ever-increasing difficulties with the Tutsi nobility, the Church recalled the instructions of Cardinal Lavigerie, the founder of the *White Fathers*, to devote particular attention to the chiefs in Africa, since their peoples would later follow them automatically.

This tendency gained the upper hand when, following the expulsion of the Germans in 1917, the Francophone section of the White Fathers enjoyed a monopoly of missionary work under Belgian rule. From 1922 to 1942, Bishop Léon Classe was in charge of the Catholic Church in Rwanda in his capacity as vicaire apostolique. With his help the Belgian mandatory power succeeded in bringing the power monopoly of the Tutsi aristocracy to full flower in the system of indirect rule it had taken over from the Germans. The Church justified this strategy by reference to the alleged greater value of the Tutsis compared to the 'more backward Hutus'. The Tutsi nobility felt flattered by this characterisation and internalised the self-elevation that already existed in the myths of the ruling Nyiginya clan. The climate between the two population groups became increasingly poisoned as a result.

The arrogance of a group of the nobility referred to in the quotation above led to a Hutu revolution in the run-up to Rwandan state independence that was now on the international political agenda. In Burundi, by contrast, where the Hutu-Tutsi conflict had been less pronounced in the past and 'mixed marriages' were customary even among the nobility, the old power structure was carried

over into independence. Here the continuing claim to power of the Tutsis was, therefore, 'de-ethnicised' in theory. Since the Tutsis only existed as an invention of the colonial power it was impossible to claim that power lay in their hands. Those who made use of such designations were applying racist categories -- irrespective of the fact that the majority of the population described themselves as Hutus.¹⁷ (The Tutsi regime set up in Rwanda in 1994 naturally seized on this theory, but has since dropped it in view of its patently untenable nature.)

At the end of the colonial period Rwanda was a Catholic country in which the Protestants had never been able to make up the ground they lost as a result of their partial expulsion after 1917 for having co-operated too closely with the German colonial power. 18 However, the Church was just as split as the Rwandan nation itself. The process of democratisation that had slowly spread since the mid-1940s began to exert an influence on the Church and led to a clash between the Hutus and Tutsis in its ranks, too. The Swiss Bishop, André Perraudin (1914-2003), in particular, found it completely unacceptable that a group which had benefited greatly from the preference given to the children of Tutsi chiefs in the education system should consider itself to be superior within the Church and often treat fellow-believers with disdain.19 This was an evil he was determined to oppose. In his view, the Church could only survive in a country on the verge of independence if it became a national Church. The complete lack of any understanding on the part of the Tutsi nobility for such ideas led to a complete alienation between the kingdom and the Catholic Church. The Tutsi clergy was more receptive, however. The Church became part of the republican movement without this being the express intention of Bishop Perraudin or the (Protestant) governor, Jean-Paul Harroy, who supported him.

On 11 February 1959, Bishop Perraudin published a pastoral letter for Lent that had an explosive effect. He wrote: "The divine law of justice and social charity (charité) requires that the institutions of a country be structured in such a way that they ensure for all legitimate social groups the same fundamental rights and the same opportunities for human advancement as well as participation in public affairs. Institutions approving of a regime of privileges, favouritism and protection, be it for individuals or for social groups, would be at odds with Christian morality." ²⁰ Looking back on this pastoral letter for Lent, Bishop Perraudin pointed out on 8 April 1995 that he had acted solely out of pastoral considerations and a concern for the unity of the Rwandan Catholic Church and that he had had no intention of adopting a pro-Hutu position.²¹

However, the message for Lent issued on 11 February 1959 was interpreted as providing support for the so-called Hutu Manifesto of 24 March 1957.²² This manifesto, which bore the signatures of nine Hutu intellectuals, was a response

to a document issued by a group of Tutsi dignitaries on 2 February 1957 that was referred to as a 'clarification' (mise au point)²³. This document claimed there was no such thing as a Hutu-Tutsi conflict. The only problem Rwanda had was with the white colonial administration, which had failed to prepare the country for independence. The 'Hutu Manifesto' questioned the threefold Tutsi monopoly in political, socio-economic and cultural affairs.²⁴

The Hutu Manifesto had been inspired by Grégoire Kayibanda, an editor of many years standing25 with the Catholic journal Kinyamateka. He had used this platform - tolerated rather than encouraged by Bishop Perraudin²⁶ - to produce a stream of articles on social issues in Rwanda. He left the editorial department in September 1957, having been sent to Belgium to continue his education as a journalist. After his return in 1958 he became to all intents and purposes a 'professional politician'. It was during his absence that the final break between the Hutu spokesmen and the dynasty took place on 9 June 1958. Following an exchange of views in March 1958 between five Hutu spokesmen and five Tutsi nobles, which had been held at the instigation of the United Nations²⁷, the king decreed that the 'Hutu question' had been resolved and that anyone mentioning the problem in future would be subject to criminal prosecution. This was the background that made the pastoral letter for Lent written by Bishop Perraudin on 11 February 1959 so significant. In a very tense situation it needed no more than a single spark to trigger an explosion. This came on 1 November 1959 when a group of Tutsi youths slapped the face of the prominent Hutu sous-chef, Dominique Mbonyumutwa, before the service on All Saints' Day.

The partly bloody²⁸ power struggle waged between All Saints' Day 1959 and September 1961 between the Hutu parties, the royal power, the United Nations and the trustee power, Belgium, has come to be called the Rwandan social revolution. The MDR Parmehutu party led by Grégoire Kayibanda – and clearly supported by the special resident and later resident, Colonel Guy Logiest,²⁹ – took power following the 'coup of Gitarama' on 28 January 1961. During the coup a meeting of all the elected local councillors declared itself a Constitutional Assembly and called on the people to vote in a referendum on the country's future order on 25 September 1961. 80% of the voters in the referendum, which was held under UN surveillance, called for an abolition of the monarchy.³⁰ The National Assembly, which was democratically elected on the same day, appointed Grégoire Kayibanda head of state on 26 October 1961. He assumed office as the first president of the independent *République Rwandaise* on 1 July 1962.

3.2 The First Republic (1962-1973)

It was clear at the time the country was declared a democratic republic at its formal independence on 1 July 1962 that the traditional rulers would refuse to accept the outcome of the referendum. Some of them had already gone into exile in Burundi and Uganda following the initial unrest in November 1959 and the removal from power of all the Tutsi chiefs by Colonel Logiest. A much larger number followed at the end of 1963 after the failed attempt to recover power by military means. The feeling of hatred for the Tutsis that followed this 'blcody Christmas' led to the deaths of between 10,000 and 15,000 Tutsis. Mass emigration was the inevitable consequence. Lord Bertrand Russell, winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1950, accused the Kayibanda government of genocide. The emigrant problem remained with the two republics and led to the complete collapse of the Hutu-dominated state in 1994.

This is not the place to decide who was especially responsible for the First Republic becoming to all intents and purposes a one-party state or, one might say, a 'Hutu state'. At the outset there was no lack of offers of co-operation extended to the former rulers organised in the UNAR party. However, their complete rejection of these offers and their dream of a - frequently attempted - military re-conquest of power thwarted the moves towards co-operation. The fact that President Kavibanda was married to a woman from the Tutsi group of the population would indicate that he was no 'dyed-in-the-wool Tutsi hater' and was willing to contemplate co-operation. His fundamental Christian-democratic attitude ensured him the sympathy of the West, while the Tutsi oligarchy had acquired the support of the Soviet Union in the state power struggles from 1957 to 1962 and was, therefore, discredited in the West during the Cold War period. During his first years in government Kayibanda's personal modesty made him an ideal 'development president' for the West. Internally, he relied largely on staff from the south, which earned him the mistrust of the évolués" from the north. For in the north there was still a residue of the pride of the Hutu princes who had long defended their autonomy against the royal power that resided in the south. They felt they had not been sufficiently honoured by Kayibanda and avenged themselves after they gained power in the Second Republic.

3.3 The Second Republic (1973-1990)

The military coup of 5 July 1973 led by the army chief from the north, Juvénal Habyarimana, was attributable in part to this north-south conflict, but it was primarily the result of the genocide perpetrated on the *Hutu évolués* in Burundi in 1972. Between 100,000 and 300,000 Hutus, who had enjoyed a school education, were murdered by the Burundian army in the summer of 1972 – with the

connivance of the West – and subsequently buried in shallow mass graves.³² The call for revenge resounded in Rwanda. The first attacks on the Tutsi population had already taken place, especially in the secondary schools.³³ The threat of a general Hutu campaign of retaliation was suppressed by the new military rulers, which earned them considerable applause in the West. They attempted to make the participation of the different population groups in public affairs more transparent and wished to give the Tutsis a certain guarantee. In line with their share of the population they were to be given a roughly 15% share of responsibility at all levels. Since their percentage representation at secondary schools and colleges was still much higher in 1973 despite the preference given to Hutus during the First Republic, this approach did not meet with the approval of all the Tutsis.

That the quota did not apply to the armed services and that the army remained a Hutu army was justifiably regarded as discrimination. The retention of the entry of 'ethnic' affiliation in personal identity cards, which stemmed from Belgian times, after the Tutsi genocide of 1994 was considered to be an expression of racism. Although this requirement had been abolished at the time of the Tutsi genocide, it had not yet been put into administrative practice and so some Tutsis were killed in the summer of 1994 as a result of these entries. It should be pointed out, however, that the Hutu genocide in Burundi in 1972 took place without any such entry being made in personal documents. As was the case in Rwanda, those committing the genocide found out who belonged to which group without there being any registration of identity.

Regrettably, virtually no-one was bothered by the fact that the military coup of 1973 in Rwanda formally destroyed the democratic order. The West had obviously lost any faith in the country's problems being resolved and progress being made in development within a democratic framework. The alternative was to rely on 'development dictators'. In neighbouring Burundi a military group from the province of Bururi had seized power in 1966 without any perceivable resistance on the part of the international community. In other parts of Africa, too, military regimes had become an everyday fact of life, particularly if they were sufficiently anti-Communist to justify their existence. The West, imbued as it was with the spirit of the Cold War, was not all that upset about the demise of Grégoire Kayibanda, because in the course of time he had shown an increasing tendency towards left-wing Catholicism, which many – including some within the Catholic Church – regarded with suspicion as being Communism in disguise. In this respect the traditional Catholic, Juvénal Habyarimana, was above all suspicion.

Habyarimana was an ideal partner for the conservative wing of the Catholic Church. He sought reconciliation on the population group issue, promoted the

reputation of all the Christian churches, avoided confrontation of any kind in the education system and did not kick against the pricks too much on the matter of contraception. After 1994 a completely unacceptable line was drawn between his close co-operation with the Church and the mentality of the killers. The fact that Vincent Nsengiyumva (appointed Archbishop in 1976) had been a long-standing member (1977-1985) of the Central Committee of the state party, MRND, which had been founded in 1975, in no way exacerbated the 'ethnic issue'. On the contrary, it had a moderating effect. The Catholic Church, which had concentrated on bringing about a balance after the events of 1972, urged Habvarimana not to forget about the issue of national unity that formed part of his programme. The Rwandan bishops had already denounced the 'hunt for Tutsis' at secondary schools and universities in Rwanda as 'racist persecution' on 23 February 1973, and on 24 March 1973 they revealed that between 400 and 500 people had already been killed. Bishop Perraudin was subsequently deluged with completely contradictory accusations. Burundi Radio, which was domin ited by radical Tutsis, called him a 'pro-Hutu agent of the Belgian trade unions', whereas the radical Hutu students in Belgium called him a 'pro-Tutsi reactionary'.35

The anti-Tutsi forces within the MRND only began to gain ground when Nsen-giyumva heeded the 'urgent' appeal of the Pope and resigned from the Central Committee of the MRND on 23 December 1985. His membership of the committee before 1985 can in no way be interpreted as constituting approval for the radicalisation of the party in the civil war after 1990. What was really important – and therefore tolerated by Rome for a long time – was the importance of his membership for the issue of contraception. The Church maintained its probirth position even in this overpopulated country and prevented Habyarimana from pursuing an active family planning policy. The Demographic Office ONAPO (Office National pour la Population) was little more than an alibi.

The Catholic journal, Kinyamateka, which has already been mentioned on several occasions, became the core of the Church opposition to the 'Habyarimana system' despite the personal friendship between Archbishop Vincent Nsengiyumva^{3*} and the President, which dated from the days of their youth. This was particularly the case under the influence of Thaddée Nsengiyumva, coadjutor from January 1988 and Bishop of the diocese of Kabgayi as successor to Bishop Perraudin from 7 October 1989.³⁴

3.3.1 Military dictatorship

14

After the military coup of 5 July 1973, sole power was exercised up to 1975 by a military council consisting of eleven officers headed by Habyarimana³⁹. It halted the attacks on the Tutsi population and Habyarimana maintained this policy up

to his death on 6 April 1994. In the early years, however, his regime was none too scrupulous in its approach to the toppled Hutus from the south. They 'died' in large numbers in the prisons of the north. In his excellent analysis of the power structures of the Habyarimana era (GASANA 2002) James Gasana talks of a kind of alliance between the economically successful Tutsi elite that had remained in the country and the Hutu rulers from the north, which functioned to the detriment of the toppled ruling groups from the south. This north-south conflict remained even after Habyarimana's 'transformation' into a civilian president, albeit one who continued to rely on the military.

3.3.2 'Military democracy'

The ruling order established after 1975, which gradually incorporated democratic elements and lasted up to the pluralist opening of the Habyarimana regime in 1991/1992, can best be described as a 'military democracy'. Power centred around the army, although ever fewer officers were represented in the government. Colonel Kanyarengwe and Major Lizinde, two of the key figures in the coup of 1973, found that reality increasingly failed to live up to their expectations of power. In the spring of 1980 they even tried to overthrow the government, but failed miserably in the attempt. In a book published in 1979 (LIZINDE 1979) Major Lizinde had, to all intents and purposes, called for a continuation of the Hutu revolution and attempted to exploit the enemy image of the Tutsis for his own ends. It is one of the peculiarities of Rwandan history that the FPR, the spearhead of the Tutsi movement to regain power, later skilfully manipulated Kanyarengwe and Lizinde to disguise its real character and document its claim to be a national liberation movement.

In 1980, Kanyarengwe managed to escape into exile and thus avoid the trial that Lizinde had to face. While the world could understand the tough sentence passed on Lizinde, the inclusion of a potential rival for power, Donat Murego, in the trial caused quite a 'headache' for many people. It was all too obvious that Murego, who hailed from the south and was a former close collaborator of Kayibanda, had nothing to do with the attempted coup, but he was nevertheless sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in the state security prison at Ruhengeri. After his release in 1991 Murego was one of the fiercest critics within the newly founded MDR party of the 'Habyarimana system', which drew heavily on politicians from the north. This was understandable in purely human terms, but it was a heavy burden on the efforts to find a compromise in the process of democratisation that began in 1991.

