

France Genocide Tutsi Database

<https://francegenocidetutsi.org>

Information Letter n° 3, December 17, 2020

The database official address <https://francegenocidetutsi.org> (noted below FGT) is a website which brings together documents about France's role in the genocide of the Tutsi in Rwanda in 1994 and a search engine at <http://francegenocidetutsi.fr>. A backup can be accessed at <http://francegenocidetutsi.ddns.net> if the official address cannot be reached. Please note that <https://francegenocidetutsi.org>, <http://francegenocidetutsi.org>, <http://www.francegenocidetutsi.org> are equivalent.

State of the database

It contains over 11,000 documents. The index cards descriptions of the documents are now available in abbreviated. The search engine gives the full version.

New items have been added to the top drop-down menu of web pages:

- a section "maps" including the 1/300,000 map of Rwanda, an interactive map of municipalities showing the mayors and other officials in 1994, the map of the 5 provinces and 30 districts resulting from the 2006 reform.

- a section "hate media" with *Kangura* and transcriptions of RTL and Radio Rwanda.

- a "multimedia" section with links to videos or radio programs in replay.

The following comments are all related to documents readable on this website.

Nuit et brouillard sur le Rwanda

We have gathered thanks to the archives of the *L'Humanité* newspaper available on the web the articles of Jean Chatain written during his two trips to Rwanda in the area liberated by the Patriotic Front Rwandan (RPF) during the genocide. Although not aware of the country, Jean is one of the few to have understood almost immediately the nature of the genocide and the role played by France. While he had published the book *Paysages après le génocide* (ed. Le Temps des cerises, 2007), we convinced him of the value of republishing his articles in a book. Unfortunately, Jean died on the 5th December 2019 before the publication of the book whose title he chose *Nuit et brouillard sur le Rwanda* (Night and fog over Rwanda). This one was edited by Izuba in January 2020. See <http://www.izuba.info>.

AA Artillery

A note from the Belgian intelligence service of December 23, 1993 observes that two French soldiers listen to the telephone network. She reports the movement of anti-aircraft artillery pieces to the the Kacyiru gendarmerie and the presidential guard camp in Kimihurura. A DGSE file dated April 7, 1994 (N° 18487/N) will indicate anti-aircraft gun fire at dawn from the Kacyiru camp and aimed the RPF battalion at the CND. The attack against the RPF was therefore planned since a long time.

The United States did not support the RPF

On March 22, 1994, Prudence Bushnell met Kagame to convince him to accept a representation of the Coalition for the Defense of Republic (CDR). He refuses, arguing that they are "criminals, gangsters, they threaten to kill people". On March 28, 1994, Ambassador Rawson again made pressure for the RPF to accept the CDR. On April 14, 1994, the Secretary of State, Warren Christopher is convinced of the will of the Interim Government to secure a ceasefire and return to Arusha accords. He wants to prevent a military victory of the RPF and force him back to the negotiating table.

Anti-aircraft threat at Kigali in April 1994

The Belgian C-130 which was to land in Kigali on April 6, 1994 was equipped with "ecm" means (electronic countermeasure) because the Belgian army had been warned of an "aa" (anti-aircraft) threat. Commander De Troy sent a message on April 5, 1994 requesting special custody for this plane but, in his hearing on May 29, 1997, he did not want to confirm that there was a particular threat in Kigali.

On April 14, the last French plane took off from Kanombe, activating its anti-missile decoys "it during the flight over Kanombe", as affirms the *Kibat'* diary dated September 20, 1995 and Renaud Girard in the *Figaro Magazine* on June 25, 1994. This plane had just been threatened

by mortar fire that lieutenant-colonel Maurin wanted to blame on the Belgians.

During a meeting on May 18, 1994 at the Belgian Military Prosecutor's Office, it is mentioned that, according to the Pentagon, "*Rwanda had 15 missiles*". This refers to the "Ex-FAR Equipment Summary as of 6 April 1994" sent by the United Nations's DPKO on September 1st, 1994.