Democratisation found its way onto the world political agenda after the end of the Cold War and it was warmly welcomed in Rwanda. Habyarimana was no

longer accepted as the 'father of the nation'. The urban elites, at least, wished to have a share in power. Moreover, Habyarimana found himself facing increasing international pressure when, at the Franco-African summit in La Baule in June 1990, the French President, François Mitterand, acting in full agreement with the USA, called upon the military rulers allied with each other during the Cold War to quit the political stage in an orderly fashion or at least face democratic elections. Habyarimana renounced the monopoly power enjoyed by his MRND movement-party in September 1990. The democratic winds of change had now also reached Kigali. Far-reaching reforms were introduced in the autumn of 1990. Serious attempts were also made in the wake of the Pope's visit to tackle another serious problem for the over-populated country. Negotiations on the return of over half a million exiled Tutsis were speeded up. 60

The opening up of the regime took place in an extremely difficult economic environment. Prices for coffee, the country's main export item, had fallen steadily since the mid-1980s, agricultural production was stagnating and unprecedented poverty was rife in the countryside. This was despite the fact that Rwanda was receiving development aid from all sides and was regarded for a long time as an exemplary developing country. James Gasana was familiar with the disastrous situation in the countryside from his own personal experience as Minister of Agriculture from 1990 and in a number of publications he has provided a deeply moving account of the situation the regime attempted to play down. Gasana accuses the country's elites, who knew that the 'national pie' was decreasing in size, of not having addressed the issue of poverty in the countryside. "As political, financial and moral corruption spread, the Second Republic institutionalised the misery of the poor, as it were. The poverty of the rural masses was turned into a natural resource for the elites. They 'appropriated' the poverty of the poor – not 10 ease their fate, but to profit from the fruits of international aid". (GASANA 2002:50)

The inner circle of people that had formed around the president's wife, Agathe Kanziga-Habyarimana, who came from a family that ranked among the old Northern Hutu nobility, was called 'akazu' (little house). Those who did not belong to the small circle of the privileged watched with growing annoyance as the inhabitants of the *little house*, stricken by 'fin de règne' panic, attempted to 'feather their nest' in an increasingly bare-faced manner.

The murder of the Habyarimana confidant, Colonel Stanislas Mayuya, on 18 April 1988 by the Tutsi Major Biroli¹⁰ played a key role here. Biro¹¹ was arrested by the police as he returned to his home prefecture of Gikongoro. He was murdered shortly afterwards in Kigali in all likelihood to prevent the matter being cleared up. The report on his murder has never been published. The case had further serious consequences, nevertheless. From now on Pasteur Biz-

imungu, the head of the state electricity and water authority, ELECTROGAZ, who had close personal ties with the family of Colonel Mayuya, also had reason to fear for his life. He, therefore, went into exile and later joined the FPR, the organisation of the rebels.⁴⁴

The battle between the North and the South for the country's scarce resources was fought with increasing bitterness. The social fabric of the country was stretched to breaking point. But in contrast to what might have been expected after the attempted coup of 1980 the Tutsi question was only important in view of the fact that some especially successful members of this group of the population seemed to feel remarkably at ease among the akazu circle. This had to do with the fact that Burundi appeared to be well on the way to overcoming the Hutu-Tutsi conflict by means of a democratic opening. Indeed, Melchior Ndadaye, a moderate Hutu who had no interest in exploiting the Tutsi issue, was elected president of Burundi in June 1993. Three months later, however, he was murdered by members of the army, which was dominated by the Tutsis. Thus "the sleeping dogs of ethnic division" (MASIRE 2000: Executive Summary 17) were aroused – and not just in Burundi. People recalled the genocide of the Hutu elite in 1972, which had never been the subject of a legal investigation.

But this is pre-empting events, for the 'dogs of ethnic division' went on sleeping in Rwanda until 1 October 1990, when they were rudely awakened. The FPR, a group of Tutsi exiles⁴⁵, had invaded the land of their forefathers from Uganda.

4. Democratisation, FPR invasion and civil war (1990 - July 1994)

4.1 Chronology of events

June 1990: At the Franco-African summit in the health resort of La Baule (Brittany), President Mitterand of France, acting in agreement with the Africa policy of the United States, announces that following the end of the Cold War the West will urge its partner countries to introduce democratic reforms. He declares France's willingness to provide military safeguards for the transition process. 5 July 1990: In the wake of the Franco-African summit in La Baule the Rwandan President, Juvénal Habyarimana, announces democratic structural reforms. 24 September 1990: The visit by a delegation of Tutsi exiles from Rwanda planned for 25 September 1990 is cancelled, even though the negotiations on opportu-

nities for refugees to return to the country have made good progress up to that point. **27 September 1990:** Habyarimana announces the convening of a national commission to draw up a democratic constitution.

- 1 October 1990: Between 3,000 and 4,000 FPR soldiers led by the head of the FPR, Fred Rwigyema, and his deputies, Peter Bayingana and Chris Bunyenyezi, attack Rwanda from Uganda.
- **2 October 1990:** Rwigyema is killed. The attack is subsequently halted by the Rwandan army with the help of French advisers and soldiers from Zaire. The FPR suffers heavy losses.
- 17 October 1990: Paul Kagame returns from military training in the USA to become the military leader of the FPR.
- 23 October 1990: The two FPR leaders, Peter Bayingana and Chris Bunyenyezi, are killed in unclear circumstances.
- Late October 1990: The FPR soldiers withdraw to Uganda. Paul Kagame builds up guerrilla units.
- October/November 1990: Several thousand Tutsis are accused of complicity with the FPR and interned in Kigali.
- 13 November 1990: Habyarimana announces an opening of the regime and the introduction of a multi-party system. (The reference to ethnic affiliation in personal identity documents is to be abolished.)
- **20 November 1990:** Ceasefire talks between Habyarimana and the Ugandan head of state, Yoweri Museveni, in Mwanza (Tanzania).
- **December 1990:** The magazine *KANGURA* publishes 'Ten Commandments' that are racist in character and directed against the Tutsis.
- 23 January 1991: The FPR succeeds in briefly capturing the town of Ruhengeri in the north of the country and liberating several political prisoners (including Théoneste Lizinde). This is followed by the first massacres of the Bagogwes, a sub-Tutsi group.
- 29 March 1991: Ceasefire agreement between Rwanda and the FPR in Kinshasa.
- **28** April 1991: At a congress the state party, MRND, renounces its monopoly on power and amends its statutes, thus enabling it to become a political party under the name of MRNDD (Mouvement Républicain National pour la Démocratie et le Développement).
- 10 June 1991: Adoption of a new constitution and introduction of a multi-party system by the parliament, the *Conseil National de Développement* (CND).
- 18 June 1991: The Political Parties Act comes into force.
- 5 July 1991: The MRNDD is registered as a political party in line with the new Political Parties Act. Habyarimana remains its chairman.
- July 1991: The MDR, PL, PSD, PDC and ten other smaller parties are registered following the passing of the Political Parties Act.

- **7 September 1991:** An alliance is formed between the opposition parties, MDR, PL, PSD and PDC.
- **16 September 1991:** Supplement to the Kinshasa ceasefire agreement in Gbadolité (Zaire).
- 13 October 1991: Appointment of the well-respected Sylvestre Nsanzimana as the new prime minister (but without the support of the parties).
- 23 March 1992: Founding of the radical Hutu party, CDR.
- **16 April 1992:** Agreement between the MRNDD and the opposition alliance on the formation of a coalition government under Prime Minister Dismas Nsengiyaremye. The government's aim is to reach a peace agreement with the FPR.
- 22 April 1992: Habyarimana renounces supreme command of the army and retires from active military service so that he can remain chairman of the MRNDD.
- May 1992: Habyarimana is re-elected party chairman. Mathieu Ngirumpatse becomes its general secretary.
- **24 May 1992:** First informal meeting between the Foreign Minister, Boniface Ngulinzira (MDR), and the FPR in Kampala.
- 29 May 1992: First meeting between the parties of the former opposition alliance and the FPR in Brussels.
- Late May/early June 1992: The FPR attacks the north of the country in breach of the ceasefire agreement and secures permanent possession of several areas. This triggers the first wave of around 350,000 Hutu refugees who flee to the south. The anti-Tutsi feelings in the country grow.
- 12 July 1992: A new ceasefire agreement is signed between the government and Pasteur Bizimungu acting on behalf of the FPR.
- **18 August 1992 9 January 1993:** Various partial agreements on the future power sharing with the FPR.
- **8** February 1993: The FPR breaches the accords, its forces advancing to positions not far from Kigali. The attack is halted with French support. A new wave of refugees ensues. From now on there are around one million Hutus living in appalling conditions in camps close to Kigali. As a result of the FPR attack the parties in the opposition alliance split into pro and anti-FPR wings. The country becomes practically ungovernable.
- **9 March 1993:** Nevertheless, the government and the FPR conclude new cease-fire agreements.
- **22 June 1993:** The UN Security Council approves the sending of a UN observer mission to Kigali to promote the peace process.
- **5 July 1993:** Habyarimana does not stand for the position of chairman at the MRNDD party congress. Mathieu Ngirumpatse, a representative of the reform wing, is elected the new MRNDD party chairman and Joseph Nzirorera, a representative of the *akazu*, as it were, becomes its general secretary.



20

4 August 1993: There is, nevertheless, a formal peace accord together with the Arusha power-sharing agreement concluded by Habyarimana and the political chairman of the FPR, Alexis Kanyarengwe.

5 October 1993: The UN Security Council resolves to transform the observer mission into the UNAMIR peace monitoring mission headed by Canadian General Roméo Dallaire.

21 October 1993: The recently elected Burundian President, Melchior Ndadaye, is murdered by members of the army, which is dominated by Tutsi officers. At the outset of the civil war in Burundi many Hutus flee to Rwanda. This leads to a crisis in the implementation of the Arusha Agreement of 4 August 1993.

28 December 1993: The FRP unit foreseen in the Arusha Agreement arrives in Kigali. **January-April 1994:** Futile attempts to form the transitional government headed by Faustin Twagiramungu that was envisaged in the Arusha Agreement.

6 April 1994: Habyarimana flees to Dar-es-Salaam, where he agrees at a regional conference to the immediate formation of a transitional government. On his return to Kigali the Rwandan president's aircraft is shot down at 8.30 p.m. The same night sees the launching of a wave of murders of politicians reputed to be FPR sympathisers.

7 April 1994: Start of the war for the final takeover of power by the FPR and the extension of the wave of murders of the civilian Tutsi population; this leads to the death, amongst others, of the Prime Minister, Agathe Uwilingiyimana, and the ten Belgian blue helmets who were supposed to protect her.

8/9 April 1994: The wings of the parties that are critical of the FPR form an interim government under President Sindikubwabo and Prime Minister Kambanda. The FPR rejects ceasefire negotiations.

9-12 April 1994: European troops evacuate their countries' citizens and refuse to take action against the 'killers'. (Even the Tutsi embassy personnel are left unprotected to meet their deaths and the aircraft that arrive empty are not used to supply the UN soldiers in contradiction of the wishes of UN General Dallaire.) 12 April 1994: The Belgian blue helmets are ordered to move out of the ETO vocational school, thus leaving some 2,000 people (mostly Tutsis but also Hutus in danger of their lives, such as the Foreign Minister, Boniface Ngulinzira), who were under their protection, to meet their murderers waiting outside the gates.

The interim government flees from Kigali and resides provisionally in Gitarama in the south-west. (Followed later by a further flight to Gikongoro in the west and finally in mid-June to Bukavu in Eastern Zaire.)

21 April 1994: The UN Security Council resolves to reduce the number of UN soldiers from 2,500 to a symbolic contingent of 270 men, thus handing over the Tutsis, who were under threat throughout the country, to their murderers. This enables the waves of murders to be transformed into genocide. The youth militias, who are largely responsible, can move around freely in the area ruled by the interim government, which is to all intents and purposes no longer in existence. The UN is not allowed to engage them. The USA prevents the Rwandan massacres from being described as genocide.

May-July 1994: The USA hinders implementation of the UN Security Council resolution passed on 17 May 1994 increasing the size of the UNAMIR mission to 5,500 men, thus enabling the FPR to continue its conquest of the country. (The first contingent of blue helmets does not arrive until after the victory of the FPR.) June 1994: By agreement with the United Nations Security Council and with the approval of the FPR, France sets up a humanitarian protection zone in the south-west of the country (Operation Turquoise), after guarantees have been given that the military operations of the FPR will not be disrupted as a result.

17 July 1994: Victory for the FPR in Rwanda and the establishment of an initially partially camouflaged FPR military dictatorship. Some two million people leave Rwanda. Setting up of refugee camps in Tanzania, Burundi and, above all, Eastern Zaire.

4.2 Democratisation in the international context

It should be pointed out in retrospect that the process of democratisation launched in Rwanda in the late summer of 1990 had no chance of making any further progress after the autumn of 1993. The sensational winds of change that had started to blow internationally after the fall of the Berlin Wall and Mitterrand's speech in June 1990 in La Baule had changed direction, particularly as far as Central Africa was concerned. The current President of Mali, Amadou Toumani Touré, made a very accurate observation as far back as 1994 when he said: "At the conference in La Baule in June 1990 we were told that from then on a kind of 'democratic certificate of good conduct' would be required of African states. In 1993 there was a change of tune. From then on the message was: 'Democracy is all well and good, but it's efficiency that counts now'."47 At almost the same time as the Clinton administration assumed office, military regimes came back into fashion as allies. In Zaire, for instance, the reform process launched in the form of the National Sovereign Conference financed by the USA was broken off and Mobutu was able to reappear on the international stage unchallenged. In Burundi the West did nothing when the moderate Hutu President, Melchior Ndadaye, who had just been democratically elected in June 1993, was murdered by the army on 21 October 1993. The head of the Southern People's Liberation Army

in Sudan, John Garang, was hailed as the new leader of Africa, and in Eritrea and Ethiopia, too, the necessary democratic dialogue was discontinued after the toppling of the military ruler, Mengistu Haile Mariam. The military victors were accepted. Yoweri Museveni's regime, which could hardly be described as a paragon of democratic virtue, was praised to the heavens. In Rwanda it became clear that the West was no longer interested in the democratic sharing of power between the state and the FPR foreseen in the Arusha Agreement of 4 August 1993, preferring instead to accept the military victory of the invaders. In retrospect it is also clear that the FPR attack of 1 October 1990 – which lacked any broad international approval at the time – was geared to undermining the wave of democratisation, because the successors of the feudal nobility knew they had no chance whatsoever of an election victory in Rwanda. They needed to move fast and the poor preparation of the attack led to its initial failure.

4.3 Democratisation and civil war in Rwanda 1990-1994

There was still hope for democracy after the FPR invasion was quickly halted with the help of French and Zairean troops, its leaders were killed in October 1990 and heavy losses forced the FPR fighters to retreat to Uganda later that same month.

This appeared to provide confirmation of the analogy with all the previous failed attempts at an armed return to power by the Tutsi nobility. However, Kigali's response to the attack played into the hands of the FPR and inflicted lasting harm on Habyarimana's reputation. He had some 8,000 Tutsis interned in Kigali, because they were collectively suspected of being a fifth column of the aggressors. It was not until the spring of 1991 that they were released by order of the then Minister of Justice, Sylvestre Nsanzimana, following international pressure. But by then the damage had been done.

Nevertheless, the domestic democratisation process continued despite a severe economic crisis, the increasingly dramatic shortage of land brought about by physical partition and the rapidly growing population, and the incipient social crises. Every step along the road to democratisation had to be wrested from Habyarimana, however, thus depriving the country of any political benefit from the process.

Political assassination and ethnically motivated massacres were already the order of the day. Despite all the terrible things that happened between 1 October 1990 and 6 April 1994, it was astonishing that the outbreaks of ethnically veiled violence were contained time and again. The following statement by Gasana is understandable in this respect: "The plurality of the political forces at the beginning of the 1990s would have made it impossible for any political

movement to secretly make arrangements for state-organised ethnic extermination. The attempts made by various protagonists to spread chaos and provoke general ethnic confrontations proved a failure. There was a rapid defensive response by Habyarimana in Kibilira in October 1990, for instance. He told the Minister of the Interior, J. M. V. Mugemana, and the Prefect of Gisenyi, François Nshunguyinka, to restore order. In March 1992, there was a situation in the Bugesera region that could easily have led to a general nationwide ethnic confrontation. However, the then Prime Minister, Sylvestre Nsanzimana, did everything he could to restore peace and quiet. In January 1993, the MRND demonstrations were designed to plunge the country into chaos but we⁴⁸ succeeded in averting large-scale damage by issuing clear orders to the gendarmerie to contain the demonstrations."

As a result of the FRP attack of 8 February 1993, which violated the truce, the democratic parties split into wings that opposed or supported the FPR. The democracy movement more or less collapsed and was no longer in a position to exert any moderating influence on the ever more serious political turbulence. The rapid inflation in the size of the army after the FPR attack of October 1990 and the lack of discipline among the poorly trained new soldiers also inflicted serious damage on the state. The army forfeited its fighting strength but still called for the militarization of the country. The split within the MDR party that took place in July 1993 had a particularly negative effect on subsequent political developments. The pro and anti-FPR wings cancelled each other out, thus effectively eliminating the most important democratic party from the political scene.

At the same time the international climate deteriorated. By the time the blue helmet unit of UNAMIR (United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda) was to be employed in October 1993 to monitor the implementation of the peace process, as envisaged in the Arusha Agreement of 4 August 1993, the USA had lost interest in this mandate. Unfortunately, the US Ambassador to the United Nations, Madeleine Albright, had to negotiate this new UN commitment at a time when the US administration was planning a complete military withdrawal from Africa after the spectacular death of 18 American blue helmets in Somalia on 3 October 1993. As a result the US administration attempted to make the UNAMIR mandate as limited as possible and refused to deploy any American blue helmets.

Despite its previous support for the process of democratisation in Burundi the USA did nothing to restore the democratic order after the murder of the newly elected Burundian President Ndadaye on 21 October 1993. Finally, in July 1996, the West⁵⁰ openly supported the renewed coup staged by Pierre Buyoya, the military ruler who had been voted out of office in 1993.

It has to be stated that human rights were violated on a massive scale by both sides in the civil war in Rwanda and that the FPR had up to that point largely succeeded in preventing any public discussion of the events in the areas under its control. Contrary to all the accusations that are frequently made, there are now sound reasons for historians to assume that President Habyarimana did not personally pursue a policy designed to promote ethnic hatred, but that he made a series of political errors, which made such accusations possible. The constant impression he gave was of a man driven, who only succeeded in distancing himself from the expectations of his extended family at the very last minute.

His attitude and his many documented warnings to his staff not to fall into the deliberately laid trap of ethnic conflict confirm this. It was not until after his death and the immediate subsequent aggression of the FPR breaching all the ceasefire agreements that the dams burst and the apocalypse became reality.

5. The fateful year 1994 and renewed military rule

On 6 April 1994, the plane carrying the Rwandan president was shot down at 8.30 p.m. local time as it approached the capital, Kigali, to land. The aircraft crashed into the garden of the presidential villa close to the airport. All those on board, including the three French members of the crew, were killed. The fact that President Juvénal Habyarimana was accompanied on board by Cyprien Ntaryamira, a Hutu who had only recently been elected President of Burundi by the National Assembly in Bujumbura, the Rwandan Chief of Army Staff, Major-General Deogratias Nsabimana, and other military men belonging to the akazu circle excludes the possibility, as far as anyone can judge, of the assassination having been the work of extremist Hutu circles.

Habyarimana was on his way from Dar-es-Salaam, where he had bowed to considerable international pressure to install without delay the transitional government envisaged in the Arusha Agreement. Even if his enemies from the radical Hutu camp had wished to forestall such a government, it would have made no sense for any of the opponents of the Arusha Agreement to eliminate the Burundian President and the core of the Rwandan army, who were also on board. On the other hand, the assassins knew that their attack would break the resistance to a seizure of power by the FPR. After the withdrawal in December 1993 of the French military contingent that had twice prevented a military victory for the FPR, only Habyarimana and the military men on board the plane, some of whom were 'anti-Arusha', stood in the way of an FPR victory.

The assassination deprived the state of its leadership. Like all the observers, the assassins knew very well that the resulting political vacuum posed the threat of massacres along the ethnic dividing line. After all, there were around a million people living under appalling conditions in makeshift camps in the immediate surroundings of Kigali. Those who gave these young people, most of whom were without a job or any other prospects in life, the chance to avenge themselves for the situation they found themselves in knew that they would make no distinction between the Tutsi army and country's civilian Tutsi population. They needed no plans. They went on the rampage together with the presidential guard at a time when the state was deprived of its leadership. The FPR went on the offensive the very next day.

After the assassination it also became clear that nobody on the Hutu side was prepared for the event. There was chaos in the 'Hutu camp', which only Colonel Bagosora wished to exploit for a military coup that immediately failed. The FPR, by contrast, was well prepared and immediately attacked on all fronts. The fact that the presidential guard, which was also leaderless, moved into action immediately after the assassination, killing politicians who were known to be in favour of sharing power with the FPR, does not constitute a contradiction. This was an example of political murder of the kind that had been quite normal in Rwanda for some time – on both sides.

The question of the direct responsibility for the assassination of 6 April 1994 cannot be answered conclusively as long as a serious investigation into the attack is prevented by the USA, Great Britain, Belgium plus France strangely enough (despite the death of the three French members of the crew) and the United Nations. The extensive reports compiled by the Belgian Senate, the French National Assembly, the OAU (Masire Report) and the UN (Carlsson Report) likewise bracket off the question of direct responsibility. Hence all one can do is to rely on considerations of what appears plausible, backing for which has, however, come in the form of statements made by a number of FPR defectors.

The main financial backers of the victorious government – the USA, Great Britain and the European Union – have dispensed with any investigation of the issue. Hence they need not be surprised if suspicion spreads that they were in some way involved in the assassination that triggered the genocide of the Tutsis who had remained in the country after 1959. It is likely that over half a million Tutsis were murdered within the space of just three-and-a-half months. The Canadian General, Roméo Dallaire, the head of the UN blue helmets, was in great despair because he was unable to help the Tutsi population with whom he sympathised. He knew that many of them could have been saved if his soldiers had been equipped accordingly and he had received the appropriate orders.

5.1 The death of the Tutsis

Perhaps the most tragic feature of the Tutsi genocide is the now undisputed realisation that it could have been prevented. The message of the Masire Report of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) is contained in its title: The Preventable Genocide. The literature underpinning that statement is overwhelming.⁵²

However, the fact that the Tutsi genocide could have been prevented does not absolve those who perpetrated the crime of their guilt. The events cannot be excused – even in a civil war.

A series of circumstances facilitated the Tutsi genocide.

- a) On 12 April 1994 there had already been many killings and the outside world knew what was going on the Belgian blue helmets were ordered to leave the premises of the ETO vocational school and to take no heed of the some 2,000 people most of them Tutsis, but also threatened Hutu politicians like the Foreign Minister, Boniface Ngulinzira, who had sought protection from them. These people were handed over to their murderers who had waited outside the camp for this moment, screaming and shouting threats.
- b) The path was opened for the murder of the Tutsi population to assume genocidal proportions when the United Nations Security Council resolved on 21 April 1994 to deprive UN General Dallaire of the chance to intervene. The UN contingent was reduced from 2,500 men to the symbolic number of just 270 soldiers.
- c) Despite the setting up of an interim government under President Sindikubwabo and Prime Minister Kambanda on 8/9 April 1994, the country remained devoid of leadership right up to the victory of the FPR. Two days after it had been installed the government took flight, moving on from one place to the next until it finally arrived as the government-in-exile in neighbouring Zaire in mid-July 1994.
- d) The USA and Great Britain prevented the implementation of the UN Security Council resolution of 29 April 1994 enabling 5,500 UN soldiers to be sent to Rwanda after all.
- e) In order to ensure its military victory the FPR made no attempt whatsoever to save the Tutsis. The statements made by Deo Kagiraneza to the Belgian Senate Committee are unambiguous. He said that the Tutsis had been "sacrificed for political reasons". The FPR did not ask the international community to intervene. On the contrary, it threatened the Belgian Foreign Minister, Willy Claes, as has been established by the Belgian Committee of Investigation, that it would fight the Belgians as enemies if they did not leave the country in mid-April after evacuating their citizens. 44

Alison Des Forges (DES FORGES 1999)⁵⁵ took it upon herself to describe the unimaginable butchery that took place. The outcome is a book of unbelievable horror, but it is one that had to be written. Now that it has been published nobody will ever again be able to deny the Tutsi genocide. For that alone she and the publishers, Human Rights Watch, deserve respect⁵⁶, even though doubts must be permitted in respect of the main thesis of the book that the genocide was planned long in advance by the Hutu side. The murderers were not really armed as such. They simply beat and hacked their victims to death with clubs and machetes. Kuperman (KUPERMAN 2001: 20) has supplied the most plausible explanation to date of the number of Tutsi victims. If a comparison is made of the number of Tutsis living in the country before the mass murders with those still alive after the genocide it must be assumed that there were around 500,000 casualties. (He puts the total number of victims in Rwanda between April 1994 and the spring of 1995 at 1.1 million, thus providing an initial indication of the 'missing' Hutus.)

The Hutu militias, generally referred to under their collective name of interahamwe ('those who stand together'), would have had no means of countering an armed intervention. It is incredible that the UN blue helmets should have been reduced to the symbolic size of 270 men. Barnett points to a certain unease in New York that General Dallaire might not comply with the instructions restricting his capacity to act (BARNETT 2002: 82). After 21 April 1994 it was certain that he would be unable to intervene in the war. Any intervention, even if it had only been to protect the threatened civilian population, would have hindered the progress of the FPR. This is probably the reason why the murders were accepted and their description as genocide was only authorised after it was certain that the FPR would triumph. The fact that the USA and Great Britain insisted on the adoption of the Security Council resolution of 21 April 1994 in full awareness of the danger it posed to the Tutsis has been established by research. Linda Melvern was able to write her book Rwanda: A people betrayed on the basis of the secret Security Council discussions that were leaked to her (MELVERN 2000). There is no room for any further doubt despite the qualifying remarks made by Michael Barnett (BARNETT 2002). Even the consideration given by Alan Kuperman (KUPERMAN 2001) to whether the genocide might have been prevented by military means, which does not offer any convincing conclusions, does nothing to alter the fact.

5.2 Why were the Tutsis not saved?

An answer based on hard evidence has yet to be given to the question of why the USA and Great Britain prevented the Tutsis from being saved. It is generally agreed

that President Clinton was covering things up, when he said in March 1998 during a brief visit to Rwanda that he had not been correctly informed. But what was really behind it all? There is no more than circumstantial evidence, which James Gasana has outlined in his book *Du Parti-Etat à l'Etat-Garnison* that has already been referred to on several occasions. Like others he has suspected for a long time that there was a 'hidden agenda' contributing to the chaos in Central Africa. The supposition, which has yet to be substantiated, is that after President Clinton's assumption of office on 20 January 1993 the USA and Great Britain focused their Africa policy on the battle against the Islamist regime in Khartoum. Following the debacle in Somalia in October 1993, however, this battle was to take place without the deployment of American soldiers. A presidential directive was, therefore, hurriedly finalised at the start of the genocide in Rwanda and signed by Clinton on 5 May 1994 as *Presidential Decision Directive* 25.

As a result there was a need to find and support military allies who would be prepared to fight against Khartoum. The Ugandan head of state, Yoweri Museveni, who was directly affected by the fighting in Southern Sudan, made himself the spokesman of a pro-American alliance. At a conference organised by *Prayer Breakfast* in Kampala in 1992 Museveni succeeded – in the view of Gasana⁵⁹, who participated in the conference, – "in convincing this Protestant Western lobby that he was the right man in this geo-strategic context." (GASANA 2002: 77) In return he requested protection against the 'wave of democratisation' which, as was mentioned earlier, had been triggered in 1990 by Secretary of State Baker⁵⁰ acting in agreement with President Mitterrand. To complete the belt of military governments surrounding Sudan (Eritrea, Ethiopia, Uganda, SPLA in Southern Sudan and Zaire) Museveni recommended that the FPR should be helped to victory. The pending death of Mobutu, who had been taken back into the fold as an ally, made it appear advisable to place Zaire under the control of an allied military regime when Mobutu was no longer alive.⁶¹

In this respect the refugees living in Eastern Zaire were quite literally 'in the way'. The fact that the ex-Communist, Laurent Kabila, who had been 'chosen' to establish a military dictatorship in Rwanda⁶², proved to be a 'flop' ranks as one of the major misjudgements of the Clinton era. Herman Cohen, one of the key players in the formulation of America's Africa policy during George Bush senior's period in office, has reinforced suspicions that an invisible hand could have been at work behind the events in Central Africa between 1993 and 2000. He said in an interview conducted in French on 16 October 2002⁶³ that a 'proxy war' had been going on in Central Africa since 1996; in doing so he thus ventured to break a long overdue taboo. Hitherto, the Anglophone world, in particular, had pointed to the determination of the Rwandan Hutus to go ahead with their genocide plans

as the explanation for all the problems in Central Africa. Cohen recommended a return to the policy pursued by Clinton and Albright's Republican predecessors of stabilising Africa with the help of a 'gentle democratisation policy'.

5.3 The Hutu dead

The mass slaughters that took place in 1994 in the areas controlled by the FPR (especially in the prefecture of Byumba) at the same time as the Tutsi genocide have not yet been subjected to expert study. The victorious government had no interest in revealing what it knew. Kuperman confirms that all the "American Intelligence Reports from the period of the genocide remain classified." (KUPERMAN 2001: 23) The detailed descriptions he provides of the satellite photos taken shortly after the shooting down of the president's aircraft (p. 32 f.), which are in the hands of the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), indicate that knowledge must have been available about the areas occupied by the FPR.

However, even without this evidence the death of the Hutus cannot be denied[™] and future historians will have to investigate this dark chapter of Rwandan history, too.

5.4 The reasons for the mass killings

The aim of both mass killings was to annihilate as many members as possible of the other ethnic group. 65 Both were the product of circumstances that could have been avoided.

In the case of the Tutsi genocide it would have been easy to take military control of the amorphous mass of offenders. However, it is also true that the FPR neither called for assistance from the international community nor was it prepared to accept the offer of a truce from the interim government and take action to halt the butchery. Disregarding the consequences for his own person, Deus Kagiraneza, a former member of the FPR executive, conceded at a Belgian Senate hearing on 1 March 2002 that the Tutsis had been 'sacrificed' in the interests of military victory for the FPR.

The murder in the FPR territory could likewise have been prevented by massive pressure on the part of the countries in the Security Council and by the threat of the use of substantial military force against the FPR. For the FPR's weapons came from outside. From whom and to what extent is still a state secret.

No matter how significant the rivalry between the different population groups might have been, it need not inevitably have led to the genocides. Without exogenous factors the collapse of all the *garde-fous* (guard rails) protecting Rwandan society would have been out of the question. As has already been mentioned, Gasana has described in detail that it proved possible on repeated occa-

sions between 1991 and 1994 to keep dangerous situations under control with the help of the loyal gendarmerie, in particular. 'The human beast' on both sides was unleashed by a combination of several factors: (a) the clear option taken by the Anglophone world and Belgium in favour of an FPR military victory as of autumn 1993; (b) France's clear dissociation from its 'La Baule policy' aimed at protecting states undergoing a transformation to democracy; and (c) the determination of the USA not to send any more American soldiers to Africa to prevent genocide after what had happened in Somalia. The churches found themselves being sucked into the conflict, too.