De Grossouvre would have warned Mobutu

As part of his guilty plea, Jean Kambanda was heard in 1997-1998 by investigator Pierre Duclos. On September 25, 1997, Kambanda said about the April 6, 1994 meeting in Dar-es-Salaam: "*Mobutu would have been advised by a senior in the Elysee, the imminence of danger. There would be a link between the suicide of an Elysée executive and these communications.*"

Joseph Kavaruganda's murder

In a document of July 2, 1995, Annonciata, Joseph Kavaruganda's wife, describes the circumstances of the arrest and murder of the President of the Constitutional Court on April 7, 1994 by the Captain Kabera Zédécias of the presidential guard. She believes that Article 7 of the Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of Rwandan Republic and the RPF on Miscellaneous Issues and Final Provisions, signed in Arusha on August 3, 1993 and which stipulated that in absence of the president of the Republic, ministers and deputies took an oath before the President of the Constitutional Court, was "textita death sentence" for this one. In a letter of March 23, 1994 to the President, Kavaruganda complained of death threats. During his hearing on October 16, 1995, Jean-Marcel Kavaruganda provided a fur-

ther folder more substantiated on the preparation of the assassination of his father, the coup and massacres in order to prevent the entry into force of the agreements of Arusha Peace.

500 Belgian soldiers forbidden to land in Rwanda

On April 11, 1994, Madeleine Albright, representative from the United States to the UN, confirms that 500 Belgian paratroopers from the operation Silver Back remained trapped in Nairobi: "*Belgian PolOff [political affairs officer] informed USUN PolOff that 500 Belgian paratroopers are standing by in Nairobi to reinforce the 400 Belgians at Kigali, if needed*". Only 400 Belgian soldiers have been authorized to land in Kigali by the Rwandan interim government (GOR). While this one was not yet formed, the representative of France, Mr. Mérimée, made himself the GOR's spokesperson to the representative of Belgium at the UN, Mr. Noterdaeme, as the latter reports it in his telegram of April 8 in Brussels. The French authorities, for their part, have indicated that they have pleaded with the GOR the cause of Belgium so that it can land troops. This April 8, Paris knew that the genocide against the Tutsi was triggered, as evidenced by "l'ordre d'opération Amaryllis" and thus made himself the spokesperson for the killers.

Colonel Rusatira

His role is ambiguous especially during the ETO massacre on April 11 1994. But he contacted Joyce Leader, deputy head of mission in Kigali who retreated to the United States Embassy in Nairobi. Aurelea Brazeal, the ambassador, reported on April 12 that he accused the secret organization "Amasasu" to have ordered the atrocities at Kigali. He said the

president's death was the provocation needed to put a long-standing plan into effect. He urged that the United States encourage French and Belgium intervention to stop the escalation of fighting and protect Rwandans.

For the CIA, the attack and the massacres were initiated by Hutu extremists

A CIA memo from April 28, 1994 says that "in our view politicians and military commanders from northern Rwanda unleashed the fighting that erupted on 6 April". [...] "Eyewitness accounts of the downing of Habyarimana's aircraft and the systematic murder of Tutsi and independent Hutu politicians immediately afterwards suggest that the President's death was the first step in a hardline Hutu coup attempt".

The RPF denounces the genocide on April 13, 1994

In the absence of International action to save innocent Rwandan people, the Rwandese Patriotic Front's representative, Claude Dusaidi, declares in a letter to President of the Security Council that a crime of genocide is being committed against the Rwandese people. He has the moral responsibility to protect Rwandese people from barbaric and savage criminals. It is the intention of the RPF to neutralize elements of the Rwandese army that are responsible for these massacres,

New Zealand hands over its archives

Former New Zealand Ambassador to the UN, Colin Keating, gave a copy of the archives concerning Rwanda to the Ambassador at UN Valentine

Rugwabiza (*The New Times*, September 7, 2019).