5.5. The role of the Catholic Church

The attempt made by

- some Belgian Liberals,
- several groups in France still engaged in anti-clerical confrontation with the Church,
- a number of pacifist groups and Protestant Evangelical groups in the USA and Great Britain
- as well as a few left-wing Catholic groups™

to allot blame to the Catholic Church as an active offender meant that the truth was obscured for a number of years. The toll of lives lost among priests and Church personnel – again on both sides – would indicate that it found itself in the role of victim⁶. It is impossible to prove that the Church – with the exception of a few individual cases – was generally on the side of the offenders. Abbé Vénuste Linguyeneza has testified as follows: "All the priests in the diocese of Byumbass were killed – all those who lived there in April 1994 – without a single one being spared." James Gasana confirms this by stating that "Throughout the country the Catholic Church alone lost 300 priests and members of religious orders in the massacres." (GASANA 2002:304) Gasana also points out that to this very day there is no indication at all of the number of victims from other denominations.

Abbé André Sibomana must be counted among the victims in a dual sense. He was put on trial in 1990 for his frank and open articles in *Kinyamateka* describing the deplorable state of affairs in the late Habyarimana period and was only released after the Pope raised his case during a visit to the country in September 1990.70 During the civil war he criticised the state for every ethnic attack that was launched. Later on, when he was the diocesan administrator of Kabyagi, he of all people was denied urgently needed medical treatment by the FPR and consequently died in terrible pain. From 1980, *Kinyamateka* had been the country's critical voice. As a result of pressure exerted by the then Minister of Education,

Aloys Nsekalije, the editor-in-chief, Abbé Silvio Sindambiwe, was forced to resign from his position in the mid-1980s and died in mysterious circumstances on 7 November 1989.

An unbiased look at the past shows that - despite the Hutu-Tutsi conflicts within the clergy that have been described by Ian Linden (LINDEN 1999) - the Catholic Church had actively pursued integration in the country since 1962 and had been criticised for doing so by those in exile. Many Tutsi priests like the scholar, Alexis Kagame, deliberately remained in the country to demonstrate their loyalty to the new Hutu-led state. This was also true for a long time of the country's bishops, most of whom were Tutsis. Deserving especial mention in this context is Jean-Baptiste Gahamanyi, who was for many years the Bishop of Butare. n It is mostly forgotten now that the country's first ordained African bishop, Aloys Bigirumwami, was a Tutsi and that he expressly shared the social commitment of Bishop Perraudin, whom he himself ordained. History would have taken a different course if it had been possible to convey the concept of integration advocated by these two Church leaders to the Tutsi nobility. Regrettably, the group that opted for political integration within the RADER party remained a minority. The rest of the nobility dreamed of regaining by military force the power it had lost through a referendum.

Both parts of the Rwandan nation have been traumatised since the summer of 1994. The realisation is only just beginning to dawn that not only the Hutus incurred guilt, but that guilt was also heaped up on the other, victorious side of the barricade in 1994 and, above all, in 1996/97 during the expulsion of the Hutu refugees, a description of which follows below, and in the course of the two Congo Wars. It does not appear as yet that national reconciliation can be based on a dual confession of guilt. Such a confession might well constitute a viable foundation for a new start.

6. Rwanda 1994-2002

6.1 Renewed military rule - the FPR state from July 1994

The victory of the FPR and the support for the military expulsion of the terminally ill Mobutu in order to prevent the establishment of a democratic government in the Congo that might be unwilling to fight the fundamentalist regime in Khartoum was a clear breach of the 'La Baule policy' of stabilisation through democratisation pursued by Mitterrand and Baker. The war was aimed at preventing Etienne Tshisikedi, the Chairman of the Democratic Party (UDPS), from being elected president of the country in regular elections after the death of Mobutu. Tshisikedi was regarded by many as being unreliable in the battle against Sudan.

Gasana writes that up to 1992 there was a discernible Franco-American understanding whereby the FPR was to be given a strong negotiating position in the talks on power sharing, but was not to be allowed to exercise sole power through a military conquest of the country (GASANA 2002: 186). However, it had become clear during the final stages of the negotiations on the power-sharing agreement in Arusha in the summer of 1993 that there had been a shift in US interests. France had made it abundantly clear that, come what may, it was intent on extricating itself from the 'bourbier rwandais' (Rwandan quagmire)⁷². Following the conclusion of the Arusha Agreement, therefore, the new US administration and Great Britain had agreed to drop the unpopular Habyarimana regime, since it enjoyed the support of the parties with a tendency towards 'Hutu power'⁷³, and to subsequently back only the pro-FPR wings of these parties.

The murder of both Hutu presidents, Habyarimana and Ntaryamira, provices sound justification for seeing the assassination of 6 April 1994 from this perspective, '4 as is confirmed by the statements made by a number of FPR dissidents. The assassination was the prerequisite for the military victory of the FPR.

By 18 July 1994, the regime set up by Paul Kagame had already been recognised by all the Western powers with the exception of France. President Mitterrand felt he had been duped by the FPR's military triumph, which contravened the spirit of the Arusha Accords, and by the de facto breach of the agreements he had concluded with the government of George Bush sen. Moreover, he was deeply upset that international public opinion had declared him to be one of the main guilty parties in the genocide despite the fact that he had been prepared to intervene to prevent it.⁷⁵

The German Federal Government, which had been one of Habyarimana's most loyal friends up to his murder, immediately joined the ranks of the very

dedicated backers of Paul Kagame after the FPR victory.76 Broad sections of the German public and the political parties saw France as being mainly responsible for the Tutsi genocide, pointing out that the grim determination of the Hutu murderers made it impossible to intervene to protect the threatened Tutsis. The question that was discussed very briefly among the Greens and within the SPD as to whether one should simply look the other way in the case of a genocide was quickly brushed aside, since the issue of military missions in the context of humanitarian activities was taboo in both parties at the time. The 'very broad coalition' in support of the FPR regime was manifested in the 82-strong delegation that accompanied Foreign Minister Kinkel on his visit to Rwanda in July 1995. There was virtually no discussion in Germany at all of whether there were any alternatives to supporting a military dictatorship in Rwanda following the genocide or whether the expulsion of the refugees from the camps in Eastern Zaire in late 1996 was justifiable. The Catholic Church in Germany was visibly unsettled by the widespread accusations that the Rwandan Catholic Church shared responsibility for the genocide.

The CDU member of the German Bundestag, Alois Graf von Waldburg-Zeil, was alone in urging adherence to democratic principles in Africa, as elsewhere, no matter how difficult the circumstances. The Internationales Afrikaforum that he co-publishes was critical of the path taken by the new rulers from 1994. In 1998, for example, Waldburg-Zeil wrote: A process that is unfolding not in Africa but in the Western world gives cause for some astonishment. (...) After the spring of democratisation in Burundi was interrupted by the murder of the newly-elected President Ndadaye in the autumn of 1993 and after all the negotiations in Rwanda ended in 1994 in the chaos of a terrible genocide, a wave of disappointment spread that encompassed the West, too. Africa, it was felt, was simply not suited for democracy. Security was more important than participation. (...) The remarkable thing, however, is that the accusation levelled at the colonial powers applies not so much to the principle of divide and rule that they employed as to the notion spread by the missionaries – and here the anger is directed, above all, at the White Fathers - who spoke of the equality of all men before God. I myself have heard countless times from representatives from the Great Lakes region that the secularised form of this concept is the call for democracy."

At the outset, Kagame and his allies set great store by the claim that the new regime was by no means a purely FPR government and that it was far from being a 'Tutsi state'. In view of the very large number of political emigrants from both population groups⁷⁸ the 2001 Human Rights Report of the State Department waived the need for any more self-constraint and called a spade a spade: "The largely Tutsi Rwandan Patriotic Front (FPR), which took power following the civil war and genocide of 1994, is the principal political force and controls the Government of

34

National Unity. "The new regime is an FPR state and the army chief, Paul Kagarne, who was initially more of a background figure, is now the formal chairman of the FPR and head of state.

Political parties (apart from the former government party, MRND,) are permitted to exist, but they have had to undertake not to engage in any political activities in public. The state and the army have absolute control over the population. The country is calm and, to that extent, the regime has been stable since 1994.

6.2 The refugee issue and the Congo Wars 1996-2002

When it assumed office on 17 July 1994, the new government under Prime Minister Faustin Twagiramungu (MDR) and Interior Minister Seth Sendashonga (FPR) said it was interested in a return of the refugees. Only those mainly responsible for the Tutsi genocide should be handed over to the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (TPIR/ICTR)** in Arusha, Tanzania, that was agreed on in 1994. From the very beginning, however, things looked very different in practice. Part of the government sabotaged the return of the refugees, first in secret and then quite openly. The turning point was the violent break-up of a refugee camp in Kibeho in April 1995 in the interior of the country. This camp had been set up after thousands of Rwandans - Hutus and Tutsis - had sought refuge in the humanitarian protection zone established by France as part of its Operation Turquoise. After the victory of the FPR the Tutsis left the camp. The remaining Hutus were accused of having participated in the genocide.*1 Whereas Twagiramungu and, in particular, Sendashonga were in favour of an orderly dissolution of the camp, the then Vice-President and Defence Minister, Kagame, ordered the violent breaking up of the camp on 21/22 April 1995 without consulting the Minister of the Interior, which sounded the death knell for the refugees⁸². The message this sent out was urunistakable. No greater deterrent effect on the refugees could have been imagined. The refugee issue came to a head. For Seth Sendashonga the 'Kibeho experience' paved the way for the break⁸³ with Kagame. (His murder on 16 May 1998 in Nairobi is likely to have been the consequence of that break.44) It had become clear to him that the FPR was not interested in the return of the refugees. Prime Minister Twagiramungu, who had wanted to extend the room for manoeuvre of the MDR party, and Interior Minister Sendashonga, who had sent endless complaints to Defence Minister Kagame about the attacks carried out by the army, resigned from the government - not altogether voluntarily - together with three other ministers on 28 August 1995 and left the country shortly afterwards.

A final attempt to resolve the refugee issue in a more or less peaceful manner had been made beforehand in Germany. Although he had promised to attend,

Paul Kagame failed to appear for the meeting with Museveni and Mobutu on 29/30 May 1995 in Bad Kreuznach. On that occasion Mobutu pledged to drive the refugees back into Rwanda by force, which was clearly not in Kagame's interests. However, Mobutu had to call things off on 23 August 1995 under pressure from the United Nations when it became clear that the refugees were not prepared to go along with his plans and that many people had already been killed. It was apparent that the propaganda spread in advance that the refugees would not return because they were hostages of the Hutu militias in the camps was not true. If they had wanted to return they could easily have used Mobutu's plans to 'escape home'.

The first indication that the FPR wished to break up the camp by violent means, as it deemed appropriate, and to drive the refugees westwards into the forest was provided in an interview given by the Rwandan ambassador in Washington on 25 August 1995 two days after the government was reshuffled. He did not exclude the possibility of a military attack on the refugee camps. One year later the moment arrived. In the summer of 1996 it became known that the rapid deterioration of the cancer from which Mobutu was suffering meant that he had only a short time to live. Museveni and Kagame were subsequently able to convince Washington that a democratic solution with Etienne Tshisikedi as president would hinder efforts to overcome the regime in Khartoum by military means. The 'Kabila solution' referred to earlier was produced at the drop of a hat. Kabila was ready to do anything to achieve his lifetime ambition of toppling Mobutu and treading in his footsteps. He undertook to make the destruction of the refugee camps look like a part of the liberation struggle and to participate in the battle against Sudan later on.

The attack to be carried out on the camps by the newly formed alliance, AFDL, which was agreed with the USA on 16 November 1996⁸⁶, was preceded by a broadbased public relations campaign. The general tenor of this campaign was that the time had come to stop fattening up the 'mass murderers' in the camps. The war to topple Mobutu and install the alliance backed by Rwanda and Uganda with the logistical support of the USA made unexpectedly rapid progress. Mobutu resigned on 17 May 1997 and went into exile after Bill Richardson, the US Ambassador to the UN, had visited him at his jungle fortress at Gbadolité to present him with his 'certificate of discharge' in the form of a written ultimatum from President Clinton.⁸⁷ A large number of the refugees died in the Congo jungle. In keeping with the contents of a UN report⁸⁸ the events can be described as genocide because only one ethnic group was the victim. It was mostly women, children and old people who died, since it was easier for the remainder of the armed groups and the militia leaders to make their way to safety. Marie-Béatrice Umutesi

has provided a very vivid description of the fate of these refugees. (UMUTESI 2000) After Laurent Kabila had tried to renege on his commitment to join the struggle against Sudan in the summer of 1998, his Rwandan allies attempted in vain to topple him. Kabila expelled the Rwandans from the country. When they responded by launching a military attack, Kabila called for assistance from Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia. The Second Congo War – waged this time against Kabila – began on 2 August 1998.

Rwanda and Uganda succeeded in establishing military occupation of large parts of the Congo. The war here was fuelled by the battle for exploitation of the mineral resources in these areas**.

The situation remained unchanged until Secretary of State Colin Powell took office on 20 January 2001. The USA reviewed the situation and Paul Kagame was finally 'pressured'⁵⁰ into withdrawing his troops from the Congo in October 2002 in exchange for security guarantees. A key condition for peace in Central Africa was thus fulfilled. Human rights violations on a large scale had also occurred during the Second Congo War.⁵¹

7. Human rights in Rwanda at the end of

7.1 Politics

At the end of 2002, Rwanda was still a very thinly disguised military dictatorship. This fact alone is irreconcilable with human rights standards. However, things have begun to gain momentum in the political arena. The agreement signed in Pretoria on 30 July 2002 by the Rwandan head of state, Paul Kagame, and his Congolese counterpart, Joseph Kabila⁹², led to the withdrawal of Rwandan soldiers from the Congo in October 2002. This has completely changed the situation. Officially, at least, the withdrawal marked the end of the unlawful occupation of a large part of Rwanda's western neighbour.⁹³

The five-year state of emergency originally envisaged in 1994, which was extended unilaterally by the FPR, will be terminated in 2003 if the international community has its way. However, care must be taken to ensure that daits accomplise established during the state of emergency do not become constitutional normality. The draft constitution submitted by the government makes this

danger apparent. The FPR government's claim that it wishes to avoid a 'dictatorship of large numbers' must be called into question. The 'movement democracy' model, on which the Habyarimana constitution of 1978 was based and which led to the establishment of a 'military democracy', must not be allowed to come back into fashion. The principle of 'one man, one vote' must remain the basis for democratic decisions with the necessary consideration being given to minority protection models. Caution is, therefore, advisable in respect of the presidential elections planned for 2003.

A situation must be prevented in which the continuing ban on political activities imposed on the democratic parties is used by the ruling FPR to influence the run-up to the elections in an unfair manner for its own ends. A president voted into office on the basis of dubious elections would weigh heavily on the process needed to achieve national unity. In preparation for the elections, therefore, a national dialogue should be set in motion on neutral ground so that a fundamental consensus on the future political structure of the country can be worked out and agreement reached on the electoral arrangements. In the domestic arena the FPR regime has made several attempts to satisfy the expectations of its financial backers who are allocating Rwanda unparalleled budget surpluses. Local elections have been held in which the nomination of candidates was in many cases manipulated in favour of the FPR. The voting procedure (the voters had to line up behind the candidates if several had been nominated) is debatable, to say the least, if constitutional principles are applied.

The financial backers have been greatly disturbed by the flight or detention of Hutu politicians who were previously presented to them as guarantors of the policy of reconciliation. The most spectacular case concerns Pasteur Bizimungu, who has been in prison since the summer of 2002 for having founded a party that was declared illegal. The escape to the USA in 2000 of Prime Minister Pierre-Célestin Rwigema (MDR), who succeeded Faustin Twagiramungu in 1995, has likewise caused a stir. The case of the former Agriculture and Defence Minister, James Gasana, who won a court case in Switzerland against the Social Democrat politician and academic, Jean Ziegler, and published a highly acclaimed book in 2002 (GASANA 2002), has likewise contributed to a re-evaluation of many clichés.

Disconcerting for the FPR's financial backers, too, is the fact that more and more Tutsi politicians have turned their backs on Kagame. This applies, in particular, to the former president of the transitional parliament, Sebarenzi Kabuye, who has been granted asylum in the USA. A number of Tutsi defectors from the FPR (e.g. Déo Mushayidi) share the view held by Deus Kagiraneza, which he outlined to a Belgian Senate committee on 1 March 2002, that Kagame has irresponsibly put the fate of the inland Tutsis at risk.

Then there is the fact that a number of younger politicians, who were students abroad at the time of the genocide and cannot be associated with the mass slaughter, refuse to return to Rwanda until the country takes the road to democracy. The Hutu democrats refuse to accept that the genocide can be used for ever by the FPR as a justification for the monopoly on power exercised by the Tutsi military. These doubts are increasingly being shared by Tutsis living abroad, who are excluded from this group and are prepared to accept political coexistence with the Hutus.

7.2 Justice

Alype Nkundiyaremye, who was President of the Council of State and Vice-President of the Supreme Court between 1997 and 1999, complained about the ongoing lawlessness in Rwanda in 1999 after moving to Brussels.** His main reproach was that the 'law of the victors' had been established in Rwanda. The system rested on every Hutu being generally suspected of having been involved in the genocide in complete disregard of the presumption of innocence principle. For that reason all the Hutu justice ministers who had attempted to set up an independent judicial system had lost their jobs after 1994.**

7.2.1 The Arusha Tribunal

A disconcerting article appeared in the French daily Le Monde on 3 September 2002. André Guichaoua™ indicated for the first time that the entire Rwanda proceedings before the International Criminal Tribunal in Arusha might come to nothing. The FPR government, which had voted against the setting up of the tribunal in Arusha and was in favour of judgement being passed on the accused in Rwanda itself, largely discontinued its co-operation with the tribunal in the summer of 2002. The Rwandan government joined the ranks of those criticising the outcome of the expensive tribunal. 101 This had to do with Kigali's concern that the tribunal might be given a 'dual mandate', i.e. the crimes committed by FPR soldiers during the conquest of the country after 1990 might fall within the jurisdiction of the Arusha Tribunal. In a report¹⁰² it issued in October 2002 the Paris-based Fédération Internationale des Ligues des Droits de l'Homme (FIDH) called on the government in Kigali to cease its blockade of the tribunal, for which it received support from the United Nations Security Council. Whether the Arusha Tribunal will comply with the FIDH request and declare its competence to deal with the FPR crimes remains to be seen. That the Arusha trials might 'come to nothing' - and Guichaoua does not exclude the possibility of that happening remains a matter for speculation at present.

7.2.2 Situation in the prisons

The fact that between 120,000 and 150,000 prison inmates have been waiting since 1994 to be charged and tried highlights the special nature of the Rwandan judicial system. According to figures provided by the head of state, Paul Kagame, ¹⁰³ some 115,000 people suspected of being involved in the Tutsi genocide are still being held in Rwandan prisons waiting to be charged eight years after the mass slaughter took place. A sense of what is right and wrong can hardly develop under such conditions, to say nothing of the inhumane situation faced by the inmates in the overcrowded prisons and communal detention facilities.

7.2.3 Gacaca

Since Rwanda wishes at all costs to avoid the prisoners being released without trial, it has resorted to traditional forms of punishment. This has resulted in the setting up of the GACACA courts, as they are called. Sentences are passed here by lay judges on prisoners who are accused of crimes that no longer carry the death penalty. At the end of 2002, no conclusions could be drawn about this form of jurisdiction. It was reported that the lay judges often found it difficult to suppress the 'wrong questions'.

7.3 Economy and Society

7.3.1 'New elites'

The victory of the FPR in 1994 brought about a complete change of elites in the state, the economy and the military. The 'nomenclature' of the Habyarimana period went into exile: Some of the surviving representatives of the opposition alliance formed in 1991 were tolerated for a while by the FPR state, but then almost completely excluded from power after August 1995.

The new elite has a virtual monopoly of the country's economic resources. It also has access to the entire influx of foreign currency. This includes the revenues from the export of tea and coffee as well as the considerable budget grants from Great Britain and the European Union. As long as Rwandan troops were stationed in the Congo they exploited and 'privatised' the mineral resources there, a practice vividly described in a UN report (KASSEM Report 2002), i.e. the revenues were not shown correctly in the state budget. The new urban elites, in particular, who succeeded to the estate of both the refugees and the murdered Tutsis, thus experienced an illusory economic boom, but nobody knows whether it can be sustained in times of peace. The 'war profiteers' find themselves confronted by an extremely poor rural population. Need in the countryside is greater than it has even been. The change of elites was also an 'ethnic' change.

There can only be peace in Rwanda if there is a minimum of social and economic justice. A special problem in this context is the 'land reform' or land expropriation that has gone hand in hand with the 'setting up of villages' (imidugudu).

7.3.2 Imidugudu habitat policy

era is now being revived under changed conditions.

The FPR has refocused attention on earlier considerations given to changing the settlement structure in Rwanda. Rwandans have traditionally lived on small farmsteads in the middle of their fields. Scattered homes were typical of the country up to the civil war. Small central locations were very few and far between. Chly Kigali developed into a city after independence. Since Rwanda depended more than almost any other country on small-scale farming, there was no incentive for people to move into towns. Physical partition of the land held up development, though. With this in mind, it is by no means unreasonable for thought to be given to how the settlement structure can be changed and modern services, such as schools and health centres, can be concentrated in genuine villages. However, such far-reaching structural change can only be achieved within a clear administrative and political framework. That includes courts capable of resolving arguments.

The decision on whether such a policy can be pursued cannot be taken by military rulers since they have no mandate to do so. Only after a constitutional system legitimised by the people has been established can such an issue be placed on the agenda. The shortcomings of the approach to date, which have been described in a report published by Human Rights Watch, to confirm the need for such caution. The report says that "On December 13, 1996, the Rwandan Cabinet adopted a National Habitat Policy dictating that all Rwandans living in scattered homesteads throughout the country were to reside instead in government-created "villages" called imidugudu (singular, umudugudu). Established without any form of popular consultation or act of parliament, this policy decreed a drastic change in the way of life of approximately 94 percent of the population".

7.4 Catholic Church

After his military victory in 1994, Paul Kagame gave full rein to his contempt for the Catholic Church, to which he principally attributes the loss of power suffered by his forbears. 105 Even before he assumed power he had three bishops and

nine priests murdered in Kabgayi on 5 June 1994. His claim that these murders had been carried out without permission by 'uncontrolled elements' of his army was one that he was unable to maintain for long. Although Abbé Vénuste Linguyeneza did not divulge what he knew until 1999¹⁰⁶, the events of early June 1994 had come to light at an earlier date. Information about the murders was suppressed, however, as long as the theory of the Church's complicity in the genocide enjoyed popularity in the West and the FPR's responsibility for the non-prevention of the Tutsi genocide only gradually became clear. The murder of Archbishop Munzihirwa during the capture of Bukavu (Eastern Congo) by Rwandan troops on 29 October 1996 was also largely passed over in silence.¹⁰⁷

Paul Kagame and President Bizimungu continued their anti-Church policy for several years, the climax being reached with the charge of aiding and abetting genocide brought against Bishop Misago of Gikongoro in April 1999. Having realised that it had overstepped the mark in levelling this charge, the government extricated itself from its predicament by means of an acquittal for lack of evidence on 15 June 2000. For its part, the Church made a gesture to ease the tension by arranging an audience for Kagame with the Pope on 4 November 2000. Since then, relations have been regarded as more or less businesslike.

7.5 Freedom of the press

While the position of the religious communities has become more stable in recent years, the freedom of the press has been restricted. In the early days of the FPR government in 1994 the media scene flourished again in a manner that was comparable with the 1992/1993 period. However, as is impressively documented in the report of the International Crisis Group (ICG) issued in November 2002, the media's freedom to operate has been constantly restricted since 1998. (ICG 2002: 14 ff.) The following cases are highly politically charged:

- a) The founder of the *Tribun du Peuple*, Jean-Pierre Mugabe, is a Tutsi who, before being forced into exile in 1998, published reports that were critical of the new rulers. He felt relatively secure in doing so because the parliamentary president, Sebarenzi Kabuye, had been a member of the paper's editorial committee before assuming office and had also worked for *Rwanda Libération*. Mugabe's flight ultimately influenced Kabuye, who also left the country in 2000. They are now both in the USA, where they form the core of the 'Tutsi opposition' there.
- b) Having written critical reports in *Imboni* on the background to the flight of Sebarenzi Kabuye, Déo Mushayidi, likewise a Tutsi, found himself in President Kagame's firing line. The paper was banned in February 2000 and Déo Mushayidi also left the country with two other editors in March 2000. In Brussels and Paris he co-authored the much acclaimed book on the genocide together with the

Cameroonian journalist, Charles Onana (ONANA/MUSHAYIDI 2001). In addition, he has become one of the key spokesmen of the democratic opposition alliance. *IGIHANGO*.

The ICG Report criticises the Press Act passed in 2002 and one can only concur with the authors when they write: In Rwanda, as elsewhere, the media must have an independent corporatist structure that is made up exclusively of members of the profession and that is responsible for ensuring professionalism and compliance with the code of ethics by its members. The judicial arsenal should only be used as the final penal recourse in cases of serious violations of the code of ethics. In the end, the absence of a critical public forum and the lack of challenge to the establishment encourages the development of parallel discourse and runs the risk of ruining the efforts at reconciliation. (ICG 2002, p. 16)

8. Prospects

13 November 2002 may well go down in history. The report submitted on this date by the International Crisis Group (ICG 2002) could mark the beginning of a new era. This group, which is backed by many Western governments and institutions, has hitherto given more or less uncritical support to the FPR government. However, it now questions the present FPR monopoly of power, insists on observance of human rights, calls for an end to the transitional period and urges political liberalisation. This change of policy would not have been possible without the withdrawal of the Rwandan troops from the Congo that was laid down in the Pretoria Agreement between Rwanda and the Congo of 30 July 2002. It could lead to the start of democratic reconstruction in Rwanda. The international community appears to have understood that the FPR's monopoly of power will inevitably lead to a radicalisation of the opposition. The ICG, therefore, admonishes all sides to renounce armed struggle and to respect the democratic formulation of political demands and objectives. The Rwandan government must give society the opportunity to assume its own responsibilities vis-à-vis the genocide and to lay its own foundations for reconciliation, rather than forcefully imposing the terms of reconciliation on society. The government should also extend its hand to the opposition in exile by offering to allow it to participate in a great national debate on the future of the country: (...) The international community cannot keep silent and be complicit in the Rwandar government's drift towards authoritarianism. (ICG 2002, p. 26)

In a statement issued on 5 December 2002 the Permanent Concerted Action of the Democratic Rwandan Opposition, CPDOR, ¹⁰⁸ welcomed the report and called on the international community to ensure that President Kagame does not 'rush through' the draft constitution submitted at the end of November 2002 and call presidential elections at very short notice, since this would give him a manipulated electoral victory.

The procedure adopted now should be similar to that agreed for the Democratic Republic of the Congo in Pretoria on 17 December 2002. A transitional government has been agreed between the various civil war groups in the country which is to prepare for a general election within two years. If this election take place, the major crisis in Central Africa, including that in Rwanda, could be overcome.

Democracy as the pre-requisite for national reconciliation

Democracy does not have to be 'imported' into Rwanda. It became clear after 1990 that an independent 'democratic wind' had begun to blow in Africa as it had elsewhere. It now needs to be given the chance to pick up strength again. 'Ethnic hatred' developed parallel to the collapse of this democratic movement, which was engineered from outside. On the other hand, a democratic framework is essential for the settlement of conflicting interests and for national reconciliation. A settlement of this kind can succeed if the international community pledges to defend such a framework.

A start must be made on promoting democratic parties and associations – and not just in Rwanda itself. This applies equally to the politicians living in exile who, it must be conceded, have in some cases taken their rivalry and disputes from the time of the opposition alliance against Habyarimana with them and are thus standing in the way of the formation of a strong democratic alternative to the established state power. The students who have remained in exile also constitute a considerable democratic potential. All suitable institutions in the host countries should make a start as quickly as possible on establishing a framework for further education, discussions and the formulation of political demands and objectives. As was the case in the Congo and Burundi, where agreements were also concluded between the main parties to the civil war and the minority army in early December 2002, the conditions for democratic elections could also be established in Rwanda over the next two years or so.

9. Concluding remarks

The lack of resources, the problem of overpopulation and AIDS, which is widespread in Rwanda, will not disappear even if a democratic system is introduced. Rwanda will remain a poor agrarian country for the foreseeable future. As Gasana has made clear in the publications referred to earlier, the power struggles for the distribution of scarce resources are often waged with greater bitterness here than in countries where the 'national pie' is larger. Democratic controls can help to ensure that the acquisition of such resources by a small minority is limited and that social cohesion is not overstretched as a result.

The country's valuable land resources must be used sensibly and, above all, protected. Since the arable land - with the exception of the often marshy vallev bottoms - is almost exclusively in hillside locations and steep slopes are increasingly being used because of the lack of available land, the paramount national task is the battle against erosion. Rwanda can feed its large population if sustainable use is made of the land. It must be worked with a great deal of human labour because there are very tight restrictions on the use of machinery. A look back to the past shows that the building of reliable terraces was the preferred method chosen by peoples confronting a similar situation. The technique employed so far of digging erosion protection ditches and using self-forming terraces is no longer sufficient in Rwanda. The initial experience gained with small intensive terraces before the outbreak of the civil war in 1990 was very promising, the terraces even withstanding extremely heavy rainfall. This points the way to the future for agricultural research in the country. If the international community wishes to make a lasting contribution to the future of the country it has plenty of opportunities to do so here. This will enable two birds to be killed with one stone. Job creation schemes can soak up the abundance of unexploited young labour and the supply of food can be guaranteed in the process. The young people can build terraces together with a farmer's family, which will then have a basis for its own livelihood. The programme is viable and can be financed. The danger that the money required - in the form of grants that would need to be provided - might end up in the wrong pockets can be pre-empted by setting up the requisite forms of organisation.

Once the land has been secured, the next generation might be able to find work in other sectors of a large-scale region which is generally well furnished by nature and could make economic advances under conditions of peace. It should not be forgotten that from Angola to Sudan there is a belt of wealth that is waiting to be used and no longer exploited.¹⁰⁹

The message of human dignity and brotherly love that was brought to the country in 1900 has changed Rwandan history. It is pointless asking whether it was good that 'the Whites came'¹¹⁰. There is no turning the clock back. The message must be taken as the basis for the construction of a free society and system of government that rests on the consent of the people, observes human rights and ensures religious freedom and access to education.¹¹¹

APPENDIX I

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A) Reports

- BELGIQUE 1998. Sénat. Commission d'enquête parlementaire concernant les événements du Rwanda. Rapport fait au nom de la Commission d'Enquête par MM Mahoux et Verhofstadt. Bruxelles. approx. 600 ¡ages.
- FIDH 2002. Entre illusions et désillusions: Les victimes devant le Tribunal Pénal International pour le Rwanda (TPIR). PARIS: FÉDERÁTION INTERNATIONALE DES LIGUES DES DROITS DE L'HOMME. Report No. 343: 27 pages.
- FRANCE 1998. Assemblée Nationale. Rapport d'Information. Enquête sur la tragédie rwandaise 1990-1994.