A gift to the genocidaires

Invited to address the Security Council meeting on 16 April 2014, Colin Keating recalls that a number of countries mounted a major unilateral military intervention in Rwanda to extract foreign nationals, but those forces then departed. They left the Tutsi to their fate. In April 1994, he was presiding over this Council, his presidential declaration April 30 condemned the atrocities in Rwanda, but the word genocide has been deleted “*at the insistence of some permanent members*”. The draft declaration presented by Karel Kovanda, representative of the Czech Republic, April 28, 1994, urged the Rwandan Interim Government to put an end to the acts of genocide committed by groups under its authority. Colin Keating points to the responsibility of the UN Secretariat, claiming that “*the Council was not aware of the systematic massacre civilians*”. At the end of June, the report of the Special Rapporteur to the Commission on Human Rights has never been brought to the attention of the Council. He considers that the decision to authorize Operation Turquoise was a mistake and that, in hindsight, it is clear that the downsizing of UNAMIR was “*a naive gift to the genocidaires in Kigali*”.

Jérôme Bicomumpaka at the Security Council

The shameful speech of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Rwandan interim government of May 16, 1994 is presented separately on FGT. David Hannay, representative of the United Kingdom, had refused to meet (*The Times*, May 13, 1994).

« Le Petit Kigali »

This movie, dated June 11, 1994, was shot by Vincent Munyakazi, owner of “Petit Kigali”. This restaurant was the “headquarter” of the Interahamwe in Kigali. We see Ephrem Nkezabera, Chairman of the Committee on Economic and Financial Affairs and the captain of the peacekeepers, Amadou Deme, intelligence officer of the UN-AMIR, eminently dubious. In an aside conversation between Nkezabera and Deme, it’s about travelers checks (Thomas Cook) that Nkezabera is trying to recover with a view to purchasing weapons. With Michael Hourigan, Deme accused Paul Kagame of shooting down Habyarimana’s plane (March 8, 2007).

Weapons bought in Seychelles thanks BNP

On September 26, 1997, Jean Kambanda declares before the ICTR investigator Pierre Duclos that the weapons delivered in June 1994 were intended for “*civil defense*”, that is to say to genocide. It would be the weapons purchased in Seychelles by Colonel Bagosora and paid through the Bank BNP. On his diary, Kambanda noted that he was in Gisenyi on June 18 when the first delivery arrived. In his notes taken at the Council of Ministers on June 17, Edouard Karemera writes that, “*for the protection of economic infrastructure in the Crête area*”, including the antenna and Electrogas at Mount Karongi and the Gisovu tea factory, *reservists are going to be recruited*. He adds: “*the government will make weapons available on order made as part of civil self-defense*”.

Sam Kiley Testimony

In a video testimony from June 2019, Sam Kiley, then a *Times* journalist, tells how he alerted on June 26, 1994 a French officer (Eric Bucquet)

on the existence of Tutsi survivors in Bisesero. The scene was filmed by CNN’s Christiane Amanpour. The 29 June evening, he also warned Commander Marin Gillier. The next day, when this officer did not take into account this information, Sam Kiley and the reporter from *Paris Match* Michel Peyrard introduced French soldiers to the Tutsi survivors in Bisesero.

Cardinal Etchegaray death

Disappeared in 2019, he mentioned briefly in *J’ai senti battre le cœur du monde* (I felt beat the heart of the world) (2019) his trip to Rwanda at the end of June 1994 organized by Franciscan Vjeko Curic. He is received in Butare by 3,000 warriors “*armed with machetes*” to the cry of “*textitVive Mitterrand*”. He meets a priest “*holding a gun in shoulder strap*”. He dines in the evening with the prefect and the minister Pauline Nyiramasuhuko. On June 25, he will pray in Kibuye “*in the large parish church where floats the smell of 3,000 victims who have just been slaughtered*”.

French engagements

According to Madeleine Albright, Ambassador Mérieu declares to the Security Council on June 17, 1994 that France is ready to fight Hutu militias in order to protect Tutsis. It seems that the military French mistaked the RPF soldiers for Hutu militiamen ...