 Paris: Mission d'Information sur le Rwanda. ASSEMBLEE NATIONALE, Paris. 433 pages.
- HRW 2001. Uprooting the Rural Poor in Rwanda. Human Rights Watch. New York/Washington/London/Brussels
- ICG 2002. Fin de Transition au Rwanda. Nairobi/Bruxelles: International Crisis Group. ICG Rapport Alrique N° 53; 49 pages.
- JOINT EVALUATION. 1996. (For details see David Millwood in the list of authors in the Books and Essays section)
- NKUNDIYAREMYE, Alype. 1999. Note sur la Situation socio-politique du Rwanda actuel. Bruxelles. 45 pages. OAU 2000. Rwanda: the preventable genocide. Report by the International Panel of Eminent Personalities to Investigate the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda and the Surrounding Events. Presented by Sir Ketumile MASIRE, Addis Ababa: Organization of African Unity/IPEP. (see also MASIRE Report in the Books section)
- SOS Rwanda-Burundi, 2001. Y aura-t-il une fin au drame rwandais? (Together with 14 other NGOs). Buzet, 74 pages.
- UNO 1999. REPORT OF THE INDEPENDENT INQUIRY INTO THE ACTIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS
 DURING THE 1994 GENOCIDE IN RWANDA, presented by Ingvar CARLSSON. New York.
- UNO 2002. Rapport final du Groupe d'experts sur l'exploitation illégale des ressources naturelles et autres formes de richesse de la République démocratique du Congo, présenté par Mahmoud Kassem. New York: UNO. (Also referred to as the KASSEM Report)
- U.S. Department of State 2002. Rwanda. Country Reports on Human Rights Practices 2001. Released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor March 4, 2002. Washington, D.C.

B) Books and Essays

- ADELMAN, Howard and Astri SUHRKE (Eds.), 1999. The Path of a Genocide. The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire. New Brunswick/London: Transaction Publishers. ISBN 1-56000-382-0; 414 pages.
- BARNETT, Michael N. 2002. Eyewitness to a genocide: the United Nations and Rwanda. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. ISBN 0-8014-3883-7; xiii, 215 pages.
- BINDSEIL, Reinhart. 1988. Ruanda und Deutschland seit den Tagen Richard Kandts (German and French).
 Berlin: Reimer-Verlag. ISBN 3-496-00983-7; 265 pages.
- BOUTROS-GHALI, Boutros. 2000. Hinter den Kulissen der Weltpolitik. Die Uno wird eine Hoffnung verspielt? Bilanz meiner Amtszeit als Generalsekretär der Vereinten Nationen. Hamburg: Discorsi-Verlag. ISBN 3-9807330-0-9; 416 S. (Original English title 1999, Unvanquished, ISBN 0-37550050-2)
- BURKHALTER, Holly J. 1994. The Question of Genocide. The Clinton Administration and Rwanda.

 WORLD POLICY JOURNAL XI (4/1994). pp. 44-54.
- COHEN, Herman. 2002. Analyse de la situation en République Démocratique du Congo (Interviev) [Internet]. www.congopolis.com (16 October 2002)
- DES FORGES, Alison. 2002. Kein Zeuge darf überleben. Der Genozid in Ruanda. Hamburg: Hambur ger Institut für Sozialforschung. 3-930908-80-8; 947 pages. (Original editions 1999, English: "Leave None to Tell the Story". Genocide in Rwanda. ISBN 1-56432-171-1; French: Aucun témoin ne doit survivre: le génocide au Rwanda. ISBN 286537937X)

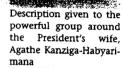
- ELIE, Julien. 2001. Celui qui savait. Une Rwandaise recherche les assassins de son mari et réclame la justice.,
 Un film de J. ELIE avec la collaboration de Carlos FERRAND Distribution: Bandes à part.
 Montréal
- GASANA, James Kwizera. 2002. RWANDA: DU PARTI-ETAT A L'ETAT-GARNISON. Préface de Ramon AROZARENA. Paris: L'Harmattan. ISBN 2-7475-1317-3; 348 pages.
- GASANA, JAMES K. 2002 a. Remember Rwanda? World Watch 2002 (September/October 2002). pp. 24-33.
- GASANA, JAMES K. 2002 b. Natural Resource Scarcity and Violence in Rwanda. (Paper prepared for IUCN/Commission on Environmental, Economic and Social Policy CEESP). Bern: INTER-COOPERATION.
- GOUREVITCH, Philip. 2000. Wir möchten Ihnen mitteilen, dass wir morgen mit unseren Familien umgebracht werden. Berichte aus Ruanda. Berlin: Berlin-Verlag. ISBN 3-8270-0351-2; 427 pages. (original English edition: ISBN 0-374-28697-3).
- GUICHAOUA, André, ed. 1995. Les crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda 1993-1994. Paris/Lille: Ed. Karthala/ Université de Lille. ISBN 2-86537-544-4; 790 pages.
- GUICHAOUA, André. 2002. Tribunal pour le Rwanda: De la crise à l'échec. *DIALOGUE* (229/ Juillet-août 2002); pp. 3-10.
- HARROY, Jean-Paul. 1984 (Reprint 1989). Rwanda. Souvenirs d'un compagnon de la marche du Rwanda vers la démocratie et l'indépendance. Bruxelles: Hayez. ISBN 2-87126-007-9; 512 pages.
- HARROY, Jean-Paul. 1987. Burundi. 1955-1962. Souvenirs d'un combattant d'une guerre perdue. Bruxelles: Hayez. ISBN 2-87126-005-2; 646 pages.
- HOEBEN, Henry C. 2001. Human Rights in the DR Congo: 1997 until the present day. The Predicament of the Churches. Aachen: Missio. ISSN 1618-6222; 36 pages.
- HONKE, Gudrun with Gamaliel MBONIMANA, Emmanuel NTEZIMANA and Silvia SERVAES. 1990. Als die Weissen kamen. Ruanda und die Deutschen 1885-1919. Wuppertal: Peter Hammer Verlag. ISBN 3-87294-436-3; 164 pages.
- KALIBWAMI, Justin. 1991. Le catholicisme et la société rwandaise 1900-1962. Paris/Dakar: Présence Africaine. ISBN 2-7087-0551-2; 597 pages.
- KASSEM-Report, UNO. 2002. Rapport final du Groupe d'experts sur l'exploitation illégale des ressources naturelles et autres formes de richesse de la République démocratique du Congo, présenté par Mahmoud Kassem. New York: UNO. (see also UNO 2002 under Reports)
- KLOS, Stefanie. 1996. Der Beitrag von Mission und Kirche zur ländlichen Entwicklung in Ruanda. Münster: LIT-Verlag. ISBN 3-89473-719-0; 404 pages and 104 pages of documentation
- KUPERMAN, Alan J. 2001. The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention. Genocide in Rwanda. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution Press. ISBN 0-8157-0085-7; 162 pages.
- LEMARCHAND, René. 1970. Rwanda and Burundi. London: Pall Mall Press. ISBN 0269993274; xiv, 562 pages.
- LEMARCHAND, René. 1996. Burundi. Ethnic conflict and genocide. Washington D.C./Cambridge/New York: Woodrow Wilson Center Press/Cambridge University Press. ISBN 0-5215-6623-1; xxxvii, 206 pages
- LEMARCHAND, René. 2002 b. Le génocide de 1972 au Burundi: Les silences de l'Histoire. *DIALOGUE* (N° 228 Mai-Juin 2002):3-24.
- LINDEN, Ian. 1999. Christianisme et pouvoirs au Rwanda, 1900-1990. Avec Jane Linden. Paris: Karthala. ISBN 2-8653-7918-3; 438 S. (This is a translation with additions of: LINDEN, Ian. 1977. Church and revolution in Rwanda. With Jane Linden. Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press/New York Africana Pub. Co. ISBN 0-841-90305-0; xvi, 304 pages)
- LINGUYENEZA, Abbé Vénuste. 1999. 5 juin 1994. Trois évêques assassinés. *DIALOGUE* (N° 213 Nov./Déc. 1999):79-88.
- LIZINDE, Major Théoneste-Magabushaka. 1979. La Découverte de Kalinga ou la Fin d'un Mythe. Contribution à l'histoire du Rwanda. Kigali/Rwanda: Imprimerie Soméca. 289 pages
- LOGIEST, Guy. 1988. Mission au Rwanda. Un Blanc dans la bagarre Tutsi-Hutu. Bruxelles: Didier Hatier. ISBN 2-87088-631-4; 227 pages
- MASIRE, Ketumile (Ed). 2000. Rwanda: the preventable genocide. Report by the International Panel of Eminent Personalities to Investigate the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda and the Surrounding Events. Addis Ababa: Organization of African Unity/IPEP. xxii, 318 S. (see also OAU 2000 under Reports)

- MELVERN, Linda. 2000. A people betrayed. The role of the West in Rwanda's genocide. London New York: Zed Books (Distributed in the USA exclusively by St. Martin's Press). ISBN 1-8564-9831-X; 272 pages
- MILLWOOD. David (Ed.).1996. Joint Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda. The International Response to Conflict and Genocide: Lessons from the Rwanda Experience. Copenhagen: Steering Committee of the Joint Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda. ISBN 87-7265-335-1 (5 volumes)
- MOLT, Peter. 1994. Zerfall von Staat und Gesellschaft in Ruanda. Auslandsinformationen der Konrac'-Adenauer-Stiftung (5/1994): 3-38.
- MUREGO. Donat. 1975. La Révolution rwandaise 1959-1962. Essai d'interprétation. Louvain: Université Catholique Libre (UCL). 1,019 pages
- NAHIMANA, Ferdinand. 1993. Le Rwanda, Emergence d'un Etat. Paris: L'Harmattan, ISBN 2-7384-1716-7; 346 pages
- N'GBANDA. Honoré Nzambo Ko Atumba. 1998. Ainsi sonne le glas! Les derniers jours du Ma échal Mobutu. Paris: Editions Gideppe. ISBN 2-9512-0002-1; 448 pages
- NEWBURY. Catharine. 1988. The Cohesion of Oppression. New York: Columbia University Press. ISBN 0-2310-6256-7; 322 pages
- OMAAR, Rakiya (Ed.). 1994. Rwanda. Death, Despair and Defiance. London: African Rights. ISBN 1-3994-7700-4; 742 pages
- ONANA. Charles avec la collaboration de Déogratias MUSHAYIDI. 2001. Les Secrets du Génocide Rwandais. Enquêtes sur les mystères d'un président. Paris: Editions MINSI. ISBN 2-9111-5003-1: 189 pages
- PATERNOSTRE DE LA MAIRIEU, Baudouin. 1972. Le Rwanda. Son effort de développement. Antécédents historiques et conquêtes de la révolution rwandaise. Bruxelles/Kigali,: A. De Boeck/Editions rwandaises. 413 pages
- PATERNOSTRE DE LA MAIRIEU, Baudouin. 1994. Toute ma vie pour vous, mes frères! Vie de Grégoin: Kayibanda, premier Président élu du Rwanda. Préface de Léo Tindemans. Paris: P. Téqui. ISBN 2-7403-0223-1; 242 pages
- POWER, Samantha. 2001. Bystanders to genocide. Why the United States Let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen. Atlantic Monthly 288 (2/2001 (September) pp. 84-108.
- POWER, Samantha. 2002. "A Problem from Hell". America and the Age of Genocide. New York: Basic Books (Perseus Books Group). ISBN 0-4650-6150-8; 611 pages
- PRUNIER, Gérard. 1995 (1997 Revised Edition). The Rwanda Crisis, 1959-1994. History of a Genocide. London: Hurst and Co. ISBN 1-85065-247-3; 389 S. (First published in Kampala without ISBN 1995)
- REYNTJENS. Filip. 1994. L'Afrique des grands lacs en crise. Rwanda-Burundi 1988-1994. PARIS: Editions Karthala. ISBN 2-86537-508-0; 326 pages
- REYNTJENS, Filip. 1995. Rwanda: trois jours qui ont fait basculer l'histoire. Paris: L'Harmattan. ISBN 2-7384-3704-4; 150 pages
- SCHOLL-LATOUR, Peter. 2001. Afrikanische Totenklage. Der Ausverkauf des Schwarzen Kontinents. München: C. Bertelsmann-Verlag. ISBN 3-5700-0544-5; 474 pages
- SCHÜRINGS. Hildegard. 1992 Ruandische Zivilisation und christlich-koloniale Herrschaft. Frankfurt/Main: Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation. ISBN 3-88939-410-8; 458 pages
- STRIZEK, Helmut. 1996. Ruanda und Burundi: Von der Unabhängigkeit zum Staatszerfall: Studie über eine gescheiterte Demokratie im afrikanischen Zwischenseengebiet. Köln/München: Weltforum-Verlag. ISBN 3-8039-0451-X; 471 pages
- STRIZEK, Helmut. 1998. Kongo/Zaire, Ruanda, Burundi: Stabilität durch erneute Militärherrschaft?: Studie zur "neuen Ordnung" in Zentralafrika. München/Köln/London: Weltforum Verlag. ISBN 3-8039-0479-X; xiv, 245 pages
- UMUTESI, Marie-Béatrice. 2000. Fuir ou mourir au Zaire. Le vécu d'une Réfugiée Rwandaise. Préface de Catharine Newbury. Paris/Montréal: L'Harmattan. ISBN 2-7384-8353-4; 311 pages
- VANSINA, Jan. 2001. Le Rwanda ancien: le royaume nyiginya. Paris: Karthala. ISBN 2845861451; 289 pages VERSCHAVE, François-Xavier. 1994. Complicité de Génocide? La politique de la France au Rwanda. Paris: Éditions la Découverte. ISBN 2-7071-2399-4; 176 pages

APPENDIX II

List of abbreviations and important terms

AFDL	ALUANCE PESSON CENTRATION POUR LA LIBERATION POUR CONGO)EES
AKAZU	'small house'	* 7;
BANYAMULENGE	Original designations of the Jutais livin Mount Mulenge in Minisprovince.	gen,
CDR	COALITION POUR LA DÉFENSE DI RÉPUBLIQUE	E LA
CND	Conseil National de Développement	
CPODR	Concertation Permanente de l'Opposi	tion
ETO: FIDH	Démocratique Rwandaise Peole Rechnique (Afficielle (Kigali) FÉDÉRATION INTERNATIONALE DES LIGUES DES DROITS DE L'HOMME	5 t 2
FPR	FRONT PARMITTICLE PRAINDAYS (FOR ENGLISH DESIGNATION SEC RPF)	
GACACA HRW	English.: meadow / green space	
HUTU-POWER	The term stems from the battle cry 'Po' shouted by the FPR soldiers aiming to recipower in Rwanda. This was countered particular, by 'Hutu Power', the battle cruthe Hutu militias.	over l. in
ICG	International Crisis Group	



Radical Rwandan 'Hutu party' founded on 23 March 1992

Rwandan opposition alliance in exile

International human rights organisation headquartered in Paris

Traditional lay tribunal

Power parties was the term coined for the Rwandan party wings that were critical of sharing power with the FPR after February 1993

A Comment of the Comm

ICTR	INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR RWANDA (French: TPIR)	Based in Arusha
IGIHANGO	Alliance pour la Démocratie et la Réconcili- ation Nationale(ADRN)-IGIHANGO	Inter-ethnic Rwandan opposition alliance formed in Bad Honnef on 27 March 2002. Spokesman: Déogratias Mushayidi
INTERAHAMWE	Name of the Hutu militias made largely responsible for the Tutsi genocide of 1994	
KANGUKA KANGURA	Journal founded in Rwanda in 1989 Journal founded in Rwanda in 1992	Pro FPR Hutu 'response' to KAN- GUKA. (Editor-in-chief was Hassan Ngeze; on trial in Arusha)
KINYAMATEKA	Title of a Rwandan-language journal published by the Catholic Church in Rwanda since 1933	
MDR	MOUVEMENT DÉMOCRATIQUE RWANDAIS	Rwandan apposition party founded to 1991 (resump- tion of the name of the party of the founder of the state, Kayibanda, which was banned in 1973)
MINUAR MRND	French designation of UNAMIR MOUVEMENT RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE NATIO- NAL POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT	State party founded by Habyanimana in 1975; re- founded to 1992 as MRND
MRNDD	MOUVEMENT RÉPULICAIN NATIONALE POUR LA DÉMOCRATIE ET LE DÉVELOP- PEMENT	Rwandan party that emerged from the MRND in 1991
NGO OAU	NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY	The Organization of African Unity has since been renamed African Union
PDC	PARTI DÉMOCRATE-CHRÉTIEN	Rwandan Christian-Demo- cratic Party founds din 1991
PL	PARTI LIBÉRAL	Rwandan liberal party founded in 1991
PSD	PARTI SOCIAL-DÉMOCRATE	Rwandam Social D emocratic party founded in 1991
RADER	RASSEMBLEMENT DÉMOCRATIQUE RWANDAIS	Rwandan (predominantly) Tutsi party founded at the end of the colonial era that accepted an ethnic com- promise
Radio MUHABURA	FPR radio station set up in 1992	For can explanation see
RCD	RASSEMBLEMENT CONGOLAIS POUR LA DÉMOCRATIE (Kivu province)	Movement founded by Rwanda in the Kivu province of the Congo in 1998

RDC	RÉPUBLIQUE DÉMOCRATIQUE DU CONGO	Name promoter that care before and the care
RPF	RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT (French: FPR)	See FPR
RTLM	Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines	
TPIR	TRIBUNAL PÉNAL INTERNATIONAL POUR LE RWANDA (English : ICTR)	See ICTR
UNAMIR	UNITED NATIONS ASSISTANCE MISSION FORTHWANDA	
UNAR	UNION NATIONALE RWANDAISE	Rwandan party of the nobility founded in 1958 (exiled after 1960)
UN	UNITED NATIONS	

APPENDIX III

Excerpt from a conversation with Archbishop Perraudin on 8 April 1995 in Switzerland on the background to his pastoral letter for Lent of 11 February 1959.

"This letter was born of a pastoral need. It was in no way a political intervention even though some people have sensed the democratic spirit of Switzerland in the background. In my eyes it was a pastoral step made necessary by an unhealthy situation that had become clear to me during the five years that I had spent at the seminary (Grand Séminaire). I often talked to the seminarists about the country's problems. I was also very interested in the lectures on the social situation in Rwanda that were given there by one of our professors. I myself began to look into the matter more closely. I ultimately established that the Hutus in the country were despised. The Hutus were regarded as second -class citizens by those who felt they had been called upon to rule. (...) After giving things a great deal of thought, I was prompted by this fact to write the pastoral letter of 11 February 1959, the main theme of which was charity (charité), including social charity. I urged reforms because I considered the situation as it appeared to me at the time to be unworthy of human beings and, in particular, of Christians. That was my sole intention. The letter has perhaps been given a political slant that was not my intention. In actual fact, and let me repeat myself here, my letter had a purely pastoral purpose, which was to achieve a reform of the institutions that would make them compatible with human dignity.

An example: I noted at the time not just in general terms, but also in the seminary itself, that almost all the seminarists were Tutsis. How could it possibly be the case that in a country in which the vast majority of the population belonged to a different ethnic group the seminary was attended solely or almost exclusively by Tutsis? This was because the recruitment for the seminary at the time was undertaken in what were called the 'preparatory seven forms'. A selection was made in these forms at the end of the primary stage of education. This selection was carried out with the help of a subtly, permanently applied game, which meant that almost only Tutsis were accepted into these seven forms, from which the pupils were then recruited for the Petit Séminaire (secondary schools). Ultimately this meant the student priests were almost always Tutsis. That was the reason why at a certain point in time the vast majority of the priests were Tutsis in a country with a huge Hutu majority. I thought this situation was completely abnormal. This is just one example, but the same phenomenon could be observed in almost all the free professions. Ultimately one found oneself in a system of privileges based on adherence to an ethnic group."112

Footnotes

- The information is based on: the website of the Rwandan government; www.erdkunde-online.de (Rwanda); www.cia.gov (The World Factbook 2002); www.allafrica.com; Der Fischer Weltalmanach 2003
- Bishop Hirth (1854-1931) was a Francophone Alsatian with a good knowledge of German that was essential for close co-operation with the German colonial administration which, following the participation of the Centre Party in the German government, did not oppose the missionary intentions of a Catholic order. The French character of the White Fathers enabled him - in contrast to most German Protestant missionaries - to continue his work without interruption in the League of Nations protectorate of Rwanda-Urundi that was administered by Belgium.
- Bishop Hirth, Fathers Brard and Barthélemy and Brother Anselme arrived with a caravan consisting of 150 carriers, 12 Baganda assistants and armed Sukuma guards that was accompanied by two Askari from the German administration. The history of Catholic missionary activity is described very vividly in LINDEN 1999 and LINDEN 1977.
- Belgium had, in effect, ruled the country since the defeat of the German colonial troops in 1917, but it was not for-
- mally installed as the mandatory power of the League of Nations until 1925.

 The British historian, Arnold Toynbee (1889-1975), describes history as a sequence of "challenges and responses" that should not be understood as a series of inevitable causes and effects. Rwandan history since 1990 illustrates this approach, the disasters that have occurred being by no means inevitable.
- The process has been similar in both the other Belgian colonial regions, Congo and Burundi, but not so extensive. The word means roughly Organ for Laws and it subsequently assumed the meaning of a news gazette. Cf. KALIB-WAMI 1991, p. 369.
- The use of the term évolué to describe an indigenous elite based on school education especially in the Petits Séminaires (Church secondary schools) - was customary, especially in the Belgian colonies. In Rwanda the Hutu évolués considered themselves an alternative elite to the traditional power elite. They were to a certain extent at odds with the Tutsi priests, who for years had reserved themselves the right to attend the Grand Seminaire (seminary) leading to a university degree after having completed the Petits Seminaires. It was not until the late 1950s that larger numbers of Hutus were admitted to the Grand Séminaire.
- Quoted after PATERNOSTRE DE LA MAIRIEU 1972, p. 208 (a part of the quote is also to be found in PATERNOSTRE DE LA MAIRIEU 1974, p. 122) and MUREGO 1975, p. 853. The document is also mentioned in all other historical accounts, e.g. in HARROY, Reprint 1989, p. 239.
- The refusal of the FPR government to divulge any information has meant that there has so far been only very little clarification of the events in this area. It is known, however, that all the Hutu priests were murdered.
- 11 Cf. Emmanuel Ntezimana, Ruanda am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts, in: HONKE et al. 1990, p. 80.
- 12 Mwami Mibambwe, Kigeri's immediate successor, was murdered in 1897. (Cf. the details further below of the coup
- 13 Kandt's book entitled Caput Nili. Eine empfindsame Reise zu den Quellen des Nils, which was published in 1904 and became a 'bestseller', contains the following passage describing the pre-colonial situation: "The Bahutus behave in a really strange fashion. In the presence of their masters they are serious and reserved and give evasive answers to our questions; as soon as the Watusis have left our camp and we are alone with them they happily tell us almost everything we wish to know and many things I have no desire to know, since there is nothing I can do to remedy the numerous shortcomings they complain about, their lack of rights and the way they are oppressed. On several occasions I have pointed out the need for them to help themselves and have gently mocked them for being a hundred times superior to the Watusis in numbers, yet allowing themselves to be subjugated by them and just wailing and moaning like women." Quoted from the 5th Edition 1921, p. 239 (quotation also to be found in BINDSEIL 1988, p. 67).

 14 Jan Vansina, the doyen of the 'white' historians, dates the real period of rule from 1867 to 1895. Cf. VANSINA 2001,
- 15 in some cases they are referred to as mwami or, by contrast, as hinza. The Rwandan historian, Ferdinand Nahimana, has dealt in depth with the importance of the northern Hutu kingdoms and claims that they only really became a part of Rwanda as a result of the influence of the colonial powers (cf. NAHIMANA 1993.) This claim meant that he was accused of 'Hutu ethnicism' during the tribunal in Arusha, thus making him one of the spiritual fathers of the Tutsi genocide. An unblased examination of the work, which has been accepted as a doctoral thesis in Paris, does not permit such an interpretation.
- 16 In 1925, Belgium had been formally mandated by the League of Nations to administer the former German colonies of Rwanda and Urundi. From then on, Rwanda and the later Burundi were no longer colonial territories in international law. This was of virtually no significance up to 1945. This status assumed greater significance when the United Nations' mandate was transformed into a trusteeship with the prospect of independence and the relevant UN monitoring missions.
- 17 This theory, which was developed during the post-independence struggle for power, continued to be advocated with great success in the form of the co-operation between the French historian, Jean-Pierre Chrétien, and Emile Mworoha from Burundi, which was referred to as the 'Franco-Burundian school of historians'.
- Mworona from Burundi, which was referred to as the Franco-Burundian school of historians.

 18 In times of crisis the kings would play the 'Protestant card'. In 1926, for instance, Musinga appointed Protestant pastors to the court (LINDEN 1999, p. 228), thus paving the way for his own deposition. King Mutara also incurred the opposition of the Church in 1957 when, with the help of his Protestant friend, Dr. Church, he supported the request for a Protestant bishop from Uganda. (LINDEN 1999, p. 338)

 19 Cf. the excerpt from a conversation the author had with Bishop Perraudin on 8 April 1995 in Switzerland (Appendix
- 20 German translation in STRIZEK 1996, p. 55, based on the French text in PATERNOSTRE DE LA MAIRIEU 1972, p. 209; a large part of the text is also printed in KALIBWAMI 1991, pp. 437-439.
- Bishop Perraudin reviewed and explained his motives at the time in a lengthy conversation with the author in Switzerland on 8 April 1995. (Excerpt in Appendix III.)
- 22 This term, which was used by the Belgian administration to refer to the document entitled Note sur l'Aspect Social du Problème Racial au Rwanda. Is the one that has gone down in history. Partly reprinted in KALIBWAMI 1991, p. 377 ff.

- 23 Both documents were written with a view to the visit of a UN Control Commission, whose task was to monitor the preparations for independence as part of the UN's mandate of trusteeship.
- For the background to the 'Hutu Manifesto' see, in particular, PATERNOSTRE DE LA MAIRIEU 1994, p. 109 f.
- Upon taking office, Bishop Perraudin appointed the Tutsi, Justin Kalibwami, author of the book Le catho'icisme et
- la société rwandaise 1900-1962, as the new editor-in-chief.
- 26 In a conversation with the author on 8 April 1995 Bishop Perraudin pointed out that it was not he but the Apos tolic Pro-Vicar. Father Déjemeppe, who had appointed Kayibanda as publisher prior to Perraudin's assum prion of office. After taking up his position as bishop, Perraudin had had no objections to Kayibanda continuing to work in the editorial department, but he ensured that Kayibanda was removed from his position as a member of the administrative board and secured the appointment of the Tutsi priest, Justin Kalibwami, as publisher.
- 27 A section of the minutes of the work of the Study Commission on the Hutu-Tutsi Social Issue is printed in LIZINDE 1979, p. 61 f. Lizinde talks of five participants each and a chairman: in contrast, HARROY, 1989, states on p. 239 that 10 Hutus and 10 Tutsis had spent two weeks "working hard on the report". Reference is made in PATERNOS-
- TRE DE LA MAIRIEU 1994 on p. 121 to six members each.

 28 The number of people killed in the November 1959 uprising is put at between 100 and 300. (The figure of 3,000
- given in GASANA 2002. p. 16 is a typing error, as the author conceded after being asked).
- 29 Following the first Hutu uprising in early November 1959, Colonel Logiest had been called in from Kissingani in the Belgian Congo together with units of the Force Publique to restore order. He monitored the entire process of independence and was the first Belgian ambassador after independence. He has written about his activities in a book,
- 30 The most detailed description of developments in Rwanda and Burundi up to 1970 is contained in LEMARCHAND
- 31 Cf. the explanation of the term in endnote *.
- 32 The most comprehensive description of this genocide has been provided by LEMARCHAND 1996
- 33 Particularly prominent in this respect was a young student by the name of Pasteur Bizimungu, who acte i as president for a while after 1994 to camouflage the Tutsi dominance of the new state. He was forced to resign in 2000 and has been in prison since the summer of 2002.
- 34 It was believed that the scourge of tribalism could be overcome in this way. However, the opposite occurred. Wherever ethnic conflicts of interests were suppressed by force they erupted with even greater violence at the next possible opportunity.
- 35 LINDEN 1999, p. 375
- 36 Cf. LINDEN 1999, p. 379.
- 37. All the statements he made on the ethnic issue up to his murder by FPR soldiers on 5 June 1994 called for moderation in ethnic matters.
- 38 Bishop Thaddee Nsengiyumva, Archbishop Vincent Nsengiyumva, Bishop Ruzindana and nine priests were murdered by FPR soldiers in Kabgayi on 5 June 1994.
- 39 Comité pour la Paix et l'Unité Nationale.
- 40 Cf. Chronology of events in the chapter on: Democratisation. FPR intervention and civil war (1990 July 1994).
- GASANA 2002; GASANA 2002 a and GASANA 2002 b.
- 42 End of rule. The Belgian daily, La Libre Belgique, used this term on 1 November 1989
- 43 The general statement that the Tutsis were excluded from the army remains valid nonetheless. The Biroli case shows that there were exceptions, however.
- 44 Cf. GASANA 2002, p. 48/49.
- 45 People naturally knew that that Tutsi exiles were behind the 'Front Patriotique Rwandais', but its international network showed immense skill in concealing this fact. All over the world, left-wing and even pacifist groups thought it was a kind of civil rights movement that was fighting against 'the dictatorship in Rwanda'. Those referring to 'Tursis' at the time were accused of racism.
- 46 Contrary to the general thrust of the book, which proceeds from the assumption of planned genocide and an active role of the interim government. Barnett confirms that the representatives of the interim government in the UN Secunity Council *represented a government that no longer existed.* BARNETT 2002, p. 146.
- 47 Jeune Afrique (Supplement to Volume 1753/54 in August 1994). "A la Conférence de la Baule, en juin 1990, on nous a quasiment annoncé qu'on allait exiger des Etats africains un certificat de bonne conduite démocratique. En 1993, changement de disque: 'La démocratie, c'est très bien, mais ce qui importe, c'est l'efficacité'."
- 48 At this point in time James Gasana (MRND) was Minister of Defence in the government of Dismas Nsengiyaremye (MDR), which was supported by an alliance of parties.
- 49 GASANA 2002, pp. 279-280.
- 50 Only the American Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, publicly criticised this act in a speech in Addi: Ababa on 10 October 1996 prior to his predictable departure from office, thus bequeathing a 'democratic legacy', as it were.
- 51 The literature on this topic is vast. It is not denied in the American literature that the possible consequences of a renewed outbreak of war were forecast in detail in a CIA desk study of January 1993 (cf. Des Forges 2002, Melvern 2000, Kuperman 2002 and S. Power, 2002.) The question is quite simply whether the information should have been taken seriously by the Clinton administration and whether the Tutsi genocide could have been prevented if the information had been passed on in time and if there had been a military intervention, which only Kupermann, who otherwise provides a host of details about the knowledge available at the lower echelons of the US a iministration, more or less denies. The assessments made by General Dallaire and those contained in the OAU report (MASIRE 2000) assume that the genocide could have been averted given the relevant political will.
- The relevant literature is extensive and in some cases academically serious. Mention should be made, in pa ticular, of DES FORGES 2002, BOUTROS-GHALI 2000, MELVERN 2000, BARNETT 2002, KUPERMAN 2001 and POWIR 2002 . A less academic, but politically explosive book called Les Secrets du Génocide Rwandais has been written by Charles Onana and Déogratias Mushayidi, 2001 (Mushayidi is a former member of the Rwandan FPR).