Rwanda story

On this site FGT one can find : *Journal of the discovery of the source of the Nile*, 1863 ; Charles Lavigerie, *L’esclavage africain*, 1888 ; Louis Baunard, *Le cardinal Lavigerie*, 1896 ; Richard Kandt, *Caput Nili*, 1904 ; Rapport Lenaerts sur le territoire de

Nyanza, 1929; Paul Rutayisire, *Histoire du Rwanda*, 2011.

Clara Lanzi Prize

On November 23, 2019, General Lafourcade received on behalf of the association “France Turquoise” the Clara Lanzi prize. This foundation was created to rescue factious generals who attempted a putsch against the Republic in Algiers in 1961 as well as the imprisoned members of the OAS, this terrorist organization created by General Salan. With General Tauzin and Colonel Hogard, General Lafourcade shares this ideology of the defense of “l’Occident chrétien” (the West Christian), a crusade that was illustrated in the horrors committed by General Franco during the civil war in Spain and by Hitler in Operation Barbarossa against the USSR and the “Judeo-Bolsheviks commissars”.

Bantou Myth

Jean-Pierre Chrétien sheds light on this myth which is one of the foundations of the ideology of the genocide against the Tutsi in “*Les Bantous, from German philology to African authenticity: A racial myth contemporary*” (1985). Mehdi Ba makes a synthesis in “*Do the Bantus exist?*” (*Jéune Afrique*, April 18 2016). In “textitExchanges and Hierarchies in the Realms of Great Lakes of East Africa” (1974), Chrétien shows how a feudal pattern from European history was forged by the colonizers on the societies of the Great Lakes region.

Ould-Abdallah

In his fax dated April 7, 1994 to Marrack Goulding, Deputy Secretary United Nations General for Political Affairs, Ahmedou Ould-Abdallah,

Special Representative of the Secretary General for Burundi, said he had been warned of the attack on Wednesday, April 6 at 9:30 p.m. (2:30 a.m. New York time). He claims this was not directed against the Burundian president. He specifies that the Chief of Staff was in Burundi and did not accompany the President to Dar-es-Salaam. Unlike his colleague in Rwanda, he immediately organized a meeting with the President of Parliament, the Prime Minister and the Chief of Staff of the army to avoid a political vacuum.

“Damned Soul”

In his book “*Protéger le Président*” (2019), Denis Roux, member of the Security Group of the Presidency of the Republic, sent to train the Rwandan presidential guard (1991-1993), “*has not the feeling of having trained genocidaires*”. Before the visit by Habyarimana at the Élysée (July 17, 1992), François Mitterrand warns him : “*of the danger represented by Agathe, the wife or rather the ‘damned soul’ of the Rwandan president, known to be in favor of a radical solution against the Tutsis*”.

Lumière et société

These notebooks published by Bernard Muzungu present the reflections of Rwandan intellectuals after the genocide. We will read in particular “*The race problem in Rwanda*” (March 31, 2009).

Access Mitterrand archives

On June 12, 2020, the Conseil d’État granted researcher François Graner the right of access to the Mitterrand

archives, which had been until then refused. Article 15 of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen of 1789 is invoked in the statement.

Félicien Kabuga arrest in France

Arrested on May 16, 2020 near Paris, Félicien Kabuga had been living since several years in France and had high-ranking protections there. It will be remembered that Michel Aurillac, former Minister of Cooperation (1986-1988), died in 2017, was lawyer of Kabuga’s family. On November 12, 1999, French police officers acting with a arrest warrant from the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda arrived at the home of Augustin Ndirabatware, Kabuga’s son-in-law and former Minister of the Interim Government. But this one conveniently flew away.

As chairman of the RTLM radio initiative committee, Félicien Kabuga wrote or received letters regarding purchases of material for this radio, including a transmitter for Mount Karisimbi.

African Prussians

Gérard Araud was diplomatic advisor to the cabinet of François Léotard, Defense minister from 1993 to 1995. In his book “*Passeport diplomatique*” (2019), he claims that Edouard Balladur and François Léotard wanted to withdraw the French troops “textitthe most quickly possible”. He assures that Operation Turquoise had nothing else than a humanitarian goal. But he ends up losing his temper writing that “*Rwanda has become the Prussia of the region of Great Lakes*”.