- 53 Deus KAGIRANEZA: "Il est vrai, tout d'abord, que le génocide est un crime innommable. Il est vrai, ensuite, que la communauté internationale n'a pas pu intervenir en temps utile pour y mettre fin; il est vrai aussi que nous avons · j'étais moi-même membre du bureau politique - interdit à celle-ci d'intervenir parce que nous venions de perdre toute la matière utile, sur le plan politique en moins de dix jours. En moins de dix jours, on a vu les rues se joncher de cadavres: le nombre de personnes tuées dans ce laps de temps est évalué à 200.000. Ce chiffre ahurissant montre que le génocide était consommé. (...) Du coup, toute la matière utile, sur les plans politique et économique a été éliminée en moins de dix jours. C'est donc un calcul politicien qui a donné lieu au sacrifice - l'histoire jugera, plus tard, le bureau politique, dont j'ai fait partie - de 800.000 personnes pour, finalement, ne rien gagner. (...) Si après dix jours, l'ONU avait envoyé sur place un déluge de forces armées, comme au Kosovo, on aurait pu sauver ne serait-ce que 500.000 personnes, ce qui est loin d'être négligeable." (Compte rendu de l'audition de M. Deus Kagiraneza devant la Commission d'enquête parlementaire «Grands Lacs» du Sénat de Belgique le vendredi 1er mars 2002).
- 54 "Le ministre Claes : Vous rendez-vous compte que le FPR nous avait posé un ultimatum en disant que si nous n'étions pas partis le jeudi, il attaquerait?! Le FPR nous avait dit très clairement qu'il était d'accord pour une opération d'évacuation humanitaire à courte durée, mais qu'il ne fallait pas essayer de transformer le peace keeping en un peace making, sinon, il nous considérait comme des ennemis. (...) C'était un élément capital qui a joué dans les prises de décision au niveau gouvernemental et dans les concertations avec l'ONU (158c)." Willy Claes addressing the Committee of Investigation of the Belgian Senate. BELGIQUE 1998 (Chap. 3.8.4.2)
- 55 The book was published simultaneously in English and French in 1999. A German version has been available since 2002: DES FORGES 2002
- The first book on the horrors published by Rakiva Omaar (OMAAR 1994) should not be discredited simply because it describes the Tutsi genocide from the point of view of the FPR, but it is biased. This also applies to the book written by PRUNIER, which was published in Kampala and London in 1995 and in amended form (also in London) in 1997, despite the later break with Kagame. A detailed explanation of the 'prevailing theory' is provided in GOURE-VITCH 2000.
- 57 Cf., in particular, chapter 5.3.3 in GASANA 2002: La stratégie américaine contre l'islamisme soudanais sacrifie les Rwandais.
- 58 The author has talked for some time in his writings about the 'Sudan syndrome'. (e.g.: Helmut Strizek, Externe Faktoren der zentralafrikanischen Staatskrise, in: Internationales Afrikaforum, 4/2001, pp. 363-367).
- 59 It was as a Protestant that James Gasana came into contact with the Breakfast Prayer movement. He points out that those in the movement assumed that the FPR leadership was Protestant and "that the Catholic clergy in Rwanda was mobilising the majority Catholic Hutu population against the Tutsis." (GASANA 2002, p. 77).
- 60 In March 1990, James Baker and his Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Herman Cohen, paid a visit to President Mobutu in Kinshasa, where they informed him that the USA was no longer willing to support his regime after the end of the Cold War and urged him to release the leader of the opposition, Etienne Tshisekedi, from house arrest. (Tshisekedi himself gave the author this information during a conversation on 5 August 2000 in Louvain. Herman Cohen provided confirmation on 16 October 2002). (COHEN 2002.)
- 61 After Mobutu's death it is extremely likely that Etienne Tshisekedi, who led the opposition party Union pour la Démocratie et le Progrès Social (UDPS), would have been elected president. He was regarded by the FPR as a 'risk', because he would certainly not have participated in the killing of Rwandan refugees. The USA was obliged to assume that he would not join in a war against Sudan.
- 62 In an interview with JEUNE AFRIQUE (N° 2179/ 14 October 2002) Paul Kagame denied responsibility for Kabila being chosen. However, this conflicts with statements made by his secret service chief, Patrick Karegeya, who told Peter Scholl-Latour of his 'business trip' to Dar-es-Salaam to inform Kabila that he was being offered the chance to take over power in Kinshasa. SCHOLL-LATOUR 2001, p. 95.
- 63 In an interview with www.congopolis.com on 16 October 2002 he said "Je ne suis pas d'accord avec ceux qui décrivent la guerre au Congo comme une guerre civile avec l'intervention étrangère. Malheureusement, cela semble être l'avis unanime des médias. À mon avis, le conflit au Congo est essentiellement ce que j'appelle "une guerre par procuration,"
- 64 Attention is drawn especially to the work of Filip Reyntjens, in particular REYNTJENS 1995, and the statements he made to the International Criminal Tribunal in Arusha.
- 65 One case among many is the absurd death of James Gasana's mother. She is an example of ethnic execution on the Hutu side. (GASANA 2002, pp. 1-3)
- 66 An example of this in the case of Germany is the article by Rupert Neudeck entitled The Church has Failed in ORI-ENTIERUNG, Vol. 58 (1994), pp. 203-207. Fitting into this category, too, is the French journal GOLIAS.
- 67 This includes the murder of three bishops and nine priests in the diocese of Kabgayi on 5 June 1994. LINGUYENEZA
- 68 The prefecture of Byumba was in FRP territory at this time.
- 69 Quoted from: DIALOGUE N° 213 (Nov./Dec. 1999), p. 82.
- 70 LÎNDEN 1999, p. 400.
- 71 That he should have remained in the country is all the more remarkable in that his brother, Michel Kayihura, was a member of the extremist Tutsi nobility and an agitator among the groups in exile.
- 73 This self-characterisation of the anti-FPR parties stems from an imitation of the often heard battle cry of the FPR soldiers in the fight against the Rwandan army. They spurred themselves on with cries of 'power' as they went into battle, thus making their intention clear of enabling the Anglophone FPR to gain power in Kigali. After Gasana 2002,
- 74 In Gasana 2002, pp. 77/78 there is a copy of a CIA memo dating from 1992 concerning discussion of Habyarimana being toppled even at that stage.
- 75 See, among many others, the book by the chairman of the Survie group: VERSCHAVE 1994.
- 76 This course was largely attributable to the influence of Harald Ganns, the Director of African Affairs at the Federal
- 77 From the preface to Strizek (1998): Kongo/Zaire, Ruanda, Burundi: Stabilität durch erneute Militärherrschaft?.

- 78. The report entitled "Fin de la Transition au Rwanda: Une libéralisation est nécessaire" issued by the International Crisis Group on 13 November 2002 contains a list (Appendix B) of over 40 prominent people who have left the country for political reasons.

-9 US Department of State, Rwanda, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices - 2001, Released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, March 4, 2002.

- 80 The establishment of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) was agreed in Resolution 955 passed by the UN Security Council on 8 November 1994.
- 81 Undoubtedly, this cannot be generally denied, although it is very unlikely that the really active participants in the genocide would have sought protection in the interior of the country of all places. The activists fled abroad, since it was clear from the beginning that the humanitarian protection zone was designed to protect the Tutsis while the war was still being waged. This was why the FPR had agreed to it being set up. The camp thus saved the lives of thousands of Tutsis.
- 82 The figures given for the number of dead vary between 2,000 and 5,000.

83 Seth Sendashonga himself gave the author this information in 1996 in Bonn.

84 At a trial in Nairobi the originally selected guilty parties were acquitted as being clearly innocent. His widow insists on the investigations into his murder being continued. A film she had made in Canada entitled Celui qui savait produces overwhelming evidence that those who engaged the murderers are to be found in Kigali. ELIE and FERRAND

85 Interview with Ambassador Barakamuza in JEUNE AFRIQUE Nº 1808 of 31 August 1995

- 86 This was described in detail by the Chairman of the US Committee for Refugees, Roger Winter, during a hearing of the House of Representatives on 4 December 1996. Winter acted as intermediary between Kagame, Kabila and the US Special Envoy Bogosian and he had the following to say at the hearing: "So I went and I spent the better part of a week in Eastern Zaire with the chairman of the rebel alliance - this is before the mass repatriation began and during that repatriation - seeking to understand what his movement was all about and what they were thinking. I am not here as a spokesman for it. I want to be very clear, but I do want to be equally clear that understanding what they are trying to do is a purt of the puzzle that needs to be understood. (...) Sunday morning Kabila called me and said, I am here [in Kigali]. Can I meet with the senior Americans?' And we had already arranged it with the embassy personnel, and that is when he met with Ambassador Bogosian. Peter Whaley, Ambassador Gribbon, and a colonel from General Smith's staff."
- For the relevant report supplied by Mobutu's last security adviser, Honoré N'gbanda, see N'GBANDA 1999
- Rapport de l'Equipe d'Enquête du Secrétaire Général sur les violations graves des Droits de l'Homme et du Droit International Humanitaire en RDC* (UN 2 July 1998).

89 See: KASSEM Report 2002.

90 Cohen said: "L'armée rwandaise est partie du RDC sous une forte pression des Gouvernements Américains et Britanniques." COHEN 2002.

91 For details see, in particular, HOEBEN 2001

- 92 Following the murder of Laurent Kabila on 17 January 2001 his step-son, Joseph, was put in power under what remain very unclear circumstances. On the basis of agreements that were signed by the political movements in the Congo on 17 December 2002 in Pretoria Joseph Kabila is to remain the head of the interim administration for a further
- 93. It remains to be seen whether and in what form the human rights violations committed by the Rwandau army initially in close co-operation with Uganda - can be appraised.

Cf. ICG 2002, in particular.

- 95 The FPR describes its model as 'démocratie participative', for example.
- 96 Every citizen had to be a member of the MRND 'mouvement'.

Cf. Ramon Arozarena's preface to the book GASANA 2002.

- 98 NKUNDIYAREMYE 1999. The lawyer, who was born in 1958, has died in the meantime.
- The human rights activist, Alphonse-Marie Nkubito, resigned on 28 August 1995 and was later killed under unclear circumstances. His successors, Marthe Mukamurenzi and Faustin Nteziryayo, went into exile in Belgium.
- 100 GUICHAOUA 2002 (reprint of an article from LE MONDE in the journal DIALOGUE). Guichaoua published a highly regarded book in 1995: GUICHAOUA 1995.
- 101 Ten convictions so far at a cost of US\$ 600 million.

102 FIDH 2002.

103 Interview with JEUNE AFRIQUE/L'Intelligent, No 2179 (14 October 2002); p. 34. It must be assumed that the numbers are even higher. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that several thousand inmates have died every year as a result of the appalling conditions in the prisons. In the same interview Kagame spoke of several dozen ("des dizaines") death sentences that had not been carried out. He was corrected by the journal, which stated that the figure was around 300 and that 22 prisoners sentenced to death had been executed on 24 August 1998.

- 105 Even Bishop Perraudin (1914-2003) was insulted and molested by a group of young Tutsis during the ceremony to mark the 60th anniversary of his ordination as a priest in Switzerland on Easter Sunday, 4 April 1999
- 106 LINGUYENEZA 1999. (A German translation by Helmut Strizek entitled Bericht eines Zeugen, 5. Juni 1994: Die Urmordung dreier Bischöfe can be ordered by contacting Strizek@t-online.de).
- 107 The Archbishop of Bukavu, Mwene Ngabo Munzihirwa, paid with his life for saying that the main purpose of the attack on the refugee camps was to prevent the refugees in Eastern Congo from returning to Rwanda. (Cf. ST UZEK

108 Concertation Permanente de l'Opposition Démocratique Rwandaise 109 This is by way of a reminder of the much acclaimed UN Kassem Report (UNO 2002) on the exploitation of the mineral resources in the Congo during the Second Congo War.

110 Reference to the title of the book Als die Weißen kamen. [When the Whites Came]. HONKE 1990.

- 111 The widespread AIDS pandemic in Rwanda can also only be overcome if there is an improvement in education.
- 112 This part of a conversation with Helmut Strizek on 8 April 1995 was authorised by Bishop Perraudin and printed on pp. 55/56 in STRIZEK 1996. Bishop Perraudin died in Switzerland on 25 April 2003 at the age of 88.

Current/Planned Publications

1 Human Rights. Religious Freedom in the People's Republic of China

in German (2001) - Order No. 600 201

- in English (2002) Order No. 600 211
- in French (2002) Order No. 600 221

2 Human Rights in the DR Congo: 1997 until the present day. The predicament of the Churches

in German (2002) - Order No. 600 202

- in English (2001) Order No. 600 212
- in French (2002) Order No. 600 222

3 Human Rights in Indonesia.

Violence and Religious Freedom

- in German (2001) Order No. 600 203
- in English (2002) Order No. 600 213 in French (2002) - Order No. 600 223

4 Human Rights in East Timor

- The Difficult Road to Statehood

in German (2001) - Order No. 600 204

- in English (2002) Order No. 600 214 in French (2002) - Order No. 600 224

5 Human Rights in Turkey - Secularism = Religious Freedom?

- in German (2002) Order No. 600 205
- in English (2002) Order No. 600 215 in French (2002) - Order No. 600 225

6 Persecuted Christians? Documentation of an International Conference Berlin 14/15 September 2001

- in German (2002) Order No. 600 206
- in English (2002) Order No. 600 216
- in French (2002) Order No. 600 226

7 Female Genital Mutilation - Evaluation of a Survey Conducted among Staff Members of Catholic Church Institutions in Africa

in German (2003) - Order No. 600 207

- in English (2003) Order No. 600 217
- in French (2003) Order No. 600 227

8 Female Genital Mutilation

A Report on the Present Situation in Sudan in German/in English/in French (2002) - Order No. 600 208

Human Rights in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Religious Freedom

in German (2002) - Order No. 600 230

- in English (2003) Order No. 600 231
- in French (2003) Order No. 600 232.

10 Human Rights in Sri Lanka.

Church Endeavours for Peace and Human Dignity

in German (2002) - Order No. 600 233

- in English (2002) Order No. 600 234
- in French (2002) Order No. 600 235

11 Human Rights in Zimbabwe.

- in German (2002) Order No. 600 236
- in English (2002) Order No. 600 237 in French (2002) - Order No. 600 238

12 Human Rights in South Korea.

in German (2003) - Order No. 600 239

- in English (2003) Order No. 600 240
- in French (2003) Order No. 600 241

13 Human Rights in Sudan.

- in German (2003) Order No. 600 242
- in English (2003) Order No. 600 243
- in French (2003) Order No. 600 244

14 Human Rights in Nigeria.

- in German (2003) Order No. 600 245
- in English (2003) Order No. 600 246
- in French (2003) Order No. 600 247

15 Human Rights in Rwanda.

- in German (2003) Order No. 600 248
- in English (2003) Order No. 600 249
- in French (2003) Order No. 600 250

All publications are also available as PDF files. http://www.missio-aachen.de/humanrights